THE HARAN GAWAITA

AND

THE BAPTISM OF HIBIL-ZIWA

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

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

The colophon attached to D. C. 9 is more than usually illiterate and I have not translated it.
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 Mandes’ occurred too often to be a pure invention. The ‘Jebel Haran’ was mentioned once.

The Haran Gavaita, the text here translated, is considered by Mandaeans to be the true history of their race. Yet, in the Ginza Rba there is only one reference to “Haran”, “cedars from Haran”, although there are two references to a place called Hauraran to which the Draba & Yahia refers once. To quote from these books (translations of them may be found in Lidzbarski’s Der Ginza [G. R., pp. 502 and 583], and his Das Johannsbuch der Mandäer [J. B., p. 282]):

“Speak to them of the pure Hauraran”.

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

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

Hauran and Hauraran appear in a personified form in the ‘Nyaina’, a volume of liturgical prayers, sometimes as a single genius or heavenly power; and a being called Hauraran-Karkowen-Ziva is invoked.

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

“Ich suchte ihren Sitz auch energischer zu lokalisieren in Transjordan gebiete angesichts des Hauran-Gebirges ... Von Genius Hauran vermutete ich, dass in ihm das vergottete Hauran-Gebirge enthalten sei ...” (p. vi).

And in his Mandäische Liturgien, p. xxi:

“In den Gebeten begegnet man oft dem Genienpaar ḫurannaṭ und ḫurαn. ... Der zweite Name ist eine Erweiterung des ersten durch

ABBREVIATIONS


G. R. Ginza: der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandänder übersetzt und erklärt, von Mark Lidzbarski (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925).

J. B. Das Johannesbuch der Mandänder von Mark Lidzbarski (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1915).


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

P. Persian.
Wiederholung eines Konsanten ... Der Name Prot was also of prime -
ance. Ich identifiziere ihn mit dem geographischen Namen Pr., Es
könnte an sich die Mardam-Ebene wie das Harran-Gebirge sein. Aber
genaßer der Erwägung von Bergen haben wir viele Beispiele aus der
südlichen Welt. Daß nur der Harran unter ihren höheren Wiesen ers-
cheint, setzt voran, dass er in seiner Gesichtskreise gestanden hat.
Daher ist nicht zu wundern, daß jene Urgemeinschaft ihren Sitz in den
Oden Gebieten südlich vom Harran-Gebirge hatte. Hingegen kommt die
im Westen liegende fruchtbare Harran-Ebene, in deren östlichem Hor-
izont das Gebirge sich erhebt, gut in Betracht."

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

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

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

While John the Baptist is in no sense the founder of their faith
in Mandæan 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 "Miriā", her conversion to the Mandæan faith
and her flight from an already partially ruined Jerusalem to the
Euphrates is referred to several times in the Druṣa' q Tahya, as
especially in the Mirāl fragment (see J. B. pp. 123 ff.), and in the Gīna
Rba; there is a reference to Mirāl which resembles the story in the
Haran Bawāita. Ānuṣ-Uthra² 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 Mirāl. A

² Professor F. G. Burkitt (Church and Gnosis, Cambridge University Press
1932, pp. 110-112) suggested that the Mandæan Ānuṣ-Uthra was "the Mar-
cionite Jesus".

I took Mirāl down into the Jordan and baptised her and signed her with the pure
sign. And from Mirāl, the perfect one, Yaqīf and Bīla-Amm went forth.
From Yaqīf and Bīla-Amm three hundred and sixty-five disciples (or "priests") went forth. They went forth, and Jerusalem, home of the
Jews, waxed wroth and did the disciples who pronounce the Name of Life.

When Ānuṣ-Uthra appeals to Heaven, Jerusalem is completely
destroyed, as in the Harran Bawāita. Mirāl's conversion is also the theme of a song in the "Niamia".²

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

a) MMII pp. 268-9. The narrator said that wood to build the Ark
was collected on the "Jebel Harran" (The story was told in Arabic).

b) MMII pp. 263-5. Moses was against the Mandaeans and had quar-
relled with them in Egypt. King Ardban (Arta-bānu) of the Mandæa-
s had a vision and heard a voice coming out of the House of Life
saying "Rise ..... (etc.). He rose and led them out of Egypt by way
of a sea which divided (The crossing of the "Yama d Snt" [Red
Seal] follows). The legend continues with the settlement of sixty
thousand Mandaeans led by Ardban (Arta-bānu) in the "Pura o Ma-
dai" (Median hill-country?). The story of Yahia-Yuhana follows: an
embroidery on the story related in the Druṣa' q Tahya.

c) MMII pp. 266 ff. "Abraham was of our people — we called him Bah-
ram". The narrator continued by relating the story of his circum-
cision as a result of disease (e.g., the account given by the Egypt-
ian Manetho). Al-Biwrān (tenth century) repeated the story, more
or less in the Mandæan form, beginning "The remnant of these
Sābiyas are living in Harran, their name (al-Harrāniya) being derived from
their place".

d) MMII pp. 273-282. In this legend a darwish named Bahram (or Bī-
ram) was described as being a Mandæan, and member of a celibate
community "in the north". It describes making images of the
planets, in a manner which was apparently not inconsistent with
the faith. "At one time the Mandæans (Mandæans) were the masters
of the north and of this country also. Their origin was of the
mountains, and they always loved the mountains better than the plains,
for 'in the hills there are springs in which to bathe, in winter warm,
and in summer cold. For our people have always loved bathing and

² For the German translation see Q. R. 341 ff.
The story ends with the baptism of John by 'Manda
d' and the destruction of Jerusalem. The story ends with the baptism of John by 'Manda
d' and the destruction of Jerusalem.

The Jewish origin of the Sābiyun is supported by the scholarly


d the remnant of the Jewish tribes who remained in Babylon when
he other tribes left it for Jerusalem in the days of Cyrus and Artaexerxes. These remaining tribes... adopted a system mixed up of Magism and Judaism like that of the Samaritans in Syria.

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

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.
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".

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

I have two copies of the Haran Gawaita: one, copied in 1088 A. H. forms the eighth section of a very long scroll entitled Alf Trisar Suialia (D. C. 36). The first seven parts represent a Mandaean priest's library, and are a collection of manuscripts, mostly fragmentary; some begin and end in the middle of a sentence. (I have a second copy of Alf Trisar Suialia, D. C. 6, which like scroll Code Sabean 16 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has no eighth part.) My other copy of the Haran Gawaita (D. C. 9) appears to have been detached from a copy of the Alf Trisar Suialia, 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 Mandaean texts indicates either a complete break in matter or subject corresponding to the period or full stop, or it is a sign that a recitation in antiphon is to pass to the other priest or priests participating. It dawned upon me that the lavish use of the symbol represented breaks in a manuscript badly damaged by fire or water, passages which were either missing or unreadable. The conscientious copyist, unwilling to leave any part of so precious a document unrecorded, filled in blanks by the double circle. My theory was confirmed by the fact that as the roll continued, the double circle disappeared.

The text begins in the middle of a sentence, and is in itself a riddle. Who was the "him"? Who was it that took refuge in "Haran Gawaita" just before the Christian era? It is evident that he was neither John the Baptist nor Christ, although a fragmentary and polemical reference to Christ and his brother follows, succeeded by a legendary life of John the Baptist. The story of John differs from that in other Mandaean texts; for instance, Zachariah is not mentioned. The Mandaean has no theory of divinely inspired scripture; to him the immutable and sacro-sanct elements of his religion are the ancientrituals, 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 Subba can be classified as members of the Iranian Plateau race." Dr. Field's research was the more valuable because the Subba (Mandaenae) have been segregated over a long period by strict religious law. In spite of a high degree of homogeneity, however, Dr. Field concludes that the Subba are not an entirely single racial stock. On the whole, Dr. Field's report corroborates the Mandaean tradition of a migration from Media into Southern Babylonia and Persia.


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


5 I have discovered no copy in European libraries.
HARAN GAWAITA
(D. C. 9., D. C. 36)
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, Zokia Zihrun, son of Srdia, and far my offspring and brothers (and sisters), and for my parents, in the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat-Hila. 

... and he called the people to himself and spoke of his death and took away some of mysteries of the (sacred?) Meal and abstained

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2 Thus D.C. 36. D.C. 9 begins "This is the Diwan of Haran Gawaita" and the copyist gives his name as Ram Zihrun son of Maltha.
3 "The Inner Haran". Is this the city Harran or the Harran? Probably the latter.
4 Artabanus, but which? History knows five kings of Parthia with this name. The Artabanus contemporary with Christ was Artabanus III, but the passage above might refer to an earlier Artabanus.
5 In both manuscripts 'tura al Maltha'.
6 alma al akalun'. Unusual: one would expect 'akalun'.
7 In D.C. 36 this is plainly 'marh al Aduna', "the lord of A".
8 'al layahib', "not given"; i.e., not begotten by her husband?
9 Later in the manuscript: Mary is called Maria.
10 The Pael form of HZA with 'u' or '1' = "to inflame" (for evil), "get the better of"; "bewitch", (of a demon). Lit. "bewitching her".
11 'aunawala'razia al 'kila' mn 'ulga', pumh mn 'kila'. The passage is obscure. I take it to refer to the sacramental meal eaten for the "salalug up" of the soul ("'kila' = "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 Nigrat (Nazareth), a city of the Jews, which is called
the city of Qum...2...

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

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

...one. The First Life conceived a plan for gaining a graspy 5
in order to destroy the mysteries 6 of Adonai from the seas and
to destroy the plot of Ruha 7 and Adonai 8 which came (omitted)
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?)...
...and she will be a deliverer (midwife) to the child into Parwan, the white mountain, an earthly place. And (in?) that place the fruit and sky are large. There the Tree which nourisheth infants. And they took back Sufnai the lilith to a (?) place so that when they should perform a living baptism to purify the child, the apostle of Kusta, Yahia-Yuhana...

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

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

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

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

1. Cf. a similar anecdote in the Gospel of Thomas.
2. 'Našrīta' comprises all that a priest learns: prayers, rituals, theology, secret interpretations, exorcisms and astrology.
3. 'Taga' (crown, Suet) is the badge of priesthood.
4. 'Tura d Malai'. It is evident in this passage that 'cura' refers to a range of hills, not to a single mountain.
5. Aharan sinth ma 'Aharan in both texts.
6. 'From the hills' if the missing words were 'mn tura'.
7. Verbally identical with the passage in the Ginza Rba quoted in note 7, p. 5, except that there the healer was Anus-Uthra.
8. I.e., the death-angel, Saurial.
his fathers; and told them, how it had happened. Then there came
and arose the great Father of Glory together with his mild son Hibl...
and they acted," and then Hibl came... towards Annū-'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 Parwan 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 naṣāki
by virtue of those pure and important spells. And the rule of Ruha and
her seven sons and of the Jews will be brought to nought from now
until the end of the world."

Thereupon Annū-'Uthra changed nothing of that which they
commanded him (to do), and Hibil-Ziwa came and burnt and destroy-
ed 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 govern-
ment 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 Ginza Raha. "shaq iriqah" "it lipt its
banks."

2 For most Mandaeas ceremonies a banner is planted in the ground.
The streamer, of white silk, is several yards long. See MMII p. 108-8.

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" (cf. S. A. Reeds'); the precise identification is uncertain)
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
"crowning" may refer to some return of Jewish settlers in Babylonia to Palestine.

6 Read "bnatun" for "bnālun".
7 The besieged Jews.
8 The besieging host; Romans?

9 D. C. 9 has "wabār" for "wabār".
10 See p. 6, n. 3. Note that in this passage Parwan is stated to be in Media.
11 The destruction referred to here must be that by Titus in 70 B.C. If the
narrative is continuous, rebellion of the Jews followed by siege and destruction began "sixty years" after John the Baptist. It is unlikely to be Hadrian's
massacre and conquest of the Jews in 135 A.D. after Bar-Cochba's rebellion.

12 For Baghdad read Babylon and Babylonia throughout. The whole vilayet
of Baghdad as well as the city was called Babil by travellers well into the Middle
Ages, and the narrator is addressing readers of his time.
13 D. C. 9 has "sharga", D. C. 30 "sharga".
14 This might refer to a massacre of the Jews which occurred during the
anarchy which prevailed after the conflict of Artabanus III with Tiridates.
Dr. N. C. Debovoe (Political History of Parthia, Univ. of Chicago, 1938, p. 104)
says: "Within Seleucia there was continual strife between opposing elements.
The native or Babylonian group and the Jews of first
ally, and together they massacred thousands of Jews."
15 I. e., were "Nagauria", "Nazoraean."
by Anūš-‘Uthra', at the word and command of Hibil-Ziwa, came as the great Father of Glory had commanded. And one of them was Zazai son of Hibil-‘Uthra'. Him Anūš-‘Uthra installed in the city of Baghdad. And Anūš-‘Uthra installed one whose name was Papa son of Guda upon the great Tigris and at the mouth of the ‘Ulai (Karan river). And one, named Anūš son of Najar-Hila, Anūš-‘Uthra installed at its source. Anūš-Salār son of Nsab (he installed) on the Euphrates, and one whose name was Brik-Yawar son of Bihdāh he placed at Pmbbit (Pūmbāti) a territory situated at the end of Sura. And one, whose name was Nsab son of Bīram, he placed on the mountain(s) of Glazlak, and one whose name was Ska-Manda he set at the extremity of the mountain of the Watersprings at the tail-end of the Parwan range at the place from which those seven kings went forth and dispersed, (namely, those seven guards) who came with Anūš-‘Uthra to conquer Darkness and to bring the plot of Ruha to nought. And they annihilated the rulers of the Jews and made them as if they had never existed. And Anūš-‘Uthra placed them (the seven viceroy's) at the seven corners of the House, upon the seven horns of the worlds, in order to crush the power of Darkness and to establish the Call of the Life and to make void the rebellious outcry.

When Anūš-‘Uthra had done that by order of Hibil-Ziwa whom the great Father of Glory commanded, Anūš-‘Uthra went to the ‘Tura d Madai' (Median mountains), called Haran Gawaita, and brought Bhira son of Śītil, a descendant of Artabanus king of the Nasoraeans and cet him up in Baghdad (Babylon) and installed him in sovereign power (as its sovereign). And in his company there were sixty Nasoraeans, and the Nasoraeans in Baghdad (Babylonia) multiplied and became many. Some of the tribe of Bhira son of Śītil, Nasoraeans, came with him until there were four hundred maškni; in Baghdad.

1 This name and others in the text appear to be malawia', secret names used for religious and magical purposes. See MMII pp. 81-2.
2 I think. One would expect *autišh*.
3 This must be Pūmbāti on the Euphrates where there was a celebrated Jewish academy. The site is near the modern town of Pāhajah on the Euphrates.
4 At Sura, a town in southern Babylonia between the canals, there was a noted Jewish academy.
5 I have been unable to identify this place-name.
6 Mandaeans often refer to the earthly world as the House.
7 See note 1.
8 The cult-hut and sacred enclosure are called the *maškna* or *manda*, the hut itself being the *bit maškna*, or *bimanda*.  

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; (yea) there: are some amongst the Nasoraeans at the latter end of the age, for they go forth that ye may be filled, and Nasoraeans of the end of the age are amongst their descendants. (But) from the Root of those disciples of Yahia-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 that) two hundred and eighty and eight years have passed since some of the sons of those disciples
of Yahia-Yuhana went forth, so that Ruha cometh and confuseth them and twisteth words and perverteth seals and changeth phrases and prayers” by agency of descendants of those disciples, that is, those disciples that were propagated from Jewish seed. For the Son of the Pure Drop, the Mystery (and is it? the Jews, Jerusalem of the Jews, Ruha caused them to obey the mysteries of the body, and (so) they fell away from purity (the pure doinrinet). I will tell you, (Oye) priests who live in the Arab age, (of that which occurred) before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, went out and prophesied as a prophet in the world so that they performed circumcision like Jews and changed sayings — for he is the most degraded of false prophets. Mars accompanied him because he is the Seal of prophets of the Lie, (although) the Messiah will appear after him at the end of the age! I will inform you, Naoraeans, that before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, emerged and was called prophet in the world and Mars descended with him, he drew the sword and converted people to himself by the sword. About eighty-six years before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, Adonai sent Surbi-Ruha, who is his spouse, to the city of Tib, called locally the City of Sganda because all that was done (during) his rule in Baghdad. (For) Sganda (dwelt?) in Tib; it was his native place; and it was called “the city of Sganda” (also) because in it there were Naoraeans and rishamis (ethnaoza) 11. And there was one rishoma called Qiqil.

1. ‘Hatmia’ — “signs”, “seals”; i.e. the signings with water and oil at baptism.
2. An inversion: the root is QHD “to cry, call aloud”. The psalm begins “Tushan” (“praise”) is called the great, qesdeha in D. C. 34.
3. D. C. 36 has ‘zida’ (’male’) for ‘zira’ (’seed’).
5. Unbracketed words in italics are a gloss.
6. ‘Shat’, ‘SH’ — “to cut the throat, slaughter ritchly”. Cf. Arabic ‘fr to be bloodstained”. Muhammad is meant of course.
7. D. C. 9 has ‘‘. The Imperfect tense is used; I have substituted the Perfect throughout.
8. ‘Surbi’, Possibly a composite word from the root ‘SUR’ “to propagate” and ‘bi’, “evil”.
9. ‘Sganda’ or ‘Sganda’ is sometimes used as a “malaise” name (see p. 10, n. 1). The child or youth of priestly family who assist priests during rituals is called an ‘sganda’ or ‘Sganda’ (Semitian, ‘sganda’ = “minister, messenger”, Accadian ‘sgandu’).
10. ‘Malikut’ i.e. ‘Sganda’s term of office as head of the root’.
11. ‘ ‘ (head of the people’) is a higher in rank than a ‘ganzi bra’. The grade is now obsolete.

And Adonai sent Surbi-Ruha into this world, and said to her: “Go, appear to Qiqil of the Naoraeans 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 Naoraeans will turn to it”.

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

Thereupon Qiqil brought parchment and reed-pen and wrote and distributed (doctrine emanating) from Ruha, whilst his understanding was refl from him. So schism ensued amongst the Naoraeans and candidates for priesthood as result of those writings which he had written. Then she removed herself from his presence, and Qiqil’s mind and understanding returned and he recanted his words and revoked phylacteries (scrolls) of her construction and that which had been taught to him by Ruha, yea, every writing that he had by him of those writings (dictated) by Ruha, he burnt in the fire. And he sent to the Naoraeans and candidates for priesthood (saying): “Bring the writings which I give (gave) you; burn them with fire, for she (Ruha) deluded me when I knew not from whom she came.” And he took away his writing from such Naoraeans 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 ‘adit’ for ‘aitit’; D. C. 9 has ‘aita’ (“there exists”).
2. For ‘magalta ulhip’ (parchment and reed-pen) both have ‘magalta ulha’ (Cf. ‘maglaba ulhip’ “lash and whip”). A miswriting.
3. The title or titles of some heretical composition.
4. Akwaliana, leakers, neophytes, are candidates for priesthood during the time of their instruction and initiation.
5. Elsewhere, ‘maghia’ is a word meaning phylacteries, talismans, written exorcisms meant to be carried on the person.
6. D. C. 9 has ‘amunil d aqarat tan as layadi mn maul’ (“Aqarat = aqratan”, “tricked me by illusion”).
7. See p. 11, n. 1.
of the Jews' and some of these writings remained with them.

And Hibil-Ziwa hath delivered this saying and warning to Nasoraneans 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) Nasoraneans that shall exist at the end of the last age, I exhort you, be firm and act according to this book — its name is the Great Revelation. For at that time peoples, nations and tongues will multiply, and every individual will seek his own gain. And books and religions treatises of Ruha and Adonai ('s making) will be many, and through them souls will sink down to the Darkness. Thus, before the appearance of the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, the Christian, Idumaean, Jewish, Hurbadaean and Dibilaeans peoples became many. The peoples were divided and languages became numerous; even the languages of Nasoraneans multiplied. This; and then sovereignty was taken from the descendents of King Artabanus, and (they were driven) from Baghdad; the Hardbaeans (Sasanians) taking over the kingdom. (Nevertheless) there remained one hundred and seventy banners and bimandia in Baghdad.

And so a Hardbaean (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 word from the city of Damascus unto Bit Dubar, which is called Bdir. 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) Anu, called the son of Danqa, from the uplands of the Arsia (from the city) the city of Baghdad bisu' 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 Sul-Zaha which is called Baasrah, and showed him the hill-country of the Persians (unto?) the city of Baghdad. And Anu ('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 Nasoraneans stood firm. And a list of kings is in this book, which teacheth (chronicle) from Adam, king of the world, unto King Artabanus. Yea even unto Anu-son-of-Danqa, who were (all) of the Chosen Root. Then he told him about the king of the Artubalea (Sasanians); about all he sought to do and (of) his connection with the children of the

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

2 The author uses continuously the historic present.

3 See p. 11 n. 1.

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

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

6 Their souls are written.

7 Dumaia', Edomites, Idumaeeans. (See Divan Ahatr, Studi et Testi, No. 151, p. 45).

8 Hurbadaeia. The 'Hardbaia', 'Hurdbaia', 'Hirdubaia', 'Hardubaia', or 'Ardbiaia' ("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.

9 Dibilaeia. This appears to be a mistranslation of the 'Dilmalea', i.e. the inhabitants of the ancient Dallam (see Sfor Malefia, Luzac, London, 1948, p. 207).

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

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

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

And, concerning that which I found in these commentaries on the Great Revelation, I found not (its equal!) amongst all the treatises and misria and miscellanies about the Great Life which were in libraries and in my possession. I went round to all the Naqoæan script (7) that there were; I saw many scripts, writings of research and manuscripts of the Great Revelation, but saw not the like of this well-established. Source. For it is reliable, existing from ancient times and eternally, from the beginning of the eighth world unto worlds' end. (These are) writings which teach orthodox procedure, that are all clarity. Instruction about the beginnings of all light and the end of all darkness is found in these writings of the Great Revelation and not found in any other books. That which is taught in this book and Road of the Righteous hath been bestowed upon the righteous unto worlds' end; this Road of the Righteous hath been bestowed upon (every) son of the True Root, upon (every) son of the Pure Drop who, when listening to the words and teachings of this writing of the righteous, witnesseth publicly thereto, and his mind testifieth thereto and is enlightened. But when a foolish person heareth these trustworthy words his mind growtheth dark and he doeth not appreciate them, nor can (such a person) discern that they are pure sayings. And (their) colours die away from his mind like as a burgeoning plant (jadoth) and the mot from which it appeared. (8)

1 A play on words such as Mandæans 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 ‘qaddhia’ -penetrated (mysteries) - and ‘qadaha’ - those who penetrate deeply (into hidden meanings).

2 ‘Qadaha’ (Cf. J. p. 318 (see p. 14). "one able to enter into the depth of a Biblical subject ")(2).

3 This passage is a faulty paraphrase of sentences in (a) Alî Trîsra Sâlikat and (b) Gîna Rba, left side, viz. (a) that ragî Allison uttrîs hilātīa dîlûn abâtya mahā amrâ (Revel nothing to foolish ‘uthârî who will bring our mysteries into contempt and know not what they say); (b) Kulman miqtâl ulâshîl, imuta saim lqu’dâmsh ut’é tigalatî (He that assemblèth and curseth Death layeth up for himself sixty-six causes of stumbling). See G. R. p. 425.

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

5 ‘Kusâ’ 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 carries his right hand to his lips and kisses it. In the Mandæan literature, Kusâ 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 ‘alîmph’; D.C.O. ‘alîmph.

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

And then Hibil-Ziwa — praised be his name! — taught Nasaoreans 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 to the end of the worlds — persecution and tribulation will increase for Nasaoreans; purity will decrease and pollutions, adultery, theft and fraud will increase. And men will be polluted and during that period man will drink the blood of fellow-man. All that is fair (will disappear)\(^4\), but, amongst Nasaoreans, 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\(^5\), for the Law is constituted of four mysteries; part therein is (of) the Light, and part therein wholly Root of Darkness. And it endureth for (†) 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)\(^7\), and mucus.

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1 'Tuqna', see p. 16, n. 6. (Much of the All Trias of the Rivia is concerned with the proper performance of rituals, with purificatory rites etc.).

2 See Dicyn Alpayur, p. 18, notes 4 and 6.

3 Read 'dikia'.

4 The sentence seems incomplete.

5 'Mnawath' baia mikal, '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 'mn' for 'mma'.

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

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

18 (But) the habiliments of the soul are formed of mystery, light and the jordan; the sod is formed by proper observance of the three mysteries, by purification of the four natural humours is the soul's vestment formed. For this is the eighth world, and it will turn from this habiliment, this 'garment' in which it dwelleth; it will not tarry therein.

(During) this Arab age every evil creature multipliceth like evil weeds that grow apace, and peoples, nations and languages disperse and become measureless and numberless, like the Darkness that came into being with abundance.

Hibil-Ziwa taught that "At the latter end of the world, when the Arab, the Son-of-Slaughter, hath completed his (allotted) four thousand years, it will come to pass that the false messiah, son of Miriam, will succeed him, and that he will come and will show forth signs and wonders in the world until the birds and the fish from sea and rivers open their mouths and bless him and give testimony, until (even) the clay and mudbrick in a building bear witness to him, and until four-legged creatures open their mouths and testify to him."\(^8\)

And Hibil-Ziwa explained (further): "(But) you, O Nasaoreans, and righteous elect men, testify not to him, for he is a false Messiah that walketh by fraud and sorcery. He is Mercury, who attracteth attention and doth whatsoever he wisheth and his mind is filled with sorcery and frauds. I declare to you, (ye) chosen righteous ones and (ye) perfect ones that that is stedfast, abide by this pure line of separation and alter no word or command of the great Father hunger and thirst from which the soul was freed". (Blood, gall, venting wind, and mucus or spit; are polluting in the eyes of Mandaeans). The passage occurs in the Alma Rabiya Rha (D. C. 41).

3 The word "maya" "mystery" is especially applied to ritual meals consumed in the name of the dead.

4 'Tuqna', see p. 16, n. 1, and p. 16, n. 6.

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

6 D. C. 9 has 'sataarly baiba lubia', D. C. 36 'sataarly lubia', see note 3.

7 Cf. Gine Rha (left side): — "It will happen that the false Messiah will come and become lord of the whole world... From East to West he will come a day and even clay brick will testify to him from the wall" (G. R. P. 414). See also Pogon, op. cit., pp. 155 and 226.

8 D. C. 36 mlaqat aina; D. C. 9 'mlaqat aina'; Rb. 'holath aena'.

9 'Miga' (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 perform circumcision; 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.

"(Pea), there will be righteous people and government will revert to sons of the Great Family of Life, and they will be diligent and have the ascendance. (But) kings bring accusation against the age, just as the Root of Nasoreans reprove it, for, before all (else) they cared for agriculture and gladdened the king (?). And people will be converted, and there will be righteous people and righteousness will be increased. 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 come: those fifty thousand years will be my allotted portion, mine, Yawar-Ziwa's, because the first age was (the age of) Annu-Utra and its consummation (or "development") was bestowed upon me, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa.

"Then the latter part of the age and the 'decadence and end of the world will be given' to Mamit the Least-of-her-Brethren; (her portion) followeth my portion, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa.

"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 act according to this reliable basis, and with a sincere heart and believing lips be of my allotted portion, mine the High King of light, so that thereby Habšaba (Sunday) 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 Mandaean that is of the True Root, yet doth not bear testimony to this Road of the Righteous but testifieth according to the Way of Ruha, their words have I rejected. (Such a one) will not be my allotted portion but will belong to Ruha

1 D. C. 36 ‘bhā ḏā dm d Krun’; D. C. 9 ‘bhā ḏā Akrun’.
2 D. C. 36 ‘bhā ḏā Akrun’.
3 D. C. 9 ‘bhā ḏā Akrun’.
4 Or ‘perfect’.
5 Or ‘crookedness of vision’.
6 D. C. 9 has ‘balma’; D. C. 36 ‘alma’. Here D. C. 9 seems the more likely.
7 D. C. 9 has ‘alma’ after ‘balma’, making the sentence ‘force he had not in the world until Mars cometh and set up his sign’.
8 D. C. 9 has ‘maukia’ (Af. NKA); D. C. 36 ‘malakia’. Context indicates that D. C. 9 is the more likely word here.
9 The whole passage is obscure, and translation tentative.
10 ‘Zira’ is obviously a miswriting for either ‘zida’ (wrath, malevolence) or ‘zhira’ (resentment, venom). ‘Ill-will’ covers both meanings.
11 ‘Zira’ is obviously a miswriting for either ‘zida’ (wrath, malevolence) or ‘zhira’ (resentment, venom). ‘Ill-will’ covers both meanings.
12 D. C. 36 has ‘zibnia’ for ‘ānia’.
13 Ps. of SQM (to complete, make perfect, consummate, develop).
14 D. C. 9 has Amamit for Mamit throughout. Amamit appears in the Gêna Rba as the wife of Zartai-Zartanai (a king of the underworld) and as an epithet for Libat (Venus). The word ‘mâmin’ (mâmin) = ‘death’, ‘pestilence’.
15 ‘Alina’ — Geschwister, i.e., both brothers and sisters.
16 ‘Qin’ = queen in the underworld.
17 ‘Qin’ is the root of ‘Qin’ as a foreign king.
18 ‘Thiat’ = Ethpa. BUA. To produce, bring about, result in.
19 D. C. 9 has ‘uktulta’ for ‘šulta’.
20 A free translation. See p. 18, n. 5.
21 ‘Habšaba’ = ‘the First Day of the Week’ is personified by Mandaens as a saviour-spirit.
22 ‘Habšaba’ = ‘the First Day of the Week’ is personified by Mandaens as a saviour-spirit.
and the Messiah, Habbata will not be his helper, and he will not be delivered out of the hands of the sons of Eemi.\(^1\)

These doctrines were imparted by Hibil-Ziwa to the sons of the great Family of Life. And he enlighteneth their minds and instructed their intelligence about the King of Light — praised be His name! And this is a copy of the Diwan of Gadana Rabbi\(^2\). 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 of the feet of Naasoranea, dust beneath the feet of the pious and least amongst my fellow ganziwhi\(^3\). 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 Biiram-Brhisla son of Rabbi Adam-Zakia son of Rabbi Brhiia, 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...\(^4\) family name Kuhailia... from a copy of a Diwan belonging the great, lofty and respected one, a reliable priest, Rabbi Mhatam son of Yahia-Bayan son of Yuhana-Sadan son of Zakria-Br-Hibil son of Zakria known as Dihdaria, and his family name Sabur. And he had no copy but this. And Life is victorious. Finis.

Thus this venerated Diwan, Explanations and Great Revelation called the Haran Gawaita was set in order and completed on Friday the, twenty-sixth of the Month of Second Sowing, which is Nisan (in the sign of) the Ram, the year of Friday \(^5\) in the year one thousand, and eighty-eight of Arab chronology — may the (world) founder, upon them, and Manda-d-Hilla 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\(^6\) of the respected craftsman Nairuz son of Hadat, his name' being Yahia son of Biiram 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-Hilla 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-Hilla 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 Mandaeans 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-Biiram (etc. etc.) copied from two diwans...”.

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

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

2. Gad was the Babylonian god of good fortune, to whom even Jewish sects paid tribute. ‘Gadana’ = “fortunate, auspicious” or “divine”, “godlike”.

3. S. . . . a = ‘Saka’, terminus, end.

4. A ‘ganziwhi’ is a rank above ‘tarmida’ “priest”.

5. A break.

6. I. e., a year which began on a Friday.

7. A ‘tarmada’ appears to have been a three-walled chamber, the open side of which formed an outer courtyard or private garden.

8. That is, his ‘malawa’; see p. 10 n. 1.