THE HARAN GAWAITA

THE MANDAIC TEXT REPRODUCED
TOGETHER WITH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND COMMENTARY
BY
E. S. DROWER

CITTÀ DEL VATICANO
BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA
1963
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 Al'r Trisar Sulatia 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.
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 Madaia’ occurred too often to be a pure invention. The ‘Jebel Haran’ was mentioned once.

The Haran Guaranteed, the text here translated, is considered by Mandaeans to be the true history of their race. Yet, in the Ginen Rha there is only one reference to ‘Haran’, ‘cedars from Haran’, although there are two references to a place called Hauraran to which the Drahe & Yahia refers once. To quote from these books (translations of them may be found in Lidzbarski’s Der Ginen [G. R. pp. 502 and 503], and his Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer [J. B. p. 232]):

“Speak to them of the pure Hauraran”.

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

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

Haran and Hauraran appear in a personified form in the ‘Nia nit’, a volume of liturgical prayers, sometimes as a single genius or heavenly power; and a being called Hauraran-Karkovan-Zir is invoked.

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


And in his Mandaensche Liturgien, p. xx:

“In den Gebeten begegnen wir ofter dem Genienpaar & und . Der zweite Name ist eine Erweiterung des ersten durch

2 The two words are pronounced Ha-rangአአین; 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 Pərsiw ist also der pri-

mär. Ich identifiziere ihn mit dem geographischen Namen Peris. Ei

könte an sich die Harān-Ebene wie das Harān-Gebirge sein. Aber ge-

räuch für die Vergötterung von Bergen haben wir viele Beispiele aus der

semitischen Welt. Dass nun der Harān unter ihren höheren Wesen er-

scheint, setzt voran, dass er in ihrem Gesichtskreis gestanden hat.

Daher ist nicht anzunehmen, dass jede Urgemeinschaft ihren Sitz in den

öden Gebieten östlich vom Harān-Gebirge hatte. Hingegen kommt die

im Westen liegende fruchtbare Harān-Ebene, in deren östlichem Hori-

zont das Gebirge sich erhebt, gut in Betracht". 1

In J. B. xvi he contended that Mandaimism can only have origin-

ated in Jewish circles:

"Ihre Terminologie in Lehre und Kultur ist so stark durch das Alte

Testament und das Hebräische beeinflusst, man es sonst auserhalb
des Judentums nicht findet" (J. B. xvi).

Mr. notes elsewhere that, although a bitter hatred of Jews is con-

stantly shown in Mandaean literature, the Mandaeans 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 Mandaeans rites and religion are

strongly tintured 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 "Mirai", 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 of Yahia, especially in the
Mandean fragment (see J. B. pp. 123 ff.), and in the Ginza
Rbo there is a reference to Mirai which resembles the story in the
Harān Bawaita. Anūs-Uthra 2 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 Mirai. A

1 Professor F. C. Burkitt (Church and Gnosis, Cambridge University Press

1932, pp. 110-112) suggested that the Mandaean Anūs-Uthra was "the Mar-

cionite Jesus".

1 For the German translation see G. R. 341. ff.
The Jewish origin of the Sâbiyân ¹ is supported by the scholarly Al-Birûnî, who writing at the beginning of the eleventh century says that the “real Sâbians” (C.A.N. p. 188) are:

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

In my Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran I quoted — not always correctly, as my knowledge of Mandaic was still that of a beginner — from the Haran Gawaiત 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 considering this question. ² Reitzenstein, and recently several Swedish scholars, have drawn attention to Persian elements in Mandaeans beliefs, practices and language.” A book published in Uppsala in 1949 ³ brought evidence to show that some of the most ancient Manichaean psalms, the Captive Psalms of Thomas, were paraphrases and even word-for-word translations of Mandaic originals; prosody and phrase offering proof that the Manichaean was the borrower and not vice-versa. It was therefore suggested that at an early stage Mandaeanism was contemporary with Mandaeans and that the writer of the psalms was steeped in Mandaean literature.

It is worthy of note that the Haran Gawaiہ speaks of ‘Nasoraeans’ Nasoraeans, rather than ‘Mandai Mandai’ Mandaeans. In the ritual literature of the sect the term “Nasoraean” is used to describe the priest, and “Mandaeans” the layman. ‘Mandai Mandaita Mandaita’ is the state of the layman, ‘Nasiruta Mas’ that of the priest, the adept. This being so, may not ‘Mandai’ be a form of ‘Manda’ “Mede” rather than a derivation from the non-Mandaic word ‘manda’ meaning “gnosis”? Not only is there no instance of ‘manda’ being used for the word “knowledge” or “gnosis” in Mandaeans writings, but it is employed in a totally different sense as denoting the cult-hut and enclosure. As will be seen, the Haran Gawaiہ trustworthy or not, states that in the highlands of Media there were Nasoraeans, and that it was to these that the persecuted disciples of John fled from Jerusalem.

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

¹ Die Vorgeschichte der Christlichen Taufe, R. Reitzenstein (Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, 1929). For an inscription referring to a baptized sect found in the Haran see op. cit. p. 18 and note.
² E.g. G. Widengren, Ivan Engell, etc. See also Reitzenstein op. cit. pp. 48-9.
⁴ Jews are an example of this confusion of race and religion. There are black Jews in India and Abyssinia and fair, snub-nosed Jews coming from Eastern Europe; yet all are “Jews”.

¹ Mandaeans are called Sâbiyân 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 Mandean literature, and Ado's journey south into Mesene may be a distortion of the Mandean migration into Khuzistan and Lower Mesopotamia.

I have two copies of the Haran Gawaiia: one, copied in 1088 A.H. forms the eighth section of a very long scroll entitled Al\' Trisar Siuilia (D. C. 36). The first seven parts represent a Mandean 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 Al\' Trisar Siuilia, D. C. 6, which like scroll Code Sabeen 16 in the Biblioth\'eque Nationale, Paris, has no eighth part). My other copy of the Haran Gawaiia (D. C. 9) appears to have been detached from a copy of the Al\' Trisar Siuilia, for the copyist writes:

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

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

---

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... often as light in pigmentation as northern Europeans... the Subba are distinguished from all other peoples in Iraq by the quantity of head, face and body hair." And on p. 310: "a definite number of the Subbas can be classified as members of the Iranian Plateau race." Dr. Field's research was the more valuable because the Subbas (Mandaean) 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 Mandean 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 Al\' Trisar Siuilia.


---

1 I have discovered no copy in European libraries.
HARAN GAWAITA

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

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

My Lord be praised. In the name of the Great Life, healing, vindication, health, soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins be there for me, Zakia Zihrun, son of Sadria, and far my offspring and brothers (and sisters), and for my parents, in the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat-Hila. Final.

And Haran Gawain 

a receives him and that city in which there were Naṣoraens, because there was no road for the Jewish rulers. Over them was King Arūban. And sixty thousand Naṣoraens abandoned 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 (bimandias) 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 Thus D.C. 36. D.C. 9 begins "This is the Diwan of Haran Gawain" and the copyist gives his name as Ram Zihrun son of Malha.

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

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

* In both manuscripts 'ṣura ḫ Mīlāi'.

1 'alma ḫ akālīn'. Unusual; one would expect 'akālīn'.

* In D.C. 36 this is plainly 'marb ḫ Aḏuān'. "the lord of A".

* ḫ layālīb', "not given", i.e. not begotten by her husband?

* Later in the manuscript; Mary is called Mariān.

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

3 'unáṣabīl ḫ 'kīla mn jalāg, ḫ 'kīla'. The passage is obscure. I take it to refer to the sacramental meal eaten for the "sanctifying" of the soul ("kīla" = "food", "a meal"). The first half of the sentence might also mean "he took the mysteries of the food therewith."
from the Food. And he took to himself a people and was called by the name of the False Messiah. And he perverted them all and made them like himself who perverted words of life and changed them into darkness and even perverted those accounted Mine. And he overturned all the rites. And he and his brother dwell on Mount Sinai, and he joineth all races to him, and perverteth and joineth to himself a people, and they are called Christians.

... and from Nisrāt (Nazareth), a city of the Jews, which is called the city of Qum4...

...because it is a shrine; for Mercury founded a community in Qum, and Saturn founded a community in Sinai...

... (Jews were settled?) in the Arab region which is called Basra, which is (also) called Susa-Zaba4...

...one. The First Life conceived a plan for gaining a grasp in order to destroy the mysteries of Adonai from the seas and to destroy the plot of Ruha and Adonai which came (mandated) from the House of Ruha; to ruin the scheme of Ruha, before the presence of the great Father of Glory and to propagate the mysteries (of the Great Life?)...

1. Cf. the Syriac ụn. I have not found this place name in any other Mandean text.

2. Qum 9, P.S. Supp. "Qum, W. of Hamadan and 80 kilometres NNW of Kālan." Does this fragment mean that Jews had named some settlement in this area after Nazareth?

3. ụnista in Mandean usually applies to the cult-hat in the sacred area; hence "sanctuary." "shrine.

4. D.C. 9 has 'Suza' and D.C. 10 'Susa-Zaba'. The former means "River of Reeds" and the latter "River of the End." Both would be applicable to the Shatt-al-Abār, which is the stream formed by the Tigris and Euphrates after they have joined at Qurna. This river opens after the port of Bāra'ah into the Persian Gulf. The lower part of the former province of Bāra'ah 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-j-Qudā (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 Mandean texts as the sun-god worshipped by the Jews. Yahu never figures as a Jewish deity but is named often in exorcism and magic.

9. I have ventured to think that 'tsarábêl' (in both texts) is an early mísaooying of 'sarábâ' "to propagate," Sarâbiêl, a fertility spirit, is mentioned later in the narrative.

---

...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 Nishâb, 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...

...Madaî, which Ruha and her seven sons could not reach because on it (were people who belonged?) to Hibīl-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 Kušâ, 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 Anûš-Uthra came by command of the great Father of Glory and they came before Hibīl-Ziwa by command of the great Father of Glory and travelled over deserts towards Mount Sinai and proceeded... towards a community called Ruha's that is situated near the place where the Ark was built (...)?

---

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

2. Kušâ (Right, Right-dealing, Truth) is personified by the Mandaens, and resembles the Persian 'Akā'. See p. 17 n. 5.

3. D.C. 9 has 'manā' for 'mānā'.

4. Judges by the context the words preceding 'Madaî' were 'tāra dā'.

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


7. The text has 'd' in both copies, but the particle is meaningless.
and she will be a deliverer (midwife) to the child 2 into Parwan 3, the white mountain, an earthly place. And (in?) that place the fruit and sky are large. There (growth) the Tree which nourisheth infants. And they took back Su'nai the little to a (?) place so that when they should perform a living baptism to purify the child, the apostle of Kuša, Yahiya-Yuhana...

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

Mandaean baptism says, 'Shīl bmnashuta 3 Bihram rba br rurba 4 Thou art baptised with the baptism of the great Bihram, son of the mighty.' Bihram's name is pronounced at the ritual submersion of polluted vessels. Bihram is the Avestan and Iranian Viṣṇu, the genius of victory; but perhaps the Bihram mentioned at baptism is a human Bihram.

1. She probably refers to the child Su'nai, who must have been named in a missing passage as the midwife.
2. D. C. 9 has 'yardna' for 'ya'da'. 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.
3. Parwan. In the Dvako d Yahiya it is related that at the birth of John, the Jews, furious at the great messianic child, sought to destroy him. "When Anuš-Uthra heard this, he took the child and brought it to Parwan the white mountain upon which sucklings and babes are reared upon 'mambanja' (sacramental water). Liithisarii thinks (J. B. p. 116, note 3) that Parwan Tura must be identical with another mountainous district often referred to as Tarwan. It is worthy of note that the five-day feast of purification in the spring is called Parwanata by Mandaens.
4. The sentence is corrupt. In the two passages where this phrase occurs (see below) 'rbza' is singular. The sky or firmament is never called "large" elsewhere. It probably was "fruit and crops" or something of the kind.
5. Mandaens believe that children who die before baptism, are converted to a pleasant limbo where they suck the milky fruit of a tree called 'lana d mbraja yanqa'. There is a picture of this tree in the Dvako Abatur (Studi c Testi, 151).
6. Literally "showed forth".
7. A corrupt or mutilated sentence. 'Haiya' (living), the fem. of 'haia', means also "midwife. The sentence probably meant originally that the midwife, Su'nai, 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.
8. D. C. 9 has 'tura d madai'; D. C. 38 here and in another passage 'tura d midai'. See p. 5, n. 4.
9. Bihram (called Behram and Bahram by modern Mandaens) might be the founder of Mandaean baptism-rites. When immersion takes place, the mountains. And they took Bihram from the Median hills and went: (to Parwan) and performed baptism and baptised the child beside the Tree that nourisheth nurslings. And (when) he was seven years old, Anuš-Uthra came and wrote for him the A, Ba, Ga, Da, ... and, until he was twenty years old, he taught him about all nasıketu 2.

...then, at the command of the great Father of Glory he set the crown on him 5 and seated him beside himself, until they came to the city of Jerusalem amongst the community which Ruha founded... all belonged to her and to her seven sons except (those from?) the Median hills, Aharan 6...

... Hibi-Ziwa, of the Median hills, upon which they wandered from mountain to mountain... mountain to the city of the Nəṣrənians is a distance of six thousand parasangs; it is called the enclav (Hdara) of Hibi-Ziwa... Then Yahiya-Yuhana took the Jordan and the Medicine Water (Life)... and he cleansed lepers, opened (the eyes) of the blind and lifted the broken (maimed) to walk on their feet... by the strength of the lofty King of Light -- praised be his Name!... and gave speech and hearing to all who sought (him).

And he was called in the world "envoy of the High King of Light" -- praised be his Name! -- (5) at the (very) abode and building of Ruha and Adonai and her seven sons.

And he taught disciples and proclaimed the Call of the Life in the fallen House (Temple?). Forty-two years (he dwelt) therein, and then his Transplanter 8 looked upon him and he arose with his Transplanter, praised be his name!... and a time arrived, sixty years after Yahiya-Yuhana had departed the body... the Jews, just as...
hence, after sixty years. Ruha and Adonai planned to erec... 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 Anush-Uthra, the Head of the Age, and shed their blood so that not a man of the disciples and Nasoraeans 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 Anush-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 two mountains of a gorge and there was a road. And Ruha brought those (Jews?) over Suf-Zaba. And she built them, and pressed out for them clay brick that is sacred, and constructed a building and they set up for it column after column of falsehood; and raised up each (fallen) column, and Darkness was formed therefrom, and they settled (therein) the Jews, who sinned and caused havoc... (The new Jerusalem had) three walls, of which each was removed from its fellow, and he teacheth about them... And Ruha surrounded the latter Jerusalem of the Jews (with these walls) and then... Ruha, the Jews, and they could not remove the walls from tham... Then Anush-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 Anush-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 Anush-Uthra and said to him: 'Go down into Media and take seven shafts, that is seven darts, and go and pronounce (magie) words over them. And take with thee seven guards from Mount Parvan and take for them bows and they shall speak over them seven (magie) 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 nasbi... 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 Anush-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 kingly 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..., Chosen Elect, summoned

1 This word in the plural means "banks" or "the dry ground beside water". Cf. a passage in the Ginzia Rha 4 shaq irigh 4 "it leapt its banks".

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

3 Abatur Muzania weighs departed souls in his scales; Abatur Rama is his heavenly counterpart.

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

5 Read *bnatam* for *bnalun*.

6 The besieged Jews?

7 The besieging host; Romans?
The expression 'šārīa taqna' or 'širāa taqna' has a wide application ('taqna' = firm, true, reliable, orthodox, 'širāa = root, basis, source, foundation). It can therefore be applied to the Mandaeans, faith, race or stock, or to a piece of orthodox literature, and in general is often used when referring to the community, as in Christian literature the word 'Church' (D. C. 9 has mistakenly 'wa' before 'taqna').

3 The word 'žītara' also means 'warning' or 'admonition' and as soon as referring to the liturgy indicates that at certain passages names of deceased persons are to be inserted.

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

5 Litziński translated 'bihiria zidqa' as 'Manner von erprobter Er-richtigkeit'. I have paraphrased by using a religious phrase expressive of the meaning.

6 'Yurba', a spirit associated with the sun. The purgatory of Šamīn (the sun), is that to which those of other religions are sent (See Diego Abatur p. 30; Studi e Testi, 161).

7 Here 'kings' probably means 'priests'. See p. 7 note 3.

8 Unbracketed words in italics are a gloss.

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-Ynhana taught, and amongst the Nasoraeans some from the first planting of kings from the beginning, middle and end; (yes) there: are some amongst the Nasoraeans at the latter end of the age, for they go on, as may be filled, and Nasoraeans of the end of the age are amongst their descendants. (But) from the Root of those disciples of Yahia-Ynhana 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) two hundred and eighty years have passed since some of the sons of those disciples
of Yahia-Yuhanan went forth, so that Ruha comeath 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, (sons of?) the Jews, Jerusalem of the Jew, Ruha caused them to obey the mysteries of the body, and (so) they fell away from purity (the pure doctrine).

I will tell you, (Ove) 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 accompanyeth 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, Naosoraans, 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 Surhib-Surba, who is his spouse, to the city of Tib, called locally the City of Aganda because of all that was done (during) his rule in Baghdad. (For) Aganda (dwelt?) in Tib; it was his native place; and it was called the city of Sganda (also) because in it there were Naosoraans and rišamis (ethnoraans). And there was one rišama called Qiql.

1. D. C. 9 has 'aštēl'. The imperfect tense is used; I have substituted the Perfect throughout.
2. D. C. 9 has ‘aštēl’. The Imperfect tense is used; I have substituted the Perfect throughout.
3. 'Surib'. Possibly a composite word from the root ṣRbḥ 'to propagate' and /¥V 'evil'.
4. 'Sganda' or 'Aganda' as sometimes used as a 'malvaris' name (see p. 10 n. 1). The child or youth of priestly family who assists priests during rituals is called an 'asganda' or 'Sganda' (Semuirian, 'as-ganda' = 'minister, messenger, Acaadian 'asgandu').
5. 'Malakut'. I.e. Aganda's term of office as head of the root.
6. A 'gal sma' = 'head of the people') is a higher in rank than a 'ganzibra'. The grade is now obsolete.

And Adonai sent Surhib-Surba into this world, and said to her, 'Go, appear to Qigil of the Naosoraans 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 Naosoraans will turn to us'.

And Ruha-Surbā, wife of Adonai, went and dwelt upon (entered into) Qigil of the Naosoraans 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 parchement and reed-pen, so write a Root of Life and a Saying and a Mystery, and disseminate (them) send (them) forth and act in mystery with them. For the Life hath sent me and I have come to thee.'

Thereupon Qigil brought parchement and reed-pen and wrote and distributed (doctrine emanating) from Ruha, whilst his understanding was reft from him. So schism ensued amongst the Naosoraans 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 wards and revoked phylacteries (scrolls) of her construction and which that had been taught to him by Ruha, for every writing that he had by him of those writings (dictated) by Ruha, he burnt in the fire. And he sent to the Naosoraans and candidates for priesthood (saying): 'Bring the writings which I give (gave) you; burn them with fire, for she (Ruha) deluded me and I knew not from whom she came'. And he took away his writing from such Naosoraans 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 'aštēl' for 'aitit'; D. C. 9 has 'aštēl' ('there exists').
2. D. C. 36 has 'aštēl' for 'aitit'; D. C. 9 has 'aštēl' ('there exists').
3. For 'magalta ulīlā' (parchment and reed-pen) both 'has have' 'magalta ulīlā' (' Cf. 'magalta ulīlā' 'lash and whip').
4. Cf. 'magalta ulīlā' (parchment and reed-pen) both 'has have' 'magalta ulīlā' ('lash and whip').
5. The title or titles of some heretical composition?
6. 'Araqātān', learners, neophytes, are candidates for priesthood during the time of their instruction and initiation.
7. 'Araqātān', learners, neophytes, are candidates for priesthood during the time of their instruction and initiation.
8. Elsewhere, 'magalta' as word meaning phylacteries, talismans, written exorcisms meant to be carried on the person.
9. D. C. 9 has 'anāt nātā ili ḫādīn mn muṣl' ('Araqātan' = 'Araqātan', 'tricked me by illusion').
10. See p. 11, n. 1.
of the Jews: give it to Qiqil, and some of those 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. (O ye Nasoraeans) that shall exist at the end of the last age, I exhort you, be firm and act according to this book—the name it 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 ('8 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, Idumaeans, Jewish, Hurdabaians and Dibilaleans 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 Hurdabaians (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 Trivias Suliaia, 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 ('Hiia Rbia) which is plural (the All-Father), or it may be "fathers" (ancestors).

3 'Siga' (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.

Dumaia, Edomites, Idumaeans. (See Dwan Abatur, Studia et Testi, No. 151, p. 45).

Hurdabaians. The 'Hardbaians', 'Hurdbaians', 'Hirdubaians', 'Hurdulaia', or 'Ardbaiia' ('those that seek strife') are mentioned often in Mandaean texts. It is evident that the Sasanians are meant, since their rule followed that of the Parthians in Babylonia. The term seems to be applied also to the inhabitants of Persis.

Dibilaleia. This appears to be a mistranslation of the 'Dilmala', i.e. the inhabitants of the ancient Dailam (see Siraj Malawata, Luzac, London, 1949, p. 207).

5 See p. 8, n. 2.

6 Mandaeans, see p. 10, n. 8.

7 As before, (see p. 0, n. 4) read "Babylonia -- for "Baghdad".

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

Then, when this had taken place, in time there came (one) Anus, called the son of Danqa, from the uplands of the Arsacia from (to?) the city of Baghdad bishu six kings of the planting of Artabanus, and brought in his own, belonging to Muhammad, son of Abdallah son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, when he was seven hundred years old.

And he took him from his city to Sus-Zaha which is called Basrah, and showed him the hill-country of the Persians (unto) the city of Baghdad. And Anus ('Uthra) instructed the Son-of-Slaughter, as he had instructed hug-son-of Danqa, about this book (compiled) by his fathers, upon which all kings of the Nasoraeans stood firm. And a list of kings is in this book, which teacheth (chroniclet) from Adam, king of the world, unto King Artabanus, in the year of Anus-son-of-Danqa, who were (all) of the Chosen Root. Then he told him about the king of the Arduibaia (Sasanians); about all he sought to do and (of) his connection with the children of the

---

1 Sasanians ruled from A. D. 226-638 (see Nödeke, Tabari, p. 436).
2 The author uses continuously the historic present.
3 Presumably Hibil-Ziwa. He is supposed to be the narrator.
4 I have not identified this place name.
5 See p. 14, n. 7.
6 Or 'bishu'. I have come across no such word hitherto. The whole passage is unintelligible. Should it be 'banus' ("with Anus") meaning that Anus-Danqa was accompanied by his namesake, the spirit Anus-'Uthra?
7 D. C. 9 has "Arabs".
8 The obscure paragraph in square brackets must be corrupt. I can make nothing of it.
9 See p. 14, n. 7.
10 The "Book" here probably refers to the Gincu Rha, which contains a list of Parthian rulers.
11 See p. 10.
12 D. C. 9 has mistakenly 'Arbainia' (Arabs). I have followed the older text.
13 Were 'kibis', "conquest", "subjection" here, it would not be followed by 'or'. (cf. M. J. p. 630).
great Nation of Life, in order that they (the Moslems) should not harm the Naoreans who lived in the era of his government.

Thus did Anas-son-of-Damra 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 his 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 miscellaneous about the Great Life which were in libraries and in my possession. I went round to all the Naorean 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 until 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 testifieth thereto and is enlightened. But when a foolish person heareth these trustworthy words his mind groweth dark and he doth not appreciate them, nor can (such a person) discern that they are pure sayings. And (their) colours die away from his mind like a burgeoning plant (jadeth) and the mot from which it appeared.

1. A play on words such as Mandaeans love. 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 'qiliba' — penetrated (mysteries) — and 'qadaha' — those who penetrate deeply (into hidden meanings).

2. Qadadah (C. J. p. 318). "One able to enter into the depth of a Biblical subject." I have translated freely in order to convey the sense.

3. This passage is a faulty paraphrase of sentences in (a) Alf Tseri Swuludia and (b) Genna Rba, left side, viz. (a) snat ltagall 'l 'utria biliia di masiliiku irisq dīlan ulayidqan mahu amrika (Reveal nothing to foolish 'ulama' who will bring our mysteries into contempt and know not what they say); (b) Katma 4 mitgal ulaissh. Imuta saim Iqdamb. Shinh uit tiglata (He that assembles and ourself Death layeth up for himself sixty-six causes of stumbling). See G. R. p. 425.

4. Some such sentences must have occurred here; as it stands, the passage is contradictory.

5. Katma 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 severs his right hand to his lips and kisses it. In Mandaean literature, Katma is often personified. See p. 5, n. 2.

6. Literally "when his measure is complete"; i.e. "when his time (to die) has come." D. C. 36 'Kalimah', D. C. 9 'Kalimah'.

7. The Great Life (see p. 14, n. 3). The verb is in the singular.
to these teachings about orthodox procedure \(^1\) belongeth to the portion of the lofty and great King of Light, and hell-beasts \(^2\) and purgatory demons have no power over him.

And then Hibil-Ziwa — praised be his name! — taught Naqoraean 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 Naqoraean; purity \(^3\) 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) \(^4\), (but), amongst Naqoraean, he that is steadfast in and holdeth to these teachings and this great revelation will rise up by the path of believers and will behold the great Countenance of Glory.

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

\(^1\) 'Tuqna', see p. 16, n. 6. (Much of the Al Tisar Suiatia is concerned with the proper performance of rituals, with purificatory rites etc.).

\(^2\) See Dicca Abyatur, p. IS., notes 4 and 6.

\(^3\) Read 'dukia.

\(^4\) The sentence seems incomplete.

\(^5\) 'Mnawatb baia miikal', 'seeketh to accomplish its allotted portions'.

\(^6\) Mandaeans have a belief, founded on astrology, that the stars allot a certain period to Arab rule and religion. The great epochs and ages of the world are governed by certain stars and constellations, and by spirits of Light or Darkness according to the period allotted to each.

\(^7\) D. C. 7 has 'tm' for 'tna'.

\(^8\) 'akil tin malkia' (Af. of KUL or KIL = (a) to measure, compute, (b) to complete, finish, to endure for, last). Here doubtful. "Two reigns?"

\(^9\) A commentary on the prayer 'Tububim' (see M. L. p. 131) has "And where it said 'Take away, cast off, remove and bring to naught angels of wrath, and hail from the land and house of the son of N.', these are the four mysteries, blood, gall, wind and mucus; they are the angels of wrath — lee, hail 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 Baha Rba (D. C. 41).

\(^10\) The word 'taz' 'mystery' is especially applied to ritual meals consumed in the name of the dead.

\(^11\) 'Tuqna', see p. 18, n. 1, and p. 16, n. 6.

\(^12\) 'Sita' has several meanings: (a) purification, cleansing, (b) lucidity, clearness, (c) gushing-out, pouring forth, coming in abundance.

\(^13\) D. C. 9 has 'sgarbal baia bhusa'. D. C. 36 'sgarbal bhusa'.

\(^14\) See note 3.

\(^15\) Cf. Ginza Rba (left side): "It will happen that the false Messiah will come and become lord of the whole world... From East to West he will come 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.

\(^16\) D. C. 36 mlaga aina; D. C. 9 'mlggia aina'. Be. 'holodem agra'.

\(^17\) 'Migra' (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.

Hibil-Ziwa taught: "When the Messiah hath returned, ascending to the sky — and his reign will last six thousand years — he will ascend and assume his first body. From that epoch until worlds' end, wickedness will depart from the world; that which issued from the earth will enter the earth and that which descended from the sky will return and enter the sky. And there will be righteous 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 performcircumcision; they will be converted and Nasoreans 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 if the sword brought by the Son 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.

(Prose), there will be righteous people and government will revert to sons of the Great Family of Life, and they will be diligent and have the ascendance. (But) kings bring accusation against the age, just as the Root of Nasoreans reprove it, for, before all (else) they cared for agriculture and gladdened the king (the)? 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 (speak one language), 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.

Hibil-Ziwa explained (further): "When (these) portents occur and the time hath came; those fifty thousand years will be my allotted portion, mine, Yawar-Ziwa's, because the first age was (the age of) Annus-Uthra and its consummation (or 'development') was bestowed upon me, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa's. Then the latter part of the age and the decadence and end of the world will be given to Mamit the Least-of-her-Brethren; (her portion) followeth my portion, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa's.

Thus the latter end of the age and the decadence and final end of the world is given to Mamit daughter of Qin, the mother of the Seven (who?) occupied seven portions, and the eighth was given to Amamit as hers, for her own.' And, as the utter end of light meaneth 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).

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

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

1. D. C. 36 has 'zibina' for 'šinia'.
2. Pa. of SQM (to complete, make perfect, consummate, develop).
3. 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' (mam) = 'death', 'pestilence'.
4. 'Ahi = Geschwister, i.e. both brothers and sisters.
5. Qin = a queen in the underworld.
6. Thiat = Ethapa. BU. A to produce, bring about, result in.
7. D. C. 9 has 'šufulta' for 'šūlulta'.
9. Habšaba 'the First Day of the Week' is personified by Mandaeans as a saviour-spirit.
10. See p. 20, n. 1.
and the Messiah, Habshah will not be his helper, and he will not be delivered out of the hands of the sons of Ehrir."

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 Divan of Gadana Rabban 1. 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 Nagoreana, dust beneath the feet of the pious and least amongst my fellow gamziri 3. 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-Brihia son of Rabbi Adam-Zakia son of Rabbi Brhia, 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 Divan belonging to the great, lofty and respected one, 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 4 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 Mandaean 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.

1 See pp. 67-8 and Translator's note.

---

1 Gad was the Babylonian god of good fortune, to whom even Jewish exiles paid tribute. 'Gadana' = "fortunate, auspicious" or "divine," "godlike".
2 S. = Saka', termus, end.
3 A 'ganzمرا' is a rank above 'tarma' 'priest'.
4 A break.
5 I.e., a year which began on a Friday.
6 A "tarma" appears to have been a three-walled chamber, the open side of which fronted an outer courtyard or private garden.
7 That is, his 'malawak': see p. 10 n. 1.
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 masiqa 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 Alwaq 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 obmemeration.
6 The "Great Baptism" (i.e. 360 baptisms) can no longer be performed.
When Hibil-Ziwa, "son of Manda-\textit{d}-Hiia," descended into the seven worlds of darkness to perform tasks undertaken at the behest of the world of light, he incurred deep pollution through his contact with that which was dark, evil and gross. Owing to this, he was unable to return when his work was completed. The spirits of light made anxious enquiry about him, and a \textit{masigita} 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 \textit{zida brika} and a baptism had been performed: How these were celebrated by sixty "kings", utras ¹ and mighty spirits of light is described in the ritual manuscript here translated.

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

For some of the hymns and part of the ritual I found parallels in another ritual manuscript in my collection. This scroll, D. C. 50, is entitled \textit{Sara\textit{d}-d-Masbuta Rabtia d h'tlatma w\textit{d}thin masbutila} (a. commentary on the Great Baptism, which is three hundred and sixty-bapism) and its copyist was the same priest who copied D.C. 35. Comparison was helpful, especially for the hymns, of which there are usually several versions. These hymns ("\textit{niania}") 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 Mandaean priest who could explain or translate satisfactorily any obscure passage, although most can render a simple sentence with fair accuracy into Arabic. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, if hymns long transmitted, often orally, exist in several forms; and the only manner in which one can arrive at an approximate estimate of their meaning is to compare versions and to refer to similar hymns in the collection of liturgical hymns known as the "\textit{niania}".

The illustrations to the text are drawn according to convention. No Mandaean draughtsman, however accomplished, would dream of portraying a spirit (an utra or \textit{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 \textit{Zidga Brika} (Blessed Oblation). Unlike the \textit{masigita}, it is celebrated outside the cult-hut or sanctuary, although within the sacred precincts of the \textit{mandli}. It takes place beneath the sky. It entails the previous slaughter of a sheep by a ritional slaughterer, accompanied by the usual formulae for a slaughter, and some of the meat is eaten as an ordinary midday repast in an interval after the \textit{masigita} by priests who have performed that long and exhausting ceremony. The tail-fat (\textit{liyak}) is considered a delicacy in Iran and 'Iraq, and gobbets of tail-fat are put with other sacred foods upon the ritual table \textit{fari\textit{a}} ² at the \textit{Zidga Brika} performed in the name of a dead or polluted person. In the illustrations the fat is portrayed as a miniature sheep. It is worth remembering that an 'offering of sheep's fat or goat fat was formerly consumed at the Parsi ritual meal celebrated for the dawn of the third day after death (See MMII, p. 228). The importance of myrtle and its ritual inhalation recalls the Zoroastrian \textit{barzom}. Finally, it should be noted that not once during the baptism is there mention of John the Baptist.

\textbf{Note}

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

¹ Neither Lajzarski nor De Morgan had access to a complete collection of the "\textit{niania}". The word means "response", i.e. recitations in antiphon.

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

Praising my Lord with a pure mouth.

In the name of the Great First Sublime (strange) Life, from souls of light abounding, who is above all works! Health and vindication, strength and soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins be there for me, Yahia-Bihram son of Hawa-Simat and for my father Adam-Yahana son of Mahnaa, and for my mother Hawa-Simat daughter of Malicha, and for my teacher Ram-Zihrun son of Malicha, and for my wife Sarat daughter of Sara-Simat, and for my other wife, Mamania daughter of Hawa, and for my offspring, Anhar, Ewa-Mamania, Yahia, Bihram and Mhatam, Sara's children; and, Sam, Mamania's son; and for my brethren (brothers and sisters), Adam-Yahana, Sarat-Mamania, Sam-Saiyar, Qaimat and Mudalal, the children of Hawa-Simat; and for all souls of priests and, gansizbra, if treasurers and chiefs and heads of the people who (are 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 for ever, and Life is victorious over all works.

1. Now ye shall know, O my brethren that succeed us, that this is a Tiwan (roll, a composite document), that I, who am poor, lowly and striving amongst my brother-priests, copied from the manuscript, of Rabbi Yahia-Yahana son of Adam-Zihrun. He was a gansizbra. He said: I copied from the manuscript of Rabbi Zihrun son of Adam-Yahana. 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 sign (I), Yahia-Bihram, transcribed all that was written, through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hia. Finis.

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

Thus is the doctrine of Tawar, and it causeth the minds and hearts of kings at his right hand to dwell on the wisdom of Hibil-Ziwa and drink thereof in serenity. Finis.

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

Then the King of all worlds of light took him into his inner Abode of Light and baptised him in three hundred and sixty jordans; sealed him with three hundred and sixty seals of light, clothed him in three hundred and sixty robes of light, transferred to him three hundred and sixty škinsas and bestowed on him three hundred and sixty jordans and streams. And (in) each škinwa there were five thousand utthras who rejoice and give joy-cries for Hibil-Ziwa. And He conferred upon him the great mystery which issueth from Him daily and bestowed on him a banner, Bihram, from which three hundred and sixty darting rays of light go forth when he utfuteth it, thereby illuminating all the worlds, and confounding the powers of darkness by its might; (yea) they are unable to gaze at the brilliance of the appearance of the banner given to Hibil-Ziwa; on the contrary, when they see its flashing they are spellbound, and a terror of spirit on account of Hibil-Ziwa overwhelmed...
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 predestination being that was destined to be. Act and achieve! The Great Life hath called thee; all that thou dost 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-Makkiel” was graven thereon. (Then) a third, its name was “Zarziel-th guardeth him”; a secret name was graven thereon. The fourth seal, “Great Light” was graven thereon, a secret name. 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 from all kings of darkness. And it gave him nine hundred and ninety skijana (and its) eight hundred thousand ustras who read recitations (or “books”) and teach lucid doctrines. And in all the worlds of darkness they rejoice and welcome Hibil-Ziwa.

They gave him nine thousand booths (1); 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, (yea) 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 one, and gave him the banner Bihram which was created from the Great Fruit-Tree so that all worlds that behold it shine in its light and rejoice. And vestments that came from the Fruit-of-Radiance were created for him. And they gave him seven ritual staves, each staff 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 Yahmari-il, the name of the second Hāthmīil, the name of the third staff Zarzīil, the name of the fourth staff Slāmil, the name of the fifth staffs Zarzīil, the name of the sixth staff Sam-Ziwa and the name of the seventh staff Stargan-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 Ga’f begot, seeketh to strive against the world to which he can lay no claim. What sayest thou?”

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

---

1 A scribe’s error; read (for ‘šakila’) ‘šakila’ (‘guards’). Ḡgawithn is probably an insertion inspired by misoportunism of ‘šakila’. The sentence should read: gave him 9,000 guards who praised and talked about his deeds.
2 Ṣakala meaning “booth of twigs” occurs in the wedding hymns.
3 Šar = “it was firm”. See G. R. p. 62, also J. B. p. 6.
4 Krun or Akrun. See p. 20, n. 2.
5 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.
6 The reference is to Ur, the giant son of Ruha (see G. R. p. 167, 171). Ruha was the wife of Ga’f son Gaf, and became the paramour of her son ’Ur. ’Ur was rebellious and planned revolt against the celestial worlds. See also p. 4, n. 7.
7 Manda-d-Hiil is the father of Hibil-Ziwa; read “Hibil” for “Manda”.
8 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 Hiil is an abstract plural.
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 demigod, creator of the material world: also called the Fourth Life.

The reference seems to be to a section of the manuscript that is now missing. Knowledge of Manichean myths helps 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 Uf (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 physical and physical Eve. Hence, the visit of Hibil-Ziwa to the world of darkness resulted eventually in the creation of the material world of humanity. Ruha and Eve being female, and Ptahil and Adam male.

See p. 33, n. 7.

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

When Hibil-Ziwa opened the letter sent to that darkness in which he was (detained) he arose and set out; but the kings of darkness, nor is their appearance radiant like that of the uras, the children of light? My Parents will not now desire to have them in Their presence!

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

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

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

So word came to Manda-d-Hiia: "Arise, write a Letter of Kușta and furnish it with a seal and send it to Hibil-Ziwa".

(Then) Manda-d-Hiia went to the abode of the Primal Mana, and arrayed himself in seven coverings, which are rites and reliable sayings, and he brought it (the Letter) and placed it in the hand of Šarhabi'll, and brought (also) a new phial of pure crystal. Then, when it was in his hand, Manda-d-Hiia gave his hand to Šarhabi'll in kușta, and they sent the Letter to Hibil-Ziwa by him; as ha (Hibil) was in the world of Gaf.

When Hibil-Ziwa opened the letter sent to that darkness in which he was (detained) he arose and set out; but the kings of darkness...
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 Sarhabili 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-iiia, became aware thereof, leaving with him (to seek) the presence of the powerful Great Mana. To Him he said 4 Read quickly a masiga for Hibil-Ziwa so that he may rise up and come from the seven worlds of darkness! 4

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

Thereupon Kanat spoke and said to Him: "The King that hath visited thee (saith?) that we should read a masiga like unto that mystery that we sent to thee."

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

So He, the Good Mana, for (the sake of) Yuzataq-Manda-d-iiia, pronounced this speech: "Arise, (my) sons, have compassion, (ye) kings of the maskna! 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 masiga 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; 6 build a sanctuary (maskna) and assemble a congregation, and bring uttras who are brothers of Ayar-Rba; they (shall be) his assistants."

Then there was a "sealing" 1 of uttras. Kings set out (with) incense, water, pihita 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 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) therein, for their guidance hence."

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

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."

---

1. I. e. preparation by ablution and consecration.
2. Bread prepared and baked for the sacrament.
3. The 2nd. person plural may be an error. If so, read "they." 4 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 bata", 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".

---

1 Read 'uqamti'ih "laid hold of him" for 'waqmii'ih "circumvented him."
2 See p. 27, note 4. The 'masiga' is, in fact, a kind of mass. The word means "a raising up", "a resurrection". Many features in this rite recall the Parsi Yasna ceremony, which is also performed for the souls of the dead and living.
3 Delete 'd'.
4 The cult-hut of the Mandaeans is called the 'maskna', or 'bit maskna', or 'bit manda'. It might be translated "sanctuary."
5 See above, p. 35, note 2.
6 It is clear that the scribe has miscopied, confused by the similarity of the words 'bm' "son" and 'bta' "to build". Read 'rhum' 'lbna' 'bne maskna', as I have translated.
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; (yea) they dwell in that place. And to that Place, 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 (beth) between Light and Darkness. But the guards that stand between Light and Darkness at the frontiers, at the gates of the Hills of Glory, (on) beholding him, were afraid of the host which accompanied him; and the guards melted (with alarm) and went into the presence of the Great Mighty King and said: “We are alarmed at a host of ships that are coming now into the Ether-World, and we know not what it be, this host and mysterious invasion that has come from the world of Darkness??!

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

Then Hibil-Ziwa called in reply to the pure Yusamin and said to him: "I am Hibil-Ziwa, that is my name, and my (father's) name is Manda-q-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 Yusamin did not return the arrow (to the quiver?) but cast it (on) the copper earth and trod them (it?) underfoot.

Thereupon they drew in the ships of Hibil-Ziwa and he went towards his parents and discourse 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 masigta for Hibil-Ziwa. They all came, and Mana-Rba-Kabira ordered them to build a Shinta 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??,

1 Read 'qara' for 'lah'.
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 'drabbah' 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 ancient teaching. Priests are taught that at death the soul passes, into the Mother, the 'mother' being Mother Earth which receives the body together with all that is physical and material which imposes the soul. The soul must therefore be reborn into a state that is purely spiritual, and 'maseba' ceremonies typify the nine months spent by the embryo in the womb of its Mother, i.e., a period of growth and development which enable it to emerge from the earthly (the 'Mother') and to be reborn as pure spirit. To put on the Father, therefore, means to assume the spiritual and immaterial; 'to cast off the Mother' or 'name of the Mother' is to lay aside all that is earthly.
7 See 'qara' in Brown, Driver and Briggs' Hebrew and English Lexicon.
8 The daily office, with which every religious service begins.
9 Literally 'movements'. 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.
10 The first line or lines of a prayer or hymn indicate the 'nican' appointed to be recited. 'Qum, qum' etc. is to be found in Mandaeo-Merian Liturgy (M. L.) p. 171.
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 Nabat-Rba, so that by means of this treasure, (and by these) prayers, baptism and Blessed Oblation of Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-\-Hiiia we may be ended 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 skin\-ta.

---

1 M. L. p. 172.
2 M. L. p. 172.
3 See above, p. 39, note 8. The next paragraph gives an example of such an insertion, as it includes the name of the chief celebrant, Ayar-Rba, and of the personage for whom the ceremonies are performed, viz. Hibil-Ziwa (each priest would also insert his own name).
4 Ayar-Rba, the spirit who plays the part of chief celebrant throughout, is sometimes called Ayar-Ziwa. "Ayar", "Ether", thus personified, corresponds closely to the Iranian deity Vayuh (Aether), and to Vayun "the Good", according to E. W. West (Sacred Books of the East, 60 vols. Oxford : xxxvii, 224, note) a personification of the upper air.
5 "Treasure" often refers to the sacraments of food, drink, myrtle, incense etc. The word "ginza" also means "rite" or anything which is holy and valuable, e.g. holy scrolls and books.
6 I.e. performed for the benefit of Hibil-Ziwa, and incidentally for the benefit of all who partake in the sacraments.
7 I.e. each priest inserts his own name.
8 M. L. p. 3.
9 This sudden change into the imperative tense is characteristic of all these ritual texts. For the crown — see p. 7, note 3.
10 M. L. p. 7.
12 M. L. p. 29.
13 M. L. p. 11.
14 M. L. p. 63. Or, "Lo, for the First Life."

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

When they had unfurled the nine banners and (laid out), nine treasures 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 six kings grasped them with their hands, seven kings grasping each banners, and the four other kings the chief banner which was brought at the head (of the procession) of kings. All of them grasped it and blessed it with those banner-hymns about which explanations have been given.

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

And when (they had recited) the Sunday prayers Early I arose from my sleep, We have purified our hands in good-faiths (ku\-\-ba), and Blessed be thy name, Ayar-Rba directed them (to recite) We have acknowledged, and praisest are (due) and To You, to Yourself, (for) those three prayers constitute the great perfecting of your baptism.

And he said to all the kings: "Burn incense, and (throughout) unto the end speak in the name of the father of your devotions, in the name of your father; (and) say: 'By this treasure, prayer, baptism and Blessed Oblation for Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-\-Hiiia 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 necessities were ranged?

2 To "open" a Jordan means to clear choked channels so that water flows freely in and out. In a heavenly Jordan, presumably, choking could not occur.

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

M. L. p. 177.
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 \textit{s\=a}\textsuperscript{1}, A 'perfected jewel am I',\textsuperscript{2} Flee and take to flight\textsuperscript{3}. When the (\textit{jordan}) was given\textsuperscript{4}, Secured and sealed\textsuperscript{5}; Through 'Us\=ar Hi\=\=a\textsuperscript{6} and the longer Secured and sealed\textsuperscript{7}; (for) those prayers are prayers which illumine these devotions and set a seal upon that baptism by sixty kings when they were delivering Hibil-Zi\=\textit{wa} 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\textsuperscript{8} and Ye are set up and raised up\textsuperscript{9}, and cast incense (\textit{on the brazier with the prayer: Riha basima lar\=\=h nisaq})\textsuperscript{10} and pronounce the insertion\textsuperscript{11} and say: 'this my soul, mine, Ayar-Rba son of N\=ba-\=\=t-Rba, for by (in) this treasure, devotional-exercise, baptism and Blessed Oblation for Hibil-Zi\=\textit{wa} son of Manda-d-Hi\=\=a 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 (\textit{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,\textsuperscript{12} Uthras rejoice at the Treasure,\textsuperscript{13} I worship Thee, my Lord,\textsuperscript{14} At the summit of the Ether,\textsuperscript{15} and At Thy name, World of Light (it should be)\textsuperscript{16} because that great and lofty gate of light\textsuperscript{17} inspireth you and giveth you help for that baptism of Hibil-Zi\=\textit{wa} son of Manda-d-Hi\=\=a (celebrated) by sixty kings; and giveth you authority over the sign of the jordan which Yawar, at

your right, passeth through\textsuperscript{1} for you. (\textit{Pra})these (\textit{prayers}) perfect your devotions and your treasure, and purify your names. And when ye recite Blessed and praised is the Life\textsuperscript{2} Yawar-Rba son of N\=ba-\=\=t-Rba hearkeneth (?) far that moment the mighty powers of darkness fear you. And Hibil-Zi\=\textit{wa} 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\textsuperscript{3}, 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 N\=ba-\=\=t-Rba there shall be forgiving of Sin by this treasure, devotional prayer, baptism and Blessed Oblation for Hibil-Zi\=\textit{wa}, in which we (to) 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\textsuperscript{5} for at that moment Hibil-Zi\=\textit{wa}'s parents commemorate him and he commemorateth his parents. (And say:)\textsuperscript{6} Forgiving of sins be there for Yusu\=\=min-Dakia (the pure) son of Shaq-Rba\textsuperscript{7} for Yusu\=\=min-Dakia blesseth you and his brilliance and light cover you. (And say:)\textsuperscript{8} Forgiving of sins be there for Abatur son of Bharam-Rba, and for Habalba

\textsuperscript{1} m\textsuperscript{ararl\=\textit{kun}' from \textsuperscript{S\=a}RR (3) to make a way, pass through: hence the meaning here is that Yawar (Hibil-Zi\=\textit{wa}) by passing through the baptism by sixty celebrants, establishes a precedent, and sets a pattern for future baptism of the kind.

\textsuperscript{2} Two hymns have this opening line: M. L. pp. 103 and 105. They are known as the "lesser" and the "greater" in order to distinguish them.

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

\textsuperscript{4} The meaning is that the priests celebrating partake of the benefits and share in the blessings of the sacraments.

\textsuperscript{5} 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, being famous in legend and tradition, liturgists and priests whose names were inserted when the prayer was composed. Then the celebrant adds the names of recently dead persons. See MMII pp. 219-222.

---

7. M. L. p. 44.
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 "\textit{zha\=\=a}" ("injunction").
17. Prayer is the "gate of light". 
and Kana-Ḳidqa son of Ṣar-Rba, and (for) the twenty-four uttras cons of light; (for) Ptahil son of Pahriel-Rba, Ṣīnī son of Adam-Rba. Adam son of Ḥibil-Ziwa-Rba, Ḥawa (Eve) his wife, child of Ṣarḥabiel-Ziwa-Rba; Ram son of Ḥag-Kana, Ḥud child of Ziwa-Ganzibra, Šurbai son of... (!) and Ṣarḥabiel child of Ḥag-Kana, Šūm-Yawar-Rba son of Ṣab-Rba, Nūratī child of Yaqa, Yahia-Yihana son of Anūs-Rba and Anhar his wife child of Ṣama-Yaqa, the three hundred and sixty-five priests who left the city of Jerusalem1, and this my soul, the soul of Ayar-Rba2 son of Nbat-Rba; and this my soul, the soul of Yaḥia-Bībars-Rba son of Ḥabil-Yuḥana; the soul of my father Adam-Yuḥana son of Ṣam; the soul of my mother Ḥawa-Simāt daughter of Adam-Yuḥana; the soul of my brothers and sisters, Adam-Yuḥana, garāt-Māmanīa, Ṣam-Sarār, Ṣālim, Qāimāt and Mudālaḍ, children of Adam-Yuḥana; and the souls of Mandaean3, priests, ganṣībīrī (headpriests) and chief men of the age and heads of the people; and the chief man of our people and generation, Adam-Bul-faras4 son of Bībrām-Ḳīṣīl and Anūs-Maʾalīya son of Bīḥdaḏ; Yaḥia-Adam son of Sam-Salīwa; Bīḥad son of Zīhrūn; Bānum son of Ṣakīa; Hūnā son of Yaḥia; Yaḥia-Ramūt son of Ramūt; Ramūt son of Zīhrūn-Nūṭār; Ṣaŋdāt son of Yaḥia-Yuḥana; Šākur son of Zāzāl-Ḳairāt son of Manda-Ḳiwa', And say: 'for all people, that is, all priests and Mandaean 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 teachers 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'5.

1. A reference to the traditional exodus of the Jewish Mandaean community from Palestine.
2. Intercession for the chief celebrant.
3. The copyist inserts his own name and those of his family.
4. I. e., laymen of the Mandaean faith.
5. This Mandaean saint is credited with miracles and with defeating in argument Ṣmagīl 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. Mandaeanism was the State religion in Sassanian times.
6. Or, 'the living are established in their dwellings'.

1. pihta, the sacramental bread; 'mambuha', the sacramental water.
2. A continuation of Ayar Rba's address.
5. See p. 43, note 3.
6. Not in M. L.
7. I. e., repeat the formula 'Maṣīḥ Ḥibbā Ḥaḏma'. See p. 17, note 6.
8. The 'Great First Date-Palm' is in Mandaean literature the symbol of male fertility and the active principle of creation: its complement, the 'Aina (wellspring) represents the female principle of creation, i.e., the womb, reception, nutrition and development. When mentioning the 'Great First Date-Palm' the dates on the table should be indicated or touched.
9. Ṣdīfa παχύ (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.
10. The priest removes his 'takı' (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 Bihram-Rba, senior of all the brethren, addressed a hymn to Hibil-Yawar and said to him:

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

For ever and aye".

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 women.

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

---

1 Outer-Air: see p. 40, n. 4.
2 M is riś briś, literally "from beginning to end", "entirely", "completely", "from one end to the other", is a favourite last line in Mandaic poetry, and the words do not always suit the context. I have therefore translated them freely, and occasionally omit them.
3 "Laufa" is the act of communal eating and drinking in the name of the dead. The prescribed rite and formulae are described in MMII pp. 204 ff.
4 Laufa" and "Lofana" mean, roughly, "being united as in a bundle" i. e. communion.
5 When a Mandaean puts on his ritual dress, he touches and names every item with an appropriate formula (see MMII p. 32).

---

1 In a baptism where more than one priest baptizes a single person, the priests stand in a row (see MMII p. 176-6).
2 Lit., "set in order".
3 The "kinthas" (plur. "kinatha"), 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 "kinthas" 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".
All flock about them,
Blessing the banners with a benediction
And saying: 'Blessed be these light-giving banners
(That illumine) uthras and kings
Their radiance is shed on the jordan
And delivereth Hibil-Ziwa
From all that is perishable'’’1.

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

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

Then Ayar-Rba and all the kings with one voice entoned a hymn
to the jordan and recited When myrtle, the myrtle2;
Hear me, my father, hear me3, and:

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

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

1 ‘audia' = transitory things, things that pass away.
2  M. L. p. 146.
3  M. L. p. 147.
4  Delete the ‘d' before ‘lkifth’.

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 (ye?) read let Light give light6 the
signs that dwell within the jordan enhance your crown and give it
light and brighten your appearance: And when ye read Manda
created me4 ye combine with the jordan all running waters,
signs and pacts and the crown that is on your heads5, and brought
(themall?) into union. And when (ye recite) Mighty and pow-
erful is the great mystery1 and ye hold (your) pand-
amas 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 fragrant10 and Hail First Life11 for the incense and sandarak,
and when Manda-d-Hiia recited the hymn to the incense,
the incense arose in wreaths12 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 6kinta 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.
2  M. L. p. 7.
3  M. L. p. 8.
4  M. L. p. 29.
5  The sentence is turgid and obscure.
6  ‘laftun. I think that this word is displaced and should be inserted
after ‘pandama’. Below. If it means ‘brought into union’ it would be ‘hi-
ftun’.
7  M. L. p. 11.
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).
10  M. L. p. 11.
12  Ethpa. SDR has this meaning when applied to smoke.
13  The sentence seems defective: translation is tentative. 1
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)¹ and You, Yourselves² (it is meet to praise), read the Asuta³ 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 reed and quake at the voice of the kings. And they ⁴ say: "Thou hast cast down now the kings of darkness, the copper earth (lighthouse) 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-ḍ-Hıia, who made the armies of darkness withdraw to the furthest ends of the worlds of darkness". And they are vanished.

(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-ḍ-Hıia
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 eyes⁹, all the uthras shall say at its

¹ M. L. p. 126.
² As the Great Life is meant, read "Thee, Thyself" (see M. L. p. 141).
³ The second hymn of the three, "Tubbihan lihia baraiya" (Praises to the Outer Life) has been omitted by the scribe, Lidzbaski (M. L. p. 133) gives a version of this hymn.
⁴ "Clothed...is a transitive form, but there is no object. It is probable that "them" is understood, "them...meanings the souls for whom intercession has been made.
⁵ The redeemed souls!
⁶ M. L. p. 65.
⁷ 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.
⁸ M. L. p. 15: Mandaeans call this prayer "the lesser Mıqal Aınia", and the prayer mentioned in note 7 "the greater Mıqal Aınia".

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

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

¹ Or pressed down, held back.
² Lit. "and thou hast settled (quietened!) the worlds of darkness".
³ M. L. p. 17.
⁴ See p. 46, note 9.
⁵ See p. 32, note 6.
⁶ M. L. p. 18.
⁷ 'kanzala', a kind of stole. See MMII p. 31.
⁸ M. L. p. 19 ("Barit = -I shone.").
¹⁰ Bihram(or Bahram)-Rba, See p. 6, n. 9. is named at baptism: "I baptize with the baptism of Bihram-Rba son of the mighty (Life)" also at the end of the daily ritual ablution. Legend makes a certain Bihram or Bahram founder of a Mandaean community in the north. According to this tradition this baptizing community was celibate and learned in astrology (MMII p. 276). John the Baptist is not mentioned at baptism.
¹² Once in the water, the priest secures his staff, one of which he thrusts into the bed of the stream, by looping his 'kanzala' (stole) round the staff so that it cannot fall. This frees both his hands.
¹³ 'Mihîȧta' (lit. "blows")= pollutions unwittingly incurred. The sentence is obscure. It may have read originally "thou illuminest this, the First
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" 1, it is meant that "destruction" is the sign that Yuṣaṁin son of Dmut-His signed; for he, Yuṣaṁin the Peacock, signed from left to right. But they **aided from signing** Hibil-Ziwa with the sign which Yuṣaṁin 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," 2, 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? When he came to the Everlasting Abode, Baptism, of Hibil-Ziwa, at the first jordan in the worlds of light, and delivereth him from the pollutions of the seven worlds of darkness." 3

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

2 Read "dmuḥtu(kun)" not "dmuṭu(kun)."

3 See p. 32, note 5.


5 The three waterways: viz, the river itself, and the two channels which come of the *yardma* or baptismal pool of flowing water with the main stream. An "alaḥ", "god", except in some portions of the Gezā Rba (probably of late composition), is an evil being, a demon.

6 M. L. p. 25.

7 In ritual M88 Yuṣaṁin is the prototype in the world of spirits of a priest who makes mistakes in ritual.

When he rejoiced at the living waters?" By the baptism of the king I arose,

By his baptism (I arise) to the Everlasting Abode 11.

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 8, (the sign) wherewith Yuṣaṁin 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 out and emitted light; it gleamed between his brows like lamps. For the Sign of the Left belongeth to the Great Mother, who is Qin 4, and the Sign of the Right belongeth to the Father; so that he 8 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 14.

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 I. 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 Parsia, 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. Mandaeanists, like the ancient Babylonians, regard the north as the seat of all that is good and wholesome.
When ye gave him 'three' palmfuls of water to drink, ye lifted him out of all his pollutions 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 Šīlam-Rba be mentioned upon thee,
The name of Zlat-Rabtnia be mentioned upon thee,
The name of Yawar-Rba be mentioned upon thee,
The name of Simat-Hia be mentioned upon thee,
The name of Yukabar-Rba be mentioned upon thee,
The name of Mana and his Counterpart be mentioned upon thee,
The name of the great mystery, the Secret Word, be mentioned upon thee,
The name of Shaq-Ziwa-Rba-Qadma be mentioned upon thee,
The name of the pure &st-born, Beloved, Ureat, First Sam-Ziwa be mentioned upon thee,
The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hia 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 kuṣṭa, thou hast mingled the jordan with thy raiment and his raiment and hast set his mind at peace. And make him this response while his hand is in thy hand, say to him: "Kuṣṭa strengthen thee and raise thee up! Seek and find, speak and be heard." And say to him: "Thy kuṣṭa shall be thy witness and thy baptism shall be established, and not be in vain. The kuṣṭa (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 mambrha in a phial of pure crystal, his ḍganda being before Hibl-Ziwa; and he calmed the jordan and sealed it. And when he reciteth From the surface of the water I issued he cphereth on the jordan as it were a solemn kuṣṭa. (And when he reciteth) Blessed be thou, outer portal, he and all the kings, the guardians of the jordan, bless Hibl-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 Hibl-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hia 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 See p. 37 note 6.
2 The scribe almost wrote 'nipāt', "grasped".
3 "Mambrha" ("spring-water"), the sacramental water is dipped up by the priest from the pool into a phial handed to him by the ḍganda.
4 An ḍganda or ḍganda; 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. 149.
7 M. L. p. 31.
8 ḍMiṣa for baptism is sesame oil freshly made. ḍMiṣa for the ḍmiṣīta is a mixture of sesame oil and date-juice.
9 M. L. p. 34.
10 M. L. p. 36.
12 A play on words, "mēša" meaning "anointed", so that it could read "that was anointed".
13 'ardā' = ḍw.
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 she breathed in the great Mana. And when ye sixty kings grasped his hand in kuṣṭa, ye sealed (the pact) with the seal of the King of Glory, from which (truth) neither partner (to 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 establised, from the roots (of your being) in a loud voice and shout, uthrash of light in the Ether rejoice at hearing the sound.

And when ye recite What hath He done for thee and How fair, and Well hath my baptizer baptised me, and Silmāl hath baptised us with his baptism, and Well is it for you, say I, and to you I cry, A new priest am I and have finished all the hymns, (and recite) The Drop from Their Hilbuna. His sins and trespasses have forsaken him; and when (ye have completed) the Blessed and Praised of Shen (son of Noah); lo, Yawar-Rba and Nhat-Rba are questioned in the world of light and its ḫinta, 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 (recite) the Intercession, they will forgive him all the sins which he committed. And when ye pronounce the uthrash kuṣṭa 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 kuṣṭa shall be thy witness and thy baptism shall be established and the kuṣṭa which I have performed with Hibil-Ziwa shall not be brought to naught. It shall deliver thee from all pollutions and the Spirit that was in the Abode-that-come-thing-to-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 kuṣṭa 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-Hīla 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-Hīla may become your helper, and your baptism may attain its end".

Then all the kings shall bear witness thereto and seal the treasure and the discourse. And all the kings shall place their hands on their heads, and shall pray the "devotions" and the opening prayer(s)
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 Na~al~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 pihita and mambuba, each shall stand up, with his own bowl, and they shall recite the eight prayers and the two mambuba prayers. Then they shall all recite (The Great Life) spoke and opened for the pandama and they shall eat and drink and then they 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 Fragrant incense.

And they shall wash and read Good made good the good and Praised is the First Great Radiance and the "confirmation sixty-one times." And make intercession for yourselves, all of you praying for yourselves; and clear up all your treasure. And your baptism shall mount up to the great Place of Light and to the Everlasting Abode, rising up to the presence of Great-Radiance. And you, (O) kings, shall come and shall dwell by (for) him for he layeth his hand on Hibil-Ziwa.

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

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

3. There are two prayers of this first line, either M. L. p. 96 or p. 166.
6. There are two prayers of beginning, the greater and the lesser, see p. 43 note 2, and M. L. p. 106. The greater is called "of 'Sum 'Shem' son of Noah".
7. A hiatus in the sense suggests that something has been omitted.
10. In c., names of persons to be prayed for must be inserted at the proper places.
15. The cup, is rinsed with water after the mambuba has been drunk, and the priest drinks the rinsing (halalta).
16. More "riming-water" is used to wash the ritual staff.
22. Not in M. L.
And at the conclusion of the baptism when they have performed kuṭṭa 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 gansibra 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 kuṭṭa (isover), place their hands to their heads and say: "Kuṭṭa strengthen thee; Kuṭṭa strengthen thee, (O) guardian of my prayer! Kuṭṭa strengthen thee, (O) guardian of my prayer and praise! Loose 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". These are secret sayings that may not be revealed, for the body is fulfilled (thus) thereby. Then they shall recite In abounding radiance am I baptized, and loosen their stoles and that great mystery they bestowed on their lord.

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 say: "Seek and find, speak and be heard" like those words he said to the uthras (when they were) hand-in-hand with the server; until (at the end) uthras shall come and shall address a hymn to him and say:

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

1. The verb PEST when used alone, refers to the 'kuṭṭa' ceremony. Actually, upon their "crows' and the speech are addressed to the crown as the symbol of priesthood.

2. The verb is connected with deconsecration throughout the paragraph.

3. Uthras are the names of priests who assist the chief celebrant at a *Ziwa-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 uthras).
Diwan Mašbuta

A benediction pronounce upon the dwellings?... And the uthras and kings that sit at thy right and left... Shone and gave, out light... To the utmost *1.

Then he distributed myrtle to the uthras and said to the uthras who had read the "sealing" over Hibil-Ziwa son of Mandu-†-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 Mandu-†-Hilia is blessed and ended*1.

Then they recited Lifting eyes* and I sought to lift my eyes* and Bound is the see* and A perfected gem am I* and Pleee and be expelled* and When (the jordan) was given* and Secured and sealed and In the name of the Life; through ‘Ušar-Hilia* and the longer Secured and sealed*1; these are the nine seals wherewith the barukaiia blessed Hibil-Ziwa. Then the kings and uthras addressed, a hymn to him, saying:

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

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

1 M. L. p. 65. This is the 'greater' ‘Mišqal Ainia*.
2 M. L. p. 15, the 'lesser' * Mišqal Ainia*.
3 See note 2. This is a gloss, written above in a paler ink.
4 M. L. p. 22.
5 M. L. p. 23.
7 M. L. p. 40.
8 M. L. p. 43.
9 M. L. p. 43.
10 M. L. p. 44.

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

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

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

Then he gave win* to the barukaiia and distributed it to all the uthras and kings, and they refreshed themselves from that that which stood before them.

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

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

When Ayar blessed them, he addressed a hymn* to those barukaiia, but not to Ayar-Rba (notto Hibil-Ziwa?):

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 Yama ceremony. See MMIII p. 232.
2 The four mysteries, viz, water, dates, wine and myrtle.
3 The passage in italics is unintelligible.
4 For 'atmun' ("closed") read 'atmun' "laid" or 'atmun' "placed".
5 For 'yanqia nearitria I think we & odd read 'yanqia usabia' "young and old." After 'sabia' had been miswritten as 'abria', 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 ‘mišnia as a hymn to be recited over the
"In the name of the Great Life!
Vines shone in the waters
Mighty ones were established here.
Yonder, the waters are unsullied
And your Counterparts exist and are glorious.
Let your light shine forth,
Let the light of the King shine forth
Let your perfume come and strengthen us!
Let great ustras come! Instead of concealing it
Let it shine forth, (let it appear)
Let the light of the King (shine forth)
Let your perfume come and strengthen us!
Hibil-Ziwa shall bring your perfume
And overpower us (with its sweetness)".

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 tabuta, 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 Trizar Šelīalīa resembles the above. The 'nāma' hymn differs considerably:

Būma dhiːa ibrīa nhar gūfā ibrīa mūa uṯāqim kābīria ibrīa ỉṣqūria mūa (instead of ỉṣqūria āṣdāwa) ʁuʃām ʁiwaʃūria ʁuʃām ʁiwaʃūria, ʁuʃām ʁiwaʃūria, ʁuʃām ʁiwaʃūria, ʁiwaʃūria. And they absolved them, prayed for them, and blessed them (saying) "forgiving of sins" (be there for...). And

The repetition of the word is meaningless.

The copyist is puzzled; he has placed dots beneath 'burk' (showing that it should be deleted) and adds a gloss, 'bukra' (firstborn).

4 M. L. p. 166, ('umma' = 'umqa', the q. as in 'arqa', is not pronounced).

5 See p. 43, n. 3.

6 I am unable to trace this hymn, or that which follows.

7 The ritual food and accessories.

8 'tangar', i.e. "for their benefit".

(commendate also) your (ritual) slaughterer, and your families, and commemorate male and female Mandaeans, priests, gamsibria, treasurers, chief men and heads of the people.

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

"In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Hibil-Ziwa Went towards Yawar,
Myrtle he brought towards them
And to Yawar. Into his right hand
He placed it and said to him:
'Receive from me fresh myrtle
And blessing pronounce on the dwellings.
Pronounce blessing on the dwellings
And illumine and confirm ustras and kings
Who sit at your right and your left
From end to end'.

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-Ziwa and said to him:
Blessed art thou, our father Hibil-Ziwa
Like the myrtle that is in thy right hand.
And may thy Root flourish
Like the root of the fresh myrtle;
And thou shalt have glory and honour
Like the Water of Life!".

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

2 See p. 64.

3 I am unable to trace this hymn, or that which follows.

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 Mandean what 'barm' is to the Parsi: its perfume is sacred and life-giving. Myrtle is prominent in Oriental Jewish rites.
Then the barukaisa addressed to him a hymn (response):

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

Then Ayar-Rba took this myrtle which (they) held in their right hands and the myrtle placed on the ritual tray and spoke to all the kings and uthras and boys and girls, and Yawar said: "Sixty grievous sins shall fall away from any man that inhaleth its perfume. And cause any pure spouse that committed a fault in her dryness (?) 2 and hath come (near?) her end to inhale it and her sins shall fall away from her; cause all who have committed sin to inhale it so that their sins may fall away from them 3.

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 4 and enfolded one another (in embrace) with fervent kuštas 5.

Then Mara-d-Rabuta commanded Hibil-Ziwa and said to him: "Being oblation, and new vestments and attire the barukaisa in them, (for) they are mine 6.

So Hibil-Ziwa went to his house 7 and brought robes and clothed therewith all the uthras of the dwellings (škinata). And they honoured their crowns 8 and sat down.

Then Yawar-Ziwa cried 7 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 1. O thou prototype of Naširuta 2 that is found in all worlds, O Glory of uthras, O that art King; kings petition thee, Kings request answer from thee! O our Lord and Support that sustainest all my thought; they make a request of thee, questioning the Great (Life). Good folk are they who ask, slaves (asking) their master, spouses their wives and sons their parents. For we are thy glory, Lord of all worlds; I am 5 the noble Hibil-Ziwa and I am 8 in all secrets and revelations. And I 3 and all who love them..."

Then spoke Mara-d-Rabuta and said to Yawar-Rba: "O thou, king of uthras and support that sustaineth worlds of light! O thou polished mirror set before the eyes of kings and uthras, say not that there is no answer 9 from me; for Sišlam-Rba, eldest of all, who is treasurer of that which is (hidden) with me, he shall give answer 3. 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 5, that is, the Blessed Oblation; for its treasure 8 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 8 proceed from Him, and when the masigta was instituted, and every coronation 6, they were founded by Him, by Him they were devised, together with everything which emanated from the jordan 7 and Ether 8 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 7. (A Mystery) protected Hibil-Ziwa, son of Manda-hlija 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

1 See p. 46, note 2.
2 šbiriba "cannot mean here "with swords". It may mean when she is past the age of menstruation.
3 špina "a "place of temporary refreshment", or "temporary lodging", "refreshment by the way", "an inn".
4 All religions rites, or sections of a rite, conclude by the performance of kušta.
5 Hibilniya; see p. 31, note 4.
6 See p. 42 note 16.
7 Careless copying: for rba 'lh read 'qara 'lh'.
8 See p. 46, note 2.
Diwan Masbula

until that of death 1 is solved by Him, for He is the Smith who forges our mysteries, so that our ritual 2 is safeguarded.

We have made (it?) into a single Treatise (or "Way") 3 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 ribam 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 Bhiram-Rba 4 son of Nbad-Rba, namely three hundred and sixty baptisms, and that blessing of four mysteries which Shaq-Rba son of Mandaqa-Hilla blessed for himself and (then) bestowed on uttras, kings, the Elect Righteous and the Root which hath no division; that (blessing) which Hibil-Ziwa conferred on himself. (It is) chief of all baptisms which derive from it and of baptisms for (cleansing) pollutions 5, for Hibil-Ziwa's baptism was the first of all "three-hundred-and-sixty (times)" baptisms, and (origin of) the "fifty baptisms" of Jiti, (of) the "seven baptisms performed by seven kings" (and) of the holy baptism they perform from Kanșia uzAäßia 6 — the "Great New Year" — until the baptism (feast) of Dama 7 (also of) the seven original masiqtas which purify pollutions 5. For all masiqtas which derivation 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-ated it amongst all peoples, for its name is "Seed." He conferred it upon Yawar and Yawar conferred it upon Ayar, and its celebration was on a seventh day, that is a sabbath 3 and took place in the skinta of Hibil-Ziwa and his brethren.

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

In the name of the Great Life who is eternal!

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

"Speak about Hibil-Ziwa to the 'uttras his brethren, The uttras sitting in the skintas.
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 4
Say 4 Our father, thy glory exceedeth the glories
Of all crowns and thy light hath overpowered Many worlds.
Our 5 good Messenger 4!
Because the Life became thy Transplanter
We rejoiced at thine appearance.
We will lay our hands on thee in kuşpa
And will bless thee with a great benison
That is mighty and powerful.

1 Literally "from germination to departure.
2 Not the plural.
3 Ṣigia "Way" or "scroll" or "treatise". See p. 14 n. 4.
4 The Bhiram of the baptism formula. See p. 6, n. 9.
5 Literally "blows" or "wounds".
6 Kanși uzAäßia (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 MMII pp. 86-7).
7 Daima is a baptismal feast which falls ninety days after the five-day spring feast of Panja or Parwanaia (see MMII p. 91).

The passive and active participles of Pael can take similar form (N. p. 230). 'Mlabas' here means "invested with", "authorized to perform", but I am doubtful about the exact equivalent.
9 I. 'awdat' read 'abdat'.
10 Obscure; literally "with each one a word".
11 D. C. 60: "nibirib hibil ziwa rba b ́ rabi ́ shi ́ han Traits wasiqtib b`daihun matnibh." Small differences between the two mas. occur constantly.
12 Read 'igandan' for 'igandak'.

1 The passive and active participles of Pael can take similar form (N. p. 230). 'Mlabas' here means "invested with", "authorized to perform", but I am doubtful about the exact equivalent.
2 Not the plural.
3 Ṣigia "Way" or "scroll" or "treatise". See p. 14 n. 4.
4 The Bhiram of the baptism formula. See p. 6, n. 9.
5 Literally "blows" or "wounds".
6 Kanși uzAäßia (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 MMII pp. 86-7).
7 Daima is a baptismal feast which falls ninety days after the five-day spring feast of Panja or Parwanaia (see MMII p. 91).
The crown that they set on thee is like unto, the crown of the Great (Life), and shall guard thee evermore".

Yukabar-Rba spoke and hymned him and said:
"Precious Truth (kubka), of itself brighteneth the eternal [Abode, And is the Enlightener whom ye have acknowledged.
And Hibil-Ziwa will come to the home of N. son of N. Who was baptised with the baptism of Hibil-Ziwa And will instal him in his world for evermore".

Mana-Rba-Kabira spoke and hymned him and said:
"Thy robes shone and thy form was bright
As thou camest towards thy Parents,
(O)sprout that art self-existent
From aye"!

Bihram-Rba spoke and said:
"Our father, Life hath prepared thee a, škinta
In which all the utras shine.
They all gather about thee and lay
Their pure right hand upon thee
And bless thee evermore!"

Bihrun-Rba spoke and hymned him and said
"O beloved utra whom they have raised up
To (produce?) living fruits;
Thou hast transplanted a grafting
For thy brethren and fathers.
Yonder, thou blessest them mystically.
Clear are the waters of a true baptism
And their image is sublimated and made to shine
Evermore!"

---

1 D. C. 50: 'badmu taga ð taga traqalak badmu rbia mnajarlak'; "like His (!) crown, for the crown they set on thee like the Great (Life) will preserve thee"

2 D. C. 60: 'Ya ñtra rhima ð ñria mia aqmuk uniqtba mnajarla lahak nlubahata bkašía bârkallun hil tagna mia tagna mašbutak mitqaimadmutak minhira mn rîs brip'. (Obeloved utra, thou who was raised upon and transplanted by the fruits of the waters! Clear are the waters; reliable was thy baptism that was celebrated; and thine image is illustrious for ever" (Tagna) has both meanings).
\[\text{Sišlam-Rба} \text{ son of } \text{Nbaš-Rba} \text{ spoke and hymned him and said:}
\]
"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".

\[\text{Anuš-Rba} \text{ spoke and hymned him and said:}
\]
"I testify to thy Father's pact (\textit{kušta})\(^2\),
The Being who built thee a building.
My eyes look to thee\(^3\)
Chosen Righteous One
Whose name is fragrant for evermore".

\[\text{Sišlam-Rба} \text{ son of } \text{Shaq-Rba} \text{ spoke and hymned him and said:}
\]
"O uthra in the glory of whose crown
Uthras shine and Rays become more bright,
(Our) father (and) Chief in radiance\(^4\)
Since thou wast baptised by the sixty kings
The perfume of thy wreath cometh
And its fragrance invigorateth us
Evermore".

\[\text{Sam-Rba} \text{ spoke}\(^5\) - he who reared Seven sublime Vines and; enlighteneth the transcendent Vines that he trained up, for from him proceed strength, radiance and praise! (He hymned him and said):
\]
"I, and mystic uthras my brethren (baptised thee).
Through their baptism thou hast risen to the Place of Light
For ever".

\[\text{Sarwan-Rba}, \text{ whose (name D. C. 50) is pleasant, spoke, hymned him and said to him:}
\]
"Fragrant is the perfume of the \textit{mana} of Hibil-Ziwa !
How fragrant is thy perfume, fair \textit{mana} !

\[1\] D. C. 60 has 'saq', not 'sar'.
\[2\] D. C. 36 is confused here. D. C. 60 follows up 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 \textit{malka} for \textit{malkia} and make the pronoun in the next sentence "him" not "them".
\[9\] According to the oolophon the first copyist, or the author.
seven earliest masiqtas which.... two seven kings, and with those five baptisms (by which) the Precious. One whose breath (pneuma) purifieth pollutions, that is to say Yawar, rehabiliteth them in those baptisms. For he (Yawar, Hibil-Ziwa) was the first to clothe them all with the sacraments. For in the sacrament of the Blessed Oblation there is nought pertaining to darkness, no outcast, nothing degrading (†) or anything which hath not its portion of light. On the contrary, within the exalted bounds of the seven sacraments of the Blessed Oblation, in that baptism of ustras which is (comprises) nine sacraments (ginzia) called blessed oblations, apart from (not counting) that bestowed on Hibil-Ziwa: (in these) there is nought pertaining to Darkness, it (Darkness) hath no mandate (therein). And say....

* In the name of the Great Life and in the name of Manda-d-Hiiä! The Great Life spoke: He placed four mysteries before the master and said to him:

"In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Kušta spoke,
Radiance dawned on the four mysteries,
Its strength surged out to the jordan
And its glory rested on the kings".

"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 kinglyness!
For evermore!'".

1 bukariast'.
2 The sentence must be corrupt. I think it should be 'I praš Hibil-Ziwa mn ginra mn almia d Baha malkia d hänka, mn binia Baha malkia' (which took Hibil-Ziwa with the (mystic) Jewel out of the worlds of the seven kings of darkness, from amongst the seven kings').
3 Lit. blows (inadvertent pollutions).
4 Again corrupt. A gasiba is a person disqualified or polluted by a ritual fault or uncleanness. *Safi* = 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 mas, rejoin.
8 D. C. 60 has 'father' ('aba') for 'master' ('rba').
9 D. C. 60 has 'malkia' for 'malkia'.
10 D. C. 56, which has the same copyist, has the correct version, which I have followed.

In the name of the Great Life! Thou wilt be blessed, our father Adam-Yahia son of Adam-Yuhana, by that blessing which was bestowed on the Tree of Life and Palm-tree, and a truth was established (between) chaos and jordan:

"A glorious brightness glowed in the jordan
She leapt forth clad in mystic dress;
They appeared between mysteries
That were called 'of the two mountains'."

Moreover, thou wilt be blessed, our father Adam-Yahia son of Adam-Yuhana, by that blessing bestowed on the two Vines called mystical and holy, for they are the four mysteries that our Father blessed with a benediction and endowed them with strength. And a hidden radiance guardeth them; it came into being within. Himat-Aina came into existence and she was named 'zlat', and Ham-Ziwa.

** And he blessed the jordan and said to it:

"Blessed art thou, our Vine-of-Light, our Father & ten
Water of Life! Of (those) waters
The trees which stand by its stream-bed
Drink, swell with fruit and bear fruit
To one another, and their fruit
Resemblenoth (the fruit of) neighbours.
Simat-Hiiä (Treasure-of-Life) rejoiceth in him
And embrace him for ever!".

In the name of the Great Life! Thou wilt be blessed, our father Adam-Yahia son of Adam-Yuhana, with the benediction bestowed on Yawar, the great Hibil-Ziwa, Hibil-Ziwa son of Manda-d-Hiiä, in whose name baptism was instituted and lacked nothing but lifteth up the soul (mana). He confirmed and blessed the jordan and ruleth the air; and conferred strength on the jordan so that worlds (or "persons") should be baptised therein (†). Further,
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 Ships1. 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 2.

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 4 and outbreathings 6.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed on the seven worlds of illuasion in which the mystic King dwelleth. At those baptisms (celebrated) at his command all the worlds of light acquired strength. He kept watch and his glory resteth on the ustras, and his treasure (ginesh) 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 Palm-tree from which worlds resulted (pras), and Nasiruta developed therefrom, and its strength dwelleth on kings. And consolidation took place, consolidating the worlds and seed (or "semen") was implanted in the jordan. And thereby the jordan was established, and glory floweth therein evermore.

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 counteracts planetary power.
4 Miscopying: 'mahamia' ('pits') should be 'mahania' ('life-giving').
5 Tanania = "vapours" i.e. vaporous exhalations.
7 Read "ascended" for "did not ascend!".
8 The double circle must indicate a gap in the manuscript.
9 D. C. 50: 'ulūnah yaqra piršt'.
10 D. C. 50: 'Ham zīwā aśba', for 'qam ša'. Doubtful.
11 D. C. 60 has 'qra' for 'rba'. Doubtful.
12 D. C. 60 has 'dūkhtā' ("his or its place") for 'bukra'. Doubtful.
13 This should probably be Šamāiš, a personification of the ann.
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 strength dwelletion on the jordan. Then thou, our father Yahia-Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, wilt be blessed with that benediction they conferred on Manharel, the glittering light (or 'bannier'), which contracted by heart the three hundred and sixty worlds of light, for the strength of his fire is great, and in 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 by the Father on that great primal Palm-tree — before it none existed. He blessed it and sat in its shade and enjoyed the perfume of its blossom, laying His sublime hand amongst the leaves of its mighty wreath for evermore.

In the name of the Great Life! Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bhram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed on Ranziel, the bohinnia (camel-foot) tree, the tree which the Father blessed. Uthras twine wreaths of it and they hide (the wreath) in their inner dwellings and keep it.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bhram son of Adam-Yuhana, with that benediction bestowed on Serat and Simat-Hila, who gave their treasure so that uthras might be established. Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that Sign of the Right, of the Father, of the Male; 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 (simul) of life, which is the treasure (ginaza) of the uthras for ever.

In the name of the Great Life! Thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bhram 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 Nasib-Ziwa-Kasia, the glory which 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 sprung 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 (Tanwil)-Kasia, whose glory glowed upon the worlds. Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Yahia-Bhram son of Adam.

---

1 Read 'īsga d yama'.
2 The text is corrupt. Read 'masia' for 'd asia'.
3 D. C. 60: 'īsga d yamai umaun ḫuria, asia d masuta bganahum kt mītras yārmda uziwa sādrīsa uziwa talmia nāsir.'
4 P. 210, 32.
5 Hebrew: ḥayy.
6 D. C. 50: 'd āaūra ṭayyar ṭarwa ṭarzā ṭarzīa'. Read 'd nū DBG ṭayyar ṭarwa ṭarzīa'.
7 Omit 'ūlta' after 'īsga'.
8 D. C. 50c: 'asīm d bāniya bātirisā ḫ kila rba'.
9 See p. 63, n. 4.
10 D. C. 50c: 'rāziya kāsia'.
11 Read 'd baīra' as in D. C. 60.'
Yuhana with that blessing wherewith the Wellspring Shihmat was blessed, from her proceeded Hadatan-Kasia who glowed, shone forth and became great. And wings of light were formed for her, they were living (wings?) from the Life which is Eternal.

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,
Join your glories and be magnified!"

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
For I (cum forth) from Himat-Razia
I have interpreted secret things.
I burst forth, I leapt forth and rose
Rejoicing at the waters of Life (Water of Life)
And at His Likeness
Evermore.

And say... in the name of the Great Life...
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that benediction

1 D. C. 60: 'she was bright' "she gleamed"
2 'Bhifla kasia': a secret substitute?
3 D. C. 50: 'dna ziwakun d abuhun wata bhifla kasia dna ham ziwakun u'trauraabun'.
4 'Niba', i. e. "something thrust out, urged forth".
5 For the last three lines D. C. 50 has: "pirat unibtat usihqat usiqlat alma hiia bdmuth kasia mn ri bria".
6 Corrupt: D. C. 35: 'unbat uhar saruh uasab il utar razia kasia.
7 A resin imported from trees growing in mountains in Morocco, used for incense.
8 D. C. 60 has 'uasab for 'saq'.
9 D. C. 60: 'ma'asbutata d mn yaminai dilla misijbat urazibih ujina dB hiia hjua.
10 D. C. 60 has 'tibrik abun bhak birika dB simat hiia ubrik umasba ziwad mn pirat ubrkit himat razia d pirat'.
11 Read 'mitiaqum'.
12 D. C. 60 is very different here, d malat simat hiia d timarih 'tiaqrit umitian zwa pra' aina umalkuta d minh pirat".
thy pure right hand on all kings that sit at thy right and thy left." Finis 10.

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-Ziva. And he said "Any man who is blessed with these blessings shall be delivered from the 'blows' of darkness re.

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-Ziva (performed by) sixty kings (priests). From it Holy Baptism came into existence. Hence, from the Day of Kanhiia uZahlia— that is the New Year— till the Baptism of Dalma, there are seven major masigitas which cleanse 'blows'. From the Baptism of Hibil-Ziva— the first— unto the Masigita(i) of the (other) six, its seal is the masigita 7. 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 prononceth 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 'Mihiita', 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 importance.
6 Corrupt: the reference is to the other six masigita of the seven major baptisms.
7 These seven major baptisms are concluded and perfected by the masigita.
8 This is the hatmah.
9 The sganda in modern ritual is the youth who acts as server and deacon.
10 Hamar-Kana (Vine-Stock), the personified fruit of the vine. See J. B. p. 4, n. 4.

Of the kings! The great (lord?) of uthras Elevated it and put it down at his right and his left.

Yukabur, 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 Ngab
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 uthras said, they recited these three hymns over the water (yardna), wine (hamara), dates (sindirka) and myrtle when the sganda brings 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 Ngab (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 mumhaha), the hamara "wine" is fermented (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-Bhram son of Zakia, also for me, Yahia-Bhram 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 skinta they dwell. These are the “Benedictions of the Four Mysteries”, which Adam-Shaq-Rba pronounced for himself and gave them to the kings and to the Elect Righteous and to the Root of Hibil-Ziwa, which I have copied, who am poor and the “lowliest of my brother-priests and ganzibras and of faithful and believing people.

For I, Yahia-Bhram 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-Saq-Rba copied from Bainai son of Zakia, who copied from Bajna daughter of Yahia-Ramuia, and Ramui copied it from the Diwan of his father Ramui son of Natar. And Ramui son of Natar copied from Sabnu son of Zakai which Zazai 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 Nhara-d-kabir (qal) al-mia-kulun (Light-that-is-mightier-than-all-worlds). And Ziwa-Sagia copied from his innermost mind and the hibaliment 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 ganzibras and truly righteous and believing men, and as dust beneath the feet of the godly and Nagorseans.

1 This Zazai may be the ‘Zazai-Gawasta’ of the Commemoration Prayer known as Abhathan Qadmaia. See p. 38, n. 1.
2 The “copyists” from this point are all divine spirits.
3 *sargh*, i.e. that which is stored up in his mind.
family name Binda. He copied from an ancient scroll, which was in the handwriting of Sarwan son of Hibil, who copied it from the treatise of Bainai son of Zakia. And Bainai son of Zakia copied from Haiuna daughter of Yahia-Yuhana, and Haiuna copied from Yahia Ramuia son of Ramuia-Nagar. And Yahia-Ramuia copied from his father Naatar; and Ramuia son of Zihrun-Nagar copied it from the Diwan of Ud son of Yuhana. Ud copied it from Sabur son of Zazi whose elder brother had copied it from his teacher Nabat. Ud copied it and Naatar, and Ud 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 Nabat-Rba. Nabat-Rba copied it from Ziwa-Sagia and Ziwa-Yaqra (Great-Radiance and Glorious-Light) who are powerful. And Ziwa copied it from World-of-Illusion and Glorious-Light, who spoke and were heard, and were to the seat of judgement and were victorious. And he gave of his covering to (those?) who are with him and were refreshed with him(f). Life is victorious for ever. Finish.

So this 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 Hilib, stil and Anaq, 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 Nihim on the river Tigris, from the beginning of the scroll unto the end of the chief's-sanctuary. The pictures I copied in the village of Quma on the river Euphrates in the house of Rabbi Zihrun, Manda-q-Hilia forgave him his sins! Three months (I aboret [obliterated]) in his house; he gave me food, and Tada-Simba and her husband Rabbi Bihran, and Rabbi Anus (obli-

...terated) Zihrun, 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 salxy, 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 War) was 'Ali Pasha, and the Wall of Basrah was 'Ali Zehair, and the Arab governors (Qaymamane) were Mahf and 'Isa, and the headman of the district in which I lived was Janawa (?) son of Mi'imil son of Sa'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 2nd behold the Place of Light through the strength of and by trust in the utteras, the great comforters.

And now, our brothers that shall aceed us, know that in the year of Friday, the year 1247 A.H., the great plague came, and not one of the gansibras 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 Parvanaia and we prayed the 66 Devotions" and we consecrated a cult-hut. After the consecration, one esteemed yalafa (literates) set the yalafe in the cult-hut. He prayed the "Devotions" for sixty days, and celebrated a maslia for his teacher; and they consecrated one...
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 laity. We were all of us in Šūṭār, in the quarter for Mandaeans only, a place named Markab. There were two hundred houses. And we were away from them into Bašrah. Eight months passed, then they wished to reach Šūṭār. On the Šūṭār road, Arabs, for greed, surrounded us and were covetous of my things and my clothes: my loss (washat?) the Arabs carried off seven thousand piastres' worth of my things—mine, Yahlia-Bihar son of Rabbi Adam-Yuhans son of Sam son of Bihram son of Adam-Zuhran of the family Bîh-Draq, known as Eamisir—for we were a large house (family) in Bašrah (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 Šūṭār, I came with some peasants (fellāhīn) belonging to the shâikh of the tribe; he was Thamir ibn Ghaqban. He seat, tribesmen, and they seized those Arabs that had raided us on the Šūṭār road, and brought them. And I was in Šūṭār, and the shâikh 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 kābla (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 (fellāhīn).

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

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

2 *Rimād* can only mean this.

3 P. *yūrā* "a circuit", "it turn"; hence here "made a circuit about us", "surrounded us". The sense here is obscurely phrased, but the meaning is obvious from the context.

4 Literally "there was not to me a person with me: all had gone to the revival of life".

5 P. *kāb* or *qāb* "servant", "dependant".

6 *Kabba": A oblat.

7 Now Khurrashah.

99.1 when the Pasha came to inflict injury on Muhammerah, I sent down Alkrun the younger and I said to them, to the Mandaeans who were in Muhammerah: "Go out before he chastiseth it!" They sought to leave, but departure was not in their power ... (illegible) for the tribe left in the barges which belnged to them; and of the Mandaeans not a person left in the barges.

Two women remained; they paired up, and one little boy of seven years old, they brought him, the one little boy alone, joining (some soldiers?) who was Albanians (7) until they came into Bašrah. From there they ransomed him from the camp and took him to their quarters.

And we were ill-treated by the *fellāhīn*—they came pressing (as) heady; they travelled with the main body of the *Sābiya*, 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 (folks)!' After that I came into Bašrah 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. As for me, the slave of all priests, my heart fell from its support *was much intercession* for her. With gīnza (treasure, ritual meal for the dead) and *Nāzīrūk* I prayed the Life so that there might be healing for my daughter. So I made no lamentation.

I came into Idhibīt (thither also came my kindred some of our people) and took me into Kas Siamirī, their name for a village
in the Jazirah. And then there came a Mandaeans ganziabra and a priest, the one (named) Sagar and the other, the priest, Sabuh. And they took me with them into Suq-al-Sitkh, into the Markab village.

And then, after a year, the shahik 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 marriage. 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? want) with us; and Hibil-Ziwa He seeth, appointeth and testeth, all that He willer He doth, for truth is mighty; and He, Yawar, when He willer 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 ganziabra, a, reliable and well-tried king of the Nasoraeans and a guardian of the people, Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Sambibram son of Sa'don son of Mas't son of Mas'ud son of Sarar known as Kamisia and family name Ik-Draja; also (for) my teacher who consecrated me priest, Rabbi Sam-Zihrn son of Rabbi Sambibram, family name 'Aziz and known as Draja; (Draja) and he gave life to the Root 4 after the plague and was the ordainer of all kinglyness (i.e. the priesthood) and the Root of the Great Life. He was with yalufa (clerks, literates) (himself) a perfect literate, and an overseer that knoweth everything; and (owing to him?) our song (hymns) was not wanting, nor the treasure of Life (lacking), but it was as it was of yore.

And so he remained in the market of Sultan and Dizful and I in Suq-al-Sitkh. For twelve years we have been divided and distant

---

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 'abdir is should be read as translated, or whether it belongs to the verb that precedes it.
4 The Root i.e. the Mandaeans nation; what is referred to here is the extermination of priests by cholera. Rabbi Sam-Zihrn was the 'yalufa' referred to as "esteemed" above who took upon himself the consecration of new priests and 'ganziabra' after all priests had been wiped out by the plague. There is a reference to this irregular consecration and to Rabbi Sam-Zihrn who instituted it in other manuscripts.

---

2 What 'taqal-i quran' means I cannot guess. A name? -
3 Illegible.
4 'tafala' = (a) "mud", "slime", or (b) "indecency", "foolish behaviour". Here obviously refers to a part of the ship.
5 'sukana' = "a steering-oar", "a tiller".
Diwan Maşbuta

is a metropolis. And one, a padre (clergyman) whose name was Yusha Ulyif (Joseph Agilif or Olaif) (came) and my father spoke with him. And he subed (put down! confused in argument) this padre that came here. And he (my father) instructed the Consul-Beg. Mr. Taylor, in the reading of the Ginasî 2, the book of the Lord of Majesty; and he (Taylor) in his heart believed in the Life. But, fearing the governor, he 3 did not explain the circumlocutions 4. Now, their Queen in London has become angry with him (Taylor).

As for me, it was when he was in Baghlah that they taught me the language of the Franks, English, and the language of the Armenians — may Hibil-Ziwa forgive me my sins! — for when I was with these (people) I did not apostatize. When I was little, I was with Christians and learnt words of their language of all kinds and sorts; but I did not apostatize, (for?) I was a priestly clerk, that is, removed from and alien to them, and my prayer and my praise was to the Life; and I apostatized not, nor did I eat of their food 6. 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 ... 8.

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

---

1 P. 'aṭṭah.

2 The Ginasî Rba, a collection of the principal Mandean religious texts gathered into a single volume.

3 Presumably this means Rabbi Adam-Yahia.

4 'aser. This word in ritual texts seems to indicate passages or words for which priests have a secret interpretation.

5 Vice-Consul J. E. Taylor. About 1854 he excavated at 'Ur and discovered the site of Erdu.

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 'minaḥun' or 'minaikun' 'from them' or 'from you'.
Two banners, no description.

Thirty-seven single figures each with a kintha before him follow in a single line in the centre of the scroll between the text or figures on either side. The kinthas are inscribed 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 varana upon which are spread the sacred food and drink for the Zidga Brika. The objects drawn on the table are described: "Dove, sindika (dalle), 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:


On the left side of the scroll:
