

ARTICLE

Fārsīgraphy in Zoroastrian Middle Persian Manuscripts

Ibrāhīm Šafi‘ī

University of Tehran

Email: i.shafiee@ut.ac.ir

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Abstract

The tradition of writing in Iran has a long history, and its continuous development has, from time to time, led to new scripts. A most notable case is that of Perso-Arabic’s replacement of Pahlavi script when New Persian replaced Middle Persian, resulting in Zoroastrian priests having difficulties reading and understanding their religious texts. The process of changing scripts is well attested by the tradition of Pāzand. Although Pāzand was considered one of the first types of transliteration in Iran, this tradition was also gradually abandoned due to its reliance on Avestan script, which was and continues to be uncommon. Avestan script is now found in Zoroastrian Middle Persian (Pahlavi) manuscripts, just as Pāzand was traditionally used for earlier texts. Pāzand–i.e., transcription of Middle Persian in the Avestan alphabet–was used for some time, but was eventually abandoned for scripts in common use, i.e., Persian in Persia and Gujarati and Devanagari in India. In this paper, the aim is to identify and categorize this tradition’s characteristics in Pahlavi manuscripts, drawing on manuscripts from the fifty-three volumes published by the Asia Institute of the Pahlavi University of Shiraz, as listed in the Appendix.

Keywords: Pahlavi; Pāzand; Fārsīgraphy; Arameograms; Zoroastrianism

Fārsīgraphy (FG)

We more commonly refer to any linguistic impression of modern Persian–named in the manuscripts as Fārsī, sometimes Pārsī, alongside Pahlavi and Pāzand–and its dialects, as well as written impressions of Perso-Arabic script (i.e., *kaṭṭ-e Fārsī* in MSS), under the broad title of Fārsīgraphy (hereafter FG).¹ The word equates to *Fārsī-nevisī* in Persian.²

¹ Domenico Agostini, after Edward West and Émile Benveniste, used “Pārsī” or “Persian-Pāzand” for so-called Pāzand texts transliterated into Fārsī/Pārsī script (for instance, See Codex M52, also known as Cod. Zend 52). He also described *version en moyen perse transcrite en caractères de l’alphabet arabe* as “Pārsī.” See Agotini, “Pehlevi, pāzand et pārsī : trois systèmes d’écriture au service de Zoroastre (IXe-XIXe siècles). Le cas de Jāmāspī,” 178 and 181. Persian-Pāzand is a good term (cf. Avestan-Pāzand) but is distinguished in the same MS from Fārsī/Pārsī (کتاب فلان (به) پازند با معنی/ترجمه فارسی [Book of BN (in) Pāzand accompanied by translation/meaning in Fārsī/Pārsī]), so “Persian-Pāzand” and “Fārsī/Pārsī” cannot be considered equivalent. For us, the term “Persian-Pāzand” is equivalent to “Fārsīgraphized Pāzand.” Daniel J. Sheffield also used “Pārsī” for “texts written in Middle Persian language in Persian script”; See Sheffield, “Primary Sources: New Persian,” 530. Götz König called “Iranian notation of Pahlavi texts in NP characters” as “Pārsīg”; See König, “From Written to Oral? The Encoded Pahlavi in the Frahang ī Pahlawīg,” 188. “Pārsīg” is an equivalent term for Middle Persian or Pahlavi and is not an appropriate term for this phenomenon, as it is also found in other written traditions, all of which date to the later times.

² The topic of this article is part of my PhD dissertation and was first presented at the international online conference “Iranology: Yesterday’s Experience, Current Situation, and Looking to the Future,” hosted by the National Library and Archives of IR Iran on August 23–24, 2021.

The main body of the Pahlavi corpus is primarily religious.³ Priests as well as the laymen who wanted to understand the texts, even if not completely, have consulted this ritual literature. For instance, a text for a larger group such as *Yasna* and theological and jurisprudential texts, such as *Bundahišn* and *Dēnkard*, have been points of reference for a smaller group of people—i.e., religious men—and thus there is need for this group to understand and comprehend its language.⁴

Pahlavi MSS, especially the ritualistic texts, are often accompanied by Avestan phrases. Hence, many readers have been compelled to annotate the text in order to make sense of its combination of languages and scripts, adding new layers to MSS. Consequently, a typical Zoroastrian MS has several layers that reveal valuable information about its annotator, the scribe, and their perception of Zoroastrian Pahlavi texts.

Based on historical events and their presence in Iran and India, Zoroastrians have added Persian and Gujarati (Fig. 1.1 and 1.2).⁵ Interestingly, there is also the odd English annotation, the newest layer on these MSS, which may have been added by European or Parsi scholars.⁶

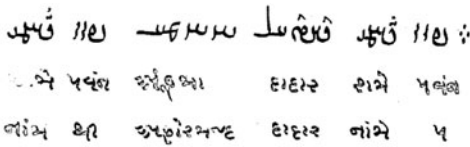


Fig. 1.1 Gujarati and FG in V. 5, R378: 1

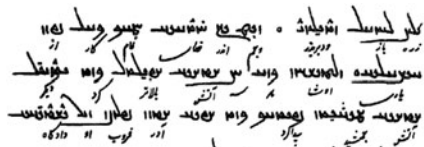


Fig. 1.2 FG in V. 27, T28: 13

In this context, it is not so surprising to see an unknown script that appears as some type of transcription (Fig. 2.1 & Fig. 2.2):

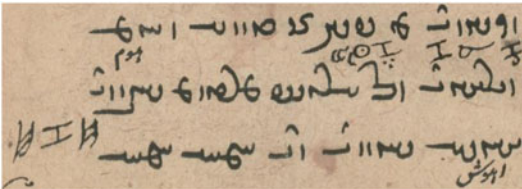


Fig. 2.1 Cod.Zend 51 b, fol. 199

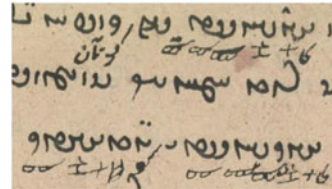


Fig. 2.2 Cod.Zend 51 b, fol. 198

The Persian and Gujarati layers have significant value because they represent the sub-script processes, languages, and synchronic perception of the Zoroastrian texts. These documents shed light on and clarify some points of difference in the reading and perception of Zoroastrian texts between now and the time in which they were written. Thus, FG is crucial to knowing more about the times and places from which we have no documents and no more information exists.

³ Some texts in the available Book Pahlavi are not religious and ritual; for instance, *Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān*, *Wizārišn ī čātrang*, *Ayādgar ī Zarērān*, *Šahrestanihā ī Ērānšahr* and so on.

⁴ See Agotini, “Pehlevi, pāzand et pārsi : trois systèmes d’écriture au service de Zoroastre (IXe-XIXe siècles). Le cas de Jāmāspi,” 186.

⁵ The variety of the Devanagari used in Parsi Sanskrit MSS is called “Parsi-Nāgari” in Goldman, *The Sanskrit Yasna Manuscript S1: Facsimile Edition (Corpus Avesticum, v.1)*, 27.

⁶ Fol. 135 of V. 47, K35 informs the reader that this is a repetition of the text: “a repetition of the preceding on Fol. 139b.”

FG Background

FG in Zoroastrian MSS has certain parallel traditions. Diacritical marks are not used in Inscriptional Pahlavi⁷ but exist as dots in Psalter Pahlavi (Fig. 3),⁸ which likely adopted them from the Syriac tradition of showing distinct vowel sounds. However, the phonetic value of dots is partially different in Psalter Pahlavi from Syriac MSS.⁹

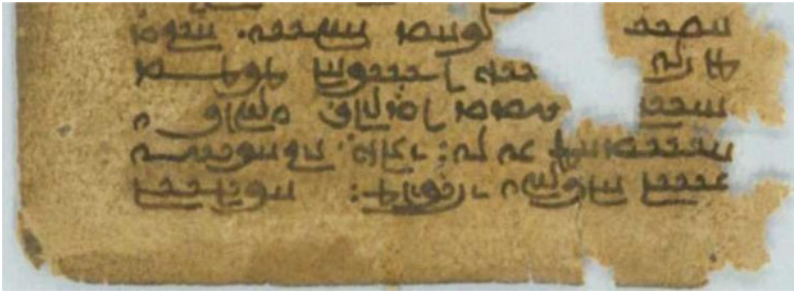


Fig. 3 F. 9r of Psalter Pahlavi¹⁰

Moreover, there are also New Persian documents written in Syriac script, implying an earlier tradition upon which the Pahlavi Psalter script is based. An early New Persian translation accompanying the Syriac version of Psalter from Turfan used Syriac dots (Fig. 4).¹¹ Far from the Turfan, in Mardin, Iraq, another Christian text, the Palm Sunday Hymn (Fig. 5), written in Persian in the Syriac script, has a full set of diacritical marks following the tradition of Syriac orthography.¹² For example, Fig. 4, line 1 (MIC III/112) 𐭠𐭥 /az/ “from” vs. Fig. 5, line 2 (MS 398) 𐭠𐭥 /yak/ “one.”

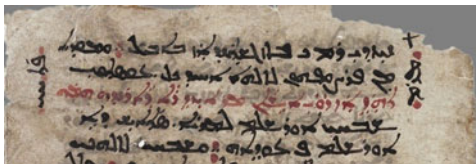


Fig. 4 MIC III/112¹³

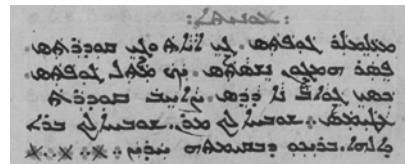


Fig. 5 MS 398, fol. 244 v18–22¹⁴

⁷ In his *al-Fihrist*, Ebn al-Nadīm wrote of the *nāmag-dibīrīh/hām-dibīrīh* script, which had no dots, that Persians' used to write letters, and the *r's-shryh* script, which had dots, used to write the logic and philosophy. See Ebn Al-Nadīm/ed. Flügel 1871, p. 14). [I think *shryh* in *r's-shryh* as well as *r'z-shryh* should be the reading of *SPRYh* > *shryh* (*SPR*' /*dibir*/); cf. *r'z-shryh* with Arabic *kāteb al-serr*].

⁸ Psalter Pahlavi is a form of Pahlavi script employed in the Pahlavi Psalter, a twelve-page, non-contiguous section of a Middle Persian translation of a Syriac version of the Book of Psalms.

⁹ The Manichean script, used to write different languages, is also influenced by the Syriac writing system in its use of diacritics, alongside the Sogdian, which also used diacritics in its cursive and allographic form in Nestorian and Manichaean scripts. Lately, such influences have transferred to Old Uighur script, which used the (Perso-)Arabic diacritics in some cases as well.

¹⁰ https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ps/images/ps09_recto.jpg

¹¹ Sims-Williams, “Early New Persian in Syriac script: Two texts from Turfan,” 359.

¹² Two other MSS from Alqosh, Iraq (MS 94) and Mardin, Turkey (MS 197) from the same text have respectively less and rare dots on their letters. See Maggi and Orsatti, “The Syro-Persian Texts in Manuscript 398 of the Chaldean Cathedral in Mardin,” 416–417.

¹³ <http://idp.bbaw.de/>

¹⁴ After Maggi and Orsatti, “The Syro-Persian Texts in Manuscript 398 of the Chaldean Cathedral in Mardin.”

Garšūnography, the tradition of writing texts—especially Arabic—in Syriac script, and the Persian *Garšūni*¹⁵ MSS as such, parallel the tradition of FG in Pahlavi script. However, the latter is also influenced by New Persian written in Perso-Arabic script and is infrequently seen in Judeo-Persian.¹⁶

FG is also comparable with the tradition seen in early Persian translations of the Qur'an. In this tradition, a word-by-word translation and occasional annotation is added under the Arabic words (Fig. 6).¹⁷ The same method was employed in the MSS translation of the Qur'an and other religious texts into the Tabari language.¹⁸

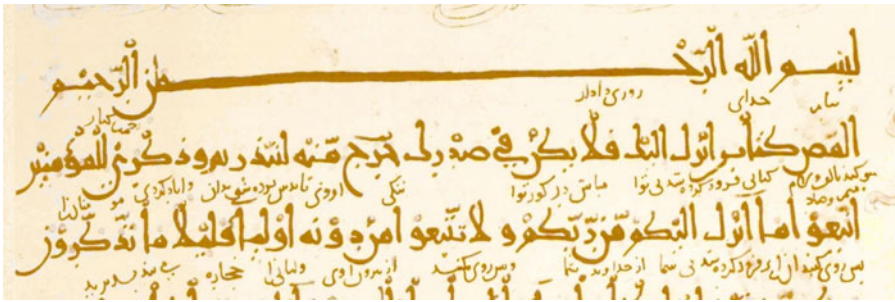


Fig. 6 Qur'an-e Quds (Rawāqī, 1985, p. 82)

FG Process and Development

At least three types of FG can be recognized from MSS, organized based on frequency in the following categories:

First type: Words or phrases are written in Perso-Arabic script in Pahlavi text.

Second type: Diacritics of Perso-Arabic script are added to plain Pahlavi graphs.

Third type: Perso-Arabic letters are used for decoration and filling the blanks.

There were often long periods between the compilation of Zoroastrian texts and the production of MSS in Avestan and Pahlavi, as well as Zoroastrian texts in Perso-Arabic or Gujarati. This process developed in stages and is detectable in MSS. In general, there are three basic stages:

First stage: The language and script is entirely Pahlavi (Middle Persian), sometimes accompanied by the Avestan language and script.

Second stage: FG, corresponding to writing in Pāzand or Gujarati.

Third stage: The language is Middle Persian (occasionally Avestan) and the script is Perso-Arabic (corresponding to the emergence of Āzar Kaywān).¹⁹

¹⁵ This term is used by Shervin Farridnejad to describe the Judeo-Persian allographic tradition, i.e., writing the Persian language in Hebrew script. See Farridnejad, "The Jewish Hāfez: Classical New Persian Literature in the Judeo-Persian Garšūni Literary Tradition," 515 ff.

¹⁶ de Menasce, "La promotion de Vahrām," 8; Mazdāpur, *Barrasi-e dastnevis-e MU* 29, 34.

¹⁷ For some of these MSS, see Šadeqpur-Firuzābād and Khalilzāde-Moqaddam, "Barresi-e vižegihā-ye taz'ini-ye Qur'ānhā-ye motarjam-e xaṭṭi-ye mowjud dar muze-ye Āstān-e qods-e eazavi," 10 ff.

¹⁸ Borjian, *Motun-e Tabari*, 23.

¹⁹ Āzar Kaywān (sixteenth to seventeenth century CE) was a Zoroastrian high priest who founded a school on his worldview, greatly impacting the literature that followed him. He and his successors wrote books in "pure" Persian by coining strange, unfamiliar words, many of which found their way into later Persian dictionaries.

In some cases, there is a guide instructing the scribe how to transliterate from Pahlavi and/or Avestan script to Perso-Arabic. An example is illustrated in Fig. 7.²⁰

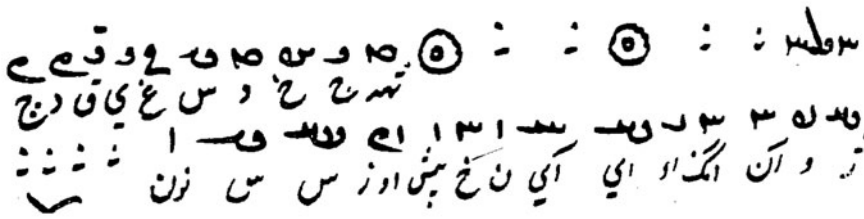


Fig. 7 Perso-Arabic equivalents of Pahlavi-Avestan letters, V. 4, TD23: 223

Aside from development in FG, Pahlavi letters also experienced other processes. As Prods Oktor Skjærvø stated, “d, g, y, and j, which can be disambiguated by adding diacritics respectively as *ḋ*, *ġ*, *ẏ* and *j̇* and added that the caret above <d> is probably not originally a diacritic, but is the top of old form of this letter, which is in the inscriptional Pahlavi is 𐭩 and in Pahlavi Psalter is 𐭩 for instance, *abd* “wondrous” is spelled as <ḡd> or <ḡḋ> and *mizd* “reward” is spelled as <mzd> or <mzḋ>”.²¹ This view is exemplified in FG as well. In MSS with the least frequency of FG (e.g., E7 in V. 12-13), diacritics are only used on letters in words such as <ḡḋ>, <ṀDṀ>, and <mḋnwḋ>, as well as on the verb stems ending in <-ḡḋ>. These examples support the proposition that the caret above <d> was an integral part of the glyph in earlier Pahlavi script, which was separated in the process of development and thus considered a diacritical mark representing <d>. Later, the use of the caret was extended to other letters. For instance, the caret above <t> apparently represents the historical spelling of <t> and its pronunciation as /d/, as in <ḡṫl̇>, which was pronounced /dādār/ in later Middle Persian, not /dātār/.

Features

FG has various modes of occurrences in the Pahlavi corpus, the main features of which are categorized below. It is important to mention, however, that many of the features were not considered standard.²² Thus, in many cases, it is not possible to date them exactly.

1. Transcription

Some Pahlavi words, including also the *Huzwāreš*,²³ have FG written under, above, and beside them.

V. 55, TD2, p. 498		FG <i>āwarišn</i> “bringing” Pah. YHYTYWN’-šn’
V. 55, TD2, p. 510		FG <i>dāriš</i> “maintenance, holding” Pah. YḤSNYN’-šn’ [written as YHYTYWN’-šn’]

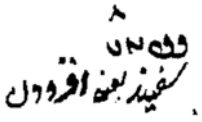
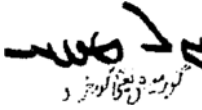
²⁰ From such lists, perhaps we can understand the transcription system for some words in Āzar Kaywān’s book as well. As in many cases, such lists do not match perfectly with what we know about letters and their equivalents.

²¹ Skjærvø, *Pahlavi Primer*, 20.

²² As it pertains to comparing the diacritics in Pahlavi MSS with those of Hebrew (*niqqud*) or Arabic (*iḡām*, *taškīl*, *ḥarakah*). The instances mentioned in Pahlavi MSS are mostly the ownership, the copy, the donation, the memorial, and so on.


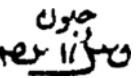
²³ See Durkin-Meisterernst, “Huzwāreš.”

Sometimes Persian translation and transcription is added, especially with *ya‘nī* (means):

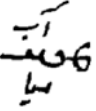

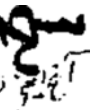
V. 4, TD23, p. 109		FG <i>sefind ya ‘nī afzudan</i> “blessing means to increase” Pah. <i>spynḏ</i>
V. 52, TD4a, p. 157		FG <i>gürmiš ya ‘nī gürxar</i> “onager-ewe means Persian-onager” Pah. <i>gwl-myš</i>

2. Transliteration

Transliteration occurs either with Perso-Arabic diacritics or entirely in Perso-Arabic script, especially for *Huzwāreš* words:

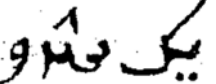
V. 16, J2, p. 108		FG ŠPYL “better, good” Pah. ŠPYL
V. 8, J3, p. 1		FG DḤBWN “to give” Pah. YḤBWN-‘t

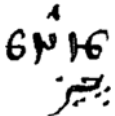
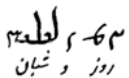
Sometimes transliteration appears alongside translation:

V. 35, MU2, p. 23		FG MY’ + āb “water” Pah. MY’
V. 35, MU2, p. 53		FG ‘nay + ‘ayb “evil, harm” Pah. ‘nagyh
V. 52, TD4a, p. 157		FG ‘y ya ‘nī ke “that” Pah. ‘yy

3. Translation

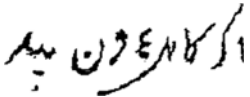
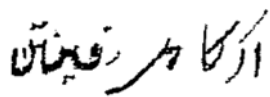
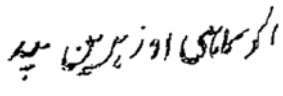
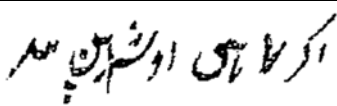
MSS have many word-by-word translations:

V. 16, J2, p. 147		FG <i>yak</i> “one” Pah. ‘ḏwk
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V. 16, J2, p. 57		FG <i>čz</i> “thing” Pah. MNĎOM
V. 35, MU2, p. 77		FG <i>rūz o šabān</i> “day and night” Pah. YWM W LYL’ n

4. Instructions–Gāh

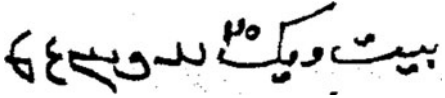
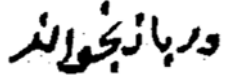
In some ritualistic MSS, the Pahlavi text has FG for its *Gāh* (literary meaning, “time” or period”), which is used in Zoroastrianism to divide the ritual day into five sections: *gāh i hāβan* (dawn), *gāh i rapīθβin* (midday), *gāh i uzīrin* (afternoon), *gāh i aiβisrūθrām* (sunset), and *gāh i ušahin* (midnight).

V. 7, J4, p. 18		FG <i>agar gāh-i Hāvan bid</i> “if it was the dawn time”
V. 7, J4, p. 18		FG <i>agar gāh-i Raftintan (bid)</i> “if it was the midday time”
V. 7, J4, p. 18		FG <i>agar gāh-i Uzīrin bid</i> “if it was tde afternoon time”
V. 7, J4, p. 19		FG <i>agar gāh-i Ušahin bid</i> “if it was tde midnight time”

Further, the dialectal features of such instructions continued in new published books, such as *Xordeh-Avesta*.²⁴

5. Instructions for Reading the Text

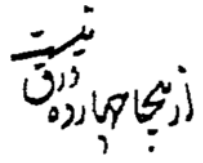
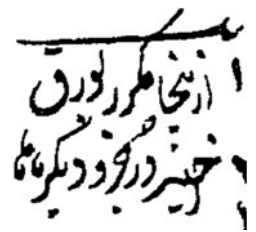
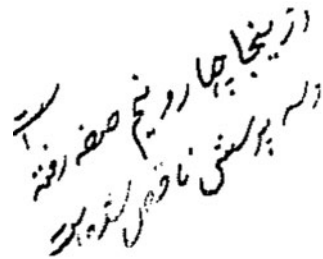
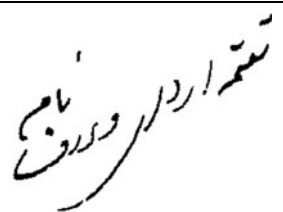
In ritualistic texts—meant to be read aloud in sacramental events—there are instructions for reading recurrent verses such as *ašəm vohū*, *frauarāne* and the *bājs*, including how many times a phrase should be read:

V. 14, RI15, p. 142		FG <i>bist-o-yak + 20</i> “twenty one” Av <i>ašəm</i>
V. 14, RI15, p. 176		FG <i>dō (?) bāz bexānad</i> “may read two bāj!”

²⁴ Such dialectal features also entered new editions of the *Xordeh-Avestā*. For instance, in *Xordeh-Avestā* by Mōbad Rašīd Šahmardān which was revised according the Avestan script and written in Perso-Arabic script by Mōbad Mehrabān Firūzgarī, it is written 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀. See Šahmardān, *Xorde-avestā*, 484.



8. MS's guidance

There are comments by the copyist or reader about different parts of the MS, its repetition, and shortcomings:

V. 8, J3, p. 45		FG <i>az injā čahārdah varaq nist</i> “fourteen pages are missing from here”
V. 8, J3, p. 67		FG <i>az injā mokarrar be-varaq-e axir dar jozav-e digar</i> “from here, in the recent page, (is) repeated in other parts”
V. 8, J3, p. 71		FG <i>az injā čahār-o-nim šafhe rafte ast o se porseš nāqeš šode ast</i> “four and half pages are missing from here; and three questions are incomplete”
V. 3, D7, p. 354		FG <i>tatamme-ye Ardāy-Wirāf-name</i> “rest of Ardā-Wirāf-Nāmag”

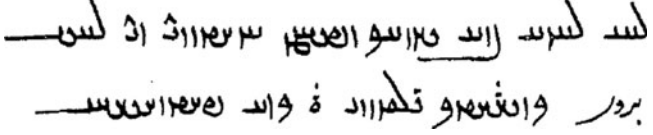
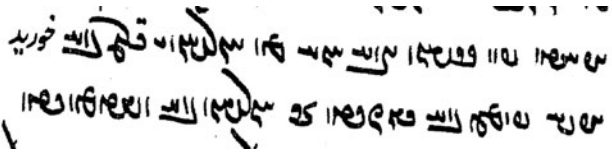
9. Title of the text

There are cases in which the title is added in Persian to aid in recognition of the text:

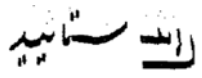
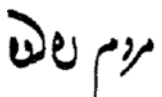
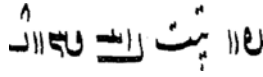

V. 8, J3, p. 3		FG <i>Din-Wirāf</i>
V. 8, J3, p. 90		FG <i>Zand-e Wahman Yašt</i>

10. Intercalated FG

There are also Persian word(s) written above, below, and between Pahlavi words, not as a transcription (Feature 1, above), transliteration (Feature 2), or translation (Feature 3), but as a part of the text, and without which the sentence would be incomplete.

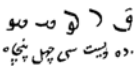

	
V. 26, MU29, p. 103	
... tā rāh/bar way gušadag gardad ... “... so that the path becomes open for him...”	
	
V. 54, TD2, p. 350	
... mard ēw kē xwarišn ī garm bē xwarēd / u-š dahān bē sōzēd ... “a man who eats hot food, his mouth will burn”	

There are more instances of intercalated FG in V. 52, TD4a, from f. 123 to f. 137, as shown below. These occur due either to misspelled or missing words in the original text.

V. 52, TD4a, p. 124		Pah. BL' FG <i>stāyīd</i> (Pahlavi Rivāyat 48:51) “(You) praise.”
V. 52, TD4a, p. 125		FG <i>mardom</i> Pah. <i>plyc</i> (frēz/kirb?) (Pahlavi Rivāyat 48:61) “human-form”
V. 52, TD4a, p. 126		Pah. pɣ' FG <i>petīd</i> Pah. BL' <i>YHWWNđ</i> (Pahlavi Rivāyat 48:68) “May they be in penitence.”
V. 55, TD2, p. 660		Pah. bwltn' FG <i>framāyand</i> (Pahlavi Vidēvdād 3:14f) “May they take.”

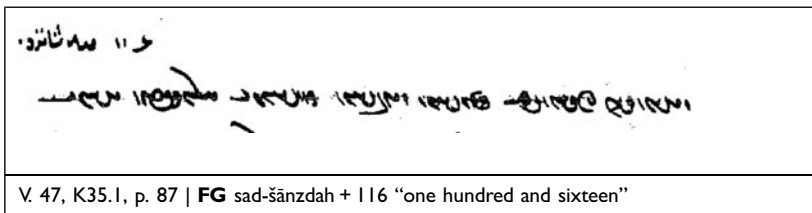
11. FG numbering

Pahlavi letters have numerical values used to represent the numbers. Thus, in their FG, there are two kinds of numbering: alphabetical and numerical.

V. 55, TD2, p. 775		FG <i>dah wist si čehel pañčāh</i> “ten twenty thirty forty fifty” Pah. Ḍ L LK S SK
V. 16, J2, p. 124		FG <i>1000</i> “one thousand” Pah. LΓ

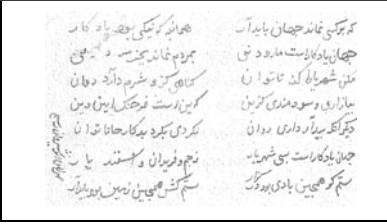
12. Page numbering

To keep the folios in order, it was common to write the first word of next folio at the bottom of the current one. Additionally, there are also occasionally page numbers in Persian at the top of the page.



13. Poetry

In some MSS, Persian verses are added, in the margin, to the Pahlavi text.

که بر کسی نماند جهان بایدار همانبه که نیکی بود یادگار جهان یادگار است ما رودنی بمردم نماند بجز مردنی ²⁷ مکن شهریارا کنه تا توان کنایه کزو شرم دارد زمان بیازاری و سودمندی کزین که ین است فرحنگ ایین دین دیگر آنکه بیدار داری روان نکردی بکرد بدکارا تا توان جهان یادگار است بسی شهریار ز جم و فریدان و اسفندیار ستمگر همجین بادی برو در کنار ستمکش همجین زمین بود بایدار ²⁸ مهربان انوشیروان رستم	
V. 57, K43, p. 5	


14. Decorative letters

Not every Persian addition is meaningful. Indeed, Persian letters at times only serve a decorative purpose, e.g.:

- D29, p. 67, غ ; p. 131, ننب and p. 90, ن used at the end of a paragraph.
- F25, which is very similar in writing to D29, p. 14, غ and p. 42, ن used at the beginning of a paragraph.
- T66, p. 187 as well as other pages, have ح between the lines.

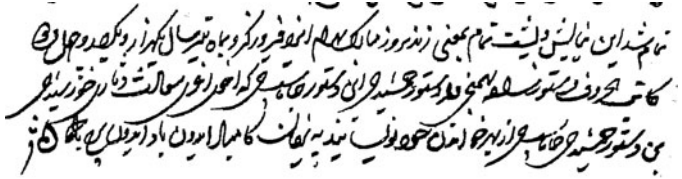
²⁷ The second hemistich of Ferdowsi, به گیتی نماند به جز مردمی (No people will be left in the world), is related here as “Only dying will remain for the people.”

²⁸ The first four verses are from different poems of Ferdowsi and the last two seem to be prosed by the copyist.

V. 36, F23, p. 93		FG ān nanevēštam tam ^{x6} “I wrote, te ^{x6} ”
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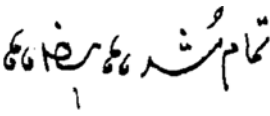
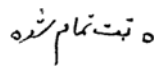

15. Colophons

In Pahlavi MSS, the colophons are written in Pahlavi, Persian, or Gujarati.²⁹ In the following colophon, the completion date of the MS and the names of the copyist and benefactor are given.


<p>تمام شد این نیایش و یشت تمام بمعنی زند بروز مبارک بهرام ایزد فیروزگر و بماه تیر سال یک هزار و یکصد و چهل و دو کاتب الحروف دستورزاده بهمنجی ولد دستور جمشیدجی ابن دستور جاماسپجی که اخوی اغری سعادت دثاری (?) خورشیدجی بن دستور جمشیدجی جاماسپجی از بهر خواندن خود نویسانید په نیکان کامباد ایون باد ایون پرخ باد</p>
<p>V. 4, TD23, p. 261 This Niyāyeš, Yašt, and their meanings were completed in Zand on the blissful day of Bahrām the victorious deity, in the month of Tīr, in the year of one thousand and one hundred and forty-two. The writer of the letters (is) the Dastūr-born Bahmanjī son of Dastūr Jamšīdjī, son of Jāmāspjī , who (is) the great fortunate (?) brother of Daθārī (?). Xuršēdjī son of Dastūr Jamšīdjī Jāmāspjī wrote for his reading. May be in the wish of the virtues. May it be so and so it be blissful.</p>

16. MS’s End

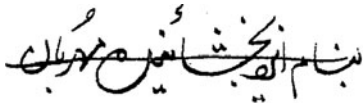
Pahlavi MSS usually conclude with the Pahlavi word *frazaft* (finished). However, there are instances where Perso-Arabic words, such as *tammāt* or *maḏā*, are used as shown below.

V. 8, J3, p. 70		FG <i>tamām šod + maḏā</i> “Done, finished.”
V. 35, MU2, p. 161		FG <i>tammāt + tamām šod</i> “Done, finished.”
V. 26, MU29, p. 97		FG <i>tm`wm + tamām</i> “Finished.” Pah. <i>tm`wm</i>

²⁹ For more instances, see Unvala, Jamshedji Maneckji, (1940) *Collection of colophons of manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some libraries of Europe*, The trustees of the funds and properties of the Parsi Punchayet.

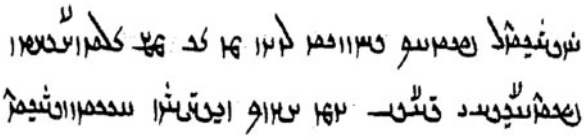
17. Error Correction 1

Corrections are usually made by crossing out. For instance, in J3, f. 71, the FG *ba nām-e* is crossed out because this was not the beginning of the text, which is what this phrase implies; based on the FG in f. 73 on the following pages, “the rest of *Ardā Wirāf Nāmag*” still remained.

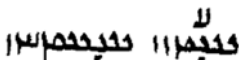
V. 8, J3, p. 71		FG <i>ba-nām-e-izad-e baxšâyanda-ye mehrabân</i> “in the name of the god, the compassionate, the merciful”
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18. Error Correction 2

In MU29, f. 109, the words from previous lines repeat in the next line.³⁰ As a corrective measure, Arabic لا (not) is added above the line, warning that the words are incorrectly written and should be overlooked.

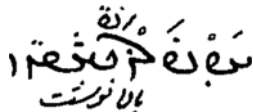
	
V. 26, MU29, p. 109	hūšidar paydāg bawēd, peš az ān, abar Zarduxšt paydāgih ī gāh ēn ēwēnag nešān wēnihēd... “hūšidar is apparent, before it, and based on (○)Zarduxšt, the appearance of the time this manner, the sign will be seen.”

In V. 26, MU29, f. 112, by placing the Arabic لا over the miswritten word, the correct word, *Sajastān*, is written.³¹

V. 26, MU29, p. 112		FG <i>sg̃en' (لا) sg̃st' n' “Sajstan (no), Sajastān”</i>
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19. Error Correction 3

This measure employs diacritics to correct words. In F23, f. 45, for the original orthography <?çplnšt'>, nearly all the letters receive the diacritics *fatha* and *sukūn* to become <?ç̣pl̄n̄p̄št'>, with Persian translation underneath.³²

V. 36, F23, p. 45		FG <i>ç̣pl̄n̄p̄št' + bālā-newešt</i> “he wrote above.” Pah. 'çplnšt'
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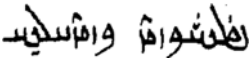
³⁰ Mazdāpur, *Barrasi-e dastnevis-e MU 29*, 343 Fn. 1.

³¹ Mazdāpur, *Barrasi-e dastnevis-e MU 29*, 346 Fn. 4.

³² For use of diacritics in a book for learning the language, see: Hansen, *Mittelpersisches Lesebuch*.


20. Historical Spellings

Diacritics in Pahlavi MSS can also represent historical spellings, when the author was aware of synchronic pronunciation. An instance is adding a caret-like symbol on the Pahlavi letter, as in improving <d^ht^h> to <d^ht^h> (and adding the Persian دادار underneath) to convey the contemporary pronunciation /dādār/.

V. 26, MU29, p. 117		FG d ^h t ^h + dādār “creator” Pah. d ^h t ^h
V. 26, MU29, p. 107		FG plškrē krē'lyh “the making of the Renovation” Pah. plškrē krē'lyh

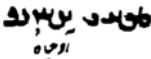

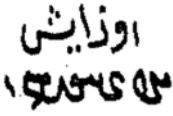
21. Historical Information

Toponymic variation is an example of historical elucidation in Pahlavi MSS, such as Turkestān with FG equivalents: ترکستان <Turkestān> and نورستان <Nūrestān> or ترکستان <Tūrestān>.


V. 37, MU49, p. 163		FG T/Nūrestān + Turkestān Pah. twlkt' n'
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22. Reflecting the dialect

The scribe's dialect is reflected in MSS, sometimes comparable to contemporary Zoroastrian idioms of Yazd and Kermān.

V. 4, TD23, p. 23		FG āw-(e) hayāt “water of life” Pah. MY' Y gy' nyk
V. 16, J2, p. 171		FG awā “with” Pah. LWTE
V. 47, K35.1, p. 239		FG awzāyeš “increasing” Pah. 'pž'yšn'

In the following instance, the phonetic shift makes the word *rāspīg*, the title for an assistant priest performing the Yasna, similar to the Persian *rōspī* (prostitute).

V. 15, RI15, p. 939		FG rōspī for rāspīg “assistant priest”
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Conclusion

Fārsīgraphy (FG) is a tradition of annotating Zoroastrian manuscripts (mostly Pahlavi) in New Persian orthography and was used to interpret both their language and context to also comment on the text. Nearly all surviving Zoroastrian manuscripts were transmitted by copyists who lived during the New Persian period, when the Perso-Arabic script was widespread. Even manuscripts found in India, including those studied here, were profoundly influenced by the Persian language and script, notwithstanding the presence of the Gujarati tradition of annotation. However, it appears the New Persian tradition dates back earlier, overlapping with the Middle Persian and/or Pāzand tradition. Consequently, the study of FG helps us see the multiple layers of redaction in surviving Zoroastrian texts.

This study identified twenty-two features of FG in Pahlavi manuscripts. While some such features are pervasive, found in a number of manuscripts, others are limited to only a few occurrences (Table 1). None of the features follow a standard application and, in most cases, the date of the FG is obscure. Further, it is not always possible to determine how many copyists and/or annotators worked on the same manuscript, or whether the copyist transmitted some features from a previous copy. As such, this paper should be considered a preliminary step in the study of FG in Zoroastrian Pahlavi manuscripts.

Appendix: The Manuscripts

The Pahlavi codices published by the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University of Shiraz consists of fifty-three facsimile volumes of Pahlavi MSS from India.³³ In an inductive survey, FG is used in these MSS for the following purposes:

Table 1. The Manuscripts

Series' volume number	MS	Content	FG features	Copyist ³⁴	Date ³⁵ and Place
1	T58	<i>Nērangistān</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Annot., Colophon	Dastūr Rustamjī Dastūr Kayqobād Meherjī Rānā	1871
2	R410	<i>Pursišnīhā</i>	Few Diacritics, Sub-words, Pad-nām-ī, Title, Annot., Colophon	Hērbed Jamšīd Pešōtan Hormazdyār Sanjānā	1856, Bulsara
3	D7	<i>Dādestān ī Dēnīg</i>	Few Diacritics, Pad-nām-ī, Title, MS's guidance, Colophon	Hērbed Eračjī Dastūr Sohrābjī Dastūr Kāvusjī Meherjī Rānā	1867
4	TD23	Pah. <i>Xordeh-Avestā, Mēnōy ī Xrad</i>	Few Diacritics, Sub-words, Annot., Pad-nām-ī, Colophon Gujarati	Hērbed Bahman Dastūr Jamšīdjī Dastūr Jāmāspjī Āsājī	1773

(Continued)

³³ *The Pahlavi codices and Iranian researches* was published in fifty-seven volumes by the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University of Shiraz, 1976 ff. Of the fifty-seven volumes, Volumes 39–40 and 50–51 are dedicated to articles on Iranian studies.

³⁴ It is important to note that the copyist may not necessarily be the person who added the FG. The date may apply to only one text in multi-text MSS.

³⁵ The dates are given in the Gregorian calendar. Yazdgerdi dates can be calculated by subtracting 631 years from the given Christian date.

Table I. (Continued.)

Series' volume number	MS	Content	FG features	Copyist ³⁴	Date ³⁵ and Place
5	R378	Pah. <i>Višperad</i> (Gujarati transl.)	Diacritics Gujarati	unknown	undated
6	J1	Pah. <i>Xordeh-Avestā</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Annot., Pad-nām-ī, MS's guidance, Colophons	Jāmāsp-Āsā	undated
7	J4	<i>Nērangs</i> and <i>Bājs</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Title, MS's guidance, Colophon Gujarati	Hērbed Jamšid Ēdal Bahman Jamšid Jāmāsp	1822, Mumbai
8	J3	<i>Šayist Nē-Šayist, Ardā Wirāf Nāmag, Mādayān ī yōšt ī Friyān, (Pāzand) Zand ī Wahman Yašt</i>	Diacritics, rarely Sub-words, Title, Pad-nām-ī, MS's guidance Pāzand	unknown	undated
9	D10a	<i>Dēnkard</i> 4 to 7	Few Diacritics, FG numbering	Dastūr Eračji Sohrābjī Meherji Rānā	1868, Mumbai
10	D10a	<i>Dēnkard</i> 7 to 9	Few Diacritics, Colophon	Dastūr Eračji Sohrābjī Meherji Rānā	1868, Mumbai
11	TD28	selected <i>Gāhān</i> (Av., Pah.), <i>Hādōxt Nask Yašt</i>	Few Diacritics	Hērbed Pešōtan Rām (?)	14th cent.?
12	E7	<i>Yasna</i> , Pah. <i>Nērang</i> I	Without FG	unknown	undated
13	E7	<i>Yasna</i> , Pah. <i>Nērang</i> II	Without FG	unknown	undated
14	R115	<i>Āfrīns, Nērangs, Patets</i> , etc. I	Reading instructions, FG numbering Gujarati + Pāzand	Hērbed Mānekji Šāpurji Frēdōnji Mānekji Hōmji Tatinā	1840
15	R115	<i>Āfrīns, Nērangs, Patets</i> , etc. II	Reading instructions, FG numbering Gujarati + Pāzand	Hērbed Mānekji Šāpurji Frēdōnji Mānekji Hōmji Tatinā	1840
16	J2	<i>Yaziš, Niyāyišn, Āfrīn</i>	Diacritics, rarely Sub-words, Pad-nām-ī Gujarati + Pāzand	Mōbed Šāpur Jamšidji Katrak and Mōbed Sohrābjī Mānekji Katrak	1836
17	R413	<i>Yasna</i> (Av., Pah.) I	Diacritics, Sub-words	Burjōr Pāhlan Pešōtan Ratanji Sōhrāb Pešōtan Limji Meherji	1835
18	R413	<i>Yasna</i> (Av., Pah.) II	Diacritics, Sub-words rarely Gujarati	Burjōr Pāhlan Pešōtan Ratanji Sōhrāb Pešōtan Limji Meherji	1835

(Continued)

Table I. (Continued.)

Series' volume number	MS	Content	FG features	Copyist ³⁴	Date ³⁵ and Place
19	D90	Pah. <i>Yasna</i> I	Diacritics, Sub-words, Annot.,	unknown	undated
20	D90	Pah. <i>Yasna</i> II	Diacritics, Sub-words, Annot.	unknown	undated
21	T66	<i>Dēnkard</i> 3	Diacritics, rarely Sub-words, Decorative letters	Dastūr Rustamjī Dastūr Nōšīrvānjī Dastūr Sohrābjī	1742
22	J5	<i>Dēnkard</i> 5 to 9	Diacritics, Sub-words, Title, MS's guidance, Colophon	Hērbed Jamšīdjī Sohrābjī Kukdār	1865
23	R411	<i>Nērang, Bāj, Yašt</i>	Diacritics	unknown	undated
24	MU27	<i>Andarz-Nāmags, Pah. Xordeh-Avestā</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Annot., Pad-nām-ī, Title, Reading instructions	Mōbed Šāpur Dārāb Šāpur Xuršēd Šāpur Vača	1827
25	T65a	<i>Dēnkard</i> 4 and 5	Diacritics, Sub-words, Title, MS's guidance, Colophon	Mōbed Jamšīd Pēšōtan Hormazdyār Sanjānā	1855
26	MU29	<i>Dāstān-e Garšāsb, Tahmures, Jamšīd Gel-Šāh, etc.</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Pad-nām-ī, Annot., Title, Colophon	unknown	1842
27	T28	<i>Bundahišn, Xweškārīh ī Redagān, Šāyist Nē-Šāyist, Čīm ī Drōn</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Pad-nām-ī, Annot., Colophon	Hērbed Sohrāb Dastūr Farāmarz Dastūr Sohrāb Dastūr Rustam Meherjī Rānā	1846
28	T3	<i>Nērangs, prayers, Āfrin</i>	No FG Gujarati + Pāzand	unknown	undated
29	D29	<i>Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān, 4 Andarz-Nāmags</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Colophon, Decorative letters	Eračjī Dastūr Sohrābjī Meherjī Rānā	1878
30	R110	<i>Bāj-o-Barsam</i>	Pad-nām-ī, Colophon, Reading instructions Gujarati + Pāzand	Mōbed Rustam Bahrām Dārāb Sohrāb Mānek	1757
31	F25	<i>Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān, ašəm vohū, ...</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Pad-nām-ī, Title, Annot., MS's guidance, Colophon, Decorative letters	Eračjī Dastūr Sohrābjī Dastūr Kāvusjī Meherjī Rānā	1878

(Continued)

Table I. (Continued.)

Series' volume number	MS	Content	FG features	Copyist ³⁴	Date ³⁵ and Place
32	F11	<i>Vendidād, Yasna, Visperad</i>	Diacritics, Title, Colophon, Page numbering Gujarati + Pāzand	Dastūr Eračjī Dastūr Sohrābjī Dastūr Kāvusjī Meherjī Rānā	1876
33	D3	<i>Āfrīn ī Zardušt, Čīm ī Drōn, Aogəmadaēčā (Av., Pah.), Pah. texts</i>	Diacritics	unknown	undated
34	F35	<i>Šāyist Nē-Šāyist, Čīm ī Drōn, Āfrīn ī Zardušt (Av.)</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Title, Annot., MS's guidance, Colophon	Hērbed Eračjī Dastūr Sohrābjī Meherjī Rānā	1865
35	MU2	Pah. texts	Diacritics, Sub-words, Title, Pad-nām-ī, MS's guidance	Hērbed Jamšīd Pēšōtanjī	undated
36	F23	<i>Nērangs</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, MS's guidance, Colophon, Decorative letters Gujarati	Erač Dastūr Sohrābjī son of Dastūr Kāvusjī Meherjī Rānā	1876
37	MU49	<i>Bundahišn, Šāyist Nē-Šāyist</i>	Diacritics, Title, Pad-nām-ī, MS's guidance, Colophon Gujarati	unknown	undated
38	MU35	Little <i>Sīrōzag (Av., Pah.), Visperad</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Pad-nām-ī	Hērbed Jāmāsp son of Hērbed Āsā	undated
41	K35	<i>Nāmagihā ī Manuščīhr, Wizidagihā ī Zadspram</i>	Few Diacritics, rarely Sub-words, Page numbering, Poetry	Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrām Rustam Bundār Šāhmardān Dēnyār	1572
42	K43	<i>Srōš Yašt, Dēnkard 3, 5, 9</i>	Few Diacritics, MS's guidance, Copyist's guidance, Page numbering	Mehrabān son of Anōšīrwān	1567, Torkābād
43	K50	Pah. <i>Yasna</i>	Diacritics, rarely Sub-words	Mehrabān Kayxōsrō	1323, Mumbai
44	K50	Pah. <i>Yasna</i>	Few Diacritics, rarely Sub-words, Reading instructions	Mehrabān Kayxōsrō	1323, Mumbai
45	K3a, K3b, K1	<i>Vendidād (Av., Pah.)</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words	unknown	undated
46	K3a, K3b, K1	<i>Vendidād (Av., Pah.)</i>	Few Diacritics	unknown	undated

(Continued)

Table I. (Continued.)

Series' volume number	MS	Content	FG features	Copyist ³⁴	Date ³⁵ and Place
47	K35	Pah. <i>Rivāyat, Dādestān ī Dēnīg</i>	Diacritics, Page numbering, rarely Sub-words	Marzbān Frēdōn Wāhrām Rustam Bundār Šāhmardān Dēnyār	1572
48	K20, K20b	<i>Ardā Wirāf Nāmag, Bundahišn, ...</i>	Diacritics, Page numbering, Sub-words, colophon	unknown	undated
49	K7, K25	<i>Visperad, Frahang ī Pahlawīg, ...</i>	Diacritics, Page numbering, Sub-words	Hērbed Rustam Mehrābān Marzbān *Jahišnīyār	1268, Anklesar
52	TD4a	Pah. <i>Rivāyat, Dādestān ī Dēnīg, Nāmagihā ī Manuščīhr, Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram</i>	Few Diacritics, Sub-words, MS's guidance, Pad-nām-ī Gujarati + English	Gōpatšāh Rustam Bundār	1592, Kermān
53	K26	<i>Ardā Wirāf Nāmag, Mādayān ī yōšt ī Friyān</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Titles, FG of missing part	unknown	undated
54	TD2	<i>Bundahišn, Rivāyat ī Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān, etc.</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Poetry	Frēdōn Marzbān Wāhrām Rustam Bundār Šāhmardān	1607
55	TD2	Iranian <i>Bundahišn, Rivāyat ī Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān II</i>	Diacritics, Sub-words, Letteral Page numbering Pāzand	Frēdōn Marzbān Wāhrām Rustam Bundār Šāhmardān	1607
56	K5	Pah. <i>Yasna</i>	Few Diacritics	unknown	undated
57	K43	<i>Bundahišn, Mēnōy ī Xrad, Dēnkard, Wahman Yašt</i>	Diacritics, Poetry, Page numbering, rarely Sub-words	unknown	undated

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