

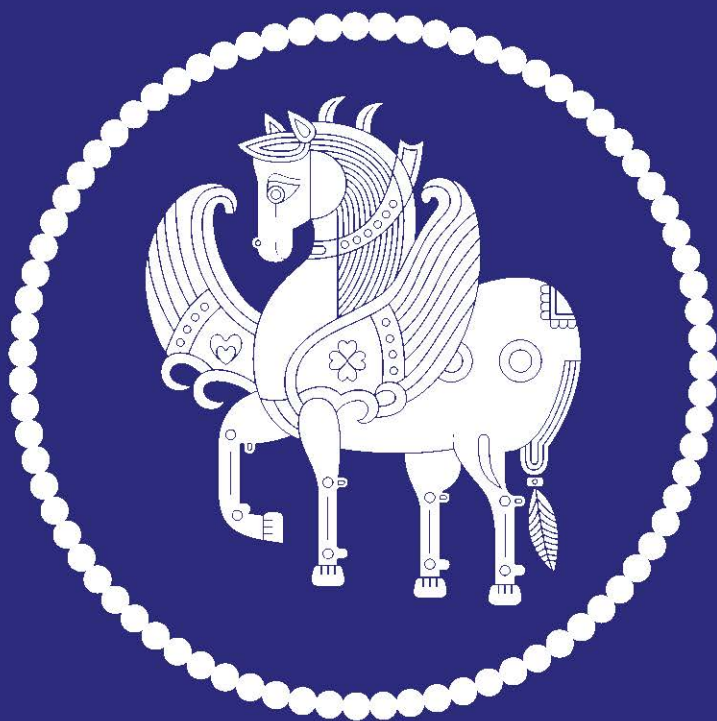
SASANIAN STUDIES

Late Antique Iranian World

SASANIDISCHE STUDIEN

Spätantike iranische Welt

VOL. I



Edited by
Shervin Farridnejad & Touraj Daryaei

2022

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

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Shervin Farridnejad & Touraj Daryaee

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Winged horse in a pearl bordered medallion from a Sasanian textile, ca. 8th–7th century.

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Abbreviations

Journals and Periodicals

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAASH	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AcAs	<i>Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture</i>
AcIr	<i>Acta Iranica</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AION	<i>AION Annali dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"</i>
AIS	<i>Ancient Iran Series</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJN	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
AJSLL	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AKAWB	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlich-Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AMIT	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan</i>
Anabasis	<i>Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia</i>
AnatS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
ANSMN	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
AntOr	<i>Antiquo Oriente</i>
Anzeiger	<i>Zeitschrift der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (formerly: Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse)</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
ArIs	<i>Ars Islamica</i>
ArO	<i>Ars Orientalis</i>
ArOr	<i>Archív Orientální</i>
ArtAs	<i>Artibus Asiae</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
AS	<i>Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques</i>
ASOR	<i>The American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
AUAD	<i>Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi</i>
BAI	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>
BAIPAA	<i>Bulletin of the American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology</i>
BAIPUS	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University of Shiraz</i>
BAOM	<i>Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum, Tokyo</i>
BAS	<i>Berytus Archaeological Studies</i>
BB	<i>Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen</i>

BCIETA	<i>Bulletin du CIETA = Bulletin du Centre international d'étude des textiles anciens (formerly: Bulletin de Liaison du CIETA)</i>
BCSMS	<i>Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies</i>
Berytus	<i>Berytus: Archaeological Studies published by the Museum of Archaeology of the American University of Beirut. Beirut, Libanon</i>
BIBR	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome</i>
BII	<i>Bulletin of the Iranian Institute</i>
BM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BMC	<i>The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs</i>
BMFA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BSOS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i>
BT	<i>Bāstānšenāsī-o Tārīḫ</i>
C&C	<i>Continuity and Change</i>
CleO	<i>Classica et Orientalia</i>
Dabir	<i>The Digital Archive of Brief notes & Iran Review (DABIR)</i>
EIT	<i>Estudios Iraniaos y Turanios</i>
EJFE	<i>L'Esprit des Journaux, François et Étrangers</i>
EuSt	<i>Eurasian Studies</i>
FAR	<i>Frontiers of Architectural Research</i>
FARMS	<i>The FARMS Review</i>
GB	<i>Gozāreš-hāye Bāstānšenāsī (Archaeological Reports)</i>
HARIBL	<i>Histoire de l'Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
HdO	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
HiMA	<i>Revue internationale d'Histoire Militaire Ancienne</i>
HMIRF	<i>Histoire et Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, classe d'histoire et de littérature ancienne</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HS	<i>Historische Sprachwissenschaft (Historical Linguistics)</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IJDL	<i>International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction</i>
IM	<i>Istanbul Mitteilungen</i>
Iran	<i>Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
IrAnt	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
IrSt	<i>Iranian Studies</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAAS	<i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i>
JAF	<i>Journal of the American Folklore</i>
JAH	<i>Journal of Ancient History</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBBRAS	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JCOI	<i>Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JLAS	<i>Jewish Law Association Studies</i>

JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNG	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i>
JNSI	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>
JNSI	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>
JONS	<i>Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society</i>
JPK	<i>Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen</i>
JPS	<i>Journal of Persianate Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JS	<i>Journal des Savants</i>
JSAI	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam</i>
JSAS	<i>Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
Kratylos	<i>Kratylos: Kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft</i>
KS	<i>Kievskaja Starina</i>
LNV	<i>Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses</i>
Maarav	<i>Maarav: A Journal for the Study of the Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
MB	<i>Motāle'āt-e Bāstān-šenāsī (Journal of Archaeological Research)</i>
MBT	<i>Majalleh-ye bāstān-šenāsī va tārikh (Iranian Journal of Archaeology and History)</i>
MDOG	<i>Die Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
MKPAWB	<i>Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preussische Akademie des Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
MÖNG	<i>Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft</i>
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
Muséon	<i>Le Muséon: Revue d'Études Orientales</i>
NEMBR	<i>Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi</i>
NHMS	<i>Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies</i>
NIB	<i>Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān</i>
Numen	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
NZ	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i>
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Oriento	<i>Oriento: Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan (Nippon Oriento Gakkai)</i>
OS	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i>
P&P	<i>Past and Present: a journal of historical Studies</i>
PBI	<i>Paḵoubeš-hāye Bāstān-šenāsī-ye Irān</i>
PBM	<i>Paḵoubeš-hāye Bāstān-šenāsī-ye Modarres</i>
PK	<i>Paḵoubeš-nāmeḥ-ye Kāšān</i>

PNAS	<i>Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America</i>
PrH	<i>Provence Historique</i>
RAA	<i>Revue des Arts Asiatiques</i>
REA	<i>Revue des Études Armeniennes</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
RS	<i>Religious Studies</i>
SBE	<i>The Sacred Books of the East</i>
SPS	<i>Sasanika Papyrological Studies</i>
SR	<i>The Silk Road</i>
SRAA	<i>Silk Road Art and Archaeology</i>
StA	<i>Studia Asiatica</i>
StIr	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
StIs	<i>Studia Islamica</i>
StR	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses</i>
SZS	<i>Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft</i>
VChr	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii</i>
W&S	<i>Wörter und Sachen</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZÄSA	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik</i>
ZNMP	<i>Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvetščeniija</i>

Frequently Cited Works

AirWb	BARTHOLOMAE, CH. 1904 [1961]: <i>Altiranisches Wörterbuch</i> , Berlin.
CPD	MACKENZIE, D. N. 1971: <i>A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary</i> . London [Reprints 1986, 1990].
EAW	MAYRHOFER, M. 1996–2000: <i>Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen</i> . 3 vols (Indogermanische Bibliothek. II. Reihe, Wörterbücher), Heidelberg.
EI2	BEARMAN P./TH. BIANQUIS/C.E. BOSWORTH/E. VAN DONZEL/W.P. HEINRICHS (eds.) 1960–2005: <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , Second Edition, Leiden. Available online: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2
EIr	YARSHATER, E. (founding ed.) 1982–: <i>Encyclopædia Iranica</i> . New York.
EIr Online	<i>Encyclopædia Iranica</i> , Online Edition: http://www.iranicaonline.org/
GrIrPh	GEIGER, W./E. KUHN (eds.) 1896–1904: <i>Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i> , Strassburg.
JE	SINGER, I. (ed.) 1901–1906: <i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> , New York.

Introduction

“Eine Sasanidische Zeitschrift”

“*Ērānšābr* is from the Amū Daryā (“Oxus”) river to Meṣr (Nile) river and these other regions are around it, and from these seven regions, *Ērānšābr* is more magnanimous in every part”.¹

It has been one hundred and twenty-nine years since the first volume of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, the Byzantine studies journal was established in 1892 by the German scholar, Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909), and one of the foremost founders of modern Byzantine Studies as an independent academic discipline. Since then, Byzantine Studies has been both *en vogue* and at times out of favor in the academia. But what is certain is that since Diocletian or Constantine, the impact and legacy of Byzantium looms large, not only for the history of the Mediterranean, but also for that of the Near East. A search on the database of world libraries gives close to over a hundred thousand books and articles on Byzantine subjects. This is certainly worthy of an empire which lasted for a thousand years and had to deal with various foes and friends, from Northern Europe to Arabia in the South as well as the Iranian Empire to the East, ruled by their powerful political rivals, the Sasanian dynasty, who called their empire *Ērānšābr* “The Territory of the Aryans/Iranians” and the people, *Ērān* “Iranians”. However, the Sasanian Empire (224–651 CE) in comparison has received far less scholarly attention, although that is slowly changing. At the beginning of Late Antiquity in the 3rd century CE, the Sasanians in their heyday dominated Western Asia, extending from Mesopotamia to Central Asia and Northern India and controlled the territory from Oxus to Euphrates, including parts of Southeast Asia, Armenia, and — for a short period in the early seventh century — even Egypt and greater Syria, and also made military forays deep into India and established regular diplomatic relations with China. Together with the *Imperium Romanum*, the two empires referred to themselves as the ‘Two Eyes of the Earth’ in their diplomatic interactions. Being an overwhelming

1 The Preface to the *Šāhnāme-ye Abū Manšūrī*; cf. Qazvīnī, M. 1363: *Moghadame-ye Šāhnāme-ye Abū Manšūrī*. In: A. EQBĀL (ed.): *Bīst maqāle-ye Ghazvīnī*. Tehran, p. 49; MONCHI-ZADEH, in editing the text, forces the issue by attempting to correct the text based on the traditional boundaries of the Sasanian empire, where he replaced the Nile River with that of *forāt* “Euphrates”; cf. MONCHI-ZADEH, D. 1975: *Topographisch-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 41, 2). Wiesbaden, p. 8.

world-power, the Sasanians seriously challenged the Roman Empire and, later, the Byzantine Empire to claim a hegemonic predominance in the Middle East and were successfully able to establish an empire with a stable political centre, as well as an international trading network. Culturally, the Sasanian influence went far beyond its political boundaries, where Jaxartes in the East, Arabia in the South, Georgia and Armenia in the Caucasus and Syria and Egypt in the Near East and Africa was felt. Sasanian art, Middle Persian literature, its world of luxury and etiquette was known and emulated, and its economic reach was felt in all the way to China. Even with the fall of the Sasanian Empire in the seventh century CE, to quote Ehsan Yarshater, “the Persian presence in Islam,” impacted every aspect of life and culture which was a product of earlier Sasanian cultural achievement. Among others, the genre of Pahlavi *andarz*-literature (anthologies of advice and Life wisdoms regarding proper behaviours) enjoyed considerable attention among the Muslim conquerors. The ‘Abbāsids (750–1258 CE) and their successors adopted the Sasanian congenial models of lifestyle, culture and manners, translated, modified and redacted many of these works into Arabic and later also into New Persian, which gave the birth to the Perso-Arabic *adab* literature and the Persian handbooks of general etiquette and on political mirrors for princes that combined ethical with political advice.

However, the amount of research done on the Sasanian Empire is infinitesimal compared to that of Byzantine Empire. Until the twenty first century there were only three or four survey books of the Sasanian World. Positions for this field of study was almost non-existent, and the number of edited and translated Middle Persian texts was in dire need of attention. Archaeology presented hope and has been more promising, but the political tensions and wars has made Iraq, what is known as the “Heart of Ērānšahr” (Persian *del-e īrānšahr*)², and Afghanistan and Balch, things difficult and the recent political changes in the region, unfortunately makes this hope even more impossible.

It is only in the twenty first century that more scholars and tomes are being written on the Sasanians, an important period of Iranian, Near Eastern and World history. The reason for this new interest is varied, but clearly the inclusion of the Sasanian Empire within the temporal field of Late Antiquity / Antiquité Tardive / Spätantike, has brought this civilization into dialogue with that of the Romano-Byzantine World and it is becoming clear that in order to understand the larger picture of the field of late antiquity, knowing both empires is a desideratum. The Sasanians are often regarded among the historians and scholars of the ancient world as the faithful inheritors of the Achaemenids (559–330 BCE). Proclaiming Zoroastrianism as the state religion of the empire, they had a great impact on the development of other religions, namely Christianity, Manichaeism, Judaism and Buddhism among others and

2 Mustawfī of Qazwīn, Hamdallāh 1919: *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*. Translated by GUY LE STRANGE. E.J. W. (Gibb Memorial Trust, XXIII). Leyden, p. 34.

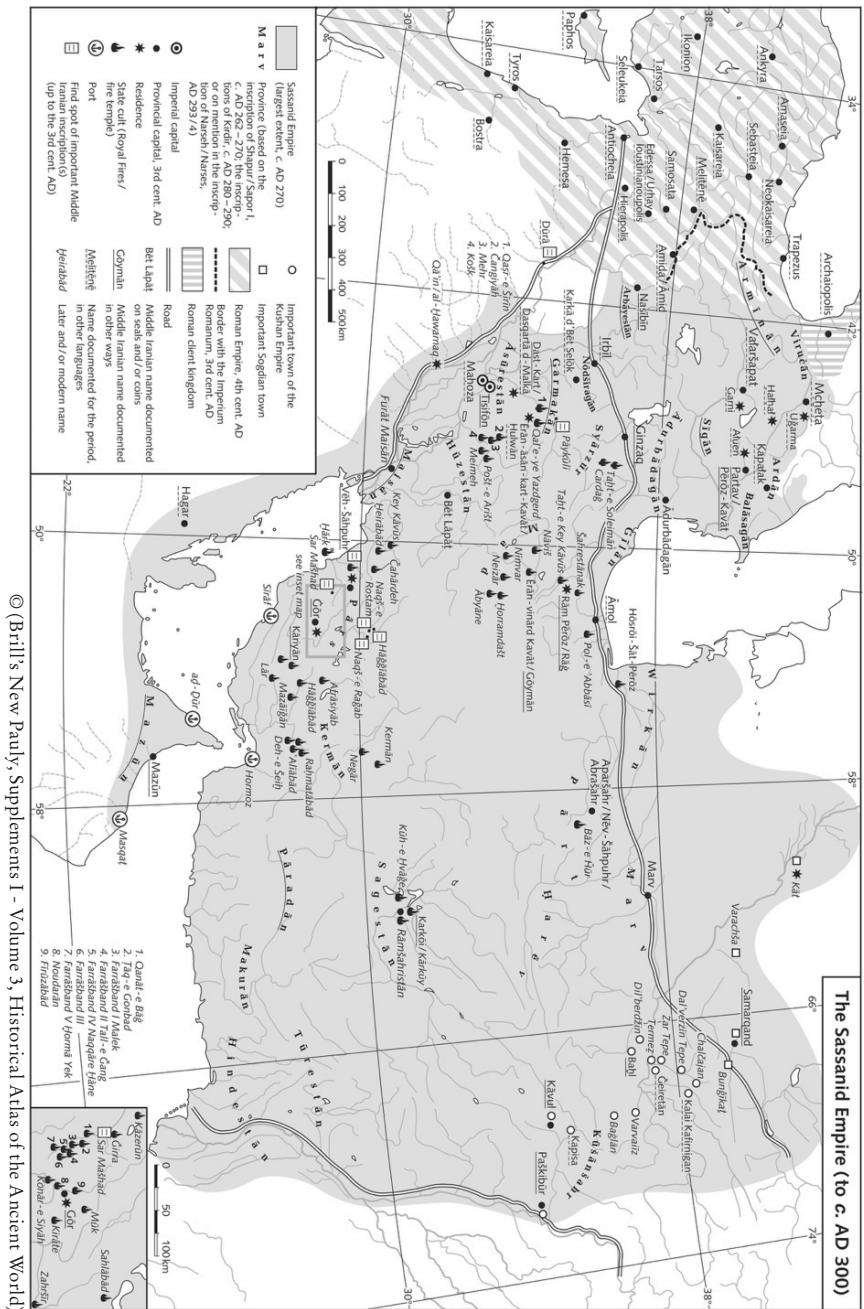


Fig. 1. Map of the Sassanian Empire with major cities and cities, c. 300 CE

thus have made a significant contribution in the emergence and evolution of late antique religions. Most specifically the Christians and Jews played an important role and flourished under the rule of the Sasanians. Whereas the Nestorian Catholicus and the Jewish Exilarch dwelled in the Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon (Ṭīsfūn), both the cities and the neighbouring regions were inhabited by predominantly Christians and Jews. This made Sasanian Iraq to a major centre of Judaism and gave birth to the Babylonian Talmud. They also left also a significant impact on the later established Islamic Empire of the ‘Abbāsids (750–1258 CE) and their successors. Furthermore, the Sasanian Empire was an Asiatic Empire which was not only Westward looking, towards Rome, but had relations with that of the Kushans (putting an end to it in 224 CE), the Guptas in India, nomadic tribes and kingdoms of Central Asia, and also that of China. In a sense the Sasanian Empire was the middle empire of the world empires of late antiquity. It was both powerful, and due to its position, a conduit for exchange of knowledge, ideas and commodities in the Afro-Eurasian world.



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Fig. 2. Drachm of Ardashīr I. AD 223/4–240,
26mm, 4.32 g, 3h, Mint C (Ctesiphon).

The recent finds, both of archaeological, material culture and literary nature has made the field of Sasanian Studies more enticing. For these reasons and others, it was decided that a *Zeitschrift* should be dedicated to this large and one of the long-lasting empires of the Near East, which will be published for the time being annually. We seriously hope that in this way, we can not only better understand the empire of *Ērānšāhr*, but also that of Rome/Byzantium, Central Asia during time, but also the foundation of Islamic Civilization. One does not necessarily need to look at Mecca for the only beginning, as Ctesiphon, close

to Baghdad was an important center for things to come. Thus, Sasanian history and its civilization illuminates our understanding of the history of humanity, both synchronically and diachronically in time and space.

Our inaugural issue is characterized by a selection of innovative and fresh researches, done by excellent scholars in the field. We are delighted that so many eminent scholars of the Sasanian Empire and Late Antiquity have responded to our invitation, for which we thank them all very much.

Shervin Farridnejad & Touraj Daryaei
Berlin/Irvine, Summer 2021