

SAKASTAN IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURY AD. SOME HISTORICAL REMARKS BASED ON THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Nikolaus Schindel

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien*

Abstract: This article discusses the Sasanian coinage from the region of Sakastan during the latter part of the 4th and the 5th century AD. Only through a comprehensive collection of material and a detailed re-evaluation of already examined coins was it possible to reconstruct a continuous series of Sakastan coins stretching from Ardashir II (379–383) to Wahram V (420–438). The implications of this numismatic evidence for our understanding of the history of Sakastan in this period are discussed in some detail, also taking into account further numismatic data from Eastern Iran.

Key words: Sasanian history, Sasanian numismatics, Sakastan, Eastern Iran.

Introduction

Having already dealt with the Sasanian mints in Khurasan during the 5th century,¹ a closer look at the neighbouring region of Sakastan not only completes the picture, but also – as I hope to be able to show – adds to the larger picture of Iranian and Eastern Iranian history in several respects. To separate the material presentation which, as it is, rests on a safe (even if small) material basis, represented by Sasanian coins, from the necessarily more hypothetical historical conclusions, I will first present and discuss the numismatic material available to me, and then consider what we can learn from it for our knowledge of Eastern Iran in the 4th and 5th centuries AD.

* I have to thank Michael Alam and Fabrizio Sinisi for valuable discussion, and Sherwin Farridnejad for helping me to find a journal.

¹ Schindel 2006.

Sasanian issues from Sakastan in the 3rd and 4th centuries²

To understand the monetary history of Sakastan during the late 4th and the 5th century AD, a short overview on its numismatic role during the 3rd and 4th century is advisable.³ With a very high degree of probability, we can state that Sasanian coins were first struck in Sakastan already under Ardashir I (224–241).⁴ Although unsigned, a group of drachms as well as large copper coins featuring an additional, unbearded bust⁵ on the obverses seems to belong to Sakastan. The main argument for this attribution is the chemical composition of the latter: it is similar to that of local issues of the Indo-Parthian ruler Farn-Sasan,⁶ and markedly different from Ardashir I's Western bronzes,⁷ as are the weights, which also show close similarities with Farn-Sasan's issues.⁸ The bust on the obverse, often interpreted as that of Shapur I as crown prince,⁹ probably did not depict him after all, since the future king is already shown bearded on the early rock relief of Firuzabad,¹⁰ and certainly was already mature in the late period of Ardashir's reign when these coins were produced.¹¹ They can often be found overstruck by Shapur I;¹² it therefore seems more likely that a local ruler of Sakastan was depicted, whose memory Shapur tried to obliterate¹³ by overstriking (although one must admit that Farn-Sasan, too, is shown fully bearded on his own coins). Some of these copper coins are stored in the Kandahar Museum,¹⁴ and this might be another indication that they circulated locally in Sakastan.¹⁵ Two of Shapur I's style groups are attributed by Gyselen to Sakastan, even if it is impossible to attain certainty for the silver drachms due to the absence of mint signatures.¹⁶ As yet, no Sakastan issues are attested for the short reign of Ohrmazd I (271/2–273).¹⁷ Under his successor, Wahram I (273–276), the first signed drachms from Sakastan are known; we are now on safe grounds as regards the minting place.¹⁸ At the same time, a star (un-

² A general overview on this topic can also be found in Schindel 2011, 82–84; additionally, this article contains ample pictorial documentation which is not repeated here. It can also be viewed online at https://www.academia.edu/4220238/Die_M%C3%BCnzst%C3%A4tte_Sakastan_unter_Shapur_II_in_Schweizerische_Numismatische_Rundschau_90_2011_S_79_110 (access: 23.12.2014).

³ Nowadays the basic literature is Alram/Gyselen 2003; Schindel 2004 (= SNS 3); Alram/Gyselen 2012; for additional coins and discussion Schindel 2009a; Baratova/Schindel/Rtveladze 2012; Schindel 2014a.

⁴ Alram 2007, 238; already Alram/Gyselen 2003, 176–177 hints at a probable provenance from Sakastan.

⁵ For the typology Alram 2003, 132 (obverse type VIII).

⁶ Alram 2007, 237–238 with tab. 1; for the seemingly correct reading of the name Farn-Sasan, see Nikitin 1994; Alram 2007, 234–235.

⁷ Alram/Gyselen 2003, 80–81.

⁸ Alram 2007, 238.

⁹ For discussion Alram/Gyselen 2003, 101–103; Alram 2007, 235–237, 238, 240.

¹⁰ Alram/Gyselen 2003, pl. 42, fig. 2 (drawing).

¹¹ Alram/Gyselen 2003, 160; Alram 2007, 236.

¹² Alram/Gyselen 2003, 277–278, pl. 20, no. 4, 5, A8.

¹³ Alram/Gyselen 2003, 177; Alram 2007, 237.

¹⁴ MacDowall/Ibrahim 1978, 69, 74, no. 145–147 (no. 148 is in reality of Shapur II); Alram/Gyselen 2003, 277–278.

¹⁵ Alram/Gyselen 2003, 277–278.

¹⁶ Alram/Gyselen 2003, 284, 286–287, pl. 20, no. 4–A8; 28, no. A31–108.

¹⁷ Alram/Gyselen 2012, 144.

¹⁸ Alram/Gyselen 2012, 162, 188–189, pl. 12, no. A52–A54, all using the full form SKSTN.

der Wahram I eight-pointed)¹⁹ is added on the obverse, a feature not seen anywhere else, which was to become characteristic of this region until Shapur II.²⁰ The star enables us to also attribute a group of unsigned drachms to Sakastan.²¹ Further evidence is provided by the hybrid combination of a Sakastan-style obverse of Wahram II, which is combined with a signed Sakastan reverse of his predecessor Wahram I.²² Under Narseh, Sakastan's issues seem to become more numerous;²³ no large copper coins are attested. Some of the drachms featuring the peculiar Sakastan style bear the Pehlevi letter S on the altar shaft, thus providing an indication (even if, strictly speaking, no absolute proof) of the provenance.²⁴ This letter can also be seen on some issues of Ohrmazd II.²⁵ Under this ruler, the large copper denomination which we have already observed under Ardashir I and Shapur I reappears.²⁶ Other than Alram,²⁷ I am convinced that the large copper coins of Ohrmazd II featuring his bust to the left²⁸ also belong to Sakastan: on the one hand, the only other Sasanian coins featuring a regular left portrait²⁹ are issues of Shapur, which I am certain, were struck in this region.³⁰ They bear the very letter S, which led Alram to attribute the Narseh coins discussed above to Sakastan.³¹ In addition, the line in front of all the left-facing Ohrmazd II copper coins which might represent an arrow or a lance³² – a unique feature in Sasanian numismatics – can to some degree be linked with the lily sceptre shown on rare Sakastan drachms of Narseh.³³ An even closer parallel exists, however, with copper coins of Farn-Sasan holding an arrow or spear,³⁴ which leads me – unlike Alram, who assumes possible Roman influence³⁵ – to believe that the depiction on the copper coins of Ohrmazd II can be traced back to a local Sakastan model, even if the Sasanian die cutter apparently did not fully understand it. I cannot conceive of stylistic reasons to rule out the attribution of these two groups of left-facing coins to the same mint. Additionally, the denomination as such is an uncommon one, and to claim that two different mints issued coins of the same heavy weight, with the same highly unusual

¹⁹ The number of rays varies, Schindel 2011, 82–83; apparently the star as such, and not any concrete variant of it, was regarded as being typical of Sakastan.

²⁰ Alram/Gyselen 2012, 159, tab. 3a, pl. 12, no. A52–A54.

²¹ Alram/Gyselen 2012, 266, pl. 23, no. 62–A77.

²² Alram/Gyselen 2012, pl. 23, no. 62.

²³ Alram/Gyselen 2012, 329–331, pl. 40–42, no. A94–A107.

²⁴ Alram/Gyselen 2012, 310, pl. 40, no. A94 f.

²⁵ Alram/Gyselen 2012, 412–413, pl. 66, no. 49.

²⁶ Alram/Gyselen 2012, pl. 66, no. 50 f., A146; on the metrology Alram/Gyselen 2012, 423.

²⁷ Alram/Gyselen 2012, 407–408.

²⁸ Alram/Gyselen 2012, pl. 62 f., no. A117–A120.

²⁹ For an overview of left-facing Sasanian coins which owe their existence to die cutters' mistakes see Schindel 2014a, 17–18 with tab. 6.

³⁰ Schindel 2004 (1), 230; Schindel 2011, 85–86.

³¹ Schindel 2004, (2), pl. 7, no. A15; Schindel 2014a, pl. 21, no. 234–236; one left-facing copper coin was among the pieces published by MacDowall/Ibrahim 1978, 74, no. 148 (wrongly attributed to Shapur I). These coins are said to have been found in Kandahar and its environs, MacDowall/Ibrahim 1978, 67.

³² Alram/Gyselen 2012, 359, 392 (there classified as a "Beizeichen").

³³ Schindel 2011, 83.

³⁴ Alram 1986, pl. 38, no. 1214.

³⁵ Alram/Gyselen 2012, 359.

obverse type, and with – to my eye – a broadly speaking similar style means to multiply things without cogent necessity.

We arrive now in the reign of Shapur II, whose Sakastan coinage I have described in some detail.³⁶ I will avoid repeating all the minutiae here; suffice it to say that four different style groups can be distinguished, which are attested by altogether 89 coins.³⁷ Without aiming at completeness (which as yet it is impossible to achieve), I was able to collect 49 silver drachms, as well as 40 large copper coins. In the first style group, the letter S known already under Narseh and Ohrmazd II is common.³⁸ Always in style group 3,³⁹ and also on one unique drachm of style group 4,⁴⁰ the full mint name SKSTN is indicated, which means that the attribution of all these issues to Sakastan is very well founded. The internal chronology of the different types of Shapur II, too, is no longer the subject of serious doubt.⁴¹

Sakastan between Shapur II and Kawad I: the new picture

In SNS 3, I declared that no Sasanian coins were struck in Sakastan between Shapur II and Kawad I.⁴² At the time of writing, this statement was correct; nowadays, with the emergence of some important new coins, and re-evaluation coins which have already been published, things have changed drastically. Let us start with an overview of those coins which can today, in my opinion, be attributed to Sakastan; all pieces are listed in the catalogue below.

Tab. 1. Overview of Sakastan issues from Ardashir II to Wahram V

<i>King</i>	<i>Drachms</i>	<i>Copper coins</i>
Ardashir II		1
Shapur II		2
Wahram IV	10	1
Yazdgerd I	3	3
Wahram V	4	
Total	17	7

³⁶ Schindel 2011.

³⁷ Leaving aside an imitation and a large copper coin of Sakastan style, but bearing the otherwise unattested signature LWH: Schindel 2011, 92, note 58.

³⁸ Schindel 2011, 85.

³⁹ Schindel 2011, 88.

⁴⁰ Schindel 2011, 89.

⁴¹ Göbl 1984, 49–51; Schindel 2004 (1), 211–219.

⁴² Schindel 2014a (1), 230.

Two things have to be emphasised: first, the degree of probability of the attribution to Sakastan varies from issue to issue; secondly, while hopefully offering a representative image, these numbers are not even close to being complete.⁴³

Before discussing each individual issue in detail, the single most important coin type has to be introduced, because it is the only one to bear a mint indication, and therefore proves beyond doubt the existence of Sakastan coinage in the period discussed here: no. 8.⁴⁴ On the altar shaft, where the Pehlevi word *l'st* ("just")⁴⁵ is normally placed, one can read SKSTN, i.e. the full version of the mint name Sakastan in Middle Persian, already well known. Once one is aware of this reading, it is possible to make out faint traces of the same inscription also on the heavily corroded no. 9. Thus, without any doubt there is a group of Sasanian coins from the late 4th century struck in Sakastan. As Tab. 1 shows, these two drachms of Wahram IV are not completely isolated; there are other issues from other kings as well, which I now believe have to belong to this region, thereby giving it a much more active role in Sasanian monetary production than I had previously thought. Let us now look closely at them, king by king and issue by issue.

Ardashir II

The numismatic material clearly shows that Sakastan remained active until the later years of Shapur II.⁴⁶ For his successor Ardashir II (379–384), no silver drachms which could possibly be attributed to Sakastan have turned up so far. There exists, however, a rather strange copper coin in the Schaaf collection (no. 1). Its high weight of 5.68 g is atypical of the period; we remember that heavy copper coins were primarily struck in Sakastan up to the later reign of Shapur II.⁴⁷ It is very difficult to distinguish the stylistic details, since this unique coin is not only overstruck on an unidentifiable earlier issue, but also heavily double struck; because of this, the images on both sides are fairly obscure. I hesitated to attribute this Ardashir II copper coin to Sakastan in SNS Schaaf. It seems probable, though, that some of the typical features of the Sakastan style – notably, the elongated facial features – might be present on this coin. Now, having trained my eye for the peculiarities especially of the style of the legends in Sakastan, I believe that on the one hand due to the strong similarities in the rounded, very delicate letter forms of this coin with e.g. no. 5, and on the other hand due to the differences from all other Ardashir II coins known to me so far, this piece does not only represent a mint different from

⁴³ My material basis was, as always, the Numismatische Zentralkartei (NZK) at the Institute for Numismatics and Monetary History, University of Vienna, as well as Paruck 1928; Göbl 1971; Mochiri 1977; Amini 1359 [= 1981]; Sellwood/Whitting/Williams 1985; Gyselen 2004; Schindel 2004; Schindel 2009a; Curtis/Askari/Pendleton 2010; Gariboldi 2010; Nelson 2011; Baratova/Schindel/Rtveladze 2012; Schindel 2012; Schindel 2014a; www.britishmuseum.org; www.amnumsoc.org; www.zeno.ru; www.coinarchives.com. Even if certainly far from complete in absolute terms, this compilation at least can be labelled fairly comprehensive at the current state of affairs.

⁴⁴ Schindel 2014a, 31, tab. 9.

⁴⁵ Schindel 2004 (1), 218.

⁴⁶ Schindel 2011, 93.

⁴⁷ Schindel 2011, 94–95.

those listed in SNS 3,⁴⁸ but can also in fact be attributed to Sakastan. Still, this attribution is less certain than that of e.g. the signed Wahram drachms (no. 8, 9), but still appears to me sufficiently plausible to at least serve as a working hypothesis.

Shapur III

For the next king, Shapur III (383–388), I know two copper coins which can be attributed to Sakastan so far. Other than under Ardashir II, there are several silver drachms which I have as yet not been able to allocate to any of the well-established mints,⁴⁹ but none of them seems to be a likely candidate for an equation with Sakastan. One copper coin, held in the Schaaf collection (no. 2),⁵⁰ displays a style very similar to that of the latest style group under Shapur II in Sakastan. A typical feature is the use of the Pehlevi letter Š in front of the bust on the obverse. It goes without saying that this is a little strange: wherever the mint name of Sakastan is spelled out in full, it always begins with a Pehlevi S, and not with a Š. Therefore, it seems problematic to claim that this isolated letter directly refers to the mint in the same way as the S on the early issues of Shapur II. Still, the same letter Š can also be found on two copper coins of Shapur II which due to stylistic reasons definitely belong to the same style group as the drachm with the mint name SKSTN. Therefore, on the basis of the parallels with Shapur II, I feel confident in attributing this Shapur III copper coin to Sakastan.⁵¹ Considering how rare copper issues of Shapur III are,⁵² it fits well with the typical Sakastan patterns now already familiar to us that this mint is attested by a copper, rather than by a silver coin. At 2.81 g, no. 2 weighs only half of the Ardashir II coin discussed above.

A second Sakastan bronze coin of Shapur III can be reconstructed; this is the undertype of an overstruck Yazdgerd I coin (no. 3; for the overtype no. 18): to the right of the portrait on the obverse, the typical arcaded crown of Shapur III as worn by the right reverse attendant is visible; on the reverse, at 6 h a large “taurus”-symbol which was placed in front of Shapur’s bust can be made out. Since this coin had an additional mark in front of the bust, rather than the letter Š as with no. 2, Shapur III apparently had at least two different sub-types issued during his reign.

Wahram IV

As stated above, the Sakastan issues of Wahram IV are of great importance since no. 8 and, less clearly legibly, also no. 9 bears the mint name SKSTN on the altar shaft, and thus prove beyond doubt that this entire style group in fact belongs to Sakastan, rather

⁴⁸ Schindel 2004 (1), 256–259; 2004 (2), pl. 22–24.

⁴⁹ Schindel 2004 (2), pl. 31.

⁵⁰ Schindel 2011, 93; Schindel 2014a, 30.

⁵¹ Thus already Schindel 2014a, vol. 1, 30 with tab. 8.

⁵² In SNS 3 I was able to locate less than half a dozen specimens (Schindel 2004 (1), 269), not counting the find coins from Marw: Loginov/Nikitin 1993.

than to the phantom mint of Yazd.⁵³ As far as I can see, the use of a mint signature is a peculiarity of the drachms with reverse type 2. Since this is in chronological order, Wahram's second variant, but the first on which mint signatures are commonly used, it is obvious that the Sakastan mint was fulfilling an instruction from the central administration in doing so. Later on, for reasons unknown to us, the employment of a signature was discontinued. We should bear in mind that unsigned drachms are still very common under both Wahram IV and Yazdgerd I, and occur until Yazdgerd II; only from Peroz onwards do all Sasanian drachms canonically bear a mint indication. A copper coin which is fairly corroded (no. 10) shows the same basic reverse type, the peculiar Sakastan style, and a crescent as an additional mark on the obverse in front of the royal bust. Whether or not the mint name was placed on the altar shaft remains uncertain.

These signed drachms provide us with enough stylistic clues that we can also – safely, I believe – attribute coins featuring reverse types 1 and 3 to Sakastan. Let us briefly list them. On the obverse, the head is generally shown rather thin and elongated. The mural element above the forehead is also rather high and thin. The korymbos can be very small, a feature that becomes more and more relevant. The twisting of the altar ribbons is shown in a rather unstructured fashion. On the reverses, the main criteria are the shirts the attendants seem to wear. On reverse 3 – more specifically what should now be labelled variant 3b⁵⁴ – the altar shaft is still square, as indicated by its three vertical lines; this seems to be a takeover from the early reverse 1. However, these descriptions can never replace a careful study of the coins themselves. The legends on both sides are also very typical: on the one hand, they are written with fine, delicate letters, which are more rounded than is usual at this time. On the other hand, the legends are often written inwards, and not outwards, as is the rule under Wahram IV.⁵⁵

As can be seen from Tab. 1 above, this king's Sakastan issues are by far the most common ones in the period under discussion. Even more interesting is their typological distribution: four bear the earliest reverse type 1, three the consecutive variant 2, and four the latest reverse 3. The internal chronology of these three reverse types can be regarded as firmly established.⁵⁶ The unusual feature of Wahram's Sakastan issues is the fact that reverse 1 is generally rather rare; it was obviously issued only for a rather limited period of time. In SNS 3, I have listed 17 drachms with reverse 1, compared with 126 with type 2, and 122 with reverse 3.⁵⁷ Despite the small numbers attested by Tab. 1, it seems that these rather strange distribution patterns are not merely a result of chance, but that another explanation is possible. We will return to this topic below in the chapter on the historical conclusions which can be drawn from the numismatic material.

A short remark might be required on no. 13. The altar flames are shown in a rather peculiar way; therefore, one might suspect that originally a bust in the altar flames (typical for reverse type 2) was depicted. However, the altar shaft shows faint traces of the

⁵³ On this see below.

⁵⁴ Not in SNS 3 because the only possible attestation then known to me (Schindel 2004 (2), pl. 44, no. A65 = no. 13) was too badly struck to recognise this feature.

⁵⁵ The only coin featuring an obverse legend 6 (written inward) in SNS 3 is Schindel 2004 (2), pl. 44, no. A65 = no. 13, which also belongs to Sakastan.

⁵⁶ Schindel 2004 (1), 288–290.

⁵⁷ Schindel 2004 (1), 294, tab. 15 (which only covers silver drachms attributable to a specific mint).

three vertical lines typical of reverse 3, rather than the mint name. Therefore, it seems very probable that the die as such was produced only when reverse 3 had already been introduced.

Yazdgerd I

While no signed Sakastan coins of this king are known to date (and, considering the lack of such issues on two of the three reverse types of his predecessor, they may never turn up), on stylistic grounds the attribution of drachms, as well as copper coins, to that mint seems very probable to me. The respective coins show the same elongated facial outlines, the same prominence of the mural element (on Yazdgerd's crown, in the centre), and also the peculiar treatment of the attendants, which seem to wear shirts that could already be observed under Wahram IV. The obverse legend, too, is of typical Sakastan style; there is no reverse legend, and the thin altar shaft certainly did not allow the mint name to be placed there. Strangely enough, all drachms known to me so far bear the very rare reverse type 3 (no. 15–17),⁵⁸ while the copper coins of the same style bear the common variant 1 (no. 18–20).⁵⁹ Despite the rather bad state of preservation, at least some of these copper coins show enough detail to ensure that the stylistic link with the Sakastan drachms can be regarded as certain. Like the Ardashir II copper coin discussed above (no. 1), the best-preserved Yazdgerd I bronze (no. 18) is overstruck; the undertype (as already discussed) is a Sakastan issue of Shapur III. The number of copper pieces known so far is the same as that of the drachms, a typical feature of the monetary circulation in Sakastan.

Wahram V

He is the last king to employ the peculiar Sakastan style well attested under Wahram IV and Yazdgerd I. Both main reverse types (1 and 2 according to SNS 3) are each represented by two coins (no. 21, 22 and no. 23, 24 respectively). All the stylistic peculiarities, such as the elongated faces and the shirts of the attendants, are still present.⁶⁰ In 2004, I thought that these coins belonged to the mint of Yazd. I had based this assumption on Mochiri's reading of the inscription at 3 h on one of these coins.⁶¹ Nowadays, this reading cannot be upheld. The alleged mint signature is just one or two garbled letters which permit no certain reading. The second specimen of reverse 2 also does not show any legible letters, due to corrosion.⁶² More puzzling are the reverse inscriptions on the coins with the earlier reverse type 1: other than the later type 2 drachms, they definitely do not

⁵⁸ Schindel 2004 (1), 323–324; 2004 (2), pl. 57.

⁵⁹ Thus already Schindel 2004 (1), 324. I concluded from this fact that the Yazdgerd I drachms with reverse 3 are official issues, and not unofficial imitations.

⁶⁰ For a discussion already Schindel 2004 (1), 360.

⁶¹ Mochiri 1998, 10, fig. 2.

⁶² Schindel 2004 (2), pl. 66, no. A36.

bear inscriptions at 3 h and 9 h, but they feature some letters on the altar shaft, in the case of no. 22 also to the left of the altar flames. On no. 21, the letters on the shaft seem to read G/Y-D-N/K-B/Z-Y, whereas on no. 22, two small and unclear letters are placed to the left of the altar flames, and on the shaft, a wavy line which in this form does seem to correspond to any Pehlevi (even if combined) can be seen. I have to admit that after consulting Pehlevi dictionaries,⁶³ as well as the literature on historical and administrative geography,⁶⁴ I cannot offer any reading. One would certainly wish to read the mint name SKSTN here, too; but this, I am afraid, is too hypothetical. While one might try (not without doing some violence to the material) to read the beginning of the word as SK (thus combining what rather looks like two letters into one, viz. S), it seems impossible to read the remainder as STN. With the other coins, we are in an even more desperate situation: not only is it impossible to read this inscription; it also seems highly improbable that no. 21 and 22 bear the same inscription. Since neither of the two legends openly contradicts my attribution to Sakastan (as a reading as, say, Herat or Armenia would), with due caution I believe that the stylistic evidence in combination with the unequivocal reading of the reverse legend on the altar shaft of no. 8 as SKSTN still enables us to attribute the entire group to this region. One certainly would have preferred these Wāhram V drachms to support this in a clear and unequivocal manner. Given the position of the letter on the shaft, the absence of a reverse legend citing the king, and the fact that on neither coin can the inscription be read as the usual l'st, it seems plausible that both pieces provide a mint name. Especially in the case of no. 21, one cannot even blame the problems of interpreting it on the preservation, since both the coins as such, as well as the photo, are fairly nice; it is the ambiguity of the Pehlevi script, as well as our still insufficient detail knowledge of Sasanian Iran, which cause these problems.

From Yazdgerd II onwards

The typical Sakastan style is no longer attested under Yazdgerd II; it is impossible to tell whether any of his numerous unsigned drachms were issued in Sakastan. There is, to my eye, no proof, or even any hint of this. There are also no Peroz issues which can be associated with Sakastan; all his drachms bear mint signatures, and apart from a few stray specimens, they can all be read and equated with a high degree of probability.⁶⁵ A rare issue earlier attributed to Herat and discussed in SNS Schaaf cannot be localised with certainty today;⁶⁶ still, there are no obvious clues for assigning it to Sakastan.

Under Walkash, a so far unique drachm seemed to attest the mint signature YZ, and thus to serve as a backbone for my earlier attribution of the entire series now localised in Sakastan to Yazd.⁶⁷ However, new photos of the same coin showed that the first letter has two vertical strokes, and therefore looks like a Pehlevi A, rather than a Y;⁶⁸ the reading as

⁶³ MacKenzie 1971.

⁶⁴ Gyselen 1989; Gyselen 2002.

⁶⁵ Schindel 2004 (1), 409; 2004 (2), pl. 97, no. 228–229.

⁶⁶ Schindel 2004 (1), 408–409; 2004 (2), pl. 88; Schindel 2014a, 40.

⁶⁷ Schindel 2004 (1), 432; vol. 2, pl. 104.

⁶⁸ Schindel 2014a, 41, pl. 48.

YZ is therefore no longer valid. In passing, one should add that this is classic example of how misleading photos can be, and that no picture can ever replace the reliability which can be gained from having the actual coin in one's hands. Anyway, there is at present no indication for minting activity in the YZ mint – I became slightly sceptical about its equation with Yazd – during the 5th century; it is first attested safely only under Khusro I. Since this Walkash drachm does not belong to YZ, also the last potential argument in favour of an attribution of the entire earlier style group to Yazd becomes obsolete.

No Sakastan issues are known for the first reign of Kawad I, or for Zamasp. The earliest indication of a resumption of monetary production in this area is drachms bearing the mint name BŠT (for Bist in Sakastan),⁶⁹ which are attested from regnal year 40 of Kawad I onwards.⁷⁰ Under his successor Khusro I, two new mint signatures for Sakastan occur: in his regnal years 8, 15, 16, and 18, drachms were struck in ZL,⁷¹ which in all probability refers to the provincial capital Zarang.⁷² Like BŠT, the use of this variant was short-lived; from regnal year 27 of Khusro I onwards, we can observe the new variant SK, citing the name of the region rather than some specific city. SK is attested, with interruptions certainly due to our insufficient material basis, until the end of Khusro's reign. However, in my SNS 4-database, out of a total of 3096 coins I have only recorded 50 SK specimens. This puts Sakastan in 22nd place among Khusro's mints. Also under Ohrmazd IV, its attestations are not very common; there are 22 SK drachms out of 2956 pieces altogether, dated to the regnal years 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 12. During the 2nd reign of Khusro II, SK remains of secondary importance; in hoards, it is normally attested by c. 0.5% of all Khusro II drachms.⁷³ In the Late Sasanian period, i.e. after the death of Khusro II, Sakastan suddenly becomes the most productive mint; but these developments and their historical implications are beyond the scope of the present contribution.

Results: coins and history

Having presented the numismatic basis of this study in some detail, let us see what the coins can tell us about the monetary, economic, and general history of Sakastan in the late 4th and 5th centuries.

Dies

In Tab. 1 above, I have listed the Sakastan coins known to me so far. From a methodological point of view, mere numbers of specimens are never as relevant as the number of dies involved in producing them. Therefore, I have analysed the dies of all known specimens. It has to be stated that the emergence of digital photography has made this

⁶⁹ Schindel 2004 (1), 133 (reading), 156 (localisation).

⁷⁰ Schindel 2004 (1), 470, tab. 47; 2004 (2), pl. 123, no. A9.

⁷¹ Data from my database for SNS 4 (Khusro I–Ohrmazd IV).

⁷² On the signature earlier read as ZL or ZR, which in fact denotes YZ: Schindel 2004 (1), 146, 174.

⁷³ Akbarzadeh/Schindel (forthcoming), tab. 73.

job considerably easier; with the old 1:1 scale, black-and-white images, it is sometimes not possible to reach a definite answer, especially when one or both coins in question are either badly struck, worn, or both (e.g. no. 23, 24). Apart from those cases where the same actual coin was depicted in different sources (indicated in the catalogue below), I was able to find out only a limited number of die identities. No. 5 and 6, as well as no. 11 and 12, were struck from the same pair of dies; no. 15 and 17 might share the same obverse die, but due to the rather worn condition of no. 15, it is impossible to be certain. Even more problematic is the case of no. 23 and 24: it seems likely that they share the same obverse die; both coins are corroded, have broken edges, and are attested only in rather mediocre black-and-white images, so a definite answer to this question is simply not possible. Accepting die identities in these two dubious cases too, the total number of dies attested by the 24 coins listed in Tab. 1 is as follows (Tab. 2):

Tab. 2. Obverse and reverse die distribution

<i>King</i>	<i>Obv. Dies</i>	<i>Rev. dies</i>
Ardashir II	1	1
Shapur II	2	2
Wahram IV	9	9
Yazdgerd I	5	6
Wahram V	3	4
Total	20	22

The 24 coins assembled here were therefore struck by a minimum of 20 obverse and 22 reverse dies; if one does not accept the die identity of no. 15 and 17 on the one hand, and no. 23 and 24 on the other, then the total of obverses rises to 22. As so often in Sasanian numismatics, die links are so rare that we obviously have only a tiny fraction of the original coin and die population at our disposal.

Metrology

As one would actually expect, there is no indication that the silver drachms differ in weight from the imperial norms.⁷⁴ While some underweight coins (e.g. 7, 9, 11, 12, 16, 22) occur there, there are also several specimens very close to the ideal weight of c. 4.20 g (e.g. 4, 5, 6, 21). The copper coins show (with due caution owing to the small number of coins attested so far) a tendency of falling weight, a trend recognisable already under Shapur II:⁷⁵ no. 1 of Ardashir II weighs 5.68 g, no. 2 of Shapur III almost exactly half of this (2.81 g.), no. 3 just 1.46 g. Since the diameters are also markedly different (30 mm vs. 24 mm), it seems obvious that the differences are not merely the

⁷⁴ Schindel 2004 (1), 103–113.

⁷⁵ Schindel 2011, 94–95.

result of chance – weight fluctuations in ancient base-metal coinage can be quite heavy. No. 10 of Wahram IV weighs 2.13 g, whereas the two Yazdgerd I copper issues for which I know the weights (no. 18, 19) show markedly lower values (1.46 g, 1.27 g). It therefore seems that the ideal weights of the copper coins in Sakastan declined heavily during the approx. 40 year-period on which this paper focuses. While in the beginning the coppers were untypically heavy, and represented a local peculiarity of Sakastan, by the end of this period the weights are basically the same as those of the other base-metal coins from the central parts of the Sasanian Empire.⁷⁶

Monetary circulation and its historical implications

As clearly indicated in Tab. 1, copper coins from Sakastan are common: their numerical relationship with the drachms is c. 1 : 2.5 (7 : 17), a truly remarkable value considering that the overall data among the coins depicted in SNS 3 is 27 : 1 for Ardashir II, 83 : 5 for Shapur III, 136 : 7 for Wahram IV, 156 : 9 for Yazdgerd I, and finally 102 : 18 for Wahram V.⁷⁷ Amazingly enough, for the last king mentioned here, when copper coins generally become more common, no base-metal coins from Sakastan are attested so far.

Our knowledge of the actual monetary circulation in Sakastan is quite limited, to say the least, due primarily to the absence of larger numbers of coins from archaeological excavations. Some minor insights can be gained from local museum collections: in the Kandahar Museum, one local copper coin of Ardashir I is catalogued, three (or seven, including four uncertain specimens) heavy bronzes of Shapur I, thus in all probability also of local Sakastan mintage, and one left-facing Shapur II.⁷⁸ Since the descriptions are not very detailed, and most coins not depicted in the plates, the attribution of two drachms of Shapur II, and one silver coin of Wahram IV has to remain uncertain. Two issues of the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares, three of Pakores, and six of Farn-Sasan (then still labelled Ardimitra) should also be mentioned.⁷⁹ From the Herat Museum, Alram has published five Indo-Parthian coins (four Pakores, one Farn-Sasan), two Sakastan copper coins of Shapur I, as well as two copper tetradrachms of Kanishka I.⁸⁰ Even if Herat lies in Arachosia, and not in Sakastan, this evidence is interesting since it offers one of the few glimpses at the merger of Sasanian, Indo-Parthian, and Kushan coins in the local monetary circulation of the 3rd century AD.

However, the Sakastan copper coins can possibly give us important insights into the monetary conditions and connections during the 3rd, 4th, and 5th centuries, even if much of what follows necessarily has to be quite hypothetical for the time being. First and foremost, the metrological basis of the Sasanian copper coins from Sakastan needs to be addressed. Ardashir's heaviest base-metal issues from Western Iran ("Ctesiphon"

⁷⁶ It should be emphasised that we do not yet really understand the metrological basis of Sasanian copper coins in the 5th and 6th century: Schindel 2004 (1), 116–118.

⁷⁷ Schindel 2004 (1), 48, tab. 2.

⁷⁸ MacDowall/Ibrahim 1978, 74, pl. 2.

⁷⁹ MacDowall/Ibrahim 1978, 73–74, pl. 1.

⁸⁰ Alram, forthcoming.

and “Ecbatana”) weigh between 14.82 g and 17.85 g.⁸¹ His Sakastan copper coins, on the contrary, show a different weight distribution, between 7.58 g and 11.85 g.⁸² Alram has noticed this difference,⁸³ and also cited the allegedly similar weights of some of Farn-Sasan’s coins as a possible model.⁸⁴ The majority of them, however, display the same averages as Pakores and the later Indo-Parthian copper coins showing Nike on the reverse, i.e. around 7–8 g.⁸⁵ A weight standard of c. 11 g may be attested on some coins of Farn-Sasan, but only in a rather shadowy fashion, and apparently not in a consistent way. However, such weights around 11 g are very common on Kushan coins from group 3 of Huvishka to the earlier types in the name of Vasudeva I.⁸⁶ This is a slightly unexpected observation. According to the modern orthodoxy, Year One of Kanishka I equates to 127 AD. According to this theory (and a theory it is, not an established fact), Vasudeva I’s reign began around 191 AD; he is last attested in inscriptions dated to year 98 of the Kanishka Era, which would correspond 225 AD. However, there can be no doubt that by the end of his reign, the weights of Kushan copper coins had dropped markedly; for his rival Kanishka II, basically no coins heavier than 8.5 g are attested.⁸⁷ One might certainly claim that Farn-Sasan created the weight standard of c. 11 g independently, even if this seems unlikely to me. An alternative explanation is that coins were issued in Sakastan the metrological basis of which was already obsolete in the Kushan Empire; but this too is a rather unconvincing assumption, since one wonders why Ardashir did not simply introduce the imperial Sasanian weight standard, once the Kushan model had become obsolete. If one looks at the metrology of Sasanian Sakastan in a totally unbiased fashion, then it seems logical to date at least the beginning of the use of this 11 g weight standard roughly to the same time as its existence in the Kushan Empire; then, however, the reign of Huvishka falls into the 3rd century AD. It is of great importance that in the Kandahar Museum, Kushan coins were by far the most common group: MacDowall and Ibrahim listed six coins of Kujula Kadphises, ten of Soter Megas, three of Vima Kadphises, twelve of Kanishka I, 58 of Huvishka, 15 Oesho-type and four Ardokhsho-type Late Kushan copper coins.⁸⁸ This proves that Kushan copper coins had a huge impact on the monetary circulation of Sakastan in the 3rd and 4th centuries; it is therefore certainly plausible that these numerous issues had an influence on the local minting practices of the late Indo-Parthians as well as those of the Sasanians. The fact that the majority of the Huvishka coins listed above are lightweight unofficial issues does not change this. This is not to say that an isolated metrological observation can serve as an argument for an alternative solution of the complex question of Year One of Kanishka I. Still, considering that a lacuna of some 35 years (a full generation) exists between the end of the use of the 11 g weight standard in the Kushan Empire (c. 200 AD), and the approximate date of Ardashir I’s heavy Sakastan copper issues (c. 235 AD), that in the Kushan Empire during

⁸¹ Alram/Gyselen 2003, 166.

⁸² Alram/Gyselen 2003, pl. 17–18.

⁸³ Alram 2007, 238.

⁸⁴ Alram 2007, 235.

⁸⁵ Senior 2001 (2), 184–189.

⁸⁶ Göbl 1984, pl. 89–104.

⁸⁷ Göbl 1984, pl. 110–112.

⁸⁸ MacDowall/Ibrahim 1978, 72–74.

these years markedly lighter coins were issued, and that lightweight Kushan coins are common in the Kandahar Museum, it seems at least a little doubtful whether the current generally accepted view on Kushan chronology really holds true. I have expressed this scepticism previously.⁸⁹

Further historical conclusions

At the beginning, an obvious fact should be stated: due to the almost continuous series of Sasanian coins from the later reign of Ardashir I to the later reign of Wahram V (with the only lacuna so far in the short reign of Ohrmazd I), there can be hardly any doubt that Sakastan was firmly under Sasanian control for this period of approx. 200 years. Admittedly, if there had been an interruption, say, for some years under Shapur II, we would probably be unable to recognise it from the numismatic evidence; in theory it might lie behind one of the stylistic changes. Still, in my opinion the stylistic continuity from the late reign of Shapur II to Shapur III, and then up to Wahram V, argues for a continuous, undisturbed Sasanian control of Sakastan, or at least of its main mint, which we can in all probability locate in the provincial capital Zarang.⁹⁰ Considering the lack of direct historical sources on Eastern Iran in the 4th and 5th centuries, this in itself is already a relevant result. However, looking at coinage in Sakastan from a broader perspective, we can go even farther than this.

Let us start with administrative geography.⁹¹ We are in the fortunate situation of knowing approximately the area ruled by at least one Sasanian governor of Sakastan, namely Shapur, son of the great king Ohrmazd, who left an inscription in Persepolis. There, he is styled “king of the Sakas, king of Hindustan, Sakastan and Turan up to the sea-shore.”⁹² This inscription is dated to regal year 2 of Shapur II; another inscription from Persepolis, composed by a certain Slok, “judge of Yawed-Shapur and Kawar” (Kabul?), is dated to regal year 18 of the same King of Kings, and strongly implies that at that date, Shapur Sakanshah was still in power.⁹³ Because of the stylistic and typological evidence, there can be no doubt that, during Shapur Sakanshah’s tenure, coins of Shapur II’s early types, which belong to his Sakastan style group 1, were struck in this region; they definitely belong to the same period of c. 17 years during which Shapur Sakanshah is epigraphically attested. Thus, even when a high-ranking member of the royal dynasty ruled Sakastan with the royal title, coin production was carried out in the name of the great king. As shown some years ago by Nikitin,⁹⁴ the Sakanshah did not strike coins in his own name; the only local governor to do so was the Kushanshah (more accurately, a main governor and a sub-governor, in changing geographical settings).

Looking in detail at the coins presented above, one certainly wonders why there are so many specimens of the otherwise rare reverse type 1 of Wahram IV. One possible

⁸⁹ Schindel 2005; Schindel 2009b; Schindel 2012; Schindel 2014b.

⁹⁰ Schindel 2004 (1), 167.

⁹¹ Of fundamental importance for this topic: Gyselen 1989; Gyselen 2002.

⁹² Back 1978, 492–494; Schindel 2004 (2), 461.

⁹³ Back 1978, 495–497; Schindel 2004 (2), 461; Schindel 2011, 94.

⁹⁴ Nikitin 1999.

explanation is that this king, who had ruled Kerman before becoming Shahanshah,⁹⁵ paid money not only to his local supporters in this region (his KL issues are unusually common),⁹⁶ but also to people in Sakastan. These payments definitely took place after he had established his power over the entire Sasanian Empire, since they already bear his imperial crown, and display a reverse type attested throughout the entire Sasanian Empire. The comparatively large output of these early drachms might represent money produced locally to be handed over, in all probability, to members of the military establishment of Sakastan, either for services rendered when Wahram ascended the throne, or to ensure their continuing support. While this interpretation is certainly hypothetical, it might open new possibilities for learning about local alliances and policy-making from a careful, detailed analysis of the numismatic material.⁹⁷

Another, equally hypothetical, but potentially more important topic is the end of Sakastan coinage under, or after, Wahram V. It is certainly problematic to argue *ex silentio*, especially in numismatics, since it may be that tomorrow some Sakastan coins of Yazdgerd II turn up, which then completely change the hypothesis formulated below. Still, in the current state of research, there are no Sakastan coins of this king. What is more, there are also no longer silver drachms from Marw: a continuous, stylistically coherent group of precious-metal as well as copper coins can be observed stretching from Ardashir II to Wahram V;⁹⁸ its distribution patterns are thus very similar to Sakastan. While there are local copper coins issued in the name of Yazdgerd II in Marw,⁹⁹ I doubt that the few gold and silver coins bearing his image are official Sasanian issues.¹⁰⁰ Under Peroz, there are definitely no Marw issues known so far.¹⁰¹ The situation in Herat, the second important Sasanian mint in Khurasan, is slightly different: here, the continuous style group starting – in its most obvious form – under Wahram IV comes to an end during the reign of Wahram V; his later coins show a completely different style. Under Yazdgerd II, the signature HLYDY is still attested, featuring the same style as in the later reign of Wahram V. While there are twelve Herat drachms of Wahram IV in SNS 3,¹⁰² 14 of Yazdgerd I,¹⁰³ and seven of Wahram V,¹⁰⁴ under Yazdgerd II only a single Herat drachm was listed.¹⁰⁵ Under Peroz, too, only one Herat drachm was attested in SNS 3.¹⁰⁶ Another coin listed under Herat in SNS 3 cannot in fact be attributed to a specific mint.¹⁰⁷

This means that the number of coins attested for the three Easternmost Sasanian mints (Marw, Herat, and Sakastan), which form a line running from the North to the

⁹⁵ Schindel 2004 (1), 313–314.

⁹⁶ Schindel 2004 (1), 308.

⁹⁷ Compared e.g. with the highly problematic (to put it politely) book by Pourshariati 2008, this approach has the advantage that it is connected to actual contemporary sources.

⁹⁸ Schindel 2004 (1), 495–501; 2004 (2), pl. 142; Schindel 2008.

⁹⁹ Loginov/Nikitin 1993; Schindel 2004 (1), 382; 2004 (2), pl. 72.

¹⁰⁰ Schindel 2004 (1), 382.

¹⁰¹ Schindel 2004 (1), 402.

¹⁰² Schindel 2004 (1), 294.

¹⁰³ Schindel 2004 (1), 327.

¹⁰⁴ Schindel 2004 (1), 351.

¹⁰⁵ Schindel 2004 (1), 376.

¹⁰⁶ Schindel 2004 (1) 408; 2004 (2), pl. 88.

¹⁰⁷ Schindel 2004 (1), 408–409; 2004 (2), pl. 88.

South, greatly declines under Yazdgerd II. After the defeat of Peroz by the Hephthalites in 484, to repeat it once again, all Khurasan was lost to the Sasanians; it was regained, on the basis of coinage, only in the 20s of the 2nd reign of Kawad I.¹⁰⁸ The new evidence from Sakastan seems to hint at the possibility that even before the disaster of 484, the East of the Sasanian realm suffered some instability; I guessed at something like this already in SNS 3, when I raised – with due caution – the possibility that, for example, the stylistic change in Herat under Wahram V might bear witness to a temporary loss of this mint to external enemies.¹⁰⁹ Nowadays, I feel even more confident that the Sasanians had to struggle to control the Eastern parts of their empire in the middle of the 5th century; reports about protracted warfare, which was not necessarily always successful, are available for both Wahram V¹¹⁰ and Yazdgerd II,¹¹¹ not to mention Peroz.¹¹² Without discussing all the details and all the minor source problems here, it seems that during much of the second and third quarters of the 5th century, both Khurasan and Sakastan were in turmoil; the nadir of Sasanian power was brought about by the defeat of 484, as was the loss of Khurasan (and, one might guess, probably also of Sakastan).¹¹³ Interestingly enough, the imperial recovery under Kawad I has so far attracted little interest, despite the fact that – according to the present reconstruction – he managed not merely to undo the effects of one single unfortunate battle, but to put a definite end to almost half a century of political and military problems in the East. The re-emergence of a powerful enemy in the East (the Turks under Ohrmazd IV) dates to the late 6th century; and nowhere in the numismatic material can we trace a similar cessation of coin production as is recognisable in the 5th century, especially after 484.

Catalogue

The catalogue is arranged by ruler, type (according to SNS 3), and falling weights. If available, weight (in grams), diameter (in millimetres), die axis (according to the watch), as well as any noteworthy technical peculiarities are listed. The location and earlier publication are also given. Coins marked with * are shown on the plates; I have concentrated on pieces for which I had high-quality photos at my disposal, and avoided reproducing images which are already of mediocre resolution.

Ardashir II (379–383)

Type Ic/1a

1*. AE. 5.68 g. 30 mm. 3 h. Schaaf coll.; Schindel 2014a, pl. 27, no. 307

¹⁰⁸ Schindel 2004 (1), 426, 489–491; Schindel 2006.

¹⁰⁹ Schindel 2004 (1), 357–358.

¹¹⁰ Schindel 2004 (1), 365.

¹¹¹ Schindel 2004 (1), 386.

¹¹² Schindel 2004 (1), 414–418.

¹¹³ Also the evidence of the Sasanian-type coinage in Sind hints at this: Schindel 2004 (1), 507–509; 2004 (2), pl. 145.

Shapur III (383–388)**Type Ib1/1c**

- 2*. AE. 2.81 g. 24 mm. 4 h. Schaaf coll.; Schindel 2014a, pl. 29, no. 324
 3*. AE. 1.46 g. 29 mm 3 h. CNG electronic auction 321, 26.02.2014, no. 278 (undertype) (= no. 3)

Wahram IV (388–399)**Type Ia3/1a**

4. AR. Δ. 4.21 g. 24 mm. 3 h. CNG Electronic Auction 201, 17.12.2008, no. 202 = <http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=50726>.
 5*. AR. Δ. 4.17 g. 26 mm. 3 h. CNG Mail Bid Sale 79, 17.09.2008, no. 548 = Schaaf coll.; Schindel 2014a, pl. 33, no. 363 (same obv. die as no. 6)
 6. AR. Δ. 4.15 g. 24 mm. 3 h. CNG Electronic Auction 207, 25. 03.2009, no. 272 (same obv. die as no. 5)
 7. AR. Δ. 3.75 g. 24 mm. 2 h. Berlin/Löbbecke (7079); Schindel 2004, vol. 1, pl. 41, no. 64

Type Ib1/2a

- 8*. AR. Δ. Gurnet coll.; Schindel 2014a, p. 31, tab. 9
 9. AR. Δ. 3.81 g. British Museum 1894.0506.1285 = http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=905250&partId=1&searchText=1894,0506.1285+&page=1.

Type Ib3/2a

- 10*. AE. 2.13 g. 22 mm. 3 h. CNG Electronic Auction 314, 6.11.2013, no. 235

Type Ic/3b¹¹⁴

11. AR. Δ. 3.87 g. 22 mm. Nelson 2011, 365, no. 893 (same obv./rev. die as no. 12)
 12*. AR. Δ. 3.66 g. 22 mm. 3 h. CNG Electronic Auction 217, 26.08.2009, no. 248 = Schaaf coll.; Schindel 2014a, pl. 33, no. 364 (same obv./rev. die as no. 11)
 13. AR. Δ. 23 mm. NZK; Schindel 2004 (2), pl. 44, no. A65
 14. AR. Δ. Mitchiner 1978, 163, no. 936

Yazdgerd I (399–420)**Type Ia1/3**

- 15*. AR. Δ. 4.05 g. 25 mm. 3 h. Triton 14, 4.01.2011, no. 505; Schindel 2004 (2), pl. 57, no. A69 (same obv./rev. die as no. 17?)
 16*. AR. Δ. 3.66 g. 22 mm. 3 h. Schaaf coll.; Schindel 2014a, pl. 37, no. 401
 17. AR. Δ. Göbl 1971, pl. 9, no. 149 (same obv./rev. die as no. 15?)

¹¹⁴ Not in Schindel 2014a; the type numbering is continued.

Type Ia1/1a (SNS)

- 18*. AE. 1.46 g. 29 mm 3 h. CNG Electronic Auction 321, 26.02.2014, no. 278 (= no. 3)
 19. AE. 1.27 g. 19 mm. Private coll.
 20. AE. 14 mm. NZK; Schindel 2004 (2), pl. 58, no. N4

Wahram V (420–438)**Type Ib2/1**

21. AR. Δ. 4.14 g. 27 mm. 3 h. NZK; Schindel 2004 (2), pl. 66, no. A35
 22. AR. Δ. 2.92 g. 24 mm. Nelson 2011, 369, no. 921

Type Ib1/2

23. AR. Δ. 26 mm. NZK; Schindel 2004 (2), pl. 66, no. A36 (same obv. die as no. 24?)
 24. AR. Δ. Mochiri 1998, 11, no. 1 (same obv. die as no. 23?)

ABBREVIATIONS

CNG – Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Lancaster, Pennsylvania – London, England
 NZK – Numismatische Zentralkartei at the Institute for Numismatics and Monetary History, University of Vienna
 SNS – *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alram, M. (1986), *Nomina Propria Iranica in Nummis. Materialgrundlagen zu den iranischen Personennamen auf antiken Münzen*, Wien.
 Alram, M. (2007), Ardashir's Eastern Campaign and the Numismatic Evidence, in: J. Cribb, G. Herrmann (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*, London: 227–242.
 Alram, M., Gyselen, R. (2003), *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Paris–Berlin–Wien*, Bd. I: *Ardashir I.–Shapur I.*, Wien.
 Alram, M., Gyselen, R. (2012), *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Paris–Berlin–Wien*, Bd. II: *Ohrmazd I.–Ohrmazd II.*, Wien.
 Amini, A. (1359) [= 1981], *Sassanian Coins*, Teheran.
 Back, M. (1978), *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften. Studien zur Orthographie und Phonologie des Mittelpersischen der Inschriften zusammen mit einem etymologischen Index des mittelpersischen Wortguts und einem Textcorpus der behandelten Inschriften*, Leiden.

- Baratova, L., Schindel, N., Rtveldze, E. (2012), *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Usbekistan: Sasanische Münzen und ihre Imitationen aus Bukhara, Termes und Chaganian*, Wien.
- Curtis, V.S., Askari, M.E., Pendleton, E.J. (2010), *Sasanian Coins in the National Museum of Iran*, vol. 1: *Ardashir I–Hormizd IV*, London.
- Gariboldi, A. (2010), *Sasanian Coinage and History. The Civic Numismatic Collection of Milan*, Costa Mesa.
- Göbl, R. (1971), *Sasanian Numismatics*, Braunschweig.
- Göbl, R. (1984), *Münzprägung des Kušānreiches*, Wien.
- Gyselen, R. (1989), *La géographie administrative de l'empire sassanide. Les Témoignages sigillographiques*, (Res Orientales 1), Paris.
- Gyselen, R. (2002), *Nouveaux matériaux pour la géographie historique de l'empire Sassanide: Sceaux administratifs de la collection Ahmad Saeedi*, Paris.
- Gyselen, R. (2004), New Evidence for Sasanian Numismatics. The Collection of Ahmad Saeedi, *Res Orientales* 15: 49–140.
- Loginov, S.D., Nikitin, A.B. (1993), Sasanian Coins of the Late 4th–7th Centuries from Merv, *Mesopotamia* 25: 271–296.
- MacDowall, D.W., Ibrahim, M. (1978), Pre-Islamic Coins in Kandahar Museum, *Ancient Afghanistan* 1: 67–77.
- MacKenzie, D.N. (1971), *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London.
- Mochiri, M.I. (1977), *Étude de numismatique iranienne sous les Sassanides et Arabe-Sassanides*, Tome II, Teheran.
- Mochiri, M.I. (1998), The Mint Signature of the Mint Place of Yazd, *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 155: 10–11.
- Nelson, B.R. (2011), *Numismatic Art of Persia. The Sunrise Collection*, Part I: *Ancient – 650 BC to AD 650*, Lancaster–London.
- Nikitin, A.B. (1994), Die Münzen des letzten indo-parthischen Königs von Sīstān: Ein Abschied von “Ardamitra“, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 102: 167–170.
- Nikitin, A.B. (1999), Notes on the Chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian Kingdom, in: M. Alram, D.E. Klimburg-Salter (eds.), *Coins, Art and Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, Wien: 259–263.
- Paruck, F.D.J. (1924), *Sāsānian Coins*, 2 vols., Bombay.
- Pourshariati, P. (2008), *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire. The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran*, New York.
- Schindel, N. (2004), *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Paris–Berlin–Wien*, Bd. III: *Shapur II.–Kawad I. / 2. Regierung*, 2 vols., Wien.
- Schindel, N. (2005), *Adhuc sub iudice lis est? Zur Datierung der kushano-sasanidischen Münzen*, in: H. Emmerig (ed.), *Vindobona docet. 40 Jahre Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien, 1965–2005*, Wien (= *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 113/114): 217–242.
- Schindel, N. (2006), The Sasanian Eastern Wars in the 5th Century. The Numismatic Evidence, in: A. Panaino, A. Piras (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, vol. I: *Ancient & Middle Iranian Studies*, Milano: 675–689.
- Schindel, N. (2008), Die Münzstätte Marw von Ardashir II. bis zur Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.: Ein Nachtrag, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 116/117: 249–251.
- Schindel, N. (2009a), *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Israel*, Wien.
- Schindel, N. (2009b), Ardashir 2 Kushanshah and Huvishka the Kushan: Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the Kushan King Kanishka I, *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 198: 12–14.
- Schindel, N. (2011), Die Münzstätte Sakastan unter Shapur II., *Schweizer Numismatische Rundschau* 90: 79–110.
- Schindel, N. (2012), The Beginning of Kushano-Sasanian Coinage, in: M. Alram, R. Gyselen, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Paris–Berlin–Wien*, Bd. II: *Ohrmazd I.–Ohrmazd II.*, Wien: 65–73.
- Schindel, N. (2014a), *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Schaaf*, Wien.

- Schindel, N. (2014b), Ardashir I Kushanshah and Vasudeva the Kushan. Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the Kushan King Kanishka I, *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 220: 27–30.
- Sellwood, D., Whitting, P., Williams, R. (1985), *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, London.
- Senior, R.C. (2001), *Indo-Scythian coins and history*, 3 vols., Lancaster.





Fig. 1



Fig. 2

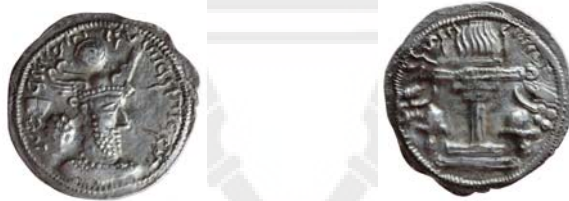


Fig. 5



Fig. 8



Fig. 10



Fig. 12



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17