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Dieter Weber

Living Together in Changing Iran. Pahlavi Documents on Arabs and Christians in Early Islamic Times

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DIETER WEBER*

Living Together in Changing Iran

Pahlavi Documents on Arabs and Christians in Early Islamic Times**

◆ ABSTRACT

In this contribution original Pahlavi documents of clearly Zoroastrian provenance from the 7th and early 8th centuries are presented showing direct or indirect connections with increasing Arabic dominance in Iran. There are two groups of documents: 1. documents of the so-called "Pahlavi Archive", coming from the region west and south of Qom; 2. the documents from Tabarestān in Northern Iran, i.e. the region of modern Rūdbār on the river Sefīd, dealing mostly with juridical matters.

The so-called "Pahlavi Archive" comprises economic documents as well as letters mostly from the second half of the 7th century and are housed in Berlin and Berkeley (about 300 items); there are also some scattered documents in Los Angeles and in private hands, probably in Iran. Though most of the documents in question are of economic content (they refer to daily life) they sometimes give hints at religious facts, taxes and measurements (Iranian and Arabic). Religion is explicitly referred to in a letter on wine growing where we learn of a regular payment for "prosperity" ~ "protection" of the religion (i.e. the Zoroastrian religion).

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** The following *sigla* will be used:

Berk. Pahlavi documents, Berkeley.

Berlin Pahlavi documents, Berlin, ed. Weber, 2008.

LA Pahlavi documents from Los Angeles, ed. Gignoux, 1996.

P.Pehl. Pahlavi papyri and parchments of the *Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna (with original inventory number, mostly unpublished).

AnIsl 54 (2021), p. 139-164 Dieter Weber
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The documents from Tabarestān, again clearly Zoroastrian, show no connections to Arabic matters but mention a Nestorian community.

Keywords: Arabic dominance, economic documents, Nestorian, "Pahlavi Archive", Pahlavi documents, prosperity, protection, Qom, religion, Tabarestān, viticulture, Zoroastrian

✦ **RÉSUMÉ**

Vivre ensemble dans un Iran en mutation.
Documents en pahlavi sur les Arabes et les chrétiens dans les débuts de l'Islam

Dans cette contribution, des documents originaux en Pahlavi d'origine clairement zoroastrienne du VII^e^ et du début du VIII^e^ siècle sont présentés, montrant des liens directs ou indirects avec l'affirmation de la domination arabe en Iran. Il existe deux groupes de documents : 1. les documents de l'« Archive Pahlavi », provenant de la région à l'ouest et au sud de Qom, et 2. les documents de Tabarestān dans le nord de l'Iran, c'est-à-dire la région de l'actuelle Rūdbār sur le fleuve Sefīd, traitant principalement de questions juridiques. L'« archive Pahlavi » comprend des documents économiques ainsi que des lettres datant pour la plupart de la seconde moitié du VII^e^ siècle qui sont conservées à Berlin et Berkeley (environ 300 pièces) ; il existe également quelques documents épars à Los Angeles et chez des collectionneurs privés, probablement en Iran. Bien que la plupart des documents en question aient un contenu économique (ils se réfèrent à la vie quotidienne), ils donnent parfois des indications sur des faits religieux, des impôts et des mesures (iraniens et arabes). La religion est explicitement mentionnée dans une lettre sur la viticulture où l'on apprend l'existence d'un paiement régulier pour la « prospérité » ~ la « protection » de la religion (c'est-à-dire la religion zoroastrienne). Les documents de Tabarestān, là encore clairement zoroastriens, ne montrent aucun lien avec les questions arabes mais mentionnent une communauté nestorienne.

Mots-clés : domination arabe, documents économiques, Nestorien, « Archive Pahlavi », documents Pahlavi, prospérité, protection, Qom, religion, Tabarestān, viticulture, zoroastrien

✦ **ملخص**

العيش معًا في إيران متغيرة، وثائق بهلوية حول العرب والمسيحيين في العصر الإسلامي المبكر

في هذا الإسهام تُقَدم مجموعة من الوثائق البهلوية الأصلية ذات المنشأ الزرادشتي الواضح التي تعود إلى القرن السابع وبدايات القرن الثامن الميلاديين والتي تُظهر علاقات مباشرة أو غير مباشرة مع تنامي السيطرة العربية على إيران. وتوجد مجموعتان من الوثائق: ١. وثائق ما يعرف بـ «المحفوظات البهلوية»، القادمة من المنطقة الواقعة غربي قُم وجنوبها، و٢. الوثائق القادمة من طبرستان شمالي إيران، أي منطقة رودبار الحديثة الواقعة على نهر سفيد، وتتعلق في معظمها بمسائل قانونية. ويحتوي ما يعرف بـ«الأرشيف البهلوي» على وثائق اقتصادية فضلًا عن رسائل

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يعود أغلبها إلى النصف الثاني من القرن السابع الميلادي، وهي محفوظة في برلين وبركلي (نحو ٣٠٠ وثيقة)؛ كذلك ثمة مجموعة من الوثائق المتفرقة في لوس أنجلوس وفي مقتنيات خاصة، من المحتمل أن تكون في إيران. ورغم أن معظم الوثائق المعنية ذات مضمون اقتصادي (يتعلق بالحياة اليومية) إلا أنها تتضمن أحيانًا تلميحات إلى مسائل دينية وأخرى متعلقة بالضرائب والمقاييس (الإيرانية والعربية). وهناك إشارة جلية إلى الدين في رسالة متعلقة بمسألة زراعة الكروم، نعلم منها عن وجود دفع منتظم مقابل «الازدهار» ~ «الحماية» للدين (أي الدين الزرادشتي). أما الوثائق القادمة من طبرستان، وهي بدورها زرادشتية المنشأ بشكل جلي، فلا تتضمن أي روابط بالمسائل العربية وإنما تذكر طائفة نسطورية.

الكلمات المفتاحية : السيطرة العربية، وثائق اقتصادية، «محفوظات بهلوية»، وثائق بهلوية، ازدهار، حماية، قُم، دين، زراعة الكروم، زرادشتية

* * *

In the following relevant original Pahlavi texts referring to relations between Zoroastrians, Christians and Arabs in early Islamic times are presented and discussed; all except the first one are from the so-called "Pahlavi Archive".[1]

First published on Weber, 2005, pp. 225–231. There (p. 225) it was surmised that "it seems likely that the letter was written in Egypt in early Islamic times by a Persian merchant who was Zoroastrian but who disguised his religious affiliation by using the specific formula of the first line and by not mentioning any personal name". This assumption must be corrected in two essential points: 1. the major point is that the Persian merchant was not a Zoroastrian but a Muslim which is clearly underlined by the use of *yazd* (not *yazdān*) for 'God' in lines 1, 7 and 13; and particularly 2. by the term *ahlaw* "righteous" in line 19 which is to be understood as a confession of the sender (or writer) to belong to the new religion of Islam. As a matter of fact the sender still does not mention his name. The letter is addressed to the brother of the sender who tries to persuade him to enter in business with his help and who presents the prospect of making his fortune and, by this event, finally would enter in marriage. By improving the translation in many points the letter is fully understandable now.

1. On the "Pahlavi Archive" generally see Weber, 2008a; for its dating Weber, 2008b.

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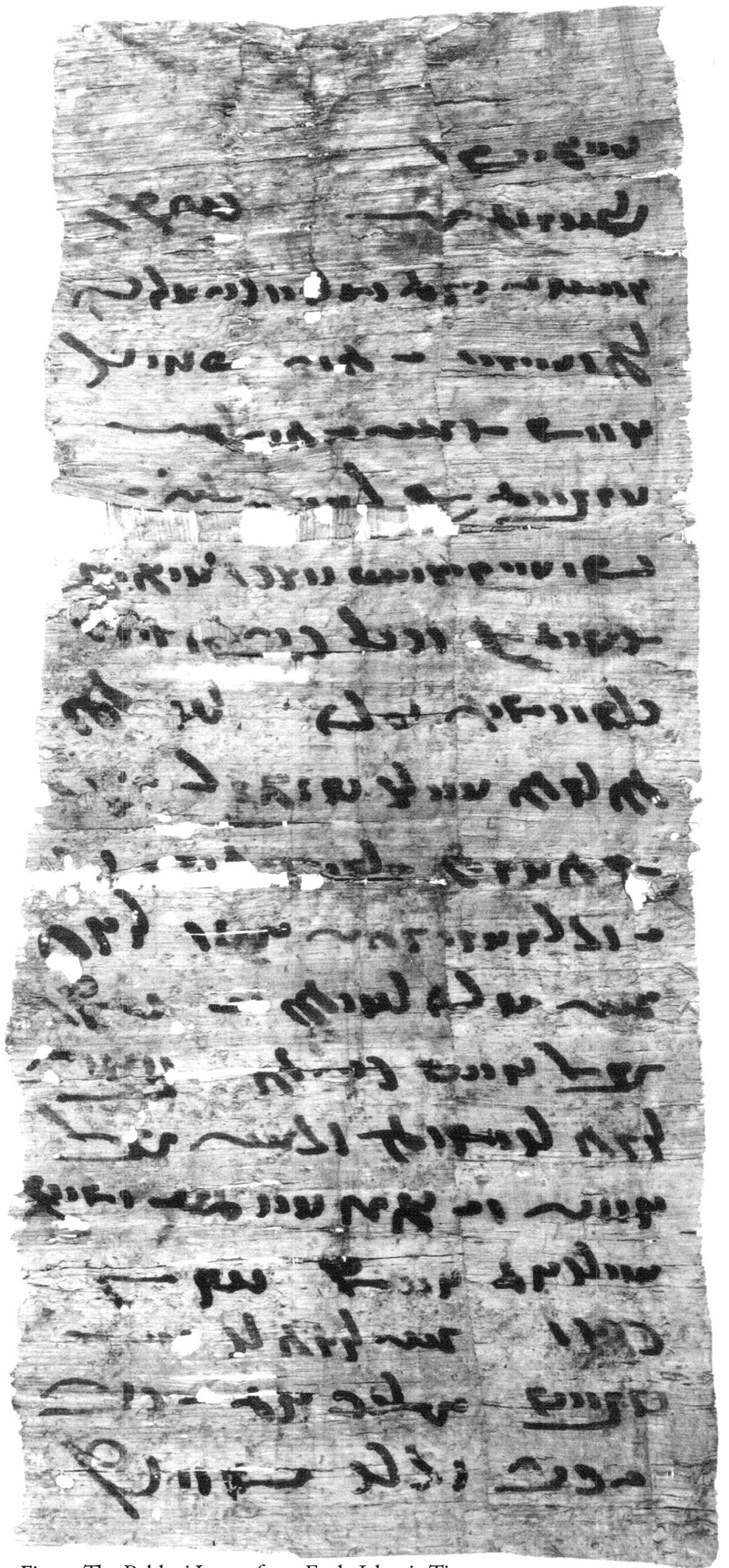


Fig. 1. The Pahlavi Letter from Early Islamic Times.

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Transliteration direction of fibre: →	**Transcription**
1 PWN ŠM Y yz̲dṭ'	1 ***pad nām ī yazd***
2 gl'mykṭwm 'Ḥ <*space*> d'št'	2 **A$_1$** *grāmīgtom brād* **A$_3$** *dāšt*
3 drwdsṭyh W ŠRM W 'p̄l[y]n' W KR' plhwyh (W)	3 *drustīh ud drōd ud āfr[ī]n ud harw farroxīh (ud)*
4 l'mšn' PWN ṭn' Y MR'Ḥ 'p̄z̲wndl(!)	4 *rāmišn pad tan ī x^{w}adāy abzōndar(!)*
5 YḤWWN'ṭ 'k'syh Y MR'Ḥ l'd	5 ***bawād*** **B** *āgāhīh ī x^{w}adāy rāy*
6 YKṬYBWNm 'YK̲ L (PWN hdyb)'lyh Y	6 *nibēsēm kū (man pad ay)ārīh ī*
7 yz̲dṭ' PWN ṭndrwdsṭ krṭk' YK'YMWNym	7 ***yazd*** *pad tandrust kardag ēstēm*
8 YD'YṬNm 'YK̲ nkyl KR' MH (……)	8 *dānēm kū niger harw čē (……)*
9 dlṭwnd'ṭ'-' pl'c //// LP[N]MH	9 **dard-windād-ā frāz //// awar*
10 MH LṬMH PWN LK swṭ h'mwdyn L ('YT')	10 *čē ēdar pad tō sūd hāmōyēn man (ast)*
11 'YK̲ MN Z̲K ṬMH 'hl'(dyh) L (KR') k[r](ṭ')	11 *kū az ān anōh ahlā(yīh) man (harw kard)*
12 Y 'L L gwpṭ' ḤWHyh d'št' LWṬH	12 *ī ō man guft hēh dāšt abāg*
13 'YŠ pl'c LPNMH 'D yz̲dṭ'	13 *kas frāz awar tā* ***yazd***
14 hdyb'l YḤWWNyṭ KR' MH B'YḤWNyh	14 *ayār bawēd harw čē x^{w}āhēh*
15 LWṬH LK 'ḤDWNm 'L 'YŠ hdyb'l	15 *abāg tō gīrēm ō kas ayār*
16 YḤWWNyh 'D GMR'-'n PWN mzd 'ḤDWNyṭ	16 *bawēh tā ušturān pad mizd gīrēd*
17 PWN LK ŠRM YḤWWN't 'ṭ'n	17 **B$_x$** *pad tō* ***drōd*** *bawād ādān*
18 krṭ' 'YŠ LWṬH LK (zn)yh	18 *kard kas abāg tō (zan)īh*
19 YṬYBWNyṭ 'hlwb ŠRM Y KBD	19 *nišānēd* **C** ***ahlaw*** **C$_x$** ***drōd*** *ī was*
20 Y KBD 'L LK Y'ṬWNyt	20 *ī was ō tō āyēd*

Translation

[1] In the name of God! [2] Dearest brother! To be received [3] health and greetings and blessing and every fortune (and) [4] peace for the body of you, Sir, increasingly [5] should be! For Your information [6] I am writing (that): with the help [7] of God (Allah's help) I continuously am in health. [8] I know: Observe everything what's going on. [9] Oh, you *sorrowful one! Come on! [10] Because here I have the whole profit for you [11] so that I, from that fairness there, (carried out everything) [12] which you told me (and I) kept (it) safe. [13] Proceed with someone whilst God will be the [14] guide, (and) everything you want [15–16] (together) with you I will undertake. You should be kind to people so that someone will provide camels for hire. [17] For you greetings should be (and as soon as) you will have made a fortune [18–20] someone will enter into marriage with you. A righteous one. Many, many greetings should come to you.

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Commentary

First published Weber, 2005, pp. 225–231. To be re-published in Weber, forthcoming **b**.

Line 17: ⟨ʾṭʾn⟩ = *ādān* 'wealthy, solvent; wealth' (CPD); cf. the idiomatic phrase *ādān ud anādān* 'wealthiness and poverty' in Berk. 129, 6, and 14.

Line 18–19: *kas abāg tō (zan)īh nišānēd*, cf. Man. MP pd znyy nšʾstn 'zum Weibe nehmen' Sund., *KPT*.

Line 19: The reading ⟨šhlyk⟩ in the original publication is obsolete now; the word is rather to be read ⟨ʾhlwb⟩ = *ahlaw* 'the righteous one', here underlining that the sender (or even writer) of the letter is a Muslim.



As for the writing two things are remarkable: 1. the vertical stroke following the ⟨-l-⟩ has a bend at the bottom like the ⟨-R-⟩ in the following word ⟨ŠRM⟩; and 2. the final ⟨b⟩ has only a relatively short stroke at the bottom. Nevertheless the reading is certain.



Fig. 2. Strip of letter with mention of the Authorities of the Mosque (Berk. 187). Parchment, horizontal strip, 3.5 × 19 cm, bulla absent, 1 long line, *verso* blank.

Ed. Weber, 2014a.

Transliteration

PWN ŠM Y yz̲dt̓ Y krṭkl MN GB̲YNH Y mzgṭʾn ʿL Y̲LYDWNṭ hlṭ-wndʾṭ ʾwsṭʾndʾl.

Transcription

pad nām ī yazd ī kardakkar az pēšānīg ī mazgitān ō zād-xrad-windād ōstāndār.

Translation

In the name of god who (is) *powerful[2]. From the surveillance of the mosques to the *Ōstāndār*, well born and of inherited wisdom.

2. Lit. "full of action"; after the full phrase *b-ismi-llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi*. This is often translated as "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful". Still incorrectly interpreted as 'who made me' in Weber, 2008b, p. 219.

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Commentary

The word *pēšānīg* means lit. 'forehead', for the heterogram, cf. Junker, 1912, p. 82; Nyberg, 1988, p. 45 (X, 12 text), 75 (comm.). – The plural *mazgitān* is the second occurrence of this word in the documents and can be used as an argument for their dating because the first mosque *Masǧid-i ʿatīq* in *Mamaǧǧān* (near of Qom) was built in 715-718 AD.[3] Therefore this strip of a letter must have been written after that date. But see **Berk. 66** year 48 (PYE = 699/700 CE)!

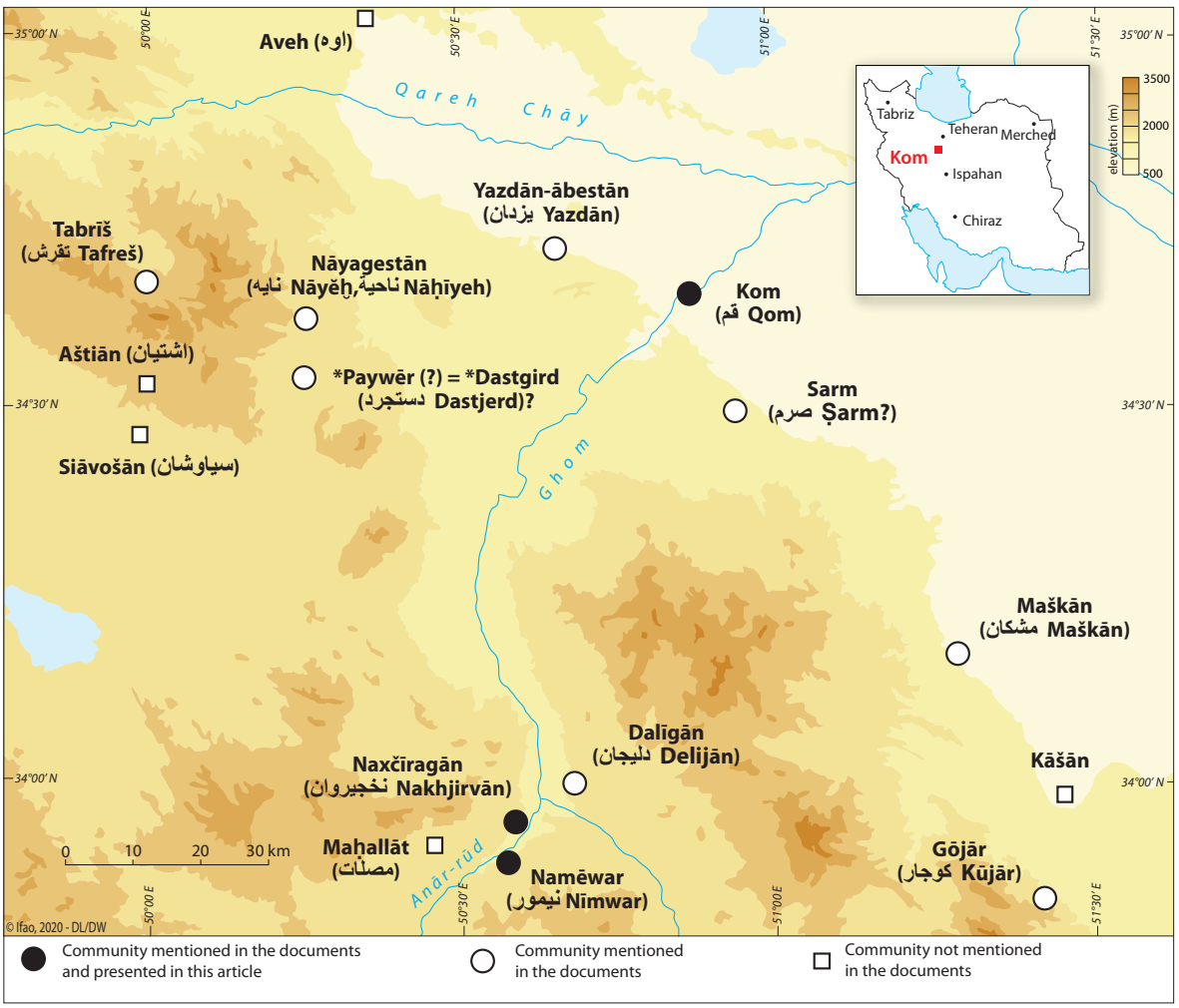


Fig. 3. Map of the places of the "Pahlavi Archive" (Weber, 2010, p. 47).

3. Drechsler, 1999, p. 48.

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Fig. 4. Document mentioning delivery of victuals to the mosque (Berk. 66). Parchment, square, 7 × 7 cm, bulla absent, traces of 7 lines, *verso* marked.

Transliteration

1 hwlyn' MN ZK Y ’L bwn' ZNH
2 BYRḤ ṭyl QDM ŠNṬ 𐭲𐭲-IIII-IIII
3 MN lšnyk …[……]***G***-III ʿL mzgṭ'
4 Y BYRḤ [ ]ṭn(') Y k’l
5 LWṬH …… PWN bwdsṭ’n
6 𐭲 [ ]l
7 …[
8 …[

Transcription

1 *X^{w}arin az ān ī ō bun ēn*
2 *māh Tīr abar sāl 48*
3 *az Rašnīg* …[……]*g(rīw) 3 ō mazgit*
4 *ī māh* [ ]*-tan ī kār*
5 *abāg …… pad bōyestān*
6 *20* [ ]
7 …[
8 …[

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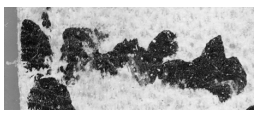
Translation

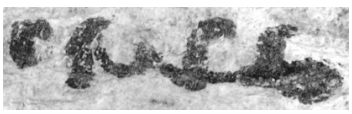
[1] *X*^{w}*arin* from that which (belongs) to the *bun*, this [2] month *Tīr* in the year 48 (PYE = 699/700 CE) [3] from *Rašnīg* …[……] 3 *grīw* to the mosque [4-8] *no coherent translation possible.*

Commentary

Ed. Gignoux, 2009, p. 90f.

Line 3: The name is clearly to be read *Rašnīg* where Gignoux prefers a derivation from *rām* "heureux, paisible", which is not possible since the ⟨-m⟩ in ⟨l'm⟩ should have been connected with the following ⟨-yk⟩. The basis will be *Rašn*, name of the 18th day, cf. other "calendar names" like *Xvarīg* (Gignoux, 1986, no. 1033) belonging to *X*^{w}*ar*, name of the 11th day, *Tīrīg* (Gignoux, 1986, no. 902), belonging to *Tīr*, name of the 4th month and of the 13th day, or *Mihrīg* LA 1, 1, belonging to *Mihr*, name of the 7th month and of the 16th day.

Berk. 66, 3 

Berk. 187 

In 2012, it was argumented that "The decisive step for the later urban development of Qom occurred when a group of Aš'ari Arabs from Yemen came to the area; a central element was the early contact with the leading local Zoroastrian Persian noble *Yazdānfāḏār*.
It seems reasonable that the coming of these groups put an end to the Zoroastrian life as it is documented in the texts; testimony of this kind obviously ceased with the year 702 CE. Later documents do not belong to this group of the 'Pahlavi Archive'".
But from this document it is clear that an earlier date of the first mosques must be thought of, at least by 699–700 CE.

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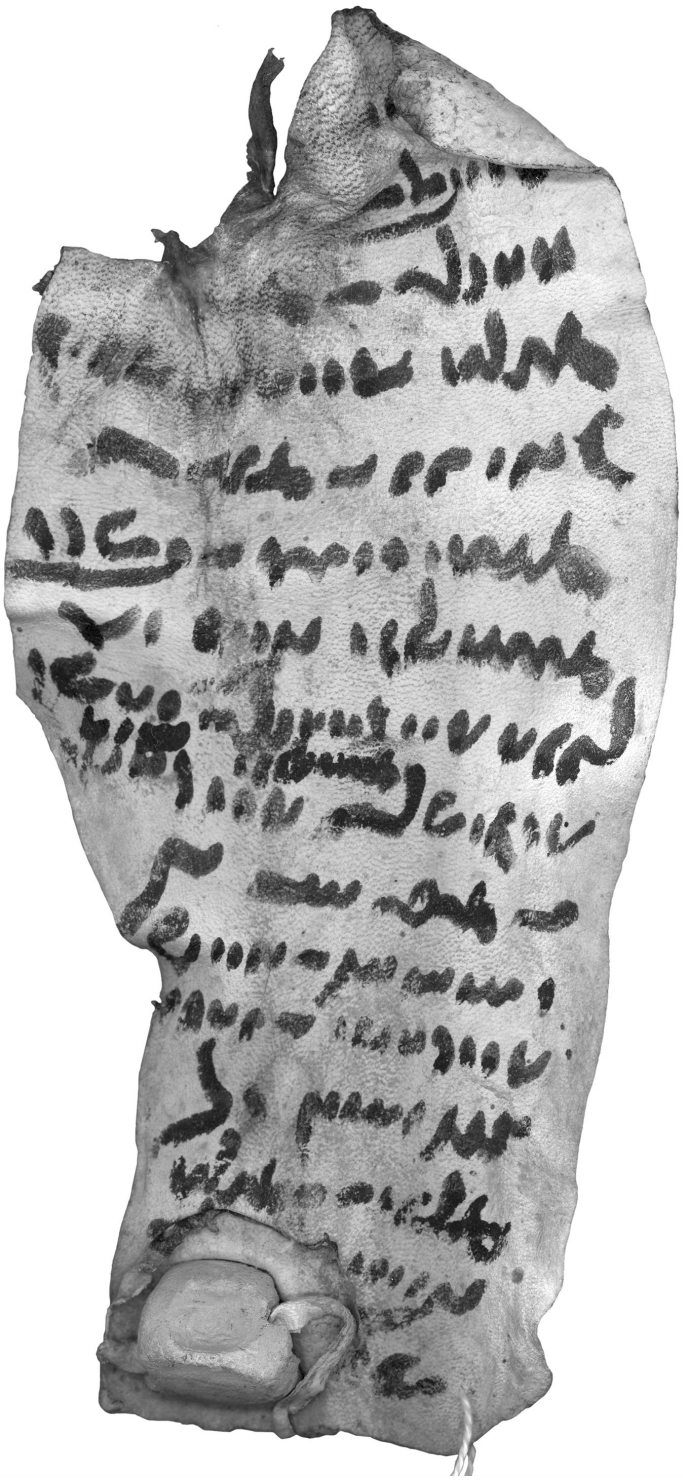


Fig. 5. Document on different measurements for cereals (Berk. 93). Parchment, vertical rectangle, 15.5 × 7.5 cm, bulla is at bottom left, 14 [*recto* 16] lines, *verso* blank.

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Transliteration	**Transcription**
1] … [	1] … [
2 (PWN ?) b'l Y(?) [	2 *(pad ?) bār ī(?)* [
3 p(')ṭgl'b̲ Y m[lṭwy Y]	3 *pādīrāy ī Ma*[*rdōy ī*]
4 mdyd'lyk ZK(!) gwk('ymwdl ?) ḤṬYMWNṭ	4 *maydārīg ān gug(āymuhr ?) āwišt*
5 cygwn Z̲WZ̲N Y mzd Y	5 *čiyōn drahm ī mizd ī*
6 mšk' W wh'k' Y b'ṭk'	6 *mašk ud wahāg ī bādag*
7 m'hpylwc' YḤBWNṭ W Z̲K	7 *Māhpērōz dād ud ān*
8 lwcyk PWN 'n p(')ṭgl'b̲ npšṭ'	8 *rōzīg pad ān pādīrāy nibišt*
9 YK'YMWNyṭ ⟦m'hpylwc'⟧ l'd PWN ⟦sp̄n'k⟧ kpyc'	9 *ēstēd* ⟦*Māhpērōz*⟧ *rāy pad* ⟦*spenāg*⟧ *kabīz*
10 Y mhy ḤG ***G***-I	10 *ī* ***meh*** *gandum g(rīw) 1*
11 ***K***-#III-III-III Y YḤWWNyt	11 *k(abīz) 9 ī bawēd*
12 PWN kpyc' Y dwṭk'	12 *pad kabīz ī* ***dūdag***
13 ***G***-III ***K***-#III-II 'L	13 *g(rīw) 3 k(abīz) 5 ō*
14 mlṭwy Y mdyd'lyk	14 *Mardōy ī maydārīg*
15 YḤBWNṭ' (……)	15 *dād (……)*
16 ḤṬY(MWNṭ)	16 *āw(išt)*

Translation

[1] …… [2] …… [3] receipt of *Ma*[*rdōy*, the] [4] wine-grower (or: vintner?), sealed with the (seal?). [5] As money for the rent of [6] the mussuck and the (trading-)value of the wine/must [7] *Māhpērōz* given and this [8] ration has been written in this receipt. [9] For [*Māhpērōz*] according to the [sacrosanct] measure [10] of old 1 *grīw* of wheat [11] 9 *kabīz* corresponding (*lit.* which is) [12] to common measurement (*lit.* according to the measurement of the family) [13] 3 *grīw* 5 *kabīz*[4] to [14] *Mardōy*, the wine-grower (or: vintner?) [15–16] to be given. *(Frāy?)* sealed the *čak*.

Commentary

First published in Weber, 2014a, pp. 185–187. No year preserved, but the document must have been written presumably between the years 46 and 49 (697–698 and 700–701 AD) since the following names are well attested in that span of time:

Māhpērōz **Berlin 2** (year 30 = 681–682 AD), **Berk. 75** (year 45 = 696–697 AD), **Berlin 23** (year 46 = 697–698 AD), **Berk. 15**, **Berk. 84**, **Berk. 87**, **Berk. 91**, (year 47 = 698–699 AD), **Berk. 26** (year 48 = 699–700 AD);

Mardōy **Berk. 6** (year 46 = 697–698 AD), **Berk. 88** (year 49 = 700–701 AD), **Berk. 36** (no year), also **Berlin 31**, 7 (no year);

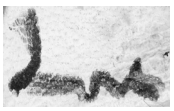
4. This means that 1 *grīw* (current) is to be equated to ca. 0,543 *grīw* (former); cf. also Hinz, 1955, p. 38.

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Māhpērōz and *Mardōy* together in **Berk. 226** (no year given), and also *Frāy* (as the person who seals the document) especially for the years 46–49.

Lines 3 and 14: The name *Mardōy* is well documented, see above.

Lines 4 and 14: The attributive to *Mardōy* seems to be ⟨mdyd'lyk⟩ which, following the interpretation in **Berk. 34**, 2, is tentatively interpreted as *maydārīg* 'wine-grower, vintner':

Berk. 93, 4: ⟨mdyd'lyk⟩  **Berk. 34**, 2: ⟨mdyd'l⟩ 

Line 8: In the middle of this line there is a character between *pad* and *padīrāy*, the only possible reading is ⟨'n⟩ which fits the place and the meaning.

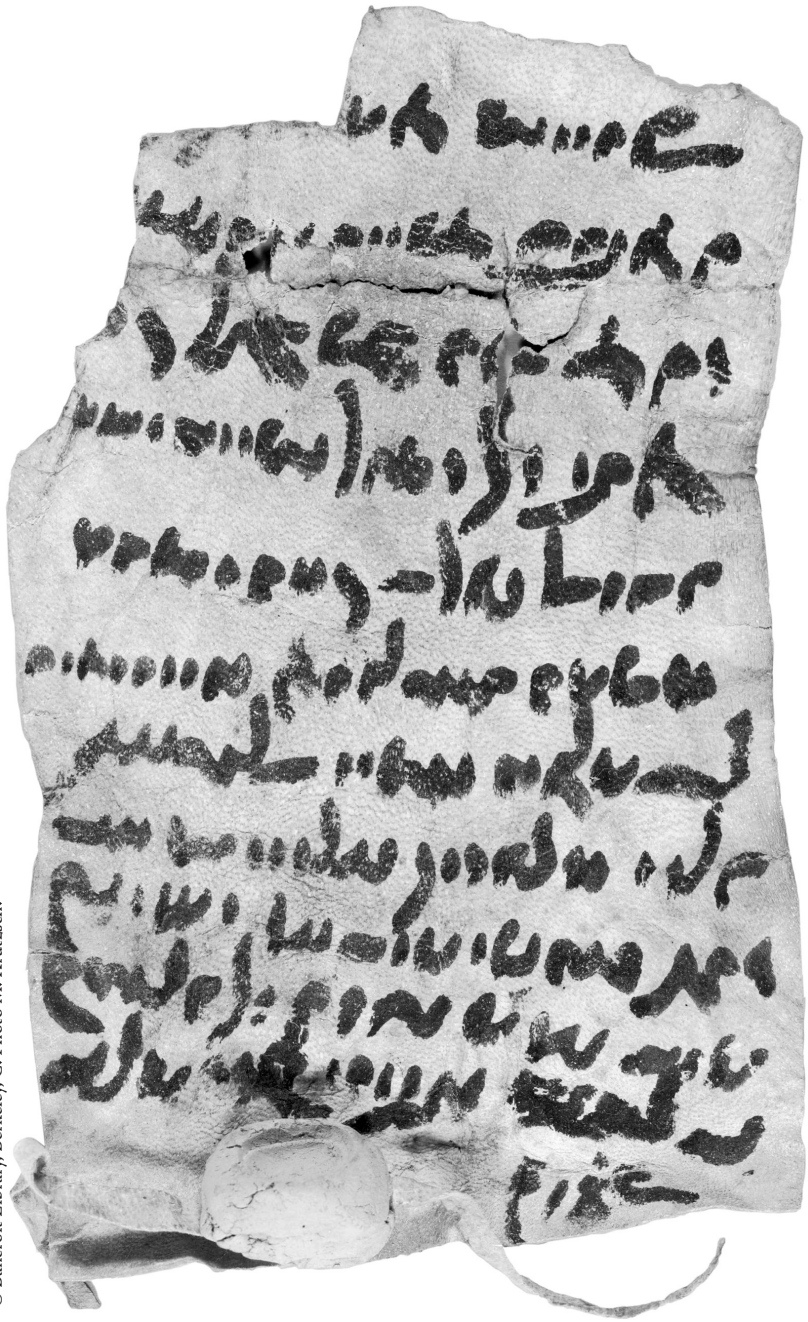
Line 9: The name *Māhpērōz* (well attested, see above) is written between the lines 8 and 9 but governed by *rāy* in line 9. – Another interlinear group of characters left of *Māhpērōz* must be read ⟨sp̄n'k⟩ = *spenāg* 'holy', written over *kabīz* and therefore explicitly referring to it, here in the sense of 'good, sanctified' as a hint at its traditional value.

Line 10: ⟨mhy⟩ for *meh* 'old' is the most probable reading though the writing is somewhat unusual.

Line 12: The phrase *pad kabīz ī dūdag* attested again in **Berk. 91**, 6, is in contrast to *pad kabīz* [*spenāg*] | *ī* ***meh*** 'according to the [sanctified] measure | of old' (lines 9–10) and **Berk. 108**, 2–3 *pad kabīz ud dōlag ud paymān ī* | *šahr* 'according to the measurements of the town' and is therefore understood as 'the local measurement' that was now in use under the Zoroastrian Persians (perhaps an adaptation of Arabic measurement?).

Line 15: The name of the person who sealed the document is illegible but may be restored after **Berk. 6**, 9.

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Fig. 6. Document on a feast organized for the *Amīr* (Berk. 95). Parchment, vertical rectangle, 14 × 8 cm, bulla is at bottom, at least 8 lines [*recto* 12 lines], *verso* marked.

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Transliteration

1 d'ṭynwnd'ṭ MN ZK [Y 'L bwn'
2 ZNH BYRH mṭr' Y ŠNṬ ▨-II[+ ?
3 W YWM 'p̄'n 'MT 'myl k.[
4 MN 'B' 'L nmywl Y'ṬWNṭ W yzd'np['nk
5 'wsṭ'nd'l swl Y ks-c W 'p̄'ryk
6 ṭ'cyk'n 'YŠ LWTH YḤWWNṭn MR'Ḥ
7 l'd plmwṭ yštn' HLY'-III
8 dwlk' *ṭlynk'-I zylk' wh'k ḤG
9 ***K***-II gšnyc' PRG dyk wsp̄' ***S***-I
10 pṭ-š dyk ZK ZBNWṭ 'L hwlšyṭ'n
11 Y LZNH gyw'k(?) YḤBWNṭ' ck' pl'dy
12 ḤṬYMWNṭ

Transcription

1 *Dādēnwindād az ān [ī ō bun*
2 *ēn māh Mihr ī sāl 4 [2–5* (?)
3 *ud rōz Ābān ka* ***Amīr*** *…[*
4 *az pid ō Namēwar āmad ud yazdānb[ānag*
5 *ōstāndār sūr ī kas-iz ud abārīg*
6 ***tāzīgān*** *kas abāg būdan x^{w}adāy*
7 *rāy framūd yaštan sik 3*
8 *dōlag *tarēnag-ēw zīrag wahāg gandum*
9 *k(abīz) 2 gišnīz nēm dēg wisp s(atēr) 1*
10 *pad-iš dēg ān xrīd ō X^{w}aršēdān*
11 *ī im gyāg(?) dād čak Frāy*
12 *āwišt*

Translation

[1] *Dādēnwindād* from [what (belongs) to the *bun*,] [2] this month *Mihr* (7th month) of the year 40[+ 3] and day *Ābān* (10th day), when the *Amīr*…[[4–5] came from the Father to *Namēwar* and the *Ōstāndār*, pro[tected] by the gods, ordered to celebrate a banquet for anyone and the other Arabs on Your behalf, Sir, to be together with them: [7] vinegar 3 [8] pails, **tarēnag* one, cumin worth of [9] 2 *kabīz* of wheat, coriander of half a *satēr* and all for 1 *satēr* [10] *per* cauldron to be bought, to *X^{w}aršēdān* [11–12] of this place(*?*) (= then and there*?*) to be given. *Frāy* sealed the *čak*.

Commentary

Ed. Gignoux, 2010a, p. 68; Weber, 2014a, p. 181. The new readings now replace all previous ones and provide us with a more coherent translation.

Line 3: The reading ⟨'m'l⟩ *āmār* (Gignoux) must be ruled out; in fact it is the spelling for ⟨'myl⟩ *Amīr*, Arab. أمير.

Line 4: By "Father" very probably *Yazdānpādār* is meant who lived in *Yazdānābestān* (west of Qom). – The verbal heterogram is not to be read ⟨ŠDRWNym⟩ but rather ⟨Y'ṬWNṭ'⟩. – The last word in the line is to be emended to ⟨yzd'np['nk⟩; on *yazdānbānag ōstāndār* see Weber, 2008a, p. 36 where the reading †*yasn-pānag* was still favoured.

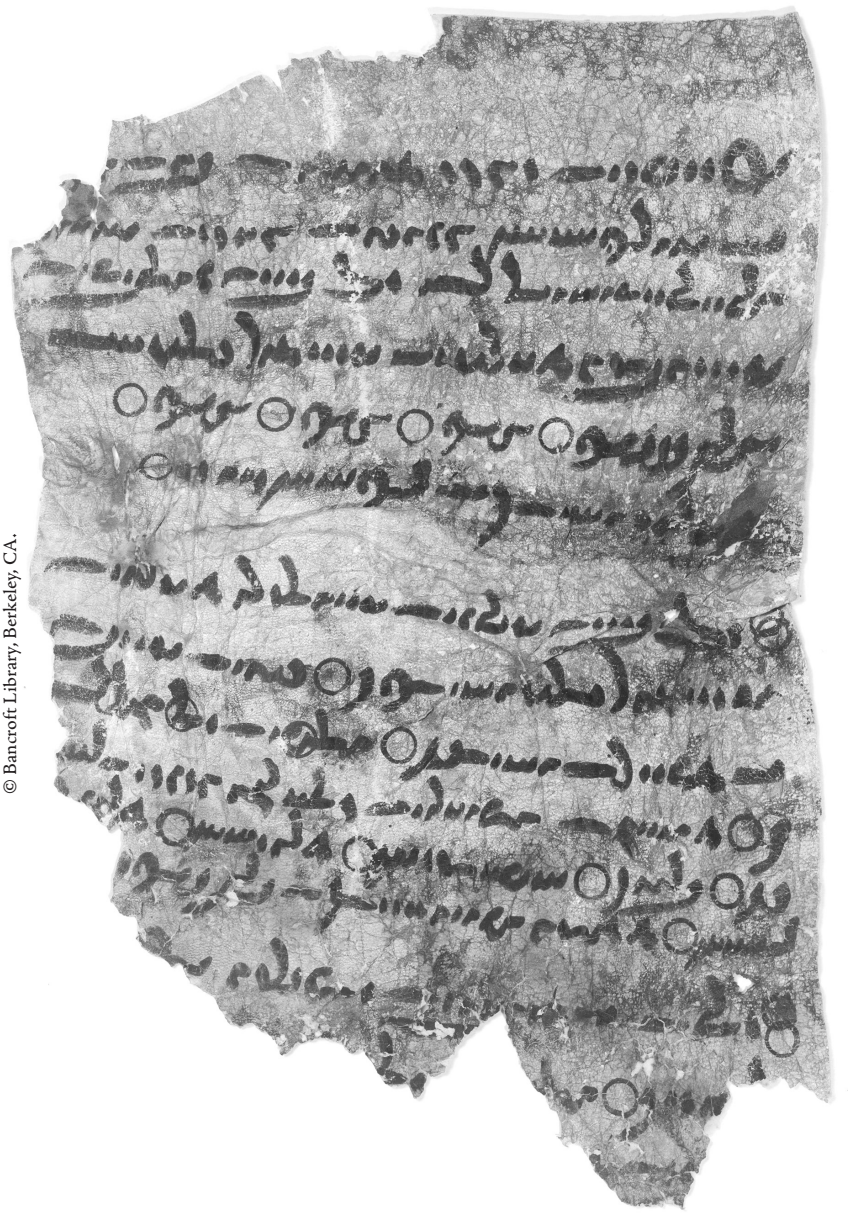
Line 5: [1]**sūr** [*swl* | M *swr*, N ~] 'meal, feast, banquet' (CPD). – The earlier favoured reading ⟨kṭ'n⟩ must be changed to ⟨ks-c⟩ = *kas-iz* 'anybody' not ⟨ks-'n⟩ because in this case the ⟨s⟩ and ⟨'⟩ would have been written together, i.e. in a ligature. With this interpretation we meet Gignoux, 'villageois' (letter of 17-5-2011).

Line 6: The sequence *būd x^{w}adāy* (according to Gignoux) is paleographically correct but syntactically difficult; it becomes clearer if we read lines 5–7 *sūr ī kas-iz ud abārīg* | ***tāzīgān*** *kas*

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abāg būdan x^{w}*adāy* | *rāy framūd yaštan* 'he ordered to celebrate a banquet for anyone and the other Arabs on behalf of You, Sir, to be together with them'.

Lines 10–11: ⟨lsykʾn⟩ (Gignoux) is not possible; before the ⟨l⟩ there is a ligature of two characters which is disregarded. A reading ⟨hwlšyṭʾn⟩ = *X*^{w}*aršēdān* would make sense representing a name which is also attested in **Berk. 106**, 7, **Berk. 141**, 6 and **Berk. 237**, 3. Since *X*^{w}*aršēdān* is mentioned, in **Berk. 106**, 7, with the additional information *ī pad garmīh* the question arises whether or not the banquet mentioned here could have taken place exactly there.[5]



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Fig. 7. Document on various goods to be given, i.a. to the Amīr (Berk. 62). Leather, vertical rectangle, 25 × 17 cm, bulla absent, at least 13 lines, *verso* 3 short lines of script.

5. This place is interpreted as 'bath-house, *garm-ābag*' in Weber, 2008b, p. 217 with n. 25.

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Transliteration

1 PWN GṬk' Y nywk' mdy'ncyk'n Y BYRḤ hw[rdṭ
2 Y ŠNṬ 𐭫X-IIII-IIII 'wcynyṭ Y dwṭk' Y yz̲d'np'(n)[k'
3 Y̲LYDWNṭ hlṭ-wnd'ṭ 'wsṭ'nd'l l'd 'L bwn' Y ch'lbwhṭ' Y
4 PWN nywbyhk'n MN plyk' Y PWN nmywl d'lyk ḤG
5 ***G***-I-C 𐭫𐭫𐭫𐭫X ○ ***G***-𐭫𐭫X ○ ***G***-𐭫𐭫X ○ ***G***-𐭫𐭫X ○
6 ○○ MN plyk' gwsp̄nd-I Y 𐭫X-III-III kwṭk' ○ <*space*>
7 ○○ 'L bwn' Y pylwc' Y PWN 'n'lkl'n MN plhw' Y
8 PWN nmywl d'lyk gwsp̄nd-XI ○ d'šn' Y PWN bg
9 Y mṭr' l'd gwsp̄nd-II ○ 'y'lyṭ' Y k'l 'myl l'd
10 I ○ MN 'ḤRN k'm Y z'ṭ'nplhw' Y k'lplm'n hwkck' Y lyk'n(?)
11 II ○ bld'n I ○ sp̄yṭp'k' III ○ mwlw' III-III ○ mwlw(ck' ?)
12 𐭫-IIII-III ○ MN mšk'n ḤYṬYWNṭ ṬWR'-I Y I-C-𐭫𐭫X-I[
<*space*>
13 ○○ W 'lṭ Y ḤG MN bwn' Y nhcylk'n d't[
14 … I ○ 'y'ly[ṭ' Y]k'l[
15]…[

Transcription

1 *pad nāmag ī nēk mayānǰīgān ī māh Ho*[*rdād*
2 *ī sāl 38 uzēnīd ī dūdag ī yazdānbānag*
3 *zād xrad-windād ōstāndār rāy ō bun ī Čahārbōxt ī*
4 *pad* ***Nēwbēhagān*** *az Friyag ī pad* ***Namēwar*** *dārīg gandum*
5 *g(rīw) 190* ○ *g(rīw) 50* ○ *g(rīw) 50* ○ *g(rīw) 50* ○
6 ○○ *az Friyag gōspand 1 ī 36 kōdag* ○ <*space*>
7 ○○ *ō bun ī Pērōz ī pad* ***Anārgarān*** *az Farrox ī*
8 *pad* ***Namēwar*** *dārīg gōspand 11* ○ *dāšn ī pad bay*
9 *ī Mihr rāy gōspand 2* ○ *ayārīd ī kār Amīr rāy*
10 *1* ○ *az any kām ī Zādānfarrox ī kārframān xūkčak ī Rēgān(?)*
11 *2* ○ *briyān 1* ○ *spēdbāg 3* ○ *murw 6* ○ *murw(čak ?)*
12 *27* ○ *az* ***Maškān*** *ōnīd gāw 1 ī 151*[
<*space*>
13 ○○ *ud ārd ī gandum az bun ī* ***Naxčīragān*** *…*[
14 *… 1* ○ *ayārī*[*d ī*]*kār*[
15]…[

Verso

'wcyṭ' Y glmyh Y BYRḤ hwrdṭ Y ŠNṬ 𐭫X-IIII-IIII

uzīd ī garmīh ī māh Hordād ī sāl 38



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Translation

[1] As document of the goods: the mediators of month *Ho*[*rdād*] (3rd month) [2] of the year 38 (689–690 CE): on behalf of the expenses of the family of [3] the *ōstāndār*, born with inherited knowledge, to the *bun* of *Čahārbōxt* of [4] *Nēwbēhagān* from *Friyag* who is manager in *Namēwar*, wheat [5] *grīw* 190, *grīw* 50, *grīw* 50, *grīw* 50. [6] From *Friyag* 1 sheep out of 36 lambs. [7] To the *bun* of *Pērōz* in *Anārgarān* from *Farrox*, [8] the manager in *Namēwar*, 11 sheep. On behalf of the gift for God [9] *Mihr* 2 sheep. On behalf of the *Amīr*, who evaluated the action [10] 1 [sheep]. From another purpose of *Zādānfarrox*, the overseer, piglets of *Rēgān(?)* [11] 2. 1 *Biryānī*. 3 curd (soups?). 6 birds, small birds (?) [12] 27. From *Maškān* 1 ox was brought out of 151[ ]. [13] And wheat flour from the *bun* of *Naxčīragān*…[ ] [14]… [15] – *Verso*: Gone out from the *bath-house, month *Hordād* of the year 38.

Commentary

First published Weber, 2010, pp. 52–55. In this article the relevant phrase referring to the *Amīr* was completely misunderstood.

[8] *pad Namēwar dārīg gōspand 11* ○ *dāšn ī pad bay* [9] *ī Mihr rāy gōspand 2* ○ *ayārīd ī kār Amīr rāy* [10] *1* [7] (To the *bun* of *Pērōz*) in *Anārgarān* from *Farrox*, [8] the manager in *Namēwar*, 11 sheep. On behalf of the gift for God [9] *Mihr* 2 sheep. **On behalf of the *Amīr*, who evaluated the action** [10] **1 (sheep)**.

Line 9: It is noteworthy that there are circles written over the three words ⟨ʾyʾlyṭʹ⟩, ⟨kʾl⟩ and ⟨ʾmyl⟩; their meaning remains unknown. It is now clear—after the interpretation of ⟨ʾyʾlṭʹ⟩ *ayārd* **Tab. 13**, 3. 13. **Tab. 23**, 3. 4—that the word in question must be read ⟨ʾyʾlyṭʹ⟩ = *ayārīd* sec. prt. of *ayār-* prs. 'register, evaluate'. Thus, in this phrase there is no hint at "the unwelcome character of Arab taxation" as I put it earlier. The same phrase seems to be repeated in line 14.

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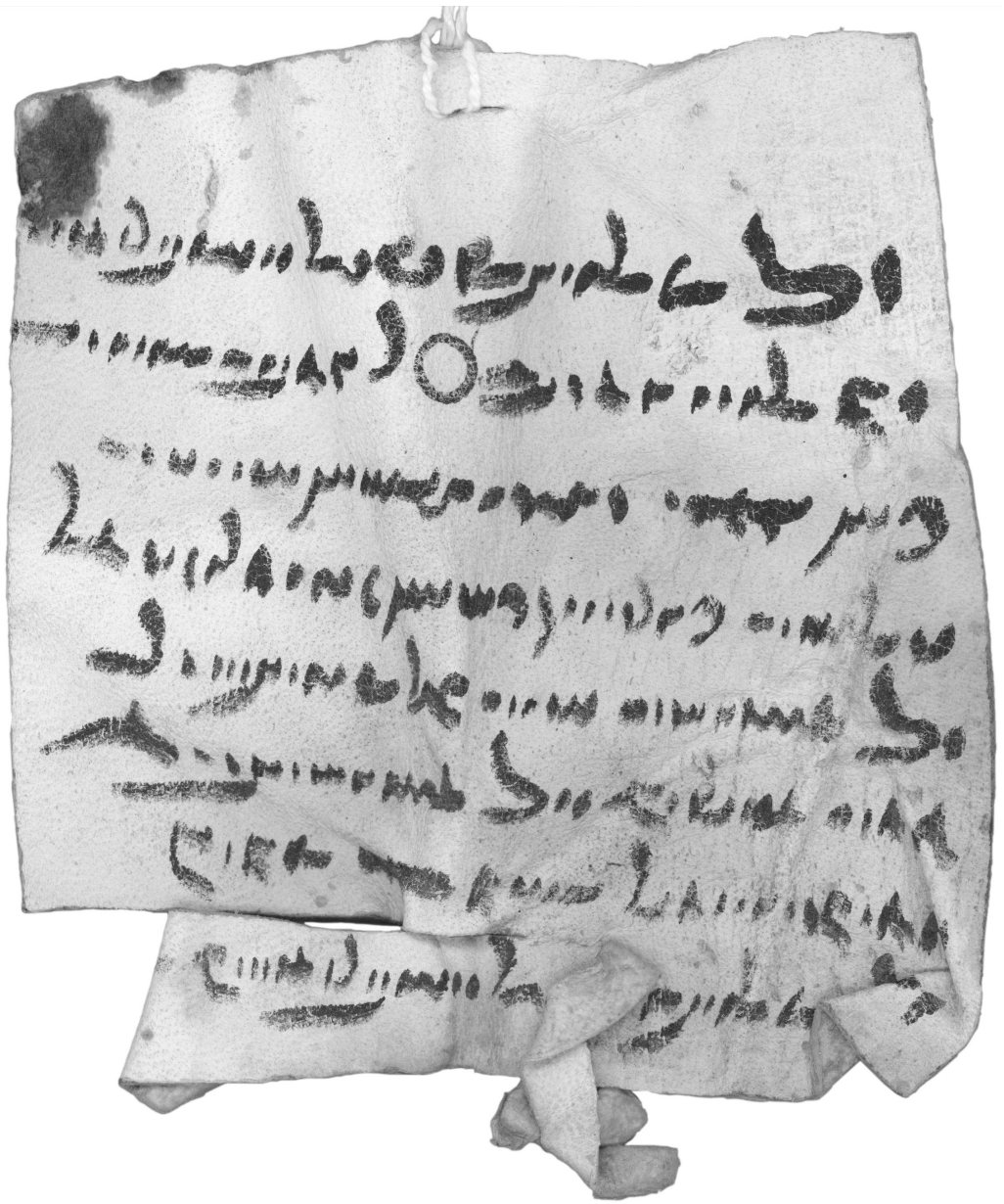


Fig. 8. Letter (Berk. 244). Parchment, 9.5 × 9 cm, bulla absent, bands at bottom center, 8 lines, *verso* blank.

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Transliteration

1 ʻL hcʾlʾnwšʾbyy̲ʾṭ srdʾl wndʾṭbwlcmṭr'
2 ***nc*** ʾlgwkʾn ŠRM KBD ◯ L Z̲NH BYRḤ štrywr Y
3 <ŠNṬ> X-III ---[8] whʾk Y ḤS-III-III dyk' W PRG
4 pylʾdšn' Y X dwlk' Z̲WZ̲N I KSP̄ ***S***-III cygwn MN lwcyk ml
5 ʻL mʾhgwšnsp̄' Y dpywr Y ʾmyl ʾp̄dyn' YḤBWNṭn lʾd
6 MN MRʻḤ MKB̲LWN***ty*** W ʻL mʾhgwšnsp̄' YḤBWNm
7 W Z̲NH nʾmk' PWN mwdl Y NPŠH ʾy ḤṬYMWNyṭ
8 ʻL hcʾlʾnwšʾbyy̲ʾṭ srdʾl wndʾṭbwlcmṭr' ***nc*** [ʾlgwkʾn]

Transcription

1 **A$_1$** *ō hazār-anōšayād sālār Windād-Burzmihr*
2 ***namāz*** **A$_2$** *Argawān* **A$_3$** ***drōd was*** ◯ **B** *man ēn māh Šahrewar ī*
3 *<sāl> 13 --- wahāg ī may 6 dēg ud nēm*
4 *payrāyišn ī 10 dōlag drahm 1 arz satēr 3 čiyōn az rōzīg mar*
5 *ō Māhgušnasp ī dibīr ī* ***Amīr Abdīn*** *dādan rāy*
6 *az x^{w}adāy padīrēm ud ō Māhgušnasp dahēm*
7 **B$_x$** *ud ēn nāmag pad muhr ī x^{w}ēš* ***ē āwāšēd***
8 **C$_1$** *ō hazār-anōšayād sālār Windād-Burzmihr* ***namāz*** [**C$_2$** *Argawān*]

Translation

[1] **A$_1$** To *Windād-Burzmihr*, the leader, of thousand-fold immortal remembrance, [2] reverence! **A$_2$** (From) *Argawān* **A$_3$** many greetings. **B** I this month *Šahrewar* (6th month) of the [3–4] <year> 13 (664–665 CE) – value of arrangement of 6½ *dēg* of wine of 1 *drahm* each 10 *dōlag*, worth 3 *satēr*, as from the account of the rations [5] on behalf of giving it to *Māhgušnasp*, the scribe of ***Amīr Abdīn***, [6] I will receive from You, Sir, and I shall give (it) to *Māhgušnasp*. [7] **B$_x$** And he should seal this letter with his own seal. [8] **C$_1$** To *Windād-Burzmihr*, the leader, of a thousand-fold immortal remembrance, reverence! [**C$_2$** *Argawān*].

Commentary

Unpublished letter from *Argawān* to *Windād-Burzmihr*, the well-known entrepreneur. Letter of **Type 1b**[6]. To be published also in Weber, forthcoming b.

Line 1: The reading of *sālār* is by no means problematic[7]. Earlier attempts to read this word as **ǰād-dār* '*share-holder' are obsolete now. - *Windād-Burzmihr* is a Zoroastrian entrepreneur whose financial activities are known from various documents, e.g. **Berk. 101**, **Berk. 227**[8]; **Berk. 81** and **Berk. 231** are documents that reveal intense financial activities of

6. The letter types will be described in Weber, forthcoming **b**.

7. For this word the reading *sālār* is given in Gignoux, 2004, p. 46, "mais le contexte ne nous aide aucunement à préciser ce que recouvre ce terme". Cf. again Gignoux, 2010b, p. 146, "Ce *commandant* pouvait être un ancien officier de l'armée impériale d'un haut rang"—an assumption which is by no means justified, it must not necessarily be a *commandant* but simply the "first man" in an undertaking, cf. 'leader, master' (CPD).

8. Now published in Weber, 2019, pp. 380–382.

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Windād-Burzmihr. The first one, **Berk. 81**, sealed by *Windād-Burzmihr*, contains a list of the dividends (in cash and by trade (*?*) with Turkish silver and morocco leather) gained in the year 12,[9] and the large document **Berk. 231**[10] is an accountancy for the year 11 and investments for the year 12 of *Zādōy ī durgar* '*Zādōy* the carpenter' where *Windād-Burzmihr* functions as an employer.

Line 2: *Argawān* 'the purple one' (CPD), or "Scarlett", is the most probable reading of the name of the sender which is to be expected in this place of the letter. The name, though today a woman's name, originally an professional name refers to a person trading with purple or scarlet textiles.

Line 5: For a discussion of the term *Amīr* in the documents see Weber, 2014a, pp. 179–189. *Abdīn* is the common Arabic name.

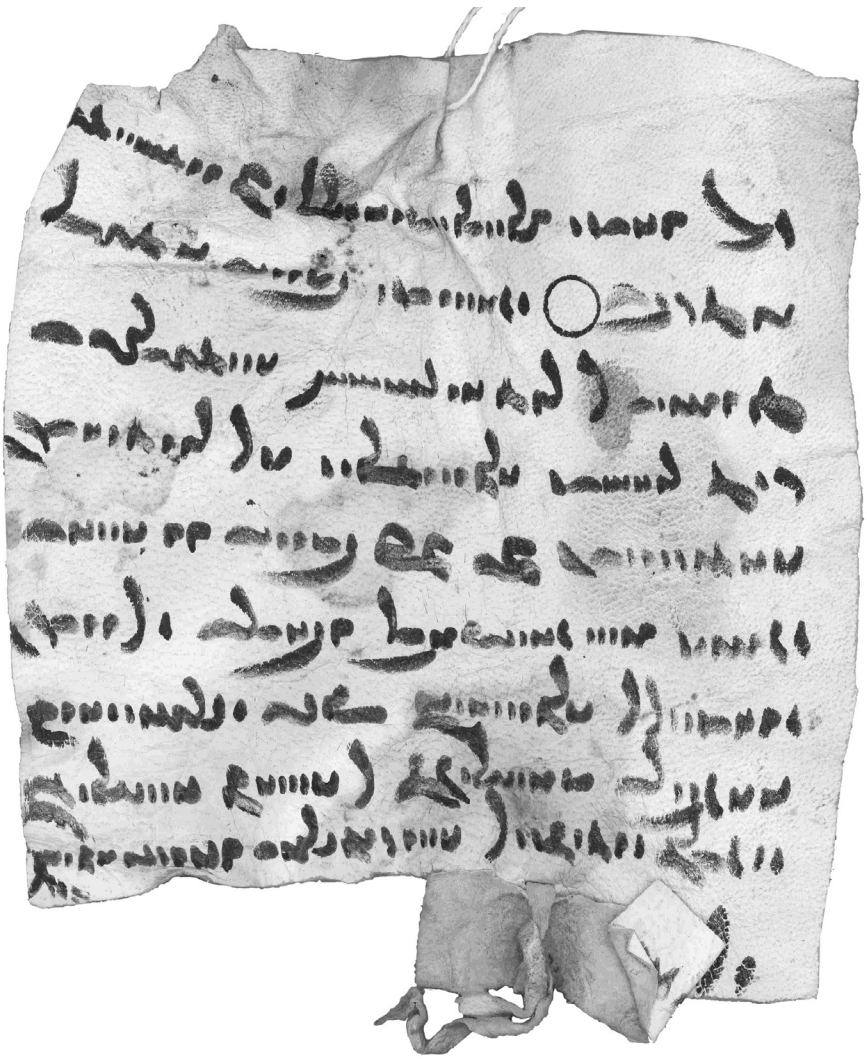


Fig. 9. Letter (Berk. 34). Parchment, vertical rectangle, 15 × 13.5 cm, bulla absent, bands remain at bottom center, 10 lines, *verso* blank.

9. Published in Weber, 2012, pp. 64–65.
10. See Weber, 2017.

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Transliteration

1 ʿL hwṭʾyk' YLYDWNṭ hlṭ-wndʾṭ ʾwsṭʾnd'l ***nc*** ʾwhrmzd-PWN-mgw
2 ŠRM KBD Ô W cygwn hwṭʾyk' ***B***-ʾp̄ʾṭʾnyh Y mdyd'l
3 MN hw'dšn' Y L LZNH ŠNṬ ⁓-III-III-III PWN mdyd'lyh Y
4 kwm lwṭsṭʾk plmwṭ' gwm'lṭn' ZKL LWṬH hwṭʾyk'
5 pṭm'n krṭ' ʾYK hm'y ʾMT ***B***-ʾp̄ʾṭʾnyh ZWZN PWN dyn Y
6 wcyhšnyk ʾyṭwn' cygwn d'ṭ-hdyb'l gwbṭʾlyh ʿL hwṭʾyk'
7 W hwṭʾyk' ʿL L plmwṭ' ʿBYDWN***ty*** ḤṬ-š wyl'dšn' W pṭʾn
8 Y ZK CBW l'd ʾp̄'dšn' YBLWN***tny*** L PWN NPŠH ṭn' YBLWNm
9 W wc'lm W ZNH n'mk' L PWN gwk'dymwdlyh' Y hwṭʾkrṭ ḤṬYMWNṭ
10 ʿL [hwṭʾyk' YLYDWNṭ hlṭ-wndʾṭ ʾwsṭʾnd'l ***nc*** ʾwhrmzd-PWN-mgw]

Transcription

1 **A**$_1$ *ō x^{w}adāyīg zād xrad-windād ōstāndār* ***namāz*** **A**$_2$ *Ōhrmazd-pad-moγ*
2 **A**$_3$ ***drōd was*** ◯ **B** *ud čiyōn x^{w}adāyīg* ***ba-ābādānīh*** *ī maydār*
3 *az x^{w}āhišn ī man im sāl 29 pad maydārīh ī*
4 *Kōm rōstāg framūd gumārdan nar abāg x^{w}adāyīg*
5 *paymān kard kū hamē ka* ***ba-ābādānīh drahm pad dēn ī***
6 ***wizīhišnīg*** *ēdōn čiyōn dād-ayār *guftārīh ō x^{w}adāyīg*
7 *ud x^{w}adāyīg ō man framūd kard(an ?) agar-aš wirāyišn ud *pattān*
8 *ī ān xīr rāy abāyišn burdan man pad x^{w}ēš-tan barēm*
9 *ud wizārēm* **B**$_z$ *ud ēn nāmag man pad gugāymuhrīhā ī X^{w}adāgird āwišt*
10 **C**$_1$ *ō* [*x^{w}adāyīg zād xrad-windād ōstāndār* ***namāz*** **C**$_2$ *Ōhrmazd-pad-moγ*]

Translation

[1] A$_1$ To the lordly *Ōstāndār*, born with inherited knowledge, reverence! A$_2$ (From) *Ōhrmazd-pad-moγ* [2] A$_3$ many greetings. **B** And since You, Sir, with regard to the *protection of the wine-grower(s) [3] because, this year 29 (PYE = 680–681 CE), by my asking regarding wine-growing of [4] the *Kōm* district, You ordered to commission a man (who) with You, Sir, [5–6] a contract made (saying) that any time when for *protection a duty (will be due) on (our) separated religion—so as (is) the legal advisor's speech to You, Sir, [7]—You gave me order to do (this), if, because (*rāy*, line 8) of preparation and *duration [8] of that pecuniary affair, You must bring it (i.e. *drahm pad dēn*), (then) I personally will take (it) [9] and will pay. B$_z$ And this letter, by the witnesses' seals of *X^{w}adāgird*, I sealed. [10] C$_1$ To [the lordly *Ōstāndār*, born with inherited knowledge, reverence! C$_2$ *Ōhrmazd-pad-moγ*].

Commentary

Gignoux, 2008, p. 836, discusses lines 1 and 3–4; ed. Weber, 2013b, pp. 178–179. The letter may be classed with **Type 1b**. The letter will be re-published in Weber, forthcoming b.

Line 1: ⟨ʾwsṭʾnd'l⟩ as usual after the honorific *zād xrad-windād*; Gignoux, (2008, p. 836) *ī dilēr* is a misreading due to the fact that, in the place where ⟨ʾwsṭʾnd'l⟩ is written, possibly two characters were written earlier but had been insufficiently erased so that a second ⟨l⟩ is to be seen which actually has no function. – The name of the sender, tentatively read as

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Ōhrmazd-pad-moγ, is unique and will denote something like '(having) *Ōhrmazd* as *magus*', cf. e.g. **pad-pānag** [*PWNpʾnk'*] 'guarded, protected' (CPD).

Lines 2 and 3: With regard to wine-growing in the region of Qom cf. Drechsler, 1999, p. 253. Mentioning relatively huge quantities of wine in the documents (cf. e.g. **Berk. 48**) means that there must have been big areas for vineyards.

Lines 2 and 5: ⟨***B-***ʾpʾṭʾnyh⟩ *ba-ābādānīh* here in its etymological sense 'protection'. For ⟨***B-***⟩ cf. Weber, 2012, p. 63. With regard to wine-growing in the region of Qom cf. Drechsler 1999, p. 253.

Line 3: Instead of ⟨hwʾdšn' Y⟩, Gignoux, 2008, p. 836, has ⟨gwspnd⟩. End of line ⟨mdydʾlyh⟩ cf. ⟨-dʾlyh⟩ in **Mazda 2**, 5.

Lines 3–4: ⟨Y kwm lwṭsṭʾk⟩ = *ī kom rōstāg*, "or *kom* pourrait être la forme ancienne de Qom" (Gignoux, letter 3-2-2006).

Line 6: ⟨wcyhšnyk⟩ adj. 'of separation, segregation'; cf. ⟨wchsṭ⟩ = *wizīhist* 'separated, scattered' **Berlin 30a** R 18. - The spelling ⟨gwbṭʾlyh⟩ is the scribe's error who should have written ⟨gwpṭʾlyh⟩ but erroneously chose the prs. stem ⟨gwb-⟩ instead. - The term *dād-ayār* (not in CPD) is best interpreted as 'legal advisor' attested again in **P.Pehl. 564**, 4.

Line 7: The reading of **pattān* seems quite certain; but it is obvious that the meaning 'noise, resonance' given in the CPD does not suit the context. If we start from the verb *pattūdan*, prs. stem *pattāy-*, 'stay, remain, last, endure' (CPD) a verbal noun in **-ana-* could indeed result in *pattān* having the meaning 'endurance' or the like; for the formation of this word cf. *āsān* 'at rest, easy, peaceful' belonging to the verb *āsūdan*, prs. stem *āsāy-* 'rest, repose'.

Line 9: ⟨wcʾlm⟩ 1st sg. prs. of **wizārdan, wizār-** [*wcʾl-tn'* | M *wycʾrd, wycʾr-*, J *bzʾrd-*, N *guzārdan*] 'separate; explain, interpret; perform, fulfil, redeem' (CPD), in this context 'pay'.

Line 10 repeats the addressee and the sender mentioned in line 1.

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Fig. 10. Economic document (Document 1).
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Document 1

Transliteration

1 d'ṭynwnd'ṭ pṭyhwyh
2 Y QDM ZNH p(')ṭgl'b
3 npšṭ' YKʿYMWNyṭ sṭwl'n
4 ʾ hcpl hwṭ'yk' l'd
5 ʿL syc' Y bwn'p'ṭ' Y
6 dyn 'swlyk YḤBWNṭ' bnd
7 Y ZNH 'byy'ṭk'l PWN
8 mwdl Y 'wsṭ'nd'l
9 ḤṬYMWNṭ

Transcription

1 *Dādēnwindād padēxīh*
2 *ī abar ēn pādīrāy*
3 *nibišt estēd stōrān*
4 *20 azabar x^{w}adāyīg rāy*
5 *ō sēǰ ī* ****bunābād** ī*
6 ***dēn asūrīg** dād band*
7 *ī ēn āyādgār pad*
8 *muhr ī ōstāndār*
9 *āwišt*

Translation

Dādēnwindād provided 20 mounts for the crops on which this receipt has been written for the sake of the above (mentioned) Sir (= *Dādēnwindād*) to meet the trouble of the *bun* centre (depository of the *bun*) of the Nestorians (lit. Syrian religion). He sealed the tie of this reminder with the seal of the *Ōstāndār*.

Commentary

Dādēnwindād is attested from year 36 (PYE = 687–688 CE) through year 41 (PYE = 692–693 CE) either as *ī pad Yazdānābestān dārīg* or even as *ī pad Yazdānābestān bunbān*. *Yazdānābestān* itself was situated some 10 km West of Qom (Weber, 2010, p. 42); this scenario makes it certain that the **bunābād* of the Nestorians must be looked for in the same region, i.e. Qom; cf. B. Spuler, 2014, p. 202.

Line 5: The word *sēǰ* 'danger, trouble' is attested in the following places: **Doc. 1**, 5 (this document); **Berk. 231**, 11, 13, 17; **Berlin 22**, 7.

Line 5: **bunābād* is a hapax in the texts of the "Pahlavi Archive"; there is a strong dash covering the lower parts of the first three characters coming from the lower stroke of the ⟨b⟩ of **bunābād*. Cf. ⟨ms'p'ṭ⟩ *meh-ābād* 'retirement camp', or 'home of the veterans' **P.Pehl. 572** R 2; ⟨wlg'p't'⟩ *warg-ābād* 'repository of papyri, archive' **P.Pehl. 572** V 5; see now Weber, 2018, pp. 143–144. Therefore it seems reasonable to interpret **bunābād* as 'depository of the *bun*': the term *bun* seems to denote "a form of inventory holding of the community which contained corn, oil and other things of daily maintenance; from that an individual was allowed to receive certain amounts for his living" (according to Weber, 2010, p. 51).



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Line 6: The reading of ⟨dyn ʾswlyk⟩ = *dēn asūrīg* is the most probable one though still tentative; it testifies to the existence of Nestorian communities in early Islamic times in the region of Qom. For *asūrīg* (lit. 'Syrian') see also ⟨swlykʾn⟩ **Sūrīgān* 'Assyrian (Nestorian) quarter' **Tab. 24**, 2. 31.

Line 7: On the type of document called *āyādgār* see Weber, 2018, p. 130.

Time Table

Document	Content	Year PYE	Year CE
Berk. 244	Letter from *Argawān* to *Windād-Burzmihr*, the well-known entrepreneur	13	664–665
Berk. 62	document of various goods to be distributed, i.a. one sheep for the *Amīr*'s evaluation of a certain task	38	689–690
Doc. I	providing of 20 mounts of transport for the Nestorian community	× (36–41)	× (687–688; 692–693)
Berk. 95	banquet organized by the *Ōstāndār* with the *Amīr* who came from the "Father" to *Namēwar*	40[+ 3]	691–692[+ 3]
Berk. 66	delivery of victuals to the *mazgit*	48	699–700
Berk. 93	[*spenāg*] *kabīz ī meh* vs. *kabīz ī dūdag*	× (46–49)	× (697–698; 700–701)
Berk. 187	delivery of victuals to the *mazgit*?	×	×

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