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Journal of Iranian Linguistics

Ewer, Garden and Gardening

An Edition of Berk. 25 and Revised Readings of Berlin 26, Berk. 11, and Berk. 122 Documents Belonging to the Pahlavi Archive of Hastijan[1]

Nima Asefi

University of Hamburg

doi.org/10.46991/jil/2025.01.01

Abstract: This article presents a new edition of the unpublished Middle Persian document Berk. 25 and revised readings of Berlin 26, Berk. 11, and Berk. 122, all from the Pahlavi Archive of Hastijan. The Archive, dating from late Sasanian to early post-Sasanian period, shed light on administrative practices, rationing systems, and terminology related to gardening and estate management in central Iran. The article offers updated transliterations, translations, and philological commentary, correcting prior readings by Gignoux and Weber. Particular attention is paid to lexical items such as *bāγbānīh* ("gardening") and geographic toponyms like *Kard-ābād-yazdbād*. Through detailed reanalysis, this study contributes to a more accurate understanding of the linguistic, economic, and administrative landscape reflected in the Pahlavi documents.

Keywords: Pahlavi Archive of Hastijan, Middle Persian, Cursive Pahlavi Script, Central Iran, Late Sasanian.

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Conflict of Interest
The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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Introduction:

The publication of research findings on the documents that today should be referred to as the Pahlavi Archive of Hastijan[2], began in 1991 with an article

[1] All documents referenced with the abbreviation 'Berk.' are housed at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Documents cited with 'Berlin' are housed at Freie Universität Berlin and in a private collection in Berlin.

[2] In 2022, based on newly obtained evidence, I was able to identify the site where most likely the Pahlavi documents currently housed at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Freie Universität Berlin were first discovered. After I reported this finding to the Iranian Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Tourism, and Handicrafts, up

by Gignoux (1991). These studies were continued by Gignoux himself and Weber, resulting in significant advances in our understanding of the archive. Weber's involvement in the research, along with his valuable contributions, notably accelerated progress and greatly improved the precision of the interpretations. Despite their extensive efforts, a portion of the documents still requires rereading and retranslation. It is important to emphasize, however, that the possibility for younger researchers like myself to undertake such tasks today is entirely thanks to the remarkable groundwork and deep expertise of both Gignoux and Weber.

The study of the Pahlavi Archive of Hastijan—which includes rereading previously published documents, examining unpublished materials from the Berkeley collection, and analyzing newly discovered documents from the Hastijan cave—is essential for deepening our understanding of the final phases of the Middle Persian script and language, the history of the late Sasanian and early post-Sasanian periods, the historical geography of central Iran, etc. I began working on these documents approximately seven years ago, with my Ph.D. dissertation[3] devoted to their study. Over the years, by utilizing the writings of Philippe Gignoux and Dieter Weber, along with other supplementary resources, I have become familiar with the palaeographic features, linguistic traits, and historical context of these documents.[4] In addition to studying the unpublished documents, I have also revised several documents previously published by Gignoux and Weber. This article presents, for the first time, an edition of the unpublished document **Berk. 25**, along with revised editions of three previously published documents: **Berlin 26, Berk. 11, and Berk. 122**.

today, two archaeological excavations were carried out in the cave near the village of Hastijan, under the direction of Dr. Mohammad Reza Nemati. These efforts resulted in the discovery of a significant number of documents, clay bullae, and other valuable artifacts. I must emphasize that Berkley documents were formerly kept in a private collection and remained inaccessible to the academic community. Owing to the persistent efforts of Professor Azarpay, a private individual acquired the entire collection and generously donated it to the University of California, Berkeley, thereby enabling scholarly research on these valuable materials. For more information about the Pahlavi Archive of Hastijan, see Azarpay 2003, Asefi 2023a, 2024a: 2, and Asefi & Mirfakhraie 2024: 144-147. For more information about the result of the first season's excavation, see Nemati et al. (forthcoming).

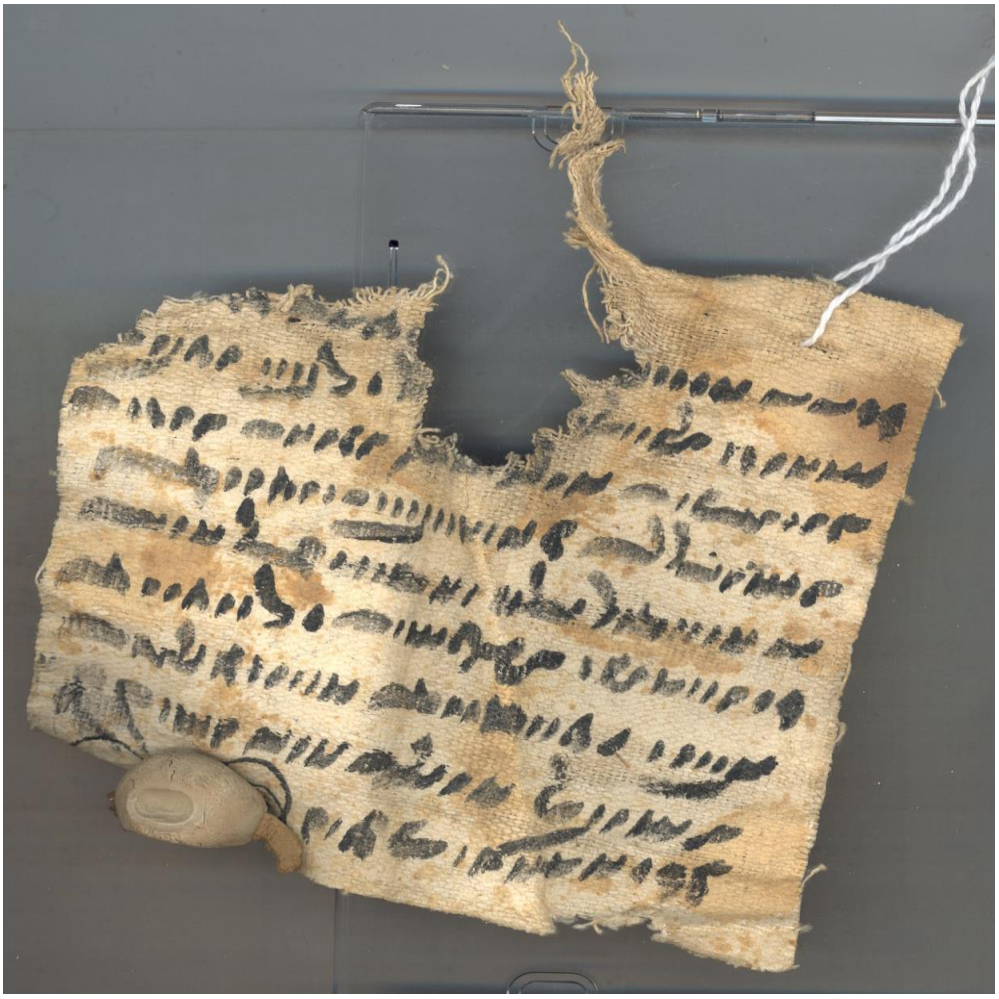
[3] Under the supervision of Professor Mahshid Mirfakhraie.

[4] I have currently expanded my research to focus on Pahlavi documents from Hastijan, Fars, and Tabarestan as part of a project at the University of Hamburg under the supervision of Prof. Shervin Farridnejad.

I dedicate this article to Guitty Azarpay (1934–2024), Philippe Gignoux (1931–2023), and Dieter Weber, whose efforts, insight, and scholarly brilliance laid the very foundation for the study and advancement of research on these documents. Sadly, I never had the privilege of meeting them in person.

- **Edition of Berk. 25**

Catalog Number	Collection Name	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Lines	Verso	Bulla
25	The Bancroft Library	Textile	9.5 cm x 8.5 cm	9	Marked	At the bottom left



Transliteration	Transcription
1. wnd(?) Y PWN … [d'lyk] MN ZK Y [MN ml Y]	1. … ī pad… [dārīg] az ān ī [az mar ī]
2. yzd'np'nk' YLYDWNt [hlt wnd't 'wst'nd'l] ʿL bwn' ZNH BYRḤ	2. yazdānbānag zād [xrad-windād ōstāndār] ō bun ēn māh
3. 'rtwhšt' Y ŠNT XXX-III-III 'wcynyt Y dwtk' Y	3. Ardwahišt ī sāl 36 uzēnīd ī dūdag ī
4. 'wst'nd'l l'd cygwn PWN bwn' Y whwmn 'whrmzd	4. ōstāndār rāy čiyōn pad bun ī Wahman-Ohrmazd
5. Y PWN nmywl d'lyk npštn' W 'm'l ptš	5. ī pad Namēwar dārīg nibištan ud āmār pad-iš
6. krtn' 'p'yt' ḤS X sp̄wd ʿL whwmn 'whrmzd	6. kardan abāyēd may 10 sabōy ō Wahman-Ohrmazd
7. YḤBWNt W MN whwmn 'whrmzd PWN gwk'dy mwdr'n Y	7. dād ud az Wahman-Ohrmazd pad gugāy-muhrān ī
8. 'wstwb'l'n ptgl'b ptš YNSBWNtny	8. awetwārān padīrāy pad-iš stad
9. ck' dyn'p̄zwt' HTYMWNt	9. čak Dēnabzūd āwišt

Translation:

[wnd?/ Personal name], [storekeeper/warehouse-keeper] in [placename], from that which (belongs) to the bun[5], from the yazdānbānag zād[xradwindād ōstāndār] (governor) [account], this month Ardwahišt (2nd month) of the year 36[6], for (rāy line 4) the expense of the ōstāndār's family, as (it) must be written under the responsibility of Wahman- Ohrmazd who is a storekeeper/warehouse-keeper in Namēwar and making a reckoning over it, gave Wahman- Ohrmazd 10 ewers (sabōy) of wine, and took a receipt sealed by the trustees'/reliable witnesses' seals for it from Wahman- Ohrmazd. Dēnabzūd sealed the check.

Comments:

Line 1: The first word (Picture 1) appears to be a personal name, which functions as the subject of the verb *dād* in line 7. Although the individual's administrative title is unfortunately missing from this document, the presence of the particle *pad* following *Y* (= ī) suggests a well-attested and familiar syntactic structure. Typically, this structure consists of the personal name, immediately followed by *Y* (= ī), then the preposition *pad*, a geographic location, and finally the common administrative title *dārīg*. Accordingly, the most plausible reconstruction is: **(personal name) ī pad (geographic location) dārīg**. Compare this with the following examples:

[5] See Weber et al. 2008a, Macuch 2008; 2022, Ramble 2022, Asefi 2024b, and Zeini 2024.
[6] After the death of Yazdgird III.

Berk. 91, 1& 2[7] Dādēnwindād ī pad Yazdānābestān dārīg

Berk. 14, 1[8] Friyag ī pad Namēwar dārīg



Picture 1

Lines 2-3: The title *yazdānbānag*[9] is well-documented. Compare its spelling with the following evidence:

Berk. 84[10], 2 & 3



Berk. 85[11], 6

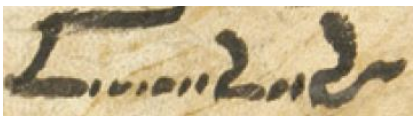


Tabarestan 21[12], 4



Although some parts of this section of the document are missing, substantial evidence supports the reading *zād xrad-windād ōstāndār*. Compare it with the following example:

Berk. 35, 1[13]

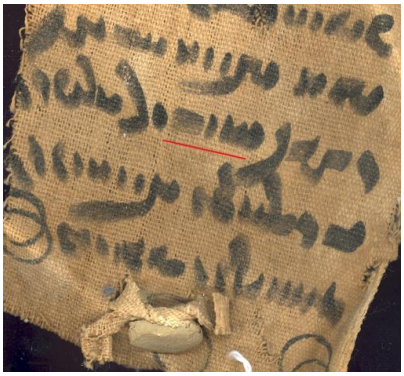


Line 4: For reading The name, Wahman-Ohrmazd, see Weber (2008b [2004]: 137).

Line 5: Namēwar is the most frequently encountered toponym in the Hastijan documents. It is currently known as *Nimwar*, a small town located near Delijan[14].

[7] Asefi 2023b: 9.
[8] Gignoux 2009: 124.
[9] Protected by divine beings.
[10] Asefi 2003b: 17.
[11] Gignoux (2010: 106) mistakenly read the word as suftag ōstāndār.
[12] Gignoux 2012: 72, Weber 2019b: 93.
[13] Asefi 2024a: 4.
[14] see Weber 2014 [2010]: 38.

Line 6: The use of the term *sabōy* is evidenced in three unpublished documents, **Berk. 7**, **Berk. 117**, and **Berk. 199**, as well as in **Berlin 17**, as follows[15]:

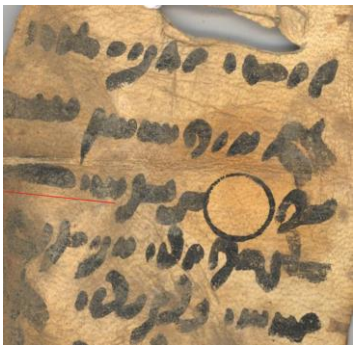


Berk. 7, 4-7

4) …ḤG G II **5)** W ḤS I spwd ʿL plyʾtk' **6)** Y kʾlplmʾn YḤBWNt' ck' **7)** mʾhpylwc' ḤTYMWNt

4) … gandum grīw 2 **5)** ud may 1 sabōy ō Friyādag(?) **6)** ī kārframān dād čak **7)** Māhpērōz āwišt

… (he) gave Friyādag(?), the overseer, 2 grīw of wheat and 1 sabōy (ewer) of wine. Māhpērōz sealed the check.



Berk. 117, 1-5

1) hwtʾyk' ẒNḤ BYRḤ mtr' **2)** QDM ŠNT X IIII IIII ḤG **3)** G X O ḤS I spwd **4)** ḤLYʾ X dwlk' TBNʾ I p 5) ʾspst C glt' …

[15] Also see Weber 2023: 290.

1) xʷadāyīg ēn māh Mihr **2)** abar sāl 18 gandum **3)** grīw 10 may 1 sabōy **4)** sik 10 dōlag kāh 1 paymān **5)** aspast 100 gird …

Lord, this month Mihr (7th month) in the year 18: 10 grīw of wheat, 1 sabōy (ewer) of wine, 10 pails of vinegar, 1 paymān of straw, and 100 bundles of lucerne…

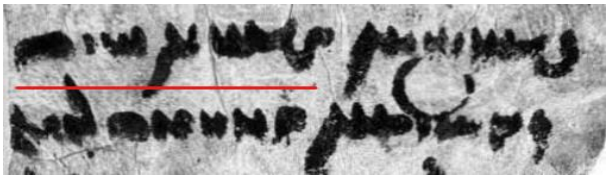


Berk. 199, 1-3

1) W ḤS Y LẔNḤ YWM … 2) I sp̄wd ʿL… 3) YḤBWNtn l'd …

1) ud may ī im rōz … 2) 1 sabōy ō … 3) dādan rāy …

For giving … 1 sabōy of today's wine …



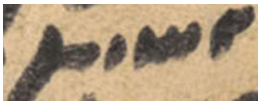
Berlin 17, 2-3

Berlin 17, 2: ḤS III-II sp̄wd /may 5 sabōy; Wine 5 sabōy.
To support the connection for /sp̄/, see following evidence:

Berk. 8, 3[16]- sp̄ndrmt/spandarmad



Berk. 97, 15[17]- gwsp̄nd I/ gōspand 1



Line 8: Compare the word awestwārān with awestwārīh in **Berk. 42**.

Berk. 25, 8



Berk. 42, 3[18] pad awestwārīh ī

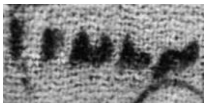


Line 9: Compare Dēnabzūd with following evidence and see Weber 2012 [2008]: 217):

Berk. 25



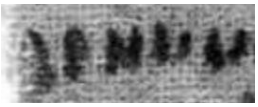
Berlin 8, 7[21]



Berk. 11, 20[20]



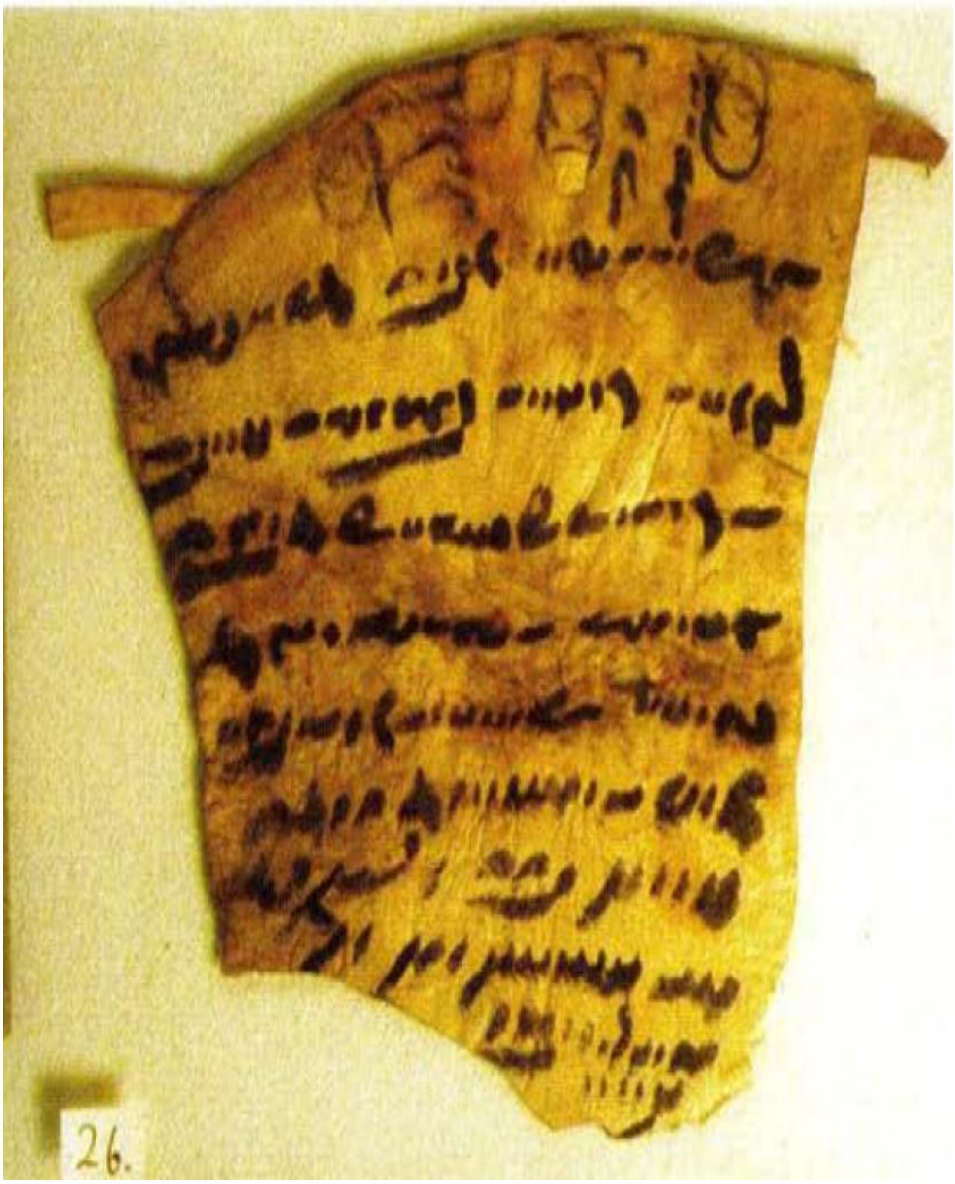
Berlin 5, 3[19]



[16] Gignoux 2013: 158.
[17] Weber 2015: 156.
[18] Gignoux 2010: 66.
[19] Weber et al. 2008a: 25.
[20] Gignoux 2010: 56, he could not read the name.
[21] Weber et al. 2008a: 41.

- For the reader's convenience and to distinguish the new readings from the earlier ones, I have bolded all the updated readings.

Catalog Number	Collection Name	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Lines	Verso	Bulla
26	Berlin – Freie Universität	Leather	12.1 × 10.7 cm	10	Marked	None



Adapted from: Weber et al. (2008a: Tafel XXVI)

Transliteration	Transcription
1. z’twy ī PWN CBW Y MT’ **d’lyk**	1. Zādōy ī pad xīr ī deh **dārīg**
2. lwcyk Y **krtn'** Y **b’gp’nyh** Y PWN **b’g**	2. rōzīg ī **kardan** ī **bāγbānīh** ī pad **bāγ**
3. Y **krt'-’p̄’t-yz̤dtp’t** MN BYRḤ	3. ī **Kard-ābād-yazdbād** az māh
4.’rtwhšt Y ŠNT XXXX W YWM	4. Ardwahišt ī sāl 40 ud rōz
5. ddw' PWN ’twr' pr’c ʿD BYRḤ	5. Day pad Ādur frāz tā māh
6. ’mwrdt **y** nzdst' W YWM ’whrmz̤d	6. Amurdād-**ē**[22] nazdist ud rōz Ohrmazd
7. PWN II BYRḤ W XX-II YWM	7. pad 2 māh ud 22 rōz
8. ḤG G IIII-IIII K II ʿL	8. gandum grīw 8 kabīz 2 ō
9. … Y **b’gp’n (?)**	9. …[23] ī **bāγbān(?)**
10. YḤBWNt	10. dād

Top of the document, vertically:

Transliteration	Transcription
z’t’nplhw'	Zādānfarrox
ḤTYMWNt	āwišt

Translation:

Zādōy, who is the storekeeper/warehouse-keeper of the property of the village, for carrying out the gardening work in the garden of Kard-ābād-yazdbād, from the month Ardwahišt (2nd month) of the year 40[24] and the day Day pad Ādur (8th day) until the beginning of the month Amurdād (5th month) and the day Ohrmazd (1st day), for two months and 22 days, gave 8 grīw and 2 kabīz of wheat to …, the gardener.

[22] This is a genitive construction. For a complete explanation of this structure and the meaning and function of *nazdist*, see Asefi & Mirfakhraie 2024: 151, 158-159.

[23] It refers to a proper name, but I am uncertain about it. Weber tentatively considered this whole line as a proper name, reading it as *Dēn-Nēw-Rōdagbaxt*. The reading of *bāγbān* (gardener) appears plausible both orthographically and semantically, but a non-final reading should be considered.

[24] After the death of Yazdgird III.

Comments:

Berlin 26 was previously examined and published by Weber et al. (2008a: 109). His reading and translation are as follows[25]:

Transliteration	Transcription
1. ’štw(y)h Y pṭ' CBW Y MT’ d’ryk	1. Ašweh(?) ī pad xīr ī deh dārīg
2. lwcky Y kwṭk' Y b’y’sp̄’nyh Y pṭ' bg	2. rōzīg ī kōdak ī bāyāspānīh ī pad bay
3. y krṭ' ’c’t-…-p’t(?) MN BYRḤ	3. ī kard Āzād-…-pād(?) az māh
4. ’rṭwhšṭ Y s’l XXXX W YWM	4. Ardwahišt ī sāl 40 ud rōz
5. ddw' pt' ’ṭwr pr’c ʿD BYRḤ	5. Day pad Ādur frāz tā māh
6. ’mwrdt Y nzdst' W YWM ’whrmẓd	6. Amurdād ī nazdist ud rōz Ohrmazd
7. pṭ' II BYRḤ W XX-II YWM	7. pad 2 māh ud 22 rōz
8. ḤG *G* IIII-IIII *K* -# II ʿL	8. gandum grīw-8 kabīz-2 ō
9. dynnywlwṭkbhṭ'	9. Dēn-Nēw-Rōdagbaxt(?)
10. YḤBWNt'	10. dād
Senkrecht:	
1. z’ṭ’nplhw'	1. Zādānfarrox
2. ḤṬYWMNṭ	2. āwišt

Translation

[1] Āštwēh(?), der Verwalter für die Angelegenheiten des Dorfes; [2]Wegen Ration(en) für das Kind aus der bāyaspān-Ehe, die vom Herrn [3] gestiftet (lit. gemacht), Āāzād-…-pād(?) vom Monat [4] Ardwahišt (2. Monat) des Jahres 40 (671/672 n. Chr.) und Tag [5] Day pad Ādur (8. Tag) bis hin zum nächsten Monat [6] Amurdād (5. Monat) und Tag Ohrmazd (1. Tag), [7] (also) für zwei Monate und 22 Tage [8] Weizen 8 grīw (und) 2 kabīz der (?) [9] Dēn-Nēw-Rōdagbaxt(?) [10] gegeben.

[25] I must note that in a subsequent article, Weber revised the name *Āštwēh* to *Zādōy*. Additionally, in his latest publications, Weber now favours the reading *gālīg* over *dārīg*. However, in an unpublished article and my dissertation, I have demonstrated that multiple Persian and Arabic sources confirm *dārīg* as the correct reading, rendering *gālīg* unacceptable- also see Asefi: 2023b, 5-6.

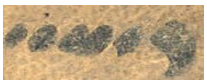
Lines 2 and 3:



As is evident from Weber's interpretation, he views the document as primarily pertaining to a marriage and the birth of a son. By emphasizing the meaning of *bāyāspānīh* (mission or embassy), Weber (Ibid.: 110) suggested that the document most likely falls within a legal context involving a *bāyāspān* marriage. He further noted that a son born from such a union would have been referred to as *kōdak ī bāyāspānīh*[26].

However, I would argue that this document is not related to legal matters but rather to agriculture. I believe that in the second line, what Weber read as *kōdak* is in fact the infinitive *kardan*. This interpretation is supported by the following evidence:

Berk. 189, 8
krtn'/ kardan



Berk. 103, 3
krtn'/ kardan



Furthermore, what Weber interpreted as *bāyāspānīh* is, in fact, *b'gp'nyh/ bāγbānīh* (gardening).

The spelling of the term closely matches *bāγbānīh* and aligns semantically with the context found in the Hastijan documents. These documents provide substantial evidence of rations being delivered to individuals in exchange for performing specific tasks.

At the end of the same line, Weber interpreted the letter following the letter /b/ as a single letter /g/ and read the word as *bg/bay*. However, evidence suggests that the scribe may have used a continuous line to represent three consecutive prongs. For example, the particle *'y/ē* and the postposition

[26] Der Inhalt des Dokuments wird weiter wesentlich erhellt durch das Wort bāyāspānīh, mission, embassy' (so CPD 18) in der 2. Zeile. Eher wahrscheinlich ist aber, daß wir es hier mit dem rechtlichen Begriff der bāyāspān-Ehe zu tun haben, so daß es sich bei dem *kōdag ī bāyāspānīh* um einen Jungen handelt, der aus einer derartigen Ehe stammt.

l'd/rāy have often been written in this manner, as demonstrated in the following two examples:

Berk. 86, 10[27]
ē



Berlin 12, 5[28]
rāy



So I think what Weber read as *bay* should be *b'g/bāγ* (garden).

In the third line, after *ī*, Weber interpreted the first word as *kard*, treating it as an independent verb. However, it should be noted that the verb *kard* was used in the previous line, and its repetition is redundant in this context. It appears that what follows *ī* is, in fact, the name of the garden. Thus, *kard* is not an independent verb here but rather a component of the place name. I interpret the full name as *Kard-ābād-yazdbād* (the meaning is Yazdbād cultivated it).

The spelling of *Yazdbād* is comparable to *Yazd-duxt*, and *Yazd* as seen in the following evidence:

Berk. 98[29]**,** 4
yz̲dt' dwht'/
Yazd-duxt



Berlin 14[30] , 7
yz̲dt' dwht'/
Yazd-duxt



Tab. 1A, 3[31]
Tab 1B, 3[32]
yz̲dt'/Yazd



This form of place-naming is also attested in the Sasanian period. In the book *Tarikh-e Qom* (edited by Ansari, 2006), numerous garden and farm names from various districts are recorded. For example, Bāγ-e Marzbān[33] in

[27] Asefi 2023b: 12.
[28] Weber 2008: 57.
[29] Asefi 2023b: 2.
[30] Weber 2021: 48.
[31] Weber 2016a: 123.
[32] Weber 2016a: 124.
[33] Ansari 2006: 313.

Rudābadān and the farm of Yazdgirdābād[34] in Kāšān. However, I could not find the garden *Kard-ābād-yazdbād* in *Tarikh-e Qom*.

The book also includes a fascinating account of the creation of a garden at a location known as Fālizbānān: "One day, Webīl said in Persian: īδēn bālīz-ē shāhēd kardan, meaning here, a garden can be built. So they built the garden and named it accordingly." (Ibid: 242)

With these corrections, it becomes clear that the document concerns the payment of rations to a gardener who worked in a garden called *Kard-ābād-Yazdbād* for two months and 22 days. The total ration for this period amounts to 8 *grīw* and 2 *kabīz* of wheat.

Additionally, I propose a correction for the reading of a single word (without reassessing the entire text) from an ostracon previously read and published by Weber (2022b: 527). It appears that the word Weber read as *bayaspān* should be corrected to *bārbān* (gardener).

O. 104 + O. 108

Transliteration

1 d'ṭynk' YWM slwš
2 ḤS-II dwlk' 'L
3 (h)w(l)šyṭ' ZK(!) Y GBR' I
4 Y by'sp'n YḤBWN

Transcription

1 *Dādēnag rōz Srōš*
2 *may 2 dōlag ō*
3 *X^{w}aršēd ān ī mard 1*
4 *ī bayaspān dah*

Translation

[1] *Dādēnag* (on) day *Srōš* (17th day) [2] 2 pails of wine to [3] *X^{w}aršēd*, a man [4] of the envoy, should give!

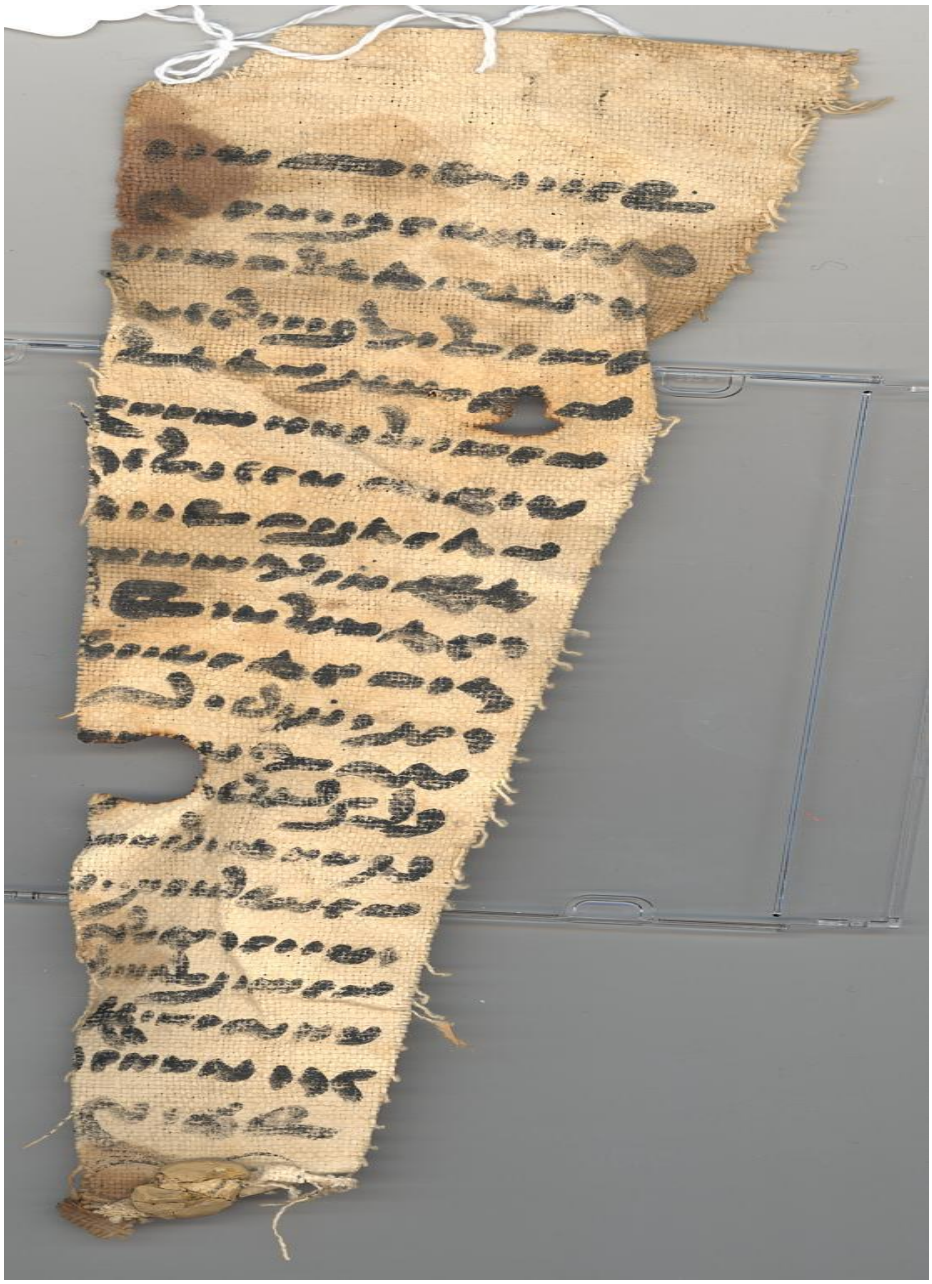


Fig. 25. O. 104/O. 108, Brit. Mus. 131864 + 131868 Ed. Weber 1992, pp. 64–65.

Adapted from Weber (2022b).

[34] Ansari 2006: 355.

Catalog Number	Collection Name	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Lines	Verso	Bulla
11	The Bancroft Library	Textile	25 x 7.5 cm	21	Marked	At the bottom



Transliteration	Transcription
1. d'tynwnd't Y PWN	1. Dādēnwindād ī pad
2. yzd'n'p̄st'n bwnp'n MN	2. Yazdānābestān[35] bunbān az
3. Z̲K **ZYš** MN ml Y **yzd'np'nk**	3. ān **ī-š** az mar ī **Yazdānbānag**
4. 'wst'nd'l ʿL bwn' lwcyk	4. ōstāndār ō bun rōzīg
5. Y **ḤMR' IIII** Y MN ml	5. ī **xar 4** ī az mar
6. Y 'wst'nd'l W PWN **yzd'n'p̄st'n**	6. ī ōstāndār ud pad **Yazdānābestān**
7. **YKʿYMWNd** p'ncdhlwck	7. **estēnd** pānzdahrōzag
8. Y MN Z̲NH BYRḤ 'twr'	8. ī az ēn māh Ādur
9. QDM ŠNT XXX III III III	9. abar sāl 39
10. W YWM tyl pr'c	10. ud rōz Tīr frāz
11. KR' YWM ywdt ywdt	11. har rōz jud jud
12. ***k* II** W II glt' l'd	12. **kabīz 2** ud 2 gird rāy
13. ŠG G X-II 'sp̄st	13. jaw grīw 12 aspast
14. C-XX glt' TBN'	14. 120 gird kāh
15. II *p* ʿL gwšnsp̄	15. 2 paymān ō Gušnasp
16. Y 'wštlyk'n YHBWNt	16. ī uštarīgān[36] dād
17. W PWN gwk'dymwhlyh'	17. ud pad gugāymuhrīhā
18. Y 'wstwb'l'n ptgl'b̲	18. ī awestwārān padīrāy
19. ptš YNSB̲WNtny	19. pad-iš **stad**
20. ck' **dyn'p̄zwt**	20. čak **Dēnabzūd**
21. ḤTYMWNt	21. āwišt

Translation:

Dādēnwindād, the bunbān of Yazdānābestān, from what belongs to bun from the account of the governor protected by divine beings (=Yazdānbānag), for the ration of four donkeys, which belong to the governor and are in Yazdānābestan, For fifteen days, starting from the day Tīr onward, in this month Ādur (9th month) in the year 39[37], and for each day, separately (for each donkey), two *kabīz* and two bundles, (totally) twelve *kabīz* of barley and one hundred and twenty bundles of lucerne, two *paymān* of straw, gave Gušnasp, the camel-driver. And for that received a receipt sealed by trustees'/ witness's seals. Dēnabzūd sealed the check.

Comments:

This document was previously examined and published by Gignoux (2010: 54-7).
In line 3, <ZYš> ī-š appears multiple times in the Pahlavi Archive of Hastijan and was previously always interpreted as 'YŠ/*kas* by Gignoux and Weber. However, Weber (2022a: 336), in his reading of **Berk. 24**, line 12, correctly

[35] This interpretation of the word is Arash Zeini's suggestion, which has been accepted by Weber. See Weber 2014 [2010]: 40.
[36] Gušnasp ī uštarīgān is Weber's suggestion Weber, 2022b: 533.
[37] After the death of Yazdgird III.

identifies it as *ī-š*. There is no doubt that this is the accurate interpretation, rather than *kas*.
Furthermore, in the same line, the word read by Gignoux as *xwadāyīg* should be revised to *yazdānbānag*.

Line 5: The first mistake in the reading of this line concerns the identification of the word used for the animal and its quantity. Gignoux interpreted the term as referring to a horse, with a quantity of one (asp 1). However, the word in question is the Aramaic heterogram ḤMR'/ xar and the correct number is four. This interpretation is confirmed by comparison with the following examples:

Berk. 75[38], 7
ḤMR' III-II: xar 5



Berk. 32[39]**,** 4
ḤMR' III: xar 3



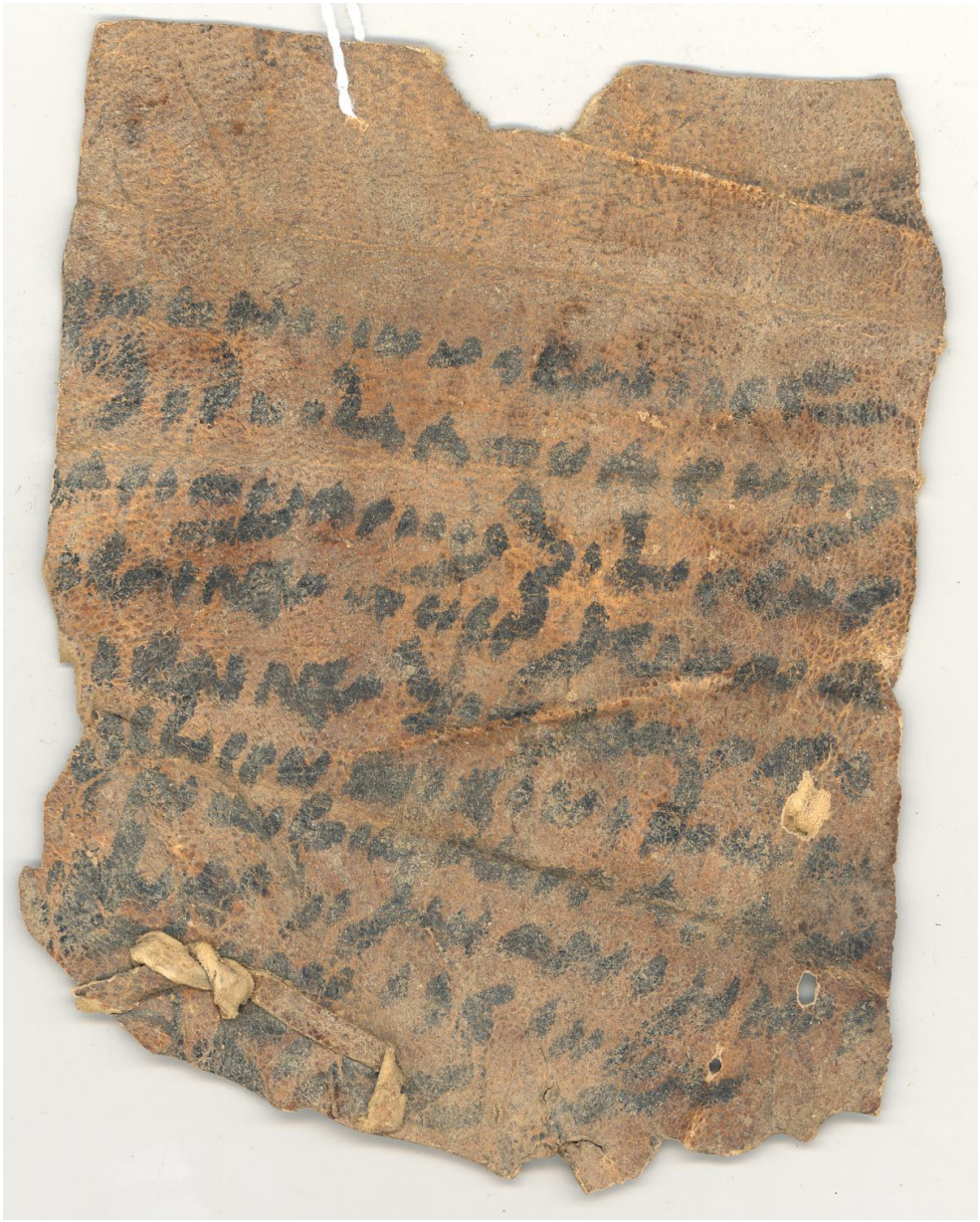
Line 7: What Gignoux reads as *'ān nāmag'* should be corrected to YKʿYMWN-tny/ *estēnd*. In fact, this is the verb from the previous sentence, which indicates that these donkeys are in Yazdānābestān.

Line 12: The initial words read by Gignoux as *giyāh* should be corrected to k II/ *kabīz 2*. The key to reading and understanding this part of the document lies in the number of animals. In line 12, the daily ration for each animal is recorded by quantity and unit, but without specifying the type of ration. In line 13, the total ration, along with its name, is provided[40]. The main structure is: **jud jud + [Unit of measurement] [quantity for each. animal]+ rāy+ [Name of ration] [Unit of measurement] [total quantity].** In other words, lines 12 and 13 indicate that each animal received 2 kabīz and 2 bundles, daily. It is known that *jaw* (barley) is measured in *grīw* and *kabīz*, *aspast* (lucerne) in *gird* (bundles), and *kāh* (straw) in *paymān* or *dōl*. The following line states that a total of 12 *grīw* of *jaw* and 120 bundles of *aspast* have been given. Since four donkeys each received 2 *kabīz* per day, and the rations were for 15 days, each donkey should receive 30 *kabīz*, totaling 120 *kabīz*. Based on the *Tarikh-e Qom*, document named **Unknown II**, and **Berk. 219**[41], we know that in that region, each *grīw* was equivalent to 10 *kabīz*, so the provision of 12 *grīw* of barley recorded in the document exactly matches the 120 *kabīz* we calculated. Using the same calculation, the 120 bundles of *aspast* would also be distributed as recorded in lines 13 and 14. The total amount of straw was 2 *paymān*, which explains why straw is not mentioned in line 12, where the daily rations are listed.

[38] Unpublished.
[39] Gignoux 2010: 70, Weber 2010: 47.
[40] This numbering method is also observed in **Berk.100 and 119**. See Weber 2016b [2012]: 75.
[41] Gignoux 2009: 92.

Line 20: The name not read by Gignoux is Dēnabzūd. See the comment on line 9 of Berk. 25.

Catalog Number	Collection Name	Material	Dimensions (cm)	Lines	Verso	Bulla
122	The Bancroft Library	Leather	11 x 9 cm	10	Marked	None



Transliteration	**Transcription**
1. d'tynwnd't Y PWN yzd'n'p̄st'n	1. Dādēnwindād ī pad Yazdānābestān
2. bwnp'n MN Z̲K Y MN ml Y plhwtl	2. bunbān az ān ī az mar ī farroxtar
3. 'wst'nd'l̓L BWN Z̲NH BYRḤ whwmn'	3. ōstāndār ō bun ēn māh Wahman
4. Y ŠNT XXXX-I lwcyk Y **'sm'nd't'**	4. ī sāl 41 rōzīg ī **Asmāndād**
5. **W ḤMR' III Y l̓L 'sm'nd't'**	5. **ud xar 4 ī ō Asmāndād**
6. **'p̄sp̄'lt' YK̓YMWNyt p'ncdh-lwck'**	6. **abespārd estēd pānzdah-rōzag**
7. **l'd MN YWM 'whrmz̲d pr'c ḤG *G* I**	7. **rāy az rōz Ohrmazd frāz gandum grīw 1**
8. ***k* III-II W ŠG *G* III l̓L 'sm'nd't'**	8. **kabīz 5 ud jaw grīw 3 ō Asmāndād**
9. YḤBWNt ck' **yz̲d'np[...]d'l(?)**	9. dād čak **Yazdānp...dār(?)**
10. ḤTYMWNt	10. āwišt

Transliteration:

Dādēnwindād, the storekeeper/ warehouse-keeper in Yazdānābestān, from the account of the fortunate governor to *bun*, in this month of Wahman (11th month), year 41[42], for the ration of *Asmāndād* and the four donkeys entrusted to *Asmāndād*, for fifteen days, starting from the day Ohrmazd onward, gave 1 *grīw* and 5 *kabīz* of wheat and 3 *grīw* of barley to *Asmāndād*. Yazdānp...dār sealed the *čak*.

Comments:

Line 4: Gignoux (2010, 92) has read this name as *Asmānzādān*. The final letter is written in a way that most likely represents a stroke. Compare it with /d't/ at the end of the name Dēdēnwindād at the beginning of the document.

Line 5: Gignoux did not read Lines 5 to the end of Line 8. These lines are being read for the first time in the present article.

Compare the spelling of *ḤMR'* with the following evidence:

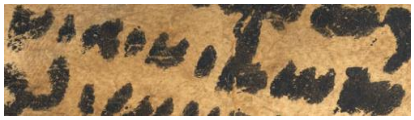
Berk. 84[43], 4 

Berk. 32[44], 4 

[42] After the death of Yazdgird III.
[43] Asefi 2023b: 18.
[44] Gignoux 2010: 70, Weber 2010: 47.

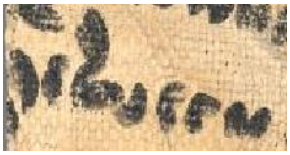
Compare *abespārd estēd* in Line 6 with the following evidence:

Berk. 87[45], 7



Compare *pānzdah-rōzag* with the same word in **Berk.11**:

pānzdah-rōzag
Berk. 11, 7



Line 7: Compare *az rōz Ohrmazd frāz* with the following evidence:

Berk. 122, 7



Berk. 33B, 3
ud rōz Ābān frāz



Unknown 2[46], 3
az rōz-iz Ohrmazd frāz



Line 9: some letters of the name is unclear. Although might initially appear to be ōstāndār, comparison with the evidence presented below indicates that this reading is unlikely. The word closely resembles Yazdānpādār, but two issues must be considered. First, the letters /'t/ are not visible in the available image. Second, the document is dated to the year 41, whereas all other known documents referring to Yazdānpādār were written between the years 34 and 40. In light of this, it is important to emphasize—as I noted in a lecture at INALCO[47]—that the evidence suggests there must have been

[45] Asefi 2023b: 18.
[46] Weber 2019a: 4.
[47] In April 2024, at the kind invitation of Prof. Samra Azarnouche.

documents mentioning Yazdānpādār in the year 41 which have not come down to us.



Yazdānpādār:

Berk. 78[48], 6



Berk. 33b, 8



Berk. 83, 10



Berk. 5, 7



Berk. 148, 10



ōstāndār:

Berk. 98, 5



Berk. 32, 8



Berk. 105, 4



Berk. 25[49]**, 4**



Berk. 43C, 4



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[48] Unpublished.
[49] Unpublished.

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