

A Late Sasanian Coin Hoard from Orumiyeh

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The coinage of the Sasanian Empire (224-651 CE) is not only the most important primary source for its monetary and economic history, but also of greatest relevance for its history and art history. Coin hoards are of pivotal importance for studying Sasanian coinage. On August 29, 2007, two jars were unearthed during the construction work for the new border sentry post of “Havār-Barxāh-loh” in the Piran-Shahr region (close to the frontier village of Tamar-Chin, about 35 kilometres away from Piran-Shahr). The work was carried out by military personnel belonging to the frontier guard’s regiment. The jars contained altogether 1267 Sasanian silver coins, mostly from the Khusro II (590–628) period. Also numerous drachms of Khusro I (531–578) and Ohrmazd IV (578–590) were present, as well as a few late pieces of Ohrmazd VI, Queen Azarmigdukht, and one early Arab-Sasanian drachm.

Keywords: Piran-shahr; Orumiyeh; Sasanian coins; Sasanian mints; Sasanian monetary history

Introduction

Coins are among the most important sources of the history of pre-Islamic Iran; in some cases, they offer the most relevant insights, and sometimes represent the only source for certain historical events. This is also true for the Sasanian period. First and foremost, there are almost no other sources for Sasanian coinage other than the coins themselves, so naturally numismatic research in this field rests entirely on numismatic material.¹ Since coinage was one of the few areas where even pre-modern states achieved mass production, and since coins formed not only the major medium of exchange, but also the most important means of imperial propaganda, their relevance can hardly be overestimated. Let us start with one of the most basic points: only the combination of crowns, royal names as provided by the obverse legends, and finally the internal sequence of coin issues has enabled archaeologists to identify images of Sasanian kings in various artistic media such as rock reliefs, silver ware, etc. Without coins, in most cases it would be impossible to know which king is actually depicted. Another very relevant

topic is administrative geography. While seals from the later Sasanian period provide us with the basic data on administrative units, and the full names of places which are attested only in abbreviated forms on the coins (Gyselen 1989; 2002), the numismatic material enables us to judge the relative importance of various regions, provinces etc. in terms of monetary production. A detailed analysis of the fraction of the major Sasanian administrative units (referred to as regions by Gyselen) will be one of the major focuses of the study of the Orumiyeh hoard. In this context, it should be emphasized that for this purpose we have collected also data from the most important late Sasanian coin hoards and entered them into our database, which in its final version contains no less than 14,003 Sasanian drachms. The availability of large pools of comparative material is one of the greatest advantages of numismatics in general; due to the very vast mint output especially under Khusro II, this is also true of Late Sasanian numismatics.

The Orumiyeh Hoard

On August 29, 2007, the head of the West Azarbaijan Provincial border police, decided to build a new border sentry post “Havār-Barxāh-loh” in Piran-Shahr region (Fig. 1). Havār-Barxāh-loh is located close to the border village of Tamar-Chin,

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1. An overview on the more relevant non-numismatic sources on Sasanian coinage and monetary history can be found in Schindel (2004: 124–128).



and is about 35 kilometres away from Piran-Shahr. This town belongs to the district of Orumiyeh, which covers an area of about 120 square km in the Iranian region of West-Azərbayjan. According to reports, two (or three) jars were unearthed during the construction works, carried out by military personnel of the border guard's regiment. Unfortunately, the jars broke when hit by the spade. Furthermore, since the spot where the jars were unearthed is inside a military area, no one from the ICHTO (Azərbayjan Province) was able to see the jars in situ. Neither were we (see comments) able to see the content of the jars before it was moved to the Museum of Orumiyeh. In fact, Mr. Ghorbani, the General Director of West-Azərbayjan Museums, stated that all he was shown was a broken piece said to belong to one of the jars. According to him, a group of robbers had hidden these valuable objects inside the jars, waiting for the earliest opportunity to smuggle them out of the country. Unfortunately, to date it has not been possible to determine whether the jars belong to the Sasanian era or to a later period (perhaps even the modern period). The Orumiyeh Museum staff has registered 1267 Sasanian coins in these jars with the museum inventory numbers 8493 to 9759. When Mr. Ghorbani, the General Director of West-Azərbayjan Museums, kindly proposed a study of this collection, Daryoosh Akbarzadeh rapidly went to the Museum of Orumiyeh. Cleaning and conservation works were carried out with the kind assistance of the Conservation Department of the Orumiyeh Museum. Then all coins were registered, and finally photographed. During a visit to Iran in spring 2012, Nikolaus Schindel also saw the coins in the Orumiyeh Museum and together with Daryoosh Akbarzadeh and Dimitrios Boulasikis

completed the recording of technical data of the treasure. The hoard of Piran-shahr (as we call the Orumiyeh Hoard because it is kept in that Museum) contains 964 coins of Khusro II (one from his short 1st reign, the remainder from his 2nd reign), 203 coins of Ohrmazd IV, 95 coins of Khusro I, 3 coins of Ohrmazd VI, as well as one of Azarmigdukht and one of Arabo-Sasanian drachm (See Table. 1). The hoard is one of the largest Sasanian coin hoards ever made available to academic research, and one of the most important treasures found in Iran in the recent years.

Kings in the hoard

In the following section, we provide an overview on the coin types attested in the Orumiyeh hoard, because an accurate and detailed analysis of the minor typological variations is pivotal for understanding the developments in Late Sasanian coin production. At the same time, this section is also intended to show the methodological approach and academic principles that were used in the "Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum" series and that we hope serve as a standard in future research works on Sasanian coinage¹. All types are also documented by photos, so that comparison between our typological descriptions and the actual coins can easily be made. It has to be kept in mind, that these typological sketches are based on several hundred individual coins, while here only a few selected specimens are shown. Due to the bad striking technique of the 6th century Sasanian coinage, often many details remain obscure. This may be either because of damages in the dies, which were used

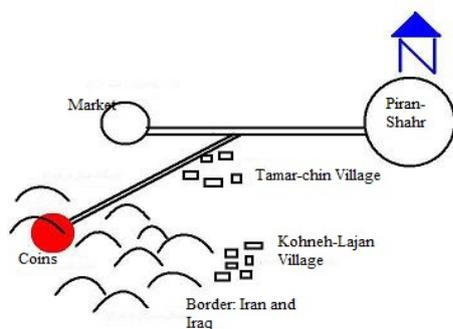


Fig. 1: Site of discovered coins.

1. In the main series covering the collections of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, three volumes have appeared so far (Aram and Gyselen 2003; Aram and Gyselen 2012); Schindel (2004) which cover the period from the foundation of the Sasanian Empire under Ardashir I until the death of Kawad I in 531; SNS 4 (Khusro I and Ohrmazd IV) is currently being prepared, and should be published in 2016. Three additional SNS volumes have appeared so far (Baratova, Schindel and Rtveldze 2012; Schindel 2009; Schindel 2014); further books (apart from the Orumiyeh hoard, the collections in Tajikistan as well as in Tübingen) will appear soon. Mention should be made also to the publication of the Sasanian coins in the Muzeh Melli Iran (Curtis, *et al.* 2010; Curtis, *et al.* 2012).



for too long, or phenomena such as the “blind spot”. Due to the thinness of the coins, the impressions on both sides remain partially obscure because the metal was not enough to fill all the concave parts of the die. Under Khusro II, many of these production problems were solved, and thus in his later reign, the quality of the coins was much better than that produced during most of the 6th century.

KHUSRO I (531–578)

Type II/2 (SN)

Obverse II

Reverse 2: Fire altar, base consisting of three elements, altar shaft, to the left and the right of the shaft ribbons pointing upwards; four altar slabs; altar flames rendered as four tiers of four, three, two and one strokes respectively; star to the left of altar flames, crescent to the right; to the left and the right of the altar attendant with stylized crown of Khusro I, holding sword with both hands, right hand above left hand, both figures frontal; regal year at 9 h; ridged border.

Obverse legend

2 h to the left inwards hslwb, 11 h to the left outwards 'pzwn' (Fig. 2).

OHRMAZD IV (578–590)

Type I/1 (SN)

Obverse I: Right profile of Ohrmazd IV on frontal bust; crown with two mural elements, crescent above forehead and above covered korymbos, ribbon commencing to the left below crescent, pointing to the left; double pearl diadem, diadem ribbons commencing to the left and right behind the shoulders, pointing upwards; earring consisting of three elements; neck-line of tunica edged with a row of pearls; crescent on the left and right shoulders, both shoulders decorated with crescent and star; double row of pearls running from the shoulders to the breast; star in the left and right upper field; crescent and star at 3 h, 6 h and 9 h; ridged border.

Reverse 1: Fire altar, base consisting of three elements, altar shaft, to the left and the right of the shaft ribbons pointing upwards; four altar slabs; altar flames rendered as four tiers of four, three, two and one strokes respectively; star to the left

of altar flames, crescent to the right; to the left and the right of the altar attendant with stylized crown of Ohrmazd IV fronting, holding sword with both hands, right hand above left hand, both frontal; regal year at 9 h; ridged border.

Obverse legend

2 h to the left inwards 'whlmzd, 11 h to the left outwards 'pzwn' (Fig. 3).



Fig. 2: Khusro I, cat.-no. 41, mint GD, regal year 43; triplet at 6 h outs ide reverse margin.



Fig. 3: Ohrmazd IV, cat.-no. 97, mint ALM, regal year 7.

KHUSRO II / 1ST REIGN (590)

Type I/1 (SN)

Obverse I: Right profile of Khusro II on frontal bust; crown with two mural elements, crescent above forehead and above covered korymbos, ribbon commencing to the left below crescent, pointing to the left; double pearl diadem, diadem ribbons commencing to the left and right behind the shoulders, pointing upwards; earring consisting of three elements; neck-line of tunica edged with a row of pearls; crescent on left and right shoulder, both shoulders decorated with crescent and star; double row of pearls running from the shoulders to the breast; star in left and right upper field; crescent and star at 3 h, 6 h and 9 h; double ridged border.

Reverse 1: Fire altar, base consisting of three elements, altar shaft, to the left and the right of the shaft ribbons pointing upwards; four altar slabs;



altar flames rendered as four tiers of four, three, two and one strokes respectively; star to the left of altar flames, crescent to the right; to the left and the right of the altar attendant with stylized crown of Khusro II fronting, holding sword with both hands, right hand above left hand, both frontal; regal year at 9 h; crescent at 3 h, 6 h, 9 h and 12 h; triple ridged border.

Obverse legend

2 h to the left inwards hslwb, 11 h to the left outwards 'pzw'n'

KHUSRO II / 2ND REIGN (591–628)

Type II/2 (SN)

Obverse II: Right profile of Khusro II on frontal bust; crown with two mural elements, crescent above forehead; wing above crown cap to the left and right, above this crescent and star; double pearl diadem, diadem ribbons commencing to the left and right behind the shoulders, pointing upwards; earring consisting of three elements; neck-line of tunica edged with a row of pearls; crescent on left shoulder, both shoulders decorated with crescent and stars; double row of pearls running from the shoulders to the breast, two dots on the breast; star in upper left and right field; crescent and star at 3 h, 6 h and 9 h; double dotted border.

Reverse 2: Fire altar, base consisting of three elements, altar shaft, to the left and the right of the shaft ribbons pointing upwards; four altar slabs; altar flames rendered as four tiers of four, three, two and one strokes respectively; star to the left of altar flames, crescent to the right; to the left and the right of the altar attendant with stylized crown cap, holding sword with both hands, right hand above left hand, both frontal; regal year (regal year 2–10) at 9 h; crescent and star at 3 h, 6, 9 h and 12 h; triple dotted border.

Obverse legend

2 h to the left inwards hslwb, 11 h to the left outwards GDH/'pzw't' (Fig. 4).

Type II/3 (SN)

Obverse II

Reverse 2: As type 3, but attendants wear stylized diadem surmounted by a crescent (regal year 11–39).

Obverse legend

2 h to the left inwards hslwb, 11 h to the left outwards GDH/'pzw't'

OHRMAZD VI (630S)

Type I/1 (SN)¹

Obverse I: Right profile of Ohrmazd VI on frontal bust; crown with two mural elements, crescent above forehead; wing above crown cap to the left and right, above this crescent and star; double pearl diadem, diadem ribbons commencing to the left and right behind the shoulders, pointing upwards; earring consisting of three elements; neck-line of tunica edged with a row of pearls; crescent on left shoulder, both shoulders decorated with crescent and stars; double row of pearls running from the shoulders to the breast, two dots on the breast; star in the upper left and right field; crescent and star at 3 h, 6 h and 9 h; double dotted border.

Reverse 1: Fire altar, base consisting of three elements, altar shaft, to the left and the right of the shaft ribbons pointing upwards; four altar slabs; altar flames rendered as four tiers of four, three, two and one strokes respectively; star to the left of altar flames, crescent to the right; to the left and the right of the altar attendant with stylized diadem surmounted by a crescent, holding sword with both hands, right hand above left hand, both frontal; regal year at 9 h; crescent and star at 3 h, 6, 9 h and 12 h; triple dotted border.

Obverse legend

2 h to the left inwards 'whlmzd, 11 h to the left outwards GDH/'pzw't' (Fig. 5).



Fig. 4: Khusro II/2nd reign, cat.-no. 332, mint AM, regal year 5; dot at 7h outside reverse margin

1. Listed as Ohrmazd V in (Göbl 1971).





Fig. 5: Ohrmazd VI, cat.- 1265, mint WYHC, regal year 2

AZARMIGDUKHT VI (630S)

Type I/1 (SN)¹

Obverse 1: Right profile of Azarmigdukht (?), bearded on frontal bust; crown with two mural elements, crescent above forehead; wing above crown cap to the left and right, above this crescent and star; double pearl diadem, diadem ribbons commencing to the left and right behind the shoulders, pointing upwards; earring consisting of three elements; neck-line of tunica edged with a row of pearls; crescent on left shoulder, both shoulders decorated with crescent and stars; double row of pearls running from the shoulders to the breast, two dots on the breast; star in the upper left and right field; crescent and star at 3 h, 6 h and 9 h; double dotted border.

Table. 1: Coins per king

King	Number of coins
Khusro I	95
Ohrmazd IV	203
Khusro II / 1 st reign	1
Khusro II / 2 nd reign	963
Ohrmazd VI	3
Azarmigdukht	1
Khusro II / posthumous	1

Reverse 1: Fire altar, base consisting of three elements, altar shaft, to the left and the right of the shaft ribbons pointing upwards; four altar slabs; altar flames rendered as four tiers of four, three, two and one strokes respectively; star to the left of altar flames, crescent to the right; to the left and

1. Not in (Göbl 1971).

the right of the altar attendant with stylized diadem surmounted by a crescent, holding sword with both hands, right hand above left hand, both frontal; regal year at 9 h; crescent and star at 3 h, 6, 9 h and 12 h; triple dotted border.

Obverse legend

2 h to the left inwards 'clmyndusty, 11 h to the left outwards GDH/'pzw't'

Conclusion

All coins in the Orumiyeh hoard are silver drachms. This is a very common feature of late Sasanian coin hoards; after all, gold coins were issued only rarely, probably for festive purposes rather than for everyday payments². Base metal coins, on the other hand, while maybe not being as rare as one might believe today due to low survival rates, in all probability did not serve the purpose of preserving values³. Therefore, with hardly any exception, late Sasanian coin hoards consist entirely of silver drachms. While they might contain more than 1,000 single coins, as is the case also with Orumiyeh (1,267 drachms), these numbers are not really very high. We know from Tabari that a knight earned 4,000 drachms per year (Nöldeke, 1879: 249) so the Orumiyeh hoard equated merely a third of the yearly income of a higher-ranking soldier. The 14,003 silver coins in our database might sound at first impressive; still, if one considers that under Khusro II amounts of 800 million and 1,6 million drachms (specified as "coined silver") are mentioned, we easily see that the survival rate of Sasanian coins is very low. After all, while not forming a complete corpus, these 14,003 coins maybe represent the majority of late Sasanian silver coins published in scholarly contributions so far. If we compare this number with the lower one of those mentioned above, we arrive at a fraction of merely about 1 : 57,000; in the latter case, the ratio is 1 : 114,000. This means that – as long as we trust these narrations in Tabari – that we have nowadays only

2. Schindel (2006), where also the alternative opinion of Andrea Gariboldi is discussed.

3. Schindel (2015) for some preliminary remarks on this topic, focusing on the relationship between lead and copper coins in Iran compared with the Ancient world.



a very tiny fraction of the original coin population at our disposal, which amounts to much less than one percent of one percent. Still, without any doubt coins are the most numerous official products of the Sasanian state still in existence today; one might add that they are also unique in that they are – other than e.g. rock reliefs or silver ware – attested for every single ruler from the beginning of the dynasty under Ardashir I until its end under Yazdgerd III. We hope that research work on the economic history of the Sasanian Empire would be encouraged by the findings which we derived from the study of the Orumiyeh hoard.

The drachms in the Orumiyeh hoard originate from mints all over the Sasanian Empire (Table. 2), as the table below shows; for the reader's convenience, not only the mint signatures themselves, but also their most probable equations are listed. A detailed treatment of most signatures – both as regards their readings, as well as their localizations – can be found in SNS 3; here, we suffice to a listing of the respective results of that analysis. It should be borne in mind that the probability of the equations given below varies: While for example the localization of the mint signature DA as Darabgird can be regarded as absolutely certain, since coins of Wahram IV show on the obverse the short form DA, and on the reverse the fuller version DALAPKL, in other cases we are dealing with educated guesses based only on the similarity of the beginning of signatures on the one hand, and official Sasanian administrative units, such as e.g. PL/Forat-Meshan on the other hand. For an analysis in terms of economic history, these differences are of great importance. We did, however, refrain from listing purely hypothetical suggestions, and sufficed to localizations which we consider reliable enough to serve at least as plausible working hypotheses.

Another important parameter is the regal years; we list them separately for all kings represented by more than three coins.

Under Khusro I, only about half of his regal years are attested in the Orumiyeh hoard; since its closing date belongs to the period about 80 after this king's death, it is natural that his later years (which are thus slightly nearer to the this date) are stronger

Table. 2: Mints and number of coins

Signature	Localization	Number of coins
AHM	Ahmadan, Media	32
AL	?	2
ALM	Armenia (?)	2
AM	Amul, Tabaristan (?)	13
APL	Abarshahr, Khorasan	4
ART	Ardashir-khwarrah, Fars	46
AS	Asuristan	2
AT	Adurbadagan	23
AW	Ohrmazd-Ardashir, Khuzistan	52
AY	Eran-khwarrah-Shapur, Khuzistan	114
AYL	?	8
AYLAN	?	18
BBA	Mobile mint	14
BHL	Balkh, Khorasan	2
BN	?, Kirman	14
BYŠ	Bishapur, Fars	109
DA	Darabgird, Fars	63
GD	Jay, Media	64
GW	Gurgan	7
HL	Herat, Khorasan	1
HWC	Khuzistan	3
KL	Kirman	24
LAM	Ram-Ohrmazd, Khuzistan (?)	29
LD	Ray, Media	44
LYW	Rew-Ardashir, Khuzistan	24
ML	Marw, Khorasan	20
MLWYALTY (?)	?	1
MY	Meshan	57
NAL/WAL (?)	?	25
NY	?	11
PL	Forat-Meshan, Meshan (?)	13
SK	Sakastan	13
SML	Samarkand, Khorasan (?)	1
ST	Stakhr, Fars	40
ŠY	Shiraz, Fars	76
WH	Weh-Andiyok-Shapur, Khuzistan	65
WYH	Weh-Kawad, Asuristan (?)	80
WYHC	Weh-az-Andiyok-Khusro, Asuristan	89
YZ	?	59
ZL	Zaranj, Sakastan (?)	2
Mint unclear	?	1



attested than his earlier ones.

Also under Ohrmazd we can observe a preponderance of the later years; all his regal years are attested in Orumiyeh.

The most complete record is available for Khusro II. The existence of one rare coin featuring his earliest type combination should be emphasized. Equally noteworthy is the great rarity of drachms from regal year 18 and the adjacent dates; this is no peculiarity of the Orumiyeh hoard, but can be observed in all late Sasanian coin hoards which

we have studied. While the maximum number of coins per regal year (excluding the large “Shiraz” hoard) goes beyond 300, for RY 18 we managed to catalogue only 18 coins altogether from all the late Sasanian drachm hoards (Tables. 3, 4, 5). While we cannot provide a definite explanation for this phenomenon yet, there can be hardly any doubt that in and around RY 18 of Khusro II a severe financial and economic crisis struck Sasanian Iran, which apparently did not go down in history. This proves once again the enormous value of Sasanian numismatics for all aspects of the history of Iran in Late Antiquity.

Table 3: Regal years and number of coins, Khosrow I

Khusro I/R.Y	No. of coins
1	-
2	-
3	-
4	-
5	-
6	-
7	-
8	-
9	1
10	-
11	-
12	2
13	-
14	-
15	-
16	-
17	-
18	-
19	1
20	-
21	1
22	1
23	5
24	1
25	5
26	3
27	8
28	2
29	7

Ohrmazd IV /RY	No. of coins
1	2
2	10
3	14
4	7

Table 4: Regal years and number of coins, Ohrmazd IV

30	5
31	2
32	-
33	4
34	1
35	1
36	1
37	3
38	3
39	-
40	1
41	3
42	3
43	5
44	7
45	10
46	3
47	5
48	-
RY unclear	1

Khusro II/R.Y	No. of coins
1	1
2	27
3	36
4	24
5	37
6	64
7	39
8	52
9	36
10	35
11	29
12	24
13	25
14	18

5	8
6	14
7	19
8	19
9	29
10	29
11	13
12	34
13	5
15	6
16	17
17	8
18	1
19	7
20	8
21	13
22	19
23	18
24	19
25	41
26	29
27	46
28	50
29	49
30	21
31	45
32	14
33	14
34	22
35	26
36	14
37	18
38	8
RY unclear	4

Table 5: Regal years and number of coins, Khosrow II



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