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Author

Asefi, Nima

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A New Middle Persian Document from Hastijan belonging to the Farrozzād Family

NIMA ASEFI*

2023

I Introduction

The document published here was recently found in a private collection and is related to the ‘Pahlavi Archive’.¹ The majority of the Pahlavi Archive documents are held in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley, and the Institut für Iranistik of the Freie Universität Berlin. A few months ago, I found three Middle Persian documents in three private collections.² My investigations showed without any doubt that these three documents are related to the ‘Pahlavi Archive.’ All the owners of the documents told me that they found the documents in a cave in a village named Hastijan, a location south of Qom near Delijan and Nimwar, mentioned in the corpus (although Hastijan itself is not attested in the documents so far). After I discovered the exact location, I informed the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Tourism, and Handicrafts of Iran to issue an excavation permit.³ The first season of excavation in this cave finished recently, and 12 new documents and fragments, as well as several bullae, were discovered. I have seen the newly-discovered documents, and we can be sure that these are related to the same corpus. The generic term ‘Pahlavi Archive’ was suitable at the beginning of research on these documents as there was little information about their context, and scholars did not know the location where they were discovered. But now we know that this cave is the original find-site of all the documents. Considering this new information, I prefer to designate the archive as the ‘Pahlavi Archive of Hastijan’, to be more precise.

*This article is based on a section of my dissertation that surveys the Pahlavi documents of Hastijan. I am working under the supervision of Professor Mahshid Mirfakhraie, from whom I have learned an immense amount. My research moved more quickly once I entered Leiden University as a guest researcher with Professor Sasha Lubotsky’s consent and benefited from the educational environment, resources, and library of Leiden University. The situation was made much better when Dr. Khodadad Rezakhani generously awarded me a two-years scholarship and invited me to participate in a research project. I am deeply grateful to these three esteemed scholars for their invaluable assistance in furthering my academic pursuits. Photograph of Berk. 173b courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Photograph of the Ebrahimi document courtesy of Mr. Mohammad Ali Ebrahimi.

¹For more information, see Azarpay (2003).

²In finding these three documents, my colleagues A. Bavand Savadkahi, M. Rashidi and S. Asghari were a major and significant help. One of these three documents is the one that is published here.

³Detailed information about Hastijan and its documents, including investigations among local researchers and collectors, will be presented in my forthcoming dissertation.

Radiocarbon analyses estimated with 95% confidence the time of writing of these documents in the period between 600 and 888 CE (Azarpay 2003:2). A large number of these documents are dated with a year ranging from 3 up to 50 of an unnamed era. We now know that the calendar of this date begins with the death of Yazdgird III, the last Sasanian king, thanks to Weber's (2008b) research and evidence mentioned in the chronicle *Tārīx-e Qom*. The author of the *Tārīx-e Qom* mentions two Iranian calendars several times in his account of the arrival of the Ash'ari Arabs in Qom: 'Abdullah and Ahvas arrived in Qom on Saturday in the month Farwardīn (1st month), the day of Nowruz, in the year 82 from the date in which Yazdjird bin Šahriyār became king and the year 62 from the death and decline of Yazdjird, and that is a date used in Qom, famous among them, and the year 94 AH' (Ansari 2006:688).

Although some of the geographical names mentioned in the documents can be identified, until now we were not aware of the location in which the documents had been found. The most famous name attested therein is Qom (MP *Kōm*), which appears at least three times. However, the names Yazdānābestān⁴ and Namēwar are most frequently used, with each appearing more than 30 times. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact geographical location of Yazdānābestān,⁵ but Namēwar still exists, with its name now Nimwar. Two other villages near Namēwar mentioned in the documents still exist: one is Daligān, now Delijan, mentioned in Berk. 80 (Weber 2010:55), and the other one is Naxčiragān, now Nakhjirwan.

The newly-discovered document, which is published for the first time in this article, is now housed in a private collection in Mazandaran, Iran. In addition to the features of script and language that this document shares with the Pahlavi Archive documents, the content also suggests a close relationship. A number of bullae were also discovered together with this document; images of these bullae are given at the end of the article. According to the document's owner, Mr. Mohammad Ali Ebrahimi, the newly found document, hereafter referred to as the Ebrahimi document, was discovered in 1969 by him and three of his friends in a cave in Hastijan.⁶ Hastijan is now a village within the Delijan region, approximately 20 kilometres from Nimwar.

2 The Farroxxād Family

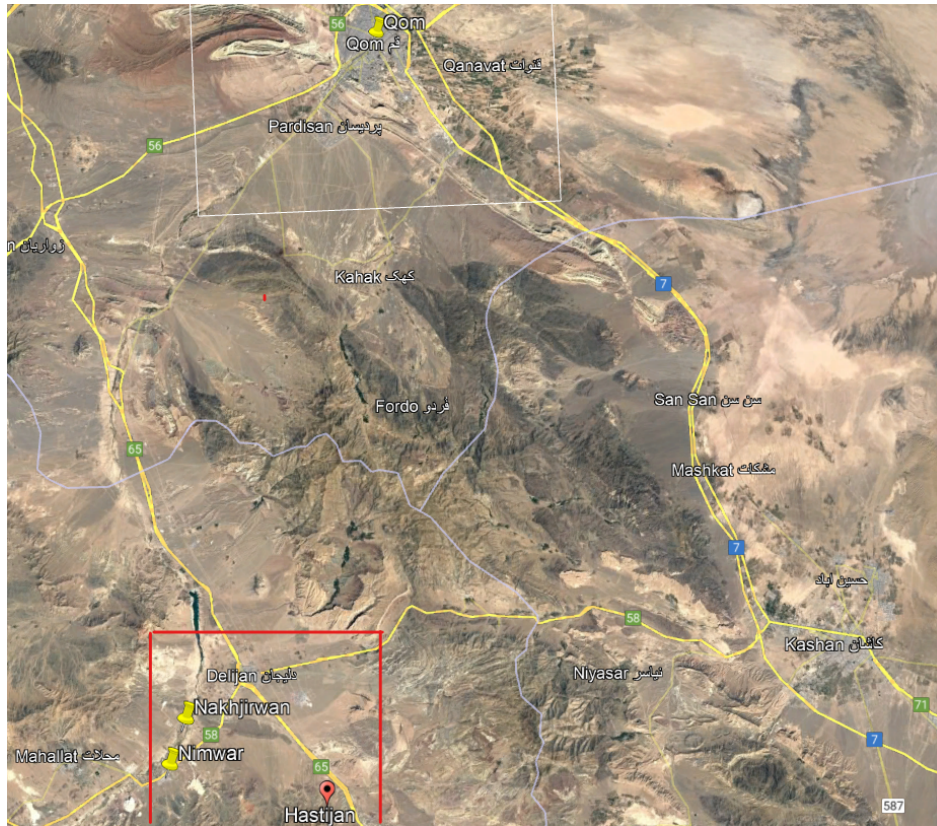
2.1 Documents Mentioning Farroxxād and Relatives

A figure named Farroxxād is mentioned in four documents of the Berlin collection: Berlin 9 (Weber 2020b:41), 12 (Weber 2020b:43), 18 (Weber 2008a:79), 19 (Weber 2008a:83). And in 11 documents of the Berkeley collection: Berk. 20 (Gignoux 2008:834), 28 (Gignoux 2013:162), 31 (Gignoux 2009a:122), 44 (unpublished), 71 (Gignoux 2010a:114), 159 (Weber 2015b:110), Berk. 100 (Weber 2012:75), 173b (unpublished), 222 (Weber

⁴The last suggestion from Gignoux is Yazdānābestan. Weber (2010:40) accepted Arash Zeini's suggestion to read it as Yazdānābestan.

⁵It may have been around present-day Yazdan Mountain (Weber 2010:40).

⁶I would like to thank Mr. Meysam Rashidi for giving me important information about Hastijan.



2020b:46), 245 (Weber 2011:93), 255 (Weber 2012:81). Of these 15 documents, four documents⁷ are about a lady identified as Farrozzād's mother. Five documents⁸ are about another lady who is introduced as Farrozzād's sister. These nine documents are administrative and official documents, and their subject is delivering the ration. In the remaining 6 documents, there is only Farrozzād's name. The date written in three documents Berk. 20, Berk. 100 and Berk. 255 is the month Wahman (11th month) of the year 40. In Berk. 20, Farrozzād sealed the document as a witness, and in Berk. 100 and 255, Dādēwindād (a well-known name in the documents) gave some rations for the horse of Farrozzād. Berk. 71 also refers to Farrozzād's horse, and Dadēwindād is mentioned again.⁹ The other two documents in which Farrozzād's name appears are a kind of personal letter, not administrative documents. These unofficial documents are without date, and we cannot be sure that the person in question is the same Farrozzād mentioned in those official documents, but this assumption is not baseless either.

Of the nine documents mentioning Farrozzād's mother and sister, the oldest documents concern Farrozzād's mother. Berk. 44 (unpublished) is a list of a number of names and rations given to some people, and we can see Farrozzād's mother there. Among the dated documents concerning Farrozzād's mother, the oldest document is Berlin 9, which belongs to the month Spandarmad (12th month) of the year 33. In the document, the ration of Farrozzād's mother, for the months Wahman and Spandarmad

⁷Berlin 9, 12, 19, and Berk. 44.

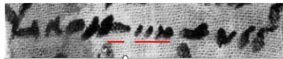

⁸Berk. 28, 31, 159, 222, and 173b.

⁹Gignoux (2010a:114) guessed that in the third line it has been written *ī sāl 42(?)* 'of the year 42', but Weber (2023:151) read it as *jaw kabiz 2* '2 kabiz of barley'.

of the year 33, and the month Frawardīn of the year 34, was delivered to her maid (*par-istār*). Berlin 12 belongs to the month Day (10th month) of the year 34 and its subject is the delivery of 5 jugs of vinegar to the maid of Farrozzād's mother. In these two documents, the person who gave the ration is Aspbād. The next document is Berlin 19, which belongs to the month Ādur (8th month) of the year 37. In this document, Friyag, the *dārīg* of Namēwar, records that he gave something to Farrozzād's mother. Weber (2008a:83) read the document as follows:¹⁰

Transliteration	Transcription
1 plyk' Y pṭ' nmywl d'lyk	1 <i>Friyag ī pad Namēwar dārīg</i>
2 MN ZK ZY-š 'L bwn' ZNH BYR[H]	2 <i>az ān ī-š ō bun ēn mā[h]</i>
3 'ṭwr' Y ŠNṬ XXX-III-III	3 <i>Ādur ī sāl 37</i>
4 lwcyk Y pṭ' S-II Y MN ml	4 <i>rozīg ī pad satēr-2 ī az mar</i>
5 Y 'MYṭl Y plhwz't'	5 <i>ī mādar ī Farrozzād</i>
6 Pd ṬBN-II pṭm'n	6 <i>rāy kāb-2 paymān</i>
7 'L plst'p'n ZY-š L'YN'	7 <i>ō paristārān ī-š pēš</i>
8 YḤBWNṭ' z't'nplhw' ḤṬYMWVNṭ	8 <i>dād Zādānfarrox āwišt</i>

However, Weber misread two words in the fourth line which contains an important detail. What Weber read as '<pṭ' S-II>' *pad satēr-2* should be corrected to <TWR' II> *gāw 2*. In fact, what Weber considered '<pṭ'>' are the first three letters of <TWR'>, and what Weber reads <s> (abbreviation for *satēr*) is instead the final alef of this word. The spelling of this word clearly shows the presence of <t>, and also the fact that straw (the ration mentioned in the document) must be considered for quadrupeds, and *satēr 2* is meaningless here. In addition, this line can be compared with Berk. 31 which is also about the Farrozzād family. The exact same words are written in Berk. 31 as well, where they were read correctly by Gignoux (2009a:122). The only difference is that in Berk. 31, the two cows belong to Farrozzād's sister.

Berlin 19, 4	Berk. 31, 6–7
	
TWR' II <i>gāw 2</i> 'two cows'	lwcyk Y TWR' II Y MN ml Y 'ḤTH Y plhwz't <i>rozīg ī gāw 2 ī az mar ī x^wah ī farrozzād</i> 'The ration of two cows of Farrozzād's sister'

Therefore, in Berlin 19 one should understand that straw for two cows belonging to Farrozzād's mother was delivered to her maids.

This document is the final document where we find information about Farrozzād's mother, and after the year 37, there are no more documents mentioning her. From the

¹⁰Weber (2008a:83) read in lines 1, 2 and 7 <nmtr>, <'YŠ> and <'YŠ> instead of <nmywr>, <ZY-š> and <ZY-š>, respectively; however, I have here updated those readings after Weber (2010:38) and Weber (2022:336).







year 38, the documents mention Farrozzād's sister. In other words, 13 months after the last document about Farrozzād's mother we have Berk. 31, which belongs to the month Day of the year 38, and as explained above, records that some straw for two cows of Farrozzād's sister was given to her. The ration is once again given by Friyag (the *dārīg* of Namēwar), but it is a quantity five times larger.

Given that we have no documentation for Farrozzād's mother after the year 37 and that, from that point on, documents mention only Farrozzād's sister, and on the other hand, Farrozzād's sister is considered to own two cows like her mother, it seems that this 13-month gap must be the period when Farrozzād's mother passed away and the two cows, as well as their rations, were transferred to her daughter, Farrozzād's sister, as an inheritance. Perhaps the quota increase is due to the accumulation of several months' rations in between these two documents.

After Berk. 31, the documents mentioning Farrozzād's sister are much later or difficult to date. Fortunately, with the discovery of the Ebrahimi document, we now have new information about Farrozzād's sister belonging to the same year 38 and written in Wahman, only one month after Berk. 31. Including this document, the number of documents about Farrozzād's sister now reaches six.

Another document, Berk. 159, was written in the month Spandarmad of the year 46, and records that salt was given to a maid named Frāy at the request of Farrozzād's sister. The latest dated document regarding the family is Berk. 222, dated to month Šahrevar of the year 47, that is, nearly 9 years after the Ebrahimi document. There is also Berk. 28, which is unfortunately rather damaged, and the year of the document must be guessed to some extent; Gignoux (2013:162) suggested the year 49.

In this document, a person named Dādēn has given a ration to a maid of Farrozzād's sister. Gignoux (2013:162) read the ration as <HĠG> *gandum* 'wheat', but this should be corrected to <ŠĠG> *jaw* 'barley' on the basis of comparison with other documents.¹¹

Attestations of <ŠĠG> <i>jaw</i> 'barley'	Attestations of <HĠG> <i>gandum</i> 'wheat'
Berk. 28, 7 	Berlin 6, 4 
Berk. 32, 5 	Berk. 154, 6 
Berk. 33b, 4 	Berk. 93, 10 

2.2 Edition of Berk. 173b

Berk. 173b, which is published here for the first time, is seriously damaged and the main part of the document is lost, but Farrozzād's name is clearly visible. Before Farrozzād's name, there is an *ezāfe* that is used for connecting the last word in line 1 to the name of Farrozzād in line 2. The word is unfortunately damaged and lost, but the downward

¹¹For Berlin 6, 4, see Weber (2008a:29); for Berk. 32, 5, see Weber (2010:47); for Berk. 154, 6, see Weber (2013:176); for Berk. 33b, 4, see Weber (2010:49); and for Berk. 93, 10, see Weber (2020a:149).

stroke of its last letter is visible. Between <’ḤTH> *x^wab* ‘sister’ and <’MYtl> *mādar* ‘mother’, only the former has such a final downward stroke and therefore the phrase <’ḤTH Y plhwz’t> *x^wab ī farrozzād* ‘sister of Farrozzād’ is to be restored. It can be noted that the text preserved in Berk. 173b closely parallels that of Berk. 31, 11–15: *ō paristār ī pēš x^wab ī farrozzād dād* ‘(he) gave the maid (who is) in the presence of Farrozzād’s sister’.



Description of document: Parchment, 4.5 cm (height) x 8 cm (width). Bulla tied to document at bottom left.

Transliteration	Transcription
1 ... Y L'YN [ḤTH]	1 ... ī pēš [<i>x^wab</i>]
2 Y plhwz't YḤBWNt ck'	2 ī <i>Farrozzād dād čak</i>
3 pl'd ḤTYMWNt	3 <i>Frāy āwišt</i>

Translation: ‘[1-3] ... (He) gave the maid, (who is) in the presence of Farrozzād’s [sister]. Frāy sealed the čak.’

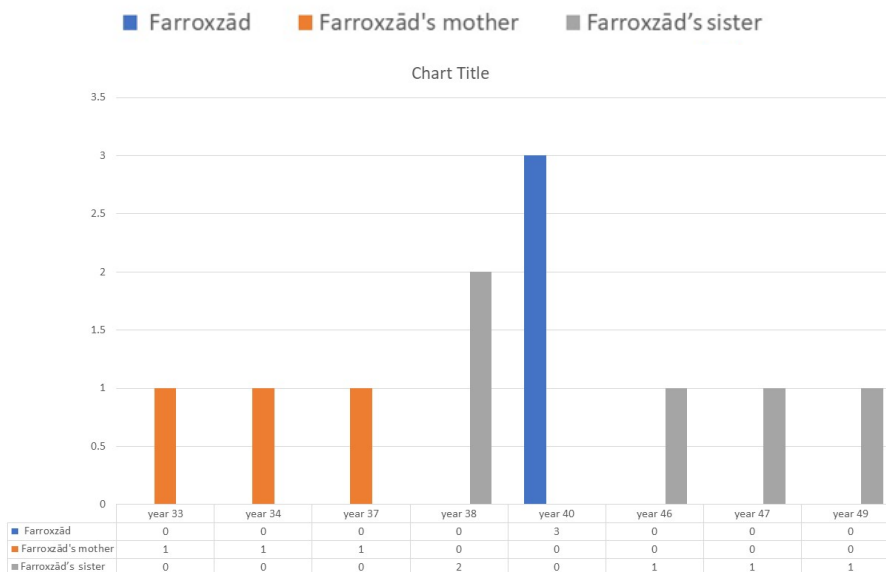


Chart of the years when the Farrozzād family appears in Hastijan documents.

3 Edition of the Ebrahimi Document

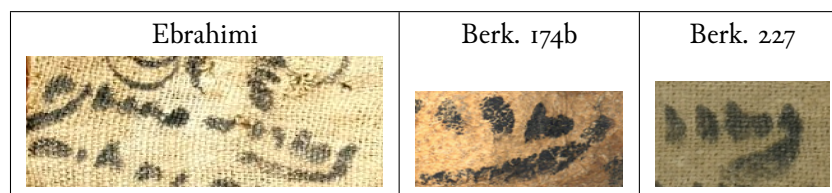
Description of document: Textile, 14 cm x 5 cm (at widest, 3 cm at bottom). Bulla at bottom, attached to document with leather strips. Location: Private collection of Mohammad Ali Ebrahimi (Mazandaran, Iran).

Transliteration	Transcription
1 b'p̄k' Y 'sy'kb'n	1 <i>Bābag ī āsyāgbān</i>
2 Z̄NH BYRḤ whwmn' Y	2 <i>ēn māh Wabman ī</i>
3 ŠNT XXX-III-III Y	3 <i>sāl 38 ī</i>
4 mzd Y Z̄NH ...tn' Y	4 <i>mizd ī ēn...tan ī</i>
5 grmk' G-III Y lwcyk	5 <i>garmak grīw 3 ī rōzīg</i>
6 Y 'ḤTH Y plhwz't'	6 <i>ī x^wab ī Farrozzād</i>
7 P'd ḤG K-II P'd	7 <i>rāy gandum kabīz 2 rāy</i>
8 B'YḤWNst' W MN	8 <i>x^wāst ud az</i>
9 Z̄K	9 <i>ān</i>
10 ml	10 <i>mar</i>
11 hng'lt'n' P'd	11 <i>hangārdan rāy</i>
12 z't'nplhw'	12 <i>Zādānfarrow</i>
13 ḤTYMWNt	13 <i>āwišt</i>

Translation: [1] Bābag the miller (*āsyāgbān*) [2] This month Wahman (11th month) of [3] year 38 [4] For the reward of ... of [5] 3 *grīw* of *garmak* (which is) the ration of [6] Farrozzād's sister [7] 2 *kabīz* of wheat [8] wanted and from [9] ... that [10 & 11] ... to reckon [12] Zādānfarrow [13] sealed.

More fluently: 'Bābag, the miller, wanted 2 *kabīz* of wheat for the wage of (doing something on) 3 *grīw* of *garmak* which is the ration of Farrozzād's sister and from ... to reckon (it) Zādānfarrow sealed'.

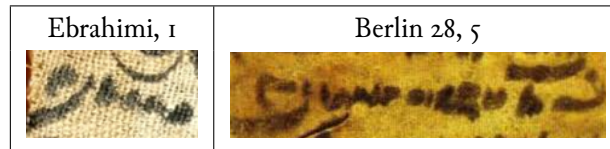
Line 1: We find the name, Bābag, without any title, also in Berk. 227 and 174b (unpublished). While Berk. 174b is damaged and the larger context unclear, but this word is intact. In Berk. 227, Weber (2019a:381) reads the word in question as Bābag. The problem with this reading is that in Bābag we anticipate the historical spelling, which dictates that both instances of *-b-* to be written with the letter <p>. However, in this attestation the first letter has been written with the letter , presumably under the influence of the word's pronunciation. It should be noted that the spelling of the word in question is very similar to Baxtag.



The main problem with a reading as Baxtag <b(°)htk'> is that although sometimes <'h> is written with one tooth, as in Berk. 158, it seems that its spelling must be similar to

<ʰHTH>, with two teeth. In this article, I have followed Weber's reading as Bābag, despite the fact that Baxtag is also a possibility.

āsyāgbān is also attested in Berlin 28,¹² where Weber (2008a:119) first read it as Hašyabān. Later, he improved his reading to *āsyābbed*, translating it 'guardian of the (water) mills' (Weber 2017:679). He read the first part of the word as *āsyāb*, thus reading the letter before as <p>. This letter, however, can also be read as <k>. In this case, the first part of the word would be <'sy'k> *āsyāg*. In the Pahlavi script, the word *-bed* is written <-pt>. For reading the second part of the word as *-bed*, we must assume that the scribe avoided the historical spelling. It seems to me, however, that the second part of the word is more plausibly read as *-bān* rather than *-bed*. *-bān* is derived from the root *pā-* and, following the historical spelling, must also be written with <p>. But if it is possible that the scribe leaves the historical spelling in Bābag and *-bed*, it is perhaps also possible to write *-bān* with . If so, the word should be read as *āsyāgbān* 'miller'.



Line 2: The reading Wahman can be compared with Berk. 119, 3 (Gignoux 2010a:84) and Berk. 9, 3 (Gignoux 2013:159).



Line 4: *mizd* can be compared with Berk. 53, 7 (Weber 2012:84) and Berk. 93, 5 (Weber 2020a:149).


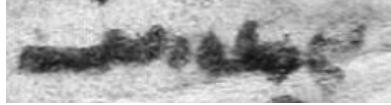
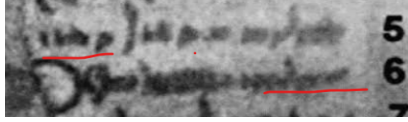
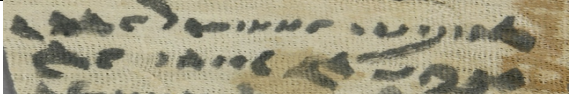
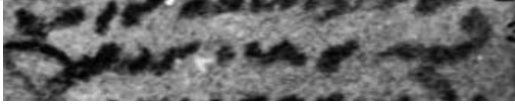


The ration of Farrozzād's sister is three *grīw* of *garmak*. It seems that *Bābag ī āsyāgbān* has done something regarding this *garmak* and will get a wage equal to two *kabīz* of wheat. The last word of this line remains illegible, although I suspect it to be a verb in infinitive.





¹²Weber (2008a:119) read it as: <P'd MN ZK 'hmṭ(?) Y hšykb'n(?)> *rāy az ān Abmat(?) ī Hašyabān(?)*. Gignoux (2010b:118) rightly corrected the first part of the name to *Tabmtan*. He explained that what Weber read as <ZK> is the letter '<ṭ>', and the next letter should be <h>, not <'>, and at the end we have <n>. However, Gignoux (2010b:118) did not comment on the reading of the second name.

Line 5: In Persian, *garmak* means both broad beans and a kind of melon. *garmak* as ‘melon’ is now used in the regions in which the documents were written, and it seems that what has been written in the documents must have this meaning. Compare its spelling in the following documents:¹³

Attestations of <grmk'> <i>garmak</i> ‘melon’		
Ebrahimi	<i>garmak</i>	
Berlin 28, 6	<i>garmak grīw 20</i>	
Tehran c, 6	<i>garmak ...</i>	
Berk. 226, 1	<i>garmak grīw 30</i>	
Tehran b, 3	<i>garmak grīw 3</i>	

Line 7: the spelling of *gandum kabiz 2* (especially the number 2) is comparable with *gandum grīw 1 kabiz 2* in Berk. 46, 3 (Weber 2015a:233).

Ebrahimi, 7	Berk. 46, 3
	

If the reading is right, the postposition *rāy* at the end of the line seems unnecessary from the perspective of syntax. We find a similar case of *rāy* in Berk. 223, line 6: [4] *Rōzīg ī Gušnašp ayār [5] ī pus rāy gōšt [6] 10 kardag rāy ... [10] dād*. Regarding these unnecessary uses of *rāy* we can point to Gignoux’s (2009b:94) idea about Berk. 223: ‘The postposition *rāy* governs a direct object of the verb *dād* as in new Persian; otherwise, it could not be justified’. In the Ebrahimi document, the scribe has written *rāy* in two forms, once without teeth at the beginning of the line and another time with teeth at the end of the line. This different spelling of *rāy* in the same document can be compared with Berk. 53, in which this postposition is written with teeth in line 11 and without teeth in line 12 (Weber 2012:85).

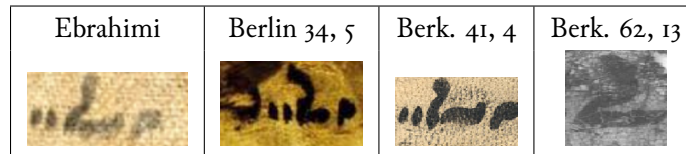
Ebrahimi	Berk. 53, 11	Berk. 53, 12
		

¹³For Berlin 28, 6, see Weber (2017:679); for Berk. 226, 1, see Weber (2020b:61); and for Tehran b, 3, see Weber (2008a:171).

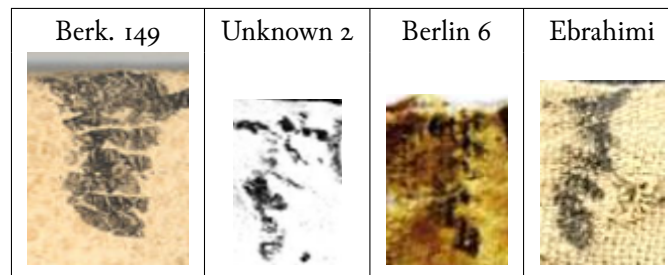
Line 8: *x^wāstan* is comparable with Berk. 10 (Gignoux 2010a:96).



Line 11: *hangārdan* is attested in Berlin 34, 5 (Weber 2015b:106) and Berk. 41, 4 (Weber 2015b:83). Compare the spelling <'lt> *ārd* at the end of the word with the word *ārd* in Berk. 62 (Weber 2020a:154).



At the top of this document, like several other documents, there is a word written vertically. Weber (2019b:5) read it as <'s'dk> (?) and speculated that it is related to a command to keep a place, like an archive. But the meaning is still unknown.¹⁴



Nima Asefi (Ph.D. student)
Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies
Tehran

¹⁴For Berk. 149, Unknown 2 and Berlin 6, see Weber (2019b:5).

The Ebrahimi document



Bullae discovered with the document



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