

Arab-Sasanian Civil War Coinage



Manichaeans
Dazidiya and Other Khawārij

by

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To the late lamented Mohsen Foroughi

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FOREWORD

A reader who would start examining the plates of this book before reading the text would be surprised at the title since the number of coins of Khusraw II obviously prevails. This was probably one of the leading reasons why the part played by the Khawārij in coin issues during the first Islamic decades in Iran remained obscure for so long. The numismatists generally specialize either in the Sasanian or the Arab-Sasanian coins. Therefore a link, based on a monetary feature common to both classes was needed. Chronology would not create this link but luckily I happened to become interested in coin issue mints. At the market of Teheran. I collected coins, some of them broken to pieces, at the bottom of sacks containing some monetary treasure fortuitously discovered by a peasant. Any abnormal date or unknown mint name gave me the impression of being faced to a strange historical fact. I now understand why.

This book was first intended to be limited to the size of an article but I found it impossible to reduce its contents. This is perhaps better since a book may reach a greater number of numismatists than an article which collectors will not necessary read.

To carry out this work, I benefitted from the precious help of some numismatist friends who sent me mouldings or photographs of coins whose origin is indicated in the "list of specimens". I therefore wish to thank Mrs. Arlette Nègre and Messrs. Nicholas Lowick, William B. Warden Jr. and François Gurnet. The help provided by the collection of W.B. Warden Jr. removed a great number of obstacles and gave clear evidence to prove my theories.

Paris July 1986

NOTE

All along this book, words in Pahlavi will be found. References for their translations can be found in three glossaries which will be mentioned at each occurrence. The names of these glossaries are abbreviated as follows :

1) MK = D. N. MacKenzie, A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 1967.

2) Bh = Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, Pahlavî-Pâzend-English and English-Pahlavî-Pâzend Glossary, Bombay, 1912.

3) BF = Bahrām Farahvashi, Farhang-e Pahlavi, Teheran University, 1352/1974.

This document will not be often used since it is in Persian. I will refer to it only where the first two glossaries do not provide sufficient information.

Another source will also be often used, especially for its illustrations. This is my second book which will be abbreviated as follows :

4) ENIS, T II = Etude de Numismatique Iranienne sous les Sassanides et Arabe-Sassanides, T II, Téhéran, 1977.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SURVEY OF HISTORY

During the sixties of the Hijra, some features of the Arab-Sasanian coins differ from those of the official coinage of the Sufyānids. Certain medals have gone through such epigraphic alterations that an untrained eye could mistake them for Sasanian coins. This book attempts to clarify the reasons for their issue. This will be better understood if one briefly recalls the inextricable confusion that prevailed during this period.

Rivalry between clans and appearance of the Khawārij

The more or less latent troubles which resulted from the rivalries between clans for the accession to power came to their first crisis during the caliphate of 'Ali. The accusation brought against 'Ali as the instigator of the assassination of Uthmān decided the parents of the latter, in accordance with Arab customs confirmed by the Koran to seek vengeance by shedding 'Ali's blood. Mu'āwiya was assigned this task, which led 'Ali to meet, in 37 A. H. at Šiffin, on the right bank of the Euphrates, the army from Damascus. The battle was turning to 'Ali's advantage when Mu'āwiya's soldiers, brandishing copies of the Koran at the heads of their spears, moved that a peaceful issue be found in the Sacred Book. Arbitration would be entrusted to two "qurā"⁵ chosen by the two parties. Their task would be to justify or reprove the murder of Uthmān. 'Ali approved of this arbitration under compulsion. Hearing of the reason for the truce, several combatants, mostly people from Tamīm, condemned what they considered to be a repudiation of the Koran. They *left* their ranks shouting out لا حكام الا لله la Ḥakam illa'llāh (Allāh is the sole arbitrator) and, under the command of Abdullāh b. Wahab al-Rāsibī, an unknown ordinary soldier, established themselves near Kūfa.

Then, groups chiefly composed of 'Ali's followers, including several "qurā", *moved out* of Kūfa to join them (ramadān or shawwāl 37 A. H.). The "khurūj" (the leaving) from Šiffin and Kufā gave these rebels their name: Khawārij (or the outgoers) is the true Arabic plural of Khārijī—Khārijites seems to be the form adopted by the Occident. Damascus, and later Baghdād, will indistinctively refer by the name of Khawārij to any

⁵ To make a systematic census of the "Qur'ān", which took place from 30 to 35 during the caliphate of Uthmān, the collections gathered together by Abū Bakr as well as the oral versions of some scholars were used. The latter are given the name of qurā' (qāri in the singular).

group opposed to the central authority, whether sects of various doctrines, Shi'ites or simple brigands. Henceforth, each group of Khawārij will be known by the name they will assume, often derived from the name of the founder. The first group, the birth of which has been described above will be named the "Maḥkama", after their motto : "la ḥakam illa 'llāh".

'Abdullāh b. Wahab established himself at Jukhā, on the left bank of the Tigris, near the small village of Baghdād, which will become the capital of the Abbāsids. Thus he could control the ways to Fārs.

'Ali, in conflict with Mu'āwiya and unwilling to support two fronts, left them alone for some time. Finally, he was compelled to fight them and severely defeated them at the battle of Nahravān (9 ṣafar 38). 'Abdullāh and most of his captains met their deaths there. However, 'Ali could not exploit his victory and had to face their army on several occasions during the years 39 and 40. He was stabbed on 19th ramadān 40 by one of their members, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muljam al-Murādī.

During the twenty years of his caliphate, Mu'āwiya took drastic measures against the insurrections. However, if he succeeded in temporarily containing the Shi'ite opposition led by Ḥujr b. 'Adī, he could but sporadically hold up the rebellion of the Khawārij. The defeat of the latter at each battle only stirred up their fanaticism, making them even more dangerous. The government of Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān and that of his son 'Ubaydallāh at Basra was strained by multiple rebellions of which the most important, that of Abū-Bilāl Mardās al-Tamīmī served his successors as a model. In that time, the Khawārij had mastered the art of surprise attack. They had a cavalry composed of exceptionally fast mounts and fiercesome riders endowed with the qualities of the Sasanian "asuvārān". By day or night, they used to foray briefly into unfortified villages in the plain and wheel back like a flash at the approach of relief. Their quarters were lost in the marshes of Baṭā'ih around Basra as well as at Jukhā. From Jukhā, they could quickly take refuge in the mountains of Iran.

The advent of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya in 60 A.H. met with the general hostility of former 'Ali's followers at Kūfa who invited 'Ali's second son Ḥusayn to go to Kūfa to receive the oath of allegiance in the place of Yazīd. Confused, after multiple transactions, Ḥusayn finally made for Kūfa escorted by a small group. He met the army of Damascus commanded by Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād at Karbalā where the small group was massacred. The tragedy of Karbalā on the 10th muḥarram 61 A.H. caused a separation between Shi'ites and Sunnis, which spread from the Arab world throughout the Islamic world and through fourteen centuries to this day.

At Ḥusayn's death, 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr rebelled in Araby and taking advantage of a new rebellion of the Khawārij which significantly weakened the power of Damascus made substantial progress. He declared Yazīd deposed and after winning a victory over the army of Damascus pro-

claimed himself caliph. The Khawārij had rebelled both in Araby and in Irak. The Najadāt who operated in Araby were for some time allied with Ibn al-Zubayr, while the region of Basra was the theatre of operations of the Azāriqa. Finally, a new movement appeared after Ḥusayn's death. Closely related to the Shi'ite movement, this new movement was created by 'Alī's partisans in the name of Muḥammad al-Ḥanafīyya, a third son of 'Alī by a wife other than Faṭima and therefore without direct kinship with the prophet. This movement, led by an adventurer named Mukhtār, aimed to avenge Ḥusayn's death and restore the rights of the members of the prophet's family to the caliphate. In addition, declaring himself the protector of the poor and underprivileged, Mukhtār drew to himself Arabs excluded from the power by the caliphate of Damascus, as well as Aramean and Iranian converts.

In 67 A.H., near Mossoul, the army of Mukhtār, commanded by Ibrāhīm b. Mālīk al-Ashtar defeated the army of Damascus commanded by 'Ubaydallāh b. Zīyād. The latter was killed and the blood of Karbalā was thus avenged. Shortly after, Mukhtār himself met his death in a confrontation with the army of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr led by his brother Muṣ'ab, while Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya repudiated him. However, several branches of his sect, spreading messianic ideas detrimental to Damascus, survived him. Broadly, during this period, there were four regimes hostile to each other.⁶

The main rebellions of the Khawārij during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik were those of the Azāriqa, Abāziya and Ṣafariya. That of Nāfi' b. Azraq resulted in great slaughters and led to the establishment of the Khawārij at Kirmān and at Fārs where they constituted a threat to Basra for a long time. This menace was removed under Muḥallab b. Abī-Ṣufra and Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (78-9 A.H.). In 79 A.H. the death of their leader Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a renowned for his bravery, put an end to their domination.

Another rebellion, more spectacular but less serious than the preceding broke out in 76-7 A.H. in the upper basin of the Tigris. It was led by Shabīb b. Yazīd i Shaybānī between Mardin and Nisibe. His army arranged in groups of some hundreds of riders, often swollen by local populations exasperated by the tyranny of 'Umayyād governors, committed memorable atrocities by systematically plundering the North of Mesopotamia. It occupied even Kūfa and sacked it. The army of Ḥajjāj, several times defeated, was saved by a hasty expedition from Syria. Shabīb, as he attempted to gain the mountains of Kirmān, drowned himself in the Dujayl in 77 A.H. : The Khawārij continued their rebellions in Araby and Iran, but this is out of the historical scope of this article.

The rebellions of the Khārijites are known by the descriptions of

⁶ See D. Sourdél, *Histoire des Arabes*, collection "Que sais-je?" Paris, 1976.

historians such as Abū-Mikhnaḥ, Abū-'Ubayda Ma'mar b. Muthannā and 'Alī b. Muḥammad i Madā'inī. These authors have been used as sources by more recent historians.

As has been seen earlier, the Khawārij were originally only groups of opponents to arbitration in the battle of Ṣiffin, i.e. "Maḥkama". Afterwards, the Khawārij divided into groups of differing doctrines and policies, rapidly increasing in number. At the end of the third century of the Hijra, the books mentioned eleven main branches at the time of the 'Umayyāds: Abāziya, Azāriqa, Khashābiya, Kaysāniya, Sabā'iya, Muqīriya, Manṣūriya, Khaṭābiya, Qarābiya, Zaydiya and Qāliya. Actually, the first two are truly Khawārij. The last nine, included in the Rawāfiẓ, were integrated later into the Shi'ites. The books of the beginning of the fourth century report a number of Khawārij sects as high as 136.

These groups, for unknown reasons, were at all times in conflict both militarily and politically. Consequently, they never formed a homogeneous unit. Their contradictory doctrines emanating from twenty different branches are described in "al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal", by 'Abū 'l-Faṭḥ al-Shahrestāni who died in 548 A.H. The common point of their doctrines related to the legitimacy of the caliphate. In this respect, they were opposed to the Shi'ite Imamāt, thus denouncing any right to leadership to any person having failed his duties under the Koran. This is why 'Alī was repudiated. Among the Rāshidīn caliphs, only Abū Bakr and 'Umar were recognized as fully legitimate. 'Uthmān, in their eyes, was legitimate only during his first six years of government and 'Alī until the battle of Ṣiffin. On the other hand, they granted the right of leadership to any Muslim innocent of any moral and legal fault, were he a black slave. They have always qualified their leaders with the title of "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" given till then only to the members of the clan of the Quraychites.

A special concept of the Khawārij, at odd with the Sunnat, was to consider an apostate any perpetrator of a major sin. The sentence of the Azāriqa, more integrist than the others, for such a sinner was even more draconian, because it costed the culprit, declared beyond rehabilitation, not only his life but also his wife's and children's lives. Finally, from their point of view, any non-Khārijite muslim was an infidel. The punishment did not spare the members of the Khārijite community even within the group where favouritism was absent, and this concerned indistinctively the chiefs and ordinary combatants. Their attitude to believers of other confessions was paradoxically indulgent. These had only to recite "Muḥammad is God's messenger to the Muslims and not to the other confessions" to enjoy the same rights. Thus, the equality between Arabs and Mawālī^{6a} reached such a level that one of their commanders,

^{6a} See Chapter XIII.

Yazīd b. Anīsa, founder of the Yazīdiya branch, proclaimed that "God had entrusted a new Koran to a messenger of Iranian origin to bring a new religion which would actually be the confession of the Šābi'in mentioned in the Koran".

Thus, they formed a centre of attraction to an Islamic society avid for equality and deceived by the despotism of the 'Umayyāds.

The Khawārij spent the first century creating new sects, which made them less united and weaker. But all the groups had the same program for universal suffrage and the suppression of a dynastic caliphate. Their propaganda was by far the most successful in Irak and in Iran where the population was particularly suffering from the racist repression of the invaders. It is only later, during the 'Abbāsīd era, that Africa in turn saw the rise of the Khawārij. From the middle of the first to the end of the second century, the Khawārij rebelled here and there in Iran. The Iranians, disciples at the beginning and instigators later, finally led them under the command of Abū Muslim i Khurāsānī to the overthrow of the 'Umayyāds and the restoration of the 'Abbāsīds. However, the Khārijite revolts did not cease and resumed on the advent of Harūn al-Rashīd to repeat throughout history under diverse appellations.

The only valid documentation on Khawārij doctrines is that on the laws and rights of the Abāziya. These appear to concern especially the social condition of the people without deep philosophical root. But, as for all similar movements born at different times, the Khārijism was adopted by the intellectual elite probably on grounds of social justice and antiracism. Let us add that the Khawārij were not only terrorists, killers and destroyers. Their leaders often were talented orators and many poets and writers appeared within their groups.⁷

Obviously each of the victorious parties, during this troubled era, has carried administrative reforms in the territory under their control in accordance with their own views. And of course coin issues have not been left out. However, besides the indications engraved by the belligerents, novelties can be observed which seem to come from the influence of the local non-Arab population. This is not surprising because, while the Khawārij, the Shi'ites and 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr were showing up to liberate the population from the yoke of the 'Umayyād tyrants, they did wish for the support and benevolence of the natives. This leniency proved fruitful and provided a centre of attraction for the masses. To better understand the reaction of the Iranians and their participation in these internal wars, it is necessary to briefly recall the social situation in Iran at that time. Recently converted to Islam and enjoying social equality and liberation from ancestral bondage, the people feel tricked on the advent

⁷ See S. Naficy, *Tārikh-e Ejtemā'i-ye Iran az enqerāz-e Sasanian ta enqerāz-e 'Umayiyan*, Dāneshkadeh-ye Adabiyāt, Teheran, 1342/1964.

of Mu'āwīya. New taxes are levied and the most unbearable repression, radically opposed to the Koranic precepts, that of racism appears. Then, exploiting the smallest opportunity, the local population joins in any group rising against the power of the 'Umayyāds. We have seen the commitment of the Aramean and Iranian mercenaries in the army of Mukhtār and the participation of the local populations in the forays made by the Khawārij. This fact is particularly evidenced in the province of Kirmān. The uneasy access to the mountains of this province enabled the population to live practically independent long after the Arab conquest. These mountains served as a refuge for the opponents to the power of Damascus, as we shall see later. The situation was not different in Sistān where the 'Umayyād governors are regularly making hasty departures (see *Tārikh-e Sistān*).

The Iranian intervention in the making of coins is reflected in three types of clues: epigraphic, iconographic and changes of dates. I shall review them in details in the chapter about aberrant Sufyānid coins. It seems necessary, however, to determine now a typical 'Ubaydallāh coin to analyze subsequent modifications and to make a point as regards dating eras.

Coins of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād

As a matter of interest, I recall the description of one of the coins struck under his control.

— The obverse copies the image of a Khusraw II coin. The portrait, the crown, the chain, the earring and GDH 'bzwt are in place. The name of the sovereign is replaced by that of 'Ubaydallāh in Pahlavi: 'wbytl' i zh't'n. Engraved in the second quarter of the margin is the Arabic formula "bismi'llāh".

— The reverse, as well as the mint and date, engraved in Pahlavi, in their respective places, imitates the reverse of Khusraw II coins.

Dating eras

Owing to changes in the systems of government and to the intervention of the "āmils", mostly of Iranian origin, the Hijra era which seems to be adopted at the beginning of the government of 'Ubaydallāh often gives way to the two Iranian eras and particularly to the post-yazdgirdi era.

Before considering the coins which have gone through such transformations, it is interesting to revise the chronological table established by J. Walker. This author makes each Iranian year correspond to an Arabic year and completes a revolution of indeterminate duration (from 30 to 35 years) by assigning two Arabic years to one Iranian year.

This calculation is erroneous. The Iranian year is based on the solar calendar: it begins the first day of spring, on the 21st of March, and ends the last day of winter, on the 20th of March. Therefore it comprises 364 days and fractions. The Arabic year which follows the revolution of the moon lasts only 355 days. The Iranian year necessarily bridges at least two Arabic years and, if the beginning of the latter lies within the first ten days of spring, the Iranian year will comprise three. To be more explicit, I choose the Iranian year 1347. To the first Farvardin 1347 (solar) A.H. (21st March 1968) corresponds the 21 dhilḥajja 1387 (lunar) A.H. To the 11 Farvardin (31st March 1968) corresponds the first muḥarram 1388 (lunar) A.H., and to the 29 Esfand 1347 (20th March 1969) corresponds the first muḥarram 1389 (lunar) A.H. Therefore:

Iranian year	Arabic year	Christian year
1347	1387/88/89	1968/69

The lunar calendar advances each year some ten days in relation to the solar year. Thus the number of 622 years separating the beginning of the Christian era from the beginning of the Hijra era is increased by one unit every 33 years and 3 years each century. That is why the calculations are distorted from the 33rd year of the Hijra. After fourteen centuries, we must add 42 years to 622 to restore the correspondence, whereas the Iranian solar calendar retains for the three months of winter the original difference of 622.

Coinage of the Khawārij

A historical past so turbulent as that of the Khawārij is not in agreement with the poor varieties of coins they seem to have passed on to us. In addition to the coins of the Azāriqa from the mints of Fars, there would be a few others from Sistān, not so well identified. In actual fact, they have an abundant coinage which is varied, not recognized and poorly interpreted. Consequently, their coins have been classified as belonging to other eras or have been assigned to other persons. We must admit that the issue of coins by the Khawārij was often a dogmatic act rather than a personality cult. That is why we cannot know the names of their leaders through numismatics. Their spiritual and antiracist doctrine placing the leaders at the level of the simple combatant probably explains why their names do not appear in the oral accounts which have reached the historians we used as references. This absence in the texts is indeed the source of the errors which caused the numismatists to look for a name close to that they were reading on the coin, a name which would be that of a personality mentioned in the texts.

Also, the little attachment of the Khawārij for worldly values would have left the "Mawālī", their equals according to their doctrines, free

to make coins of their own. This would be the reason for the great number of alterations observed, which gradually tend to the issue of coins with perfectly Sasanian values.

The Khawārij have two types of coin issues :

1. Modified coins of Arab governors. The names of the latter appear in the usual place, but the "bismi'llāh" is replaced by another Islamic formula not used before. These types of coins almost always reflect an Iranian intervention either through the change of an iconographic detail or the addition of a Sasanian ethic formula, and last but not least by the change in dating era which becomes Iranian. These issues could be ascribed to groups which I would call "itinerant rebels", spreading anti-'Umayyād troubles, driving away or killing the prefects appointed by Damascus and then leaving for some time the towns thus liberated to the hands of the Iranian government officials.

In other cases, the change is total; we are in the presence of coins of Khusraw II with an Arabic formula which is no longer the classical "bismi'llāh".

2. Coins in the names of the Khārijite leaders who issued them. As for the first category, the marginal legend is but seldom the "bismi'llāh". Instead, formulas in accord with Khārijite beliefs appear. Some have been assigned, with some hesitation to the Khawārij of Sakastān, but this is not so for many others.

CHAPTER II

YAZĪDĪYA

The first series of coins which I present in this work is the most important. It belongs to a group of Khawārij whose name is historically attested and whose coinage, although discrete, provides us with an abundance of clues on their activities in the Iranian provinces.

Yazidiya, Yazdiyān, Yazdāniyān or Sheytānparastān

We know the members of this sect better than the others because they have remained to this day.

"... One of their leaders was Sheykh Shrafaddin Abu 'l-Fadā'il 'Adī b. Musāfir b. Ismā'il ... b. Marwān, one of the "mashā'ikh" of the 6th century, who died in 555, 557 or 558 at the age of about ninety. According to certain sources, the term of Yazidiya would come from a heretic confession created by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. Others date it back to Yazīd b. Anīsa one of the Khawārij who fought 'Alī at the battle of Nahravān. Finally, others assume that the origin of the word is not Yazīd but "Yaz" who gave the derivatives of "Yazd" and "Yazdān". Therefore, this term would initially refer to the sect of the "Yazdiyāns" then deformed into "Yazīdiyān".⁸ Their dogmatic principles come from the Zoroastrian, Judaic and Christian confessions. Their doctrines are known from their two sacred books, "Muṣḥaf-e Rash" (Black Writing) and "Jelveh" (Revelation), as well as from the letter sent by their leader in 1211 A.H. to the Ottoman court and last from the book published at Sinjar by a Yazidi amir".

(Loghatnāmeḥ-ye Dehkhodā)

Their doctrine can be summarized as follows :

— Before the sky and earth, God created seven angels during the seven days of the week.

— Tāvūs al-Malā'ik⁹ (archangel) who served as a mediator for the creation of the world is held in special veneration. His characteristics are very much like those of the devil, hence the name of "Sheytānparastān" (devil worshippers) also used to refer to the Yazīdīya.

— Sheykh 'Adī b. Musāfir inspires them great veneration. They recognize him as having miraculous gifts. His tomb is a sacred place of which each Yazidi carries a fragment of ground and where is celebrated

⁸ Not to be confused with the dynasty of the Shirvānshāh.

⁹ Tāvūs al-Malā'ik = peacock of the angels and Tāvūs Malak = Angel Peacock. The Yazīdīya flag is peacock-shaped.

the Great Feast (Eyd-e Kabîr) once a year in memory of the Sheykh. They believe that the latter substitutes for them in their prayers and fasts and will ultimately lead them to heaven.

— They venerate Yazîd and celebrate his birthday in heavy drinking followed by three days of fast (Eyd-e Yazîd).

— At sunrise and sunset, the Yazidi must pray, prostrating in the direction of the sun. The prayers are said as verses in three languages: Kurdish, Persian and Arabic.

— They are favourable to the repudiation of a sterile wife but are against this act when woman has had children.

— Certain foods are forbidden for quite arbitrary reasons.

— But above all, they are strictly opposed to any offense to Satan. If a copy of the Koran contains verses against Satan, the Yazidi closes the book at once and burns it. Should anyone curse Satan or ask God refuge against his bad deeds, the Yazidi must murder him. This rule compels the Yazidis to keep themselves segregated from other confessions. Furthermore, the Yazidis never talk about their religion to an alien. This is behind the first rule of their confession: the “ketmân”. According to this rule, no Yazidi has the right to reveal the rites and dogmas of his religion. (The coins provide a few examples of this).

— Their clerical hierarchy comprises seven levels: Amîr Sheykh, Bâbâ Sheykh, Sheykh, Pîr, Fakîr, *Sokhanvar* and Kuçekhâ to which must be added the class of the people or Morîd. The latter class is actually the “mug” of the others.

On the basis of the census of 1370 A.H., 70000 Yazidis lived mostly in Mossoul and in the region of Sheykhân. Their spiritual (and temporal) leader or Amîr Sheykh resides at Sinjar. The Ottoman government, considering them as disciples of a heretic confession, did not recognize them officially and gave them a rough handling. Since the Irakian independence, however, they enjoy, according to the constitution of this state, relative freedom.¹⁰

Of all the present Kurdish tribes, the Yazîdiya have been the most successful in preserving their religious unity and integrity. In their confession, there are signs of the influence of the Assyrian, Babylonian, Judaic, Christian and Muslim rites. Manichæism and the religions of India also play a great role. But clearly showing throughout these confessions are the signs of the fundamental religion from which they have developed theirs, i.e. Mazdaism.

The more convincing element of their resemblance lies in the problem of the creation. In the religion of the Yazîdiya, the first “revelation” (Jelveh) of God is in the form of Tāvûs Malak (Satan). God and Satan

¹⁰ S.J. Qazbân, *Yazîdihâ va Sheytânparasthâ*, Teheran 1341.

form a single being. Then seven angels interpose between God and the creatures with the archangel Tāvūs Malak at the top of the hierarchy. The latter is therefore both of divine essence and an angel. When he is God, there are only six angels and when he is an angel he forms with the others the septuple group. For the Mazdeans, Ohrmazd is in the situation of Tāvūs Malak, for he is God at the head of six Amahraspands, while being also Amahraspand of the first day of the month and forming with the other six the septuple group of the Amahraspandān.

Tāvūs Malak is not considered by the Yazidis the enemy of God but a rebel who, victim of the divine wrath, spends seven thousand years of penance in Hell. After this time, when seven jars will be filled with his tears, he will be forgiven by God. This shows that evil, according to the Yazīdiya, is not eternal. This reminds us also of the Mazdean idea of evil; Ahreman will be defeated after 9000 years by Ahurāmazdā and the world will be rid of evil.

The Yazīdiya believe in a good God who does not intervene in the affairs of the world. The angels attending him act as his deputies. In this respect, the influence of the Zurvāniāns shows in their religion, since Zurvān gave birth to two children, Ohrmazd and Ahreman, giving them control over the world, and the two brothers fight each other until Ohrmazd succeeds in defeating Ahreman.¹¹

It is therefore quite possible that the Yazīdiya are quite earlier than Islam.¹² On the arrival of the Arabs, they have probably simulated a pseudo-conversion, but in fear of being discovered, they have taken refuge in the uneasily accessible mountains of Hulwān in the North of Mesopotamia. Their present confession is no doubt quite remote from that they practiced at the time of issue of their coins. The latter show signs of mazdaism. In favour of this assumption, the choice of Kurdistan as place of residence could be explained by the proximity of the important temple of Ātur Gušnasp at the South of Āturpatagān.¹³

The joining of the Yazīdiya to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya should be rejected. Held responsible for the death of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, he is held in abhorrence in Iran where he is thought to be involved in all base and heretic works.

“The attribution of the Yazīdiya to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya is but a popular legend. The reason for this confusion comes perhaps from the hatred that Muslims feel against this loathsome sect of Satan worshippers and against the basest of the caliphs”.

(*Shahrestāni, Milal wa Niḥal, p 143*)

¹¹ Gh. Rashid-e Yasemi. Kord va Peyvastegi-ye Nejādi va Tārikhi-ye U. Téhéran. p. 125-31.

¹² The origin of the Yazīdiya, according to Spiro, goes back to a branch of the Manichæans. The Yazīdi era goes back to 290 A.D., which is only a few years from the execution of Mani in 276 A.D. (quoted by Qazban).

¹³ A. E. Christensen, Iran sous les Sassanides, Copenhagen, 1936. p. 142 et 166.

The thesis which suggests to date the Yazīdiya back to Yazīd b. Anīsa, that which assumes the deformation of Yazdāniyān into Yazīdiyān and that which ascribes the veneration of Satan to them are all confirmed by three groups of coins which we shall analyse below.

Prologue

The religion proclaimed by Yazīd b. Anīsa originated during the years which followed the battle of Nahravān (38 A.H.). His book, *Muṣḥaf-e Rash*, reintegrated Mazdean doctrines. In this chapter, I present coins which have retained the signs of authenticity of this data. The historical attestations on the multiple questions regarding their origin and the etymology of the terms qualifying them have enabled me to discover their coinage. In recognition, I dedicate these discoveries to them to confirm the historical facts and resolve the questions.

As we shall see, the coins of Khusraw II play a great role. In museums or private collections, these coins are classified as Sasanian coins. Now, they should be more appropriately classified as Arab-Sasanian coins. Therefore, for a better understanding, the combined knowledge of the two groups of coins is necessary. De Morgan already alluded to these Sasanian coins issued under the 'Umayyads and Walker recognized their existence without classifying them (Walker, footnote p. xx). The issue of these coins during the Civil War became common. The sect of the Yazīdiya is the only group of Khawārij having passed on to us these coins bearing either the name of their founder or names or words borrowed from their religion. But since their religion is fundamentally heretic and therefore secrete, they have struck their coins by copying the monetary type common at their time. Their coins are either in the names of the 'Umayyad governors or of Khusraw or of a Kharijite leader of another group. Apart from coins number 1 and 19 which celebrate the name of their founder, their other manifestations are religious messages. Thus, safe from any indiscretion, under the cover of freely circulating coins, they have informed, advised, encouraged and supported the members of the religious community throughout the ex-Sasanian empire. To transmit these messages, they have very often chosen the reverse of the coins. The message preferably replaces the date and more seldom the mint and sometimes both. This process deprives us of the date of issue or of the name of the mint. In order not to arouse suspicion, an additional precaution has been taken. To make these messages unintelligible to the uninitiated, the engravers have created a confusion between the legitimate word, that is the date or mint, and the usurpation word. Three methods have been used for this purpose : either contorsion of the letters to make them resemble the original word, or the subtraction or addition of a few letters to the message to vaguely build up a date or mint. Therefore each message has a resembling

date which an uninitiated will interpret in his own way. And so some authors continue to interpret effectively concealed messages as years 20 or 30, which cannot fail to surprise them.

In addition, the protection that these coins in the names of the 'Umayyad or Zubayrid governors afforded the Khawārij in general has been the cause for a few issues after the death of their presumed author. This explains the existence of the post-mortem coins of Ziyād or 'Ubaydallāh.

While on the obverse of a few rare coins in the name of Khusraw the latter has served discretely to transmit certain messages, an additional word forms quite conspicuously the marginal legend of the 'Ubaydallāh coins. But this word is engraved as an undecipherable ligature.

My researches have led to results conform to the doctrine and rites of the Yazīdīya. Each of the five groups of coins which form the subject of this study is intended to confirm, with a discretion worthy of "ketmān", one of the following questions :

- The etymology of "Yazīdīya".
- The etymology of "Yazdāniyān".
- The etymology of "Sheytānparastān".
- The signs of veneration of the Sun (and Moon).
- The religious or ethic terms intended for the correligionists.

Etymology of "Yazīdīya"

The first numismatic manifestation of the Yazīdīya seems to date back to the time of the government of Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān. In JRAS,¹⁴ I have published the coin of a Yazīd (no. 19). Ignoring the date of issue, I attributed it to Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya, the only major forename of this time and additionally without coinage. The photography of a new copy sent to me by William B. Warden Jr (no. 1) enabled me to decide on the date of issue to within one or two years. The two coins have quite specific features, which differ from the rules I have put forward earlier. Their identical reverses seem to come from the same die. Similar to the reverse of the coins of Khusraw II, their epigraphy provides a few aberrant novelties. The date and the name of the mint are merged into a single phrase :

سنة يزد سنة يزد = ŠNT 'ywkw y yzytw = sāl yek-e Yazīd = the year one of Yazīd.

Therefore there is no indication of the mint on these coins.

The choice of an era as for the monarchial era brings us to the Sasanian values. The indication of ŠNT is new and the name of Yazīd of Arabic

¹⁴ Mochiri, A Sasanian-style coin of Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya, JRAS, 1982, no. 2, p. 137-41.

origin. The obverse of the coin published in JRAS has the special features of a coin of Khusraw II with the word *ʾpd* on the margin while that of William B. Warden Jr. has the obverse of a coin of Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān, so that I could date them to around 50-53 A. H.

The attribution of these two coins to Yazīd b. Anīsa should not be surprising. Having participated in the battle of Nahravān, he could have issued them 15 years later. The changes made to the reverse of the coins, instead of continuing in the way of arabization, are retrogrades and tend to Sasanian values. The evidence of disarabization is confirmed when the characters on the obverse turn back to the purely Sasanian style. All these changes are plausible when we know that Yazīd b. Anīsa has proclaimed that a new messenger of Iranian origin will bring a new Koran (*Muṣḥaf-e Rash*), that there is something of mazdaism in the religion of the Yazīdiya, that they venerate the sun, etc. If Yazīd b. Anīsa was not himself Iranian, he probably founded his chances of success on Iranization, which was drawing to him Iranian mercenaries and supporters.

Etymology of "Yazdāniyān"

This group includes coins of ʾUbaydallāh b. Ziyād with an additional marginal legend on the obverse. This word, strongly ligatured to the point of making it difficult to read, is engraved in its classical bookish form on one of the coins (no. 14).

 =  = *yz'n* : Yazdān = Gods (MK, p. 97 & 206)

The issue of these coins seems to come from three mints: NIH, GD and AIRAN. I know only one year of issue for the first two, while the third has been issued for several years.

There is no other icono-epigraphic alterations than the addition of Yazdān. But the dating era becomes post-yazdgerdi for some of these coins. The Hijra concerns the years 56 (no. 10), 60 (Walker, I 25, p. 54) and 61 (Walker J 2, p. 54). The post-yazdgerdi concerns the years 29 (Walker, M 33, p. 52), 30 (no. 12), 31 (no. 13), 32 (no. 14) and 37 (no. 15). The coin from NIH is dated 27 (no. 11) and that from GD dated 38 (Walker, I 35, p. 68).

The two years 37 and 38 are later than the death of ʾUbaydallāh and issued according to the theory I have presented earlier. The coins of this group, while retaining the general appearance of those of ʾUbaydallāh, reveal significant Sasanian features. This fact unites the two groups which we have seen despite their differing styles. This indirectly explains the historical confusion which resulted from the fact that the Yazīdiya worshipped Yazdān. The variation in style of the two groups come from the change of the historical conditions during the few years between their dates of issue and also maybe from the death of Yazīd b. Anīsa whose date we ignore.

We retain the date of the first issue of these coins, namely the year 56. It corresponds to the imposition by Mu'āwīya of the illicit oath of allegiance to his son Yazīd. We shall find this crucial date several times in the initiation of the insurrections. This can lead us to think that the hostility of the Khawārij to this derogation made them forget for some years their conflictual opinions and rallied them around a few leaders to defend the same cause. Their numismatic activity intensifies under this stimulation and brings the evidence of their frenetic travels through the 'Umayyād Orient.

Etymology of Sheytānparastān

In this chapter, we shall see that two words have been used for the veneration of the devil. The first is an Aramaic ideogram composed of four letters : ŠYDA, pronounced Shêdâ according to Bh. This is very close to the Persian word "Sheytān" which designates Satan. Actually, the ideogram is pronounced : "dêw" which means demon or devil. The second word is "duš" which means evil.

1.  = ŠYDA = { Shêdâ (Bh, p. 243)
dêw (MK, p. 26 and 151) } = demon, devil

The coins used in this chapter are of the Ziyād and Khusraw type. The ideogram replaces the date, the name of the mint, or both, simulating in most cases a date and vaguely reflecting the name of the original mint. It is exceptionally engraved on one coin with a surprising clarity :

a) The reverse of the latter coin (no. 20) resembles a propaganda panel for the Confession in which the veneration of the devil is advertised as the sublime law.

 = šty(wl) = Šahrewar = Best Rule (MK, p. 79 and 149)

 = ŠYDA = dêw = devil

Šahrewar is the name of the Amahraspand responsible for the fire and the metals. It is also the name of the sixth month of the year and the fourth day of each month. But its meaning on the reverse of the coin is limited to "Best Rule".

While ŠYDA reads easily on the coin we are discussing, a confusion may arise for štry which may be interpreted as št' = 6.

It is not always as easy to read ŠYDA and we shall examine a series of coins where its orthography, intended for the initiated, is made unintelligible to the profane.

b) Coins of Ziyād :

 = ŠYDA confused with y'zdh = 11

 = ŠI (no. 2)

 = ŠYDA confused with šb' = 7

 = GD (no. 3)

 = Š(Y)DA confused with šb' = 7
 = NIH (no. 4)

On the following coins three mint names have been used for the second syllable of the word while the first is confused with the date 30.

c) Coins of Zīyād (no. 5 and 6):

 = ŠY confused with syh = 30
 = DA confused with GD

d) Coins of Khusraw (no. 21 and 22):

 = ŠY confused with syh = 30
 = DA confused with MI

e) Khawārij coins with the motto "li 'llāh" (no. 23) and with the formula "bismi 'llāh" (no. 24):

 = ŠY confused with syh = 30
 = DA confused with Dārābgerd.

On these two coins the abbreviation of Dārābgerd, used for the second syllable of the word, is different from the usual calligraphy. On no. 23 we find D and A unusually engraved separately, while on no. 24 a curious orthography of Dārābgerd perhaps derives its origin from a yazidi keyword. Also note that the finery is exceptionally different from the style of their classes, the breast-ornament for 23 and the earring for no. 24.

Apart from the year 30, two other dates conceal ŠYDA:

f) A Khusraw type coin with a portrait of the devil (no. 25) presents:

 = pnšY confused with panjsyh = 35
 = DA not any confusion

It seems that the engraver has not used an easily decipherable combination for this coin, if there is such a combination. On the other hand, for the year 37, the following formula has been used:

g) A Khusraw type coin (no. 26) presents:

 = 'zš confused with hfsyh = 37 ('z = az = from (MK p. 15 & 216)

 = DA not any confusion¹⁵

The contents of the formula therefore calls on the devil.

In general, the dates of the years 30 to 37 should be examined closely. On this matter, such coins exist in Walker's catalogue.

h) On a coin of Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr of the year 69 and from the mint of Yazd (no. 56), dēw replaces the word Gušn which is usually read at 2.30 from the margin on the obverse:

 = ŠYD(A) confused with Gušn

¹⁵ Note that this second syllable of the word could be read yh = jeh = the Whore, female arch-demon (MK, p. 47 and 203).

2.  = *dwš* = evil (MK, p. 28 & 199)

The three coins concerned by this word are of the Khusraw II type. The first alone gives immeasurable information (no. 27):

— On the obverse:

— A portrait surmounted by a flame which seems to have been struck out of place. It should have risen from the cupula formed by the crescent of the ornament of the crown in the same way as that escaping from a fire altar.

— The 10 h marginal pattern seems to be the result of the same striking defect having shifted the 9 h crescent.

— The name of Khusraw is modified. The meaning of this will be seen later.

— On the reverse:

— left:  = *dwš* = evil

— right:  = APR = Abaršahr

The name of the mint testifies the activities of the Yazīdīya at Abaršahr.

The second coin is a little different from the former (no. 28 and see also ENIS, T II, fig. 962):

— On the obverse, a devilish portrait where the feathers of the crown are almost transformed into flames licking the 12 h crescent. The flame coming out of the latter has not been shifted. The name of Khusraw is also modified.

— On the reverse:

— left:  = *dwš* = evil

— right:  = .YDA = devil

To read the latter word, the image should be rotated 180° with respect to the common position. The beginning of the word has been crushed, but the last three letters are very clear. If my assumption were right, the two names, evil and Satan, would be present on the same reverse.

A number of other coins of this type fall under my observations, but unfortunately poor striking prevents them from being read and I find it useless to present them.

The third coin, almost of the same style as the preceding two, is deprived of the 12 h flames (no. 29). The presence of GDH at 3 h 30 from the margin on the obverse makes it an unusual coin. The inscription on the reverse reads:

 = *dwš* = *duš* = evil confused with *wyst* = 20

The name of the mint is GRM = Garmkirmān. Three dots are engraved at 12 h 30 from the margin.

This coin appeared in my paper on the mints of Kirmān (Mochiri, Garmkirmān, NC 1985, plate 12, no. 1). During its translation by N. Lowick, a relatively abundant correspondence took place between the

translator and the author. Persuaded of the issue of the coin after the Arab invasion, I had described it as Arab-Sasanian. N. Lowick noting no Arabic feature tried to dissuade me. Finally, weary of my insistence, S. Tyler-Smith passed me on a coin of a style close to Khusraw II from GRM and dated 27 (no. 2 in the mentioned paper), which made me lose the contest and I attributed both coins to Khusraw II. And yet that of the year 27 is also an Iranian coin of the year 59 A.H. as others which we shall see in the corresponding chapter.

3. Two coins have inscriptions on the reverse containing the two terms mentioned above :

سڊ : *dwš(š)Y* confused with *dosyh* 32

جڊ : DA confused with GD

A single *š* is used to terminate the first and begin the second word. The first coin is of the Ziyād type (no. 7). The second, of the Khusraw type, has two marginal legends on the obverse (no. 30).

Due to the presence of GDH at 1 h 30, it is similar to the class of no. 29. In the second quarter, the classical Sasanian legend *'pd* can be found.

Due to the presence of *duš* and *dēw* together, the last two coins are reminiscent of coin no. 28.

Sings of veneration of the sun and moon

The sun appears on the coins. The moon appears in the form of a crescent or by its name.

1. The sun

a) as marginal symbol :

Khusraw coin, at 11 00 on the obverse (no. 31),

Coins of Salm b. Ziyād of Herat (Walker, p. 76) and (no. 18)

Coin of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr, at 5 h on the obverse (no. 106)

Coin of 'Aṭīya b. Aswad (Walker, p. 111, 217)

b) as breast-ornament :

Coins of 'Ubaydallāh (no. 16 and Walker, p. 65, I 31) } Kirmān province
Coin of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr (Walker, p. 32, 40) }

2. The moon,

a) as earring element :

coins with earring E2, E3 and others (see table page 46),

b) as breast-ornament :

coin of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr (no. 106),

c) by its epigraphy :

Khusraw coin (no. 32), dated 27 (59 A.H.), the word replaces the name of the mint:

𐭠𐭣𐭥 = BYR(H) = BYRH : māh = moon (MK, p. 33 & 209)

Religious and ethic terms

The religious vocabulary observed is relatively rich considering the number of coins available. I shall, however, present a few repetitions because first they are not exact copies of each other since the missing letters are of different numbers, and then they confirm the existence of such coins without any doubt.

I) One of the two sacred books of the Yazīdīya is entitled "Jelveh" which means revelation. The new Persian for this word is "padidār" and the middle Persian is "didār" or "pad-didār". All these words express the action of becoming "visible".

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = dyt'l = didār = sight, visible (MK p. 26 & 163)

This word shows on the following coins :

— Ziyād coin (no. 8)

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 = dyt'(l) = didār confused with št' = 6

𐭠𐭣𐭥 = GV = Gvāšir (Garmkirmān, see the footnote no. 17 in this book).

— Khusraw coin (no. 33)

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = y'zsyh = yāz syh = 31 (63 A.H.)

𐭠𐭣𐭥 = dyt'(l) = didār confused with ST

II) "Sokhanvar", as has been seen previously, is one of the hierarchical classes of the Yazīdīya. In modern Persian, this term means speaker, narrator. The role of this class, currently reduced to its expression, certainly was of the utmost importance in the spreading of the confession at that time. Its designation having evolved throughout the centuries also changed from the middle Persian to the neo Persian. In the context of this chapter, there are two words which are present on the coins: "sokhan" = word and "sokhanvar" = speaker. The equivalent of "sokhan", engraved on the coins, is "sraw" and the equivalent of "sokhanvar" is "guftār".

1. "Sraw". This is the name of Khusraw which has been exploited to this end.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = slwb = sraw = speech, heard, news (BF p. 406; MK p. 76 & 165)

See the name of Khusraw on the obverse of the following coins :

— coins no. 27, 28 and 34.

It should be noted that when the names of the mint appear on these coins, these are struck at Abaršahr, probably an important centre of the Yazīdīya.

٥٢١٥٢١ - *pl'cwystl* confused with *dw'zwystw* = 22 or *Pnjwystw* = 25
 ٥٢١ - MI

استواری = 'wstwb'lyh = awestwārih = firmness, reliability (MK, p. 14 & 224).

During the repressions imposed by the 'Umayyāds, the Yazidiya probably suffered ill fortunes. Advices for endurance were lavished on them through the coins. These advices, with the same practical meaning, are chosen in two different verbs.

पठयिष्यते = *pt'yisnaw* = *pattāyistan* = stay, endure, remain, last (MK, p. 66 & 155).

$\mu\mu c$ = pt' confused with 37 (no. 43)

μμνν = pt's confused with 37 (no. 44)

The other two are from the Khawāridj with “li ‘llāh” motto’s type :

—, oo = *ptsyh* confused with 37 (no. 46)

~~۳۳۵۵~~ = *ptsyh* confused with 37 (no. 45)

3 - DA

”בִּלְבָב” = YBLN*tnw* = burdan = bear, endure (MK, p. 20 & 165)

In current Persian, endurance is also “bordbāri”. Three coins represent this word engraved in the place of the names of the mint (nos. 47, 48 and 49). They are worth more thorough examination :

1. The first two simulate the date of 37, but this would be only an erroneous reading. We shall see its meaning in the next paragraph. The date of the third seems to be 66.

2. On the obverse of the first two coins, the name of the sovereign is neither Khusraw nor sraw but "wslwb".

3. While the word "YBLN" is engraved without any modification on the first coin, it is preceded by a *w* or *n* on the other two. Thus, the first four letters resemble those of the name of the sovereign. It is said to be a coincidence.

VIII) The meaning of the word which replaces the date on coins nos. 47 & 48 in the preceding paragraph is :

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = 'rw/w = ādur = fire (alternate name of one of the amahraspandān, MK, p. 5 & 210). As I mentioned above, it simulates the number 37 (69 A.H.).

IX) The advice for obedience appears on two coins :

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *tlsk'syh* = tarskāsyh = respect, reverence, obedience, fear (Bh, p. 153). In modern Persian, "tars" means "fear". The word replaces the date on both coins:

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *tlsh* confused with *trin syh* = 32 (64 A.H.) (no. 50)

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = MI

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *tlsh* confused with *tlt'* = 3 (no. 51)

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *t'l* = *tār* = darkness (MK, p. 82 & 148)

I do not get the meaning of this second word in this place. Is it a warning against darkness? For the Sheytānparastān, dark places such as baths or toilets are taboo. They never use toilets like us. Theirs are in the open. I also thought of the true name of a mint, here Tāleqān, but this town is too important to have so little issues.

X) On a coin of 'Abdullāh the Kharijite (see further), an ethic word replaces the date (no. 17) :

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *'ylt'nyh* = ērtahih = Humility (MK, p. 31 & 232 where the orthography is slightly different).

The simulation of the date is obtained by adding a crescent which serves as a *č* at the beginning of the word :

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = small crescent *'ylt'n* confused with *čhlčhl* = 44 (56 A.H.)

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = ART

Also, Walker reports the existence of a coin of 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir from the mint of Bīṣ, in the museum of Damascus, which would present the beginning of the orthography of ērtanih. Unfortunately, it is not illustrated (Walker, p. 183, note on page 47, no. 69).

XI) The word appearing on coin no. 52 is reproduced on coins of other governors as we shall see further.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *dlwyst* = drust = right, well, healthy (MK, p. 28 & 201)

This word is used with the same meanings in modern Persian.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *dlwyst* confused with *dowist* = 22 (54 A.H.)

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = MI

XII) The classical word for increase or growth appears in the place of the name of the mint on coins of 'Ubaydallāh (Walker, plate XIII, nos. 1 & 2).

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *'pzwdk* = abzud(k) = increase, growth (MK, p. 4 & 213)

These coins are dated in the years 56 and 57.

كرد - *lty(h)* - radih - office of (spiritual) chief (МК, p. 70 & 151).

XIV) The word replacing the date on a coin of 'Aṭīya b. Aswad can be deciphered as follows (no. 57):

This word probably refers to the sending of the divine messenger predicted by Yazīd b. Anīsa (see historical section). However, it seems that the word "messenger" itself appears only in the form of *plystk* = frēstag = angel.

SDRWN(r)t' confused with 26?

In addition, the image on the reverse of this coin is unique. The attendants unarmed, stretch their arms towards the flames. This position of the attendants belongs to the reign of Piruz I (see ENIS, T. II, fig. 730 for example). It disappears at the advent of Khusraw I in 531. Its existence has never been reported on Arab-Sasanian coins (see chapter XIII).

There are several clues common to the three groups of coins, those of "Yazid", of the "devil" and of the "religious terms", i.e. the use of the mint and date to conceal messages and the replacement of the Arab-Sasanian obverse by that typical of Khusraw II.

Last is the group of the “Yazdāniyān”, in which the word “yazdān”, although clearly exposed, is engraved as a problematic ligature so discrete that it has not yet been deciphered. There is a sign, however, on coin no. 12 which undoubtedly connects it with the others. The date of this coin has been altered by the usual method of the Yazīdīya. The false number 30, which should indicate the date of issue of the coin, is actually the word *s/* = *sraw* = word, which we discussed about coin no. 40.

The date of the coins of the Yazidiya is generally assumed to be in the post-yazdgerdi era. It is seldom attributed to the Hijra. However, a new era belonging to their coinage appears, the Yazid era. It is obvious for year 1 of his "caliphate". Other years such as 3, 6 or 7, which have been used to conceal a message, must be calculated in the latter era.

Besides, the coins issued during those years, except for year 1, are exact copies of the coins of the first ten years of the reign of Khusraw II,

just as if the imitation of the types of coins of this sovereign were carried out with a great concern for chronology.

Two coins described in this document can perhaps be dated in the yazidi era :

1. Coin in the name of Khusraw with the marginal legend 'pd, dated year 2 and from the mint of  = šyzw = ŠIZ (no. 54). If this actually is the town of Šiz, it is the first time ever it is found on a coin. Though this would not be surprising since the Hulwān mountains are near Šiz.¹⁶

2. Coin in the name of Khusraw with "bismi'llāh" on the margin, dated year 3 and from the mint MI (no. 55).

We have no precise landmark for the beginning of the yazidi era which, according to numismatic observations, should be dated between 50 and 53 A.H. But in the other eras, coin issues correspond to the time of the Civil War. The dates of issue show some peaks at the years 30 (62), 35 (67) and 37 (69 A.H.). These years corresponding to leading historical facts have also been selected by other Khawārij groups for coin issues, as will be seen further.

Mints of the Yazīdiya

The mints of the Yazīdiya are located here and there over the territory of the old Sasanian empire. Whenever the name of the mint has not been altered to conceal a religious term, it shows the coinage issues of the Yazīdiya at the following mints : MI, NI, AIRAN, NIH, GD, RD, APR, HRA, ŠI, ART, DA, various mints of Kirmān¹⁷ YZ, ŠIZ

¹⁶ Shīz or Ganjak is located at Takht-e Soleymān (midway from Lake 'Orumiya to Hamadān) by Rawlinson and Jackson. The second major Fire, the Ādur Gušnasp, was in this town (see A.E. Christensen, p. 166).

¹⁷ M.I. Mochiri, Garmkirmān : A Sasanian and Early Islamic Mint in Kirmān Province, NC 1985.

CHAPTER III

'ABDULLĀH AND THE KHAWĀRIJ OF KIRMĀN

'Abdullāh without a patronymic

Contemporary with Samura b. Jundab, 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir and Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān, 'Abdullāh without a patronymic is the first Kharijite who issued coins of the 'Umayyād type with his name engraved at the location normally provided.

The main reason why I make this assumption is, as Walker himself reported in footnote 3 page xlvi of his book, that the identity of this person is historically unknown. The dates of issue of his coins correspond to no 'Abdullāh known by historians. As stated earlier, the discretion of the Khawārij concerning the names of their leaders is well known and understandable knowing that they were often selected among ordinary combatants who, coming from the people, often did not know the names of their fathers. This was the case with Ziyād until Mu'āwiya offered him his own patronymic.

Another reason for linking 'Abdullāh to the khawārij groups is that the replacement of the constant sufyanid formula "bismi'llāh" by an original formula on one of his coins :

ربى الله احدى = rabbi 'llāhu 'l-aḥad = my god is Allāh and unique
(Walker, Dam 3 p. 51 and pl. XXXIII no. 6)

Contrary to the other two Kharijites discussed later, 'Abullāh did not stay at the same place and his coins were issued in several provinces, among which Kirmān.¹⁸ For the sake of clarity, he will hereafter be called "'Abdullāh the Kharijite".

Kirmān, a natural fortress

Since Antiquity, the province of Kirmān has been, by its geographical configuration, a natural fortress for its natives or temporary residents.

The inhabitants of the Jabāl-e pāriz, safe in their mountains, were at all times terrible brigands attacking travellers and plundering caravans going through their regions. Their places of refuge high up in the mountains made any punitive expeditions fail.

"When Mu'izzaddaula Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (amir of Kirmān from 324 to 338) came to Kirmān, he tried to invade Jiroft. The inhabitants of Kūfaj withdrew up

¹⁸ J. Walker, A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins, 1967, p. xlvii and 49-52.

to Darfārd (*Dalfārd* is nowadays half way between Jiroft and Bam). There they held the front and the rear of his army, attacked him and killed most of his soldiers. Mu'izzaddaula lost one arm in the battle and made his escape, with a small group of survivors, to Irak"¹⁹

A success of Khusraw I was his victory upon the people of the Jabāl-e Pāriz. He deported the population to the four corners of his empire and enrolled them in a militia far away from their native country.²⁰

Among those who took refuge in Kirmān, let us mention Yazdgerd III of which a great number of historical testimonies correspond to a rather abundant coinage from the mints of this province.²¹

The description of Yazdgerd in Kirmān would be too long to be reproduced here. I will only give the sources : A.A. Vaziri-e Kermāni, *Farhang-e Kermān*, Teheran 1333, p. 33. Hamza-ye Esfahāni, *San'ey Mulūk al-Arz wa 'l-Anbiā*, p. 43. *Tajārūb al-'Umam* T. I. p. 644. *Tabari-e Bal'ami*, p. 341. *Tārikh-e A'tham-e Kūfi*, p. 78. And also in Ibn Athīr.

During the period of the time of our study, I believe that the kermānis hostile to the politics of the 'Umayyāds, welcomed all the opponents to the power of Damascus. All the mints of 'Aṭīya b. Aswad are those of Kirmān, and also we have seen many times the Khawārij attempt to return to the mountains of Kirmān when feeling danger. Many other testimonies showing their seeking protection in Kirmān can be found. For example :

"In the year 65 : When 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr and 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān got opposed, groups of Khawārij met to conquer Basra. The inhabitants of the town designated Muhallab b. Abī-Sufra to defend them. The latter, fighting with other courageous combatants, put to rout the Khawārij, pursued them through Fars, from Ahvāz up to the limits of Kirmān ..."

(H. Fasā'i, *Farsnāme-ye Nāseri*, *manuscript*, p. 7)

"In the year 72 : ... Khālid b. 'Abdullāh was appointed governor of Basra and Fars. He relieved Muhallab b. Abī-Sufra from his office of governor of Fars and appointed him tax-collector for the region of Ahvāz. He placed his own brother, 'Abdul'azīz b. 'Abdullāh, at the head of Fars. On hearing of the dismissal of Muhallab, the Khawārij left Kirmān to attack Dārābgerd. 'Abdul'azīz joined the army of Fars to his own forces and fought them near the town. The result of the battle was disastrous for 'Abdul'azīz. His army was decimated and himself saved his life by a fast flight. Along with three scores of soldiers, he made the distance between Dārābgerd and Rām Hormoz at full speed, without any halt. Hearing this, Abd al-Malik blamed Khālid for dismissing Muhallab from the throne of Fars. He ordered his brother Bīšr b. Marwān, at that time governor of Kūfa, to help Khālid and Muhallab.

¹⁹ Afdal al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid-e Kirmāni, *'Iqdu 'l-Ulā li 'l-Mawqif al-A'lā*, Teheran, 2536/1977, p. 123.

²⁰ A.E. Christensen, *Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1936, p. 369.

²¹ M.I. Mochiri, *Garmkirmān*.

At the time, the Khawārij were the masters of the province of Fars, as far as Rām Hormoz. Khālid and Muhallab, hand in hand at the heads of their armies of Kūfa and Basra pounced on them, pursued them and killed their horses. The Khawārij made for Ahvāz on foot ..."

(op. cit. p. 8)

"In the year 75: ... Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf talked Muhallab into exterminating the Khawārij. Muhallab attacked them at Rām Hormoz, defeated them and pursued them up to Kāzerun. He established himself near the town and for about a year the two armies fought each other half-way between Kāzerun and Bišāpur. He made a blockade to prevent the provisions from Kirmān to reach the Khawārij. Short of food, the Khawārij had to withdraw toward Kirmān. Muhallab cut off their retreat and attacked them. Corpses piled up on both sides into "tells". The survivors of the khawārij reached Kirmān. Muhallab pursued them and went as far as 4 farsangs from Jiroft, at the time the capital of Kirmān and the Khawārij's refuge. However, disputes rose among the Khawārij and they began to kill one another. Those who managed to escape the massacre left for Tabarestān. Muhallab, having freed Fars and Kirmān from their presence, returned to Irak and received the praises of Ḥajjāj. This took place in 77 ..."²²

(op. cit. p. 8)

The above historical extracts evidence the importance of Kirmān for the survival of the Khawārij. A rough province inhabited by formidable warriors and presumably hospitable to the enemies of the 'Umayyads, must have attracted the Khawārij from their first rebellions. Two of their leaders took refuge in Kirmān and made of the province a kind of principality.²³ They created new mints in some of the towns.²⁴ Unfortunately, their coinages have been usurpated till now.

*'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd*²⁵

The patronymic of this person, although correctly deciphered by the authors, has been wrongly interpreted. His coins, from 52 to 54 A.H. cover the reigns of both Ziyād and 'Ubaydallāh. Here are the reasons why I tend to consider him as a Kharijite leader :

a) Whenever the name of Ziyād is found, no orthographic error can be observed. On the own coins of Ziyād, the name is presented as *zh't*. On the coins of his two sons, 'Ubaydallāh and Salm, his only sons having issued coins, the patronymic is represented either as *zh't* or as *z'y't*. No coin of 'Abd al-Raḥmān gives a correct orthography of Ziyād concerning

²² The other sources mention the departure of the Khawārij from Kirmān in 76. However, a coin issued by 'Aṭīya b. Aswad attests the prolongation of their domination in this province in 77 (see Garmkirmān, plate 15, no. 30).

²³ Their example will be followed later by 'Aṭīya b. Aswad.

²⁴ Mochiri, Garmkirmān.

²⁵ Walker, p. li and 84-5.

his patronymic, which would be quite surprising if it actually were this name. Incidentally, some of the coins of Bišr b. Marwān, from GD, show on the margin the indication of the identity of a sub-prefect called Zayd b. Abū-Ziyād. The comparison between the two names is easy to make and the conclusion is that the patronymic of Abd al-Raḥmān is undoubtedly Zayd (no. 117):

زید بن زید = zyīw Y 'bwzh't = Zayd i Abū-Ziyād

b) There is no historical evidence of the presence of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād in Kirmān. On the other hand, his leadership in Khurāsān left no numismatic trace. Therefore, up to now there are no coins in his name.

c) The marginal legend of coin no. 152, p. 85 of Walker's catalogue, has been filed. According to the author, traces show that it is not the regular "bismi'llāh" of the Sufyānid, but "li'llāhu'l-Ḥamd", i.e. the prototype of the formula subsequently adopted by 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh, an ideological formula opposing to Damascus.

d) Last, as for many Kharijite leaders, the historians have left out his name.

The coins, as far as I can see, demonstrate the leadership of Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān in 52 at the mint of GV, whereas during the same year, this mint falls into the hands of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd who issues dirhams in 52 and 53. The mint of NAR strikes in the name of Ziyād in 52 and 53 and in the name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān in 54.

I have observed no issue from the mints of Kirmān in 55. One could guess that conflicts opposed different groups of Khawārij, or that 'Abd al-Raḥmān died without a successor. Anyhow, in 56, the year of the general rebellion against the imposed allegiance to Yazid b. Mu'āwiya, as seen earlier, another Kharijite becomes the leader of the province of Kirmān.

*Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ*²⁶

As for his predecessor, the coins of Ḥakam have been subject to controversy. His case is the most doubtful since there are several people of this name which cannot be located in Kirmān in 56 and 58. Besides, it seems that there is no error in the reading of his name. Therefore, the conclusion is that during the first decades of the Hijra, several Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ named their sons Ḥakam.

The new marginal formula on his coins is quite significant and deserves a deeper study. It does not replace the regular "bismi'llāh" of the Sufyānids, but is added to it. It is common to all the coins of Ḥakam without exception. And above all, it is explicitly *Kharijite*.

²⁶ Walker, p. li and 86-7.

رب الحکم = rabbu 'l-ḥakam = my God is “The Judge”, “The Arbiter”.

1. Rabb is one of the names of Allāh : ²⁷وهو اسم من أسماء الله تعالى :

Another marginal formula relative to “rabb” is that of the coins of ‘Abdu’l-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ash’ath from the mint of DA, in the year 70 (82/3) (no. 116).

رب حرسه = rabbu ḥirāsa = Allāh protects him

This formula is an equivalent of حرسه الله = ḥirāsatu ‘llāh. This usually follows the name of an Islamic town, often Mecca. However the coin formula must be intended for Abdu’l-Raḥmān himself.

2. حكم is not “ḥukma”, but “ḥakam” = judge, arbiter (see my explanation below in the chapter concerning the Azāriqa).

3. رب الحکم = Rabbu 'l-ḥakam = my God is The Judge, is a variant of the motto of the Maḥkama, used again later by the Azāriqa : لا حكم إلا لله. It fits perfectly to criticize the decision made by Mu’āwiya in 56.

As for the other two Kharijites, this Ḥakam cannot be found in historical accounts.

Reconquest of Širgān by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Zīyād

The last coin issues of Ḥakam b. Abi ‘l-Āṣ that are known, are dated 58. That year, the dirhams of ‘Ubaydallāh are struck at the only mint of Širgān (KRMAN).²⁸ These coins are of the pure ‘Ubaydallāh style, without any Kharijite sign (no. 63). Some of them have two points of variable location on the reverse margins. If actually issued by ‘Ubaydallāh, they illustrate one of his last visits to Kirmān. His progressive return to Damascus announces the end of the Sufyānid leadership in Orient.

As early as 59, the coins, still in the name of ‘Ubaydallāh, undergo such changes that they can no longer belong to the class of the Sufyānid dirhams. New pectoral patterns are created. For the first time, the various mint abbreviations are joined to the word Kirmān. Mazdean ethic terms are found on the margin of the obverse, which I will discuss later.

²⁷ Farhang-e Nāḍimu ‘l-Aṭibbā’.

²⁸ Mochiri, Garmkirmān.

CHAPTER IV

COINAGE OF THE KHAWĀRIJ WITH VARIOUS MOTTOS

Khawārij group with the motto "li 'llāh"

This group, with the Yazīdiya, is among those who had the longest period of coin issue. The first issues are dated 57 and their last countermark can be found on coins of 'Aṭīya b. Aswad in 72.

The features of their coins have misled the numismatists.

a) On the obverse : portrait and jewellery of Khusraw II, the name of Khusraw, the marginal legend  = li'llāh = for God stands in the place of bismi 'llāh.

b) On the reverse : the date is in the post-yazdgerdi era. The yazdgerdi era must be rejected since these coins were first issued in 25 = 36 A. H. The year 36 cannot concern the Khawārij since the battle of Ṣiffīn took place in 37. The Iranian influence is felt in the design of these coins. An additional sign is there to confirm this : on the marginal formula of a dirham dated 26 from the mint of DA, the engraver added the Sasanian word *'pd* to li'llāh (no. 83).

The issuing rate of these coins, with respect to time, roughly represents a sawtooth curve. Here are the years and mints of the coins illustrated in this book :

	57 AH	58 AH	62 AH	67 AH	69/70 AH
ART	25 (no. 80)		30 (no. 81)		37 (no. 46)
DA	25 (no. 82),	26 (no. 83),	30 (no. 23),	35 (no. 45)	
GD				35 (no. 84),	37 (no. 85)
AHM					37 (no. 86)
NIH				35 (no. 87)	
NI				35 (no. 88)	

This table is probably most incomplete but it shows the identity of the group. After leaving Fars, they invaded Jibāl. They probably took over Isfahān from 'Attāb b. Warqā' after they had left it to him one or two years sooner.

This Khawārij group also made expeditions in the province of Kirmān, where they countermarked the Zubayrid coins and that of 'Aṭīya b. Aswad. Their countermarks are made of the same motto. They countermarked the dirhams of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr in years 62, 63 and 67,²⁹

²⁹ 68 and 69 have been mentioned erroneously (Walker, p. cxlvi); the countermark "li'llāh" appears on the dirhams of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr of 62 and 63 (Walker p. 30-1).

of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in 69 and 'Aṭīya b. Aswad in 72. In view of the fights of Isfahān in 68/69, we realize that their most tenacious enemies were the Zubayrids. The group also occupied Basra in 64 (Walker, Cam 4, p. 60). A copper coin of the anonymous type of Dārābgerd, in year 68, showing the countermark of li'llāh on the reverse, is exhibited in the catalogue (no. 104).

Khawārij group with the motto bismi 'llāhu'l-Mālik

The centre of this group is Bišāpur. Their coin type is Khusraw II. The only coins I know are those dated 45 and 47 (Walker ANS 3, p. 18 and 22, p. 19), to which can be added that dated 41, not shown (M 15, p. 17). These dates are, as for most issues of this mint, in the yazdgerdi era. The above mentioned coins are dated 53, 57 and 59 A. H.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الْمَلِك is "bismi 'llāhu'l-Mālik": in the name of Allāh who owns everything. I do not believe that the title of "king" was appreciated at the time.

Khawārij group with the motto rabbi 'llāh

Replacing "bismi 'llāh", the motto رَّبِّيَ اللَّهُ = rabbi 'llāh = my God is Allāh is the same as we observed earlier on a coin of 'Abdullāh the Kharijite, associated with al-Aḥad. Can we suppose the existence of a link between the latter and the group subject of our study? The two coins of this type which I have observed come from the mint of GD, in years 35 (no. 89) and 37.³⁰ They show the jewellery and the name of Khusraw II. This motto is also found in the reversed form of "Allāhu rabbī" on a coin of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād from the mint of AKURA in year 62 (no. 64). Can we suppose that the two legends come from the same group? The Arabic legend of the latter coin occupies the third quarter of the obverse, whereas the bismi 'llāh gives place to the Sasanian formula *pd*.

This coin underlines the complexity of coinage at that time and how difficult it may be to make a simple and accurate classification of the non-identified issues. In fact, with its new Arabic legend, this coin belongs to the present category. With the presumed issuer's name, it belongs to the categories discussed below. My feeling is that new clues are required to make a faultless classification.

³⁰ Walker p 1, p. 15.

CHAPTER V

UNACCOUNTABLE SUFYĀNID COIN ISSUES

As was seen earlier in the chapter concerning the Yazīdiya, the fact that the names of their enemies, Ziyād and 'Ubaydallāh, were mentioned did not seem to be an obstacle to their coin issues. Such indifferent behaviour must have been adopted by other Khawārij groups. At its climax, it caused the issue of coins in the name of Ziyād or 'Ubaydallāh several years after their deaths. Up to now, this is the only explanation for the existence of such coins. The signs of the Khawārij' leadership on these coins—including the role of their Iranian allies—are of three types, making up three classes of coins.

Class 1 Sufyānid coins at Sasanian dates

As for most Yazīdiya coins, the dating era is the post-yazdgerdi era. The list that I made has a sawtooth curve, with the peaks corresponding to the above mentioned leading historical events.

Year 52 A.H.

This is the year of the first issues by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd.

'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir	NAR	20 (Walker, ETN 10, p. 49)
'Abdullāh the Kharijite	GV	20 (Walker, Th 8, p. 50)
'Abdullāh the Kharijite	NAR	20 (Walker, Dam 2, p. 51)

Year 57 A.H.

This is the time of the first flow of Khawārij issues with the motto "li 'llāh". The only coin of this year is not shown, but trusting Mordtmann's interpretation, I mention it.

Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān	BIŠ	25 (Walker, M21, p. 37)
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Year 58 A.H.

This year corresponds to the defeat of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. The issues began in Kirmān and continued in other provinces, as shown by a plentiful collection of mints in 26.

Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān	NI	26 (no. 59)
'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād	YZ	26 (no. 65)
'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād	VH	26 (no. 66)
'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād	DA	26 (Walker, Cam 5, p. 62)
Salm b. Ziyād	ART	26 (Walker, 112, p. 75)
Salm b. Ziyād	DA	26 (Walker, 114, p. 75)

This large manifestation of rebellions spread over several provinces seems so important that the mint of Dārābgerd generally issuing coins in the yazdgerdi era, i.e. already the Iranian era, aligns on the others and issues in the post-yazdgerdi era (as was seen earlier with the Khawārij with the motto *li 'llāh*).

The coins of 'Ubaydallāh of the year 26 show, beside their dating era, other signs which place them in other classifications. The coin from YZ (no. 65) shows a sign which will be discussed with the coins of class 3. One of these coins is found in Walker (B 18, p. 71), but a countermark has erased the . The coins from VH and DA can be classified among the coins with modified jewellery.

Year 59 A. H.

Note that the Yazīdiya coin from NIH is of that year.

'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād	MR	27 (no. 67)
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Year 62 A. H.

This is the year of the second flow of issues by the Khawārij with the motto "*li 'llāh*", as well as most of the Yazīdiya.

Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān	AIR	30 (no. 60)
Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān	DA	30 (no. 61)
Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān	NIH	30 (Walker, O. 1, p. 42)
Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān	GD	30 (Walker, O. 2, p. 43)

Year 65 A. H.

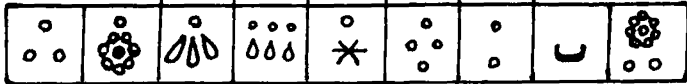
Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān	NIH	33 (no. 62)
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Class 2 Coins in the name of 'Ubaydallāh with modified jewellery

'Ubaydallāh's battles against the Khawārij, the Shi'ites and the Zubayrids turned sometimes to his advantage, but more often to his defeat. Therefore he had to leave many towns into the hands of his enemies. His retreats lasted sometimes long before he made any attempt to win them back. While he was away, the mints continued to issue coins in his name. In fact these do not rise from his authority but that of his enemies. His name is mentioned on the obverse, but the jewellery and the portrait are modified. These coins make up another class and, with or without other signs, testify of the leadership of the Khawārij while 'Ubaydallāh was preparing to restore his own.

In jewellery I include the chain, the earring and the breast-ornament. The coins with modified jewellery can be classified according to mints in the various years, which will give some chronological idea of the leadership of the Khawārij. The chain of Khusraw II, with one row of pearls can be found twice with two rows, as will be mentioned with the corresponding mint. I have joined the modifications of the two other sets

of jewellery in the table below. Naturally, the types of coins specific to 'Ubaydallāh are classified per the formula E1 B1, that of Khusraw II.

		E1E2E3E4E5								
Earring :										
Breast-ornament :										
		B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9
۵۴	58		E1 B6					60		E4 B1
۵۵	62		E1 B4					60		E3 B2
۵۶	60		E3 B2					61		E3 B2
۵۷	61		E3 B2					59		? B5
۵۸	47 (59 AH)		E3 B2					61		E1 B5
۵۹	59		E1 B2					60		E1 B2
۶۰	60		E3 B2					63		E1 B2
۶۱	61		E3 B2					60		E3 B3
۶۲	61		E2 B2					60		E2 B3
۶۳	62		E1 B2					61		E3 B3
۶۴	63		E1 B2					62		E2 B3
۶۵	64		E1 B2					62		E1 B3
۶۶	61		E1 B2					63		E2 B3
۶۷	62		E1 B2					68		E2 B3
۶۸	62		E1 B4					62		E2 B3
۶۹	63		E1 B4 (chain of two rows)					66		E2 B3
۷۰	64		E1 B4 (chain of two rows)					56		E1 B2
۷۱	61		E1 B2					60		E3 B2
۷۲	61		E2 B2					63		E1 B2
۷۳	62		E2 B2					63		E3 B2
۷۴	26 (58 AH)		E2 B3					26 (58 AH)		E1 B2
۷۵	51 (63 AH)		E1 B6							

This shows that, generally, a given mint uses the same patterns during successive years. There are a few exceptions, either when the engravers choose a different pattern, or because the own style of 'Ubaydallāh comes in between. It is also essential to note that several mints keep the same patterns after the arrival of the Zubayrids; more, B2 becomes the breast-ornament of all the coins of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh. Some of the first Marwānids also issue coins with the new jewellery. The best example of continuous issues is that of the mint of Jayy.

Class 3 Mazdean ethic formulas on the coins of 'Ubaydallāh

These formulas, written in full or abbreviated, are in Persian and formulated in Pahlavi. Their specific feature which causes them to be

classified among other groups than the Yazīdiya is that they are written in clear, without any attempt to dissimulation.

Certain formulas, undoubtedly the most remarkable, are part of the marginal legends of the Zubayrid coins. Knowing the hostility of the Zubayrids toward the Khawārij, the formulas can be attributed only to the Iranian Mazdeans. At the time concerned by our study, the temples of fire are still active and a great proportion of Mazdeans can be found among the populations of Fars, Kirmān, etc. The formulas of the Zubayrid coins, which will be discussed further, must have been engraved with their authorization. On the other hand, in view of the severity of the Sufyānids toward the Mazdeans (see historical section), one cannot reasonably admit that the Sufyānids authorized the Mazdeans to engrave such formulas freely on coins. Therefore, the coins of 'Ubaydallāh with Mazdean formulas, with or without 'Ubaydallāh type jewellery, dated from the Hijra or not, are due to Mazdean Iranians under the authority of the Khawārij, the leaders of the time.

There are two types of formulas : classical words or words with complete orthography, making them easy to decipher, or abbreviated words, in which case their reading and interpretation may be doubtful.

1. Easy to read formulas

a) The word *'pd*, the classical marginal formula of the coins of Khusraw II replaces the "bismi 'llāh" on the copper coins of 'Ubaydallāh issued in 59 at the mint of Istakhr (Walker, p. 73 108). This word can also be observed on a coin of the Khawārij with the motto "Allāhu rabbī" (no. 64).

b) Two words are written on the obverse of a coin of 'Ubaydallāh dated 62, issued from Kirmān (Walker, p. 66, 97) :³¹

— : *wyh* = *weh* = good, better (MK, p. 89 and 191)

— : *plhw(yh)* = *farroxih* = fortune, happiness, joy (MK p. 32 and 158)

The two words could complete one another to mean "good, better fortune".

2. Hard to decipher formulas. These are one or two letters abbreviations.

c) *gw* can be observed on the margin of two coins of 'Ubaydallāh : the first one dated 58 from the mint of ART (no. 70) and the second dated 60 from the mint of Khabīṣ (Walker p. 65, 95).

The two words could be interpreted as *dw* to represent *duš* of the Yazīdiya. But they can also be considered as *gw*, the abbreviation of *Gušnasp* (see the chapter about the Zubayrids) or the most likely *dw* from *dlwyst* (see chapter XIII, Mazdakites coinage).

³¹ Unfortunately, the obverse of this coin is not shown.

d) Some coins of 'Ubaydallāh dated 62 issued at Basra have a marginal formula of two letters at 07.00 on the obverse (no. 71):

𐌢 = *hw* = *hū* = good (MK, p. 44 and 231)

The same word is found on the reverse of coins of the year 8 of Khusraw I.³² I thought this was the abbreviation of the King's name. But it may be best to give it the meaning of "good", which would be on the coins of Khusraw I, the predecessor of word *'pd* used on the coins of his grandson Khusraw II.

e) The marginal legend at 05h00 on the obverse of an 'Ubaydallāh coin dated 60 from the mint of HRJN (no. 69) probably is the abbreviation of the following religious term:

𐌢𐌵 = *nm*(*'c*) = *namāz* = reverence, prostration, prayer (MK, p. 57 and 186)

Two letters of the alphabet, *p* and *m* are used as the abbreviation of two words on certain 'Ubaydallāh coins:

f) 𐌢 = *p* (no. 72)

This letter *p* could be the abbreviation of "Ādur Farnbagh" which will be discussed in the chapter concerning the Zubayrids.

g) 𐌵 = *m* (no. 73)

For the letter *m*, I can think of no assignment solution, but I have discovered an interesting link which already prepares the establishment of another class of coins. This letter is present on some of the coins of Khusraw II type, replacing the last letter of the sovereign's name (nos. 91 and 92). This type of coin seems to be issued under the leadership of the Khawārij, but not under that of Khusraw II. Besides, the dates of the coins presented in my book correspond to the dates of large issues by the Khawārij, years 30 (62 A.H.) and 35 (67 A.H.). The orthography of *xws/wm* would thus determine the attribution of the coins which have it to the Khawārij.

h) A non-typical abbreviation is frequently used by the mints of Dārābgerd and Jayy. It is quite difficult to decide whether it is a simple sign or an abbreviation. Sometimes its shape resembles, in a schematic form, the letters 𐌢 = *p* (no. 74).

This coin also has the following characteristic:

Engraved in the space between the fire altar and the legs of the attendants are fragments of one or two words. After several attempts to reconstitute the words, I have obtained the following unsatisfactory result:

𐌢 = *šn*(*dyšn*) = *šnāyīšn* = praise, gratitude (MK, p. 80 & 150)

𐌵 = *š*?

³² ENIS, T. II, fig. 594 for example.

This coin, in the name of 'Ubaydallāh in the year 48 (60 A.H.), bears the name of the mint of Dārābgerd. Its issue can hardly be attributed to the Yazīdiya for the following reasons:

— Its exposed writing is contrary to the dissimulating methods of the Yazīdiya.

— I never observed the marginal sign on the reverse on other Yazīdiya coins.

— The date of issue, attributed to the yazdgerdi era is unusual for the Yazīdiya.

Now comes the time to mention in this chapter a number of signs which, in my opinion, play the same part as the letters of the alphabet. And therefore the issue of the coins which show them should be attributed to the Khawārij.

i) The sun and the crescent (Walker, p. 66, 96)

j) A ring which follows the "bismi 'llāh" on the margin of the obverse for the coins from DŠT (Walker, p. 70) and BBA (Walker, p. 54, ETN 11). In this respect, I present a coin of the Khusraw II type from the mint of ART which has the same sign at 02h00 on the margin of the reverse (no. 93), and can therefore be attributed to the Khawārij group identified by this sign. The date of the latter coin, year 30 (62 A.H.), corresponds to one of the common issues of the Khawārij.

k) A sign like a hook or a spoon with a short stem can be observed at 02h00 on the margin of the obverse of coin no. 65 which we have discussed earlier.³³ Concerning this sign, I must point out that coin no. 75 of Walker's catalogue (p. 52, pl. IX, 3) calls for a few remarks (no. 75). Its unusual reverse, compared to 'Ubaydallāh's coins, is enough to prove its Kharijite origin. The sign, which is now the subject of our study, ornaments the left shoulder of the sovereign's portrait, which makes the two coins belong to the same Khawārij group. In addition, the deviation of the word *'pzwt*, seen by Walker is misleading. Actually, *'pzwt* has been replaced by the word *xpyc* = Khabiş, i.e. the mint which issued the coin, which is not mentioned on the reverse. It is therefore once again a mint of Kirmān, the refuge of the Khawārij, who is responsible for the issue of the coin.

l) A cuneiform sign like the Pahlavi *k* is present at three locations on the margin of the obverse of coin no. 76: at 02h30, 05h30 and 08h30.³⁴ This coin is also quoted in the list of class 2 above.

³³ This coin is shown in Walker's catalogue (pl. XII, 8) but the sign has been crashed by a countermark.

³⁴ This coin is shown in Walker's catalogue (pl. XII, 9) but its margin has been cut off and only the end of the sign at 08 30 can be seen.

Meanings of the Sufyānid coins not in conformity with the standards

The synthesis of the three classes of coins which we have just been discussing makes it possible to identify the respective dirhams of Ziyād and 'Ubaydallāh and to distinguish them from those in their names but not belonging to them. The study of the coins of the Kirmān province gives a good illustration of the hesitations which we can formulate regarding the name of 'Ubaydallāh to solve the problem of coin issues made by himself or a third party.

	دلمس	58	E1	B1	(no. 63)
	دلمس	59	?	B5	(Walker, I 31, p. 65)
م	دلمس	60	E1	B1	(Walker, 95, p. 65)
ا	دلمس	60	E1	B1	(no. 69)
د	دلمس	60	E1	B1	(Walker, 96, p. 66)
	دلمس	61	E1	B5	(no. 16)
	دلمس	61	E1	B1	(Walker, I 32, p. 66)
دلمس	دلمس	62	E1	B1	(Walker, 97, p. 66)
	دلمس	63	E1	B1	(no. 77)

The coin of the year 58 is a typical 'Ubaydallāh coin. The coin of the year 59 has non-typical jewellery. In 60, the jewellery is that of the 'Ubaydallāh coins but Mazdean signs show that he did not issue them himself. Obviously, coin I 32, bearing the flattering name of "Victorious 'Ubaydallāh", was issued by himself; besides, it conforms to his style E1 B1. But during the same year, the coin with jewellery E1 B5 issued either before or after the latter, was not issued by him. In 62, the style E1 B1 is opposed to two utterly Mazdean expressions contrary to the 'Umayyad rules; therefore it is not an 'Ubaydallāh coin. In 63, a typically 'Ubaydallāh coin testifies of a new victory of Damascus in Kirmān.

Unfortunately, the present knowledge, either insufficient or contradictory, does not enable us to attribute the three classes of coins we have just discussed to the defined Khawārij groups. However we have reached a satisfactory result: that of not involving the Sufyānids in their issues. Thus, the posthumous coin issues of Ziyād or 'Ubaydallāh would no longer be a problem and the coins struck by 'Ubaydallāh at mints no longer under his authority would be no dilemma.

CHAPTER VI

SPECIAL KHAWĀRIJ COINS

1. The coins of Salm b. Ziyād, representative of the Sufyānids, are not totally free from the mark of the Khawārij. In addition to the two coins dated 26 mentioned earlier, a third coin must be mentioned, from the mint of Marv, because of two signs corresponding both to Class 2 and Class 3 of the 'Ubaydallah coins: the breast—ornament is of the B6 type and the reverse is ornamented by a *p* on the margin (Walker, 143, p. 81). Another coin from the mint of HRA can be classified in Class 2 of 'Ubaydallāh coins with B3. This is dated in the year 67, i.e. the year of 'Ubaydallah's death (Walker, 117, p. 76).

2. A return to the type of coins of the year 20, in the name of Yazdgerd and with the marginal legend "Jayyid" can be observed with a coin from the mint of Širāz,³⁵ dated 31 (63 A.³H.). This mint was seldom used at that time and this coin (no. 98) could be due to a group of Khawārij having their headquarters at Širāz. We shall see another Islamic coin in the name of Yazdgerd in 62 A.H. in the chapter concerning Sakastān.

3. A coin from BİŞ dated 50 (62 A.H.) in the name of Khusraw (no. 90), with Mazdean marginal signs in the third quarter of the obverse. These bear some resemblance to the coin of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh (Walker, 202, p. 101).

4. A coin of Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh with an unusual style of collar, giving the impression that its issue took place after the departure of this governor (no. 109). The breast—ornament B2 is mounted on a string of pearls, not as a pendant but as a link.

5. The word engraved between the name of the mint and the right attendant on the reverse of the coin of Qatari b. Fujā'a is another ethnic term (no. 114). Walker has interpreted it as a complement to the mint of Dārābgerd. It is clear that this is the word:

—w = ŠLM = drōd = prosperity, peace (MK, p. 27 & 150)

6. The main religious word, that of the "religion" itself, is engraved on the left of the fire—altar on the reverse of the 'Abdu 'l-Raḥmān b. Muhammad coin issued from Dārābgerd (no. 116):

w = *dyn* = dēn = religion* (MK, p. 26 & 203)

³⁵ Mochiri, ENIS, T. II, chapter XVIII, p. 441-6.

* I take the opportunity to point out that the Governor's name as "Dinān" on the

For the same reason as for coin no. 74, the Qatari and the 'Abdu 'l-Rahmān coins cannot be attributed to the Yazīdiya (see chapter XIII).

Coin in the name of 'Ubaydallāh struck at Herat

Considered by Walker as a coin without a patronymic (Walker, 07, p. 74), this coin has experienced many misfortunes in the course of its discovery. The description by Markoff of a coin dated 52 corresponds to the same specimen (Walker, Mar 2, p. 73); since no illustration is available, my interpretation is suspended. The coin described by Mordtmann is more surely another specimen (Walker, M 34, p. 53). Mordtmann had better luck than the others in reading all the inscriptions, except the name of the mint which he interpreted as AIRA. Walker, strict in his subject, refuses to accept disorder in the arrangement of the traditional inscriptions on coins of 'Ubaydallāh. He admits the two coins M 34 and 07 show a resemblance, but omits the reading by Mordtmann of the name of Ziyād to the left of the portrait. However, on the photograph of coin 07 (Walker, pl. XL, 7) *zh'ra* can clearly be read instead of *'pzwtw*. Besides, Walker notes that the mint of Herat is mentioned on no other coin of 'Ubaydallāh (Walker, p. 188, notes).

All these interpretations lead to assign this coin to the Kharijite issues :

- it is dated in the year 56, the year of the rebellion of the Khawārij,
- its mint was never before used for Sufyānid coins,
- it bears the names of Ziyād and 'Ubaydallāh separately, an original feature which perhaps explains the doubt about the death of Ziyād (55 A. H.) at the time this coin was issued at Herat, i.e. very far from Mesopotamia.

Another specimen of this coin is shown in no. 78 and all inscriptions can clearly be seen.

Anyhow, this reduces the number of coins without a patronymic and tends to prove the theory I suggested concerning the coins of 'Abdullāh the Kharijite.

About the Mu'āwiya coinage

Mu'āwiya came to the throne in 41 A. H. and he died in 60 A. H.

The coins of this caliph which we know of are all from the mint of Dārābgerd. As for the dates, the authors seeing only one date of issue

coin from Šuš has been misread (R. Curiel et R. Gyselen, Une Collection de Monnaies de Cuivre Sasanides Tardives et Arabo-Sasanides, Monnaies de Suse, type 2, no. 92 from their catalogue, *Studia Iranica*, 1981, fascicule 2, p. 185). The first letter of this name not being joined to the second should be read as a *k* :

𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *kyw'n* = Kēwān = Saturn (МК, p. 51 & 179)
which is still a masculine name among Iranians.

Historically, this is the patronymic of the Mubad Soruš himself a pupil of Destur Ādur-Keyvān both contemporary with Hāfiz (Farzaneh Rasheed Shahmardan, *Farzānegān-e Zartushti*, the Bombay Youth Zoroastrian Trustees, Tehran, 1330 yazdgerdi).

have interpreted it in different ways. De Morgan, Soret, Olshausen, Mordtmann and Tiesenhausen have read 43, whereas Walker read 41. Walker sees in the number 41 the anniversary of Mu'āwīya's accession to the throne.³⁶ This is doubtful, however, since the dates of the Dārābgerd coins are generally calculated in the yazdgerdi era, which means that the date of issue of the year 41 is in 53 A.H. Moreover, this date fits the coinage of Samura b. Jundab. The coins of this governor are issued during the same year 41 at the mint of Dārābgerd. Samura was governor in 53 A.H., but his office in 41 A.H. is totally unknown.

Also, the year 53 A.H., according to my conclusions, is the time when the Khawārij rebellions started. The large number of issues from the mint of Dārābgerd that year in the name of numerous personalities, is a sign of endemic disorders in that region. And in fact one can find the coins of Mu'āwīya and Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān, 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir, 'Abdullāh the Kharijite, Samura b. Jundab and 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād.

In brief, I hold Samura as responsible for the coinage of Mu'āwīya, since among the above governors, he only used solely the mint of Dārābgerd. Could the other governors have used other mints at their disposal to issue coins in the name of Mu'āwīya? This is probably such an act of flattery accomplished by Samura toward Mu'āwīya which caused him so much sorrow on hearing of his dismissal.³⁷ Without his initiative, however, the coinage of Mu'āwīya would never have existed.

No one would argue with the fact that the first coin issues of Mu'āwīya were due to a 'Umayyad governor (i.e. Samura). But a large number of coins of this caliph bear the mark of the Khawārij,³⁸ so that I rather think—in view of the reasons exposed earlier—that the Khawārij have brought a great contribution in the renewal of the issues. These are not limited to the year 41. There are issues made in the year 43 too. The ambiguity comes from the difficulty to read the numbers 1 and 3 at the time subject of this study. It is far from easy to distinguish between $\text{س} = y'z$ and $\text{س} = syz$ in the calligraphy of the time of Hormazd IV. Since the reign of Yazdgerd III, both words are joined in the intermediate form of س . But it is always possible to separate the letters to determine the precise date :

$\text{س} = \text{س} = y'z (\check{c})hl = 41$

$\text{س} = \text{س} = syz (\check{c})hl = 43$

The two dates can be found on the reverse of the Mu'āwīya coins, and moreover another date, year 45, is shown in the catalogue (no. 58). Therefore these issues, due to the 'Umayyad and Khawārij governors in turn, spread over three years. They took place during the Civil War in the years 53, 55 and 57 A.H.

³⁶ Walker, p. 178.

³⁷ Walker, p. xlv.

³⁸ See para. h above for the sign on the coins shown in page 26 of Walker's book.

ISSUES FROM IMPORTANT KHAWĀRIJ MINTS

Mint of Isfahān

A.H. P.Y.

60		'Ubaydallāh type, classes 2 and 3 (Walker, 99, p. 68)
61		'Ubaydallāh type, classes 2 and 3 (Walker, 101, p. 69)
61		'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr ⁴⁰
62		'Ubaydallāh type, classes 2 and 3 (Walker, 103 and 104, p. 69)
63		'Ubaydallāh type, classes 2 and 3 (Walker, I 37, p. 69)
67	35	Khawārij with the motto "li 'llāh" (no. 84)
67	35	Khawārij with the motto "rabbi 'llāh" (no. 89)
67		Kharijite leader (Walker, Cam 14, p. 122)
68		'Attāb b. Warqā' (zubayrid) ⁴¹
68		'Ubaydallāh type, classes 2 and 3 (Walker, B 16, p. 69)
69	37	Khawārij with the motto "li 'llāh" (no. 85)
69	37	Khawārij with the motto "rabbi 'llāh" (Walker, p. 1, p. 15)
70	38	Yazidiya (Walker, I 35, p. 68)
70		Kharijite leader (see below)

From 60 throughout 63, Khawārij of uncertain identity issued coins in the name of 'Ubaydallāh, of Class 2 and Class 3 together. In 61, the town was invaded by 'Abdullāh b. Zubayr.⁴⁰ I know of no coins from Isfahān in the years 64, 65 and 66. The leading event in the year 67 was the death of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. Three different issues illustrate the invasion of the town that year by the Khawārij: the group with the motto "li 'llāh", that with the motto "rabbi 'llāh" and a Kharijite leader of the name of *'zlm i hwph'n* (Walker, Cam 14, p. 122). Was he the leader of one of these two groups or of a third group? In 68, the Zubayrid general 'Attāb b. Warqā' occupies Ispahān following a battle during

³⁹ M.I. Mochiri, *Études de Numismatique Iranienne sous les Sassanides*, T. I, 1972, p. 27-31.

⁴⁰ William B. Warden Jr. ONS, June August 1984.

which the leader of the Khawārij dies.⁴¹ His name as for most of the Kharijite leaders is not mentioned in any book. It could be the Kharijite leader of the year 67 whose name has not yet been deciphered. In the same year 68 we find the 'Ubaydallāh coin of Classes 2 and 3. In 69, we find the coin of the Khawārij with the motto li 'llāh and that of the group with the motto rabbi 'llāh. The only testimony dated of that time concerning the utilization of the mint of Isfahān by the Yazidiya is that given by a coin dated 70. Also during this last year, a Kharijite leader of Iranian origin issued coins. H. Gaube has published a specimen of these coins.⁴² He easily read the name of the governor but hesitated between 'Abdullāh and 'Ubaydullāh for the patronymic.

Muṣ'ab b. 'Ubaydullāh b. Shahriyār

A dealer sent me the photograph of this coin so that I could decipher the identity of its issuer (no. 113). I suppose that the coin was sold shortly after this and I had no opportunity to see it. But the photograph is clear enough to discover the father's name and also the Iranian grandfather's name. As the coins of 'Abdul'azīz b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir, this coin reveals the identity of three generations. But the length of the orthography of each name obliged the engraver to write them in three rows, which did not allow him to place them inside the circles and therefore the grandfather's name occupies the first quarter of the margin :

موصاب بن عبيد الله بن شهريار mwc'b y 'bydwl' y štyl'n = Muṣ'ab i 'Ubaydullāh ('Abaydullāh) i Shahriyārān

In 1879, Mordtmann published a coin of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād with a marginal legend in the first quarter resembling the orthography of our Shahriyār (Walker, notes about coin no. 104 page 69, p. 186). Though the date read by Mordtmann is 62, I suppose it comes from another issue by the Kharijite leader. The patronymic led the author to wrongly classify his coin with that of 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād.

Mint of Sakastān

The table below lists the issues from this mint during the years of the Civil War :

A.H.

56		'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād (Walker, 92, p. 64)
56		Salm b. Ziyād (Walker, 122, p. 77)
57	(45 Y)	Khusraw with marginal legend in pahlavi (Walker, Th 2, p. 18)
60	(48 Y)	Khusraw with jewellery E1 B6 (Walker, 27, p. 20)

⁴¹ William B. Warden Jr., A short note on a hitherto unpublished Arab-Sasanian Dirham of 'Attāb b. Warqā' al-Rīyāhī, Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin, April 1984, p. 97-8.

⁴² H. Gaube, Arabosasanidische Numismatik, Braunschweig, p. 71.

- 62 Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh (Walker, Mart 1, p. 96)
- 62 Mālik b. Aus (ENIS, T II, p. 419-26, fig. 1554)
- 62 Khawārij issue of Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh (no. 109)
- 62 Yazdgerd (no. 99)
- 63 'Abdullāh b. ... (no. 110)
- 63 Khusraw (Walker, Ox 1, p. 23)
- 64 Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh (ENIS, T II, figs. 1549 to 1553)
- 65 Khusraw with kharijite marginal legend (Walker, Th 3, p. 22)
- 65 as above with additional legend on the reverse (Walker, I 11, p. 23)
- 66 'Abdul'azīz b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir (Walker, 192, p. 96)
- 72 'Abdul'azīz b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir (no. 112)

As has been seen several times, the year 56 is the year of the general rebellion against the illegal decision of Mu'āwiya. The last coins of 'Ubaydullāh and Salm before the rebellion were issued that year. Next come some coins showing some modifications as those described above such as that of the 'Ubaydallāh coins issued by the Khawārij. The difference lies in that the coins from Sakastān are not in the name of 'Ubaydullāh, but in the names of Sasanian sovereigns, Khusraw or Yazdgerd. Besides, the dating era conversion, if any, is made in the yazdgerdī era. In 57, there is the coin in the name of Khusraw in the year 45 Y, with the marginal legend in Pahlavi which I could not decipher on the image. In 60, is a coin dated 48 Y in the name of Khusraw with the jewellery E1 B6. In 62 (or 63), five different issues took place at Sakastān: Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh, Mālik b. Aus,⁴³ a kharijite coin of Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh with E1 B9, a coin in the name of Yazdgerd and another coin by the Kharijite leader, published by Walker.

'Abdullāh b. ...

Coin no. 241 of Walker's catalogue was exhibited for the first time in 1850.⁴⁴ The partial reading of the patronymic, damaged by a counter-mark has, since then, given rise to great controversy about the identity of the issuer. For over 130 years, no other coin of that type seems to have been published. In his book, Gaube still refers to this unique coin, which underlines the extreme rarity of this coin issue. I took possession of medal no. 110 in 1975. I delayed its publication hoping to find a more complete specimen, which might provide more information concerning the identity of its issuer. Although it is not so mutilated as coin 241 of Walker, it is rather badly damaged. The patronymic is fully written but we are deprived of the help of the marginal legend which has been broken off. I must say that this coin issue is reluctant to give up its secrets.

⁴³ See Mochiri, ENIS T. II, p. 419-26, for the identity of Mālik and the definition of the historical and numismatic dates.

⁴⁴ Walker, p. 121 and 200.

The name of the issuer is undoubtedly 'Abdullāh. His patronymic consists of four or five letters and ends with a *k*. Therefore Hārith seems to be wrong. Assuming there were four letters, I found two possible combinations:

سليح = *lyk'n*

عريق = 'Arik. This adjective means "of sound roots" or "of noble ancestry".

Could it be used as a first name?

and unlikely the Iranian name: Āriak (F. Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch*)

We are deprived of the valuable help of the marginal legend which has been broken off the coin. And although it cannot be read, its traces show that the word "Allāh" is absent from the context, which conforms to most Kharijite issues.

In 63 is a coin in the name of Khusraw without any other change with respect to the Sufyānid coins. Only from the date can we classify it here. This coin dated in the Hijra represents a class of coins preliminary to purely Iranian issues which will be discussed hereafter. In 64 we find new issues by Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh. In 65, two coins with similar obverse, in the name of Khusraw, show a marginal legend which is in Arabic but not 'Umayyad, which determines their Kharijite origin. On the reverse of the second coin is, besides, the marginal legend "struck East". The Walker reading of these two coins date in 61 is erroneous. The coins of 'Abdul'azīz b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir in the year 66 from Sistān have no specific feature except for the presence of "al-'Azīz" in Arabic. But in 1981 I published one of his coins, until then unpublished, struck at Sistān⁴⁵ in the year 72. Its reverse shows the Shahāda formula in Persian and written in Pahlavi (no. 112).

سید برکت الهی = *yzdwtw* I BRA WLH = *yazd-ew bē oy* = One God but he
 برکت سوا الهی = AHRN *yzdwtw* LWYTW = *any yazd nēst* = another god does
 not exist

محمد بن عبد الله = *mhmt ptgmb l y yzdt* = Muhammad paygāmbār i
yazd = Muhammad (is) the messenger of God

In 67, at the death of 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād, several issues testify of the widespread rebellions. It is quite possible that the mint of Sakastān joined the others to celebrate its freedom from the 'Umayyad authority. The two coins, 244 and 245, p. 125 and 126 of Walker's catalogue are, in my opinion, dated from that year and from the mint of SK.

Kharijite leader at Herat

It seems most doubtful that, in the year 67, the weakened authority of the 'Umayyads could allow a prince of Herat to issue coins in his

⁴⁵ M. I. Mochiri, A Pahlavi Forerunner of the Umayyad Reformed Coinage. *JRAS* 1981, p. 168-72.

name. This is why I tend to believe that the coin Cam 15, p. 122 in Walker's catalogue, belongs to a rebel. His Iranian title makes him appear more as a local prince than as a Kharijite fighting for a religious cause.

Kharijite leader of Shahrestān

In 67, when 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād died, we saw a coin by a Kharijite leader, from the mint of Isfahān. In the same year another Kharijite leader issued coins from the mint of Shahrestān (no. 111).⁴⁶ The obverse of the coin is similar to Khusraw II type coins with E1 B1 jewellery. The bismi 'llāh is in the second quarter of the margin. In the third quarter is the Sasanian formula GDH 'pzwñ. Two countermarks fill the remaining two quarters. To the left of the portrait, the common formula GDH 'pzwñtw, and to the right, the name of the issuer engraved as follows:

طيطي ي پيلگون = t'y y pylgwnw = Ṭā'ī i Pilgun⁴⁷

The Arabic first name Ṭā'ī is well known. The countermark in the fourth quarter seems to repeat the same orthography as the name. Was it intended to authorize coin circulation at the time?

The patronymic, of Iranian origin, literally means "of elephant temperament". Composite names using the name of this pachyderm are quite common.⁴⁸ In the absence of the termination "ān" which generally determines the patronymic, one could wonder whether "Pilgun" is not used here as an adjective. In the affirmative, the issuer could be: Ṭā'ī of elephant hotheadedness.

⁴⁶ Private collection, Teheran. I never saw this coin. I read it from the photographs of this book.

⁴⁷ For "pil", see MacKenzie, p. 68 and 161 and for "gōn", p. 37 and 200 in the same book.

⁴⁸ The composite names consisting of "pil" and another noun or adjective are the following:

- Pilafkan, Iranian general (1, 252), means "elephant killer"
- Pilāngir, name of a person in the lapidary narration on the East column of the Persepolis museum (2, 65) means "elephants tamer"
- Pilpāy, spy of Malek-e Fars (1, 513) means "elephant leg"
- Piltan, the name of a hero, descendant of Rostam-e Zāl (1, 1) means "of elephant corpulency"
- Pilzur, either the name of Piltan's son or the name of Farrokhzād's father (1, 1 and 9) means "strong as an elephant"
- Pilsar, the name of the king of Assur (3, 51) means "elephant head"
- Pilsom, the name of the brother of Pirān-e Veyseh (4) means "elephant shoe"
- Pilsavār, Iranian general (5, 37 and 58), means "elephant rider"

1 Maulānā Sheykh Hāji Muhammad-e Beyghāmi, Dārābnāmeḥ. Preface and corrections by Dhabīḥu 'llāh-e Šafā, 1339.

2 Ostād 'A. Sāmi, Tamaddon-e Sasani

3 M. Owrang, Kordshenāssi, 1346

4 Ferdowsi, Shāhnāmeḥ

5 A. Kasravi, Shahriyārān-e Gomnām

Extracts of Mehrabān Goshtāsp-pur -e Pārsi, Ganjineh-ye Nāmhā-ye Irāni, Teheran, 1350/1972.

On the reverse, the same Sasanian marginal legend GDH *ʾpzwñ* is repeated. The date is 67 and the mint is :

شاه رستان = *štlystʾn* = Shahrestān

Shahrestān is a town of the Khurāsān located between Neyshābur and Khwārazm. Abu ʾl-Faṭḥ Muhammad b. Abu ʾl-Qāsim ʾAbd al-Karīm-e Shahrestānī (479-548), the author of “Milal wa ʾl-Nihal” was born in this town (see historical section).

Coinage by a so-called Muhammad

The dates and the mints of his coins are till now undecipherable. Most of them are similar to the coinage in the first years of Khusraw II, except that the crown of the portrait is replaced by a simple cap.⁴⁹

These coins can be considered as that of a Kharijite leader without patronymic. However the possibility of their belonging to the Shiʿite Mukhtār (coins issued in the name of Muhammad al-Ḥanafīya) cannot be excluded. In this case, they would be the only Shiʿite coins represented during those troubled years.

Concerning the marginal legend of some of these coins (Walker, B 39 p. 124), I must mention the following fact. About fifteen years ago I bought a number of Arab-Sasanian coins, among which was a coin of the Hormazd IV type with the same marginal legend in the second quarter of the obverse. The date of the coin was illegible and the name of the mint was replaced by a svastika. I no longer have this coin, since I exchanged it a short time later.

Anonymous coinage of Dārābgerd

These copper coins are dated in the year 68, one year after the death of ʾUbaydullāh. The Sasanian legend *ʾpzwñw* replaces the name of the issuer and can also be found on the margin of the reverse. The Arabic word “baraka” is a novelty. The countermark Jahrom (fig. 7, p. 125 of Walker’s catalogue) will be described later.

Azāriqa coinage

Of rather simple epigraphy, the Azāriqa coins have been singularly remarked by the controversies having opposed the numismatists for over a century. The margin of the obverse of the coins of al-Qatari b. al-Fujā’a contains a new formula in Arabic. It either replaces the “bismi ʾllāh” or is joined to it in the third quarter لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله.

Other Azāriqa coins, with the same Arabic formula on the margin,

⁴⁹ Only one of the coins of this person has the type of the latest years of Khusraw II (see Sothby’s Sales Catalogue, 1985, no. 255).

Muslims as heretics, assigned the title of 'Amīr al-Mu'minīn but to their own leader.

Mints of the Khawārij

Among the mints used by the Khawārij, three are their own.⁵³ The first one was already known under the Sasanians but the other two are new.

1. AIRAN. This Sasanian mint, unheard of since Hormazd VI, reappears with the Yazīdiya. It becomes their permanent mint and disappears again along with their coinage. For more details, refer to the chapter concerning the Yazīdiya.

2. GH. This mint, which Walker deciphered as BH and interpreted as Bihkobād, should be read GH (with a long G as for a few other mints) and be attributed to Gahrom (Jahrom). This town was one of the strongholds of the Sasanian army, invaded by ʾuthmān b. Abi ʾl-Āṣ after the battle of Kārzin and before the battle of Moqestān. It is quite possible that this important town was used as a fortress by the Khawārij of Fars. Only two years of coin issues are known for this mint: years 60 and 61, ʾUbaydullāh coins of Class 2. The countermark * (Walker, no. 36) on anonymous coins of Dārābgerd in the year 68 could account for the town being held by the Khawārij after this date.

3. SIN or SINGAN. In the same way as the mint of Tavag became Tavaz at the time of the Arab invasion (for this mint, refer to the chapter about the Marwānids), Singān may later have become Siniz (a port on the Persian Gulf). The mint of Singān issued ʾUbaydullāh coins of Class 2 in 56, 60 and 63. Note that Walker misread the date of the first issue as 60 (Walker, B 20, p. 72) whereas it is 56 (no. 68). This issue must be joined to the other rebellion issues which appeared in 56.

⁵³ Except for the mints of Kirmān used by the two Kharijite leaders and the mint of Shahrestān already discussed.

* This countermark is Jahrom, the Arabic transcription of Gahrom, and not chahārom as described by Walker.

CHAPTER VIII

PURELY IRANIAN COINAGE

In the preceding chapters I mentioned the collaboration between the Khawārij and their Iranian allies who helped them with government matters which were unknown to them. And thus, the Iranians, acting more or less freely, decided of the changes we have observed on the coins, which were Sasanian-oriented changes. The dirham of the year 63 from Sakastān, mentioned above, would be considered as a Khusraw II coin should its Arabic marginal legend disappear. This step will be made, however, and some of the mints will issue coins of the Khusraw II type.⁵⁴ Also, some other mints will issue coins of the Yazdgerd III type. Both types of coins, which, at first examination, cannot be told from their Sasanian models, are shown here.

Copies of Yazdgerd III coins

They imitate the portrait of this sovereign when using jewelleries of Khusraw II. They were issued in the post-yazdgerdi era. Their dates of issue roughly correspond to the dates of the coins of the Khawārij with the motto li 'llāh. They come either from Kirmān or from a few mints more or less abandoned by the Arabs. They are easily identified by their dates of issue which are over 20. The following list gives some idea of these coins :

GRM	29 (61 AH) not illustrated
NI	30 (62 AH) (no.100)
NI	33 (65 AH) (no. 101)
DA	35 (67 AH) (no. 102)
MI	35 (67 AH) (no. 103)

Khusraw II type coins

These coins are exact copies of Khusraw II coins. The margin on the obverse is either blank or engraved in the second quarter with the word *'pd* commonly used on the sovereign's own coins.

Sometimes, it seems that in the rush which followed the routing or the execution of the 'Umayyad representative, only the obverse of the coin underwent the change of issue. This is testified first by the coins of Yazīd b. Anīsa, for which the obverse modification is made on a coin

⁵⁴ All researchers have always recognized the existence of such coins (Walker, p. xx).

of Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān and the reverse of both coins is struck with the same die (nos. 1 and 19). A second illustration, relative to the obverse only, is given by the modification of a coin of 'Ubaydullāh (no. 79) into that of Khusraw (no. 94), whereas the same die has been used for the reverse of each coin.

The easiest way to tell these coins from those of the time of Khusraw II is to read the date of issue. When it is calculated in the Hijra, it is always higher than number 39, the last year of issue of Khusraw II. For example, the coin from APR, dated 60 (no. 94), the coin from ART, dated 63 (no. 95) and that from RIV, dated 67 (no. 96) have undoubtedly been issued during the Civil War. The problem still persists however when the date is calculated in the post-yazdgerdi era: referring to the Khawārij issues, we should observe a date from the year 25 to the year 37 on coins of Khusraw II type. These dates are precisely within the years of the reign of the Sasanian sovereign. Some of these coins cannot be classified, but a few signs, non conforming to the rather strict rules of issue of Khusraw II, have enabled me to date several as post-Islamic.

1. The date itself could be a sign since it often coincides with the years of important issues of the Khawārij, i.e. years 25, 30, 35 and 37. The coins which have the below mentioned signs are often dated of those years.

2. The name of the mint is also a major point. Absent at the time of Khusraw II or spelled with a more complete orthography, they have been unduly classified among that of the Sasanian sovereign. The exceptional issue of such or such coin, often limited to a single year of the reign, surprises most researchers. This is because such coins can only be dated to the Civil War. The following examples illustrate this :

date		
25 (57 AH)	مرب	= MRVI (ENIS, T. II, fig. 196)
25 (57 AH)	رر	= RR (ibid, fig. 956)
35 (67 AH)	پیر	= PIR (ibid, fig. 1540)
35 (67 AH)	سپهر	= SPHAN (not illustrated)
35 (67 AH)	گرج	= GORGAN (ibid, fig. 1462)
35 (67 AH)	گ	= GV (ibid; fig. 1463)
37 (69 AH)	گ	= GV (ibid, figs. 1465 and 1465a)

I have already mentioned how surprised I was to observe this orthography for Marv on a coin of Khusraw II (ENIS, p. 92). GV, a mint of the first Khawārij of Kirmān (see Garmkirmān, op. cit.), is not represented under the Sasanians, but for years 35 and 37. These issues are probably to be dated at the time of the Civil War. PIR is another abbreviation used by the Khawārij of Kirmān. Since it was absent under the reign of Khusraw II, these issues are probably to be dated from the Islamic period. The Sasanian abbreviations SP and SPH if correctly

attributed to Spahān, but I know only one year of issue for which the name of the mint is written in full, year 35 which would be the year 67 A.H. The same remarks can be made for the GORGAN mint.

3. Some small signs should retain the attention of the numismatists. The margin dots or dots added to the names of the mints are seldom (or never) used during the last years of the reign of Khusraw II. Coins having such signs should be dated from the Civil War. The following list gives some examples :

date

19 (51 AH)	BBA	(ENIS, T. II, fig. 262)
23 (55 AH)	BIŠ	
25 (57 AH)	DA	
27 (59 AH)	DA : GRM	(Garmkirmān, no. 2)
30 (62 AH)	AO	(ENIS, T. II, fig. 1251)
31 (63 AH)	YZ	
32 (64 AH)	BBA	(ENIS, T. II, fig. 277)
35 (67 AH)	AO	(ENIS, T. II, figs. 1261-63); PR ; NIH
37 (69 AH)	AIR ; ST	

4. A barbaric style of the portrait, sometimes beautiful, differentiates some coins of Khusraw II from those issued by regular mints. Here are two examples of this :

Year 29 and year 35 from AIRAN (ENIS, T. II, figs. 921 and 924). The portrait, a little barbaric, and above all the stylized engraving of the mint in an unusual shape for the first coin and the portrait for the second, make these coins distinct from that of Khusraw II.

Year 35 from AO (ENIS, T. II, figs. 1258-60)

The barbarism (and devilishness!) of these coins makes one attribute them rather to the Yazīdiya. Besides, it is natural to consider that they actually issued these coins since the historians think that they chiefly inhabited the towns located near Mesopotamia, from which they gradually reached the mountains of Hulwān, and the mint from which the three latter coins were issued, i.e. Hormazd-Ardešīran⁵⁵ is near Mesopotamia.

Years 30, 31 and 35 from PR (ENIS, T. II, figs. 1529 to 1532, 1534 and 1538 to 1539a)

Regarding the barbarian features, these coins are the most spectacular. With its dot on the marginal reverse the latter falls within the two classes described in paragraphs 3 and 4.

⁵⁵ Mochiri, ENIS, T. II, chapter IX, p. 340-63.

CHAPTER IX

THE KHAWĀRIJ AT THE TIME OF THE ZUBAYRID HEGEMONY

The Zubayrid coins show the mark of the Khawārij. The group(s) which played a part in the issuing of coins in the name of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr, of his brother Muṣ'ab or of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh, are Iranians. However they do not seem to have been under the authority of the Yazīdīya, since there is no intention of dissimulation of the religious words making up the marginal legends.

Marginal legends

There are three main words used on the marginal legends. Two of them represent two out of the three Sacred Fires of mazdaism :

"... The third night, Pāpak saw in a dream that Ādur Farnbagh, Ādur Gošnasp and Ādur Borzin Mehr were glittering in the house of Sāsān."⁵⁶

1. The coins of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr and of his brother Muṣ'ab struck at Kirmān (the place of refuge of the Khawārij) show a formula in Pahlavi which has not yet been deciphered. It generally follows the Arabic formula "bismi'llāh" in the second quarter of the obverse. Since there is not enough space, the formula in Pahlavi is more or less complete. The last letters are often left out, but the complete orthography is as follows: . In my opinion, this word is the synthesis of two words :

a)  = 'yw = ēw = one (see explanation below)

b)  = *plnb'g* = Farnbagh or Farrōbāgh
plwb'g = Farrōbāg = the first major Fire of Sasanian Eran, that of priests and nobles. (MK, p. 32 and 157)

On some of the coins of 'Abdullāh, the classical word 'pd is added to the formula. In this case, the two Sasanian formulas fill the second quarter of the margin and "bismi'llāh" is shifted to the first quarter. On some coins, a third ethic term is engraved in the third quarter, the well-known word "Khwarrah".⁵⁷

The word Farnbagh, with complete or almost complete orthography, seems to be limited to Zubayrid coins but it extends throughout a longer

⁵⁶ Kārnāmak-e Artakhšīr-e Pāpakān, Bahrām-e Farahvashi, Université de Téhéran, 1354/1975, p. 6.

⁵⁷ Mochiri, Garmkirmān, plate 13, no. 16.

period of time in its abbreviated form. I believe that the letter *p*, discussed on page 48 of this document, is nothing else but this abbreviation. It would indicate existence of an important Mazdean community in the town of the mint which issued the coins having it. If my guess turns out to be true, the abbreviation *p* solves another problem. It has been established earlier that a doubt was persisting concerning the coin issues of the last years of Yazdgerd III, i.e. whether they were of Iranian or Arab origin. On one of the coins of this sovereign, dated 17 and from the mint of ST, the said *p* is engraved on the margin (no. 97). Since this letter is found only on Arab-Sasanian coins, can the Yazdgerd coin be held as being issued under the Arab government? Actually, a very powerful Mazdean community was living at Istakhr during the first years of the Arab invasion.

2. The coins of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr issued from Yazd and that of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh struck at Istakhr have, at the first quarter of the obverse, a formula in Pahlavi :

𐭪𐭮𐭥 = *gwšn* = gushn = male (MK, p. 38 and 198), (no. 108)

which makes no sense here. But if considered as an abbreviation, it stands for "Gošnasp" a masculine first name and mainly :

"the second major Fire of Sasanian Eran that of warriors" (MK, p. 38 and 198)

3. The coins of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr issued from Ardešir Khurrah have a marginal formula in the third quarter of the observe. It appears under two forms. In the year 65, it can be observed as :

𐭢𐭮𐭥𐭥 = *dlw(y)st* = drust = right, well, healthy (MK, p. 28 and 201) (no. 106)

In the years 66 and 67, it appears as : 𐭢𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 which, in my opinion consists of two words :

𐭢𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *dlw(y)stw* and 𐭥 = 'yw (see below)

We have seen before "drust" on Yazīdiya coins (no. 52). These coins could therefore be attributed to the Yazīdiya. But this is infirmed by the non dissimulation of the formula. The word, since purely Mazdean and non heretic could have been spread without any fear in propitious surroundings and in a period favourable to this sect. The coin no. 106, which I attributed to the Yazīdiya, because of the breast-ornament B8 and of the sun on the margin, shows the first orthography shown above. What would the meaning of the second orthography be?

The meaning of the numeral 𐭥 = 'yw = ēw = one (MK, p. 31 & 210)

1. Form :

Always considered as one of the letters of the legend, typically it looks more like a *b* than an *l*, an *i* or a *g*. In fact its calligraphy is better than that of the letters of the legend. In most cases, the two branches as drawn

with a ruler, join in a right angle. To confirm this, just compare this "one" with the letters of the abbreviation of the mint on a Farrokhzād coin (see ENIS, T. II, fig. 1469). The mint name makes the three letters of GUR and the "one" takes the fourth position, where it looks like the R of the mint. But it is traced in an angle more perfectly right than that of the R. The same applies to the coins of Kirmān with the legend "Farnbagh".

2. Chronology

This "one" is found on the coins of four personalities: 'Abdullāh and Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, Farrokhzād and 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (Walker, p. 27 and 37). It first appears under the Zubayrids and it disappears after the issues of the year 73 of 'Abd al-Malik.

3. Meaning

Its presence on the Farrokhzād coins suggests a theory. This sub-prefect of Iranian origin and of Mazdean religion issues coins free from Arabic characters and Muslim confession. However, to avoid confusions relative to other Mazdean issues, he has a distinctive sign, the "one", added to the name of the mint. But he is neither the first nor the only one using it. Therefore, this sign would have been used each time the responsibility of coin issues was assigned to active Mazdean administrators under the Zubayrids and the Marwānids, exclusive of the Khawārij.

In conclusion, the coins of Ardešir Khurrah with the legend "drust" can be classified as follows :

- the coins in the name of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr in the year 65 belong to the Khawārij (see chapter XIII, Mazdakites coinage),
- the coins in the name of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr of years 66 and 67 and that of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān are their own issues.

Special features of the Khawārij coin of the year 65

These special features concern the obverse of the coin (no. 106). Note the existence of the following marginal signs : a sun at 05h00 and "drust" preceded by a large dot at the third quarter. The breast-ornament has the shape of a crescent and there is a small crescent at the base of the earring.

The patronymic legend is unique among Arab-Sasanian coins :

—  = 'pdwl' = 'Abdullāh

—  = bwn y zwbyl = son of Zubayr

1. This form is anachronistic since it is the ancient form no longer in use at the time of our study. The suffix "ān" determining the patronymic has given way to a more ancient manner observed in "Kārnāmak-e Artakhšīr-e Pāpakān",⁵⁸ for example.

⁵⁸ Strangely, the title of the Kārnāmak fits the late method in two ways. Can it be concluded that the writing of the book took place before the title was chosen?

2. The son has an orthography different from that found on our coin, i.e. :

س = BRH = pus = son (MK, p. 207)

whereas on the coin there is :

ب = bwn = bun = bottom, root, origin (Bh, p. 114; it includes a terminal w in MK).

This is a problem. Is there an error in the word?

Other manifestations of the Khawārij under the Zubayrids

It is even more difficult to classify the Zubayrid coins marked with the other Kharijite signs, since, contrary to the own coins of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād which were all of the same model, the features of the Zubayrid coins vary from the start. Now and then, the Khawārij coins of the Sufyānid era show striking resemblances with those of the Zubayrid era. The coins from the mint of Yazd provide a good illustration of this. Two coins with the same features are struck four years apart at this mint, with only the name of the governor indicating the change of regime. Coin no. 73 in the name of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād dated 62 and no. 105 in the name of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr dated 66 are practically copies of the same model with the same jewellery (El B3) and the same marginal *m* at 08h 30 on the obverse.

The mint of coin no. 105, however, has an unusual pattern, which does not detract from its Kharijite features.

Mint of Yazd with full orthography

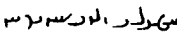
In 1972, I demonstrated that the mint which was held as Zarang actually was Yazd.⁵⁹ This correction was confirmed by historical evidence. Coin issues of certain Arab governors signed س are in contradiction with the historical absence of their control over the city of Zarang, whereas the same governors have coins from the mints of Kirmān, an adjacent province which was their territory.

Since then I had the opportunity to examine the mint of Yazd engraved on a new pattern. It includes the three letters of the name of the city. I found it on a coin of the year 4 of Khusraw I in the calligraphy common on medals: سزد = YZD. The same three letters are found, in cursive writing سز on a coin of the year 5 of the same sovereign. I found no other example under the Sasanians, but a single occurrence of the second type of writing appears on the reverse of coin no. 105 in this book.

⁵⁹ M.I. Mochiri, *Études de numismatique Iranienne sous les Sassanides*, T. I, Téhéran, 1972, p. 48-50.

'Amīr al-Mu'minīn

Some coins with particular characteristics were issued by the Širgān mint in 64 A. H. These are coins with jewellery E1 B1, that of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. The marginal legend is the usual "bismi 'llāh" and at 07h00 we find the pattern . The governor's name is replaced by the unique title :

 'myl y wlyšnyk`n = Amīr i wruišnikān = Amīr al-Mu'minīn

The reverse shows the date as being 64 issued by the mint of KRMAN = Širgān.

To aid in interpreting this coin (no. 118),* I would like to recall certain historical events :

"'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr rebelled in Araby at Husayn's death (61 A.H.). He was for some time allied with the Khawārij. Taking advantage of a new rebellion of the latter, he made substantial progress. He declared Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya deposed and after winning a victory over the army of Damascus, proclaimed himself caliph."

We have studied elsewhere the coin proper to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād issued by the KRMANNAR mint in 63 A.H. (no. 77). If the victory of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr over 'Ubaydallāh took place in the same year or in 64, the present coin issued in 64 would presumably be that of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr commemorating the proclamation of his caliphate.

The present context would apply to someone wishing to be known simply by the title, thereby excluding anyone else entitled to it. Moreover, the mention of his patronymic would be unnecessary since he would be universally known as the one and only "Amīr al-Mu'minīn".

The Zubayrid origin of this coin is almost certain. This is confirmed by comparing the marginal pattern at 07h00 on the obverse of the Zubayrid 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh coin issued from the same mint the following year, in 65 (Walker, p. 101, 203). There is thus no doubt as to the issuers of these two coins who must have belonged to the same group of rebels.

* The photographs of this coin were sent to me for identification by a dealer. I have never seen the coin itself.

CHAPTER X

ABOUT THE MARWĀNID COINAGE

The coinages of the Khawārij and Zubayrids, assisted by Iranian administrators, marked a turning point in the style of the coins of the following period, that of the Marwānids and this until the monetary reform. The epigraphy of the Marwānid coins thus underwent significant alterations. The “bismi’llāh” formula dear to the Sufyānids is no longer the sole formula found on the obverse margin. The names of the governors are engraved both in Arabic and in Pahlavi. The names of the sub-prefects are sometimes found on the coin margin. And an unprecedented concession granted to an Iranian sub-prefect is observed: the authorization to strike typically Iranian coins in his name, with no reference to the Muslim faith. This sub-prefect was appointed by the governor of Fars, Muhallab b. Abī-Šufra. Note that Muhallab, the general of ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr, changed side when Muṣ’ab b. al-Zubayr was defeated in 72 A.H. He took his oath of allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and was appointed ‘Umayyad general under Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. And on the coins of Muhallab, struck in 75 and 76 A.H. at the mints of ART and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, we find the obviously Iranian name of a sub-prefect: Farrokhzād. This first modification to the Marwānid coinage is due to an old Zubayrid, which gives a hint of the continuity of the style from one period to the other.

Farrokhzād mints

R. Curiel and R. Gyselen published bronze coins of this Farrokhzād.⁶⁰ His coins originate from three mints: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥. The name of Farrokhzād is found alone on the coins of the last two mints, whereas it is followed by his patronymic, Gušnanūš, on the coins of the first. They have been issued with the date for the first two, while the coin of the third has no date (there is only one representative of this mint). The authors have correctly interpreted the date for the second mint but they have misread that of the first for an “eight”. Confused by this, they wrongly interpreted the word on the right which they expected to be a unit of weight. Now the same siglum shows on the reverse of the dirhams of Zīyād b. Abū-Sufyān and his son ‘Ubaydallāh where it can represent but the abbreviation of a mint. Let us go back to the date on these coins: the “*hšt*” read by the authors in fact consists of four letters. The

⁶⁰ R. Curiel et R. Gyselen, *Une Collection de Monnaies de Cuivre Sasanides Tardives et Arabo-Sasanides*, *Studia Iranica*, 1983, p. 36-45.

“št” stands for the year 60 in the truncated orthography commonly found on many other coins, i.e. *šst* with the *s* omitted which can be observed in Walker on the following pages: p. 74, 110; p. 76, 118; p. 77, 123; p. 88, 155; p. 91, 171 etc. and on coin no. 95 in this book. The *h* read by the above-mentioned authors is simply the figure *dw* = *do* = 2. Coin no. 115, which is enlarged, may be easier to read:  = *dwšt* = *do* ša(s)t = 62. As one may imagine, the date of such deeply Iranian coins is not calculated in the Hijra but in the Yazdgerdi era. This gives the following results: $62 + 12/13 = 74/75$, the same date as the issue of the dirhams of Muhallab b. Abi-Šufra with the Farrokhzād legend. Muhallab, appointed governor of Fars, choses this Iranian sub-prefect for diplomatic reasons to maintain law and order in the region. The historical reason for this decision will be discussed later. Farrokhzād is retained in office until 79 when his name is still engraved on the margin of the dirhams of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf issued at Bišapur. The extent of Farrokhzād's responsibilities is shown either by the mints where his own coins were issued or by the locations of the mints which engraved his name on the margin of coins of other governors. These two categories put together give six mints:

1 	4 
2 	5 
3 	6 

1 and 2. Ardešir Khurrah and Bišapur are well known.

3. Curiel and Gyselen through this siglum find the representation of the mint of Gur. This proposition is attractive and the location of the town fits within the limits of the geographical map which I am going to draw. I had given evidence that the three letters *gw/* were the name of the mint of Gorgān under Šapur II.⁶¹ However, it no longer appears in this form during the subsequent reigns. As a representative of Gur, it can up to now be found only on coins of Farrokhzād. Besides, we have seen which meaning I suggest for the fourth letter of the name, in the chapter concerning the Zubayrids.

4. The reading suggested by Walker for the three letters is perfect: one must undoubtedly read *dšt*. But, as he himself admits, his interpretation is doubtful. The testimonies of the mints under the reform cannot always be trusted to draw conclusions concerning the Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian mints.

An unfortunate example which caused much ink to flow is that of NAR. It has long been attributed to Nahr Tira, a mint apparently created after the monetary reform. In fact, NAR is a mint of the province of Kirmān.⁶²

⁶¹ Mochiri, ENIS, T. II, p. 383.

⁶² Mochiri, Garmkirmān.

There are, in modern Iran, 76 towns with a name beginning by Dasht.⁶³ More than two thirds of these are located in the provinces of Belutchestān, Kirmān, Fars, Khuzestān and Ilām. It is often the beginning of the name of a village or a small town of no importance, whether in the past or nowadays. But four of them designate regions which are worth mentioning : Dasht-e Mishān, Dasht-e Aržan, Dasht-e Yāri and Dashtestān. The latter, the most important, corresponds to our map and all the mints of Farrokhzād are located within its limits.

“Dashtestān consists of a wide expanse of hot regions (*Garmsirāt*) of the middle Fars, located both West and South of Shirāz. From the village of Kolor-e Awwal, in the district of Ganāveh, to the village of Manqal, in the district of Khormowj, its length is 37 farsangs. From the village of Rud-e Fariyābkūh of the district of Borāzjān, to the village of Shif, in the district of Mozāfāt-e Bushehr, its width is 18 farsangs. From Nowruz to the end of Libra, its climate is hot, and during the last 5 months it is temperate. Wheat, barley and lentils are grown on unirrigated land. From Sagittarius to Pisces, if it rains once a month, each *man* of wheat or barley will give 50 *man* and more. The rain during Nowruz is dreaded because of the degree of ripeness of the cereals at that time of the year. Palm-trees are also grown on unirrigated land with just the winter rain. A few palm groves, however, are watered by the river Dālaki. The Dashtestān game consists of mouflons in the rocky hills and gazelles in the plain and along the coasts since no other animal can drink sea water. From the region of Dālaki to the river Heleh, the francolin is often found. There are also rock partridges, grey partridges, wild pigeons and quail almost everywhere. Great and little bustards spend the winter there. Dashtestān consists of several districts each with its *Kalāntar* (prefect). This prefect is entirely independent and does not owe allegiance to the others. Each district obeys only its lord and his lord's descendants, *bozorg o bozorgzādegān*. They obey no authority of strange origin. All the leaders obey the *hākem* (governor) of the port of Bushehr. For years Bandar-e Bushehr has been *hākemneshin* (county town) of the Dashtestān counties.”

(Hasan-e Fasā'ī, Farsnāmeḥ-ye Nāsseri, Tēhēran, 1314 H, lithographed manuscript, p. 203)

“Dashtestān is one of the regions of Hokumat-e Banāder South-West of Fars. It stretches from Dashty to Kohkiluyeh. Its inhabitants used to be *Tchadorneshin* (nomads) and still have nomadic customs. Their courage is famous. The region has a population of 62,000 and is divided into 12 *boluk*.”

(Joghrafiyā-ye Siyāssi-ye Keyhān)

The text of Farsnāmeḥ-ye Nāsseri informs us of two points :

a) Geographical : Dashtestān is the ancient and modern name of a region of Fars which, due to its location to the South-West of Shirāz, contains the centres of Bišapur, Ardešir Khwarrah and Gur, i.e. the

⁶³ Dasht means plain in Persian.

centres corresponding to the mints of the coins in the name of Farrokhzād. Therefore, DŠT designates the whole province. The centre at which the coins were issued is yet to be discovered. Only three personalities had monetary issues from DŠT : Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān, ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād and Farrokhzād i Gušnanūšān. The coin of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr, mentioned by Walker is not shown (p. 104, I 43).

b) Historical : the civil war must have had disastrous consequences for the population of Dashtestān who, due to their hostile feelings towards strangers, was in a permanent state of rebellion, harmful to the government of Damascus. Unwilling to cope with several problems simultaneously, the governor of Damascus had to grant some kind of independence to Dashtestān. As we know, this autonomy, probably more apparent than actual, did not last beyond the year 79 A.H. but meanwhile, using the cunning diplomacy of the ‘Umayyads, the *Bozorg* of Dashtestān, Farrokhzād i Gušnanūšān, successfully contained the spirit of this rebellious people. Also note that in the year 75, Ardešir Khwarrah and Bišapur were occupied by the Azāriqa. Does the absence of the name of Farrokhzād from the coins issued by these two mints demonstrate that Farrokhzād remained true to the ‘Umayyads during that period? Perhaps did he even become a troublesome enemy for al-Qatari b. Fujā’a?

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = *dšt* = Dashtestān

5. The fifth name was difficult to decipher for R. Curiel and R. Gyselen. This name, which the coinage of Farrokhzād shares with that of Khālīd b. ‘Abbād, gives us the key to another mint not well known until this day (see below).

The first three letters can be read without any difficulty. But Curiel and Gyselen interpreted the end in an ambiguous manner. Is there a single fourth letter, actually a *t*, or two more letters, *k* and *w*? The pattern on the reverse of the coin of Khālīd definitely shows that they selected the second option, i.e. : *tnbkw*.

In chapter 45 of the book of Marquart⁶⁴ there is the name of a town fitting with our mint. It is Shahrestān-e TAVAK which was founded by Homā-ye Čehrāzādān. The orthography of the name of this town is as follows :

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = *twpk* = Tav(p)ak

the only difference between this town and the orthography of the mint is the third letter which changes from *p* to *b*, which are phonetically identical and moreover, this consonant is silent in the pronunciation of the name of the town.

Tavak, already mentioned by Strabon, has been localized by many historians and geographers.

⁶⁴ A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr. 1931, p. 19.

“Ταόκη was famous for its Achaemenian palace. It was situated on the coast-lands of the district Ardashir Khwarrah, in the neighbourhood of Kāzerun, according to Nearchos about 200 stades from the mouth of the river Tranis, the modern Ru Hilla, the river of Shāpur.”

(W. Tomascheck, *Topographische Erläuterung der Küstenfahrt Nearchos*, p. 63-5 SBWA, vol. CXXI no. VIII, 1890).⁶⁵

“Tawwaj has left its name to the modern district of the coast-lands near the mouth of the Shāpur River. The site of the town is probably to be identified with the present Deh Kohneh (Old village), the chief town of the modern shabānkāreh sub-district of the *Dashtestān* District”.

(Guy le Strange, the geographical part of *Nuzhatu 'l-Qulūb*, p. 115)

The fifth mint can also be satisfactorily located in the region of *Dashtestān*, an area under the influence and authority of Farrokhzād.

“Tavaz, or Tavaj, was destroyed at the beginning of the 6th century and its location has not yet been discovered. It is however supposed to be on one of the banks of the river Shāpur, in a basin 12 farsangs down Ganāveh”.

(Le Strange, p. 280, see also in *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān* of Yāqūt)

“Tavvaj is a town of Fars near Kāzerun. It is located in a deep basin. Its climate is very hot and it has many palm groves. Its buildings are of unburned bricks. It is 32 farsangs from Shirāz. This town is also called Tavaz or Tavz and the soft cotton cloth with bright colours called *tavzi* is made there. At the beginning of Islam, great battles took place in this town. Nothing is left of the town nowadays”.

(Hassen-e Fassā'i, *Farsnāme-ye Nāsseri*, 1314 A.H., Teheran)

“In the year 23 A.H., 'Umar was informed that Shahrak-e Marzbān, the regent of Fars, a vassal of Yazdgerd III, had gathered a great army at Tavaj which he turned into a military camp and that he was preparing to strike a heavy blow to the Islamic army. 'Umar ordered the emirs and town governors to fight him. He awarded each of them, in advance (as a prize for the victory), the leadership of one of the regions of Fars. When the Islamic army entered Fars, Shahrak moved forward up to Reyshahr (near Bushehr). During the battle which ensued, Sawār b. Hamām i 'Abdi was confronted to Shahrak whom he stabbed through the chest with his lance.”

(*Farsnāme-ye Ibn al-Balkhi*, p. 214)

“Hakam b. Abi'l-'Āṣ conquered the island of Abarkāvān and moved toward Tavaj which was among the territories owned by Ardešir Khwarrah.”

(*al-Balādhuri*, *Futūh al-Buldān*, p. 142)

“'Uthmān b. Abi'l-'Āṣ sailed toward Fars, landed at Tavaj which he conquered. Then he built mosques and turned the region into an Islamic land. He had the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays and others brought there.”

(*ibid.*, p. 142)

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

"An inhabitant of Tavaj reports that following Shahrak's death, Tavaj became a large prosperous town; God only knows."

(ibid. p. 143)

"The towns of the Persian Gulf are Mahrubān, Siniz, Ganāveh, Tavaj and Sirāf."

(Abū Ja'far-e Qudāma p. 242)

It seems that the Achaemenian Tavak, having a palace, was still rather famous at the Sasanian time. It was still one of the chief ports of Fars, that of the district of Ardešir Khwarrah. The town probably became prosperous during the early times of the Arab conquest. The pronunciation of the town name should have been "Tavag" for its Arabic transcription to تَوَاج be. Therefore it must have been pronounced Tavaj only later.⁶⁶ There are several Arabic orthographies and pronunciations for this name: Tawwaj and Tauwaj for تَوَاج, Tawwaz, Tauz for تَوَز, Tāwūs for طَوُوس. The following forms will be added to the above by the Iranians who cannot pronounce the Arabic w: Tavaj, Tavvaj, Tavvaz, Tavz and Tāvus. There is still another form mentioned in Qānūn of Al-Bīrunī: Tawwa (Tavveh in Persian). The Tawwaz, Tauz, Tavvaz or Tavz forms would come from the transcription from Tavači which in fact means "nisba" at Tavak, i.e. "born at Tavag" in Persian.

Referring to its drawing, I read on the obverse margin of the coin of Khālīd b. 'Abbād, no. 142 of the catalogue of R. Curiel and R. Gyselen, in the Arabic transcription, the Arabico-Persian phrase:

جائز به درود بتوز = *jā'iz bahrevar be Tavvaz* = authorized to be spent in Tavvaz.

If this was confirmed, Khālīd b. 'Abbād who had coins in his name struck at Bīšapur, would have succeeded Farrokhzād as sub-prefect of Dashtestān. The dates of these coins would therefore be higher than eighty.

6. These letters calculated as being four, TART, were held as representing the mint of Ardešir Khwarrah. Walker, however, classified the name of the mint among the uncertain mints. In fact, even if the letters do not represent this mint, they are not far from it. To discover the mint, one must simply carefully examine the reverse of the coin of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh dated 68 (no. 107). The beautiful calligraphy of the name provides doubtless identification of the five letters (not four) making up the full name of the mint:

טאוק = *t'wkw* = TAUK = TAUZ

Therefore it is the same mint as no. 5 but engraved according to the Arabic pronunciation.

What reason is there for the epigraphic duality of Tavak? The mints of Dashtestān, GUR and Tavak, absent from the Sasanian era, were

⁶⁶ Mochiri, ENIS, T. II, p. 441-446.

created only at the beginning of the Arab invasion. Gur was short-lived and is attested only by the coinage of Farrokhzād. DŠT started its issues with the coins of Zīyād b. Abū-Sufyān, continued under the government of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Zīyād and ended with the coins of Farrokhzād. The mint of Tavak started issuing a few years before Farrokhzād was appointed sub-prefect of Dashtestān, since it was already found on the coins of ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaydallāh in 68. But the inhabitants of Tavak, mainly Arabs, engraved the name of the mint according to the Arabic pronunciation.

“Tawaj used to be a very large town, It suited the Arabs because of its hot climate (*garmsir-e ‘azīm ast*). It is located in the middle of the desert and nowadays it is in ruins. Not a single soul was left of the Arabs of the ancient times. So ‘Azededdaula had an Arab tribe brought from Shām to settle there. The Arabs who live there now are their descendents.”

(Farsnāmeḥ-ye Ibn al-Balkhi, p. 135)

Farrokhzād, however, could have imposed the epigraphy of the Persian pronunciation on his own coins. Besides, Tauz is the only mint of ‘Abdul‘azīz b. ‘Abdullāh located in the province of Fars, which shows its important role, at least from a strategic standpoint. It is found until the year 80 A. H., engraved on the coins of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf:

تَوِج = *twbkw* = Tavag = تَوَك = *t’wkw* = tawwaj

Mint of Reyshahr?

Istakhri is the sole authority revealing that the true name of Reyshahr is Yeshahr,⁶⁷ the town where Shahrak-e Marzbān died during the battle mentioned above. Reyshahr is a town of Dashtestān. If one agrees with Istakhri, it is tempting to identify  as the two letters YŠ.⁶⁸ This mint is shared by the coins of ‘Ubaydallāh,⁶⁹ of the Khawārij (class 2⁷⁰ and 3 (no. 72) of the coins of ‘Ubaydallāh) and of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr.⁷¹ Besides, the mint of DŠT can be read as YŠT (*yštlw* = Yeshahr) and conversely. Since both mints issued coins almost at the same time, I believe they do not correspond to the same administrative location.

Also, Reyshahr seems to originate from a distortion of the name of Rev-Ardeshir. It is not known whether at the time covered by our study, the name of the town had already changed. In 67 A. H., its mint is still found in the classic form of RIV (no. 96). If the name had already been changed to YŠ on Sufyānid coins, can it be supposed that the engravers used the classic abbreviation of RIV for the purely Iranian issues of 67?

Future discoveries will put an end to such guessings.

⁶⁷ Marquart, Eranshahr, 147, Istakhri 112, 119.

⁶⁸ I had wrongly identified the name of this mint as kš and attributed it to Kash. ENIS, T. II, p. 158-9.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, Fig. 418-19.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, Fig. 420.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, Fig. 421.

CHAPTER XI

OCCIDENTAL SASANIAN MINTS

The renewal of a number of Sasanian mints at the time under study is undoubtedly due to the Khawārij, especially those of the Yazīdiya. Many of those mints stopped issuing at the time of the Marwānids.

The Arab-Sasanian coin specialists who studied the Sasanian coins only with reference to the mints common to both eras, are not aware of the individual importance of each abbreviation within the Sasanian issues. Some of them suggest to consider NI, VH and NIH as the same mint of Nihāvand, since Nihāvand is the mint the most often mentioned in post-Islamic historical facts. It appears quite irrational to make such a suggestion to any Sasanian coin specialist.

Concerning some of these mints, I would like to point out :

1. Mints of VSP and WYHC. These two mints have very close abbreviations and can be mixed up. WYHC, which represents the town of Arragān, is a mostly Arab-Sasanian mint. Its issues under Kavādh I, a sovereign who gave the town the name of Vehaz-amid-Kavādh, are limited to a few years around the 17th and 18th years of his reign. At that time, the abbreviation VSP did not yet exist and the town, which later took the name of Visp-Shād-Khusraw, was called Aspānvar, abbreviated as AS. VSP appeared after AS had disappeared. Since then, the issues of VSP were so numerous, that they entirely covered the reigns of all the Sasanian sovereigns since Khusraw I. If a king has a single mint of issue, it is VSP. How can such importance be attributed to Arragān? Besides, for the authors who rejected the interpretation of VSP, I recommend to examine more carefully the following two coins :

— the coin in the middle of the second vertical row on the left in figure 528,⁷²

— the coin in figure 724,⁷²

where the three letters  - VSP are clearly separated. These letters, which are read visp, can be found in the dictionary (MK, p. 91 and 185). In my book, I failed to distinguish between the Sasanian VSP mint and the Arab-Sasanian WYHC mint because, at the time, the latter had not yet been identified.

2. AIRAN. The same question arises for this mint. In the same way as for other mints, all three mints, AI, AIR and AIRAN have been attributed

⁷² *ibid*, Chapter VII, les Ateliers de la Capitale, p. 223-297.

to the same mint of Susa. In fact, only AI⁷³ can be held as being Susa. AIR (if these letters have not been wrongly interpreted) has not yet been identified. I attributed AIRAN to the mint of the Court and located it at Ctesiphon.⁷⁴ On the Arab-Sasanian coins, AIRAN would represent either actually one of the old mints of the capital which had not yet been completely deserted, or a mint accompanying the head quarters of the Yazidiya, similar to that of "rekāb" of the Zend during the 18th century. In this case, it would have been chosen for its name which is the name of the ex-empire and would be integrated to the general context of a return to the Sasanian values specific to the Yazidi coins (see Chapter XIII).

3. VH. This mint, which I attributed to Veh-Ardeshir of Ctesiphon is not Nihāvand.⁷⁵

So, the Khawārij issues of the ex-Sasanian mints, beside the abbreviations which have not yet been deciphered, the mints which are known, or held as known, located in Mesopotamia or in its close oriental neighbourhood, make up two essential centers. The first, in the North, consists of the mints of Ctesiphon (AIRAN and VH), of Nihāvand (NIH) and Ahmatān (AHM). The second, in the South, includes the mints of Hormazd-Ardeshirān⁷⁶ (AO), Mishān (MI) and perhaps NI of doubtful interpretation.

⁷³ *ibid.*, Chapter VIII, p. 305-339.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, Chapter VII, p. 283-297.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 263-82.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, Chapitre IX, p. 340-63.

CHAPTER XII

COINS IN THE NAME OF KHUSRAW WITH THE ARABIC LEGENDS "JAYYID", "BISMI 'LLĀH" AND "BISMI 'LLĀH RABBĪ"

I suppose that all the coins in the name of Khusraw with the Arabic legends of Jayyid, bismi 'llāh and rabbī,⁷⁷ should also be attributed to the Khawārij. The first issues of these coins in the year 20 would be only a coincidence with the last coins of the year 20 of Yazdgerd III. The fact that coins were issued in the name of Khusraw in the year 20 of the Yazdgerdi era, is meaningless. However, the same year 20 of the post-yazdgerdi era seems to correspond to the beginning of the Kharijite rebellions (52) as testified by the coins of the Yazīdiya and those in the name of Zīyād, which we have examined. This is evidenced by the great number of issues of such coins in the years 25, 30 and 35, i.e. the same years that were found on the coins of the Khawārij and which correspond to leading historical facts (57, 62 and 67 A. H.) during which the Sufyānid leadership breaks down. Also, the mints where these coins were issued, such as AO, AIR, AIRAN, MI, NI, AHM, NIH, ŠI, etc. are Sasanian and are seldom or never found on the coins of the Arab governors. The era chosen for this type of coin is the post-yazdgerdi era until the end of the years thirty. The rare issues in the years forty are dated in the yazdgerdi era. Finally, some of their issues in the years sixty are in the Hijra.

⁷⁷ Walker, p. 5-23.

CHAPTER XIII

ICONO-EPIGRAPHIC FEATURES COMMON TO KAVĀDH I AND ARAB-SASANIAN COINAGES

The Arab-Sasanian coins are copies of those of Khusraw II and Yazdgerd III. Some of their features that are exceptions to this rule are discussed in this chapter, as their models go back to the time of Kavādh I.

Manichæan coinage

General

The Yazīdīya — and other Manichæans of early Islam — have borrowed their inscriptions from the coins of Kavādh I, but these I could trace only from the former.

The first numismatic manifestation of the Manichæans dates back to the reign of Kavādh I. A brief historical review will be useful to understand their evolution.

Manichæism, born under Shāpur I in Iran, spreads for 12 centuries from China to Spain and to France via Central Asia, Anatolia, the Balkan peninsula, Italy, Egypt, and Africa. I shall limit myself to the events related to its development in Iran.

Born in 216 A.D., Mani began prophetizing under Shāpur I. Under the protection of this sovereign who was favorably disposed to him, he preached in Iran and travelled widely to propagate his doctrine. Also in favour with Hormazd I, he was pronounced heretical, judged and executed under the reign of Bahrām I (273-276).

Persecution under Bahrām II and Shāpur II forced the Manichæans into an exodus to Central Asia to seek the protection of the Khāqān of Turks. They stayed there until the fall of the Sasanians. Then they began to return to their homeland. This return became important under the 'Umayyads, when Khālīd b. 'Abdullāh al-Qasri took them under his protection. However, the place of residence of their leader being associated with Babylonia, they settled there because they felt safer.⁷⁸

In spite of the exodus of the Manichæans, a number of their communities remained in Iran.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Ibn an-Nadīm, *The Fihrist*, p. 337, quoted by F. Decret.

⁷⁹ To write about the life of Mani, of Mazdak and of the evolution of the Manichæism, my main references are:

A. Christensen, *ibid.*, p. 179-205 and 316-362;

F. Decret, *Mani et Tradition Manichéenne*, Ed. du Seuil, 1974.

Under the reign of Kavādh I (388-432), a Manichæan renaissance spread throughout Iran under Mazdak. According to some sources, the name of Mazdak is associated with that of a Zartusht. Further information about the origin of the latter helps us to understand the meaning of a term which we have discussed in chapter II of this book.

The Pseudo-Stylite mentions the name of the "Zartushtagān" about a heretical sect which would just be that of the Mazdakites. The Arab-Persian sources⁸⁰ tell us about a Zartusht, son of Khvar-gān from Pasā⁸¹ as the founder of Mazdakism. In the Nihāyat, this Zartusht would support the Mazdakite movement and in some sources, Pasā seems to be related to the place of birth of Mazdak. There would be here some confusion to be clarified. A Manichæan named Bundos was preaching in Rome, under Diocletian, a modified Manichæan doctrine. He went to Iran to propagate his religion known as the *drust-dinān* = true religion. Christensen assumes that this Bundos was Iranian and can be identified with Zartusht.

Arab authors quoting the Khodāynāmag and the Fihrist referring to other sources report that the founder of the Mazdakite sect was not Mazdak, and the Khodāynāmag mentions, in this respect, a Zartusht. Christensen interprets *Bundos* as a title given to Zartusht founder of the doctrine of the Zartushtagān quoted by the Pseudo-Stylite. The *drust-dinān* would therefore be a Manichæan doctrine reformed by Bundos-Zartusht and taken up two centuries later by Mazdak.⁸²

The exodus of the Manichæans to Central Asia reported in the Fihrist led, during the 4th and 5th centuries, to the progressive formation of a community under the authority of a Master named Mār Shād Hormazd. Arab-Persian authors give this schismatic community the name of *Dināwariya* (*Din-āvarān*). This word appears as *tien-nawou* in the Chinese documents, and the Manichæans of Turfan are sometimes referred to by this name.⁸³ *Dināvarān* which means "Religion-bringers" is quoted in particular by Gardizi when he describes the life of the Uighurs in the Sin-Kiang.

At the end of the 5th century, the Mazdakite movement appeared in Iran. Mazdak, an utopist and agitator, represents himself as the continuator of Mani, teaching an esoteric religion based on gnosis and going with austere morals borrowed from Manichæism, as already preached by Bundos in the 3rd century. In Mazdak, in addition to the Manichæan precepts of chastity and abstinence, food interdicts and refusal to shed blood, there is a social doctrine which is unique to Mazdakism. Abolishing all social privileges, Mazdak proposes an absolute community of property and women, that is,

⁸⁰ Tabari, Ya'qūbi and Nihāyat.

⁸¹ Nowadays, Fasā in the Fārs.

⁸² Christensen, p. 337-8.

⁸³ Decret, p. 125-7.

"communism".⁸⁴ Mazdak was first high in the favours of Kavādh I who used Mazdakism to break the influence of some clans that were overshadowing his authority. Economic considerations, however, drove the sovereign to reject the theories of Mazdak and altogether forsake him. Strengthened in his power, Kavādh gave the coup de grâce to the Mazdakite hegemony when, in 519, the problem of the succession to the throne arose. Among the three sons of Kavādh candidate to the succession, Kāvus, the eldest, was turned down by the sovereign. Brought up in the Mazdakite doctrine, Kāvus was the great hope of the sect to go on with their work.⁸⁵

Finally, the Mazdakite movement was outlawed and crushed, and Mazdak was assassinated. Those who escaped the slaughter divided into four communities which have been traced, under the 'Abbasids, in Soghdiane, Turkeṣtān and Fārs.⁸⁶

The Sasanian army's defeat in 637 caused the loss of Iran but meant the end of exile for the Manichæans. They even enjoyed some favour, when, after the assassination of Yazdgerd III, the Arab empire strengthened. Ibn an-Nadīm reports that Khālid b. 'Abdullāh al-Qasri, of Christian mother, took the Christian, Jewish, Manichæan and Mazdean communities under his protection, which caused his loss. He was imprisoned, tortured and finally put to death by his successor. This explains the free circulation of the non Islamic coins during this period. Those from Christian origin having the image of the Cross or that of usual Byzantin coins are easily recognizable. During this peaceful period, the Manichæans strengthened their position with a doctrinal and literary revival. Under an apparent display of Muslim orthodoxy, many authors, poets and politicians were showing their attachment to Manichæism. I mention, as an example, Ibn al-Muqaffa', the author of *Kalīla wa Dumna* who was a famous Manichæan.⁸⁷

The history of Manichæism does not stop there, but to remain within the limits of our coins, I decide to leave it, simply adding that the Persian *Mawāli* were influenced by the Manichæan ideology and that 'Abū-Muslim was suspected of the *Kaysāniya*'s esoterism.

The harmless return of the Manichæans to Iran was first tolerated by the invaders. But these communities hostile to the Sasanians were Iranians after all and, once strengthened in their country, propagated Iranophile ideas detrimental to the Arabs. Worried, the Arabs inflicted upon them a severe repression which I have already mentioned several times as regards the Khawārij in this book.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 127.

⁸⁵ Christensen, p. 353-4.

⁸⁶ Decret, p. 127.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 135-6.

Dīn-āvarān coinage

This community led by Mār Shād Hormazd was established in Central Asia. Manichæans, but without close relation to the Mazdakites, they returned to Iran when Mazdak rose in favour. They pioneered the method consisting of replacing the date or mint of the current coins by doctrinal terms. The Yazīdiya — and other Manichæans — merely imitated them two centuries and a half later.

There are three words which are frequently found on some coins of Kavādh I dated in the years 33 to 35 of his reign.

a. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 = *dyn* = *dēn* = religion (MK, p. 26 and 203).

This word, present on the reverse of the coins of the year 33 (no. 130), reappears later on the reverse of the coin of 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muhammad (no. 116). The presence of *dyn* mingled with other unusual features of the latter coin leads one to suppose that it is of Manichæan or Dīn-āvarite origin.

b. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = *dyn`w(l'n)* = *dēn-āwarān* = religion-bringers ('w/ = *āwar*, MK, p. 13/14).

Present on the reverse of the coins dated 33, 34, 35 (no. 131) and 40, this term has been interpreted to date as the name of the mint of Dīnāvar; but apart from the coins discussed here, the indication of this mint was never reported.

c. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *dyn`s(twb`nw)* = *dēn-āstawān* = believing, faithful (MK, p. 26 and 203).

This word is found on the reverse of the coins dated 35 (no. 132). It would therefore represent only half of the spelling, probably because of the limited space.

The grouped dates of the three categories of coins illustrate the brief apogee of the *Dīnāwarīya*. But a second token strengthens this thesis: that of the mint. During the same period, we find a profusion of Kavādh coins from the mint of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = GNJKR. This has been interpreted as the siglum of Ganjak; it is probably right.

The issues of this mint are grouped in the same period as the preceding coins, namely the years 34, 35 (no. 133) and 36 of the reign of Kavādh. Therefore it can be assumed that Ganjak is responsible for the issue of the two groups of coins, as the second represents his name and the first shows religious propaganda. This evidences a relation between this mint and that of coin no. 54 which I attributed to Shiz. It leads one to suppose that the mint of Takht-e Soleyman^{87a} was created and operated twice by the Manichæans, the *Dīnāwarīya* under Kavādh I and the Yazīdiya during the Civil War.

^{87a} see footnote 16, p. 36.

Mazdakites coinage

The doctrine of the *Zartushtagān*, created in Rome by Bundos and propagated in Iran under the name of *Drust-dinān* is that followed by Mazdak. Traces are found during the Civil War. The word *dhwyst* which we studied in the discussion of coins nos. 52 and 106, as well as those of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, would then have its full meaning, namely that the Mazdakites would have either partially or fully made them. Coin no. 106, of very special design, appears as a Manichæan coin by excellence. The word *drust* is associated with the inscription of an earlier mode of the patronymic as well as ornaments which are reminiscent of the cult of the Sun and Moon.

If coins marked with the word *drust* were the evidence of the activity of the Mazdakites, they would prove the existence of this community under the ʿUmayyads, which would throw a bridge between the Sasanian and Abbasid periods during which their activity is reported by the historians.

As to the cult of the Sun and Moon, mentioned in the rituals of the Yazīdiya, I observe that it is of Manichæan origin. It is celebrated, during prayers, seven times a day by the Elect, and four times by the Hearers. During each prayer, the faithful faces the Sun during the day, the Moon during the night, or North if the two luminaries are invisible.⁸⁸ The icono-epigraphic alterations concerning the Sun and Moon observed on some coins are therefore of Manichæan origin.

Consequently, the coins of the Mazdakites do not belong to the period of Mazdak and the Manichæan coins of this time are issued by the Din-āvarān.

Coin no. 57 with the unique reverse for the Arab-sasanian coinage is reminiscent of that of the coins of Kavādh I. It appears as a style renewal in the times of this sovereign. The non-warlike posture of the disarmed attendants, conform to the peaceful ideology of the Manichæans, arises in them the nostalgia of the time of Mazdak. This reverse, associated with the word *messenger*, confers on coin no. 57 its undoubtedly Manichæan character.

The same holds for coin no. 114 where the vow of peace reveals the Manichæan origin of its issue.

The place of birth of Mani, according to the Fihrist, is in Babylonia and maybe more precisely at al-Madāʿin (Seleucia-Ctesiphon). Mani began his missionary activity also at Ctesiphon. Subsequently, all Manichæan communities, of origin or reformed, have returned to Mesopotamia to take refuge near the dwelling place of the prophet. This fact explains the geographical locations of the mints discussed in this book. They are very often located in Mesopotamia or in the Iranian provinces near its borders. The practically exclusive presence of the mint of AIRAN on the coins of the Yazdāniyān is explained in particular by the attraction exerted by Ctesiphon on the Manichæans.

⁸⁸ F. Decret, p. 115.

Explanation

The latter discoveries were made when this work was undergoing its last checks. The printer, and I thank him for this, agreed to append this chapter to the main volume. Some coins, generally attributed to the Khawārij, have found their true identities. Others, attributed to the Yazīdiya could appear to be Manichæan, although not in every respect. The *Yazidism*, which originates in Manichæism, has some ritual points in common with the latter, such as the veneration of two luminaries which are at the root of the additional representation of the Sun and Moon, or the religious words. On the other hand, the name of Yazīd, the devil and — with a strong presumption — that of Yazdān could be ascribed only to devil worshippers. An ethic word such as *sraw*, which appears on coins in the name and image of the devil is certainly of Yazidi origin. There remains terms such as *didār*, *guftan*, *ādur*, etc., which are probably common to the two sects and which cannot easily be attributed to one or the other. However, it would seem, from the above examples, that the Manichæan coins have been made with an artistic sense and elegance which are absent from Yazidi coins. As to coins of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, with the marginal legend *dhwystw-I*, I am still puzzled. Would they be, as most coins of Mu'āwiya, the work of the Khawārij, i.e. the Mazdakites?

Dating using the numeral system

Under the Sasanians, the numeral system is generally used to indicate the weight of vases and cups. Coins are dated using letters. This process is used — either in Pahlavi or in Arabic — on Arab-Sasanian coins.

This almost immutable rule has been departed from in a few instances, where the engraver used the numeral system. These coins come from the mint of Zarang under the reign of Kavādh I and from that of Kūfa under the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān:

a. *Zarang*

On a coin of the type of the last ten years of the reign of Kavādh I (no. 127), the following date appears:

𐭪𐭪 = 40 (MK, p. 145)

b. *Kūfa*

Two different dates appear on the coins of two different governors:

1 — Bishr b. Marwān

A copy of the coin presented in this work (no. 140) was published by G. C. Miles which, sceptical as to the orthography of the date, writes: "One wonders if it is a date".⁸⁹ This date in the numeral system is:

𐭪𐭪𐭪𐭪 = 74 (MK, p. 145)

⁸⁹ G. C. Miles, *Some Arab-Sasanian and Related Coins*, ANSMN VII, 1957, p. 201-2.

Moreover, Miles read ATRA for AKURA⁹⁰ concerning the mint and *lyn* for *sn* or *sw* concerning the marginal legend on the obverse.

2 — 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abdullāh (no. 141)

The history of the deciphering of the date of this coin⁹¹ is reported by Walker⁹². Mordtmann, confused by the inversion of the legends, tried to discover the name of a mint. Walker admitted the inversion but could not make out the strange date. This date in the numeral system is:

— — — — — = 79 (MK, p. 145)

Sakastān and Zarang

In Abbasid times, two mints are in operation in the province of Sijistān: that of Madina Zaranj *مدینه زرنج* and that of Sijistān *سیستان*. For example, the name of Sijistān appears on coins of the years 130, 170 and 171, while that of Madina Zaranj appears on other coins of the years 166, 176, 178 to 182, 184 to 188, 190 and 192.

One can be tempted to explain this change of name by the vicissitudes of territorial control. In the Abbasid period, the revolt of Hamza gave rise to trouble in the region, and the Khawārij making repeated inroads into Sijistān several times took over the province from the central power. When the Abbasids had only the fortress of Zaranj under control, the mint located there would strike coins in the name of the town. When the Abbasids regained control of the province, they issued coins in the name of Sijistān.⁹³ In my opinion the same mint of Zaranj was responsible for the latter issues, otherwise where would they come from? According to this assumption, the coins in the name of Madina Zaranj would reflect partial control of the province, or even the possession of the major town only, while the coins marked Sijistān, struck at the same mint, would reflect the take-over of the whole province. We shall see that this practice of alternate naming is not something invented in the Islamic period and there is a precedent under the Sasanians.

Zarang

The Sasanian mint of Zarang is absent from the Arab-Sasanian coins. Contemporary Hephthalite coins, however, were struck there. On the latter, Zarang is engraved in full. The coins of Kavādh I led me to decipher it. I found it interesting to follow the evolution of this mint.

Zarang apparently appears for the first time on coins of the first reign of Kavādh I (no. 119). As the province of Sakastān was conquered by

⁹⁰ H. Gaube, *ibid* p. 87.

⁹¹ Walker, *Th* 18, p. 124.

⁹² *ibid*, p. 201.

⁹³ I thank A. D. H. Bivar for this suggestion.

the Hephthalites, under the reign of Piruz, the absence of this mint (SK) at this time is significant. However, contemporary issues of Zarang and Herat (no. 120) demonstrate the Iranian sovereignty on the two towns. When Kavādh was overthrown, did Zarang fall under the control of the Hephthalites? It is likely, since no issue from its mint has yet been published under the reign of Jāmāsp. In any case, this mint reappears on coins of the second reign of Kavādh, which makes it likely that the Hephthalites who helped him back into office and chose him as son-in-law for their king during his exile, offered him Zarang as a wedding present. The coins I could examine for the latter period are sufficiently numerous to allow a satisfactory study. The way the mint is represented also creates resemblances between Herat and Zarang. The mint of Herat is symbolized by one, two, three letters or the name in full,⁹⁴ as on coins issued from Zarang under Kavādh I: e.g. ZR, ZRN and ZRNG. The study of the dating of these coins is not satisfactory, because the mint of Zarang very often gives indications which are not clear with improper spelling and ambiguous numbers. These mis-spellings are not limited to the date and the name of the sovereign is often skipped. Inversions are also observed.

The coins of this mint are relatively rare under the reign of Khusraw I. I found them uninterruptedly from the year 16 to the year 19 (figs. 114 to 118), then in the year 26 (fig. 119). The mint of Zarang is represented at this time by the two letters ZR.

We have to locate the mint of "Sakastān" in some town, probably the major town of the province. That is why I would consider the same location for the two sigla ZR and SK. Their chronology is in favour of my assumption, because the gap created by SK between the reign of Shāpur II and the year 27 of Khusraw I seems to be partly filled by the mint of Zarang.⁹⁵ This sends back to the problem of the changes of mint names I was addressing at the beginning of this chapter. If my assumption is true and if the year 27 of Khusraw I⁹⁵ is indeed the first year of issue of the mint SK under the reign of this sovereign, we could see there the date of resumption of control over the whole province of Sakastān. Actually, this year 558 (531 + 27) is that retained by E. Stein for the final decay of the Hephthalites.⁹⁶ Normally, the year 26 of Khusraw I should also be that of the last year of issue of the mint ZR, but an overlap of two years would not militate against my hypothesis.

The identification of the name of Zarang was not straightforward because of the previously mentioned variations in the siglum. At the same time, M. Mitchiner, setting up the list of mints of Kavādh I, correctly interpreted

⁹⁴ ENIS, T II, p. 68-77.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 135-50.

⁹⁶ E. Stein, *Le Museon*, 1950, p. 126 No. 6.

the siglum ZRN as Zarang⁹⁷ and R. Gyselen related the mint ZR to the name *zlng* written on a clay bulla.⁹⁸ But the most convincing interpretation is that of the full name of Zarang engraved with its full spelling as was the custom in oriental mints. I compare the mint زرنگ of figs. 106, 107, 108 and 110, where the final letter is a normal G with the name of Zarang as written in the Pahlavi treatise of Shahrestānīhā i Ērān: زرنگ. The error which led Göbl to read the four letters ZRIB is due to the lengthening of the G on some copies such as nos. 127, 128 and 129, into something resembling a B.¹⁰⁰

زرنگ = زرنگ = ZRNG

Zarang, a coinage mint of Kaysar i Rūmī

Two published coins attest the issues of this sovereign at Zarang. The first, which could be found in the Hermitage, has been published successively by Dorn,¹⁰¹ Paruck¹⁰² and Ghirshman.¹⁰³ The second was published by Miles when it was in the collection of Azizbeglou.¹⁰⁴ However, when I took a photograph, in 1977, Foroughi had it. The description of this coin by Miles being quite thorough, I would simply discuss three of its legends (no. 142).

1. *Mint*

Ghirshman's reading as XUR is erroneous. This author, favouring the idea of the overtake of Balkh by Tarkhān Nīzak — a presumed issuer — and finding himself unable to compose Balkh using the letters of the legend, tries to read it as the name of the province of Khurāsān.

Comparing this legend with that of Zarang we have just discussed, the same four letters of its full spelling can be recognized:

زرنگ (Kavādh I) = زرنگ (Hephthalite) = ZRNG

2. *Date*

On the coin of the Hermitage, the letters of the legend are only three, *hpt*; the reading as four letters, *hptc*, made by Ghirshman, is still influenced by the idea striving him to consider the issue of these coins as a celebration of the overtake of Balkh in 47 A.H. On coin no. 142, the date seems to be *hph*, with just the beginning of the second *h* with its tail amputated. Therefore, the date 77 (or 78) is more plausible. The existence of the fourth circle on the

⁹⁷ M. Mitchner, *The Ancient and Classical World*, London, 1978.

⁹⁸ R. Gyselen, *Studia Iranica* 8, 1979, p. 194 and 209.

⁹⁹ J. Markwart, (ed. by G. Messina), *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr*, Roma, 1931, p. 18, para. 38.

¹⁰⁰ R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, Braunschweig, 1971, Table 16, No. 78.

¹⁰¹ B. Dorn, *Publication de la collection du feu Lieutenant-Général J. de Bartholoméi*, Saint Petersburg, 1873, pl. XXX, 44.

¹⁰² F. D. J. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins*, The Time Press, Bombay, 1924, p. 491.

¹⁰³ R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, Le Caire, 1948, p. 23, No. 20.

¹⁰⁴ G. C. Miles, *ibid.* p. 207-8, fig. 58.

3. *Name of the sovereign*

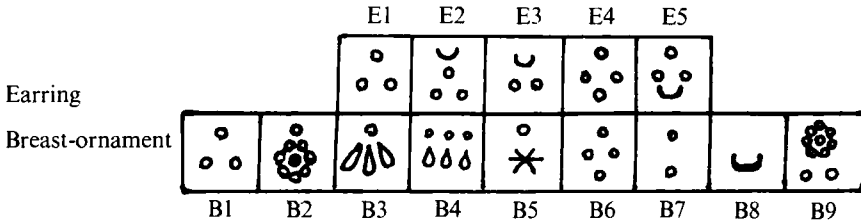
ფრომოს კესარი = phromo kesaro = Cesar of Rome¹⁰⁵

“After this battle, I stopped in the town of Siwecitan where I boarded in a large college. I was sleeping on the terrace of the building and when I was waking up during the night, I could see suspended skins, my body contracted at this sight and my soul was not satisfied by staying in this college. Therefore, I left it”.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Voyages d'Ibn Batuta, translated by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, Collection d'Œuvres Représentatives, UNESCO, 1979, T. III, p. 93-109.

LIST OF SPECIMENS

In the inception of the Civil War, Sufyānid coins show the image of a Khusraw II coin from his last 20 years of reign. This will be the usual type noted below, with E1 B1.



1. Yazīdiya Coinage

Obverse

Reverse

Ziyād b. Abū-Sufyān type

name : = zh'tw

= y'bwswp'n

E1 B1 & no crescent on left shoulder

marginal legend :

2nd quarter = bismi'llāh

3rd quarter = rabbi

1. as above

at left : = šNT ywkw = sāl

yek = year one

at right : = y yzyrw = i yazīd = of Yazīd

sāl yek i Yazīd = year one of Yazīd

Fig. 2, plate I

2. as above

at left : = šYDĀ = dēw = devil

at right : = šl

(Walker, pl. XXXIII, 2)

3. as above

at left : = šYDA = dēw = devil

at right : = GD

Fig. 4, plate I

William B. Warden Jr. collection

4. as above

at left : = š(Y)DA = dēw = devil

at right : = NIH

(Walker, pl. XL, 1)

5. as above

at left : = šY { = dēw = devil

at right : = DA {

Fig. 14, plate III

6. as above

at left : = š(Y) { = dēw = devil

= DA {

(Walker, pl. XL, 2)

7. as above

at left : = dwš(Y) { = dušdēw =

= DA {

= evil devil

Fig. 5, plate I

William B. Warden Jr. collection

Obverse

8. as above
at 01 30 :
winged lion c/m
9. as no. 1

Reverse

at left :  = *dyd* = didā(r) = visible
at right :  = GV (see Garmkirmān)
Fig. 37, plate VII
at left :  = *čhlpnj* = 54
at right :  = *wst* = avestvārih :
firmness
Fig. 39, plate VII

'Uhaydallāh b. Ziyād type

- name :  = *'whyt*
 = *y zh'tn*
marginal legends :
1st quarter  = *yz'n* Gods
2nd quarter :  = *bismi'llāh*
10. as above
Cabinet des Médailles (cast)
11. as above
at left :  = *hptwystw* = 27 (59)
at right :  = NIH
Fig. 8, plate II
at left :  = *sl* = *sraw* = Word
at right :  = AIRAN
Fig. 9, plate II
at left :  = *ywksh* = 31 (63)
at right :  = AIRAN
Fig. 10, plate II
at left :  = *chwšyh* = 32 (64)
at right :  = AIRAN
Fig. 11, plate II
at left :  = *hptsh* = 37 (69)
at right :  = AIRAN
Fig. 12, plate II
at left :  = *ywšst* = 61
at right :  = KRMĀNNAR
E1 B5 & no crescent on shoulder
margin, 2nd quarter :  = *bismi'llāh*

at left :  = *špnj* = 56
at right :  = AIRAN
Fig. 7, plate II
at left :  = *hptwystw* = 27 (59)
at right :  = NIH
Fig. 8, plate II
at left :  = *sl* = *sraw* = Word
at right :  = AIRAN
Fig. 9, plate II
at left :  = *ywksh* = 31 (63)
at right :  = AIRAN
Fig. 10, plate II
at left :  = *chwšyh* = 32 (64)
at right :  = AIRAN
Fig. 11, plate II
at left :  = *hptsh* = 37 (69)
at right :  = AIRAN
Fig. 12, plate II
at left :  = *ywšst* = 61
at right :  = KRMĀNNAR
Fig. 27, plate V

'Abdullāh the Khārijite type

- name :  = *'pdwl*
no crescent on left shoulder margin
legend : 2nd quarter :  = *bismi'llāh*
17. as above

at left :  = small crescent *'ylt'n*
= *ērtan* (ih) = Humility
at right :  = ART
Fig. 38, plate VII

Salm b. Ziyād type

name :  = *slm y*
 = *zh'tn*

Reverse

2nd quarter • بسم الله

- at left : : syzšst = 63

at right : بدلہ HRA

margin : sun at 11 30

Fig. 24, plate IV

name : سید رکاب - xws/wy

- at left : שנת י"א ŠNT 'yw'kw - sāl
yek year one

marginal legend at 2nd quarter :

at right :  yzyzwt = i yazid
of Yazid

3w 'pd wonderful

sāl yek i Yazīd · year one of Yazīd

- at left :  *šty* šahrevar
Best Rull

at right :  SYDA dēw - devil
Fig. 3, plate I

- at left:  - ŠY { dēw devil
at right:  DA {

Fig. 17, plate III

- at left :  Š(Y) { dēw devil
at right : - DA }

at left: 'pzw is missing

Fig. 13, plate III

- at left : سـ SY { dēw devil
at right : ـع DA }

at 06 00 :

Fig. 60, plate X

- at left : س - ŠY { dēw devil
at right : ف - DA }

marginal legend, 2nd quarter :

Margin : dote at 03 30

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ = bismi'llāh

(Walker, pl. II, 10)

at 06 00 : ☀️🌅

- at left :  - *pnjš(Y)* | (panj)

at right : **د** - DA } dēw devil

Fig. 15, plate III

- at left :  } = 'zš(Y) az dēw =
at right :  = DA { from devil

Fig. 16, plate III

- at left : - dwš - duš - evil

name: سرای = slwy = saw
Word

at right : ۷۷ APR

margin : flames spurting out from the crescent of 1200, and the mark of 0900 crescent slipped at the time of striking at 1000

Fig. 19, plate IV

Obverse

28. as above, but no slipped crescent
and the left legend :  'paww
increase

29. as no. 21, but marginal legend : at
2nd quarter :  GDH
Khwarrah Glory

30. as no. 19, but marginal legend at
1st quarter :  GDH =
khwarrah = Glory

31. as no. 19, but margin at 11 00 : Sun

32. as no. 19

33. as no. 21

34. as no. 21, but name :  shwy
sraw Word

35. as no. 20

36. as no. 19

37. as above

38. as no. 21, but name :  gwpt

39. as above

Reverse

at left :  = dwš = duš = evil
at right (going upward) :  (S)YDA
dēw devil

Fig. 21, plate IV

at left :  = dwš duš = evil

at right :  = GRM

margin at 12 30 : three dots

Fig. 20, plate IV

at left :  dwšy } duš dēw =

at right :  DA } evil devil

(ENIS, T. II, fig. 335)

at left :  = pnjsyh 35 (67)

at right :  = RD

Fig. 25, plate V

at left :  = hptwyst = 27 (59)

at right :  = BYR(H) = mah =
Moon

Fig. 22, plate IV

at left :  = y'zsyh = 31 (63)

at right :  dyt(l) = dirār =
Sight, visible

(ENIS, T. II, fig. 957)

at left :  = y'zsyh = 31 (63)

at right :  = APR

(ENIS, T. II, p. 29, fig. III)

at left :  husraw = husraw =
famous, of good repute

at right :  = SK

Fig. 26, plate V

at left :  = gwptn'l = guftār =
Speaker

at right :  = NI

Fig. 34, plate VI

at left :  gwpt(l) = guftār =
Speaker

at right :  = NI

Fig. 35, plate VI

at left :  = gwpt(l) = guftār =
Speaker

at right :  = dyt(') = didār =
Visible

Fig. 36, plate VI

at left :  = (n)nwdyt(nw) = nive-
ditan = announce, consecrate

at right :  = MI

Fig. 29, plate V

Obverse

40. as above

41. as above

42. as above

43. as above

44. as above, but winged lion c/m at 01 30

45. as no. 21 but mārginal legend at 2nd quarter : الله = li'llāh

46. as above, but winged lion c/m at 01 30

47. as no. 19, but name :  = wš/wyF. Gurnet collection
48. as aboveF. Gurnet collection
49. as no. 19photographs sent by F. Gurnet.
50. as no. 21

51. as no. 20, but winged lion c/m at 01 00

*Reverse*at left :  = nwdyt(nw) = niveditan
· announce, consecrateat right :  = sl(wy) = saw = Word
Fig. 28, plate Vat left :  = pl'čwystl(yšnyh) =
frāzvistarišnih : Spreadingat right :  = MI
Fig. 31, plate VI

as above

Fig. 32, plate VI

at left :  = pt'(ystmw) = pattā-
yistan = endure, remainat right :  = MI
(ENIS, T. II, fig. 961)at left :  = pt'ys(mw) = pattā-
yistan = endure, remainat right :  = šī
Fig. 45, plate VIIIat left :  = pt'ys(mw) = pattā-
yistan = endure, remainat right :  = DA
Fig. 51, plate IXat left :  = ptsyh = pattāyistan
endure remainat right :  = ART
Fig. 57, plate Xat left :  = 'twlw(y) = ādur =
the god "Fire"at right :  = YBLN = burdan =
endure

Fig. 46, plate VIII

at left :  = 'twlw(h) = ādur =
the god "Fire"at right :  = (w)YBLN = burdan =
endur

Fig. 47, plate VIII

at left :  šššst : 66at right :  = (w)YBLN = burdan =
endur

Fig. 48, plate VIII

at left :  = tsk'(syh) =
tarskāsih = Obedience, reverenceat right :  = MI

Fig. 43, plate VIII

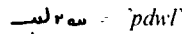
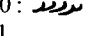
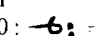
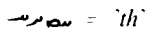
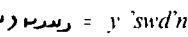
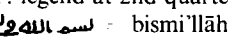
at left :  = tls'(ksyh) = tarskāsih
= Obedience reverence

Obverse

52. as no. 21

53. as above

54. as no. 19

55. as above, but marginal legend :
بسم الله - bismi'llāh*'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr type*name :  = 'pdwl'
 = y zwbyl'n56. as above, but E2 B4 and margin :
at 2nd quarter :  =
bismi'llāh
at 12 00 : one dot
at 06 00 : 
at 02 30 :  = ŠYD(A) = dēw
= divil
at 08 30 :  = m*'Aṭīya b. Aswad type*name :  = 'th'
 = y 'swd'n
margin : legend at 2nd quarter :
 = bismi'llāh
waliyu 'l-'amr57. as above, but dots at 02 30 & 06 30
at the margin

William B. Warden Jr. collection

*Reverse*at right :  = t'l = tār = darkness
Fig. 44, plate VIIIat left :  = dlwyst = drust = Well,
right, healthyat right :  = M1

Fig. 33, plate VI

at left : illegible

at right :  = lty(h) =
radih = Office of (spiritual) chief

Fig. 30, plate V

at left :  = tlymw = do = 2at right :  = šyzw = šiz?

Fig. 52, plate IX

at left :  = tly = se = 3at right :  = M1

Fig. 54, plate IX

at left :  = mwšt = 69at right :  = YZ

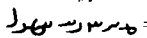
dot at 03 00, 06 00, 09 00 and 12 00

Fig. 18, plate III

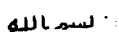
The attendants unarmed, stretch their
arms towards the flames.at left :  = šḍrwn t' = frēstādan
= sendat right :  = KRMANGI

Fig. 6, plate I

2. Other Khawārij Coinage

*Mu'āwiya b. Abū-Sufyān*name :  = mh'wy' 'myl
 = ywlywšnyk'n

Obverse

marginal legend :  :
bismi'llāh

58. as above, but margin :
at 06 00 :  :
dots at 03 00, 06 00 & 09 00

Ziyād h. Abū-Sufyān type

59. as no. 1, but name : *zh't*, crescent on left shoulder, and margin : winged lion c/m at 02 00
60. as no. 1, but crescent on left shoulder
61. as no. 1

62. as above, but name : *zh't*

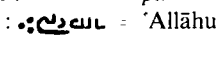
'Ubaydallāh h. Ziyād type

name : *'whyt'l'*
y' zh't'n

marginal legend at 2nd quarter :

 = bismi'llāh

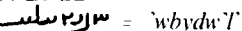
63. as above, but three dots at 05 00 at the margin

64. usual type, but marginal legends :
at 2nd quarter :  = *pd*
at 3rd quarter :  = 'Allāhu rabbi

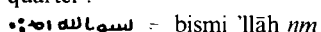
William B. Warden Jr. collection

65. as no. 63, but margin : at 02 00 : 

66. name and marginal legend as usual, but four dots at 05 00 and ornaments : E1 B2

67. name :  = *'whydw'l'*
margin : four dots at 05 00

68. ornaments : E1 B2 dot on *pzw* margin clipped

69. usual type, but margin : at 2nd quarter :
 = bismi'llāh nm

Reverse

at left :  = *pnjhl* = 45 (57)

at right :  DA

Fig. 90, plate XV

at left :  = *ššwyst* = 26 (58)

at right :  NI

Fig. 65, plate XI

at left :  = *sh sh* = 30 (62)

at right :  AIR

Fig. 68, plate XII

at left :  = *syh* = 30 (62)

at right :  DA

Fig. 66, plate XI

at left :  = *syzyh* = 33 (65)

at right :  NIH

Fig. 67, plate XII

at left :  = *hštpnj* = 58

at right :  KRMAN

Fig. 41, plate VII

at left :  = *dwštw* = 62

at right :  AKURA

Fig. 53, plate IX

at left :  = *ššwysty* = 26 (58)

at right :  YZ

Fig. 70, plate XII

at left :  = *ššwystw* = 26 (58)

at right :  VH

Fig. 72, plate XII

at left :  = *hptwyst* = 27 (59)

at right :  MR

Fig. 71, plate XII

at left :  = *ššpn* = 56

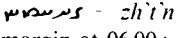
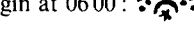
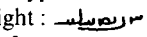
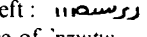
at right :  SINGAN

(Walker, pl. XII, 11)

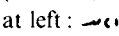
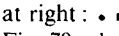
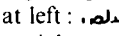
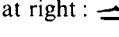
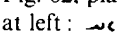
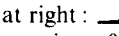
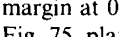
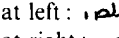
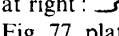
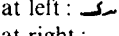
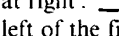
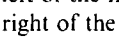
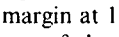
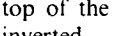
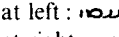
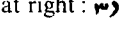
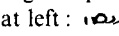
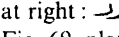
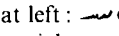
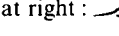
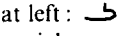
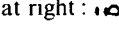
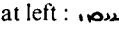
at left :  = *šstw* = 60

at right :  KRMANHRJN

Obverse

-  *nm* namāz = prayer, reverence, prostration
 70. usual type, but E1 B6 and margin : three dots at 05 00, at 08 00 :  = *gw*
 71. usual type but E1 B2, no crescent on left shoulder and margin : four dots at 05 00, at 07 00 :  = *hw* = hu = good
 72. usual type, but no crescent on left shoulder margin : four dots at 05 00
 73. Ornaments : E2 B3
 margin : four dots at 05 00, and at 08 30 :  = *m*
 74. usual type, but name :  = *'whydw' y*
 = *zh'in*
 margin at 06 00 : 
 75. unusual type,  on left shoulder in place of crescent, in place of *'pzw* the Mint place  = *xpyc* = Khabış
 76. Ornaments : E1 B2 no crescent on left shoulder margin at 02 30, 05 30 and 08 30 : , dot at 03 30 and four dots at 05 00
 77. usual type, but margin : three dots at 05 00
 78. usual type, but
 at right :  = *'whyt' l*
 at left :  = *y zh'twn* in place of *'pzw*
 margin : three dots at 05 30
 79. usual type, but no crescent on left shoulder
 margin : four dots at 05 00
 William B. Warden Jr. collection

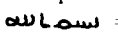
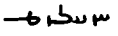
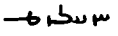
Reverse

- (Mochiri, Garmkirmān, NC, 1985, no.15)
 at left :  = *hštpnj* = 58
 at right :  = ART
 Fig. 79, plate XIV
 at left :  = *dwšstw* = 62
 at right :  = BSRA
 Fig. 82, plate XIV
 at left :  = *n'wpnj* = 59
 at right :  = YŠ, DŠ or KŠ
 margin at 01 30 :  = *p*
 Fig. 75, plate XIII
 at left :  = *dwšstw* = 62
 at right :  = YZ
 Fig. 77, plate XIII
 at left :  = *hštchl* = 48 (60)
 at right :  = DA
 left of the fire-altar :  = *šn*
 right of the fire-altar :  = *š?*
 margin at 11 30 :  = *p*
 top of the fire-altar : crescent and star inverted
 Fig. 40, plate VII
 Unusual type (see Walker) no mint, no date
 (Walker, pl. IX, 3)
 at left :  = *syšstw* = 63
 at right :  = SINGAN
 Fig. 76, plate XIII
 at left :  = *syšstw* = 63
 at right :  = KRMANNAR
 Fig. 69, plate XII
 at left :  = *ššpnj'h* = 56
 at right :  = HRA
 Fig. 88, plate XV
 at left :  = APR
 at right :  = *šstw* = 60
 Fig. 95, plate XVI
 at left :  = *pnjwystw* = 25 (57)

Khusraw II type

80. as no. 21, but marginal legend at

Obverse

- 2nd quarter :  = li'llāh
81. as above, but winged lion c/m at 02 30
82. as no. 80
83. as no. 21, but marginal legend at 2nd quarter :  = 'pd li'llāh
84. as no. 80
85. as above
86. as above, but margin : winged lion c/m at 01 00
87. as no. 80
88. as above
89. as no. 21, but marginal legend at 2nd quarter :  = rabbi'llāh
90. as no. 21, but margin : legend at 2nd quarter :  = bismi'llāh, at 08 00 :  and winged lion at 01 00
91. as no. 21, but name  = xwslwm
92. as above
93. as no. 19
94. as no. 21
British Museum, Dept of Coins and

Reverse

- at right :  = ART
Fig. 56, plate X
- at left :  = syh = 30 (62)
at right :  = ART
Fig. 49, plate IX
- at left :  = pnjwyst = 25 (57)
at right :  = DA
Fig. 58, plate X
- at left :  = ššwst = 26 (58)
at right :  = DA
(Stephen Album, Price list 42, June 1985, 182)
- at left :  = pnjsyh = 35 (67)
at right :  = GD
Fig. 63, plate XI
- at left :  = hptsh = 37 (69)
at right :  = GD
Fig. 61, plate XI
- at left :  = hptsh = 37 (69)
at right :  = AHM
Fig. 50, plate IX
- at left :  = pnjsyh = 35 (67)
at right :  = NIH
Fig. 59, plate X
- at left :  = pnjsh = 35 (67)
at right :  = NI
Fig. 64, plate XI
- at left :  = pnjsh = 35 (67)
at right :  = GD
Fig. 55, plate X
- at left :  = pnj'h = 50 (62)
at right :  = BiS
Fig. 74, plate XIII
- at left :  = pnjsyh = 35 (67)
at right :  = Ši
(ENIS, T. II, p. 29, fig. V)
- at left :  = syh = 30 (62)
at right :  = AHM
(ENIS, T. II, p. 29, fig. VI)
- at left :  = syh = 30 (62)
at right :  = ART
margin at 02 00 :  = ART
Fig. 78, plate XIII
- The same die as no. 79 :
at left :  = APR

Obverse

Medals

95. as no. 93

96. as no. 21

Yazdgerd III type

Ornaments of Khusraw II,

name:  *yzkltw*97. as above, but margin at 0400:
 = *p*

98. usual type, but name:

 *yzkltw* margin at 2nd
quarter:  = jayyid winged lion
c/m at 020099. usual type, name as on no. 97
margin: winged lion c/m at 0100
and at 2nd quarter: bismi 'llāh

100. usual type, name as on no. 98

101. as above

102. as above

103. as above

Anonymous type (Walker, p. 124-5)

104. usual Khusraw II type in bronze.

In place of name:  = *'pzw*at left only:  = GDH

margin: at 2nd quarter:

 = bismi 'llāhat 0600:  = *li**'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr type*105. name:  = *'pdwl* = *y'zwhyl'n**Reverse*at right:  = *šstw* = 60

Fig. 96, plate XVI

at left:  = *syšty* = 63at right:  = ART

Fig. 97, plate XVII

at left:  = *hptšsty* = 67at right:  = RIV

Fig. 99, plate XVII

at left:  = *hptdh* = 17 (28)at right:  = ST

margin at 0500: dot

Fig. 73, plate XIII

at left:  = *'zsy* = 31 (63)at right:  = *ši*

Fig. 81, plate XIV

at left:  = *dw* (or *s*) *šst* = 62
(or 63?)at right:  = SK

Fig. 83, plate XIV

at left:  = *sh* = 30 (62)at right:  = NI

Fig. 91, plate XVI

at left:  = *syžsyh* = 33 (65)at right:  = NI

Fig. 94, plate XVI

at left:  = *pnjsh* = 35 (67)at right:  = DA

Fig. 93, plate XVI

at left:  = *pnjsyh* = 35 (67)at right:  = MI

Fig. 92, plate XVI

at left:  = *hštšst* = 68at right:  = DAmargin: at 2nd quarter:  = *'pzw*at 3rd quarter:  = barakaat 0600: c/m  = *li* 'llāh

Fig. 62, plate XI

at left:  = *ššt* = 66at right:  = YZD

Obverse

Ornaments E2 B3

margin : at 2nd quarter :

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ = bismi 'llāh at 08.30 :

م : m

106. name : بَدْوَلْ = 'pdwl'

بَوْنِیْ زَوْبَلْ = bwn y'zwhyl

'Abdullāh bon i Zubayr

Ornaments : E2 B8, no crescent
on left shoulder margin : legend at
2nd quarter :

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ = bismi 'llāh legend at

3rd quarter : دَوَّیْسَتْ = dwyst

durst well, right, healthy

at 05.00 : Sun

at 07.00 : dot

'Umar b. 'Uhaydallāh's own issue

107. name : بَدْوَلْ = 'wml y

بَوْنِیْ لِهْ = 'bwn y'lh'n

Ornaments : E1 B2, no crescent on
left shoulder margin : at 2nd
quarter : لِهْ لِّلّٰهُ = li 'llāhu
'l-hamd one dot at 03.30 and 06.30
four dots at 05.30*'Umar b. 'Uhaydallāh type*

108. as above, but ornaments : E2 B3,
-
- crescent on left shoulder.
-
- No dot at 03.30 and 06.30.
-
- Margin at 02.30 :

غُشْنْ = gwšn = Gushn(asp)

Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh type

109. name : بَدْوَلْ = 'tlh' y

بَدْوَلْ = 'pdwlh'n

Ornaments : E1 B9, no crescent on
left shoulder. Marginal legend at
2nd quarter : طَلْحَةُ لِّلّٰهِ = Ṭalḥa
li 'llāh Margin : c/m at 02.00 &
11.00 : at 06.00 : WILLIAM B.
Warden Jr. collection*'Abdullāh b. 'Ariq?*

110. name : بَدْوَلْ = 'pdwl' y

بَدْوَلْ = 'lyk'n

No crescent on left shoulder
margin clipped*Reverse*

Fig. 87, plate XV

at left : بَنِیْسَتْ = bnjšstw - 65

at right : سَمَ = ART

two dots on fire-altar

Fig. 101, plate XVII

at left : هَشْتَسَتْ = hštšsty 68

at right : تَاوْكَو = TAVKU

No fillet above the left attendant's
shoulder

Fig. 100, plate XVII

at left : تَلْیَنْهَیْ = tlynhpt'ly - 72

at right : سَمَ = ST

Fig. 102, plate XVI

at left : دَوَّیْسَتْ = dwšstw (or ššstw?)
: 62 (or 66?)

at right : سَمَ = SK

Fig. 85, plate XV

at left : سَیْسَتْ = syšst = 63

at right : سَمَ = SK

Fig. 84, plate XIV

*Obverse**Tā'ī i Pilgun*

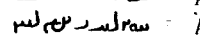
111. name :  t'y y
 *pylgwnw*
 Margin :
 at 1st quarter : c/m 
 at 2nd quarter :  bismi
 'llāh
 at 3rd quarter :  GDH
'pznw
 at 4th quarter : c/m  = t'y
 dots at 01 00, 07 00 and 11 00
 Private collection, Tehran

Reverse

- at left :  = *hptšs* = 67
 at right :  = ŠTRISTAN
 Margin :
 at 1st quarter :  GDH
 at 2nd quarter :  *'pznw*
 dots at 11 30 and 12 30

Fig. 89, plate XV

'Abdu'aziz b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir type

112. name :
 = *'pdwl'z yz y*
 = *'pdwl' y 'myl'n*
 Ornaments : E1 B2, no crescent on
 left shoulder
 Margin :
 1st quarter : 
 2nd quarter :  bismi
 'llāh
 3rd quarter :  = al-'Aziz
 Private collection, Tehran

- 1st line :  = *dwhpt't* = 72
 2nd line :  = *yzdtw* I BRA
 WLH
 3rd line :  = AHRN *yzdtw*
 LWYTW
 4th line :  = *mhm't*
ptgmb'l y yzdt
 5th line :  = SK

Fig. 86, plate XV

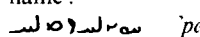
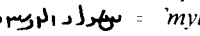
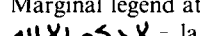
Muṣ'ab b. 'Ubaydullāh b. Shahriyār

113. name :
 = *mwc'h y*
 = *'bydwl' y* and in
 margin 1st quarter :
 = *šty'l'n*
 Ornaments : E2 B3
 Margin at 2nd quarter :
 = bismi 'llāh and three
 dots at 05 00
 Private collection?

- at left :  = *hpt't* = 70
 at right :  = GD

Fig. 80, plate XIV

Al-Qaṭari b. Fuḡā'a type

114. name :
 = *'pdwl' qtl'*
 = *'myl y wlyšnyk'n*
 Ornaments : E2 B1, no crescent on
 left shoulder
 Marginal legend at 2nd quarter :
 = *la ḥakam illa 'llāh*

- at left :  = *pnjhpt't* = 75
 at right :  = DA
between the attendant and the mint place :
 = ŠLM = drōd = peace,
 prosperity

(Walker, pl. XX, 7)

Obverse

132. as above

133. as above

*Khusraw I**Usual portrait and jewellery of the Sovereign*

134. at left:  = 'p-zwn = apzun
 at right:  = xwshy =
 Khusraw

135. as above, but c/m at 01 30



136. as n° 134

137. as above

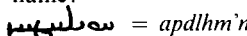
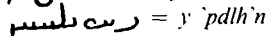
138. as above

139. as above, but c/m at 05 00

*Bishr b. Marwān*

140. as no. 117, but:
 Ornaments: E2 B1
 Marginal legends:
 in Pahlavi at 02 30:  = sw or sn
 in Arabic at 2nd and 3rd quarters:
 بسم الله محمد رسول الله
 = bismi 'llāh Muhammad rasul
 Allāh

'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abdullāh

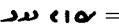
141. Usual portrait of Khusraw II type:
 Ornaments: E1 B1
 name:
 = apdlhm'n
 = y' pdlh'n

Reverse

at right:  = dyn'w = dēn-āv(arān)
 Fig. 121, plate XXI

at left:  = pnjsy = 35

at right:  = dyn's = dēn-ās
 Fig. 122, plate XXI

at left:  = pnjsy = 35

at right:  = GNJKR
 Fig. 123, plate XXI

at left:  = szdh = 16

at right:  = ZR

Fig. 114, plate XX

at left:  = hpdh = 17

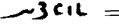
at right:  = ZR

Fig. 115, plate XX

at left:  = hstdh = 18

at right:  = ZR

Fig. 116, plate XX

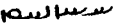
at left:  = nwzdh = 19

at right:  = ZR

Fig. 117, plate XX

as above

Fig. 118, plate XX

at left:  = ššwyst = 26

at right:  = ZR

Fig. 119, plate XX

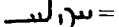
Unusual type: two bearded figures on either side of a third one facing toward him, the latter in attitude of prayer,

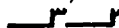
at left:  = 74 (numeral)

at right:  = AKURA

Fig. 124, plate XXI

Usual reverse of Khusraw II coins, but inverted legends,

at left:  = AKURA

at right:  = 79 (numeral)

Obverse

Marginal legend at 2nd quarter:

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ = bismi'llāh

Reverse

(Walker, pl. XXXVII, 7)

Kaysar ar-Rūmi

142. Usual portrait of Khusrāw II
type, but:
Ornaments: E1 B2
at left: GDH is missing and
 = *pzt = apz(u)d*
at right:
 = *hg = bag*
 = *xw'p = Khotāy*
Marginal legend at 1st and 2nd
quarters:
 = *fromo*
kēsaro = Caesar of Rome
3 dots at 06 30
1 dot at 11 00

as above, but additional outer circle
 at left:  = $hph = haf(t)h(aftād)$
 = 77
 at right:  = ZRNG

Fig. 125, plate XXI

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