THE HARAN GAWAITA

THE BAPTISM OF HIBIL-ZIWA

THE MANDAIC TEXT REPRODUCED
TOGETHER WITH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND COMMENTARY
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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 Sutlia 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.
ABBREVIATIONS

D. C. (as 'Drower Collections') Mandaean manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the possession of the author of this book.

G. R. Ginzia: 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).


MMII The Mandaens of Iraq and Iran, their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends and Folklore, by E. S. Drower (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1937).

P. Persian.

INTRODUCTION

Present-day Mandaeans 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 Mandaens of Iraq and Iran*, in which I incorporated some corroborative legends taken down verbatim from some of the older men. In these stories, a 'Tura of Mandaeia' occurred too often to be a pure invention. The 'Jebel Haran' was mentioned once.

The *Haran Gawaitha*, the text here translated, is considered by Mandaeans 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 *Draba & Yahia* refers once. To quote from these books (translations of them may be found in Lidzbarski's *Der Ginza* [G. R., pp. 502 and 583], and his *Das Johannsbiuch 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 *Niania*, a volume of liturgical prayers, sometimes as a single genius or heavenly power; and a being called *Hauraran-Karkawan-Ziwa* is invoked.

Lidzbarski looked for the original home of the Mandaeans in the West. In his *Introduction to G. R.* he says:

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

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

"In den Gebeten begegnen wir öfter dem Genienpaar and ... Der zweite Name ist eine Erweiterung des ersten durch ..."


2 The two words are pronounced Har-rang-awaitha: the "rang" as something between the English words 'rang' and 'rang'; the 'th' as th in thought. Note that Haran is not pronounced How-ran.
Wiederholung eines Konstanten ... Der Name **Mandamn** ist auch der pri-
mke. Ich identifizierte ihn mit dem geographischen Namen **Mandamn**. Er
konnte an sich die Hauran-Ebene wie das Hauran-Gebirge sein. Aber
**gerade** für die Vergottung von Bergen haben wir viele Beispiele aus der
semitischen Welt. Daß nun der Hauran unter ihnen höhere Wesen erschien, setzt
voraus, daß er in ihrem Gesichtskreise gestanden hat. Daher ist nicht auszumachen,dass jene Urgemeinschaft ihren Sitz in den
dönen Gebieten östlich vom Hauran-Gebirge hatte. Hingegen kommt die
im Westen angelegte fruchtbare Hauran-Ebene, in deren östlichem Hor-
izont das Gebirge sich erhebt, gut in Betracht**.3

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

"Ihre Terminologie in Lehre und Kultur ist so stark durch das Alte
Testament und das Hebräische beeinflußt, wie man es sonst auseinander
des Judenrums nicht findet" (J. B. xvi).

He notes elsewhere that, although a bitter hatred of Jews is
constantly shown in Mandaean literature, the Mandaean them-
selves refer to a group of followers led by John the Baptist (Yahia-
Yuhana) in Jerusalem. He recognizes, however, and scholars have
recently accentuated this fact, that Mandaean rites and religion
are strongly tinted by Persian ideas, eschatology and rituals;
words, and details of cults 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 "**Mirias**, 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* (Yahia*,
especially in the **Mirias** fragment (see J. B. pp. 123 ff.), and in the *Ginza*
Rho* there is a reference to **Mirias** which resembles the story in the
**Haran Bawaita**. **Anuš-Uthra** 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 **Mirias**. A

1 Professor F. C. Burkitt (Church and Gnosis, Cambridge University Press 1932, pp. 110-112) suggested that the Mandaean **Anuš-Uthra** was the "Mar-

cionite Jesus".

2 For the German translation see Q. R. 341 ff.

3 See M. L. pp. 200 ff.
wishing 14. The story ends with the baptism of John by 'Manda
d Elia' almost as told in the Ginza Rba (G. R. pp. 192-6).
e) MIII pp. 282-6. This story makes Miram daughter of a "king of
'Babylon', 'and she was a Jewess. "Once on a time the Mandaeans
and Nasoraeans and 'tarmidi' (priests, disciples) had their
dwellings in Jerusalem'. The story ends with the flight of the Mandaeans
and Nasoraeans from persecution in Jerusalem to the 'Tura d Madai'
and the destruction of Jerusalem.
f) MIII pp. 309-318. "The Mountain of the Madai!... Where are our
people? In which spot? It replied: "They are in the Jebel Madai"
(fur Arabs call the Jebel Mandai the Jebel Maddai'). This story hints
that the northern Mandaeans were vegetarians.
g) MIII pp. 319-325. "How the Mandai (Mandaiia) and their 'ganzibra'
left the Mountain of the Madai for a better country further
North". This story describes how some Mandaeans in Madai (Mediaf)
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) MIII 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-Tib is mentioned. "There is a region called at-Tib near the
river Karun ... its name was not formerly at-Tib but was called
'Matha d Nasuria' "

The Jewish origin of the Sābiyun 1 is supported by the scholarly
Al-Birūnī, who writing at the beginning of the eleventh century
says that the "real Sābiyan" (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 cor-
rectly, as my knowledge of Mandai 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

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1 Mandeans are called Sābiyun by Arab writers; (Sabba or Subba in the colloquial).
Introduction

(Mandaean) can be classified as members of the Iranian Plateau race. Bar Khuni in the Scholion 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 Suwila (D. C. 36). 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 Suwila, D. C. 6, which like scroll Code Sabeen 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 Suwila, 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 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

1 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 "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 Subba (Mandaens) 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 Subba 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.


3 In J.R.A.S. 1941, I summarized the contents of the first seven sections of Alf Trisar Suwila.


1 I have discovered no copy in European libraries.
HARAN GAWAITA
(D. C. 9., D. C. 36)
TRANSLATION

(Notes 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, 
vindications, health, soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart 
and forgiving of sins be there for me, Zakia Zihrun, son of Sadiia, 
and far my offspring and brothers (and sisters), and for my parents, in 
the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat-Hila. Finish.

wored Haran Gawaita receives him and that city in which 
there were Nasoraeans, because there was no road for the Jewish 
rulers. Over them was King Aruban. And sixty thousand Nasoraeans aban-
don the Sign of the Seven and entered the Median 
hills, 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. And they loved the Lord, that is, Adonai, 
until in the House of Israel there was created something which was 
not placed in the womb of Mary, a daughter of Moses. It was 
hidden in her womb for nine months and bewitched her 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 and abstained

2 This D.C. 36. D.C. 9 begins "This is the Diwan of Haran Gawaita" 
and the oopyist gives his name as Ram Zihrun son of Malia.

* "The Inner Haran". Is this the city Harran or the Harran? Probably 
the latter.

* Artabatus, but which? History knows five kings of Parthia with this 
name. The Artabatus contemporary with Christ was Artabatus III, but the 
passage above might refer to an earlier Artabatus.

* In both manuscripts τουρα του Midai.

* alma του akiliun. Unusual: one would expect του akiliun (and 

* In D.C. 36 this is plainly τουρα του Adonai, "the lord of A "

* του λαυθιη, "not given"; i.e., not begotten by her husband?

* Later in the manuscript: Mary is called Maria.

* The Pael form of HZA with 'l' or '1' = "to influence" (for evil), "get 
the better of," "bewitch" (of a demon). Lit. "bewitching her.

15 Anasiblly μαρα του killa μην ulga του μην killa'. The passage is 
obscure. I take it to refer to the sacramental meal eaten for the "sancti-

gation up" of the soul ("killa" = "food", "a meal"). The first half of the sentence 
might also mean "he took the mysteries of the food therewith."
...in Tmar, the pure Jordan, and bore witness to the Truth. And in the great Jordan a pure seed was formed... and came and was sown in the womb of Nisba, so that from it 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...

Mada'i, which Ruha and her seven sons could not reach because on it (were people who belonged?) to Habil-Ziwa.

...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 Kuqta, the apostle... who dwelt at the city of Jerusalem: a healer 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 came by command of the great Father of Glory and they came before Hibil-Ziwa by command of the great Father of Glory and travelled over deserts towards Mount Sinai and proceeded... toward a community called Ruha's that is situated near the place where the Arch was built (...?)

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1 Of the Syriac 'igung'. I have not found this place name in any other Mandaean text.
2 'Qum', P.S. Supp. "Qum. W. of Hamadan and 80 kilometres NW of Kalan". Does this fragment mean that Jews had named some settlement in this area after Nazareth?
3 'kishta' in Mandae is usually applied to the cult-hut in the sacred area; hence "sanctuary". "shrine".
4 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 Barra into the Persian Gulf. The lower part of the former province of Barra is marshy and overgrown with reeds.
5 Or "gaining a party or faction".
6 "Mysteries... refers throughout to rituals, particularly to ritual meals commemorating the dead.
7 Ruha is the personification of human desire and lust. She is sometimes called Ruha-da-Quda (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.
8 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.
9 I have ventured to think that 'harahabill' (in both texts) is an early misoppying of 'sarubia' "to propagate", Sarhabiel, a fertility spirit, is mentioned later in the narrative.
and she\textsuperscript{1} will be a deliverer (midwife) to the child\textsuperscript{2} ... into Parwan\textsuperscript{3}, the white mountain, an earthly place. And (in?) that place the fruit and sky\textsuperscript{4} are large. There ... (grew up) the Tree which nourisheth infants\textsuperscript{5}. And they took back Sufnai the lilith to a (?) place so that when they should perform\textsuperscript{6} a living baptism to purify the child, the apostle of Kuśta, 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 Anūs-'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\textsuperscript{6} and sent Anūs-'Uthra to Bihram, son of 'uthras\textsuperscript{9} and to the Median

\textsuperscript{1} "She" probably refers to the lilith Sufnai, who must have been named in a missing passage as the midwife.

\textsuperscript{2} D. C. 9 has 'yardmā' for 'yaldā'. 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.

\textsuperscript{3} Parwan. In the Drāṣṭa J Yāhia it is related that at the birth of John, the Jews, furious at the promised greatness of the child, sought to destroy him. "When Anūs-'Uthra heard this, he took the babe and brought it to Parwan the white mountain, upon which are looked up to "mabhātu" (sacramental water). Līthbarḵī thinks (J. B. p. 116, note 3) that Parwan Tūra must be identical with another mountainous district often referred to as Tawān. It is worthy of note that the five-day feast of purification in the spring is called Parwanaita by the Mandaens.

\textsuperscript{4} The sentence is corrupt. In the two passages where this phrase occurs (see below) 'rba\textsuperscript{8} is singular. The sky or firmament is never called "large" elsewhere. It probably was "fruit and crops" or something of the kind.

\textsuperscript{5} Mandaens 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 mраба yanqia'. There is a picture of this tree in the Divan Abatur (Studia c Testit, 151).

\textsuperscript{6} Literally "showed forth".

\textsuperscript{7} A corrupt or mutilated sentence. 'Haite' (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.

\textsuperscript{8} D. C. 9 has 'tura d madai'; D. C. 38 here and in another passage 'tura d midai'. See p. 5, n. 4.

\textsuperscript{9} Bihram (called Behram and Bahram by modern Mandaens) might be the founder of Mandaean baptism-rites. When immersion takes place, the

Mandaean baptism Says: Sibil bmarshuta d Bihram rba br rubia 'Thou art baptised with the baptism of the great Birham, son of the mighty'. Bihram's name is pronounced at the ritual submersion of polluted vessels. Bihram is the Avestan and Iranian Verešhur, the genius of victory; but perhaps the Birham mentioned at baptism is a human Bihram.

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. a similar anecdote in the Gospel of Thomas.

\textsuperscript{2} Nasiruta\textsuperscript{7} comprises all that a priest learns: prayers, rituals, theology, secret interpretations, exorcisms and astrology.

\textsuperscript{3} That is, consecrated him priest. The 'taga' (crown, Suet) is the badge of priesthood.

\textsuperscript{4} Tura d Maday... It is evident in this passage that 'tura' refers to a range of hills, not to a single mountain.

\textsuperscript{5} "Aharan in both texts.

\textsuperscript{6} "From the hills" if the missing word was 'nīn tura'.

\textsuperscript{7} Verbally identical with the passage in the Ginza Rba quoted in note 7, p. 5, except that there the healer was Anūs-'Uthra.

\textsuperscript{8} I.e., the death-angel, Sauria.
their former strength (returning) to Ruha and Adonai, who became arrogant. Hence, after sixty years, Ruha erected 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 Anûs-Uthra, the Head of the Age, and shed their blood so that not a man of the disciples and Nazareans were left. Then the Jordan and its tributaries shrank back and mounted the dry land beside it. And the light of the banners of Abatur and Anûs-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 and the waters that abide in Suf-Zaba were divided, like the streamer of white silk. The former sea ... was scattered, and the waters that abide in Suf-Zaba were divided, like the crossing of the Sea. [Thou didst bring the Jews and Ruha over the Jordan (was) mortified.] ... Then Ruha, and the tribes of the Jews, 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 tham. Then Anûs-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. What have ye ordered about us?" ... (In this wise) did Anûs-Uthra speak with 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, and then Hibil came towards Anûs-Uthra and said to him: "Go down into Media and take seven shafts, that is seven darts, and go and pronounce (magico) words over them. And take with thee seven guards from Mount Parwan and take for them bows and they shall speak over them seven (magico) 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 months 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 Anûs-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. And he went to Baghdad and killed (there) all the Cohens and took away government from them and pounded (to) dust every city in which there were Jews. 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 kindly office. 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 the?) Chosen Elect, summoned...
by Anuš-Úthra, at the word and command of Hibšl-Ziwa, came as the great Father of Glory had commanded. And one of them was Zazai son of Hibšl-Úthra. Him Anuš-Úthra installed in the city of Baghdad. And Anuš-Úthra installed one whose name was Papa son of Guda upon the great Tigris and at the mouth of the Ulai (Karan river). And one, named Anuš son of Nṣar-Hiia, Anuš-Úthra installed at its source. Anuš-Salār son of Nṣab (he installed) on the Euphrates, and one whose name was Brik-Yawar son of Bihdād he placed at Pumbdiṭha (Pumbdiṭha), a territory situated at the end of Sura. And one, whose name was Nṣab son of Bihram, he placed on the mountain(s) of Glazlak, and one whose name was Skā-Manda he set at the extremity of the mountain of the Watersprings situated at the tail-end of the Parwān range at the place from which those seven kings went forth and dispersed, (namely, those seven guards) who came with Anuš-Úthra to conquer Darkness and to bring the plot of Ruḥa to nought. And they annihilated the rulers of the Jews and made them as if they had never existed. And Anuš-Úthra placed them (the seven viceroys) at the seven corners of the House, 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-Úthra had done that by order of Hibšl-Ziwa whom the great Father of Glory commanded, Anuš-Úthra went to the Ṭura d Madai? (Median mountains), called Haran Gawaita, and brought Bhira son of Ṣīṭil, a descendant of Artabanus king of the Nasoraeans and set him up in Baghdad (Babylon) and installed him in sovereign power (as its sovereign). And in his company there were sixty Nasoraeans, and the Nasoraeans in Baghdad (Babylonia) multiplied and became many. Some of the tribe of Bhira son of Ṣīṭil, Nasoraeans, came with him until there were four hundred maškna in Baghdad.

And it was revealed to me (?) and to all of them in this book, and they acted upon this reliable base acting according to this (its) light and removing nothing from this writing of great revelation, 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, rose to the firmament and abode with Yurba 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-Ynana taught, and amongst the Nasoraeans some from the first planting of kings from the beginning, middle and end; (yea) there: are some amongst the Nasoraeans at the latter end of the age, for they go forth that ye may be filled, and Nasoraeans of the end of the age are amongst their descendants. (But) from the Root of those disciples of Yahia-Ynana there come forth (also) people of no degree, for, when they speak of "descendants of kings of Baghdad of the kingdom in Baghdad," (they forget that) two hundred and eighty-eight years have passed since some of the sons of those disciples
of Yahia-Yahanâ went forth, so that Ruha cometh and confuseth them and twisteth words and perverteth seals and changeth phrases and prayers" by agency of descendants of those disciples, that is, those disciples that were propagated from Jewish seed. For the Son of the Pure Drop, the Mystery, (ans or it?) the Jews, Jerusalem of the Jews, Ruha caused them to obey the mysteries of the body, and (so) they fell away from purity (the pure doctrine).

I will tell you, (Or) priests who live in the Arab age, (of that which occurred) before the Son-of-Slaughter, 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 accompanied 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, Našoraesa, that before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, emerged and was called prophet in the world and Mars descended with him, he drew the sword and converted people to himself by the sword. About eighty-six years before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, Adonai sent Surbi-Ruha who is his spouse, to the city of Tib, called locally the City of Śganda because of all that was done (during) his rule in Baghdad. (For) Śganda (dwelt?) in Tib; it was his native place; and it was called the city of Śganda (also) because in it there were Našoraesa and rišamis (ethnoraḥa) I. And there was one rišoma called Qiqil.

1. "Hatmiya = "signs", "seals"; i.e., the signings with water and oil at baptism.
2. An inversion: the root is QHD "to cry, call aloud". The psalm beginning "Teshuban ("praise") is called the great, qasdaḥa in D. C. 34.
3. D. C. 36 has zida ("male") for zira ("seed").
5. Unbracketed words in italics are a gloss.
6. Śhad: ŚHâ = "to cut the throat, slaughter ritually". Cf. Arabic ṣaad "to be bloodstained". Muhammad is meant of course.
7. D. C. 9 has ṣaṭiḥ. The Imperfect tense is used; I have substituted the Perfect throughout.
8. Śuruḥ. Possibly a composite word from the root ŚRBB: "to propagate" and bīṣ "evil".
9. Śganda or Śganda is sometimes used as a "malwasa" name (see p. 10 in I). The child or youth of priestly family who assist priests during rituals is called an "śganda" or "śganda" (Semerian, "ś-ganda-da" = "minister, messenger", Accadian "ś-gandu").
10. Maluḫa, i.e., Śganda's term of office as head of the root.
11. A "gāzi sma" ("head of the people") is a higher in rank than a gānzi bra. The grade is now obsolete.

And Adonai sent Surbi-Ruha into this world, and said to her: "Go, appear to Qigil of the Našoraesa 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 Našoraesa will turn to us'.

And Ruha-Surbi, wife of Adonai, went and dwelt upon (entered into) Qigil of the Našoraesa 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 Qigil and instructeth him and saith to him: "I, Hibil-Ziwa, have brought parchment and reed-pen, so write a Root of Life 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 Qigil 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 Našoraesa and candidates for priesthood as result of those writings which he had written. Then she removed herself from his presence, and Qigil's mind and understanding returned and he recanted his words and revolted phylacteries (scrolls) of his construction and which that had been taught to him by Ruha, every writing that he had by him of those writings (dictated) by Ruha, he burnt in the fire. And he sent to the Našoraesa and candidates for priesthood (saying): Bring the writings which I give (gave) you; burn them with fire, for she (Ruha) deluded me when I knew not from whom she came. And he took away his writing from such Našoraesa 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

1. D. C. 36 has ṣadī for "aitit"; D. C. 9 has ṣaita ("there exists").
2. For magala uhi̇lā (parchment and reed-pen) both Maš have "magala usilā" (Cf. magala uhi̇lā, "lash and whip"). A misprinting.
3. The title or titles of some heretical composition.
4. "Adwalaamâ", learners, neophytes, are candidates for priesthood during the time of their instruction and initiation.
5. Elsewhere, "maḥna" is a word meaning phylacteries, talismans, written exorcisms meant to be carried on the person.
6. D. C. 9 has anānīl iš aragtan layāšs mn maalp' (Aragtan = "aragtan", "tricked me by illusion").
7. See p. 11, n. 1.
did not bring it back nor give it to Qiqil, and some of these writings remained with them.

And Hibil-Ziwa hath delivered this saying and warning to Nasoraeans who exist at the end of the last age: "Beware, and again beware! Act only (in accordance) with this writing of the Great Revelation. The (Mandaean) Root (Church) shall be steadfast, shall testify, shall act and not neglect this pure warning, and (so) will ascend to the presence of the Father. (But) any man who doth not testify to this Way or lay hold of it, seeketh darkness and will fall. (Oye) Nasoraeans 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 of Ruha and Adonai ('s making) will be many, and through them souls will sink down to the Darkness. Thus, before the appearance of the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, the Christian, Idumeans, Jewish, Hirdabaean and Dibiliaean peoples became many. The peoples were divided and languages became numerous; even the languages of Nasoraeans multiplied. This; and then sovereignty was taken from the descendants of King Artabanus, and (they were driven) from Baghdad; the Hirdbaeans (Sasanians) taking over the kingdom. (Nevertheless) there remained one hundred and seventy banners and bimandia in Baghdad.

1 I think that this must refer to the Alf Triarsh Sualia, which deals minutely with many questions of ritual and doctrine.

See p. 11 n. 1.

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

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

4 Their souls — is written.

5 Dumaia', Edomites, Mandaeanas. (See Divan Abatur, Studi e Testi, No. 151, p. 45).

6 Hirdabaia. The 'Hirdbaia', 'Hurdavia', 'Hirdubia', 'Hirdubbia', 'Hirdubaia' or 'Artbalia' ('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.

7 Dibiliaia'. This appears to be a mistranslation of the 'Dilmiaia', i.e. the inhabitants of the ancient Dailam (see Sfar Malwafia, Luzac, London, 1948, p. 207).

8 See p. 8, n. 2.

9 Mandaean sanctuaries, see p. 10, n. 8.

10 As before, (see p. 0, n. 4) read "Babylonia — for "Baghdad!"
great Nation of Life in order that they (the Moslems) should not harm the Naʻoreans who lived in the era of his government.

Thus did Amr-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, I found not (its equal) amongst all the treatises and misria and miscellanies about the Great Life which were in libraries and in my possession. I went round to all the Naʻorean ris-amia 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 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, witnesses publicly thereto, and his mind testifies 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 a burgeoning plant (jadeth) and the mot from which it appeared.

Thus Hibl-Ziwa expounded these interpretations and revealed *and declared: All Naʻorean man in whose library these explanations are found should beware lest he reveal in the presence of foolish persons (mysteries) penetrated *and revealed* by deeply thinking theologians; because that he revealeth anything that is weighty in this writing (book) in the presence of foolish and ill-conditioned athers who would bring pure words into contempt, layeth up for himself sixty causes of stumbling and sixty sins. (But he that is silent before foolish persons concerning such interpretations) sixty offences and sixty sins shall be forgiven him and Abathur will grasp (his hand) in honourable kula.

Then Hibl-Ziwa—praised be his name!—taught that every man who concealeth (the Great Revelation) it but observeth it, when his measure is full he will rise up without sin and (moreover) will loose and take with him sixty (soules) who are bound.

And he will rise up towards his fathers and his Father will take his hand in honourable kula 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 kula and will be set at the King's right hand. (For) he whose mind testifieth:

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1 A play on words such as Mandaeans loves. In the previous paragraph, teaching revealed to an unappreciative and stupid person is likened to a burgeoning sprout (qadaha) which withers away. Here we have 'qadaha'—penetrated (mysteries)—and 'qadaha' those who penetrate deeply—(into hidden meanings).
2 'Qadaha' (Cf. J. p. 318 319. 'one able to enter into the depth of a Biblical subjection'). I have translated freely in order to convey the sense.
3 This passage is a faulty paraphrase of sentences in (a) Alf Trisr Ṣeulatuic and (b) Gima Rba, left side, viz. (a) 'ṣulat ṣulant l'utra bišilā qadiašišun iraša dlan umašia amrā. (Reveal nothing to foolish 'uthras who will bring our mysteries into contempt and know not what they say); (b) 'Kulmaqatul ulaišišul ammaša lqamāma šin an utal tiglatā' (He that stumbleth and curseth Death layeth up for himself sixty-six causes of stumbling). See G. R. p. 425.
4 Some such sentence must have occurred here; as it stands, the passage is contradictory.
5 Kula is a ceremony of pact and peace; a sign of fealty and acceptance of fealty. It is performed by two persons. Each grasps the right hand of the other, and when the grip is released, each of the two seeth his right hand to his lips and kisses it. A Mandaeans literature, Kula is often personified. See p. 5, n. 2.
6 'Kulmaqatul ulaišišul ammaša lqamāma şin an utal tiglatā': This Great Life (see p. 14, n. 3). The verb is in the singular.
to these teachings about orthodox procedure belongeth to the portion of the lofty and great King of Light, and hell-beasts and purgatory demons have no power over him."

And then Hibil-Ziwa—praised be his name—taught Nasaraeans 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 wickedness 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 Nasaraeans; purity 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), but, amongst Nasaraeans, he that is steadfast in and holdeth to these teachings and this great revelation will rise up by the path of believers and 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, for the Law is constituted of four mysteries; part therein is (of) the Light, and part therein wholly Root of Darkness. And it endureth for 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 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."

And Hibil-Ziwa explained (further): "(But) you, O Nasaraeans, 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 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 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 Mandaeans. The passage occurs in the Alma Basha Rha (D. C. 41).

1 The word "ra'az" "mystery" is especially applied to ritual meals consumed in the name of the dead.
2 Cf. Ginza Rha (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 in 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.
4 "Mira" (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 of Krun.\footnote{D. C. 36 has 'zhinua' for 'ánia.'} Hibil-Ziwa taught: \textquoteleft \textquoteleft 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 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 Nasoraeans will increase in the world. The eye of envy will be lifted from them and the sword will depart from the world. It will be as it were the sword brought by the Sun of Darkness, he whose sword was of the world of Satan, had never been in the world. And with it (goeth?) a force which he possessed not in the world, until Mars came and set up his sign and bound him thereto by oath.

\textquoteleft \textquoteleft (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. \textquoteleft \textquoteleft (But) kings bring accusation against the age, just as the Root of Nasoraeans reprove it, for, before all (else) they cared for agriculture and gladdened the king.\footnote{Or \textquoteleft \textquoteleft perfect.} 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 \textquoteleft \textquoteleft speak one paganet,\textquoteleft\textquoteleft and there will be no hatred, envy or dissension amongst them, and ill-will shall be removed from the minds of all peoples, nations and tongues.\textquoteleft\textquoteleft

Hibil-Ziwa explained \textquoteleft \textquoteleft (further): \textquoteleft \textquoteleft When \textquoteleft (these) portents occur and the time hath came; those fifty thousand \textquoteleft years\textquoteleft will be my allotted portion, mine, Yawar-Ziwa's, because the first age was (the age of) Annā'-Uthra and its consummation (or \textquoteleft development\textquoteleft)\footnote{D. C. 9 has 'ušīfīlîâ for 'ušīfīlîtâ.} was bestowed upon me, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa.\textquoteleft\textquoteleft

\textquoteleft \textquoteleft Then the latter part of the age and the \textquoteleft decadence and end of the world will be given\textquoteleft to Mamit the Least-of-her-Brethren,\footnote{A free translation. See p. 18, n. 5.} (her portion) followeth my portion, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa.\textquoteleft\textquoteleft

Thus the latter part of the age and the decadence and final end of the world is given to Mamit daughter of Qin,\footnote{Habil,'p. of SQM (to complete, make perfect, consummate, develop).} the mother of the seven (who) occupied seven portions, and the eighth was given to Amamit as hers, for her own.\textquoteleft\textquoteleft And, as the utter end of light meaneth\footnote{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft Habshâbâ (Sunday)\textquoteleft may be his deliverer, and save him from the children 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. \textquoteleft \textquoteleft Such a one\textquoteleft will not be my allotted portion but will belong to Ruha.} the beginning of total darkness, so the portion of Qin, the decadence of the Arab age and the end of the eighth world (succeeded mine).\textquoteleft\textquoteleft

Hibil-Ziwa --- praised be his name! --- taught concerning the Word, that is the Great Mystery: \textquoteleft \textquoteleft 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 fall, because it is concerneth the portion of Father-Life, the Ancient, the First --- praised be His name!\textquoteleft\textquoteleft

\textquoteleft \textquoteleft Let every man of the Nasoraeans and Mandaens 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 Habshâbâ (Sunday)\textquoteleft may be his deliverer, and save him from the children 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. \textquoteleft \textquoteleft Such a one\textquoteleft will not be my allotted portion but will belong to Ruha.\textquoteleft\textquoteleft

\begin{itemize}
\item \textquoteleft \textquoteleft D. C. 36 has 'zhinua' for 'ánia.'
\item \textquoteleft \textquoteleft D. C. 9 has 'ušīfīlîâ for 'ušīfīlîtâ.'
\item 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' (woman) = 'death,' 'pestilence.'
\item 5. \textquoteleft \textquoteleft Alâh' --- Geschwister, i.e., both brothers and sisters.
\item \textquoteleft Qin\textquoteleft a queen in the underworld.
\item Qin\textquoteleft a queen in the underworld.
\item \textquoteleft thiat\textquoteleft (Ethpa). BUA. To produce, bring about, result.
\item \textquoteleft D. C. 9 has 'ušīfīlîtâ for 'ušīfīlîtâ.'
\item A free translation. See p. 18, n. 5.
\item \textquoteleft Habshâbâ (Sunday)\textquoteleft the First Day of the Week\textquoteleft is personified by Mandean as a saviour-spirit.
\item \textquoteleft D. C. 36\textquoteleft has the spirit of light, meaning 'light.'
\item \textquoteleft 2.\textquoteleft see p. 20, n. 1.
\end{itemize}
and the Messiah, Habasha will not be his helper, and he will not be delivered out of the hands of the sons of Eri.

These doctrines were imparted by Hib'il-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 of Gadana Rabta. Finis 2.

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 Nasaera, dust beneath the feet of the pious and least amongst my fellow ganziwi. 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-Bhilia son of Rabbi Adam-Zakia son of Rabbi Brhilia, 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... family name Kuhailia... from a copy of a Diwan belonging the great, lofty and respected, a reliable priest, Rabbi Mhatam son of Yahia-Bayan son of Yuhana-Sadan 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 5 in the year one thousand, and eighty-eight of Arab chronology — may the (world) founder, upon them, and Manda-d-Hilia 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 of the respected craftsman Nairuz son of Hadat, his name being Yahia son of Bihram son of Adam son of Yuhana-Sadan son of Zakria-Br-Hibil son of Zakria son of Zihrun, known as Dihdaria, his family name being Sabur — may Manda-d-Hilia forgive him his sins! So 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-Hilia 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 Mandean priesthood, and the uncanonical methods resorted to in order that a few literate members of priestly families could be ordained as priests) 1.

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.

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1 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, 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 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, he is debarred from all priestly duties. Before he can be readmitted to “kingly” status, a masqita must be celebrated for him as if he were dead, a zidga brika performed for him in augmented form, and he must be baptised three hundred and sixty times.

1 The baptism of a pair before marriage is intended to ensure that they enter the holy state in a condition of absolute purity.
2 He must be of priestly birth.
3 The beard of a priest in Akhwaz was recently cut by force as an act of revenge by a fellow-priest.
4 A solemn ritual meal and commemoration in the name of the dead.
5 The “Blessed Oblation”, a lesser form of ritual meal and obmemoration.
6 The “Great Baptism” (i.e. 360 baptisms) can no longer be performed.
When Hibil Ziwa, ‘son of Manda-đ-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 masīqta 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 zīdia brikā and a baptism had been performed: How these were celebrated by sixty ‘kings,’ uthras, 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, sees 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 Mandaeans. It must also be remembered that in Mandæan the perfect tense follows the word ‘when’ or an adversative sentence equivalent to it. In English such a phrase of as ‘If he comes,’ or ‘When he comes’ would be in Mandæan ‘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. 35, is entitled Șarḥ d Masbūta Rabīa ḍ h looph waṭṭin masbūṭa (a commentary on the Great Baptist, which is three hundred and sixty-baptisms) and its抄ist 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 (‘ićiania’), speak in veiled language of creation, propagation and fecundity, and are 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 Mandæan 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 ‘niciania.’

The illustrations to the text are drawn according to convention. No Mandæan draughtsmen, 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.

1 A word concerning the Zīdia Brikā (Blessed Oblation). Unlike the masīqta, it is celebrated outside the cult-hut or sanctuary, although within the sacred precincts of the manda. It takes place beneath the sky. It entails the previous slaughter of a sheep by a rithal slaughterer, accompanied by the usual formulae for a slaughterer, and some of the meat is eaten as an ordinary midday repast in an interval after the masīqta by priests who have performed that long and exhausting ceremony. The tail-fat (liyāḥ) is considered a delicacy in Iran and ‘Iraq, and gobbets of tail-fat are put with other sacred foods upon the ritual dārīna at the Zīdia Brikā 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.

1 Neither Ladzbark nor De Morgan had access to a complete collection of the ‘niciania.’ The word means ‘responses’ i.e. recitations in antiphon.

2 The small clay table or altar used by a Mandæan priest.
THE 'DIWAN' OF HIBIL-ZIWA

Praising my Lord with a pure mouth.

In the name of the Great First Sublime (strange) Life, from whose (office) 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 Mahna, and for my mother Hawa-Simat daughter of Malia, and for my teacher Ram-Zihrun son of Malia, and for my wife Sarat daughter of Sarat, and for my other wife, Maminah daughter of Hawa, and for my offspring, Anhar, Eowa-Mamania, Yahia, Bihram and Mhatam, Sarat's children; and, Sam, Mamania's son; and for my brethren (brothers and sisters), Adam-Yuhana, Simat-Mamania, Sam-Saiar, Qaimat and Mudalal, the children of Hawa-Simat; and for all souls of priests and ganziha, of treasurers and chiefs and heads of the people who (are) as names are inscribed in this scroll 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 ever, and Life is victorious over all works.

Now ye shall know, O my brethren that succeed us, that this is a Diwan (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 ganziha. 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 siraj, Yahia-Bihram, transcribed all that was written, through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hia. Finis.
them. And He spoke (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 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 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-Siel" 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 4. 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 5 from all kings (powers) of darkness. And it gave him nine thousand and ninety kšinta 4 eight thousand uthras who read recitations (or "books") and teach lucid doctrines. And in all the worlds of darkness 7 they rejoice and welcome Hibil-Ziwa.

They (also) gave him nine thousand booths (1) 6 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, (yes) until they reached the world of the great Akrun, King of Darkness. Then (they gave him) three hundred and sixty hidden mysteries, each mystery a powerful me, and gave him the banner Bhram 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 4 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-šil, the name of the second Hāthmišil, the name of the third staff Zardžišil, the name of the fourth staff Šlāmiišil, the name of the fifth staffs Zardžišil, the name of the sixth staff Sam-Ziwa and the name of the seventh staff Šargar-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, the eldest son whom Gaš begot, seeketh to strive against the world to which he can lay no claim. What sayest thou?"

So Manda 8 and his brethren went to the world of darkness. They descended world after world till they reached the world of Kruš, the great Mountain of Flesh. And he (Hibil) said to him: "What did my Parents command thee, that thou orderest the occupation and

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1. Read 'Ebiwa'.
2. Or "counterpart, likeness". (P. S. Thes. "theolog. a Person of the Holy Trinity") "Parsa" = also "personification, appearance, likeness, child of a god". The word "kush" or "kušta" means "president, lord", and corresponds closely to the Persian "fravahar".
3. Saka means "watchman", "guard", "guardian", "has charge of", "overseer", "keeper".
4. It is not clear from the construction whether the secret name = whether there was another, nor given.
5. Or. "counterpart of". The word "dmūta" is applied to the ideal double of every created thing. It corresponds closely to the Persian "fravahar".
6. "Kšinta" plural "kšinata"; "shrine". (See p. 4 n. 3 and p. 31 note 6.
7. "Darkness" must be a miscopying; read, "worlds of light".
8. Manda is the father of Hibil Ziwa; read "Hibil" for "Manda".
9. The reference is to "Ur, the giant son of Ruša (see G. R. p. 167, 171). Ruša was the wife of Gaš, son of Gaš, and became the paramour of her son 'Ur. 'Ur was rebellious and planned rebellion against the celestial worlds. See also p. 4, n. 7.
10. The word means parents, and in fact two beings are named; the Primal Mana and the Occult Drop. But "abahata" (plural) is also used when speaking of the Great Life, the All-Father, since Hiia is an abstract plural.
11. A scribe's error; read (for "šakia") "šakila" ("guards"). 'Pgauihun' is probably an insertion inspired by misinterpretation of "šakia". The sentence should read, gave him 9,000 guards who praised and talked about his deeds".
12. "Šar" = "it was firm". See G. R. p. 62, also J. B. p. 6.
14. 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.
15. The reference is to "Ur, the giant son of Ruša (see G. R. p. 167, 171). Ruša was the wife of Gaš, son of Gaš, and became the paramour of her son 'Ur. 'Ur was rebellious and planned rebellion against the celestial worlds. See also p. 4, n. 7.
16. Manda-d-Hiia is the father of Hibil Ziwa; read "Hibil" for "Manda".
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The passage is defective.

These three magic objects and their capture are described in G. R. See G. R. pp. 158, 170 f.

Ptahil, son of Hibil-Ziwa and Zahariel: a demiurge, creator of the material world; also called the Fourth Life. The reference seems to be a section of the manuscript that is now missing. Knowledge of Mandaian 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 8) 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 Eve 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.

The verb in the plural: it should read "qirita": "the called forth", i.e., the spirits who accompanied Hibil-Ziwa, and spirits held captive in the world of darkness.

The Great 'Man' is the Over-Soul, or Over-Mind, the earliest manifestation of the Great Life. The 'Man' of a human being is, so to speak, a spark of this flame, a temporarily detached part of the Great 'Man'. 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.

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 'rašta' worn by the moribund person. The 'šandana' (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 rašta is the religious dress). For a description of this ceremony, see MMII pp. 169-173.

The text is very defective here, and I have paraphrased freely what seems to be the meaning.

'hišbuna'; see p. 31, note 4.

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 until Ṣabbābili 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 4 Read quickly a masiqta 3 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-Shaqq, 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 being who answereth (history)"

Thereupon Ḳanat spoke and she said to Him: "The King that hath visited Thee (saith!) 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: "Ariseth, (my) sons, have compassion, (ye) kings of the masknā 4! 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 bittera 5 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; build a sanctuary (masknā) and assemble a congregation, and bring utteras who are brothers of Ayar-Rba; they (shall be) his assistants."

Then there was a "sealing" 1 of utteras. Kings set out (with) incense, water, pihta 2 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 3 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 (?) 4. For it appeared 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 herein, 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." 5

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 6 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

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1 I. e. preparation by ablation and consecration.

2 Bread prepared and baked for the sacrament.

3 The 2nd. person plural may be an error. If so, read --they "for " ye ".

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

5 As much as to say that; they themselves would have issued a passport!

6 Daura taqna is the antithesis of 'daura batha', 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, 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 utras and kings seated themselves in ships, 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 utras dwell; (yes) they dwell in that place. And to that Place, O utras, 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 utras 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, 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 Yuşamin in order that he might ascertain what it was. Yuşamin 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 a messenger? (Speak, or) I will loose now the arrow from my hand and will pierce thy right hand!"

Then Hibil-Ziwa called in reply to the pure Yuşamin and said to him: "I am Hibil-Ziwa, that is my name, and my (father's) name is Manda-ḏ. Hila. I am the Stranger, the Messenger that came from the Place of: Darkness and vanquished the armies of all the rebels and champions of the Darkness!"

So Yuşamin did not return the arrow (to the quiver?) but cast it (on) the copper ear and trod them (under) foot.

Thereupon they drew in the ships of Hibil-Ziwa and he went towards his parents and discovered 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 the sixty utras who had read the mavaiga for Hibil-Ziwa. They all came, and Mana-Rba-Kabira ordered them to build a šintia of mawata on the Bihrun, 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. 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 (of) Hibil-Ziwa. And they, the sixty kings, prayed the Devotions and read the insertions and recited: Arise, arise, (thou) Chosen One of Righteousness,

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1. Read *qra* for *qri*.
2. See p. 32, note 6.
3. *Mawata*. I have not met with this word before, and do not know what it means.
4. The word *drabba* which follows Bihrun has dots placed beneath it, indicating that it is to be deleted. It seems that the text is defective here.
5. This extremely obscure passage refers to the Jewish 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 of its physical and material which impresses the soul. The soul must therefore be reborn into a state that is purely spiritual, and "masba" 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 it 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.
6. See *haw* in Brown, Driver and Briggs: *Hebrew and English Lexicon*.
7. The daily office, with which every religious service begins.
8. 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 list. See p. 11, n. 2.
9. The first line or lines of a prayer or hymn indicate the *mianc* appointed to be recited. *Qum, qum* etc. is to be found in *Mandašča Literatur* (M. L.) p. 172.
and My Good Messenger and I worship the Life namely the opening prayers in your “Devotions” — and read the insertions.

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, son of Nba'-Rba, so that by means of this treasure, (and by these) prayers, baptism and Blessed Oblation of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-j-Hii, we may be endued and established.

And all the kings recited the insertions as he did. And they read In the name of that First Being.

And place the crown upon your heads and recite The Life created Yawar-Ziwa. Let light shine forth, and Manda created me — 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 and Hail. First Life, because it (the incense) is a deliverer that journeyeth to the great First Secret ikinta.

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 for their (‘your’) baptism, they did not open 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 banner, and the four others 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 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, We have purified our hands in good-faiths (kudita), and Blessed be thy name, Ayar-Rba directed them (to recite) We have acknowledged, and praises are (due) and To You, to Yourself, (for) those three prayers constitute the great perfection 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, in the name of your father; (and) say: ‘By this treasure, prayer, baptism and Blessed Oblation for Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-j-Hii we me covered and established when ye recite the insertion at the beginning of Lifting eyes (and when) ending it, when ye recite I prayed lifting eyes, and ye bend the knee (repeating)

Perhaps nine “sets”, nine ritual tables on which ritual foods and objects were ranged.

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 us at each ceremony, the priests group themselves about it, crouching and holding it near the peak, using the right hand.

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M. L. p. 177.
5 M. L. p. 175.
6 M. L. p. 179.
7 M. L. p. 126.
8 M. L. p. 141.
9 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.
10 M. L. p. 15.
11 M. L. p. 65.
Bound is the sea, a perfected jewel am I, Flee and take to flight. When the jordan was given, secured and sealed; through Usar Hiia and the longer secured and sealed; (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 and ye are set up and raised, and cast incense (on the brazier with the prayer: Riha basima latrib nisaq) and pronounce the insertion 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-Hia 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, Uthras rejoice at the Treasure, I worship Thee, my Lord, At the summit of the Ether, and At Thy name, World of Light (it should be) because that great and lofty gate of light inspires you and giveth you help for that baptism of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hia (celebrated) by sixty kings, and giveth you authority over the sign of the jordan which Yawar, at your right, passeth through 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 Yawar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba hearkeneth (?) for at that moment the mighty powers of darkness fear you, and Hibil-Ziwa casteth great terror upon them, debarreth them from jordans 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, 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' for at that moment Hibil-Ziwa's parents commemorate him and he commemorateth his parents. (And say): Forgiving of sins be there for Yusamin-Dakia (the pure) son of Shaq-Rba for Yusamin-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 Hablababaa

1 M. L. p. 22.
2 M. L. p. 23.
4 M. L. p. 40.
5 M. L. p. 43.
6 M. L. p. 43.
7 M. L. p. 44.
8 M. L. p. 90.
9 M. L. p. 46.
10 An obvious omission: this is said at the casting of incense on the brazier.
11 As said above, this is what is meant by 'zhara' ("injunction ").
12 M. L. p. 223.
13 M. L. p. 228.
14 M. L. p. 228.
15 M. L. p. 228.
16 M. L. p. 229.
17 Prayer is the "gate of light ".
18 M. L. p. 90.
20 The meaning is that the priests celebrating partake of the benefits and share in the blessings of the sacraments.
21 This prayer is the great intercession for the living and dead, and during its recitation 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 MM pp. 219-222.
and Kana-d-Zi'dq son of Sar-Rba, and (for) the twenty-four ustras sons of light; (for) Ptahil son of Pahriel-Ziwa-Rba, Sibi son of Adam-Rba. Adam son of Habil-Ziwa-Rba, Hawa (Eve) his wife, child of Sarhabel-Ziwa-Rba; Ram son of Hg-Kana, Bud child of Ziwa-Ganzaibra, Surbui son of... (?) and Sarhabel child of Ha-s-Kana, Sum-Yawar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba, Nurita child of Yaqa, Yahia-Yu'una son of Anus-Rba and Anhar his wife child of Manya-Yaqa, the three hundred and sixty-five priests who left the city of Jerusalem, and this my soul, the soul of Ayar-Rba; and this my soul, the soul of Yahia-Braham son of Adam-Yuhana; the soul of my father Adam-Yu'una son of Sam; the soul of my mother Hawa-Simai daughter of Adam-Yuhana; the soul of my brothers and sisters, Adam-Yuhana, garat-Mamania, Sam-Si'aar, Qaimat and Mudalal, children of Adam-Yuhana; and the souls of Mandaens, priests, gan'sibria (headpriests) and chief men of the age and heads of the people; and the chief man of our people and generation, Adam-Bul-faraz son of Bihram-Sifil and Anus-Ma'al'ia son of Bihdad; Yahia-Adam son of Sam-Sa'awi; Bihrad son of Zihrun; Bama'ri son of Zabi; Hawa son of Yahia; Yahia-Ramua son of Ramua; Ramua son of Zihrun-Natar, Sganda son of Yaha-Yu'una; Sabur son of Zazad-Gawarta son of Manda-d-Hiia.

And say: `for all people, that is, all priests and Mandaens 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; and Life be praised! And Life is victorious over all works'.

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1 A reference to the traditional exodus of the Jewish Mandaeans community from Palestine.
2 Intercession for the chief celebrant.
3 The copyist inserts his own name and those of his family.
4 I. e. the womb, receptacle of the Mandaeans faith.
5 This Mandaeans 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 Samarian times.
6 Or `the living are established in their dwellings'.
7 A reference to the traditional exodus of the Jewish Mandaeans community from Palestine.
8 A continuation of Ayar-Rba's address.
9 M. L. p. 93.
10 Not in M. L.
11 I. e., repeat the formula `Maqsim litia qadmaiia' sixty-one times. See p. 17, note 6.
12 The `Great First Date-Palm' is in Mandaeans 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.
13 `Tab taba habah' (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.
14 The priest removes his `taka' (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 Mana-Rba-Kabira, whose name is (also) Ayar-Baraia, gave an order and said to all the kings: "Lay hold of the House in a garment of living flame".

Then Bihraam-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 uthrás
When the wreath that dazzleth is set on their heads!
For ever and aye".1

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.2

Then all the kings came to the bank of the jordan and Ayar-Rba said to them: "Examine 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

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1 Outer-Air: see p. 46, n. 4.
2 Mn riš bɾia', literally "from beginning to end", "entirely", "completely", "from one end to the other" is a favourite last line in Mandāq poetry, and the words do not always suit the context. I have therefore translated them freely, and occasionally omit them.
3 "Laufa" is the act of communal eating and drinking in the name of the dead. The prescribed ritual and formula are described in MMII pp. 204 ff.
4 "Laufa" and "Lofani" mean, roughly, "being united as in a bundle" i.e. communion.
5 See p. 46, note 7. The "crown" (taga) is kissed and pressed to the eyes when removed, whilst repeating the formula.
6 When a Mandaean puts on his ritual dress, he touches and names every item with an appropriate formula (see MMII p. 32).

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1 Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke again and said:

"In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that banners come to the river bank
The jordans sport together, they swirl
And bide not still nor abate: 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!".3

1 In a baptism where more than one priest baptises a single person, the priests stand in a row (see MMII p. 176-6).
2 Lit. "set in order".
3 The "kintas" (plu. "kinata"), is a clay box-table, the top being used as an altar. See MMII 106-7. The word is misapplied in MMII: it is not "kintha" but "kintha", the "t" being pronounced like "th" in "thought".
4 Ethpa. ERK of water means to move in waves, to curl, roll, surge, swirl, etc. Also "to embrace" "be blended".
5 Lit. "were not deficient, lacking".
And they recited In the name of the Life and in the name of that Primal Being, and (when?) they set their crowns on their heads and recited: The Life created Yawar-Ziwa, waters of life mixed with the turbid waters; moreover when they (ye?) read Let Light give light 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 ye combine with the jordan all running waters, signs and pacts and the crown that is on your heads, and brought (themall?) into union. And when (ye recite) Mighty and powerful is the great mystery and ye hold (your) pandama and fold them over 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 and Hail First Life for the incense and sandarach, and when Manda-d-Hiia recited the hymn to the incense, the incense arose in wreaths towards the kings when they were (preparing for?) the baptism of Hibil-Ziwa.

And he said:

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

—

1. M. L. p. 3. 'Gabra' = man, a being in human shape.
5. The sentence is turgid and obscure.
6. ‘laftun’, I think that this word is misplaced and should be inserted after pandama below. If it means 'brought into union' it would be 'hi-fitun'.
8. 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 ‘padan’.
9. Insert ‘laftun’ (see note 6).
12. Ethpa. SDR has this meaning when applied to smoke.
13. 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) and You, Yourselves (it is meet to praise), read the Asuta[3] at the beginning of the three [4] prayers, and ye will have clothed (them?) when, at each place where there is an insertion, spheres and (planetary) ships reel and quake at the voice of the kings. And they 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, 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[8].

— for the good guardians that stand before you perceive 'it. And when ye recite Lifting eyes[9], all the utbras shall say at its

2. As the Great Life is meant, read "Thee, Thyself" (see M. L. p. 141).
3. Asuta: i.e., "healing, purity and forgiving of sins be there for NN.
   etc.
4. The second hymn of the "three", Tubhian hiia baraiia 1 (Praises to the Outer Life) has been omitted by the scribe, Lidzbarski (M. L. p. 133) gives a version of this hymn.
5. "Clothed..." is a transitive form, but there is no object. It is probable that "them" is understood, "them..." meaning the souls for whom intercession has been made.
6. The redeemed souls?
8. 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.
9. M. L. p. 15. Mandaean call this prayer "the lesser Misqal Ainia", and the prayer mentioned in note 7 "the greater Misqal Ainia".
Diwan Mašbata

And when ye read Bound is the sea, 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 * counterpart and mine with mansions of radiance, and Hibil-Ziwa (also). And when ye recite Flee and be expelled, ye exercise the three waterways, because, from your mouths, ye drive out all gods and (evil) creatures (therein). And when ye recite Piriawia, jordan of living waters, and ye say: "when it issued from destruction to construction", it is meant that "destruction" is the sign that Yušamin, son of Dmut-His signed; for he, Yušamin, the Peacock, signed from left to right. But they signed from signing 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,” 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-His addressed 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 Who came to the, Everlasting Abode, Baptism, of Hibil-Ziwa, at the first jordan in the worlds of light, and delivered him from the pollutions of the seven worlds of darkness."

3 M. L. p. 22. At this hymn the priest describes three circles about himself in the water, as described here.

4 M. L. p. 23. Read "dmut-an" not "dmut-an".

5 See p. 32, note 5.


7 The three waterways; viz, the river itself, and the two channels which come of the 'yardmn of baptismal pool of flowing water with the main stream. An "ala", "god", except in some portions of the Giza Rba (probably of late composition), is an evil being, a demon.

8 M. L. p. 25.

9 In ritual MSS Yušamin is the prototype in the world of spirits of a priest makes mistakes in ritual.

10 Freely translated: as Hibil-Ziwa did not sign himself. Lit. "he was delivered from the sign of the Peacock.

The usual invoke on "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 skinta 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. Thereupon that Sign of the Father, which is the Right, shone on and emitted light; it gleamed between his brows like lamps. For the Sign of the Left belongeth to the Great Mother, who is Qin, and the Sign of the Right belongeth to the Father, so that he 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."

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.

1 See p. 39, note 5.

2 See p. 34.

3 L. e. Hibil-Ziwa.

4 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 Parseism, 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. Mandaean, like the ancient Babylonian, 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 and re-established the mystery of spirit and soul. And when ye recited Let Light shine forth 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 be mentioned upon thee,
The name of the Great First Date-palm 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 the Life and the name of Manda-d-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 kuśa, thou hast mingled the jordan with thy raiment and his raiment and hath set his mind at peace. And make him this response while his hand is in thy hand, say to him: "Kuśa strengthen thee and raise thee up! Seek and find, speak and be heard." And say to him: "Thy kuśa shall be thy witness and thy baptism shall be established, and not be in vain. The kuśa (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."

And he shall kiss their hands.

When Ayar finisheth the baptism and endeth, then he taketh up mambuha in a phial of pure crystal, his aganda being before Hibil-Ziwa; and he calmed the jordan and sealed it. And when he reciteth From the surface of the water I issued he ciphereth on the jordan as it were a solemn kuśa. (And when he reciteth) Blessed be thou, outer portal, 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 oil and say: "Healing, purity and forgiving of sins be there for this the soul of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hiia, who descended to the jordan and was baptized and received the pure sign then each takes oil in his bowl.

And read We acknowledge and praise (are due) and Thou art the costly oil and Thou wast established, First Life 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, of the Mother, for he ruleth in the Land of Darkness and the Left.

1 1 See p. 37 note 6.
2 The scribe almost wrote 'nipšat', "grasped"
3 Mambuha ("spring-water") the sacramental water is dipped up by the priest from the pool into a phial handed to him by the aganda.
4 An aganda 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).
5 M.L. p. 199.
7 M.L. p. 31.
8 Manda-d-Hiia for baptism is sesame oil freshly made. Miśa for the 'masiqtā' is a mixture of sesame oil and date-juice.
9 M.L. p. 34.
10 M.L. p. 36.
12 A play on words, 'mēsha' meaning "anointed", so that it could read "that was anointed".
13 'arda' = "".
And when the mambuha (was brought) it called into life the mystery of the soul and caused her to inhale the living fragrance there between the leaves of the wreath so that she breathed in the great Mana. And when ye sixty kings grasped his hand in kusfa, ye sealed (the pact) with the seal of the King of Glory, from which neither partner (of the pact) may depart. Should one break (the pact) with his partner, its constructive nature is totally destroyed.

When thou hast made him sit, and sayest Healing and purity, When there was bestowed upon, By Treasure of Life and Secured and sealed (the longer), four walls from the four corners of the heavens me formed. And when ye recite Ye are established in a loud voice and shout, uthras of light in the Ether rejoice at your coming. For this reason and the discourse. And they grasped the hands of all the kings and say (said): "Thy kusfa 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 (pagans' 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 thy 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)

world of light and its skinta, and at the threshold of the House of Life his sins and trespasses have forsaken him.

And when ye recite The Good made good the good and (repeat) the Intercession, they will forgive him all the sins which he committed. And when ye pronounce the uthras' kusfa 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 kusfa shall be thy witness and thy baptism shall be established and the kusfa which I have performed with Hibil-Ziwas shall not be brought to naught. It shall deliver thee from all pollutions and the Spirit that was in the Abode-that-come-theto-naught."

And they kissed hands 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 kusfa 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 (pagans' 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 thy 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)
of your "devotions"; I worship the First Life, and Praised is the First Life and Ye are established and set up and at the summit of the Ether, and at thy name. World of Light, and Blessed and praised is the Life of Shem (son of Noah). Ya'war-Rba son of Naš-Rba with your own private prayers. And they shall bend the knee and shall recite Good made good the good. And Our Forefathers shall be set in order and mention be made, with "forgiving of sins" (etc.) (for) Mandaeans, priests, chief priests, and heads of the people. And (when) they recite (prayers for) the pitah and mambuha, each shall stand up, with his own bowl, and they shall recite the eight prayers and the two mambuha prayers. Then they shall all recite (The Great Life) spoke and opened for the pandama. And they shall eat and drink and then shall drink the rinsing-water.

And take up the rinsing-water and recite Life is filled and Dwellings of Life and Light ascendeth to its place and Fragnant incense. And they shall wash and read Good made good the good and Praised is the First Great Radiance

1 Possibly M. L. p. 172.
2 M. L. p. 90.
3 There are two prayers of this first line, either M. L. p. 96 or p. 166.
4 M. L. p. 228.
5 M. L. p. 229.
6 There are two prayers go beginning, the greater and the lesser, see p. 43 note 2, and M. L. p. 106. The greater is called "of Shem (Shem son of Noah)."
7 A hiatus in the sense suggests that something has been omitted.
9 See p. 43 note 6.
10 I. e., names of persons to be prayed for must be inserted at the proper places.
11 See p. 46, note 1.
12 M. L. p. 89.
13 See p. 49, note 8.
14 Read 'ništān' for 'nišmta'.
15 The cup, is rinsed with water after the 'mambuha' has been drunk, and the priest drinks the rinsing (kalāta).
16 Make of "rining-water" is used to wash the ritual staff.
17 M. L. p. 93.
18 M. L. p. 96.
19 M. L. p. 63.
20 M. L. p. 90.
21 M. L. p. 109 (with addition).
22 Not in M. L.
And at the conclusion of the baptism when they have performed kūjta\(^1\) with the server, he shall give response; thus did Manda-d-Hiia speak amongst them, uttering his response to the kings. And there must be a banner in the hand of that gamišbra who is the chief (celebrant), representing Manda-d-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-d-Hiia, (for) its strength is great and boundless.

Then all of them, (after) the kūjta (isover), place their hands to their heads\(^2\) and say:  "Kūjta strengthen thee; Kūjta strengthen thee, (O) guardian of my prayer and praise! Loose\(^3\) radiance at its native place and light in its place. Release my prayer and praise, mine, Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hiia, (let it go) to the great place of light and to the Everlasting Abode! And Life is victorious\(^4\)." These are secret sayings that may not be revealed, for the body is fulfilled\(_)\(^5\) thereby. Then they shall recite In abounding radiance am I baptized\(_:\) and loosen their stoles and that great mystery they bestowed on their lord\(\)\(_6\).

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-d-Hiia. And on ending his baptism, the server shall\(_7\) say: "Seek and find, speak and be heard" like those words he said to the utras (when they were) hand-in-hand with the server; until (at the end) utras shall come and shall address a hymn to him and say:

\(\text{Uthras shine in thy radiance}
\text{And priests rejoice in thee}
\text{And thy baptism is accepted}
\text{(Thy baptism O) Hibil-Ziwa!}
\text{It shall rise up towards Manda-d-Hiia.}
\text{And Manda-d-Hiia will receive the great Hibil-Ziwa.}\)

\(_1\) The verb PST when used alone, refers to the 'kūjta' ceremony.
\(_2\) Actually upon their "crowns" and the speech addressed to the crown as the symbol of priesthood, the verb is connected with deconsecration throughout the paragraph.
\(_3\) Ethpa. SQM = "to make perfect, accomplish, consummate, fulfill".
\(_4\) I. e., by baptism the sixty uttras had purified their lord, Manda-d-Hiia.
\(_5\) This formula is said again at the deconsecration of the 'aganda.'

\(_1\) The "place of retributive detention".
\(_2\) The "he" referred to, is any polluted priest who is baptised with the "Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa."\(_3\)
\(_3\) 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.
\(_4\) A very free translation: "masdrania" "arrangers" refers to the assistant priests (here kings or uttras).
A benediction pronounce upon the dwellings; 
And the utras and kings that sit at thy right and left.
Shone and gave. out light
To the utmost.

Then he distributed myrtle to the utras and said to the utras who had read the "sealing" over Hibil-Ziwa son of Mandita-1-Hilia: "His head is sealed against blemishes and maladies. And read I sought to lift my {eyes} and wherever an insertion is to be made say 'through this, the treasure, devotions, baptism and Holy Oblation of Hibil-Ziwa son of Mandita-1-Hilia is blessed and ended.'

Then they recited Lifting eyes, and I sought to lift my eyes and Bound is the sea and A perfected gem am I and Plee and be expelled and When (the Jordan) was given and Secured and sealed and In the name of the Life; through 'Ubar-Zilia and the longer Secured and sealed; these are the nine seals wherewith the barukia blessed Hibil-Ziwa. Then the kings and utras 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."

The myrtle prayers given in my manuscript of 'mienia (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 'barukia,' who place a spring in their turbans. For the last line see p. 46, note 2.

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

2 The four mysteries: 'visa', dates, wine, and myrtle.

3 The passage in italics is unintelligible.

4 For 'atmun' ('closed') read 'Armun' or 'atmun' or 'placed.' 

5 For 'yanxia usabria' I think we & odd read 'yanxia usabria' 'young and old.' After 'sabria' had been misspelled as 'sabria,' any scribe might insert the customary 'liba'.

6 This hymn exists in several versions, of which the hymn given here is the longest. It is described in the 'mienia as a hymn to be recited over the
When he had recited this hymn to Hibil the Great, our father blessed him from the Jordan. And they ended their rites and repeated Darkness is crushed back into the depths and recited Good maketh good the good and then Our Forefathers just as was explained at the beginning of this treatise, and all those blessings in the name of those who presented the tabora, and they absolved them, prayed for them, and blessed them (saying) "forgiving of sins" (be there for...). And seven cups of hamra. The version given in Alf Trisar Sawaiia resembles the above. The zamanah hymn differs considerably:

Buma dhia rbia nhar gufni bhg mua u'tqiam kabiria lkaib ilaqa mio (instead of lkaib) uqima dmawatkan uminhibra 'and dna dina zwiakten 'utria saqia wata bibila kasoh dina zwiakten uziwa d malka atib rhaikun umaiz t'an. "In the name of the Great Life! Vines shone in the waters and mighty ones were established on its banks, upon the clear waters. And your Counterparts exist and give us light. Let your light arise, let it shine forth, great utras, and come. Instead of hiding it, manifest your radiance and the radiance of the King. Bring your perfume and strengthen us".

1 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 b).
2 The repetition of the word is meaningless.
3 The copyist is puzzled; he has placed dots beneath &b burk' (showing that it should be deleted) and adds a gloss, "burka" (firstborn).
4 M. L. p. 166. ('uma' = 'umqa', the q. as in 'arga', is not pronounced).
5 See p. 43, n. 3.
6 See p. 43, n. 5.
7 The ritual food and accessories.
8 "tangar", i.e. "for their benefit".

Hobil-Ziya shall bring your perfume and overpower us (with its sweetness)1.

Then Yawar shall give response to the barukaita:

"In the name of the Great Life! Myrtle, myrtle! The King took it. The King was surrounded by the perfume of myrtle. And he blessed Hibil-Ziya and said to him: "Blessed art thou, our father Hibil-Ziya! 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?"."

2 This prayer in form resembles the diptych of the Eastern churches and the Parsi Dibache. See p. 43, n. 5.
3 I am unable to recite this hymn, or that which follows it...
4 Literally "went".
5 See p. 46 n. 2.
6 The word "asa" means "healed", "made strong", so that there is a play on words here. Myrtle is to the Mandaeans what 'barso' is to the Parsi; its perfume is sacred and life-giving. Myrtle is prominent in Oriental Jewish rites.
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 uthrás 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 to set it on his head. And they rose to their feet in the perfume of our Lord, Lord of all worlds! Strength that was not flow. And cause any pure spouse that committed a fault in her dryness to inhale it so that their sins may fall away from them; 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 and enfolded one another (in embrace) with fervent kuśtās.

Then Mara-d-Rabuta commanded Hibil-Ziwa and said to him: "Being oblation, and new vestments and attire the barukaiia in them, (for) they are mine!"

So Hibil-Ziwa went to his house and brought robes and clothed therewith all the uthrás of the dwellings (skinata). And they honoured their crowns and sat down.

Then Yawar-Ziwa cried 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 eyes! bethink thyself of thine own. O thou prototype of Nasiruta that is found in all worlds, O Glory of uthrás, thou that art King; kings petition thee. Kings request answer from thee! O our Lord and Support that sustains all my thought; they make a request of thee, questioning the Great (Life). Good folk are they who seek, slaves (asking) their master, spouses their wives and sons their parents. For we are thy glory, Lord of all worlds; I am the noble Hibil-Ziwa and I am in all secrets and revelations. And I a and all who love them..."

Then spoke Mara-d-Rabuta and said to Yawar-Rba: "O thou, king of uthrás and support that sustaineth worlds of light! O thou polished mirror set before the eyes of kings and uthrás, say not that there is no answer from me; for Sīlam-Rba, eldest of all, who is treasurer of that which is (hidden) with me, he shall give answer. My (hidden) treasure is not denied you, nor is any one of you elder or senior: on the contrary each one of you is qualified for one rite; that is, the Blessed Oblation; for its treasure 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 proceed from Him, and when the masiğta was instituted, and every coronation, they were founded by Him, by Him they were devised, together with everything which emanated from the jordan and Ether 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. (A Mystery) protected Hibil-Ziwa, son of Manda-d-Hiia son of Mara-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..."

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1 Af TUB. Or "Respond to thine own!"
2 Nasiruta: see p. 7, n. 2.
3 Doubtful. 'Ana' in Mandaic means "I", but ANA (א) means "to answer". The end of the paragraph is missing.
4 Literally "out off" from.
5 "Treasure" (ginza), i.e., "mysteries", or rites for the dead such as the 'masiğta' and 'sīda' (ריבא). The word is also applied to sacramental food and drink, and to a collection of sacred texts (of Ginza Rba).
6 The ceremony of placing the crown of priesthood upon a candidate for ordination.
7 I.e., the rites which released him from pollution.
Diwan Mašbula

until that of death is solved by Him, for He is the Smith who forges our mysteries, so that our ritual is safeguarded.

We have made (it?) into a single Treatise (or “Way”) 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 ribāma 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, son of Nba-Rba, namely three hundred and sixty baptisms, and that blessing of four mysteries which Shaqr-Rba, son of Mandaeans, blessed for himself and (then) bestowed on utāras, kings, the Elect Righteous and the Root which had 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, for Hibil-Ziwa’s baptism was the first of all “three-hundred-and-sixty (times)” baptisms, and (origin of) the “fifty baptisms” of Sitil, (of) the “seven baptisms performed by seven kings” (and of) the holy baptism they perform from Kanšia uzāhla — the “Great New Year” — until the baptism (feast) of Daima (also of) the seven original masiqtas which purify pollutions. For all masiqtas derive from Hibil-Ziwa’s masiqa and all baptisms originated in one Way. And it hath cured all pollutions save one pollution for which there is no cure, and that is apostasy. (This) great mystery remained with Hibil-Ziwa, and he dissemin-

1 Literally “from germination to departure”.
2 Not the plural.
3 *Sigia* “Way” or “scroll” or “treatise”. See p. 14 n. 4.
4 The Bihram of the baptism formula See p. 6, n. 9.
5 Literally “blows” or “wounds”.
6 *Kanšia uzāhla* (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 Mandaeans go into retreat. Their seclusion begins at sunset, and must be preceded by baptism. They remain indoor in order to avoid pollution (see MMIII pp. 86-7).
7 Daima is a baptismal feast which falls ninety days after the five-day spring feast of Panja or Parwaniali (see MMIII p. 91).

ated it amongst all peoples, for its name is “Seed.” He conferred it upon Yawar and Yawar conferred it upon Avar, and its celebration was on a seventh day, that is a sabbath and took place in the *škintas* of Hibil-Ziwa and his brethren.

Any man baptism 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, (†) (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) baptized 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 utāras and they embraced Hibil-Ziwa, and all the utāras rose from their thrones and addressed a hymn to him, saying to Hibil-Ziwa:

“Speak about Hibil-Ziwa to the utāras his brethren, The utāras 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

Say: Our father, thy glory exceedeth the glories Of all crowns and thy light hath overpowered Many worlds.

Our good Messenger!

Because the Life became thy Transplanter We rejoiced at thine appearance.

We will lay our hands on thee in kušpa

And will bless thee with a great benison That is mighty and powerful.”

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1 The passive and active participles of Pael can take similar form (N. p. 230). *Mlabša* here means “invested with”, “authorized to perform”, but I am doubtful about the exact equivalent.
2 For *ašawt* read *ašab*. 
3 Obscure; literally “with each one a word”.
4 D. C. 60: “nibich hipil ziwa rba d bishainun trig wasiqtah b’daihun matn”. Small differences between the two mas. occur constantly.
5 Read *janandā* for *janandak*. 
6 Or “times”. 
7 *Mlabša* here means “to be done” or “to be restored”. 
8 See p. 230 n. 2. 
9 *Panja* is lit. “Palm”.
10 *Parwaniali* is lit. “Wildness”.
11 *Parwaniali* is lit. “Wildness”.
12 *Mlabša* here means “to be done” or “to be restored”.
mation. The twelve uthras that sit in the skintas Of the Great (Life) have blessed thee s, (They) who sit together in company; And their appearance shineth Like the holy uthras, for the Righteous One?; The Great Life, giveth light to their appearance. (May) He be thy Light for evermore 7.

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.

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1 See p. 46, n. 2.
2 See p. 46, n. 2. (Finis) marks the end of every hymn. I omit the word occasionally.
3 D. C. 60: ‘asfar sigia d ligak waasr ziwa wanhura’.
4 The word ‘mia’ (in both mss.) must be an intrusion. Omit.
5 D. C. 60: ‘brimak’.
6 ‘Sanita’ — “removed” (from earthly life), “transhuman”, “translated” etc. It must be often paraphrased by an equivalent word.
7 The construction is obscure.
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Šīlam-Rba, son of Nba-Rba spoke and hymned him and said:

"Thy baptism was celebrated 1 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".

Anūs-Rba spoke and hymned him and said:

"I testify to thy Father's pact (kūṣṭa) 2,
The Being who built thee a building.
My eyes look to thee 3
Chosen Righteous One
Whose name is fragrant for evermore".

Šīlam-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
Since thou wast baptised by the sixty kings
The perfume of thy wreath cometh
And its fragrance invigorateth us
Evermore".

Sam-Rba spoke 6 — 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 uthra 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!"

1 D. C. 60 has 'saq', not 'sar'.
2 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.
3 M. L. p. 40.
4 M. L. p. 43.
5 M. L. p. 43.
6 M. L. p. 44.
7 "Those" meaning the omitted hymns.
8 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 malkio and make the pronoun in the next sentence "him" not "them".
9 According to the oolophon the first copyist, or the author.
seven earliest\(^1\) masiqtas which...\(^2\) seven kings, and with those five baptisms \(\text{by which}\) the Precious One whose breath \(\text{pneuma}\) purifieth \(\text{pollutions}\), that is to say Yawar, rehabilitate them in those baptisms. For he \(\text{(Yawar, Hibil-Ziwa)}\) was the first to clothe them with all the sacraments. For in the sacrament of the Blessed Oblation there is nought pertaining to Darkness, \(\text{no outcast}\), nothing degrading \(\text{or anything which hath not its portion of light}. \) On the contrary, within the exalted bounds of the seven sacraments \(\text{of the Blessed Oblation, in that baptism of wuthras which is \text{(comprises)} \text{nine sacraments \text{(ginsaia)} called blessed oblations, apart from \text{(not counting)} that bestowed on Hibil-Ziwa}\(^3\): \text{(in these)} there is nought pertaining to Darkness, it \(\text{Darkness)}\) hath \(\text{no mandate \text{(therein)}}\). And say...\(^6\). \text{Finis.}

\*\* In the name of the Great Life and in the name of Manda-d-Hiiia! The Great Life spoke: He placed four mysteries before the master \(^8\) and said to him:

"In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Kushta spoke,
Radiance dawned on the four mysteries,
Its strength surged out to the jordan
And its glory rested on the kings\(^9\),
"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\(^{10}\).
For evermore\(^{11}\)."

\(^1\) 'bukariasta'.
\(^2\) The sentence must be corrupt. I think it should be '\(\ddot{d}\text{ pras} \text{Hibil-Ziwa}\) mn gina\(r\)a\(a\) \(\ddot{m}\)\(n\) al\(m\)ia\(a\) \(\ddot{d}\)\(\text{ Baha malkia} \(\ddot{d}\)\(\text{ bauka, \(m\)\(n\) bina\(n\)}\(\text{ Baha malkia} \(\ddot{d}\)\(\text{ bauka,}\) \(\text{which took Hibil-Ziwa with the \(\text{(mystical) Jewel out of the worlds of the seven kings of darkness, from amongst the seven kings}}\)''.
\(^3\) Literally 'blows', \(\text{(inadvertent pollutions)}\).
\(^4\) Again corrupt. A gasiba is a person disqualified or polluted by a ritual fault or uncleanness. \(\text{Saflin} \) \(\text{=}\) \(\text{those who fall.}\)
\(^5\) The sentence is obscure and involved.
\(^6\) The end is missing.
\(^7\) The star marks the point at which the two \(\text{mas,}\) rejoin.
\(^8\) D. C. 60 has '\(\text{father}\)' ('\(\text{aha}\)') for '\(\text{master}\)' ('\(\text{rba}\)')
\(^9\) D. C. 60 has 'malka' \(\text{for malkia}\).
\(^10\) D. C. 50, which has the same copyist, has the correct version, which I have followed.
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. 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 Nasiruta in them.

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 emanations and outbreathings. Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana with that benediction bestowed on the seven worlds of illuiaon 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 ustras, and his treasure (gineik) dwelleth in the worlds.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that blessing bestowed on the Wellspring and its strength dwelleth on the Jordan. 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."

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1 The seven planetary ships.
2 Probable miscopying. The meaning of this sentence must be that religion (i.e., Nasiruta) removed the evil propensities of those born under certain planets and countersacts planetary power.
3 Miscopying: 'mahania' ('pits') should be 'mahiania' ('life-giving').
4 'Tanania' — "vapours" i.e., vaporous exhalations.
5 Probable translation: 'Nagiruta'.
6 The two mss are again parallel.
7 D. C. 60 has: 'd alma 7n 9 pras uasara tis min pirsat uhaila lamkia alia umsuta bizat masia umasrata byadna sar'ia uyadna bgaal mitqalam ut'ruuth bhana radia mn ri brisk. ("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.
8 Read "ascended" for "did not ascend"?
9 The double circle must indicate a gap in the manuscript.
10 D. C. 50: 'uhaila yagra pirsat'.
11 D. C. 50: 'Ham ziwa aha' for 'qam sha'. Doubtful.
12 D. C. 60 has 'qra' for 'rba'. Doubtful.
13 D. C. 60 has 'ldukh' ('his or its place') for 'ibukra'. Doubtful.
14 This should probably be Samiel, a personification of the sun.
of the sea, which consolidated mountains, congealing so that solidification took place in them. When they sent him to establish Jordans, then his radiance rested on the worlds and his light protected the worlds and his strength dwelleth upon the jordan.

Then thou, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, wilt be blessed with that benediction they conferred on Manhariel, the glittering light (or bonner) which was contracted by bestoweth the three hundred and sixty worlds of light, for the strength of his fire is great, and his air and earth flourish (therein) for the likeness of the Father dwell therein. Hence the waters which take their rise at the three wellsprings spread his light, and come to the lower world.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed on Father; through Him the three wellsprings spread his light, and come to the lower world.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed on our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed on 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 Ranziel, the bohinnia (camel-foot) tree, the tree which the Father blessed. Utras 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 Sorat and Simat-Hina, who gave their treasure so that ustras might be established. Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that Sign of the Right, of the Father, of the Male; moreover thou wilt be blessed: with that blessing bestowed on the crown set on the head of kings. Therewith they blessed the secret mystery of generation and blessed (and) strengthened Ham-Ziwa who shineth and shone in his glory and was beatified thereby. And he worshipped and gave praise and created the seven worlds of illusion, and they were inhabited and established. And for him there was created fair treasure of life, which is the treasure (ginaza) of the ustras 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. 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 is the planting
Of the four Vines, and the first planting was successful.
And victorious is the King of Light
And Life is victorious."

We will hymn thee and say to thee "Shine forth! Let thy glory break through and thy light come forth!"

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that benediction bestowed on Nsab-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.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that blessing bestowed on Tanial (Tanul)-Kasia, whose glory glowed upon the worlds. Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam.
Yuhana with that blessing wherewith the Wellspring Simhat 1 was blessed, from her proceeded Hadan-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 2.

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 3,
Join your glories and be magnified! 4.

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 5
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 for (at) His Likeness 6
Evermore?.

And say... in the name of the Great Life...

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that benediction

bestowed on the four secret mysteries, and 'they burst forth and shone... 1 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 2 and the frankincense. Which (come) from the mountains, and rose 3 up and appeared in all the sacraments of all baptism when thou wast baptized by my right hand 4. And Vines flourish therein and Life 5 existed.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, by that benediction bestowed on Air (ayar) and Running-Water (yadina). And they twined myrtle into a wreath, and in the perfume 6 of the myrtle-blossom He (or) 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 4 benediction of the four mysteries shall be redeemed from all blemish. And he went away and remained in his Egg (hilibamia) 7 and was hidden from the ustras 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... 8 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 9 of thy glory (thy glory?) hath distinguished the jordan and kingship hath emerged therefrom 10. Do thou, Yawar-Rba, lay

1 D. C. 60 4 simhat ("she was bright" or she gleamed").
2 Correct 4 D. C. 50 has "hadan d ham ubarat u'kraubat uganfa d ziwa sarih biha mun mn biha lababla".
3 "Bhiha kasia" 5 — a secret substitute 6.
4 D. C. 50: "dha zawaikun d abuhun wata bhilfa kasia dha lam zawaikun u'kraubtun".
5 "Niba", i.e. "something thrust out, urged forth."
6 For the last three lines D. C. 50 has: "pirsat unibtat ushquat usilqat almahal biha bdmuth kasia mun sn sahri".
7 D. C. 60 has "usaq" for "saaq".
8 D. C. 60: "maqbutata d mn yaminai dilia miqbat uraushib gufna d hiia hua.
9 D. C. 60 has "haq" for "fask".
10 D. C. 60: "maqbutata d mn yaminai dilia miqbat uraushib gufna d hiia hua.
11 See p. 31. 4, 31. 4.
12 D. C. 60: "tubrik anat abun bhak birika d simat hiia ubrik umasa ziwa d minib pirsat ubrikit himat razia d pirsat."
13 Read "mitiank", 6.
14 D. C. 60 is very different here: "d malat simat hiia d timarlh 'tiaqrit umtitan ziwa pra' 1 aina umalkuta d minib pirsat."
thy pure right hand on all kings that sit at thy right and thy left”.  

Finis 1.

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’ of darkness.”

And assign all its treasure (sacraments) to the baptism which purifeth ‘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 Kanka uZahia— that is the New Year— till the Baptism of Dalma, there are seven major masiqta which cleanse ‘blows’. From the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa— the first— unto the Masiqta(s) of the (other) six, its seal is the masiqta. 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 pronouneeth 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 8  
Who doth abide in the dwellings of kings!  
Bring Hamar-Eana 9  
And bring young myrtle to the skinta

1 D. C. 35 and D. C. 50 part company again.
2 ‘Mihia’, see p. 54, n. 1.
3 See p. 68, n. 6.
4 See p. 68, n. 7.
5 Literally “first-born” i.e. first in importance, of major import.
6 Corrupt: the reference is to the other six masiqta of the seven major baptism.
7 These seven major baptisms are concluded and perfected by the masiqta. This is the hatma.
8 The sganda in modern ritual is the youth who acts as server and deacon.
9 Hamar-Kana (Vine-Stock), the personified fruit of the vine. See J. B. p. 4, n. 4.

Finis 1.

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 skinta  
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 Nsab 1  
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 gansibra and priests shall recite these three hymns over the water (yardna), wine (hamra), dates (sindirka) and myrtle 2 when the sganda 3 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

1 Nsab (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.  
2 It is customary to call the water yardna when it is taken directly from the river (or more often mambaha), 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.  
3 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, Yahia-Bihram 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 on whose light they shine and in whose skin they dwell. These are the “Benedictions of the Four Mysteries”, which Adam-Shaq-Rba pronounced for himself and gave 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 gansibras 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 Baima, daughter of Yahia-Ramaia, and Ramuia copied it from the Diwan of his father Ramuia son of Naatar. And Ramuia son of Naatar copied from Shabur son of Zaza that which Zaza copied from his father Manda-d-Hiia. And Manda-d-Hiia copied from Sislam-Rba and Sislam-Rba copied from his father Shaq-Rba. Shaq-Rba copied from Ayar-Rba and Ayar-Rba copied from Nbat-Rba. And Nbat-Rba copied from Ziwa-Sagia (Great Radiance) and Nhura-d-kabir-Filter-almia-kulhun (Light that is mightier-than-all-worlds). And Ziwa-Sagia copied from his innermost mind and the habiliment in which, He existeth and that which was in Him? (unclear).

And Life purified all works, and victorious is Manda-d-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 gansibras and truly righteous and believing men, and as dust beneath the feet of the godly and Naqoraeans.

1 This Zaza may be the “Zaza-d-Gawaza” of the Commemoration Prayer known as Ahabatan Qadmaia. See p. 38, n. 1.
2 The “copyists” from this point are all divine spirits.
3 ‘ufr, i.e. that which is stored up in his mind.
4 I (am) Yahia-Bihram, son of a great, lofty, revered and reliable gansibras, (one) perfect in priestly-knowledge, lord of ritual-feasts, 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 Ma’ad son of Guar son of ‘Ugra-Dakia known as Qindilia u Kamisla and his family name Rabi Draz. I copied for myself from a Diwan which Rabbi Yahia-Bihram-Zihrun copied, the son of Mhatam, son of Mhatam-Yuhana son of Bihram son of Ma’ad son of Na’mia son of Karam son of Kaidia son of Hiat, his family name Sabur. He copied for himself from the Diwan which he copied himself for a yalufa, namely Bali son of Paizia, his family name Sabur, Manda-d-Hiia, forgive him his sins! (This) he copied from the Diwan of the great, lofty, respected gansibras, who was the master who crowned his head — Rabbi Yahia Yuhana son of Rabbi Zihrun-Adam son of Zihrun, son of Disfulia son of Sughia grandson of Na’ir son of Zakria, of the children of Dhdharia; 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-Aanush, son of the great, lofty, honoured one, perfect in treasure and priestcraft, Rabbi Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Sadan son of Zakria son of Hibil son of Zihrun, from the children of Dhdharia, his family name Sabur and known as Btaha. He copied from a Diwan which his grandfather, Rabbi Mhatam copied, for a worthy and righteous priest, namely Rabbi Mhatam-Šitul son of Adam Baktiar son of Yahia son of Baktiar, his family name durka, who copied it from a scroll which Rabbi Mhatam copied for himself, the son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Sadan who copied from the scroll of his master, Rabbi Yahia-Sayar son of Adam-Baktiar son of Yahia son of Baktiar, his family name durka — Manda-d-Hiia, forgive him his sins! He copied for himself from the scroll of Adam-Zakria son of Yahia-Yuhana, family name Sumaqa; who copied from one treatise which Sam-Bihram copied, the son of Zakia-Hibil,
family name Binda. He copied from an ancient scroll, which was in the handwriting of Satarwan son of Hibil, who copied it from the treatise of Beinai son of Zakia. And Beinai son of Zakia copied from Ntatar daughter of Yahia-Yuhatana, and Hainana copied from Yahia Ramuia son of Ramuia Ntitar. And Yahia-Ramuia copied from his father Ntatar; and Ramuia son of Ntuitar copied it from the Diwu of Udu son of Yuhatana. Udu copied it from Sabur son of Zazzi whose elder brother had copied it from his teacher Nbat. Udu copied it and Nbat, and Udu copied it from his father, Manda-q-Hilia. And Manda-q-Hilia copied it from Siblam-Rba and Siblam-Rba copied it from Shaq-Rba. Shaq-Rba copied it from Ayar-Rba, and Ayar-Rba copied it from Nbat-Rba. Nbat-Rba copied it from Ziwa-Sagia and Ziwa-Ygarna (Great-Brightness and Glorious-Light) who are powerful. And Ziwa copied it from World-of-Illusion and Glorious-Light, who spoke and were heard, and were to the seat of judgment and were victorious. And he gave of his covering to (those) who are with him and were refreshed with him. Life is victorious for ever. Finish.

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-q-Hilia, and the names of Hibil, Styl, and Nbat, 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, that is the year 1247 according to Arab reckoning may the world founder upon them, and Manda-q-Hilia avert their wrath from the great congregation of souls! I completed it in the village of Nihar in on the river Tigris, from the beginning of the scroll unto the end of the chiefs-of-the-sanctuary. The pictures I copied in the village of Quana on the river Euphrates in the house of Rabbi Zhurun, Manda-q-Hilia forgave him his sins! Three months I abode in his house; he gave me food, and Tadis-Simata and her husband Rabbi Zhurun, and Rabbi Arnu ... (obit.

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1 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 Murgical era. As references to the "niania" are many.
2 There are four divisions of the year of four months, each with three subdivisions but their names no longer accord with the 8890c (see MMII pp. 84-9).
3 Literally "make vain", "bring to an end".
4 By this expression he probably means the lists of copyists, but I have not met with the expression elsewhere.

Diwan Maqbuta

 początk;ated) Zhurun, may his sins be forgiven. I stayed with them in tranquility and kindness.

And our house was in Basrah which belongeth to the powers of Darkness?its (Basrah's) name is Suf Zaba. (Our house) was in a place that is shady, 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 Baghdad the governor (the Turkish Wali) was All Pasha, and the Wall of Basrah was All Zabair, and the Arab governors (Qaimagam) were Mafid and Isha, and the headman of the district in which I lived was Janawa (?) son of Mi'is son of Saa'id.

Our house was in Basrah and my father, my mother, my paternal uncle and my maternal aunt, and my cousin (?), son of my paternal uncle, and his mother (lived) in the fear of the Life and Manda-q-Hilia; 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 utras, the great comforters.

And now, Our brothers that shall gram, us, know that in the year of Friday, the year 1247 A.H., the great plague came, and not one of the ga*nsibras 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 Parwanais and we prayed the 6 Devotions 8; and we consecrated a cult-hut. After the consecration, one esteemed yulafa (literate) set the yulafas in the cult-hut. He prayed the "Devotions" for sixty days, and celebrated a maslaha for his teacher; and they consecrated one

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1 Suf Zaba. Either "Stream-of-Reeds" or "Mouth-of-the-River" (Mouth-of-the-River). Cf. Yamaq?-Suf, which has been translated by some "Sea-of-Reeds". In the Harn Ghevodt Suf-Zaba is identified as the Shaat-al-Arab (see p. 4, n. 4 and p. 8, n. 4).
2 8 represents the Arabic 9.
3 Or "those-that-set-at-large".
4 The year is named after the day of the week on which it began.
5 Parwanais or Panjas, the great spring feast which occurs on the two intercalary days. It is the chief baptismal feast and time for ritual meals for the dead. See MMII pp. 96-97. For Parwan see p. 6 n. 3. and p. 9, n. 2.
6 The daily office for every day of the week; part of the liturgical prayers known as the "niania. See p. 29 n. 1.
7 I.e. consecrated his priest. Such irregular consecrations were forced upon the Mandaeans after the plague, as appears in other narratives. The names of the "yalafa" was Sam-Zihar.
8 The priest (here a "yalafa" 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. 1

After three or four years, dissensions arose between the priests and laymen. We were all of us in Sāq-al-Suyūtīkh, in the quarter for Mandaens 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 Suṣṭar. On the Suṣṭar road, Arabs, for greed, surrounded us and were covetous of our things and my clothes: my loss was greater than my things — mine, Yaḥia-Bihram son of Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Sam son of Biḥram son of Adam-Zibrin of the family Rās-Draṣ, known as Eamisia — for we were a large House (family) in Baṣrah (although) after the plague not one of my relatives remained, 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 Suṣṭar, I came with some peasants (fellahin) belonging to the shaikh of the tribe; he was Thamir ibn Ghaḏban. He sat, the tribesmen, and they seized those Arabs that had raided us on the Suṣṭar road, and brought them. And I was in Suṣṭar, 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 kāba (1), 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 (fellahin).

After that, 'Ali Pasha came to Muḥammerah 7 and made an example of it, and set fire to it and burnt it. And when I came from Suṣṭar, they gave me many scrolls and books (to take) with me. I left them in Muḥammerah (when) I came with the peasants; and

1 These two ceremonies are necessary for the consecration of a 'ganzībra'. NO marriage should be celebrated except by a 'ganzībra'.

(1) Fellah can only mean this.

(2) P. 'awālak 'at circuit', 'surround'; hence here 'made a circuit about us', 'surrounded us'. The sentence is obscurely phrased, but the meaning is obvious from the context.

(3) Literally 'there was not to me a person with me: all had gone to the revival of life'.

(4) P. ḫaṣl or ḫaṣl, 'servant', 'dependant'.

(5) Kāba, A. ebbat.

7 Now Khurramshah.

when the Pasha came to inflict injury on Muḥammerah, I sent down Ākraun the younger and I said to them, to the Mandaens who were in Muḥammerah: '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 Mandaens 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 1 whose name was Albanians 2 until they came into Baṣrah. From there they ransomed him from the camp 3 and took him to their quarters 4.

And we were ill-treated by the fellahin; — they came pressing (as) heady; they travelled with the main body of the Sabians, 5 showing covetousness towards us. We left them in the place and dispersed into reed marshes in the month of Adar. Pisces, in the year of Thursday 7 in the year 1253 according to the Arabs — the shameless, 'good-for-nothing (folsé)!' 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 to pass that she left the body, and there were not four bier-bearers. 6 As for me, the slave of all priests, my heart fell from its support: there was much intercession for her. With gīnna (treasure, ritual meal for the dead) and gūsira 10 I prayed the Life so that thus there might be healing for my daughter.

I came into Aḥirīz (thither also came my bindfast some of our people and) took me into Kas Si-Amir 11, their name for a village

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1 The word is missing, probably some of 'Ali Pasha's troops.
2 Wrongly transliterated from ḥaṣl.
3 'Urdāl, probably mis-transliterated from P. ḥaṣl.
4 'Qarn (nearly translated by the French "chez eux".
5 § here stands for the Arabic ẓ, Eezīs, crowd, multitude.
6 The writer used the literary 'Sābiya'. The local word for the Mandaens is 'Subba' or 'Zabbe'. See p. viii.
7 A year that began on Thursday.
8 The 'samrās' are four chosen men who wear religious dresses, place the corpse on the bier, bear it to the graveyard, lower the body in the grave, and all it in. They must wear the pandara.
9 I. e. was in the utmost dismay.
10 That is to say, with every priestly act at his command. If there were no bier-bearers, the burial was performed in uncleanness, and much purification and intercession would be necessary for the welfare of the dead girl's soul.
11 Kas Si Amir, Bowl-of-Sour-Milk-Makers.
in the Jazirah. And then there came a Mandaeac gansibra and a
priest, the one (named) Sagur and the other, the priest Sabuj. And
took them with them into Saiq-al-Sithkh, into the Markab village.

And then, after a year, the shaikh of the tribe, Thamir-ibn-
Ghadban, 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 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 mar-
rriage. 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? wort) with
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 gansibra, a reliable and well-tried king of the Nasoraeans
and a guardian of the people, Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Same-
Biham, son of Sa’dan, son of Msa’ad, son of Sarar known as Kamisa
and family name Bii-Draz; also (for) my teacher who consecrated me
priest, Rabbi Sam-Zirhum son of Rabbi Sam-Biham, family name ‘Aziz and known as Draji; (Draji) and he gave life to the Root after the plague and was the ordainer of all
kingliness (i.e. the priesthood) and the Root of the Great Life. He
was with yalufa (clergy, literate) (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 Sultan and Diaful and I
in Saiq-al-Sithkh. For twelve years we have been divided and distant

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1 Moslems are thought to be under the planet Mars.
2 A circumcised person is grievously polluted, and normally it would be
forbidden to marry with them or have anything to do with them.
3 I am not certain whether ‘abhdan should be read as translated, or
whether it belongs to the verb that precedes it.
4 The Root i.e. the Mandaean nation; what is referred to here is the extermi-
ation of priests by cholera. Rabbi Sam-Zirhum was the ‘yalufa referred
to as ‘esteemed’ above who took upon himself the consecration of new
priests and ‘gansibra; after all priests had been wiped out by the plague.
There is a reference to this irregular consecration and to Rabbi Sam-Zirhum
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... (the
noble; robbed me of my things?) was? the son of Muhammad, son of
Thamir son of Sa’dan shaikh of the Muntadiq of the Arabs; it hap-
pened 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-Fattah of Baghdad, (above later) in the time of
Shah Abbas he took it (Baghdd). (Hewas) the son of Sultan Ibrahim
son of Sultan Kalbja (Tunear) Mahmud son of Sultan Sulejman son of
Sultan Salim (who) conquered Damascus, the Hejaz and Iraq;
tagla ‘tl qurun? son of Sultan Murda-Khan son of Sultan Murad
the second son of Ab... Khan son of Sultan Faiyziy 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...n
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 ye rule is set in the realm of the Persians...

Then India was ruled by the Franks, the English; and their Gov-
ernment is in London. Their rule in the East is great. They made
ships of fire; they are all of iron except the lower segment (?), a
wooden box (?) going into the water; a piston-rod moves it by strik-
ing a plunger 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 Basrah 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
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 gov-
ernor in the East from London sent for my father, Rabbi Adam-
Yahia. It (London) is the (seat of?) government of the English; it

2 What ‘tagla ‘tl qurun? means I cannot guess. A name?
3 Illegible.
4 ‘Tafala = (a) “mud”, “slime”, or (b) indecency”, “foolish behav-
iour”. Here obviously refers to a part of the ship.
5 ‘Sukana “a steering-ear”, “a tiller”.

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did not apostatize. When I was little, I was with Christians and learnt words of their language — 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. Then, when I pondered, before the plague, I ... 7 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 ... 7 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 ...

(End of the copist's autobiographical appendix.)

Illustrations. [On right (A figure)] (Right divided from centre by a line).

1 P. 'paikt'.
2 The Gmes Rba, a collection of the principal Mandean religious texts gathered into a single volume.
3 Presumably this means Rabbi Adam-Yahia.
4 'sawr. This word in ritual texts seems to indicate passages or words for which priests have a secret interpretation.
5 Vice-Counsul J. E. Taylor. About 1854 he excavated at 'Ur and discovered the site of Eridu.
6 A Mandean 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.
7 Illegible.
8 Illegible, probably 'minaikun' or 'minaiken' "from them" or "from you".

Hibil-Ziwa

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:


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 kindha (small box-like altar), an incense-brazier (bit rhiya), incense, a cup of miša (oil), a phial, bowl, and pišta and mambuka (ritual bread and water)"). The two figures are described (a) "Manda-š-Hiia, that is Yuvar-Rba son of Nbat-Rba who emanated from himself", (b) "Yuvar-Rba, the Sprout that emanated from Itself". The ḍrabba (banner) is described: "There are seven of these banners, each has a name. Twenty smaller figures in pairs with a kindha (see above), [the same description: "a kindha, an incense-brazier, incense, cup of oil, a phial, bowl, pišta and mambuka"]. 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:
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 _kinhas_ are inscribed Eke the others. The figures are named as follows:


The next section starts with a larger banner and with a ritual table of another type; it represents apparently the _tariana_ upon which are spread the sacred food and drink for the _Ziqq Biqa_. 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:
