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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 Sefid, 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of the *Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna (with original inventory number, mostly unpublished).

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 Sefid, 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 تُقدم مجموعة من الوثائق البهلوية الأصلية ذات المنشأ الزرادشتية الواضح التي تعود إلى القرن السابع وبديايات 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 قم وجنوبها، و٢. الوثائق القادمة من طبرستان شمالي إيران، أي منطقة روبار الحديقة الواقعة على نهر سفید، وتعلق في معظمها بمسائل قانونية. ويحتوي ما يعرف بـ «الأرشيف البهلوى» على وثائق اقتصادية فضلاً عن رسائل

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 أحياناً 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 «الازدھار» ~ «الحِمَاء» للدين (أى الدين الزرادشتى). أما الوثائق القادمة من طبرستان، وهي بدورها زرادشتية المنشأ بشكل جلى، فلا تتضمن أى روابط بالمسائل العربية وإنما تذكر طائفة نسطورية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السيطرة العربية، وثائق اقتصادية، «محفوظات بهلوية»، وثائق بهلوية، ازدھار، حِمَاء، 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.

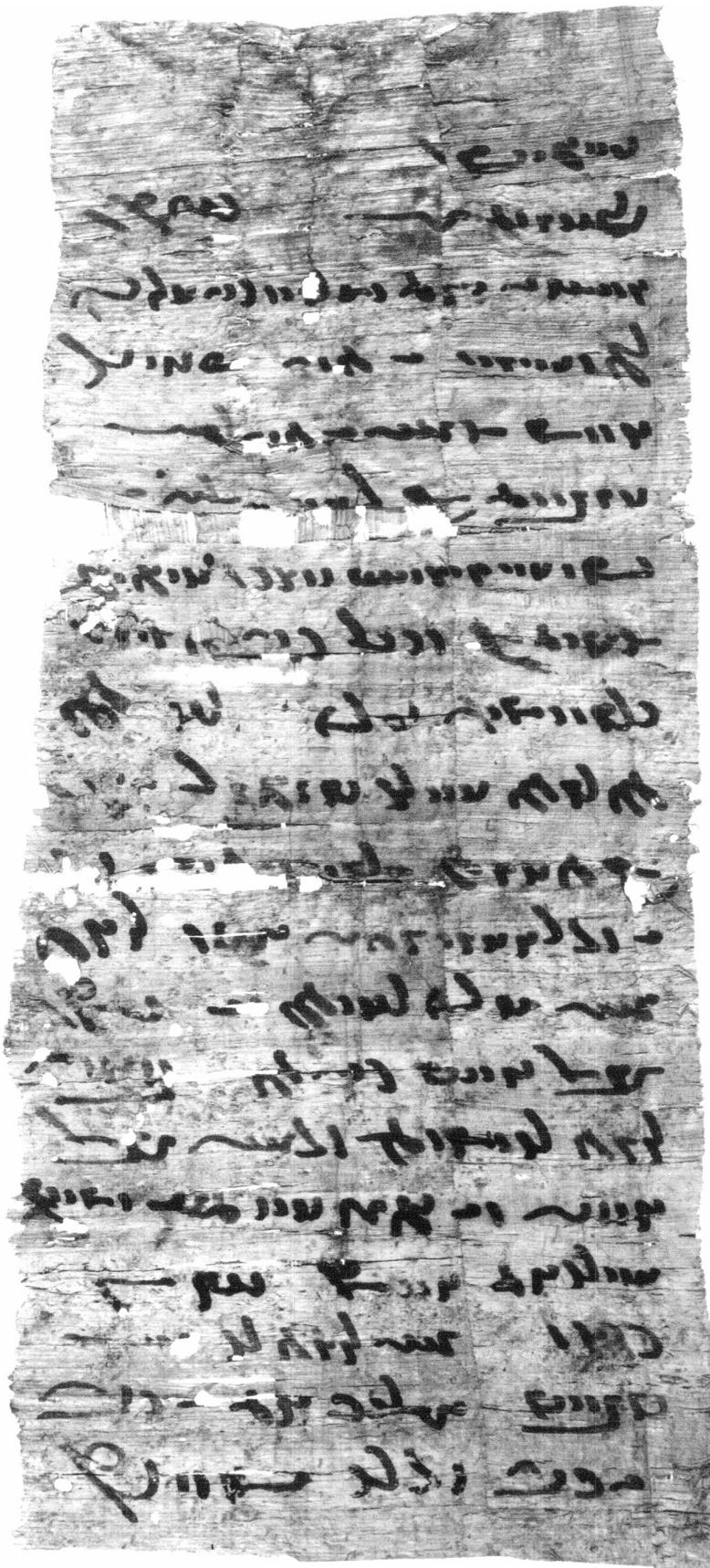


Fig. 1. The Pahlavi Letter from Early Islamic Times.

Transliteration

direction of fibre: →

- 1 PWN ŠM Y yzdṭ'
- 2 gl'mykṭwm 'H <space> d'st'
- 3 drwdṣṭyh W ŠRM W 'pl[y]n' W KR' plhwyh (W)
- 4 l'mšn' PWN ṭn' Y MR'H 'pzwndl()
- 5 YHWWN't' k'syh Y MR'H l'd
- 6 YKTYBWNm 'YK L (PWN hdyb)'lyh Y
- 7 yzdṭ' PWN ṭndrwdṣṭ krṭk' YK'YMWNym
- 8 YD'YTNm 'YK nkyl KR' MH (.....)
- 9 dlṭwnd't'- pl'c //// LP[N]MH
- 10 MH LTMH PWN LK swt h'mwdyn L ('YT')
- 11 'YK MN ZK TMH 'hl'(dyh) L (KR') k[r](t')
- 12 Y'L L gwpt' HWHyh d'st' LWTH
- 13 'YŠ pl'c LPNMH 'D yzdṭ'
- 14 hdyb'l YHWWNyt KR' MH B'YHWNyh
- 15 LWTH LK 'HDWNm 'L 'YŠ hdyb'l
- 16 YHWWNyt 'D GMR'-n PWN mzd 'HDWNyt
- 17 PWN LK ŠRM YHWWN't' t'n
- 18 krṭ' 'YŠ LWTH LK (zn)yh
- 19 YTBYBNyt 'hlwb ŠRM Y KBD
- 20 Y KBD 'L LK YTWNyt

Transcription

- 1 *pad nām i yazd*
- 2 **A₁** *grāmīgtom brād* **A₃** *dāšt*
- 3 *drustīh ud drōd ud āfr[i]n ud harw farroxīh (ud)*
- 4 *rāmišn pad tan i xʷadāy abzōndar(?)*
- 5 *bawād* **B** *āgāhīh i xʷadāy rāy*
- 6 *nibēsēm kū (man pad ay)ārih i*
- 7 *yazd pad tandrust kardag ēstēm*
- 8 *dānēm kū niger harw čē (.....)*
- 9 **dard-windād-ā frāz //// awar*
- 10 *čē ēdar pad tō sūd hāmōyēn man (ast)*
- 11 *kū az ān anōh ahlā(yih) man (harw kard)*
- 12 *i ū man guft hēh dāšt abāg*
- 13 *kas frāz awar tā yazd*
- 14 *ayār bawēd harw čē xʷāhēh*
- 15 *abāg tō gīrēm ū kas ayār*
- 16 *bawēh tā ušturān pad mizd gīrēd*
- 17 **B_x** *pad tō drōd bawād ādān*
- 18 *kard kas abāg tō (zan)ih*
- 19 *nišānēd* **C** *ablaw* **C_x** *drōd i was*
- 20 *i was ū 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.

Commentary

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

Line 17: <'t'n> = *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)ih nišānēd*, cf. Man. MP pd znyy nš'stn ‘zum Weibe nehmen’ Sund., KPT.

Line 19: The reading <shlyk> in the original publication is obsolete now; the word is rather to be read <'hlwb> = *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 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 yzdt' Y kr̄kl MN GBYNH Y mzgt'n 'L YLYDWNt hl̄t-wnd't 'ws̄t'nd'l.

Transcription

pad nām i yazd i kardakkar az pēšānīg i mazgitān o zād-xrad-windād ostāndār.

Translation

In the name of god who (is) *powerful². From the surveillance of the mosques to the *Ostāndār*, well born and of inherited wisdom.

2. Lit. “full of action”; after the full phrase *b-ismi-lلāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīmi*. 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.

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 *Masğid-i ‘atīq* in *Mamağgān* (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)!

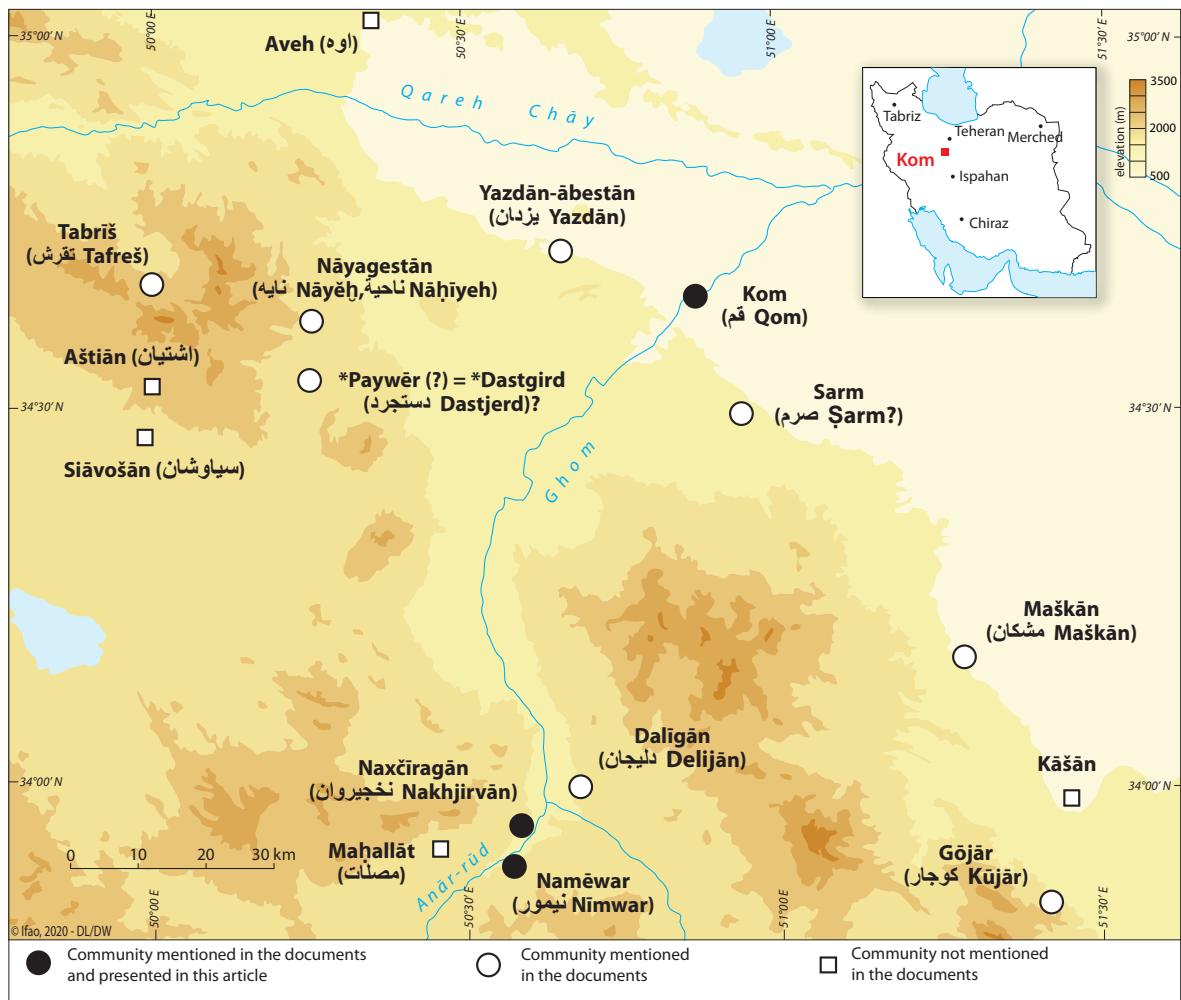


Fig. 3. Map of the places of the “Pahlavi Archive” (Weber, 2010, p. 47).

3. Drechsler, 1999, p. 48.



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 BYRH tyl QDM ŠNT ~~XXX~~-III-III
- 3 MN lšnyk ...[.....]G-III 'L mzgt'
- 4 Y BYRH []tn(') Y k'l
- 5 LWTH PWN bwds̄t'n
- 6 ~~XX~~ []l
- 7 ...[
- 8 ...[

Transcription

- 1 *X^warin az ān i ō bun ēn*
- 2 *māh Tir abar sāl 48*
- 3 *az Rašnīg ...[.....]g(rīw) 3 ō mazgit*
- 4 *i māh []-tan i kār*
- 5 *abāg pad bōyestān*
- 6 *20 []*
- 7 *...[*
- 8 *...[*

Translation

[1] *X^warin* 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

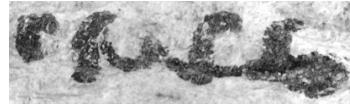
Ed. Gignoux, 2009, p. 90f.

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^war*, 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 argued 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 *Yazdānfādār*.

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.

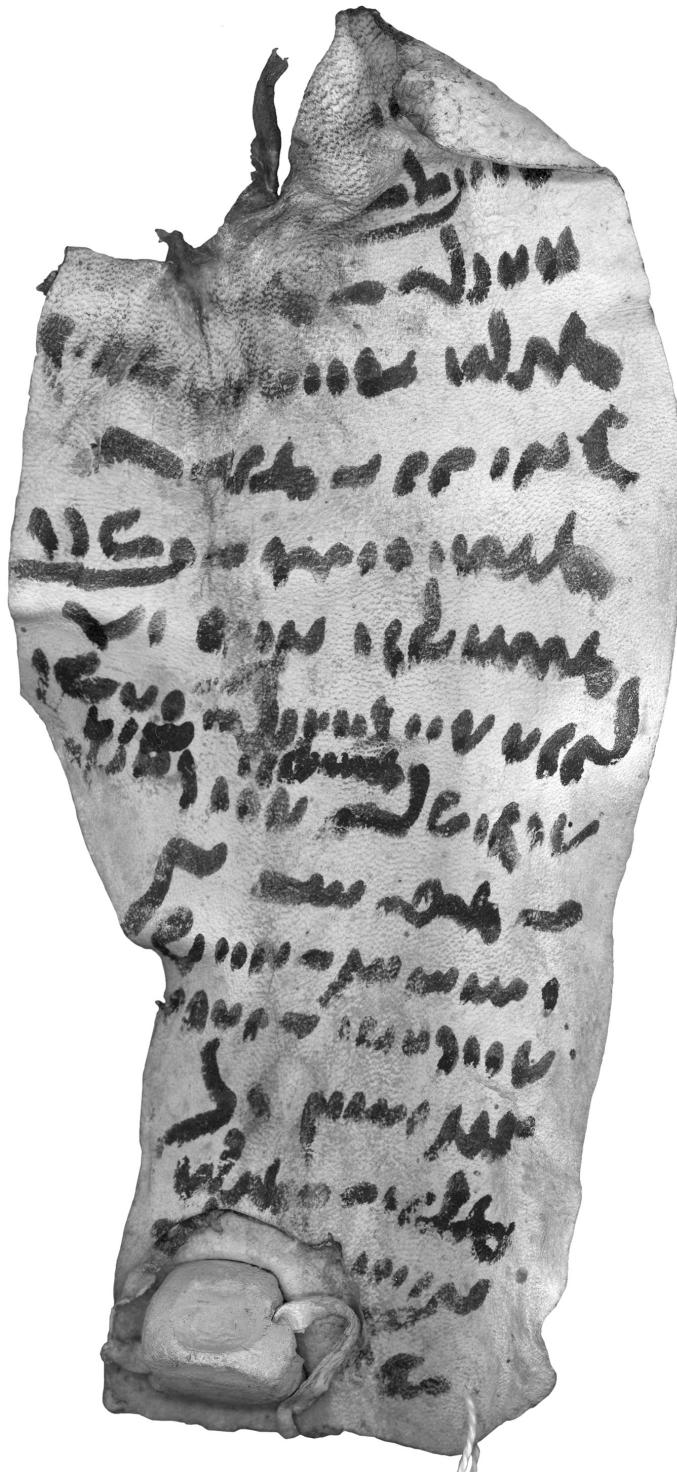


Fig. 5. Document on different measurements for cereals (Berk. 93). Parchment, vertical rectangle, 15.5 x 7.5 cm, bulla is at bottom left, 14 [recto 16] lines, verso blank.

Transliteration

- 1] ... [
- 2 (PWN ?) b'Y Y(?) [
- 3 p(')tg'l'b Y m[l̄twy Y]
- 4 mdyd'lyk ZK(!) gwk('ymwdl ?) H̄TYMWNt
- 5 cygwn ZWZN Y mzd Y
- 6 mšk' W wh'k' Y b'tk'
- 7 m'hpylw'c YHBWNt W ZK
- 8 lwcyk PWN 'n p(')tg'l'b npšt'
- 9 YK'YMWNy[[m'hpylw'c] l'd PWN [s̄pn'k] kpyc'
- 10 Y mhy H̄G G-I
- 11 K#III-III-III Y YHWWNyt
- 12 PWN kpyc' Y dwtk'
- 13 G-III K#III-II 'L
- 14 ml̄twy Y mdyd'lyk
- 15 YHBWNt (.....)
- 16 H̄TY(MWNt)

Transcription

- 1] ... [
- 2 (*pad* ?) *bār i*(?) [
- 3 *pādīrāy ī Ma[rdōy ī]*
- 4 *maydārīg ān gug(āymuhr ?) āwiš*
- 5 *čiyōn drahm ī mizd ī*
- 6 *mašk ud wahāg ī bādag*
- 7 *Māhpērōz dād ud ān*
- 8 *rōzīg pad ān pādīrāy nibiš*
- 9 *ēstēd [Māhpērōz] rāy pad [spenāg] kabīz*
- 10 *ī meh gandum g(rīw) 1*
- 11 *k(abīz) 9 ī bawēd*
- 12 *pad kabīz ī dūdag*
- 13 *g(rīw) 3 k(abīz) 5 ō*
- 14 *Mardōy ī maydārig*
- 15 *dād (.....)*
- 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.

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 ⟨m̄dyd'lyk⟩ which, following the interpretation in Berk. 34, 2, is tentatively interpreted as *maydārīg* ‘wine-grower, vintner’:

Berk. 93, 4: ⟨m̄dyd'lyk⟩



Berk. 34, 2: ⟨m̄dyd'l⟩



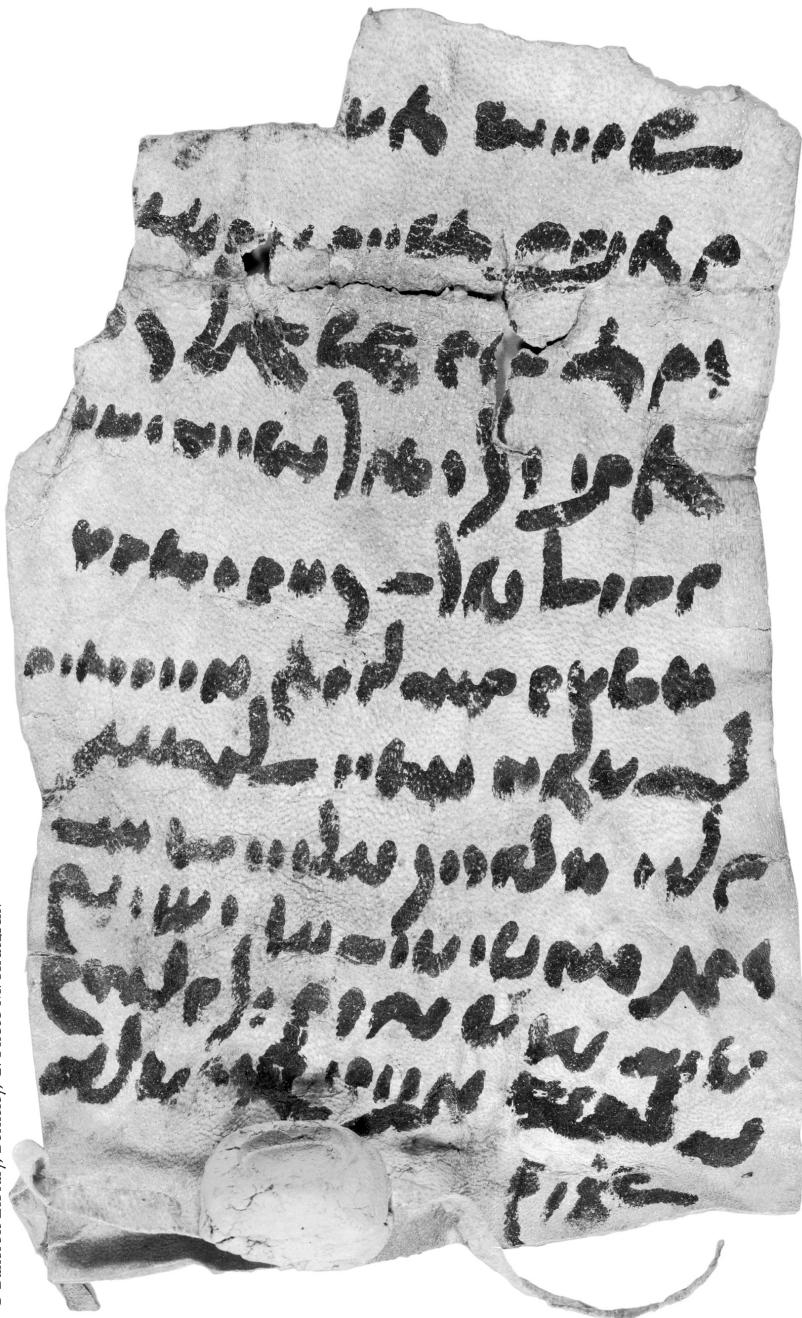
Line 8: In the middle of this line there is a character between *pad* and *padīrāy*, the only possible reading is ⟨'n⟩ which fits the place and the meaning.

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 ⟨s̄pn'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 i dūdag* attested again in Berk. 91, 6, is in contrast to *pad kabīz [spenāg] | i meh* ‘according to the [sanctified] measure | of old’ (lines 9–10) and Berk. 108, 2–3 *pad kabīz ud dōlag ud paymān i | 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.



© Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Berk. 95. Photo M. Krutzsch.

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.

Transliteration

- 1 d'tynwnd' MN ZK [Y 'L bwn'
- 2 ZNH BYRH mṭr' Y ŠNT ~~XY~~-II[+ ?]
- 3 W YWM 'p'n 'MT 'myl k.[
- 4 MN 'B' 'L nmywl Y'TWNt W yzd'np['nk
- 5 'wsṭ'nd'l swl Y ks-c W 'p'ryk
- 6 t'cyk'n 'YŠ LWTH YHWWNt̄ MR'H
- 7 l'd plmwṭ yṣṭn' HLY-III
- 8 dwlk' *tlynk'-I zylk' wh'k HG
- 9 K-II gšnyc' PRG dyk ws̄p' S-I
- 10 pṭ-s dyk ZK ZBNWt 'L hwlšyṭ'n
- 11 Y LNH gyw'k(?) YHBWNt̄ ck' pl'dy
- 12 HTYMWNt̄

Transcription

- 1 *Dādēnwindād az ān* [*i o bun*]
- 2 *ēn māh Mihr i sāl* 4 [2–5 (?)]
- 3 *ud rōz Ābān ka Amīr ...*[
- 4 *az pid ū Namēwar āmad ud yazdānb[ānag*
- 5 *ōstāndār sūr i kas-iz ud abārīg*
- 6 *tāzīgān kas abāg būdan xʷadāy*
- 7 *rāy framūd yaštān sik* 3
- 8 *dōlag *tarēnag-ēw zīrag wahāg gandum*
- 9 *k(abiz) 2 gišnīz nēm dēg wisp s(atēr)* 1
- 10 *pad-iš dēg ān xrid ū Xʷaršēdān*
- 11 *i 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 *Xʷaršēdān* [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'TWNt̄>. – 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 *tyasn-pānag* was still favoured.

Line 5: '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 xʷadāy* (according to Gignoux) is paleographically correct but syntactically difficult; it becomes clearer if we read lines 5–7 *sūr i kas-iz ud abārīg | tāzīgān kas*

abāg būdan x^wadāy | 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: <lsyk’n> (Gignoux) is not possible; before the <l> there is a ligature of two characters which is disregarded. A reading <hlwšyt’n> = *X^waršēdān* would make sense representing a name which is also attested in Berk. 106, 7, Berk. 141, 6 and Berk. 237, 3. Since *X^waršēdān* is mentioned, in Berk. 106, 7, with the additional information *i pad garmih* the question arises whether or not the banquet mentioned here could have taken place exactly there.⁵

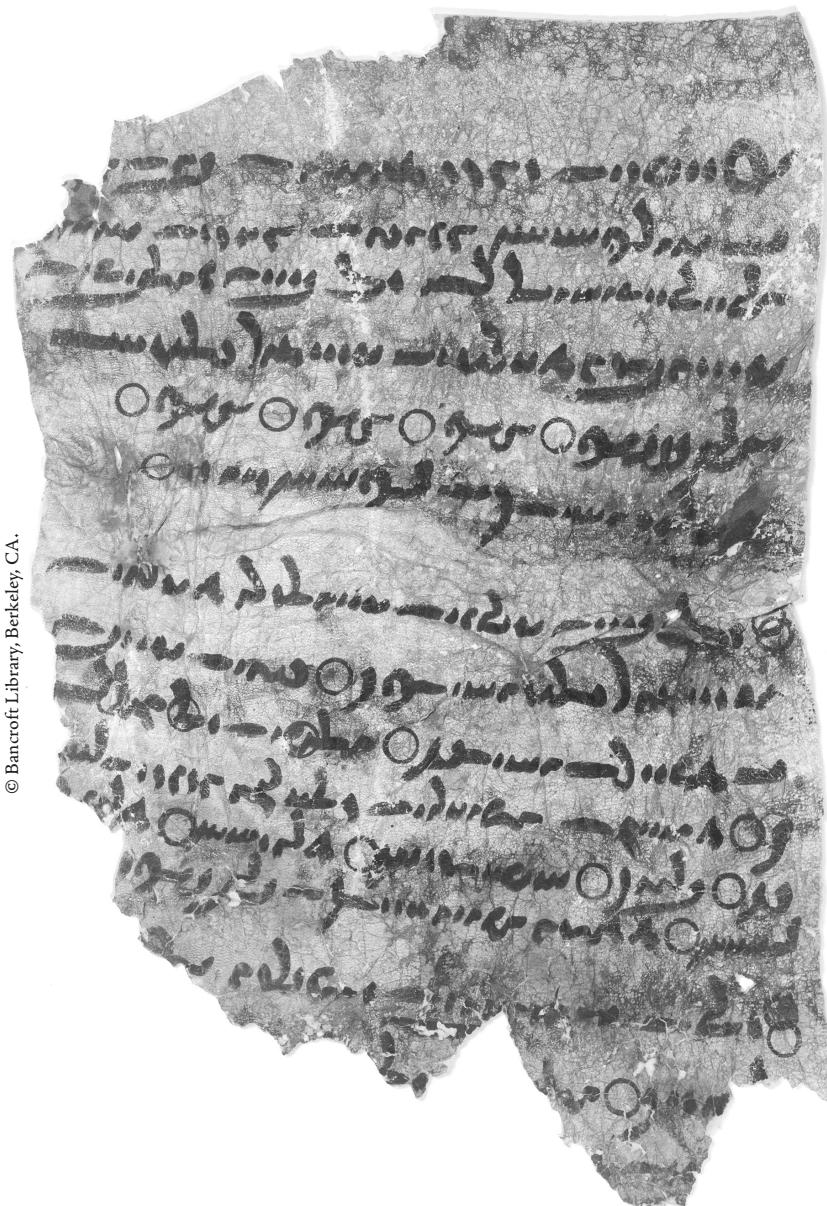


Fig. 7. Document on various goods to be given, i.a. to the Amīr (Berk. 62). Leather, vertical rectangle, 25 × 17 cm, bulla absent, at least 13 lines, verso 3 short lines of script.

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

Transliteration

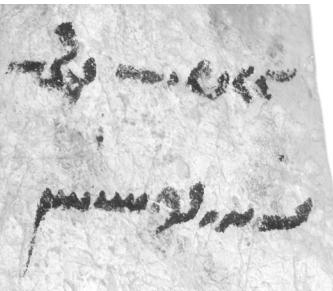
- 1 PWN GṬk' Y nywk' mdy'ncyk'n Y BYRH
hw[rdt]
- 2 Y ŠNT ḪX-III-III 'wcyt' Y dwtk' Y
yzd'np'(n)[k'
- 3 YLYDWNT hlṭ-wnd't 'wsṭ'nd'l l'd 'L bwn' Y
ch'lbwhṭ' Y
- 4 PWN nywbyhk'n MN plyk' Y PWN nmywl
d'lyk HG
- 5 G-I-C ~~XXX~~X ○ G-~~XX~~X ○ G-~~XX~~X ○ G-
~~XX~~X ○
- 6 ○○ MN plyk' gws̄nd-I Y ḪX-III-III kwṭk' ○
<space>
- 7 ○○ 'L bwn' Y pylwc' Y PWN 'n'lkl'n MN
plhw' Y
- 8 PWN nmywl d'lyk gws̄nd-XI ○ d'sn' Y PWN
bg
- 9 Y mṭr' l'd gws̄nd-II ○ 'ylyt' Y k'l 'myl l'd
- 10 I ○ MN 'HRN k'm Y z't'nplhw' Y k'lplm'n
hwkck' Y lyk'n(?)
- 11 II ○ bld'n I ○ sptyp'k' III ○ mwlw' III-III ○
mwlw(ck' ?)
- 12 Ḫ-III-III ○ MN mšk'n HYTYWNt TWR'-I Y
I-C-~~XX~~X-II
<space>
- 13 ○○ W 'l Y HG MN bwn' Y nhcylk'n d't[
- 14 ... I ○ 'yly[t' Y]k'l[
- 15 ...]...[

Transcription

- 1 pad nāmag ī nēk mayānjīgān ī māh Ho[rdād
- 2 ī sāl 38 uzēnid ī dūdag ī yazdānbānag
- 3 zād xrad-windād ḍstāndār rāy ū 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 ○○ ū 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 ○ ayārid 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 ūnīd gāw 1 ī 151[
<space>
- 13 ○○ ud ārd ī gandum az bun ī Naxčīragān ...[
14 ... 1 ○ ayāri[d ī]kār[
15 ...]...[

Verso

'wcyt' Y glmyh Y BYRH hwrđt Y ŠNT ḪX-III-
III uzid ī garmih ī māh Hordād ī sāl 38



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 *ostāndār*, 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 *Biryāni*. 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 dārig gōspand 11* ○ *dāšn i pad bay* [9] *i Mihr rāy gōspand 2* ○ *ayārid i 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 ⟨'y'lyt'⟩, ⟨k'l⟩ and ⟨'myl⟩; their meaning remains unknown. It is now clear—after the interpretation of ⟨'y'l̄t'⟩ *ayārd* Tab. 13, 3. 13. Tab. 23, 3. 4—that the word in question must be read ⟨'y'lyt'⟩ = *ayārid* 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.

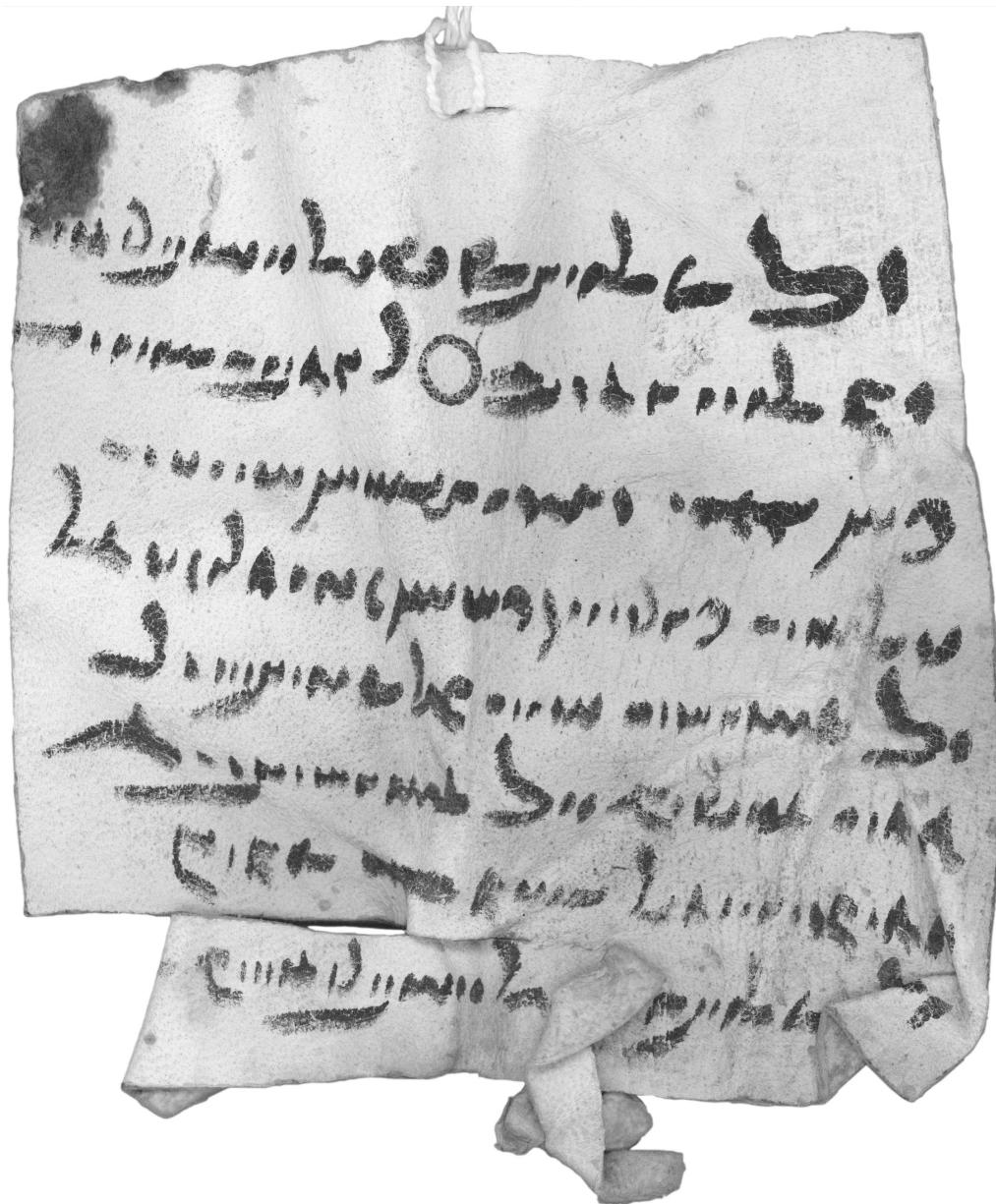


Fig. 8. Letter (Berk. 244). Parchment, 9.5 × 9 cm, bulla absent, bands at bottom center, 8 lines, *verso* blank.

Transliteration

- 1 'L hc'l'nws̩by̩'t srd'l wnd'tbwlcmt̩'
- 2 nc 'lgwk'n ŠRM KBD ○ L ZNH BYRH
štrywr Y
- 3 <ŠNT> X-III ...⁸ wh'k Y HS-III-III dyk' W
PRG
- 4 pyl'dšn' Y X dwlk' ZWZN I KSĀ S-III cygwn
MN lwcyk ml
- 5 'L m'hgwšns̩' Y dpywr Y 'myl 'pdyn'
YHBWNtn l'd
- 6 MN MR'H MKBLWNty W 'L m'hgwšns̩'
YHBWNm
- 7 W ZNH n'mk' PWN mwdl Y NPŠH 'y
HTYMWNy
- 8 'L hc'l'nws̩by̩'t srd'l wnd'tbwlcmt̩' nc
['lgwk'n]

Transcription

- 1 **A₁** o hazār-anōšayād sālār Windād-Burzmihr
- 2 namāz **A₂** Argawān **A₃** drōd was ○ **B** man ēn
māh Šahrewar i
- 3 <sāl> 13 ... wahāg i may 6 dēg ud nēm
- 4 payrāyišn i 10 dōlag drahm 1 arz satēr 3 čiyōn
az rōzig mar
- 5 o Māhgušasp i dibīr i Amīr Abdīn dādan rāy
- 6 az xʷadāy padīrēm ud o Māhgušasp dahēm
- 7 **B_x** ud ēn nāmag pad muhr i xʷes̩ ē āwāšēd
- 8 **C₁** o hazār-anōšayād sālār Windād-Burzmihr
namāz [**C₂** Argawān]

Translation

[1] **A₁** To *Windād-Burzmihr*, the leader, of thousand-fold immortal remembrance,
[2] reverence! **A₂** (From) *Argawān* **A₃** 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 be-
half of giving it to *Māhgušasp*, the scribe of *Amīr Abdīn*, [6] I will receive from You, Sir, and
I shall give (it) to *Māhgušasp*. [7] **B_x** And he should seal this letter with his own seal. [8] **C₁**
To *Windād-Burzmihr*, the leader, of a thousand-fold immortal remembrance, reverence!
[**C₂** *Argawān*].

Commentary

Unpublished letter from *Argawān* to *Windād-Burzmihr*, the well-known entrepreneur. Letter of Type 1b⁶. To be published also in Weber, forthcoming b.

Line 1: The reading of *sālār* is by no means problematic⁷. Earlier attempts to read this word as *jād-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. 227⁸; 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.

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. 231¹⁰ is an accountancy for the year 11 and investments for the year 12 of *Zādōy i 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.

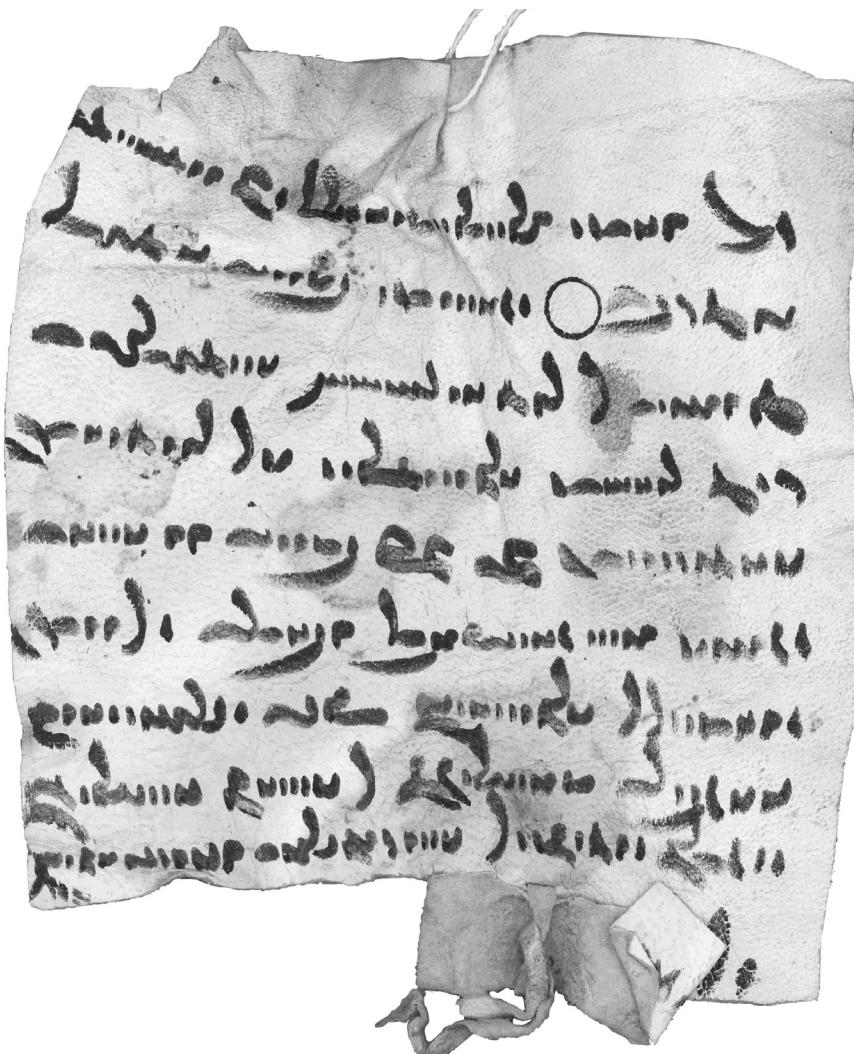


Fig. 9. Letter (Berk. 34). Parchment, vertical rectangle, 15 × 13.5 cm, bulla absent, bands remain at bottom center, 10 lines, *verso* blank.

9. Published in Weber, 2012, pp. 64–65.

10. See Weber, 2017.

Transliteration

- 1 'L hw̄'yk' LYDWNṭ hl̄t-wnd' t̄ 'ws̄'nd'l nc
'whrmzd-PWN-mgw
- 2 ŠRM KBD Ḷ W cygnw hw̄'yk' B-² p̄'t̄'nyh Y
mdyd'l
- 3 MN hw̄'dšn' Y L LZNH ŠNT X-III-III-III
PWN mdyd'lyh Y
- 4 kwm lw̄st̄'k plmw̄t' gwm'ltn' ZKL LW̄TH
hw̄'yk'
- 5 pt̄m'n kr̄t' YK hm̄'y 'MT B-² p̄'t̄'nyh ZWZN
PWN dyn Y
- 6 wcyhšnyk 'ytn' cygnw d̄-t̄-hdyb'l gwb̄'lyh 'L
hw̄'yk'
- 7 W hw̄'yk' 'L L plmw̄t' BYDWNTY H̄T-
wyl'dšn' W pt̄n
- 8 Y ZK CBW l'd 'p̄'dšn' YBLWNtny L PWN
NPŠH tn' YBLWNm
- 9 W wc'l'm W ZNH n'mk' L PWN
gwk'dymwdlyh' Y hw̄'kr̄t H̄TYMWNṭ
- 10 'L [hw̄'yk' LYDWNṭ hl̄t-wnd' t̄ 'ws̄'nd'l nc
'whrmzd-PWN-mgw]

Transcription

- 1 **A₁** ḏ xʷadāyīg zād xrad-windād ḍstāndār namāz
A₂ Āhrmazd-pad-moy
- 2 **A₃** drōd was **OB** ud čiyōn xʷadāyīg ba-
ābādānīh ī maydār
- 3 az xʷāhišn ī man im sāl 29 pad maydārīh ī
- 4 Kōm rōstāg framūd gumārdan nar abāg
xʷadāyīg
- 5 paymān kard kū hamē ka ba-ābādānīh drāhm
pad dēn ī
- 6 wizīhišnīg ēdōn čiyōn dād-ayār *guftārīh ḏ
xʷadāyīg
- 7 ud xʷadāyīg ḏ man framūd kard(an ?) agar-aš
wirāyišn ud *pattān
- 8 ī ān xīr rāy abāyišn burdan man pad xʷēš-tan
barēm
- 9 ud wizārēm **B₂** ud ēn nāmag man pad
gugāymuhrihā ī Xʷadāgird āwišt
- 10 **C₁** ḏ [xʷadāyīg zād xrad-windād ḍstāndār
namāz **C₂** Āhrmazd-pad-moy]

Translation

[1] **A₁** To the lordly *Ōstāndār*, born with inherited knowledge, reverence! **A₂** (From) *Āhrmazd-pad-moy* [2] **A₃**, 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. **B₂** And this letter, by the witnesses' seals of *Xʷadāgird*, I sealed. [10] **C₁** To [the lordly *Ōstāndār*, born with inherited knowledge, reverence! **C₂** *Āhrmazd-pad-moy*].

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: <'ws̄'nd'l> as usual after the honorific *zād xrad-windād*; Gignoux, (2008, p. 836) *i dilēr*

is a misreading due to the fact that, in the place where <'ws̄'nd'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

Ōhrmazd-*pad-moy*, is unique and will denote something like '(having) Ōhrmazd as *magus*', cf. e.g. *pad-pānag* [PWNp'nk'] '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-> *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 <hw'dšn' Y>, Gignoux, 2008, p. 836, has <gws̄pnd>. End of line <mdyd'lyh> cf. <-d'lyh> in **Mazda 2, 5**.

Lines 3–4: <Y kwm lwṭṣṭ'k> = *i 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 <gwbṭ'lyh> is the scribe's error who should have written <gwpt'lyh> 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: <wc'lm> ist sg. prs. of *wizārdan*, *wizār-* [*wc'l-tn'* | M *wyc'rd*, *wyc'r*, J *bz'rd*, 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.

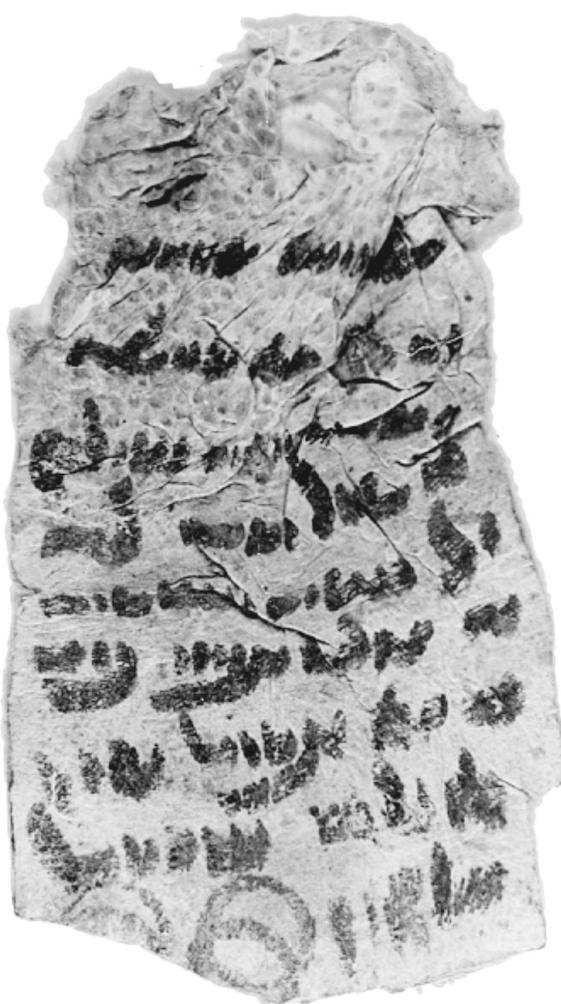


Fig. 10. Economic document (Document 1).
Photo provided by T. Daryae (UCI) and D. Akbarzadeh
(Tehran).

Document I

Transliteration

- 1 d'tynwnd't ptyhwyh
- 2 Y QDM ZNH p(')t^gl'b
- 3 npšt' YK'YMWNy^t stwl'n
- 4 ~~Y~~ hcpl hw^t'yk' l'd
- 5 'L syc' Y bwn'p't' Y
- 6 dyn 'swlyk YHBWNt' bnd
- 7 Y ZNH 'b^yy'tk'l PWN
- 8 mwdl Y 'ws^t'nd'l
- 9 HTYMWNt Ø Ø

Transcription

- 1 *Dādēnwindād padēxīh*
- 2 *i abar ēn pădirāy*
- 3 *nibišt estēd stōrān*
- 4 *20 azabar xʷadāyīg rāy*
- 5 *ō sēj i *bunābād i*
- 6 *dēn asūrīg dād band*
- 7 *i ēn āyādgār pad*
- 8 *muhr i ḍstāndār*
- 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 *Östāndār*.

Commentary

Dādēnwindād is attested from year 36 (PYE = 687–688 CE) through year 41 (PYE = 692–693 CE) either as *i pad Yazdānābestān dārīg* or even as *i 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 *sēj* ‘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't⟩ *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).



Line 6: The reading of ⟨dyn 'swlyk⟩ = *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 ⟨swlyk'�⟩ **Sūrigān* '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 <i>Argawān</i> to <i>Windād-Burzmīhr</i> , the well-known entrepreneur | 13 | 664–665 |
| Berk. 62 | document of various goods to be distributed, i.a. one sheep for the <i>Amīr</i> '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 <i>Ōstāndār</i> with the <i>Amīr</i> who came from the "Father" to <i>Namēwar</i> | 40[+ 3] | 691–692[+ 3] |
| Berk. 66 | delivery of victuals to the <i>mazgit</i> | 48 | 699–700 |
| Berk. 93 | [spenāg] <i>kabiz i meh</i> vs. <i>kabiz i düdag</i> | × (46–49) | × (697–698; 700–701) |
| Berk. 187 | delivery of victuals to the <i>mazgit</i> ? | × | × |

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