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SITIKAR NAMAK I MANUŚČIHR GŌŚNJAMĂN
A CRITICAL STUDY

Introductory Remarks:

At the outset I thank His Excellency Shojaeddin Shafa, Director of Acta Iranica and Professor J. Duchesne-Guillemín, 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 Manuščihr Gōśnjamän. I have based my transcription on the text ‘Nāmakihā i Manuščihr’ (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 Manuščihr 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 ‘Vicitakihā i Zātsparam’ with text (pp. xxv-xxvi) transcribed and translated sections 1-2 and 5-8 of this Epistle (according to Dhabhar’s edition).

Manuščihr wrote three Epistles on the subject-matter of the Barōśnum: (i) to the people of Sīrkān in the South of Iran (ii) to his brother, Zātspram, the high-priest of Sīrkān, and (iii) to all the Zoroastrians of Pārs and Kirmān. From the Epistles it follows that Zātspram wanted to do away with the law of the Barōśnum purification as described in Vidēvdāt IX, 1-36, and to utilise in its stead a simple fifteen-fold ablation 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 Zātspram, and to place implicit faith in the law of the religion concerning the Barōśnum. 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-amēn nāmak ākās-bavišnih ī katāmakān-īc ḥu-dēnān ī Ėrānšahr framān ī dēn sahišnih grīft passand ī man Manuščihr Gōšnjam rād pat xēš nipēk nipīšt, čand pačēnīhā hawaşt māh Xʿardat ī pērōčkar ī sāl 250 Yazdkart andar yazdān apastāmih īt spāsārīh.

‘And I wrote this Epistle in my own hand-writing, and sealed several copies for the information of any faithful whatsoever of Ėrānšahr, 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 Xʿardat 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 ahrāōh ḍorvāzišnih īt dēn stāyišnih īt yazdān apastāmih īt spāsārīh ī andar dātār ī Ŭhrmazd īt Amahraspandān īt hamāk yazdān mēnōkān īt yazdān gētēy-ān; nīyāyišnō+hāmak māh kē-s īt ham rōč īt 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 Ūhrmazd 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 ēday’.

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 i yazdān.
Paččen i višātak i Ehrpat x'atād Manuščihr Gōsnī jamān girān vināsīh i nē 2 šāyīst 3 i šōdišn i pat 15 bār 4.

<Pat> nām i yazdān.

1. Man Manuščihr Gōsnjamān, Pārs ut Kirmān rat, bē ā āšnavišn mat ku pat hast kustak i Ėranšahr ōišān kē 5 nasāk 5 ut any rēmanīh ġōğn ćegōn andar dañ 6 pixak-šōdišnīh vičērenīt ēstēt 15 bār pat gōmēţ ut ʻevāk bār pat āp hamē šōdēnd, x'ēstān pat pāk hamē dārēnd, ut ō āp ātaxš ut pātīyāpīh barsōm patmānāk i pātīyāpīh hamē šavēnd, ētōn hamē gōbēnd ku: Žātspram Gōsnjamān ēn advēnak šōdišn framūt dastōbarān, dāt apēr šīkft ut girān ā ā ō 7 i man sahišn ut grīft ut passand ut āwāzak sahīst ut-am niyāčākīk 8 dāstān ākāshā hu-dēnān ī kūstakihā ī Ėranšahr ʿostikāānītārih ī-š apar šōdišn i pat barōšnum rād x'ēs sahišn pat-ič nipištak i hangartišk rōšnēnītān.

2. Ut-am pēš-ič apar frēčbānīkīh ut a-vičērišnīkīh 10 i barōšnum

1 So MR; Mss. W and BK Gōsnī-gWŠNC.
2 So MR.
3 Text šāstān corrected to šā <y> īst. Alternatively, the word nē may be combined with the following šāstān so as to form one word nišāstān ‘to establish, set, found’.
4 So MR.
5 Corrected; text (ed Dhabhar) vaqš.
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 ʿostikānītārih; text ʿostikānītārih.
10 So MR; text omits.
čand pačćen ogon nipištak awistčegön ḍ ākāsān¹¹ rōšn. Nōkhiā-ič nipišom ku: man, hač dēn vičēr, dastōbarān čāstakihā, pōryōtkēśān kartak ākāsih, sāhišn ogon ku sōdišn ī hač rēmanān hač mēḥ rēmanih ī pat *nasāk¹² ut any gētāhik *patvēšakih¹³ bavēnd¹⁴, ān hast ī¹⁵ pat x'arrah ī amarakān āśnākihā¹⁶ ut barošnum pat pixak-ič xānihtē, ka nirang ī advēnihā pātān tan hač *patvēšak¹⁷ hixr ī gētāhik pāk kunēnd ētōn andar 9 mag ut kēs pat yaštak-ič¹⁸ gōmēz ut āp ut apārik abzār ut nirang ī čegōn āndar dēn čāstak padtàk, ut nun-ič yōśdāsrgarān ī čegōn hačaḍar nipiśhēt pat kartak dārēnd sōdišn, ut ka ētōn¹⁹ sōdēnd čegōn pat gobišn ī 3²⁰ čāstak ī pat Mētyōkmāhīk ut Aparagīk ut Sōsāṅiān āśnāk²¹, aivāp <pat> gobišn ī ēvak-ič²² hač ān 3 čāstak, aivāp pat gobišn ī ēvak hač dastōbarān ī ān 3 čāstak, pat ū <y> stīh padtàk, aivāp pat kartak ī pōryōtkēśān ī ham ān 3 čāstakihā āndar-am mat estēt.

3. Hamākhiā passandišnik²³ ut bōzišnik²⁴ saham ān advēnak sōdišn pat barošnum dātiḥā; ān advēnak šostār pat yōśdāsr ī passandišnik hangārom²⁵ ut har advēnak rēmanān ī čegōn nipiš kē pat čēkāmīč frēčbānik ċārāk yōśdāsrgar ī čegōn nipiš, kē nūn-ič šahr šahr gyāk gyāk gumārt passandit ēstēnd āyābtan²⁶ pat barošnum čegōn nipiš šōstān tōbbān; aōak-šān sōdišnih ī 15 bār pat hēc advēnak nē bōzišn, ut-sān tēzīhā ī pat barošnum ī čegōn nipiš šōstan frēčbānik.

4. Hač ham advēnak sōdišn ī pat barošnum ī čegōn-am²⁷ nipiš āp ut ātāxš ut apārik <ptāyāpih> pahrēčišni <h> nē kartan

¹¹ So MR; text ākāsišn.
¹² Corrected; MR vaxš; text HYA, Ir. gyān ‘life’.
¹³ Corrected; text PŢŠ DKYA = patiś pāk.
¹⁴ So MR; text YHBNND = dahēnd...
¹⁵ So MR; text ī.
¹⁶ SO MR; text āśnāk.
¹⁷ Corrected; text PTYAK; West reads padyāko ‘attack’. See n. 13 above.
¹⁸ So MR; text yaštān-ič.
¹⁹ So MR; text hast ‘is’ exists’.
²⁰ So MR; text hu-čāstak following Mss. W and BK.
²¹ So MR; text aśavak, aśōk.
²² So MR; text ēvak.
²³ So MR; text passandišnik-ē.
²⁴ So MR; text bōzišn.
²⁵ So MR; text dārom.
²⁶ So MR; text āyābt.
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 mēnihēt ‘is intended, meant’ from inf. mēnītān.
a-dastobarīhā 28 ut girān vināsīhā; ka śōdišn ī pat any śōdišn ī yut hač baraşnum rād x'ēstan pat pāk dārēnd, girān vināsīhā-tar <hast> ; čegōn kā pat baraşnum ī čegōn nipišt nē śōdēnd <bē> pat 15 bār ī čegōn nipišt aivāp katāmić-ē śōdišn ī yut hač baraşnum 29 ī čegōn nipišt śōdēnd, hač ān rēmanī ī pat pixak-śōdišn ī vicērēnīt ēstēt pāk nē bavēnd. Ka bē hač bēm 30 appārih mas dātistānih bē ē āp, ātāxī šavēnd vinās ī girān <hast>, ut ka ō patmānak 31 ī barsom ut pātiyāpīh šavēnd, a-pātiyāp <bavēnd>, ut ākāśīhā yazišn ī patīs kartan nē dastobarīhā. Ut hamē 32 advēnak rēmanān 33 kē pat hēc frēcbānīk čārak pat baraşnum ī čegōn nipišt śōstan 34 nē tōbān apar ān ku čegōn čārak ī patīs ayābēm pat baraşnum ī čegōn nipišt śōdom mēnišn 35 östikān dāstan, mātan ō ćār [pat baraşnum ī čegōn nipišt śōdom] 36 frēcbānīk. Hangartik baraşnum ī čegōn nipišt dāt 37 hast-īc a-vicērīšnīk hač būn 38 ī frahīst kirpak ut yōśdasrgārih 39 ī tan rōbān aštī patvast.

5. ēyšān pōryōtkēšān ī pēšēnīkān 40 vinārt nimāyēnīt 41, kē-šān gās apar ēmā pasēnīk ī nunēn 42 ax'īhā ī āmūckārihā ī x'ataōīhā-ič, ut ēmā andar ēyšān pāōak hašakartīhā ī ratviškārihā 43 ut nigōxšītārīhā ī bandahīhā. Apar ham ut apārīk-ič dātistān kartan dāstan ī ēyšān pōryōtkēšān kart, ut čāsīšn ī ēvak-ič hač ēyšān dastobarān mas apar ān ī ēmā gobišn ī vičēr.

6. Ut har hast ristak andar Ėrānshāh apar bē abgant ī baraşnum ī

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28 So MR.
29 After baraşnum the text repeats the following lines written through the oversight of the scribes in the Mss.: rād x'ēstan pat pāk dārēnd girān vināsīhātar čegōn kā pat baraşnum ī čegōn nipišt nē śōdēnd pat 15 bār ī čegōn nipišt aivāp katāmić-ē śōdišn ī yut hač baraşnum. 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 śōdišn.
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 yōśdāsīhī.
40 So MR; text pasēnīkān.
41 So MR; text nimāyēnīt without prefixing the letter n.
42 Corrected; text KNN YNND.
43 Corrected; text RTNN gāšt.
čégōn-am nipišt apar-iğ hamāk rēmanān i čégōn nipišt, kē pat čēkāmindī frēğānīk čārak pat barāšnum i čēyōn-am nipišt šostan töbān, <bē> pat barāšnum i čēgōn-am nipišt nē sōdēt ut pat 15 bār čēgōn-am nipišt šostan framut, pat pāk vičērēnīt, ut pat dāt nihāt ut pat kartak 44 rādēnīt. Hakar ūatspram aivāp any kas pat nām i dastobarih kartan framut, guft aivāp vičērēnīt, pat dāt nihāt, rōbāk kart, ut-aṣ patiš dastobarihā dāt, sāhišn ut vičēr ut kart i man ēn ku ham gobišn 45 an-advēnak 45, ham framān a-dātihā, ham vičēr i drōg čāsišnīh, ut ham dāt apārōn ut ham rōbākgarīh girān vināsihā, ut ham dastobarih nē patgrish kār, ut-aṣ nē kunišn; kē-š kart ut-aṣ tēzh patēt bavišn; ut ēn kē andar Ėranšahr pat nām i dastobarih hamāk čārakōmand rēmanān i čēyōn nipišt rādān 46 advēnak sōdišn vičērēnīt, ān advēnak i dāt nihāt, pat ahrmōg margarzān hangārīshn.

7. Ėtōn ka-š andar kāmakōmandīh bē hač bēm 47 ut appārakhīh ān advēnak vičērēnīt ān advēnakīh, dāt nihāt čēgōn nipišt, rēman bavēt 48 15 bār pat gōmez, ēvak bār 49 pat āp aivāp any katāmākān-iē advēnak ī yut hač barāšnum i čēgōn nipišt šost, ut-aṣ pat čīkām-ič frēğānīk čārak pat barāšnum i čēgōn nipišt šostan töbān, adak-aš kart patētih andar 9 may pat barāšnum i čēgōn-am nipišt apāc sōdišn, tā apāc šost i čēgōn-am nipišt, ā āp ut ātaxš ut patmānak 50 i pātiyāpīth nē šavišn.

8. Ut-am ēn nāmak ākās bavišnīh i katāmākān-iē hu-dēnān i Ėranšahr framān i dēn sahišn grift passand i man Manuščihr Gōšnjamān rād pat x'ēš nipēk nipišt, ut čand paccēnīhā āwišt māh X'ardat i pērōkcar i sāl 250 ī Yazdkart andar yazdān apastāmih ut spāsdārīh.

9. Nimač ō rat būland kē dātar Ōhrmazd aštak aštakom 51 yašt-fravgahr Spītāmān Zartuxšt 52! Hac x'ādīnān vindīnān čīš-e ahrādīh mas veh. Paśōn hast Zartuxšt. Ėvak hast rās i paśōm ahrādīh, kē rās i Pōryōtkēšān; visp ān i any i apāc-vāstak a-rāsīh.

44 So MR; text kartan.
45 Corrected; text gobišnān advēnak instead of gobišn an-advēnak.
46 Corrected; text bām instead of bēm. See n. 30 above.
47 So MR; text omits.
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 aštakom. Perhaps this letter represents the Persian letter alef.
**Translation:**

In the name of God.

An open epistle of the Lord of the Priests, Manuščihr, son of Göšnjam, as regards heinous sinfulness and impropriety ¹ of the ablation that is by ‘fifteen times’.

In the name of God.

1. It has come to the hearing of me, Manuščihr, son of Göšnjam, the spiritual leader of Pārs and Kirmān, that there are in the directions of Erānšahr 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 Barašnum ceremony (pixak-šōdīšnīh) ³ are holding themselves as clean and are going to

¹ nē-sāvist: impropriety. Alternatively it can be read niśāst, establishing, instituting, founding. The sentence is translated thus: as regards heinous sinfulness for establishing the ablation that is by “fifteen times”.

² Text gives vaṅš. Ervad Dhabhar connects the word with the following word han, any, and reads vaṅši, 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 vaṅš is nothing but the corrupted form of* n’sāk 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 fr. gyān, jān) and its variant vaṅš should be read ‘nasāk’, cf. Epistle II. ch. I, sec. 13. 3, p. 57 (Dhabhar’s edition) where we find the word ‘vaṅšakīhā’. Here Ervad Dhabhar compares it with Persian ‘wakhs’, lameness, lit. a disease in the feet of asses which makes them lame (Steingass) or wakhs, ‘a garment of fine texture’. See Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary, p. 1459. Mr. B.T. Ankliesaria (Vichitakīha-i Zatsparam with Text and Introduction, part I, Bombay 1964, p. xii) reads the word in question as “vakhsāyīhā” and leaves it untranslated and adds that it refers “to a writing (?) of his named ‘Vakhṣāyīhā’ which was appreciated by the Musalmans of his time and by the distant dwellers of Ra‘”.

³ 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 χɪčč ñāgôn vēš hēd čēgōn Zartoṣēt i *Ātūr Farnbag ka-š *nasākīhā vīnīr, i.e., I feel that you are as much bent upon this substance within yourself as Zartoṣēt, son of Ātūr 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-šōdīšnīh, 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 (pātiyāḥih), Barsom twigs and the implements of ceremonial objects, are saying thus: ‘Zātspram, son of Gōṣnjam, ordered the priests this mode of ablation’. (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 Ėrānsahr aware of the steadfastness over the ablation by means of the Barāḥnum 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 Barāḥnum 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 ablation of those contaminated owing to great contamination which they incur by means of deadmatter ² and other earthly infection ⁶ is that which is known as the glory itself. For further details, see Tavadia, Śāyist Nē Śāyist, Introduction para 13, p. 9, Hamburg, 1930. See Epistle I, ch. VI. 3 and Epistle II, ch. IX.1. See M. Boyce, Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian, Glossary, p. 194 s.v. pwta(g).

⁴ aviērišnikih, abst. n. from a-aviērišnik, indispensability; the word a-aviērišnik 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 aviērišnik" in D.J. Irani Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1943, pp. 106-14. Mackenzie Concise Pahl. Dictionary p. 14) reads a-wiziršneg [wcylyshyk] and translates "unavoidable, inevitable".

⁵ havašt, 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 called 'hambāṣṭan'. "The verb is written ideographically always, but occurs in its Iranian garb in the Epistles of Manuscirh p. 24¹, uṣān nishīd ud 'wwšt, read 'wbst. Important is the Pāzend form havašt in ŠGV XI.39 which sufficiently indicates 'wšt (instead of hwbšt) as the proper reading... The final proof for reading 'wbstn (with wβ = 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 HTYMWNNTN. 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 HTYMWN but sometimes also phonetically. For the legal usage of the two words see e.g. MHD ch. 41 title. Vide "Some Pahlavi Words in Isōbŏxt's Corpus Juris" in Dr. Unwalla Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1964, pp. 6-11.

⁶ I have corrected these two words PTSKYA into 'patvēshkīh', rottenness, putrefaction, pollution, cf. Av. pati-vāeshah. The word is generally associated with rēmanīh or ālūtakīh. 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 Barašnum 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 nirang, 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 Sōsāns, 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 Barašnum entirely worthy of approval and leading to salvation. I consider worthy of approval that sort of purifier as an yōsdāsṛgar 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 Barašnum, 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 Barašnum, just as I have written.

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

the word is written ptwyšk, Dd. 16.13, ptwyšk ŚNŚ 2.7. Cf. ŚNŚ 9.7: kas kē anār kastāk bē mirēt bim ī patviśak rād ō āp pātōzāy abkandān; 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 Dāštistān i Dēnīk 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 PTWSK, patviśak. See Barth. AirWb. 1329—vaśāh—“place of corruption”.


Čegōn MNyhet: Ervad Dhabhar reads the phrase “cheqon 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 Čegōn -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 ablation which is by means of other ablutions except the Bərəşnum, hold themselves pure; since when they do not purify by means of the Bərəşnum, as written, but they purify by means of the fifteen-fold ablation, as written, or any ablation whatsoever other than the Bərəşnum⁹, they will not become pure from that contamination which is enjoined to be purified by means of the Bərəşnum. 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 Yazîśn ceremony therewith. And it is incumbent on all kinds of contaminated persons who cannot be purified by the Bərəşnum, 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 Bərəşnum, as written’. In short, the law of the Bərəşnum, 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 Čeğŏn-am nipišt occurs very frequently.

⁹ In the Nāmākhā Ĩ Manuščihr edited by Dhabhar para 12, p. 95, sentence beginning with rā, last word on line 5 to the first word baraşnum 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 KNNNYNY: So the text. I read nunēn Ĩ and translate ‘of the present day’, modern; nun, Ĩv. nū, now, at this time, + ĕn superl. suffix; hence nunēn. cf. passēn. Ervd 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 NKKNYKAN 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 Gōnsjamān—A Critical Study’ in the Journal of Indian Linguistics, vol. 27, pp. 46-57.
hold under them the position of disciples, juniors, 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 Ėrānšahr concerning the discarding of the Barašnum, as I have written, for all the contaminated, as written, who can be purified by any compulsory means whatsoever by means of the Barašnum, as written, but do not purify by means of the Barašnum, 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 irreligious, 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 Ėrānšahr 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 transgression of that custom, decreed that mode, established it

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11 RTNN gāsīh—var. RTNN gā-ihā—as given in the text. Ervad Dhabhar reads “ratu gāsīh” and translates “like the position of the gurus”. I think it is the corrupt form of *ratwisār(i)hā*, opposite of *āχīhā* and it may be compared with the word *rāthwīhā*—Av. rathwīskara. It may be translated ‘by way of rāthwi-ship’. Rāthwi 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-dāṭīhā’ 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 Ms. 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 Barōšnum, as written, (although) he can purify (him) by any necessary means whatsoever with the Barōšnum, as written, then as an act of repentance, he shall purify once again in the nine holes by means of the barōšnum, 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 Erānšahr for the sake of receiving the approval of the opinion of me, Manuščih, son of Gōšnjam, concerning the mandate of the Religion in the victorious month X′ardat of the year 250 Yazdkart in confidence of and thankfulness to God 14.

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 ‘appārih’ can be read in various ways.

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