

Some Proposed Readings on Western Middle Iranian Manichaean Texts

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Among the several thousand Manichaean manuscripts discovered in the beginning of the twentieth century in the ruins of Manichaean monasteries at Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, there are hundreds of fragments in Western Middle Iranian languages, namely Parthian (Pth.) and Middle Persian (MP.). The study of these texts, most of which are badly mutilated, has brought to light many doubtful points concerning the history of the Manichaean church and the historical development of Western Iranian languages. However there are a number of unknown and/or dubious words in some of these texts. The purpose of this paper is to shed light on some of these words.

1. MP. *'cyhr*

In a MP. text describing the creation of the world, the growth of trees and plants as a result of the ejaculation of the male Archons chained in the sky is described as:

... *'wrwr 'sprhm 'wd mrw 'wd 'cyhr 'wd gwnggwng 'rwy kyšt 'wd rwst.*¹

1. F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I", *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1932): 181; M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9, Téhéran-



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پروشکا، گارو، مہاراشٹر اور مہاراجا
پرانے، گجرات



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پرویشگاه مطالعات فرسنگ
پتالستانی

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65. **PĀRAMEŠVARA ŠRĪ VAHITIGINA DEVAKĀRITAM.** Reverse legend (Pahlevi) **hptwhpt't** (= Year 77) and **tgyn' hwr's'n MLK'**. Wt. 2.50g (Pl. 3/67).
68. British Museum. Very debased drachm (1889-8-6-1; Göbl 1967, type 246, pl. 68). Obverse legend (Bactrian) **CPI BOΓO OOHBO** and (Pahlevi) **GDH-p' gwlby xwt'p**. Reverse legend (Bactrian) **CPI BOΓO OZOPOBOOI ΓO CONO ΓOAO BOΓO XOOOHO** and (Pahlevi) **splšmr't - z'wlst'n**. Wt. 4.25g (Pl. 3/68).

Arab-Sasanian Issue

69. Private, London. Bronze (Mitchiner 1978, fig. 1347; cf. Curiel and Gyselen 1984: 79-82, pl. 6; Gyselen 2000, type 65a/5). Legend **hwslwb** (Khusrau) on both sides and **GDH** on obverse and **'pzwt'** on reverse ("may his splendor grow"). Additional Arabic legend in obverse rim **bismillah rabbi** ("in the name of Allah"). Wt. 1.01g (Pl. 3/69).
70. Private, London. Bronze (Gyselen 2000, type 65a/3). Wt. 1.17g (Pl. 3/70).

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Year 27

48. De Morgan 1933, pl.71/9 (Göbl 1971, fig.218).

Year 28

49. Bibliothèque Nationale (corroded and broken).

50. Surena, London. Wt.4.16g.

Year 36

51. American Numismatic Society 1944.100.46717. Wt. 3.99g (Pl.2/51).

52. Azizbeglou (Göbl 1971, fig.219).

53. British Museum (1935-3-3-1, C. Davies Sherborn; Walker 1935, pl.18/2; Göbl 1967, pl.7, fig.14/3; Göbl 1983, pl.28/6; Alram 1986, no.920). Wt.4.00g (Pl.2/53).

54. Gorny, auction 56, 7.10.1991, lot 345 (Mosig-Walburg 1997, fig.7). Wt.3.50g (some corrosion; repaired).

55. Hirayama (Tanabe 1993, no.82).

56. Muzeh Melli, Tehran (missing).

57. Private, London. Wt.3.93g.

58. Sotheby, auction, 24.3.1983, lot 413 (Mosig-Walburg 1997, fig.6). Wt. 4.13g.

Year 37

59. Mochiri. Wt.4.15g (Pl.2/59).

60. Vienna Museum (Drouin 1886, pl.18/6; Paruck 1924, fig.463; De Morgan 1933, pl.71/10).

Alexandrian Bronze Issues

61. Private, London. 12 Nummia (Göbl VII/8). Wt.12.94g (Pl.2/61).

62. Private, London. 12 Nummia (Göbl VIII/9). Wt.5.73g (Pl.2/62).

Other Related Issues**Hepthalite Issue**

63. Private, London. Drachm (cf. Göbl 1967, type 216; Mitchiner 1978, fig.1563). Vasu Deva. Obverse legend (Pahlevi) GDH 'pzwt (may his splendour increase) and spwr hwt'p. Reverse legend (Brāhmī) ŚRĪ VĀ SUDEVAH and (Pahlevi) sp krm'nš (in margin) - (right of Anāhitā) pnc ZY z'wlst'n. Wt.2.95g (Pl.3/63).

64. Private, London. (Classical Numismatic Group, auction 37, 20.3.1996, lot 2531). Wt.2.99g.

65. Private, London. Countermark of boar's head. Wt.3.21g.

66. British Museum (1894-5-6-329; Göbl 1967, type 215.1, pl.51). Vasu Deva. Reverse legend (Pahlevi) sp krm'nš'n - TŠ' z'wlst'n and (Brāhmī) ŚRĪ VĀSUDEVAH. Wt.3.38g (Pl.3/66).

67. Private, London. Drachm (cf. Göbl 1967, type 208). Shahi Tigin, Khorasān, Year 77. Obverse legend (Brāhmī) ŚRĪ HITI VIRĀ KHARALĀVA

16. Gorny, auction 82, 29.4.1997, lot 159. Wt. 4.56g.
17. Mitchiner 1978, fig.1107.
18. Mitchiner 1978, fig.1108.
19. Mochiri (Mochiri 1977, fig.916). Wt. 4.55g.
20. Münzen und Medaillen, auction (Göbl 1967, pl.7, fig.14/2).
21. Münz Zentrum, auction 72, 2.12.1991, lot 892. Wt. 4.51g.
22. Muzeh Melli (Iran Bastan), Tehran.
23. Numismatic Fine Arts, auction 4, lot 411. Wt. 4.61g.
24. Numismatics Fine Arts, auction 30, lot 165. Wt. 4.48g.
25. Peus, auction 282, 1973, lot 590 (Alram 1986, no.919).
26. Peus, auction 336, lot 161 (Gurnet 1994, pl.4/2). Wt. 4.58g.
27. Private, London. Wt.4.59g.
28. Surena, London. Wt.4.56g.
29. Surena, London. Wt.4.56g.
30. Sellwood, Whitting and Williams 1985, fig.60.
31. Spink, auction, 12.10.1993, lot 455. Wt. 4.57g.
32. Spink, *NCirc* (Nov.1985), no.7770. Wt. 4.56g.
33. Spink, *NCirc* (Feb. 1993), no.25. Wt. 4.55g.
34. Spink, *NCirc* (Apr. 1994), no.2055. Wt. 4.57g.
35. Spink, *NCirc* (Nov. 1997), no.5436. Wt.4.54g.
36. Superior, auction, 7.6.1987, lot 4234. Wt. 4.56g.
37. Trade (Göbl 1983, pl.30/8).

Drachms

Year 21: Göbl type III/4

38. Private, London. Wt.3.27g (Pl.2/38).

Year 23: Göbl type IV/5

39. Foroughi, Tehran (Mochiri 1977, fig.917).
40. Peus, auction 349, 2.11.1996, lot 257. Wt. 4.02g.
41. Private, Isfahan (broken and repaired). Wt.3.92g.
42. Private, London. Wt.4.23g.
43. Private, Luxembourg (Mochiri 1977, fig.918). Wt.3.98g (Pl.2/42).
44. Sellwood, Whitting and Williams 1985, fig.67 (Spink, auction, 12.10.1993, lot 456; CNG, Triton V auction, 15.1.2002, lot 1672. Wt.3.95g.
45. Sotheby, auction, 3.5.1984, lot 302 (date partly obscured as struck from corroded or damaged die). Wt. 3.98g.

Year 26

46. British Museum (1895-10-6-13; Walker 1935, pl.18/3). Wt.3.93g (holed in two places) (Pl.2/46).
47. Foroughi, Tehran (Mochiri 1977, fig.919).

CATALOGUE

This catalogue lists all the coins of Khusrau II of the Anāhitā type referred to in the principal works on Sasanian numismatics, or in auction catalogues since 1980, as well as specimens in a number of major private and museum collections (American Numismatic Society, New York; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; British Museum, London; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Hermitage, St. Petersburg; and State Historical Museum, Moscow). For regular issues of Khusrau II, his coins struck in Alexandria and related coins struck after Khusrau II only examples have been listed and illustrated for comparison purposes.

KHUSRAU II

Regular Issues

1. Private, London. Mint LAM, year 1 (Göbl type I/1). Wt.4.00g (Pl.1/1).
2. Private, London. Mint AYLAN, year 2 (Göbl type II/2). Wt.4.05g (Pl.1/2).
3. Private, London. Mint AYLAN, year 14 (Göbl type II/3). Wt.4.16g (Pl.1/3).
4. Private, London. Mint AYLAN, year 35 (Göbl type II/3). Wt.4.17g (Pl.1/4).

Special Issues with Anāhitā

Dinar³⁴

Year 21 (read by some as 23): Göbl type III/4.

5. Album list 136 (June 1997), no.4. Wt.4.54g.
6. American Numismatic Society 1960.10.1. Wt.4.61g (Pl.1/6).
7. American Numismatic Society 1953.101.2. Wt.4.55g (Pl.1/7).
8. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 450/1911 (Paruck 1924, no.455). Wt.6.48g. 1½ dinar.
9. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paruck 1924, no.457).
10. British Museum (1923-11-5-58; Paruck 1924, no.456; Mosig-Walburg 1997, fig.2). Wt.6.53g. 1½ dinar (Pl.1/10).
11. De Morgan 1933, pl.71/7 (Göbl 1971, fig.217).
12. Fitzwilliam Museum (CM1-1954). Wt.4.55g (Pl.1/12).
13. Gorny, auction, 5.1982, lot 238. Wt.4.57g.
14. Gorny, auction 60, 5.10.1992, lot 293a. Wt.4.57g.
15. Gorny, auction 69, 18.11.1992, lot 463. Wt.4.56g.

34. Those with weights of over 6.5g are assumed to be 1½ dinars.

coins. A reversion to a style used by Ardashīr I may have been appropriate in more than one sense as not only was he the real founder of the Sasanian empire, but also he was probably the high priest at the temple of Anāhitā at Istakhr. The selection of Anāhitā to be portrayed on these coins is understandable. The cult of Anāhitā was in its ascendancy under Khusrau II; thus she is to be found alongside the king in the investiture scene at Tāq-i-Bustān. Further, Anāhitā's warlike aspect was entirely apposite to turn to in times of war. The issues first appear during the height of the Byzantine wars in about 610 (regnal year 21) and cease immediately prior to the dramatic change in Khusrau II's fortunes in 627. Thus it is probable that these coins were struck as a tribute to Anāhitā in the context of Khusrau II's military campaigns against the Byzantines. After a long and bitter war it was the Christian forces who defeated those of the king who looked to Anāhitā, but in the end this war left both empires ready for the taking by the armies of Islam.

The basic type of facing bust on the obverse and Anāhitā on the reverse did not cease completely with the fall of Khusrau II. Although not used by any other Sasanian kings, this type was subsequently copied by the Hephthalites, who struck drachms in what have been significant numbers, and was also copied during the Arab-Sasanian period on some thin bronze issues. Indeed the drachms of this type of Vasu Deva are not particularly rare, whereas a consideration of various museum and private holdings of Sasanian coins confirms that coins of Khusrau II with Anāhitā are scarce and should be regarded as special issues with a relatively small output.

Ctesiphon. After taking enormous treasures from Dastagird, Heraclius and his army withdrew. By this stage, it was clear that victory was in the hands of the Byzantines. In order to deflect blame from himself, Khusrau II decided to execute his general Shahrbarāz, but before he could implement his plan he himself was imprisoned. At the end of February 628, the great king was murdered and his son Shiroe was proclaimed king with the name Kavād II.³³

It was not until 629/630 that the Byzantine provinces (Palestine, Egypt and Syria) occupied by the Sasanians and the true cross were restored to the Byzantines as part of a peace agreed between Heraclius and Kavād II. Although the peace between the Sasanians and Byzantines held, the war left both empires weak and unable to withstand the forces of Islam. The Islamic encroachment on both empires was swift. A large Byzantine army formed to meet the challenge was heavily defeated in a major battle by the Yarmuk river in Palestine (636). In the following year a Sasanian army was beaten at al-Qadisiyya and the general Rustam was killed (637). These victories on two fronts were followed by the triumphant entry into Jerusalem by the Caliph 'Umar in February 638, which had been in Heraclius's control for less than 10 years since he regained it from the Sasanians. By the time of Heraclius's own death in 641, the Arabs had managed to conquer a substantial part of the Sasanian empire and the Byzantine eastern provinces. Like the great king Khusrau II before him, in his turn Heraclius died in misery and in the midst of defeat.

Conclusion

The special issues with Anāhitā represented a major departure from Khusrau II's regular coinage. For the first issue it was the reverse which was radically changed with the substitution of the traditional fire altar by the facing bust of the goddess Anāhitā. For the second issue even the obverse was modified with the facing bust of the great king instead of the usual side view. In the past, it was only Ardashīr I that had used a facing bust on his

33. For the downfall of Khusrau II and the history and coinage of Kavād II, see Malek 1995. For Heraclius victory dispatch, see *Chronicon Paschale*, pp.182-188, which depicts Khusrau in rather emotive terms as a godless apostate defeated by the forces of Christianity.

success; up until then the tide was in favour of Khusrau.³¹ In 622, Heraclius sailed into the Black Sea and defeated the Sasanian forces in Armenia. In the following year, he again invaded Armenia and in response Khusrau II sent his generals Shahrbarāz and Shāhīn against the Byzantines. Heraclius managed to penetrate as far as Azerbaijān and plundered the fire temple at Ganzak before retiring northward to winter quarters. In 624, there appear to have been clashes at which the Byzantines were largely successful with Heraclius in control of Anatolia and the Sasanians remaining in occupation of the provinces of Palestine, Egypt and Syria. In 625 Heraclius led his army to recover Martyropolis and Amida. From there he went on to the Euphrates where he was met and nearly defeated by Shahrbarāz. The next year Khusrau II sent Shahrbarāz to Chalcedon and Shāhīn to pursue Heraclius. Meanwhile Heraclius divided his forces into three: one part to protect Constantinople, the second he put under his brother Theodore against Shāhīn and the third he kept with him to hold Armenia and the Caucasus. Although besieged, in 626 Constantinople managed to hold out against Shahrbarāz. Shāhīn was less fortunate, he was defeated in battle in Mesopotamia by Theodore.³² At the end of 626 the position remained serious for the Byzantines, the Sasanians still controlled a considerable amount of territory taken from the Byzantines and Constantinople was under threat. The last known Anāhitā type drachm of Khusrau II was struck in this year (regnal year 37).

The year 627 was disastrous for Khusrau II. Heraclius joined forces with the Khazars and caused widespread destruction in Azerbaijān. Heraclius went on to the plains of Mesopotamia and defeated the Sasanian army led by Razates (Rahzadh) at Nineveh in a decisive battle in December. This battle may fairly be regarded as a fundamental turning point in the war. Khusrau II recalled the army headed by Shahrbarāz from Chalcedon, but his message was intercepted. In January 628 Dastagird, including the royal palace there, was plundered by Heraclius's forces and Khusrau had to resort to fleeing to

31. J. J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, 1990, pp.286-301; B. Isaac, "The Army in the Late Roman East", in E. Cameron, ed., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: III. Stater Resources and Armies*, Princeton, 1995, pp. 132-137; Al-Ṭabarī, i, 1001-1005 (trans., Vol. 5, pp. 317-324) – for a rather inaccurate account of Khusrau's successes against Phocas and Heraclius.

32. Theophanes, pp.446-447.

In 613, Damascus²⁶ and Tarsus were taken by the Sasanian forces led by Shahrbarāz. In 614, the Sasanians invaded Palestine and captured Jerusalem.²⁷ The “true cross” was taken by Khusrau II from Jerusalem and was not returned until after his death as part of the peace agreed between Kavād II and Heraclius in 628. The shock of the loss of Jerusalem to an army led by Shahrbarāz must have been immense. The *Chronicon Paschale*²⁸ records the events of 614 in the following terms:

In this year in about the month June, we suffered a calamity which deserves unceasing lamentations. For, together with many cities of the east, Jerusalem too was captured by the Persians, and in it were slain many thousands of clerics, monks and virgin nuns. The Lord's tomb was burnt and the far-famed temples of God, and, in short, all the precious things were destroyed. The venerated wood of the Cross, together with the holy vessels that were beyond enumeration, was taken by the Persians, and the Patriarch Zacharias also became a prisoner. And this has not taken a long time to come to pass, not even a whole month, but a few days.

In 615 a Sasanian army under the generalship of Shāhīn conquered towns in Anatolia and marched to Chalcedon on the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople.²⁹ Shahrbarāz continued with the conquest of Asia Minor so that by the end of 619, Alexandria had been taken and Egypt occupied by the Sasanians.³⁰ No wonder Khusrau is known in Iranian history as Parviz (the victorious). It was not until the 620s that Heraclius began to have

26. Theophanes, p.430.

27. R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule 2*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 1995, chapter 2.

28. *Chronicon Paschale*, p.156. This is of course a hostile source and not entirely reliable. This is not the place to discuss the other Byzantine sources (e.g. Sesbos), but the *Chronicon Paschale* is good as any to illustrate the shock of the loss of the Holy City and the strength of feeling against the Sasanians. The Jews also took the opportunity to take revenge on the Christians.

29. *Chronicon Paschale*, pp.159-162.

30. Bronze coins in the style of Byzantine coins were struck supposedly by Khusrau II during the Sasanian occupation of Alexandria: Göbl 1971, table XII and fig.222 (Göbl VII/8 and VIII/9); Hahn 1978. These are found for the denominations of 3, 6 and 12 nummia: Sellwood, Whitting and Williams 1985: 157 and fig.63 (Pl.3/69). The coins have a star crescent on the obverse, symbols which are used on Khusrau II's regular coinage. Dr. Bates in a personal communication has disputed this attribution and considers that these coins were struck in an earlier period by the Byzantines.

overthrew and killed the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (AD 562-602), who had helped Khusrau to defeat Bahram Chubin at the beginning of his reign. In 604, a Sasanian army defeated the Byzantine army besieging Edessa. In the following year Dāra was taken²³ and yet another Byzantine force was defeated at Arzamon by a force led by Khusrau himself. In the following years, the move westwards continued so that by 610 all of the Byzantine cities east of the Euphrates had been conquered. During the same period the Byzantines were expelled from Armenia. The stability of the Byzantine empire in the east was unsettled in 608-609 by the additional factor of rioting by circus factions and Jews, especially in Antioch, where the Patriarch Anatasius was murdered. In 609 Edessa came under Sasanian control.²⁴ In 610 Heraclius seized power from Phocas, but in the same year the Sasanians continued their advance and took Circesium and other cities. The fall of Antioch to the Sasanians within a year of Heraclius's accession must have been regarded as a great victory to the Sasanians. It was during this period that the Anāhitā type coins were first struck (regnal year 21; c.610). These issues constituted an appeal to Anāhitā's warlike aspect in the context of the struggle with the Byzantines. They were probably minted as a prestige issue, judging by their skilled design, and to celebrate the military victories of the Sasanian empire.²⁵

Throughout the 610s, the Sasanians had success after success. In 611 Shāhīn took Caesarea in Cappadocia, but returned to Armenia in the following year. In 612 the Byzantine forces brought from Egypt by Nicetas, Heraclius's cousin, were defeated in battle and it is said that 20,000 soldiers were killed.

Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972): 295-320; G. Greatrex and S. Liev, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars. Part II: AD 363-630*, 2002.

23. *The Chronicles of Theophanes Confessor*, C. Mango and R. Scott, ed., 1997, p.402. Some sources date the capture to the summer of 604.

24. *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. M. and M. Whitby, 1989, p.149; Theophanes, p.428. Other sources date this 611.

25. To give any greater significance to these coins in the context of the Byzantine war involves an element of speculation. For example it may well be that the dinars were struck to pay for troops or even as a circulating coin in place of Byzantine solids which were around the same weight: cf. Mosig-Walburg 1997: 217. Whether these dinars in fact circulated in territory taken from the Byzantines is not currently known. The actual find spot of the great majority (if not all) of the dinars listed in the catalogue is unknown.

coins.¹⁹ This is particularly striking in relation to the curls on the top of the head found both on the relief at Tāq-i-Eustān and on coins of year 21. This also helps to confirm the attribution of the relief to the reign of Khusrau II. Also at Tāq-i-Bustān is a capital on a column with a representation of Anāhitā holding a garland of flowers in one hand and in the other a lotus.

The Byzantine Wars

One cannot help considering that the presence of Anāhitā on the reverse of Khusrau II's coins issues is connected with his wars with the Byzantines.²⁰ Anāhitā was an appropriate deity to call upon to give the state the strength to pursue its wars.²¹ For much of his reign, Khusrau II had considerable success.²² War between the two empires commenced after Phocas

19. Anāhitā is also found in various forms on objects from the Sasanian period, although many attributions to her of female representations on objects are not universally accepted. She is depicted as a goddess of love on the silver vessel formerly in the Stroganoff collection; she holds a dove and is surrounded by Erotes; the head is surrounded by a "halo" not in flames and on the top is a small globe: see K. V. Trevor and G. Lukonin, *Sasanidskoe serebro*, Moscow, 1987, p. 99; J. Orbeli, "Sāsānian and Early Islamic Metalwork", in A. U. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art 2*, Tehran, 1977, pp. 734-735; N. Egami, "On the Figure of the Iranian Goddess Anāhitā as an Example of the Continuity of the Iranian Culture", *Acta Iranica* 1 (1974): 221-228. In a different form, but also elegant style, she has been identified with a female figure found on seals: A. D. H. Bivar, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Stamp Seals II: The Sassanian Dynasty*, 1969, pp. 17, 25, 60 (BL1) and 62 (CB1). She is also represented and named on Kushano-Sasanian coins: Cribb 1990: 183-184, pl. 5/1 (Hormizd).

20. In contrast, Byzantine coinage of this period often bears a large cross on the reverse. The author has followed modern convention in using the label Byzantines, even though they regarded themselves as Romans and were so regarded by the Sasanians.

21. Anāhitā is found standing with a bowl representing water and fertility in her left hand and holding a lance on her right on the head of a Partian column at the temple of Bard-e Neshandeh. The lance is a reflection of her character as a warrior: Ghirshman 1975: 124-126, fig. 8; *idem*, *Terrasses sacrées de Bard-è Néchandeh et Masjid-i Solaiman*, Délégation Archéologique en Iran 45, 1976, pp. 45-46, 192-193, pl. 24/2.

22. This article is not the place to consider the primary sources for late Sasanian history, the contemporaneous literature is often hostile and inconsistent. For the wars, see E. Yarshater, ed., *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3(1), Cambridge, 1983, pp. 168-170; R. N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, Munich, 1984, p. 336; G. Rawlinson, *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, Vol. 3, 1885, chapter 24; I. Shahid, "The Iranian

Anāhitā

Khusrau II was the only Sasanian king to depict the goddess Anāhitā alone and so prominently on his coins, but she was regarded as an important deity throughout the Sasanian period. Anāhitā was the patron divinity (under Ohrmazd) of the Sasanians, the Iranian equivalent of the goddess Venus and a water divinity. The early Sasanians Sāsān, Pāpak and probably Ardashīr I in the late second century and early third century were high priests at the temple of Anāhitā at Istakhr. This was only one out of a number of temples dedicated to her existing in the Sasanian period.¹⁶ She was officially venerated as a mighty goddess to be looked to in times of war.¹⁷ Her presence as a key deity is reflected throughout the Sasanian period. Both Ardashīr I (Ardaxšīr) (224-241) and Shāpur II (309-379) are recorded as having sent the severed heads of their enemies to Anāhitā's shrine at Istakhr. During the reign of Vahrām II (276-283) the high priest Kartīr was given responsibility for the two sacred fires at Istakhr, which were known as "the fire of Anāhitā the Lady" and "the fire of Anāhitā-Ardashīr". In Narseh reign (293-302) Anāhitā is found at the investiture scene at Naqsh-i Rostam and her name features in the Middle Persian inscription at Paikuli. The importance of Anāhitā is also reflected by her presence at the investiture scene of Khusrau II at Tāq-i-Bustān.¹⁸ At Tāq-i-Bustān the great king is found in the centre with the goddess Anāhitā at the left of the relief and the god Ahura Mazdā to the right holding the wreath of kingship which is being clasped by the king. Anāhitā is holding in her right hand a diadem with long ribbons and her bonnet is of the same basic type as to be found on the special coin issues of Khusrau II. This diadem (or wreath) is also represented on the coins, being part of the breast ornamentation. In her left hand she is holding a vase representing water and fertility with water pouring down from the vase. The likeness of Anāhitā's bust at Tāq-i-Bustān corresponds with her portrait on the

16. C. Trever, "À propos des temples de la déesse Anahita en Iran Sassanide", *Iranica Antiqua* 7 (1967): 121-132.

17. M. Boyce, "Anāhīd", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. 1 (1985): 1003-11; *idem*, *A history of Zoroastrianism* 2, Leiden, 1982, pp. 202-203.

18. Vanden Bérge, *Reliefs rupestres de l'Iran ancien*, Brussels, 1984, pp. 146-147 and bibliography at pp. 163-164, pl. 37; R. Ghirshman, "Les scènes d'investiture royale dans l'art rupestre des Sassanides et leur origine", *Syria* 52 (1975): 119-129, fig. 5.

The coins of the first issue are therefore a radical departure from Khusrau II's regular coinage, thus denoting that they were struck as a special issue. The break with the regular coins of the same period is not total as the obverse is based on that of regular issues with the bust facing right.

Second Issue

On the obverse of the drachms of the second Anāhitā issue with regnal years 23, 26, 28, 36 and 37, is the facing bust of the king with a frontal view of his second crown. The facing bust is a radical departure not only from Khusrau II's regular coins, but also from all previous Sasanian rulers for whom facing busts on the obverse is unknown apart from the early issues of the first Sasanian king Ardashīr I (224-241). The bust is broader for years 36 and 37, a feature also found for regular issues where the bust is broader in the 30s. The obverse legend is the same as the year 21 issue.

On the reverse there is the bust of Anāhitā, but there are minor differences in style to the figure in the year 21 issue. First, the breast ornamentation is different; in particular, the triangle of 3 pellets above the diadem (or wreath) is missing. Secondly, the small bow with a bunch of hair on the top of her head is replaced by a large pellet. The bust is broader for years 36 and 37. The legend is the same, save for the date which is variously set out as follows:

sywyst' (year 23) (Pl.2/42)

ššwyst' (year 26) (Pl.2/46)

hptwyst' (year 27)

hšt'wyst' (year 28)

ššsyh (year 36) (Pl.2/51)

hptsyh (year 37) (Pl.2/59)

The weight for drachms of both issues listed in the catalogue below varies between 3.93 and 4.23g for well preserved coins. Thus the intended weight of around 4.1g is consistent with that of Khusrau II's regular coinage.¹⁵ Although these special issues are scarce, they are not so rare as to exclude the possibility that they were intended as circulating coinage.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the weight of Khusrau II's drachms, see Malek 1993 and the references there cited. For his regular coinage, see Daryaee 1997.

denoting Ērān-Xvarrah-Šabuhr (or Susa) rather than the land of Ērān itself.¹¹

In the left field is the regnal year of Khusrau II in which the coin was struck:

y'cwyst' (year 21).

The 1½ dinars and dinars for the year 21 are of the same basic type as the only known special issue drachm of that year (Pl.1/6, 10).¹² This date has been variously interpreted by numismatists as either 21 or 23.¹³ This indicates how difficult it can be to interpret legends, but it is most probable that the correct reading is 21, particularly when the legend is contrasted with those drachms of the second issue considered below which are clearly of year 23, where the initial first letter is distinctly an "s" (sywyst' = 23). The weight for the dinars is around 4.57g, and approximates that of the Byzantine solidus. These dinars are the most common of all Sasanian gold issues except perhaps the gold dinars of Shapur II (Sābuhr) (309-379). Indeed, the dinars are sufficiently common so as to indicate that they were struck as circulating coinage. The only other dinars of Khusrau II, which have the king standing on the reverse, are extremely rare.¹⁴

11. Mochiri 1977.

12. Göbl (1971) refers to these gold coins as being known for both dinars and 1½ dinars; the latter are extremely rare. Modern forgeries of this type are known, but generally these are not of any great quality: cf. Christies auctions, 26.4.1988, lot 543 and 3.10.1988, lot 1062 (Wt.4.27g; same coin).

13. Indeed Göbl (1971), referring to the gold dinars, refers to both dates in different parts of his book; p.20 (year 21) and p.80 (year 23).

14. Since 1993 there have been a significant number (by 2002 at least 60 examples in trade) of gold dinars of regnal year 36 with the standing king on the reverse: Christies auction, April 1993, lot 60 (Wt.4.16g); Spink, auction, 12.10.1993, lot 454 (Wt.4.06g). These coins, all from the same dies and in perfect condition (apart from a few worn examples from the same hoard which appeared on the market in late 1995), but varying in weight from 3.9g to 4.3g are modern forgeries: cf. Gurnet 1994; Mosig-Walburg 1993. As can be observed from the catalogue below, the weight range for the Anāhitā of regnal year 21 despite their varying state of preservation is relatively narrow: 4.44-4.61g. Genuine dinars with the standing king on the reverse are extremely rare and are only known for regnal years 13 (Spink, auction, 12.10.93, lot 453), 33 (Göbl 1971, fig.220; Göbl V/6), and 34 (Göbl 1971, fig.221; Göbl VI/7). De Shazo (1993) has suggested that these genuine dinars may in fact be of Khusrau I in view of the crown and the epigraphy of the kings name.

pellets with a star and crescent at 3, 6 and 9 o'clock of the rim. The breast ornament is a triangle of 3 pellets, and there is a star and crescent on each shoulder. At either side of the crown is a star and crescent. There is a further star and crescent above the crown, making a total of 8 stars and crescents on the obverse. The stars and crescents represent the sun and the moon respectively. In the right field there is the legend:

hwslwb (hwslwy) MLK'-'n MLK'

Khusrau kings of kings.

In the left field there is the legend:

GDH 'pzwt' (xvarrah abzūd)

(may his) splendour grow.

On the reverse there is the bust of Anāhitā surrounded by a pointed flame “halo”. Busts in flames are found in many earlier issues, but only on the top of an altar.⁸ Although, in the past, alternatives have been suggested for the identity of the person represented by the bust on the issues presently under consideration, the predominant view is that what is self-evidently a female bust represents the goddess Anāhitā.⁹ On the top of her head is what appears to be a bunch of hair (or globe) with a small ribbon. The breast ornamentation is a triangle of 3 pellets above a diadem (or wreath). The bust is surrounded by two circles of pellets with a star and crescent at 3h, 6h, 9h and 12h outside, which are in turn surrounded by a third outer circle of pellets. In the right field there is the legend:

'yl'n 'pzwt 'nyt' (Ērān abzūd anēt)

which may be translated as “Ērān (Iran) has grown to strength” or “may Ērān strengthen”, although other readings are possible.¹⁰ However, some commentators have taken the reference to 'yl'n as being a mint abbreviation

8. Standing figures alongside the fire altar have been attributed to Anāhitā for coins in earlier reigns: Göbl 1971: 19-20. This is the case for coins of Vahrām II in particular (AD 276-293).

9. Walker 1935: 244; Göbl 1971: 20; cf. M. L. Carter, “Royal Festal Themes in Sasanian Silverwork and their Central Asian Parallels”, *Acta Iranica* 1 (1974): 171-202 (at pp.176-177); see footnote 2 for other possible identifications.

10. Drouin 1886: 90-91; Walker 1935: 245; Göbl 1971, table XV; Göbl 1983: 331. Gyselen (2000: 52) suggests “Ērān has become more powerful” or “he knows how to make Ērān more powerful”.

with regnal year left and mint abbreviation right. This basic type developed during the course of the reign as follows:

- (1) Years 1 and 2 with first crown on the obverse and reverse with crescents but no stars on the reverse margin (Göbl I/1)⁶ (Pl.1/1).
- (2) Years 2 to 10 with second crown on the obverse and the addition of a star within each of the crescents on the reverse margins at 3, 6, 9 and 12 o'clock (Göbl II/2) (Pl.1/2).
- (3) Years 11 to 39 with a change in the headdress of the attendants on the reverse from bonnets to hats (Göbl II/3) (Pl.1/3, 4). The bust becomes broader and larger over time. The word 'pd (abd, excellent) is occasionally added in the second quarter of the margin. It is the obverse of this type that provides the model for the Anāhitā type coins of regnal year 21 considered below.

Special Issues with Anāhitā

Two broad types of special issues with Anāhitā are known. The first is known only for regnal year 21 (AD 610/11), for both gold (1½ dinar and dinar) and silver drachm (Göbl III/4) (Pls.1/6, 7, 10, 12; 2/38). The second is known for drachms of regnal years 23 (612/3), 26 (615/6), 28 (617/8), 36 (625/6) and 37 (626/7) (Göbl IV/5) (Pl.2/42, 46, 51, 53, 59). Both issues must have represented only a very small proportion of the output of drachms under Khusrau II.⁷ The quality of the engraving and style of these coins is superior to Khusrau II's regular coinage.

First Issue

On the obverse of the year 21 silver drachm issue is the bust of the king facing right with a side view of the winged crown as found on the regular issues of Khusrau II (Pl.2/38). The bust is surrounded by two circles of

6. The references to Göbl type is to Göbl 1971, table XII.

7. These special issues formed the basis of the design of Anāhitā type coins by the Hephthalites much later after the fall of the Sasanians: see Göbl 1967, pls.47-52 (types 208-216) for issues of Vasu Deva (Pl.3/63, 66) and Shahi Tigin of Khorāsān (77H) (Pl.3/67). There are also Arab-Sasanian bronze issues based on these special issues: see Curiel and Gyselen 1984: 79-82, pl.6; Gyselen 2000, types 65a and 65b. At first sight it may seem rather incongruous for these Arab-Sasanian issues to depict Anāhitā on the reverse, but refer to Allah in the obverse margin (Pl.3/69, 70).

the importance of Anāhitā in the early seventh century and the Byzantine wars. At the end of this article is a catalogue of these and related coins, including a previously unrecorded drachm of regnal year 21 of the same type as gold dinars of that date (Göbl III/4).

Regular Issues

Gold dinars and bronze denominations of the late Sasanian period are generally scarce. The coinage was predominantly thin silver drachms with a broad flan, which are very common. During his long reign (AD 590/1-628) the output of silver drachms under Khusrau II must have been phenomenal. This is evidenced not only by the very large numbers of drachms found in hoards⁴ and by the number of such coins in the market and museum holdings, but also in literature. The enormous wealth of the royal treasury during this period is amply illustrated by al-Ṭabarī (839-923)⁵ in his history:

In the eighteenth year of his reign (607/8), Kisrā (Khusrau) ordered the sums collected as land tax from his territories and its associated taxes (*tawābi*) and other sources of income, to be counted up. It was reported back to him that the amount of silver coinage (*al-wariq*) collected from the land tax and other sources of income in that year was 420 million *mithqāls* [in weight], which, on the basis of seven *mithqāls* [in weight equalling ten *dirhams*], is the amount corresponding to 600 million *dirhams* (i.e., silver coins). He ordered all this to be transferred to a treasury he had built at the city of Ctesiphon and had called *Bahār-i-Khusrau*, together with other sums of money he possessed comprising coinage of Faryūz (Pērōz), son of Yazdajird (Yazdgird), and Qubād (Kavād), son of Fayrūz, amounting to 12,000 purses (*badrah*), each purse containing 4,000 *mithqāls* in coinage, the whole of this totalling 48 million *mithqāls*, the equivalent according to the proportion seven [to ten] of 68,571,428 plus a half and a third of an eighth of a *dirham*.

The basic silver drachm type under Khusrau II has the king facing right on the obverse and a reverse with a fire altar and attendants either side,

4. For hoards with large numbers of drachms of Khusrau II, see Malek 1993 and the hoards listed there and Malek 1993a: 245-250, which has a listing of hoards of Sasanian drachms of all periods. The writer is unaware of any Anāhitā type coins of Khusrau II in any published hoard. This is a reflection of their scarcity.

5. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 1042; *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, trans. C.E. Bosworth, Suny, 1999, Vol. 5, pp.377-378.