Images symboliques des Yazīdīya sur les monnaies Arabo-Sassanides

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Introduction

En principe à l'époque où l'Iran fut envahí par les conquérants arabes, les monnaies que nous appelons arabo-sassanides furent émises. Elles étaient sensées représenter uniquement les indices d'une nouvelle religion: l'Islam. Cependant certaines des monnaies "mono-confessionnelles" de cette époque ne témoignent pas de la seule foi musulmane mais bien d'autres. Celles-ci étaient émises soit officiellement telles que les monnaies des chrétiens, mazdéens, manichéens, etc. sous le gouvernement de Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī (issu de mère chrétienne)¹ ou bien de Farrokhzād-i Gushnanūshān, soit clandestinement telles que les monnaies des Yazīdīya ou des manichéens. Mais beaucoup de monnaies arabo-sassanides véhiculem les indices de deux confessions telles que les monnaies du chapitre V de l'ASCWC.2

La foi officielle représentée sur ces monnaies étant l'Islam, la deuxième religion ne peut se signaler que clandestinement par des signes discrets inconnus des envahisseurs 'Umayyades. Il faudra admettre qu'une telle entorse à la règle entraînerait nécessairement une complicité au niveau du gouvernement ou au moins à celui de la maison de la monnaie. C'est la thèse que j'avais avancée au cours de la rédaction de l'ASCWC. Néanmoins, il

^{1.} Encyclopèdie de l'Islam, Tome II, Paris, 1927, pp. 929-930.

^{2.} M.1. Mochiri, Arab-Sasanian Civil War Coinage (ASCWC), 1986.

All in all, these inscriptions are the work of an author, who tried to combine more or less authentic passages copied from genuine Old Persian inscriptions with formulations invented by him for producing something really special, viz. the coffin of an alleged Achaemenid princess. Not having the faintest idea of Old Persian script and language, however, the incompetent author drafted his text in Farsi or Dari, compiled it without much care in what he imagined as Old Persian and tried to transpose it into cuneiform by means of a model syllabary or list of cuneiform characters. It was inevitable that this should come to a failure

that the statement made in this text should appear in this form: *adam
*Vrdagaynā ami, hayā Xšayaršāha¹¹ xšāyasiyahyā dugdā "I am
Rhodogoune, the daughter of Xerxes, the king,"

Text B: In this text the oft-repeated and oft-varied "protection formula" of lines 4-7 shows an altogether astonishing word-order, 12 because the only invariable element of those formulas is just the sequence of the words mām Auramazdā pātu "Me may Auramazdā protect!" in this order, i.e. with sentence-final imperative and the pronominal object being put before the subject for emphasis.

Text C: For this partly repetitive text the same objections must be raised. In lines 7-10, i.e. in the second pātu sentence, the initial position of the imperative is likewise inconvenient. But the most strange thing is the dating formula at the end of the text: It is quite surprising as such, because Auramazdā's action related before is rather of a timeless manner and not an event dated to some particular day. And it is unusually construed, too, for in DB (where alone dates are found) the dating formula of the type copied here always is given in a prosthothetical (or sentence-initial parenthetical) expression, which is resumed¹³ in the following sentence by the resumptive temporal adverb ava &ā'*then".

But even if the "author wrote in a manner inconsistent with Old Persian," ¹⁴ we must acknowledge that correct Old Persian word-forms are not lacking at all: A 1.4, B 1, C 1.3 a-d-m /adam/ "1"; B 5, C 6 m-a-m /mām/ "me"; B 5ff., C 5f. etc., D | a-u-r-m-z-d-a /Auramazdā/; C 9, D 1 a-s-t-i-y /asti/ "is"; C 11 m-n-a /manā/ "upon me", etc., mostly in those parts of the four texts which are copies of genuine ancient inscriptions. Thus one gets the impression that chance was at work here.

^{11.} Among Xerxes' own inscriptions evidence for the genitive form of his name is found only in XHa (which symbol should be preferred to "XH"), on this fragmentary text see most recently Radiger Schmitt. "On two Xerxes inscriptions," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 62 (1999), 324-325.

^{12.} For this formula, its elements and the relevant problems see Rudiger Schmitt, "Zum Schluss von Dareios' Inschrift 'Susa e'," Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran 25 (1992 [1993]) 151-154.

^{13.} There is only one exception, in DB I 37f., under special conditions, immediately following two other expressions of that kind, which introduce the person and the location of the facts reported.

^{14.} These are the words of Romey and Rose, op. cit., p. 25b.

frg. 13, 24.34 (pp. 462, 23; 465, 4) did make mention in his Persika. But in view of the fact that the initial part of this two-stem formation evidently is adapted to Gk. rhodon "rose" by so-called folk etymology, it is not permitted to transpose the Greek form of the name, which the author may have found in some history book, blindly and unhesitatingly into Old Persian. On the contrary in consideration of Buddh. $wr\delta ywn$ /war $\delta y\bar{o}n/$ and NPers. $Gulg\bar{u}n$ (the name of a horse in the $S\bar{o}h$ nāma) we are in a position to reconstruct the appellative adjective Olran. *vrda-gauna- "rose-coloured (or sim.)", on which this name is based. And because the Greek form of the name seems to have been translated from such an original in an etymologically correct way, in conclusion we have to state that the form ro-du-gu-u-n is not only incorrectly written10 (instead of *r"-u-d"-u-g-u-n-a), but is not at all the genuine Iranian form of the name.

As to the introduction of the name into the text there are, however, other objections, too, which suggest to move on to more detailed syntactic and stylistic annotations to the texts.

Text A: Here the only correct Old Persian form is the pronoun a-d-m /adam/ "I" (A 1.4). All the rest of the text is for some reason or other wrong or at least objectionable, if one applies the strict standards of the "classical" Old Persian language of the great inscriptions of king Darius I (522-486 B.C.E.): for d"-x-t (instead of *d"-u-g-d-a) see above; and neither x-š-a-y-a-r--š-a nor the king's title are in the genitive case, with which the author apparently is not acquainted. Moreover, even the structure and the syntax of the entire text are not in agreement with the linguistic usage of the authentic Achaemenid inscriptions, for compared with DB 1 39 adam Brdiya ami, haya Kuraux puça ... "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus" one had to expect that the name is mentioned first. And in addition this passage shows also that the information about the degree of relationship, which may follow, is attached to the name by the article haya etc., but with nothing more added to the father's name than the mere title of "king". This restriction becomes entirely clear from Xerxes' inscriptions mentioning his father, "king Darius" (cf. XPa 9f., XPb 19f., XPc 8f., etc.). From all this it follows conclusively

^{10.} One could get the impression that the author followed some rule saying that in Old Persian the source of NPers, o should be written with the Cu character (e.g., du-x-t ~ NPers. doxt), whereas that of NPers. \vec{u} should be written with $<\mathbb{C}^n$ -u>, which thesis would imply starting from *Rodogūn.

The passages newly made up by the author, from nowhere so to speak, contain only quite simple sentences, which are variations of genuine Old Persian texts. But nevertheless we find morphologically incorrect caseforms, syntactical mistakes and the like in great numbers as a result of the fact that the author did not take into consideration that the Old Persian language attested in Achaemenid times was quite different from modern Persian (not least as to the morphological system in its entirety).

The inferior quality of the text and the linguistic ignorance of its author as regards any aspect of Old Persian script and language is shown most clearly by a form like d"-r"-a-g-m instead of correct d-r-g-m /dargam/ "long", in which there is not the slightest right for using the <d"> and <r"> characters, since no u vowel does appear in this word. And the form v-z-a-r-g used several times (A 3f., C 3.5) in current formulas instead of v-z-r-k /vazrka/ "great" at last clearly reflects the voiced final consonant of NPers. bozorg and by this proves that the author of these inscriptions is (or was) a native speaker of Farsi or Dari.

On the other hand, there are only two really "new" forms in this entire ensemble, the word for "daughter" and the woman's name Rhodogoune.

For "daughter" we find d"-x-t, i.e. /duxt/, at least according to the rules obeyed by the author, which word is not attested in Old Persian. As the equivalent of OAvest. dugədā and YAvest. duyða, the nominative forms found in the most closely related language, we should expect OPers. *dugdā (written *d"-u-g-d-a) or at best - if Bartholomae's Law should not have worked here9 - *duxtā (written *d"-u-x-t-a). The author's shorter form in any case is not eorrect.

The personal name invented by the author, who created ru-du-gu-u-n, reminds any reader familiar with Old Iranian anthroponomastics or with the Greek evidence of Achaemenid history of the form Rhodogoune found in most varied Greek sources for different persons. Among them is also one of Xerxes' daughters, Rhodogoinē by name, of whom Ctesias (FGrHist 688),

^{9.} The Old Persian evidence which could show the effect of Bartholomae's Law is quite meagre. Only two cases are attested, where we do not see its effect, viz. the participles duruxta- "false" (= YAvest, "druxta- vs. Ved. drugdha-) and basta- "bound" (= YAvest. basta- vs. Ved. baddhá-), in which the clusters xt and st may have been replaced analogically (as they are in Avestan), so that they cannot be conclusive for "daughter". One must only have a look at the Avestan evidence

v'-i-k-n-a-h-y; D 7 d"-r"-a-g-m instead of correct d-r-g-m /dargam/; D 7 j'-u-a instead of correct j'-i-v-a; D 7 k"-n° for k"-u-n°; D 8 k"-n"-u instead of k"-u-n-u-t"-u-v (i.e., made worse by the supposed correction into -n"-);

- 2) The use of the <a> character for indicating in a superfluous manner a short a, which in reality is inherent in the preceding C^a character: A 1f., C 1f. x-5-a-y-a-r-5-a for x-5-y-a-r-5-a /X\$ayaṛšā/; A 2f., C 2 x-5-a-y-a-9-i-y-a for x-5-a-y-9-i-y /xšāyaṢiya/; A 3f., C 3.5 v-z-a-r-g for v-z-r-k /vazṛka/; C 4f. b-a-g for b-g /baga/; C 8, D 1 n-a-i-b-a-m for n-i-b-m/naibam/; C 9, D 1 t-y-a for t-y /taya/; C 12 f-r-a-b-a-r-a for f-r-a-b-r/frābara/; C 12f. a-n-a-m-k-h-y-a for °h-y/-hya/ (as the genitive case is usually written in month-names); C 14 y-a-k-t-a, where *9-a-k-t-a was intended to be written for correct 9-k-t-a /9akatā/; D 1 y-a-d'-y for correct y-d'-i-y /yadi/; D 3 p-a-t-i-k-r-a for p-t-i-k-r-a /patikarā/ (but surprisingly not *p-a-t-i-k-a-r-a!); D 3 n-a-i-y° for n-i-y° /nai-/; etc. etc.;
- 3) The use of the vowel character varieties instead of consonantal vial: D 3 i-m-i-u-a for i-m-i-v-a /imaivā/; D 7 j¹-u-a for j¹-i-v-a /jīvā/; D 7 k²-n-a-u-a-h-i-y for k²-u-n-v-a-h-y /kunavāhi/; D 7 a-u-t-a-i-y for a-v-t-i-y /ava-tai /; obviously also the cases of p-a-t³-u in B 4, C 6.7, D 1 belong here, in which the sequence -t³-u (as being in conflict with no. 1 above) at first glance is surprising; it is easily understood, however, if -u is for -v, i.e. if the whole form is regarded as a virtual *p-a-t³-v instead of correct p-a-t³-u-v. In any case, we have to take into account that -t³-u-v is here nothing but the conventional Old Persian spelling for final /-tu/. Moreover, it should be added that the only occurrence of an internal <v> character is in D 5 y-u-v-m (for correct 9-u-v-a-m /9uvām/ 'you'') after a preceding u vowel, whereas the forms discussed above are following an a or i vowel. Altogether the practice observed in those u spellings seems to be influenced by a writing system (here obviously the Perso-Arabic script), where wāw is used for the yowels a and ū as well as for consonantal v.

All these mistakes, which are affecting the interface of the graphic, phonemic and phonetic level and therefore the distinction between transliteration and "normalizing" transcription, point out that the author's virtual basic text was a would-be Old Persian text in Roman transcription à la Kent, op. cit., and neither a transliterated text nor one in cuneiform characters in the style of, e.g., Reverend Sharp.8

^{8.} Ralph Norman Sharp, The Inscriptions in Old Persian Cunciform of the Achaemenian Emperors (s.l. [Tehran] s.a. [ca. 1970]).

offspring be to you in great number, and may you live long! And what you shall do, may Auramazdā make that blissfu! for you!"

The inscribed panels are framed and lined, as it is the normal custom. Also the use of a text-final word-divider is not unparalleled in Old Persian inscriptions, as one can see from some Persepolitan texts, 6 e.g., DPd, DPj, XPd, XPe, A³Pa. But several characters are noteworthy for their anomalous shape: The word-divider takes only half the height of the line (as it is the case only in DB); contrary to DB, however, the vertical wedge of y takes the full height, so that the formal parallelism of the variants of the two signs is disturbed. The middle horizontal wedge of d^u (in A 1.5, B 2, C 1.4, D 7) is indented; likewise the middle vertical wedge of t^u (in B 4, C 6.7, D 1) is lower. The g^a character (lacking the vertical wedge and showing only one horizontal in the top row) always (in A 5, B 2, C 4) looks like an incomplete d^u . The short horizontal wedge of g (present in A 4, D 7) is missing in C 3.5 (bis); and the small vertical wedge at the top of v' in D 3 is not clearly visible.

The author's method of working can be established particularly well, where he copied sentences and passages attested in genuine Old Persian inscriptions. Apart from purely mechanical copying mistakes, which could have occurred also in "good" old texts, there are other, systematic as it were, sorts of mistakes, which are found also in the "original" passages created by the author. Those mistakes, which show the failure to follow the orthographic conventions in force for Old Persian and thus give evidence of the crude forgery, are:

1) The use of the C' and C" characters without following <i> and <u> respectively (which combination only gives them vocalic and syllabic value): A 1, C 1 d"-x-t (see below); A 4.5, B 3, C 3.4 a-m'-y (for a-m'-i-y); A 5, B 1f., C 4 r"-d"-g"-u-n (see below); C 11 \$-i-y-a-t-i-m' for °t-i-m (because C' and C" characters per definitionem, as it were, cannot occur in word-final position); D 1 y-a-d'-y for y-d'-i-y; D 3,5 -d'-\$ for -d'-i-\$; D 3 v'-s-a-n° for

Cf. Rüdiger Schmitt, The Old Persian Inscriptions of Nagsh-i Rustam and Persepolis, Corpus Inscriptionum transcarum I/I/Texts II, London, 2000.

^{7.} Here belong omissions of characters: C 13f. -8 for -b-i-8 in /raucabi8/. D 2 [d*-]i-p-i-m; probably also C 13 m-]a-]b-y-a; metathesis of a character. D 5 a-a-r-a-m-z-d for a-u-r-m-z-d-a; addition of characters: C 8f., D 1 u-l-y-a-m-i-y for u-t-a-m-i-y /uti-maj /; exchange of characters: y for 9 in C 14 y-a-k-t-a for 3-k-t-a /9akatā/; D 5 y-u-y-m for 9-u-y-a-m-/9uvian/x for k in D 3 y-s-a-n-a for y-i-k-m²/yawa/. Also the incomplete verbal form k²-n²-u at the end of D 8 instead of k²-u-n-u-l²-u-y kunautu/ may be listed here.

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D 1 p-a-t"-u : a-u-r-m-z-d-a : n-a-i-b-a-m : u-t-y-a-m-i-y : t-y-a : a-s-t-i-y 
 : y-a-d'-y : i-
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- 2 m-a-m: i-p-i-m: v-
- 3 i-n-a-h-i-y : i-m-i-u-a : p-a-t-i-k-r-a : n-a-i-y-d'-\$: v'-s-a-n-a-h-i-y :
- 4 у: y-а-г-а: t-а-u-
- ma : a-h-a-t-i-y : p-a-r-i-b-a-r-a-h-d'-\$: a-u-r-a-m-z-d : y-u-v-m : d-u-
- 6 a-t-a-i-v : t-a-u-m-a : v-
- 7 -s-i-y:b-i-y-a:u-t-a:d"-r"-a-g-m:j'-u-a:u-t-a:t-y-a:k"-n-a-u-a-
- -h-i-y : a-u-t-a-i-y : a-u-r-m-
 - 8 z-d-a: š-i-y-a-t-m: ku-nu-u:

After an introductory formula seeking Auramazdā's protection (found also in C 7-10) and an abrupt break the entire text of section 66 of Darius' great Bīsutūn inscription (DB⁴ IV 72-76) is copied here with only one substantial alteration (in the last word but one⁵), but with countless formal mistakes. This becomes clear when the text is compared with the DB passage:

y-d'-i-y : i-m-a-m : d'-i-p-i-m : v-i-n-a-h-y : i-m-i-v-a : p-t-i-k-r-a : n-i-y-d'-i-s : v'-i-k-n-a-h-y : u-t-a-t-i-y : y-a-v-a : t-u-m-a : a-h-t-i-y : p-r-i-b-r-a-h-d'-i-s : a-u-r-m-z-d-a : 9-u-v-a-m : d-u-s-t-a : b-i-y-a : u-t-a-t-i-y : t-u-m-a : v-s-i-y : b-i-y-a : u-t-a : d-r-g-m : j'-i-v-a : u-t-a : t-y : k"-u-n-v-a-h-y : a-v-t-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a : u-c-a-r-m : k"-u-n-u-t"-u-v /yadi imām dipim vajnāhi imaivā patikarā, najdiš vikanāhi utātaj yāvā taumā ahati paribarāhidiš, Auramazdā 9uvām dauštā biyā, utātaj taumā vasaj biyā, utā dargam jīvā, utā taya kunavāhi, avataj Auramazdā ucāram kunautu/

Therefore we have to translate text D as: "May Auramazdā protect the good (thing) and what is mine! If you shall look at this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shall not destroy them and, as long as there is strength to you, shall care for them, may Auramazdā be friendly to you, and may

^{4.} References to Old Persian texts are according to the system of Kent, op. cit.; OB is quoted from the edition of Rüdiger Schmitt, The Bisium Inscriptions of Darius the Great Old Persian Text, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III/Texts 1, London, 1991.

^{5.} Here u-e-a-r-m /ucaram/ "successful" (several times describing the result of actions) is replaced by 5-t-y-a-t-m /siyātam/, which in XPh 47, 55 is characterizing orthodox Mazdayasnian people. It must be doubted whether this adjective was the right choice.

Being formally out of order in many respects though, this text can be translated without any difficulty:

"I am Rhodogoune. Me may Auramazdā protect!"

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C 1 a-d-m: d"-x-t: x-s-a-y-a-2 r-s-a: x-s-a-y-a-8-i-y-a: 3 v-z-a-r-g: a-m'-y: a-d-m
4 : r"-d"-g"-u-n: a-m'-y: b-a-5 g: v-z-a-r-g: a-u-r-m-6
z-d-a: p-a-t"-u: m-a-m: a-7 u-r-m-z-d-a: p-a-t"-u: a-u-s
10 t-i-y: a-u-r-m-z-d-a: 3-11 i-y-a-t-i-m': m-n-a-i-fr-12 a-b-a-r-a: a-n-a-i-k-i-y-13 a: m-h-y-a: V-r-a-u-c-a-14 s: y-a-k-t-a: a-h-a:
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This text is composed of several sentences and phrases adopted from different sources (although they were made worse here) or even put together by the author himself. Lines 1-4 are copied from text A; after a short stereotyped nominal sentence in lines 4-6 the final formula of text B (lines 4-7) is repeated, then likewise the formula occurring at the beginning of text D. Incidentally these parallels of C 6f. \sim B 4-7 and C 7-10 \sim D 1 are decisive with regard to dividing off the particular sentences. The remaining part of the text (from line 10 to the blank space for ca. 3 characters at the end) is unparalleled and quite surprising by the date given, so that instinctively one puts the question what happened on that day. In this dating formula the numeral is not certain, although the traces visible (the heads of two vertical wedges preceding an intact vertical) fit only to "five". And the slip of y in stead of y in y-a-k-t-a may be easily understood, since both these characters begin with a vertical wedge and an angle.

"I am the daughter of Xerxes, the great king; I am Rhodogoune. A great god (is) Auramazdā. Me may Auramazdā protect! May Auramazdā protect the good (thing) and what is mine! Auramazdā bestowed blissful happiness upon me, — in the month Anāmaka five days had passed."

the course of time, after the tissues had been examined in Carbon-14 test and even the skeleton itself had been scanned with a computer tomograph. The final result of all this is that only the corpse is genuine, though not old, whereas wrapping, coffin and inscriptions are modern forgeries. Since the corpse obviously should be disposed of in such a criminal way, we have actually to do not only with a murder, but also with a crime against science, as it were.

There are four inscriptions:

- 1) Text A (in 5 lines) on a gold plaque on the breast of the mummy itself;
- 2) Text B (in 7 lines) on the stone slab covering the mummy;
- 3) Texts C and D on the wooden coffin lid (see figure 1); the inner part of the lid is divided into three panels showing in the left one (lines 1-7) and the right one (lines 8-14) seven lines each of a cuneifonn inscription (forming a continuous text) and between them a representation of the typical winged figure in pseudo-Achaemenian style; on the outside of the lid two lines of text (separated from each other and from the inner panels by blank lines) run around the entire surface in the way illustrated on figure 1: the text begins in the inner line at the top right-corner and, when the circle is formed, crosses over at the same corner to the outer line, both places incidentally being clearly marked by additional strokes.
- A I a-d-m: d"-x-t: x-2 \$-a-y-a-r-\$-a: x-\$-3 a-y-a-9-i-y-a: y-
 - 4 z-a-r-g (:) a-m'-y : a-d-m
 - 5 : r⁰-d^u-g^u-u-n : a-m¹-y :

The message the author intended to express with this is the following: "I am the daughter of Xerxes, the great king; I am Rhodogoune."

- B I a-d-m:r"-
 - 2 du-gu-u-
 - 3 n; a-m'-y;
 - 4 p-a-t^u-u:
 - 5 m-a-m:a-
 - 6 u-r-m-
 - 7 z-d-a:

the effort of treating them intensively, because for serious research on the Old Persian inscriptions they are of interest only concerning the forger's method of working. Nevertheless I regret to be unable to give an exact documentation of the texts, since I do not have publishable photographs available, but only blurred prints sent in some electronic form or other.

Wrapped up in linen in the Egyptian manner, the mummy was embedded on a bast mat and laid into a wooden coffin, which is decorated with various figurative motives and the lid of which bears two inscriptions (called C and D here) as may be seen on figure I. Its origin could be traced back by the Pakistani authorities only to Quetta in Balochistan; but it remains absolutely unclear, how it came there. It was told to have come either from the Kharan district (in Pakistan) or from the Afghan provinces Bamyan or Nimroz or even from the Hamadan region in Western Iran. This was the reason why Iran and (the then Taliban regime of) Afghanistan for some time disputed Pakistan's legal title to her property in this supposed archaeological sensation, after the mummy had been introduced to the public on 26 October, 2000 at the National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi (where it probably is still today).



Figure 1. The arrangement of texts C and D

Quite soon it was clarified that the inscription of the alleged Persian princess, who pretended to be Xerxes' daughter Rhodogoune,³ is an amateurish modern fake. This opinion gained acceptance, however, only in

^{3.} This is the correct form of the name, Gk. Rhodogoimê. Initially several wrong readings of the name could be read instead of this one in the newspaper reports, and sometimes the alleged daughter of Xerxes even blossomed into the great Cyrus' sister.