



HAZĀRBED

HAZĀRBED (Hazāruft), title of a high state official in Sasanian Iran, from OPers. **hazārapati-* “chiliarch” attested in Greek as *azarapateîs* [plur.] in a Hesychian gloss which defines it as *eisaggeleîs* “ushers, announcers” (Hinz, 1975, p. 120). The title occurs in the trilingual inscription of Šāpūr (Šābuhr) I on the Ka’be-ye Zardošt, as well as in the bilingual inscription of Narseh at Paikuli, as Mid. Pers. *hz’lwpt* (ŠKZ, Mid. Pers., lines 29, 31; NPi, Mid. Pers., lines 7, 15), Parthian *hzwpt* (ŠKZ, Parth., lines 23, 25; NPi, Parth., lines 14), and Greek *AZAROPT*, *AZARIPTOU* (ŠKZ, Greek, lines 56, 61). It is attested as a loanword in Bactrian *uazaroxto* (Henning, 1977, p. 637; Humbach, 1966, pp. 73, 74; Mancini, 1988, p. 84) and in Armenian as *hazarapet* and *hazarwuxt* (Hübschmann, 1897, p. 174, n. 328). The epigraphic material suggests the word should be read as *hazāruft* rather than *hazārbed*, paralleled by the doublet *dibīruft/dibīrbed* “chief secretary” (= *ARCHIGRAMMATEŌC*; ŠKZ, Greek, line 65) with the spellings Parthian/Middle Persian *dpyrwpt* and Greek *DIBIROUPT* (ŠKZ, Parth., line 24; Mid. Pers., line 29; Greek, line 57), as well as Parthian *dpyrpty* (ŠKZ, Parth., line 28) and Middle Persian *dpyrpt* (ŠKZ, Mid. Pers., line 34). Probably the forms in *-uft* were the original ones, to which the doublets in *-bed* were forged in analogy to other titles in *-bed* (differently Mancini, 1988, pp. 82-84, who considers the *-w-* in *hz’lwpt* and *dpyrwpt* as only orthographical and their Greek counterparts as mere transcriptions). Alternately, it has been suggested that Armenian *hazarwuxt* and *hazarapet* reflect a Parthian *hazārbed* from **hazā’ra-pāti-* and a Middle Persian *ha-zāruft* from **hazā’ra-pati-* (Szemerényi, 1975, pp. 357-58), but there is no evidence that Armenian *hazarapet* goes back to Parthian times, since its earliest



attestations are in the fifth-century Armenian translation of the Bible (Hübschmann, 1897, p. 174, n. 328; Russell, 1985, p. 116) and the fifth- and sixth-century historiographical writings, such as the *Epic Histories* attributed to P'awstos Buzand (Faustus, tr. Garsoïan, p. 108), the *History of Vardan* by Elišē (Elišē, tr. Thomson, pp. 76, 82, 180), and the *History of Armenia* by Łazar Parp'ec'i (Elišē, tr. Thomson, 1982, pp. 252, 256, 277-78, 294, 302, 314, 324).

Albeit widely assumed, there is however, no evidence that the office of *hazārbēd* existed under the Arsacids (Chaumont, 1973, pp. 142-43). The evidence of the ŠKZ suggests that the office was first established in the Sasanian period under Ardašēr I, when it was held by a certain Pābag, who occupied this position under Šāpūr I, as well (ŠKZ, Parthian, lines 23, 25). The office is mentioned in Ardašēr's and Šāpūr's lists of dignitaries immediately after the names of the members of the royal house and the office of *bidaxš* "vice-roy" (ŠKZ, Parthian, lines 23, 25). In the inscription of Narseh at Paikuli, however, a new official, Šāpūr the *hargbed* "?" is listed at the head of the nobles and grandees (*āzād ud wazurg*) followed by the *bidaxš* and *hazārbēd* (NPI, Mid. Pers., lines 6-8). Depending on the preferred etymology, the *hargbed* has been variously described as "fortress commander" and, more recently, as "tax collector, chief of finances" (Frye, 1984, pp. 223-24, 306; Gignoux, 1993, p. 35; idem, 1972, p. 23; Henning, "Mitteliranisch," p. 41; Lukonin, 1983, pp. 735-38; Szemerényi, 1975, pp. 366-75; Skjærvø, 1983, p. 95, does not express an opinion). According to Petrus Patricius (Müller, *Fragmenta* IV, p. 189, frag. 14), king Narseh kept only two officials at his side when he received the Roman envoy to settle a peace treaty in 298-99: a certain Affarban introduced as praetorian prefect (*hýparkhos ên praitōríōn*) and the *arkhapétēs Barsabōrsos*, who, depending on how the passage is read, either was in charge of Symios (*tèn toû Symíou eíkhen arkhén*; Chaumont, 1962, p. 15; undecided Winter, 1988, 167, n. 3) or had command of written language (*tèn toû sēmeíou arkhén*; Peeters, 1931, p. 27; Enßlin, 1942, p. 51; Felix, 1985, p. 124). Probably the praetorian prefect represents the *hazārbēd* and the *arkhapétēs* the *hargbed*. The name of the *hargbed* Barsabōrsos if read as *Burz-Šābuhr (Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 64; Chaumont, 1962, p. 15) may reflect that of the *hargbed* Šāpūr known from the Paikuli inscription. A recently published Manichean Coptic text mentions a certain Sapōrēs, who was Narseh's hyparch (*Sapōrēs p-hyparkhos*) until the king's death in 302 (Pedersen, 1997, p. 198, l. 25; p. 200, n. 23). Thus, the hyparch Sapōrēs, the *arkhapétēs* Barsabōrsos and the *hargbed* Šāpūr may all have been one and the same person (Skjærvø apud Pedersen, 1997, p. 200, n. 23). The description of the *hargbed* Šāpūr as hyparch in the



Coptic fragment taken together with Ṭabari's definition of the *hargbed*'s office as being above the offices of the *artēštārān-sālār* "master of warriors" and the *spāh-bed* (Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, pp. 110-11) suggests that the office of *hargbed* was also a military one (Chaumont, 1986, pp. 400-401; Winter, 1988, p. 167).

Early on, the *hazārbed* probably was in charge of the king's safety, like his Achaemenid predecessor, and the commander of the guards-regiment (Frye, 1983, pp. 249-50; Wiesehöfer, 1994, p. 251). His duties probably did not include that of the (Parth.) *niwēδbed* "chief introducer" (= Mid. Pers. **āyēnīg*?) as has been suggested on the basis of the Coptic Homilies (Chaumont, 1973, p. 146), for this office was clearly a separate one (Gignoux, 1991, p. 423). The duties of the *hazārbed* were also distinct from those of the *spāhbed* "commander of the army," although it is possible that under Šāpūr I, the *hazārbed* temporarily took over the responsibilities of the *spāhbed*, as this office is not listed in the list of dignitaries under Šāpūr I, where instead we find an *asped* "commander of the cavalry" (ŠKZ, Parthian, line 25; differently Frye, 1956, pp. 315-16). A *spāhbed* is, however, listed again in the inscription of Narseh at Paikuli, once following the *hargbed*, *bidaxš*, and *hazārbed*, and once further on in the list (NPi, Mid. Pers., lines 7, 16), whereas the office of the *asped* is missing (Gignoux, 1990, pp. 2-3).

Later on, judging by the Armenian evidence, the office of the *hazārbed* became equal to that of the *wuzurg framādār* (Arm. *vzurk hramatar*) "grand intendant" (Chaumont, 1973, pp. 147-57; Gignoux, 1991, p. 424). Mihr-Narseh, a high official under king Yazdegerd I (r. 399-421), in his brief inscription at Firuzābād, calls himself *wuzurg framādār* (MNFd, lines 1-2). The same Mihr-Narseh is designated indiscriminately by Elišē as "*wuzurg framādār* of Iran and non-Iran" (Hübschmann, 1897, pp. 182-83, n. 354; Elišē, tr. Thomson, p. 77, nn. 3-4) and "great *hazārbed* of Iranians and non-Iranians" (Hübschmann, 1897, p. 174, n. 328; Elišē, tr. Thomson, p. 82). Moreover, a passage of the Syriac *Synodicon Orientale* mentions that the officials who were sent by king Yazdegerd I to proclaim the king's approval of the decisions of the Council of Seleucia in 410, were the *wuzurg framādār* (*hrmdr' rb*) Husraw-Yazdegerd and Mihr-Šāpūr from the "house of Argbed" (*byt' d-'rgbt'*; Chabot, 1902, p. 21, l. 21 and 22; Chaumont, 1962, 16; Labourt, 1904, p. 97). Mihr-Šāpūr is presumably the *hargbed*, whose charge had become hereditary by the fifth century and was therefore taken as a surname, whereas the *wuzurg framādār* probably reflects the evolution of the office of the *hazārbed* in the later empire, as



suggested by the parallelism between Mihr-Šāpūr (*hargbed*) and Husraw-Yazdgerd (*wuzurg framādār*) and Petrus Patricius's *Burz-Šābuhr (*hargbed*) and Affarban (*hazārbed*; Chaumont, 1973, pp. 147-52; idem, 1962, pp. 16-17; Gignoux, 1991, p. 423).

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