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SITĪKAR NĀMAK I MANUŠČIHR GŌŠNĀMĀN A CRITICAL STUDY

Introductory Remarks:

At the outset I thank His Excellency Shojaeddin Shafa, Director of Acta Iranica and Professor J. Duchesne-Guillemin, the Editor of Acta Iranica, for inviting me to contribute a paper for the proposed Memorial Volume in honour of the late lamented Professor H.S. Nyberg. In this paper for a Monumentum H.S. Nyberg, I have selected Epistle III of Manuščīhr Gōšnāmān. I have based my transcription on the text 'Nāmakīhā i Manuščīhr' (ed. B.N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1912, pp. 91-99), as well as the variants given in the footnotes. The text edited by Erwad Dhabhar lacks marks of punctuations which I have shown in my transcription. I have not followed the numbering of paragraphs as given by Dhabhar, but I have divided the text of this Epistle into paragraphs and sentences according to the best of my judgment and have added marks of punctuations. Dr. West translated these Epistles of Manuščīhr into English, for the first time, in S.B.E. volume XVIII, Oxford 1882. Erwad Dhabhar translated these Epistles into Gujarati with Notes, wherever he deemed necessary, in 1921. Mr. B.T. Anklesaria in the Introduction of his book 'Vicitakīhā i Zātsparam' with text (pp. xxv-xxvi) transcribed and translated sections 1-2 and 5-8 of this Epistle (according to Dhabhar's edition).

Manuščīhr wrote three Epistles on the subject-matter of the Barəšnum: (i) to the people of Sīrkān in the South of Iran (ii) to his brother, Zātsparam, the high-priest of Sīrkān, and (iii) to all the Zoroastrians of Pārs and Kirmān. From the Epistles it follows that Zātsparam wanted to do away with the law of the Barəšnum purification as described in Vidēvdāt IX, 1-36, and to utilise in its stead a simple fifteen-fold ablution for all manner of contamination as mentioned in Vidēvdāt VIII, 99-103. He wrote this third Epistle in the form of a public decree addressed to all the faithful of Iran, whom he exhorted to dispense with the obnoxious ordinance of Zātsparam, and to place implicit faith in the law of the religion concerning the Barəšnum. In their religious influence, these Epistles are more impressive than any other Pahlavi work.

The age in which Manuščihr flourished is made obvious from the last para of his third Epistle, which I transcribe and translate thus:

Ut-am ēn nāmak ākās-bavišnih ī katāmakān-ič hu-dēnān ī Ērānšahr framān ī dēn sahišnih grift passand ī man Manuščihr Gōšnjam rād pat x'ēš nipēk nipišt, čand paččēnihā hawašt māh X'ardat ī pērōčkar ī sāl 250 Yazdkart andar yazdān apastāmih ut spāsdārīh.

'And I wrote this Epistle in my own hand-writing, and sealed several copies for the information of any faithful whatsoever of Ērānšahr, for the sake of receiving the approval of the opinion of me, Manuščihr, son of Gōšnjam, concerning the mandate of the religion in the victorious month X'ardat of the year 250 Yazdkart in confidence and thankfulness to God'.

From this it follows that the third Epistle was written in the year 250 A.Y. (881 A.C.). We get a date at the end of the first Epistle also which is given in the last para of chap. XI (p. 52 of Dhabhar's text). I transcribe and translate the para as under:

Manuščihr ī Gōšnjam nipišt rōč māh Spandarmat andar ahrādīh ōrvāzišnih ut dēn stāyišnih ut yazdān apastāmih ut spāsdārīh ī andar dātār ī Ōhrmazd ut Amahraspandān ut hamāk yazdān mēnōkān ut yazdān gētēy-ān; niyāyišn ō +hamak māh kē-š ham rōč pat frāč nām.

'Manuščihr, son of Gōšnjam, wrote this (Epistle) on the day and month Spandarmat in the delight of righteousness and the praise of the religion, in confidence of and thankfulness to the creator Ōhrmazd and the Holy Immortals and to all the spiritual Yazats and the material Yazats; homage unto the same month of which the name is the same as that of the day'.

From this passage it will be seen that the year is not mentioned so that we cannot say with certainty what the date of the Epistle was. Dr. West maintains that the first Epistle must have been written on the day and month named of the preceding year, i.e. 249 A.Y. The second Epistle does not give any date, but there is a reference in it to what Zātspram wrote in the 8th month of Ābān (249 A.Y.?). The age of these Epistles is an important authority for ascertaining the dates of some other Pahlavi texts such as Bundahišn and Dēnkart.

Signs :

- () indicate words inserted by the writer to round off the grammatical structure of the English translation or to make clear the sense.
- + indicate that the word is corrupt.
- * indicate the theoretical form.
- < > indicate insertion in the original text as required by the context.
- [] indicate the portion to be deleted from the text as the scribes have written the sentence out repeatedly through oversight.

Transcription

<Pat> nām ī yazdān.

Paččen ī višatak ī Ēhrpat xʼatād Manuščihr Göšn¹ jamān girān vināsih ī nē² šāyist³ ī šōdišn ī pat 15 bār⁴.

<Pat> nām ī yazdān.

1. Man Manuščihr Göšnjamān, Pārs ut Kirmān rat, bē ō āšnavišn mat ku pat hast kustak ī Ēranšahr ōišān kē +nasāk⁵ ut any rēmanih ōgōn čegōn andar dēn⁶ pixak-šōdišnīh vičērēnūt ēstēt 15 bār pat gōmēž ut ēvak bār pat āp hamē šōdēnd, xʼēštan pat pāk hamē dārēnd, ut ō āp ātaxš ut pātiyāpīh barsōm patmānak ī pātiyāpīh hamē šavēnd, ētōn hamē gōbēnd ku: Zātspram Göšnjamān ēn advēnak šōdišn framūt dastōbarān, dāt apēr škift ut girān ō ē⁷ ī man sahišn ut grift ut passand ut āwāzak sahist ut-am niyāčakik⁸ dāštan ākāsīhā hu-dēnān ī kūstakīhā ī Ēranšahr ōstikānītārih⁹ ī-š apar šōdišn ī pat barəšnum rād xʼēš sahišn pat-ič nipištak ī hangartīk rōšnēnitan.

2. Ut-am pēš-ič apar frēčbānīkih ut a-vičērišnīkih¹⁰ ī barəšnum

¹ So MR; Mss. W and BK Göšnič-gWŠNČ.

² So MR.

³ Text šāstan corrected to šā<y>ist. Alternatively, the word nē may be combined with the following šāstan so as to form one word nišāstan 'to establish, set, found'.

⁴ So MR.

⁵ Corrected; text (ed Dhabhar) vaxš.

⁶ So MR; Mss. W and BK AAN = hān as given in the text.

⁷ Corrected; text ANMN, Ir. az 'I'.

⁸ So MR; text niyāžak.

⁹ Corrected; MR ōstikānītārih; text ōstikēnītārih.

¹⁰ So MR; text omits.

čand paččen ōgōn nipištak awištčegōn ō ākāsān¹¹ rōšn. Nōkīhā-ič nipišom ku: man, hač dēn vičēr, dastōbarān čāštakīhā, pōryōtkēšān kartak ākāsīh, sahišn ōgōn ku šōdišn ī hač rēmanān hač mēh rēmanīh ī pat +nasāk¹² ut .any gētāhīk +patvēšakīh¹³ bavēnd¹⁴, ān hast ī¹⁵ pat x'arrah ī amarakān āšnākīhā¹⁶ ut barəšnum pat pixak-ič x'ānīhēt, ka nīrang ī advēnīhā pātan tan hač +patvēšak¹⁷ hixr ī gētāhīk pāk kunēnd ētōn andar 9 mag ut kēš pat yaštak-ič¹⁸ gōmēž ut āp ut apārīk abzār ut nīrang ī čegōn andar dēn čāštak padtāk, ut nun-ič yōšdārgarān ī čegōn hačadar nipišīhēt pat kartak dārēnd šōdišn, ut ka ētōn¹⁹ šōdēnd čegōn pat gobišn ī 3²⁰ čāštak ī pat Mētyōkmāhīk ut Aparagīk ut Sōšansīk āšnāk²¹, aivāp <pat> gobišn ī ēvak-ič²² hač ān 3 čāštak, aivāp pat gobišn ī ēvak hač dastōbarān ī ān 3 čāštak, pat šā <yi> stīh padtāk, aivāp pat kartak ī pōryōtkēšān ī ham ān 3 čāštakīhā andar-am mat estēt.

3. Hamākīhā passandišnik²³ ut bōžišnik²⁴ sahom ān advēnak šōdišn pat barəšnum dātīhā; ān advēnak šōstār pat yōšdasrgar ī passandišnik hangārom²⁵ ut har advēnak rēmanān ī čegōn nipišt kē pat čekāmič frēčbānik čarak yōšdasrgar ī čegōn nipišt, kē nūn-ič šahr šahr gyāk gyāk gumārt passandīt ēstēnd ayābtan²⁶ pat barəšnum čegōn nipišt šōstan tōBān; aḍak-šān šōdišnih ī 15 bār pat hēč advenak nē bōžišn, ut-šān tēžihā pat barəšnum ī čegōn nipišt šōstan frēčbānik.

4. Hač ham advēnak šōdišn ī pat barəšnum ī čegōn-am²⁷ nipišt āp ut ātaxš ut apārīk <pātiyāpih> pahrēčišni<h> nē kartan

¹¹ So MR; text ākāsīšn.

¹² Corrected; MR vaxš; text HYA, Ir. gyān 'life'.

¹³ Corrected; text PTŠ DKYA = patiš pāk.

¹⁴ So MR; text YHBNND = dahēnd.

¹⁵ So MR; text ī.

¹⁶ So MR; text āšnāk.

¹⁷ Corrected; text PTYAK; West reads padyāko 'attack'. See n. 13 above.

¹⁸ So MR; text yaštan-ič.

¹⁹ So MR; text hast 'is' exists'.

²⁰ So MR; text hu-čāštak following Mss. W and BK.

²¹ So MR; text ašavak, ašōk.

²² So MR; text ēvak.

²³ So MR; text passandišnik-ē.

²⁴ So MR; text bōžišn.

²⁵ So MR; text dārom.

²⁶ So MR; text ayābt.

²⁷ Corrected; text MNyhēt; MR adds pat nipišt. manihēt is nothing but the corrupt form of the phrase am-nipišt or it may be read mēnīhēt 'is intended, meant' from inf. mēnītan.

a-dastobarīhā²⁸ ut girān vināsīhā; ka šōdišn ī pat any šōdišn ī yut hač barəšnum rād x^vēštan pat pāk dārēnd, girān vināsīhā-tar <hast>; čegōn kā pat barəšnum ī čegōn nipišt nē šōdēnd <bē> pat 15 bār ī čegōn nipišt aivāp katāmič-ē šōdišn ī yut hač barəšnum²⁹ ī čegōn nipišt šōdēnd, hač ān rēmanīh ī pat pixak-šōdišn ī vicērēnīt ēstēt pāk nē bavēnd. Ka bē hač bēm³⁰ appārīh mas dātistānīh bē ō āp, ātaxš šavēnd vinās ī girān <hast>, ut ka ō patmānak³¹ ī barsom ut pātiyāpīh šavēnd, a-pātiyāp <bavēnd>, ut ākāsīhā yazišn ī patiš kartan nē dastobarīhā. Ut hamē³² advēnak rēmanān³³ kē pat hēc frēcbanīk čarak pat barəšnum ī čegōn nipišt šōstan³⁴ nē tōbān apar ān ku čegōn čarak ī patiš ayābēm pat barəšnum ī čegōn nipišt šōdom mēnišn³⁵ ōstīkān dāštan, maṭan ō čār [pat barəšnum ī čegōn nipišt šōdom]³⁶ frēcBānik. Hangartik barəšnum ī čegōn nipišt dāt³⁷ hast-ič a-vicērīšnik hač būn³⁸ ī frahist kirpak ut yōšdasrgārīh³⁹ ī tan rōbān aβiš patvast.

5. ōyšan pōryōtkēšān ut pēšēnikān⁴⁰ vinārt nimāyēnīt⁴¹, kē-šan gās apar ēmā pasēnikān ī nunēn⁴² ax^viḥā ut āmūčkārīhā ut x^vatādiḥā-ič, ut ēmā andar ōyšan pāḍak hašakartīhā ut ratviškārīhā⁴³ ut nigōxšitārīhā ut bandakīhā. Apar ham ut apārīk-ič dātistān kartan dāštan ī ōyšan pōryōtkēšān kart, ut čāsišn ī ēvak-ič hač ōyšan dastobarān mas apartar hač ān ī ēmā gobišn ut vičēr.

6. Ut har hast rīstak andar Ērānšahr apar bē abgant ī barəšnum ī

²⁸ So MR.

²⁹ After barəšnum the text repeats the following lines written through the oversight of the scribes in the Mss.: rād x^vēštan pat pāk dārēnd girān vināsīhātār čegōn ka pat barəšnum ē čegōn nipišt nē šōdēnd pat 15 bār čegōn nipišt aivāp katāmič-ē šōdišn ī yut hač barəšnum. The lines are deleted as an obvious mistaken repetition.

³⁰ Corrected; text ham; MR adds hač bē hač—MNBRAMN, which may be emended to hač bēm.

³¹ So MR; text patmān.

³² So MR; text ham.

³³ So MR; text rēman hom.

³⁴ So MR; text šōdišn.

³⁵ Corrected; text manišn.

³⁶ Inserted in [] as they are repeated through mistake.

³⁷ So MR; text dātan 'to give'.

³⁸ So MR; text bnd = band, bōd.

³⁹ So MR; text yōšdāsrīh.

⁴⁰ So MR; text pasēnikān.

⁴¹ So MR; text māyēnīt without prefixing the letter n.

⁴² Corrected; text KNN YNND.

⁴³ Corrected; text RTNN gāsīh.

čēgōn-am nipišt apar-ič hamāk rēmanān ī čēgōn nipišt, kē pat čēkāmīč-ē frēčbānik čarak pat barəšnum ī čēyōn-am nipišt šōstan tōbān, <bē> pat barəšnum ī čēgōn-am nipišt nē šōdēt ut pat 15 bār čēgōn-am nipišt šōstan framut, pat pāk vicērēnīt, ut pat dāt nihāt ut pat kartak⁴⁴ rādēnīt. Hakar Zātspram aivāp any kas pat nām ī dastobarīh kartan framut, guft aivāp vicērēnīt, pat dāt nihāt, rōbāk kart, ut-aš patiš dastobarīhā dāt, sahišn ut vicēr ut kart ī man ēn ku ham gobišn⁴⁵ an-advēnak⁴⁵, ham framān a-dātīhā, ham vicēr ī drōg čāšišnih, ut ham dāt apārōn ut ham rōbākgarīh girān vināsihā, ut ham dastobarīh nē patgrišn kār, ut-aš nē kunišn; kē-š kart ut-aš tēž patēt bavišn; ut ān kē andar Ērānšahr pat nām ī dastobarīh hamāk čarakōmand rēmanān ī čēyōn nipišt rādān⁴⁶ advēnak šōdišn vicērēnīt, ān advēnak ī dāt nihāt, pat ahrmōg margarzān hangārišn.

7. Ētōn ka-š andar kāmākōmandīh bē hač bēm⁴⁷ ut appārakīh ān advēnak vicērēnīt ān advēnakīh, dāt nihāt čēgōn nipišt, rēman bavēt⁴⁸ 15 bār pat gōmēž, ēvak bār⁴⁹ pat āp aivāp any katāmākān-ič advēnak ī yut hač barəšnum ī čēgōn nipišt šōst, ut-aš pat čikām-ič frēčbānik čarak pat barəšnum ī čēgōn nipišt šōstan tōbān, adak-aš kart patētīh andar 9 may pat barəšnum ī čēgōn-am nipišt apāč šōdišn, tā apāč šōst ī čēgōn-am nipišt, ō āp ut ātaxš ut patmānak⁵⁰ ī pātiyāpīh nē šavišn.

8. Ut-am ēn nāmak ākās bavišnih ī katāmākān-ič hu-dēnān ī Ērānšahr framān ī dēn sahišn grift passand ī man Manuščihr Gōšnjamān rād pat x'ēš nīpēk nipišt, ut čand paccēnihā āwišt māh X'ardat ī pērōčkar ī sāl 250 ī Yazdkart andar yazdān apastāmīh ut spāsdārīh.

9. Nimāč ō rat būland kē dātār Ōhrmazd aštak aštaktom⁵¹ yašt-fravahr Spītamān Zartuxšt⁵²!

Hac x'ādišnān vindišnān čiš-ē ahrādīh mas veh. Pašōm hast Zartuxšt. Ēvak hast rās ī pašōm ahrādīh, kē rās ī Pōryōtkēšān; visp ān ī any ī apāč-vaštak a-rāsīh.

⁴⁴ So MR; text kartan.

⁴⁵ Corrected; text gobišnān advēnak instead of gobišn an-advēnak.

⁴⁶ So MR; text omits.

⁴⁷ So MR; text bām instead of bēm. See n. 30 above.

⁴⁸ So MR; text YHBWNt = dāt.

⁴⁹ So MR.

⁵⁰ Better patmānak; text patmān 'measure, proportion'.

⁵¹ Corrected; text ašōktom 'holiest, most pure' following Mss. W and BK; MR prefixes letter n to aštaktom. Perhaps this letter represents the Persian letter alef.

⁵² Cf. Epistle II, chap. 9, para 14 (ed. Dhabhar, p. 90).

Translation:

In the name of God.

An open epistle of the Lord of the Priests, Manuščihr, son of Gōšņjam, as regards heinous sinfulness and impropriety¹ of the ablution that is by 'fifteen times'.

In the name of God.

1. It has come to the hearing of me, Manuščihr, son of Gōšņjam, the spiritual leader of Pārs and Kirmān, that there are in the directions of Ērānšahr those who are purifying fifteen times with bull's urine and once with water, the contamination (*nasāk*)² and other pollution just as is decreed in the religion regarding the Barəšnum ceremony (*pixak-šōdišnīh*)³ are holding themselves as clean and are going to

¹ *nē-šāvist*: impropriety. Alternatively it can be read *nišāst*, establishing, instituting, founding. The sentence is translated thus: as regards heinous sinfulness for establishing the ablution that is by "fifteen times".

² Text gives *vaṣš*. Ervad Dhabhar connects the word with the following word *han*, any, and reads *vaṣšišn*, meaning 'increase'. Alternatively he suggests that better reading should be "*khayā va ahu*". See NM. p. 91 f.n. 10. According to my opinion, the word written in Pahlavi like *vaṣš* is nothing but the corrupted form of* +*nasāk* due to the mistake of the scribes. The Pahl. word *nasāk*, Av. *nasu*—Pāz. *nasā*, Gr. *nekros*, means 'dead matter, dead body', "corpse, carrion" (Mackenzie, Pahl. Dict. p. 58). The second word should be read 'han, any', Av. *anya*—Old Pers. *aniya*—meaning 'other'. Hence the correct phrase will be '*nasāk ut han-any rīmanīh*', i.e., 'contamination and other pollution'. Similarly in para 2 of the text the word '*khayā*' (ideogram of Ir. *gyān*, *jān*) and its variant *vaṣš* should be read '*nasāk*', cf. Epistle II. ch. I, sec. 13. 3, p. 57 (Dhabhar's edition) where we find the word '*vaṣšakīhā*'. Here Ervad Dhabhar compares it with Persian '*wakhsh*', lameness, lit. a disease in the feet of asses which makes them lame (Steingass) or *wakhshī*, 'a garment of fine texture'. See Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary, p. 1459. Mr. B.T. Anklesaria (Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam with Text and Introduction, part I, Bombay 1964, p. xii) reads the word in question as "*vakhšayihā*" and leaves it untranslated and adds that it refers "to a writing (?) of his named '*Vakhšayihā*' which was appreciated by the Musalmans of his time and by the distant dwellers of Raē". Both these scholars have not understood this word. I read the word '*nasākīhā*'. The text runs as under: *Sahom ku šmāk apar ēn hēr andar x'ēš ōgōn vēš hēd cēgōn Zartōšt i *Ātur Farnbag ka-š *nasākīhā vīnārt*, i.e., I feel that you are as much bent upon this substance within yourself as Zartōšt, son of Ātur Farnbag, when he organised (the laws re.) the dead-matter. See my paper in the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute Bulletin Vol. XVIII—Taraporewalla Volume pp. 374-80, Poona, 1957 and my paper in the Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge, England, 1954.

³ *pixak šōdišnīh*, means 'ablution through the bath with the stick of nine knots; here an instrument requisite in the Barašnum Ceremony is used for the ceremony

water, fire, ceremonial objects (*pātiyāβih*), Barsom twigs and the implements of ceremonial objects, are saying thus: 'Zātspram, son of Gōšnjam, ordered the priests this mode of ablution'. (That) ordinance appeared to my opinion, comprehension, approval and voice very rigorous and severe and (hence) it is necessary for me to keep the faithful of the borders of Ērānšahr aware of the steadfastness over the ablution by means of the Barəšnum and to make clear my own opinion in this brief epistle as well.

2. And I have already written and sealed⁵ several copies as regards the obligatoriness and indispensability⁴ of the Barəšnum in such a way as is conspicuous to the intelligent. With a fresh start I write: My opinion from the knowledge of the mandate of the religion, of the teachings of the high-priests and of the usages of the foremost leaders of faith is this that the ablution of those contaminated owing to great contamination which they incur by means of deadmatter² and other earthly infection⁶ is that which is known as the glory

itself. For further details, see Tavadia, *Šāyist Nē Šāyist*, Introduction para 13, p. 9, Hamburg, 1930. See Epistle I, ch. VI. 3 and Epistle II, ch. IX.1. See M. Boyce, *Manichaen Hymn-Cycles in Parthian*, Glossary, p. 194 s.v. *pw(χ)g*.

⁴ *avičērišnikih*, abst. n. from *a-vičērišnik*, indispensability; the word *a-vičērišnik* means "not to be passed over, not to be dispensed with, not exempt from, indispensable". For further details on the word see Prof. Gikyo Ito's paper "Pahlavi *avičērišnik*" in D.J. Irani Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1943, pp. 106-14. Mackenzie (*Concise Pahl. Dictionary* p. 14) reads *a-wizirišniḡ* [*wcylšnyk*] and translates "unavoidable, inevitable".

⁵ *hawašt*, *hawaštak*: sealed, executed from inf. *havaštan*, to finish, to seal, to execute. See Junker, *FrP.* p. 99. Prof. Henning remarks that this inf. should not be read 'hambāštan'. "The verb is written ideographically always, but occurs in its Iranian garb in the Epistles of Manušcihr p. 24⁴, *ušan nibišt ud 'wwšt*, read 'wbšt. Important is the Pāzend form *hawašt* in ŠGV XI.39 which sufficiently indicates 'wšt (instead of *hnbšt*) as the proper reading... The final proof for reading 'wbštn (with *wb* = *β*) is provided by Man. M. Pers. 'wyšt in an unpublished fragment (M 785, 28) *prwrdg 'yg 'wyšt 'wd pryst'd 'w dw' zdh p'y gws' [n]*" (Henning, *The Sogdian Texts of Paris*, BSOAS Vol. XI, part IV, 1946, pp. 725-26). Ideogram is HTYMWNTN. Prof. Bailey reads *hanbaštak and translates "sealed". Prof. Jean de Menasce remarks: "The technical phrase in Pahlavi for a document put down according to legal form is *nipišt ut avišt* 'written and sealed'. The second word is written in most cases ideographically HTYWMN but sometimes also phonetically. For the legal usage of the two words see e.g. MHD ch. 41 title. Vide "Some Pahlavi Words in *Išōbōxt's Corpus Juris*" in Dr. Unwalla Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1964, pp. 6-11.

⁶ I have corrected these two words *PTŠDKYĀ* into 'patvēšakih', rottenness, putrefaction, pollution, cf. Av. *paiti-vaēšah*. The word is generally associated with *rēmanih* or *ālūtakih*. Text gives *patiš pāk* (Ir. of Ideog. DKYĀ). Note that in the Pahlavi Alphabets of the Rivayets *ik* is read by 'k' or 'g' by our ancestors. Sometimes

of the populace and is called the Barəšnum with (the stick of nine) knots (*pixak-ič*), when they in order to protect the bodies from contaminated dead-matter of the earth thus purify in accordance with the usage of the ritual within the nine holes and circles by means of the consecrated bull's urine, water and other means, and *nīrang*⁷, as is manifest in the teaching of the religion and as the purifying priests hold the ablution in usage even now as is written below, and when they purify in such wise as is manifest for adequateness according to the statement of the three teachings which (are) known as those of Mētyōkmāh, of Aparay and of Sōšāns, or according to the statement of one of these three teachings, or according to the statement of one of the high-priests of these three teachings, or just as it has been handed down to me in accordance with the usage of the foremost leaders of faith of these same three teachings.

3. I rightly regard that mode of ablution by means of the Barəšnum entirely worthy of approval and leading to salvation. I consider worthy of approval that sort of purifier as an *yōšdāsrgr* and all types of polluted persons, just as written, who can secure one of the purifying priests, as I have written, by any compulsory means whatsoever, who are even now appointed and approved in various cities and in various places to give ablution by means of the Barəšnum, as I have written; hence the ablution of fifteen times' shall not absolve them in any way, and it is incumbent on them to purify immediately by means of the Barəšnum, just as I have written.

4. On account of this mode of ablution by means of the Barəšnum, as I have written⁸, not to abstain from water, fire and other

the word is written ptwšk, Dd. 16.13, ptwyšk ŠNŠ 2.7. Cf. ŠNŠ 9.7: kas kē anḡar kastik bē mīrēt bīm ī patvišak rād ō āp pātōxšāy abkandan; i.e., when anyone who dies on board the ship, it is authorised to cast (the dead body) into the water for fear of contagion. See Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books* p. 202 f.n. 4, and see my paper on *Dātistān ī Dēnik Pursišn XVI* in the *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1969, p. 79. Mark the spelling in the same para *ptyakw* instead of Ms. MR reading *PTWŠK*, *patvišak*. See Barth. *AirWb.* 1329—*vačšah*—“place of corruption”.

⁷ *nīrang*, rite, incantation, ritualistic instructions, a short formula used as a charm or spell. See Bailey's *Iranian Studies III* in *BSOS Vol. VII* part 2, 1934, pp. 276-79 and *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books*, p. 89. Also cf. Mackenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, p. 58.

⁸ *Čēgōn MNYhēt*: Ervad Dhabhar reads the phrase “*čegon minihet*” and translates “as is intended”. I take the second word to be the corrupted form of *-am nipišt*, meaning, I wrote, I have written. Hence I have correctly given the reading ‘*Čēgōn -am nipišt*’. This reading and meaning suit the context better. cf. the reading of Ms.

consecrated objects is illegal and enormously sinful; it is more immensely sinful when they on account of the ablution which is by means of other ablutions except the Barəšnum, hold themselves pure; since when they do not purify by means of the Barəšnum, as written, but they purify by means of the fifteen-fold ablution, as written, or any ablution whatsoever other than the Barəšnum⁹, they will not become pure from that contamination which is enjoined to be purified by means of the Barəšnum. It is a grievous sin when they go to water and fire without fear of the infringement of the great regulation, and when they go the implements of the *Barsom* and ceremonial objects, they become impure for ceremonials, and it is not lawful knowingly to perform the *Yazišn* ceremony therewith. And it is incumbent on all kinds of contaminated persons who cannot be purified by the Barəšnum, as written, by any compulsory means, to remain steadfast to the thought in order to attain to a remedy thus: 'How shall we obtain the means whereby we may purify by means of the Barəšnum, as written'. In short, the law of the Barəšnum, as written, is indispensable owing to the source of the greatest meritorious work and the purification of the body and soul is connected thereon.

5. Demonstrate what those foremost leaders of the faith and the ancients have organised, whose position over us, the moderns of the present day¹⁰, is that of seniors, teachers and the chiefs, and we

MR pat nipišt in this connection. In the Epistles of Manuščihr the phrase Čēgōn-am nipišt occurs very frequently:

⁹ In the *Nāmakihā ī Manuščihr* edited by Dhabhar para 12, p. 95, sentence beginning with *rāḍ*, last word on line 5 to the first word *barašnum* on 1.9 seems to be a repetition through the oversight of the scribe and as such I have deleted the portion in my text in transcription and translation.

¹⁰ *KNNYNNY*: So the text. I read *nunēn ī* and translate 'of the present day', modern; *nun*, Av. *nū*, now, at this time, + *ēn* superl. suffix; hence *nunēn*. cf. *passēn*. Ervad Dhabhar reads "*kunu gand*" and refers to Epistle I, ch. 4, note no. 39 and compares it with NPers. "*navgand*", newly sprung up. Correct Pers. reading is *nogand*, *noganda*, vide Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary* p. 1435. Alternatively, he suggests reading "*kand*" and translates "fools of the present day". In Epistle I, ch. 4 para 10 text gives *NNKYNYKAN nōkēnikān* and the other MSS give the reading *KNN YN YKān*, *nunēnikān*. Here Dhabhar reads "*navgandagan*" and compares it with NPers. '*navgand*', newly sprung up and adds that if the variant reading given in the footnote is accepted, then it may be read "*kunū gundagān*" and may be compared with NPers. "*kund*", learned, wise". He translates the variant reading by "the wise of the present time". See my paper on 'Epistle I, ch. IV of Manuščihr *Gōšnamān*—A Critical Study' in the *Journal of Indian Linguistics*, vol. 27, pp. 46-57.

hold under them the position of disciples, juniors¹¹, listeners (or, followers) and servitors. As regards this and even other regulations (we are) to practise and preserve what these ancient leaders of faith have done, and the doctrine of even one of these high-priests is far superior to our statements and decrees.

6. And there may be every (such) mode in Ērānšahr concerning the discarding of the Barəšnum, as I have written, for all the contaminated, as written, who can be purified by any compulsory means whatsoever by means of the Barəšnum, as written, but do not purify by means of the Barəšnum, as I have written, and ordered to purify by means of the fifteen-fold ablution, as I have written, deemed as pure, laid down as a law and promulgated it in usage. If Zātspram or another person ordered it to practise, announced or decreed in the name of the high-priestship, laid it down as a law, propagated it and gave it authority thereon, my opinion, verdict and action are these that this statement is irreligious¹², this order is illegal, this decree is a false teaching and this law is improper and this promulgation is grievously sinful, and the act of this high-priestship should not be approved and acted upon, and whoever has practised it, he shall immediately repent for it; and he who in Ērānšahr decreed that mode of purification, in the name of high-priestship, for all the contaminated possessed of means, as written, and laid down a law of that kind, shall be regarded as a renegade deserving death.

7. Thus, when he, with intent, without (any) trepidation of the transgression¹³ of that custom, decreed that mode, established it

¹¹ *RTNN gāsih*—var. *RTNN gā-ihā*—as given in the text. Ervad Dhabhar reads “ratu gāsih” and translates “like the position of the gurus”. I think it is the corrupt form of *‘ratwiškarīhā’, opposite of ‘aχ’ihā’ and it may be compared with the word ‘rāθwīkīhā’—Av. rāθwīkara. It may be translated ‘by way of rāθwi-ship’. Rāθwi is an assistant priest at the Yazisn ceremony as well as the other ceremonies. Hence I have translated freely by ‘juniors’.

¹² Text gives *gōbišnān advēnak*. Here I take ān of *gōbišnān* to be the negative particle and it should be prefixed to the following word *advēnak*. Hence the correct reading according to my opinion will be ‘*gōbišn an-advēnak*, meaning, ‘irreligious statement’. Thus my reading and meaning are justified from the following words ‘ham framān a-dātihā’ meaning ‘this order is illegal’.

¹³ *bē hač bēm appārih*—without trepidation of the transgression, without fear of removal or deprivation. Here I have followed the reading of Ms. MR *bēm* and rejected the reading *bām* as given in the text on the basis of Mss. W and BK. In para 4 above (para 13 of Dhabhar’s edition) the same phrase is wrongly written “*bē ham appārih*” which I have corrected into ‘*bē hač bēm appārih*’ meaning ‘without fear

as a law, as written, and purified (him who) is contaminated, fifteen times with bull's urine and once with water, or even by any other method whatsoever, apart from the Barəšnum, as written, (although) he can purify (him) by any necessary means whatsoever with the Barəšnum, as written, then as an act of repentance, he shall purify once again in the nine holes by means of the barəšnum, as I have written, and he shall not go to the water, fire and ceremonial implements until he is again purified, as I have written.

8. I have written this epistle in my own hand-writing and sealed several copies for the information of any faithful whatsoever of Ērānšahr for the sake of receiving the approval of the opinion of me, Manuščihr, son of Gōšnjam, concerning the mandate of the Religion in the victorious month X^vardat of the year 250 Yazdkart in confidence of and thankfulness to God¹⁴.

9. Homage unto the exalted Lord who is Spitamān Zartuxšt, of revered *fravahr*, the greatest messenger of the creator Ōhrmazd! Of aspirations and acquisitions, a thing of righteousness is very good. Most excellent is Zartuxšt. There is only one path of best righteousness, which is the path of the ancient leaders of the Faith; all other (paths) are detracted and false paths.

of the infringement'. The word ham is wrongly written for bēm, av. vaēma- fear, fright, terror. The word 'appārīh' can be read in various ways.

¹⁴ Dhabhar begins para 22 of the text with the words 'andar yazdān apastāmih ut sipāsdārīh, but this entire phrase should be attached to the preceeding para as I have done. Cf. Epistle I, ch. 11, last para 12 on p. 52 of Dhabhar's text in this connection.