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DIWAN ABATUR



PROGRESS THROUGH THE PURGATORIES

TEXT

WITH TRANSLATION NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY

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CITTÀ DEL VATICANO

BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA

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LOAN STACK

TYPIS POLYGLOTTIS VATICANIS

P R E F A C E

In the year 1622 a Carmelite father, R. P. Ignatius, was despatched by the Propaganda in Rome to the Nestorians of Mesopotamia. Whilst in Baṣrah, he met with members of a sect who, as is their custom when dealing with Christians, told him that their prophet was St. John the Baptist. From them he obtained a roll illustrated by curious drawings of beings which they described as angels or demons. On his return to Rome Ignatius published a treatise in Latin about this interesting group of heretics¹ whose ceremonies were at once like and unlike those of Oriental Christians, and whose creed was so strangely perverted and pagan.

The roll found its way into the Museo Borgiano in Rome where Julius Euting saw it in 1879². Euting was deeply interested and persuaded a friend, Dr. B. Pförtner, to photograph the manuscript. This photograph was published in Strasbourg in 1904, under the title "Mandäischer Diwan nach photographischer Aufnahme, von Dr. B. Pförtner mitgeteilt von Julius Euting". It was not translated.

Early in my dealings with Mandaean priests in the marshes of Lower 'Irāq I was shown a copy of the *Diwan Abatur* and after long negotiations, it was arranged that I should have the roll that I had seen after its owner had copied it for himself. The copy was made with skill and care and the original sent to me. Judging by the paper and other indications, my roll, D. C. 8 of my collection, is about the same date as the manuscript taken to Rome by Ignatius. Neither the Borgian manuscript nor mine is dated, although each has a long list of copyists, showing that the text was an ancient one. A considerable part of the beginning is missing from the Roman roll, but I have been able to compare the remainder of the Borgian manuscript with my own. I discovered no other copy of the text in 'Irāq, although, of course, other priests may have concealed possession of a copy since, in spite of the inferior and childish quality of the composition and mistakes due to constant recopying, it is looked upon as a precious and holy book.

The illustrations, archaic and suggestive of a Cubist form of art,

¹ *Narratio originis, rituum, et errorum Christianorum Sancti Ioannis*, Romae, 1652.

² It was removed from there in 1902 to the Vatican Library; its present shelf-mark is Borg. siriaco 175 and it will be referred to as B. I have given D. C. 8 to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, England.

are identical in both manuscripts. The Šubba are clever artists and craftsmen, but tradition dictates that representation of celestial and infernal beings must follow a certain pattern. Drawings like these in the *Diwan Abatur* are found in the ritual rolls, so that we have here no childish inability to portray a subject, but deliberate convention of a very individual order. A Šubbi smith who drew naturalistic pictures for engraving on his silverwork, when asked by me to draw pictures of some celestial beings, produced similar odd geometrical-looking designs.

In the following pages I have translated the word *maṭarta* "purgatory" instead of the literal "place of detention" or, as Lidzbarski translates "Wachthaus"¹. Since the *maṭarata* are places where the sinful and impure are purged by punishment of sin and uncleanness, they are undoubtedly "purgatories". The idea that the soul must pass through seven planetary spheres after death, shedding in its progress impure and earthly qualities connected astrologically with each of the seven planets, is familiar to the reader of Gnostic literature. In this Mandaean text, however, the rulers of the *maṭarata* are not all planetary spirits. The planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Moon and Sun have their *maṭarata*, but so have purely Mandaean beings such as Ptahil and his sons Bihram, Anuš, Hibil, Ginziel or Kanziel, Nbat, and Šitil; and the saviour-spirit, the personified Sunday.

The Puritanical nature of Mandaean religion, to which music, dancing, ornaments and coloured clothing are abhorrent, is evident throughout, and ancient tabus about women are reflected in heavy penalties for sexual impurity, witting or unwitting. Such rigid rules have helped, no doubt, to preserve the health and vigour of the race.

Part of the text is one of many creation myths found in Mandaean literature. Through it, as in similar creation stories in the *Ginza Rabba* and *Draša d Yahia*, runs a theme of discord amongst primordial spirits of creation; of jealousy, rebellion and pride eventually quenched and reconciled by divine wisdom.

I gave a summary of D. C. 8 in the first number of the Journal of the British School of Archaeology in 'Irāq, but this is the first time that the complete text is published and translated. Finally, I have made little attempt to interpret what is seemingly unintelligible and probably corrupt, and I doubt whether this is possible. This applies particularly to the descriptions of the drawings. A guess at anything but the literal translation would be an unwarrantable liberty.

¹ G. R. p. 383 l. 29 and throughout G. R. and J. B.

ABBREVIATIONS

- B. The manuscript of the *Diwan Abatur* in the Vatican Library: shelf-mark, Borg. siriac 175.
- D. C. (= « Drower Collection ») refers to my own collection of Mandaean manuscripts, some of which are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Many of these are unpublished.
- D. C. 8 The *Diwan Abatur*, number 8 of my collection; now in the Bodleian Library under the heading Ms. Drower 8.
- D. C. 22 The *Ginza Rba* in my collection. The letter (r) and (l) indicate the right and the left parts of the book.
- D. C. 30 *The Draša d Yahia* in my collection.
- D. C. 36 The *Alf Trisar Šuialia* (Thousand and Twelve Questions) in my collection.
- Dal. *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*, by Dr. D. G. H. Dalman (Kauffmann, Frankfurt a-M, 1922).
- Fazl-i-'Ali *A Dictionary of the Persian and English Languages*, by Maulawi Fazl-i-'Ali (Education Society, Bombay, 1885).
- G. R. *Ginza, der Schatz oder das Grosse Buch der Mandäer, übersetzt und erklärt*, by Mark Lidzbarski (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1925).
- J. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature*, by Marcus Jastrow, Ph. D., Litt. D. (Verlag Chorob, New York-Berlin, 1926).
- MMII *The Mandaean of Iraq and Iran: their Cults, Customs Magic, Legends and Folklore*, by E. S. Drower (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937).
- P. Persian.
- Pa. The *Pael* form of a verb.
- St. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, by F. Steingass, Ph. D. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Ltd. London, 1930).

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TRANSLATION

My Lord be praised. Pure of Heart. Lord of all Worlds

In the name of the Great Life! Healing and vindication and sealing and armed readiness and the great safeguard of truth and forgiving of sins be there for me, Ram Yuhana son of Mudalal; and for my father, Ram son of Mahnuš, and my mother, Mudalal daughter of Mamania; and for my father's wife, Šarat daughter of Mahnuš; and for my brothers (and sisters), Yasmin, Anhar, Šarat Simat, Mudalal and Zihrun Yuhana, children of Mudalal; and for my half-brother, Yahia Yuhana son of Šarat; and for my family and progeny and all souls who are children of the great Family of the Life (and) who testify to the Life. May my name and theirs be knit together in the communion of Šišlam the Great and in the communion of Yawar the Great, and They shall count us in Their count and amongst those allotted to the Father of 'Uthras¹. And he² shall be of the company³ of Abatur by the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat Hia.

S a⁴.

(Beginning missing)

Then Hibil Ziwa went and said to Abatur, "Arise! set up thy throne in the House of Boundaries and take over sovereignty. And sublimate that which is sound (*good*) from that which is base⁵ when Man's⁶ measure is full⁷ and he cometh and is baptized in the jordan, is weighed in thy Scales, is sealed with thy Seal and riseth up and dwelleth in thy world".

Then Abatur spoke and saith to Hibil Ziwa, "This ye have arranged for me, (*that I was obliged to leave*) my land that is lofty and

¹ Spirits of life and fertility.

² The copyist, Ram Yuhana.

³ Literally "of the count of".

⁴ S a, means 'saka', "end, boundary". It is placed at the end of a section and marks a break in narration or sense.

⁵ Literally "dregs".

⁶ Literally "his". The missing part evidently indicates as translated.

⁷ I. e. when the allotted span of life is ended by death.

my spouses who are worthy and suitable, and ye brought me and made me "He-of-the-Scales"¹.

Those that commit adultery and practise debauchery, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that take a plighted wife and turn from their troth, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that break away from their comrades..... *burning in coals of fire*², in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those who loosen the (*sacred*) girdle³, and go and worship the planets and are sealed with the seal of the planets, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those who loosen the girdle, and go and bind barsom-twigs⁴, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that eat of profane foods⁵ and cut a profane animal (*kill for themselves, not employing a slaughterer?*), in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those who go to the markets and streets, perform no ritual ablutions (*thereafter*), and stand and pray the 'Devotions'⁶, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that eat of a victim sacrificed by the Twelve Gates⁷ so that the sign of the planets is kept therein, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that bear the seed of living waters and go, sowing it in turbid waters⁸, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that take a woman that is not their own and have offspring by them that are denied by them and called outcasts⁹ by them, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that perform the works of Šhaq son of Yušamin¹⁰, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that drink wine to the sound of drums and Ruha-music¹¹, in what jordan shall I

¹ This reproach is explained by other texts. Abatur Rama (the Lofty Abatur) was forced to occupy lower office and to become Abatur of the Scales, that is, the being appointed to weigh human souls, consign them to a place of purification, reweigh them, and then pronounce them ready to go to the worlds of light.

² Delete these words in italics, which are an intrusion from a similar passage further on. Perhaps a passage is missing?

³ Mandaeans, like Zoroastrians, have a sacred girdle.

⁴ Binding the twigs ('tai') of barsom is part of the Zoroastrian Yasna ceremony.

⁵ Possibly this should be 'hbulia aklin' ("take interest, are usurers").

⁶ The 'Rahmia' are prayers recited daily.

⁷ Those of other religions, non-Mandaeans.

⁸ That is, marry or have sexual relations with women of another faith.

⁹ Children of adultery are 'ganibia', 'outcasts'. 'Ganabia' is probably a miswriting.

¹⁰ For Yušamin and other celestial and infernal beings see the Appendix.

¹¹ "Venus-music" would be an apt translation. Ruha is the personification of the passionate and emotional side of human personality. See 'Ruha' in the Appendix.

cleanse them? Those that have communicants, and when they give them the oblation deny (*lit.* "cut from") the oblation to the poor¹, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that perform baptism without a *pandama*², in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Those that read a *masigta*³ and dilute the waters of prayer, priests who are unworthy and (*yet*) go to the House of their Treasure⁴ and write the letter to the King⁵, in what jordan shall I cleanse them?"?

Then speaketh Hibil Ziwa and saith to Abatur, "Be calm, calm thyself, Abatur, and let the peace of mind of the virtuous rest upon thee! Those that commit adultery, debauchery and profligacy, red (*will be*) the rod⁶, for a (*marriage*) troth is before (*dearer*) to thee than all worlds! Those who severed connection with their neighbours:- they will roast them on coals, they will sit with him ('Ur?) and that horror of Gehenna that is before 'Ur will be before them. And disgrace will come upon them, and their right hands shall be taken off. Those that loosen the girdle and worship the Seven (*planets*) and upon whom the Sign of the Seven was placed, will become the portion of Qin⁷ from the (*very*) day on which they loosed the girdle. Those that loosen the girdle and come and bind the barsom-twigs (*but then*) tie their girdles, stand, and worship the Life, pure seed proceeding from them⁸: - they shall be put to the question (*tortured*) in the purgatory of Leo⁹ because they were signed with their (*Zoroastrian*) sign. When they change, worshipping my Sign¹⁰ and bearing it, they will go to that world where *kisiaia*¹¹ (*crypto-Mandaeans*) dwell until the earthly world comes to an end and there will be no progress onward for them. Those that (*obliterated*, "wield"?) scourge and rod of office, sitting at the gate of judgement, they will

¹ At the ritual meal, food given as oblation is shared out to all present.

² Like the Zoroastrian fire-priest, the Mandaean priest wears a white veil over the lower part of his face when performing sacramental acts. This veil is called the 'pandama'.

³ A sacramental meal corresponding to mass.

⁴ The cult-hut, the 'manda' or 'bimanda', colloquially 'mandi'.

⁵ The rite of giving oil to the dying is called "the Letter".

⁶ 'Qaina', "rod" or "reed".

⁷ See Appendix.

⁸ Those who are crypto-Mandaeans, attending Zoroastrian temples publicly, but taking part in Mandaean rites in secret.

⁹ The sign of the Zodiac.

¹⁰ I. e. Mandaean baptism.

¹¹ 'Kisiaia', "hidden" or "secret ones". Probably Mandaeans who pretended to be of the Zoroastrian faith. See above, note 8.

tear them with combs and hang chains upon them¹: they will fall into the black waters, and they will strangle them, and they will be put to the question in purgatory. Those that eat of profane foods, cut (*the throat of*) a profane animal² and taste of³ hunted creatures (*or "wild animals"*), their food and.....⁴ will be the sword and they will dwell and wait at the purgatory of Libat⁵. Those who go to the bazaars and streets and (*on return*) do not perform ritual ablution, will be put to the question beside seething cauldrons. Those that eat of a sacrifice of the Twelve Gates⁶ so that the sign of the planets is kept in him and carried by him, the Great Life will (*destroy?*) his sign, and hurl him down to his place of origin, the place of darkness, because he performed their rites and commemorated with their commemoration⁷. Those that scatter their seed and go and cast it into turbid waters and call forth creatures⁸ of the Seven, the jordan shall not accept them and they will not be sealed with the seal of Hibil Ziwa; they will go to their kindred and become like their offspring. Those that take a woman not their own and go and have children by them, then by those children that they have, all his treasures will be destroyed: they come into existence (*but*) will perish before them, and they will not receive the *kušta*⁹ from thee. Those who perform the works of Šhaq son of Yušamin¹⁰, will go to be with Šhaq, they will be in the dwelling of Šhaq and Šhaq will be their gaoler. Those that celebrate a ritual meal at the cult-hut and partake of the Great Oblation but withhold it from the poor, shall be utterly confounded and will be cut off from the good things of the worlds of light: they will not give them the Water of Life to drink and will give them but one palmful¹¹ (*of water*) to

¹ Cf. J. B. 97-8 'hawia bmasirqia uqublia nisrigunh'. D. C. 30 has 'hawia bmasirqia uqublia ninsiquia'.

² See p. 2.

³ For 'mdimun' read 'mṭimun'.

⁴ 'ubširun'? One would expect 'ubšulun' "and their dish" or 'bisraiu' "their meat".

⁵ The planet Venus.

⁶ See p. 2 n. 7.

⁷ The reference is probably to the Nestorian 'dukranā' a mass linked to a communal meal and recital of the names of the dead (as at Mandaean ritual meals).

⁸ I. e. have children by women of other creed or race.

⁹ Abatur gives his right hand in 'kušta' (the ritual handclasp and kiss) to purified souls.

¹⁰ See Appendix.

¹¹ Or "one draught". Cf. 'šula q mia byuma mašqilun' D. C. 22 (r) 299.

drink in a day and will torture their souls because they kept the souls of the poor and lowly¹ in need. And those that perform baptismal rites without the *pandama*, his *kušta* will not be accepted, and his baptism will not ascend to the House of Life, (*moreover*) his treasure and his crown² will be taken away from him. Those that read a *masiqa* and dilute the water of prayer, a (*divine*) Voice will accuse them, just as a Voice accused Yušamin³. They apostasized, and all help, prayer, praise and honour is removed from him (*such a one*). Those unworthy priests that enter the sanctuary and read a *masiqa* and (*have performed*) unworthy actions, and "write a letter to the King"⁴, the treasure (*of such a priest*) will (*not?*) rise to its place, and he will be tormented in vessels of ice, because he performed unworthy actions and "wrote a letter to the King"⁴. Those that take treasure of life and extirpate it in the jordan⁵: the treasure of life will rise towards Abatur but they will be abased and will come to nought⁶.

Then speaketh Abatur, saying to Hibil Ziwa, "Now that thou hast said all this, (*tell me further*). Those that commit murder, in what jordan shall I cleanse them"?

Then speaketh Hibil Ziwa to Abatur and saith to him, "Those that commit murder shall be cut off (*slain*) by their swords. Those that practise sorcery and flattery⁶ will fall into the maw⁷ of 'Ur and he (*such a one*) will not be allotted to me".

Then speaketh Abatur and saith to Hibil Ziwa. "Thou hast told me the secret of all these. (*Tell me further*): Those women that are unworthy, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? A woman that forsaketh her first husband and goeth and becometh wife to a second husband, in what jordan shall I cleanse them"?

Then speaketh Hibil Ziwa and saith to Abatur, "When a bride⁸ cometh before me they put a chain upon her. When she leaveth her first husband and goeth and belongeth to a second, they put two chains on her. When she becomes the wife of a third they put

¹ Read 'daniia' for 'daia'.

² The "crown" is the fillet worn by a priest.

³ A passage in 'Alf Trisar Šuialia' records the reproof given to Yušamin for making mistakes in ritual (see Appendix).

⁴ See n. 5, p. 3.

⁵ I have not discovered the meaning of "extirpating" or "making barren" "the treasure of life".

⁶ Or "use cosmetics"? This is forbidden to Mandaeans.

⁷ For 'gurma' read 'gurgma', "maw", "gullet". See 'Ur in Appendix.

⁸ 'Hdua' is not Mandaic. Read 'hiduta'.

three chains on her, and if to a fifth they put five chains on her, and if she belongs to a sixth they put six chains on her and if to a seventh they place seven chains on her. When she departeth the body she will go to the world of Gaf. If she be righteous (*but*) her star is at fault¹ she will become a maid-servant and will serve Nasoraeans². If she is a lying woman, she shall go and dwell with Qin until she asketh for three witnesses, so that she may go with the three before Silmay, before him and Nedbay³, but she will have no helper".

Abatur speaketh to Hibil Ziwa and saith to him, "What of a woman who, being menstrual, goeth about her house? In what jordan shall I cleanse them? And what of the woman that worketh spells and holdeth back the soul in the body? In what jordan shall I cleanse them? And what of the woman that committeth adultery, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Then she that imbrueth her feet in blood and punisheth with fetters and chains, in what jordan shall I cleanse them? Then what of the woman that leaveth her Mandaean husband and goeth and loveth a fat worldling⁴, in what jordan shall I cleanse them"?

Then speaketh Hibil Ziwa and saith to Abatur, "These women do not resemble one another. Every woman that learneth the Ginza⁵, prayeth the "Devotions", putteth on her (*marriage?*–)crown and saveth her (*marriage?*–)crown from pollutions, injuries, dissension and telling lies, and mentioneth the Name of the Life, when she departeth the body all⁶ will gather and gaze on her likeness, all of them will clothe her in their glory because she made herself perfect and departed from the body, and that which each (*spirit?*) has in its dwelling, will be secured (*for her*). And Life is victorious".

End of section. Two paragraphs (A and B) are enclosed by a border

A

These are four chains. Bihzad forged one, Širun one, Bhira one and Rahmiel one, and these are the four names of (*the forgers of?*) the chain (*chains?*). This is a column⁷ supporting the vault of the

¹ If her fate ordered it; if she was powerless, and made to marry.

² 'Našuraiia' are skilled priests, thoroughly versed in the holy books, who can read omens, and perform exorcisms.

³ 'Nidbai' and 'Šilmai'; see Appendix.

⁴ Obese because prosperous.

⁵ The 'Ginza Rabba', a collection of sacred writings.

⁶ All spirits.

⁷ According to tradition four columns support the sky.

sky, which is a canopy spread by Ptahil between himself and Abatur. They can hear one another but cannot see one another face to face.

B

This is the support, its name is Ašlam. These are the four chains, one Širan, one Biham, one 'Tinsib and one Širun: these are the names of the four chains bound to the supporting column(s?) and these columns are of copper. (*End of enclosures*).

(*An enclosed frame. Inscriptions to the left, right and below a crudely drawn figure, and below the frame*)

(*Right*) This is the curtain of Ptahil, that is drawn before him. It is of light (*emanating?*) from Biham: its name is Ptahil Biham. (*Left*) This is the curtain, and there are sixty curtains. (*Below, to right*) This is a golden throne. (*Below*) This is a portrait of Ptahil son of Hibil Ziwa, born of Zahriel. (*Below frame*) This is the triple thread¹ Šidniaiil that is bound to the throne of Ptahil. S.....a. This is a soul found worthy and equal when they weigh it in the scale and in the balances². And Abatur putteth on its robes, (he) whose name is Kanfiel, he whose name is Bhaq, he whose name is Hazazban, he whose name is Nšab, his name is Tauriel³. (These are) the seven secret names of Abatur.

(*A figure: inscriptions on it, to its right and left and below*)

(*On the figure*) This is Abatur who is in charge of the weighing and numbering. (*Below*) This is the throne Šar ("It-stood-firm"). (*Right*) This is the vault; its name is "Covering-over"; its name is "Pure-Crystal"; its name is "Ur's fishing-net"⁴; its name is Šamšiel, for the reason that⁵? (*Left*) Its name is Šrat ("She-Dwelt"), Barbazin d mhuba (?). It is crystal cut into facets⁶. It abideth and my soul counteth thereon. S.....a.

¹ P. satá, sitá ܠ “triple-thread”.

² The departed soul is weighed in the scales of Abatur against 'Šitil', the purest of all human souls (see Appendix).

³ See Appendix.

⁴ The 'silita' is a circular fishing-net weighted with leads which spreads when thrown on the water. It is pulled into a bag by the draw-cord, enclosing the fish.

⁵ I do not understand this passage. It may mean "when it came there were no planets" or something of the kind. It is corrupt.

⁶ I take 'qisa' to mean "faceted" (chipped).

These are the three cords that are hung in the Balances¹:— one is Rihmat, one is Šarat, one is Bihrat (*i. e.* “She-Loved”, “She-was-firm”, “She-Chose”). (*These are the cords*) that are hung in the Balances.

(*Picture of the Scales. Figure in the right scale:—*)

This is the portrait of Šitel² son of Adam who standeth in the scale. (*On the cross-beam*) This is the beam; its name is “It-was-proved-true”.

(*In centre*) This is the “knife”: the chains are of gold and silver. This is the likeness of Bihdad who causeth the souls to enter the Scales. (*By the banner*) This is a banner the name of which is Nbat (“It-sprang-forth”): sixty banners like this one are unfurled. (*Left scale*) This is the weight: it is of gold.

(*Next Register. In the oblong on the right are three figures, one above and two below*)

(*Above*) This is the likeness of Simat Hiaa (“Treasure-of-Life”) daughter of Yušamin. (*By her feet*) This is her throne, its name is “Leafy”. (*Above the smaller figure, left*) This is the likeness of Mdinat Hiaa (“City-of-Life”). (*Below, right*) This is the likeness of Šarhabiel.

(*Three figures, apparently priests, on left of oblong*)

(*Left to right*) This is the likeness of Bihram who standeth on the bank of the jordan. This is the likeness of Bihram and his incense-cup; its name is Šarat (“It-was-proved-true”), its name is also *Bi... azaria* (*illegible*). This is the likeness of Hibil and his incense-cup; its name is Šarhabiel. (*Accessories:—*) This is the cup of oil³; its name is “Thou-art-loved”. This is the brazier⁴; its name is “He-had-mercy”.

¹ The cords from which the scales are suspended. Obscure.

² See Appendix, and n. 2, p. 7.

³ ‘Miša’. The ritual oil is sesame-oil. Date-juice is sometimes mixed with it (see MMII pp. 133-4).

⁴ The ‘bit riha’ or ‘biriha’ is a brazier into which incense is cast. The sacramental bread is baked on it (see MMII p. 106).

(*Next Register. Three priests and three servers¹. From left to right:—*)

This is the likeness of Šitel, who standeth in the jordan. And his life was cut short for Adam, the first man². (*Lower*) The incense-brazier and incense cup; its name is Bihzad. This is the likeness of Anoš, who grasps Šitel son of Adam by the hand, and (*it is*) his left hand that saluteth his (*Šitel’s*) right hand. This is a portrait of Adam³ and Yadatan who standeth in the jordan. (*Accessories*) An incense-cup, Bihrat (“She-Chose”) by name, and a cup named “Leafy” and a brazier called Nbat (“It-sprang-forth”). (*These are*) baptizers who stand in the House of Abatur when the soul departeth; they drew it forth from the body and when (*on earth*) they read *masiqtas* for it, these baptizers baptise them (*the departed souls*).

(*From here on I was able to compare D. C. 8 with the Borgian MS. A fresh section of the text begins*)

This is the land of Ptahil. Its name is “Land-of-Bihram” and “Entrance-trodden-by-Šarhabiel” is its name and “He-Turneth-the-Key”⁴ is its name. And his earth occupies three hundred and sixty thousand parasangs (leagues). Its height is three hundred and sixty parasangs; its breadth is three hundred and sixty parasangs. It has three hundred and sixty dwellings and a reception-dais⁵ in each dwelling *with a canopy spread over it*⁶ and the head of the household sitteth thereon. Three hundred and sixty fountains are found on it and three hundred and sixty canal-boats

¹ The ‘šganda’ or ‘ašganda’ is usually a boy of priestly family. His function is to assist the priest.

² See Appendix for the story behind this.

³ “Adam” here should be Adatan. Adatan and Yadatan are a pair of heavenly spirits, often mentioned.

⁴ ‘iil’ is a termination added to the names of celestial beings corresponding to ‘iel’, ‘ael’ in angel-names such as Gabriel and Raphael.

⁵ The ‘taṭka’ or ‘taṭka’ is derived from the P. ‘takht-gah’, (not from ~~كعْل~~ “mosque, temple, church”). It refers to the dais or platform upon which cushions or chairs (or a throne in the case of a monarch) are placed. It is used either for receiving visitors, or as a sleeping-place; hence may be translated either “couch” or “reception-hall” or “dais” according to the context. St. translates “The place where the throne stands”, “a royal residence, capital”; Fazl-i-‘Ali “arbour, royal residence”. One wall is usually open to the garden or courtyard, or to a hall.

⁶ The sentence in italics is missing in D. C. 8.

Then speaketh Ptahil to Abatur and saith to him, "Why sayest thou 'Go, create creatures' in a house which is not ours and in which we have no part? Whilst Hibil Ziwa hath authority over me, what can we do? (*What can I do?*) if he is in authority over me¹ and the demons array themselves in high armour, and hang on their swords and make war with me²? These Seven and Twelve creatures are ours³ and *these Seven and Twelve are of thy creation*⁴. All are clothed in high (*celestial*) armour working for me. (*Yet*) Hibil Ziwa treads my world underfoot, just like⁵ Yušamin, whose spouses sit in mourning; doing for me that which will purify our world, elevate our condition⁶, and raise up our creations that we created".

Then Abatur spoke to Ptahil, saying to him, "Why didst thou come hither and what was the reason of thy coming? Thou camest hither to build a House and to set things in order.

"They sent thee, so that thou shouldest bear daemons company, shouldest *become the associate of daemons and*⁷ show them (*how*) to create creatures. Like this⁸ is the place to which thou goest:— the long become the short, and then depart (die)! They enter as (*fat sheep*)⁹ with long fleeces¹⁰ (?) then depart (die)! They enter (*as*) beautiful women whose beauty is sublime, then they depart (die)! They come in as treasurers that collect their treasure and then they depart (die)! This place that we belittle, is large and limitless; it is not measured in parasangs nor marked by boundary stones. This House that thou didst build — its measure and plan are in thy hand (*power*). The diligent slaves which thou hast created shall rise to thyself, and these sealed letters shall be ratified through thee".

Now when Ptahil heard this from Abatur, he rejoiced in his

¹ B. 'lai mištalat'.

² B. 'minai'.

³ B. 'dilan'.

⁴ In italics: B. only.

⁵ I. e., just as he treated Yušamin.

⁶ Read 'ldirgan' for 'ldirkān'. Ptahil complains that Hibil Ziwa will change the physical world.

⁷ Underlined is in B. only.

⁸ D. C. 8 has 'haizak', B. 'haizin'. 'Hazin dukta' "Like this place" makes better sense.

⁹ "Fat sheep" is a guess. The word 'kabunia' suggests it. As written in both MSS the word looks like 'kabuştania'. The 'ania' might be the plural of 'ana' "a flock". Doubtful.

¹⁰ For 'mištalṭia' read 'mištaṭia' "with long fleeces". (together with 'manzaihun').

heart, and was glad in his thought. And he opened his eyes and praised Hibil Ziwa... (*obliterated*) his father.

Then he (*Abatur*) seated him (*Ptahil*) in a cloud of light, clothed him with thirty vestments, covered him with thirty coverings, bound a bow¹ of light about his loins, put into his grasp a rod which Hibil Ziwa gave to Abatur, and said to him (*Ptahil*), "Go, my beloved son! Do all that which thy fathers² have commanded thee. Compress the earth, (*make it?*) like the firmament which Hibil built³ the support of which Šitil placed in the skies⁴. Go, bring three hundred and sixty chains and place them and all fastenings below the throne of Yušamin, and secure them".

Then speaketh Ptahil to Abatur, saying to him, "What shall I do so that the solidification may take place before me?"

Abatur speaketh to Ptahil and saith to him, "Arise, go, and take with thee three hundred and sixty thousand daemons, so that they may excavate the Light-Euphrates. Carry with thee three hundred and sixty or seven hundred and seventy thousand daemons, so that pillars of copper may be built by them, and by them layers⁵, six earths, may be made⁶; the first earth of copper, the next of iron, the next of tin, the next of steel, the next of silver and the next of gold"⁷.

All these earths are layers which the daemons made whilst Ptahil remained before them⁸.

"And bring with thee three hundred and sixty, or seven hundred and seventy, or eight hundred and eighty thousand daemons; give them picks, and they shall excavate the soil, just as Šišlam the Great did, and shift it for the Light-Euphrates. Cast that soil into the water, the location of which is traced out (*shown on a plan*); it will become an earth (*world*) of clay, so that all that thou sowest therein shall come into existence".

I should explain to you, my Chosen, that the first Dwelling that

¹ 'qumba', "arch" or "vaulting", here perhaps a rainbow?

² The plural suggests the Great Life: "that which thy Father commanded thee".

³ B. 'bn'ia'.

⁴ B. 'bšumia'.

⁵ The words 'd nhaša' here are an intrusion and should be deleted.

⁶ B. 'mšawin', "laid down".

⁷ I have ventured to correct the order, as in other texts gold comes after silver.

⁸ This paragraph is an interpolation by the narrator.

we built, Mšunia Kušta¹, (was of) our building. Ptahil and all the creations that we created are pure, as not one of the daemons was with us. That which the daemons built is the dwelling of Adam. And we also built, because here, in (Mšunia Kušta) the daemons have no share; in Mšunia Kušta the Seven have no part, because its origin² is of the Father (whereas) this earthly world is of 'Zlat³, so that daemons — since its origin is of the Mother — have a share therein. But in this Mšunia Kušta they have no share for its origin is of the Father and daemons have no share therein.

So⁴ I, Ptahil and sixty or seventy hundred, or seventy or eighty thousand daemons, rose up to the mouth of the Light-Euphrates and we opened the Light-Euphrates⁵. And we all brought picks, and we hewed up mountains of soil and poured in the waters. And we raised up mounds of soil in the Earth and we opened two mouths (channels) to the Light-Euphrates: one floweth to Mšunia Kušta and one floweth to the Earth. And I, Ptahil, and all of them filled the Light-Euphrates. We set down and clove apart mountains of soil and poured in the waters, as we had poured in the first seas; thus, when we poured in water, the first waters flowed to Mšunia Kušta. We laid down⁶ mounds of soil and brought a land-surveyor and planted plants; first in⁷ Mšunia Kušta and next we planted on the Earth. We constructed the Earth and lifted it up. From the beginning unto the end until we had built and completed the Earth, it was sixty thousand years.

When I arose and went to my father; when I rose up toward my father, my father questioned me, asked me and said "What hast thou done"?

And I said to my father "I performed all that thou didst command me and perfected it until we had built the Earth. And three hundred and sixty, and seven hundred and seventy, and eight hun-

¹ 'Mšunia Kušta' is an ideal world, the prototype of the material world. See MMII pp. 54-6.

² 'bihnuš' "house of origin".

³ 'Zlat' ("She-Span") is one of the names or epithets given to the "Mother". In Mandaeen cosmogony, the creator has two aspects, the productive and nutritive, the purely spiritual and the semi-spiritual, the "Father" and the "Mother". Material creation is "of the Mother", the world of the spirit "of the Father".

⁴ Missing in B.

⁵ Words in italics missing in B.

⁶ Read 'naflin'. B. has 'naflin' and D. C. 8 'nafla'.

⁷ B. 'bmšunia kušta'; D. C. 8 omits the prefix.

dred and eighty thousand *khors*¹ of gold and silver were expended (*lit.* "put out") upon it until we built² and completed it".

(Now) when his government of the demons grew lax, it happened that they ate some of the creations of the daemon Biz; it fell out that they ate (*thereof*) and sought to give³ Ptahil some of those creatures of the daemon Biz, so that they might sully⁴ the clothing of Ptahil. Then Ptahil went to his father Abatur. And Ptahil said to Abatur, "These creatures that we created, who will⁵ be their architect"? Then Abatur speaketh to Ptahil, saying, "Instal thy son Adam (*there*), and go, build a large building for him and settle him in it. And then, bring the bull, Qadiael: tame him and fasten a yoke upon him and he shall plough furrows in the hills and we will sow seed so that the worlds and ages may eat thereof".

So Ptahil arose, installed his son Adam and went and tamed the bull Qadiael and quietened him (*by*) an iron yoke *so that iron was*⁶ on him. And they ploughed furrows in the hills and sowed seed and constructed a large building⁷ and planted the wholesome plants of which⁸ the worlds and ages eat. And then they sowed seed in Mšunia Kušta: (*they sowed*) there, (*and*) Adam sowed here.⁹

Adam speaketh to Abatur and saith to him, "When I go to the world upon which evil spirits and devils are crowded, what shall I do amongst them"?

Then Abatur speaketh and saith to him "When thou goest to the world that is full of evil spirits, Manda d Hiaa will be thy Helper".

When he, Abatur, spoke thus, Ptahil was filled with great wrath, and saith to Abatur, "Did I not tell thee that I would not build a house that is not mine, and that Hibil Ziwa is not my overseer⁹? These strongholds¹⁰ from Yušamin that undid me¹¹ are not the responsibility of Hibil Ziwa that he should give me instruction! When I brought down Adam, and he sowed seed, the planets strewed¹² their

¹ B. 'kuria', (D. C. 8 has 'kursia'). The "khor" is a dry measure.

² B. 'adibnainh'.

³ B. has 'ubuni yahbilh'. The passage is somewhat obscure.

⁴ For Pa. KTR, "to sully" see also p. 17, l. 3.

⁵ 'nihuibin' in B.

⁶ Words in italics missing in B. Iron has power over supernatural beings in magic.

⁷ Or "constructed largely".

⁸ B. has 'maihibun' for 'minaihun'.

⁹ B. inserts 'ardiša' before 'ardufai'.

¹⁰ 'Aqria' "strongholds" should probably be 'qiria', "mischances".

¹¹ B. 'pisan'.

¹² B. 'daria'.

portion. When they strewed their portion, Hibil Ziwa was filled with great wrath against me. *When he was full of¹ great wrath, evil schemes were hatched against me*". This is what Ptahil said to Abatur.

Abatur said to him, "What arrogance thou assumest towards thy fathers"!

Then Ptahil speaketh to Abatur, saying to him, "I am not presumptuous, but fear indeed lest a foolish mistake may be made about me".

Then Abatur speaketh to Ptahil, saying to him, "Go, create two creations".

So Ptahil saith to Abatur, "The two creations I create² will be under their³ power".

Abatur speaketh to Ptahil, saying to him, "What creations have we created"?

Ptahil speaketh to Abatur, saying to him, "The first creation belonged to Mšunia Kušta and the second creation was theirs⁴. From that (*second?*) creation spring⁵ various peoples and nations; and tongues are created, differing languages arise. They build mosque(s), stand and worship false prophets, and some of them worship fire. And some of them glorify the sun, and some of them set up the Cross. And (*as for*) some of them, evil spirits sit before them and said to them "I am God, worship me!" and some of them worship and tremble. And some of them glorify (pray to) demons, who([?]) say⁶ to them "We are prophets", that lie⁷. And some of them glorify (worship) water and some of them do not mention the name of my Lord, the name of their Lord they mention not with their mouths. And some of them say "We are gods⁸; all creation is from us". And there existeth⁹ one congregation of Nasoraeans that all the wicked persecute, (*lo,*) they bring it down to confusion, doing that to the Nasoraeans which produceth utter confusion in their minds; teaching them music and their ignoble and shame-

¹ Words in italics missing in D. C. 8.

² 'qaria'. The sense is obviously as I have translated.

³ "They" presumably means the demons, or the planets.

⁴ See note 3.

⁵ B. 'mpalgia'. Lit "split off" "divide" (part).

⁶ Corrupt? One would expect 'amarlun' or 'amrilun'.

⁷ Read 'kadbia'.

⁸ B. has 'alahia'.

⁹ Words in italics missing in B.

ful ways¹. Some of them enforce² circumcision upon them; and some of them set up mosques and crosses, doing that to the souls of the Nasoraeans which sullies³ their garments; (*so that*) they do that which the Life declared sinful and that which Manda d Hiiā did not command them. They drink wine in the tavern and forget Sunday and forget the Being (*who is*) their Creator. (*There are*) those who loosen the (*sacred*) girdle and go and bow down towards a vault and clay⁴ brick: when tribulation overtakes them they go and deny their Lord. (*Then there are*) those who sit and devise evil plots⁵".

Then speaketh Abatur and saith to Ptahil, "How long thou sittest and studiest in thy book, when the House is not thine"!

Then Ptahil speaketh and saith to Abatur, "The House! No builder built it nor was it designed⁵ by the hand of an architect!.. Ye set down, ye threw down regions of filth⁶, and ye enclosed and built thereon a fortress⁷ (?). Ye entered and shut⁸ its gates and closed its windows".

Then speaketh Bihram-the-Less to Abatur and saith to him, "All these creations were created and brought into being by Ptahil, (*yet*) these have said to him 'The House is not thine'"!

And then, whilst they were sitting and discussing it, Hibil Ziwa entered the building⁹. He came and spoke, saying to him (*them?*) "What are ye considering and discussing, my gentle and rightful¹⁰ sons? Was not this earthly world raised up by your hands"?

Then Ptahil spoke to his father Hibil Ziwa, saying to him, "Sayest thou this, 'This earthly world was established by your hands', when all (*evil*) spirits and liliths dwell beside us"?

Then Hibil Ziwa took Ptahil up to his dwelling. He said to him, "Up, come show me what this earthly world is (*like*) and the building built in it"!

¹ Literally "their shame and disgrace".

² ŠDD is the root, not ŠDA.

³ See p. 15, note 4.

⁴ In a church, or a temple?

⁵ 'tiqnat'. (Ethpe. 'tiqnat').

⁶ A closely similar passage in the Ginza Rabba (D. C. 22 r. p. 89) ends "it arose in (as) a clod of filth".

⁷ 'aqra' "fortress"? Or נְסָרָה (Dal. fest, dicht) "a stronghold"?

⁸ B. has 'wahdartulia' and D. C. 8 'wahdartlia'. Read 'ahidtulia' as in the parallel passage 'wahidlia baba usakrunun lmšašbia' (Ginza Rabba, left side) (D. C. 22 (1) 470).

⁹ B. has 'bh bnana'.

¹⁰ Or "appointed", "established".

Then I¹, Ptahil, arose and ascended towards Hibil Ziwa, and we travelled and went. I passed over the sons of darkness as they sat at ease and Hibil Ziwa said "There was a cry from this House that thou didst build, what was it"? (And) he, Hibil Ziwa, knoweth (*perceiveth*) that the children of darkness are many. And I brought Hibil Ziwa in and spoke to Hibil Ziwa, I said to him, to Hibil Ziwa, "Behold the children of darkness, how many they have become and how numerous are their creatures"!

Then Hibil Ziwa spoke to me, "By whom were these created and to whom do they belong"?

Then Ptahil spoke to Hibil Ziwa, saying, "These are the creatures which Qin created, and all these nations bow down to Qin".

Then Hibil Ziwa spoke to Ptahil, saying to him, "When they bring the physical Adam² and there are descendants from him, by what path shall they ascend"?

Then Ptahil spoke, and saith to his father Hibil Ziwa "We have placed³ seven watch-houses (*purgatories*) and hell-beasts⁴ and purgatory-demons⁵ on the road".

Then speaketh Bihram-the-Less⁶ and saith to his father Ptahil, "If thou hast set hell-beasts and purgatory-demons on the road, by which path can they rise up? When they behold Sin⁷ the warrior-demon⁸ of Darkness bound in chains, when they see those demons, the souls will melt (*with fear*) and become as if they had never existed"⁹!

Then speaketh Hibil Ziwa to Bihram-the-Less and saith to him, "These are *manas*¹⁰ clad in light-giving vesture, (but) those are purgatory-demons that they exorcise not by the Sign of the Life. They

¹ The narration changes constantly from direct to indirect.

² The first Adam, Adam Kasia, was a spiritual Adam. See MMII pp. 54, 73 and 253.

³ Read 'śrinin' or 'śdinin'.

⁴ "Hell-beasts" literally "roaring" or "barking" creatures: i. e. lions, wolves, dogs. The word 'zangaia' also means "a host", "a cohort".

⁵ Those who dwell in the 'maṭarata' permanently, i. e. devils.

⁶ D. C. 8 has combined the two similar sentences. B. has the correct version.

⁷ In late Mandaean tradition, Sin the moon-god is a demon.

⁸ B. 'qaraftana'.

⁹ B. 'lahawian'.

¹⁰ The 'mana' is the eternal part of the human soul which when freed of earthly pollution is re-united to the Great Mana. The Great Mana seems to correspond to the Zoroastrian Vohu-Mana, and represents a Cosmic Intelligence or Supersoul. Sometimes 'mana' indicates any heavenly being as on p. 22.

were created to be called¹ 'Purgatory-demons' and ye planted them (*there*) to carry out orders"².

Ptahil spoke and saith to Hibil Ziwa, "When thou didst ascend to the firmament and it offended³ Šamiš⁴ he took in hand a plot against the righteous elect⁵ so that not one of them should rise to the Light".

Then Hibil Ziwa spoke to Ptahil, saying, "Šamiš is utterly crushed and the seal of the Life hath been placed upon him. Ruha is completely subdued⁶, Ruha and all her creatures are brought into complete subjection and the seal of the Life hath been placed upon them".

Bihram-the-Less spoke to Hibil Ziwa and saith to him, "I have adjured thee by the *One*⁷ Great Name and by the great mystery that proceeded therefrom; I have adjured thee by the great Palm-tree and Well⁸; I have adjured thee by the great Šišlam⁹ and by the great 'Zlat that dwelleth with him; I have adjured thee by Yūkabar upon whom all strength is bestowed! (*Say*), what is the punishment of souls when they depart from their bodies, and what do the prayers¹⁰ of good men resemble"? Hibil Ziwa spoke, saying to Bihram-the-Less, "The punishment of souls is like (this): a fat ram, about which its owner prides himself, tending it and taking care of it and not letting it free lest a sickness attack it. (*Yet*) when a favourable day arriveth, (*the owner*) cometh and hath no pity on that ram which he so cherished and loosed not lest sickness should attack it, but slaughtereth it. (*The punishment of souls*) is like¹¹ this slaughter of sheep which they kill and pity not; like those (*slaughterers*) is the slaughterer of the soul, that slaughtereth and

¹ A similar passage in the Ginza Rabba (D. C. 22 l. 433) has 'mitiqriia'.

² B. has 'upaqidia mpaqdia niṣbtun'.

³ B. has 'sqh'.

⁴ The sun-god.

⁵ Orthodox Mandaeans.

⁶ B. 'kbiša mikbiš'.

⁷ "One" is missing in B.

⁸ The Palm-Tree and the Well are symbols of male and female fertility (see other Mandaean commentaries). A palm-tree and a well must be in the garden of every Parsi fire-temple as both play a part in Zoroastrian ritual; e. g. in the Paragna.

⁹ See the Appendix for this and other names.

¹⁰ This refers to the 'Rahmia', the daily office.

¹¹ The metaphor is involved and the sentence faulty. The two MSS differ slightly, for instance for "uniksh hanath nkusta d 'mbaria" in D. C. 8; B. has "uniniksh akwat hanatun nkusta d 'mbria".

hath no compassion. The prayers¹ of good men who are (*not?*)² the Righteous Elect, resemble a Dumaean³ (Edomite?) whose hand when he takes aim is hasty and it (*his arrow*) pierces not. Prayer and praise are like celestial arrows, (*yea*) they resemble celestial arrows when they part from their bows, but purgatory-demons deflect them and they do not rise up”.

Then speaketh Bihram-the-Less and saith to Hibil Ziwa, “What do the prayers of priests resemble”?

Hibil Ziwa speaketh to Bihram and saith to him, “The prayers of priests resemble polished vessels that are hidden and guarded in three hundred and sixty chests. And they took them out and set them before the King”.

And he (*Bihram*) said to him (*Hibil*) “What do the prayers of Mandaeans⁴ resemble”?

He answered him, “The prayers of a Mandaean resemble a ship that is holed and they seek⁵ a way that they may bring her in”.

And he said to him “What do the prayers of the believing of heart resemble”?

And he answered him, “When they⁶ sit in meditation, and when commemorating, standing and bowing down...”⁷.

And he said to him, “What do the prayers of the *kisiaiaia*⁸, who worship two Manas, resemble”?

And he answered him, “They resemble a man that cometh from a market and prayeth⁹ (*his office*): his prayers do not ascend to his fathers¹⁰. And he will remain in the House of Abatur until the world ends. (*Then*) they will come, baptize them and raise them up, and will think about him¹¹ and will raise him up”.

¹ See p. 2, n. 6.

² The passage hardly makes sense without the “not”. It refers obviously to good men of other religions.

³ The word is in the plural, ‘dumaiia’, the verb in the singular. See Appendix II.

⁴ That is to say, “laymen” (of the Mandaean faith). These are rarely literate, hence the disparaging reference to their prayers.

⁵ Read ‘baiia’.

⁶ B. ‘kt bandaṣata yatbia ukt madkar’ etc.

⁷ The end of the sentence is missing in both MSS.

⁸ Crypto-Mandaeans? See p. 3, notes 8 and 11.

⁹ A visit to the market entails a ritual submersion before prayers may be said.

¹⁰ Or “his Father” (the Great Life).

¹¹ B. ‘uhašiblun’ “and think on them”. A general amnesty for all souls in purgatory is to take place at the end of the world, and souls remaining there will be purified by baptism in the heavenly Jordan.

Then speaketh Bihram-the-Less and saith to him (*Hibil Ziwa*), “What do the prayers of the wives¹ of Naṣoraeans resemble”? And he answered him, “They resemble land belonging to two partners that cultivated it faithfully, and took pains with it and perfected it and raised it up to the House of Mercies. When both die² they will dwell together”.

And he (*Bihram*) said to him (*Hibil Ziwa*) “What do the prayers of the wives of Mandaeans resemble”? And he answered him, “They resemble burnished vessels that are hidden in houses³, and none knew about them”.

And he said to him, “What do the prayers of women of believing heart resemble”?

He answered, “They resemble a man seated in meditation that said ‘I will arise and do this work’. And when (*women*) are reminded⁴ then they get up, enter the house, and pray their prayers”.

And he said to him, “What do the prayers of the wives of *kisiaiaia* (*crypto-Mandaeans*) resemble”?

He replied to him, “The prayers of the wives of *kisiaiaia* resemble a man that sits occupied on a petition, but knoweth not the hour to take it from his house”.

Then speaketh Bihram to Hibil Ziwa, saying to him, “What do spirit and soul⁵ resemble when they depart from the body”?

Then Hibil Ziwa said to Bihram, “The soul scentheth her treasure and goeth forth; (*as for*) the spirit, they show her her garment and she (*too*) goeth forth. Bihram beareth the treasure and Yuzaṭaq Manda q Hia carrieth her garment to the spirit. And Sin beareth the knife⁶. If the soul be that of a righteous person and is redeemed then Sin doth not appear to it, nor to either of the two”⁷.

He (*Bihram*) said to him (*Hibil*) “And if this happen, the spirit is in the body and later riseth”⁸?

He answered him, “She will be like an infant, and will depart later and the soul will depart with her”.

¹ Or “women”, i. e. all women of the family of Naṣoraeans (see p. 6, n. 2).

² ‘mšalmia’.

³ ‘Hilbuna’ = “egg” (*bit*); and ‘bit’ = “house”.

⁴ B. ‘midikran’. (Women should be so busy that they need reminding?).

⁵ The ‘ruha’ “spirit” is the vital principle, subject to passion and emotion, and human nature generally. The ‘nišimta’ “soul” is immortal, and its home the world of light.

⁶ B. has ‘sikina’ “knife”, D. C. 8 ‘sukana’ “steering-paddle”.

⁷ B. ‘blau hinun hunun tartinun’. D. C. 8 is the better version.

⁸ B. ‘nafqa’ “goeth out”.

Bihram speaketh, saying to Hibil Ziwa, "By what means doth a soul rise upward?"

Then Hibil Ziwa answered Bihram, saying to him, "If it is (*the soul of*) a righteous elect person, it will rise up by means of (*holy*) books¹ and prayers. *If it be the soul of a priest or the soul of a worthy Mandaean, they will raise it up by the border² of its (ritual) dress³.* If it is the soul of an unworthy Mandaean, it will rise in trembling and fear. If it be the soul of a *kisiaia*⁴ (*crypto-Mandaean*) two manas will come at it (*attack it*), one Bihram and the other Yuzaṭaq. And those two Manas will attack them because Sin hath a portion in them (*the kisiaia*). They will not take it because they know⁵ about them. And (*as for*) those soul(s)⁶ of the Twelve Gates⁷, three Manas will attack them, Bihram, Yuzaṭaq and Sin, and they will hold them fast⁸ and loose them not⁹, because their garments are fouled¹⁰. And Life is victorious". S a.

(*New Register. This has three divisions, the centre being illustrated by chained animals, the zangaiia. Other illustrations represent instruments of torture, demons and supernatural beings*)

(*Right division*) This is the purgatory of Ptahil. Those souls that were not perfected on earth remain *in this purgatory*¹¹ until they are made perfect and baptized in the Great Jordan. They go towards the Scales. This is the purgatory of Ptahil, and souls of the righteous elect (Mandaicans) are put to the question therein.

This is the purgatory of Sunday¹². In it are questioned *ganzibras*¹³ who, when they bring the Oblation¹⁴ and have concluded it

¹ Or "recitations".

² 'bknaf'. Or "in the covering of his vestments".

³ The unbracketed words in italics are missing in D. C. 8.

⁴ B. has the correct singular.

⁵ Read 'yadia'.

⁶ For 'nišimta' read 'nišmata'.

⁷ See p. 2 note 7.

⁸ B. 'ušarilin'.

⁹ B. inserts 'bh d' after 'lašabqilin'.

¹⁰ For 'mitkarkibh bgu lbušaihun' read 'd mitkatria blbušaihun', literally "because they were sullied in their garments".

¹¹ Missing in D.C. 8.

¹² 'Habšaba' (Sunday) is personified in Mandaean literature.

¹³ A 'ganzibra' is a head-priest, the rank above a simple priest.

¹⁴ The 'zidqa brika' (blessed oblation) is a ritual meal celebrated for the dead and at marriage (see MMII pp. 190 ff.).

with the *kušta*¹ (*or*) when they read a *masiqta*²; eat the³ food afterwards and do not pronounce the blessing over the dish; and (*those who*) omit "forgiving of sins" for their forefathers; and (*those who*) do not give bread to the poor and lowly. Such ganzivri are put to the question in this purgatory; heat and cold are loosed upon them, and they purify the souls of ganzivri. S a.

This is the purgatory of the Great Bihram, (*son*) of Ptahil. In this purgatory are put to the question those priests who leave off their (*daily*) prayers and perform the works of the wicked, and those priests who commit fornication and thieve⁴ and (*then*) perform the ritual ablution in water, put on their crowns⁵ and stand and laud the Great Life. They sit in this purgatory and are put to the question about their deeds. S a.

This is the purgatory of Anoš that is son of Ptahil. In it those Mandaicans are put to the question (*who*) perform actions but do not mention the name of the Life, nor mention the name of Manda d Hiia over the work that they do⁶. In this purgatory they are sorely lacerated on (*by?*) a sword, and the flame that is loosed upon them is hot and cold (*by turns*) until, when they have been purged and put to the question in it, they are redeemed. S a.

This is the purgatory of Hibil son of Ptahil. In it are put to the question those believers at heart that pervert justice, go to law⁷ and give false witness. Because of this they are put to the question, (*also*) those that eradicate roots, commit theft or break an agreement (*sever connection*) with their partner. Those women that go and chatter lies are (*also*) put to the question therein. (*In*) this purgatory a hot and cold flame is loosed upon them until they are purged. S a.

This is the purgatory of Kanziel⁸ son of Ptahil. He who kept treasure to himself (lit. "beside him") is questioned therein, those

¹ The 'kušta' (ritual handshake and kiss) concludes each rite or stage of a rite. See p. 10, note 6.

² See p. 3 note 3. B. has 'masiqta' (sing.); D. C. 8 'masqata' (plur.).

³ D. C. 8 omits 'lhama aklin'.

⁴ B. 'ugnubta ganbia'.

⁵ The "crown", a silken fillet, is the chief item of the insignia of priesthood, and is put on with prayers of consecration at the beginning of each rite.

⁶ The name of the Life should be pronounced by a Mandaean when eating, before co-habitation, when milking, before personal actions necessary to health, etc.

⁷ B. 'dina dainia'.

⁸ B. 'Ginzi'il'.

novices in the ritual¹ and (*holy*) books. Put to the question therein are those women who, when the poor come to their doors do not fill their bellies. Questioned therein are those men who do not hold the head-priests² in respect; questioned therein (*also*) are the head-priests about all their "treasure", that is about baptism and the masiqta³ that they celebrate⁴ in this world, (*yea*) they are questioned about the (*sacrament of*) oil that they celebrate; they are questioned⁵ about the books and prayers that they wrote in this world; they are questioned about the (*astrological*) calculations that they wrote out in this world⁵, about the exorcisms, and about commands⁵ given⁶ that exorcists⁷ deflected; (*also*) about all the judgements they delivered and all the disputes they settled. Sentence on a *ganzibra* is not pronounced until the Great (Life) hath upheld it. (*Then*) they strike him with a great scourge and pierce⁸ his tongue with his key⁹, and pass sentence upon him: (*yea*) they torture him with his key. S a.

(Centre, to explain the picture)

These are two lions that stand in the purgatory of Saturn and terrify and prowl about¹⁰ the souls. In this purgatory of Saturn are put to the question those women who departed (*this life*) whilst menstruating. (*They are tortured*) until sixty masiqtas have been read for them, after which they leave this purgatory. S . . . a.

This is the purgatory (*in*) which Mars unsheathes his weapon and his sword. In it are put to the question those men who cohabit with their wives on a Sunday, (*also*) those men who approach their wives on the first day that their wives perform a ritual ablution after menstruation; questioned (*also*) therein are women who during¹¹ menstruation approach their husbands. They strike them with

¹ B. has 'hazin šualania d ṭakṣa uṣipria lamqaimilun'.

² The 'ganzibria' (pronounced ganzevri).

³ See p. 3, note 3.

⁴ Literally "read" or "recite".

⁵ The words in italics (without brackets) are omitted in D. C. 8. The "oil" may refer to the chrism at baptism or to the oil placed on the dying.

⁶ 'd pigdia' omitted in B.

⁷ Cf. the Babylonian 'baru'.

⁸ B. has 'naqbilh'.

⁹ The reference seems to be to a key of office.

¹⁰ B. 'umhalfilun'.

¹¹ Literally "that carry" or "bear" menstruation.

an iron rod and loose heat and cold upon them. This is a purgatory of heat and cold and coals full of fire, and smoke curleth up in it. S a.

This is the purgatory of Štil son of Ptahil. In it are put to the question those priests who go in unto women who are not their own and take (*them*). And in this purgatory are put to the question those who take in large quantities¹ and give away in small quantities. In it are put to the question those who perform rites of the Twelve Gates: heat and flames are loosed upon them until they are as thin as a hair. And they cry out, but none answer them so that they may perceive and see that they brought admonishment upon themselves². In this purgatory is put to the question every person that did work on a Sunday, derided³ Sunday and did not honour it, because it (*Sunday*) is important, and esteemed like the Father of the 'uthras. Questioned therein are those (*un?—*)believing at heart: *thou hast weighed each* (lit. "them") according to (their) reputations; dogs (weighed) against dogs, and wolves against wolves. And they (the Life⁴) rejoiced eternally⁵. S a.

(Illustrations)

a) These are two dogs that stand in the purgatory of Mars and alarm souls of the Twelve Gates. b) These are two fierce wolves that stand in the purgatory of Mercury and frighten the souls. And they fasten chains on them all, for, were they to loose them, they would devour the souls and make them like a species that existeth not. S a.

This is the purgatory of Štil son of Ptahil. In it are put to the question those priests that go and take a woman not their own. (*Repeats to the words "admonishment upon themselves"*). S . . . a. In this purgatory are put to the question those women who wash themselves with water from menstruation and approach their husbands. They shall be scourged with an iron rod and heat and cold will be loosed upon them. This is the purgatory of Jupiter. In it are questioned the souls of those (*who*) say "We have become gods; we have become gods"!⁶ He loosed upon them this Worm that eateth them and maketh them as if they had never existed. S . . a.

¹ Or "in large measure".

² B. has 'hinun kita lnafšaihun dra' and again in the repetition.

³ Delete the 'la' before 'muqh'.

⁴ Or "the Living".

⁵ Words in italics omitted in D. C. 8.

⁶ B. has 'anin huinun alahia alahia huinin'.

(Descriptions of various demons and supernatural beings follow, placed beside the illustrations)

This is the likeness of the two-headed Worm that standeth in the road, and two chains are fastened to it. And it terrifieth the souls.

This is a likeness of the demon Šdum who carrieth in his hands two cymbals, and clasheth them. These are two demons that stand at the gate of Sin (*the moon-god*).

This is the likeness of the demon Baz who beateth a copper tray and carrieth off¹ (?) the heads of the souls. (*In*) this purgatory they maintain coals of fire casting into it the souls that they hold captive² therein.

This is the likeness of Mitiaiel who beateth a drum and enrageth the souls.

This is the likeness of Gargiel that soundeth (*playeth*) the hautboys.

This is a well of black water, that is of menstruation (*menstrual blood*) into which women are cast, and from this well drink women who (*should have*)³ observed their period of isolation during menstruation but did not observe it. They drink of this well because they perform the works of the children of darkness.

This is the likeness of the ape that sitteth at the gate; upon whom is placed two chains.

This is the likeness of the lion that standeth in the entrance. And souls come unknowingly and he is loosed at them.

(Left division of the register)

This is the purgatory of Saturn that occupies two thousand parasangs. This purgatory of Saturn is three thousand parasangs from the purgatory of Mars. In this purgatory lechers are put to the question and thieves (*until*) they are as thin⁴ as a hair.

These are lions that stand in the entrance and terrify souls until they are as thin as a hair; and they strike them with an iron

¹ B. 'uqışabia'.

² 'nitiabṭa' or 'nitiabṭh' in B.

³ B. has 'd abara wazlin lagṭan ulalagṭan'. The sentence is confused, and I have translated freely.

⁴ The sentence is incomplete in both MSS. D. C. 8 has 'uganabia kt zimta'; B. 'ugaṇṭnia kt zimta'. Judging from similar phrases the sentence read as translated above.

hammer. This is the purgatory in which Christians are put to the question. S a.

This is the purgatory of Mars, the furious, that occupies two thousand parasangs and is two thousand parasangs from the purgatory of Mercury. In this purgatory those lecherous men and those women that deceive are put to the question. They (*the women*) beg for water, but they do not give them living water. (*Questioned here also*) are the souls of *Dumaiia* (Edomites?) who devised¹ spurious rites. S a.

In this purgatory the souls of *Hudaiia*² are put to the question. S a.

This, the purgatory of Mercury, occupies two thousand parasangs, and from this purgatory to the purgatory of Jupiter it is three thousand parasangs. In this purgatory the souls of *Hirdbaiia*³ are put to the question and those that murdered souls (*Mandaens*) and shed blood. They are put to the question in purgatory after purgatory and are held captive until they render up their spirits. They loose fire upon them until their souls are burnt up because they committed murder and shed blood. At every gate of purgatory those creatures will ask to live⁴ (?). S a.

This, the purgatory of Jupiter, occupies two thousand parasangs, and from the purgatory of Jupiter to the purgatory of Venus it is a distance of three thousand parasangs. In this purgatory are put to the question those that "dry waters"⁵ and those who pervert

¹ D. C. 8 'd 'bdad', B. 'd abduit' (abdid?).

² The *Hudaiia* are often mentioned in the 'Sfar Malwašia'. They are probably the 'Huzaia', the natives of Khuzistan.

³ The 'Hardubaiia' are mentioned several times in other Mandaean books. In 'Alf Trisar Šuialia': "Thus the rule of the king of the 'Hardubaiia' lasted for three hundred and sixty years, and then the son of harm, the Arab 'Abdallah ('Muhammad') was made ruler. He went forth and took a people unto himself and instituted circumcision...". Later, after describing Arab conquests as far as Damascus the narrator continues: "Over all of it he made himself ruler and invaded and made himself ruler of the mountain (region) of the people of Fars who are called 'Hardbaiia' and took the kingdom away from them". From these two passages it seems likely that the Hardubaiia were the Sassanians.

⁴ The sentence is utterly corrupt, and the translation is a mere guess at the sense. For 'mihuia' B. has 'mihia'.

⁵ B. has twice 'qaratia d mia'. A reference to an ordeal for testing truthfulness still practised in 'Irāq. Dry bread is given to persons on oath, and if their mouth is dry and they do not swallow quickly, it is thought that they are lying. In the 'Zarazta d Hibil Ziwa' (D. C. 44) we find 'mia qaras blišanun' ("the saliva dried up in their mouths"). Hence 'qarasia d mia' in D. C. 8 = "perjurors".

justice and pronounce (*unjust*) sentence. In this purgatory "driers of water" are put to the question because they lied¹ in their actions, and women who, during menstruation, go in and out of doors². In this purgatory female perjurers are put to the question. S . . . a.

This is the purgatory of Venus. It occupies about two thousand parasangs. And the purgatory of Venus is distant from the purgatory of the moon by three thousand parasangs. In this purgatory women who commit adultery and theft are put to the question. Hell-beasts and purgatory-demons stand and these purgatory-dwellers beat³ those who (?) build a hot bath⁴ and heat it. S . . . a.

This, the purgatory of the moon, occupies up to two thousand parasangs, and the purgatory of the moon is three thousand parasangs distant from the purgatory of the sun. In this purgatory of the moon those who defraud (*rob*) their partners are put to the question, and those who remove boundary lines and take away boundary stones are questioned therein, and those who loosen their (*sacred*) girdles for their own ease. In this purgatory executioners⁵ stand and flog. S a.

This, the purgatory of the sun, occupies up to two thousand parasangs, and the purgatory of the sun is three thousand parasangs from the purgatory of Sunday⁶. In this purgatory men who clad themselves in Ruha's blood⁷ are put to the question, and women who clad themselves in burnished gold. In it (*also*) are questioned souls belonging to the Twelve Gates⁸, and (*but?*) in this purgatory he who immerseth himself in four jordans⁹ Sunday will ransom him, (*and will ransom*) those babies and little children that carry oil¹⁰ but are not baptized until they are dying (*dead?*). They shall open¹¹ the jordan and a baptizer shall go down to the jordan and

¹ B. has 'kdabiun', D. C. 8 'kadibian' (act. part. Pa. fem.).

² I. e. "did not observe ritual isolation".

³ D. C. 8 'umahin', B. 'umahia'.

⁴ B. has the plural 'garmabia'.

⁵ Officials appointed to flog.

⁶ 'Habšaba', the personified first day of the week (see Appendix I).

⁷ D. C. 8 'dma'; B. 'zma'. I cannot discover what this phrase means.

⁸ Other sects and religions, see p. 3, note 3.

⁹ On earth?

¹⁰ Oil for the dying is placed in a small bottle and inserted into a pocket on the right side of the ritual shirt in which they clothe a dying person. The dead are buried in the ritual dress put on before they expire.

¹¹ "Open", that is free the channels to and from the river so that water flows in and out of the pool.

shall mix dough when their grain (*flour*) is purified¹ and shall make an image in the likeness of the baby, clothing it in the (*ritual*) dress, tying a (*sacred*) girdle round it, binding on to it a (*dough*) head and spreading a covering over it², and shall baptize it with baptism in the jordan. (*Then*) they shall take it up from the jordan³ and celebrate a "great masiqta" for it. When they read the masiqta, Sunday will ransom it from the purgatory of the sun, and cause it (*the child*) to reach its ancestors⁴. However, those souls that bore oil but for whom they celebrate no masiqta remain in this purgatory of the sun, and hot and cold are loosed upon them. S a.

This, the purgatory of⁵ Sunday, occupieth about two thousand parasangs. This is the purgatory of Sunday. When righteous elect persons depart from their bodies, Sunday goeth out towards them and ransometh them from (*this?*) purgatory⁶. And every man that unfurleth the banner⁷, and giveth⁸ good things in his house to the poor, the lowly and the persecuted, when he departeth the body all here on the earth will call his name, three hundred and sixty priests will go forth to meet him and Hibil Ziwa, Šitil and Anoš will come towards him. When the banner Zihrun is at his right and the banner Bihram at his left, then fear of purgatory will not enter into him⁹ or (*into*) any priest that performed these good works.

(*New Register: B. differs*)

In the name of the Great Life, health, vindication, strength and soundness, speech and being heard and forgiving of sins be there for me by virtue of this "Passage of the Purgatories", for me, Ram Yuhana son of Rabbi Ram son of Sam son of 'Uṣṭa Mansur of the sons (*family*) of the Dihdaria; his name being Ṣabur. I copied from

¹ The two MSS vary considerably here and I have used both in translating. Baptism of an effigy in dough of a dead unbaptised baby or small child is still practised as described here.

The grain and handmill used to make the flour for the dough are carefully purified.

² B. has 'raiiflh umana parislh uşabalh'.

³ B. has 'umasıqlh şuma mn yardna'. This is probably correct, as the baby must be named in the ensuing 'masiqta'.

⁴ Or, as 'abahata' refers often to the Great Life, "its Father".

⁵ In B. only.

⁶ D. C. 8 has the singular, B. the plural.

⁷ The white silk banner is set up for religious services.

⁸ Read 'yahbia' for 'tihuia'. For 'bbit an ania' in D. C. 8, B. has 'ba-binth waniia'. The 'tabuta' "good things" probably refers to ritual food and sacraments.

⁹ B. has 'maṭarata lanizal'.

the Diwan of¹ Rabbi Mhatam son of Yahia Bayan son of Yuhana Šadan son of Zakria son of Hibil son of Yahia son of Zak'ia son of Zihrun, of the sons of the Dihdaria, his name being Šabur; who copied from the Diwan of the great, lofty architect of character, Mhatam Bihram son of Sam Zihrun son of Yahia son of Yuhana son of Sarwan son of Baktiar Tabit, his name Šaiaš 'kuma. (*He copied*) from the Diwan of the noble and distinguished Rabbi Adam son of Mhatam Bulbul son of Sam Bihram son of Rabbi Mhatam 'Asakir, which was copied by Rabbi Yahia Zihrun son of Rabbi Yahia Sam son of Zihrun 'Aziz, who copied from the Diwan of the admirable Dihdar: it was his that Mhatam Bulbul son of Sam 'Asakir² that his teacher copied, Rabbi Yahia Sam son of Zihrun 'Aziz, who copied it from Rabbi Baktiar son of Yahia Adam Riš Draz, who copied from the Diwan of Rabbi Bihram Bayan son of Adam Yuhana Riš Draz, that copied from the Diwan of Rabbi Zak'ia son of Bayan Hibil Mašhadia, who copied from the Diwan of Rabbi Baktiar son of Sarwan which was copied by Sam Zak'ia son of Bayan Hibil Mašhadia, who copied for himself from the Diwan of Yahia Sam son of Šayar Rinda, who copied from the Diwan of Yahia Sam son of Ruzbia Ququia, that was copied by Anuš Adam from the Diwan of Rabbi Anuš son of Šadan Surkab. And it was copied for Rabbi Šadan by Anuš son of Adam who copied from the Diwan of Ram son of Adam Gadana, copied for him by Anuš son of Adam from his own Diwan that he copied from the Diwan of Rabbi Yuhana son of Adam Kuhailia, from the Diwan of Adam son of Anuš who copied from the Diwan of his father, Adam son of Anuš (*who?*) copied from the Diwan of Sam Tabit son of Anuš Šitil who copied from the Diwan of Bihram son of Bahran who copied from the Diwan of Sam Šadan son of Adam, who copied it from the Diwan of Anuš Mu'ailia son of Anuš Bihdad. And Anuš Mu'ailia copied from the Diwan of Sam Tabit son of Šitil Yuhana, who copied from the Diwan of Bihdad son of Bahran who copied from a Diwan which was in the library of Yuhana Bihdad, who copied from the Diwan of Sarwan son of Bulbul. And there were not many copies thereof. Life be to those that are immortal, and Life rejoiced to all eternity³. All things are insignificant and small save prayer and praise.

And Life is victorious over all works.

S a. (*End of Register*).

¹ The Borgian MS quotes copyings before those mentioned here.

² The text seems defective here.

³ I am doubtful about the translation of this sentence. It might be "And they that are eternal live, and the living (or "the Life") rejoiced for ever".

(*New Register: Four figures with descriptions on the left, text on the right*).

This is a gate: its name is Šdum, and these two illustrations are of an ape and a lion which lie in the gateway and confront the souls who come¹ not knowing that there is anything in the road. When they enter the gateway they (*the animals*) obstruct them (*the souls*) rubbing against them² and hemming them in³ except those who escape, whom they bite and torture (*until*) their blood gushes out, like that (*blood?*) in which they rejoiced⁴ (*when?*) destroying (?)⁵ in this purgatory of the Seven Planets. And in it are held captive and put to the question those men who change boundary demarcations and remove boundary stones, and in this purgatory men are questioned who go to the markets and streets and perform no ablutions (*thereafter*), and those who enter⁶ the hot baths are put to the question therein, and those that are fond of the drinking-bowl but set out no bread or water⁷, (*and men who*) put their feet on the ground, for (*there are?*) pure shoes for their feet⁸. And this is the gate Šdum.

(*Left, in frame*) This is the likeness of Miriai⁹ that standeth before Ruha.

(*Beneath the figures*) This throne is of red ruby: its name is Arspan.

(*Next Register contains figures of demons with descriptive text.*
From left to right:-)

This is Bihdad's club: it is a copper club.

This is a golden club and this is a likeness of Bihdad (*who*) confronts 'Ur.

¹ I read 'qa-atia'. 'Qatia' could also mean "sobbing", "sob".

² Pa. SQL "to burnish" "rub at". B. omits 'umasqilin'.

³ B. 'umkalilin'.

⁴ B. has 'ušafia dmaiin akwat hak duşun', and omits 'abdin'.

⁵ It is not clear whether this refers to the acts of the souls when on earth, or to those of the tormentors in purgatory. The sentence is corrupt in both MSS and my translation tentative.

⁶ B. 'aiilia'.

⁷ B. has 'ramia'. The sin lies in drinking to get drunk, and not as accompaniment to a meal.

⁸ B. has 'amințul d nalia dakiata 'l ligraihun' "because (there are) pure shoes for their feet". Parsis think it a sin to go barefoot; and although there is a rule that Mandaeans should go barefoot during Parwanaia, this is because shoes are made of leather, i. e. a dead animal, which is polluting. Grass sandals are permitted.

⁹ This is not the Mandaean Miriai, but probably Mary mother of Jesus.

This is a likeness of the demon Leprosy¹ who clashes the cymbals.

This one, whose name² is Šar, played (plays?) the hautbois.

This is the likeness of Gran, Bil³ is his name, who plays a drum named Tarfan: it is of red ruby and sixty chains are fastened to it.

These are guardians of the Pearl of 'Ur⁴ lest warriors of the Darkness should come towards (*against?*) 'Ur. And they loose off at (*attack*) everyone that cometh, striking them with these clubs, because those guardians are carrying it to the House; for Hibil Ziwa cometh with his father⁵ Yawar, so that thereby his father may be glorified (?). When he ariseth⁶ and they send him into the heat, these guardians come to him. He doth not loose the demons that come towards him, but freeth it⁷.

This is the likeness of Gabriel-Rihmat ("She-loved-Gabriel"), a date-palm; there were three hundred and sixty that were Qin's, they belonged to (?) those that sow seeds (?) and sixty parched grains of corn that came from Qin's mare (??)⁸.

This is the likeness of Zihrun who carrieth a club and standeth on 'Ur's head.

This is the likeness of one named Zamriel, who sang, and who carrieth a club and standeth on the head of 'Ur.

This is the likeness of one named Guran⁹.

This is the likeness of one named Guban who carrieth a comb and combeth his head: the name of this comb that combeth 'Ur's head is Namriael.

¹ B. has: 'dmuta ɖ grfan daiwa ɖ qimahia bsafqataia'.

² B. omits 'šumh'.

³ B. has 'Guranbil'.

⁴ A 'gimra', judging by contexts in other Mandaean MSS, is a jewel or a pearl. It was shown to Hibil Ziwa by Qin as it lay in the "black waters" together with a 'mrara', and both were secretly stolen by him and taken to the world of light. (See G. R., p. 158). The passage makes no mention of 'Ur.

⁵ The second ɖ appears to be redundant.

⁶ B. has 'qaiimia' (plural).

⁷ Presumably the 'gimra' is meant by "it".

⁸ B. has (after Qin) 'hu ɖ ziria zaria ušitin ɖ qalia ɖ mn susia ɖ Qin h''. The sentence is obscure, and I do not understand it.

⁹ This sentence is omitted by B., but B. substitutes the name Giran (Guran?) for Guban in the next sentence.

(Next Register: more figures with inscriptions. D. C. 8 omits two and B. one. I give them all.)

(A figure holding aloft two circular objects:-) This is the likeness of Šahra, carrying in his hand a pair of cymbals, which he clashes in 'Ur's presence.

(Two figures: below that on the right) This is the likeness of one named Nufsaï and this is his dart. (On left) This is the likeness of El-Sfar the Small, who hath a dart in his hand.

(A figure below, carrying a bow) This one is named Tabadaga ("Of-the-ABCD").

This is the likeness of the lilith Zut. In the gateway Rabat Ašimaiil Rabat¹ is its name, there are three hundred and sixty snares within it; these proceed from the Datepalm of Darkness (?)².

This is the likeness of Sahfiaiel, that carrieth a copper pail (?)³ in his hand.

They hold three hundred and sixty chains and nine hundred and ninety thousand chains, and these are of gold and iron. This dart⁴ belongeth to Ruha.

This is the likeness of the daughter of Gaf and Zuṭa 'stra. They set these names and the name of Qin the Younger upon the firmament of Qin, and three hundred and sixty, and nine hundred and ninety, and four hundred and forty gems (*gimria*) from the three hundred and sixty worlds of pure crystal. And sixty and seven hundred and seventy golden bells are hung therein.⁵

(Left) This is the likeness of Šdum, Warrior of the Darkness, and his name is Šum-Šum, his name is Samandariel, his name is Bihram, his name is Zakia, his name is Ram, his name is Rahmiel, "Seven-Names" is his name. (Below, left) This is the throne of Šdum. Its name is Malkiaiel⁶ (*it is of*) ruby (*and of*) gold. His eyes are fixed upon the sphere of Sumqaq.

¹ B. has 'šiim'il Rabaṭ' (omitting 'Rbaṭ').

² Obscure and incomprehensible to me.

³ B. has 'šahfil šumh ṭabadzun' (or 'ṭarabzun') dria b'dh. The object carried resembles a bag or bucket and has a handle. The word resembles 'ṭirāzūdān' "the basin or scale of a balance" or (St.) 'ṭirazdan' "a case in which scales are kept".

⁴ 'sikta'. Or "coulter"?

⁵ This inscription is missing in B.

⁶ B. has 'Mamalkiil'.

of Hawa (Eve) daughter of Krun and his wife; (*this is her name*), (*she is*) Adam's wife¹.

(*New Register: a boat containing five figures, two above the stern and one above the boat. A long steering paddle on the right of the picture*).

(*Bowman on the right*) This is the likeness of Samandriel; (*this is*) his name, and "Dagger", "Butcher's-Knife" and "Arrow" are his names, and his name is Šumaiel. And the name of that arrow is Nuršiel.

This is the steering-paddle of Bihram the steersman.

(*End of prow*) This is a bunch of myrtle placed on the šafta² which is of gold.

(*On prow*) This is the likeness of Ruha, mother of the sun. It is she who enflameth and swayeth the spirit. Her name is "She-en-flameth-the-womb", and "Treasure" is her name, and "She-lusted-after" is her name, and "She-conserved" is her name, and "Drop" is her name, and "Qin" is her name, and "She-loved-these" (*is her name*). (*These are*) the seven names of Ruha.

(*Figure holding paddle*) This is the likeness of "Strength" who grasps the rudder-oar.

(*Two figures above stern*) This is the likeness of Venus that sitteth on the flank of the sun. And her name is "Treasure", and "She-conserved" is her name, and "Light-giver" is her name, and "Bud-of-Dawn"³ is her name. She⁴ is a gem of pure crystal.

The name of this standard is Šamšiel: it is the vesture of Šišlam⁵ the First Vine, for (*and?*) its name is "Standard-of-red-precious-stone". And Šišlam-the-Great guardeth it⁶, (*who is*) the First Vine of Abatur. It is of crystal and Yawar's name is engraved on it and Abatur's name in rubies is graven thereon, and the name "Here is the fourth", the white one, her name is Simat⁷ is graven thereon of (*in*) gold. The name of its sides are graven thereon, and "Here-is-the-fifth-of-silver" is graven thereon, "Nṣab" is graven thereon,

¹ Read 'zawḥ' for 'brḥ'. B. has 'zanh' "his concubine".

² 'šafta' = "case", "receptacle". In the picture the 'šafta' is a circle at the top of the prow.

³ B. has 'simdra ḥ sfar'. ('Sfar' = 'ṣfar', "dawn"). The often-mentioned Samandriel is a personification of bursting into flower.

⁴ B. has 'ḥ'.

⁵ B. 'Šišlam', D. C. 8 'Šilam'.

⁶ B. 'mnaṭarh.'

⁷ Both MSS have 'abaita'. Read 'arbiaita'.

and "the seventh is of iron" and the names of the planets are graven thereon. These are the seven "gates" of the standard.

(*Figure holding mast on right*) This is the likeness of Adonai: the sun is in his hand.

(*Figure holding mast on left*) This is the likeness of Sam Ziwa that holdeth the standard. [This his sword is of nine hundred and ninety and seven hundred and seventy thousand *minas* (weight)]¹. (*Archer at stern*) This is a warrior and he fitteth an arrow (*to his bow*). His (*or "its"*) name is Šapandalieel², and the name of the bow is Barqaiel. And two arrows are placed³ into one *ṣifan*⁴. Its name is Qaštaiil.

(*Below the ship, and the figure right of the mast*) This is the likeness of Šamiš (Sun) son of Ruha. His name is Yukabar, and his name is Bhaq, and his name is Haiašum, and his name is Šarhabiel, and his name is Bihram, and his name is Nibṭa⁵ and Kafšaiel. These are the seven names which Ruha bestowed upon Šamiš. The three hundred and sixty names of Šamiš are for making exorcisms⁶, (*for*) diverting and discarding (*spells*) and (*for*) loosing and freeing⁷ (*from sorcery*).

(*Next ship: inscription reversed above the mast*)

This is the *ṣafiqā*⁸ of the standard⁹, and they are golden bells.

(*On ship*) This is the steering-gear; its name is Šum'iel and it is strong. The name of this steering-gear is "Dawn-of-Day" and its yellowness is golden.

(*Third boat, reading from left to right*)

(*End of steering-paddle*) This is the rudder-oar; its name is Harbiel Sukana and it is of gold.

(*Below*) These are three steering-paddles that belong to Šauriel¹⁰.

¹ In square brackets in B. only.

² B. 'Šapandalīl'.

³ B. has 'matnan'.

⁴ "A quiver"? The word does not occur elsewhere.

⁵ 'Nibṭa' = "a shoot", "a thrust upwards of living growth".

⁶ D. C. 8 'mitaburia mihdar' ('mihbar'?) ; B. 'mitiburia mihdar', from HBR "to charm, to exorcise".

⁷ D. C. 8 'uširia ušarian' and B. 'ušaria uš'ia'.

⁸ The word does not occur elsewhere.

⁹ B. inserts 'šumḥ' "its name".

¹⁰ B. 'tl̄l Šaur'īl'.

The name of one is Nafqiel¹ and the name of Yawar is engraved upon it, incised all round it. The name of another, Samandariel, is graven upon it, and the name of another is Gaṭliel and the name of Yukabar is graven thereon. These three steering-paddles are assigned to Šauriel the Slaughterer.

(Second figure from right, holding the steering-paddle) This is Giu-the-Less who is standing and grasping the steering-paddle².

(Below the same figure, writing reversed) This is the likeness of Sin (Moon), the Overthrower³, and his name is Sahfiel⁴, and his name is Taṭmiel⁵, and his name is Šilam⁶, and his name is Nbu⁷, and his name is Mahiqana⁸. These are the names which Ruha bestowed upon her son, Sin⁹.

(To the left of fourth figure) This is the Moon-ship: "Beautiful" is its lovely name. (At bow of ship) This is the standard of Šitlan, Eye-that-is-Great. The name of Qin is graven upon it; "Here-is-another-precious-stone" is its name, "Of-Krun" is graven upon it; "Here-is-another-of-Gaf" is graven upon it; "Here-is-another-a-ruby-Anatan" is graven upon it; "Here-is-another-of-gold", Ruha's name, is graven upon it; "Here-in-silver", 'Ur's name is graven upon it. And these seven inscriptions¹⁰ are placed upon the Moon's standard.

(End of D. C. 8. B. has part of a list of copyists). The concluding parts of both manuscripts are missing.

¹ B. has 'Qanaqf'il' for 'Naqf'il'.

² B. has 'sfinta' "ship" for 'sukana' "steering-paddle".

³ SHF "to overthrow, ruin".

⁴ See note 3.

⁵ From Ethpe. TMA "to become unclean".

⁶ See J. סילם "payment", "punishment". B. has Šišlam.

⁷ B. has 'Nbu'.

⁸ B. has 'Mahiqan' "striker".

⁹ In late Mandaean tradition the moon is associated with death, deformity, destruction and darkness. A waning moon is an unlucky time to wed, plant or sow seed. Note that the figure of Sin is mutilated.

¹⁰ B. has 'gudia'.

APPENDIX I

Notes on some of the celestial and underworld beings mentioned in the text. Pronunciation, when possible, is given in brackets.

Abatur (Awāthur)¹. There are two Abaturs, or rather two phases of the same being (see p. 2, n. 1). This text does not deal with Abatur Rama (the Lofty or Celestial Abatur), but with his lower counterpart, Abatur of the Scales, who weighs souls after death.

Adam. There are two Adams, the physical and the occult or spiritual Adam (Adam Pagria and Adam Kasia). (For the relationship between the occult Adam and Eve and the physical Adam and Eve, see p. 253 MMII). The former pair inhabit Mšunia Kušta, a world which is the spiritual counterpart of the material world, and their progeny are the spiritual counterparts of human beings. The physical Adam is the first man.

Adatan and Yadatan (as written). A pair of celestial spirits often mentioned in Mandaean literature. Accent is on the last syllable.

Anatan (Anna-tan). Name of a ruler in the infernal region, husband of Qin (q. v.). See G. R. p. 158.

Anuš (Annosh). One of the three sons of the Occult Adam and Eve. The other two are called Hibil and Šitil. In the Diwan Abatur one of Ptahil's seven sons is called Anuš.

Arspan. The name of a Spirit connected with water and baptism, but in this text the name of a throne.

Bhaq. Here one of Ptahil's sons. A demiurge named Bhaq is mentioned in the Ginza Rabba.

Bhira (Bhira) ("proven" or "chosen"). A spirit called Bhira Dakia, chief of all the 'uthras appears in the 'Niania and Šarh d Qabin d Šišlam Rba. For the 'utria (uthri), fertility and light spirits, see MMII pp. 94-5).

Bihdad (Bih-dād). Here this is the name of the 'uthra assisting Abatur at the Scales.

Bihram (Bih-rām). Is named at baptism:- "I am baptised with the baptism of Biham the Great". Biham or Bahram (the Great) is often mentioned: his name suggests Persian origin. The banner is sometimes called Biham. See note on Biham G. R. p. 598.

Dmut Hīa (Admuth Héi). "Likeness-of-Life", a female spirit mentioned in the Ginza Rabba and 'Niania. In the latter she is said to be the mother of Yušamin (q. v.).

El. See 'Il.

¹ The ā is pronounced to rhyme with au in the name Paul.

- Gaf* (Gaff). A ruler of one of the underworlds and father of 'Ur by Ruha (see G. R. pp. 159 ff.).
- Ganzi'il*, *Ginzi'il*, *Kanzi'il* (and variations). A personification of hidden or secret treasure, often invoked in exorcisms and spells.
- Giu*. Ruler of one of the underworlds, see G. R. p. 156.
- Habšaba* (Ho-shabba). A saviour spirit. Is the personification of the first day of the week.
- Haiašum* (Hayya-shom). An 'uthra, often mentioned in the 'Niania and *Ginza Rabba*.
- Hawa* (Hā-wa). Eve, wife of Adam. There were two Eves (see Adam) the *pagria* and the *kasia*. In this manuscript a Hawa daughter of Krun (q. v.) is mentioned. Hawa is a common name amongst Mandaean women.
- Hazazban* "This-Time"? Hazazban is an 'uthra; sometimes the myrtle wreath used in ritual is so named. A spirit named Zan Hazazban rules a purgatory, according to the *Ginza Rabba*.
- Hibil* (Hi-wel). In D. C. 8 one of the seven sons of Ptahil; a Hibil was one of the three sons of Adam Kasia.
- Hibil Ziwa* (Hi-wel Zi-wa). A spirit of light sometimes identified with the saviour spirit *Manda d Hiia*, but not in this text. Hibil Ziwa's descent into the worlds of darkness, his marriage with Zahriel daughter of Qin and his bringing of Ruha into an upper world where she gave birth to 'Ur, are all described in the *Ginza Rabba* (G. R. pp. 157 ff.). He is also identified occasionally with Yawar.
- Izlat* (Iz-lät). A female spirit, sometimes called "the Mother" (See p. 14, n. 3).
- Il* (Él). Is mentioned in the *Ginza Rabba* (p. 260) together with Ruha as enemies of the "chosen righteous".
- Kanfi'il* (Kan-fiél). An 'uthra.
- Kanzi'il* or *Kanzi'el* (Kanzi-el). See *Ganzi'il*.
- Krun* (Krūn or Akrūn). Ruler of one of the realms of darkness, described as "a mountain of flesh". His conflict with Hibil Ziwa when the latter visited the underworld is described in G. R. pp. 156-7.
- Manda d Hiia* (Män-däd-héi; accent on second syllable). A saviour spirit, sometimes identified with Hibil Ziwa. Like Hibil Ziwa, he is especially concerned with the welfare of mankind. As for the meaning of the name, see MMII p. 11.
- Miriae* (Mirri-aī). The Miriae who appears in this text is not the Miriae of the *Ginza Rabba* and *Draša d Yahia*. She is probably the mother of Christ.
- Nbaṭ* (En-waṭ). This spirit of fertility and life is often invoked in exorcisms, and his name appears constantly in all Mandaean religious literature.
- Nidbai* (Ned-vay). Silmai and Nidbai (Shelmay and Nedvay) are the two guardian spirits of running water (*yardna*).
- Ptahil* (Pith-ahil). Is the son of Hibil Ziwa and Zahriel daughter of Qin

- (q. v.). His dubious character is explained by the nature of this més-alliance, the father being of the worlds of light and the mother of the worlds of darkness. He is represented as a creator spirit who bungles work which must be completed by a spirit of light. In the G. R. p. 174, he is said to be the son of Abatur. In this text he rules a world (see p. 9), creates the earth with the help of demons at the order of Abatur, and shows jealousy of Hibil Ziwa.
- Qardum*. A demon.
- Qin* (QIn). Mother of many spirits of darkness, and also of Ruha and Zahriel (See G. R. pp. 158 ff.).
- Rahmi'il* (Rah-mi-él) (Variously spelt). An 'uthra; he is much invoked in exorcisms, talismans and love-charms.
- Ruha* (Rü-ha). Daughter of Qin, she was married to her brother Gaf. She was taken to the upper world by Hibil Ziwa, and brought the monster-child 'Ur to birth. She became 'Ur's paramour, and had by him two sets of children, the seven planets and the twelve Houses of the Zodiac.
- Myth apart, she is a personification of the *ruha*, the emotional and passionate element in human nature (cf. the Hindu *kama*). She is usually portrayed as the enemy of the soul, a sorceress and beguiler, in league with the planets to hold the soul back and to frustrate its aspirations towards the worlds of light. Mandaean eschatology represents the *ruha* as surviving death like the *nišimta* (soul). After purification *ruha* and *nišimta* reunite and rise as one being into the realms of light.
- Samandar'il* (Semān-dariél). Often mentioned in Mandaean literature; an 'uthra, a flower and blossom spirit.
- Šarat* (Shā-rat). A female 'uthra called, "the great, first hidden Vine" in G. R.
- Šarhab'il* (Shar-hab-yel). A female 'uthra, also the name of the wife of the pair who repeopled the world after its second destruction (by fire). The name comes from the root ŠRHB "to propagate". In D. C. 8 Šarhab'il is one of Ptahil's sons and rules a purgatory.
- Sauri'il* (Saū-ri-él). The death-angel, who comes to release the soul (*nišimta*) and detach the *ruha* from the body.
- Šdum* (Ash-dūm). Ruler of an underworld (G. R. p. 156). In D. C. 8 a "warrior of darkness", a gate and a demon.
- Šhaq*. The word means "cloud" or "clouds". In this text, as a son of Yušamin (q. v.), he rules over a purgatory.
- Šilmai* (Shel-may). One of a pair of guardian spirits (over running water) (see *Nidbai*).
- Simat* (Si-mät) "Treasure". A favourite name with Mandaean women. Here the name or epithet is given to Ruha, a ship, one of Ptahil's wives, and a throne.
- Simat Hiia* (Si-mäd-Héi; accent on second syllable) "Treasure-of-Life". Usually invoked with Yawar Ziwa. She is more often mentioned than any other female life-spirit, and like 'Zlat represents the Mother

principle of creation. In D. C. 8 a daughter of Yušamin is named after her.

Simiail. A demon, also mentioned in the *Ginza Rabba*.

Šišlam (Shish-lam). Usually *Šišlam Rba*. He is the arch-type of priest and bridegroom. His marriage is the pattern for earthly marriages and his initiation and consecration as priest, the model for all such ceremonies (See *Taraşa d Taga d Šišlam Rba*, a manuscript in the British Museum, and *Šarḥ d Qabin d Šišlam Rba* (D. C. 38)).

Šitil (Shi-tel). Son of Adam Kasia, and son of his human counterpart Adam Pagria. When Adam the first man was told that his span of life had ended, Šitil offered to die in his stead. This filial action made him the purest of all human beings, and the soul of every human being after death is weighed in Abatur's scales against the soul of Šitil. In this text he is shown standing in one of the scales. One of Ptahil's sons is named after him, and he rules over a purgatory.

Šum (Shūm). In this text "Šum" is merely an epithet. In the 'Niania and *Draša d Yahia*, Šum is Shem, son of Noah and is also called Sam.

Tauri'il (Tau-riél). This 'uthra is often invoked in exorcisms and magic. He is sometimes identified with Yawar and is mentioned in the *Ginza Rabba*, 'Niania and other sacred texts. The bull, connected with sun-worship, and symbolical of fertility, had divine honours both in Babylonia and ancient Persia.

'Ur (Ūr). The giant son of Ruha and her brother Gaf, and later his mother's paramour (see *Ruha*). It is supposed by Mandaean that the world rests on his back and that the souls of the ungodly and unbelievers are drawn into his mouth and fiery interior. He is represented in sacred literature as rebellious and turbulent (see GR. p. 168 ff.).

Yadatan (see Adatan).

Yukabar Ziwa (Yū-khā-war Zī-wa). A spirit of light of high rank.

Yušamin (Yū-shā-min; accent on middle syllable). Just as Šišlam is the pattern of perfect priesthood, Yušamin typifies the careless priest.

Yuzat̄aq (Yū-zā-taq) (Holy-Spirit?). An epithet attached to *Manda d Hīia*.

APPENDIX II

Note on the Edomites or Idumaeans.

The *Dumaiia* are probably the Idumaeans or Edomites. There are several references to the *Dumaiia* and their cults in Mandaean writings. In the *Ginza Rba* (D. C. 22 r. 298) they are mentioned as being plagued in Purgatory, and, a page earlier the following occurs: « I speak lest they go astray after the follies of Namrus, the *Dumaiia* and the seven planets ».

The *Draša d Yahia* hints at Christian practices: « Beware, my friends, of the *Dumaiia* who resemble the branches of the cross which they set on their walls, standing before it and worshipping a block (of wood) ».

Alf Trisar Šuialia (The Thousand and Twelve Questions) classes the *Dumaiia* with Christians and Jews and refers to their sacramental bread: « The *Dumaiia* ate it, whose manhood is destroyed: (yea) sacrificed and destroyed is their manhood; and they set up Death, worshipping him ». (Jastrow, p. 286 of his *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi* etc. has under *דָמָה* *Dumah*: « Silence, land of death. Masc. *Dumah*, the guardian angel of the deceased »).

The *Alma Rišaia Zuṭa* (D. C. 47) speaks of « the souls of the *Dumaiia* who forged false rites »; and the *Diwan d Nahrawata* (D. C. 7) in a description of rivers mentions a tributary « taken from the great source of the Euphrates, that goeth and falleth and floweth to the *Dumaiia* ».

This account of rivers is, however, very fanciful.

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