

HARAN GAWAITA

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THE HARAN GAWAITA

ܣܗܘܟܘܢܐ ܗܪܢܐ

AND

*THE BAPTISM OF HIBIL-ZIWA*

ܗܝܒܝܠ ܙܝܘܐ  
ܘܣܘܪܝܢܐ

THE MANDAIC TEXT REPRODUCED

TOGETHER WITH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND COMMENTARY

BY

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## TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The *Haran Gawaita*, on account of its fragmentary character, has suffered more than any other Mandaean text at the hands of late copyists who emended and edited parts which were faulty or misunderstood. Their grammatical solecisms and misspellings have added to the difficulty of translating an already obscure text. The most sanguine of translators could hardly claim with a clear conscience that the more **difficult** and involved passages had been adequately rendered into English. The present translator is aware that some renderings are **too** free and others too literal, **and** can **only** ask for indulgence on such counts.

The *Haran Gawaita* is perhaps the **most difficult** of all the Mandaean books, the Kabbalistic portions of the *Alf Trisar Šuialia* excepted. It abounds in ambiguous words and phrases and its predictions concerning the future are often veiled by a dark vagueness of language akin to that employed by Nostradamus and others who have peered into the future. The prophecy concerning the return of the Messiah, although it calls Jesus a "false" messiah, paints a picture unexpectedly fair of His reign on earth. One is inclined to wonder if a Christian text has been inserted or whether a passage recounting His downfall has disappeared from the original.

The colophon attached to **D. C. 9** is more than usually illiterate and I have not translated it.

E Civitate Vaticana, die 11 decembris 1959:

Fr. PETRUS CANISIUS, Ep. Porphyr.

Vic. Gen. Civ. Vat.

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## INTRODUCTION

### ABBREVIATIONS

- D. C. (= «Drower Collection») Mandaean manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the possession of the author of this book.
- G. R. *Ginza: der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer übersetzt und erklärt*, von Mark Lidzbarski (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925).
- J. B. *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* von Mark Lidzbarski (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1915).
- J. R. A. S. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- M. L. *Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt und erklärt* von Mark Lidzbarski (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1920).
- MMII *The Mandaean of Iraq and Iran, their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends and Folklore* by E. S. Drower (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1937).
- P. Persian.

Present-day Mandaean living in Lower (Iraq and in Khuzistan) have often assured me that their ancestors migrated from the north. Of this very definite tradition I gave some account in my book *The Madaeans of Iraq and Iran*<sup>1</sup>, in which I incorporated some corroborative legends taken down verbatim from some of the older men. In these stories, a 'Tura d Madaia' occurred too often to be a pure invention. The 'Jebel Haran' was mentioned once.

The *Haran Gawaita*<sup>2</sup>, the text here translated, is considered by Madaeans to be the true history of their race. Yet, in the *Ginza Rba* there is only one reference to "Haran", "cedars from Haran", although there are two references to a place called Hauraran to which the *Draša d Yahia* refers once. To quote from these books (translations of them may be found in Lidzbarski's *Der Ginza* [G. R. pp. 502 and 593], and his *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* [J. B. p. 232]):

"Speak to them of the pure Hauraran".

"He lifted him up and showed him Hauraran in which souls become perfect" (G. R.).

"This living water has come from the great Hauraran" (J. B.).

Hauran and Hauraran appear in a personified form in the '*Nia-nia*', a volume of liturgical prayers, sometimes as a single genius or heavenly power; and a being called Hauraran-Karkawan-Ziwa is invoked.

Lidzbarski rooked for the original home of the Madaeans in the West. In his Introduction to G. R. he says:

"Ich suchte ihren Sitz auch enger zu lokalisieren; im Transjordan-gebiete angesichts des Hauran-Gebirges ... Von Genius Hauran vermutete ich, dass in ihm das vergottete Hauran-Gebirge erhalten sei ..." (p. vi).

And in his *Mandäische Liturgien*, p. xix:

"In den Gebeten begegnen wir offer dem Genienpaar **האוראן** und **האוראראן** ... Der zweite Name ist eine Erweiterung des ersten durch

<sup>1</sup> (Clarendon Press: Oxford 1937).

<sup>2</sup> The two words are pronounced Ha-rang-awaita: the "rang" as something between the English words "rang" and "rung"; the "th" as th in "thought". Note that *Haran* is not pronounced How-ran.

Wiederholung eines Konsonanten ... Der Name **האוראן** ist also der primäre. Ich identifiziere ihn mit dem geographischen Namen **הורן**. Es könnte an sich die Haurān-Ebene wie das Haurān-Gebirge sein. Aber gerade für die Vergottung von Bergen haben wir viele Beispiele aus der semitischen Welt. Da nun der Haurān unter ihren höheren Wesen erscheint, setzt voraus, dass er in ihrem Gesichtskreis gestanden hat. Daher ist nicht anzunehmen dass jene Urgemeinschaft ihren Sitz in den öden Gebieten östlich vom Haurān-Gebirge hatte. Hingegen kommt die im Westen liegende fruchtbare Haurān-Ebene, in deren östlichem Horizont das Gebirge sich erhebt, gut in Betracht<sup>1</sup>.

In J. B. xvi he contended that Mandaeism can only have originated in Jewish circles:

“ Ihre Terminologie in Lehre und Kultus ist so stark durch das Alte Testament und das Hebräische beeinflusst, wie man es sonst ausserhalb des Judentums nicht findet ” (J. B. xvi).

He notes elsewhere that, although a bitter hatred of Jews is constantly shown in Mandaean literature, the Mandaeans themselves refer to a group of followers led by John the Baptist (Yahia-Yuhana) in Jerusalem. He recognises, however, and scholars have recently accentuated this fact, that Mandaean rites and religion are strongly tinged by Persian ideas, eschatology and rituals; words, and details of cult are often purely Persian.

While John the Baptist is in no sense the founder of their faith in Mandaean eyes, he is mentioned in the prayer which asks for the remission of sins for the dead, a prayer which names spirits of light, patriarchs, and holy men of past times as well as the recently dead. This prayer also petitions for:

“ those three hundred and sixty-five priests who came forth from the place of Jerusalem the city; forgiving of sins be there for them ”.

The story of “ Miriai ”, her conversion to the Mandaean faith and her flight from an already partially ruined Jerusalem to the Euphrates is referred to several times in the *Draša d'Yahia*, especially in the Miriai fragment (see J. B. pp. 123 ff.), and in the *Ginza Rba* there is a reference to Miriai which resembles the story in the *Haran Bawaita*. Anuš-'Uthra<sup>1</sup> says:

“ I took upon me a bodily form and went to the place Jerusalem; I spoke with my voice and preached, I became a Healer to Miriai. A

<sup>1</sup> Professor F. C. Burkitt (*Church and Gnosis*, Cambridge University Press 1932, pp. 110-112) suggested that the Mandaean Anuš-uthra was “the Marcionite Jesus”.

Healer I was for her, for Miriai, and I gave her complete health. I was called a Healer of Kušta that cureth and taketh no fee. I took Miriai down into the Jordan and baptised her and signed her with the pure sign. And from Miriai, the perfect one, Yaqif and Bnia-Amin went forth. From Yaqif and Bnia-Amin three hundred and sixty-five disciples (or “priests”) went forth. They went forth, and Jerusalem, home of the Jews, waxed wroth and dew the disciples who pronounce the Name of Life --<sup>1</sup>.

When Anuš-'Uthra appeals to Heaven, Jerusalem is completely destroyed, as in the *Haran Bawaita*. Miriai's conversion is also the theme of a song in the *'Niania*<sup>2</sup>.

So much for published texts. I will now select a few relevant passages from some of the legends which I collected, condensing them as far as possible.

- a) MMII pp. 268-9. The narrator said that wood to build the Ark was collected on the “Jebel Haran” (The story was told in Arabic).
- b) MMII pp. 261-3. Moses was against the Mandaeans and had quarrelled with them in Egypt. King Ardban (Artabanus) of the Mandaeans had a vision and heard a voice coming out of the House of Life saying “Rise ... (etc.). He rose and led them out of Egypt by way of a sea which divided (The crossing of the ‘Yama d' Suf’ [Red Sea] follows). The legend continues with the settlement of sixty thousand Mandaeans led by Ardban (Artabanus) in the ‘Tura d' Madai’ (Median hill-country?). The story of Yahia-Yuhana follows: an embroidery on the story related in the *Draša d' Yahia*.
- c) MMII pp. 266 ff. “Abraham was of our people — we called him Bahram”. The narrator continued by relating the story of his circumcision as a result of disease (c.f. the account given by the Egyptian Manetho). Al-Birūni (tenth century) repeated the story, more or less in the Mandaean form, beginning “The remnant of these Šābians are living in Harrān, their name (*al-Harrāniya*) being derived from their place”.
- d) MMII pp. 273-282. In this legend a darwish named Bahram (or Bihram) was described as being a Mandaean, and member of a celibate community “in the north”. It describes making images of the planets, in a manner which was apparently not inconsistent with the faith. “At one time the Mandaiia (Mandaeans) were the masters of the north and of this country also. Their origin was of the mountains, and they always loved the mountains better than the plains, for in the hills there are springs in which to bathe, in winter warm, and in summer cold. For our people have always loved bathing and

<sup>1</sup> For the German translation see G. R. 341. ff.

<sup>2</sup> See M. L. pp. 209 ff.

- washing". The story ends with the baptism of John by 'Manda d Hiia' almost as told in the *Ginza Rba* (G. R. pp. 192-6).
- e) MMII pp. 282-6. This story makes Miriai daughter of a "king of 'Babylon'; "and she was a Jewess". "Once on a time the Mandaeans and Naṣoræans and 'tarmidi' (priests, disciples) had their dwellings in Jerusalem". The story ends with the flight of Mandaeans and Naṣoræans from persecution in Jerusalem to the 'Ṭura d Madai' and the destruction of Jerusalem.
- f) MMII pp. 309-318. "The Mountain of the Madai...! Where are our people? In which spot?" It replied: "They are in the Jebel Madai" (for Arabs call the Jebel Mandai the Jebel Maddai). This story hints that the northern Mandaeans were vegetarians.
- g) MMII pp. 319-325. "How the Mandai (*Mandaiia*) and their 'ganzi-bra' left the Mountain of the Madai for a better country further North". This story describes how some Mandaeans in Madai (Media?) decided that "they would leave the Jebel Mandai and go back with those who had come from their country in the north, where there was no dirt, nor wild beast, nor any harmful thing".
- h) MMII pp. 369-399. Towards the end of this story which is largely Persian and gives a version of a story of the Shah-Nameh, a place named at-Ṭib is mentioned. "There is a region called at-Ṭib near the river Karun... its name was not formerly at-Ṭib but was called 'Matha d Naṣuraiia'".

The Jewish origin of the Ṣābiyun<sup>1</sup> is supported by the scholarly Al-Birūni, who writing at the beginning of the eleventh century says that the "real Ṣabians" (C.A.N. p. 188) are:

"the remnants of the Jewish tribes who remained in Babylonia when the other tribes left it for Jerusalem in the days of Cyrus and Artaxerxes. These remaining tribes... adopted a system mixed up of Magism and Judaism like that of the Samaritans in Syria".

In my *Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* I quoted — not always correctly, as my knowledge of Mandaic was still that of a beginner — from the *Haran Gawaita* which I thought then, and still think, of importance. The text is highly prized by Mandaeans themselves, and it undoubtedly chronicles an ancient and sincerely believed tradition. I venture to think that it may contribute to the solution of the problem of the origin and religious background of this most interesting people. We are no longer quite where we stood when

<sup>1</sup> Mandaeans are called Ṣābiyun by Arab writers; (*Ṣabba* or *Ṣubba* in the colloquial).

considering this question. Reitzenstein<sup>1</sup>, and recently several Swedish scholars<sup>2</sup>, have drawn attention to Persian elements in Mandaean beliefs, practices and language. A book published in Uppsala in 1949<sup>3</sup> brought evidence to show that some of the most ancient Manichaean psalms, the Coptic Psalms of Thomas, were paraphrases and even word-for-word translations of Mandaic originals; prosody and phrase offering proof that the Manichaean was the borrower and not vice-versa. It was therefore suggested that at an early stage Manichaeism was contemporary with Mandaeanism and that the writer of the psalms was steeped in Mandaean literature.

It is worthy of note that the *Haran Gawaita* speaks of 'Naṣuraiia', Naṣoræans, rather than of *Mandaiia*, Mandaeans. In the ritual literature of the sect the term "Naṣoræan" is used to describe the priest, and "Mandaean" the layman. 'Mandaiuta' is the state of the layman, 'Naṣiruta' that of the priest, the adept. This being so, may not 'Mandaiia' be a form of 'Madaia', "Mede" rather than a derivation from the non-Mandaic word 'manda' as meaning "gnosis"? Not only is there no instance of 'manda' being used for the word "knowledge" or "gnosis" in Mandaean writings, but it is employed in a totally different sense as denoting the cult-hut and enclosure. As will be seen, the *Haran Gawaita*, trustworthy or not, states that in the highlands of Media there were Naṣoræans, and that it was to these that the persecuted disciples of John fled from Jerusalem.

The author of our text sometimes speaks of Naṣoræans as if they were Parthians. It must be remembered that, until comparatively recently, nationality in the Middle East was barely recognised; it was religion rather than blood which claimed loyalty<sup>4</sup>. Mandaeans speak as if their original "home" was Ṭura d Madai — the Median highland. Distinctive in type Mandaeans certainly are; many remark a striking likeness between the priestly caste and Samaritans. Recent anthropological research carried out with painstaking thoroughness, has revealed that the 'Subba'

<sup>1</sup> *Die Vorgeschichte der Christlichen Taufe*, R. Reitzenstein (Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, 1929). For an inscription referring to a baptized sect found in the Hauran see op. cit. p. 18 and note.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. G. Widengren, Ivan Engell, etc. See also Reitzenstein op. cit. pp. 48-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies in the Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Torngny Säve-Söderbergh.

<sup>4</sup> Jews are an example of this confusion of race and religion. There are black Jews in India and Abyssinia and fair, snub-nosed Jews coming from Eastern Europe; yet all are "Jews".

(Mandaean) can be classified as members of the Iranian Plateau race<sup>1</sup>. Bar Khuni in the Scholion<sup>2</sup> repeats a foolish story attributing the foundation of the sect to a mendicant named Ado, who "was born in Adiabene", and although the absurdities of the tale are self-evident, Theodore Bar Khuni was apparently familiar with some Mandaean literature, and Ado's journey south into Mesene may be a distortion of the Mandaean migration into Khuzistan and Lower Mesopotamia.

I have two copies of the *Haran Gawaita*: one, copied in 1088 A. H. forms the eighth section of a very long scroll entitled *Alf Trisar Šuiālia* (D. C. 36)<sup>3</sup>. The first seven parts represent a Mandaean priest's library, and are a collection of manuscripts, mostly fragmentary; some begin and end in the middle of a sentence. (I have a second copy of *Alf Trisar Šuiālia*, D. C. 6, which like scroll Code Sabēn 16 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has no eighth part). My other copy of the *Haran Gawaita* (D. C. 9) appears to have been detached from a copy of the *Alf Trisar Šuiālia*, for the copyist writes:

"Then ye shall know that these are seven (eight?) *diwans* which are put together into one *diwan*".

A *diwan* according to Steingass<sup>4</sup> is in itself a miscellany: "a miscellaneous collection from various authors", and the seven *diwans* may be the missing section referred to above.

The two copies differ little, even reproducing obvious errors, which is natural since both, judging by the list of copyists, started

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Henry Field (*The Anthropology of Iraq*, pt. 1, no. 2, p. 303) notes that "in general the Subba were considerably lighter in skin color than the Arabs of central and southern Iraq... often as light in pigmentation as northern Europeans... the Subba are distinguished from all other peoples in Iraq by the quantity of head, face and body hair". And on p. 310: "a definite number of the Subba can be classified as members of the Iranian Plateau race". Dr. Field's research was the more valuable because the Šubba (Madaeans) have been segregated over a long period by strict religious law. In spite of a high degree of homogeneity, however, Dr. Field concludes that the Šubba are not an entirely single racial stock. On the whole, Dr. Field's report corroborates the Mandaean tradition of a migration from Media into Southern Babylonia and Persia.

<sup>2</sup> See Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites*, Paris, 1898, pp. 224 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In J.R.A.S. 1941 I summarised the contents of the first seven sections of *Alf Trisar Šuiālia*.

<sup>4</sup> *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, F. Steingass, Ph. D. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co Ltd.), London, 1930.

from a single and rare copy in a mutilated condition<sup>1</sup>. For some time I was reluctant to translate the text for much of it, especially at the beginning, seemed oddly inconsequent, disconnected and senseless. When I re-examined the manuscripts recently, I discovered the reason. Here and there, especially in the first part, the narrative is sprinkled freely with double circles. Now the double circle in other Mandaean texts indicates either a complete break in matter or subject corresponding to the period or full stop, or it is a sign that a recitation in antiphon is to pass to the other priest or priests participating. It dawned upon me that the lavish use of the symbol represented breaks in a manuscript badly damaged by fire or water, passages which were either missing or unreadable. The conscientious copyist, unwilling to leave any part of so precious a document unrecorded, filled in blanks by the double circle. My theory was confirmed by the fact that as the roll continued, the double circle disappeared.

The text begins in the middle of a sentence, and is in itself a riddle. Who was the "him"? Who was it that took refuge in "Haran Gawaita" just before the Christian era? It is evident that he was neither John the Baptist nor Christ, although a fragmentary and polemical reference to Christ and his brother follows, succeeded by a legendary life of John the Baptist. The story of John differs from that in other Mandaean texts; for instance, Zachariah is not mentioned. The Mandaean has no theory of divinely inspired scripture; to him the immutable and sacro-sanct elements of his religion are the ancient rituals, baptism and the various forms of the sacramental meal. It does not worry him that there are a number of creation stories, contradictory of one another or that there is confusion in his heterogenous pantheon of spirits of light and darkness. What does matter is that no rule of ritual purity be broken, and that every gesture and action prescribed for ritual shall be rigidly observed.

<sup>1</sup> I have discovered no copy in European libraries.

# HARAN GAWAITA

(D. C. 9., D. C. 36)

TRANSLATION

(Note Where breaks in the text are indicated by a double circle. I have substituted points).

My Lord be **praised**. In the name of the Great **Life**, healing, vindication, health, soundness, speaking and hearing, **joy** of heart and forgiving of sins be there for me, **Zakia Zihrun** son of **Šadia**, and **far** my offspring and brothers (and **sisters**), and for my parents, in the strength of **Yawar Ziwa** and **Simat-Hiia**<sup>1</sup>. *Finis*.

Lord **Haran Gawaita**<sup>2</sup> receiveth **him** and that city in which there were **Naşoraeans**, because there was no road for the Jewish rulers. Over them was King **Arđban**<sup>3</sup>. And sixty thousand **Naşoraeans** abandoned the Sign of the Seven and entered the Median hills<sup>4</sup>, a place where we were free **from** domination by *all* other races. And they built cult-huts (*bimandia*) and abode in the Call of the Life and in the strength of the high **King** of Light until they came to their end<sup>5</sup>. And they loved the Lord, that is, **Adonai**<sup>6</sup>; until in the House of Israel there was created something which was not placed<sup>7</sup> in the womb of **Mary**<sup>8</sup>, a daughter of **Moses**. It was hidden in her womb for nine months and bewitched her<sup>9</sup> until the nine months were fulfilled and she was in labour and brought forth a **messiah**.

... and he called the people to himself and spoke of his death and took away some **of** mysteries of the (**sacred?**) Meal<sup>10</sup> and abstained

<sup>1</sup> Thus D.C. 36. D.C. 9 begins "This is the Diwan of Haran Gawaita" and the copyist gives his name as Ram Zihrun son of Maliha.

<sup>2</sup> "The Inner Haran". Is this the city Harran or the Ĥaurān? Probably the latter.

<sup>3</sup> Artabanus, but which? History knows five kings of Parthia with this name. The Artabanus contemporary with Christ was Artabanus III, but the passage above might refer to an earlier Artabanus.

<sup>4</sup> In both manuscripts 'tura d Midai'.

<sup>5</sup> 'alma d akaliun'. Unusual: one would expect 'akiliun'.

<sup>6</sup> In D.C. 36 this is plainly 'marh d Adunai' "the lord of A".

<sup>7</sup> "d layahib", "not given", i.e. not begotten by her husband?

<sup>8</sup> Later in the manuscript; Mary is called **Mariam**.

<sup>9</sup> The Pael form of HZA with 'l' or 'l' = "to influence" (for evil), "get the better of", "bewitch" (of a demon). Lit. "bewitching her".

<sup>10</sup> 'unasibh lrazia d 'kilta mnh ulgaṭ pumh mn 'kilta'. The passage is obscure. I take it to refer to the sacramental meal eaten for the "raising up" of the soul ('kilta' = "food", "a meal"). The first half of the sentence might also mean "he took the mysteries of the food therewith".



from the Food. And he took to himself a people and was called by the name of the False Messiah. And he perverted them all and made them like himself who perverted words of life and changed them into darkness and even perverted those accounted Mine. And he overturned all the rites. And he and his brother dwell on Mount Sinai, and he joineth all races to him, and perverteth and joineth to himself a people, and they are called Christians.

... and from Niṣrat<sup>1</sup> (*Nazareth*), a city of the Jews, which is called the city of Qum,<sup>2</sup>...

... because it is a shrine<sup>3</sup>; for Mercury founded a community in Qum, and Saturn founded a community in Sinai...

... (*Jews were settled?*) in the Arab region which is called Basra, which is (*also*) called Sufat-Zaba<sup>4</sup>...

... one. The First Life conceived a plan for gaining a grasp<sup>5</sup> in order to destroy the mysteries<sup>6</sup> of Adonai from the seas and to destroy the plot of Ruha<sup>7</sup> and Adonai<sup>8</sup> which came (*emanated*) from the House of Ruha; to ruin the scheme of Ruha, before the presence of the great Father of Glory and to propagate<sup>9</sup> the mysteries (*of the Great life?*) ...

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Syriac *ܢܨܪܬ*. I have not found this place name in any other Mandaean text.

<sup>2</sup> 'Qum', P.S. Supp. "'Qum', W. of Hamadan and 80 kilometres NNW of Kašan". Does this fragment mean that Jews had named some settlement in this area after Nazareth?

<sup>3</sup> 'škinta' in Mandaic usually applies to the cult-hat in the sacred area; hence "sanctuary", "shrine".

<sup>4</sup> D.C. 9 has 'Suf Zaba' and D.C. 36 'Sufat-Zaba'. The former means "River of Reeds" and the latter "River of the End". Both would be applicable to the Shatt-al-'Arab, which is the stream formed by the Tigris and Euphrates after they have joined at Qurna. This river opens after the port of Baṣrah into the Persian Gulf. The lower part of the former province of Baṣrah is marshy and overgrown with reeds.

<sup>5</sup> Or "gaining a party or faction".

<sup>6</sup> "Mysteries" -- refers throughout to rituals, particularly to ritual meals commemorating the dead.

<sup>7</sup> Ruha is the personification of human desire and lust. She is sometimes called Ruha-ḡ-Qudša (Holy-Spirit), but not in this text. By her son 'Ur she was mother of the seven planets and the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

<sup>8</sup> Adonai is described in Mandaean texts as the sun-god worshipped by the Jews. Yahu never figures as a Jewish deity but is named often in exorcisms and magic.

<sup>9</sup> I have ventured to think that 'šarhab'il' (in both texts) is an early miscopying of 'šarubia' "to propagate"; šarhabiel, a fertility spirit, is mentioned later in the narrative.

... in Tmar<sup>1</sup>, the pure Jordan, and bore witness to the Truth<sup>2</sup>. And in the great Jordan a pure seed was formed... and came and was sown in the womb of 'Nišbai, so that from it<sup>3</sup> a child might come into being, a prophet of the great Father of Glory, praised be His name! in order to destroy the building of Ruha and Adonai.

... in the House which Ruha, and her seven sons built I surrounded all the district...

... Madai<sup>4</sup>, which Ruha and her seven sons could not reach because on it (*were people who belonged?*) to Hibil-Ziwa<sup>5</sup>...

... of the Life, and to propagate a race in the House which Ruha and her seven sons built, so that she should not have dominion... in the midst of the worlds, and he shall be called Yahia-Yuhana, the prophet of Kušta<sup>6</sup>, the apostle... who dwelt at the city of Jerusalem; a healer<sup>7</sup> whose medicine was Water of Life, a healer that healeth... (*evil spirits?*) which go forth from Ruha and Adonai to destroy the physical body.

... Then... when the boy was born Anuš-'Uthra<sup>8</sup> came by command of the great Father of Glory and they came before Hibil-Ziwa by command of the great Father of Glory and<sup>9</sup> travelled over deserts towards Mount Sinai and proceeded ... towards a community called Ruha's that is situated near the place where the Ark was built (...?)

<sup>1</sup> A small town named Thamara was situated to the S.E. of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> 'Kušta' (Right, Right-dealing, Truth) is personified by the Mandaeans, and resembles the Persian 'Aka'. See p. 17 n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> D.C. 9 has 'mana' for 'mnh'.

<sup>4</sup> Judging by the context the words preceding 'Madai' were 'ṭura ḡ' -- the mountain(s) of Media.

<sup>5</sup> A saviour-spirit, sometimes called Yawar-Ziwa.

<sup>6</sup> Kušta, see note 2.

<sup>7</sup> This "healer" according to the *Ginza Rba* (see G.R. pp. 29-30) is Anuš-'Uthra, who "cometh and travelleth into Jerusalem when he had clothed himself in a garment of clouds of water" (*baptism?*). -- He assumed a bodily appearance but was not clad in an earthly garment. In him there is no heat or wrath. And he cometh in the years of Pilate, a governor of the world, but Anuš-'Uthra cometh to the world in the strength of the high King of Light. He maketh the sick to walk, he openeth (*the eyes of*) the blind, he cleanseth lepers and setteth the broken upright and maketh cripples walk, the deaf and dumb to speak and the dead to live, and he winneth converts amongst the Jews". Professor Burkitt (*Churoh and Gnosis*, p. 111) saw in this passage an adaptation from Marcionite teachings about Jesus. This is possible, but it is very certain that Mandaeans never identified Anuš-'Uthra with Jesus.

<sup>8</sup> See p. vi, note 1.

<sup>9</sup> The text has 'ḡ' in both copies, but the particle is meaningless.

and she<sup>1</sup> will be a deliverer (*midwife?*) to the child<sup>2</sup> ... into Parwan<sup>3</sup>, the white mountain, an earthly place. And (in?) that place the fruit and sky<sup>4</sup> are large. There ... (*groweth?*) the Tree which nourisheth infants<sup>5</sup>. And they took back Sufnai the lilith to a (?) place so that when they should perform<sup>6</sup> a living<sup>7</sup> baptism to purify the child, the apostle of Kušta, Yahia-Yuhana...

... And they did not alter the order or commands which emanated from the presence of the great Father of Glory... Sufnai the lilith took him (*the* child) before the eyes of his mother fell upon him... at the order of Anuš-'Uthra. And they mounted up towards Parwan, the white mountain... (*a place where*) fruit and sky is (are?) large. There they set down Yahia near the Tree which nourisheth nurslings... Then Sufnai the lilith returned to her place. When thirty days had passed, Hibil-Ziwa came at the command of the great first Father of Glory, and he came to the Median hill-country<sup>8</sup> and sent Anuš-'Uthra to Bihram, son of 'uthras<sup>9</sup> and to the Median

<sup>1</sup> "She" probably refers to the lilith Sufnai, who must have been named in a missing passage as the midwife.

<sup>2</sup> D. C. 9 has 'yardna' for 'yalda'. Perhaps 'parqa' is "crossroad", making the sentence -- it is the cross-road to the Jordan". D. C. 36, the older text, is probably the correct version.

<sup>3</sup> Parwan. In the *Draša d Yahia* it is related that at the birth of John, the Jews, furious at the promised greatness of the child, sought to destroy him. "When Anuš-'Uthra heard this, he took the babe and brought it to Parwan the white mountain, upon which sucklings and babes are reared upon 'mambuha'" (sacramental water). Lidzbarski thinks (J. B. p. 116, note 3) that Parwan Tura must be identical with another mountainous district often referred to as Tarwan. It is worthy of note that the five-day feast of purification in the spring is called Parwanaiia by Mandaeans.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is corrupt. In the two passages where this phrase occurs (see below) 'rba' is singular. The sky or firmament is never called "large" elsewhere. It probably was "fruit and crops" or something of the kind.

<sup>5</sup> Mandaeans believe that children who die before baptism are conveyed to a pleasant limbo where they suck the milky fruit of a tree called 'lana d mrabia yanqia'. There is a picture of this tree in the *Diwan Abatur (Studi e Testi, 151)*.

<sup>6</sup> Literally "showed forth".

<sup>7</sup> A corrupt or mutilated sentence. 'Haia' (living), the fem. of 'haia', means also "midwife". The sentence probably meant originally that the midwife, Sufnai, was baptised with the infant. Mother and midwife should both be baptised after a birth, and the baby should be baptised as soon as possible.

<sup>8</sup> D. C. 9 has 'tura d madai'; D. C. 36 here and in another passage 'tura d midai'. See p. 5, n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Bihram (called Behram and Bahram by modern Mandaeans) might be the founder of Mandaean baptism-rites. When immersion takes place, the

mountains. And they took Bihram from the Median hills and went: (to Parwan?) and performed baptism and baptised the child beside the Tree that nourisheth nurslings. And (*when*) he was seven years old, Anuš-'Uthra came and wrote for him the A, Ba, Ga, Da<sup>1</sup>. ... and, until he was twenty-two years old, he taught him about all *naširuta*<sup>2</sup>.

... then, at the command of the great Father of Glory he set the crown on him<sup>3</sup> and seated him beside himself, until they came to the city of Jerusalem amongst the community which Ruha founded... all belonged to her and to her seven sons except (those from?) the Median hills<sup>4</sup>, Aharan<sup>5</sup>...

... Hibil-Ziwa, of the Median hills, upon which they wandered from mountain to mountain. ... mountain<sup>6</sup> to the city of the Našoraeans is a distance of six thousand parasangs; it is called the enclave ('hdara') of Hibil-Ziwa... Then Yahia-Yuhana took the Jordan and the medicine Water (of Life) ... and he cleansed lepers, opened (*the eyes of*) the blind and lifted the broken (maimed) to walk on their feet<sup>7</sup>... by the strength of the lofty King of Light — praised be his Name! — and gave speech and hearing to all who sought (him). And he was called in the world "envoy of the High King of Light" — praised be his Name! — (*even*) at the (*very*) abode and building of Ruha and Adonai and her seven sons.

And he taught disciples and proclaimed the Call of the Life in the fallen House (Temple?). Forty-two years (*he* dwelt) therein, and then his Transplanter<sup>8</sup> looked upon him and he arose with his Transplanter, praised be his name! ..and a time arrived, sixty years after Yahia-Yuhana had departed the body ...the Jews, just as

Mandaean baptist says, 'Šbiit bmašbuta d Bihram rba br rurbia' "Thou art baptised with the baptism of the great Bihram, son of the mighty". Bihram's name is pronounced at the ritual submersion of polluted vessels. Bihram is the Avestan and Iranian Verethraghna, the genius of victory; but perhaps the Bihram mentioned at baptism is a human Bihram.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a similar anecdote in the Gospel of Thomas.

<sup>2</sup> 'Naširuta' comprises all that a priest learns: prayers, rituals, theology, secret interpretations, exorcisms and astrology.

<sup>3</sup> That is, consecrated him priest. The 'taga' (crown, Suet) is the badge of priesthood.

<sup>4</sup> 'Tura d Madai'. It is evident in this passage that 'tura' refers to a range of hills, not to a single mountain.

<sup>5</sup> 'Aharon' in both mss.

<sup>6</sup> "From the hills" if the missing words were 'mn tura'.

<sup>7</sup> Verbally identical with the passage in the *Ginza Rba* quoted in note 7, p. 5, except that there the healer was Anuš-'Uthra.

<sup>8</sup> I. e. the death-angel, Šauriel.

their former strength (*returned?*) to Ruha and Adonai, who became **arrogant...** Hence, after sixty years, Ruha and Adonai planned to **erect... the fallen House' (Temple)** and spoke to Moses the prophet **and the children of Israel who had built the House (Temple)...** Then they raised an idle cry against the tribes of Anuš-'Uthra, the Head of the Age, and shed their blood so that not a man of the disciples and Nasoraean were left... Then the Jordan and its tributaries shrank back and mounted the dry land beside it<sup>1</sup>. And the light of the banners<sup>2</sup> of Abatur<sup>3</sup> and Anuš-'Uthra (*was quenched?*)... Then Ruha scattered the Jews... who is called 'of the House of the Seven', and then Adonai sent a staff... And he spoke over it and struck Suf-Zaba<sup>4</sup> and the waters that abide in Suf-Zaba were divided, like the two mountains of a gorge and there was a road. And Ruha brought those (*Jews?*) over Suf-Zaba. And she<sup>5</sup> built for them, and pressed out for them clay brick that is sacred, and constructed a building and they set up for it column after column of falsehood, and raised up each (*fallen?*) column... and Darkness was formed therefrom, and they settled (*therein?*) the Jews, who sinned and caused havoc... (*The new Jerusalem had?*) three walls, of which each was removed from its fellow, and he teacheth about them... And Ruha surrounded the latter Jerusalem of the Jews (*with these walls*) and then... Ruha... the Jews, and they could not remove the walls from them<sup>6</sup>... Then Anuš-'Uthra mounted up to his fathers and said, to them, to his fathers: "Thou didst bring the Jews and Ruha over Suf-Zaba **and** she (Ruha) has built a building and has surrounded (*it by*) seven walls so that I am unable (*to aid?*) their armies<sup>7</sup>. What have ye ordered about us"? ... (*In this wise*) did Anuš-'Uthra speak with

<sup>1</sup> This word in the plural means "banks" or "the dry ground beside water". Cf. a passage in the *Ginza Rba* 'shaq Iriqath' "it leapt its banks".

<sup>2</sup> For most Mandaean ceremonies a banner is planted in the ground. The streamer, of white silk, is several yards long. See MMII pp. 108-9.

<sup>3</sup> Abatur Muzania weighs departed souls in his scales; Abatur Rama is his heavenly counterpart.

<sup>4</sup> River of Reeds (see p. 4, note 4). The narrator has harked back to the Israelitish crossing of the "Red Sea" ('Yama Suf') of which the Cambridge Ancient History says (vol. ii, p. 361) "the account of the journey from the 'Red Sea' (יָם סוּף 'Sea of Reeds'; the precise identification is uncertain) is built up of stories that belong to a later stage...". Since 'Suf Zaba' was identified earlier in the text with the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab in Lower Mesopotamia, this "crowding" may refer to some return of Jewish settlers in Babylonia to Palestine.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'bnatun' for 'bnalun'.

<sup>6</sup> The besieged Jews?

<sup>7</sup> The besieged host; Romans?

his fathers; and told them, how it had happened. Then there came and arose the great Father of Glory together with his mild son Hibil... and they acted<sup>1</sup>, and then Hibil came... towards Anuš-'Uthra and said to him: "Go down into Media and take seven shafts, that is seven darts, and go and pronounce (*magic*) words over them. **And** take with thee seven guards from Mount Parwan<sup>2</sup> and take for them bows and they shall speak aver them seven (*magic*) words, and they will crumble the sacred brick in the House of Ruha; for at every place where those arrows fall fire will break out and will devour (*it, rising*) into the sky and eat into the ground for twelve *nashis* by virtue of those pure and important spells. And the rule of Ruha and her seven sons and of the Jews will be brought to nought from now until the end of the world".

Thereupon Anuš-'Uthra changed nothing of that which they commanded him (*to do*), and Hibil-Ziwa came and burnt and destroyed Jerusalem and made it like heaps of ruins<sup>3</sup>. And he went to Baghdad<sup>4</sup> and killed (*there*) all the *cohens* and took away government from them and pounded (*to*) dust<sup>5</sup> every city in which there were Jews<sup>6</sup>. Moreover for the eight hundred years that their government was in Baghdad they exercised an autonomy amongst themselves — four hundred rulers — (for) the duration of a Jewish autonomy in Baghdad was eight hundred years; four hundred rulers from the Jews (*Jewish community*) wielded kingly office.<sup>7</sup>

Thus the House of the Jews came to naught and met its end, and the Host of darkness became powerless.

Those seven guards, who (*were of the?*) Chosen Elect<sup>7</sup>, summoned

<sup>1</sup> D. C. 9 has 'wabar' for 'wabad'.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 6, n. 3. Note that in this passage Parwan is stated to be in Media.

<sup>3</sup> The destruction referred to here must be that by Titus in 70 B. C. If the narrative is continuous, rebellion of the Jews followed by siege and destruction began "sixty years" after John the Baptist. It is unlikely to be Hadrian's massacre and conquest of the Jews in 135 A. D. after Bar-Cochbar's rebellion.

<sup>4</sup> For Baghdad read Babylon and Babylonia throughout. The whole vilayet of Baghdad as well as the city was called Babil by travellers well into the Middle Ages, and the narrator is addressing readers of his time.

<sup>5</sup> D. C. 9 has 'uharga'; D. C. 30 'uharqa'.

<sup>6</sup> This might refer to a massacre of the Jews which occurred during the anarchy which prevailed after the conflict of Artabanus III with Tiridates. Dr. N. C. Debevoise (*Political History of Parthia*, Univ. of Chicago, 1938, p. 164) says: "Within Seleucia there was continual strife between opposing elements. The native or Babylonian group and the Jews at first combined against the Greeks with success; but the Greeks managed to alienate the natives from their former allies, and together they massacred thousands of Jews".

<sup>7</sup> I. e., were "Nasurania", Nasoraean.

by Anuš-'Uthra' at the word and command of Hibil-Ziwa, came as the great Father of Glory had commanded. And one of them was Zazai son of Hibil-'Uthra'. Him Anuš-'Uthra installed in the city of Baghdad. And Anuš-'Uthra installed one whose name was Papa son of Guda upon the great Tigris and at the mouth of the 'Ulai (*Karun river*). And one, named Anuš son of Naṣar-Hiia, Anuš-'Uthra installed at its source. Anuš-Šaiar son of Nsab (*he installed*) on the Euphrates, and one whose name was Brik-Yawar son of Bihdad he placed<sup>2</sup> at Pnmbit (*Pumbdita*<sup>3</sup>) a territory situated at the end of Sura<sup>4</sup>. And one, whose name was Nṣab son of Bihram, he placed on the mountain(s) of Glazlak<sup>5</sup>, and one whose name was Ska-Manda he set at the extremity of the mountain of the Water-springs situated at the tail-end of the Parwan range at the place from which those seven kings went forth and dispersed, (*namely, those seven guards*) who came with Anuš-'Uthra to conquer Darkness and to bring the plot of Ruha to nought. And they annihilated the rulers of the Jews and made them as if they had never existed. And Anuš-'Uthra placed them (*the seven viceroys*) at the seven corners of the House<sup>6</sup>, upon the seven horns of the worlds, in order to crush the power of Darkness and to establish the Call of the Life and to make void the rebellious outcry.

When Anuš-'Uthra had done that by order of Hibil-Ziwa whom the great Father of Glory commanded, Anuš-'Uthra went to the 'Tura d Madai' (Median mountains), called Haran. Gawaita, and brought Bhira son of Šitil<sup>7</sup>, a descendant of Artabanus king of the Nasoraean and set him up in Baghdad (*Babylon*) and installed him in sovereign power (*as its sovereign*). And in his company there were sixty Nasoraean, and the Nasoraean in Baghdad (*Babylonia*) multiplied and became many. Some of the tribe of Bhira son of Šitil, Nasoraean, came with him until there were four hundred maškna<sup>8</sup> in Baghdad.

<sup>1</sup> This name and others in the text appear to be 'malwašia', secret names used for religious and magical purposes. See MMII pp. 81-2.

<sup>2</sup> 'yatib'. One would expect 'autibh'.

<sup>3</sup> This must be Pumbditha on the Euphrates where there was a celebrated Jewish academy. The site is near the modern town of Fallujah on the Euphrates.

<sup>4</sup> At Sura, a town in southern Babylonia between the canals, there was a noted Jewish academy.

<sup>5</sup> I have been unable to identify this place-name.

<sup>6</sup> Mandaean writers often refer to the earthly world as "the House".

<sup>7</sup> See note 1.

<sup>8</sup> The cult-hut and sacred enclosure are called the 'maškna' or 'manda', the hut itself being the 'bit maškna', or 'bimaškna' or 'bimanda'.

And it was revealed to me (?) and to all of them in this book; and they acted upon this reliable base<sup>1</sup> acting according to this (*its*): light<sup>2</sup> and removing nothing from this writing of great revelation<sup>3</sup> that was given to Adam the first man and to his descendants (*and to*) all who bear witness unto this light and illumination until worlds' end. Naught shall pass away from the Word of the great Father of Glory, praised be his Name!

Then the said Zazai, one of the righteous elect<sup>4</sup>, rose to the firmament and abode with Yurba<sup>5</sup> sixty-two days, and ascended to his fathers; but those (*other*) six chosen righteous ones sent forth, their descendants into the world. And in the earthly world there are some of the children (*descendants*) of disciples whom Yahia-Yuhana taught, and amongst the Nasoraean some from the first planting of kings<sup>6</sup> from the beginning, middle and end; (*yea*) there are some amongst the Nasoraean at the latter end of the age, for they go forth that ye may be filled, and Nasoraean of the end of the age are amongst their descendants. (*But*) from the Root of those disciples of Yahia-Yuhana there come forth (*also*) people of no degree<sup>7</sup>, for, when they speak of "descendants of kings of Baghdad) of the kingdom in Baghdad<sup>8</sup>", (*they forget that?*) two hundred and eighty years have passed since some of the sons of those disciples

<sup>1</sup> The expression 'širša taqna' or šarša taqna' has a wide application ('taqna' = firm, true, reliable, orthodox, 'širša' = root, basis, source, foundation). It can therefore be applied to the Mandaean faith, race or stock, or to a piece of orthodox literature, and in general is often used when referring to the community, as in Christian literature is the word "Church" (D. C. 9 has mistakenly, 'wa' before 'taqna').

<sup>2</sup> The word 'zhara' also means "warning" or "admonition" and as used when referring to the liturgy indicates that at certain passages names of deceased persons are to be inserted.

<sup>3</sup> I have been doubtful about this word. The usual words for "revelation" and "scroll" respectively are 'galiuta' and 'magalta'. The doubling of the 'l' points to "roll" or "scroll", but the root GLA in the Pael ("to disclose" "reveal") doubles the 'l'.

<sup>4</sup> Lidzbarski translated 'bhira zidqa' as "Manner von erprobter a-rechtigkeit". I have paraphrased by using a religious phrase expressive of the meaning.

<sup>5</sup> 'Yurba', a spirit associated with the sun. The purgatory of Šamiš (the sun), is that to which those of other religions are sent (See *Diwan Abatur* p. 30; *Stude e Testi*, 151).

<sup>6</sup> Here "kings" probably means "priests". See p. 7 note 3.

<sup>7</sup> 'Takša' = (a) order, rank, degree, station; (b) rule, regulation, etc. A person 'd latakša' is one who is ill-bred and lawless, uncontrolled, ill-mannered.

<sup>8</sup> Unbracketed words in italics are a gloss.

of **Yahia-Yuhana** went forth, so that Ruha cometh and confuseth them and twisteth words and perverteth seals<sup>1</sup> and changeth phrases and prayers” by agency of descendants of those disciples, that is, those disciples that were propagated from Jewish seed<sup>2</sup>. For the Son of the Pure Drop, the **Mystery**<sup>3</sup>, (*was of?*) the Jews, **Jerusalem of the Jew**<sup>4</sup>. Ruha caused them to obey the mysteries of the body, and (so) they fell away from purity (*the pure doctrine?*).

I will tell you, (*Oye*) priests who live in the Arab age, (of *that which occurred*) before the Son-of-Slaughter<sup>5</sup>, the Arab, went out and prophesied as a prophet in the world so that they performed circumcision like Jews and changed sayings — for he is the most degraded of false prophets. Mars accompanieth him because he is the Seal of prophets of the Lie, (*although*) the Messiah will appear after him at the end of the age! I will inform you, Naṣoraeans, that before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, emerged and was called prophet in the world and Mars descended with him, he drew<sup>7</sup> the sword and converted people to himself by the sword. About eighty-six years before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, Adonai sent Šurbiš-Ruha<sup>8</sup> who is his spouse, to the city of Tib, called locally the City of **Ašganda**<sup>9</sup> because of all that was done (*during*) his rule<sup>10</sup> in Baghdad. (For) **Ašganda** (*dwelt?*) in Tib; it was his native place; and it was called “the city of Šganda” (*also*) because in it there were Naṣoraeans and *rišamia* (ethnarchs)<sup>11</sup>. And there was one *rišama* called Qiqil.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Hatmia’ = “signs”, “seals”; i. e. the signings with water and oil at baptism.

<sup>2</sup> An inversion: the root is QHD “to cry, call aloud”. The psalm beginning ‘Tušbihan’ (“praises”) is called the great ‘qadaha’ in D. C. 34.

<sup>3</sup> D. C. 36 has ‘zida’ (“malice”) for ‘zira’ (“seed”).

<sup>4</sup> Anuš-‘Uthra? Bihram? Yahia-Yuhana?

<sup>5</sup> Unbracketed words in italics are a gloss.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Šhaṭ’. ŠHT = “to cut the throat, slaughter ritually”. Cf. Arabic شط “to be bloodstained”. Muhammad is meant of course.

<sup>7</sup> D. C. 9 has ‘šafil’. The Imperfect tense is used; I have substituted the Perfect throughout.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Šurbiš’. Possibly a composite word from the root ŠRHB “to propagate” and ‘bii’ “evil”.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Šganda’ or ‘Ašganda’ is sometimes used as a ‘malwaša’ name (see p. 10 n. 1). The child or youth of priestly family who assists priests during rituals is called an ‘ašganda’ or ‘šganda’ (Sumerian ‘aš-gan-da’ = “minister, messenger”, Accadian ‘ašgandu’).

<sup>10</sup> ‘malkuṭh’ i. e. Ašganda’s term of office as head of the sect?

<sup>11</sup> A ‘rjš amā’ (= “head of the people”) is a higher in rank than a ‘ganzibra’. The grade is now obsolete.

And Adonai sent **Šurbiš-Ruha** into this world, and said to her: “Go, appear to Qiqil of the Naṣoraeans disguised as Hibil-Ziwa, so as to take his judgement away from him. And ‘distort the words by which the structure of (*their faith*) is defined. When thou hast done this, the whole nation of the Naṣoraeans will turn to us”.

And Ruha-Šurbiš, wife of Adonai, went and dwelt upon (*entered into*) Qiqil of the Naṣoraeans and disguised herself as Hibil-Ziwa — and there is none lovelier than Hibil-Ziwa whom the souls acknowledge! And she taketh away the judgement of Qiqil and instructeth him and saith to him: “I, Hibil-Ziwa, have brought1 parchment and reed-pen<sup>2</sup>, so write a Root of Life<sup>3</sup> and a Saying and a Mystery, and disseminate (*them*) send (*them*) forth and act in accordance with them. For the Life hath sent me and I have come to thee”.

Thereupon Qiqil brought parchment and reed-pen and wrote and distributed (*doctrine emanating*) from Ruha, whilst his understanding was reft from him. So schism ensued amongst the Naṣoraeans and candidates for priesthood<sup>4</sup> as result of those writings which he had written. Then she removed herself from his presence, and Qiqil’s mind and understanding returned and he recanted his wards and revoked phylacteries<sup>5</sup> (*scrolls?*) of her construction and that which had been taught to him by Ruha, yea, every writing that he had by him of those writings (*dictated*) by Ruha, he burnt in the fire. And he sent to the Naṣoraeans and candidates for priesthood (*saying*): (Bring the writings which I give (*gave?*) you; burn them with fire, for she (*Ruha*) deluded me<sup>6</sup> when I knew not from whom she came”. And he took away his writing from such Naṣoraeans as practised the orthodox faith?, and they gave it to him and he burnt it in the fire. But all those who were of the Root

<sup>1</sup> D. C. 36 has ‘atit’ for ‘aitit’; D. C. 9 has ‘aita’ (“there exists”).

<sup>2</sup> For ‘magalta uhilfa’ (parchment and reed-pen) both Mss have ‘magalta ušilfa’ (Cf. ‘maglaba ušilfa’ “lash and whip”). A miscopying.

<sup>3</sup> The title or titles of some heretical composition?

<sup>4</sup> ‘Ašwalania’, learners, neophytes, are candidates for priesthood during the time of their instruction and initiation.

<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere, ‘qmahia’ is a word meaning phylacteries; talismans, written exorcisms meant to be carried on the person.

<sup>6</sup> D. C. 9 has ‘aminṭul ḏ šraḡtan kt layadit mn manḥ’ (‘Ašraḡtan’ = ‘ašraḡtan’, “tricked me by illusion”).

<sup>7</sup> See p. 11, n. 1.

of the Jews' did not bring it back nor give it to Qiqil, and some of those writings remained with them.

And Hibil-Ziwa hath delivered this saying and warning to Naṣoraēans who exist at the end of the last age: "Beware, and again beware! Act only (in accordance) with this writing of the Great Revelation<sup>1</sup>. The (Mandaean) Root (Church)<sup>2</sup> shall be steadfast, shall testify, shall act and not neglect this pure warning, and (so) will ascend to the presence of the Father<sup>3</sup>. (But) any man who doth not testify to this Way or lay hold of it, seeketh darkness and will fall. (O) ye Naṣoraēans that shall exist at the end of the last age, I exhort you, be firm and act according to this book — its name is the Great Revelation. For at that time peoples, nations and tongues will multiply, and every individual will seek his own gain. And books and religions treatises<sup>4</sup> of Ruḥa and Adonai ('s making) will be many, and through them souls<sup>5</sup> will sink down to the Darkness".

Thus, before the appearance of the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, the Christian, Idumaeans<sup>6</sup>, Jewish, Hurdabaean<sup>7</sup> and Dilbilaeans<sup>8</sup> peoples became many. The peoples were divided and languages became numerous; even the languages of Naṣoraēans multiplied. This; and then sovereignty was taken from the descendants of King Artabanus, and (they were driven) from Baghdad; the Hardbaeans (Sasanians) taking over the kingdom. (Nevertheless) there remained one hundred and seventy banners<sup>9</sup> and bimandīa<sup>10</sup> in Baghdad<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I think that this must refer to the *Alf Trisar Šwialia*, which deals minutely with many questions of ritual and doctrine.

See p. 11 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Here the plural may refer to the Great Life ('Hīia Rbia') which is plural (= the All-Father), or it may be "fathers" (ancestors).

<sup>3</sup> 'Sigia' (lit. "a way") is a term often applied to a ritual scroll. Hence, any document which deals with doctrine and ritual.

"Their souls" is written.

<sup>4</sup> 'Dumaiia', Edomites, Idumaeans. (See *Diwan Abatur, Studi e Testi*, No. 151, p. 45).

<sup>5</sup> 'Hurdabaiia'. The 'Hardbāiia', 'Hurdbāiia', 'Hirdubaiia', 'Hardubaiia' or 'Ardbaiia' ("those that seek strife") are mentioned often in Mandaean texts. It is evident that the Sasanians are meant, since their rule followed that of the Parthians in Babylonia. The term seems to be applied also to the inhabitants of Persis.

<sup>6</sup> 'Dilbilaiia'. This appears to be a miswriting of the 'Dilmāiia', i. e. the inhabitants of the ancient Dailam (see *Sfar Malwašia*, Luzac, London, 1949, p. 207).

<sup>7</sup> See p. 8, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Mandaean sanctuaries, see p. 10, n. 8.

<sup>11</sup> As before, (see p. 0, n. 4) read "Babylonia" for "Baghdad!"

And so a Hardabaean (Sasanian) dynasty ruled for three hundred and sixty years<sup>1</sup>, and then the Son of Slaughter, the Arab, set up as king, went forth and took a people to himself and performed circumcision. (Even them), after this had happened and these events had taken place, sixty banners (still) remained and pertained<sup>2</sup> to me<sup>3</sup> in Baghdad. Then he took the sword and put to the sword from the city of Damascus unto Bit Dubar, which is called Bdin<sup>4</sup>. He governed it all and ruled over the lord of the hill-country of the Persians who are called Hardbaeans<sup>5</sup> and took away sovereignty from them.

Then, when this had taken place, in time there came (one) Anuš, called the son of Danqa, from the uplands of the Arsaiia [from (to?) the city of Baghdad *bišuš*<sup>6</sup> kings of the planting of Artabanus, and brought in his own, belonging to Muhammad, son of 'Abdallah son-of-Slaughter, the Arab<sup>7</sup>, when he was seven hundred years old<sup>8</sup>.

And he took him from his city to Suf-Zaba which is called Basrah, and showed him the hill-country of the Persians<sup>9</sup> (unto?) the city of Baghdad. And Anuš ('Uthra?) instructed the Son-of-Slaughter, as he had instructed hug-son-of Danqa, about this Book<sup>10</sup> (compiled) by his fathers, upon which all kings of the Naṣoraēans stood firm. And a list of kings<sup>11</sup> is in this book, which teacheth (chronicleth?) from Adam, king of the world, unto King Artabanus, (yea even) unto Anuš-son-of-Danqa, who were (all?) of the Chosen Root. Then he told him about the king of the Ardubaiia<sup>12</sup> (Sasanians); about all he sought to do and (of) his connection<sup>13</sup> with the children of the

<sup>1</sup> Sasanians ruled from A. D. 226-636 (see Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 436).

<sup>2</sup> The author uses continuously the historic present.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably Hibil-Ziwa. He is supposed to be the narrator.

<sup>4</sup> I have not identified this place name.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 14, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Or 'bihnuš'. I have come across no such word hitherto. The whole passage is unintelligible. Should it be 'banuš' ("with Anuš") meaning that Anuš-bar-Danqa was accompanied by his namesake, the spirit Anuš-'Uthra?

<sup>7</sup> D. C. 9 has "Arabs".

<sup>8</sup> The obscure paragraph in square brackets must be corrupt. I can make nothing of it.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 14, n. 7.

<sup>10</sup> The "Book" here probably refers to the *Ginza Rba*, which contains a list of Parthian rulers.

<sup>11</sup> See n. 10.

<sup>12</sup> D. C. 9 has mistakenly 'Arbāiia' (Arabs). I have followed the older text.

<sup>13</sup> Were 'kibša' "conquest", "subjection" here, it would not be followed by 'mn' (cf. *שׁמנ*, J. p. 630).

great Nation of Life<sup>1</sup>; in order that they (the *Moslems*) should not harm the *Naṣōraean*s who lived in the era of his government<sup>2</sup>.

Thus did Anuṣ-son-of-Danqa explain and speak so that, through the power of the lofty King of Light — praised be his name! — it was not permitted to the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, to harm the congregation of souls, owing to the protection afforded by these explanations of the Great Revelation — praised be its name!

And, concerning that which I found in these commentaries on the Great Revelation<sup>3</sup>, I found not (*its equal?*) amongst all the treatises and *miṣria*<sup>4</sup> and miscellanies about the Great Life which were in libraries and in my possession. I went round to all the *Naṣōraean riš-amia*<sup>5</sup> that there were; I saw many scripts, writings of research and manuscripts of the Great Revelation, but saw not the like of this well-established Source. For it is reliable, existing from ancient times and eternally, from the beginning of the eighth world unto worlds' end. (*These are*) writings which teach orthodox procedure, that are all clarity. Instruction about the beginnings of all light and the end of all darkness is found in these writings of the Great Revelation and not found in any other books. That which is taught in this book and Road of the Righteous hath been bestowed upon the righteous<sup>7</sup> unto worlds' end; this Road of the Righteous hath been bestowed upon (every) son of the True Root, upon (every) son of the Pure Drop who, when listening to the words and teachings of this writing of the righteous, witnesseth publicly thereto, and his mind testifieth thereto and is enlightened. But when a foolish person heareth these trustworthy words his mind groweth dark and he doth not appreciate them, nor can (such a person) discern that they are pure sayings. And (*their*) colours die away from his mind like as a burgeoning plant (*fadeth*) and the mot from which it appeared<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Šurba d hiia' (lit. "planting of Life") an expression often used for "the Mandaean".

<sup>2</sup> This episode suggests that Anuṣ-Uthra inspired his namesake Anbar-Danqa to convince Moslems that Mandaean were "people of a book" and that he showed the *Giṣza Rba*, or other sacred Writings as a proof that they were not pagans.

<sup>3</sup> I. e., the *Alf Trisar Šwialia*? (See pp. x-xi).

<sup>4</sup> 'Miṣra' "boundary", "line of demarcation". Here, if 'sigiia' ('c'ways') refers to books (see p. 14 n. 4), 'miṣria' must mean some kind of literary composition — exorcisms?

<sup>5</sup> See p. 12, n. 11.

<sup>6</sup> 'Tuqna' (Cf. J. 1121 (2)) "to do a thing properly".

<sup>7</sup> Read 'lšalmania' thib. D. C. 36 omits.

'Hibil-Ziwa expounded these interpretations and revealed and declared: "Any *Naṣōraean man* in whose library these explanations are found should beware lest he reveal in the presence of foolish persons (*mysteri*es) penetrated<sup>1</sup> and revealed<sup>2</sup> by deeply thinking theologians<sup>3</sup>; because he that revealeth anything that is weighty in this writing (*book*) in the presence of foolish and ill-conditioned 'uthras who would bring pure words into contempt, layeth up for himself sixty causes of stumbling and sixty sins<sup>3</sup>. (But he that is silent before foolish persons concerning such interpretations)<sup>4</sup> sixty offences and sixty sins shall be forgiven him and Abathur will grasp (*his hand*) in honourable *kuṣta*<sup>5</sup>.

'Then Hibil-Ziwa — praised be his name! — taught that every man who concealeth (*the Great Revelation?*) it but observeth it, when his measure is full<sup>6</sup> he will rise up without sin and (*moreover*) will loose and take with him sixty (*souls*) who are bound.

'And he will rise up towards his fathers and his Father<sup>7</sup> will take his hand in honourable *kuṣta* and he will be acclaimed as one in a thousand like Abathur Rama. And he will behold the great Countenance of Glory and will take His hand in honourable *kuṣta* and will be set at the King's right hand. (*For*) he whose mind testifieth

<sup>1</sup> A play on words such as Mandaean love. In the previous paragraph, teaching revealed to an unappreciative and stupid person is likened to a burgeoning sprout ('qadaḥa') which withers away. Here we have 'qdihia' -- penetrated (*mysteri*es) -- and 'qadaḥia' -- those who penetrate deeply -- (*into hidden meanings*).

<sup>2</sup> 'Qadaḥia' (Cf. J. p. 1313 𐌒𐌕𐌐𐌕, "one able to enter into the depth of a Biblical subject"). I have translated freely in order to convey the sense.

<sup>3</sup> This passage is a faulty paraphrase of sentences in (a) *Alf Trisar Šwialia* and (b) *Giṣza Rba*, left side, viz. (a) 'anat latigalil l' utria blilia d mašitilun lrazia dilan ulayadia mahu amria' (Reveal nothing to foolish 'uthras who will bring our mysteries into contempt and know not what they say); (b) 'Kulman d mitqal ulaiiṭḥ lmuta saim lqudamḥ šitin ušit tiqlata' (He that stumbleth and curseth Death layeth up for himself sixty-six causes of stumbling). See G. R. p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> Some such sentence must have occurred here; as it stands, the passage is contradictory.

<sup>5</sup> 'Kuṣta' is a ceremony of pact and peace; a sign of fealty and acceptance of fealty. It is performed by two persons. Each clasps the right hand of the other, and when the grip is released, each of the two carries his right hand to his lips and kisses it. In Mandaean literature, *Kuṣta* is often personified. See p. 5, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Literally "when his measure is complete", i. e. "when his time (to die) has come". D. C. 36 'šalimḥ', D. C. 9 'šlimḥ'.

<sup>7</sup> The Great Life (see p. 14, n. 3). The verb is in the singular.

to these teachings about orthodox procedure<sup>1</sup> belongeth to the portion of the lofty and great **King** of Light, and hell-beasts<sup>2</sup> and purgatory demons have **no** power over him”.

And then Hibil-Ziwa — praised be his name! — taught Naṣoræans about the end of the last age. For evil will increase and pollutions **will** be many and abound in the world, since it is decreed that wickness **will** increase and pollutions multiply greatly in the world; because it is destined in that age. So that of a great shekel of gold but half-a-drachma's weight **will** rise up to the Light; everything will sink down into Darkness. In that period and epoch — from the rule of the Arab Son-of-Slaughter unto the end of the worlds — persecution and tribulation will increase for Naṣoræans; purity<sup>3</sup> **will** decrease and pollutions, adultery, theft and fraud **will** increase. And men **will** be polluted and during that period man will drink the blood of fellow-man. All that is fair (will *disappear*)<sup>4</sup>, (*but*), amongst Naṣoræans, he that is steadfast in and holdeth to these teachings and this great revelation will rise up by the path of believers and **will** behold the great Countenance of Glory.

Hibil-Ziwa taught concerning this age — that is, the age of the Arab Law — that it must needs occupy its destined span<sup>5</sup>, for the Law is constituted of four mysteries; part<sup>6</sup> therein is (of) the Light, and part therein wholly Root of Darkness. And it endureth for (?) two kings<sup>7</sup>. To it was imparted a kind of order. It is formed from four natural humours: the Root of Darkness is composed of and arrayed in blood, gall, (*wind*)<sup>8</sup>, and mucus.

<sup>1</sup> 'Tuqna', see p. 16, n. 6. (Much of the *Alf Trisar Šuiatia* is concerned with the proper performance of rituals, with purificatory rites etc.).

<sup>2</sup> See *Diwan Abatur*, p. IS., notes 4 and 6.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'dukia'.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence seems incomplete.

<sup>5</sup> 'Mnawath baiia mikal', "seeketh to accomplish its allotted portions". Mandæans have a belief, founded on astrology, that the stars allot a certain period to Arab rule and religion. The great epochs and ages of the world are governed by certain stars and constellations, and by spirits of Light or Darkness according to the period allotted to each.

<sup>6</sup> D. C. 7 has 'mn' for 'mna'.

<sup>7</sup> 'akil trin malkia' (Af. of KUL or KIL = (a) to measure, compute, (b) to complete, finish, to endure for, last). Here doubtful. "Two reigns"?

<sup>8</sup> A commentary on the prayer 'Tušbihan' (see M. L. p. 131) has "And where it said 'Turn away, cast out, remove and bring to naught angels of wrath, ice and hail from the land and house of N. son of N.', these are the four mysteries, blood, gall, wind and mucus; they are the angels of wrath — ice, hail

(*But*) the habiliments of the soul are formed of mystery<sup>1</sup>, light and the jordan; the sod is formed by proper observance<sup>2</sup> of the three mysteries, by purification<sup>3</sup> of the four natural humours is the soul's vestment formed<sup>4</sup>. For this is the eighth world, and it **will** turn from this 'habilitment, this 'garment' in which it dwelleth; it will not tarry therein.

(*During*) this Arab age every evil creature multiplieth like evil weeds that grow apace, and peoples, nations and languages disperse and become measureless and numberless, like the Darkness that came into being with abundance<sup>5</sup>.

Hibil-Ziwa taught that "At the latter end of the world, when the Arab, the Son-of-Slaughter, hath completed his (*allotted*) four thousand years, it will come to pass that the false messiah, son of Miriam, will succeed him, and that he **will** come and will show forth signs (*wonders*) in the world until the birds and the fish from sea and rivers open their mouths and bless him and give testimony, until (*even*) the clay and mudbrick in a building bear witness to him, and until four-legged creatures open their mouths and testify to him"<sup>6</sup>.

And Hibil-Ziwa explained (*further*): "*(But)* you, O Naṣoræans, and righteous elect men, testify not to him, for he is a false Messiah that walketh by fraud and sorcery. He is Mercury, who attracteth attention<sup>7</sup> and doth whatsoever he wisheth and his mind is filled with sorcery and frauds. I declare to you, (*ye*) chosen righteous ones and (*ye*) perfect ones that that are stedfast, abide by this pure line of separation<sup>8</sup> and alter no word or command of the great Father

hunger and thirst from which the soul was freed". (Blood, gall, venting wind, and mucus or spittle, are polluting in the eyes of Mandæans). The passage occurs in the *Alma Rišaiā Rba* (D. C. 41).

<sup>1</sup> The word 'raza' "mystery" is especially applied to ritual meals consumed in the name of the dead.

<sup>2</sup> 'Tuqna', see p. 18, n. 1, and p. 16, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> 'Šāta' has several meanings: (a) purification, cleansing, (b) lucidity, clearness, (c) gushing-out, pouring forth, coming in abundance.

<sup>4</sup> D. C. 9 has 'štararh lbuša lbuša', D. C. 36 'štararh lbuša'.

<sup>5</sup> See note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Genza Rba* (left side): — "It **will** happen that the false Messiah will come and become lord of the whole world... From East to West he **will** come on a day and even clay brick will testify to him from the wall" (G. R. p. 414). See also Pognon, *op. cit.*, pp. 155 and 226.

<sup>7</sup> D. C. 36 mlagat ainia; D. C. 9 'mlagtia ainia' lit. "holdeth eyes".

<sup>8</sup> 'Mišra' (see p. 16, n. 4).



of **Glory**, that He may take, **you** by the hand, watch over you and deliver you out of the hands of the children<sup>1</sup> of **Krun**”<sup>2</sup>.

Hibil-Ziwa taught: “When the Messiah hath returned, ascending to the sky — and his reign **will** last six thousand years — he will ascend and **assume** his first body. From that epoch until worlds' end, wickedness will depart from the world; that which issued from the earth **will** enter the earth and that which descended from the sky will return and enter the sky. And there will be righteous<sup>3</sup> people in the world, and no man will covet his neighbour's goods. And people's senses will return to them and they will not perform circumcision; they **will** be converted and Nasoraean will increase in the world. The eye of envy<sup>4</sup> will be lifted from them and the sword will depart from the world. It will be as if the sword brought by the **Son of Darkness**<sup>5</sup>, he whose sword was of the world of **Satan**<sup>7</sup>, had never been in the world<sup>6</sup>. And with it (goeth?) a force which he possessed not in the world<sup>8</sup>, until Mars came and set up his sign and bound him thereto by oath.

“(Pea), there will be righteous people and government will revert to sons of the Great Family of Life, and they will be diligent and have the ascendance. (But) kings bring accusation against the age, just as the Root of Nasoraean reprove it<sup>9</sup>, for, before all (else) they cared for agriculture and gladdened the king (?)<sup>10</sup>. And people will be converted, and there **will** be righteous people and righteousness **will** increase. And fifty thousand years **will** pass in calm ease without disturbance, and all will keep to one word (*speaking one language?*), and there **will** be no hatred, envy or dissension amongst them, and ill-will<sup>11</sup> shall be removed from the minds of all peoples, nations and tongues”.

Hibil-Ziwa explained (*further*): “When (*these*) portents occur

<sup>1</sup> D. C. 36 ‘bnh d bnh d Krun’; D. C. 9 ‘bnh d Akrun’.

<sup>2</sup> Krun (Chronos?) is a ruler of the world of darkness or under-world.

<sup>3</sup> Or “perfect”.

<sup>4</sup> Or “crookedness of vision”.

<sup>5</sup> D. C. 9 has ‘balma’; D. C. 36 ‘alma’. Here D. C. 9 seems the more likely,

<sup>6</sup> ‘Ayum’. Cf. the spirit in G. R. called ‘Daum’ (Of-Darkness).

<sup>7</sup> D. C. 9 has ‘aita’ (deception, illusion) for ‘Šatana’ (Satan).

<sup>8</sup> D. C. 36 has ‘alma’ after ‘balma’, making the sentence “force he had not in the world until Mars cometh and set up his sign”.

<sup>9</sup> D. C. 9 has ‘maukia’ (Af. NKA); D. C. 36 ‘malkia’. Context indicates that D. C. 9 is the more likely word here.

<sup>10</sup> The whole passage is obscure, and translation tentative.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Zira’ is obviously a miswriting for either ‘zida’ (wrath, malice) or ‘zhira’ (resentment, venom). “Ill-will” covers both meanings.

and the time hath came; those fifty thousand years<sup>1</sup> will be my allotted portion, mine, Yawar-Ziwa's, because the first age was (the age of) Anuš-Uthra and its consummation (or “development”)<sup>2</sup> was bestowed upon me, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa.

“Then the latter part of the age and the decadence and end of the world **will** be given to Mamit<sup>3</sup> the Least-of-her-Brethren<sup>4</sup>; (her portion) followeth my portion, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa's.

“Thus the latter end of the age and the decadence and final end of the world is given to Mamit daughter of Qin<sup>5</sup>, the mother of the Seven (who?) occupied seven portions, and the eighth was given to Amamit as hers, for her own. And, as the utter end of light meaneth<sup>6</sup> the beginning of total darkness, so the portion of Qin, the decadence of the Arab age and the end<sup>7</sup> of the eighth world (*succeeded mine*)”<sup>8</sup>.

Hibil-Ziwa — praised be his name! — taught concerning the Wörd, that is the Great Mystery: “This writing, that is the Diwan of the Great Revelation from the beginning of worlds of light unto the end of the eighth world, this Road of the Righteous shall not fail, because it is (*concerneth?*) the portion of Father-Life, the Ancient, the First — praised be His name!

“Let every man of the Nasoraean and Mandaean who may be living in the eighth world be steadfast and bear testimony and act according to this reliable basis, and with a sincere heart and believing lips be of my allotted portion, mine the High King of light, so that thereby Habšaba (Sunday)<sup>9</sup> may be his deliverer, and save him from the children<sup>10</sup> of Krun; and I **will** set him at my right hand. (But) any Nasoraean or Mandaean that is of the True Root, yet doth not bear testimony to this Road of the Righteous but testifieth according to the Way of Ruha, their words have I rejected. (*Such a one*) will not be my allotted portion but **will** belong to Ruha

<sup>1</sup> D. C. 36 has ‘zibnia’ for ‘šnia’.

<sup>2</sup> Pa. of SQM (to complete, make perfect, consummate, develop).

<sup>3</sup> D. C. 9 has Amamit for Mamit throughout. Amamit appears in the *Ginza Rba* as the wife of Zartai-Zartanai (a king of the underworld) and as an epithet for Libat (Venus). The word ‘mamit’ (ממית) = “death”, “pestilence”.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Ahia’ = *Geschwister*, i. e. both brothers and sisters.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Qin’ a queen in the underworld.

<sup>6</sup> ‘tbiat’? (Ethpa. BUA. To produce, bring about, result in).

<sup>7</sup> D. C. 9 has ‘ušfula’ for ‘šifulta’.

<sup>8</sup> A free translation. See p. 18, n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Habšaba’ “the First Day of the Week” is personified by Mandaeans as a saviour-spirit.

<sup>10</sup> see p. 20, n. 1.

and the Messiah. Habšaba **will** not be **his** helper, and he **will** not be delivered out of the hands of the sons of **En**”.

These doctrines were imparted by Hibil-Ziwa to the sons of the great Family of Life. And he enlighteneth their minds and instructed their intelligence about the **King** of Light — praised be His name!

And this is a copy of the *Diwan d. Gadana Rabtia*<sup>1</sup>. *Finis*<sup>2</sup>.

This is the Diwan of Great Revelation called the *Haran Gawaita* which I copied for myself for the third time. I am poor, striving and childlike, a slave that is all sin, (*unworthy to*) **kiss** the shoes on the feet of Naşoræans, dust beneath the feet of the pious and least amongst my fellow *ganzivri*<sup>3</sup>. I am Zakia-Zihrun son of Rabbi Ram son of Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana son of Rabbi Ram son of Yahia-Baktiar son of Rabbi Adam-Mhatam son of Rabbi Bihram-Brhiiia son of Rabbi Adam-Zakia son of Rabbi Brhiiia, family name Kuhailia. I copied from my own copy a third time. I am Zakia-Zihrun son of Rabbi Ram son of Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana son of Rabbi...<sup>4</sup> family name Kuhailia... from a copy of a *Diwan* belonging the great, lofty and respected one, a reliable priest, Rabbi Mhatam son of Yahia-Bayan son of Yuhana-Şadan son of Zakria-Br-Hibil son of Zakria known as Dihdaria, and his family name Sabur. And he had no copy but this. And Life is victorious, *Finis*.

Thus this venerated Diwan, Explanations and Great Revelation called the *Haran Gawaita* was set in order and completed on Friday the twenty-sixth of the Month of Second **Sowing**, which is Nisan (*in the sign of*) the Ram, the year of Friday<sup>5</sup> in the year one thousand, and eighty-eight of Arab chronology — may the (*world*) founder, upon them, and Manda-d-Hiia make impotent their raging **against** the great Congregation of Souls! (*It was copied*) in the city of Shustar by the waters of the Duganda, and in the court<sup>6</sup> of the respected craftsman Nairuz son of Hadat, his name' being Yahia son of Bihram son of Adam son of Yuhana-Şadan son of Zakria-br-Hibil son of Zakria son of Zihrun, known as Dihdaria, **his** family name being Sabur — may Manda-d-Hiia forgive **him his** sins! So

<sup>1</sup> Gad was the Babylonian gad of good fortune, to whom even Jewish exiles paid tribute. 'Gadana' = "fortunate, auspicious" or "divine", "godlike".

<sup>2</sup> S. . . . .a = 'Saka', terminus, end.

<sup>3</sup> A 'ganzibra' is a rank above 'tarmida' "priest".

<sup>4</sup> A break.

<sup>5</sup> I. e., a year which began on a Friday.

<sup>6</sup> A 'tarbasa' appears to have been a three-walled chamber, the open side of which fronts an outer courtyard or private garden.

<sup>7</sup> That is, his 'malwaša': see p. 10 n. 1.

these venerated Diwans were assembled from beginning to end with care, knowledge and meticulous research. And my co-editor was my elder brother, a reliable and **skilful** priest, Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana son of Rabbi **Ram**, (*his*) family name being Kuhailia. Manda-d-Hiia forgive him **his** sins!

(Here the text of D.C. 36 breaks off. An autobiographical note added about 168 years later concludes the manuscript. It describes an outbreak of cholera which carried off the entire Mandaean priesthood, and the uncanonical methods resorted to in order that a few literate members of priestly families could be ordained as priests)<sup>1</sup>.

D. C. 9, (copied by the same priest who wrote the autobiographical appendix added to D. C. 36) ends:

“ This is the Diwan of Great Revelation called *Haran Gawaita* which I, poor and lowly (etc.) Ram Zihrun son of Rabbi Sam-Bihram (etc. etc.) copied from two diwans...”.

One of the two was a copy of a copy of a copy of the *Haran Gawaita* of D. C. 36, and the other is also traced back to D. C. 36 so that it seems likely that by 1088 A. H. only one ancient and imperfect copy had survived.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 67-8 and Translator's note.

# DIWAN MASBUTA d HIBIL ZIWA

(D. C. 35)

The Scroll of the Baptism of Hibil Ziwa

## EXPLANATION

Pollution is regarded as a kind of death by any **pious Mandaean**. To touch a polluted person is almost equivalent to handling a corpse, and entails purification by triple immersion'. A polluted person is thus cut off from the **living** as if he were dead; he must be readmitted into the community by a ceremony, or group of ceremonies, symbolising rebirth.

Chief amongst these ceremonies is baptism, a rite that includes immersion, unction and sacraments of bread and water. For a polluted layman or laywoman, for instance a woman after childbirth, a midwife after an accouchement, or a bride and bridegroom after consummation of marriage<sup>1</sup>, baptism at the hands of a priest is enough to readmit them into the society of their fellows.

For a priest it is otherwise. A man<sup>2</sup> raised by the "crown" of priesthood to the rank of "king" becomes responsible for the spiritual and material well-being of his people, since he performs ceremonies which ensure the well-being, health and fertility of his people in this world, and their continued existence and welfare in the next. Therefore, when a priest is banned by pollution from his duties, the whole community is affected; and ceremonies necessary for his purification and rehabilitation are understandably more arduous and lengthy than those performed for a mere layman.

A priest becomes polluted by infringement, usually accidental or involuntary, of ritual rules. If he has eaten food prepared by a Gentile, or if he has handled a corpse, or unwittingly performed the marriage ceremony on a woman no longer virgin, or even if he has been deprived of his beard<sup>3</sup>, he is debarred from all priestly duties. Before he can be readmitted to "kingly" status, a *masiqta*<sup>4</sup> must be celebrated for him as if he were dead, a *zidqa brika*<sup>5</sup> performed for him in augmented form, and he must be baptised three hundred and sixty times<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The baptism of a pair before marriage is intended to ensure that they enter the holy state in a condition of absolute purity.

<sup>2</sup> He must be of priestly birth.

<sup>3</sup> The beard of a priest in Ahwaz was recently cut by force as an act of revenge by a fellow-priest.

<sup>4</sup> A solemn ritual meal and commemoration in the name of the dead.

<sup>5</sup> The "Blessed Oblation", a lesser form of ritual meal and obmmemoration.

<sup>6</sup> The "Great Baptism" (i. e. 360 baptisms) can no longer be performed

When Hibil-Ziwa "son of Manda-d-Hiia" descended into the seven worlds of darkness to perform tasks undertaken at the behest of the world of light, he incurred deep pollution through his contact with that which was dark, evil and gross. Owing to this, he was unable to return when his work was completed. The spirits of light made anxious enquiry about him, and a *masiqta* was performed in his name in the "ether-world". This was effective, and Hibil-Ziwa with his attendant spirits and others whom he had freed were loosed from the spell which held them back. Joyfully they embarked for the journey to the celestial realm. The journey was partly accomplished, but re-instatement could not be complete until further rites, namely a *zidqa brika* and a baptism had been performed: How these were celebrated by sixty "kings", uthras<sup>1</sup> and mighty spirits of light is described in the ritual manuscript here translated.

Baptism on such a scale cleanses any major pollution, and it is as a model that the narrative is composed. The narrator, as often happens in this kind of literature, has one eye on the priest learning his profession and the other on the ideal past, and the verb varies in person, number and tense accordingly, sometimes during a single sentence. When the imperative is used, one supposes either that the heavenly instructor is giving directions to the uthras and kings performing the ceremonies for Hibil-Ziwa, or that instruction is addressed to the Mandaean priesthood. It must also be remembered that in Mandaic the perfect tense follows the word "when" or an adverbial sentence equivalent to it. In English such a phrase of as "If he comes", or "When he comes" would be in Mandaic "When he came, if he came". Of course, when the action indicated is not in sequence, "When he came (has come)" ... "you will have done thus and thus" occurs in both languages.

For some of the hymns and part of the ritual I found parallels in another ritual manuscript in my collection. This scroll, D. C. 50, is entitled *Šarḥ d Maṣbuta Rabtia d h' tlatma uštin maṣbutiata* (a commentary on the Great Baptism, which is three hundred and sixty baptisms) and its copyist was the same priest who copied D.C. 35. Comparison was helpful, especially for the hymns, of which there are usually several versions. These hymns (*'Izania*), speak in veiled language of creation, propagation and fecundity, and are

by a large number of priests and head-priests, for the priesthood has dwindled to a very few. I have described a modern compromise in MMII pp. 175-6.

<sup>1</sup> 'Malkia' (kings) and 'utria' ('uthras') are spirits of life and 'light'. Whilst there are 'malkia' of darkness and evil, uthras are always beneficent.

often extremely obscure. Such hymns are recited also at the ordination of priests and at weddings and it **must be** remembered that all these ceremonies protect and ensure the prosperity and health, physical and spiritual, of the people. I found no Mandaean priest who could explain or translate satisfactorily any obscure passage, although most can render a simple sentence with fair accuracy into Arabic. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, if hymns long transmitted, often orally, exist in several forms; and the only manner in which one can arrive at an approximate estimate of their meaning is to compare versions and to refer to similar hymns in the collection of liturgical hymns known as the '*niania*'<sup>1</sup>.

The illustrations to the text are drawn according to convention. No Mandaean draughtsman, however accomplished, would dream of portraying a spirit (an uthra or malka) in a naturalistic manner. Spirits are mouthless: for hair they have foliage or rays; their bodies are square or oblong and their hands and feet five-pronged *toasting-forks*.

A word concerning the *Zidqa Brika* (Blessed Oblation). Unlike the *masiqta*, it is celebrated outside the cult-hut or sanctuary, although within the sacred precincts of the *mandi*. It takes place beneath the sky. It entails the previous slaughter of a sheep by a ritual slaughterer, accompanied by the usual formulae for a slaughter, and some of the meat is eaten as an ordinary midday repast in an interval after the *masiqta* by priests who have performed that long and exhausting ceremony. The tail-fat (*liyāh*) is considered a delicacy in Iran and Iraq, and gobbets of tail-fat are put with other sacred foods upon the ritual *ṭariana*<sup>2</sup> at the *Zidqa Brika* performed in the name of a dead or polluted person. In the illustrations the fat is portrayed as a miniature sheep. It is worth remembering that an offering of sheep's fat or goat fat was formerly consumed at the Parsi ritual meal celebrated for the dawn of the third day after death (See MMII, p. 228). The importance of myrtle and its ritual inhalation recalls the Zoroastrian *barsom*. Finally, it should be noted that not once during the baptism is there mention of John the Baptist.

#### Note

Words understood, or which obviously complete or explain a sentence or words are added in brackets. They are necessarily conjectural.

<sup>1</sup> Neither Lidzbarski nor De Morgan had access to a complete collection of the '*niania*'. The word means "responses" i. e. recitations in antiphon.

<sup>2</sup> The small clay table or altar used by a Mandaean priest.

## THE 'BAPTISM OF HIBIL-ZIWA

Praising my Lord with a pure mouth.

In the name of the Great First Sublime (*strange*) Life, from worlds of light abounding, who is above all works! Health and vindication, strength and soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins be there for me, Yahia-Bihram son of Hawa-Simat and for my father Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, and for my mother Hawa-Simat daughter of Maliha, and for my teacher Ram-Zihrun son of Maliha, and for my wife Šarat daughter of Šarat-Simat, and for my other wife, Mamania daughter of Hawa, and for my offspring, Anhar, Hawa-Mamania, Yahia, Bihram and Mhatam, Šarat's children; and Sam, Mamania's son; and for my brethren (*brothers and sisters*), Adam-Yuhana, Šarat-Mamania, Sam-Šaiar, Qaimat and Mudalal, the children of Hawa-Simat; and for all souls of priests and *ganzibria*<sup>1</sup>, of treasurers and chiefs and heads of the people who (*se names*) are inscribed in this scroll<sup>2</sup> of the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa. It shall be a forgiver of sins for them and theirs, and for our fathers and teachers (*elders*), and for our brothers and sisters who have departed the body and for those *living* in the body. May there be forgiving of sins for them and for all souls who testify to the Life. And my name and their names shall be set up in the Great Place, the House of Perfection; and Life shall be my helper and theirs. And Life rejoiced for ever, and Life is victorious over all works.

Now ye shall know, O my brethren that succeed us, that this is a Diwan<sup>3</sup> (roll, a composite *document*), that I, who am poor, lowly and striving amongst my brother-priests, copied from the manuscript of Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana son of Adam-Zihrun; he was a *ganzibra*. He said: "I copied from the manuscript of Rabbi Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana. He said 'The beginning of this (*scroll*) was cut off; but all that, there was, I wrote down'". And I, a slave that is all *sin* (*I*), Yahia-Bihram, transcribed all that was written, through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hia<sup>4</sup>. *Finis*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ganzibra': the grade above priest, sometimes translated "bishop". See p. 22, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 'sigia': literally "Way", a name applied to a ritual-text in scroll-form. See p. 14, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See *Haran Gawaita* p. X.

<sup>4</sup> A celestial pair often invoked; the names mean "Blinding-Light" (or "Dazzling-Light") and "Treasure-of-Life".

(The beginning is missing, and the first sentence doubtful).

.. Thus is the doctrine? of Yawar, and it causeth the minds and hearts of kings<sup>1</sup> at his right hand to dwell on (*the wisdom* of?) Hibil-Ziwa and drink<sup>2</sup> thereof in serenity. *Finis*.

Yawar went on until he reached the King. Seeing that luminous Appearance, Hibil-Ziwa was afraid and fell on his face. Then the King grasped him with his right hand and addressed a speech to Hibil, whose quaking and trembling fled from him. He (*the King*) said to him: "Fear not, Hibil-Ziwa, for not one of the<sup>3</sup> utras can cause thy strength which I instilled into thee, to fall away from thee. For I endowed thee with this power so that all the mighty spirits of Darkness should fear thee, and that thou mayest tread them underfoot and inspire fear in all the worlds of the Children of Darkness".

Then the King of all worlds of light took him into his inner Abode<sup>4</sup> of Light and baptised him in three hundred and sixty jordan; sealed him with three hundred and sixty seals of light, clothed him in three hundred and sixty robes of light, transferred to him three hundred and sixty *škintas*<sup>5</sup> and bestowed on him three hundred and sixty jordan<sup>6</sup> and streams. And (*in?*) each *škinta* there were five thousand utras who rejoice and give joy-cries for Hibil-Ziwa. And He conferred upon him the great mystery which issueth from Him daily, and bestowed on him a banner, Bihram, from which three hundred and sixty darting rays of light go forth when he unfurleth it, thereby illuminating all the worlds, and confounding the powers of darkness by its might; (yea) they are unable to gaze at the brilliance of the appearance of the banner given to Hibil-Ziwa; on the contrary, when they see its flashing they are spellbound and a terror of spirit on account of Hibil-Ziwa overwhelmeth

<sup>1</sup> 'malkia'. The word 'malka' (plu. 'malkia') throughout the text refers not only to good and evil spirits, but also to priests, who, when the "crown" of priesthood is placed on their heads at ordination, become "kings". The "crown" is actually a woven fillet of white silk.

<sup>2</sup> 'šitaiia'. (I suggest 'štaiia' mnḥ, "converse with him". I cannot think that this was the original word.

<sup>3</sup> An 'utra' is a heavenly being. See MMII pp. 94-96.

<sup>4</sup> 'hilibuna'. Lidzbarski translated "Egg". The word for "egg" is 'bit' which also means "house", "dwelling". Hence 'hilibuna' is often used for "house" or "abode".

<sup>5</sup> 'škinta', plural 'škinata'. This word, which also means "a dwelling", is used for "shrine", see p. 4, n. 3; sometimes in sense of "shekinah".

<sup>6</sup> A jordan is pure running water of any kind, but is usually a stream or pool of flowing water used for ritual ablution and baptism.

<sup>7</sup> Literally "held", "grasped".

them. And He spoke<sup>1</sup> (*to?*) the Great Radiance and Light that is mightier than all worlds, the Eldest of all the worlds of light, before Whom none existed, to Him who is the great Presence<sup>2</sup> of Glory which emanated from Himself. And He said to Him: "Lay Thy hands on Hibil-Ziwa; seal him and arm him and establish him and say to him: 'Thou art an offshoot of the Life; thou art the First and Last; thou art the predestinate being that was destined to be. Act and achieve! The Great (*Life*) hath called thee; all that thou doest shall succeed, and in these thy deeds there shall be nought that is lacking or deficient! Invest him with the Great Mystery, the strength of which is great and mightier than all worlds'".

And the kings (*spirits*) took *kušta* with<sup>3</sup> him and (*each*) conferred on him some of his own glory. They gave him seven coverings and sealed him with a first seal; its name, a secret name, was graven thereon. Then (*they sealed him with*) a second seal, "the-seal-Mak-šiel" was graven thereon. (*Then*) a third; its name was "Zarziel-that-guardeth-him" and a secret name was graven thereon. The fourth seal, "Great-Light" was graven thereon, a secret name<sup>4</sup>. The fifth seal, "Light" was graven thereon, a secret name. The sixth seal, "Great-Brilliance" was graven thereon, a secret name. The seventh seal, "Name-of-the-Life" was graven thereon (*and?*) "Radiance"; a secret name. Such were the names of the seven seals bestowed upon Hibil-Ziwa, which were seven sealings daily. And a treasury of the Great First Life was with him, hidden, and (*it*) bestowed on him a sublime strength that was great and boundless and would protect his likeness<sup>5</sup> from all kings (*powers*) of darkness. And it gave him nine hundred and ninety *škinata*<sup>1</sup> (*and in?*) each *škinata*<sup>6</sup> eight hundred thousand uthras who read recitations (*or* "books") and teach lucid doctrines. And in all the worlds of darkness<sup>7</sup> they rejoice and welcome Hibil-Ziwa.

<sup>1</sup> Read 'lziwa'?

<sup>2</sup> Or "countenance". (P. S. Thes. "theolog. a Person of the Holy Trinity") 'Paršufa' = also "personification, appearance, likeness".

<sup>3</sup> "Taking 'kušta'", refers to the ceremony of taking the right hand of another person in token of a solemn pact or oath. See p. 17, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> It is not clear from the construction whether the name given is the "secret name" or whether there was another, not given.

<sup>5</sup> Or, "counterpart". The word 'dmuta' is applied to the ideal double of every created thing. It corresponds closely to the Parsi 'fravaši'.

<sup>6</sup> 'škinata' plural 'škinata'; "shrine". See p. 4 n. 3 and p. 31 note 6.

<sup>7</sup> "Darkness" must be a miscopying; read, "worlds of light".

They (*also*) gave him nine thousand booths (*?*)<sup>1</sup>; within them they praised and talked about, his deeds (*and their words?*) passed from world to world, journeying on until they reached the world of Šar<sup>2</sup>, (*yea*) until they reached the world of the great Akrun<sup>3</sup>, King of Darkness. Then (*they gave him*) three hundred and sixty hidden mysteries, each mystery a powerful me, and gave him the banner Bihram which was created from the Great Fruit-Tree so that all worlds that behold it shine in its light and rejoice. And vestments that came from the Fruit-of-Radiance were created for him. And they gave him seven ritual staves, each staff<sup>4</sup> from a single vinestock and cut down for him seven (*vines*) so that each produced a staff for him. The worlds of Darkness behold it and are afraid and wretched and alarmed. The name of the first staff is Yahmaria-il, the name of the second Hathmi-il, the name of the third staff Zarzi'il, the name of the fourth staff Šlami'il, the name of the fifth staffs Zarzi'il, the name of the sixth staff Sam-Ziwa and the name of the seventh staff Štargan-Ziwa. These (*are the names of*) the seven staves which they gave to Hibil-Ziwa.

And they said to Hibil-Ziwa: "Why dost thou rest, great Hibil-Ziwa, sweet and gracious one? Arise, go, travel to the world of Darkness, because one<sup>5</sup>, the eldest son whom Gaf begot, seeketh to 'strive against the world to which he can lay no claim. What sayest thou"?

So Manda<sup>6</sup> and his brethren went to the world of darkness. They descended world after world till they reached the world of Krun, the great Mountain of Flesh. And he (*Hibil*) said to him: "What did my Parents<sup>7</sup> command thee, that thou orderest the occupation and

<sup>1</sup> A scribe's error; read (for 'sakiā') 'sakiia' ("guards"). 'Bgauaihun' is probably an insertion inspired by miscomprehension of 'sakiā'. The sentence should read: gave him 9,000 guards who praised and talked about his deeds". 'Šaka' meaning "booth of twigs" occurs in the wedding hymns.

<sup>2</sup> 'Šar' = "it was firm". See G. R. p. 62, also J. B. p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Krun or Akrun. See p. 20, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The ritual staff ('margna') is part of the insignia of every priest. It is usually of olive-wood; but the vine is also a sacred tree.

<sup>5</sup> The reference is to 'Ur, the giant son of Ruha (see G. R. p. 167 ff., 171 ff.). Ruha was the wife of Gaf, son Gaf, and became the paramour of her son 'Ur. 'Ur was rebellious and planned revolt against the celestial worlds. See also p. 4, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Manda-d-Hiia is the father of Hibil Ziwa; read "Hibil" for "Manda".

<sup>7</sup> The word means parents, and in fact two beings are named; the Primal Mana and the Occult Drop. But 'abaiata' (plural) is also used when speaking of the Great Life, the All-Father, since Hiia is an abstract plural.

subjugation of the heavens"? These (are) fifteen, (of which) seven are theirs, and the earth therewith. (Thus) are the fifteen constituted. Within the boundary all kings of darkness are confined and sealed to him (*Krun*).

They traversed mysteries of *Krun*, sealing him in, and rose until they reached the world of *Qin-Anatan*, the consort of the great *Gaf*. To that world (*Hibil-Ziwason of*) *Manda-ḡ-Hiia* came, knowing about the strength of their mighty deeds of darkness. So they went into the presence of the great *Qin*, and he said to her: "Whence did we come into being, that thou wast my equal? (Zit. of my stature). Is there not<sup>1</sup> a Well *Sumqaq*, whose depth none (knoweth) except *Manda-ḡ-Hiia*".

Then *Qin* came down and showed him the mystery of the Jewel, Mirror and Bitter Herb in which the strength of the whole world of darkness resideth<sup>2</sup>. Then (*Hibil-Ziwa son of*) *Manda-ḡ-Hiia*<sup>1</sup> took away those magic objects (Zit. mysteries) from the great Well, but so that *Qin* saw it not. And he bore away *Ruha* when she was pregnant of 'Ur to all the warriors that are of the Darkness, taking away black waters which are potent, and *Ptahil*<sup>3</sup>, whose name he divulgeth; and he is *Gabriel* the Envoy, and "the Second" and "the Third"; and these are the four creations, about which we have explained<sup>4</sup>, two male, and two female.

They reached the world of *Gaf*, and he (*Hibil*) uttered his mind and expressed his wisdom and said "How can we rise up towards my Parents<sup>5</sup>, when these creatures<sup>6</sup> that I brought are not like

<sup>1</sup> The passage is defective.

<sup>2</sup> These three magic objects and their capture are described in G. R. See G. R. pp. 158, 170 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ptahil*, son of *Hibil-Ziwa* and *Zahariel*: a demiurge, creator of the material world: also called the "Fourth Life".

<sup>4</sup> The reference seems to be to a section of the manuscript that is now missing. Knowledge of Mandaean myths help us to understand this obscure passage. *Ptahil's* creation of the physical world was unsuccessful because he himself was born of warring principles: his father a spirit of light, his mother a spirit of darkness. *Ruha*, sister to *Zahariel*, bore to her son 'Ur (see p. 33 note 5) the seven planets and the twelve signs of the Zodiac. "The Second" and "the Third" may refer to the creation of the spiritual and the physical Adam and the spiritual and physical Eve. Hence, the visit of *Hibil-Ziwa* to the world of darkness resulted eventually in the creation of the material world and of humanity; *Ruha* and Eve being female, and *Ptahil* and Adam male.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 33, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> The verb is in the plural; it should read "qiriata": "the called forth", i. e., the spirits who accompanied *Hibil-Ziwa*, and spirits held captive in the world of darkness.

Us, nor is their appearance radiant like that of the uthras, the children of light? My Parents will not now desire to have them in Their presence"!

When *Hibil-Ziwa* said this, the Great (*fife*) was cognisant of that which occupied his (*Hibil's*) mind.

Then *Hibil-Ziwa* offered up sublime and worthy devotional prayers, and he worshipped and praised the King of Light and said: "Nay there be sent for me, *Hibil-Ziwa*, by the mercy of the Life, a Messenger from the Great Life (since) it was by Your will that I went to the place of Darkness"?

Then said the great Primal *Mana*<sup>1</sup> to the great First Occult Drop: "Our son mourneth in the darkness and hath not the strength to rise! Summon his father, *Manda-ḡ-Hiia*, in order that he may send him strength, so that he may arise and come from the darkness and be raised up to our presence".

So word came to *Manda-ḡ-Hiia*: "Arise, write a Letter of *Kušta*<sup>2</sup> and furnish it with a aeal and send it to<sup>3</sup> *Hibil-Ziwa*".

(Then) *Manda-ḡ-Hiia* went to the abode<sup>4</sup> of the Primal *Mana*, and arrayed himself in seven coverings, which are rites and reliable sayings, and he brought it (the Letter) and placed it in the hand of *Šarhabi'il*, and brought (also) a new phial of pure crystal<sup>5</sup>. Then, when it was in his hand, *Manda-ḡ-Hiia* gave his hand to *Šarhabi'il* in *kušta*, and they sent the Letter to *Hibil-Ziwa* by him; as he (*Hibil*) was in the world of *Gaf*.

When *Hibil-Ziwa* opened the letter sent to that darkneer in which he was (detained) he arose and set out; but the kings of dark-

<sup>1</sup> The Great 'Mana' is the Over-Soul, or Over-Mind, the earliest manifestation of the Great Life. The 'mana' of a human being is, so to speak, a spark of this flame, a temporarily detached part of the Great 'Mana'. This gnostic conception appears in many forms of syncretistic philosophy. See G. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, p. 72; and H. Soderberg, *La Religion des Cathares*, pp. 168 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The "letter of *Kušta*", sometimes called "Letter to the King" or simply "the Letter" are names applied to a ceremony performed for a dying person. A small phial of holy oil is sealed by the priest and slipped into the pocket of the 'rasta' worn by the moribund person. The 'šganda' (See p. 12 n. 9) acts as proxy for the usually speechless person, and performs the ritual giving of the right hand in *kušta* with the priest (See p. 32 note 3). (The 'rasta' is the religious dress). For a description of this ceremony, see MMII pp. 169-173.

<sup>3</sup> The text is very defective here, and I have paraphrased freely what seems to be the meaning.

<sup>4</sup> 'hilbuna'; see p. 31, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> See above, note 2.



ness with whom he had associated in those seven worlds of darkness beheld it; and when they (*Hibil and his companions*) reached them, they (the powers of darkness) seized him. "We have said that thou art as one of ourselves, and now that thou art ours, wilt thou go away"? and they held him and laid hold of him<sup>1</sup> until Šarhabi'il mounted to the presence of the King of Light and said to Him: "Why is he (still) with kings of darkness"? And he, Manda-d-Hiia, became aware thereof, leaving with him (to seek) the presence of the powerful Great Mana. To Him he said "Read quickly a *masiqta*<sup>2</sup> for Hibil-Ziwa so that he may rise up and come from the seven worlds of darkness"!

Then Mana-Rba-Kabira (the great Mighty *Mana*), whose name is the great Adam-Shaq, arose and went into the presence of the Great-Occult-First-Drop and said (to her): "Our son is still with the Darkness and there is no being who answereth (*hisery*)".

Thereupon Kanat spoke and she said to Him: "The King that hath visited Thee (*saiṭh*) that we should read a *masiqta* like unto that mystery that we sent to Thee".

And they said to Him: "Speedily read a *masiqta* for him"! for they did not desire that fear of the Darkness should come upon him (*Hibil-Ziwa*).

Sa He, the Good Mana, for (the sake of) Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, pronounced this speech: "Arise, (*my*) sons, have compassion; (ye) kings of the *mašknia*<sup>4</sup>! Assemble a congregation and bring from the celestial world of the Father sixty (*spirits*) in whom nothing is amiss or lacking. And read a *masiqta* for him, and despatch sixty 'bttera'<sup>5</sup> to Hibil-Ziwa, and send him strength so that they (he and his companions) may travel and come from the seven worlds of darkness. Therefore (thou), his father, pity thy son<sup>6</sup>; build a sanctuary

<sup>1</sup> Read 'uqamṭuiḥ' "laid hold of him" for 'waqmuiḥ' "circumvented him".

<sup>2</sup> See p. 27, note 4. The 'masiqta' is, in fact, a kind of mass. The word means "a raising up", "a resurrection". Many features in this rite recall the Parsi Yasna ceremony, which is also performed for the souls of the dead and living.

<sup>3</sup> Delete 'd'.

<sup>4</sup> The cult-hut of the Mandaean is called the 'mašknā', or 'bit mašknā' or 'bit manda'. It might be translated "sanctuary".

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 35, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> It is clear that the scribe has miscopied, confused by the similarity of the words 'bn' "son" and 'bna' "to build". Read 'rhum lbnak 'bne mašknā', as I have translated.

(*mašknā*) and assemble a congregation, and bring uthras who are brothers of Ayar-Rba; they (*shall* be) his assistants".

Then there was a "sealing"<sup>1</sup> of uthras. Kings set out (*with*) incense, water, *pihta*<sup>2</sup> and myrtle, guardians of a great and mighty trust. They freed Hibil-Ziwa (*for*) they brought to him the Seal of kings, (so that) his mind took courage. They divulged their light to all worlds; (yea), ye<sup>3</sup> took them by the hand, (went) above them and guided them to the gate of the world of darkness. And all of them were superior to the kings of darkness and prevailed over them, (*over*) all the worlds and kings of darkness. They laid hold of those kings of darkness, and said to them: "Sneer not (*at* him) who (*belongeth*) to the First Father, for I will be his judge! I have spoken and I have redeemed; whoever he is I will give him to the Light; but he who belongeth to Darkness, (to) the Darkness I will give him. And (he *will* bring back) that treasure that thou *didst* carry off on the day of thy father's villainy (?)<sup>4</sup>. For it appeareth in that Sign that is great and not small, in thy sons and thine offspring which will spring from thy Stem. They performed thy works, Akrun, and cut (themselves) off from the family of Hibil-Ziwa. (But) for these there shall be a passport, the Treasure of the Father which I placed with thee and (with) the mysteries of Darkness".

Then Hibil-Ziwa spoke to the King of Darkness: "Honour the passport and seal it for the souls of those (*named*) therein, for their guidance hence".

They themselves gave the seal to Hibil-Ziwa and said to Hibil-Ziwa: "On that day on which ye did not write it, they, the kings of darkness, wrote the decree and sealed (*it*) themselves"<sup>5</sup>.

And they gave it to Hibil-Ziwa, and he, Hibil-Ziwa, said to his brethren, his helpers: "Rise up to the world of light and to the Everlasting<sup>6</sup> Abode, to the place where the sun goeth not down and lamps of light darken not! And we will go with swift course, and will travel, and will rise from the place of darkness to the great Home of Light

<sup>1</sup> I. e. preparation by ablution and consecration.

<sup>2</sup> Bread prepared and baked for the sacrament.

<sup>3</sup> The 2nd. person plural may be an error. If so, read "they" for "ye".

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is involved and obscure, but it refers I imagine to the magic talismans which Hibil-Ziwa obtained from Qin, see p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> As much as to say that; they themselves would have issued a passport?

<sup>6</sup> 'Daura taqna' is the antithesis of 'daura baṭla', the abode that comes to an end, becomes naught. I do not think that 'taqna' here has a "light" meaning, but means also "established", "settled", "permanent", "reliable".

and the Everlasting Abode. Uthras, our brothers, have commemorated us<sup>1</sup>, so that we may be amongst them and all the kings (*spirits*) in the Everlasting Abode. The multitude of Treasures and Lovely lights remembered us”!

Then Hibil-Ziwa unfurled his banner, so that the uthras and kings seated themselves in ships<sup>2</sup>, and set their course with praise-giving towards the great Home from which they came into being, to the place where the sun goeth not down and lamps of light dim not, to the place of kings, wherein uthras dwell; (yea) they dwell in that place. And to that Place, O uthras, our brethren, your souls are called and bidden!

And so they steered the ships and there was a banner of radiance and lamps of light to the right and left of Hibil-Ziwa. Then all the uthras and Hibil-Ziwa rejoiced and were glad because of that which had been achieved in the Darkness.

And thus Hibil-Ziwa travelled, and they rose as far as the middle world that (*lieth*) between Light and Darkness. But the guards that stand between Light and Darkness at the frontiers, at the gates of the Hills of Glory, (*on*) beholding him, were afraid of the host which accompanied him; and the guards melted (*with alarm*) and went into the presence of the Great Mighty King and said: “We are alarmed at a host of ships that are coming now into the Ether-World, and we know not what it can be, this host and mysterious invasion that has come from the world of Darkness”!

Then Mans-Rba-Kabira despatched the pure Yušamin, in order that he might ascertain what it was. Yušamin took his bow of light and fitted an arrow (*to it*) and uttered a shout to Hibil-Ziwa: “Who art thou? Thy name? Thy family-name? What do they call thee and whose son art thou? And to whom art thou accredited ambassador? (*Speak, or*) I will loose now the arrow from my hand and will pierce<sup>3</sup> thy right hand”!

Then Hibil-Ziwa called in reply to the pure Yušamin and said to him: “I am Hibil-Ziwa, that is my name, and my (*father's*) name is Manda-ḏ-Hiia. I am the Stranger, the Messenger that came from

<sup>1</sup> That is, named each soul in the prayer of intercession for the dead. “Commemoration” implies pronouncing the name of each deceased or living person for whom the ritual meal is celebrated, as in the Oriental mass, or the Parsi Yasna.

<sup>2</sup> In Mandaean literature, planets and spirits move about the atmosphere or ether in ships, not chariots. Sails are mentioned, and steering-oars (e. g. in the *Alf Trisar Suialia* and the *Diwan Abatur*).

<sup>3</sup> Literally, “set it into”.

the Place of Darkness and vanquished the armies of all the rebels and champions of the Darkness”!

So Yušamin did not return the arrow (*to the quiver?*) but cast it (*on*) the copper earth and trod them (*it?*) underfoot.

Thereupon they drew in the ships of Hibil-Ziwa and he went towards his parents and discoursed to them of all that he did in the Darkness. Notwithstanding, he had the strength to press and clasp firmly and closely the hands of his parents in his own.

When Mana-Rba-Kabira had seen him, He summoned<sup>1</sup> the sixty uthras who had read the *masiqta* for Hibil-Ziwa. They all came, and Mana-Rba-Kabira ordered them to build a *škinta*<sup>2</sup> of *mawata*<sup>3</sup> on the Bihrun(?)<sup>4</sup>, the Jordan at their right; and they unfurled banners like those nine banners which they unfurled for that ninth Treasure, that (*is*) the Name of the Father<sup>5</sup>. And they separated themselves from the Name of the Mother and clothed themselves in the Father, and the father of Yawar-Ziwa impersonated, and took upon himself the mysteries and strength (?)<sup>6</sup> of Hibil-Ziwa. And they, the sixty kings, prayed the Devotions<sup>7</sup> and read the insertions<sup>8</sup> and recited Arise, arise, (thou) Chosen One of Righteousness<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Read ‘gra’ for ‘šra’.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 32, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Mawata’. I have not met with this word before, and do not know what it means.

<sup>4</sup> The word ‘drabša’ which follows Bihrun has dots placed beneath it, indicating that it is to be deleted. It seems that the text is defective here.

<sup>5</sup> This extremely obscure passage refers to secret teaching. Priests are taught that at death the soul passes “into the Mother”; the “mother” being Mother Earth which receives the body together with all that is physical and material which imprisons the soul. The soul must therefore be reborn into a state that is purely spiritual, and ‘masiqta’ ceremonies typify the nine months spent by the embryo in the womb of its Mother, i. e. a period of growth and development which enable it to emerge from the earthly (the “Mother”) and to be reborn as pure spirit. To “put on the Father” therefore, means to assume the spiritual and immaterial; “to cast off the Mother” or “name of the Mother” is to lay aside all that is earthly.

<sup>6</sup> See *שְׂרָפָה* in Brown, Driver and Briggs’ *Hebrew and English Lexicon*.

<sup>7</sup> The daily office, with which every religious service begins.

<sup>8</sup> Literally “injunctions”. This refers to phrases inserted into prayers which commemorate by name the soul of the dead person for whom the ceremony is performed, together with that of others not in the liturgical lists. See p. 11, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> The first line or lines of a prayer or hymn indicate the ‘niana appointed to be recited. ‘Qum, qum’ etc. is to be found in *Mandäische Liturgien* (M. L.) p. 171.

and My Good Messenger<sup>1</sup> and I worship the Life<sup>2</sup> — namely the opening prayers in your “Devotions” — and read the insertions<sup>3</sup>.

And they said “In the name of the Great First Sublime (*strange*) Life from abounding worlds of light, Supreme above all works! Healing, victory, strength, soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins be there for this soul of Ayar-Rba<sup>4</sup> son of Nbat-Rba, so that by means of this treasure<sup>5</sup>, (*and by these*) prayers, baptism and Blessed Oblation<sup>6</sup> of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia we may be endued and established”.

And all the kings recited the insertions as he<sup>7</sup> did. And they read in the name of that First Being<sup>8</sup>.

And place<sup>9</sup> the crown upon your heads and recite The Life created Yawar-Ziwa<sup>10</sup>, Let light shine forth<sup>11</sup>, and Manda created me<sup>12</sup> — these are the four prayers for the crown, and all treasure is confirmed thereby. And when they bring the incense, six hundred spirits read Incense that is fragrant<sup>13</sup> and Hail, First Life<sup>14</sup>, because it (*the incense*) is a deliverer that journeyeth to the great First Secret *škinta*.

<sup>1</sup> M. L. p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> M. L. p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 39, note 8. The next paragraph gives an example of such an insertion, as it includes the name of the chief celebrant, Ayar-Rba, and of the personage for whom the ceremonies are performed, viz. Hibil-Ziwa (each priest would also insert his own name).

<sup>4</sup> Ayar-Rba, the spirit who plays the part of chief celebrant throughout, is sometimes called Ayar-Ziwa. ‘Ayar’, ‘Ether’, thus personified, corresponds closely to the Iranian deity Vayah (Aether), and to Vayu ‘the Good’; according to E. W. West (*Sacred Books of the East*, 60 vols. Oxford; xxxvi, 224, note) a personification of the upper air.

<sup>5</sup> “Treasure” often refers to the sacraments of food, drink, myrtle, incense etc. The word ‘ginza’ also means ‘rite’ or anything which is holy and valuable, e. g. holy scrolls and books.

<sup>6</sup> I. e. performed for the benefit of Hibil-Ziwa, and incidentally for the benefit of all who partake in the sacraments.

<sup>7</sup> I. e. each priest inserts his own name.

<sup>8</sup> M. L. p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> This sudden change into the imperative tense is characteristic of all these ritual texts. For the “crown” — see p. 7, note 3.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> M. L. p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> M. L. p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> M. L. p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> M. L. p. 63. Or, “Lo, for the First Life”.

And arrange all your treasure, for the eye of Yawar-Rba is open; he beholdeth you and directeth your devotions.

When they had unfurled the nine banners and (*laid out*), nine treasures<sup>1</sup> for their (“your”) baptism, they did not open<sup>2</sup> a jordan for Hibil-Ziwa, but regulated it.

And when they (*ye*) pronounced the hymn for the banners which they had brought, all the sixty kings grasped them with their hands, seven kings grasping each banners, and the four other kings the chief banner which was brought at the head (*of the procession?*) of kings. All of them grasped it and blessed it with those banner-hymns about which explanations have been given.

(*Pea*) sixty banners were unfurled for you; and as for that baptism of the sixty kings, it hath empowered you!

And when (*they had recited*) the Sunday prayers Early I arose from my sleep<sup>4</sup>, We have purified our hands in good-faiths (*kušta*), and Blessed be thy name<sup>6</sup>, Ayar-Rba directed them (*to recite*) We have acknowledged, and praises are<sup>7</sup> (due) and To You, to Yourself<sup>8</sup>, (*for*) those three prayers constitute the great perfecting of your baptism.

And he said to all the kings: “Burn incense, and (*throughout*) unto the end speak in the name of the father of your devotions<sup>9</sup>, in the name of your father; (*and*) say: ‘By this treasure, prayer, baptism and Blessed Oblation for Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia we me covered and established’ when ye recite the insertion at the beginning of Lifting eyes<sup>10</sup> (*and when*) ending it, when ye recite I prayed lifting eyes<sup>11</sup>, and ye bend the knee (*repeating*)

Perhaps nine “sets”, nine ritual tables on which ritual foods and accessories were ranged?

<sup>2</sup> To “open” a jordan means to clear choked channels so that water flows freely in and out. In a heavenly jordan, presumably, choking could not occur.

At the consecration of a banner before use at each ceremony, the priests group themselves about it, crouching and holding it near the peak, using the right hand.

M. L. p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> M. L. p. 178.

M. L. p. 179.

M. L. p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> M. L. p. 141.

<sup>9</sup> When an insertion is to be made, it is necessary to mention the name of the chief celebrant, of one's father and immediate relatives, and always the name of the person in whose intention the sacrament is celebrated.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> M. L. p. 65.

Bound is the sea<sup>1</sup>; A 'perfected jewel am I<sup>2</sup>, Flee and take to flight<sup>3</sup>, When the (jordan) was given<sup>4</sup>, Secured **and** sealed<sup>6</sup>; Through 'Uşar Hiia<sup>6</sup> and the longer Secured and sealed<sup>7</sup>; (*for*) those prayers are prayers which illumine these devotions and set a seal upon that baptism by sixty kings when they were delivering Hibil-Ziwa from the place of Darkness, and by these nine prayers a seal is set on the great baptism which baptizeth him, clothing him with radiance and light and delivering him from darkness.

"Then rise and recite The First Life is praised<sup>8</sup> and Ye are set up and raised up<sup>9</sup>, and cast incense (*on the brazier with the prayer: Riha basima latrh nisaq*<sup>10</sup>) and pronounce the insertion<sup>11</sup> and say: 'this my soul, mine, Ayar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba, for by (*in*) this treasure, devotional-exercise, baptism and Blessed Oblation for Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hiia we are covered and established'. And repeat all the insertions from the beginning unto the end just like the insertion which was said at the beginning. And recite (*in a chanting voice*) the hymns and homilies which are the consummation of your devotions, purifying your baptism. And when ye read Poor am I, from the fruits<sup>12</sup>, Uthras rejoice at the Treasure<sup>13</sup>, I worship Thee, my Lord<sup>14</sup>, At the summit of the Ether<sup>15</sup>, and At Thy name, **World of Light**<sup>16</sup> (*it should be?*) because that great and lofty gate of light<sup>17</sup> inspireth you and giveth you help for that baptism of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hiia (*celebrated*) by sixty kings; and giveth you authority over the sign of the jordan which Yawar, at

<sup>1</sup> M. L. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> M. L. p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> M. L. p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> M. L. p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> M. L. p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> M. L. p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> M. L. p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> M. L. p. 90.

<sup>9</sup> M. L. p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> An obvious omission: this is said at the casting of incense on the brazier. M. L. p. 90.

<sup>11</sup> As said above, this is what is meant by 'zhara' ("injunction").

<sup>12</sup> M. L. p. 223.

<sup>13</sup> M. L. p. 228.

<sup>14</sup> M. L. p. 228.

<sup>15</sup> M. L. p. 228.

<sup>16</sup> M. L. p. 229.

<sup>17</sup> Prayer is the "gate of light".

your right, passeth through<sup>1</sup> for you. (*Pea*)these (*prayers*) perfect **your** devotions **and** your treasure, and purify your names. **And** when ye recite Blessed and praised **is** the Life<sup>2</sup> Yawar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba hearkeneth (?) far at that moment the mighty powers of darkness fear you. **And Hibil-Ziwa** casteth great terror upon them, debarreth them from jordan and streams and turneth them back at the gates of the world of light. And when ye crouch **and** recite The **Good** made **good** the good<sup>3</sup>, at that moment they bring you good things from before Yawar-Rba, (**of which**) ye eat, and (*water*) from the milky-white jordan, (**of which**) ye drink. And say with heed: '*(and for) my soul, that of Yawar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba there shall be forgiving of Sin by this treasure, devotional prayer, baptism and Blessed Oblation for Hibil-Ziwa, in which we (too) are included; and by this insertion and the baptism-hymns we are established*'. And recite 'And for our first forefathers be there forgiving of sins'<sup>4</sup> for at that moment Hibil-Ziwa's parents commemorate him and he commemorateth his parents. (*And say:*) 'Forgiving of sins be there for Yuşamin-Dakia (*the pure*) son of Shaq-Rba' for Yuşamin-Dakia blesseth you and his brilliance and light cover you. (*And say:*) 'Forgiving of sins be there for Abatur son of Bihram-Rba, and for Hablaba

<sup>1</sup> 'msararkun' from ŞRR (3) to make a way, pass through: hence the meaning here is that Yawar (Hibil-Ziwa) by passing through the baptism by sixty celebrants, establishes a precedent, and sets a pattern for future baptism of the kind.

<sup>2</sup> Two hymns have this opening line: M. L. pp. 103 and 105. They are known as the "lesser" and the "greater" in order to distinguish them.

<sup>3</sup> This prayer ('Tab řaba řabia') is recited at all meals consumed in the name of the dead. The knees must be bent when reciting it. The opening sentence is obscure and a dozen translations might be suggested; 'řaba' having also the meaning "made well, healthy, wholesome" etc. It continues "and his name is established that loveth it. We seek and find, speak and are heard. We sought and found, spoke and were heard by Thee, my Lord Manda-d-Hiia..." etc. The prayer petitions for purification and forgiveness for all who partake of the sacraments and for all, living and dead, whose names are pronounced during the ceremony. See M. L. p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning is that the priests concelebrating partake of the benefits and share in the blessings of the sacraments.

<sup>5</sup> This prayer is the great intercession for the living and dead, and during its recital it is customary for those present to suggest names of those for whom they wish to pray, the priest adding them to the list. Spirits of the highest rank are named, ancestors, beings famous in legend and tradition, liturgists and priests whose names were inserted when the prayer was composed. Then the celebrant adds the names of recently dead persons. See MMII pp. 219-222.

and Kana-ḡ-Zidqa son of Šar-Rba, and (for) the twenty-four utras sons of light; (for) Ptahil son of Pahriel-Ziwa-Rba, Šitil son of Adam-Rba, Adam son of Hibil-Ziwa-Rba, Hawa (Eve) his wife, child of Šarhabiel-Ziwa-Rba; Ram son of Hag-Kana, Rud child of Ziwa-Ganzibra, Šurbai son of... (?) and Šarhabiel child of Haš-Kana, Šum-Yawar-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba, Nuraita child of Yaqra, Yahia-Yuhana son of Anuš-Rba and Anhar his wife child of Mana-Yaqra, the three hundred and sixty-five priests who left the city of Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>, and this my soul, the soul of Ayar-Rba<sup>2</sup> son of Nbaṭ-Rba; and this my soul, the soul of<sup>3</sup> Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana; the soul of my father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam; the soul of my mother Hawa-Simat daughter of Adam-Yuhana; the soul of my brothers and sisters, Adam-Yuhana, garat-Mamania, Sam-Šaiar, 'Qaimat and Mudalal, children of Adam-Yuhana; (and the) souls of Mandaean<sup>4</sup>, priests, *ganzivri* (headpriests) and chief men of the age and heads of the people; and the chief man of our people and generation, Adam-Bul-faraz<sup>5</sup> son of Bihram-Šitil and Anuš-Ma'alia son of Bihdad; Yahia-Adam son of Sam-Saiwia; Bihdad son of Zihrun; Bainai son of Zakia; Haiuna son of Yahia; Yahia-Ramuia son of Ramuia; Ramuia son of Zihrun-Naṭar; Šganda son of Yahia-Yuhana; Šabur son of Zazai-ḡ-Gawazta son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia'. And say: 'for all people, that is, all priests and Madaeans from the age of Adam the first man until the consummation of worlds, who went down to the Jordan and were baptised and received the Pure Sign, and did not apostatize from their Sign or fall away from their baptism; (forgiving of sins be there) for them and their spouses and children; and for you, our fathers and teachers, and for our brothers and sisters that have departed the body and for those that stand (are alive) in their bodies'. And ye shall say: 'Life is established in its Dwelling<sup>6</sup>; and Life be praised! And Life is victorious over all works''.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the traditional exodus of the Jewish Mandaean community from Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> Intercession for the chief celebrant.

<sup>3</sup> The copyist inserts his own name and those of his family.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. laymen of the Mandaean faith.

<sup>5</sup> This Mandaean saint is credited with miracles and with defeating in argument Magian priests (See MMII pp. 292 ff.). The special reference to him as head of the age, which differs from the reference to him in the liturgical prayers, may indicate that the writer of the text considered him as belonging to his own generation. Magianism was the State religion in Sasanian times.

• Or "the living are established in their dwellings";

Then they rose to their feet and took the *pihta* and *mambuha*<sup>1</sup>, and ate, and drank from the bowl, And they read the eight prayers for the *pihta* over the bread and the two prayers for the *mambuha* over the water (before) they ate the *pihta* and drank the *mambuha*.

"And recite<sup>2</sup> Life is full<sup>3</sup>, Life dwelleth<sup>4</sup>, The Good made good the good<sup>5</sup>, and Praised is the First Great Radiance<sup>6</sup>, and confirm<sup>7</sup> sixty-one times. And make petition for yourselves and take the hand of the server in *kušta*<sup>8</sup>. But do not recite the prayers of deconsecration for your crowns until ye have prepared the ritual dish, (placing thereon) wheat (*wheaten bread*), fish (*brunda*) which is *kawara* (fish), *sindirka* (dates), salt, grapes, quince, pomegranate, (and other) fruits on the ritual-table. Then take up two unleavened loaves and say: 'Communion, revival and forgiving of sins be there for this the soul of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia by means of this treasure, (these) devotional prayers, baptism and Holy Oblation; and by this, the 'Great First Date-Palm<sup>9</sup> joined with these wholesome fruits. And also for the souls of our fathers and teachers and brothers and sisters who departed the body and those that stand (are alive) in the body; (also) for the donor of reward and oblation. Forgiving of sins be there for him, and for this the soul of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia'.

"And bring three unleavened loaves and place your hand above those loaves and recite The Good made good the good<sup>5</sup>, and recite Our Forefathers<sup>10</sup> and commemorate Madaeans, priests, head-priests (*ganzibria*), and heads of the people. And conclude and honour your crown<sup>11</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> 'pihta' the sacramental bread; 'mambuha' the sacramental water.

<sup>2</sup> A continuation of Ayar Rba's address.

<sup>3</sup> M. L. p. 93.

M. L. p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 43, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Not in M. L.

<sup>7</sup> I. e., repeat the formula 'Mqaimitun hiia qadmaia' sixty-one times. See p. 17, note 6.

The "Great First Date-Palm" is in Mandaean literature the symbol of male fertility and the active principle of creation: its complement, the 'Aina' (wellspring) represents the female principle of creation, i. e. the womb, reception, nutrition and development. When mentioning the "Great First Date-Palm" the dates on the ritual table should be indicated or touched.

<sup>10</sup> 'Tab ṭaba ṭabā' (see n. 6) in the enlarged version, embodying intercession by name for a number of spirits, ancestors, saints, liturgists, etc. See MMII pp. 219 ff.

<sup>11</sup> The priest removes his 'taga' (crown, fillet) and presses it to his eyes and lips at each of sixty-one repetitions of a formula.

Thus ordered and commanded Ayar-Rba so that communion and deliverance should be achieved by this baptism. Then Manda-Rba-Kabira, whose name is (also) Ayar-Baraia<sup>1</sup>, gave an order and said to all the kings: "Lay hold of the House in a garment of living flame",

Then Bihram-Rba, senior of all the brethren, addressed a hymn to Hibil-Yawar and said to him:

"The Dwellings assembled  
They came together and met together  
And set up a throne for Yawar;  
For Hibil-Ziwa they plaited a wreath.  
When he descended to the jordan  
They set it upon Hibil-Ziwa's head.  
How it becometh him and how  
It becometh their appearance of the *uthras*  
When the wreath that dazzleth is set on their heads!  
For ever and aye"<sup>2</sup>.

Then they brought a quantity of myrtle, tied (it) and placed it before the incense-brazier, for the perfume of the myrtle is refreshing. So offer up this hymn to the myrtle before ye perform *laufa* at the dish and honour your crowns<sup>4</sup>.

Then all the kings came to the bank of the jordan and Ayar-Rba said to them: "Examine<sup>5</sup> your vestments although they were examined when ye robed yourselves; for this baptism is a mighty force; it is reliable and the most illustrious of all treasures!"

Then Ayar-Rba (*took his place*) at the head of the kings in the

<sup>1</sup> Outer-Air: see p. 40, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Mn *riš briš*", literally "from beginning to end", "entirely", "completely", "from one end to the other", is a favourite last line in Mandaic poetry, and the words do not always suit the context. I have therefore translated them *freely*, and occasionally omit them.

<sup>3</sup> 'Laufa' is the act of communal eating and drinking in the name of the dead. The prescribed ritual and formulae are described in MMII pp. 204 ff. 'Laufa' and 'Lofani' mean, roughly, "being united as in a bundle" i. e. communion.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 46, note 7. The "crown" ('taga') is kissed and pressed to the eyes when removed, whilst repeating the formula.

<sup>5</sup> When a Mandaean puts on his ritual dress, he touches and names every item with an appropriate formula (see MMII p. 32).

baptism<sup>1</sup>, for all stood and wished to baptize Hibil-Ziwa, (*and*) the standard-bearers addressed a hymn to him, and they said to him:

"O Son of pure Mirrors,  
Thine appearance is brighter  
Than all the kings of the Ether-world;  
And thy brilliance shineth upon the *uthras*!  
**All** *uthras*, (*yea*) all the kings,  
At thy baptism are established  
Fully".

Then Manda-d-Hiia addressed a hymn to the banners, and they moved all the banners (*forward*). Then Ayar-Rba superintended<sup>2</sup> all their actions and they arranged the *kinthas*<sup>3</sup> before them, examined their vestments and held their crowns in their hands and kept them (*thus*) whilst Manda-d-Hiia addressed a hymn to them as they stood on the bank of the jordan. And he said

"In the name of the Great Life!  
On the day that banners come to the river bank  
The *jordans* sport together, they swirl<sup>4</sup>  
And bide not still nor abate<sup>5</sup>: and they declare:  
'Lo these are banners that are installed  
For the baptism of Hibil-Ziwa  
Who vanquished all the worlds of darkness  
And opened their gates  
For evermore'".

Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke again and said:

"In the name of the Great Life!  
On the day that banners are all unfurled  
Upon the bank of the jordan,  
Three hundred and sixty worlds of light

<sup>1</sup> In a baptism where more than one priest baptises a single person, the priests stand in a row (see MMII p. 176-6).

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "set in order".

<sup>3</sup> The 'kinta' (plu. 'kinata'), is a clay box-table, the top being used as an altar, see MMII 106-7. The word is misspelt in MMII: it is not 'qintha' but 'kintha', the t being pronounced like th in 'thought'.

<sup>4</sup> Ethpa. ERK of water means to move in waves, to curl, roll, surge, swirl, etc. Also "to embrace" "be blended".

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "were not deficient, lacking".

All flock about them,  
 Blessing the banners with a benediction  
 And saying: 'Blessed be these light-giving banners  
*(That illumine)* uthras and kings  
 Their radiance is shed on the jordan  
 And delivereth Hibil-Ziwa  
 From all that is perishable''<sup>1</sup>.

And then again Manda-ḡ-Hiia addressed a hymn to all the uthras and said to his sons:

"Ye are kings' sons; ye have stood on the jordan bank.  
 Chant a hymn to your father, the jordan;  
 Make obeisance to it, recite your hymn to the jordan!  
*(For it)* delivereth Hibil-Ziwa from the pollutions  
 And the darkness of the seven worlds  
 And raiseth his baptism to the summit *(of perfection)*".

Then Ayar-Rba and all the kings with one voice entoned a hymn to the jordan and recited When myrtle, the myrtle<sup>2</sup>, Hear me, my father, hear me<sup>3</sup>, and:

"In the strength of Yawar my father  
 I went to the jordan; in the strength of Manda-ḡ-Hiia  
 I twisted a wreath for Hibil-Ziwa  
 And on Hibil-Ziwa's head I set it".

*(Then Ayar-Rba said):* "Thus, when it is blessed by your hymn, thou hast fortified<sup>4</sup> the bank of the jordan by that which issued from your mouths, so that a great radiance presideth at the baptism of Hibil-Ziwa from beginning to end". Then Ayar-Rba *(added)*: "and there will be healing, purity and forgiving of sins for this my soul, the soul of Ayar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba" and, accordingly, all the uthras repeated his insertion. Then after that Ayar-Rba and all the kings with one voice recited: "and also there shall be healing, purity and forgiving of sins for this soul of Hibil son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia who descendeth to the jordan and is baptised and receiveth the Pure Sign".

<sup>1</sup> 'audia' = transitory things, things that pass away.

<sup>2</sup> M. L. p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> M. L. p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Delete the 'ḡ' before 'lkifh'.

And they recited In the name of the Life and in the name of that Primal Being<sup>1</sup>; and *(when?)* they set their crowns on their heads and recited: The Life created Yawar-Ziwa<sup>2</sup>, waters of life mixed with the turbid waters; moreover when they *(ye?)* read Let Light give light<sup>3</sup> the signs that dwell within the jordan enhance your crown and give it light and brighten your appearance: And when ye read Manda created me<sup>4</sup> ye combine with the jordan all running waters, signs and pacts and the crown that is on your heads<sup>5</sup>, and brought *(themall?)* into union<sup>6</sup>. And when *(ye recite)* Mighty and powerful is the great mystery<sup>7</sup> and ye hold *(your) pandama(s)*<sup>8</sup> and fold them over<sup>9</sup> your mouths, ye seal up all the kings of darkness; a mystery of light hath awakened and it sealeth you, establisheth you and blesseth you and delivereth your baptism from darkness. And when ye take incense and recite Incense that is fragrant<sup>10</sup> and Hail' First Life<sup>11</sup> for the incense and sandarach, and when Manda-ḡ-Hiia recited the hymn to the incense, the incense arose in wreaths<sup>12</sup> towards the kings when they were *(preparing for?)*<sup>13</sup> the baptism of Hibil-Ziwa.

And he said:

"In the name of the Great Life!  
 Incense came to the kings  
 From the great *škinta* of the King.  
 Within it dwelleth the incense.  
 It came and it protecteth Hibil-Ziwa;  
 Like the radiance of the banner

<sup>1</sup> M. L. p. 3. 'Gabra' = man, a being in human shape.

<sup>2</sup> M. L. p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> M. L. p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> M. L. p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> The sentence is turgid and obscure.

<sup>6</sup> 'lafitun'. I think that this word is displaced and should be inserted after 'pandama' below. If it means "brought into union" it would be 'hi-fitun'.

<sup>7</sup> M. L. p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> 'pandama': a loose end of the turban is brought over the lower part of the face and secured so as to cover mouth and chin. It corresponds to the Parsi 'padān'.

<sup>9</sup> Insert 'lafitun' (see note 6).

<sup>10</sup> M. L. p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> M. L. p. 63. See p. 40, n. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Ethpa. ŠDR has this meaning when applied to smoke.

<sup>13</sup> The sentence seems defective; translation is tentative.

It remaineth and lendeth lustre to his baptism  
And delivereth him from that which perisheth  
To all eternity”.

And all the kings cast incense on the brazier.

And when ye recite We acknowledge and praises  
(*are due*)<sup>1</sup> and You, Yourselves<sup>2</sup> (it is meet to  
praise), read the *Asuta*<sup>3</sup> at the beginning of the three<sup>4</sup> prayers,  
and ye will have clothed (*them?*)<sup>5</sup> when, at each place where there is  
an insertion, spheres and (*planetary*) ships reel and quake at the voice  
of the kings. And they<sup>6</sup> say: “Thou hast cast down now the kings  
of darkness, the copper earth (*lieth?*) above them, and they have  
(*are?*) crushed down all of them”. The kings of darkness take to  
the deeps and say: “This is the voice of Hibil-Ziwa who is Manda-  
d-Hiia, who made the armies of darkness withdraw to the furthest  
ends of the worlds of darkness”. And they are vanquished.

(*And when ye say*). In the Name of the Life! I sought  
to raise my eyes<sup>7</sup>, ye will have clothed (*his soul?*) when ye  
say:

“With Thy radiance Thou wilt clothe him  
And with Thy light Thou wilt cover him  
And thine ever-living wreath thou wilt set  
On the head of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hiia  
Who goeth down to the jordan  
And receiveth the Pure Sign<sup>8</sup>”.

— for the good guardians that stand before you perceive 'it. And  
when ye recite Lifting eyes<sup>9</sup>; all the uthras shall say at its

<sup>1</sup> M. L. p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> As the Great Life is meant, read “Thee, Thyself” (see M. L. p. 141).

<sup>3</sup> ‘Asuta’: i. e. “healing, purity and forgiving of sins be there for NN.”  
etc.

<sup>4</sup> The second hymn of the “three”. ‘Tušbihan lhiia baraiia’ (Praisesto  
the Outer-Life) has been omitted by the scribe. Lidzbarski (M. L. p. 133) gives  
a version of this hymn.

<sup>5</sup> “Clothed -- is a transitive form, but there is no object. It is probable  
that “them” is understood, “them -- meaning the souls for whom interces-  
sion has been made.

<sup>6</sup> The redeemed souls?

<sup>7</sup> M. L. p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> The quotation is amplified by the reference to Hibil-Ziwa as it would  
be for the soul of a deceased person, whose name would be inserted in the same  
way. This is an example of a ‘zhara’. See p. 11, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> M. L. p. 15: Mandaeans call this prayer “the lesser ‘Mišqal Ainia’”,  
and the prayer mentioned in note 7 “the greater ‘Mišqal Ainia’”.

beginning: “Health, purity and forgiving of 'sins be there for this  
the soul of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hiia, that descendeth to the  
jordan and is baptized and receiveth the pure sign”. And when;  
casting their eyes heavenwards, they recite Lifting eyes, all  
the Powers of Darkness together with their armies are struck down<sup>1</sup>  
and thou hast quietened the worlds of darkness<sup>2</sup>. And when ye  
recite On the day that the jordan<sup>3</sup>, your letter (*message*)  
reacheth the House of the Great First Date-palm<sup>4</sup>; it confirmeth  
your (*heavenly*) counterparts<sup>5</sup>, maketh efficacious your baptism  
and maketh your counterparts to shine. And when ye say I have  
worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa<sup>6</sup>, ra-  
diance and light come to you from the *škinta* of light. And when  
ye loop up your skirts and tie the *kanzala*<sup>7</sup> and recite I am Yur  
son of Barit<sup>8</sup>, that treasurer, Yura-Rba, examineth your treas-  
ure, establisheth your baptism and saith: “Blessed be this baptism  
of kings which hath blessed Hibil-Ziwa”.

And when ye say When I went to the jordan<sup>9</sup>, and  
all the sixty of you go down to the jordan; then Bihram-Rba<sup>10</sup> giveth  
his hand to you and illumineth the jordan before you. And when  
ye recite In the name of Yusmir the First Vine<sup>11</sup>,  
and ye clothe your staves with your *kanzalas*<sup>12</sup>, ye illumine the seven  
worlds of light at the first jordan, at this the baptism of Hibil-Ziwa;  
and ye deliver them from these pollutions<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Or pressed down, held back.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. “and thou hast settled (quietened?) the worlds of darkness”.

<sup>3</sup> M. L. p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 46, note 9.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 32, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> M. L. p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> ‘kanzala’, a kind of stole. See MMII p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> M. L. p. 19. (‘Barit’ = -- I shone”).

<sup>9</sup> M. L. p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Bihram (or Bahram)-Rba, See p. 6, n. 9, is named at baptism: “I baptize  
with the baptism of Bihram-Rba son of the mighty (Life)” also at the end of  
the daily ritual ablution. Legend makes a certain Bihram or Bahram founder  
of a Mandaean community “in the north”. According to this tradition this  
baptizing community was celibate and learned in astrology (MMII p. 276).  
John the Baptist is not mentioned at baptism.

<sup>11</sup> M. L. p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Once in the water, the priest secures his staff, one of which he thrusts  
into the bed of the stream, by looping his ‘kanzala’ (stole) round the staff so  
that it cannot fall. This frees both his hands.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Mihiatata’ (lit. “blows”) = pollutions unwittingly incurred. The sen-  
tence is obscure. It may have read originally “thou illumineest this, the First

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And when ye read Bound is the sea<sup>1</sup>, trace three circles in the water, ye bind all the Powers of Darkness; ye set a seal on the gates of all the worlds of darkness.

And when ye recite I am a perfected gem\*, ye endow your<sup>3</sup> counterpart<sup>4</sup> and mine with mansions of radiance, and Hibil-Ziwa (also). And when ye recite Flee and be expelled<sup>6</sup>, ye exorcise the three waterways<sup>6</sup>, because, from your mouths, ye drive out all gods<sup>7</sup> and (evil) creatures (therein). And when ye recite Piriawia, jordan of living waters<sup>8</sup>, and ye say: "when it issued from destruction to construction", it is meant that "destruction" is the sign that Yušamin son of Dmut-Hiia signed; for he, Yušamin the Peacock, signed from left to right<sup>9</sup>. But they gained from signing<sup>10</sup> Hibil-Ziwa with the sign which Yušamin signed, and he was signed with the sign of the First Father, that is the sign of right (to left).

And when ye say: "Every one that hath strength in him and loveth his soul"<sup>11</sup>, (say it) all the sixty of you, for lofty strength is imparted to Hibil-Ziwa through the kings, and it maketh division between light and darkness.

When Hibil-Ziwa came to descend into the jordan, his father, Manda-d-Hiia address'd a hymn to him and said:

"Who beheld the radiance of the king?  
Who perceived the lovely light?  
Who saw the king of uthras, Hibil-Ziwa  
When he came to the, Everlasting Abode,

Baptism, of Hibil-Ziwa, at the first jordan in the worlds of light, and deliverest him from the pollutions of the seven worlds of darkness".

<sup>1</sup> M. L. p. 22. At this hymn the priest describes three circles about himself in the water, as described here.

<sup>2</sup> M. L. p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'dmutkun' not 'dmutun'.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 32, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> M. L. p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> The three waterways: viz, the river itself, and the two channels which connect the 'yardna' or baptismal pool of flowing water with the main stream. An 'alaha' "god", except in some portions of the *Ginza Rba* (probably of late composition), is an evil being, a demon.

<sup>7</sup> M. L. p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> In ritual MSS Yušamin is the prototype in the world of spirits of a priest makes mistakes in ritual.

<sup>9</sup> Freely translated: as Hibil-Ziwa did not sign himself. Lit. "he was delivered from the sign -- etc.

<sup>10</sup> The usual invitation to baptism.

When he rejoiced at the living waters?  
By the baptism of the king I arose,  
By his baptism (*I arise*) to the Everlasting Abode".

Then Hibil-Ziwa went down to the jordan. Sixty jewels from the congregation of souls he placed (thereby?) in the *škinta* of kings. Then he descended into the jordan and submerged himself thrice in the name of Yawar-Rba, and Hibil-Ziwa placed his right hand into the left hand of Ayar-Rba (who) took it and transferred him to his right and set him before him, placing him between himself and his ritual staff. Ayar-Rba signed him thrice with his forefinger, (the finger) beside the thumb, upon the forehead from the right ear to the left ear, and so cut off the name (reputation?) of any person who is signed with 'the sign of the left', (the sign) wherewith Yušamin the Peacock signed.

For thus is the Sign of the Father, that is the Right, distinguished from the Sign of the Left, which is the Mother<sup>1</sup>.

Thereupon that 'Sign of the Father', which is the Right, shone out and emitted light; it gleamed between his brows like lamps. For the Sign of the Left belongeth to the Great Mother, who is Qin<sup>2</sup>, and the Sign of the Right belongeth to the Father; so that he<sup>3</sup> was invested in the name of the Father. Thus Hibil-Ziwa defined the division betwixt himself and Akrun, and he wrote an indictment and said: "Every person amongst the righteous elect that is signed with the Sign of the Right is invested in the name of the Father and belongeth to the Great Father of Glory. But any person that is signed with the Sign of Left-to-Right is invested in the name of the Mother and (belongeth) to kings of the Left and goeth to the World of the Left"<sup>4</sup>.

When Hibil-Ziwa defined this schism in his own baptism, division (*sharp distinction*) ensued between Right and Left and the kings cursed the Left with a curse.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 39, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. Hibil-Ziwa.

<sup>4</sup> Identification of the right with the Father, with the East and all that is good, and identification of the left with the Mother, the West and with death, is traceable in much Oriental ritual, Parsi, Jewish, Moslem and Christian. In Parsism, however, right and left are not associated with the points of the compass, for the Parsi believes the north to be the abode of evil spirits. Mandaeans, like the ancient Babylonians, regard the north as the seat of all that is good and wholesome.

When ye gave him '(three)' palmfuls of water to drink, ye lifted him out of all his pollutions<sup>1</sup> and re-established the mystery of spirit and soul<sup>2</sup>. And when ye recited Let Light shine forth<sup>3</sup> over the wreath and he set it upon his head, the wreath shone; from celestial worlds it came to him and thou didst set it on his head.

And when thou (*the baptist*) pronouncest 'the Names' upon him:

"The name of the Great Occult First Wellspring<sup>4</sup> be mentioned upon thee,

The name of the Great First Date-palm be mentioned upon thee,

The name of Šišlam-Rba be mentioned upon thee,

The name of 'Zlat-Rabtia be mentioned upon thee,

The name of Yawar-Rba be mentioned upon thee,

The name of Simat-Hiia be mentioned upon thee,

The name of Yukabar-Rba be mentioned upon thee,

The name of Mana and his Counterpart be mentioned upon thee,

The name of the great mystery, the Secret Word, be mentioned upon thee,

The name of Shaq-Ziwa-Rba-Qadmaia be mentioned upon thee,

The name of the pure &st-born, Beloved, Ureat, First Sam-Ziwa be mentioned upon thee,

The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḡ-Hiia be mentioned upon thee".

— then Ayar-Rba and the sixty kings of the celestial worlds 'are established.

And, when thou liftest him up and takest his right hand in the *kušta*<sup>5</sup>, thou hast mingled the jordan with thy raiment and his raiment and hast set his mind at peace. And make him this response while his hand is in thy hand, say to him: "*Kušta* strengthen thee and raise thee up! **Seek** and find, speak and be heard". And say to him: "Thy *kušta* shall be thy witness and thy baptism shall be

<sup>1</sup> 'Mihata' (blows), pollutions accidentally incurred,

<sup>2</sup> 'lduktun nhitunun', lit. "put down in their place".

<sup>3</sup> M. If. p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For Palm-tree and Well as symbols of fertility and male and female see p. 46 note 9. A date-palm and well must be in every Parsi temple area, both being necessary for the Paragna ceremony.

<sup>5</sup> For the ceremony of '*kušta*' see p. 17 note 6). A similar form of pax-pact occurs in the rituals of the Parsis, Oriental Jews, and in the Oriental Christian mass. '*Kušta*' is personified as a saviour-spirit.

established, and not be in vain. The *kušta* (pad) that thou hast made with sixty'priests and kings and Ayar-Rba, will deliver thee from all involuntary offences and from pollutions of the darkness which occur in the abode of mortality<sup>1</sup>".

And he shall kiss<sup>2</sup> their hands.

When Ayar finisheth the baptism and endeth, then he taketh up *mambuha*<sup>3</sup> in a phial of pure crystal, his *ḡganda*<sup>4</sup> being before Hibil-Ziwa; and he calmed the jordan and sealed it. And when he reciteth From the surface of the water I issued<sup>5</sup> he ciphereth on the jordan as it were a solemn *kušta*. (*And when he reciteth*) Blessed be thou, outer portal<sup>6</sup>, he and all the kings, the guardians of the jordan, bless Hibil-Ziwa.

And when Ayar-Rba and all the sixty kings his brethren rise (*out of the jordan*) and recite From the jordan I arose', then all jordans swirl, sport, dance and remain not quietly in their beds.

And when ye take the<sup>8</sup> oil and say: "Healing, purity and forgiving of sins be there for this the soul of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia who descended to the jordan and was baptized and received the pure sign"<sup>7</sup> then each takes oil in his bowl.

And read We acknowledge and praises (are due)<sup>9</sup> and Thou art the costly oil<sup>10</sup> and Thou wast established, First Life<sup>11</sup> and take oil with the finger next the thumb of your right hand and sign from the right ear to the left ear; (*far the*) sign of the Right, the Father, is brighter than the sign of the Messiah<sup>12</sup>, of the Mother, for he ruleth in the Land<sup>13</sup> of Darkness and the Left.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 37 note 6.

<sup>2</sup> The scribe almost wrote 'nipšaṭ', "grasped".

<sup>3</sup> 'Mambuha' ("spring-water"), the sacramental water is dipped up by the priest from the pool into a phial handed to him by the 'ḡganda'.

<sup>4</sup> An 'aḡganda' or 'Hganda'; see p. 12, n. 9 (a boy or youth of priestly birth who assists the priest at all rituals, often enters the priesthood later).

<sup>5</sup> M. L. p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> M. L. p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> M. L. p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> 'Miša' for baptism is sesame oil freshly made. 'Miša' for the 'masiqta' is a mixture of sesame oil and date-juice.

<sup>9</sup> M. L. p. 34.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. p. 36.

<sup>11</sup> M. L. p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> A play on words, 'mšiha' meaning "anointed", so that it could read "that was anointed".

<sup>13</sup> 'arda' = ארץ.

And when the *mambuha* (was brought) it called into life the mystery of the soul and caused her to inhale<sup>1</sup> the living fragrance there between the leaves of the wreath so that she breatheth in the great Mana. And when ye sixty kings grasped his<sup>2</sup> hand in *kušta*, ye sealed (*the pact*) with the seal of the King of Glory, from which (*troth*) neither partner (*to the pact*) may depart<sup>3</sup>. Should one break (*the pact*) with his partner, its constructive nature is totally destroyed<sup>4</sup>.

(When) thou hast made him sit, and sayest Healing and purity<sup>5</sup>, When there was bestowed upon<sup>6</sup>, By Treasure of Life<sup>7</sup> and Secured and sealed (*the longer*), four walls from the four corners of the heavens me formed<sup>8</sup>. And when ye recite Ye are established<sup>9</sup>, from the roots (*of your being*) in a loud voice and shout, uthras of light in the Ether rejoice at hearing the sound.

And when ye recite What hath He done for thee<sup>10</sup> and How fair<sup>11</sup>, and Well hath my baptiser baptised me<sup>12</sup>, and Šilmai hath baptised us with his baptism<sup>13</sup>, and Well is it for you, say I<sup>14</sup> and To you I cry<sup>15</sup>, A new priest am I<sup>16</sup> and have finished all the hymns, (*and recite*) The Drop from Their Hilbuna<sup>17</sup> his sins and trespasses have forsaken him; and when (*ye have completed*?) the Blessed and Praised of Shem<sup>18</sup> (*son of Noah*); lo, Yawar-Rba and Nbat-Rba are questioned in the

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "Thou hast caused her to breathe in".

<sup>2</sup> Hibil-Ziwa's hand.

<sup>3</sup> To seal a pact by an oath spoken whilst holding the right hand or hands of the partner to the pact is an extremely ancient custom in Iran and neighbouring countries of antiquity. It is still practised in the Middle East.

<sup>4</sup> Free translation is necessary to convey the sense.

<sup>5</sup> The greeting.

<sup>6</sup> M. L. p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> M. L. p. 44. (Both, prayers).

<sup>8</sup> About the sod of Hibil-Ziwa is implied.

<sup>9</sup> M. L. p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. p. 46.

<sup>11</sup> M. L. p. 149.

<sup>12</sup> M. L. p. 84.

<sup>13</sup> M. L. p. 160.

<sup>14</sup> M. L. p. 161.

<sup>15</sup> M. L. p. 162.

<sup>16</sup> M. L. p. 154.

<sup>17</sup> Not in M. L. ('Hilbuna' = "Egg" or "house"; see p. 31, note 4).

<sup>18</sup> M. L. p. 109.

world of light and its *škinta*, and at the threshold of the House of Life his sins and trespasses have forsaken him<sup>1</sup>.

And when ye recite The Good made good the good<sup>2</sup> and (*recite*) the Intercession, they will forgive him all the sins which he committed. And when ye pronounce the uthras' *kušta*<sup>3</sup> each of you sixty kings shall place (*his right*) hand in Hibil-Ziwa's (*right*) hand, each one separately, and each shall answer individually and shall say to him: "Thy *kušta* shall be thy witness and thy baptism shall be established and the *kušta* which I have performed with Hibil-Ziwa shall not be brought to naught. It shall deliver thee from all pollutions and the Spirit<sup>4</sup> that was in the Abode-that-comeh-to-naught<sup>5</sup>".

And they kissed hands<sup>6</sup> with this (*newly-baptised one*) that had been baptised by a baptism which mighty kings had planned for him. They then grasped (*the hands*) of all the kings and say (*said*): "Thy *kušta* shall be thy witness and thine oblation shall be thy deliverer. By thy prayer and praise thou shalt arise, through graciousness shown to thee. We have acted in accordance with the goodness of the Great Life, and have arranged your devotions from beginning to end. We have called forth a jordan of the great primal waters, and three hundred and sixty jordans in which Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hiia hath been baptised". And they said "Deliver and preserve this the soul of Hibil-Ziwa from adultery, theft, and from sorcery, going to high places (*pagan shrines*) and from attending temples and from eating temple-food or of that which a lion or wolf hath slain. And ye shall not eat of that which dieth (*naturally*). And purify yourselves so that Manda-d-Hiia may become your helper, and your baptism may attain its end".

Then all the kings shall bear witness thereto and seal the treasure and the discourse. And all the kings shall place their hands on their heads, and shall pray the "devotions" and the opening prayer(s)

<sup>1</sup> Or "they (remitted) remit his sins and trespasses".

<sup>2</sup> See M. L. p. 109. Here the enlarged version, see p. 43 (note 3) and p. 46, note 10.

<sup>3</sup> The 'uthras' *kušta* must refer to the final 'kušta' on the bank. For this ceremony the right hands of both must be covered by a corner of the priest's turban. The person who has been baptised is now metaphorically reborn. 'Amritun' is displaced.

<sup>4</sup> After 'ruha' the verb should be 'hust'. Probably the personified Ruha — Ruha-d-Qudša — is indicated.

<sup>5</sup> 'daura baṭla'; see p. 37, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> The kiss which concludes the 'kušta'.

of your "devotions": I worship the First Life<sup>1</sup>, and Praised is the First Life<sup>2</sup> and Ye<sub>2</sub> are established and set up<sup>3</sup> and At the summit of the Ether<sup>4</sup>, and At thy name, World of Light<sup>5</sup>, and Blessed and praised is the Life\* of Shem (son of Noah)...? Ya-war-Rba son of Nbat-Rba with your own private prayers. And they shall bend the knee and shall recite Good made good the good<sup>6</sup>. And Our Forefathers<sup>9</sup> shall be set in order<sup>10</sup> and mention be made, with "forgiving of sins" (etc.) (for) Mandaean priests, chief priests and heads of the people. And (when) they recite (prayers for) the *pihta* and *mambuha*<sup>11</sup>, each shall stand up, with his own bowl, and they shall recite the eight *pihta* prayers and the two *mambuha* prayers. Then they shall all recite (The Great Life) spoke and opened<sup>12</sup> for the *pandama*<sup>13</sup>. And they shall eat and drink<sup>14</sup> and (then) shall drink the rinsing-water<sup>15</sup>.

And take up the rinsing-water<sup>16</sup> and recite Life is filled<sup>17</sup> and Dwellings of Life<sup>18</sup> and Light ascendeth to its place<sup>19</sup> and Fragrant incense<sup>20</sup>.

And they shall wash and read Good made good the good<sup>21</sup> and Praised is the First Great Radiance<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ? Possibly M. L. p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> M. L. p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> There are two prayers of this first line, either M. L. p. 96 or p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> M. L. p. 228.

<sup>5</sup> M. L. p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> There are two prayers so beginning, the greater and the lesser, see p. 43 note 2, and M. L. p. 106. The greater is called "of 'Šum' (Shem) son of Noah".

<sup>7</sup> A hiatus in the sense suggests that something has been omitted.

<sup>8</sup> M. L. p. 109.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 43 note 6.

<sup>10</sup> I. e., names of persons to be prayed for must be inserted at the proper places.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 46, note 1.

<sup>12</sup> M. L. p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 49, note 8.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'ništun' for 'nišmtun'.

<sup>15</sup> The cup, is rinsed with water after the 'mambuha' has been drunk, and the priest drinks the rinsing (*halalta*).

<sup>16</sup> More "riming-water" is used to wash the ritual staff.

<sup>17</sup> M. L. p. 93.

<sup>18</sup> M. L. p. 96.

<sup>19</sup> M. L. p. 63.

<sup>20</sup> M. L. p. 90.

<sup>21</sup> M. L. p. 109 (with addition).

<sup>22</sup> Not in M. L.

and the "confirmation<sup>1</sup> sixty-one times". And make intercession for yourselves, all of you praying for yourselves; and clear up<sup>2</sup> all your treasure. And your baptism shall mount up to the great Place of Light and to the Everlasting Abode, rising up to the presence of Great-Radiance. And you, (O) kings, shall come and shall dwell by(?) him for he layeth his hand on<sup>3</sup> Hibil-Ziwa.

And Hibil-Ziwa said: "Everyone that is baptised with my baptism, Hibil-Ziwa's, shall be set up beside me and shall resemble me, and shall dwell in my world, Hibil-Ziwa's. Three hundred and sixty mansions in my world shall be prepared for him and nine banners shall be unfurled for him, and radiance and light and robes of state shall clothe him. They shall set him in the upper world of the King, and all the kings shall grasp his hand in *kušta*. He will become like me, Hibil-Ziwa, and all the uthras of the world of light shall surround him and kings will lead him, taking him into the highest world and will instal him at jordans and streams. And all sins that he committed shall be remitted."

Then make petition\* for yourselves; perform *kušta* with the *šganda* (server), (and while) hand in hand with the server the baptist shall say to the server: "Kušta strengthen thee and raise thee up"! And the server shall say to him: "Seek and find, and speak and be heard. The uthras that thou hast worshipped and praised shall be to thee helper, support, deliverer and saviour at the Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. And Life be praised"! Nevertheless, the *gan-zibra's* (baptist's) hand (shall remain) in the server's hand until the head-*gan-zibra* cometh, Manda-d-Hiia by name, who is his lord; and the one at head, at hand (?), shall address a hymn to that *gan-zibra* who performed *kušta* with the server and say to him: "The uthras shine in his radiance and priests in your radiance. And your baptism shall be accepted; this your baptism shall rise up, it shall behold the Eternal Abode". Then the (head?) *gan-zibra* performed the handclasp of the *kušta*, the *gan-zibra* with the server, just as each (pair) by itself, as one man, performed the *kušta*, (just like) the *gan-zibra* end the server<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 46, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> This means that food remaining on the ritual table must be eaten.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'hibil ziwa' for 'd hibil ziwa'.

<sup>4</sup> There is a special prayer called the 'Šal Šulta' (not in M. L.).

<sup>5</sup> The text is involved and obscure at this point, but the meaning is elucidated by the actual ritual as performed today. Each priest and 'gan-zibra' and 'šganda' must perform the 'kušta': it corresponds to the Christian Pax and Parsi 'hamazor'.

And at the conclusion of the baptism when they have performed *kušta*<sup>1</sup> with the server, he shall give response; thus did Manda-*q*-Hiia speak amongst them, uttering his response to the kings. And there must be a banner in the hand of that *ganzibra* who is the chief (*celebrant*), representing Manda-*q*-Hiia, and in (*the light of*) that banner. Hibil and his brethren the kings and priests shine; (*they shine*) through that banner (*borne*) by Manda-*q*-Hiia, (*for*) its strength is great and boundless.

Then all of them, (*after*) the *kušta* (*is over*), place their hands to their heads<sup>2</sup> and say: " *Kušta* strengthen thee; *Kušta* strengthen thee, (*O*) guardian of my pact! *Kušta* strengthen thee, (*O*) guardian of my prayer and praise! Loose<sup>3</sup> radiance at its native place and light in its place. Release my prayer and praise, mine, Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-*q*-Hiia, (*let it go*) to the great place of light and to the Everlasting Abode! And Life is victorious". These are secret sayings that may not be revealed, for the body is fulfilled(?)<sup>4</sup> thereby. Then they shall recite In abounding radiance am I baptized<sup>5</sup>, and loosen their stoles and that great mystery they bestowed on their lord<sup>6</sup>.

Having (*thus*) formulated all your rite and your baptism they arose in purity to the Place of Light: thus was (*performed*) the heavenly baptism of Manda-*q*-Hiia. And on ending his baptism, the server shall<sup>7</sup> say: "Seek and find, speak and be heard" like those words he said to the uthras (*when they were*) hand-in-hand with the server; until (*at the end*?) uthras shall come and shall address a hymn to him and say:

"Uthras shine in thy radiance  
And priesta rejoice in thee  
And thy baptism is accepted  
(*Thy baptism O*) Hibil-Ziwa;  
It shall rise up towards Manda-*q*-Hiia .  
And Manda-*q*-Hiia will receive the great Hibil-Ziwa

<sup>1</sup> the verb PŠT when used alone, refers to the 'kušta' ceremony.

Actually, upon their "crowns" and the speech is addressed to the crown as the symbol of priesthood,

The verb is connected with deconsecration throughout the paragraph.

<sup>4</sup> Ethpa. SQM = "to make perfect, accomplish, consummate, fulfil".

M. L. p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> I, e. by baptism the sixty uthras had purified their lord, Manda-*q*-Hiia.

<sup>7</sup> This formula is said again at the deconsecration of the 'šganda'.

At the Everlasting Abode,  
The place where suns set not  
Nor do its lamps of light grow dim.

And Hibil-Ziwa shall dwell in my world,  
And a building shall be built for him  
And mansions in (*my*) world,  
(*Wherein*) there is no place of retribution<sup>1</sup>.

And he<sup>2</sup> redeemeth and leadeth with him  
A thousand thousand uthras.  
Uthras of light ask (*to share*) his bliss,  
They make enquiry about it  
And are endowed with his radiance.  
And a thousand thousand of his sons  
Ask about this baptism of Hibil-Ziwa  
Son of Manda-*q*-Hiia,  
Which was instituted in the name of Hibil-Ziwa".

(The text breaks off here for the insertion of the illustrations. It is, apparently, continued further down on the right side of the illustrations).

And Nidbai-Rba and Šišlam-Rba and Zihrun-Rba-Kasia, that is the kings who were *barukaiia*<sup>3</sup>, blessed Hibil-Ziwa when he was baptised and (*cleansed from*) the worlds of darkness. So Ayar-Rba and those (*kings*) recited a hymn, placing myrtle upon the ritual platter. And they said:

"In the Name of the Great Life!  
On the day that a plant of fresh myrtle  
Was set up before the Eing,  
The King stretched forth his right hand for it  
And took it and gave it to his assembled<sup>4</sup> uthras  
And said to them: 'Take from me this fresh myrtle  
And bless the dwellings with a benediction,

<sup>1</sup> Literally "place of retributive detention".

<sup>2</sup> The "he" referred to, is any polluted priest who is baptised with the "Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa".

<sup>3</sup> The 'barukaiia' (blessers) are the three concelebrating priests who assist the chief celebrant at a 'Zidqa Brika' (see p. 27, note 6). For tense see p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> A very free translation: 'msadrana' "arrangers" refers to the assistant priests (here kings or uthras).

A benediction pronounce upon the dwellings,  
 And the uthras and kings that sit at thy right and left  
 Shone and gave out light  
 To the utmost"<sup>1</sup>.

Then he distributed myrtle to the uthras and said to the uthras who had read the "sealing" over Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia: "His head is sealed against blemishes and maladies. And read I sought to lift my eyes<sup>2</sup> and wherever an insertion is to be made say 'through this, the treasure, devotions, baptism and Holy Oblation of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia is blessed and ended'".

Then they recited Lifting eyes<sup>3</sup>, and I sought to lift my eyes<sup>4</sup> and Bound is the sea<sup>5</sup> and A perfected gem am I<sup>6</sup> and Plee and be expelled<sup>7</sup> and When (*the jordan*) was given<sup>8</sup> and Secured and sealed and In the name of the Life; through 'Uṣar-Hiia<sup>10</sup> and the longer Secured and sealed<sup>11</sup>; these are the nine seals wherewith the *barukaiia* blessed Hibil-Ziwa. Then the kings and uthras addressed, a hymn to him, saying:

"In the name of the Great Life!  
 O thou Pure Mirror, thou that art  
 Called King by all the worlds  
 And enlightenest them through thy great radiance  
 We extol thine appearance  
 And set thee on high and bless thee  
 For thou art King, and thy radiance  
 Enlighteneth all worlds  
 From end to end".

<sup>1</sup> The myrtle prayers given in my manuscript of 'niana (D. C. 3) differ considerably. The hymn given above is said by the chief celebrant at a 'Zidqa Brika' when he distributes myrtle amongst the 'barukaiia', who place a sprig in their turbans. For the last line see p. 46, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> M. L. p. 65. This is the --greater" 'Miiqal Ainia'.

<sup>3</sup> M. L. p. 15, the --lesser" 'Miiqal Ainia'.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2. This is a gloss, written above in a paler ink.

<sup>5</sup> M. L. p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> M. L. p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> M. L. p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> M. L. p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> M. L. p. 43.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> M. L. p. 44.

Then Ayar-Rba partook (of the ritual food) end: hymned it and addressed it saying:

"(With) this blessed oblation  
 Kuṣṭa regaleth his friends;  
 Kuṣṭa refresheth those who are prepared.

Blessed is the blessing whereby we testify  
 To Yawar, who erquickeneth us  
 With his good gifts".

Then he gave wine<sup>1</sup> to the *barukaiia* and distributed it to all the uthras and kings, and they refreshed themselves from that that which stood before them.

Then the *barukaiia* who bless Hibil-Ziwa blessed the four mysteries<sup>2</sup> which the King blessed for himself; and they arose and settled in the World of Illusion, so that his sins and trespasses will leave any man who from (*in*) the World of Illusion, (*uttereth*) King Hibil-Ziwa's blessing, and three hundred and sixty banners will be unfurled for him, for they (*the four mysteries*) are the blessing of all blessings. And later, when he opened his raiment and the twelve (?) who blessed a thousand benedictions (?)<sup>3</sup>.

When Ayar-Ziwa blessed Hibil-Ziwa, he rose to his feet and blessed him with those blessings for them all, (*whilst*) uthras and kings hearkened. Then they blessed, until the words: "In pure raiment I stand"; (*then*) they laid<sup>4</sup> their hands on the uthras and kings and children and believing of heart<sup>5</sup> and said: "The right hand of uthras is laid upon you" (*in*) benediction — the benediction which they pronounced.

When Ayar blessed them, he addressed a hymn<sup>6</sup> to those *barukaiia*, but not to Ayar-Rba (*not to Hibil-Ziwa?*):

<sup>1</sup> The wine ('hamra') of the 'Zidqa Brika' described here is made of unfermented grape-juice and freshly-pounded sesame-oil. Its preparation strongly resembles the ritual pounding and straining which take place at the Parsi Yasna ceremony. See MMII p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> The four mysteries, viz. water, dates, wine and myrtle.

<sup>3</sup> The passage in italics is unintelligible.

<sup>4</sup> For 'atmun' ("closed") read 'asmun' "laid" or 'atnun' "placed".

<sup>5</sup> For 'yanqia usabria libs' I think we & odd read 'yanqia usabia' "young and old." After 'sabia' had been miswritten as 'sabria', any scribe might insert the customary 'liba'.

<sup>6</sup> This hymn exists in several versions, of which the hymn given here is the longest. It is described in the 'niana as a hymn to be recited over the

“In the name of the Great Life!  
 Vines shone in the waters  
 Mighty ones were established here.  
 Yonder, the waters are **unsullied**  
 And your Counterparts exist and are glorious.  
 Let your light shine forth,  
 Let the light of the King shine forth  
 Let your perfume come and strengthen us!  
 Let great uthras come! Instead of concealing it  
 Let it shine forth, (*let it appear*)  
 Let the light of the King (*shine forth*)  
 Let your perfume come and strengthen us!  
 Hibil-Ziwa shall bring your perfume  
 And overpower us (*with its sweetness*)”<sup>1</sup>.

When he had recited this hymn<sup>2</sup> to Hibil the Great, our father blessed him<sup>3</sup> from the Jordan. . And they ended their rites and repeated Darkness is crushed back into the depths<sup>4</sup> and recited Good maketh good the good<sup>5</sup> and then Our Forefathers<sup>6</sup> just as was explained at the beginning of this treatise, and all those blessings in the name of those who presented the *tabuta*<sup>7</sup>, and they absolved them, prayed for<sup>8</sup> them<sup>8</sup>, and blessed them (*saying*) “forgiving of sins” (be *there for...*). And

seven cups of ‘hamra’<sup>9</sup>. The version given in Alf *Trisar Šuialia* resembles the above. The ‘*niania*’ hymn differs considerably:

Bšuma d hia rbia nhar gufnia bgu mia u’taqiam kabiria lkalh itaqnia mia (*instead of* lka lhil) uqaima dmawatkun uminihra landna dna ziwai-kun ‘utria sagiia wata bhilfa kasih dna ziwai-kun uziwa d malka atih rihaikun umaziz ‘lan.

“In the name of the Great Life! Vines shone in the waters and mighty ones were established on its banks, upon the clear waters (**t**). And your Counterparts exist and give us light. Let your light arise, let it shine forth, great uthras, and come, Instead of hiding it, manifest your radiance and the radiance of the King. Bring your perfume and strengthen us”.

<sup>1</sup> Pa. of the verb AZZ with “perfume -- has the meaning of -- To overpower with -- also -- to strengthen”, -- to invigorate . Perhaps -- stimulate us -- would be the better translation (See P. S. Comp. Syr. Diet. under ܕܐܘܫܐ).

<sup>2</sup> The repetition of the word is meaningless.

<sup>3</sup> The copyist is puzzled; he has placed dots beneath ‘burk’ (showing that it should be deleted) and Adds a gloss, ‘bukra’ (firstborn).

<sup>4</sup> M. L. p. 166. (‘uma’ = ‘umqa’; the q. as in ‘arqa’, is not pronounced).

<sup>5</sup> See p. 43, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 43, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> The ritual food and accessories.

<sup>8</sup> ‘tangar’, i. e. “for their benefit”.

(*commemorate also*) your (*ritual*) slaughterer, and your families, and commemorate male and female Mandaean priests, *ganzibria*, treasurers, chief men and heads of the people<sup>1</sup>.

Then Ayar-Rba (shall *take*) the cup and give it to the *barukaiia* who shall *drink (thereof)* for that is before ye recite Good maketh good the good. And they shall repeat Vines shone in the water<sup>2</sup>, That shone in the treasure<sup>3</sup>, and darkness is crushed back before you. And the *barukaiia*, nine of you, shall recite:

“In the name of the Great Life!  
 On the day that Hibil-Ziwa  
 Went towards Yawar,  
 Myrtle he brought<sup>4</sup> towards them  
 And to Yawar. Into his right hand  
 He placed it and said to him:  
 ‘Receive from me fresh myrtle  
 And blessing pronounced on the dwellings.  
 Pronounce blessing on the dwellings  
 And illumine and confirm<sup>5</sup> uthras and kings  
 Who sit at your right and your left  
 From end to end’”<sup>5</sup>.

Then Yawar shall give response to the *barukaiia*:

“In the Name of the Great Life!  
 Myrtle, myrtle<sup>6</sup>! The King took it  
 The King was surrounded by the perfume of myrtle.  
 And he blessed Hibil-Ziwa and said to him:  
 Blessed art thou, our father Hibil-Ziwa  
 Like the myrtle that is in thy right hand.  
 And may thy Root flourish  
 Like the root of the fresh myrtle;  
 And thou shalt have glory and honour  
 Like the Water of Life”.

<sup>1</sup> This prayer in form resembles the diptych of the Eastern churches and the Parsi Dibache. See p. 43, n. 5.

See p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> I am unable to trace this hymn, or that which follows it.

<sup>3</sup> Literally “went”.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 46 n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> The word ‘asa’ means “healed”, “made strong”, so that there is a play on words here. Myrtle is to the Mandaean what ‘barsom’ is to the Parsi; its perfume is sacred and life-giving. Myrtle is prominent in Oriental Jewish rites.

Then the *barukaiia* addressed to him a hymn (response):

“Blessed be thou, our father  
Who hast brought this myrtle plant  
And set it up in the dwellings  
So that uthras shine in its radiance  
And the dwellings delight in its fragrance  
For ever”<sup>1</sup>.

Then Ayar-Rba took this-myrtle which (they) held in their right hands and the myrtle placed on the ritual tray and spoke to all the kings and uthras and boys and girls, and Yawar said: “Sixty grievous sins shall fall away from any man that inhaleth its perfume. And cause any pure spouse that committed a fault in her dryness (?)<sup>2</sup> and hath come (near?) her end to inhale it and her sins shall fall away from her; cause all who have committed sin to inhale it so that their sins may fall away from them”.

And (*thus*) they accomplished this Blessed Oblation, and (*when*) Yawar had spoken, *he* took it (*the myrtle*) and twined a wreath and set it on his head. And they rose to their feet in the perfume of their wayside refreshment<sup>3</sup> and enfolded one another (*in embrace*) with fervent *kušta*<sup>4</sup>.

Then Mara-d-Rabuta commanded Hibil-Ziwa and said to him: “Bring oblation, and new vestments and attire the *barukaiia* in them, (for) they are mine”.

So Hibil-Ziwa went to his house<sup>5</sup> and brought robes and clothed therewith all the uthras of the dwellings (*škinata*). And they honoured their crowns<sup>6</sup> and sat down.

Then Yawar-Ziwa cried<sup>7</sup> to Mara-d-Rabuta, saying to him: “O our Lord, Lord of all worlds! Strength that was manifested in us! O Lord of Majesty! O Crown that is set on our heads! O Vision of our

<sup>1</sup> See p. 46, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> ‘*bhirbia*’ cannot mean here “with swords”. It may mean when she is past the age of menstruation.

<sup>3</sup> ‘*špinza*’ = a “place of temporary refreshment”, or “temporary lodging”, “refreshment by the way”, “an inn”.

<sup>4</sup> All religions rites, or sections of a rite, conclude by the performance of *kušta*.

<sup>5</sup> ‘*Hilbumia*’: see p. 31, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 42 note 10.

<sup>7</sup> Careless copying: for ‘*rba*’ read ‘*gra*’.

eyes! bethink thyself of thine own<sup>1</sup>. O thou prototype of *Nasiruta*<sup>2</sup> that is found in all worlds, O Glory of uthras, thou that art King; kings petition thee, kings request answer from thee! O our Lord and Support that sustainest all my thought; they make a request of thee, questioning the Great (*Life*). Good folk are they who ask, slaves (*asking*) their master, spouses their wives and sons their parents. For we are thy glory, Lord of all worlds; I am<sup>3</sup> the noble Hibil-Ziwa and I am<sup>3</sup> in all secrets and revelations. And I<sup>3</sup> and all who love them...”.

Then spoke Mara-d-Rabuta and said to Yawar-Rba: “O thou, king of uthras and support that sustaineth worlds of light! O thou polished mirror set before the eyes of kings and uthras, say not that there is no answer<sup>3</sup> from me; for *Šislam-Rba*, eldest of all, who is treasurer of that which is (*hidden*) with me, he shall give answer<sup>3</sup>. My (*hidden*) treasure is not denied<sup>4</sup> you, nor is any one of you elder or senior: on the contrary each one of you is qualified for one rite<sup>5</sup>, that is, the Blessed Oblation; for its treasure<sup>5</sup> is sealed for everyone. Thou enquirest about it, and I will teach you about that which was formed and issued from the King-Father; for all rites<sup>5</sup> proceed from Him, and when the *masiqta* was instituted, and every coronation<sup>6</sup>, they were founded by Him, by Him they were devised, together with everything which emanated from the jordan<sup>7</sup> and Ether<sup>—</sup> and nothing existeth which did not proceed from these, since they are Spirit and Soul. If no ether were incorporated in a jordan it would not flow. And nothing is formed except by a Mystery<sup>7</sup>. (A *Mystery*) protected Hibil-Ziwa, son of Manda-d-Hiia son of Mana-Rba-Kabira: it protected his disciples and his own kingship (*priesthood*), for he was called up from the eighth world of darkness (*thereby*). And every weighty question that may arise from (the *moment of*) conception

<sup>1</sup> Af TUB. Or “Respond to thine own”?

<sup>2</sup> ‘*Nasiruta*’: see p. 7, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Doubtful. ‘*Ana*’ in Mandaic means “I”, but ANA (ܐܢܐ) means “to answer”. The end of the paragraph is missing.

<sup>4</sup> Literally “out off from”.

<sup>5</sup> “Treasure” (‘*ginza*’), i. e. “mysteries”, or rites for the dead such as the ‘*masiqta*’ and ‘*zidqa*’ (‘*zidqa*’). The word is also applied to sacramental food and drink, and to a collection of sacred texts (of *Ginza Rba*).

<sup>6</sup> The ceremony of placing the crown of priesthood upon a candidate for ordination.

<sup>7</sup> I. e. the rites which released him from pollution.



until that of death <sup>1</sup> is solved by Him, for He is the Smith who forgoeth our mysteries, so that our ritual <sup>2</sup> is safeguarded.

We have made (it?) into a single Treatise (or "Way") <sup>3</sup>, and although all Oblation rites have become numerous and are overlaid by darkness, we have increased the mysteries; like the waters they are abundant, and they have grown in number. Amongst its treasures can be found any rite which the people or a *rišama* need. Thus anything that is lacking to a rite, that is, from that which is appointed (*to be done*); or anything defective in that rite (or) dim (or) extirpated (?), may be discovered through Hibil-Ziwa, and anything that is needed for a traveller from the seventh world may be found. *Finis.*

Thus (*was*) the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa the Great and the great baptism of Bihram-Rba<sup>4</sup> son of Nbaṭ-Rba, namely three hundred and sixty baptisms, and that blessing of four mysteries which Šhaq-Rba son of Manda-ḡ-Hiia blessed for himself and (*then*) bestowed on uthras, kings, the Elect Righteous and the Root which hath no division; that (*blessing*) which Hibil-Ziwa conferred on himself. (*It is*) chief of all baptisms which derive from it and of baptisms for (*cleansing*) pollutions <sup>5</sup>, for Hibil-Ziwa's baptism was the first of all "three-hundred-and-sixty (*times*)" baptisms, and (*origin of*) the "fifty baptisms" of Šitil, (of) the "seven baptisms performed by seven kings" (*and of*) the holy baptism they perform from *Kanšia uzahlia* <sup>6</sup> — the "Great New Year" — until the baptism (*feast*) of Daima <sup>7</sup> (*also of*) the seven original *masiqtas* which purify pollutions <sup>5</sup>. For all *masiqtas* derive from Hibil-Ziwa's *masiqta* and all baptisms originated in one Way. And it hath cured all pollutions <sup>5</sup> save one pollution for which there is no cure, and that is apostasy. (*This*) great mystery remained with Hibil-Ziwa, and he dissemin-

<sup>1</sup> Literally "from germination to departure".

<sup>2</sup> Not the plural.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sigia', "Way" or "scroll" or "treatise". See p. 14 n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> The Bihram of the baptism formula? See p. 6, n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Literally "blows" or "wounds".

<sup>6</sup> 'Kanšia uzahlia' (Assembly and Cleansing, or Sweeping and Cleansing) is the name given to the thirty-six hours which begin on New Year's Eve, during which all Mandaean go into retreat. Their seclusion begins at sunset, and must be preceded by baptism. They remain indoor in order to avoid pollution (see MMII pp. 85-7).

<sup>7</sup> Daima is a baptismal feast which falls ninety days after the five-day spring feast of Panja or Parwanaiia (see MMII p. 91).

ated it amongst all peoples, for its name is "Seed". He conferred it upon <sup>1</sup> Yawar and Yawar conferred it upon Ayar, and its celebration ~~was~~ on a seventh day, that is a sabbath <sup>2</sup> and took place in the *škinta* of Hibil-Ziwa and his brethren.

Any man baptised with this baptism, (that is a baptism) like (*that of*) the glorious First Great Radiance, will be accounted (*Mine*); he shall dwell in My dwelling, he shall be like unto Me in his form, and sixty transgressions shall be loosened from him, at each word <sup>3</sup>, (?) (*yea*) they will melt away. And he shall take with him a thousand thousand souls who endured persecution from the direction of the Left, (*who were*) baptised with this my 'baptism, mine, Hibil-Ziwa's, that (*baptism*) celebrated in the name of Hibil-Ziwa. *Finis.*

In the name of the Great Life who is eternal!

Thereupon Hibil-Ziwa gave his hand to his father and they embraced. Then the Life looked upon him (and) the uthras and they embraced Hibil-Ziwa, and all the uthras rose from their thrones and addressed a hymn to him, saying to Hibil-Ziwa:

"Speak about Hibil-Ziwa to the 'uthras his brethren,

The uthras sitting in the *škintas*.

Arise, let all of us in one song

Bless the great Hibil-Ziwa whom

They have set up as our Head.

And, putting the seal-ring on our hands <sup>4</sup>

Say 'Our father, thy glory exceedeth the glories

Of all crowns and thy light hath overpowered

Many worlds.

Our <sup>5</sup> good Messenger!

Because the Life became thy Transplanter

We rejoiced at thine appearance.

We will lay our hands on thee in kušṭa

And will bless thee with a great benison

That is mighty and powerful.

<sup>1</sup> The passive and active participles of Pael can take similar form (N. p. 230). 'Mlabaš' here means "invested with", "authorized to perform", but I am doubtful about the exact equivalent.

<sup>2</sup> For 'ašwat' read 'ašbat'.

<sup>3</sup> Obscure; literally "with each one a word".

<sup>4</sup> D. C. 60: 'nibirkh lhibil ziwa rba ḡ brišaihun trig wasiqth b'daihun matnh'. Small differences between the two mss. occur constantly.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'šgandan' for 'šgandak'.

Then **all the** uthras embraced Hibil-Ziwa and kissed **him** with pure mouth and **seated him** on his own throne saying to him: "Rejoice; our father ! Rejoice **in** all thy treasure (*ginzak*) and keep watch over thy realm. Thou wilt be raised up and (*wilt raise up*) **into** the worlds of light those who have been baptised with the 'Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa,' and **all** the Elect Righteous. We will bless thee with prayer and praise evermore<sup>1</sup>". *Finis*<sup>2</sup>.

Ayar-Rba spoke and hymned him and said:

"Thy glory is transcendent  
And sublime is the course of thy feet<sup>3</sup> !  
May radiance and light confirm and watch over thee  
For evermore".

Yukabar-Rba spoke and hymned him and said:

"O chosen Being, rejoice!  
Take joy in thy good Plants,  
For the Great Life will be thy Helper.  
Thy form shall shine like radiance  
Transferred from the House of the Mighty Life<sup>4</sup>,  
Evermore".

Nṣab-Rba spoke and hymned him and said

"The twelve uthras that sit in the *ṣkintas*  
Of the Great (Life) have blessed thee<sup>5</sup>,  
(They) who sit together in company;  
And their appearance shineth  
Like the holy<sup>6</sup> uthras, for the Righteous One<sup>7</sup>;  
The Great Life, giveth light to their appearance.  
(May) He be thy Light for evermore".

Yawar-Rba spoke and hymned him and said to him:

"Our father, they have made thee chief of the realm,  
The House of the Mighty (Life) hath crowned thee.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 46, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> S—~~a~~ (*Finis*) marks the end of every hymn. I omit the word occasionally.

<sup>3</sup> D. C. 50: 'aṣar sigiia ḡ ligrak waṣar ziwa wanhura'.

<sup>4</sup> The word 'mia' (in both mss.) must be an intrusion. Omit.

<sup>5</sup> D. C. 60 'brikuk'.

<sup>6</sup> 'Saniia' = "removed" (from earthly life), "transhuman", "translated" etc. It must often be paraphrased by an equivalent word.

<sup>7</sup> The construction is obscure.

The crown that they set on thee is like unto, the crown<sup>1</sup>  
Of the Great (Life), and shall guard **thee** evermore".

Yukabar-Rba spoke and hymned him and said:

"Precious Truth (*kuṣṭa*) of itself brighteneth the eternal  
[Abode,

And is the Enlightener whom ye have acknowledged.  
And Hibil-Ziwa **will come** to the home of N. son of N.  
Who was baptised with the baptism of Hibil-Ziwa  
And will instal him in his world for evermore".

Mana-Rba-Kabira spoke and hymned him and said:

"Thy robes shone and thy form was bright  
As thou camest towards thy Parents,  
(O) Sprout that art self-existent  
From aye" !

Bihram-Rba spoke and said:

"Our father, Life hath prepared thee a, *ṣkinta*  
In which all the uthras shine.  
They **all** gather about thee and lay  
Their pure right hand upon thee  
And bless thee evermore".

Bihrun-Rba spoke and hymned him and said

"O beloved uthra whom they have raised up  
To (*produce?*) living fruits;  
Thou hast transplanted a grafting  
For thy brethren and fathers.  
Yonder, thou blessest them mystically.  
Clear are the waters of a true baptism  
And their image is sublimated and made to shine  
Evermore"<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> D. C. 50: 'badmu taga ḡ taga traṣlak badmu rbia mnaṣarлак'; "like His (?) crown, for the crown they set on thee like the Great (Life) will preserve thee".

<sup>2</sup> D. C. 60: 'Ya 'utra rhima ḡ piria mia aqmuk uniṣubta nṣablak lahak nlabahatak bkisia ḡarkatun lhl taqnia mia taqna maṣbutak mitqaima udmatak minihra mn riṣ briṣ . (Obeloved uthra, thou who **wast raised up** and transplanted by the fruits of the waters. Clear are the waters; reliable was thy baptism that was celebrated; and thine image is illustrious for ever" ('*Taqna*' has both meanings).

Šišlam-Rba son of Nba-Rba spoke and hymned him and said:  
 "Thy baptism was celebrated<sup>1</sup> in the House of thy' Father  
 And the Light of Life hath confirmed thee.  
 Thy Counterpart shone and shineth  
 And ascended in purity to the Place of Light  
 For ever".

Anuš-Rba spoke and hymned him and said:

"I testify to thy Father's pact (*kušta*)<sup>2</sup>,  
 The Being who built thee a building.  
 My eyes look to thee<sup>3</sup>  
 Chosen Righteous One  
 Whose name is fragrant for evermore".

Šišlam-Rba son of Shaq-Rba spoke and hymned him and said:

"O uthra in the glory of whose crown  
 Uthras shine and Rays become more bright,  
 (Our) father (and) Chief in radiance<sup>4</sup>  
 Since thou wast baptised by the sixty kings  
 The perfume of thy wreath cometh  
 And its fragrance invigorateth us  
 Evermore".

Sam-Rba spoke<sup>5</sup> - he who reared Seven sublime Vines and; enlighteneth the transcendent Vines that he trained up, for from him proceed strength, radiance and praise! (He hymned *him and said*):

"I, and mystic uthras my brethren (*baptised* thee).  
 Through their baptism thou hast risen to the Place of Light  
 For ever".

Sarwan-Rba, whose (name D. C. 50) is pleasant, spoke, hymned him and said to him:

"Fragrant is the perfume of the *mana* of Hibil-Ziwa!  
 How fragrant is thy perfume, fair *mana*!

<sup>1</sup> Or, "sublimated". *Mitqaiama* of a sacrament means "performed" "celebrated".

<sup>2</sup> D. C. 60 'kušta d abuk sahidnabh'.

<sup>3</sup> D. C. 60 'ainai msakianalak'.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "are brightened". (D. C. 50: 'abun riša ziwa').

<sup>5</sup> I omit a verse here: it is faulty and the next verse appears to be an amendment.

And the perfume of the fresh myrtle  
 And the scent of the young marjoram  
 And the incense of Yawar-Rba, king of uthras,  
 Who came and celebrated baptism.  
 Through its strength Hibil-Ziwa rose up<sup>1</sup>  
 To the Eternal Abode for ever".

Them all the uthras spoke, recited a hymn and said, placing their hands on his' head

"Pure guardians shall watch over thee.  
 Thy Root shall grow mightily  
 And will attain the highest.  
 We will establish thine acts  
 And thou wilt rise and behold the Place of Light  
 For ever".

When they have finished these hymns to the end, after the conclusion<sup>2\*</sup> read "When there was bestowed"<sup>3</sup>, "Secured and sealed"<sup>4</sup>, "By Treasure of Life"<sup>5</sup> and the longer "Secured and sealed"<sup>6</sup> and then read those<sup>7</sup> hymns over that soul's head, for when thou hast baptised him he representeth a "king"<sup>8</sup>. When they are sitting, bring them a chair (to place) beneath him, for a throne should be set up for the king during (the prayer) "Secured and Sealed". *Finis*.

And recite those hymns above his head.

In the name of the Life, be there healing for Bainai son of Zakia<sup>9</sup>, and likewise for me, Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, in this "Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa and Ptahil" which is (i.e. comprises) all the sacraments (*ginzia*) and blessed oblations 'by which kings are (re-?)invested with the crown: baptism and the *masiqta*, with the

<sup>1</sup> D. C. 60 has 'saq', not 'sar'.

<sup>2\*</sup> D. C. 36 is confused here. D. C. 60 follows up by a list of prayers and directions not given by D. C. 36. The star marks the point of divergence.

<sup>3</sup> M. L. p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> M. L. p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> M. L. p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> M. L. p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> "Those" meaning the omitted hymns?

<sup>8</sup> The "sod" (or person) is the priest who undergoes the rites of three hundred and sixty baptisms etc. celebrated for Hibil-Ziwa. (Read *malka* for *malkia* and make the pronoun in the next sentence "him" not "them").

<sup>9</sup> According to the oolophon the first copyist, or the author.

seven earliest<sup>1</sup> *masiqtas* which ....<sup>2</sup> seven kings, and with those five baptisms (*by which*) the Precious One whose breath (*pneuma*) purifieth pollutions<sup>3</sup>, that is to say Yawar, rehabilitateth them in those baptisms. For he (*Yawar, Hibil-Ziwa*) was the first to clothe them with all the sacraments. For in the sacrament of the Blessed Oblation there is nought pertaining to darkness, no outcast<sup>4</sup>, nothing degrading (?) or anything which hath not its portion of light. On the contrary, within the exalted bounds of the seven sacraments of the Blessed Oblation, in that baptism of uthras which is (*comprises*) nine sacraments (*ginzia*) called blessed oblations, apart from (*not counting*) that bestowed on Hibil-Ziwa<sup>5</sup>: (*in these*) there is nought pertaining to Darkness, it (*Darkness*) hath no mandate (*therein*). And say.....<sup>6</sup>. *Finis*.

\*<sup>7</sup> In the name of the Great Life and in the name of Manda-d-Hiia! The Great Life spoke: He placed four mysteries before the master<sup>8</sup> and said to him:

“In the name of the Great Life!  
On the day that Kušta spoke,  
Radiance dawned on the four mysteries,  
Its strength surged out to the jordan  
And its glory rested on the kings”<sup>9</sup>.  
“And he said to him: ‘Rejoice amongst kings,  
Rejoice in thy mystic crown;  
Rejoice in that which originated from thee,  
Rejoice at the four mysteries,  
Rejoice, our father, at the two Vines,  
Rejoice at the jordan, take joy in thy kingliness<sup>10</sup>.  
For evermore’”.

<sup>1</sup> ‘bukariata’.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence must be corrupt. I think it should be ‘*q praš Hibil-Ziwa ma gimra ma almia q Buba malkia q hšuka, ma binia Buba malkia*’ “which took Hibil-Ziwa with the (mystic) Jewel out of the worlds of the seven kings of darkness, from amongst the seven kings”.

<sup>3</sup> Literally ‘blows’ (inadvertent pollutions).

<sup>4</sup> Again corrupt. A *gasiba* is a person disqualified or polluted by a ritual fault or uncleanness. ‘Šafin’ = those who fall.

<sup>5</sup> The sentence is obscure and involved.

<sup>6</sup> The end is missing.

<sup>7</sup> The star marks the point at which the two mss. rejoin.

<sup>8</sup> D. C. 60 has “father” (‘aba’) for “master” (‘rba’).

<sup>9</sup> D. C. 60 has ‘malka’ for ‘malkia’.

<sup>10</sup> D. C. 50, which has the same copyist, has the correct version, which I have followed.

‘In the name of the Great Life and in the name of the Four Mysteries! Further, thou wilt be blessed, Yahia-Adam son of Adam-Yuhana, by that blessing which was bestowed on the Well-spring and Palm-tree, and a troth was established (between) chaos<sup>1</sup> (?) and jordan:

“A glorious brightness glowed in the jordan  
She leapt forth clad in mystic dress;  
They appeared<sup>2</sup> between mysteries  
That were called ‘of the two mountains’”<sup>3</sup>.

Moreover, thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Adam son of Adam-Yuhana, by that blessing bestowed on the two Vines called mystical and holy, for they are the four mysteries that our Father blessed<sup>4</sup> with a benediction and endowed them<sup>4</sup> with strength. And a hidden radiance guardeth them; it came into being within. Himat-Aina<sup>5</sup> came into existence and she was named ‘zlat<sup>5</sup>, and Ham-Ziwa<sup>5</sup>.

\*<sup>6</sup> And he blessed the jordan and said to it:  
“Blessed art thou, our Vine-of-Light,  
Water of Life! Of (*those*) waters  
The trees which stand by its stream-bed  
Drink, swell with fruit and bear fruit  
To one another, and their fruit  
Resembleth not (*the fruit of I*) neighbours.  
Simat-Hiia (Treasure-of-Life) rejoiceth in him  
And embraceth him for ever”.

In the name of the Great Life! Thou wilt be blessed, our father Adam-Yahia son of Adam-Yuhana, with the benediction bestowed on Yawar, the great Hibil-Ziwa, Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hiia, in whose name baptism was instituted and lacked nothing but lifteth up the soul (*mana*). He confirmed and blessed the jordan and ruleth the air; and conferred strength on the jordan so that worlds (or “persons”) should be baptised therein (?). Further,

<sup>1</sup> D. C. 60 has ‘mn buha’; D. C. 35: ‘mn bhuš’. The expression ‘tinšib’ often refers to being given in marriage.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Nbañun’ in both mss. “Sprang forth”?

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is obscure.

<sup>4</sup> D. C. 60 has this version.

<sup>5</sup> These are the names of heavenly beings (female).

<sup>6</sup> The two mss. again part company: stars mark the divergence.

thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana with that benediction that was bestowed on the jordan:

“ And he spoke and blessed it (*saying*):  
 ‘ The world will exult in thee  
 And the glory that is in thee shall be preserved;  
 The treasure of life within thee  
 Shall be strengthened  
 And we will free worlds in thee (*thy waters*)  
 Evermore’ ”.

In the name of the Great Life ! Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana with that blessing conferred on the Seven Ships<sup>1</sup>. Founts of light proceeded from them and monarchy formed itself and kings took shape in them.

But from captives to their nature taking (*their attributes*?) they took away strength, and established *Naširuta* in them<sup>2</sup>.

Moreover thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana with the benediction bestowed on the three hundred and sixty wellsprings of light, from which four mysteries and the crown came forth, and life-giving<sup>3</sup> emanations<sup>4</sup> and outbreathings<sup>5</sup>.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed on the seven worlds of illuasion in which the mystic King dwelleth. At those baptisms (*celebrated*) at his command all the worlds of light acquired strength. He kept watch and his glory resteth on the uthras, and his treasure (*ginzih*) dwelleth in the worlds.

\*<sup>6</sup> Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that blessing bestowed on the Wellspring and Palmtree from which worlds resulted (*praš*), and *Naširuta* developed therefrom, and its strength dwelleth on kings. And consolidation took place, consolidating the worlds and seed (or “semen”) was implanted in the jordan. And thereby the jordan was established, and glory floweth therein evermore’.

<sup>1</sup> The seven planetary ships.

<sup>2</sup> Probable miscopying. The meaning of this sentence must be that religion (i. e. *Naširuta*) removed the evil propensities of those born under certain planets and counteracts planetary power.

<sup>3</sup> Miscopying: ‘mahunia’ (“pits”) should be ‘mahiania’ (“lifegiving”).

<sup>4</sup> ‘Tanania’ = “vapours” i. e. vaporous exhalations.

<sup>5</sup> 

<sup>6</sup> The two mss are again parallel.

<sup>7</sup> D. C. 60 has: *q̄ almia mnḥ praš ušararta minḥ piršat uhaila Imalkia šria umsuta bizlat masia umazruta byardna šar'ia uyardna bgauḥ mitqaiam u'ruth*

Then thou, our **master** Yahia-Bihram **son of** Adam-Yuhana, wilt be blessed with that blessing bestowed **on** the Living and Consuming Flame which spread from land to **land** and did not<sup>1</sup> ascend to the skies. **It** equippeth the secret offspring of Ham-Ziwa, for it sprang forth and rose upward eternally...<sup>2</sup> from the four mysteries, and the four mysteries gave him abundant strength and raised him up to Radiant-Glory in the sublime Ether.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our master Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana with the blessing bestowed **on** the living Flame produced from the consuming Flame which is (*called*?) Ham-Ziwa. And its smoke dissolved into the jordan; it (*assumed*) a fair garb and issued<sup>3</sup> and **was** sublimated eternally.

In the name of the Great Life ! Then thou wilt be blessed, our master Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that blessing bestowed on the four mysteries, and the benediction blessed the Father and gave Him (D. C. 50 “them”) strength. Then the Bather<sup>4</sup> arose and gave a blessing the strength of which was derived from the four mysteries; through the strength of the four mysteries he created<sup>5</sup>, and in the light of the two Vines (*beings*) were created and reared. He created a Companion at his right, and (*a Companion*) at his left, and procreated mystic offspring, and called into being before Him worlds of light. And, in the light of His raiment the waters came forth from their place of origin, and His strength watched over the first-born<sup>6</sup>. Then when He had blessed, the **four** mysteries, they arose and blessed His (4) robes of living waters (or “Water of Life”), He took possession of the four mysteries, and blessed fruit, grapes and trees and safeguarded them, causing His strength to rest upon the worlds.

Then thou, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, wilt be blessed with that benediction bestowed on *Šamquiel*<sup>7</sup>, the seal

*bgauḥ radia mn riš briš*. (“so that worlds resulted therefrom and creation was produced thereby. And strength was shed on the kings. And consolidation spread, consolidating, and seed lodged in the jordan, and the jordan was established thereby, and its glory floweth in it from end to end”).

<sup>1</sup> Read “ascended” for “did not ascend”?

<sup>2</sup> The double circle must indicate a gap in the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> D. C. 50: ‘ulbuša yaqra piršat’.

<sup>4</sup> D. C. 50: ‘Ham ziwa aba’ for ‘qam sba’. Doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> D. C. 60 has ‘gra’ for ‘rba’. Doubtful.

<sup>6</sup> D. C. 60 has ‘ldukth’ (“his or its place”) for ‘lbukra’. Doubtful.

<sup>7</sup> This should probably be *Šamšiel*, a personification of the sun.

of the sea<sup>1</sup>, which consolidated mountains, congealing<sup>2</sup> so that solidification took place in them. When they sent him to establish jordan, then his radiance rested on the worlds and his light protected the worlds and his strength dwelleth upon the jordan<sup>3</sup>.

Then thou, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, wilt be blessed with that benediction they conferred on Manhariel, the glittering light (or banner)<sup>4</sup>, which contracted by heat<sup>5</sup> the three hundred and sixty worlds of light, for the strength of his fire is great, and air and earth flourish (therein)<sup>6</sup> for the likeness of the Father dwelt therein. Hence the waters which take their rise at the three wellsprings spread his light, and come to the lower world<sup>7</sup>.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed by the Father on that great primal Palm-tree – before it none existed. He blessed (it) and sat in its shade and enjoyed the perfume of its blossom, laying His sublime hand amongst the leaves of its mighty wreath for evermore\*.

In the name of the Great Life! Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed on Rauziel, the bohinnia (camel-foot) tree, the tree which the Father blessed. Uthras twine wreaths of it and they hide (the wreath) in their inner dwellings and keep it.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed on Šarat and Simat-Hiia, who gave their treasure so that uthras might be established. Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that Sign of the Right, of the Father, of the Male<sup>9</sup>; moreover thou wilt be blessed with that blessing bestowed on the crown set on the head of kings. Therewith they blessed the secret mystery<sup>10</sup> of generation and blessed (and) strengthened Ham-Ziwa who shineth<sup>11</sup> and shone in his glory and

<sup>1</sup> Read 'siqta d yama'.

<sup>2</sup> The text is corrupt. Read 'masia' for 'd asia'.

<sup>3</sup> D. C. 60: 'siqta d yama' amsinun l'uria, asia d msuta bgauaihun kt mitraş yardnia uziwa sadruia uziwa lalmia naşar .

<sup>4</sup> P. درفش

<sup>5</sup> Hebrew: צרב

<sup>6</sup> D. C. 50: 'd naura wayar warba razia'. Read 'd nurh wayar warqa rauzia'.

<sup>7</sup> Omit 'tlata' after 'titaia'.

<sup>8</sup> D. C. 50: 'asim'dh şania başirpia d klila rba'.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 63, n. 4.

<sup>10</sup> D. C. 50: 'razia kasia'.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'd baira' as in D. C. 60.

was beatified thereby<sup>1</sup>. And he worshipped and gave praise and created the seven worlds of illusion, and they were inhabited<sup>2</sup> and established. And for him there was created fair<sup>3</sup> treasure (simat)<sup>4</sup> of life, which is the treasure (ginza)<sup>4</sup> of the uthras for ever.

In the name of the Great Life! Thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed by the Father: through Him four mysteries came into being and matured<sup>5</sup>. Then He blessed the worlds of light and put them in order and addressed a hymn to the four mysteries and said to them:

"Ye are blessed, praised and established.

And blessed be the Word of the Father

And the benediction bestowed on kings for ever.

Blessed and established<sup>6</sup> is the planting<sup>7</sup>

Of the four Vines, and the first planting was successful.

And victorious is the King of Light

And Life is victorious". *Finis.*

We will hymn thee and say to thee<sup>8</sup> "Shine forth! Let thy glory break through and thy light come forth"!

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that benediction bestowed on Nşab-Ziwa-Kasia, the glory that was called Ham-Ziwa. He appeared and confirmed the secret jordan.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that benediction bestowed on the jordan Tar and Tarwan, the occult mystery which emerged and sprang forth, and its glory leapt up and shone in the sublime ether<sup>9</sup>.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that blessing bestowed on Taniel (Tan'il)-Kasia<sup>10</sup>, whose glory glowed upon the worlds(?). Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-

<sup>1</sup> '\$ baira uber b'ruth', in D. C. 60.

<sup>2</sup> D. C. 60 has ''tib'.

<sup>3</sup> For 'ana' read 'anaia'.

<sup>4</sup> Both these words mean "hidden treasure", i. e. "sacred treasure".

<sup>5</sup> D. C. 50: 'd aba huabh urbabh arbs razia .

<sup>6</sup> D. C. 60: 'mşaba' for 'mqaima'.

<sup>7</sup> The context indicates that 'naşiruta' is here a miswriting of 'nişubta'. D. C. 50 repeats the mistake, and has "kings of light" for "King of Light".

<sup>8</sup> D. C. 50: 'haizak arba razia 'niana rmulh wamrulh' ("then the four mysteries hymned him and said to him").

<sup>9</sup> D. C. 50: 'tar yardna' utarwan utar raza kasia d tar utar unşar ushaq ziwa udna bayar şania'. Both probably corrupt.

<sup>10</sup> D. C. 50: 'kasia' not 'rasia'.

Yuhana with that blessing wherewith the Wellspring Şihmat<sup>1</sup> was blessed, from her proceeded Hadatan-Kasia who glowed, shone forth and became great. And wings of light were formed for her, they were living (*wings ?*) from the Life who is Eternal<sup>2</sup>.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that blessing bestowed on the Well-spring of Glory, from which the worlds and kings came forth, and her strength speedeth the jordan (running water). And Life is victorious.

Thou art blessed our father in the name of the Great Life !

And the four mysteries hymned thee and said to thee:

“ Shine forth, let thy radiance appear  
And divulge thy light. Make thy spouse glad  
And she (*or thou*) will be glorified”.

He gave answer to the four mysteries and said to them:

“ Let your glories shine forth, (the *glories* of?)  
Your Father, and come as mystic surrogate<sup>3</sup>,  
Join your glories and be magnified”<sup>4</sup>.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana by that hymn which He addressed to Himself and said

I am a mystic Sprout<sup>5</sup>  
For I (cum forth) from Himat-Razia  
I have interpreted secret things.  
I burst forth, I leapt forth and rose  
Rejoicing at the waters of Life (Water of Life)  
And (*at*) ~~His~~ Likeness<sup>6</sup>  
Evermore”.

And say... in the name of the Great Life...

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that benediction

<sup>1</sup> D. C. 60 ‘şihmat’ (“she was bright” “she gleamed”).

<sup>2</sup> Corrupt ? D. C. 50 has ‘hadan d ham ubarat u'traurabat uganfa d ziwa sarlh hiia hun mn hiia labatlia’.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Bhilfa kasia’: -- as secret substitute” ?

<sup>4</sup> D. C. 50: ‘dna ziwaikun d abuhun wata bhilfa kasia dna lham ziwaikun u'traurabtun’.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Nibta’, i. e. “something thrust out, urged forth”.

<sup>6</sup> For the last three lines D. C. 50 has: ‘pirşat unibtat usihqat usilqat almia hiia bdmuth hasia mn riş briş’.

bestowed on the four secret mysteries, and they burst forth and shone...<sup>1</sup> and secret mysteries appeared.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana with that benediction bestowed on resplendence of that light which emanated from the jordan and was intertwined with the sandarach<sup>2</sup> and the frankincense Which (*come*) from the mountains, and rose<sup>3</sup> up and appeared in all the sacraments of all baptism when thou wast baptised by my right hand<sup>4</sup>. And Vines flourish therein and Life<sup>5</sup> existed.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, by that benediction bestowed on Air (*ayar*) and Running-Water (*yardna*). And they twined myrtle into a wreath, and in the perfume<sup>6</sup> of the myrtle-blossom He (?) sprang forth. Then, when He had pronounced this blessing on Himself, He blessed all kings and said “Any man who hath been blessed with this ‘benediction of the four mysteries’ shall be redeemed from all blemish”. And he went away and remained in his Egg (*hibunia*)<sup>7</sup> and was hidden from the uthras and was beatified in company with all the worlds.

And they will hymn thee and say to thee “Our Father shone forth and was magnified and Life is victorious”!

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that blessing (*bestowed on ?*) Simat-Hiia (Treasure-of-Life) — and blessed and praised is the Radiant-Light from which she emanated! — and the blessing that was bestowed on Himat-Razia who emanated...<sup>8</sup> further, thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that blessing which Simat-Hiia pronounced when she said to him: “Thou art held in honour ! and the advent<sup>9</sup> of thy glory (*thy glory ?*) hath distinguished the jordan and kingship hath emerged therefrom<sup>10</sup>. Do thou, Yawar-Rba, lay

<sup>1</sup> Corrupt. D. C. 35: ‘unbat ubar saruh usahq’ il utar razia kasiia.

<sup>2</sup> A resin imported from trees growing in mountains in Morocco, used for incense.

<sup>3</sup> D. C. 60 has ‘ushaq’ for ‘saq’.

<sup>4</sup> D. C. 60: ‘maşbutata d mn yaminai dilia mişibat urauzibh gufna d hiia hua’.

<sup>5</sup> Corrupt ?

<sup>6</sup> D. C. 60: ‘riha’.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 31, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> D. C. 60: ‘titibrik anat abun bhak birikta d simat hiia ubrik umşaba ziwa d minh pirşat ubrikit himat razia d pirşat’.

<sup>9</sup> Read ‘mitianik’.

<sup>10</sup> D. C. 60 is very different here: ‘d malalat simat hiia d timarlh’ tiaqrit umitian ziwa praş ‘I aina umalkuta d minh pirşat’.

thy pure right hand on **all** kings that sit at thy right **and** thy left".  
*Finis* <sup>1\*</sup>.

These are the "benedictions" which blessed the four mysteries which Shaq-Rba blessed for himself and then bestowed them on kings and **on** uthraa and **on** the righteous elect, the Root of Hibil-Ziwa. And he said "Any man who is blessed with these blessings shall be delivered from the 'blows' <sup>2</sup> of darkness".

And assign all its treasure (*sacraments*) to the baptism which purifieth 'blows', namely, the Great Baptism, which is the three **hundred** and sixty-fold baptism, the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa (*performed by*) sixty kings (*priests*). From it Holy Baptism came into existence. Hence, from the Day of *Kanšia uZahlia* <sup>3</sup> — that is the New Year — till the Baptism of Daima <sup>4</sup>, there are seven major *masiqtas* which cleanse 'blows'. From the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa — the first — unto the *Masiqta(s)* of the (*other*) six <sup>6</sup>, its seal is the *masiqta* <sup>7</sup>. And when thou hast young children bless them! Because of the mysteries that are therein they **will** be strengthened and he (*thy child*) **will** be preserved and established (*thereby*). And My hand shall be laid on any man who pronounceth these blessings **on** himself; he shall dwell **in** My Dwellings and **will** become like the kings sitting at **his** right and left, and they **will** resemble him. Moreover, every sin which **he** hath committed **will** be forgiven him **and** a superb dwelling shall be prepared for him *in* My presence.

And Life is victorious! *Finis*.

In the Name of the Life!

Come, come thou lofty Messenger <sup>8</sup>

Who doth abide in the dwellings of kings!

Bring Hamar-Eana <sup>9</sup>

And bring young myrtle to the *škinta*

<sup>1</sup> D. C. 35 and D. C. 50 part company again.

<sup>2</sup> 'Mihiata', see p. 54, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 68, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 68, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Literally "firat-born" i. e. "first in importance, of major import.

<sup>6</sup> Corrupt: the reference is to the other six *masiqtas* of the seven major baptisms.

<sup>7</sup> These seven major baptisms are concluded and perfected by the *masiqta*. This is the *hatma*.

<sup>8</sup> The *šganda* in modern ritual is the youth who acts as server and deacon.

<sup>9</sup> Hamar-Kana (Vine-Stock), the personified fruit of the vine. See J. B. p. 4, n. 4.

Of the kings! The great (lord?) of uthras  
Elevated it and put it down at his right and his left  
Yukabar, with all worlds standing  
To the right of the **King** and at his left,  
**Will** pronounce the benediction, saying:  
'Blessed be the radiance that shineth  
On all the kings who sit in this *škinta*  
For ever'".

"Blessed is the glory of the uthras  
And blessed is Hamar-Eana and the young myrtle  
Planted on (*beside*) thee, (**O**)jordan!  
Place before you, my brother-uthras,  
The enlightener of all benefits  
Eternally".

"All the uthras spoke, they hymned  
Myrtle and wine and said:  
'In the name of the Great Life,  
Blessed is the jordan Nšab <sup>1</sup>  
Which proceeded from the glory of  
The first great Palm-Tree.  
And from it Hamar-Eana came into being.  
Life created thee; uthras confirmed thee  
In that place where kings stand on their feet  
And pronounce blessing with kings  
Evermore".

The *ganzibra* and priests shall recite these three hymns over the water (*yardna*), wine (*hamra*), dates (*sindirka*) and myrtle<sup>2</sup> when the *šganda* <sup>3</sup> bringeth them and when these have been ranged with the five mysteries. (*Them*) they shall recite that hymn: "Come, come lofty Messenger".

In the name of the Great First Strange Life from worlds of light, Supreme (*Lord*) above all works! Health and vindication (or

<sup>1</sup> Nšab (he planted) is an epithet given to several heavenly beings. A being of this name is often mentioned in J. B. and G. R.; also in the Diwan Abatur.

<sup>2</sup> It is customary to call the water *yardna* when it is taken directly from the river (or more often *mambuha*), the *hamra* "wine" is unfermented (see p. 63, n. 1.) and dates are always called *sindirka* on the ritual table. For the "four mysteries", see p. 63, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 12, n. 9 and p. 55, n. 4.



purity), strength and soundness, speech and hearing, joy of heart, and forgiving of sins be there for me, Bainai son of Zakia, also for me, Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, and for my offspring and brothers by (*virtue* of) these "Blessings of the Four Mysteries" which issued and emanated from the world of Adam-Shaq-Rba, towards whom all the worlds flock and in whose light they shine and in whose *škinta* they dwell. These are the "**Benedictions of the Four Mysteries**", which Adam-Shaq-Rba pronounced for himself and gave them to the kings and to the Elect Righteous and to the Root of Hibil-Ziwa, which I have copied, who am poor and the "lowliest of my brother-priests and ganzibras and of faithful and believing people.

For I, Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, was a *yalufa* (clerk) son of... (A *lengthy colophon of genealogies and of copyists follows: it can be omitted except for the conclusion*)...

...who copied from a copy of that scroll entitled "**The World of Illusion**", which Adam-Smaqa-Rba copied from Bainai son of Zakia, who copied from Haiuna daughter of Yahia-Ramuia, and Ramuia copied it from the Diwan of his father Ramuia son of Naṭar. And Ramuia son of Naṭar copied from Šabur son of Zazai<sup>1</sup> that which Zazai copied from his father Manda-ḡ-Hiia<sup>2</sup>. And Manda-ḡ-Hiia copied from Šišlam-Rba and Šišlam-Rba copied from his father Shaq-Rba. Shaq-Rba copied from Ayar-Rba and Ayar-Rba copied from Nbaṭ-Rba. And Nbaṭ-Rba copied from Ziwa-Sagia (Great-Radiance) and Nhura-ḡ-kabir-(ḡ)-almia-kulhun (Light-that-is-mightier-than-all-worlds). And Ziwa-Sagia copied from his innermost mind<sup>3</sup> and the habiliment in which, He existeth and that which (*was in Him?*) (*unclear*).

And Life purifieth all works, and victorious is Manda-ḡ-Hiia and his helpers and friends!

Life is victorious! *Finis*.

This is THE BAPTISM OF HIBIL-ZIWA, which I copied, a poor, lowly and striving (*priest*), who am infantile and small amongst my brethren, priests and ganzibras and truly righteous and believing men, and as dust beneath the feet of the godly and Naṣoraean.

<sup>1</sup> This Zazai may be the 'Zazai-ḡ-Gawazta' of the Commemoration Prayer known as *Abahatan Qadmaia*. See p. 38, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The "copyists" from this point are all divine spirits.

<sup>3</sup> 'uṣrḥ', i. e. that which is stored up in his mind.

I (*am*) Yahia-Bihram, son of a great, lofty, revered and reliable ganzibra, (one) perfect in priestly-knowledge<sup>1</sup>, lord of ritual-feasts<sup>2</sup>, and lord of fair deeds, a righteous elect man, namely, Rabbi Adam Yuhana son of Sam son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Mas'ad son of Guam son of 'Uṣra Dakia known as Qindilia u Kamisia and his family name Riš-Draz. I copied for myself from a Diwan which Rabbi Yahia-Ram-Zihrun copied, the son of Mhatam, son of Mhatam-Yuhana son of Bihram son of Mašadu son of Našmia son of Karam son of Kaidia son of Haiat, his family name Sabur. He copied for himself from the Diwan which he copied himself for a *yalufa*<sup>3</sup>, namely Baian son of Paizia, his family name Sabur, Manda-ḡ-Hiia forgive him his sins! (*This*) he copied from the Diwan of the great, lofty, respected ganzibra, reliable and chosen, perfected highly in priestcraft, teacher of all pious men, father of ganzibras, who was the master who crowned his head<sup>4</sup> — Rabbi Yahia Yuhana son of Rabbi Zihrun-Adam son of Zihrun, son of Dizfulia son of Šugdia grandson of Našir son of Zakria, of the children of Dihdaria; his family name Sabur.

He copied for himself from the Diwan of Rabbi Zihrun son of Adam Yuhana son of Yahia son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Anuš, son of the great, lofty, honoured one, perfect in treasure<sup>5</sup> and priestcraft, Rabbi Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Šadan son of Zakria son of Hibil son of Zihrun, from the children of Dihdaria, his family name Sabur and known as Bṭaha. He copied from a Diwan which his grandfather, Rabbi Mhatam copied, for a worthy and righteous priest, namely Rabbi Mhatam-Šitil son of Adam Baktiar son of Yahia son of Baktiar, his family name Durkia, who copied it from a scroll<sup>6</sup> which Rabbia Mhatam copied for himself, the son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Šadan who copied from the scroll of his master, Rabbi Yahia-Šayar son of Adam-Baktiar son of Yahia son of Baktiar, his family name Durkia — Manda-ḡ-Hiia forgive him his sins! He copied for himself from the scroll of Adam-Zakia son of Yahia-Yuhana, family name Sumaqa; who copied from one treatise which Sam-Bihram copied, the son of Zakia-Hibil,

<sup>1</sup> 'Naširuta', see p. 7, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose that 'ṭabahata' refers to feasts. 'Mara ḡ ṭabahata' might mean "a pattern of hospitality" ¶ 72 J. (2) "feast".

<sup>3</sup> A 'yalufa' is one who can read and write Mandaic.

<sup>4</sup> That is, consecrated him priest.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 40, note 5 and p. 67, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> 'Sigia' (see p. 68, n. 3) also means "gait", "progress" and "safeguard", "precaution", "motion" etc.).

family name **Binda**. He copied from an ancient scroll, which was in the handwriting of Sarwan son of Hibil, who copied it from the treatise of Bainai son of Zakia. And Bainai son of Zakia copied from **Haiuna** daughter of Yahia-Yuhana, and Haiuna copied from **Yahia** Ramuia son of Ramuia-Naṭar. And Yahia-Ramuia copied from his father Naṭar; and Ramuia son of Zihrun-Naṭar copied it from the Diwan of 'Uda son of Yuhana. 'Uda copied it from Šabur son of Zazai whose elder brother had copied it from his teacher Nbaṭ. 'Uda copied it and Naṭar, and 'Uda copied it from his father, **Manda-ḡ-Hiia**. And Manda-ḡ-Hiia copied it from Šišlam-Rba and Šišlam-Rba copied it from Shaq-Rba. Shaq-Rba copied it from Ayar-Rba, and Ayar-Rba copied it from Nbaṭ-Rba. Nbaṭ-Rba copied it from Ziwa-Sagia and Nhura-Yaqra (*Great-Radiance and Glorious-Light*) who are powerful. And Ziwa copied it from World-of-Illusion and Glorious-Light, who spoke and were heard, and went to the seat of judgement and were victorious, and he gave of his covering<sup>1</sup> to (*those?*) who are with him and were refreshed with him(?). Life is victorious for ever. *Finis*.

So this fair scroll, (*this*) bright lamp, was set in order and completed successfully in the name of the First Life, and the name of Manda-ḡ-Hiia, and the names of Hibil, Šitil and Anuš, praised be their names in the Great Place and House of Perfection. I finished it at seven a.m. on Monday the eighth of Taimuz, the Crab, which is the Last-of-Spring<sup>2</sup>, that is the year 1247 according to Arab reckoning — may the world founder upon them, and **Manda-ḡ-Hiia** avert<sup>3</sup> their wrath from the great congregation of souls! I completed it in the village of Nihirat on the river Tigris, from the beginning of the scroll unto the end of the chiefs-of-the-sanctuary<sup>4</sup>. The pictures I copied in the village of Qurna on the river Euphrates in the house of Rabbi Zihrun, Manda-ḡ-Hiia forgive him his sins! Three months (*I atode?* [obliterated]) in his house; he gave me food, and **Dadia-Simat** and her husband Rabbi Bihram, and Rabbi **Anuš** ... (*obli-*

<sup>1</sup> The end is confused, and seems carelessly copied. It will be noted that the names of the liturgists (embodied in the 'niania) appear as early copyists, and that they are recorded as having copied from various heavenly beings. Hence one may conclude that the document was composed by some priest early in the liturgical era, as references to the 'niania are many.

<sup>2</sup> There are four divisions of the year of four months, each with three subdivisions but their names no longer accord with the season (see MMII pp. 84-5).

<sup>3</sup> Literally "make vain", "bring to an end".

<sup>4</sup> By this expression he probably means the lists of copyists, but I have not met with the expression elsewhere.

terated) Zihrun, may his sins be forgiven. I stayed with them in tranquillity and kindness.

And our house was in Basrah which belongeth to the powers of Darkness? its (*Basrah's?*) name is **Suf Zaba**<sup>1</sup>. (*Our house*) was in a place that is **salty**, beside (*the house of*) the Consul Beg, a Frankish man, an Englishman, his name was Taylor, for at that time my father was with him. In Baghdād the governor (*the Turkish Wali*) was 'Ali Pasha, and the Wali of Basrah was 'Ali Zuhair, and the Arab governors (*Qaimaqams*) were Majīd and 'Isa, and the headman of the district in which I lived was Janawa (?)<sup>2</sup> son of Miz'il son of Sa'ad.

Our house was in Basrah and my father, my mother, my paternal uncle and my paternal aunt, and my cousin (?), son of my paternal uncle, and his mother (*lived*) in the fear of the Life and Manda-ḡ-Hiia; moreover in the strength of the lofty King of Light we shall arise and behold the Place of Light through the strength of and by trust in the uthras, the great comforters<sup>3</sup>.

And now, O our brothers that shall succeed us, know that in the year of Friday<sup>4</sup>, the year 1247 A.H., the great plague came, and not one of the *ganzibras* or priests survived, and many people departed the body. Then, when the world was quieter and there was calm, (*we*) literates arose on the Day of *Parwanaiia*<sup>5</sup>, and we prayed the "Devotions"<sup>6</sup>; and we consecrated a cult-hut. After the consecration, one esteemed *yalufa* (*literate*) set the *yalufas* in the cult-hut. He prayed the "Devotions" for sixty days, and celebrated a *masiqta* for his teacher<sup>7</sup>; and they consecrated one

<sup>1</sup> 'Suf Zaba'. Either "Stream-of-Reeds" or "the End-of-the-River" (Mouth-of-the-River). Cf. 'Yama-ḡ-Suf, which has been translated by some "Sea-of-Reeds". In the *Haram Gawaita* Suf-Zaba is identified as the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab (see p. 4, n. 4 and p. 8, n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> ḡ represents the Arabic ج.

<sup>3</sup> Or "those-that-set-at-large".

<sup>4</sup> The year is named after the day of the week on which it began.

<sup>5</sup> 'Parwanaiia' or 'Panja'; the great spring feast which occurs on the five intercalary days. It is the chief baptismal feast and time for ritual meals for the dead. See MMII pp. 96-91. For Parwan see p. 6, n. 3. and p. 9, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> The daily office for every day of the week; part of the liturgical prayers known as the 'niania. See p. 29 n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> I. e. consecrated him priest. Such irregular consecrations were forced upon the Mandaeans after the plague, as appears in other narratives. The name of the 'yalufa' was Sam-Zihrun.

<sup>8</sup> The priest (here a 'yalufa' himself not a priest) who initiated him into priesthood.

another, one by **one** (as *priest*). And one (*priest*) gave the other the "pure oil" and they performed a marriage<sup>1</sup>.

After three or four years, dissensions arose between the priests and laymen. We were all of us in **Sūq-al-Suyūkh**, in the quarter for Mandaeans only, a place named Markab. There were two hundred houses. And we all came away from them into Baṣrah. Eight months passed, then they wished to reach Šuštār. On the Šuštār road, Arabs, for greed<sup>2</sup>, surrounded<sup>3</sup> us and were covetous of my things and my clothes: my loss (*wasthat?*) the Arabs carried off seven thousand piastres' worth of my things — mine, Yahia-Bihram son of Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Sam son of Bihram son of Adam-Zihrun of the family Riš-Draz, known as Eamisia — for we were a large House (*family*) in Baṣrah (*although*) after the plague not one of my relatives remained<sup>4</sup>, all had passed into the spirit-world and we were all prepared to go the Place from which we came into being.

After that, when I returned from Šuštār, I came with some peasants (*fellāhin*) belonging to the shaikh of the tribe; he was Thamir ibn Ghadban. He seat tribesmen<sup>5</sup>, and they seized those Arabs that had raided us on the Šuštār road, and brought them. And I was in Šuštār, and the shaikh of the tribe gave me some of my things to the value of three hundred piastres. [*Here a gloss is inserted above.* They gave me a *kašla* (?)<sup>6</sup>, clothing and a son-of-red (*gold coin?*)], and imposed a fee, of a hundred piastres on us; and two hundred piastres were paid out of my things. They gave him three hundred piastres — 'yea, the value of our clothes! Moreover, they divided up the three hundred piastres and gave them into the hands of the tribesmen, and he charged me a hundred piastres for the peasants (*fellāhin*).

After that, 'Ali Pasha came to Muhammerah<sup>7</sup> and made an example of it, and set fire to it and burnt it. And I, when I came from Šuštār, they gave me many scrolls and books (*to take*) with me. I left them in Muhammerah (*when*) I came with the peasants; and

<sup>1</sup> These two ceremonies are necessary for the consecration of a 'ganzibra'. NO marriage should be celebrated except by a 'ganzibra'.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ihimid' can only mean this.

<sup>3</sup> P. کردان "a circuit", "a turn"; hence here "made a circuit about us", "surrounded us". The sentence is obscurely phrased, but the meaning is obvious from the context.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "there was not to me a person with me: all had gone to the revival of life".

<sup>5</sup> P. نوکر or نوکر: "servant", "dependant".

<sup>6</sup> 'Kašla'. A cloak?

<sup>7</sup> Now Khurramshah.

when the Pasha came to inflict injury on Muhammerah, I sent down **Akrun** the younger and I said to them, to the Mandaeans who were in Muhammerah: "Go out before he chastizeth it"! They sought to leave, but departure was not in their power ... (*illegible*) for the tribe left in the barges which belonged to them; and of the Mandaeans not a person left in the barges.

Two women remained; they paired up, and one little boy of seven years old, they brought him, the one little boy alone, joining (*some soldiers?*)<sup>1</sup> whose name was Albanians(?)<sup>2</sup> until they came into Baṣrah. From there they ransomed him from the camp<sup>3</sup> and took him to their quarters<sup>4</sup>.

And we were ill-treated by the *fellāhin*; — they came pressing (*us*) heady; they travelled with the main body of<sup>5</sup> the Šābiāns<sup>6</sup>, showing coveteousness towards us. We left them in the place and dispersed into reed marshes in the month of Adar, Pisces, in the year of Thursday<sup>7</sup> in the year 1253 according to the Arabs — the shameless, 'good-for-nothing (*folks*)! After that I came into Baṣrah alone, by myself, and remained there a year. Then it befell that my daughter, my eldest child, fell ill, and it came Do pass that she left the body. And there were not four bier-bearers<sup>8</sup>. As for me, the slave of all priests, my heart fell from its support<sup>9</sup> — there was much intercession for her. With *ginza* (*treasure, ritual meal for the dead*) and *Nasiruta*<sup>10</sup> I prayed the Life so that thus there might be healing for my daughter. So I made no lamentation.

I came into Anhirat; (*thither also*) came my kinsfolk sons of our people and took me into Kas Šiamir<sup>11</sup>, their name for a village

<sup>1</sup> The word is missing, probably some of 'Ali Pasha's troops

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly transliterated from اراوط.

<sup>3</sup> 'urdu', probably mis-transliterated from P. اوردو.

<sup>4</sup> 'Qaru' nearly translated by the French "chez eux".

<sup>5</sup> § here stands for the Arabic جمع (crowd, multitude).

<sup>6</sup> The writer uses the literary 'Šābiya'. The local word for the Mandaeans is 'Subba' or 'Šabba'. See p. viii.

<sup>7</sup> A year that began on Thursday.

<sup>8</sup> The 'samraia' are four chosen men who wear religious dress, place the corpse on the bier, bear it to the graveyard, lower the body into the grave, and fill it in. They must wear the 'pandama'.

<sup>9</sup> I. e. was in the utmost dismay.

<sup>10</sup> That is to say, with every priestly art at his command. If there were no bier-bearers, the burial was performed in unclean conditions, and much purification and intercession would be necessary for the welfare of the dead girl's soul.

<sup>11</sup> 'Kas Šiamir' Bowl-of-Sour-Milk-Makers

in the Jazīrah. And then there came a Mandaean *ganzibra* and a priest, the one (named) *Sagur* and the other, the priest, *Šabuṭ*. And they took me with them into *Sūq-al-Šiūkh*, into the Markab village.

And then, after a year, the shaikh of the tribe, *Thamir-ibn-Ghadbān*, circumcised all the Mandaeans that were on the lands of the tribe, women and men, boys and girls. There were a hundred souls, male and female, there. Then all the settlements where there were sons of Mars<sup>1</sup> rose against them seeking to take us up out of the world. The Great Life quelled them. And those souls whom the tribe circumcised we took them in with us by baptism and marriage<sup>2</sup>. For very fear not a person could go out on the roads, for if one did go out, they would circumcise him. For that reason we received them and took them in with us. And no man restrained his hand, but struck... My Lord, (Lord of) Majesty (be? was?) with<sup>3</sup> us; and *Hibil-Ziwa* He seeth, appointeth and testeth, all that He willeth He doth, for truth is mighty; and He, *Yawar*, when He willeth it, He accepteth, (and; for) all that seek there shall be healing. (And healing) be there far me, *Yahia-Bihram*, son of the great, lofty and revered *ganzibra*, a reliable and well-trying king of the *Naṣoraean*s and a guardian of the people, *Rabbi Adām-Yuhana* son of *Sam-Bihram* son of *Sa'dan* son of *Msa'ad* son of *Mas'ud* son of *Šarar* known as *Kamisia* and family name *Riš-Draz*; also (for) my teacher who consecrated me priest, *Rabbi Sam-Zihrun* son of *Rabbi Sam-Bihram*, family name 'Aziz and known as *Drašia*; (*Drašia*) and he gave life to the Root<sup>4</sup> after the plague and was the ordainer of all kingliness (i.e. the priesthood) and the Root of the Great Life. He was with *yalufia* (clerks, literates) (himself) a perfect literate, and an overseer that knoweth everything; and (owing to him?) our song (hymns) was not wanting, nor the treasure of Life (lacking), but it was as it was of yore.

And so he remained in the market of *Šuṣtar* and *Dizful* and I in *Sūq-al-Šiūkh*. For twelve years we have been divided and distant

<sup>1</sup> Moslems are thought to be under the planet Mars.

<sup>2</sup> A circumcised person is grievously polluted, and normally it would be forbidden to marry with them or have anything to do with them.

<sup>3</sup> I am not certain whether 'abihdan' should be read as translated, or whether it belongs to the verb that precedes it.

<sup>4</sup> The Root i. e. the Mandaean nation; what is referred to here is the extermination of priests by cholera. *Rabbi Sam-Zihrun* was the 'yalufa' referred to as "esteemed" above who took upon himself the consecration of new priests and 'ganzibria' after all priests had been wiped out by the plague. There is a reference to this irregular consecration and to *Rabbi Sam-Zihrun* who instituted it in other manuscripts.

from one another, but the Great First Life and the Great-Presence-of-Glory informeth us about one another and crusheth our enemy. For He forsaketh us not, uniting us together!

As for me, (those who) went forth and removed me from... (illegible; robbed me of my things?) was? the son of Muhammad, son of *Thamir* son of *Sa'dun* shaikh of the *Muntafiq* of the Arabs; it happened in the year 1265 according to the Arab chronology. The Sultan of Stambul was Sultan *Abdul-Majid* son of Sultan *Abdul-Hamid-Majid* son of Sultan *Ahmad*, son of Sultan *Mustapha* son of Sultan *Murad-Fattāh* of *Baghdād*, [(above) later] in the time of *Shah Abbās* he took it (*Baghdād*?). (Hewas) the son of Sultan *Ibrahim* son of Sultan *Kalbia* (?unclear) *Mahmud* son of Sultan *Sulaiman* son of Sultan *Salim* (who) conquered *Damascus*, the *Hejāz* and *Iraq*; *taqla 'l quran*<sup>1</sup> son of Sultan *Murda-Khan* son of Sultan *Murad* the Second son of *Ab... Khan* son of Sultan *Faiyzid* son of Sultan *Murad* the Third son of Sultan *Muhammad Ghazi* (who?) conquered *Constantinople* which is *Stambul* from the sons of 'Othman and he, *Muhammad*, was of the family of *Muhammad* the Arab. In... there was not. The governor of 'Ajam (Persia) was *Shah Muhammad* son of 'Abbas *Mirza* son of *Fath-'Ali-Kajar*, and he died in the year 1264 (A.H.). And as yet no ruler is set in the realm of the *Persians*...<sup>2</sup>

Then *India* was ruled by the *Franks*, the *English*; and their Government is in *London*. Their rule in the East is great. They made ships of fire; they are all of iron except the lower segment (?)<sup>3</sup> a wooden box (?) going into the water; a piston-rod moves it by striking a phlange in the water-wheel. It (the ship) reacheth a distance of one month in a single day. And we saw many of them; they came voyaging from *Baṣrah* to *Baghdad* in three days. Moreover, they have said (that) they made ships that fly in the sky; they rise up to a height of three parasangs! And I have seen a picture of these ships; it was hung up with (in the house of?) *Christians* who are lords. It has wings like the wings of a bird which is its steering-apparatus<sup>4</sup> and it too has a wheel, a wheel which takes the wind above. It is guided and travels and goeth everywhere. Furthermore, when I — O your slave! — was young, a lad of fourteen, the *English* governor in the East from *London* sent for my father, *Rabbi Adām-Yahia*. It (*London*) is the (seat of?) government of the *English*; it

<sup>1</sup> What 'taqla 'l quran' means I cannot guess. A name? .

<sup>2</sup> Illegible.

<sup>3</sup> 'tafala' = (a) "mud", "slime", or (b) "indecent", "foolish behaviour": Here obviously refers to a part of the ship.

<sup>4</sup> 'sukana' "a steering-oar", "a tiller".

is a **metropolis**<sup>1</sup>. And one, a *padre* (clergyman) whose name was Yusfia Uylif (*Joseph Ayliffe or Olaf?*) (*came?*) and my father spoke with him. And he subdued (*put down? confuted in argument?*) this *padre* that came here. And he (*my father?*) instructed the Consul-Beg, Mr. Taylor, in the reading of the *Ginza*<sup>2</sup>, the Book of the Lord of Majesty; and he (*Taylor*) in his heart believed in the Life. But, fearing the governor, he<sup>3</sup> did not explain the circumlocutions<sup>4</sup>. Now, their Queen in London has become angry with him (*Taylor?*)<sup>5</sup>.

As for me, it was when he was in Baṣrah that they taught me the language of the Franks, English, and the language of the Armenians — may Hibil-Ziwa forgive me my sins! — for when I was with these (*people*) I did not apostatize. When I was little, I was with Christians and learnt words of their language of all kinds and sorts; but I did not apostatize, (*for?*) I was a (*priestly*) clerk, that is, removed from and alien (*to them*), and my prayer and my praise was to the Life; and I apostatized not, nor did I eat of their food<sup>6</sup>. Then, when I pondered, before the plague, I ...<sup>7</sup> was baptised, and I wrote this and copied and drew the pictures and purified myself so that Hibil-Ziwa shall be my deliverer and lift me up towards himself into Light, and subdue Darkness from me, and from my teacher and far my children and his children ...<sup>7</sup> and my sisters and my friends and from those that love the great Family of Life, not cutting off (*from it?*) in His Dwelling (*me?*) a sinner. They shall be living, and not perish, and radiance and light shall not be cut off ...<sup>8</sup>.

(End of the copyist's autobiographical appendix.)

**Illustrations.** [On right (A figure)] (Right divided from centre by a line).

<sup>1</sup> P. باي نخت 'paitakt'.

<sup>2</sup> The *Ginza Rba*, a collection of the principal Mandaean religious texts gathered into a single volume.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably this means Rabbi Adam-Yahia.

<sup>4</sup> 'ašwat'. This word in ritual texts seems to indicate passages or words for which priests have a secret interpretation.

<sup>5</sup> Vice-Consul J. E. Taylor. About 1854 he excavated at 'Ur and discovered the site of Eridu.

<sup>6</sup> A Mandaean should not eat food prepared by a Gentile. A priest, or intending priest should only eat food prepared by himself, under conditions of strict ritual purity.

<sup>7</sup> Illegible.

<sup>8</sup> Illegible, probably 'minaihun' or 'minaikun' "from them" or "from you".

The *šganda* (server) Yusmir.

*A tree; then four figures facing ritual tables; then a succession of trees, with banners. Some of the trees are named, others have no description. For the latter I will give zero. In order these are:*

1. Zero. 2. It is a willow-tree. 3. It is grain (*or* wheat). 4. It is a willow. 5. It is a balsam tree (*or* cutting). 6. It is a banner. 7. It is a date-palm. 8., 9. & 10. zero. 11. It is a citron-tree. 12. Zero. 13. A quince; its perfume is from the right hand of the Father. 14. Walnut-tree. 15. *Narinj* (orange) tree. 16. A citron. 17. A lemon-tree. 18. Myrtle. 19. Pomegranate. 20. Zero. 21. Date-palm. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. Zero. 27. Zizyphus Spina Christi. 28. Balsam (*or* a cutting). 29. A banner. 30. A white date-palm. 31. It is the tree *Nšab* (he-planted). 32. A tree. 33. Zero. 34. The tree *Pirun*. 35. The vine myrtle. 36. Zero. 37. The banner 'Zihrun. 38. and 39. zero. 40. The banner *Mašriel*. 41. Zero. 42. Balsam (*or* cutting). 43. A willow. 44. Zero. 45. It is a peartree. 46. It is a white apricot. 47. It is a red apricot. 48. The banner *Bihram*. 49. A white date-palm, delicious fruit (*barnia* — "best dates", *barnik* P. "delicious fruit"). 50. It is an orange (tree). 51. It is a red palm-tree (spathe). 52. It is a Syrian myrtle. 53. It is an Egyptian myrtle. 54. The banner *Zihrun*. 55. It is a date-palm (spathe). 56. It is the banner *Šišlam*. 57. A white date-palm at the king's right hand. 58. It is an ethrog (tree). 59. It is a cocoanut. 60. Its perfume came from the dwelling of the Father. 61. and 62. zero.

Centre.

Two larger figures, holding myrtle ("it is myrtle") in the right hand and a staff on the right shoulder. A ritual table is represented before each, these tables are described as "a *kintha* (small box-like altar), an incense-brazier (*bit rihia*), incense, a cup of *miša* (oil), a phial, bowl, and *pihta* and *mambuha* (ritual bread and water)". The two figures are described (a) "Manda-d-Hia, that is Yawar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba who emanated from himself". (b) "Yawar-Rba, the Sprout that emanated from Itself". The *drabša* (banner) is described: "There are seven of these banners, each has a name".

Twenty smaller figures in pairs with a *kintha* (see above), [the same description: "a *kintha*, an incense-brazier, incense, cup of oil, a phial, bowl; *pihta* and *mambuha*"]. Each of the twenty figures, carries myrtle in the right hand and has a ritual staff on the right shoulder. Starting at the first pair:

1. Nbaṭ-Rba son of Ziwa-Yawar. 2. Yawar-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 3. Nsab-Rba son of Yawar-Rba. 4. Great-Father-of-Glory son of Nbat-Rba. 5. Anan-Nṣab son of Ziwa-Sagia. 6. Abatur-Rama son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 7. Taubri'il (Tauriel)-Rba son of Yawar-Rba. 8. Yukašar-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 9. Zhir-Ziwa-Rba son of Yawar-Rba. 10. Yukašar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 11. Ayar-Rba son of Ziwa-Sagia. 12. Yukašar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 13. Šinglan-Rba son of Ziwa-Sagia. 14. Yukabar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 15. Hibil-Ziwa-Rba son of Ziwa-Sagia. 16. Samindar'il (Samandariel)-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 17. Yukašar-Rba son of Haiāšum-Rba. 18. Sama-Mana-Smira son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 19. Bihram-Rba son of Haiāšum-Rba. 20. Anuš-Rba son of Nbat-Rba.

Two banners, no description.

Thirty-seven single figures each with a *kintha* before him follow in a single line in the centre of the scroll **between** the text or figures on either side. The *kinthas* are inscribed like the others. The figures are named as follows:

21. Šišlam-Rba son of Adam-Shaq. 22. Yawar-Ziwa-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 23. Yusmir-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 24. Nbat-Rba son of Šišlam-Rba. 25. Yusmir-Rba son of Šišlam-Rba. 26. Sarhab'il-Rba son of Šišlam-Rba. 27. Haiāšum-Kušta son of Šišlam-Rba. 28. Nidbai-Rba son of Ziwa-Yaqra. 29. Yawar-Rba son of Yusmir-Ziwa. 30. Mana-Kasia son of Yusmir-Ziwa. 31. Yadatan-Rba son of Yusmir-Rba. 32. Yusmir-Rba son of Kana-Rba. Two twigs of myrtle. 33. Tarwan-Nhura son of Kana-Rba. 34. Manda-d-Hiia-Rba son of Haš-Kana-Rba. 35. Br-Hiia-Rba son of Kana-Rba. Two twigs of myrtle. 36. Hibil-Ṭalia son of Haš-Kana-Rba. 37. Hibil-Rba son of Rba-Ziwa. 38. Yatron son of Nṣab-Ziwa-Rba. 40. Sarwan-Rba son of Nsab-Rba. 41. Tarwan-Rba son of Kimša-Yaqra. 42. Samandar'il, son of Kimša-Yaqra. Two twigs of myrtle. 43. Ram-Ziwa son of Kimša-Yaqra. 44. Sam-Rba son of Adatan-Rbs. Two twigs of myrtle. 45. Anan-Nṣab-Rba son of Yadatan-Rba. Two twigs of *yardia*(?). 46. Nsab-Rba son of Adatan-Rba. 47. Zihrun-Rba son of Yadatan. 48. Yawar-Rba son of Abatur-Rama. 49. Abatar-Rama son of Yawar-Rba. 50. Šurik-Ziwa son of Yawar-Rba. Two twigs of the Jordan. 51. Nbaṭ-Rba son of Bihrun-Rba. 52. Bihrun-Rba son of Samandar'il-Rba. 53. Manda-d-Hiia-Rba brother of Samandar'il-Rba. 54. Yukašar-Rba son of Samandar'il-Rba. Two twigs of Jordan. 55. Pahr'il-Ziwa-Rba son of Yawar-Nhura-Yaqra. 56. Yatron-Rba, son of Yawar-Rba. 57. Yukabar-

Rba son of Yawar-Rba. 58. Manda-d-Hiia-Rba son of Yawar-Rba. (Five banners have no description).

The next section starts with a larger banner and with a ritual table of another type; it represents apparently the *ṭariana* upon which are spread the sacred food and drink for the *Zidqa Brika*. The objects drawn on the table are described: "Dove, *sindirka* (dates), myrtle, a dish (*patura*), salt, fish, sheep". Six of these tables, exactly similar, are portrayed. On either side of the scroll facing the centre are more figures; this time the ritual staff rests on the right shoulder. The number of banners is three. Beginning with the figures on the right side of the scroll:

59. Yawar-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 60. Manda-d-Hiia-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 61. Yawar-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 62. Aba-Rba-d-Qara son of Nbat-Rba. 63. Abatur-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 64. Yukašar-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 65. Yukabar-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 66. Samandar'il-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 67. Sama-Mana-Smira son of Nbat-Rba. 68. Anuš-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 69. Nbaṭ-Rba son of Ziwa-Sagia. 70. Nṣab-Rba son of Ziwa-Yaqra. 71. Anan-Nṣab son of Br-Ziwa-Yaqra. 72. Taur'il-Rba son of Yawar-Rba. 73. Zhir-Ziwa-Rba son of Yawar-Rba. 74. Yawar-Rba son of Ziwa-Sagia. 75. Šinglan-Rba son of Ziwa-Sagia. 76. Hibil-Ziwa-Rba son of Ziwa-Sagia. 77. Yukabar-Rba son of Haiāšum-Rba. 78. Bihrun-Rba son of Haiāšum-Rba. 79. Bihram-Rba son of Rurbia. 80. Šišlam-Rba son of Adam-Shaq-Rba. 81. Yawar-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 82. Yawar-Rba son of Nbaṭ-Rba. 83. Nbaṭ-Rba son of Šišlam-Rba. 84. Yusmir-Rba son of Šišlam-Rba. 85. Sarhab'il-Rba son of Šišlam-Rba. 86. Haiāšum-Rba son of Šišlam-Rba. 87. Nidbai-Rba son of Ziwa-Yaqra. 88. Yawar-Rba son of Adam-Shaq-Ziwa.

On the left side of the scroll:

89. Manda-d-Hiia-Rba son of Yawar-Rba. 90. Yukabar-Rba son of Yawar-Rba. 91. Yatron-Rba son of the brother of Yawar-Nhura. 92. Gubran-Rba son of Nhura-Yaqra. 93. Mana-Kasia son of Yawar-Nhura-Yaqra. 94. Pahr'il-Ziwa-Rba son of Yawar-Nhura-Yaqra. 95. Yukabar brother of Pahr'il-Rba son of Samandar'il-Rba. 96. Pahr'il-Ziwa-Rba son of Yawar-Nhura-Yaqra. 97. Yukašar-Rba brother of Samandar'il-Rba. 98. Manda-d-Hiia-Rba son of Samandar'il-Rba. 99. Bihrun-Rba son of Samandar'il-Rba. 100. Nbat-Rba son of Bihrun-Rba. 101. Abatur-Rama son of Yawar-

Ziwa. 102. Yawar-Rba brother of Abatur-Rama. 103. Zihrun-Rba his brother, son of Yabatan-Rba. 104. Zihrun-Rba, son of Adatan-Rba. 105. Anan-Nşab-Rba son of Adatan-Rba. 106. Nşab-Rba son of Adatan-Rba. 107. Sam-Rba son of Adatan-Rba. 108. Rām-Ziwa his son, brother of the son of Kimşa-Yaqra. 109. Samandar'il-Rba his great brother, son of Kimşa-Yaqra. 110. Tarwan-Rba son of Kimşa-Rba. 111. Tarwan-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 112. Yatrun-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 113. Hibil-Ziwa-Rba son of Nbat-Rba. 114. Br-Hiia-Rba son of Hal-Kana-Rba. 115. Manda-đ-Hiia-Rba son of Hal-Kana-Rba. 116. Tarwan-Rba son of Kana-Rba. 117. Yuşmir-Rba son of Kana-Rba. 118. Yabatan-Rba son of Yuşmir-Rba. 119. Mana-Kasia son of Yuşmir-Ziwa.



I.V.S