

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface .....	9
Selected bibliography .....	11
Introduction .....	15
Arab-Sasanian copper coinage as a historical source .....	15
The Sasanian cultural background .....	15
Changes in the conception of minting: the evidence provided by the Arab-Sasanian copper coinage .....	16
Geographical distribution of the mints .....	17
The minting authorities .....	18
Estimation of the production capacity .....	18
The circulation of copper coinage .....	19
The archaeological evidence .....	19
Evidence provided by countermarks .....	20
The countermarks .....	20
The metrology .....	22
Problems of interpretation inherent to the copper coinage .....	24
An outline of the present publication .....	26
 Chapter I: The monetary prototypes .....	 27
1. Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian prototypes .....	27
1.1. Some historical and related numismatic aspects .....	27
1.2. The prototypes .....	29
1.2.1. The current Arab-Sasanian silver coinage .....	29
1.2.2. Arab-Sasanian dirhams with <i>abd</i> instead of the <i>basmala</i> .....	30
1.2.3. Arab-Sasanian dirhams without the <i>basmala</i> in the margin: an unattested prototype .....	30
1.2.4. Anonymous Arab-Sasanian dirhams .....	31
1.2.5. The radiant marginal dirham type of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf .....	31
1.2.6. Drachms of Khusro II with a facing bust and a facing flame nimbus bust .....	31
1.2.7. The imitations of only one side of the prototype .....	33
2. Byzantine, Arab-Byzantine and Umayyad figurative prototypes .....	33
2.1. Some historical and numismatic aspects .....	33
2.2. The Byzantine prototypes .....	35
2.2.1. The imperial bust and the uncial <i>M</i> .....	35
2.2.2. The imperial bust and the cursive <i>m</i> .....	36
2.2.3. The imperial bust .....	36
2.2.4. The emperor and his two sons, and the uncial <i>M</i> .....	37
2.2.5. The emperor and his two sons .....	37
2.2.6. Two imperial busts and the cross potent on steps .....	37
2.2.7. The cross potent on steps .....	37
2.2.8. The two imperial busts .....	38
2.3. The standing caliph type .....	38
3. The Umayyad aniconic prototypes .....	38
3.1. Coins with religious formulae only .....	39
3.2. Coins with mint-name and date .....	40

Chapter II: The morphology and the iconography of Arab-Sasanian copper coinage: tradition and innovation .....	41
1. The morphology of the coinage .....	41
1.1. The morphology borrowed from a monetary prototype .....	41
1.1.1. The regular coinage of Khusro II .....	41
1.1.2. The regular coinage of Yazdgird III (first type) .....	43
1.1.3. The regular coinage of Kavād II and Ardashīr III .....	43
1.1.4. The exceptional “flame nimbus bust” drachms of Khusro II .....	43
1.1.5. Late Sasanian gold coinage and the Byzantine tradition .....	43
1.1.6. Umayyad aniconic coinage .....	44
1.2. The morphology borrowed from the obverse or from the reverse of a monetary prototype .....	44
1.2.1. The obverse of the radiant legend type of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf.....	44
1.2.2. The obverse (and reverse?) of some late Arab-Sasanian dirhams .....	44
1.2.3. The reverse of Umayyad reformed coinage .....	45
1.3. New morphological types .....	45
1.4. The combination of obverse and reverse borrowed from different monetary morphological prototypes .....	46
1.5. The combination of obverse and reverse, one borrowed from a monetary prototype, the other displaying a new morphological type .....	48
1.6. Some additional remarks on the outer marginal elements .....	49
2. The iconography of the coinage .....	52
2.1. Coins with at least one face strongly influenced by the Sasanian monetary tradition .....	52
2.1.1. The Sasanian bust / the fire altar flanked by attendants .....	52
2.1.2. The royal facing bust / the flame nimbus bust .....	54
2.2. Coins with at least one face featuring an Arab-Islamic motif .....	54
2.3. Coins with at least one face strongly influenced by the Byzantine monetary tradition .....	54
2.4. Coins with at least one epigraphic face .....	55
2.5. Coins with a face bearing a motif with no monetary prototype .....	55
3. The motifs .....	56
3.1. Busts .....	57
3.1.1. The late Sasanian tradition .....	57
3.1.2. The Byzantine tradition .....	60
3.1.3. New types .....	60
3.2. The fire altar .....	61
3.3. The human figures .....	62
3.4. Animals and composite animals .....	64
3.5. Symbols .....	66
3.6. Inscriptions .....	68
Chapter III: The legends .....	69
1. The name of the issuing authority .....	69
1.1. The Sasanian tradition and its transformation in Arab-Sasanian silver coinage .....	69
1.1.1. Coins issued in the name of Khusro .....	70
1.1.2. Umayyad Arab-Sasanian dirhams as prototypes .....	70
- Name + patronymic: ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, Khālid ibn ‘Abbad, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Sabīh and Farrozzād ī Gušnanōšān .....	71
- Identification by a single proper name: Farrozzād, Manšūr, Dārāy Abāy, Abzāy, Kayān .....	71
- Undeciphered names .....	74
1.2. The Byzantine, Arab-Byzantine and Umayyad aniconic coinage tradition ....	75

1.3. Names of an issuing authority exclusively attested in the Arab-Sasanian copper coinage: Gyānbūd, ōstāndār, formula with <i>framūd</i> , al-Walid ....	75
2. Mint-names .....	77
2.1. The Sasanian tradition and its evolution in Arab-Sasanian dirhams .....	77
2.1.1. Traditional Sasanian mints on traditional Sasanian reverses: ART, BYŠ, ST, WYHC .....	78
2.1.2. New mint names in Pahlavi: GWBL, DŠT'(?), TNBK' (?) .....	79
2.1.3. An old Sasanian mint with its name in Arabic: Sābūr .....	79
2.2. The Byzantine and Arab-Byzantine tradition .....	80
2.3. The Umayyad aniconic coinage tradition .....	81
2.4. Other ways of indicating the mint name specific to Arab-Sasanian copper coinage .....	81
2.4.1. Traditional Sasanian mint abbreviations featuring with non-traditional iconography .....	81
2.4.2. New mint names written in Pahlavi featuring with non-traditional Sasanian iconography .....	82
2.4.3. Mint with its name in Arabic: Zaranj .....	83
2.4.4. Old Sasanian mint names written in full together with a formula .....	83
- Mint names with <i>ravāg</i> .....	83
- Mint names with <i>abestān</i> .....	84
- Full mint name formulated with <i>ābād/ āzād</i> .....	85
3. Dates .....	86
3.1. Placing of dates in accordance with the Sasanian tradition and system of dating in an era for which there is evidence in the Arab-Sasanian silver coinage .....	86
3.1.1. Coins dated in the Hijra era .....	87
3.1.2. The dates on the coins of Dārābgird .....	88
3.1.3. The copper coinage of Ṭabaristān .....	89
3.2. Dates according to the system of Umayyad aniconic coinage .....	90
3.3. Other ways of indicating the date specific to the Arab-Sasanian copper coinage .....	90
- Date in Arabic without “ <i>sanat</i> ” .....	90
- Date formulated with <i>sāl</i> (?) .....	91
4. Formulae .....	91
4.1. Pahlavi formulae in the Sasanian tradition .....	91
- <i>xvarrah abzūd</i> « May <i>xvarrah</i> increase » .....	91
- <i>abzōn</i> « Growth » .....	91
- <i>pērōz</i> « Victorious » .....	92
- <i>abd</i> « Excellent, marvellous, wonderful » .....	92
4.2. Arabic legends in Arab-Sasanian silver and in aniconic Umayyad copper coinages .....	92
- <i>bismillāh</i> « In the name of God » .....	92
- <i>bismillāh rabbī allāh</i> « In the name of God, God is my Lord » .....	92
- <i>basmala</i> and <i>shahāda</i> .....	92
- <i>lā ilāh illā llāh waḥda-hu</i> « There is no God but God, he is unique » .....	92
- <i>lā ilāh illā llāh waḥda-hu lā sharik la-hu</i> « There is no God but God, he is unique, he has no companions » .....	93
- <i>muḥammad rasūl allāh</i> « Muḥammad is the Messenger of God » .....	93
- <i>amara llāh bi l-wafā’ wa l-’adl</i> « God ordered honesty and justice » .....	93
4.3. Pahlavi and Arabic legends only attested in Arab-Sasanian copper coinage ..	93
4.3.1. Traditional monetary legends with an additional legend .....	93
4.3.2. Traditional monetary legends in other locations .....	93
- <i>xvarrah abzūd</i> « May <i>xvarrah</i> increase » .....	93

- <i>xvarrah</i> « <i>xvarrah</i> , Glory » .....	94
- <i>abzūd</i> « Increase! » .....	94
- <i>abzōn</i> « Growth » .....	94
- <i>pērōz</i> « Victorious » .....	94
- <i>abd</i> « Marvellous, wonderful » .....	95
- <i>ravāg</i> « Current » .....	95
- <i>nēvakīh</i> / <i>nēkih</i> « Bliss » .....	96
- <i>bismillāh</i> « In the name of God » .....	96
- <i>bismillāh</i> / <i>rabbī allāh</i> « In the name of God, God is my Lord » ....	96
- <i>al-'izzat li-llāh</i> « The glory is to God » .....	96
- <i>baraka</i> « Benediction » .....	96
- <i>jā'iz</i> « Current, lawful, legal, permitted, allowable » .....	96
4.3.3. Other formulae .....	97
- <i>farroxīh</i> « Glory, fortune, bliss » .....	97
- <i>pērōzīh</i> « Victory » .....	97
- <i>pērōz bavād</i> « May he be victorious ».....	97
- <i>drōd</i> « Peace » .....	98
- <i>abestān</i> « Refuge, resort, confidence » .....	98
- <i>hubaxtīh</i> « Good fortune » .....	98
- <i>farnīg</i> « Brilliant » .....	98
- <i>pad nām ī yazd</i> « In the name of God » .....	98
- <i>našara llāh al-haqq</i> « That God gives the victory to the Truth » .....	98
- <i>muḥammad rašul allāh wa lladhīn yatlūna ma'a-hu ashiddā' 'ala l-kuffār ruhamā' bayna-hum</i> « Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, Those who recite with him are violent to the infidels and compassionate between them » .....	98
Conclusions .....	99
CATALOGUE	
Introduction .....	103
Iconographic conspectus of the catalogue .....	105
Conspectus of the catalogue .....	113
Conspectus of the Annex to the catalogue .....	115
I. Identified mints .....	117
II. Unidentified or uncertain mints .....	155
III. With find location known and bearing the name of the minting authority .....	160
IV. With find location known .....	163
V. Bearing the name of the minting authority .....	171
VI. With no name .....	174
Annex to the catalogue .....	183
INDEXES	
1. Index of inscriptions	
A. Index of Pahlavi inscriptions .....	187
B. Index of Arabic Inscriptions .....	190
2. General index .....	192
3. Index of Arabic inscriptions (mentioned in transcription) .....	196
4. Index of excavation coins, coins in public and private collections, and coins presented in auctions mentioned in the catalogue .....	198
Some chronological data .....	202
List of illustrations .....	203
List of plates .....	203
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA (2008) .....	209
PLATES	