The Story of Creation in the Mandaean Holy Book the Ginza Rba

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Abstract:

Sources of the research: The Mandaean holy books and scriptures in addition to old Moslem writers and contemporary western scholars' works.

The purpose of the research:

The research aims to translate the Mandaean Story of Creation, directly from the Mandaean manuscript. Four other Ginza manuscripts from the Oriental and India office at the British Library in London were used to compile a critical apparatus of variants. Book three, or the Book of Creation, is the largest tractate of the Mandaean's holy book the "Ginza Rba". The Ginza names this tractate as raza usidra qadmaia d-šuta haita qadmaita “The Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine”. This tractate includes the cosmogony; the origin of the World of Light and the World of Darkness, the rise of the First Great Life, the Second Life (Yōšamin), the Third Life (Abatur) and the Fourth Life (Ptahil); the Demiurge who created the cosmos and Tibil (the earthly world). It also narrates the creation of the Mandaean redeemer Manda d-Hiia (“Gnosis of Life”) and his descent to the Underworld and his triumph against the forces of darkness. It narrates the creation of Adam and Eve and the descent of the nišimta (soul) into the 'štōna (the human body). Tractate three also includes an elaborate description of the demonic Rūha and her planetary sons and her attempts to seduce Adam in order to entrap him in the world.

The research consists of three parts:


(3) The Transcription and Translation of the Manuscript.
Acknowledgments

With my deepest gratitude, I would like to thank everyone who has helped me throughout every aspect of my research, and a special thanks to Wingate Scholarship and their administrator Ms. Faith Clark for their encouragement and financial support. I am especially indebted to Professor Mark Geller of the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Dept at UCL, for his excellent guidance and support during my research.

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Chart C

§3 The Text

§4 Translation and Notes

Bibliography
Abbreviations

AHW  Akkadisches Handwörterbuch
AJSL  The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
ARR  Alma Rišaia Rba (tr. E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries, Leiden 1963)
ARZ  Alma Rišaia Zuṭa (tr. E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries, Leiden 1963)
ATŠ  The Thousand and Twelve Questions (tr. E. S. Drower, Berlin 1960)
Jb  Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer (tr. M. Lidzbarski, Giessen 1915)
DY  The Mandaean Manuscript Draša d-Yahia “the Book of John”
BASOR  Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BSOAS  Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BSOS  Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
CP  The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans (tr. E. S. Drower, Leiden 1959)
DA  Diwan Abatur (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1950)
DJPA  A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (M. Sokoloff, Bar Ilan University Press, 1990)
DM'L  The Scroll of Exalted Kingship (tr. J. J. Buckley, Connecticut 1993)
DMHZ  Diwan Mašbuta d-Hibil-Ziwa (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1953)
GRL  Ginza Rba Left
GRR  Ginza Rba Right
HG  The Harran Gawaita (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1953)
HR  History of Religions
JAOS  Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL  Journal of Biblical Literature
JD  A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmid Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrash Literature (M. Jastrow, New York 1996)
JEAS  Journal of Egyptian Archeology
JNES  Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JR  Journal of Religion
JRAS  Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>JRCAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSS</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td><em>A Mandaic Dictionary</em> (E. S. Drower, R. Macuch, Oxford 1963)</td>
</tr>
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<td>MG</td>
<td><em>Mandäische Grammataik</em> (Nöldke, Halle 1875)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MHZ</td>
<td><em>Masbuta d-Hibil Ziwa</em> [The Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa]</td>
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<tr>
<td>MII</td>
<td><em>The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran</em> (E. D. Drower, Oxford 1937)</td>
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<tr>
<td>OT</td>
<td>Old Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td><em>The Mandaean Book Qalista</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>QSR</td>
<td><em>Qabin d-Šišlam Rba</em> “the Marriage ceremony of the Great Šišlam”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠQSR</td>
<td><em>Šarh d-Qabin d-Šišlam Rba</em> “Explanatory Commentary on the Marriage-Ceremony of the Great Šišlam”, (tr. E. S. Drower, Rome 1950)</td>
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# The Mandaic Alphabet

*abāgāda*

<table>
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<th>Form</th>
<th>With vowels</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
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<td>bā bi</td>
<td>ab b</td>
<td>æ a a</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gā gi</td>
<td>āg g</td>
<td>b b b</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>dā di</td>
<td>ād d</td>
<td>d d d</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>hā hi</td>
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<td>wā wi</td>
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<td>yā yi</td>
<td>āy y</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>kā ki</td>
<td>āk k</td>
<td>k k χ</td>
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<td>lā li</td>
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§ 1. Introduction
§ 1. Introduction

§ 1.1 - The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin:

In the hot and marshy areas along the Tigris and Euphrates in the southern Mesopotamia and along the Karun River which flows through the lowland of Iran (Khuzistan) and, like the Tigris and Euphrates, empties into the Shaṭ-al-Arab and then into the Gulf, there dwells a small community of Mandaiā, Mandaeans ("Gnostics"). Their Arab neighbors call them Šubba, derived from (لاذر) سرفس "to immerse or submerge", and refers to their frequent baptism "maṣbūta".¹ The Qur'an mentions the al-Šabīyūn الصائقو in three sūra along with the Jews and Christians.² The Moslem historians called them the Šabians ³ of the swamps (المغتليمة) or al-Mughtasila "those who wash" and they were numerous in the swamps and in the region of Dast-i Maysan.⁴ Almasʿūdī tells of a Šabian sect called Kimāriyyūn (الكماريون) which

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¹ SA p. ix. Mani points out that he was living amongst the "Sabaios" which is clearly derived from Aramaic sobai which means baptist (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 65).
² The Qur'an mentioned the Šabians in three suras: baqarah no. 62, haj no. 15 and maʿydhah no. 69
³ Islamic historians referred to all pagans as "Šabians," whether Babylonians, Greek, Egyptians or Romans.
⁴ المغتليمة: هؤلاء قوم كثيرون بواحي الباختئ. وهم صناعة الباختئ. يغولون بالاغسل. ويعملون جميع ما يأكلونه. وترميهم يحرف بالحسن وهو الذي شرع الملة. ويزعم البدو ذكر وأنف. وأن الفؤول من شرع الذكر. وأن الأكشور من شرع الأنثى وأن الأشجار عرفوه. وليم أقافلة شيعة تحمى الحرابة. وكان نموذجه بالله. شمعون .. وكانوا يوافقون المانوية في الأصولين ويدرفن ملتهم بعد. وفيهم من بعظم النجوم إلى وفتنا هذا (أبى قديم. المفتي 1394 من 414).
was located between Wasiţ and Basra. He also reported that the Şabeans were related to Şabi bn Mitşolah bn Idris or Şabi bn Mari at the time of Abraham. Al-Nadim mentioned many baptist sects who were living in southern Iraq such as: the “Dashtim”, the “Muhâjirûn”, the “Kaştiün”, the “Mughtasilah”, the “al-Hasîh” (Elchasites) and “Şâbat al-Baţâ’îh”. Macuch asserts that the Mandaean s actually settled in southern Mesopotamia and had many names. In Mesene (Maisyen) especially they were called by their proper name “Mandaean s and Maškanaean s” and their script and dialect was called maišânâ’it “Messenian” i.e. “Mandaic”.

The Mandaean s call themselves bhiri zidqa “the righteous elect” and ’Naşorean s’ (naşuraiyî), i.e. “guardians” or “possessors” of secret rites and knowledge “Naşiruta.” The Mandaean society, before the Moslem conquest of Iraq, consisted of two classes: (a) the priestly clan or the Naşorean s; that is the inner circle of the priests and their novices, and (b) the laymen clan or the

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6 Al-Nadim, the Fihrist, Budge, 1970: 809 ff.
8 Sometimes the heavy ‘ş’ is written by none Mandaean s as ‘z’, Nazorenes. (SA p. ix) This term was used by the Jews to designate Christians (Peters, 1972: 668).
9 Rudolph 1983: 343. Drower defines Naşiruta as “esoteric religion within a religion, a gnosis within gnosis, and its heart is the interpretation which it attaches to sacramental acts” (SA p. xv).
Mandaeans who form the greater number of the sect.  

Although they revered John the Baptist and occasionally mention him in some prayers, their relation to him is still problematic because they consider him “teacher” or “reformer” and never the founder of their faith. In fact there is no mention of a founder of Mandaeism in all their writings. After the Islamic invasion the priestly school which was teaching the esoteric principles of the “Naṣiruta” diminished gradually and could no longer fight the new elements of transformation. Eventually, the majority of the Mandaean population had to convert to Islam due to persecution and a heavy poll tax.

No one can determine the first appearance of the Mandaeans in Mesopotamia, and the question of their origin is still one of the continuing mysteries of Mandaean research. After nearly two centuries, this issue still raises much controversy amongst scholars. Some, like Nöldeke, Brandt and Lidzbarski, assert a pre-Christian existence to the Mandaeans, others like Pallis prefer a late dating, i.e. 6th century C.E. In fact, Lidzbarski envisaged a Mandaic migration from the Transjordan towards Parthia in the first century

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10 Cf. the Manichaean community which was divided into an inner circle of the elect (‘the virginal’) and the greater number of hearers or catechumens (“the continent”) (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 23). Shaked stated, “Mandaean doctrine was restricted to people deemed to possess a higher type of piety just as in Manichaeism and Mazdakite movement” (Shaked, 1994: 75).


12 In this respect Drower comments, “For the Mandaeans there was no founder to reverence, no great prophet to single out as leader, no human saint upon whom to pinpoint devotion.” (Drower, “Mandaen Polemic”, BSOAS, Vol. 25, (1962), pp. 438-448, esp. p. 438).

13 Brandt writes: “The disintegration of the community after the Islamic invasion led, by means of the compilation of the divergent tractates and traditions, to the present-day disorder in the Mandaean religion. The "little college" of priests was dispersed throughout Mesopotamia and could no longer overcome the disunion” (Brandt, 1889: 58 cited by Rudolph, HR, vol. 8, 1969: 212).

14 Pallis believes that all Jewish names and ideas mentioned in the Mandaean writings are derived from Islam (Pallis, 1926: 118).
even before the destruction of the Jewish kingdom in 70 C.E. Even Arab historians date the Mandaeans (Ṣabbeans) back to the very end of Babylonia, such as al-Biruni (11th century) who wrote, "the Ṣabiyūn are the remnant of the Jewish tribes who remained in the days of Cyrus and Artaxerxes. These remaining tribes adopted a system mixed up of Magianism and Judaism like that of the Samaritans in Syria." Although the Mandaeans believe they are bhīriya zīdqa "the chosen righteous ones", they admit all nations generated from the Jews: mn ama ḏiḥuṭaia kulhun amamia ubabia minaihun npaq "from the Jews all nations and sects came forth." In addition, the Mandaean scroll "Haran Gawaita" states clearly that the Naṣoraeans had indeed migrated from "Jerusalem" to the ṭaurā dMidai "the Median hills" under the protection of the Parthian king "Artabanus":

"Haran Gawaita (The Inner Haran) received him and that city in which there were Naṣoraeans, because there was no road for the Jewish rulers. Over them was King Ardban (Artabanus). And sixty thousand Naṣoraeans abandoned the Sign of the Seven and entered the Median hills (ṭaurā dMidai), a place where they were free from domination by all other races. And they built

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15 Lidzbarski, Ginza p. x. See also Rudolph, 1969: 213. Neusner believes that the Mandaeans were subject to a kind of persecution in Hasmonean times, or during the war of 66-73 against Rome (Neusner J., JAOS, 1975: 184-190, esp. p. 188).
16 Al-Bairuni, al-Ithār al-Baqiyah, Leipzig, 1923: 206:
الصابنة هم الذين تخلدوا بباب من جملة الأساطيل الناهضة في أيام كورش وأيام أرطخوس، إلى بيت اهدهس، وإما إلى شرائع الفجوس مسمى إلى دين يختصص مدهوها مذبحا متوترا من الفجوسية واليهودية كساميرة بالشام.
17 GRR, p. 30: 8. The text:
18 Rudolph points out that this migration was towards the north-west Iran between Harran and Nisibis or Media during the period of the later Arsacids (1st or 2nd century C.E.) Rudolph, 1983: 364. Coxon points out that Ardashir I, who became king in the year CE 208, conquered Mesene (Characene) and established the Sasanian suzerainty after a decisive battle against Artabanus V in C.E. 224 (Coxon, JSS, 1970: 17).
cult-huts (bimandia) and abode in the Call came to their end.."19

The great difficulty in studying Mandaeism is one of chronology. Despite the fact that much has been written about their origin and much speculation, the Mandaens are the only Gnostic group who call themselves explicitly “Mandaens” which equals the Greek “gnostikoi”. In fact they are the only Gnostic sect which is still in existence. Other Gnostic groups in Egypt, Syria and Palestine vanished, long ago. Many scholars believe that the Mandaens (Naṣoreans), among other “heterodox groups,” who flourished in the East were not native movements but rather “migrated there in the hope of escaping the waves of repression that periodically swept the West.”20 It was in Mesopotamia, in contact with the traditions and faiths of Persia, that these Naṣoreans adopted dualism and became Mandaens “Gnostics”.21 Some Mandaean hymns and writings (other than Haran Gawaita) verify their exodus from the West and their arrival at Babylon in the East. The following hymn speaks of a kind of reunion between those Naṣorean immigrants (from Jerusalem) and their kinfolks in Babylonia:

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19 Drower, Haran Gawaita, 1953: 3. Drower’s translation, text collated:

20 Reeves, 1996: 46.

21 Beyer states, “Mandaic was adopted by Naṣoreans, a Gnostic/Baptist community, after they had left Palestine (Jordan area) in the 1st century C.E. as a result of the hostility of contemporary Judaism and had migrated at the latest in the middle of 2nd century C.E. via northern Mesopotamia (Haran/Charrhæ) to southern Babylonia (Mesene, Kuzistan)” (Cited by Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, Vol. 16, 2004: 51).
From the home of the great community therein, I became the healer for souls! I became a healer for souls who heals but takes no fee. I set forth, came and reached the gates of Babylon. Of the children of Babylon there were some who shut their doors on seeing me: There were some who shut their doors. And there were those who opened their doors. Those who shut their doors hated Life and loved death and will be held back in the Abode of Darkness. Those who opened their doors loved Life and hated Death, they hated Death and loved Life. They will rise up in purity and will behold the Place of Light.22

It seems that the Naṣoraeans flourished in Babylonia under the Parthian kingdom and dwelt, like the other Baptist and Gnostic sects (e.g. Elchsaites and Manicheans) in central and southern Babylonia in towns such as Kutha, Borsippa, Nippur23 and Purat-Maysan.24 As soon as they settled down they got acquainted with the magic and astrology of the Chaldeans and the astrology of the Babylonians.25 Hence, they became the soothsayers and “masters” of incantations in Mesopotamia, from whence originated “the most

22 CP pp. 142-43 (hymn No. 164). Drower’s translation, text attested:

23 Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, 2004: 53.

24 Forat-Misán is situated in the neighborhood of Basra, the ancient dwelling place of the Mandaeans. Brandt points out that the Perate branch of the Ophite gnosis was founded by Epiarço or Πιερτος whom the “Perates” obtained their name (Brandt, 1889: 192). According to Lidzbarski, some Characenian coins were written in the Mandaic script. (Naveh, “The Origin of the Mandaic Script”, BASOR, 1970: 33). Jewish communities also flourished under the tolerant rule of the Achaemenids and Arsacids (SA, p. 99).

interesting magic formulas in Eastern Aramaic." The Sasanians brought their flourishing to an end when the Zoroastrian state under Shapur I (241-272) began the persecution of "foreign" religions such as Christianity, Judaism, Manichaeism and Gnosticism, and ordered the destruction of many Mandaean temples. Kardir (late 3rd century C.E.), tells us in his inscription at naqsh-i-Rustam how he initiated a religious persecution of great severity throughout the Persian Empire against the other religions such as Manicheans, Jews, kristyānē Christians, nāṣorāyē Naṣoreans etc. This inscription can be taken as a solid evidence of the existence of the Mandaes in Mesopotamia, along with other Baptist/Gnostic sects at that time in Sasanian Iraq. In this respect Quispel writes: “The Mandaean problem has become an open question again since Torgny Säve Söderbergh has shown that the Manichaean Psalms of Thomas were based upon extant Mandaean hymns, thus proving that the Mandaean sect in Iraq must had a very long prehistory.”

In the sixteenth century, the Mandaes of Iraq and Iran came to the attention of the Western world through the Jesuit missionaries, who

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29 He continues: “The curious expression "Lord of Greatness" in Mandaean writings has been found in the Qumran Genesis Apocryphon. Moreover, I cannot explain the parallels between the names of Mandaean divinities and those found in certain Hellenistic magical papyri unless the Mandaes have very old Western roots”, “Gnosticism and the New Testament”, Vigiliae Christianae, vol. 19, 1965: 79.
accompanied the Portuguese armada in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, and came into contact with the Mandaeans in and about Basra and in Khuzistan.\textsuperscript{31} The Jesuits thought that they discovered the “heretical Christians of St. John,” but to the disappointment of the monks they could not convince the Mandaeans, except for a few, to join the Christian faith. But they succeeded in recruiting some of them as mercenaries and interpreters who sailed with the Portuguese fleet to the Strait of Hormuz, Masqat, Goa, Ceylon and even to Portugal itself.\textsuperscript{32} When the Portuguese witnessed the persecution of the Mandaeans at the hands of the Moslems,\textsuperscript{33} the Portuguese reached an agreement with the Pasha of Basra to move the Mandaeans to the Christian lands, but the Pasha went back on his word and did not allow the Mandaeans to leave and the exodus came to a halt.\textsuperscript{34}

**Conclusion:**

According to the Mandaean manuscript “Haran Gawaita”\textsuperscript{35} and other historical records, distinguished Semitic scholars, such as Lidzbarski, contented that Mandaism (literature and cult) is influenced strongly by the Old Testament and can only have originated in Jewish circles.\textsuperscript{36} We might,

\textsuperscript{31} Kraeling, 1929: 195.
\textsuperscript{32} Lupieri, 2002: 83 ff.
\textsuperscript{33} In 1637 all the Jews and Mandaeans of Persia were forced to convert to Islam (Lupieri, 2002: 104).
\textsuperscript{34} Lupieri, 2002: 105.
\textsuperscript{35} Lady Drower is certain that: “Haran Gawaita” is an important manuscript and might contribute to the solution of the problem of the origin of the Mandaeans (See Drower “Haran Gawaita” (1953) p. viii).
\textsuperscript{36} Lidzbarski, 1915: xvi where he writes: “Ihre Terminologie in Lehre und Kultus ist so stark durch das Alte Testament und das Hebräische beeinflusst, wie man es sonst außerhalb des Judentums findet”. See also his similar views in Mandäische Liturgien 1920: xix and in Ginza, 1925: vi. Later, Lady Drower adopted the theory of a western origin of the Mandaeans in heretical Jewish circles: “early Naṣiruta, or Ur-Mandaïsmus to use the convenient German
therefore, conclude that the Naṣoraeans were either a heterodox Jewish sect or the followers of John the Baptist, who did not convert to Christianity, and they fled to the east before the fall of Jerusalem in C.E. 70 because they were persecuted by the Jews.\textsuperscript{37} Having first settled in northern Mesopotamia (Haran),\textsuperscript{38} they moved to the Median hills of old Parthia and finally settled in Babylon and southern Mesopotamia, where they still live. This migration might explain the cultural influences of Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and the old Babylonian religion on the Mandaean writings.

\textbf{§ 1.2 - The Mandaean System:}

The Mandaean believe in two universes: (i) An intangible universe which is beyond our perception, and consists of two worlds: the World of Light and the World of Darkness. (ii) The world of \textit{mšûni kušta}\textsuperscript{39} and the tangible world of Tibil (earth). According to their belief, the \textit{Mana Rba} “the Great Mana” (Intelligence), who dominates the World of Light, issued \textit{Hīia Qadmiia} “the First Life” from the great \textit{yardina} “Jordan” of Life. In turn, the First Life submitted a request to himself and created a son of his own whom he called \textit{Hīia Taniania} “the Second Life” or “Yōşamin”. The Second Life became

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{expression}, was originally a sect which flourished in Judaea and Samaria then possibly in Parthian-Jewish settlements and in Transjordania, and that it was a hybrid strongly influenced by Magianism and Jewish Gnosticism” (Drower, “Mandaean Polemic”, BSOAS, (1962) p. 448).
  \item \textsuperscript{37} The Mandaean always define themselves as the followers of John the Baptist (\textit{Yahia Yuhana}) in Jerusalem (SA, p. vi). According to Josephus, John the Baptist had “an astonishingly persuasive power over the Jewish populace” (Mead, 1924: 4).
  \item \textsuperscript{38} For the Mandaean polemic toward Christians, see Drower “Mandaean Polemic”, BSOAS, (1962) pp. 438-48, esp. pp. 439-440, which might allude to their reason for moving from Haran.
  \item \textsuperscript{39} \textit{mšûni kušta} : the world of ideal counterparts. “It is a world of ideas, in which is found in the double, the counterpart of everything in the material world” (See Drower, \textit{The Secret Adam}, 1960: 39 ff.).
\end{itemize}
infatuated with the idea of creating a world of his own. He, therefore, transferred his defecting tendency to his son Abatur “the Third Life”. Abatur opened the gate of the World of Light, and as soon he gazed into the abyss (or: darkness) Ptahil “the Fourth Life”, came into being. Ptahil, who received a mandate from his father Abatur, descended to the black waters, consolidated arqa “the earth” and created the material world. On the other hand, the Lord of Darkness created a kingdom for himself with demonic beings of monsters, dragons, evil spirits and most of all the “Seven” (planets), and the “Twelve” (signs of the Zodiac) and their mother, the goddess of Darkness “Rūha”. As a counter move, the World of Light created Manda d-Hiiia “Gnosis of Life” in order to put an end to the defection of the uthras “beings of the World of Light” and to conquer the evil forces of the World of Darkness.

Ptahil, with the assistance of Rūha and her entourage, tried to create Adam but they could not succeed to make him stand on his feet. Therefore, Ptahil went back to the World of Light and brought from his father the nišimta “soul” and cast it into Adam’s body. Only then Adam stood on his feet and became aware of his existence. The core of the Mandaean’s soteriology is the deliverance of the nišimta “soul” from the perishable body. When death occurs the soul leaves the body and begins a long journey through the mațaratia “watch-houses” or “purgatories” before reaching its final destination; alma ḏnhura “the World of Light”.

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40 Manda d-Hiiia: Gnosis of Life and the Mandaean Redeemer (See below §2.3.2).
There are minor resemblances between the Mandaean story of creation and the Babylonian one such as the creation of the savior and his fight against the forces of evil. These resemblances led scholars, such as Brandt, to believe that Mandaicism is an off-shoot of the late Babylonian religion; he even assumed that Mandaicism was the centre from which the Ophite and similar Gnostic system issued. Lady Drower dedicated the introduction of her book “Secret Adam” to the Naṣoraeans and their exodus from Palestine, which she dates to just after the destruction of the 2nd temple. She also discusses their possible relationship with Jewish-Palestinian groups.

§ 1.3 - Mandaism and Gnosticism:

In addition to the resemblances between Mandaicism and the Babylonian religion, we find striking parallels between the Mandaic Gnostic motifs and the motifs of the other Gnostic sects such as the Hermetists and the Valentinians especially in the area of the redeemer and the ascent of the soul. Gnosticism, the most problematic of cults, is first clearly attested in the second century C.E., but its exact origin is still of great controversy among scholars. It gathered momentum in the following century and spread to

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41 A Gnostic sect flourished in north Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt during the first century (Wilson, 1958: 177ff).
42 Pallis, 1926: 151.
43 Drower, SA, p. xiv.
44 Jonas writes, "The celestial journey of the returning soul is indeed one of the most constant common features in otherwise widely divergent systems, and its significance for the gnostic mind is enhanced by the fact that it represents a belief not only essential in gnostic theory and expectation, and expressive of the conception of man's relation to the world, but of immediate practical importance to the Gnostic believer, since the meaning of gnosis is to prepare for this final event, and all its ethical, ritual, and technical instruction is meant to secure its successful completion" (Jonas 1958: 165).
45 Godwin, J., 1981: 84. Rudolph points out that "The beginning and end of Gnosis in late antiquity cannot be pin-pointed exactly. It makes appearance at the beginning of the Christian
Some contemporary scholars, such as Quispel, believe that Gnosticism is neither the product of the Greek philosophy nor “a fossilized survival of old Iranian or even Indian religious concept.”

According to the Mandaean manuscript Haran Gawaita Mandaeism “Naşoreanism” struck roots in Mesopotamia when a tendency to relegate the gods of the old religions and to adopt the Persian dualism at the dawn of the first millennium when the country was under the Parthian-Sasanian dominion. Mandaeism and other baptist gnostic-type movements must have been around much at that time. Some hypotheses say that the Naşoreans, who settled in East Jordan, became under the persecution of both the Jews and Christians, and for that reason they sought refuge in a friendlier atmosphere of Parthia and Media hills and from there they moved down to Babylon and southern Mesopotamia. Naşoreanism preserved the old Gnostic tenet that the world is created by foolish creator or demiurge, who himself came into being as a result of an error and that the soul is a “spark” from the World of Light has to be redeemed and sent back to its origin, along

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46 Jonas, 1958: 91. For more about different Gnostic sects in Mesopotamia see Morony, 1984: 408 ff.
47 Quispel, “Gnosticism and the New Testament”, Vigiliae Christianae, 1965: 73. Quispel also noted: “It is rather a religion of its own, with its own phenomenological structure, characterized by the mythical expression of Self-experience through the revelation of the Word, or in other words, by an awareness of a tragic split within the Deity itself” (Ibid).
48 Haran Gawaita tells that the Naşoreans (Mandaeans) migrated from Jerusalem under the Parthian king Artabanus III (?). (see Drower, Haran Gawaita, 1953: 3, n. 3).
50 SA, p. xi.
with many indications of syncretistic Judaism. Many distinguished scholars conclude that Naṣoraeanism (Mandaeism) is a heretical Jewish sect and its members are the “ultimate descendant of the Palestinian baptists of New Testament times and the period immediately preceding.” The divorce between this sect and official Judaism perhaps took place during the first and the second centuries C.E. This defection of the Naṣoraeans from Judaism is documented in one of the rarest Mandaean passages which is connected with the consecration of a priest:

And then he spoke and taught about the man who becomes a priest on earth and who leaves lay life for priesthood, like the soul which quits Judaism for Mandaeism. For before it is baptized an infant dwells in an abode of Judaism, and a guardian-spirit of Light sits beside it (lit: sits on its neck) guarding it and awaiting its delivery from the snares of the Jews.

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54 AT§ II [358], p. 276. Drower’s translation, text collated:

Drower states: “there is often a polemical interchange of (t) with (d) when scribes refer to Jews. Here either could be meant, as the two letters frequently replace one another. (In Ginza Rba Judaism is yahduta.) The polemical world-play on YHT and YHD is commented on by Lidzbarski (AT§, p. 255 n. 8).
The following text is another significant clue which may suggest that Mandaeanism was a heterodox Jewish sect who chose to adopt Gnosticism: "Mandaeanism":

He said to them: "The first kušta (oath) is a precious kušta; it is the promise made at baptism which takes the soul out of its yahuṭṭuḥ (‘Judaism’) into Mandaeanism."\(^{55}\)

The Mandaean tale of Miriai, the Jewish princess who left her religion and joined the Mandaeans, also shows a possible connection between the earliest Mandaeans and Jewish sectarians of the Second Temple period.\(^{56}\) Other Mandaean writings from the Ginza such as the eleventh book of the Right Ginza “the Mystery book of Great Anoš (Enosh)” and book twelve, identifying the speaker as the “great Anoš”, possess discernible links with the antique Judaism.\(^{57}\)

The evolution of Mandaeanism was summed up by H. –M. Shenke in three points: (1) originally the Mandaens were a heretical Jewish baptismal

\(^{55}\) AT§ II [198], p. 255. Drower’s translation, text collated:

\(^{56}\) Zalcman, 1991: 421.

\(^{57}\) Reeves, 1996: 143. Concerning the history of the Mandaean textual corpus he stated: “If a clear connection can be established between the Codex “apocalypse” passage and Mandaean Enosh material, an important step would be taken toward an improved understanding of the religio-historical relationship linking a number of Syrio-Mesopotamian religious communities” (Ibid, pp. 143-4). Reeves also adds: “The amazingly close correspondence in language between the Codex passage and the Mandaean texts is extraordinary, bolstering the growing suspicion that they derive from a common textual corpus” (Ibid, p. 147). On the other hand the Mandaeans accused the Jews of not observing the laws of impurity at all. (GRR, book XI. See also Lidzbarski, Ginza, pp. 224-5 where Kiwan “Saturn” is the god of the Jews).
sect, one among many. (2) The Mandaeans then accepted a Gnostic view. (3) This gnosis was finally institutionalized.\textsuperscript{58}

We may outline the main parallel and different features of the Mandaean Gnostic system and the general Gnostic system according to the following table:

\textbf{§ 1.3.1 - General Parallels and Differences between Gnosticism and Mandaeanism:}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Gnosticism</strong></th>
<th><strong>Mandaeanism</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Gnostic system is based upon the dualistic opposition between the transcendental world of the &quot;fullness&quot; (pleroma) embracing the High God and the Aeons, his inferior emanations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the &quot;emptiness&quot; (kenoma), the planetary and terrestrial world inhabited by man.</td>
<td>1. The Gnostic system of the Mandaeans is based upon the opposition between the transcendental (nukraiia) world of Light embracing \textit{hiia rbia qadmaiia} “the First Great Life” (or: the King of Light) and the uthras, his inferior emanations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the world of Darkness, the Seven planets (\textit{sibiahia}) and terrestrial world (tibil) inhabited by man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The \textit{kenoma} came about because of some crisis in the pleroma, whereby the lowest of the Aeons on the emanation scale, a female figure</td>
<td>2. The physical world came about because of the crises caused by the Second Life “Yōšamin” and his sons the uthras when they decided to create a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{58} Quoted from Yamauchi, 1973: 122.
known variously as Wisdom (Sophia) or Thought (*Enonota*) lapsed out of the *pleroma*, and in her confusion and dissatisfaction, she produced the angel archons, generally seven in number, who created and then ruled the world.

3. The spark or spirit (*pneuma*) of the divine *pleroma* which fell into man must be regained and restored to its rightful place on high.

4. An Aeon (Jesus) is sent down to redeem the innermost part of every man's *pneuma* through suffering.

5. Gnosticism is optimistic towards the destiny of man and pessimistic towards the universe.\(^{59}\)

|  | world of their own without consulting the higher deity, the First Life. Abatur (the Third Life) lapsed out of the world of Light, and in his confusion and dissatisfaction, produced Ptahil (the Fourth Life). Ptahil created the world with the help of Rūha and her sons the Seven planets who ruled the world.
|  | 3. The soul *nišimta* or *mana* which fell into man must be regained and restored to its rightful place; the World of Light.
|  | 4. The messenger *Manda d-Hiia* (Gnosis of Life) or Enosh-Uthra is sent down to lead the *nišimta* (soul) to its final destination through *gnosis* "knowledge" and "awakening."
|  | 5. Mandaeanism is optimistic towards the destiny of the *nišimta* (soul) of man and pessimistic towards the physical world "Tibil".

§ 1.4 - The Main Characteristic Rituals of the Mandaeans:

"The great importance which the Mandaeans attribute to their cult practices shows their special character even more clearly. It is not "knowledge" alone that redeems but the cultic rites, primarily baptism and the "mass for the dead", are necessary for salvation."60

§ 1.4.1 - Maṣbuta (Baptism)

The central cultic rite of the Mandaeans is baptism or "immersion" (maṣbuta, pronounced mašwatta). It is the immersion in the fluid of Life which gives the promise of eternal life to the nišimta "soul".61 The rite of baptism had the esoteric significance of an initiation into the mystery of gnosis. To the Mandaean water is the medium which most fully expresses the mystery of being, or of the Being which is semi personified as the 'Great Life', and a river is the equivalent of the heavenly 'Jordan' flowing in the world of light:62 Thus  Hath mia “water” originates in (Life) and conversely ḫiia “Life” originates in water. By performing baptism in the yardina “river” the Mandaean enters a into laupa “union” with the World of Light. Thus, the

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60 Rudolf, 1983: 360. He continues: "From this it may be deduced that here the gnostic ideology was amalgamated with that of an older cultic community, a heretical Jewish baptismal sect as is suggested by the water rites, and that thus an original Mandaean-Naṣorean system came into existence, probably already in pre-Christian times."

61 MII, p. 100.

Mandaean is protected from the powers of death, purified from pollution and defilement and also receives forgiveness for his transgression.63

In addition to the immersion in the running water, the full baptism includes the sacrament of oil, bread, and water, the hand-grasp and kiss called 'giving kuṣṭa'64 and the final blessing by laying the right hand of the priest on the head of the baptized person. Besides the full baptism there are two lesser water rites which are performed without priestly assistance:

1. rišama: prayers recited daily, with covered head, just before sunrise; after evacuation of the bowels. At this stage no priest is needed.

2. tamāša: the second ablution is a triple complete immersion in the river, also performed without ministration of a priest. It must be performed immediately after any kind of pollution (coition, nocturnal pollution, touching an unclean person) and after any serious defilement such as touching the body of a dead person. It must be also performed by a woman after menstruation and after child birth.65

Some scholars believe that certain roots of the Mandaean baptism is related to the Jewish rule such as the prohibition of baptism and other rites on the Sabbath and on the mbattal (inauspicious) days.66 But repeated baptism was a common feature among the different gnostic sects of Babylonia such as

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63 For the full details of the Mandaean baptism maṣbuta see Segelberg, Maṣbūtā, Uppsala (1958), Mil p. 100 ff., Buckley, 2002: 80 ff.
64 kuṣṭa: (a) "good faith", "rectitude", "truth", "sincerity", "right", "pact", "troth", "promise". (b) The act of placing the right hand in that of another person in token of and ratification of a pact, oath or promise. This act is concluded by a kiss, each of the two persons kissing his own right hand when the hand is released. (c) A being, a personification of truth and good faith (ATS, p. 12).
65 Mil, p.101.
the Elchasaites who were attacked by Mani for their daily baths. The Mandaean baptism is unique of its kind and did not come into being as a reproduction of the Christian-Syrian, especially Nestorian rite. "In fact it is possible that certain characters go back to a pre-Christian period and have their origin in the lustral and baptismal practice of unorthodox Judaism, i.e. in the so-called baptismal sects (Mašboteans, Šebueans, cf. Šâbeans)." Other Gnostics such as the Ebionites and Hemerobaptists also performed repeated baptism.

The pliability of the research in the field of Mandaeism is always ambushed by the ambiguity of some terms and characters. In baptism we are faced with an indefinite personality of bihram rba "Bihram the Great" as we read in the following baptismal formula:

"I have baptized myself with the baptism of Bahram the Great, son of the Mighty Ones. My baptism shall protect me and attain the end (or: be successful). The name of Life and the name of Manda d-Hiia be pronounced on me."

67 For Mani's confrontation with the baptists see Henrichs, 1973: 43. In respect of the ritual immersion in Babylonia, Drower writes: "Ritual immersion was ancient indeed in Babylonia, and during Iranian domination shrines had been built on the Tigris and Euphrates to the water-goddess Anahita, who under her Semitic name Nanai or Nanaia is still invoked in Mandaeen exorcism books" (SA, pp. 104-5).
68 Foerster, 1974: 132.
70 In the Mandaeen marriage we come across Šišlam Rba who is the prototype of priest and bridegroom.
71 CP, p. 21. The texts:
Bihram, as it seems, is the core of the ritual, but he does not play any significant role in the Mandaeian mythology. It is obvious that Bihram is a Persian name associated with some Persian kings, and with the Persian god Bahram or Vahram. We have no evidence, whatsoever, to prove that the Bihram mentioned at the Mandaean baptism is a human being who established the sect, as implied by some. Others, like Segelberg, hypothesized that when the Mandaeans settled in the East during the Sassanian period they replaced the name of Yohana “John the Baptist” with Bihram in order to legitimize the new religion to the rulers of the country.

In addition to the main baptism, which is performed in every religious event including marriage, the Mandaeans perform a minor ablution (baptism) to the dying person. After the priest performs rišama “the minor ablution”, the mortally ill person is dressed in his rasta (ritual dress), and a small myrtle wreath is inserted in the little finger of his right hand and he is watched carefully day and night so that he not die unclean. At the end of the rišama the priest recites some prayers, while some members of the dying person’s family bring water from the river. When death approaches, the dying person is undressed and doused three times from head to foot. They lift him and place

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72 Bihram I, Bihram, Birhram III and Bahram IV (Zaechner, 1955: 38 ff).
73 About this ambiguous figure, which is closely associated with the Mandaean baptism, Drower writes: “His name is Iranian (Avestan VašaBəγəna) and the Mandaean Bihram may be the Persian genius of victory (New Persian Bahrām < Middle Persian Varhrān) . . The presence of the banner at Mandaean baptism may be connected with Bihram’s banner of victory” (SA p. 65). Vahram or Bahram (Verethraghna), the yazata “is the Persian god of the planets and victory who was created by Ahura and became the great champion against demons” (Boyce, 1975: 54, see also Zaechner, 1955: 220). Lupieri suggests that the Mandaeans who lived in Characene since the second century must have chosen Bihram (the deity of Maisan) as eponymous deity of their baptism (Lupieri, 2002: 163 f.).
74 Segelberg, 1955: 57 ff. At any account this subject needs further research.
him on clean bedding facing the North Star. Then they cloth him in a new rasta and wait for his nišimta (soul) to depart his body. In the past other Gnostic sects such as the Valentinians and the Marconsians used to perform this kind of baptism for their dying people.

§ 1.4.2 - The Masiqta (Ascent of the Soul)

The Masiqta is the second major ceremony of the Mandaeans and it, too, includes immersion in “Jordan” (river, running water), anointing with oil and crowning with the myrtle wreath. It is the Naṣoraean mass dedicated to those who die “unclean” without the proper ceremony of the dead. The Mandaeans believe that a man who dies in a violent death suffers long and painful delay in the mataratia (watch-houses) before moving into the next world. Therefore, a masiqa “ascension” ceremony has to be performed three days after the death of the believer in order to assist nišimta “the soul”, by furnishing it with a new body, with which it could enter the

75 Perhaps this is due to the old Mesopotamian influences, since the north is connected to high lands “mountains”.
76 MII p. 178 ff.
77 Widengren, 1946: 108.
78 GRL, p. 136: 1. The text:
Cf. the “figure of light that comes to meet the dying” in the Coptic-Manichaean genealogy of gods (Jonas, 1958: 122).
World of Light. For the Mandaeans the fate of the *nišimta* is the main concern, because *pagra* “the body” cannot rise to the world of Light and eventually integrates back into the earth.\(^{80}\)

The *masiqta* is a long ceremony, which requires the presence of, at least, three priests: a *ganzibra*\(^{81}\) “head-priest”, a *tarmida* “priest” and a *šganda* “assistant”. The preparations for this ceremony start on Saturdays only and the main ritual takes place on Sunday.\(^{82}\) The main ingredients of *masiqta* “ascension” are the recitation of certain prayers from the Left Ginza, and a sacramental meal. The meal includes unleaved bread,\(^{83}\) different kind of fruit and nuts, fish, and a tiny piece of sacrificed white dove-flesh (*ba*).\(^{84}\) There must be fresh myrtle and a large bowl of water just filled from the *yardina* “river”.\(^{85}\) The recitations are continued at fixed intervals until the end of the forty-five days’ journey of the soul.\(^{86}\) There are at least nine major variants of the Mandaean *masiqta*:

1. The *Bukra*: the first *masiqta* performed by a priest after ordination. 2. The *masiqta* of newly-consecrated *ganzabra*. 3. The *Dabahata* or *Tabahata*:

\(^{79}\) On the third day a *masiqta* is performed for the dead and the seal of the grave is removed.

\(^{80}\) Drower, 1956: 234.


\(^{83}\) The Manicheans share two rites with the Mandaeans: the purification of their food and the ritual preparation of unleaved bread (*faiṭira*) (See Henrichs, 1973: 45).

\(^{84}\) A ritual word for the dove sacrificed at the *masiqta*, and the sacred dove’s meat consumed by the priests at the same (MD, p. 44).

\(^{85}\) Drower comments: “the symbolism of water, fruit, bread and fresh myrtle, are linked with the idea of fertility and life triumphant over death.” (Drower, “The Mandaean New Year Festival”, *Man*, Vo. 36 (Nov., 1936), pp. 185-188, esp. p. 188).

celebrated in the names of a male and female, and linked with the celebration of a Dukrana ihdaia rba zadiqa. 4. The masiqta of Shitil: celebrated for one who dies not wearing a myrtle-wreath or otherwise improperly clad for death. 5. The masiqta of Zihrun Razia Kasia: celebrated for one who had died during of the minor mbattal days (inauspicious days on which all ritual is forbidden), etc. 6. The masiqta of Adam: for one who has died on one of the major mbattal days, such as New Year’s Day. 7. The masiqta of Samandri’il: for a person who has died of burns, or has fallen from a tree or been drowned. 8. The masiqta of kanat: for a woman who dies during pregnancy. 9. masiqta of hai-šūm: for a person who died as a result of a snake bite. There are other masiqta for a bride-groom who died during wedding ceremonies and for moving the remains of a dead person.

While the masiqta is intended essentially for the dead, it is also applied to living. A masiqta is performed in the ceremony of initiating a new priest. The ašualia “novice for priesthood” dedicates a masiqta to his rabi “teacher” and pronounces his name at a certain point in the ritual where the name of officiating priest has to be indicated.

§ 1.5 - The Mandaean Calendar

The Mandaeans have a lunar year, which is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days named Parwanaiia, which fall

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between *Sumulta* “Virgo”, the 8th month, and *Qaina* “Libra” (*Tišrin*), the 9th month. The beginning of the “Panja” festival changes depending upon the movements of lunar months in the year. The *Mandaean* calendar is a 365-day calendar consisting of twelve 30-day months, with 5 epagomenals inserted at the end of the 8th month. This compensation takes place during the *Parwanaiia* (or: *Panaja* = five days) which is celebrated by the *Mandaean*s during the five intercalary days between the end of the month *Sumulta* (*Ellul*) and the beginning of *Qaina* (*Tišrin*).90

During the five days preceding, no religious ceremony except a funeral may be performed, and no undertaking of importance should be begun, for these are considered to be “days of darkness”. They are followed by the five intercalary days mentioned above, called “days of light”. *Mandaean*s are forbidden to pray after sunset at other times of the year, but during the nights of *Parwanaiia* darkness is considered non-existent, and praise and prayer flow continually. Barriers between this world and the world of Light are down.

The Mandaean*s believe that in the five days of the *Parwanaiia* (Panja) five celestial beings of Light were created, and that consequently the doors of the world of Light are open during these five days. The beings of light are:

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89 The term Panja means the five *Gatha* days, also called *Khamsat al-mustariqat*, was used in the Persian as well as in the Sistanian calendars during the 5th century (See Taqizadeh, “The Old Iranian Calendar again”, BSOAS, Vol. 14, No. 3, (1952), pp. 603-611, esp. p. 608).

90 The old Iranian calendar (of 12 months of 30 days and 5 supplementary days) are still in use in many districts of Kashan, Natanz, Maima, Javshagan, and the in the province of Yazd. (Ibid, 610).

91 The Mandaean*s think the five days preceding intercalary days particularly ominous, because they are dedicated to the evil spirits of death and darkness.
Although this calendar could have been borrowed from the Zoroastrians at any time in the early Middle Ages, further characteristics of the Mandaean calendar suggest earlier origins that would pre-date the Middle Ages, the Sassanians, and even Mandaeism itself. The twelve months of the Mandaean year grouped and named according to four seasons (e.g. the first month of the year is called *awal sitwa*, “first of the winter”) but also bear Babylonian (Aramaic) names of months. The month Nisan designates the 3rd month of the year, exactly as in the Sogdian calendar, but incongruously since Nisanu is the 1st month of the Babylonian year.

The twelve months of the Mandaean year are divided into four seasonal divisions: *Sitwa* (winter), *Abhar* (spring), *Giṭa* (summer), and *Paiz* (autumn). The months are also named according to the signs of the Zodiac: *Daula* “Aquarius” (Šabat), *Nuna* “Pisces” (Adar), *Ambra* “Aries” (Nisan), *Taura* “Taurus” (Ayar), *Šilmia* “Gemini” (Siwan), *Širțana* “Cancer” (Tammuz), *Arya* “Leo” (Ab) *Šumbulta* “Virgo” (Ellul), *Qaina* “Libra” (Tišrin), *Arqba* “Scorpio” (Mašrwan), *Haṭia* “Sagittarius” (Kanun), *Gadia* “Capricorn” (Ṭabit). Each year is named after the day which it began, e.g. the Year of Habšaba, the Year of Sunday; or Year of Rahaṭia, Year of Friday. The Mandaean New Year is called Dihba Rba. The Mandaeans count the 24 hours of a day and night as beginning at dawn, i.e. Tuesday is followed by Tuesday night: “the night of Tuesday” to an Arab, on the contrary, means the night *preceding* Tuesday.

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93 See MII, pp. 84-5.
The Mandaean calendar has the additional incongruity of beginning the year with the winter season, whereas the Persian-Zoroastrian New Year is normally associated with the spring. The Persian-Zoroastrian New Year coincided with early winter in the 1st century B.C.E., so the essential names of Mandaean months may have been instituted in this period. The Mandaens are the only non-Iranian people who adopted the old Iranian calendar, along with quite a number of other beliefs, of the later Sasanian period i.e., the time of Khosrau the Great (sixth century) without the slightest change. But the Mandaens did not use the Persian names of the months and kept the Semitic ones, as mentioned above.

The main purpose of the Mandaean calendar is to determine the ominous and auspicious times. The Mandaens believe in two kinds of ominous (mbattal) days: (1) Minor mbattal “ominous”: on these days the Mandaens are not allowed to slaughter animals, but are allowed to eat meat of slaughtered animals on the day before. (2) Major mbattal “ominous”: Slaughter of animals or eating meat is not allowed during these days; only vegetarian food.

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94 This information is courtesy of Dr. S. Stern (oral communication).
95 Taqizadeh, BSOS, Vol. 9, 1938: 605-7. The Mandaens still call the New Year's Day (dahba rba) by the Persian name Naurūz Rba. He also writes: “There is, however, one small people (he means the Mandaens) with whom not only the old Iranian system of time reckoning survives, but whose national calendar is now, strictly speaking, the only true continuance of that once very widely used Mazdayasian or Young-Avestan calendar” (Ibid, p. 605).
96 'niani book of the Mandaens p. 163.
§1.6 - Mandaean Feasts

§1.6.1 - Parwanaiia (Panja)

As mentioned above, the most important of the Mandaean's feasts is the Parwanaiia\(^7\) (or: Panja) which is celebrated during the five intercalary days between the end of the month Šumbulta (Ellul) and the beginning of Qaina (Tišrin). Five days before the Panja, or the last five days of Šumbulta, are considered major *mbaṭṭl* (ominous days), for they are dedicated to the five lords of Darkness, but the period Panja is the happiest time of the whole year. As noted above, the Mandaean year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each and a month with five intercalary days. These five days are called Parwanaiia and the Mandaean believe that in the five days of the Parwanaiia (Panja) five celestial beings of Light were created, and that consequently the doors of the world of Light are open during these five days. Those *nfaqa* "out of the body" (dead), are with their loved ones and share in communion (*laufa*) with them ritual meals eaten in their names. The five days of the Parwanaiia are called *hamša iuma dparuaniia dhinun dukrana* "the five days commemoration".\(^8\) The perfected souls of ancestors and spirits of life and light have special powers at this time to help the living. Should a person have the food fortune to die during the sacred five days, he or she will pass quickly through the purgatories (or: watch-houses) to the world of light. On the last day of the feast, special ceremonies are performed by the

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\(^7\) *parwanaiia* is connected with modern Persian adverb *parstadan* and the Parthian *parwan* "forward, before" (Burtea, "Šarh ǧ-Paruaniia", ARAM, Vol. 16, 2004: 86).

\(^8\) *samša iuma dparuaniia dhinun dukrana* \(=\) *hamša iuma dparuaniia dhinun dukrana* (Burtea, "Šarh ǧ-Paruaniia", ARAM, Vol. 16, 2004: 86).
priests for those who, during the past year, died in a state of impurity, or not wearing ritual garment. Sheep are slaughtered for lay feasting and charity, and a small piece of sheep’s fat is placed on *zidqa brika* (Holy Oblation) tables. Every man, woman and child should be baptized and all share in sacraments which commemorate the dead.\(^9\)

§1.6.2 - دیابا ربا

Dihba Rba is the Mandaeans’ New Year festival, celebrated at the beginning of *Daula* (Šabat), the first month of the Mandaean year. They also use the Persian name *Nauruz Rba* for this festival. New Year’s Eve is called *Kanši uZahli* “cleaning and lustration”. On this day sheep and chicken are slaughtered, bread is baked and kept in the house, jars and pots are filled with water enough for thirty-six hours. All day, till sunset (*paina g-Dahba Rba*), the priests baptize the faithful. Thirty-six hours before the second day of *Daula* (Šabat), i.e. the night before the New Year and the first of the New Year, is called the Day-of-Lacking, during which period priests and laymen retire into the house, where they must remain without going outside, no matter for what purpose, and no religious ceremony can take place. The reason given for these precautions against pollution is this: For the Mandaeans, the New Year honors *Mana Rba Kabira* and how he completed his work of Creation. On this day, the spirits of light gather together to embark on a twelve hour journey to visit the Great Mana and show their appreciation towards him. Abatur closes

his door, Nidbai and Šilmai forsake their posts as the guardians of running waters; Hibil, Šitil, and Anuš depart; the dwellers in Mšunia Kušṭa (the parallel pure world) with Adam Kasia (Secret Adam) at their head and their guardian spirit Šišlam Rba (the dmuta of Hibil-Ziwa) all rise into the infinite worlds of light. They travel by the “vehicles of Light” and this celestial journey takes them twelve hours. They reach the realm of Light at the dawn of the New Year and spend the next twelve hours praying and praising the Great Ones. Their journey back covers the next night.

While the guardians are gone, the world is left defenseless and all sources of nature, including trees and rives, become exposed to the forces of evil and death. Therefore, the Mandaeans take extra measures to protect themselves from pollution by staying at home praying and meditating for thirty-six hours. On the third day of the feast (the second day of the new year) the invisible guardians having returned, the vigil is over and there is a general jubilation. The Mandaeans gather in the mandi “temple” to greet the ganzibra “high-priest”, and listen to his portents for the year. Then they go to visit Mandaean families that have recently lost a loved one to console them and assure them that they are not alone in times of difficulty. Once this is done, they feast and make merry.\footnote{For more details on this feast see Drower, 1956: 34 ff.}
§1.6.3 - The Dihba d-Šīlam Rba or the Dihba d-Šušian

The Mandaean also call this feast *Nauruz Zūfa* (Little New Year) which takes place on the 6th day and the 7th of the first month. The night between these two days is called "the night of power" and then, if a man is pious, the gate of Abatur is opened for him in a vision and he obtains whatever he may ask. However, if he is really pious he does not ask worldly favours but freedom from sin and spiritual gifts, and the result is not immediately seen. The priests visit the Mandaean families and hang on the door of every house a wreath of willow and myrtle, which remains there till the next year and is thought to protect the Mandaean from evil. In return, the Mandaean donate a small fee to the priests.

§1.6.4 - The Dihba Hnina or Dihba Turma (the little feast)

This feast takes place on the 18th of Taura (Ayar) and lasts for three days. Baptism should take place and the dead be remembered by *lofani* or ritual meals. Dihba Hnina celebrates the return of Hibil-Ziwa form the underworlds to the worlds of light. It is a cheerful feast and commemorates creation. Hibil-Ziwa's marriage to Zahariel (the female spirit of the underworld) results in the birth of Ptahil (the demiurge who created the

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101 The Moslems celebrate a similar occasion on the night of the 27th of the fasting month "Ramadan" which they call *laiat elqadr* "the Night of Power". They believe the gate of heavens open in this night and some of the believers' wishes come true.
cosmos). On the first day of this feast they visit each other and have a special breakfast together which consists of rice, yogurt and dates.

§ 1.7 - lutata uqiriata Curses and Incantations

A large number of Mandaic magic bowls, lead and gold amulets were found in Mesopotamia during the 19th and 20th century, and have reached the Western world through archeologists and antique dealers. We cannot determine a dating for this magic material but most scholars believe that they belong to period between the 2nd and the 6th century C.E. The writings on the terracotta magic bowls survived because they were written with a special kind of "permanent" ink. The ink diuta is made, according to a secret recipe, by the scribes themselves, who are often the priests. To the Mandaeans writing is a sacred art and the letters of the alphabet represent the powers of life and of light. Hence, Mandaeans look upon their alphabet as magical and sacred. Writing is under the special protection of the planet Nabû. Letters of the alphabet, inscribed on twenty-four scraps of silver or gold, are placed

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102 The following recipe was given to Drower by a Mandaean priest during her stay in Iraq: "Mix glue with river water, let it melt, and then evaporated for six days. On the seventh, pound it with powder charcoal in the portion of one mithqal (nearly 4.8 gm) of charcoal to 25 glue, for four or five days. Mix with water to a smooth paste, and after evaporation it will form crystals. These, mixed with river-water (yardina) to form ink. The Asut Malka (a prayer recited before all baptisms and ritual meals, and rites) should be read over it" (MII p. 23).

103 Nbû or 'Nbû in Mandaeans (Babylonian Nabû 'Mercury'). The Mandaeans, like the Babylonians, consider him as the patron of writing and the god of wisdom (MD, p. 287, see also Dally, 1989: 325).
under the pillow of a person who desires heavenly guidance in some matter of
difficulty.  

The bowls contain valuable information of mythical tales of Late
Antiquity including early forms of liturgy, mystical literature and Mandaean
textual material.  

They also reflect the Mandaean belief and creed.  

The purpose of these magic bowls and rolls is to throw a protective spell against
enemies, capture demons, and repulse curses and avert evil eye, over the
clients for whom they were written. Incantations were of various kinds and
shapes; some were for health and others as love talismans.  

The Mandaeans possessed a large collection of charms and magical prescriptions, and when
written down they formed a real “Book of Magic”. The most famous “magic”
book is *Asfar Malwāšā* (Book of the Zodiac) which deals with a system of
astrology based on the Signs of the Zodiac based on astrological literature of
the Babylonians.  

The magic roll is of two kinds. The larger is not easily carried on the
person. It is usually called a *qmaha*. The smaller, for which the
word *zrazta* is usual though not invariable, is written minutely on a long
strip of paper from 2 - 3 inches wide, tightly rolled and inserted into a small
gold or silver case so tat it may be suspended round the neck from a string or
chain. The astrological name of the person for whose protection the roll has

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104 MII, p. 240.  
106 Segal, 2000: 25.  
108 Budge, 1930: 241.
been written recurs throughout together with invocations of the powers of light and life for himself, his family, his possessions, and his trade.\textsuperscript{109}

The Mandaeans, like the Babylonians, lived lives of fear because they believed in the existence of myriads of fiends and devils which caused sickness and death to themselves and damage to their material property.\textsuperscript{110} The phantoms of ghosts of dead men were greatly feared in Babylonia, even more so than among the Mandaeans. It was necessary for the living to offer food, perform rituals, and recite incantations in order to propitiate potentially vengeful ghosts, who were as often as not their relatives.\textsuperscript{111} The people clung to the use of amulets and the art of incantations thrived in Mesopotamia. The Mandaeans became the masters of this art, and the originators of the most interesting magic formulas in Eastern Aramaic.\textsuperscript{112}

The official Mandaean religion condemns the worship of the old Babylonian planetary deities, even though popular magic has seen fit to invoke their aid. The Seven (planets) and the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac), mentioned in many of the holy writings, may be treated as allies and friends. 

\textit{Pašra d-Šambra} (a love charm) addressed to Libat (Dilbat, Ištar) which begins frankly, “In the name of Libat, mistress of gods and men”. Antagonistic references to the planets and signs of the Zodiac also appear, sometimes in same

\textsuperscript{109} MII, p. 26.

\textsuperscript{110} Budge, 1930: 241.

\textsuperscript{111} Yamauchi, 1967:27. “The Mandaic charms are closest in spirit to the old Babylonian magical literature” (Montgomery, 1913: 116).

\textsuperscript{112} Müller-Kessler Ch., “Phraseology in Mandaic Incantations”, Aram Vol. 11 & 12 (1999-2000) p.296. Montgomery writes “The Mandaic dialect is fully formed and has exercised its influence, at least in spelling, upon the other two, the rabbinic and Syriac” (Montgomery, 1913: 104).
The planets are considered little better than demons since actions swayed by emotion are harmful to the soul, and fault committed under planetary influence must be expiated after death in the mahtarata (s. mətərətə), realms equivalent to purgatories. The Mandaean view is that after death the soul has to pass through a number of posts of stations, mətərətə, before it reaches the scales of judgement. Maatarata serve as places of purification for the soul proceeding towards the Realm of Light, and each is in charge of a keeper or keepers.

Many of the divine figures and demons are mentioned in the Ginza are invoked in the Mandaean incantations and amulets, such as: סט דות ‘the Life’, manda d-hiia ‘the gnosis of Life’, Hibil, Yawar, the (Seven) Planets”, Yošamin, Ptahil, Gabriel, Samiš, Kiwan “Bel” Nabu or “Nbu” “Nirig” or “Nergal” “Lilith”, Dewis “Idol-spirits” “Rūha” “Stira” (Istar) “Venus-Libat” “Adonai” etc. These names and more are also found in the other chapters of the Ginza and in the other Mandaean texts.

In 1905 Mark Lidzbarski published a lead amulet which he dated about 400 C.E. It is considered the earliest of all Mandaic writings. The writing was inscribed with a nail, and the letters are very small. The scroll would be rolled up and worn in a container. Lady Drower believes that the lead strip was

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immersed in water and the water swallowed by the person to be cured or exorcised. The following lines from Lidzbarski’s lead amulet invoke most of the divine and demonic names mentioned above (notice the guttural 𐤄: 𐤄 is not dropped in the name of Manda 𐤄-Hiia):

I call and Mand’a 𐤄-Hiia I ask for mercy. I say to him, “Do you, O Mand’a 𐤄-Hiia, shatter this misfortune and drive away this affliction from the threshold of Nukraya and the evil destroyers from our village. And the Planets how evil they are – who arise in a rage intending evil. . . . (lines 15 – 21) The pure Yōšamin and Abatur have strengthened it. Ptahil, who built the House, has strengthened it. Šamiš (the sun) in his brilliance as strengthened it. Bel (Jupiter). Nergal (Mars), and Kewan (Saturn) have strengthened it. The Moon in its brightness has strengthened it. Dilbat (Venus), and Daniš have strengthened it. Nebo (Mercury), his priest and worshipper, have strengthened it. The seven Planets have strengthened it. Their twelve angels have strengthened it. Their five leaders have strengthened it. . . .” (lines 244 – 257)

The first Mandaic bowl inscription was published by Pognon, the French consul at Baghdad in 1892. The bowl came from Bismaya (Adab) south of Nippur. The exterior is inscribed with: “Bound . . . of the crescent-spirit . . .” and the interior begins with: “In the

name..." the text ends with the typical Mandaean doxology: "And Life is Victorious". Almost every incantation and amulet begins with the opening phrases: "In the name of the Great Life", "May there be health, armament and sealing", "Averted and driven away are the curses"; "Repulsed are all the curses and incantations"

Analyzing the Mandaean texts, one can find that the demonized Mesopotamian deities, which are also mentioned in the later Mandaic text corpus, prove without doubt that they were borrowed from a Late Parthian cultural setting of Central Babylonia.\(^9\) Therefore, Mandaean incantations are essential to the study of the origin of this people. Rudolph believes that the "Mandaic incantation corpus belongs to a sunken higher religion... . The Mesopotamian and Iranian elements of the Mandaean texts and their placement are of major importance when it comes to the question of the Mandaean's homeland."\(^{120}\)

\section*{8.1.8 - The Mandaean Manuscripts.}

It is assumed that the first Mandaean manuscript (\textit{Diwan}) was brought to Europe in 1652 by Carlo Leonelli who was known as Friar Ignatius of Jesus while he was on a mission to Basra. In 1674 François de la Croix brought to Paris the most important Mandaean manuscript, the Ginza. The French


\(^{120}\) Ibid, p. 52. For the Mandaen existence in Nippur along with the Jews before the Islam conquest of Mesopotamia see Montgomery, 1913: 103.
ambassador at Constantinople sent other manuscripts in 1678. More Mandaean manuscripts reached Europe successively.\textsuperscript{121}

Many scholars studied and published Mandaean literature such as M. Thávenot (1663) and M. Norberg (1781), who exerted a considerable effort in laying the foundation of Mandaean textual study. Peterman (1867) made a translation of the Ginza based on four Paris manuscripts and published it under the name \textit{Sidra Rabba}. Depending on this translation, W. Brandt (1893) published a German translation of selected passages.\textsuperscript{122} In 1915 M. Lidzbarski published the translation of \textit{draša d-yahia} (The Book of John), the Qolasta (liturgical collection) and the Ginza respectively.

Lidzbarski's distinguished work was continued by E. S. Drower who opened new horizons in the field of Mandaean research. She succeeded where the others failed and her achievements in this field were remarkable. Her dedication to Mandaism and her long stay in Iraq made her welcome among the Mandaean community. She traveled to Iraq many times and on several occasions visited their \textit{bit-manda} (temple), in Lišața – Qal'at Šaleh, Maisan province (southern Mesopotamia), and became acquainted with their traditions and customs. She won the confidence of the Mandaean and obtained from them a complete collection of 56 Mandaean manuscripts. This collection is known as “Drower Collection” and deposited in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.\textsuperscript{123} Lady Drower translated and published most of the

\textsuperscript{121} Pallis, 1933 p. 32. For more about Ignatius of Jesus see Lupieri, "Friar Ignatius of Jesus", ARAM Vol. 16, 2004: 25-46.
\textsuperscript{122} Pallis S. A., 1933: 38.
\textsuperscript{123} Macuch R., 1965: XLIV.
collection, in addition to the Mandaic Dictionary which she compiled and published with R. Macuch in 1963.

The oldest Mandaean manuscript in Europe (Marsh. 691) is kept in the Bodleian library. It is a collection of prayers copied by the scribe Adam Zihrun, son of Bihran Šitlan in the year 1529. This codex belonged to a certain Thomas Marshal (1620 or 21- 1685), an English philologist, and was given to Bodleian in 1689 or 1690 by his servant.\textsuperscript{124}

\textbf{§ 1.9 - The Ginza Rba (The Great Treasure)}

The Ginza is a big codex (more than 654 pages or 327 folios) consists of two parts: the Right Ginza (GR) and the Left Ginza (GL) each part opposite the other. The Ginza is divided into twenty-one chapters or tractates: eighteen tractates belong to the right Ginza and three tractates to the left Ginza.

\textbf{§ 1.9.1 - The Right Ginza}

The first two tractates of (GR 1 and GR 2) include moral teachings and description and praise of the King of Light and his world. The third tractate (GR 3) pp. 83–148,\textsuperscript{125} which is the largest in the Ginza, contains the Story of Creation (the subject of this research). The fourth tractate (GR 4) pp. 148-157 is a brief description of Manda d-Hiia's baptism in the heavenly Yardina (Jordan) by Mar d-Rabuta (the Lord of Greatness) plus part of Hibil-Ziwa's descent to the underworld. The fifth tractate (GR 5) pp. 157-237 consists of five

\textsuperscript{124} Buckley J. J., 2005: 290.
\textsuperscript{125} Numeration is according to the copy of the Ginza (GRS) used in this research.

The sixth tractate (GR 6), pp. 237-248, is the journey of Dinanukt126 ("talking in accordance with religion") to the upper worlds. The Seventh tractate (GR 7) pp. 248-257 contains some of John the Baptist’s commandments. The eight tractate (GR 8) pp.257-261 is a small tractate which includes Manda ḏ-Hiia's warning the faithful against Rūha. Tractate nine (GR 9) pp. 261-283 includes two sections: (1) The first is called qarqalta ḏ-ṣuba kukbia "the overthrow of seven stars", a polemic chapter against other (false) religious sects. (2) The second section is ‘the emanation of Mar ḏ-Rabuta from the niṭufa (semen?) of the heavenly Jordan’. It also contains material related to creation. Tractate ten (GR 10) pp. 283-297 is a continuation of the creation story and is called ‘the Book of Radiance that radiates in the pihat'. Tractate eleven (GR 11), pp. 297-325, is called "the Book of Great Anōš" which deals with the conflict between the

126 Dinanukt is a legendary figure of the Ginza. Dinanukt is an old Persian word means "talking in accordance with religion". (MD p. 108) The legend says that din melek uthra (a heavenly being) was sent to the wise priest Dinanukt, who wanted to know about where Life is, and the nature of Kuṣṭa. He fell into a trance and his soul traveled with din melek, in a journey to the underworld (Siniawis) where he saw the melki (spirits) of darkness, and then to the different layers of the World of Light. There the ground was like crystal, and there was no darkness. Eventually, he returned to his body and told his people of what he saw in his journey. (For more analysis of this Ginza figure see Widengren, 1950: 62 ff. See also "How Dana Nuk Visited the Seventh Heaven" MII, Ch. IX p. 300). (Cf. “the saintly reformer”, Herzfeld, Archaeological History of Iran (1935) p. 100).
World of Light and Rūha. It also mentions the faulty creation of the material world by Ptahil.

Tractate twelve (GR 12), pp. 325-341, has seven sections. The first section has the uthra AnoS as the speaker. Sections 2, 3, 4 and 5 are hymns some of which are similar to the hymns of the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaean.127 Section 6 describes the World of Darkness and its king and inhabitants. Section 7 is a kind of geography; it shows the directions of the worlds and waters. Tractate thirteen (GR 13), pp. 341-349, is called "he Prayer of the Tarmidia (Mandaean priests) to the Pious".128 Tractate fourteen (GR 14), pp. 352-362, is called "the Book of the Great Nbat" which narrates the emanation of Yawar, Yōšamin (the second Life) and many other heavenly beings. Tractate fifteen (GR 15), pp. 364-443, consists of twenty poetic sections of the Redeemer speeches and blessings. Section 15 is Ptahil lamentation and threat of waging a war. Section 16 narrates Manda d-Hiia’s visit to Yōšamin and his debate with him. Tractate 16 (GR 16), pp. 446-459, consists of 11 sections, also poetic. The first section speaks of Manda d-Hiia’s visit to the world of the Second Life. The rest are speeches and exhortations of the Redeemer.

Tractate seventeen (GR 17), pp. 462-469, consists of two poetic sections: the first talks about the Great First Mana and the Great Occult Eggs that existed before Mar d-Rabuta (The Lord of Greatness). The second part

127 The hymn in section GR 12:4 is identical to CP hymn n. 214 p. 183.
128 Buckley believes that the first 13 tractates of the Ginza testify to a fully developed Mandaean Gnosticism (Buckley, 2005: 22).
speaks about the oppression of the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (zodiacs) against the *nišmata* (souls). Tractate twelve (GR 18), pp. 472-491, is a chronology of the material world. It contains information about the three catastrophes which befell the humans in three different epochs or generations.\(^{129}\) and many other historical events.

**§ 1.9.2 - The Left Ginza**

This part of the Ginza is divided into three sections or tractates. The first tractate (GRL I) pp. 46-89 consists of four sections. The first section tells the story of Adam and his death, and how Adam's son Štil (Seth) volunteers to die before his father. The second section is about Adam's complaints about his death and his lamentation. The third section is about Hawa's (Eve) death. The forth is a description of different *maṭaratia* (watch-houses or purgatories) which the soul has to go through before her final destination.

The second tractate (GRL III) pp. 46-89 consists of twenty-eight sections of poetry. In this tractate the Great Mana speaks, beginning each section with the formula: 'I am a Mana of the Great Life.' The last tractate of the Ginza (GL 3) pp. 89-164 consists of 62 sections and deal with the *nišimta* (soul) and her destiny. It also includes the lamentation of the *mana* personifying the soul.

\(^{129}\) For the comparison between these catastrophes and Sodom and Gomorrah see Stroumsa, 1984: 110 ff.
§ 1.10 - The Ginza used in the Research (GRS):

The copy of the Ginza (GRS) used in this work consists of 332 folios (664 pages), and each page consists of 25 lines. It was written in Iran in the late 1990s under the supervision of the Mandaean Council of Ahwaz. The headscribe of this Ginza is Rbai Ganzibra Mhatam Yuhana br Šarat (his Arabic name: Shaikh Jabar the son of Tawoos), who is the head-priest of the Mandaean community in Iran (he became a priest in 1948). The colophon at the end of the left part of this Ginza (GRL p. 169) tells us that this copy was written after consulting 5 other Ginzas. The scribes of these Ginzas are: Yahia Ram Zihrun the son of the Rbai Zeki Zihrun, Ram Yuhana the son of Rbai Ram, Zeki Zihrun the son of Ram Zihrun, Sam Yuhana the son of Rbai Behram and Zihrun the son of Mudalal. A copy of Petermann's Ginza was consulted, which he copied during his visit to southern Iraq in the 1840s from 4 Ginzas, as the colophon calls them (A, B, C, D).\textsuperscript{130} Ganzabra Şalah Kuhasili was at the head of the team which consisted of the following scribes and scholars: Tarmida Ţalib Duraji, Tarmida Najah Kohasili, Yalufa Salem Koriali, Yalufa Jamal Duraji and Yalufa Falah Kuhasili. For the first time, in centuries, three Mandaean women participated in this work: Mudalal the daughter of Šarat and Simat and Sadia the daughters of Mahnuš.

For this research four other Ginza manuscripts from the Oriental and India Office at The British Library in London were collated to compile a critical apparatus of variants. The first manuscript is under the title: “Liber Adami

\textsuperscript{130} For more details on Heinrich Peterman (1801 – 76) and his visit to the Mandaean community in Iraq see Buckley, 2005: 129 ff.
Mendaice” No. Add 23,599 (henceforth BL 23599) and was presented by Sheik Yahana Chief and High Priest of the Mandaean sect with his petition to her Majesty the Queen, dated 10th December 1872, and forwarded to HM’s Ambassador at Constantinople with dispatch No. 3 dated 29th Jan. 1873 from Colonel Herbert, Consul General of Baghdad. The second manuscript bears the title: “Liber Adami Mendaice” No. Add. 23,600 (henceforth: BL 23600). This Ginza is the oldest one in the British Library (bought from Mrs. Taylor in April 1860) and consisting of 315 folios and the scribe is Adam Yuhana. The third Ginza codex in the British Library is ‘Liber Adami Mendaice’ Add. 23,601 (henceforth BL 23601) copied by Adam Yuhana, son of Sam. The third Ginza codex is ‘Liber Adami Mandaice’ Add. 23,601 dated 1824, also copied by Adam Yuhana, son of Sam. The forth manuscript is entitled: Sidra Rba Mandaitic, Oriental 1236 (henceforth BLO 1236).

Due to many factors, the hand written Mandaean manuscripts are in general tiresome and not easy to read, especially the manuscript (Add 23,599 = BL 23599) of the British Library. Some of these factors are:

1. Poor hand writing and careless copying led the scribes to make numerous spelling mistakes in the manuscripts.
2. These mistakes accumulated through the ages and led to many differences in readings.
3. The only method by which the scribe is allowed to edit a text is by placing dots under the wrongly written word or sentence, because the Mandaeans
believe their writings are sacred and incorrect words or sentences cannot be erased or crossed.

4. The Mandaean manuscripts have no paragraph indents or punctuation marks.

5. Many words are hyphenated (especially at the end of the line) which causes confusion to the reader.

6. Ambiguities in Mandaean script often cause uncertainty and confusion in reading hand written Mandaean texts. The letters which cause such confusion are: ❙ (p) and ❙ (n); ❙ (r) and ❙ (r); ❙ (u) and ❙ (u); ❙ (d) and ❙ (d); ❙ (r) and ❙ (r); ❙ (n) and ❙ (n); ❙ (p) and ❙ (p); ❙ (l) and ❙ (l); ❙ (n) and ❙ (n). The computer Mandaic font used in this work attempts to faithfully reproduce the manuscript text, but at the same time compensates for the poor handwriting and careless copying in the manuscripts.

The computerized Mandaic font reproduces original text while correcting scribal errors to a great extent. Most previous scholars were obliged to transliterate the Mandaean texts either into Hebrew or Roman characters. A notable exception, and the first scholar who used a Mandaic typeface, was the Frenchman H. Pognon, in his book 'Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabir', published in 1898. The computerized characters used in this work are similar to Pognon's. The present work also transliterates every line of the text into Hebrew characters beneath the Mandaic in order to facilitate reading for non-specialists. There are inevitable discrepancies between the present version of the Ginza and the other four versions mentioned above. The
number shown on the margin of some of the pages of the translation correspond to the beginning of the page in the original text.

The translator of the Mandaic texts encounters some difficulties such as:

1. The material of the Mandaean cosmogony, cosmology, theology and soteriology is distributed among much Mandaean literature such as the Ginza Rba, Draša d-Yahia (The Book of John), Mandaean Hymns and Prayers; Masbuta, Masqita, Eninia, etc), and among the different Diwans, such as Diwan Abatur. Mandaean literature is written mostly in mystical way and many religious concepts are considered sacred explanation of which are "reserved for those considered able to understand and preserve the gnosis."

2. Most of the Mandaean priests abstain (by law) from discussing profound religious matters with a Mandaean layman or a stranger. The holy scriptures strongly advise Mandaean priests against revealing these scriptures to strangers. For example the Alf Trisar Šuialia (The Thousand and Twelve Questions) commences with the following zhara "admonition":

   In the name of the Life. Laufa (union) and revival of life and a forgiver of sins be there for me N ... by means of these good Questions, hidden from (even) the eyes of the uhtras and not revealed except to such as guard them, and tell them to one in a generation each to his son. For Hibil-Ziwa placed them in his son's right hand and said, 'Take care, take care, take care,

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131 SA p. xvi.
three hundred and sixty thousand times take care of these
Good Questions which Hibil-Ziwa asked of Nbat the Great.”

The Naşoraeans (the priestly group of the Mandaeans) are keen not to reveal the mysteries of the Naşiruta (priestly knowledge) to their own laity, except to those elite of Mandaeans who dedicate themselves Naşiruta and have proven themselves worthy in the line of priesthood. The Naşoraeans guard their holy books and scrolls intimately. Their mysteries are not imparted to the Mandaean laymen, no matter how religious they are, fearing that these mysteries might be misinterpreted.

3. The neglect which the Mandaean literature suffered from, for more than fourteen centuries, lead to many differences between the vernacular Mandaean and the Classical Naşoraean Mandaean writings. Most of the Mandaean priests did not receive their priestly knowledge in religious institutes. They usually obtain their priesthood knowledge and apprenticeship from their fathers or from other elderly priests. They teach the initiates reading, writing and the comprehension of Mandaean language, in addition to the practice of the different rites (baptism, communion, marriage etc.) meticulously.

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132 ATŠ. P. 110. The Mandaean manuscript p. 2 text collated:
133 SA p. xiv. Such reluctance to reveal secret knowledge, even to followers of the same community goes back to ancient Mesopotamia. Colophons of cuneiform tablets often repeat such warnings and admonitions. (Livingstone, Mystical and Mythological Explanatory works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars, Oxford (1986) pp. 260 - 261).
134 Macuch, 1965: LIX.
135 For the consecration of the priest, or Tarmida see MII p. 147ff.
The Ginza remains as the largest codex which the Mandaeans inherited from their golden era when Gnosticism flourished amongst the civilization of Babylon and Persia in the east and amongst the Greek and Roman empires in the west. In addition to the liturgies, the Ginza contains the oldest Gnostic (Mandaean) tradition. The Mandaean Gnostic library is equally as important as Nag Hammadi Codices and the Dead Sea Scrolls and they deserve more attention and examination from scholars of Semitic studies.136

§ 1.11 - The Mandaean Script:

The Mandaic script belongs to the South Mesopotamian branch of Aramaic besides the Syriac-Palmyrene branch in North Syria and the script of Hatra in north Mesopotamia.137 The Mandaeans call their alphabet *abgada*. The twenty four letters are sacred and represent the powers of Life and Light. They believe that their inscriptions are protected by Nbu (Babylonian Nabû) "Mercury", the god of writing and wisdom.138 Some scholars, such as Macuch, believe that there is a close relation between the Mandaic and the Elymaic scripts. Others like Nöldke and Lidzbarski suppose that Mandaic script is related to the Nabaṭīan.139 The Mandaic script is known to us either from the Mandaean manuscripts or form amulets and incantations. Most of them were

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137 Naveh, 1982: 132.
138 Mil, p. 240. The old Iraqis believed that science was under the protection of the god Nabû while the goddess Nasaba presided over the art of writing (Roux, 1966: 327).
139 Naveh, 1970: 33.
probably composed during the Sasanian era and the early Islamic conquest of Iraq, but the earliest known Mandaic text is a lead amulet from the first half of the third century.\textsuperscript{140}

No one can precisely determine when the Mandaens manufactured their script, but Naveh argues that the shapes of the letters suggest that the Mandaic cursive script is a "straightforward evolution from Elymaic."\textsuperscript{141} Since Mesene (Maisan) and Characene were neighbours of the kingdom of Elymais, such assumption is strengthened. Many features of the Mandaic script resemble both the Nabaṭaeans and the Aramaic of Tang-i Sarvak and Elymaic, such as the letters (§) \textit{alef}, which is simplified from the Elymaic heart shape, (¶) \textit{mem}, (\~\~) \textit{bet}, (¶) \textit{dalet}, etc., but there is no resemblance between the Mandaic (§) and the Elymaic \textit{shen}.\textsuperscript{142} Macuch noted, "the most remarkable Mandaean ligatures in the Elymaean inscriptions are the relative particle (¶) \textit{d-} and the conjunction (\~\~\~) \textit{kd} which includes it."\textsuperscript{143}

There remains the possibility that the Naṣoreans had brought their own script when they migrated to Southern Mesopotamia, since many Mandaean hymns and prayers suggest such a migration. Macuch believes that the Mandaic script had developed in the second century C.E., since there are no

\textsuperscript{140} Yamauchi, 1967: 2.
\textsuperscript{141} Naveh, 1970: 34.
\textsuperscript{142} Coxon, 1970: 20. He writes: "the Mandaic script is the nexus between the Nabaṭaean and Tang-I Sarvak scripts, although Mandaic has a close formal similarity to Nabaṭaean" (For the comparative script chart see Naveh, 1970: 35).
significant differences between the Mandaean script on the one hand and the Elymaean and Charcenian on the other.\textsuperscript{144}

\textbf{§ 1.12 - Book III of the Ginza Rba:}

Book three, or the Book of Creation, is the largest tractate of the Mandaean holy book the ‘Ginza Rba’. The Ginza names this tractate as: \textit{rəza u sidra qadmaia d-šuta haita qadmaita ǧhuat mn laqadmaia “The Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine which was from aforetime (or: from the very beginning)”}.\textsuperscript{145} This tractate includes the cosmogony; the origin of the world of light and the world of darkness, the rise of the First Great Life, the Second Life (Yōšamin), the Third Life (Abatur) and the Forth Life (Ptahil); the demiurge who created the cosmos and Tibil (the earthly world). It also narrates the creation of the Mandaean redeemer Manda d-Haiia (‘Gnosis of Life’ or: ‘Knowledge-of-Life’) and his descent to the underworld and his triumph against the creatures of darkness. It narrates the creation of Adam and Eve and the descent of the nišimta (soul) into the ʿstōna (the human body). Tractate III also includes an elaborate description of the demonic Rūha and her planetary sons and her attempts to seduce Adam in order to entrap him in the world.

\textsuperscript{144} Ibid, p. 190.

\textsuperscript{145} Widengren believes that the Mesopotamian background of heavenly books preexistent before creation and containing destinies is clear in the conception of the Book III of the Ginza (Widengren, 1950: 10, 74-75).
The "Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine" begins with folio 42r (p. 83) and ends at folio 74v (p. 148: 6) in the copy of the Ginza used in this work. The language of is mostly poetic and written in classical Mandaic. The text consists of 2 prose sections and 2 poetic sections. The text begins with a prose section (pp. 83: 15 – 87: 21) followed by a prolonged poetic section (pp. 87: 21 – 119: 1). A second, but smaller, prose section is found nearly in the middle of the text (pp. 119: 1 – 120: 11) followed by another poetic section until the end of the text.

§ 1.13 - The Mandaean Story of Creation

Mesopotamia gave birth to many legends and myths such, as the epic of Gilgamesh, Enûma Eliš, Ninûrta, Ea and Inana. Out of the crucible of Mesopotamia, the land of reeds and swamps comes forth the Mandaean story of Creation. It is a unique piece of literature infused with Babylonian gods, demons and biblical motifs. With the conquest of Babylon by the Persian Empire 539 BCE and the subsequent Greek invasion of Alexander the Great in 332 BCE, the Mandaean story of creation comes under the influence of Persian dualism and Greek mythology.

It addresses hiia qadmaiia the Ancient Life, the afterlife, Dualism, and cosmology. The language symbolic of Gnosticism is very poetical and is the first complete account of creation from Mesopotamia. It contains ethical and

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146 The Mandaens conceived of hidden books in heaven existing before creation. (Ibid)
religious principles that emerged during the period when Mesopotamians demonised their gods. The Mandaean priests still recite the story of creation, on the banks of the rivers, in the same manner as their ancestors the Naṣraeans used to do in the ancient times.

The Mandaean story of creation is the product of the beginning of the Gnostic era when the Mandaean world was imprinted by the dualism of $\textit{alma d-nhûra}$ the World of Light and $\textit{alma d-h sûka}$ the World of Darkness. The World of Light was conceived by unknown god $\textit{nukraiia}$ (alien); a sublime being usually referred to as $\textit{mana}$ (the First) Intelligence, $\textit{hiia}$ The Life and $\textit{malka d-nhûra}$ the King of Light. $\textit{alma d-h sûka}$ the World of Darkness is the product of the dark waters and is ruled by the King of Darkness, the leviathan ‘Ur, and his mother/spouse Rûha; the goddess of the underworld. The Mandaean story of Creation narrates the doomed revolt of the vice-regent Yošamin (the Second Life) and his sons, the uthras, Abatur (the Third Life) and Ptahil (the Forth Life and the demiurge who created the physical world), against the higher deities of the World of Light. It also describes the eternal conflict between Light and Darkness and the defeat of the World of Darkness on the hands of the valiant uthra Manda d-Hiia (Gnosis of Life) when he descended to the underworld and subdued the evil creatures of darkness. The prime of the Story of Creation is the creation of Adam, the First Man, by Ptahil with the assistance of Rûha and her sons $\textit{sibiahîia}$ (the Planets), but Ptahil could not make Adam stand on his feet. A $\textit{mana}$, a sparkle of Light, was
brought form the World of Light and cast into Adam's trunk. At that moment Adam opened his eyes and stood on his feet. The beings of Light created Hawa (Eve), to be Adam's wife in order to spread šurbta d-hiia the family of Life.

The Mandaean story of creation contains many obscure terms of creation such as pira (fruit), mana (intelligence, mind) ziwa (radiance), nhūra (light) ayar (ether), yardina (Jordan), uthras (beings of Light), hapiqia mia (streams of water), yura (a being of light, brilliance), nišimta urūha (soul and spirit) and many more. There is not one single account of the creation of the cosmos, but rather multiple accounts. In the Ginza Rba there are no less than seven accounts of the Creation, viz. in tractates 1, 2, 3, 10, 13, 15, and 18. Tractate III, however, contains the most part of the story. This work endeavors to explain such obscurities for a better understanding of the Mandaean legend of creation. Book III consists of four fractions; two written in prose and two in poetry:

1. The first fraction (GRR, pp. 83: 16 - 87: 21) begins with prose language narrating the first emanation of the Mana and the manifestation of the Life and the other principles of cosmogony, including the creation of the Mandaean messenger Manda d-Hiia.

2. The second fraction (GRR, pp. 87: 21 - 119: 1) is written in poetical language. It is the longest fraction of book III and narrates: (a) The descent of the Messenger Manda d-Hiia to the World of Darkness and his
confrontation with the forces of the World of Darkness. (b) The creation of the material world by the Mandaean demiurge "Ptahil".

3. The third fraction (GRR, pp. 119 - 120: 11) is the shortest fraction, written in prosaic language, and speaks about the time of creation and about Ptahil's intentions concerning the creation of Adam and Eve with the assistance of the Planets.

4. The fourth fraction (GRR, pp. 120: 11 until the end of the book i.e. p. 148) narrates (a) The creation of Adam and Eve. (b) The descent of the nišimta "soul" into Adam's body (c) Rūha's attempts to seduce Adam in order to capture him in the world. (d) Manda d-Hiia prevents Rūha and her entourage "the Planets" from tempting Adam. (e) Description of the sects which were produced from the forces of Darkness.

§ 1.14 - The Main features of Mandaic Poetry:

Since the Mandaeans were not at all familiar with punctuation, it is hard to distinguish between the prosaic and poetic passages in the Mandaean texts. In spite of this, Lidzbarski could differentiate between the two types. He wrote a plausible introduction dedicated to the Mandaic and Aramaic poetry in his valuable book "Mandäische Liturgien".149

The language of the Ginza belongs to the classical period, which was not under the influence of the Arabic language.150 This may prove that the

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149 Lidzbarski, Mandäische Liturgien, Berlin (1920).
150 Macuch has divided the Mandaic literature into three historical periods: classical, postclassical and modern. The final redaction of the classical period took place in the year 272 CE according to the Mandaean copyist Zāzai d-Gawaztā (Macuch, 1965: LXV).
redaction of the book was long before the Islam conquest of Iraq in the seventh century C.E. The Ginza is written mainly in poetry which “represents a fully developed Babylonian-Aramaic idiom and a poetic skill which has neither surpassed nor equaled in Mandaean literature.”

Their geographical remoteness also made them less exposed to the Hellenistic influences.

Unfortunately, this aspect of Mandaic literature remained neglected by the Semitists until Soderbergh shed the light on various Mandaic poetic forms compared to the psalms of the Coptic Psalms of Thomas. He claimed priority for the Mandaic hymns over the Coptic ones. After his detailed comparison he concluded that the “Mandaic poetry, had on the whole a regular beat of 3:3, that is the line consisted of two hemistiches with three stresses in each hemistich.”

Example:

He made you rule over the concealed uthras,
who are standing and praising the great (ones)
He made rule over the Jordan of the great (ones),
and over thee living and vigorous waters.

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151 Macuch, 1965: LXV
155 GRR, p. 89: 8
The transposition language is a main feature of the Mandaic poetry; that is repeating the same verse with changing position of the words. Example:

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156 Or: “ergative language”.
157 GRR, 113: 23.
Your figure is (like) a high cedar,
why do you wash with water?
Your thighs are vine of ether,
why do you wear gold?
your wings (arms) are veils of ether,
why do you wear silver?
Your eyes are eyes of radiance
why do you fill them with kohl?  159

In book III we find good examples of the Naṣoraean Gnostic poetry which needs more attention. In this respect Jonas plausibly noted: "The Mandaic poetry gives wonderful expression to the gratefully believing acceptance of the message and the ensuing conversion of the heart and renewal of life." 160

159 GRR, 137: 21
160 Jonas, 1958: 89. Stroumsa indicates that the Gnostic language is an imagery one and it should be studied as “mystical poetry” (Stroumsa, 1984:3).
§2 - Analysis of the Narrative
§2 - Analysis of the Narrative:

§2.1 - The First Account of the Theogony:

The text begins with the following formula:

In the name of the great nukraiia alien Life 161 from the countless worlds of Light which is above all deeds. This is the mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine which was from afore time. 162

The main events in this account are: (a) at the beginning the pira (fruit) was inside the pira and the ayar (ether) was inside the ayar. (2) The great Mana (intelligence) “awakened” and produced great manas without count. (3) great and countless piras and škinas (celestial dwellings) emanated from the great pira. (4) by the will of the great Mana, the great white yardina (Jordan) “river” came into being and from the great Jordan countless jordans came into being.

The first account of theogony contains three main elements of creation: (a) Pira “fruit” (b) Ayar (Ether) (c) Mana (Mind or: Intelligence). The škinas (celestial dwelling) and the Yardina (Jordan) are the products of the first emanation:

161 nukraiia “alien” or “strange”, theologically “inconceivable”, “remote”, “indefinable”, is a constant characteristic of the “Life”, the main deity in the Mandaean belief. The formula, ‘In the name of the great first alien Life from the countless world of light which is above all deeds’ speaks of the ‘first’ Life ‘that is above all deeds (or: creations),’ i.e., above the world and ‘free from any kind of relation to the world (Rudolf, K., 1983: 62). The concept of the alien Life is one of the impressive word-symbols and a major theme which we encounter in Gnostic speech (Stroumsa, 1984: 87). The alien is that which stems from elsewhere and does not belong here (Jonas, H., 1958: 49). The Life is an outer entity hiia baraiia (CP p. 78), and therefore the Mandaeans, and the Gnostics in general, saw themselves as a “kingless race” ruled by no one (Stroumsa, 1984: 87).

162 GRR p. 83: 15. The text:
When the Pira was inside the Pira, and when the Ayar was inside the Ayar, and when the great Mana of glory was there, great and mighty Manas came into being, whose radiance is so vast and whose light is great; no one before them was in the great fruit which was so immense and without limit, and whose radiance was greater than the words of the mouth and his light was bigger than what the lips can portray. As He was inside (or: in the matrix of) the Fruit, a thousand thousand fruits without limit, and countless myriads of fruits emanated from him. In each and every fruit were a thousand thousand fruits without limit, and countless myriads of škinas. They all stand there and praise the great Mana of glory who exists (lives) in the great Ether of Life that is within the Jordan (river) of the white waters which gushed out from the Great Mana. Then the great Jordan came into being, and from the great Jordan, Jordans without count poured forth. 163 (See Chart A).

§2.1.1 - Pira:

The meaning of Pira is uncertain and doubtful; of various suggested meanings, perhaps that of “Fruit” (H. נֵפְרָה) or “vagina”. 164 This term is used by the Mandaean as an expression of emanation. 165 In the first version of creation we find out that the Pira (fruit) and the Ayar (ether) are the two primal elements of existence and the “habitat” in which the Great Mana (mind, intelligence) existed. In the Mandaean belief, the Pira Rba (Great Pira) is the origin of all things. 166 It existed before creation and before all worlds (aeons) and is the core matter of existence. It is

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163 GRR p. 83: 19.
164 The second meaning for the pira is “cleft” or “vagina” as in, ולָאָה נָאָשְׁלֶה “vagina and phallus” (MD. P., 372).
165 The epithet Fruit used of the moon-god in Mesopotamia, of whom it is said that he is the Fruit which is born by itself, ‘en-bu šá ina ra-ma-ni-šū ib-ba-nu’ (Tallquist, Akkadische Götterepitheta, p. 24 cited by Widengren, 1946: 22 n. 3).
166 Other Gnostics such as Basilides (2nd century religious teacher in Alexandria – Egypt) believe that all the universe and creations derived their being form the cosmic seed (Wilson, 1958: 124).

According to Zurvanism, the old Persian religion, Time enters a body within the seed of creation or unformed matter, from which all forms arose (Zaehner, 1955: 111 ff.).
the original divine power from which everything came into being, even the King of Light:

Before all the worlds came into being there was this great fruit. When the great fruit was inside the great fruit, the King of Light came into existence.167

The Great Pira is a primal entity and a symbol of fertility. It is the “womb” or the “matrix” which gave birth to the succeeding manifestations of the beings of Light, when the first Intelligence (Mana) decided to cohabit with its 𓊭𓊰CTX dmuta “counterpart” (or with its 𓊱𓊰𓊰𓊰 𓊫𓊰 𓊰 𓊫𓊰 sauta “companion”) in order to create adiauria “helpers”, erect the heavenly lights and bring forth messengers of life to preserve him in his concealment, as we perceive from the following passage:

I am conversing with my dmuta (counterpart) 168 (and say to her), Come, let us, create (lit. build), me and you, through a mystic call in the sublime fruit. Until fruits are created for us, until helpers are sent for us, you will praise me and I will praise you. We will remain preserved within the ample radiance and provide (lit. arrange) for each other perfectly . . . As he spoke thus, he thought of the sauta (companion)169 that existed in the sublime fruit. He spoke and pondered, I will create sauta “companion” to my right and lights to

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167 GRR book 3 p. 91: 17. The text:

168 dmuta: 𓊰𓊰𓍚 𓊪, counterpart, image, shape, form, effigy, likeness, double (MD p. 111 and DJPA p. 151). The Mandaeans believe that every man and every light-being has a double; a counterpart. Each individual has his own likeness in the ideal world of Mšunia Kušta (the ideal world of the Mandaeans, and inhabited by their righteous doubles. (For more details on this ideal world see MII p. 54 n. 1 and SA Ch, V p. 392). In the Peshitta the first born “Christ” is the image 𓊳𓊫 of god. (Widengren, 1964: 23) The Mandean idea of “image” is repeated in Manichaeism: Mani received his revelation through his Syzygos “Twin or: Pair-comrade”. (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 5) The ancient Mesopotamians believed in the magic powers of the image as we read that the Mitanni king Tusharatta has sent an image of Ishtar to the Pharaoh of Egypt to cure him from an intractable disease (Roux 1964: 231).

169 sauta: consort, company, companionship, society (MD p. 386).
my left and I shall bring forth messengers of life to look after me in (my) concealment.\[^{170}\]

The Pira, the celestial fruit, is the dwelling of the nišmata “souls”, where they grow and blossom, as well as it is the dwelling of the Mana, Life, and the other heavenly beings:

“nišimta (the soul) grows and blossom in the Pira of the Life.”\[^{171}\]

This concept is emphasized by the messenger Hibil-Ziwa’s\[^{172}\] proclamation that he is the one who created the white fruit of in which the nišmata (souls) are imbued:

I created the white fruit, in which the souls are enveloped. From it they flower up and ascend to be weighed.\[^{173}\]

It is rather difficult to give a precise definition of the Pira because it is considered a raša mystery not revealed to any earthly being, even to prophets. John the Baptist iahia iuhana was ready to exchange his earthly life for the knowledge of the mysteries of the “world beyond” when the redeemer Manda d-Hiia appeared to him in the form of a young lad:

And reveal to me the secrets of the kings (or: angels), and (the secrets of) pira rba d-nhūra the Great Fruit of Light, and why the clods and rubble (?) were subdued, and the basis of the

\[^{170}\] GRR, book 15: 10, p. 398: 14 f. The text:

\[^{171}\] GRL, book 3: 16, p. 114: 18. The text:

\[^{172}\] Hibil-Ziwa is a being of light, a messenger and the son of the Mandaeans Gnosis of Life “Manda d-Hiia”.

\[^{173}\] The Mandaeans BJ p. 191: 18. The text:
water from which the living fire spread out, and škina in which the Life dwells, and who is older and greater and mightier than the other.\textsuperscript{174}

In the Ginza Rba, the Pira is personified as a heavenly being who takes part in promoting the redeemer Manda d-Hiia (Gnosis of Life). It is by the great Pira of glory's command the redeemer received the kušta\textsuperscript{175} from the Great Ones:

"By the command of the Great Fruit of Glory, I (Manda d-Hiia) received the kušta from them."\textsuperscript{176}

Moreover, the Pira is the reward of the World of Light to the pious Mandaeans as we recite one the hymns of the masiqta (the book of masiqta Ascension):

Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command “Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit: ask from below, (from) reed, swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens.”\textsuperscript{177}

\textsuperscript{174} GRR, book 5:4, p. 223: 1. The text:

\textsuperscript{175} Kušta מַשָׁסֶה, vow, oath, pact, etc. (MD p. 209). Kušta is the ritual of the exchange of the right hand-clasp between the Mandaeans which occurs during sacraments (baptism, marriage, etc.). The act is concluded by a kiss, each of the two persons kissing his own right hand when the hand is released. The Pharsis greet one another with a similar rite called the hamazor (MII p. 238). Lady Drower believes that "the Pharsis use the hamazor as much as Mandaeans use the kušta" (ATS, p. 154 n. 1). The kušta is personified in many Mandaeen manuscripts. It is a "messenger from the Life on his way hither" (ATS, p. 236). The kušta is considered a synonym of Manda d-Hiia (CP p. 44). The seal of kušta binds and seals the souls and spirits (Ibid p. 63). In Mandaism, kušta is an element closely related to the first creation. The Kušta is the 'heavenly' oath which every Mandaeans has to take during baptism. The Mandaeans consider the Kušta a communion with the World of Light. The Primal man, according to the Manicheans, was delivered from his captivity among the hosts of Darkness by the supernal entity known as the Living Spirit, who extended to him his right hand and removed him from the conflict" (Reeves, 1996: 124). (For more details concerning the Kušta, see Sundberg, 1953).

\textsuperscript{176} GRR, book 3 p. 88: 1. The text:

\textsuperscript{177} CP. p. 35. Hymn no. 35 p. 126. Drower's translation, text collated:
The sexual symbolism is quite common in the Mandaeen literature as well as in the rest of the Mesopotamian literature. Mandaeism is the faith of life and fertility, and "if the man has no wife, there will be no Paradise for him hereafter and no Paradise on earth." The mystic union of the female and male principles is reflected in many hymns and songs. In the following marriage song, the Pira is the symbol of "virginity" or "womb":

O crowned bride "Fruit that is enclosed! Who revealed our secret and broadcast our wisdom to the highways?"

The Pira is related to other mystic elements of creation such as the tana (container, matrix), pihta (sacramental bread?), nitufta (drop, sperm), and hilbuna (egg, container, habitat). It is also identified with the tana, which is another ambiguous other-worldly element of creation.

§ 2.1.2 - Avar (Ether):

Ayar (Ether) is the second element in the first version of creation with the Pira. It is the rarest of all elements of creation and a personification of the purest

This hymn provides strong evidence of the Mandaeans' natural habitats. The heat of the marshes of and the birds nesting among the canebrakes and the marshes (the boat of the marshes) sailing through is a typical Mesopotamian picture. (for the same image see Chicago Assyrian Dictionary A/2 p. 180 a).

There are many resemblances between the Mandaeen pira (fruit) and the seed in Basilides doctrine which says: "From the cosmic seed was begotten the Great Archon who created for himself a son. Then a demiurge comes into being who engendered a son from matter and reduced the world to order" (Wilson, 1958: 124-6).
heavenly atmosphere in which the Mandaean deities dwell. The concept of Paradise in the Mandaean belief is different from that of the Jews, Christians and Moslems. The Mandaean's final destination is the World of Light, a world of pure (energy) which contains no material pleasures.

When a Mandaean dies his soul is released and flies towards the *maṭaratia* (purgatories or: watch-houses). After necessary purification the soul reaches her final destination; the realm of light. In the world of light there is nothing material, only jordans of living water, heavenly *Ayar* (Ether) which is most pure and clear and colorful flowers and evergreen plants and trees exist. The soul brings *Ayar* with her when she descends into this world and settles in the human trunk and her (the soul) reward, after death, is to travel back to the World of Light and dwells in the sublime *Ayar* (Ether):

She (the soul) rises up from one throne and seats herself on another firm throne. And (thus) by means of nine occult process (*ginzia*) we set her up (at last) in the sublime *Ayar* (Ether).

The *Ayar* (ether) preceded water in existence and in order to create the *uthras* and make them thrive, the Great One commanded that a “reservoir” of Living Water to be created and to flow to the (land of) Ether:

In the *Ayar* (world) there is no water! As there is no water in the *Ayar*, by what can the ‘*uthras* thrive? How can the ‘*uthras* thrive and

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184 SA p. 15.
185 MII p. 53.
186 Or mystical properties (ATS, p. 186).
187 ATS p. 186. Mandaic ATS p. 55. The text:
(how can) Naširuta\textsuperscript{188} be installed in their hearts? They created a store of living waters (and) let it flow down to the Ayar. They sent down, caused it to flow down, to the Ayar, to the ‘uthras. All of them savoured it and it was fragrant: All ‘uthras savoured it and it pleased. The ‘uthras all drank and throve. They drank and rejoiced thereat and into their hearts Naširuta was installed.\textsuperscript{189}

\textit{Ayar} (Ether) is the swiftest elements of Life. It is the breath of Life which dwells in every living thing and the sweet breath from the North Star:

Just at the first dawn, there comes a sweet breath from the North Star, a pure breeze from the North. We call it Ayar-Ziwa.\textsuperscript{190}

Just as the heavenly Jordan mixes with the earthly waters and purifies them, Ayar mixes the worldly air and purifies it. Ayar-Rba (the Great Ether), Ayar-Ziwa (the Radiant Ether) and Ayar-Sagia\textsuperscript{191} (the Plentiful Ether) are personification of the divine and pure atmosphere which gave birth to the messenger Hibil-Ziwa and all kings.\textsuperscript{192}

The Essenes, share the idea that pure ether is the source of life, and believe that souls emanate from the most subtle air and incorporate with man’s body.\textsuperscript{193} Ayar

\textsuperscript{188} Naširuta: The true faith of the Mandaean/Našoreans; the esoteric knowledge and wisdom only given to Mandaean priests (DM, p. 286). It is the deep knowledge of priestcraft and religion. The Našoariaia are those who are thoroughly versed in the faith and doctrines of the sect. (ATŠ, p. 14) In this respect Rudolph writes, “The earliest self-designations to be found in Mandaean literature are “elect of righteous” (bhiri zidaqa) and “Našoreans” (našuraiyfi), i. e. “guardians” or “possessors” of secret rites and knowledge.” (Rudolph, 1983: 343).

\textsuperscript{189} CP p. 194. Mandaean hymn n. 239. The text (Drower’s translation, text collated):

\textsuperscript{190} MII, p. 249.

\textsuperscript{191} ATŠ p. 165.

\textsuperscript{192} Hibil-Ziwa is a messenger of the World of Light and the son of Mandaean Redeemer Manda d-Hiia.

\textsuperscript{193} “bodies corruptible, but their souls are immortal; and they come out of the most subtle air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons . . . when they are set free from the bonds of the
perhaps corresponds to the old Persian the god of the wind Vāy, that blows between heaven and earth, and who became the space separating the Kingdom of Light above and the Kingdom of Darkness below. Just like Vāy who is located between the earth and sky, Mandaean Ayar exists above the sky and beneath the earth:

The outer Ayar (Ether) is held above the skies and exists beneath the earth . . . it is the sublime ether-atmosphere in which kings hold council; and they hold to it, for they call it qina (nest, home) since all mysteries are nurtured therein.

Like Vāy who is the life-giving power, the Mandaean Ayer, who proceeded from Light, shines forth the uthras who dwell in the “world beyond”:

“They sent Hibil-Ziwa to give them information to the uthras who sit there; and he said unto them, “From Radiance proceeded Light, and from Light proceeded Ayar (Ether), Ayar proceeded from Light and glory was shown forth to the uthras who sit there.”

§2.1.3 - Mana (Intelligence, Vessel):

Mana (often hardly translatable) is defined by Jonas: “Mana is the name for the transmundane Power of Light, the first deity, and at the same time that for the transcendent, non-mundane center of the individual ego.” The Great “Mana” is the Over-Soul, or Over-Mind, the earliest manifestation of the Great Life.

flesh, they then, as released from long bondage, rejoice and mount upward” (Josephus, Wars of the Jews, book II, ch. 8. 11).

195 ATŠ, pp. 173, 74, Mandaic ATŠ p. 50. The text:

197 SQSR p. 52. (the Mandaean Qabin d-Šīlam Rba, p. 14: 1) The text:

The "mana" of a human being is, so to speak, a spark of this flame, a temporarily detached part of the Great "Mana". This Gnostic conception appears in many forms of syncretistic philosophy. In some features the Mandaean Mana corresponds to the Persian Vohu Mana (later form "Bahman") which means "good mind". It is the "power" which represents intelligence and wisdom. He is the Lord of the Heaven who established his sovereignty through Truth. In Mandaism, "truth" kušṭa is an element closely related to the first creation. It is the "heavenly" oath which every Mandaean has to take during baptism:

In great radiance am I immersed and in resolute light am I established. Manda baptized me; kušṭa (oath) confirmed me.

As to the relation between the Mandaean Mana and the Iranian "Vohu-Mana", Lady Drower points out:

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.

In Zoroastrianism the Vohu-Manah (the good mind) is in a struggle with Aka-Manah (the evil or bad mind), and at the end Vohu-Mana will prevail. In the Mandaean literature the mana represents intelligence or the mind, from which the whole of existence came into being. The only occasion where we come across evil
manas in the Mandaean literature is in the journey of the messenger Hibil-Ziwa to
the underworld, where first met Rūha, and when he descended further, Hibi-Ziwa
encountered the two spirits of Darkness which were called manas:

"I went (downwards) and I found those two great Manas of Darkness." 206

The great, secret first Mana concealed himself in his škina for nine hundred
and ninety nine millions (?) of years before he became manifest and initiated the
existence, as we read in one of the hymns:

I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First Mana who dwelt for
nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his
on škina – for no companion came to him; save that great, secret First
Mana. For he came into existence therein and developed therein. 207

During this endless time of the Mana’s “incubation” in his škina “cocoon”, the
whole being was inert and the whole of existence was in oblivion. Nothing existed
until the Great Mystic Mana decided to emanate from himself and with him three
hundred and sixty-six mighty celestial world of light came into being and shone:

I worship, laud and praise that Mystic First Mind (Mana) of Glory,
who emanated from Himself, whose brilliance exceeds all (other)
mystic glories; it is greater than word of mouth (can describe) and his
light mightier than lips can express for He is the Mana (Mind), the
great, the mysterious, the First of Glory, the great mighty Mana, in
the radiance of which banner three hundred and sixty-six mighty
celestial worlds of light shine.208

206 GRR book 5 p. 163: 10. The text:

207 CP p. 36. (Masiqta Hymn 36) Drower’s translation, text collated:

208 CP n. 374 p. 267, (Mandaic hymn No. 374, p. 401) Drower’s translation, text collated:
With the Great Mana's manifestation, existence came into motion and all the worlds gained power and the lamps and lights started to glow. Lady Drower explains this move as follows:

By the first creative impulse, when the Great Life became active and "Non-Existence" became "Existence", assumed an anthropomorphic shape.

The explanation of this is given by Naşiruta in theological rather than metaphysical language. She established her statement by referring to one of the hymns:

In the name of the great powerful Mana (Mind) who thought and evoked companionship of Itself and said, "There shall be companionship for Me".

Nevertheless, the Great Mana has no share in the creation of the material world. He remains an "unknown", "unperceivable". The alien is that which stems from elsewhere and does not belong here. The worlds and generations cannot comprehend his nature and the nature of his counterpart:

Then he taught about the Mana (Nous or Intelligence) and its Counterpart, for the world and generations know them not — that they correspond to that which comes from the (brain) matter and the vision of the heart (inner vision) that is within them.

209 GRR book 17 p. 464: 3. The text:

210 SA p. 23.

211 Lady Drower referred to hymn No. 375 of the CP instead of No. 373 p. 262. The text:


213 ATŚ p. 174. Plotinus, (3rd century C.E.), portrays the real lord of the universe is an unknown "otherworldly", "alien" god who dwells beyond all visible creation. The Secret Book of John describes him as "The [true] God, the Father of the All, the Holy [Spirit], the invisible,
Mandaean literature describes the Manas as pure mass of radiance and light. No one can behold their images because their radiance is blinding the eyes and their light is dazzling. When Manda d-Hiia brought Hibil into the presence of the Manas, he was afraid of their immense radiance and clear light:

He aroused, went and led him (Hibil) into the presence the Glorious Manas. When Hibil, the fore-ordained Mana, entered he was startled because their radiance was transcendent and their light was overwhelming. He was not able to behold their images because their radiance was colossal and their light was enormous.\textsuperscript{214}

When the messenger Hibih-Ziwa returned from his journey from the World of Darkness to the World of Light, the Mana and his Counterpart \textit{mana udmuth} received him and welcomed him. In order to receive full purification he descended towards the First Jordan "of the Mana and his counterpart" and his father (Manda d-Hiia) baptized him and pronounced secret \textit{rusmía} (signs) over him.\textsuperscript{215}

The following verse is one of the most beautiful verses in the Ginza which is recited at the initiation of a new priest. The Mana speaks about his dwelling in the sea until wings were formed for him. At the moment he became a winged creature, he spread his wings and flew towards the Place of Light:

\begin{quote}
I am a great \textit{mana}, a \textit{mana} am I, a son of the Great Ones. I dwelt in the sea, in the sea I dwelt until wings were formed for me, until for me
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{214} GR book 5: 1 p. 159: 16.
\end{footnotes}
wings were formed, until I became a winged creature. When I became a winged creature I spread my wings for the Place of Light.216

The above verse reminds us of the Öannēs217 legend which was written in Greek by the Babylonian priest Berossus. He described Öannēs as having the body of a fish but underneath the figure of a man which dwelt in the Persian Gulf. He rose out of the waters in the daytime furnishing mankind with instruction in writing, the arts and the various sciences. Mead believes that Öannēs' revelation is fundamental among the Mandaeans and it might be related to the Redeemer of the world, the Celestial Man who is expected to rise from the heart of the ocean, as it is written in the Apocalypse of Ezra.218

The Mana is the crystal crown which crowns the head of the Great (Life):

The Mana spoke to the generations: "I am a crystal crown. A crystal crown I am, which crowns the head of the Great (Life)." 219

In addition to Mana, the heavenly being, there is the mana in the sense of niSimta soul; the hidden sparkle of light. When Ptahil created Adam he

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216 GRL book 3: 30 p. 134: 4. The text:

217 Öannēs – Greek form of Uan, a name given to Adapa by Berossus. “Adapa was the first of the antediluvian seven sages who were sent by Ea, the wise god of Eridu to bring the arts of civilization to mankind” (Dalley 2000: 183).

218 Mead’s comment in this concern is notable; he writes: “Indeed the Fisher-figure cannot fail at once to remind students of the comparative science of religion of the ancient Babylon fish-clad fisher-god Hani-Öannēs – the archaic Ea, father of Marduk the saviour god of Babylon who rose early from the dead.” (See also Brandt, 1889: 148 ff.) This primeval God of Wisdom was the culture-god who had taught early mankind all the arts of civilization. Berossus, the Chaldaean priest (281 B.C.E.) who wrote Babyloniaca in Greek for Antiochus I, tells us of no less than six manifestations of Öannēs in successive periods; and this notion of revelation and saving in successive periods is fundamental with the Mandaeans. Öannēs rose from the sea – the waters presumably of the Persian Gulf, in the old story; but Marduk, his son descended from heaven (Mead, 1924: 17, see also Pallis, 1926: 47).

219 GRL book 3: 47 p. 147: 3. “Crown of my head” is a courtesy phrase with which the Iraqis usually address their respected ones. The text:
could not make him stand on his feet. He, therefore, had to fetch a hidden *mana* (soul) from the House of Life and cast it into the bodies of Adam and his wife Eve.\(^{220}\)

This being of light *mana* (soul) had to sojourn in the .Shipinza “inn” (the human body) against its will.\(^{221}\) Because of this imprisonment (in the stinking body of man), the *mana* (soul) laments and complains:

> “Why did you carry me away from abode into captivity and cast me into the stinking body?” \(^{222}\)

The lamentation of the *mana* (soul) is the main theme of GRL book 2, and bears the characteristics of the lamentations of ancient Mesopotamia:

> “I am a Mana of the great Life I am a Mana of the mighty Life. Who has made me live in the Tibil, who has thrown me into the body’s trunk?” \(^{223}\)
> “For a long time I have endured and been dwelling in the world” \(^{224}\)
> “A Mana am I of the great Life. Who has thrown me into the suffering of the worlds, who has transported me to the evil darkness?” \(^{225}\)

On the other hand, it is through the sacrifice of the *mana* or the *nišmta* (the soul) the World of Light could defeat the World of Darkness:

> O, *nišmta* soul rise and go and enter inside the body and be a prisoner inside the Palace. The rebellious Lion will be captured by you, the grim furious Lion. The Dragon will be captured by you, and killed in on the

\(^{221}\) GRL book 3: 20 p. 122: 12. We find the same conception of the “inn” in the “Hymn of the Pearl”, Act of Thomas (Jonas, 1958: 55-6).
\(^{222}\) GRR, book 16: 2 pp. 452-3. The text:

\(^{223}\) GRL book 2: 1 pp. 46-7. The text:

\(^{224}\) GRL book 2: 3, p. 50: 22. The text:

\(^{225}\) GRL book 2: 3, p. 49: 20. The text:
spot. The King of Darkness, whose strength no one can match, shall be fettered by you.\textsuperscript{226}

The Aramaic etymology of \textit{mana} is: “vessel”, “utensil”, “garment” “clothing”, and “instrument”.\textsuperscript{227} The Mandaean priests give four meanings for the word \textit{mana}. (a) the soul, (b) a dove, (c) a garment, (d) a house.\textsuperscript{228} The \textit{Mana} is the instrument in which the \textit{Mana} and his companion hid themselves in order to create the new generation of Life. It appears in plural forms in the following text:

I bowed to and prostrated myself to my companion, and I received from her the precious \textit{kuṣṭa}. We entered the \textit{mania} (instrument) and concealed our selves. And she agreed to be my consort.\textsuperscript{229}

The second occurrence of \textit{mana} in the plural form \textit{mania} is the Mandaean ceremony \textit{Ahaba d-Mania} (the presentation of garments [a form of \textit{zidaq brika}] for those who have died not wearing the ritual garment - \textit{rasta}).\textsuperscript{230}

In \textit{ATS} we read that the \textit{Mana} is the Great Radiance, the translucent heavenly teacher who teaches the Naṣoraeans the sacramental rites (treasures). The messenger Hibil-Ziwa appeals to the Great Mana, the Lord of all worlds, to explain to

\textsuperscript{226} GRL p. 91: 2f. The sacrifice of the soul or the fall of the sparkle of Light into darkness in order to defeat the evil elements of the world of darkness is a common motif among the Gnostic sects (Jonas 1958: 219). The text:

\textsuperscript{227} MD p. 246, DJPA p. 288. The Iraqis still use \textit{niytw} for a vessel.

\textsuperscript{228} Mil p. 93 n. 1.

\textsuperscript{229} GRR p. 399: 10. The text:

\textsuperscript{230} MD p. 8 (For more about the ceremony of \textit{Ahaba d-Mania}, see Mil p. 214).
him the perfect rites, as without them no healing (asuta) of baptism in the Jordan will be bestowed on the Naṣoraeans and their robes will be debased and their crowns will fall from their heads.231

§ 2.1.4 - ιδανα μαηνα γαρδισα (Jordan):

Ritual immersion of the Mandaeans requires running or flowing water "rivers" which fits with the aquatic and marshy environment of southern Mesopotamia. The Mandaeans call all rivers and streams "jordans", and the Jordan, in their belief, is a terrestrial river "descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains."232 The Jordan of the pure (white) waters originates from the Great Mana who dwells in Great Ether of Life.233 The heavenly Jordan is not only the link between the World of Light and the physical world, but also functions as the conduit which pours from the World of Light in order to purify mia siauia, the black lifeless waters of the earth.234 The black waters encircled the circumference of the world remained turbid,235 until the Great Life ordered the Savior Manda d-Hiia to draw a channel of Living water and let

Arise, you, and depart towards the watersheds. And draw a tiny channel of living water and let it fall into the turbid waters and (then the waters)

231 ATŚ p. 142.
232 MII p. XXV. Segelberg has no "reason to doubt that the word ḫerere Jordan refers to the well known river with same name", but he adds that "Euphrates replaces Jordan occasionally". He also refers to scholars who believe that the Mandaeans are of Western origin, and that they have adopted, besides Jordan, Euphrates as a sacred river since their settlement in Mesopotamia (Segelberg, 1958: 38).
233 GRR book III p. 84: 5.
234 For this reason, the Mandaeans consider the yardina Jordan (running water) sacred, therefore, no Mandaeans may urinate or spit in a river, nor can it be used to dispose of sewage.
235 GRR p. 196: 23. The text: The Babylonians portrayed the circular earth surrounded by the "Bitter River" (Lambert 1975: 60).
become sweet and the children of man drink it and become like the
great Life.\textsuperscript{236}

Without the "Living Water" of the \textit{Yardina} (Jordan) purifying the Mandaeans,
their \textit{nišmata} 'souls' would remain confined to this world; the World of Darkness, and
could never return to the World of Light.\textsuperscript{237} The Jordan cleans all faults and the
trespasses and is the father of all worlds, celestial, central and lower: it is a medicine
transcending all means of healing.\textsuperscript{238} The healing powers of "the great Jordan of the
First Life, which is all healings" \textsuperscript{239} correspond to the magical healing powers of the
Jordan, which healed Namaan, the captain of the host of the king of Syria from his
leprosy, stated in the Old Testament.\textsuperscript{240}

Without the baptism (immersion) in Jordan (running water) one cannot
receive the pure sign and therefore he cannot be a Mandaean:

"In the name of the Life! Let every man whose strength enables him
and who loves his soul, come and go down to Jordan and be baptized
and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh
wreath on his head." \textsuperscript{241}

\textsuperscript{236} GRR p. 322: 2. The text:

\textsuperscript{237} "The Christian-Essene called the \textit{Didache} insists on "living water" for baptism, too"

\textsuperscript{238} AT§ p. 150 (Mandaean p. 38). The text:

\textsuperscript{239} The Babylonian cosmology is also based on three levels, as mentioned in the epic of Atra-
hasis: Anu in Heaven, Enlil on the earth, and Ea in the Apsu (Lambert 1975: 57).

\textsuperscript{240} Kings II 5-16. Lady Drower does not believe that \textit{yardina} (Jordan) has any connection with
the river Jordan in Palestine, and that the Mandaeans call all rivers by Ardana or Ardan (MII
n. 4 p. xxiv). On the other hand, Pallis insists that \textit{yardina} Jordan cannot be translated as 'the
river' since \textit{yardina} Jordan is always a proper name in Mandaic literature (Pallis, 1926: 24).

\textsuperscript{241} CP p. 13. Mandaean Ma§buta (Baptism) p. 60. Drower's translation, text collated:
Mandaean mašbuta (baptism) in the yardina d-mia hiia ‘the Jordan of Living Water’ is the unification with the World of Light. According to the Mandaeans, the baptism which takes place in the earthly world is a replica of the heavenly baptism carried out by the beings of Light. It was performed to purify Hibil-Ziwa in the heavenly yardina (Jordan) from the pollution with which he was polluted during his journey to the underworld. 242

Baptism protects the Mandaean against evil and seals him physically and spiritually by the seal of Life: ‘These souls who are descending to the Jordan will be sealed by the seal of the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life.’ 243 The running water is not only for healing the body and purifying the souls, but also “the symbol of the fertilizing male principle” in the Mandaean literature, e.g. Earth is “the Mother” and Rain or River “the Father”. 244

For Jordan is a baba (father) and the Earth a mother whose name is (mamma) 245

Stroumsa writes: “Gnostic water imagery made use of biblical themes: ‘The water of the Jordan is the desire for sexual intercourse’ [Testim. Truth 31:1-3].” 246 This phrase is quite compatible with the Mandaean imagery, where the Mandaean

242 For more details concerning this baptism, see DMHZ (the Scroll of the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa) p. 28.
243 CP. p. 11. The text: The Iraqis believed, from the ancient times, in the seals of the great names to protect them from evil. The most famous is the Seal of King Solomon which contains the magic names that gave him the power over the djinn, birds and wind (See Dawkins J., “The Seal of Solomon”, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1943) pp. 145-150 esp. p. 145.).
244 ATŚ, “the Male Mystery” p. 122. Cf. the Sumerian myth of creation as An (heavens) represents the male and Ki (earth) is the womb ‘... An impregnated the verdant earth (Ki) and she bore him one unafraid of the warrior Ninurta (Jacobson, 1976: 95).
245 ATŚ p. 176.
246 Stroumsa 1984: 122.
literature credits the origin of the sexual desire to the Living Water and to the messenger Hibil-Ziwa:

I went towards two legally joined persons. I came and opened living waters and gave to the pair of this world to drink. I opened living water and gave of them to the bridal pair of this world to drink. I sowed in them pregnancy and birth and with sexual desire I enflamed them and caused love to dwell in both of them.247

It is interesting to note that Marcionites (a heretical sect founded in C.E. 144 at Rome by Marcion) had launched a surprising attack upon John and the baptism in the Jordan and called him: "Archon of the multitude":

"The river of Jordan, this, to him, is the strength of the body – that is, the essence of pleasure; and the water of Jordan is the desire for carnal co-habitation." As for John, he is "the archon of the multitude" 248

According to the Mandaean manuscript haran gawaita 'Inner Haran', John the Baptist (iahiah yuhana) was born when his old barren mother 'eniSbai 'Elizabeth' became pregnant with him when she drank a sip from the Jordan. As a result the seed of John was sown in her womb:

"... in Tamar 249, the pure Jordan, and bore witness to the Truth. And in the great Jordan a pure seed was formed ... and came and was

247 CP. p. 182. Mande p. 231-2. Drower's translation, text collated:

248 Doresse, 1960: 220. In this concern Jonas writes: "This is entirely unique. Could it be a retort to the Mandaeans – the other side of the bitter quarrel of which we have the Mandean side in their writings? The account is too sketchy to permit more than the suggestion of this tempting possibility" (Jonas, H., JR, 1962: 265).

249 Tamar (a small town named Thamara was situated to the S.E. of the Dead Sea). The story of the miraculous birth is also written in the BJ 18 74: 5 where we read: "They have taken a child from the basin of Jordan and laid him in the womb of nšbai (Elisabeth)"
sown in the womb of 'Nišbai, so that from it a child might come into being, a prophet of the great Father of Glory." 250

It seems that the Mandaeans follow the Sumerians, who did not always differentiate between "semen" and "water"; the same word can stand for both. It is Enki who fecundates and produces productivity: "O Father Enki, go forth out of the seeded country, and may it sprout good seed!" 251 To the above Sumerian concept of fertility we find striking parallels in Mandaean literature:

For Earth called Jordan (living water) "My father" when its mysteries fell into her. And she cried aloud to Jordan "Do not penetrate me" and said to it "Answer me, my father, answer me" and "Raise me up, (O) great Son of the Great One, father of a son of Life! Answer me, Šilmai and Nidbai, lords of the Jordan". 252

The Mandaeans consider the Living Water, which originates in the world of Light, is the Life itself which flows from the House of Life in which Mandaeans lustrate their bodies and souls:

In the name of the Life! Water of Life art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth form the House of Life. (At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed. 253

250 HG p. 5. The Mandaeans manuscript line no. 18. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:


252 [the earth cries out like a virgin fearing loss of virginity] ATŠ p. 173. Mandaeans p. 49. The text:

253 CP p. 33 (the Mmasiqa p. 120). Drower's translation, text collated:

Albright finds in the above Mandaeans hymn a striking resemblance to the Assyrian egubbû incantations: "In the name of life! Ye are the living waters, which have come from a wide place,
Lady Drower states, "Today the word yardina (Jordan) is applied not only to running water used in baptism and immersion, but to any flowing stream; yet the conjunction of John the Baptist and the Jordan is significant. 254

§2.1.5 - אֵין קִנָּא škinata (celestial dwelling):

אֵין קִנָּא škinata has its usual ambiguity as the other Gnostic Mandaean terms. In creation it is meant to be the celestial dwelling, but it is also used as the cult-hut in which the Mandaean rites take place. The škinata or 'ndruna is a booth built of reeds and intertwined with myrtle and roses.255 It is where the priest sits and from which he performs his duties like the marriage ceremony. The worldly škina used in the rituals is a reproduction of the škina of the World of Light. It is through the škina that Mandaean can experience the Divine Godhead.

The אֵין קִנָּא škinata (celestial dwellings)256 are the product of the first emanation and they became the celestial abode of the Mandaean deities; "the Life", the Mana and their uthras. The škina was founded by the Life above the tanna in the great Jordan "Piriawis":

Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life, which all healings is afire like the glory flaming in the אֵין קִנָּא tanna (matrix?). When Life was

carrying death away form the house of life. O living waters from the house of life, let the good come and be well, but let the bad be shattered (like a pot)" (Albright, AJSL 1919 pp. 161-195, esp p. 186).

254 SA p. xiv.
255 For the details of the construction of the škinta by the Mandaean priests see MII pp. 152-3.
256 Cf.םִשָּׁן The biblical Hebrew word for Tabernacle mišcan, is used in the sense of dwelling-place in OT, Psalm 132:5 “Before I find a place for God, mishcanot (dwelling-places) for the Strong One of Israel” (עיין מִשָּׁן עַל-הַמַּעֲשֶׂה הָשָׁמִי). In Talmudic literature, the Shekhinah is God himself (Sholem G., 1962: 163). Quispel believes that there is a close connection between the Shekhinah in Jewish Mysticism and the Mandaean concept of Adam Qadamaia "the primordial Man" (Quispel G., "Ezekiel 1: 26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis", Vigiliae Christianae, Vol. 34, No. 1, (Mar. 1980), pp. 1-13, esp. p. 3).
ardent and life burst forth in the great glory which flamed therein, 
Life arose and founded its škina above the tanna.\textsuperscript{257}

Enormous and countless myriads of škinas came forth from the fusion of the 
Great Mana with the Pira.\textsuperscript{258} The škinas, with their illuminating light and 
magnificent radiance, are the symbol of the Divine might and glory:

Then the Lord of Greatness Mara-d-Rabuta stood and created four 
hundred and forty four škinas to his right, and three hundred and 
sixty škinas to his left. Then, he created from every škina one 
thousand and eight hundred thousand myriad ruban precious and 
sublime uthras. Their radiance is magnificent and their light is 
illuminating. Their precious illumination lights up the Lamps that 
shine before them. Two guards are posted upon every single škina 
and two lamps are lit in front of them.\textsuperscript{259}

The škina, just like the other Mandaean elements of creation, is enclosed with 
mystery which no one can comprehend its entity:

He is the Kušta (Truth) who lives in upper heights, the Lord of 
Greatness, Lord of all mighty beings.\textsuperscript{260} There is no one to define and 
express his force and all his worlds and his škinas, in which the 
uthras and melki "kings" dwell.\textsuperscript{261}

\textsuperscript{257} CP 18 p. 12. (M§ hymn 18 p. 58). Drower's translation, text collated:
\textsuperscript{258} GRR p. 84: 2.
\textsuperscript{259} GRR book 4 p. 151: 13. The text:
\textsuperscript{260} Cf. (9) Adonai is the attribute [Middah] of mercy and Elohim is the attribute (10) of justice 
Truth is the place of the Shekinah who establishes (11) all creatures [Lit. "who enter the 
world"] in truth. And when he sits (12) on the throne of judgement righteousness stands at his 
right and mercy (13) stands at his left and truth stands before him . . . ' (Peter Schäfer, Geniza 
\textsuperscript{261} GRR p. 4: 6. The text:
The celestial Škinas developed from the First Mystic Škina:

Praised is that great mystic škina and praised the three hundred and sixty škinas which proceeded from that first great mystic škina.262

From these mystical dwellings (or: sanctuaries) of the high beings, mystic sprouts came into being:

The proven, pure one spoke saying to the Great One: “If it pleases you, Great One, if it pleases you Great Ones, a world of light has been made. Created is a world of light and a company has been established therein, Škinas have been set up therein. It will be bright in your praise, in your praise it will shine, and will be blessed with your blessing. Mystic sprouts (offspring) will come into being and at your word they will flourish, they will flourish at your word and sprouts that are worthy will be raised up.”263

In another hymn, the Škina appears to be the “divine abode” in which the Great Mana “cocooned” himself before revealing himself to the worlds. The idea appears to be that the Great Mana has its period of quiescence, ceasing to be.264 He became manifest only when He was fully developed in his Škina:

I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First Mana who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own Škina – for no Companion came to him; (none existed) save

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262 CP p. 155. (Mandaic Hymn n. 171.) Drower’s translation, text collated:

263 CP p. 187. (=Mandaic CP Hymn n 234 p. 245) Drower’s translation, text collated:

264 CP, n. 4 p. 188.
that great, secret, First Mana. For he came into existence therein and
developed therein.\textsuperscript{265}

The \textit{škinta} which is constructed by the Mandaean priests in the Bit Manda
(The House of Mandaeans or: Mandaean Temple) is the reflection of the heavenly
\textit{škina} in which all beings of Light dwell. In the process of consecration of a \textit{ašualia} (a
Mandaean novice for priesthood), has to enter a newly-built \textit{škinta} (a cult
hut), and the \textit{ndruna} (booth constructed for ritual purposes such as
marriage and initiation) which symbolizes his former lay status is pulled down. The
earthly \textit{škinta}, with the Mandaean priests sitting in it practicing their rituals,
symbolizes a particular realm within the divine world. It is the Mandaean sacred and
pure dwelling, in the earth Tibil, which belongs to the World of Light:

Praised be that great occult First \textit{škinta} (abode) because it is Mine.
Praised be the three hundred and sixty \textit{škinata} (abodes), the three
hundred and sixty worlds, ours, because they are worlds of light
amongst which all mysteries are shared out – they emanated from the
supreme and Celestial World.\textsuperscript{266}

The \textit{škinata} are the celestial dwellings for the countless battalions of \textit{‘uthras};
the “warriors” of the realm of Light. These \textit{škinata} are hidden from men in the World
of Light.\textsuperscript{267}

\textsuperscript{265} CP p. 36 \textit{masiqtā} (Ascension) p. 130. Drower’s translation, text collated:
\textsuperscript{266} ATŠ, pp. 111,112. Drower’s translation, text collated:
\textsuperscript{267} Cf. the world of Merkabah could be designated as the place “of his Shekhinah hidden from
men in the highest heights” (Scholem (1962), English translation 1987: 164, quoted from the
Targum to Habakkuk 3: 4).
Praised be all the mighty and lofty world of light; praised be all those ṣkinata “sanctuaries” of the Hidden for in each and every ṣkinata sit a thousand thousand ‘uthras, (‘uthras) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand ‘uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.²⁶⁸

The earthly ṣkinata is an oblong and with a pent-roof reed hut plastered with washed clay. When the ṣkinata is constructed (always constructed nearby a stream of running water), seven priests are gathered together and recite the devotion prayers (rahmīa). During this ceremony, the holy books are set in and the banners are unfurled.²⁶⁹ The ṣkinata is purified every year at the festival of the five days of creation (Paruaniia).²⁷⁰ After its purification and consecration only priests are allowed to enter.²⁷¹ “In the ṣkinata the ašualia (novice for priesthood) lives for seven days and nights, leaving it only to relieve himself.” ²⁷² The Rba (teacher) takes his novice by the right hand and leads him to the ṣkinata:

And grasp thy ašualia (novice for priesthood) with thy right hand and come to thy ṣkinata, in which priests and laymen will be sitting. Say to them “Peace upon you, my brethren, priests and laymen of the

²⁶⁸ CP, p. 50; Mandaean text no. 58. Drower’s translation, text collated:

²⁷⁰ Paruaniia: the five intercalary days, called colloquially panja (MD p. 363).
²⁷¹ Lady Drower noted, “I was struck, when reading Thureau-Dungin’s Rituels Accadiens, with resemblances between the taraṣa d mandi (mandi = Mandaean cult-hut) and the Akkadian rites for the re-consecration of a temple after pollution, earthquake, or violation”( MII n. 4 p. 142).
²⁷² Drower, 1962: XIV.
And those crowns which thou intendest to distribute amongst the priests of the škinta shall be (held) in they hand.

In the škinta, the šualia (novice) receives his mystic knowledge from his Rba (teacher). During these seven days and seven nights of the novice’s solitude in the škinta, he and his master, observe the strictest rules of purity. The main purpose of the earthly škinta is the consecration of a new priest and performing the masiqtta (ascension) rituals. Lady Drower believes that Mandaean škinta is related to ‘the sanctuary of a Nestorian church,’ while, in the Talmudic conception, the Shekhinah represents God’s dwelling and glory in the created world.

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273 ATŠ II [422] p. 286. (Mandaic p. 105). The text:

274 Drower 1962: XIII.

275 For the Shekhinah as the divine power between light and darkness, see Wolfson, “Light through Darkness”, Harvard Theological Review, Vo. 81, No. 1. (Jan. 1988), pp. 73-95 esp. p. 85.
When the sons of the second life considered creating another world, the great mana creates

Countless Jordans without limit or count

Great and mighty manas

Great and mighty manas

The great Jordan which is without limit

The great mana of glory who dwells in the great ayar of life which exists in the Jordan of white waters which originated from the great mana

Myriad piras and myriad skinas

Pira inside pira

Ayar inside ayar

Kbar Rba (Manda D-Hiia)
§ 2. 2. - The Second Account of the Theogony
§ 2.2 - The Second Account of the Theogony:

In the second account of theogony (GRR book III p. 84: 14 ff) in addition to the previous Gnostic terms, mentioned in the first version of creation, we come across new terms in the second version; yura (radiance), hiia tinania (the Second life) and hapiqia mia (the streams of water). Some of these terms are peculiar and difficult to understand and Yura is one of them. The main events in this account are: (a) The creation of the yardina rba “Great Jordan” (b) The Life is born from the great Jordan (c) The Life addresses Itself (or: Himself) with a request and begets the Second Life (d) The Second Life calls forth utras and sets up Škinas and creates his own Jordan (e) Three utras come into being and address a request to the Second Life to grant them permission to raise Škinas for themselves. What the three utras requested from the Second Life was granted to them:

When the fruit was still in the fruit, when the Ayar (ether) was still in the Ayar, and when the great Yura (Radiance), whose ziwa radiance and nhura light are so vast and extensive, before which no one existed, and from which the great Jordan of living water came into being. The water flowed to the earth of ether on which the Life sat, and the Life presented himself in the likeness of the great Mana, from which he came into being, and the Life addressed himself with a request. By the first request an eternal utra came into being, whom the Life called hiia tinania ‘the Second Life’. Countless and endless utras also came into being. From the Life a Jordan yardina came into being, which like the first Jordan flowed into the earth of light, and the Second Life stood (or: baptized) in it. And that Second Life called forth utras and set up Škinas and called forth a Jordan, in which the utras were set up (or was baptized).
Three uthras came into being, who addressed a request to the Second Life; they were then allowed to produce ſkinas for themselves. What the three uthras requested from the Second Life was granted to them. They consulted together and produced ſkinas. They petitioned and spoke to their father; they asked their father and said to him: “Are you the one who created this Jordan of living water, which is so marvelous and whose aroma is so fragrant, and the uthras which were established (or: baptized) in it and which are so great, and are they your uthras which were established (or: baptized) in it?” The Second Life replied, speaking to the three uthras: “As for me, your father, the Life created me, and the Jordan belongs to the Life, and you are brought into being by the power of the Life.” Then they spoke to him: ‘Give us of your radiance and your light and of that which surrounds you and we shall depart and go below the streams of water ṭapiqia mia, call forth ſkinas for you, establish a world for you, and may the world belong to us and to you.” (Chart II)

§ 2.2.1 - Ṣ.% Yura:

Yura is one of the beings of Light in the Mandaean theogony, but the Mandaean writings do not provide us with sufficient account of him. The Mandaic Dictionary defines him as: Iur, iura (< יורא) light, brilliance, being of light. He is a spirit of light and, the treasurer who lives with his counterpart in their ſkina. Yura or Yur describes himself:

I am Yur son of thou-art-bright”. “I am Yur son of Barit (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (with heat?). The tanna (vapour or: matrix) dissolved and a ſkinta came into being, a ſkinta came into existence and was established in the House of Life.

276 In Arabic ḥuwar jauhar gems or jewels.
277 AT§ p. 281 and n. 6. ana hu yur br barit Mandaean AT§ p. 102 q. 392.
278 CP p. 9 Hymn n. 12 (M§ no. 12 p. 48). The text:
Due to the paucity of Mandaean writings concerning Yura Rba, we can not
determine his real purpose. The Ginza describes him as ꞌአን-
Ganzibriabears dual definitions: a ‘Treasurer’ and also the title for a Mandaean
(bishop) which the ecclesiastical rank above that of tarmida (priest):

Instruct them concerning Sidar-Kasia-Anana
inside which the Treasurer, Yur Rba, is concealed.²⁷⁹

The following warning which is written in the Ginza and directed to perverse
Naṣoraeans (Mandaeans) confirms the role of yura as a treasurer:

The secret treasure will be taken away from them (from the impious
Naṣoreans) and will be handed over to Yura Rba, the treasurer. He
(the impious Naṣorean) will be removed from Light and will burn in
the lower hell.²⁸⁰

The Ginza also tells us that yura rba, like the other spirits of light, has a
dmuta (counterpart) who lives with him:

They provided him with hidden words, so sublime and transcendent
to the world. They instructed him concerning Yura Rba and his
magnificent dmuta (counterpart) who (cohabits) with him.²⁸¹

In one of the prayers, Yur Rba is invoked as a redeemer. Here he is described not
only as the ganzibra (treasurer) but also as “king of worlds of light”:

²⁷⁹ GRR book 17: 1, p. 465: 3. The text:
²⁸⁰ GRR book 15, p. 392: 11. The text:
²⁸¹ GRR book 15: 7, p. 393: 7. The text:
O Yawar Rba, Yur Rba, Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my errors.\textsuperscript{282}

Other Mandaean writings call him mystic. In the following hymn \textit{yura} is classified with \textit{šalmai} and \textit{nadbai}, the great guardians of the Mandaean’s sacred rivers:

\begin{quote}
You will behold the great mystic \textit{Yura} whom they planted. You will see \textit{Šalmai} and \textit{Nidbai} dwelling in a great cloud of light. In that cloud they dwell and put in charge of all jordans.\textsuperscript{283}
\end{quote}

Finally Lady Drower states, “As \textit{Yura} is unusual as a form of \textit{Yur} it is tempting to consider דרי “the first rain”, “spring, “early season”.\textsuperscript{284}

\section*{§ 2.2.2 - \textit{hiia} The Life:}

The Life is the supreme deity in the Mandaean belief. He is usually described as \textit{nukraïia} “alien”, “remote”, “ineffable” since nobody has ever seen His brilliance and glory and \textit{d-‘niš ldmuth lazh lziuh u’qarh} \textsuperscript{285}. He is the source of all existence both seen and unseen; He is the creative force that came into existence before the existence:\textsuperscript{286}

\begin{quote}
Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One [Alien] from world of light, Supreme being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth [\textit{kuštā}] which was of old in the Beginning.\textsuperscript{287}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{282} CP p. 156. Drower’s translation, text collated:

\textsuperscript{283} CP p. 304. Drower’s translation, text collated. The text:

\textsuperscript{284} CP n. 5 p. 183.

\textsuperscript{285} CP p. 40. Mandaean \textit{Masiqta} (Ascension) hymn No. 43 p. 138.

\textsuperscript{286} SA p. 1.

\textsuperscript{287} CP p. 40. Drower’s translation, text collated:
The Life originated from the land of Light and the water came into being from the Life. From the water radiance emanated, and from radiance light emanated, and from the light uthras came into being:

The Life knows that life came into being on the land of Light and from the Life, the water came into being, and from the water, the radiance came into being, and from the radiance, the light, and from the light, the uthras came into being, who are standing and praising the Life.288

"The Great Life is a personification of the creative and sustaining force of the universe, but the personification is slight, and spoken of always in the impersonal plural, it remains mystery and abstraction. The symbol of Life is the "living water" yardina "Jordan." 289

The World of Light came into existence through a series of emanations from the First Life.290 As soon as the First Life hiia qadmaiia arose from his skina he created three hundred and sixty Jordans and appointed two guards upon each of them . . . then he created three hundred and sixty worlds of Light. 291

The First Life was the first "Creator" in the World of Light when he addressed himself with a request and brought the Second Life (Yōšamin) into being.292 In
another fragment of the Ginza we read that the First Life declared to the great supreme Mana that he thought carefully and created a son. The Mana asked the Life to clothe the son with the attire of radiance and to cover his head with turban of light:

The First Life bowed in worship and praised that great supreme Mana and said to him, "I thought and created one son; the unique great righteous one, who came to being from the unique great righteous one." He (the great supreme Mana) said to Him (to the First Life), "Go, dress him with the attire of radiance and cover his (head) with the good pure turban of light." 293

The "First Life" is the main Mandaeans revealed deity who is entitled of worship.294 He participates in the positive aspect alone: it is nukraia "beyond", 

alauia kulhun ubadia "above all creation", balma dnhira "in the world of light".295

In baptism every Mandaeans must receive the Pure Sign rušma dakia; the Sign of Life rušma d-hiia. Most of the Mandaeans hymns and prayers open and end with the following formulae: 

bšumaihun d hiia rabia "In the name of the Great Life", hiia zakin "Life is victorious".

The "Living Water" flows from the "House of Life" which is the habitation of the highest deity along with his heavenly host of the uthras. 296 The House of Life is

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293 GRR 279: 21f. The text:

296 MI p. 65. The House of Life is parallel to the Plea in the Gnostic motif. Widengren noted, "The chief temple of the town, Esagila, is called bit balăti "the House of Life" (Widengren 1949: 26).
the place where the souls of the Mandaeans' ancestors dwell, and the names of the uthras are kept:

They sought and they found; They strove and reached the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode . . . 'Uthras whose names, each one, are in the House of Life.

The Mandaean adaptation of Life as their main deity is derived from their own habitat in southern Iraq. The quest for life is a major theme in the Epic of Gilgamesh and of Mesopotamian incantations. The ritual customs of the Mandaeans, as well as in the ancient Mesopotamian religion, are influenced by the idea of 'life' and how to reach the House of Life in order to gain eternal life.

§ 2.2.3 - The Second Life hiia tiniania (Yōšamin):

The Second Life, also known by his personal name Yōšamin, is the First Son of Hiia Qadmia the First Life who begot him through a “self-division" or "self-produced emanation" and not creation (for this would compromise its perfection).

The Life addressed a request to Itself (Himself). By the first request an eternal (or: fast-grounded) uthra came into being, whom the Life

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297 PC. P. 303.
298 Ibid 87, Mandean text pp. 243, 244. Drower's translation, text collated:

300 Widengren 1949: 29.
301 Book III of the Ginza (the subject of the research) does not mention Yōšamin as the other epithet of the Second Life. Yōšamin is mentioned in the rest of the Ginza. Albright believes that Yōšamin stands for Ba'al-šamin (older Ba'al-šamēn) (Albright W. F., "The Canaanite God Haurôn (Hörôn)", AJSL 53, 1936: 11, 12).
302 iušamin (comp. with iu-, a transformation of H.ivmT Kessler PRE xii 168, taking the place of the Aram. Jb ii pp. xxi: 15 ff. AF 242) name of a demiurge, a mediator between good and evil ML, 281, MII 224 n. 8, Jb ii pp. xxi ff. MD, P. 191).
called the Second Life, also uthras without limit or count came into being. 304

The Second Life played the most important role in the creation of the semi-
physical world (the world which is located beneath the World of Light). As soon as he
came into existence, the Second Life became obsessed with the thought of creation305. He incurred the great schism in the World of Light when he allowed the three uthras
(his sons, especially Abatur) to go down below ḫapiqia mia the “streams of
water” (the waters that separate the world of light from the world of darkness) and
create their own world and ignore the name of the Life.306

The Second Life’s creation of a new world was considered by the World of
Light as an evil act of rebellion which “instigated the Great Controversy, never to be
resolved in all eternity”307. Yōšamin “revealed the secret of the Great Ones” and
threw controversy into the Light.308. The Mandaean faith dictates that the world
(which was created by Yōšamin) is the source of all evils and all errors and deficiency
is the product of a “divine tragedy” caused by Yōšamin.309 Some Mandaean writings

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304 GRR 84: 20. Cf. the Syriac writer Theodore Bar Konai’s (8th/9th Century C.E.) story about
a certain Battai whose doctrine dictates: ‘Before the beginning of all things, there had been
divinity who divided himself into two and from whom the Good and Evil came to be, the Good
gathered-together the lights, and the Evil the darkness. Then the Evil gained understanding,
and rose to make war upon the Father of Greatness. The Father of Greatness pronounced a
word, from which were borne seven powers. But seven demons set themselves up against the
Lord God and against the Powers he had engendered: after having shackled these adversaries,
they stole from the Father of Greatness the principle of the soul (Doresse, 1960: 60).
305 GRR Book III p. 96: 4 ḫapiqia ṣawadī “the pregnant became pregnant with the
second”.
306 GRR book III p. 85: 14 f. The move of the Second Life Yōšamin’ was encountered by the
creation of the messenger/redeemer Manda d-Hia “Gnosis of Life” (§2.2.7), by the higher
deities as we shall see in GGR p. 85: 24 f. Cf. the second series of gods who pleaded their
Father for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, according to the Manichaean system
(Gardner and Lieu, 2004:15). For more about ḫapiqia mia see §2.2.4.
307 DY (Mandaean manuscript) pp. 4, 5 (= Lidzbarski’s Mandaean manuscript p. 5: 3). The
text:
308 Ibid p. 7. The text:
recount that all error and deficiency originated when Yöšamin came into existence and it is he who caused the 'discord' in the World of Light. For his insolence, the Second Life was cast down from his throne and was bound with a chain in order to stay eternally in it:

"Yöšamin was cast down because he wanted to instigate a fight and throw controversy into the House of the Great Ones. He imagined evil; therefore he was bound with a chain in order to stay eternally in it."

In draša d-yahia (the Book of John or the Book of Kings) we read that a great 'angelic' war took place in the World of Light between the forces of the Life on the one hand and Yöšamin and his allies on the other. Yöšamin lost the war; his sons were killed in the resistance, and his wives went around in mourning. His yardinia (Jordans) were disturbed and his škinas were removed out of their place. They destroyed his dwellings and his buildings, and his throne was placed at the gates of Supat (underworld).

After the tragedy Yöšamin came back to his senses; he repented and asked to be baptized and the name of the Life to be placed upon him:

"I want acknowledge by your baptism and your name to be expressed and placed upon me."

The Great Life was pleased with this result and restored Yöšamin's status. The World of Light promised Yöšamin to restore his škinas and buildings and to bring
back his sons to him alive and to appoint messengers and guards in his domain. His throne to be erected firmly and he is to be called the King of the Škina:

As Yōšamin said this, the Great Life was pleased about his speech. He spoke to Nṣab-Ziwa, the guard, who sits everywhere. He said to him, “Go to Yōšamin and sustain his heart by your support. Tell him, “You are of our planting; we will not leave you alone. Your Škina is well established in radiance and glory, and your stronghold and your building are to be recreated as they were. Your children are to be brought back to you alive and you are to be served by your messengers as guards in your realm. Your throne is to be erected firmly, as it was, and you are to be called a king in your Škina”. 314

On the other hand, the Second Life “Yōšamin” is considered by the Mandaeans as the “archetype of a priest careless in rituals”.315 Yōšamin is the neglectful priest in the World of Light.316 ATŠ directs a clear warning to the priest who does not perform the rite perfectly: “Nevertheless, exhort him (the priest) and warn him against performing rites as Yōšamin performed them.” 317 In this connection Deutsch writes:

The interplay between human and angelic priests also plays an important role in the Mandaean rehabilitation of fallen uthras such as Yōšamin, Abatur and Ptahil. According to Kurt Rudolph, at a certain point in the history of the Mandaean religion, the priestly class empowered itself and transformed what was originally a radically dualist theology into a more monistic, ritualistic system in which human priests played a greater role. An important part of this social

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314 Ibid pp. 33, 34. The text:
315 ARR n. 5 p. 47. See also CP 69 and n. 1 p. 69.
316 SA p. 60.
and theological transformation was the rehabilitation of fallen, cosmic
priests such as Abatur, who were re-created in the image of the newly
empowered human priests. 318

Yōšamin and his sons Abatur and Ptahil resemble, in a way, the sinning angels
of I Enoch 6-11.319 Deutsch explains:

The connection between the Mandaean uthras and the fallen angels is
primarily, but not solely, based on their common fall from grace
following an act of rebellion. Another important but less obvious
parallel between the two sets of figures in that both are related to the
image of a polluted priesthood. We have already seen that Yōšamin,
Abatur, and Ptahil were characterized as heavenly priests who
corrupted themselves by rebelling against the Great Life. 320

In Mandaean prayer Yōšamin is the strength which guides the waters to the
sea. 321 He is also mentioned in marriage songs as a light-spirit of abundance and
fertility.322 The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years
and the Second Life is anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the
Third Life more ancient than any uthra by six thousand myriad years. 323 He is the
pure one who abides on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings
of light. 324

In some Mandaean writings Yōšamin is called the peacock:

318 Deustch 1999: 143.
319 For more about the falling angels, see Hanson "Rebellion in Heaven", Journal of Biblical
in 1 Enoch 6-11", Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 96, No. 3. (Sep. 1977), pp. 383-405, and
S. Bhayro, The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11 (AOAT 322, Münster, 2005),
29ff.
320 Deutsch 1999: 130.
321 ATS § 236 p. 171.
322 $QSR$ pp. 67, 104.
323 CP, p. 1.
324 Ibid p. 7.
Do not give them confused admonition such as Ham-Ziwa gave to Yōšamin the Peacock. He cautioned and directed as he (Yōšamin) was setting the crown on his brother Abathur in that land which is the House Glorious, that land which is beauteous and fair.\[^{325}\]

Also: 'Woe is me, the Peacock, whose foolishness is larger than his virtue.\[^{326}\]

Yōšamin was pardoned by the Life and was re-enthroned in the World of Light. He is mentioned in the prayers of forgiveness: 'For our forefathers there shall be forgiveness. For Yōšamin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins.\[^{327}\]

§ 2.2.4 - *hapiqia mia*:

*hapiqia mia*, form the water frontier of the world of Light. This is the name given to the river of departure, which the souls have to cross in the ships: *mḥt hapiqia hu šurik ziwa alapania uhpiqia mia abran* “When I (the soul) reached the streams (or: springs) of water, surik ziwa (the Burst of Radiance) came to meet me and led me across the streams (or: brooks) of water.”\[^{328}\]

These ships, which transport the souls of the righteous across hapiqia mia, are illustrated in the drawings of the Mandaean scroll *Diwan Abatur*\[^{329}\]. The steams (or: springs) or water hapiqia mia are of fresh water and flow from the realm of Yōšamin (the Second Life), the Middle World. The Sumerian and Babylonians likewise,

\[^{325}\] ATŠ [418] p. 286.
\[^{326}\] DY (draša d-yahia Lidzbarski’s manuscript) Chapter 75, p. 272: 10. The text:
\[^{327}\] CP p. 151.
\[^{328}\] GRL p. 138: 16. the text:
\[^{329}\] The astral ships drawn in the Mandaean scrolls resemble, with no doubt, the ancient round boats of Iraq quff (guffa) still used in some parts of the rivers of Mesopotamia. The image of the boatman taking one to the other world is a major theme of the Gilgamesh Epic (see Dalley, 1989: 104-105).
considered the Apsû to be the underworld ocean of sweet water, from which all springs of fresh water flow.\textsuperscript{330} We find some resemblances between \textit{hapiqia mia} and the \textit{Khinvat} Bridge over the abyss which the Persian soul has to cross in order to reach Mount \textit{Harā} (Paradise).\textsuperscript{331} The god \textit{Zurvān} controls the path which the souls of the dead, good and bad, must traverse before they come to Khinvat Bridge. \textsuperscript{332} Like \textit{surik ziwa} (mentioned above), the good Vāy takes the souls of the blessed by hand and brings them to their appointed place.\textsuperscript{333} On the other hand, perhaps the Mandaean \textit{hapiqia mia} has a linguistic analogy to the biblical terms \textit{afiqe yam} (channels of the sea) \textsuperscript{334} and \textit{afiqe mayim} (channels of water). \textsuperscript{335} 

According to the Mandaean's tradition, the world of \textit{hapiqia mia} (outflowing water) is located above the world of Abatur (the Third Life) and below the world of pure Yōšāmin.\textsuperscript{336}. When the soul departs the dead body it flies over the great white mountain \textit{Sur} towards the \textit{maṭarta} (purgatory). Its journey takes forty-five days during which the soul goes into the process of purification. Then Abatur weighs the soul and allow it to proceed towards the \textit{hapiqia mia}, the frontier of the world of light which the soul has to traverse in order to reach the worlds of light. The water functions as a last barrier before the soul reaches her final destination, the World of Light. The \textit{masiqta} (ritual of the dead) helps the \textit{niSimta} (soul) to cross these waters:

\textsuperscript{330} See Lambert, 1975: 47.
\textsuperscript{331} Gershevitch, 1967: 205.
\textsuperscript{332} Khinvat might be a bridge over underground waters (Boyce, 1975: 117 n. 46).
\textsuperscript{333} Zaehner, 1955: 338.
\textsuperscript{334} II Samuel 22: 16.
\textsuperscript{335} Psalms 18: 16.
\textsuperscript{336} ATS p. 163; Mandaic p. 45. The text:

\textsuperscript{113}
And there is nothing which advances a soul but commemorations; (and there shall be no masiqta read without commemorations), for these are her helpers in light, since they cleanse her, float her over the hapiqia mia, Waters of Death into the Light and are her deliverers.337

In other writings, it is Hibil-Ziwa who saves the souls from 'Ur, the king of darkness, by pulling them out from his mouth and throw them in the Ocean of Sup to remove their sins and then leads them across and delivers them to the uthra who is in charge of the hapiqia mia:

He takes them out from the mouth of 'Ur and throws them into the large sea of Sup, until their sins are completed. Then these souls, like white sesame thrown into living water, are then baptized with a great ma§buta (baptism), with a great baptism which baptize them and instructs them with great teachings. Then he leads them across the water streams hapiqia mia. The uthra of the water streams hapiqia mia approaches the souls, which were in affliction, and tears appear together in their eyes. He speaks to them, “You have dwelt in Tibil (the earthly world), in the dwelling of the sinner”. Afterward he takes every individual by his right hand and seats him in great glory.338

It is worthy to note that whereas Lidzbarski translated hapiqia mia, “Wasserbächen” 339, Lady Drower stated, “I find it better to translate by a paraphrase which conveys the real meaning, hence “waters of death”.340 The Mandaeans consider

337 AT§ p. 216. Drower translates hapiqia mia, “waters of death”.
338 DY, p. 251 f. = Lidzbarski's Mandaeaic manuscript p. 268 f. The text:
339 Lidzbarski, Mandäische Liturgien, p. 83: 8.
340 AT§ p. 216, n. 6.
hapiqia mia “the frontiers of the World of Light” and “the heavenly waters” created by the Light beings in order the souls of the Mandaeans can baptize in them and set forth towards their final destination. The hapiqia mia are not cut-off waters or waters of death, which Gilgamesh had to cross in his quest for immortality; they are brooks or streams, as declared by Hibil-Ziwa to his father Manda d-Hiia:

I created the water streams hapiqia mia of the yardina (Jordan), in which the souls are baptized. I created the banks upon which all the souls draw near and descend to the water streams hapiqia mia.341

§ 2. 2. 5 - Abatur: ܐܒܬܪܐ (the Third Life)

§ 2. 2. 5. 1 - ܐܒܬܪܐ ܐܒܬܪܐ Abatur Rama:

Abatur is the Third Life, the father of the uthras, the son of the Second Life, Yōšamin. He is: ‘the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sits with scales set before him weighing deeds and (their) reward. He sees and discerns that which the worlds and generations do:

Abatur, the ancient, lofty, hidden, and guarded, he is the one who is enthroned on high and hidden in the depth. He is the one who understands the worlds and the generations. He is the one who sees what they do and is appointed over the souls to weigh what they have done to holds it witness against them.342

341 DY, p. 191 = Lidzbarski’s BJ manuscript p. 206. The text:

Abatur is Bhaq-Ziwa\textsuperscript{343}, the father of the uthras \textit{ab d-uthria} who by gazing into the \textit{mia siauia} (the black waters) result in the creation of Ptahil, the demiurge who creates the physical world including the \textit{tibil} (earth):

When the Life, my Father spoke thus, Abatur arose, opened the gate (of the World of Light) and gazed into the black waters, and immediately his counterpart was formed in the black waters. Ptahil was formed and ascended to \textit{bit mišria} the boundaries. Abatur examined Ptahil and said to him, 'Come, come Ptahil. You are the one whom I saw in the black waters.' . . . Abatur instructed him and said, 'Arise my son, condense a condensation in the black waters.'\textsuperscript{344}

In "Secret Adam", Lady Drower writes:

"\textit{Abatur}, pronounced \textit{Awathur}, is a mystery-figure and the meaning of his name uncertain. He is sometimes called the 'Third Life'. Andreas, according to W. Brandt, derived the name from old Persian words meaning 'provided with (or "possessing")'. . . His ideal is Abatur Rama, the 'Lofty Abatur'. The parallel with the Egyptian weigher of souls is obvious; the Persian \textit{Meher Davar} at the \textit{Chinvat} (Bridge of the Requiter)\textsuperscript{345} also weighs the deeds of souls before they may pass over into the world of bliss."\textsuperscript{346}

Abatur rips open the lower boundary of the World of Light by gazing below the Pleroma\textsuperscript{347} into the "black waters" and sets into motion the creation of the physical

\textsuperscript{344} GRR book 5, pp. 195:10, 196:8. The text:
\textsuperscript{345} A bridge on the abyss, the souls have to cross in order to reach Paradise (Boyce, 1975: 117).
\textsuperscript{346} SA p. 64 f.
\textsuperscript{347} Scholem defines the pleroma as: "sometimes the "fullness" is the region of the true God himself, and sometimes it is the region to which he descends or in which the hidden God
world 'matter'.\textsuperscript{348} It is as if Abutur was enchanted with darkness just like when the light became enamored of the image of light projected from Darkness in the Narcissus motif.\textsuperscript{349} In the doctrine of the Sabians of Harran we read a similar motif: "The soul, turned at one time, towards the matter: she fell in love with it, and burning with desire to experience bodily pleasure, wished no more to be separated from it. Thus the world was born."\textsuperscript{350} Theodore Bar-Konai's\textsuperscript{351} sums up the doctrine of the "Kukeans"\textsuperscript{352}, a sect which was already in existence in the middle of the fourth century:

They say that God was born from the sea situated in the World of Light, which they call the Awakened Sea; and this Sea of Light and the world are more ancient than God. [They also say] that when God was born of the awakened Sea, he seated himself above the waters, looked into them, and saw his own image. He held out his hand and took [this image] to be his companion, had relations with it and thus engendered a multiple of gods and goddesses. They called this the manifests himself in different figures." He also writes: "The curious fact should be noted here that the technical term pleroma appears, somewhat deformed but still clearly recognizable, in the exact Hebrew translation, \textit{ha-male}, "the full" or "the fullness" (Scholm, 1962: 68 - 9). In Gnostic cosmology, the Pleroma is the shining spheres of the divinity with all its powers, the non material world, the dwelling place of the spirits, the archons and aeons (Doresse, 1958: 177). The Mandaean etymology for pleroma is \textit{əgala} \textit{malaiia} "fullness" and \textit{əgala} \textit{malaiia galma} "fullness of the world" (MD, p. 243) \textit{əgala} \textit{malaiia galma} "he (Ur, the king of darkness) became the fullness of the world or: he became the Pleroma of the cosmos" (GRR p. 99: 4).

\textsuperscript{348} Deutsch, 1999: 20.
\textsuperscript{349} Jonas H., 1958: 161.
\textsuperscript{350} Doresse, 1960: 316.
\textsuperscript{352} Perhaps the Quqites; a special heretical school identified in Edessa in the Second Century A.D. (Rudolph, 1983: 327. See also Drijvers, H., \textit{Numen}, 14 (1967), pp. 104-129). On the other hand they might be the \textit{ganaia} in Mandaeans, are "smiths" or "potters". According to Robert Eisler, bar Konai (bar Kevani) says, 'The \textit{Dostai} (followers of Dositheus, who became the leader of the disciples of John the Baptist after his death) are called in Maisan Mandaeans, in Beth-Aramajē Naṣoraēans (Naṣrāiā).' The "Cantaeans," quoted by Theodore as the precursors of the Mandaeans, who trace themselves to the Qenites, the group were also referred to as \textit{Kaviru}, \textit{Kauoi} etc. in the Septuagint as KENAIOI, KINAIIOI, KAINAIIOI, etc. Eisler believes that Bar Konai use of 'k' instead of 'q' goes back to the Greek influence (Eisler 1931: 616).
Mother of Life, and said that she made seventy worlds and twelve
aeons.353

There are many parallels between Abatur and the similar heavenly beings in
the above two tales, such as gazing into the water and seeing own image and
becoming infatuated by it, and from this own image or coition with own image the
cosmos (physical world) comes into being.354 This might lead us to the conclusion
that the Gnostic sects, including the Mandaesans, must have shared relatively close
motifs.

Abatur was possessed with his ego and became arrogant, “He conducted
himself like the Great Ones and said, ‘I am the father of the uthras!’” 355 He
abandoned the name which the Life gave him. He took no advice and did not perceive
the turbid water and said, ‘I shall call forth a world!’ Abatur’s rebellion was punished
sternly by the higher deities. He was dethroned and expelled from the world of Light
and he was assigned as the “Weigher” and judge of the souls:

Then Hibil-Ziwa went and said to Abatur, ‘Arise! set up your throne in
the House of Boundaries and take over sovereignty. And sublimate
that which is sound (good) from that which is base (lit. dregs) when
Man’s measure is full and he comes and is baptized in your Jordan, is
weighed in your Scales, is sealed with your seal and rises up and
dwells in your world.”356

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354 For the Narcissus motif, see Jonas, 1958: 161 ff.
356 DA p. 1, The Mandaean Diwan (Scroll) of Abatur line 8. Drower’s translation, text collated:
§ 2.2.5.2 - Abatur in the Incantations:

Abatur was invoked, along with other Mandaean deities, in few Mandaeic incantations, such as in Lidzbarski's lead amulet from the third or fourth century A.D and published in 1909. He is invoked in this particular amulet to strengthen the knot of the house of a certain Per Nukraiia son of Abandukt and to help him against evil doings of the planets. Bhaq (another name of Abatur) was conjured in bowl C (9931.4.1) to crush the power and the secret spells of Rūha against the client Duktan Purk, daughter of Bzurgunatai.

Nathaniel Deutsch attempted to establish some resemblances between the Mandaeic Abatur and the Jewish Metatron and to draw the attention to the "Mandaeic awareness of Jewish angelological tradition in general and of Metatron in particular is supported by the evidence of the magic bowls." In this respect Wasserstrom has written: "Metatron remained alive in Mandaean magic for perhaps over a millennium." Metatron (MYṬRWN) appears in one of the Mandaeic incantations bowls (McCullough D) in which he was adjured, "In the name of Metatron HLDH who serves before the Curtain and who has compassion upon the countryside; he conjures the hundreds of fierce angels of Halahkin, who has sweetened meat for eating and wine for drinking." McCullough suggests that the writer of this incantation was

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357 "Those (feminine) who blow on knots." (Quran, Al-Falaq n. 113). Knot sorcery was a favorite form of witchcraft, practiced in Arabia at the time of Mohammed, either to prevent evil against the client, or inflict harm on the foe. The knot is used as a powerful weapon against the forces of Darkness. The Redeemer Manda d-Hiia says: "I wrapped his (the King of Darkness') navel with a veil, and tied a knot around his heart" (GRR, p. 101: 2. See also Yamauchi, 1967: 60).
361 Deutsch, N., 1999: 95. He also writes: "Metatron is not the only angelic being shared by the Mandaeans and Jews. Gabriel was also adopted by Mandaeans and played and important role as a demiurge figure in one version the Mandaean cosmogony" (Ibid 96).
influenced by the Jews and he dated the bowl 200 – 300 C.E.\textsuperscript{363} Levene believes that the above invocation was quoted from “an unidentified Hekhalot text” and it is “an unusual but nevertheless good example of borrowing from Jewish sources”.\textsuperscript{364}

Since Abatur son of Bihrat \textsuperscript{365} is in charge of the gate of the World of Light, The Mandaesians believe that if they turn their faces, during mishaps, towards the North (the House of Abatur), and pray to the Life and to the other Mandaean deities, they receive their bless and comfort.

\textbf{§ 2. 2. 5.3 - Abatur of the Scales \textsuperscript{a} Abatur Muzania:}

Abatur was chastised because he threatened the hierarchy of the World of Light when he declared clearly that he wants to be ‘the king of the škinas’ (the celestial abodes):

And Abatur spoke to him (to Hibil-Ziwa): ‘I want to be a king, and I want to hold the škinas!’\textsuperscript{366}

The Realm of Light became enraged against Abatur because he created a world for his own and called himself, “Father of the uthras” without the endorsement of his Fathers:

As Bhaq created and built, he stood and looked at this world. It was neither vast and nor great as the worlds of the Great Life. Once he looked at his world and called himself “the Father of the uthras” ... the Place of Light was enraged against him.\textsuperscript{367} Bhaq-Ziwa shone by himself,

\textsuperscript{363} McCullough, 1967: 32.
\textsuperscript{364} Levene, 2002: 34.
\textsuperscript{365} Abatur’s miluśa “Mandean zodiac name”(CP p., 151).
\textsuperscript{366} DY, p. 244:7. The text: \textbf{y L d d a jL h m}
\textsuperscript{367} GRR 360:21. The text: \textbf{y L d d a jL h m}

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and he held himself to be a mighty one and abandoned the name that
his father had called him by. And he spoke, 'I am the father of the
uthras, the father of the uthras I, I made škinas for the uthras.'  He
contemplated the turbid water and said, 'I shall call forth a world.'  He
took no advice and did not perceive the turbid water.\footnote{GRR book III, p. 111: 12.}

He instigated rebellion against the Great Life and created the division in the
World of Light, which can not be repaired:

Abatur caused the upper cleft which cannot be filled in all eternity.\footnote{DY, 5:2. The text:}

As a result of his defiance, Abatur was dethroned and expelled from the World of
Light and he was made him \emph{abatur muzania} Abatur of the Scales, who
is sitting between the \emph{mataratia} purgatories (or: watch-houses)\footnote{DML p. 41: 8. The text:} and the
worlds of light weighing souls in his scale:

Therefore, Abatur Rama, whose child is the world, is degraded from
his throne, degraded, and he went to become “He-of-the-Scale”.\footnote{Mataratia (sing. matarta): purgatories, watch-houses, houses of purification, places of
detention (MD p. 241). The soul after death has to go through the matarta for necessary
purification before being weighed on the Scales of Abatur and then ferried by the ships of light
to its final destination; the world of light. (MII, pp. 28, 41, 46, 74-5, 80, 90, 95, 169, 173 ff. See
also Pallis, Mandaean Studies (1926) p. 74 ff.).}

He was forced to occupy a lower position and take the office of weighing the
souls of the dead after they have been sent to the purgatories for purification. When
the souls come out of the purgatories (or: watch-houses) he weighs them with his
Scales and then allows whoever is worthy to proceed to the world of light. Abatur protested against this decision to Hibil-Ziwa, the envoy of the higher deities, and said to him:

This you have arranged for me, *(that I was obliged to leave)* my land that is lofty and my spouses who are worthy and suitable and you brought me and made me “He-of-the-Scales”.372

Abatur was degraded because he sinned against his Parents; he strove for the Low House (physical world), so he was brought down off his throne. Abatur spoke out his lament and he wondered of what happened to him:

I said to myself, “I would be a great one; who made me an inferior one in the Tibil?”
I said to myself, “I would be a King; who sent me to the ends of the world?”
I said to myself, “I would be an eminent one; who placed the Scales into my hands?”373

We can hear Abatur protest against the World of Light’s decision in the Book of John *(Draša d-Yahia)*. When the King heard Abatur’s, protest he became angry with him:

“I am not a Weigher! I am an uthra from the race of the good ones. I am not a Weigher! I am the son of kings. I wish not to be placed in these black waters, and to keep impure souls from passing by me.”374

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372 DA p. 1-2, the Mandaean Scroll line 10. Drower’s translation, text collated:

373 DY, p. 8: 16. The text:

374 DY, p. 240:15. The text:
When Abatur said this, the King became full of anger and released a call into the world.\textsuperscript{375}

Hence, Abatur took his case to the Pure Mana and asked him the reason he was chosen to the task of the Weigher of souls out of the other uthras:

Then Abatur spoke said to the pure Mana, 'Why have you sent me from out of all these numerous uthras?' \textsuperscript{376}

The Mana told Abatur why he was chosen for this task and comforted him:

Out of all the Škinas and uthras there is none as you are. None in all these light worlds would be as gentle as you. You are gentle and you are suitable uthra. You are generous and are to the souls as a support. You feel sympathy with the souls and you are an acceptable judge.\textsuperscript{377}

\section*{§ 2.2.5.4 - Abatur; the Persian Rašn uRast}  

Abatur can be associated with Rašnu the Persian god of justice and last judgement and the personification of righteousness. He was said to weigh the deeds of the soul during the three day period of evaluation following the death of an individual. Rašnu guards the Chinvat Bridge leading to heaven. He carries the golden scales with which he weighs the souls at Judgement.\textsuperscript{378} Peculiarly, the Mandaeans' holy book Ginza Rba identifies Abatur with Rašnu:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{375} DY, p. 242: 9. The text:
\item \textsuperscript{376} DY, p. 243: 12. The text:
\item \textsuperscript{377} The Mandaeans BJ p. 243: 14. The text:
\item \textsuperscript{378} Zaehner, R. C., 1961: 56. See also MII n. 4 p. 95.
\end{itemize}
Abatur, the ancient, lofty, hidden and guarded, who is (in fact) Rašnu Rast.\textsuperscript{379}

Rašnu “the Judge” weighs the actions, and then words, then thoughts; but all three contribute to total of man’s good or evil.\textsuperscript{380} The Mandaean Abatur (Rašnu) and his son Ptahil induced Zaehner to argue that this episode is derived from the Persian Zervanite myth.\textsuperscript{381}

Abatur is the guardian of \textit{maṭarata} (a purgatory or watch-house) through which the \textit{niṣmata} souls go through to the world of Light after being purified from their contaminations. Those \textit{Naṣoraeans} (Mandaens) who are not worthy of the House of Life will be turned away and not allowed to go through the gate of Abatur:

When the Naṣoraeans, who are not worthy of the House of Life, reach the gate of the house of Abatur will be turned away. From the house of Abatur they will be turned away and they will not behold the place of Light.\textsuperscript{382}

On the other hand the great gate of Abatur is open to those who are worthy of the house of Life:

Sure and assured, armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (\textit{masiqta}) to the great gate of Abatur’s house. They will open to them the great gate of Abatur’s house, give

\textsuperscript{379} GRR book 13 p. 343: 22. \textit{ubatur atiqa rama kasia unṭira ḍ-hu rašnu urast}

\textsuperscript{380} Boyce, 1975: 241.

\textsuperscript{381} Zaehner, 1955: 77.

\textsuperscript{382} GRR, 391: 21. The text:
them habitation in the škina of Abatur and will guard them by secret and watchful manas. 383

It seems that Abatur was convinced to take his new office as the souls' judge who weighs the deeds and the rewards and separates nišimta the soul from rūha the spirit:

I set forth and reached the watch-house (purgatory) of the ancient, the lofty, the occult, the guarded Abatur. I asked my brothers, the uthras, saying to them: "Whose watch-house (purgatory) is this, and who is held captive in it?" My brothers, the uthras, say to me: 'This watch-house belongs to the ancient, the lofty, the occult, the guarded Abatur. The Scales are set before him; he weighs the deeds and the rewards and unites the spirit with the soul. 384

The Great Life explained to the proven pure one, who pleaded for Abatur, that he (the Life) cannot let Abatur's rebellious conduct to pass and he, therefore, must carry out his task as Abatur Muzania (Abatur-of-the-Scale) until the end of the world:

For your fame's sake and Our name's sake. When he is sinning, who will (can) permit it? Who will let him be when he offends? And casts Our root into polluted waters? (One) who accepts favour from Us and then goes and casts it into the abode of the dark (powers)! 385

383 CP, p. 42. (the book of Masiqta, hymn No 47) Drower's translation, text collated. The text:

384 GRL 45: 1. The text:

385 CP hymn n. 243 p. 199. Drower's translation text collated. The text:
§ 2. 2. 5. 5 - Abatur, the Symbol of Virility:

Since he is the father of the uthras and the creator god Ptahil, Abatur is depicted in some Mandaean scriptures as “tongue” and hypostatic “phallus”; The tongue is associated with the phallus:

Abatur-Rama, whose name is “the Great Jordan of White Water”, that he is called “the Tongue”.

And when you pray the petition (CP p. 89 n. 80), you offer praise to the Father of Glory whose name is the Great Mind (Mana) and to the lofty Abatur whose name is “the Tongue”.

It is not quite clear what is meant by the “tongue” in these scriptures but Deutsch has explained that the tongue, according to the Zohar, “is considered analogous to the male organ” and “thus, as in the medieval Jewish sources, the Mandaean depictions of Abatur preserve the phenomenological link between the tongue and the phallus.” Deutsch also noticed, after studying question 166 in The Thousand and Twelve Questions, a number of striking parallels with kabalistic conceptions concerning the divine phallus such as the Mandaean appellation raza rba “great mystery” – referring to the phallus – which resembles the “identification of the phallic Sefirah Yesod as the ‘secret’ or mystery in the Zohar.”

When Bhaq-Ziwa, who is identified with Abatur, declared himself as ‘the father of the uthras’ and when he begot Ptahil (the demiurge who created the cosmos)

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386 ATŚ p. 174. Mandaean p. 50 n. 245. The text:

387 ARZ p. 58, line 44. The Mandaean ARZ p. 5: 24. The text:

388 See Deutsch 1999: 106-7. He refers, in n. 98, to Studies in the Zohar, p. 171 n. 65 and to Elliot Wolfson who writes, 'just as the spark and the line are phallic symbols so too is the scale, or more specifically, the tongue of the scale.'

he became the symbol of the virility in the world beyond.\textsuperscript{390} Alma Rišaia Zuţa (The Lesser First World) describes him as the \textit{duna} (penis),\textsuperscript{391} the organ of fatherhood and as semen,\textsuperscript{392} which is "venerated than all the mysteries":

And when you recite 'Life dwells in Its own radiance' you offer a praise to \textit{gbraït} Maleness (the male organ?), the name of which is Abatur of the Scales but which the worlds and generations call \textit{duna}, for it is venerated than all the mysteries.\textsuperscript{393}

\section*{2. 2. 5. 6 - Abatur, the Heavenly Priest:}

Blessed are you, Lofty Abatur; blessed and established in your \textit{skinta} in which you sit.\textsuperscript{394}

The Mandaean priest in his \textit{skinta} surrounded by the \textit{tarmidia} (disciples) and \textit{ašgandia} (messengers, helpers) depicts Abatur, the celestial priest, who sits in \textit{skinta} surrounded by his uthras and performs the heavenly rituals.\textsuperscript{395} \textit{Diwan Abatur}\textsuperscript{396} is one of the most important scrolls to the Mandaean priests. It explains the Mandaean priests the journey of the soul through different \textit{matarata} (watch-houses or purgatories) and the relative punishment which the sinner soul receives. Other \textit{diwans}, such as \textit{Alma Rišaia Rba}, \textit{Alma Rišaia Zoţa}, and \textit{Malkuta 'Laita}, consist of instructions and commandments to the priests and some of their texts portray Abatur as the heavenly priest such as:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{390} SA p. 29.
\item \textsuperscript{391} \textit{duna} = \textit{dunda}: penis MD p. 105.
\item \textsuperscript{392} Deutsch N., 1999, 106.
\item \textsuperscript{393} ARZ p. 57. The Manaean ARZ p. 5: 10. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:
\item \textsuperscript{394} CP p. 58, Mandaean Hymn n. 71. p. 168. The text:
\item \textsuperscript{395} Deutsch 1999, 89.
\item \textsuperscript{396} \textit{Diwan Abatur} (DA) an illustrated manuscript includes creation myths, the journey of the soul through different \textit{matarata} (purgatories). It was translated by E. S Drower and published by Biblioteca Aposolica Vaticana in 1950.
\end{itemize}
And when you take the iron knife into your hand, you have placed Pthail's hand into Abatur's hand with (your) right hand. And when you take the sheep or the dove, and turn your face towards the Gate of Payer (the North) Abatur-of-the-Scales gazes upon you.397

Also:

And when you signed (at) 'the House of Abatur, you cloth the soul in the seven vestures of Abatur. And when you say 'You shall go and reach "the guard-house of four beings, sons of perfection" those are the four handclasps (kuṣṭas) which Abatur seeks to exchange with the soul.398

The word 'uthras refer to the ganzivri (archbishops), just as malkia ('kings") means "priests".399 Since Abatur is the King of the škinas,400 he is considered a heavenly Ganzibra (archbishop) in the Mandaean belief. The crown of priesthood is the 'crown of intermediation between the worlds of light and those of matter'.401 Kurt Rudolph stated, "Out of celestial beings come types of celestial priests; the erring and rehabilitated priest is an especially favourite theme of this kind."402

§ 2. 2. 5. 7 - Abatur: the Divine Secretary:

Abatur is the heavenly being who is entitled to send 'ngirtia letters (secret messages)403 to the lower worlds carrying certain instructions and

397 ARZ p. 57 line 35.
398 CP. P. 224.
399 Ibid 226 n. 7.
400 DY (Lidzbarski's manuscript), p. 261.
403 'ngirta: letter (MD p. 353). The term is also applied to a rite performed to the dying. The only outgoing 'ngirta from this world to the world of light is few drops of miša (sesame oil) transformed into a small bottle and then the bottle is sealed with clay and marked with the impression of the priestly ring (Som yawar) and the ganzibra's to-be finger nail. After reading some secret prayers the small bottle is inserted into a pocket in the dying person's rasta (official garment. (MI p. 170) The priest recites, 'In the name of the Life. A sealed letter written in good-faith (kuṣṭa) and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) - Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied on it, and suspended it about the soul's neck and despatched to the Gate of Life (CP p. 61). The 'ngirta (letter) serves as a kind of passport for the soul which is examined by rab maksia (the chief customs official) and the šahardal (P. šahardar = governor, MD p. 439) and make sure of its seal, and then let the soul pass over the hapiqia mia (streams
commandments. He also receives the letters, which are sent by the priests, with the souls after death. A good example of the commandments sent to the lower world is written in the Mandaean Book of John (Draša d-Yahia). It was sent to John the Baptist when he refused to baptise יִישוּ (Jesus) because he was suspicious that Jesus will pervert the Law. After some lengthy arguments with Jesus, John the Baptist receives 'ngirta, a mandate, from the House of Abatur instructing John the Baptist to baptise Jesus:

When יִשועָ mšīha (Jesus Christ) said this, there came a Letter out of the House of Abatur: 'Yahia, baptize the deceiver in Jordan. Lead him down into the Jordan and baptize him, and lead him up again to the shore, and there set him. Then Rūha made herself like to a dove and threw a cross over the Jordan. A cross she threw over the Jordan and made its water to change into various colours. “O Jordan” she says, “you sanctified me and sanctified my seven sons.”

§ 2.2.6 - The Fourth Life Ptahil:

§ 2.2.6.1 - Ptahil: A Mandaean ‘Uthra or Egyptian Demiurge?

Ptahil (the Fourth Life) is the son of Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur; the Third Life) who begot him when he opened the gate of the World of Light and gazed into the black waters. As soon as he beheld him, Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur) summoned Ptahil-Utra,
embraced him and kissed him like a great one. He bestowed names on him; names which are concealed and guarded in their place. He gave him the name “Gabr’il” the Messenger. In another passage of the Ginza we read:

Abatur arose, opened the gate (of the World of Light) and stared into the black waters; and immediately his counterpart was formed in the black waters. Ptahil was formed and ascended to the boundary. Abatur’s mind examined Ptahil, and Abatur said to his son Ptahil, “Come, come, Ptahil, you are the one whom I saw in the black waters.” When he beheld him in his own form, that he was clothed in his robes of every kind and colour, he undressed him and took them from him; and he clothed him in (some of) his radiance and arrayed him in (some of) his light.

We might assume that Ptahil owes his name to the act of opening the gate of heavens carried out by Abatur. On the other hand some scholars associate Ptahil’s name with PTH (open, “create”) and his name is the combination of pth + il (open + god) therefore his name might mean “the god who creates” or “god creates”. In this respect Yamauchi is confident that the word

the Gnostic beliefs, behind creating the world by a demiurge is to estrange the Supreme Being contact with matter and ‘to interpolate intermediaries between Him and the world.’ (Wilson, 1958: 102).

In Mandaean myths Ptahil is the son of Hibil-Ziwa and Zahrail (Rūha’s sister and identified with Istar and Venus GRR book 5). He was married to her during his journey to the netherworld. He is considered the son of both Light and Darkness and therefore his creation of the physical world was unsuccessful because he himself was born of warring principles. (MII n. 5 p. 95).

Using the epithet of Gabriel, the messenger perhaps refers to Jewish-Samaritan Gnostic baptismal movements at the beginning of the first millennium. (Zaehner, 1955: 59 ff.)

GRR, book 5, pp. 195: 10. The text:

PHT metathesis of PTH: to open, to create (MD p. 366).

See text above.
Ptahil is the formation of Ptah (the Egyptian god) and El, and not from the word 'to open'.\footnote{Yamauchi, 1967: 63. \textit{pth}: create, also \textit{pth} n. div. Ptah. (Faulkner R. O., \textit{A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian}, Oxford (2002), p.96).} In this respect Cyrus Gordon wrote: "Ptahil is composed of the Egyptian "Ptah" + Semitic "Il" and it would highlight the Egyptian component in Mandaism as well as indicate that the name is Egypto-Semitic (signifying "Eg. Ptah = El/God").\footnote{Gordon, (Reviewed Work) JAOS, vol. 99, No. 3, 1979: 476.} Widengren ascribes the difficulty in defining Ptahil to the fact that "god" is usually written ל,\footnote{Widengren, 1950: 59 n. 1.} but Widengren was not aware that the guttural (י) occurs in Mandaic incantations in the name פהיל.\footnote{Yamauchi, 1967: 253 line 245, (text 22, Lidzbarski's translation, 1909).} It seems that the guttural י is assimilated in some Mandaean names such as מנדא ד-היה instead of מנדא ד-היה.\footnote{Yamauchi, 1967: 235, 251. However, there is no evidence to support either Gordon's or Yamauchi's identification Ptahil with the Egyptian god Ptah.}

Lidzbarski also connects this demiurge with the Egyptian creator-god Ptah.\footnote{Lidzbarski, JB, pp. xxvii, xxviii.} Kraeling shares Lidzbarski's opinion and adds, 'pth to 'open' came to be used in the sense of 'create' but he believes that the name is not essentially Aramaic but a combination of \textit{ptah} and 'il. He also refers to Bousset's argument which suggests that "the Mandaean Ptahil is in fact none other than the Iranian \textit{Yima}. In support of this identification he adduces the observation that both Ptahil and \textit{Yima} enter into relation with evil powers (\textit{daevas})\footnote{He (Ptahil) is the \textit{melka} who rules the \textit{sibiahia} (the Seven Planets =demons) (see MIL n. 5 p. 95).} and that both experience a fall from grace by reason of this relationship."\footnote{Kraeling, 1933: 152-165. \textit{yima} is the "god who is supposed to dwell beneath the earth". For more details about \textit{yima} see Boyce 1975: 94. See also Zaehner 1955: 251, where \textit{yima} saves man from the demons.} Eisler points out that he finds in the angelology of the Mandaens the remarkable
interpretation of Ptah-il, i.e. the old Egyptian or Canaanite god of smithies and metal-engravers, as the creator of heaven as well as of mankind. What emphasizes Eisler assumption is that the Ginza describes Ptah-il (Gabriel) as skillful creator as the Greek:

And Gabriel, the messenger, is called into being, (then) he will be instructed to create the world. He will arrive and condense a condensation, and create the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks.

There is a possible parallel proposed between the Mandaean Ptah-il and the Egyptian god Ptah. Mercer noted that 'pth' sounds like the Hebrew נָנָה "to open" and that Ptah played an important role in the famous Egyptian ceremony of the "Opening of the Mouth", which resembles similar ceremony in the ancient Babylonia, designated to initiate an idol. He also came up a very unlikely assumption when he stated: "it is neither impossible, nor even improbable, that the earliest worshippers of Ptah might have been Semites who made their way into Egypt, as others did before them and led by the god whom the called "the opener of the way". The rite of the "mouth opening" was part of the old lustration rites performed in Mesopotamia since the Third Dynasty of Ur. Jonas also had no doubt that the name Ptah-il, the Mandaean Demiurge, was taken from the Egyptian pantheon and "is connected with

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419 Eisler, 1931: 235. He makes this statement depending on the fact that the Naṣoraeans (early Mandaean) or the "keepers" of secrets are craftsmen in general (smiths, carpenters and boat-builders etc). For Ptah the Egyptian chief god of all handicraftsman (see Budge, 1904: 500 ff.).
421 For more details about the rite "Opening of the Mouth" see Blackman, "The Rite of Opening the Mouth in ancient Egypt and Babylonia", JEA, vol. 10 (1924), pp. 47-59.
422 Mercer, 1949: 148-9. The Mandaean myth tells us that Egypt was their first dwelling and from there they migrated to ʿūra d-madai the Mountain of the Mandai (MII p. 10). Until recently a masiqt (ascension of the soul) ritual was performed for the Egyptians drowned while chasing Moses and the Jews across the yama d-suf "the Red Sea" (SA p. xv and n. 2 p. xvi).
423 Jacobsen, 1976: 124. Lady Drower noted that "Nöldke suggests a connection between the Mandaean sacramental "wafer" (pihta), and the Babylonian rites of pit pi ("opening of the mouth") and mis pi ("washing of the mouth")" (MII n. 15, p. 122).
the symbolic role of Egypt as the representative of the material world." On the other hand, Deutsch believes that there are considerable parallels between Abatur (Ptahil's father) and Sabaoth. Both of them are enthroned on the gate of the World of Light and each one of them is related to the demiurge of the physical world: Abatur created Ptahil and Sabaoth created a host of angelic beings.

It is worthwhile to note that all sources mentioned above represent poor scholarship and assumptions based on very insufficient evidence. Therefore, Ptahil remains a very general name type, which doesn't really tell us anything of significance about him. This is one of the many reasons why Cyrus Gordon highlighted the significance of serious researches to be conducted on Mandaeism when he wrote:

"Mandaic should be studied in depth by several circles of scholars, of whom the Gnostics are only one. To single out one of the many other fields: Mandaic is probably the most valuable aid for the study of the Babylonian Talmud."

§ 2.2.6. 2. - Ptahil: the Creator of the Material World:

Ptahil is the Mandaean demiurge who created the physical world. He received a mandate from his father, the Second Life (Abatur) commanding him to leave the "World Beyond" and descend "below" to the "place where there is no škinas or worlds" to create a world and uthras for himself like the "sons of perfection". In another passage of the Ginza we read: "Abatur instructed him (Ptahil) and said,
"Arise, my son, condense a condensation in the black water." But the Father of the Uthras (Abatur) forgot to instruct him against the odds neither equipped him with suitable means. Ptahil descended below the skinas, towards the "place where there was no world". He waded in the in the filthy mud and turbid waters, but no solidification took place. He waded to his knees, to his thighs, but the waters did not solidify. Up to his first mouth (anus), up to his mouth, he stood in the water, but no solidification took place. He pronounced the name of the Life and the name of Manda d-Hiia (the Gnosis of Life) and nothing happened. He cast some of the seven garments of radiance, light and glory upon the waters, but the waters remained fluid.

When he sensed that the "living fire" in him changed, Ptahil engrossed in thought and decided to ascend to the Great (One) to receive the garment of the Living Flame. In another passage of the Ginza, Ptahil descended to the world of his father Abatur and spoke to him, "My father, I took some of those seven garments, in which I was planted, and I entered the waters, but no earth was condensed. Then his father said to him, "O (you) sakla (fool)! Take care that you do not put yourself on a par with me. Take some of the seven garments of radiance, light and glory with which I

429 Ibid 196: 8. In the scroll of Diwan Abatur, we read another version: "Abatur spoke to Ptahil and said to him, "Go, condense a condensation, and create the worlds and create creatures. And take with you three hundred and sixty thousand demons and devils that they dig out the Light-Euphrates and heap up its two banks. Then make a world and create creatures and plant plants. Go and propagate thy world and take the demon Qardum who loosens, liberates and waters the plants" (DA, p. 11).
430 GRR, p. 112.
431 GRR, p. 413: 5.
432 GRR, p. 112.
433 sakla (fool) an epithet of the Gnostic demiurge Ialdabaoth (child of the void) or Samael (the blind god). It seems that different Gnostic confraternities used the term sakla to refer to the demiurge. The Gnostics consider themselves 'to be 'strangers,' exiled in the kingdom of Sakla, "the prince of darkness" (Deutsch 1999: 75 and Stroumsa 1984: 48, 120) For Sakla, the leader of the Fallen Angels, see Stroumsa 1984: 163. For Ialdabaath, the Saklas who appoints seven kings over the seven heavens and five over the "chaos of the underworld" (Rudolph 1977: 79). The Saklas join the powers of Darkness to create Adam and Eve in order to entrap the elements of Light in the world through lust and the multiplication of humans (Stoyanov 2000: 110).
clothed you and toss (some of them) into the black waters that a condensation may now take place."\textsuperscript{434}

Though Ptahil failed in his first attempt, he succeeded, by the powers of the garments and the living flame which mingled with water and the material creation came into being. Ptahil solidified the black waters, spanned out the firmament and appointed boundaries to the worlds. When the firmament was spanned out he seized the navel of the earth and bound it to the centre of heavens.\textsuperscript{435} Ptahil used seven ראה qaля “calls” in order to create the world: By his first call he solidified the earth and spanned out the heavens. By the second call he dispersed Jordans and canals. By the third he created the fish of the sea and birds of every type and variety. By the fourth he brought forth plants and seeds. By the fifth he created reptiles. By the sixth the whole structure of darkness came into being. By the seventh Rūha and her Seven planets came into being.\textsuperscript{436} While Ptahil was engaged in creating the world, the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (sings of the Zodiac) and the Five (planets without the Sun and the Moon) stealthily climbed up and took their position in the vault.\textsuperscript{437}

In another passage of the Ginza we read that although the process of creation was carried out by Ptahil against the wish of the Life because Ptahil threw

\textsuperscript{434} GRR 196: 8f. The text:

\textsuperscript{435} GRR, pp. 116-7.

\textsuperscript{436} GRR, p. 414: 18.

\textsuperscript{437} Some of the earlier forms of Gnosticism pointed that there was one God the Father, who created seven angels who created the world and made man in the likeness of the divine image (Wilson, 1958: 102-103).
the form, which the Second (Life) had formed, into the world of darkness and made creations and formed tribes which are not worthy of the House of Life (or: outside the House of Life), the Life helped Abatur in obtaining the secret of solidification. Abatur wrapped it (the secret) in his clean turban and delivered it to his son Ptahil. Ptahil went down again to the black waters and succeeded in solidifying earth and spanning out the firmament.

It is notable in the Ginza that some passages describe Ptahil as an evil and a foolish creator and his house (the world) is taken from him. Draša d-Yahia (the Book of John) tells us that he was appointed the guardian of the house until the end of the worlds. In another passage from the Ginza we learn that Ptahil has been forgiven, by the higher deities of the World of Light, for creating the universe and he will be declared the king of the uthras and king of the Našoraeans:

Yōšamin and Abatur shall be baptized of the First Great Life in the Jordan. Afterwards Ptahil-Uthra shall be carried away from the putrid clouds in which he sits and purified in the Jordan of the First Life. In that Jordan his stench will be removed. He will be embraced by the First Life, and he will tell about the stocks and fetters which he endured in the world. He will tell about the pain which inflicted him from his father. He will be declared the King of Uthras, and will have authority upon the congregation of souls. He will be declared the King of the Našoraeans, and prayer and praise will rise for him.

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438 GRR, p. 287: 9. The text:...
439 According to the Manichean doctrine, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descended into the abyss and defeated the powers of darkness and fashioned the universe from their bodies. "Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness" (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 15).
440 GRR, 414: 15 f.
441 Ibid, 117: 16. Saklas, according to the Manicheans, is the leader of the demonic abortions who form Adam and Eve after the likeness of the Third Ambassador (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 396).
442 DY p. 5: 3. The text:
443 GRR 380: 21 f. The text:
§ 2.2.6.3 - The Creation of Adam:

There is more than one version in the Ginza for the creation of Adam. According to tractate 10 of the Ginza, Ptahil creates Adam according to his image with the help of the Planets. They create Adam and cast some of their spirits and some of their mysteries into him and his wife Eve but were unable to make him stand on his feet. Ptahil brings a "hidden mana" form his father Abatur and cast it into Adam and Eve. Only then Adam sneezes and stands on his feet:

After Ptahil had created the world, he built his son Adam according to his form, and according to Adam's form Hawa (Eve) his was built. Ptahil cast into Adam a kind of ruha spirit from his own ruha spirit, and each of the Seven (planets) cast into Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve) some of his own mystery. However, Ptahil and Seven (Planets) who were with him could not raise Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve). Therefore, Ptahil went towards his father Abatur, obtained a hidden mana, which was given to him from the House of the Life, brought it, and cast it into Adam and into his wife Hawa (Eve). . . . Adam sneezed and asked for the life. Ptahil and the planets who were with him said to him (Adam): "Live, Adam!" Then Adam stood up, bowed down

444 Cf. 'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.' Genesis 2: 7.
445 According to the Apocryphon of John, the seven powers contributed from their own elements the following "souls" for Adam: the "bone-soul", the "sinew-soul", the "flesh-soul", the "marrow-soul", the "skin-soul", and the "hair-soul". Rudolph comments: "In spite of the skill devoted to the formation of the psychical body it remains immobile and it is not possible to make him stand upright. This gives "Wisdom" (sophia) opportunity to intervene in order to win back the power which through her error she had lost to her son the Demiurge." (Rudolph, 1983: 102)
446 An Iraqi tradition is that sneezing is a sign of life. They tell stories about people who were thought to be dead but they returned to life after they sneezed. Sneezing for them, also, is a sign of warning i.e., if a person was about to depart and someone else sneezes, he postpones his departure for some time.
and praised that man who had opened his eyes and made him stand on his feet. 447

Tractate III (the subject of this research) of the Ginza Rba narrates the creation of Adam by Ptahil and the Planets as follows:

When Ptahil came, he spoke to the planets: 'Let us create Adam that he may be king of the world', when he had spoken thus to them, they all consulted each other: 'Let us tell him that we want to create Adam and Hawa (Eve), because he belongs to us.' They said to him: "Come now, we will create Adam and Eve and make them the head of the whole generation." When the planets spoke thus to him Ptahil was troubled in his heart and said: 'If I by myself create Adam and Eve, the head of the generation, what will Adam (then) know what to do in the world?' 448 Then Ptahil-Uthra spoke to the Planets and said: "Adam is my son; he is the king of the world!" The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying: "What do we confide in and rely on, and what is our authority in the world?" Ptahil spoke to them and said: "You shall be his fosterer(s), and render him full service."

They created Adam and laid him down, but there was no nišimta449 soul in him. When they created Adam they were unable to cast a soul into him. They pleaded to Ayar-Ziqa (the ether wind) to hollow out his bones, and marrow be formed in them. That marrow be formed in them, that he might spring up and stand on his feet. They summoned šauta ḏšata haita the splendor of the living flame that might illuminate his attire and he might spring up and stand on his feet. They sent for habla dšabria the mist of the streams and the fumes of the consuming fire to enter his trunk that he might clinch his

447 GRR pp. 287-8:

448 Ptahil created Adam last, just like in Genesis 1.

449 nešamah in Genesis 2:7
fist and beat with his wings (arms), that he might grumble and shake himself, and that he might be spring up and stand on his feet...

The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying: 'Allow us to cast into him some the rūha spirit which you brought with you from your father's house.' All the Planets exerted themselves, and the Lord of the World exerted himself. In spite of all their efforts, they could not make him stand on his feet. Ptahil set off in his glory and ascended to the Place of Light. He stood in the presence of the Father of the Uthra, and his father spoke to him: “What have you accomplished?” He answered him: “All that I made has been successful, (but) my counterpart and yours have not been successful.”

The Father of the uthras raised himself, set forth, and hurried to atar kasia the secret place. He fetched the (great) mana, which illuminates all corruption. He wrapped him (the mana) in his pure turban under the (spells) of the (secret) names which the Life gave him. He brought it hither and gave it to Ptahil, his son. When he gave it to Ptahil-Uthra, the Life summoned Hibil, Šitil and Anoš the outstanding uthras who are flawless. He summoned them and gave them their orders, and warned them concerning the nišmata souls. He said to them: ‘You be a guardian over them, so that all the worlds may know nothing about them. Let not the muddle-headed Ptahil know, how the nišimta soul falls into the body. How the soul falls into the body and how the blood fills Git: speak in) it and how the veins permeate it. Let the supporter (maulānā) Adakas-Mana be his

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450 Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur).
451 Cf. The creation of Adam in Nag Hammadi Codices. It is written that “the Archigenetor issues a decree with regard to that man to be formed, and each of the powers cast his seed upon the midst of the navel of the earth. From that day on the seven commanders (archons) formed the man and he was called ‘Adam’. But this creature was left without a soul for forty days until “wisdom life” (sophia zoë) sent her breath into Adam. He began to move on earth but could not stand up.’ (Rudolph 1983: 96-97) Drower noted that the unsuccessful creation of Adam “constantly appear in Gnostic, Rabbinic, and Kabalistic writings” (SA, n., 3 p. 35).
452 mana: soul (MD p. 246).
453 The triad of uthras produced by Hawa-Kasia (the secret Eve), and act as “saviours” in the Mandaean literature (SA p. 36).
454 For Ptahil “sakla” or “bllila” the fool, see above §2.2.6.2.
protector. Ptahil wrapped him in his pure turban, and enfolded him in his garment. When Ptahil wanted to cast the soul into Adam’s trunk, I (Manda d-Hiia) snatched it from his pocket. While Ptahil lifted Adam up, I erected him on his bones. While he laid his hands on him, I made him breathe the breath of the Great Ones. His body filled with marrow, and the radiance of the Life spoke in him. When the radiance of the Life spoke in him, Adakas-Ziwa ascended to his place. I led him upwards to the House of the Great Ones; to the place where the Great One is enthroned. I entrusted him to the ganzibras Treasurers, the uthras who look after the Jordans. The Life thanked the uthra, who had brought the nišimta soul.

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455 Adakas-Mana the light being who came from the hidden place and fell into Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve), and made them stand on their feet, opened their eyes to behold and opened their mouths to feed. GRR 290: 6f. The text:

Surprisingly the word maulānā occurs in an Isma’ili text called Kalām-i-Pir. According to this text, “the divinity maulānā (our Lord) manifested itself in each generation in the most perfect human form” (Stroumsa, 1984: 111).

456 Adakas-Ziwa is the Light-Adam. “He is the macrocosm conceived not only as an Idea but as an Ideal. Adakas is Adam the microcosm’s guardian, his soul, his mana.” (SA p. 35). Adakas is also Adam’s instructor who came from the “Secret Place” (Ibid p. 102).

457 GRR p. 120 ff.
TEXT 2
GINZA RABA
PAGE 84
(Chart B)

PIRA INSIDE PIRA

AYAR INSIDE AYAR

THE GREAT YURA OF RADIANCE AND LIGHT

THE GREAT JORDAN OF LIVING WATER

THE (PRIMAL) LIFE

UTHRAS

THE SECOND LIFE - THE PRIMAL UTHRA - YŌSAMIN + MYRIADS UTHRAS
§ 2.2.7 - Manda d-Hiia (Gnosis of Life)

§ 2.2.7.1 - The True Apostle of Light:

Manda d-Hiia is translated “knowledge of life”, i.e. “gnosis”. There was a debate on his name and the analogy of “manda” led by Pallis, since “knowledge” in the Mandaeans language is *madita, madhita, madda*, or *madihta*. Manda d-Hiia is the outstanding figure in the Mandaeans faith and the most revered deity. Manda d-Hiia personifies the *manda* “knowledge” of the great Mandean deity *hiia* the Life. From the course which the Mandaeans followed through history, some scholars went to assume that this sect adopted Manda d-Hiia as a messenger and a redeemer when the Naṣoraeans (the early Mandaeans) as part of their polemic against Christianity at the rise of the first millennium. Many texts in the Ginza and in the other Mandaeans manuscripts propose a shift from polytheism to Gnosticism has taken place sometime in the period from C.E. 300-600 as suggested by Brandt.

Support for this hypothesis comes from one of the *masiqa* (ascension) hymns; the believers have forsaken images, pictures, idols and gods and have testified to the name of the great strange Life:

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459 Pallis 1926: 146. Abatur (the Second Life) rises from his throne in order to show respect to Manda d-Hiia (GRR 223: 14).

460 Rudolph 1983, 131.

461 Brandt believed of two schools of Mandaism: the Old Mandaeans School, which lost its authority because of continually new influence especially Christianity; and the New School which he called “teaching of the king of Light” (Lichtkönigslistehre). This school, he believes, in contrast to the older polytheistic from, is monotheistically oriented, even when marked with dualism. Brandt came to the conclusion that “In the course of the polemic against Christianity and its influence, the “reformer” of the Mandean theology”, the author of the Lichtkönigslistehre represented a revelational activity of the Mandean redeemer in Jerusalem and assumed also the name Naṣoraeans as a designation for the sect itself” (cited by Rudolph, HR, vol. 8, 1969: 211f).

462 Rudolph, HR, 1969: 212.
This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda d-Hiia, a vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (worlds). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood, and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works."  

Manda d-Hiia often exchanges places with another light being, his son/brother, Hibil-Ziwa, who descended to the seven layers of the world of darkness and came into conflict with the King of Darkness and obtained prudqa a "passport" with hatma a seal-impression which enabled him to travel through the World of Darkness and come back to the World of Light. During his journey Hibil-Ziwa could confuse Ruha (the goddess of the underworld) and obtain from her the gimra umrara, the two secrets of the World of Darkness.
The Mandaeans prayers recited during the rituals usually include the formula, "the name of Life and the name of Manda d-Hiia ("Knower of the Life") is pronounced over me." He is the "True Apostle of Light" as he describes himself:

I am the Apostle of Light whom the Great One sent me into the world. The true Apostle I am, with whom there is no lie. The Chosen with whom there is no lie, there is not with him deficiency or fault. 469 I am apostle of Life, the true one, in whom there is no falsehood. 470

Many Gnostic sects share the meaning of the apostle/redeemer, with some notable differences. According to the Manichaean cosmogony, the living Father sent his son to redeem the soul when he saw it suffering in the body. The son came and transformed himself into human form and appeared to men as a man. He made "creation for the salvation of souls and produced an instrument with twelve vessel; this is turned by sphere and draws up the souls of the dying. Then the great light takes them up with its rays, purifies them and passes them on to the moon and thus is filled the face of the moon . . . When the moon is full, it ferries the souls to the east. And again it fills the ferry and again it unloads as the souls are brought up by the vessels, until it has saved its own share of soul." 471

§ 2.2.7.2 - The Creation of Manda d-Hiia

Three uthras (the sons of the Second Life 'Yōšamin') decided to descended below the hapiqia mia (streams of water) to create a world of their own and not to

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469 GRR p. 79: 2. The text:

470 GRR 79: 21.
mention the name of the Life. The Life complained to the Great Mana who dwells in the Great Pira and requested his counsel. In a countermove to the uthras' plan, the Great Mana created the astral messenger Kabar Rba or Kabr Ziwa, who is fact Manda d-Hiia. It was by the request of the First Life the 'Gnosis of Life' came into being: "I am Manda d-Hiia, the emanation (lit. planting) of the Mighty First Life." The Life instructed Manda d-Hiia that his creation preceded the creation of the uthras and his commission was predestined. In this regard, Jonas writes: "The mission of this transcendent savior begins even before the creation of the world (since the fall of the divine element preceded the creation) and ran parallel with it."

Manda d-Hiia was promoted by the supreme beings of the World of Light and was made one of the Great Ones. He was given authority upon all worlds of Light and upon the uthras who dwell in the skinas and upon the underworld of darkness. He was the only one worthy of the mission because he was the one who could restrain the renegade uthras and set the boundary stones (kudka). He was hailed as the "great mirror of the uthras and the lustrous king of the all kings (or: angels)."

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472 This is the first rebellious act in the World of Light performed by the Second Life (Yōšamin) and his three sons (one of them is Abatur). This rebellion which caused a great conflict in the Mandaic heavenly world was subdued by Manda d-Hiia (GRR p. 85 ff.).
473 The sons of the Second Life.
474 GRR pp. 85, 86.
475 CP, p. 109; Mandaean text pp. 145-6. Drower's translation, text collated:
476 GRR, p. 89.
478 GRR, p. 89.
479 GRR, p. 87
480 DY, p. 239, the text:
§ 2.2.7.3 - Manda d-Hiia, the Mandaean Redeemer: 481

The Mandaean's concept of the redeemer is not that of Christianity. The Mandaean Redeemer does not descend to earth and redeem his followers through agony and sufferings. The Mandaean salvation, like the other Gnostic beliefs, is focused on the release of the soul, the mana divine particle of man, from the material world and subsequently joins its dmuta counterpart in the World of Light. 482 This process is materialized, according to their faith, by means of gnosis (knowing) the Life and his messenger Manda d-Hiia (the Knower of Life) and through the cults of repeated mašbuta (baptism) in yardina “Jordan” 483 and masiqta (the ascension of the soul). 484 The Redeemer's duty is to awaken the souls to their heavenly origin and to provide them with necessary “gnosis” or “knowledge” to serve as “passwords” for their heavenly re-ascent. 485 Mandaeanism professed to bring salvation through knowledge; ignorance is a sin:

Who illuminates (his heart) with illumination (knowledge) shall rise in the Place of Light; who cannot illuminate (his heart) with illumination (knowledge), shall be cut off from the Place of Light. 486

Among the Mandaens redeeming knowledge has been personalized in the figure of Manda d-Hiia. 487 The Redeemer is also “the good shepherd that leads his sheep to their fold.” 488 The souls, that sinned because of the wicked angels, 489

481 The Mandaens believe in another redeemer; Anuš (the Biblical Enosh).
482 Stroumsa, 1984, 1.
483 Buckley, HR, 1989: 23-34.
486 GRR, p. 395: 20. The Text: Who illuminates (his heart) with illumination (knowledge) shall rise in the Place of Light; who cannot illuminate (his heart) with illumination (knowledge), shall be cut off from the Place of Light.
488 GRR, 205: 22. The text: Who illuminates (his heart) with illumination (knowledge) shall rise in the Place of Light; who cannot illuminate (his heart) with illumination (knowledge), shall be cut off from the Place of Light.
malakia, of this world, will appeal to Manda d-Hiia to save them from their sins and trespasses: "Manda d-Hiia, save us the darkness of this world in which we are cast!"\textsuperscript{489} We also read in another passage the pleadings of the Mandaens to Manda d-Hiia for the salvation of their souls: “Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtues and not as vicious before thee, Manda d-Hiia.”\textsuperscript{490} It is only when the nišimta (soul) is enlightened by the “Gnosis of Life”, then can return to the World of Light.\textsuperscript{491} At the end of the world Manda d-Hiia shall reveal himself to sons of men and redeem them from darkness:

A call rang out over the whole world, the splendor departed from every city. Manda d-Hiia revealed himself to the children of men and redeemed them from darkness into light.\textsuperscript{492}

He is \textit{bār hiia} the Son of Life who lifts up the souls of the faithful to the place where the Life is enthroned with his sweet voice.\textsuperscript{493} Widengren says that the term “Son of Life” is found in the Acts of Thomas in praise of the Apostle of Life \textit{Mahāyudda}, “Christ”.\textsuperscript{494}

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Manda d-Hiia is identified with Hermetic Man-Shepherd (\textit{Poimandres}), Mind of all-masterhood (See Deutsch, p. 1999: 166). In this respect Drower writes: "The Hermetic writings have so much which corresponds closely to religious conceptions familiar to them in Naṣoraean gnosis that they would readily have identified the Hermes of the \textit{Poimandres} as their own Manda d-Hiia or Mara d-Rabuta” (SA p. 112).

\textsuperscript{489} GRR, 303: 17. The text:

\textsuperscript{490} CP, p. 34; hymn no. 35 of the \textit{masiqta} (ascension) book, Drower’s translation, text collated:

\textsuperscript{491} Rudolph, 1983: 358.

\textsuperscript{492} GRR, 207: 14. The text:


\textsuperscript{494} Widengren, 1946: 20.
§ 2.2.7.4 - Manda d-Hiia and John the Baptist:

Manda d-Hiia appeared to John the Baptist as a child. As a miracle, Manda d-Hiia caused the Jordan to flood fiercely, then made it go dry. When John the Baptist beheld the miracles he believed in Manda d-Hiia (as a saviour). Then, he ordered the waters to return to the Jordan. All the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky returned to Jordan, too, reciting praise to Manda d-Hiia. At the end of the episode John the Baptist requested Manda d-Hiia to save his soul. Manda d-Hiia released John the Baptist from his physical form and led his soul to the World of Light. Strangely, we read in the Ginza and in the book of masiqta (ascension) that Manda d-Hiia appeared in Jerusalem: “Manda d-Hiia appeared to the Jews (or: in Judea) like a Vine in Jerusalem.” He is the one who can open the doors of kušta (truth), reveals the mysteries and performs miracles in Jerusalem:

You are the healer above all means of healing, a Lifter above all Up-lifters, a Radiance above all radiances and a Light above all lights, for it is you who opens doors of truth and reveals mysteries of wisdom and shows forth miracles in Jerusalem. You confide demons and devils and frighten away the gods from their high places. Great is your name and praised is your name. You are the counterpart of Life, for you were in existence before all.

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495 GRR book 5: 4. This picture of Manda d-Hiia as the young lad ܐܕܐܕ ܐܕܐ ״ ܐܐ ܫܫ (GRR p. 220: 3) is similar to Seth the savior-child ܕܡܐ ܕܡܐ in the Manichean, the Valentinians and other Gnostic sects (Stroumsa, 1984, 77 ff.).

496 GRR, p. 206: 3. The text:

497 The Mandaean “redeemer” and his appearance in Jerusalem was part “polemic against Christianity and its influence, and the “reformer of the Mandaean theology, the “author of the Lichtkönigslehre,” represented a revelational activity of the Mandaean redeemer in Jerusalem and assumed also the name Nägöraean as a designation for the sect itself” (Rudolph, 1969: 212). On the other hand Stroumsa believes that “Biblical references to the Holy Land were part of Gnostic imagery” (Stroumsa, 1984: 119).

498 CP, p. 36. The text:
§ 2.2.7.5 - Manda d-Hiia the Warrior:

§ 2.2.7.5.1 - Manda d-Hiia’s Weapons:

Manda d-Hiia, the valiant uthra, was the well prepared and armed apostle, who triumphed over the powers of darkness. He is the heavenly warrior whom the gods in all the worlds feared: “When Manda d-Hiia appeared in the whole worlds, all the gods were aghast.” In order to fulfill his mission against the evil, he was equipped by the Great One with the following weapons besides the army of uthras:

(1) Radiance and Light. (2) a great attire (3) the margna (staff) of Living Water (4) the wreath of the Living Flame (5) the armor of the Great Ones (6) A mace (club) (7) a veil (net?) and (8) a robe of the great ones.

§ 2.2.7.5.2 - Manda d-Hiia Restrains the Rebellious ‘Uthras:

When the Second Life and his sons, the uthras, determined to create a world of their own, the Great Life considered this intention as an act of rebellion. In order to foil the uthra’s plot, the Great Ones commissioned Manda d-Hiia to reveal the rebels’ conspiracy: “Rise above the uthras and see what they are planning and what they intend, they who say, “We will create a world”. You have seen that they have forsaken

500 Ibid p. 295: 14. The text:
501 GRR, p. 96. Cf. Marduk weapons: a scepter, a throne, a royal robe, a bow and arrows, a mace, a net. They gave him (Marduk) scepter, throne, and royal robe besides, gave him an irresistible weapon overwhelming the foe: “Go cut Tiamat’s throat!” (Jacobsen, 1976: 176-7).
503 GRR, p. 198: 7.
504 GRR, P. 99: 15. The garment of the messenger Manda d-Hiia has such magic powers that the demons form a secret conspiracy in order to take hold of it (GRR, p. 299: 20):
the House of the Life and turned their faces to the place of Darkness. Manda d-Hiaa was charged to bring order among the uthras and deliver them from failure. The Great One commanded him: ‘zł l mardia dhškka q’lan ibiš mitaššbia “March against the rebels of darkness who think out evil against us!”

It is notable in tractate three of the Ginza, that the sequence of Manda d-Hiaa’s mission was interrupted; instead of descending towards the hapiqa maia (the streams of water) he went down towards the World of Darkness; and instead of restraining the defector uthras he defeated the evil powers of the World of Darkness. This confusion can be solved when the story is traced in the other chapters of the Ginza as well as in the other Mandaean writings such as draša d-iahia “the Book of John.” In book 15 of the Ginza we read that the Great Ones commanded Manda d-Hiaa to descend to the Second Life Yōšamin’s abode to deter him and the rebellious uthras from their evil plans and to help him in accomplishing his work in a perfect order:

For what reason the King of Light created you, and made you a king in Ayar (ether)? Why don’t you go to the house of Yōšamin and arrange his works in perfect order? Yōšamin should know that the strength of the Life is greater than his futile strength.

In another passage we find another reading:

Then the Life called Yawar-Ziwa on whose name nine hundred thousand uthras emerged. Then he created a form and gave it to him and said to him, ‘Go, meet the Second (Life) with this form and let us

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505 GRR, p. 86.
507 GRR, book 15: 16, p. 424: 5. The text:
508 Yawar-Ziwa is a being of light acquainted with Manda d-Hii and his son Hibil-Ziwa.
find out what he will say and what he will propose. He went to his (Yōšamin’s) presence and spoke to him, “O, Yōšamin, son of Dmut-Hiia, my father sent me hither”. . . By the (power) of the form which the Life gave to Yawar, all the ṣkinas of Yōšamin trembled and quaked and his throne degraded and gave way unto downfall. His women who were standing at his presence were terrified. . .

Manda d-Hiia arrives at the house of Yōšamin and the planets fell on their faces:

He was instructed by the wisdom of the Great One, and set forth and came towards Yōšamin. He stood on the vault of the house of Yōšamin, and he covered his gleam with his radiance.(?) He covered his gleam with his radiance, and an uproar ruptured in his house. An uproar ruptured in his house and the Planets fell on their faces.

After all, it seems that everything went well and Manda d-Hiia was successful in his mission to Yōšamin and he could achieve his goal in a perfect way:

I came to the world which the Second (Life) created,
from which all error and deficiency came into being
I uttered the voice of Life,
and planted the planting of the Great (One).
I planted the planting of Life,
and I chose the elect ones; one by one I chose them,
and I explained to them and taught them concerning the goodness.

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509 GRR, book 14, p. 356: 17 f. For the detailed battles between Yōšamin and the battalions of Light see the first four chapters of the Book of John. The text:

510 GRR book 15:16, p.426: 12. The text:
I made their eyes behold the place in which the Great (One) sit (or: enthroned).
I taught them, through the secret chants and recitations, the prayers and praise that we possess.
I made them part of the construction of the Life, and made them join the union of the Life.
I enlightened them with a sublime enlightenment that has no end, and I showed them the form which was (brought) from the concealed place.
When the elected ones saw it, their aching hearts were healed.
I uttered a proclamation, and I straightened up the trivial devils.\footnote{GRR p. 447: 1 f. The text:}

\section*{§ 2.2.7.5.3 - Manda d-Hiia's encounter with the Powers of Darkness:}

The World of Light realized that the World of Darkness was conspiring against it; it realized that Darkness expanded and became the fullness of the world (or: he became Pleroma of the cosmos).\footnote{GRR book 3, p. 99: 3 f.}

From the day when the Evil (one) began to think, the evil was shaped in him. He fell into a great wrath and ventured a war with the Light.\footnote{DY, p. 48: 1 f. The text:}

The Messenger was sent out to tread down the power of the Rebels.\footnote{5*4 Jonas stated that the “Darkness had first to reach its own outer limits, and to these it was pushed at some time in the course of the internal warfare in which the destructive passion of}
Therefore, the higher deity summoned Manda d-Hiia and addressed him saying:

"Arise, go to the House of the Seven (planets), the idle Rebels of Darkness!516 Idle are the gloomy Rebels of Darkness, and there is no light among them."517

Manda d-Hiia had some hesitation towards the mission, but after a prolonged persuasion by the Life it seems that he agreed to confront the powers of Darkness under some conditions. In response to his conditions, the higher deities of the World of Light promoted him and made him the "King of the uthras", the "Lord of the Kušta'" and the "Treasurer". He was also given the authority upon all the world of Light and upon all the škinas and also upon the underworlds of Darkness.518

Manda d-Hiia was engaged in an astral war with the evil powers of the World of Darkness before the creation of the cosmos. Before he descended to the underworld, Manda d-Hiia did some reconnaissance of the dwelling of evil ones. He saw the furnaces of the consuming flame which was full of destroyers and dragons. He saw the rebellious monsters plotting wickedly against the good ones and forging weapons. He saw the "angels of that place" inflamed against each other. He saw Rūha Qadaštā sitting there with her humurtas (female spirits) practicing false magic. He

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its members was ceaselessly engaged. For the nature of Darkness is hate and strife, and it must fulfill this nature against itself until the encounter with the Light presents an external and better object" (Jonas 1958: 213).

516 The term ošdaš maruda "rebels" is found in the Manichean writings extant in Syriac maruda. Widengren 1946: 43.

517 GRL p. 68: 17. The text:

518 GRR pp. 86-87 Cf. Marduk's conditions, that "if he was to champion the gods they must delegate to him their authority, he must have supreme command" before confronting Ti'amat (Jacobsen 1976: 147).
saw the arrogant King of Darkness challenging whoever claims that he was stronger than him.\textsuperscript{519}

\textbf{§ 2.2.7.4.4 - Mandada d-Hiia’s Battle with the King of Darkness (‘Ur)\textsuperscript{520}:}

When the Leviathan of the World of Darkness decided to swallow the world in order to cast down the Great Ones from their thrones, Manda d-Hiia appeared to him in the extensive \textit{ibuša} garment of the Great Ones \textit{dnpiš umitar mn almea} “which was more immense and surpassing from the worlds”.\textsuperscript{521} Manda d-Hiia showed him \textit{margina dmia hiia} the staff of Living Water,\textsuperscript{522} by which the rebels were crushed down. He showed him \textit{klil išata haita}, “the crown of the living fire”, which instilled terror into demons. The King of Darkness rose up and annihilated the whole world; he contained it with his strength and \textit{upalga dpumḥ ubarqa qbar} buried half of his mouth in the earth. He swallowed the black waters and gulped down all the demons and \textit{dewis} and \textit{liliths} and stood \textit{riqan} “empty” (or: “naked”) in the world. Manda d-Hiia approached the monster armed with strength of the Great One and some of his breath reached his garment, but the burning flame of the King of Darkness was extinguished and his navel fell upon the gate (lit: artery) of darkness and all darkness

\textsuperscript{519} GRR p. 97.
\textsuperscript{520} Lady Drower was told by the Mandaeans priests, during her meetings with them in Iraq, that “Ur is the mighty Serpent or dragon of the underworld upon whom the material world rests. Above him are the seven material firmament and below him the seven underworlds of darkness. He has fiery breath like a flame, and his belly is alternately fire and ice. Souls too impure to undergo the lighter purification of \textit{matarata} (purgatory) are drawn into his belly, and amongst these are unbelievers” (MII p. 253, n. 3).
\textsuperscript{521} The garment has secret powers against the enemies and confers superior power on the wearer and therefore it is a weapon. The garment of Manda d-Hiia has such magic powers that he could, with his other weapons, subdue the powers of Darkness Zaehner 1955: 118.
\textsuperscript{522} Cf. the cedar staff ‘the darling of the great gods’ in the old Mesopotamian legends. The staff is the ‘symbol of Life’ and the sign of kingship which contains magical powers. (Widengren 1950: 8, 9). The Assyrians called the staff ‘\textit{kakku}’ a weapon which is considered as divine symbol at the same time (Chicago Assyrian Dict., p. 50).
was formed from him. Manda d-Hiia seized his eyes and wrapped him with four shawls. He fettered the Evil's heart, dissolved his joints and crushed his liver. He folded his stomach with his bowels, wrapped his navel with a veil, tied a knot around his heart and cast poison in his entrails. He bound the King of Darkness with a fetter and put a muzzle on his mouth. The King of Darkness became tongue tied and retreated to his kanna place crying, "Alas, alas onto myself!" Manda d-Hiia did not pay attention to the Evil's begging to forgive him and have mercy on him; instead he imprisoned him in his place and appointed rude giant guards to watch over him.

When the King of Darkness tried to get rid of his fetters, Manda d-Hiia rose by the powers of the Life and created an iron wall around him. He tied seven knots around him and wrapped him with twelve veils. He bound him with the great voice and fettered him with a fetter so the seven zahriria flashes (or: flames) departed him. He flung his club and struck him and split his head. He made him shriek like a woman and made him weep like a child. He made dung into his food and urine into his drink and extinguished his devouring and destroying fire. He deprived him from his lust (or: greed) and clothed him with wrath. When Manda d-Hiia was triumphed he erected a throne for the good ones and set up a glamorous light beside it.

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523 GRR p. 98 ff.
524 GRR. P. 102.
525 GRR p. 108.
§ 2.2.7.5.5 - Mandada d-Hiia Thwarts Rūha's Plans to Seduce Adam:

Rūha\textsuperscript{526} and her retinue, the planets and the demons, began forging plans to capture Adam and keep him in their world: “We will entrap and catch Adam and detain him with us in the world!” \textsuperscript{527} They planned to entrap him with horns and flutes and draw him into their congregation.\textsuperscript{528} They proposed to arrange a feast and practice razia qrhamta the “secrets of love”. Rūha and her party went up the Mount Carmel and set up their assembly and began practicing the secrets of love and said: “We will perform the secret of love with myrtle and entrap the whole world. We will perform the mystery of love with wine and entrap the world by our drunkenness. We will perform the mystery of love with drinking water.” \textsuperscript{529} They took the living water and poured turbid water into it. They took the head of the tribe and practiced on him the mystery of love and of lust, through which all the worlds are inflamed. They practiced on him seduction, by which all the worlds are seduced. They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness, by which all the worlds are made drunken. The worlds are made drunk by it and turn their faces to the sea of Sup.\textsuperscript{530}

Adam, the son of Adam, was inflicted with hasiruta “blunder” and his eyes found no sleep. He left his mother, Hawa (Eve) and turned his back to his brothers

\textsuperscript{526} Rūha, the queen of Darkness (see §2.3.9).
\textsuperscript{527} GRR p. 124: 21 f.
\textsuperscript{528} GRR p. 125: 6 f.
\textsuperscript{529} GRR p. 130
\textsuperscript{530} GRR p. 132. The terms “drunkenness” and “intoxication” in Gnosticism refer to “ignorance” which is apposed by “sobriety” and “knowledge”. Jonas believes that the term “intoxication” requires a special comment. He writes, “The “drunkenness” of the world is a phenomenon peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual aspect of what the Gnostics understand by the term ‘world’. It is induced by the “wine of ignorance” which the world everywhere proffers to man.” He adds, “the ignorance of drunkenness is the soul’s ignorance of itself, its origin and its situation in the alien world.” To support this case, he cited the following from the Odes of Solomon XI. 6-8: “From the Lord’s spring came speaking water in abundance to my lips. I drank and was drunken with the water of everlasting life, yet my drunkenness was not that of ignorance, but I turned away from vanity” (Jonas 1958: 71f.). *gnds, nima rba d-sup (often) the Great Ocean of destruction (MD, p. 323).*
while they were asleep. He climbed the walls of the fortress and headed towards the Rüha's assembly. Rüha welcomed him warmly and she laughed, gladdened and became rejoiced and all the Planets started to serve him. They offered him a drink, once, twice, and three times until he was intoxicated and his body desired dance. Then Rüha took him by the hand unapšš šalth zaniuta “and he desired to fornicate with her”.

When he held her and kissed her and was about to sleep with her, Manda d-Hiia appeared to him in a cloud of radiance. He made Adam hear an overwhelming voice and made his heart fall from its support. He undid the spells of Rüha and Adam felt ashamed. Manda d-Hiia shone in his pure garment and took away the secrets of Rüha and her party. He revealed their mysteries, discredited their speech and belied their oaths. He threw Rüha off her throne and held her back with a camel-bridle. He threw her down, struck her with his scourge and split her head open. He bound her and tied her up to the heart of heavens. He grasped Šamiš by the secret things (genitals) and made him like a woman. He made Yorba a sissy and struck Sin with his scourge. He seized kukba biša the evil planet and hurled him down. He struck Bel (Jupiter) and removed the crown from his head. He smote Nirig (Mars) with his mace

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531 GRR, p. 136.
532 GRR, p. 137.
533 GRR, p. 138.
534 GRR, p. 139.
535 Šamiš, Akk. šamšu(m) sun-god, sun (A Concise Dict. of Akk., p. 354), Aram ḫσššš sun Masc., Ar.  تحديث Fem. (see also MD, p. 443). In one of the Mandaic incantations, Šamaš is described as the “Blind One who is over the spheres, and Lame One who is over the chariots” Yamauchi 1967: 243, text 22: 131-133).
and amputated his limbs. He dealt with the planets who became arrogant towards the family of Life and exposed their follies to world.\textsuperscript{537}

\textbf{§ 2.2.7.6 - The Life Praises Manda d-Hiia for his Victory:}

The Life thanked Manda d-Hiia for his distinguished triumph over the King of Darkness and the other forces of Darkness and bestowed on him more glory than ever before. The Life hailed the strength and courage of the heavenly warrior who could valiantly defeat the devouring fire:

The Life thanked me, and gave me more radiance (or: glory) and spoke to me, "\textit{Kušṭa} preserves you, good one, and preserve the word you have spoken." The Life spoke blissfully to the \textit{uthras} and said: "Hail the strength of the man who could cure the water with fire. Hail the strength of the man against whom the fire sinned not." The \textit{Uthra} shone with his radiance, and trod out a path for the perfect ones and rewarded them fully.\textsuperscript{538}

"At the end of the ceremony", the Life embraced and kissed the Uthra, and handed him the '\textit{Kušṭa}' like the great ones. Once again the Life and the rest of the \textit{uthras} praised Manda d-Hiia for his achievement by hailing him: \textit{abad ukašar qruia l'uthra ġkul ġtibad tikšar} "He acted and seceded!" they hailed him, "Whatever you do you shall succeed!"\textsuperscript{539}

\textsuperscript{537} GRR pp. 140,141. Both narrations of Manda d-Hiia's triumph over the powers of darkness hold traces of similar myths such as the Ugaritic myth of Baal who crushed Lotan, the swift serpent. The King of Darkness ('Ur) who was defeated by Manda d-Hiia is similar to Leviathan, the monster, which was defeated by Yahweh at creation (Isaiah 27: 1) (Ringgren 1973: 149). Many resemblances are also found in the epic of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat (Jacobsen 1976: 175 ff.).

\textsuperscript{538} GRR p. 109: 10 f. Cf. the Ugaritic message from Mot to Baal praising Baal's triumph over the seven-headed serpent "Lotan" (Ringgren 1973: 148-9).

\textsuperscript{539} GRR 109: 21 f.
When Ptahil, with the help of Ruha and her retinue the Planets, finished creating Adam and Eve, Manda d-Hiia approached Adam in a corporeal form lest not to frighten him. He sat beside Adam and sprinkled the splendor of the Great Mana over him. Mand d-Hiia began to instruct him, with a sublime voice, and awakened his heart from his sleep.\textsuperscript{540}

Manda d-Hiia thwarted the evil goals of the demons who intended to draw Adam to their congregation and destroyed their evil plans against him. Manda d-Hiia and the other uthras arranged a great wedding for Adam, in which they recited hymns and liturgies. They disgraced the words of Ruha and suppressed her seditious call. They eliminated the evil of the Planets and brought all the monsters to naught. Manda d-Hiia and his company of the uthras set up the root of life, and the Life triumphed and brought victory to Adam's race. They remained with Adam until Hawa (Eve) was in labour. Manda d-Hiia played the part of sabus 'nšia (conjugal instructor?) who instructed Adam how to marry a woman. Manda d-Hiia said: "Let the race of the Life be bountiful! The race of the Life will be bountiful, and from them the world will come to life. The world will come to life from them, and the Life will show them his gratitude, deliver them, and raise them from this world of the evil ones."\textsuperscript{541}

Manda d-Hiia established Adam on top of the building like the great ones, and made Hawa (Eve) in the shape of the cloud of light. Manda d-Hiia appointed uthras

\textsuperscript{540} in DY we read: "they created a messenger and sent him to the head of generation. He called out into the unrest of the world. Adam, who was lying down, awakened." (DY, p. 47) Rudolph believes that the "Gnostic view of the world demands revelation which comes outside the cosmos and displays the possibility of deliverance; for of himself man cannot escape from his prison in which according to this religion he is shut up. He is not only imprisoned but "asleep" or 'drunken'" (Rudolph, 1983: 119). For more details concerning the "call" and the "awakening", see Jonas 1958: pp. 80 ff.

\textsuperscript{541} GRR pp. 127-128.
to look after Adam and he was their leader. He began to teach Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve) wonderful hymns and the right rituals of *masiqta* "Ascension". He taught them prayers to the Life in order to strengthen their faith. He said to them: "You are raised and established in the place where the good ones are established. Amongst the Manas of Light you will be established." Manda d-Hiia sat and taught them like a teacher who taught his novice. He prayed for them and blessed them with the bless of the Great Ones. He prayed to Adam to rise and see the world of Light.

When Rūha discovered that all her evil plans were in vain, she decided to leave the scene with her retinue, but only to indulge themselves in new evil plans against the Messenger of Life and Adam.542

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542 GRR, pp. 127-129.
§ 2.3 - The Third Account of Theogony:
§ 2.3 - The Third Account of Theogony:

In the third theogonic version the following variants are found in addition to the two preceding theogonic texts. In this text the Life instructs Manda d-Hiia concerning the creation. He informs him: (1) when the pira Fruit was inside the pira, malka d-nhūra (the King of Light) came into being. (2) From the King of Light, the Great Radiant Ayar (Ether) came into being and (3) from the Great Radiant Ayar, 'sata haita (the Living Fire) came into being (4) By the power of the King of Light, the Life, fruit and Jordan came into being and (5) from the living water (of the Jordan), the Life came into being (6) all the 'uthras came into being (Chart C).

In this version of creation we note that the main creator is malka d-nhūra the King of Light and not the Mana, and by his power the Life came into being. Also a new element is taking part in the process of creation. It is the 'sata haita the Living Fire from which nhūra (the light) emanated:

Before all the worlds came into being there was this great fruit. When the great fruit was in the great fruit, the King of Light came into existence. From the great and glorious King of Light the great ether of radiance came into being. From the great glorious King of Light Ayar Ziwa Rba (the Great Radiant Ayar) came into being. From Ayar Ziwa Rba the living fire 'sata haita

543 In the Gnostic (Mandaic) dualism there are two rival kings: malka d-nhura (the king of light) and malka d-hšuka (the king of darkness). Cf. Mazdaean cosmology: "In the beginning Ohrmazd (the Spirit of Good) was on high and dwelt in the Endless Light: he was characterized by omniscience and wisdom which some call Religion (dēn). Ahriman (the Spirit of Evil) was in the depths and dwelt in the endless Darkness: he was slow in knowledge and his will was to do harm. Between the kingdoms of light and darkness the Void which some call Vāy" (Zaehner 1955: 91, cited from Greater Bundahišn).
was brought into being. From the living fire, the light \( nh\text{\textsuperscript{u}}ra \) came into being. By the power of the King of Light, Life came into being and the great fruit. The great fruit came being, and in it the Jordan came into being. The great Jordan came into being. The great Jordan came into being, there came into being the living water. The radiant and resplendent water came into being, and from the living water, I, the Life, came into being. I, the Life, came into being, and then all the uthras came into being.

§ 2.3.1 - The King of Light:

The King of Light is not mentioned in the opening of the prayers in the different chapters of the Manadaean scriptures. It is the Life and Manda d-Hiia (the Gnosis of Life) who enjoy this privilege. The King of Light has no role in the Mandaean rituals and rarely mentioned in their scrolls and he is mentioned only once in tractate III (The Story of Creation) of the Ginza. But the King of Light remains a major player in the dualist system of Mandaic Gnosticism. Whether the Mandaeans represented the “King of Light” as their “one god” to prove to the Moslems, after their invasion to Iraq in the sixth century, that they were monotheist in order to avoid either converting into Islam or put to death, remains an issue which needs to be

544 GRR p. 91: 17 f.
545 GRR pp. 91: 17 ff.
546 The Manicheans believed that the “King of the Paradise of Light”, who is God Most High, brought the revelation to Mani when he was twelve years old. Ibn al-Nadim, Fihrist, Beirut (1994); English translation: Dodge, L., London (1970) p. 774;
547 All none Moslems had to prove to the Moslem invaders that they were people of the book. All “infidels” had to either convert to Islam or put to death. Some sects preferred to follow the Taqia; that is pretend to be people of the book in order to avoid certain death. The Taqia (مِبْدأ لِلْجَهَّالِ) was originated from Islam itself and means “hypocritical” or “prevention”. It is a
investigated, as "the development of Mandaeism still remains one of the central problems of the history of religion." 548

On the other hand, the Mandaean scriptures describe the King of Light as anterior to all the mysteries – the Jordan, radiance, light and air and beams of light, and the crown, and *kušta* (covenant), *pihta* (sacred bread) and the myrtle wreath – each mystery is more revered and sublime than any one of its companions.549 He is situated in the lofty north,550 strong, beautiful, and glorious, the origin of all luminous beings and father of all *uthras*.551 He is the true deity, the lofty king whose powers are endless and infinite. No death comes near him and fadedness does not touch his nature:

The great Lord of all kings: nothing was when he was not and nothing would be were he not to be; death is not imposed on him and evanescence means nothing to him. His light illuminates and his radiance irradiates all the worlds, and the kings who stand before him and shine in their radiance and in the great light which rests upon them. He gave them prayer and praise, which settled in their hearts, those who stand in the clouds of light.552

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precautionary principle in Islam and dictates that the Moslem is allowed to lie in order to protect himself from any damage might be incurred on him by the enemy if he tells the truth. 548 Macuch, R., from the preface of *The Scroll of Exalted Kingship* by Buckley, J., American Oriental Society (1993).

549 ATš, pp. 197-98. The text:

550 According to the Mandaeans the locus of the "realm of Light" is to the north. In book 12: 7 of the Ginza we read: "All the world calls the north a highland. For the world of darkness lie in the lowland of the South . . . Whose dwelleth in the North is light of colour but those who live in the lowlands are black and their appearance is ugly like demons." (MII p. 9, GRR pp. 340-41) The text:

551 GRR p.3: 17 – 3: 25. The text:

552 GRR pp 2: 13 – pp 3: 3). The text:
The Mandaeans believe that stars and planets contain supernatural powers (spirits) which affect the destinies of mankind and these powers are obedient to Malka d-Nhūra the King of Light.\textsuperscript{553} The Mandaeans personify the light by the great light spirit Malka d-Nhūra surrounded by countless numbers of melki (kings; beings of light).\textsuperscript{554}

The King is delighted with the children of light. He calls one (of them), and a thousand answer him. By his word he planted uthras, and by the word of his moth he made the perfect raising. King of all the uthras and Škinas, great crown at the top of the heights, gentle one, who subdue powerful, might, that restrain the rebellious.\textsuperscript{555}

The sparkles of his crown flash all around and rays of radiance, of light, and of glory issue from his face and between the leaves of his wreath. All the uthras and kings, all the worlds (beings) stand there in prayer and praise that sublime King of Light.\textsuperscript{556}

No carpenter has built his throne and builder built his house. No one can visualize the nature of Malka d-Nhūra “the King of Light” and no one can comprehend the great Light. His sacred name is hidden from everyone, and no one can call him by his real name:

No human carpenters constructed the throne beneath him; no master-builder in clay built the houses of his throne. He is King from the very beginning, whose kingdom lasts for ever and never passes away.\textsuperscript{557}

\textsuperscript{553} MII p. xviii.

\textsuperscript{554} Ibid xxi.

\textsuperscript{555} GRR 8: 5 – 11). The text:

\textsuperscript{556} GRR pp 4: 19 – pp 4: 24. The text:

\textsuperscript{557} GRR, p. 7: 5. The text:
There is no name like his name, and there is no one that can name him by his (real) name, there is no one that can name him by his (real) title (or: nature).558

§ 2.3.2 - Ziwa uNhūra Radiance and Light:

Radiance is the active and the male power of light,559 which accompanied the great Manas in their first emanation.560 Radiance in ‘the mystical teachings or inner gnosis of Mandaean’ represent the male factor, “whereas nhūra light represent its female complement.”561 Radiance is considered the ancient Primal Father and referred to as pure “gold”, where as the Light is the ancient Primal Mother and referred to as “silver”:

Now as to these two mysteries of ziwa and nhūra (radiant light and diffuse light): know that they are the ancient primal Father and Mother. Pure gold is the mystery of the Father, its name is Radiance: silver is the Mother’s mystery and its name is Light. Silver is the Mother’s mystery [symbol] and its name is Light. The Crown is the Father’s symbol and its name is Radiance: the myrtle-wreath the symbol of the Mother and its name is “Let there be Light”. The “owner of a crown” [a priest] is concerned with the mystery of the Father. A Mandaean [layman] and his wife are occupied with the mystery of the Mother.562

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558 GRR, p. 5: 25. The Text:

559 AT§, p. 16. Lady Drower comments: “The implication that ziwa (radiance is an approximate translation), the syzygy of nhūra, is an active, creative male principle and light is a receptive (female) principle occurs more than once in AT§” (SA p. 6).


561 AT§, p. 16.

562 AT§, p. 201, Drower’s translation, text collated:
There is more than one metaphor in the Mandaean dualism symbolizing sex and fecundity (male and female principles) such as: ziwa radiance and nhura light, aina wellspring and sindirka the palm tree, hiia Life and dmut-hiia counterpart or šauta companion, Jordan river (or: running water) and arqa earth. Some of the above ideas are found in a prayer known as “šal šulta” where the divine marriage is “typified in three allegorical pairs; Radiance and Light,Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia, and the Date-palm and wellspring”:\textsuperscript{563}

Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the First great Light.
Praised be the mystic Tanna (womb?) which dwells in the great mystic First Wellspring and the First Date-palm. Praised be the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance. Praised is Simat-Hiia, Mother of all Kings, for from Her all world proceeded, because She was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.\textsuperscript{564}

Light and Darkness is the main motif of the Mandaic Gnosticism and dualism. The whole existence consists of two worlds: the World of Light with its heavenly jordans and battalions of Beings of lights “\textit{uhtras}”, against the World of Darkness with its demons, liliths and evil beings. The hostility between these two worlds is eternal, but these worlds cannot be isolated because they derive their powers from each other:

The worlds of darkness and the worlds of light are Body and Counterpart, (they are complements) of one another, neither can

\textsuperscript{563} SA, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{564} CP, [171] p. 154, Drower’s translation, text collated:
remove from nor approach the other, nor can one distinguish either from its partner, moreover each derives strength from the other. 565

The Mandaean literature informs us that Light came into existence by the power of the high divinities at the beginning of existence. It is the Light of the Great First Life which together with the Radiance encircle the Mana (the first intelligence):

Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be light of the Great First Life!566. Before the Mana there is light, behind the Mana glory, and at either side of the Mana radiance, brilliance and purity.567

During the baptism rituals, the priest proceeds towards the river, wades up in water, opens the gate of Light and compresses the evil elements of Darkness with his staff after the recitation of certain prayers. He commences these prayers with the name of the Life, the he praises the Radiance and the Light:

In the name of the Life! Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light!568 “Strengthened and enhanced is he great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life.”569

Radiance and Light play an essential role in the religious life of the sect. For example; it is the duty of every Na§oraean (Mandaean) to carry out every single detail of the ritual in a perfect way, even when he wears his ritual rasta “outfit” and put on his turban, because his outfit symbolizes the Radiance and the Light:

565 ATŠ, p. 213. (Mandaean ATŠ (54) pp. 69-70). Drower’s translation, text collated:

566 Cf. “And God said, Let there be light: and there was light” (Genesis 1: 3).

567 CP, p. 4.

568 CP, p. 154.

569 CP, p. 5.
And Manda ď-Hiia, the valorous ‘Uthra, taught, revealed and said:
“Every man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolizing the great mystery of radiance, light and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon.”

During baptism the Mandaean has to anoint with radiance and light, not in the name of a god or a spirit:

Anoint with radiance, light and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (given) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race.

§ 2.3.3 - §ata Haiata The Living Fire:

The Mandaean literature do not provide us with sufficient knowledge concerning ‘§ata hiata “the living fire” or “the living flame” except it was created in the “house of Life”, and that Ptahil fetched some of the living fire and tossed it, with a piece of his garment, into the black waters, and thus the earth condensed and became solid. The living fire is a constructive element of creation in contrast with the ‘§ata kilta “consuming fire” which is destructive. The living fire along with the consuming fire spread among the stars. The messengers and ‘utras are usually

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570 CP, p. 2
571 CP, p. 19. According to the Zervan system (Zervan is the time god of old Persia), light is identical with time. (Pallis 1926: 69)
572 GRR, p. 320: 8.
573 GRR, p. 320: 25.
574 Cf. חלול והיה אלהי yol "the Lord thy God is a consuming fire” Deuteronomy 4: 23-24.
575 GRR, p. 319: 10. The text:
dressed in the garments of living fire. Manda d-Hiia used *klila d’sata haita* the crown of the living fire in his battle with the King of Darkness. The “living fire” is mentioned in Manichaean literature in phrases such as the “ships of living fire and water” or the “wheels of the living fire”.

§ 2.3.4 - The ‘Uthra:

First of all, we have to admit that the word ‘*uthra* is not easy to explain. The *Mandaic Dictionary* defines the word as “wealth” according to Nöldke, whereas Drower defines it as an “eternal being; a spirit of light and life.” The word is derived from a root meaning “to increase”, “be abounding”, and unlike *malkia* who are sometimes good and sometimes evil, ‘*uthras* are invariably pure and beneficent. These beings of light are comparable with the *yazatas* in Zoroastrianism. The *yazatas* (like the ‘*uthras*) cannot be rendered as “gods” or “angels” but they are associated with the divine and perform mundane tasks. In contrast to the abhored *daevas*, the *yazatas* were capable of being worshipped. They are also the guardians of the

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576 GRR, 299:19. The text:
577 GRR, p. 99.
578 Gardner & Lieu, 2004:15.
580 MD, p. 347. Nöldke defines *uthra* as “Reichtum” “wealth” (MG, p. 104 n. 4, Arabic *أثرة*). In the Manichean Psalms of Thomas the sons of light are also called “the Riches” (Widengren, 1961: 93-4). Drower associates *uthra* with the Syriac *acağını* “to be rich”, “abounding” and finds no reason why *uthra* not to be translated as “wealth” and she does not agree with Lidzbarski’s suggestion that the Mandaeans chose the word *uthra* to avoid confusion with Jewish and Moslem names for angels. She reaches the conclusion that the *‘uthri* might originally have been life-spirits bringing fertility and wealth in the shape of spring and rain. She bases her conclusion on W. Robertson Smith, who mentioned in his book *Religion of the Semites*, that there was a god in South Arabia named Athtar who presided over irrigation, and claimed that *‘athari* referred to being watered by the sky and fountains. (MII pp. 94-5, n.2).
581 ATŚ, p. 15.
582 SA, p. 56.
583 ATŚ, p. 15.
celestial bodies and the messengers of Ahura Mazda. The chief Yazata is Mithra and some of the others include Daena, Mah, Rashnu, Tistrya, and Zam. Just like the case with the word "uthra', Boyce admits the difficulty in defining the word yazatas and prefers to leave it untranslated.584

Even the Mandaean liturgies cannot give us a satisfactory explanation concerning the 'uthras, except that they resemble radiance and rays of light and they do not lie. It is the Planets who lie and they will come to end on the great day of Sup:

Who will come, who will tell me what uthras are like, what uthras resemble, and what do rays-of-light resemble? Uthras resemble Radiance, "Rays" resemble Light. Uthras pledge their word (lit. take oath) and do not lie, The planets lie: they Come to an end on the Great Last Day.585

According to Mandaeanism, Uthras were created when the ether-world came into being, and the ether-world was peopled by angelic beings, "uthras":

In it (in the ether-world) ziwa Radiance will form itself and sublime Light nhūra be set up therein. In there will be uthras and Rays-of-Light will be established therein appearances that shine with lovely radiance.586

584 Boyce, 1975: 196, 225. The yazatas were revered in the Near East during the reign of Shapur II until the fourth century when some parts of the region (like Armenia) converted into Christianity and the old cultic centers of the Zoroastrian divinities, the yazatas were turned into Christian sites (Stoyanov 2000: 99).

585 CP, p. 126 ṭab ṭaba ṭabia pp. 168-169 Hymn no. 141. Drower's translation, text collated:

586 CP, prayer 233 p. 186, Mandaean p. 243. The text:
These beings are made of light, which emanated from radiance and from the living water, which gushed out from the Light. They are not First Emanations, but they were created by them:

In the land of Light, the Life existed; the Life existed in the land of Light. And from the Life, water poured forth, water poured forth form the Life. And from the water Radiance emanated, and from Radiance, Light emanated, and from Light the uthras came into being, who are standing and praising the Life.\textsuperscript{587}

The uthras are not like human beings. They do not need to communicate by means of vocal sounds; they communicate telepathically. They can read the thoughts of each other and converse to each other by means of baptism and masiqtas (rituals of ascension of the soul) and prayers. They are so swift and light and glow more than the stars (lamps):

And that which conveys the intercourse of uthras is the sublime ether. And they are alike in the meditations of their hearts, talking with a person with their thoughts and not speaking (\textit{with their mouths}). \textit{Uthras} converse with one another by means of their baptism and masiqtas and their devotional prayers: the resemble stars which quickly come out and go in, the one with its fellow (- star), for they are swifter than the wind and as brilliant as lamps.\textsuperscript{588}

The uthras are ancient and older than earth and the Planets:

\textsuperscript{587} GRR book 15: 20 p. 442: 11. The text:
\textsuperscript{588} AT$\hat{S}$, p. 213 (Mandaean AT$\hat{S}$ p. 69), the text:
Any uthra is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years.⁵⁸⁹

Abatur is the father of the uthras. Hibil, Šitil and Anoš are the famous triad of uthras in the Mandaean tradition. Adathan and Yadathan, Šalmāi and Nidbai, are another two famous pairs of uthras. Šalmāi and Nidbai are the guardian spirits of the Jordan, the delegates of Manda d-Hiia, who carry out the work of the Life. Adathan and Yadathan stand at the Gate of Life and praise and worship Life:

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Adathan and Yadathan, who stand at the Gate of Life, and praise and extol Life, And pray for the spirits and souls of righteous and believing people in the Place of Life. (Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Šalmāi and Nidbai, two uthras delegates of Manda d-Hiia who are active and do (the work of) the Life.⁵⁹⁰

The uthras live in their Škinas in the world beyond and instructed by their king 'the king of the uthras' about the mysteries of their world:

The king of uthras came, he set off and came, the king of uthras to the Škinta in which the uthras sit. He said to them “About what ye been instructed, (O) uthras?” “About the Mana that is within the Occult, about the Mana that came into being in the Hidden, and about the Radiance that glows in a hidden place”.⁵⁹¹

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⁵⁸⁹ CP, p. 1, Mandaean Ma§buta p. 24. The text:

⁵⁹⁰ CP, p. 86, (Mandaean Hymns & Prayers pp. 240, 242). Drower’s translation, text collated:

⁵⁹¹ CP, 172, Mandaean pp. 213-214, hymn n. 200. The text:
Book III of the Ginza Rba tells us that countless battalions of *uthras* came into being when the Life called forth “the Second Life”. One of these *uthras* was Abatur, the eldest son of the Second Life who advised his father to defy the Life and create a new world. They live with the sublime world of the King of Light in his abode that is translucent and bright, with great crowns on their heads.

The Mandaeans avoid using the word (*malka*) for the heavenly beings. *Malkia*, “kings”, apart from its literal and derived meaning when applied to priests, is a term which may indicate evil beings as well as good: there is a *malka d-nhura* (king of light) and *malka d-hšuka* (king of darkness):

*Ahalia* (god) descended from his loftiness and assumed the shape of *malakia* angels. The *malakia* angels put on the (masquerade) of demons and day by day they pervert the minds of men. They clench to the necks of priests, slaughterers and oracle-tellers and eat form their flesh until they are full. And drink from their blood until they are satisfied. They speak with (false) wisdom and deception and change the times.

In the story of creation it is written that the higher deity, the Great *Mana*, bestowed the title “the king of the *uthras*” on Manda d-Hiia before sending him down to put an end to the mutiny of the Second Life’s *uthras*:

You are the king of *uthras*, the Lord of the *kušṭa* (covenant) and the Creator of the treasures, we give authority upon all the worlds of Light

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592 GRR book 3 p. 84.
593 GRR books 1 and 2 contain detailed description of the *uthras* and their world of light.
594 GRR book 5: 2 pp. 201: 25, 202. The text:
and the uthras of light who dwell in the škinas and upon the underworld of darkness.\textsuperscript{595}

Those beings of light are made up of many kinds and fall into earths, škinas, Jordans, trees, uthras, and angels, as well as radiance, light, and brightness which rest upon them, and no borders separate them.\textsuperscript{596}

\textbf{§ 2.3.5 - alma d-nhūrā The World of Light:}

The worlds of darkness and the worlds of light are Body and Counterpart, (they are complements) of one another. Neither can remove from or approach the other, nor can one distinguish either from its partner, moreover each derives strength from the other.\textsuperscript{597}

The Ginza Rba portraits the World of Light as a world of fragrance, in which there is no vile odor; a world of eternal life, in which there is no death; pure without evil; a world of goodness without hatred; a world of living water, in whose aroma kings rejoice:

The world, in which he (the King of Light) stands, has no demise:
A world of radiance and light, in which there is no darkness,
a world of calm, in which there is no disturbance,
a world if justice, in which there is no chaos of confusion,
a world of fragrance, in which there is no despicable smell,
a world of eternal life, in which there in no demise or death,
a world of living waters, in whose fragrance kings rejoice,
a world of goodness, in which there is no evil,

\textsuperscript{595} GRR p. 86: 21f. The text:
\textsuperscript{596} GRR, book I, p. 11: 17.
\textsuperscript{597} ATš, p. 213. (Mandaean ATš (54) pp. 69-70). The text:
a world of truth (kuṣṭa) and faith, in which there is no deception or lying;
it is a pure world, without evil adulteration.598

The World of Light is a place of life, truth. Their buildings are of pure crystal and their škinas (abodes) are made out of light. Mandaean souls long to see it and dwell in it:

That place is a place of life, truth (kuṣṭa), peace, security, joy, and faith, for which everyone hopes and in which everyone puts his trust. The King rejoices at the children of light, and they pride themselves on him. Their buildings and škinas are built of radiance and light, and their walls are full of strength and stability.599

Beings of light and kings (angels) of radiance dwell in the World of Light. They gentle and wise, loving without malice. They are arrayed in garments of light. Their thoughts are open to each other and they know the First and the Last. Their clothes do not wither and their wreaths do not fade away:

They are clothed in garments of radiance and are arrayed in a covering of light. They sit and dwell together, without offending one another and without sinning against one another. They are honored in their firmament and match as the eyelash the eye. Their thoughts are open on one another, and they know the First and the Last. They are a thousand thousand parasang (league) distant from one another

598 GRR 9: 4-18. The text:

599 GRR 12: 21 - 13: 1. The text:
and (yet) one is illuminated by the other's radiance, one is fragrant through another's fragrance, one administer kuṣṭa to the other and they understand one another's thoughts. They have escaped every kind of death and death's corruption is not decreed for them. There is no passing away for them, they do not grow old, their strength does not diminish, and they are not plagued by diseases and infirmities. Their vesture does not become black nor their covering dark. Their (myrtle) wreaths do not wither; they do not crumble and do not lose their leaves.\textsuperscript{600}

The World of Light is located to the north where Abatur is enthroned. Mandaean\hspace{1.5em}towards the Polar Star (Polaris), the region of the vault of heaven, during their prayers. The North is the source of light, instruction and healing. If a Mandaean wishes to pray and reflect, he faces the north and their dead are buried towards the north. Their bit-manda (temple) always faces the north. The House of Abatur (Abatur of the Scales) is situated north controlling the path which leads to the Realm of Light. From her long stay in Iraq and the extensive study and her lengthy observation of the Mandaens rituals, Lady Drower believes that the climate of Mesopotamia was a main factor which made the Mandaens chose the north as their Qiblah (direction for prayers) and the direction according to which they bury their dead.\textsuperscript{601}

\textsuperscript{600} GRR 9: 24 – 10:13. The text:

\textsuperscript{601} The Mandeans believe that the north is the source of light and healing. On the contrary the Parsis had a natural hatred for the north because they believe that the north is the source of all evil (MII p. 18, n. 9).
The world of Light is a metaphysical world beyond the reach of the evil Planets. Physics does not apply and no gravity is needed; it is independent in its own laws:

Their earth does not rest on anvils (: supports), their firmament does not rotate on wheels, the seven stars do not pass over them, and the Five and the Twelve do not control their destiny.602

§ 2.3.6 - alma d-hšuka The World of Darkness:

The World of Darkness is in contrast to the World of Light.603 The World of Darkness is dominated by all kinds of demons and monsters and ruled by the King of Darkness. According to the Mandaeans, the earth of Darkness is located to the south of the earth of Light,604 beneath the earth of Darkness:

Beyond the earth of light downwards and beyond the earth Tibil, in the South there is that earth of darkness.605

The composition of the World of Darkness is different from the World of Light and do not resemble in any way that of the World of Light:

It has a form which is different and isolate from the earth of light, for they are (both) different from each other in every quality and shape.606

602 GRR p. 13: 8. The text:
603 Manichaeism teaches that light and darkness are: "Like two kings fighting each other, who have been enemies from the beginning and each of whom respectively has his own territory, darkness by coincidence rose up out of its limits and attached light." (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 182).
604 The Manicheans believe that the realm of the King of Darkness is located to the south of the Kingdom of Life (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 12).
605 GRR 333: 13:
606 GRR 333: 15:
Darkness exists through its own evil nature and the worlds of Darkness are numerous and without limit:

Darkness exists through its own evil nature. It is a horrid darkness, a desolate gloominess which knows not the First and the Last.607

The Mandaeans believe that the underworld is made of six layers; this lowest (first) is copper, then iron, brass, steel, gold, silver and dust. 'Ur, the King of Darkness is confined in arqa ḏnhaša “the earth of copper” by Hibil-Ziwa.608

The inhabitants of the World of Darkness show no fidelity to their habitation. Their earth is black waters and their heights are deep darkness:

The worlds of darkness are numerous and without end.609 Broad and deep is the abode of evil, whose peoples showed no commitment to the place which is their endless habitation, whose kingdom came into being from themselves.610 They came into being from the tanna (womb) and procreation of the Darkness and from the whole saka (extreme, limit) of the Black Waters.611 Their earth is black water and their heights gloomy darkness.612

Manichaeism, which adopted the Persian dualism, also believes that the universe consists of two worlds: World of Light and the World of Darkness and Satan came into being from the World of Darkness, as we read in the Fihrist, Mani said: “From the land of Darkness there was Satan (al-Šayṭān), who is not eternal in his own person, but the elements of his ingredients are eternal. These elements of his ingredients became compound and brought Satan into existence” (The Fihrist of al-Nadim, tr. Dodge 1970: 778).

607 GRR 333: 18:
608 For more details of the struggle between Ur and Hibil-Ziwa see MII p. 252.
609 GRR 334: 1
610 GRR 334: 2
611 GRR 175: 1
612 GRR 334: 5
But Darkness and Light are bound together, and without darkness there was no light:

For darkness and light are bound together: had there been no dark then light would not have come into being. 613

The Mandaeans envisaged that the "cosmos beyond" consists of two realms: Light and Darkness and each with its own rulers and subjects.614 Those of Light are described as bhiria zidqa "the chosen righteous" who are manda "knowledgeable" of the Life and full with tabuta "goodness", while the sons of Darkness characterized as "foolish" or "evil":615

The world of darkness, utterly full of evil, ... full of devouring fire ... full of falsehood and deceit. A world of turbulence without steadfastness, a world of darkness without light ... a world of death without eternal life, a world in which the good things perish and plans come to naught.616

Manda d-Hiia provides us with a pictorial description of that world and its inhabitants, when he descended to the world of darkness:

I went to the place of darkness; to the place where the evil ones dwell, and to the dwelling which is full of destroyer. (I went to) the place of the dragons, and to the furnaces of the consuming flames. To the furnaces of fire, whose flames ascend (and) reach the middle of firmament. I descended and found the rebellious monsters of the darkness. I descended and found them, as all of them plot in evilness.

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613 AT§ p. 134. Drower’s translation, text collated:

614 Cf. Mani’s description: “The origin of the world was [composed of] two elements, one of which was light and the other darkness. Each of them was separated from the other” (The Fihrist of al-Nadim, tr. Dodge 1970: 777).

615 Reeves, 1996: 95 n. 49.

616 GRR pp. 14-15
They stand and plot in evilness and stand and forge weapons. I beheld the black water in it, which rose up boiling, seething and bubbling. And whoever enters there dies, and whoever beholds it is scorched. I beheld the dragons, which were hurled there and writhe about. I beheld the dragons of every kind and every colour. I beheld the chariots of darkness, which do not resemble one another. I beheld the wicked rebels, as they are seated in their chariots. I beheld the wicked rebels, how they are arrayed with weapons of evil. They are arrayed with weapons of evil, and plot evil against the Place of Light. They were all arrayed with weapons and seated before him, the King of Darkness.

§ 2.3.7- ofrL malka d-hšuka The King of Darkness ('Ur):

The Mandaean myth portrays the King of Darkness ('Ur) in different forms and shapes. Sometimes he is a gigantic reptile where his dragon nature appears and sometimes he is represented as a snake biting its tail (as he is drawn on the Mandaean talisman the skandola). In her book The Mandaens of Iraq and Iran Lady Drower gave a Mandaean drawing representing 'Ur in the form of a louse whose body contains the worlds which extend towards the tail, seven in number: the first is the maṭarta of Šamiš, the second is the world of mšuni kušta (the Mandaean ideal world), the third is the world of the Mandaens and the rest are maṭarthas (watch-houses). Above 'Ur are the seven heavens and under his belly, which is of fire, there is

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617 GRR 97: 2 f.
618 GRR 90: 7 f.
619 In the Mandaen talismanic seal ("Skandola") 'Ur is portrayed as a serpent encircling the other elements of evil; the hornet, the scorpion and the lion (MII p. 38). On the other hand, Mead asserts that 'Ur is originally the Chaldean Deus Lunus (snake); he is the oldest son of Rūha, the world-mother, and corresponds in some respects with the Yaldabaoth of "Ophite" origin (See Mead, 1924: 35 n. 2). Cf. Syriac incantation bowl 117ES where an image of a snake is surrounding the text and eating its own tail (Segal, 2000: 147 plate 134). See also C. H. Gordon, 'Leviathan: Symbol of Evil', apud Biblical Motifs, Origins and Transformations, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, (1966), 1-9.
the black water (oil) which produces fire. Beneath the black water are seven layers of copper-like earth.\footnote{MII p. 254 f.}

The Ginza informs us that the King of Darkness was formed from the black waters and emerged through his own evil nature:

From the black water the King of Darkness was formed, and emerged through his own evil nature. He waxed strong, mighty, and powerful, he called forth and propagated a thousand thousand evil generations without limit and myriad ugly creations beyond count.\footnote{GRR 334: 6. The text:} That King of Darkness assumed all the forms of the creatures of the world: the head of the lion, the body of the dragon, the wings of the eagle, the back of the tortoise, the hands and feet of a monster.\footnote{The above description of the snake/dragon 'Ur resembles Akkadian horned serpent \textit{bašmu} - the mythical monster created in the sea, 60 leagues long with multiple mouths and tongues. (Dalley, 1989: 323) Mani described \textit{al-Saytan “Satan”} as follows: "His head is the head of a lion and is body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and is four feet like the feet of the beast burden" (\textit{The Fihrist of al-Nadim}, Dodge 1970: 778). The story of 'Ur's defeat on the hands of Manda ḍ-Hiia is identical to Leviathan of the Bible, the monster which was defeated by Yahweh at creation, and also to the defeat of Lutan, the swift serpent, by Baal (see Ringgren, 1973: 148-9).} He walks, he crawls, creeps, flies, screams, is rude, threatening, roars, groans, gives (insolent) winks, whistles, and knows all the languages of the world.\footnote{GGR 335: 13. Cf. the Manichaean King of Darkness: "the King of Darkness knows the converse and language of the five worlds. He understands every thing he hears from their mouths, as the address one another; each one of them in his language" (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 201).} When he wants he stretches his body, and when he wants he makes himself small. He moves his \textit{handamḥ “membrum” in and out, and owns (the genitals) of men and women. And when he shakes (perceives?) all the mysteries,\footnote{ragiš Act. pt. RGS ragiš bkulhun razia he perceives (? Lidzb. \textit{er nimmt wahr}) all mysteries (MD p. 425)} he rages with his voice, his word, his smoke, his breath, his eyes, his mouth, his hand, his leg, his strength,
his poison, his wrath, his speech, his fear, his dread, his terror, his roaring, (and) all the worlds of darkness are terrified. His form is hideous, his body stinks, and his face is disfigured. The thickness of his lips measures one hundred and forth four thousand parasangs. The breath of his jaws melts iron, and the rocks are scorched by his breath. He lifts up his eyes and the mountains quake, the whisper of his lips makes the plains quake.

The following verse from the Book of John (draša d-iahiia) shows that this world is defined by darkness, and darkness by the world. It also indicates the contrast between the two different natures of the King of Light and the King of Darkness. This dualism reflects the Gnostic beliefs in general:

Two kings came into being (or: were there), two natures were fashioned: a king of this world and a king beyond the world. The king of these ages (or: aeons) put on a sword and crown of darkness. The crown of darkness he put on and took a sword in his right hand. A sword he took in his right hand and he stands there and slaughters his sons, and his sons slaughter each other. The king beyond the worlds put on a crown of light. A crown of light he put on and took Kušṭa (the Truth) in his right hand. Kušṭa he took in his right hand, he stands there and instructs his sons. He stands there and instructs his sons, and his sons instruct one another.

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625 pars or parsang: Persian mile (MD p. 364).
626 GRR 336: 3
627 Jonas, 1958: 57. He also stated, "The first alien Life is the "King of Light," whose world is "a world of splendor and of light without darkness." Opposed to it is the "world of darkness, utterly full of evil, full of devouring fire, full of falsehood and deceit" (Ibid).
628 draša d-iahiia (The Book of John) pp. 46: 11 - 47: 4. The text:
Book V of the Ginza tells that ‘Ur was the offspring of Ruha and her brother Gaf (one of the lords of the world of Darkness). Other Gnostic stories report that "Pistis Sophia desired to produce alone, without her consort, a work that would be like unto the first-existing Light: it came forth as a celestial image which constituted a curtain between the higher realms of light and the later-born, inferior aeons; and shadow extends beneath the curtain, that is, on its outer side which faces away form the light. The shadow, which was called "Darkness," became matter; and out of this matter comes forth, as an abortion, the lion-shaped Ialdabaoth."

Amazingly the Mandaean still preserve, in some of their literature, the biblical name  "Leviathan" identified with ‘Ur. In ATŠ (The Thousand and Twelve Questions) he is portrayed as the serpent that swallows the sinners and the negligent priests. Also those who are attacked by a snake are "marked with the sign of Leviathan and become the portion of Darkness." On the other hand the characterization of the Mandaean King of Darkness matches the depiction of the demiurge Ialdabaoth who has the aspect of a lion and a serpent cited in the Apocryphon of John.

The Manichaean cosmogony relates that King of Light and the King of Darkness are engaged in fighting each other from the beginning and each of whom has his own realm, darkness by coincidence rose up out of his limits and attacked light (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 182).

629 GRR, book V.
631 ATŠ, [287] p. 262, see also pp. 113, 121, 225, 262, 275.
632 See Quispel, "Gnosticism and the New Testament", Vigiliae Christianae, 1965: 75 in which he stated: "Eventually he is a monstrous figure with the head of a lion and the body of a serpent, like Chnoumis or Abrasax on magical amulets . . . Ialdabaoth says the Apocryphon of
§ 2.3.8 - The Army of the King of Darkness:

The forces of the World of Darkness consist of demons, dewis, (evil) spirits, hmurthas “amulet-spirits”, liliths, kuris “temple-spirits”, prikis “shrine-spirits”, patikris “idol-demons”, arkonis “archons”, malakis “angels”, nalais “vampires”, niulis “hobgoblins”, pigas “misadventure demons”, pilgis “mutant demons”, latabis “devils”, lihanis “net-spirits”, gadultas “ghosts”, and sātanis “Satans”, all the hateful forms of darkness of every kind and variety, male and female of darkness. These creatures are haškia “gloomy”, kumia “black”, ūpšania “filthy”, mriddia “rebellious”, rgisia “furious”, zidania “wrathful”, zihirania “venomous”, saklia “foolish”, ndidia “repulsive”, sahnia “stinking” and zapuria “putrid”. Some among them are harašia “mute”, trišia “deaf”, ţmimia “insensible”, tahinia “dull”, algia “stuttering”, dugia “unhearing”, gugia “babbling”, pigia “idiots”, šgišia “frightful”, laiadita “ignorant”; some among them are hašipia “arrogant”, hamimia hot-headed, taqipia “powerful”, haripia “harsh”, rugzania “ill-tempered”, raktania “lustful”, bnia zma “children of blood”, (of) fanned fire, and overwhelming blaze. ... They partake of every kind of form: some of them crawl on their bellies, some move about in water, some fly, some have many feet like the reptiles of the earth, and some carry a hundred [...] They have molars and incisors in their jaws. ... The taste of their trees is (like) poison and
gall, their sap is (like) naphtha and pitch. Some of these demons survive on devouring humans and spilling (drinking) their blood:

Devis of bit nirig “the house of Mars” fall upon humans and fleece them and cleave their flesh and spill their blood on the ground.

§ 2.3.9 - Rūha: the Queen of Darkness:

Rūha (resp. Namrūs or Hiwat) is the Arch-demoness, the queen of Darkness. She is the daughter of “Qin” the Mistress of Darkness. She is the ruler of the third maṭarta (watch-house), and dwells in first underworld. Rūha is the mother of the King of Darkness ‘Ur, and the mother of the Seven planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five planets. She is considered as a kind of “fallen wisdom figure” resembling Sophia in other Gnostic traditions: she fights and

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634 napat uqira: crude oil and pitch. This is a clear indication to the oil-bearing region of Mesopotamia. The flames of fire in the north oil fields of Kirkuk, the pitch in the western pitch mines of Hit on the Euphrates and the black waters (crude oil) of Ur, Missan and Basrah in the south inspired the old Mesopotamians to portray a superlative revelation of the underworld. GGR 334: 18, 335: 12. The text:

635 For the parallels between the Mandaeans and Akkadian flesh eating and blood drinking demons see Christa Müller-Kessler, “Phraseology in Mandaeic incantations”, ARAM, 1-12 (1999-2000), 293-310 esp. 302.

636 GRR p. 35: 19.

637 Daium is another epithet of Rūha (CP p. 62).

638 Cf. the Manichean Namrael and Neṣpoθ, the mother of the world 'ma dalma whose weapon is a bow, just as in Thomas XIV, where she wants “to take her arrows and shoot them” (Söderbergh 1949: 146).

639 GRR: 6.

640 GRR book 5. See also SA, p. 57.

641 Zaehner stated: “Rūha’s relationship to the male ‘Ur is exactly parallel to the relationship of the demoness Az and Ahriman” (Zaehner 1955: 167, see also Buckley 2002: 45).

642 Buckley, HR 1982: 60. The western female figure of Sophia “Wisdom” is unknown in Mandaeanism, nevertheless, the Ginza connects Rūha with false wisdom.
suffers and appears in several realms at the same time. Ruha is the leader of the underworld forces and the “entity incorporation powers of darkness which the light-world had to conquer.” The Mandaeans use the term nišimta for “soul” and ruha for “spirit”. The expression ruha “spirit” stands on the lower level and according to Rudolph corresponds to the “soul” (psyche) in the Hellenistic sources. Ruha is the immaterial part of man which influenced by physical desires. Ruha’s symbolical colour, according to the Mandaeans, is sky-blue, and can appear as a woman of extreme beauty either in her blue mantle or naked, apparently, to seduce men.

In Book VI of the Ginza Rba (the book of “Dinanukt”) Ruha describes her self as “light and darkness”, “error and truth”, “destruction and structure” etc., in clear dualist terms:

I am the life which exists since eternity. I am the kušta which was from afore-the beginning. I am the radience, I am the light, I am the death, I am the life, I am the darkness, I am the light, I am the error, I am the truth, I am the destruction and I am the structure, I am the offence (accidental disqualification for ritual etc.) and its purification. I am the outstanding being who is prior to that (one) who built the heavens and earth.

Buckley, HR 1980: 260. Jonas has no answer to “how this figure ‘Wisdom’, or at least its name, came to be combined in Gnostic thought with the moon-, mother-, and love-goddess of Near Eastern religion, to form that ambiguous figure encompassing the whole scale from the highest to the lowest, from the most spiritual to the utterly sensual (as expressed in the very combination “Sophia-Prunikos”, “Wisdom the Whore” “ (Jonas 1958: 176-177).

Buckley, HR 1982: 63. In her research about the Ruha, Buckley found striking resemblances between Ruha and “The thunder: Perfect Mind” in the Nag Hammadi Library (see also Buckley, HR, 1980: 264).


MAR 149-6.

§ 2.3.9.1 - Rūha: The Mother of the Seven Planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Monsters:

When Rūha (the goddess of the Underworld and mother of all evil) realized that Ptahil was having difficulties in his first attempt to create the world, she committed incest three times with 'Ur (the King of Darkness) in order to produce the luminaries. In the first time she approached Ur, as his mother, and said to him, "Arise and sleep with your mother and you will be freed from your fetter!" He slept with her and after seven days she bore the Seven (planets), but her offspring did not make her happy: "when she beheld them, her heart fell from its support". In the second time she approached him as his sister, and said to him, "I am your sister; if you sleep with me your strength will be twice as much." He slept with her and after twelve days she bore the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and again they did not please her. In the third time, she approached him as his daughter and said to him, "Rise, my father, and behold your daughter! Embrace me and kiss me and sleep with me and

Jonas writes, 'Rūha, literally "spirit." The perversion of this term to denote the highest personification of evil is an interesting episode in the history of religion, all the more paradoxical in view of the fact that the full title of this anti-divine figure is Rūha d-Qudša, i.e., "the Holy Spirit." (Jonas 1958: 72 n. 25). DA gives Rūha seven names: "she enflames the womb", "treasure", "She-lusted-after", "She-conserved", "Drop", "Qin"(the queen, mistress of darkness. Often identified with Rūha) , "She-loved-these". DA p. 38.

The Mandaean Leviathan, the father of the Seven (planets), the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and the Five (the planets less the Sun and the Moon). Some scholars connect him with Tiamat, the chaos monster who was killed by Marduk. (Jonas 1958: 117). He is the offspring of Rūha and Gaf (one of the Giants of the World of Darkness) (see book 5 of the Ginza Rba). He is the dragon which encircles the whole world and that no one can match his power (GRL p. 11: 11). Budge writes, "In some portion of the Black Water dwells a great she-devil called Rūha, and her husband 'Ur, who is the god of Darkness, and is the great antagonist of the god of Light. Here we have we have a cosmogony derived from the ancient Sumerians, and Tiamat, Kingu and Marduk under other names, and we may regard the Mandaeans as the representatives of the ancient worshippers of Ea, the great Water-god of Eridu" (Budge 1930: 240).

The seven "planets" were gods in the Babylonian pantheon, including the sun and the moon. (Wilson, 1958: 10). Gnosticism, in general, considered the seven planets as the seven spheres which separated the soul from its heavenly home (Ibid 105).
gaze your fill at the world." Again he slept with her and she conceived five "monsters" (the planets without the Sun and the Moon), and again they were not what Ruha wished for. Ruha could not achieve her goals; instead she lost her magical powers and failed to free her son Ur from his fetters.

§ 2.3.9.2 - Ruha mustanita "Ruha, the Seductress":

Ruha d-Qudša "Holy-Spirit" is an epithet for Ruha, a personification of the emotional, lower and feminine elements in human personality. She is the "desirous" or "to make love sick" a symbol of baznaqita "lust". Ruha's epithet "qudša" corresponds to a category of cultic staff of Ištar which includes female

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653 GRR p. 112: 14 ff. These three acts of incest show clearly that the planets are the product of evil. Zaehner stated that consanguineous marriage is of Magian origin and that the Ruha and Ur act of incest is similar to Ohrmazd's consanguineous marriages (intercourse) with his mother, his sister and his daughter. Zaehner mentions, according to the Acts of Pusai, that the Sun, Moon, and stars were the children of Ohrmazd. These three consanguineous marriages were considered the most holy of all among the Zoroastrians (Zaehner 1955: 154, 5). Jonas suggests that "the spheres are the seats of the Archons, especially of the "Seven" that is, of the planetary gods borrowed from the Babylonian pantheon" (Jonas 1958: 43). (In spite of "archon" is of western source, we find arkun “archon” in some Mandaean texts such as the Ginza p. 334: 14, "archon" also occurs in Manichaeanism (see Widengren 1961, English translation 1965: 55).

654 Zaehner could establish some resemblances between Ruha and her son Ur on the one hand, and between Az and Ahriman on the other. Az, who belongs to Zervanite demonology in old Persia, is the "personification of concupiscence - acquisitiveness, gluttony, and lust, and perhaps much more besides." In this respect (based on Alexander of Lycopolis) he writes: "Az is the mother of all the demons and the greatest of them. In the diabolical hierarchy she is always mentioned first, taking precedence over Ahriman. Her relationship with the latter is exactly parallel to the relationship of the female Ruhā to the male Ur in the Mandaean scriptures. Ur is the king of darkness; Ruhā is his mother and stands for totality of evil." (For more details concerning the Persian Demon Az, and her resemblances with the Mandaean Ruha, see Zaehner 1955: 166).

655 Ruha has other epithets: ruha dqudša dlībat 'stra amamit šuma "she is Ruha d-Qudša whose name is "Libat-Ištar-Amamit" (GRR p. 62: 19) Ruha d-Qudša is not mentioned in esoteric writings (SA p. 47).

656 CP, p. 291 n. 2. Jonas believes that the perversion of the term ruha "spirit" to "donate the highest personification of evil is an interesting episode in the history of religion" (Jonas 1958: 72, n. 26).

657 CP 291 n. 2.
prostitutes called qadištu.658 We read in the Ginza that the other epithet of Rūha is, dlibat 'stra amamit “Libat-Ištar-Amamit.”659

She conspired with the Planets to entrap Adam and install him in their congregation; in the earth of Tibil. She forged plans to seduce him with horns and flutes and seduce the whole tribe of Life and cut it off with her in the world. Rūha and her entourage practiced the mysteries of love in order to seduce the whole world. They took the living water and poured turbid water in it. They took the head of the tribe and practiced on him the mystery of love and lust, through which the whole world are inflamed. They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness, by which all the worlds are made drunken. The world became drunk and turned their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.660

Woe to those who have been tempted by Rūha for they shall be swallowed by the demon Karapiun “the Swallower”:

I reached that watch-house of Rūha d-Qudša who sits upon the mouth of Karapiun the Swallower (name of a demon) and (puts) the harp of lust on her shoulder . . . And she brings temptation. She speaks with pipes (or: zither) and calls upon the twelve men, the merchants, who believe in her.661

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658 Ringgren 1973: 81. In Babylon they were known as Ištaru – women of Ištar. However, Qadishtu is an Akkadian name meaning sacred women. In the temple at Erech they were called Nu-gig – the pure or spotless. (See Westenholz, 1989 pp. 245-265, esp. p. 250) On the other hand Jonas believes that the Rūha d-Qudša “the Holy Spirit” indicates the violent hostility of the Mandaeans towards Christianity (Jonas, 1958: p. 72 n. 25), see also SA, p. 47 ff.).


661 GRR p. 216: 22. The text:
Ruha assisted Ptahil (the Mandaean demiuurge) in creating the physical world, infusing some of her secrets in this creation. Ptahil created Adam after his image and Hawa (Eve) after the image of Ruha:

Ptahil spoke to Ruha and her angels, “I will create a male after my image and female after your image. We shall call the male Adam and the female Hawa (Eve).”

Ruha is an illusionist who can manipulate and mix times. She appeared to Adam, the son of Adam, in the image of his wife (and sister) Hawa (Eve) and seduced him to fornicate with her. But the messenger Manda d-Hiia could thwart her plans at the last moment and saved Adam, the son of Adam from her seduction. She is connected with pollution and uncleanness; women in general are considered a source of pollution because of their nature. The Mandaean legend tells us that Ruha disguised herself as “Anhuraita”, Noah’s wife, and Noah took her and she became pregnant and brought forth three sons: Ham, Yam and Yafet.

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665 GRR book 3, p. 137.
667 Drower comments: “Women are a constant danger to ritual purity whenever Nature brings them into states of uncleanness: moreover, they belong to the Left, and Ruha, therefore, has more power over women than over men” (SA p. 73 n. 1).
668 MII p. 261.
§ 2.3.9.3 - The End of Rūha and her Believers:

At the end of the worlds Rūha, the Planets together with the wicked and the unbelievers will be swallowed by the great Leviathan 'Ur.669

Rūha and mšiha (Jesus) and the Planets and all those souls who confess them, will call each other and reach each other, and lead each other by the hand. They are to be bound and fettered and then, like a pomegranate of lead, will depart and fall into 'Ur, the lord of Darkness, into his huge interior. (Then) smoke will wind up and fire will be fanned and consume 'Ur, the lord of Darkness and 'uāt Rūha, the liar and the Planets and all those souls who believe in them.670

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669 Pallis, 1926: 64.
Chart C
GINZA RABA
TEXT 3 TRACTATE III
PAGES 91-92

THE GREAT PIRA INSIDE THE GREAT PIRA

BY THE POWER OF THE KING OF LIGHT

THE GREAT FRUIT

THE LIFE

THE GREAT JORDAN – THE LIVING WATER

THE (PRIMAL) LIFE

ALL THE UTHRAS
§3. The Story of Creation in the Mandaean Holy Book "the Ginza Rba"

The Mandaean Text According to the Numeration of the Ginza Rba (GRS) used in this Research.
فكان سير الكهرباء على مدار مدة طويلة وطويلة مدة الصمغ

 الساخن من تأثير الشروط المائية. كان أيضًا مستمرًا.

 واستمرت هذه التطورات على مدى أجيال. كان ذلك بسبب

 اكتشافات جديدة وتطورات في التكنولوجيا. واستمرت هذه التطورات على مدى أجيال.

 واستمرت هذه التطورات على مدى أجيال. استمرت هذه التطورات على مدى أجيال.

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لا تفوت مساعدة مكتبة "المكتبة" تطوير سمعتك، نحن نقدم لك مجموعة كبيرة من المكتبات الإلكترونية. لمكتبة "المكتبة" في تطوير سمعتك، نحن نقدم لك مجموعة كبيرة من المكتبات الإلكترونية. لمكتبة "المكتبة" في تطوير سمعتك، نحن نقدم لك مجموعة كبيرة من المكتبات الإلكترونية.
ج. ر. ر. 86

لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي لهذه الصفحة.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
ابن‌نامه نبیل خسرو اسدی‌نیازی صاحب کتاب

عکس‌نگاری صاحبگانه دستگاه‌های میدانی صدراعظم

عکس‌نگاری صاحبگانه دستگاه‌های میدانی صدراعظم

عکس‌نگاری صاحبگانه دستگاه‌های میدانی صدراعظم

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عکس‌نگاری صاحبگانه دستگاه‌های میدانی صدراعظم

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عکس‌نگاری صاحبگانه دستگاه‌های میدانی صدراعظم

عکس‌نگاری صاحبگانه دستگاه‌های میدانی صدراعظم

عکس‌نگاری صاحبگانه دستگاه‌های میدانی صدراعظم
لسن این سال سه سال از این سال شروع شده است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۰ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۱ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۲ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۳ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۴ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۵ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۶ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۷ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۸ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۰۹ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۱۰ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۱۱ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۱۲ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۱۳ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۱۴ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است. اگر این سال ۲۰۱۵ شروع سال جدید شده است، سال جدیدی سال جدیدی و سال جدیدی سال جدیدی است.
أنها أثر تعبير من سهولة في قلبي. إنها أمكنتني أثير ساقط بنبيذة
كثير تشعرة 2000 كلية كمليا حاولت، إمكنتني إلقاء
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الكراية 2000 كلية كمليا حاولت. الطاقة
سرعه كما كأنها تساعدني اتلاحت
سهينه نشأت في مصر وصدرت بعضها في مصر.

إنها تتحدث عن ذكرى لمكانها الشخصي حيث تشرح كيف تغيرت أماكنها مرتين في الزمن.

ففي الأصل كانت تعيش في مبنى قديم، لكنه تم ترميمه وتحويله إلى مكتبة.

その後، هي تتحول إلى رجل أعمال، لكنها تحتفظ بذكريات من الماضي.

سابقا كانت تعيش في منزل صغير، لكنه تغير بعد ذلك.

وفي النهاية، يعود إلى منزلها الأول ويشرح كيف تغيرت الأماكن من الزمن.

هكذا، سهينه نحن نتطلع إلى المزيد من القصص التي ستعود من خلالها إلى الماضي.

207
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
هذا النص هو نص عربي غير قابل للقراءة بشكل طبيعي.

يبدو أنه يحتوي على عبادات وآيات من القرآن الكريم.

تظهر صعوبة في قراءته بشكل طبيعي.

يمكن أن يكون هذا النص بحاجة إلى مساعدة في الترجمة أو التفسير.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يوجد محتوى يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي على صورة. إذا كنت بحاجة إلى مساعدة بخصوص شيء آخر، يرجى الإبلاغ عنه.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
لم يقدم لي مساعدة لمعرفتهم، فذهبت إلى مساعدة
هم في سبلهم بمساعدتهم. فسبت لهم
يضربك نفسي في سبيلهم، فسعلهم
هم في سبيلهم بمساعدتهم، فسبت
هم في سبيلهم.

216
عما تشتمل وسائل مكافحة الحشرات المحتملة

معركة أخرى في حرب طويلة الأجل ضد الحشرات التفاحية.

الأخير حاول تقديم أشكالًا مختلفة من المبيدات الحشرية لكتابة قصص حقيقية.

ويعتبر هذا المبيدات الحشرية أكثر فعالية في الحروب ضد الحشرات التفاحية.

وتحتاج إلى مزيد من الأبحاث لتحديد أفضل المبيدات الحشرية للكائنات الحية.

وقد تساعد هذه المبيدات الحشرية في حماية الأشجار والنباتات المهمة.

ويجب أن تكون هذه المبيدات حشرية آمنة للبيئة وآمنة للأفراد.

وقد تساهم هذه المبيدات الحشرية في الحماية من الفتكات الحشرية.

وقد تساهم هذه المبيدات الحشرية في الحماية من الفتكات الحشرية.

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وقد تساهم هذه المبيدات الحشرية في الحماية من الفتكات الحشرية.

وقد تساهم هذه المبيدات الحشرية في الحماية من الفتكات الحشرية.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي الموضح في الصورة بأي لغة م养育 للمترجمة.
لديك تفريخ لموضوعك ورأيك لمساهمة 

فجعاء اكتشافه دخلته منه شمسאירته مساعدة 

كيف كان عليه أن يشعر كيف رضاه نسيانه ونحدثه 

وبحانته وسمحت لها كسمامة نحرمه كسمامة 

لمعسروف شرفه لمعسروف كسمامة عروضته تكرره لحده 

كأن صموده خياره رؤيته الهدنة 

هكذا بطعمه أكرهه رؤيته الهدنة 

لهدنة تهم بسمالاته لهذته إن كثيره 

كأن صدقت ميرته بمسالاته كسمامة 

عندما طهروه سمامة أكرهه رؤيته الهدنة 

كجر سبقته عزوه رؤيته الهدنة 

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عندما يستخدم المستخدمون آليات التحكم في الأجهزة، قد يتسبب ذلك في صعوبة استخدام الأجهزة. من المهم أن يكون التحكم في الأجهزة سهلًا وعفويًا لجميع المستخدمين. لا يجب أن يكون التحكم في الأجهزة صعبًا ومتقدمًا للمستخدمين. 

في هذا السياق، يجب أن يكون التحكم في الأجهزة سهلًا وعفويًا لجميع المستخدمين. من المهم أن يكون التحكم في الأجهزة سهلًا وعفويًا لجميع المستخدمين. لا يجب أن يكون التحكم في الأجهزة صعبًا ومتقدمًا للمستخدمين.
لا يمكنني قراءة نص من الصورة بشكل طبيعي. من فضلك قم بإعادة إرفاق نص قابل للقراءة بشكل طبيعي.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المكتوب بشكل غير طبيعي. الرجاءقدم النص العربي بشكل بسيط ومنطقي لكي أتمكن من قراءته بشكل صحيح.
لا يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ لكنه سُلُسلةٌ، وهو ما يعني أنَّهُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ.

كما أنَّهُ يقوم بذلك لِمُشروعهَ لِلمؤسسةَ لِسيُبُهَةٍ. حسبًا، فيستمتعُ بِأنَّهُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ، وهو ما يعني أنَّهُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ.

لِمُشروعهَ لِسيُبُهَةٍ. حسبًا، فيستمتعُ بِأنَّهُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ، وهو ما يعني أنَّهُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ.

فَهُوَيثُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ، وهو ما يعني أنَّهُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ.

فَهُوَيثُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ، وهو ما يعني أنَّهُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ.

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فَهُوَيثُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ، وهو ما يعني أنَّهُ يُسمى إلى سُلُسلةٍ.
لقد أدرك أن ذلك لم يكن إلا كأخطار سيئة، وقررت أن تسير في طريقها. حيث أن ذلك كان يشكل حقيقة كبيرة في تفكيرها. حيث أن هذه الحقيقة كانت تشكل تهديدًا حقيقيًا في حياتها. حيث أن ذلك كان يشكل تهديدًا حقيقيًا في حياتها.
لا تهدف إلى تجاوز الحدود. لا تسعى إلى تجاوز الحدود. لا تسعى إلى تجاوز الحدود.
لمصلحة 1024 كهف ومسكن وفندق ومنتجعات نظراً لكونه لغزاً ومغزاً وographer لرحلة، وتكون له محل مكان ومكانية مكتب خصيص، ولا يتجاوز عدد الأشخاص في هذا المكتب 600 شخصًا، وهو يشكل حواراً مع عالمهم وعالمهم، ويكون له دور في دعم توفير الخدمات والاحتياجات الأساسية للمواطنين والزائرين.

ويمكن للمستخدمين المشاركين في هذا المعرض تجربة مlements مختلفين من الثقافات والحضارات، وتوفر لهم فرصة للاستمتاع بالطبيعة والفنون، والآداب والموسيقى والفنون التشكيلية. وهو يشكل نقطة احتفال للجميع، وداعمًا للسياحة في المنطقة، ويساعد على تعزيز السياحة والتنمية في المنطقة. كما أن هذا المعرض يشكل أيضًا نقطة احتفال للجميع، وداعمًا للسياحة والتنمية في المنطقة.
عمليات هؤلاء السيدات نضمن خمسة مراحل.

1. تجهيز الحلي: خمسة حلي تحتوي على أكثر من 2000 حبة.
2. تجهيز الحلي: خمسة حلي تحتوي على أكثر من 2000 حبة.
5. تجهيز الحلي: خمسة حلي تحتوي على أكثر من 2000 حبة.

العملية نضمن خمسة مراحل، حيث يتم إعداد الحلي وتوزيع الحبات على الأحجام المختلفة. هذا الفرقة يضمن أن تكون الحلي ملائمة للользоватين وتساعد في تحسين الأداء وتوفير أفضل خدمة للعملاء.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة.
عندما تعلم سببي وراءه سمعته لم+len لم لا سمعته لم ما لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم لم ل
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي الذي تقدمته. يرجى تقديم النص باللغة الإنجليزية أو بشكل طبيعي لكي أتمكن من مساعدتك.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
لحساب مقدار الارياف

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تم كتابة الأحرف "العربية" بمعلومات بنجاح.

أنت.logging in...
لديه نعومة بمثابة لمسة صافية، تميزت فوهة انتفاضة 
فهي لا تملك سماكة كثيفة، بل تظهر كأنها 
متماسكة في منتصف الأتجاه، وتنبعث من 
بقليل من الأزمان، فقد بلغت هذه الفوهة 
منطقة الماء، والذين يرسمونها بوضوح 
لحاء، يمكن أن تكون هناك مياه مسيرة، 
ويمكن أن تتحرك من خلالها. 
لكن، فإن هذا الرسم لا يمكننا رؤيته، 
لكن، فإن هذا الرسم لا يمكننا رؤيته، 
لكن، فإن هذا الرسم لا يمكننا رؤية 
لكن، فإن هذا الرسم لا يمكننا رؤية 
لكن، فإن هذا الرسم لا يمكننا رؤية
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
نهاية ترشيحات لفترة الحمل بإعادة تقييم نتائج

عند القيام بإعادة تقييم نتائج، يمكن استخدام نظام التقييم المستخدم في البداية، ولكن بمعدلات تقييم محددة. يتم استخدام نظام التقييم للقياس، حيث يتم تقييم النتائج بناءً على المعايير والأهداف المحددة.

للحقيقة المحيطة بالرعاية الصحية، يتم استخدام نظام التقييم المستخدم في البداية، حيث يتم تقييم النتائج بناءً على المعايير والأهداف المحددة.

تحقيق النتائج: نحصل على تقييمات متفاوتة بناءً على المعايير والأهداف المحددة، حيث يتم استخدام نظام التقييم المستخدم في البداية.

النظام المستخدم في البداية، حيث يتم تقييم النتائج بناءً على المعايير والأهداف المحددة.

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تحقيق النتائج: نحصل على تقييمات متفاوتة بناءً على المعايير الأ
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي على الصورة.
بكلمة انتم لمتشمون بمخاوف كافية للاستجواب وفигعت عليه مخاوفه. وعندما سأعدك تدخين سوشي لأكله وراءك، أدرك ألا أكون مسخرين. خذوا أشياء ب الدنيا لكي لا يدركوا ألا أكون مسخرين ساء لمكتبي بانغماس سوء بكشف عشاقهم. آلي فاكهة!

لكن إذا كنت تفكر بالي العادل، فالفينك بالي العدل. أتريدين أن تجعليني يدك بالي العادل؟ آلي فاكهة!

نهاية: إنك ستحصلين على ما تريدينه من الاكتفاء.

ملاحظات:
- الرجاء مراجعة النص بشكل دقيق.
- يمكن أن يكون هذا النص يشير إلى حالة معينة أو موضوع معين.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
 Gumam 0m kamsalma, yuwan shonshok shoyinsa lama
 kafin sami ake, akwai tambaya kake.

 Kana siyasa duniya daga kasakake ko yawa da
 shi ya ka yi. Zai yawa da kake, kuma ari yohoyin.

 Ho ya yi ka ko, ko ya yi. Zai yawa da kake, kuma ari yohoyin.

لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
سيرة ذاتية

اسم مستخدم: تيمير للرسومات الماسبقة

البريد الإلكتروني: time@tim.com

العنوان: خبير في مجال الرسم بالكمبيوتر

التعليم:

- بكالوريوس في تصميم أزياء، جامعة القاهرة، 1998
- ماجستير في تكنولوجيا المعلومات، جامعة الأزهر، 2002

الخبرة العملية:

- شغل منصب PED في شركة Ltd، القاهرة، 1998-2003
- عمل كطاهي في مطعم Club House، القاهرة، 2003-2005

المهارات:

- خبرة طويلة الأمد في الرسم بالكمبيوتر
- قدرة عالية على التعلم والتحسن المستمر
- مهارات في التحليل والاتصال

الاهتمامات:

- الرسم والتسريح
- التصميم
- الألعاب الإلكترونية

اللغات:

- العربية
- الإنجليزية
- الإسبانية

الرياضة:

- الغولف
- السباحة
- الجري
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المكتوب بالخط الكوفي الطريف.
عندما وصلنا إلى المنزل، استيقظت أحمد. وجدت أن أمه ستهجعه في الأكل. قلت له أن حاول الاستراحة. ثم رأيت أنه يركب دراجته الخفيفة.

نشرةáp: ما هو أهم ما تحتاجه في حياتك اليومية؟

الجواب: لما تحتاج إلى بعض الأشياء发酵ت يمكن أن تكون كل ما تحتاجه في حياتك اليومية.

السؤال: ما هو أبرز ما تحتاجه في حياتك اليومية؟

الجواب: هذا يمكن أن يكون أي شيء تريده.

السؤال: ما هو أبرز ما تحتاجه في حياتك اليومية؟

الجواب: هذا يمكن أن يكون أي شيء تريده.

السؤال: ما هو أبرز ما تحتاجه في حياتك اليومية؟

الجواب: هذا يمكن أن يكون أي شيء تريده.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المكتوب بالخط الكوفي.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة. لذا لا يمكنني تقديم نسخة طبيعية من النص.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المقدّم بشكل طبيعي. يرجى تقديم النص بشكل ملائم للتعامل معه.
لأول مرة في عصرنا، نتعامل مع صعوبات حملهم كبيرة في محاربة الأمراض. نحن نعرف أن الأشخاص الذين يعانون من الأمراض المزمنة في الشخص Auden vulnerability الجنسي في الواقع، فإن هذه الآفاق. ومع ذلك، فإن الحصول على الاحترام من قبل المجتمع يظل من المهم. إن الدعم والتعاطف من стороны جماهيرنا هو ما نحتاجه الآن. 

هذا يعني أننا نعمل على تحسين التوعية حول الأتروج. إننا نحاول أن نقدم المعلومات الصحيحة وملوثة للناس، فهذا يساعد على تحسين الصحة العامة. 

أيضاً، فإننا نعمل على تحسين وسائل الإرسال. نحن نستخدم الأدوات الرقمية لتعزيز الرسائل الصحية. النشر枢渃 على الإنترنت ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعي. هذا يساعد على الوصول إلى الناس بشكل أسرع. 

أمام هذه التحديات، نحن على استعداد للعمل وأمام التحديات. نحن نعمل على تحمل المسؤولية الخاصة بنا. نحن نحاول أن نقدم الرد الصحي الحكيم والفعال. هذا يعني أننا نعمل على تحسين الآفاق الصحية.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
لا يمكنني القراءة العربية من الصورة المقدمة. إذا كنت بحاجة إلى مساعدة أخرى، يرجى تقديم النص العربي بشكل آخر أو استخدام اللغة الإنجليزية أو العربية المكتوبة بشكل رأسيماً.
لا يوجد نص قابل للقراءة من الصورة المقدمة.
فيحضر، ويعود للدورة، و eskim ودورة، يحول دورة، $م = 0$

ويعود للدورة، وeskim ودورة، يحول دورة، $م = 0$

ويعود للدورة، وeskim ودورة، يحول دورة، $م = 0$

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ويعود للدورة، وeskim ودورة، يحول دورة، $م = 0$
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المكتوب بالخط العربي التقليدي. يرجى إعادة صياغة النص بالخط المعمري أو الإنجليزي للمساعدة في التحليل والترجمة.
§4. The Story of Creation, Book III, Ginza Rba

Translation and Notes
In the name of the great alien Life which is above all deeds.

The formula, "In the name of the great first alien Life from the countless world of light which is above all deeds" speaks of the "first" Life 'that is above all deeds (or: creations)", i.e., above the world and "free from any kind of relation to the world" (Rudolf, 1983: 62). The Mandaeans consider the Life hiia baraiia is an "outer entity" and its home is "outside" in the world "beyond". (CP p. 78). Jonas finds "The concept of the alien Life is one of the impressive word-symbols which we encounter in Gnostic speech, and it is new in the history of human speech in general" (Jonas, 1958: 49).

According to the Gnostic view, the earth is set in the centre of the cosmos and surrounded by the air and the eight heavenly spheres which consist of the seven planets. "Beyond them lies the realm of the unknown god, the Pleroma (the "fullness"), with its own graduated worlds (aeons)" (Rudolph, 1983: 67). Jonas believes that the "worlds" of the Mandaeans correspond the "aeons" of Hellenistic Gnosticism (Jonas, 1958: 52).
This is the Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine

which was from before time.

When the Fruit was within the Fruit and the Ayar was within the Ayar,

and when the great Mana of glory was (there),

from whom the great and mighty manas came into being,

Concerning the raza "mystery" Wasserstrom writes: "The "great mystery" of Mazdak, the "raza rabba" of the Mandaeans, and the "raza rabba" of Jewish mysticism appear to have been technical terms in a common late-antique Mesopotamian cosmic semiotics" (Wasserstrom, 1995: 42 n. 115).

fruit, used often as gnostic term (κόρασις) as an expression of emanation. (MD p. 371), (see above §2.1.1).

the upper atmosphere, air, ether, wind. The genie of the Upper Air. (MD p. 14) (see above §2.2.2)

vessel, garment, utensil, instrument, implement (ibid p. 246). The word mana when meaning "mind", "thought", "intelligence" is of non-Semitic derivation: the Aramaic mana is "garment", "robe", "vehicle", "vessel", "instrument". Lady Drower stated: "There is often word-play on the two meanings, and this passed into other Gnostic literature so that "robe" or "vessel" or "vehicle" is used as a cryptogram for mana meaning "mind" or "soul". In general, Mana in a cosmic sense is equivalent to the Stoic, Valentinian, and Sethian Nous, the emanation of the Forefather" (SA, p. 2 n. 1), (see above § 2.1.2).


ziwa, ziu (צויות) (a) brightness, brilliance, light, radiance (b) often used as an attribute or name of uthras, being of light, glorious being (MD p. 166), (see above § 2.3. 2).

nhura, anhura (הרה) light. The implication that ziwa (radiance is an approximate translation), the conjuction of nhura, is an active creative male principle and light a receptive, passive (female) principle occurs more than once in ATŠ. (SA p. 6), (see above § 2.3. 2 ).

263
whose radiance is so vast and their light is so great,

that no one before them was in the great fruit,

which was so immense and without limit.

His radiance was greater than the words of the mouth (or: what can be told by the mouth)

and his light was bigger than what the lips can portray.

As He was inside (or: in the matrix of) the Fruit,

(GRR p. 84)

a thousand thousand fruits without limits

and countless myriads of šikinas (celestial dwellings) emanated from Him.

As in each fruit there were

pl. škina (Heb. שִׁקְיָה) celestial dwelling, abode. (see above §2.1.5).

BL 23601: 33r וּבָא תִּהְיוּ אָדָד שְׁקִינוֹת.
a thousand thousand fruits without limits,

and countless myriads of śikīna,

who all stand there and praise the great Mana

of glory who exists in the great Ether of Life,

which lies inside the Jordan (river) of the white waters,

which came into being from the great Mana,

whose fragrance is so pleasant that all the roots of Light

and the first Sublime Radiance inhale it.

iardina (Aram. st. emph. for ירדן) Jordan, running water, river, flowing stream. The name of the Biblical Jordan was employed in the earliest Gnostic systems, and notably in that of the Peratae (who were in the Euphrates region) (Schaf-Herzog VII §11, 12 p. 150-1). See also Albright, AJSLL, 1920: 292-3) Drower believes that yardina has no reference to the river Jordan in Palestine. By Mandaeans, both Jordan and Nile are called the Ardana or Ardan (MM p. xxiv note 4.), (See above § 2.1.4).

sarṣa or širṣa: root, tribe, family. Sometimes with religious meaning širṣa taqna “the Mandaean faith” (MD pp. 463-4) BL 23601 3383.
Then the great Jordan (river) came into being, which was without limit or count,

on whose banks rejoicing and thriving shoots grow,

which all of them are full of glory and confirmed for eternity.

And from the great Jordan countless Jordans, without limit or count, came into being.

When the Fruit was still inside the Fruit, and when the Ayar was still in the Ayar

and when Yura the great whose radiance and light were so vast and extensive,

which no one ever existed before him, came into existence,

the great Jordan of the Living Water generated from him,

from which the Life Himself came into being.

686 not in BL 23601

687 iura, iur (נורה) being of light, light, brilliance. (See above § 2. 2.1).

688 Genisius too includes “water” in the first act of creation.
And (the Jordan) poured forth on the earth of Ayar, in which the Life himself dwells.

The Life presented himself in the likeness of the Great Mana, from whom he came into being,

and he addressed a request to himself.

By the first request an eternal Uthra came to being,

whom the Life called the Second Life,

also, Uthras without limit or count came to being.

Then from the Life, a Jordan came into being

like the first Jordan, poured forth on the Earth of Light,

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utra (Nöld. Aria "wealth" cf. δύναμις, aión etc. of Gnostic systems Ar. جوش) is a generic name given to spirits of life (MD p. 347). An *uthra* is an ethereal being, a spirit of light and life. *Uthras* were created when the ether-world came into being (See above § 2.3.3).

Hīla Tiniania, "the Second Life" or: "the second emanation", also called Yōsamin. He proceeded from the fusion of the First Life with Dmut-Hīia "the image of Life" (GRR book 14, p. 356: 9).
and the Second Life established (or: baptized) himself in it.

(GRR p. 85)

The Second Life created uthras,

and what the three uthras asked from the Second Life, was granted to them.

They (began) to confer with each other and create skinas.
They requested their father and spoke to him; they asked their father and spoke to him:

"Are you the one who created this Jordan of the living water, which is so fabulous and whose scent is so sweet?

Are you the one who created those great uthras which are established (or: baptized) in it?

Are those your uthras who are established (or: baptized) in it?"

The Second Life spoke to the three uthras and said:

"As for me, your father, the Life created me and the Jordan is (the Jordan) of the Life,

\[693\) in BL 23601.

\[694\] here is for (\()\) 'and'; not 'or'. However, "Are those your uthras who are established (or: baptized) in it?" not in BL 23600 34r: 5 & BLO 1236: 34r: 5.

\[695\] BL 23601 and BLO 1236.
and you were brought to being by the power of the Life.”

And they said to him:

“Give us some of your radiance and some of your light, and some of what you have, so we depart and descend below the streams of water, and we shall establish āskinās (abodes) for you, and call forth a world for you, and the world be ours and yours,

and we shall be raised in it and we shall live in it,

and we shall create uthrās in it, for you and for us,

and the name of the Life not to be mentioned.”

696 In BL 23601

697 apiqia, hapiqia (םַפִּ֧יקָה – מים) streams (plurale tantum), waters separating the world of light from this world.

698 BL 23601 J, BLO . See MG p. 216. (Cf. GRR 164: 2).
And (this) pleased him (the Second Life) and said: “I will grant it to them!”

When he spoke thus, it did not please the Great One and the (First) Life did not approve of it.

He (the Life) addressed a request to the Great Mana, who dwells in the Great Fruit, and praised Him.

Then the great Mana stood in brilliance, light and glory and called into being Kbar the Great who is in fact “Kbar-Ziwa.”
His names are: Nbat-Yawar the son of Yofin Yofafin,

Sam Mana Smira (the well-preserved Mana) 708, the Vine which is full of life

and that is dear to the uthrás.

(Mana), in the splendour of glory, spoke to him:

"You mount up above the uthrás
and see what they are up to

706 Nbat: the root NBT "to spring forth, burst forth", "spring upward" & c. (SA, p. 63 n. 1). The root from which Yawar is derived, 'UR or AWR. It has a double meaning, "to blind or dazzle with light" or "to awaken". (Ibid, 63)
707 Yofin Yofafin: a genie or pair of genii. Cf. the angel name n'a » a (MD, p. 191).
708 Sam (rt. SUM hence "he placed", not P. שומע (MD, p. 312-3).
709 Mana smiria "manas kept in reserve?" Lady Drower wrote: "The language is so high-floowered that any precise meaning attached to such an expression is probably incorrect." (CP, p. 4 n. 2)
710 BL 23600, 34r: 25 (MD, p. 191)
711 BL 23600, 34r: 25 “in the gardens ...”
and what they intend, they who say,

"We will create a world and build skins

like the supreme uthras, the sons of Light.

Is it agreeable to you Manda d-Haii

that the uthras of light leave the light

and turn their faces towards the darkness,

that it is agreeable to you Manda d-Haii

towards the great ocean of Sup,

the hideous darkness, towards the devouring and vicious waters,

Knowledge-of-Life", "Gnosis-of-Life", the outstanding Saviour-spirit of Mandaean religion. The spelling of a^sLy^t (N") with a consonantal (y) occurs only in Lead amulet published by Lidzbarski in 1909 (Yamuchi's 1967: 7). (See above § 2.2.7).

The Red or Reed Sea, Sea of the End (SA, p. 83 n. 2) According to the Mandaeans it is the Sea of Reeds, which swallowed up Pharaoh and his host (CP, p. 251 n. 4). Cf. the "Read Sea" throughout the Old Testament (e.g., Num 14:25, Deut 1:40, Josh 4:23, Ps 106:7, etc.). iama d-sup is "a Gnostic metaphor for crossing from the world of matter into that of spirit" (SA, p. 48 n. 1).
and towards the place full of demons who talk with loud voices,

and (towards) the blazing flame which flares up inside it?"

The Uthra of Life kept silent,

not because of a blunder or deficiency.

Then He addressed him for the second time:

"Behold, Manda d-Haii, for what purpose do the uthras of Light confer between themselves?

Why are their minds confused,

so they turned their faces towards the place which is fathomless and measureless;

to the place of no living water and of no spreading of luster?"

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716 BL 23599: 35r and BL 23601: 34r. 717* read (absolute state of NTR). is found in the other copies. (see MD, p. 282) 718*.
and (once more) the Uthra of Life kept his silence.

For the third time Mana, in his majesty, spoke to Manda d-Hiia and said:

"You are the king of uthrás, the Lord of kuṣa (and) the creator of the treasures.

We give you authority upon all the worlds of Light

and upon the uthrás who dwell in the skinas,

and upon the underworld of darkness.

You are the one who is predestined and made worthy of that (i.e. the other) world.

(GRR p. 87)
and do something that is odious and ugly for us,

what is disagreeable to the Life, and what is not acceptable to you, Manda d-Hiia.

Because you are the one who can restrain the Uthras,

set the path and erect the boundary stones.

And when we called you, for what reason did we call you?

Because you, when you were called and made worthy and fit for this calling.”

Manda d-Hiia spoke to the great glorious Mana saying:

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722 in BL 23601 and BLO 1236.

723 To set the “path of the soul to the World of Light” is one of the obligations of the Redeemer in the Mandaean doctrine. (See Rudolp, 1983: 172)


725 ‘for what reason did we call you’ is not found in BL 23600 34v: 19 & BLO 1236: 34v: 19.
"If I seek you, whom do I see? If I am in distress, on whom shall I rely? Upon what shall I lean (my) conscience, which was with you?"

Mana, in his magnificence, spoke to Manda d-Hiia and said:

"You shall not break away from us. We are with you.

You with us are established and you shall never be separated from us, and we are with you because the Life is full of goodness towards you.

And he set up helpers for you. He created for you calm and confirmed uthras

276 not in BL 23601: 34r.
277 not in BL 23600: 35r and in BLO 1236: 35r.
278 not in BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 35v.
279 adi aura “helper”, “assistant” (MD, p. 7). This expression is often found in Mandaean literature which depicts the helpers as being part of the Redeemer’s preparations against the forces of evil (See Widengren, 1961:94).
They will be the merchants, who traffic,
and bring their (good) work to complete achievement.”

* * * * *

He, the Great One, presented him with radiance and light
and added to him to what he had.

He gave him a great garment,\(^{733}\)
which was wonderful and without limit.

\(^{731}\) in the other copies.
\(^{732}\) or: “call out the voice of Life”.
\(^{733}\) The “Primal Man”, whom the Iranian Manicheans identified with Ohramazd, armed himself with a garment (armour) in order to do battle with the powers of darkness. (Zaehner, 1955: 118) Zaehner also writes: “The garment of Ohrmazd is the robe of priesthood . . . This robe has such power that it alone ensures the utter defeat of Ahriman and his ejection from Ohramazd’s creation.” (Ibid, 120)
He blessed him with the great blessing,
with which the great ones were blessed.

He made him the father of the uthras,
and the one who provides his friends with provisions.

(GRR p. 88)
“Since you came through the kindness of the Great One,

how was your nature created?”

The Life in His greatness spoke to Manda d-Hiia:

“Did you see, Manda d-Hiia, what the uthras are doing?

and how they ponder about all and sundry?

Did you see that they forsook the House of the Life

and turned their faces towards the place of darkness?

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737 read (planting) as in the other four copies.
738 or: how your plant was planted?
739 Not in BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 36r.
740 in the other four copies.
They forsook the company of Life
and loved the company of darkness.

They forsook the place of radiance and light,
and went (and) loved the futile home.

They renounced sweetness
and went (and) loved bitterness
They went and loved bitterness,

in which there is no sweetness.

They forsook the Jordan of the Living Water

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741 in the other copies.
742 Lit. "went loving".
and went to the deep waters.

They approached the deep waters and approached the burning fire.

They forsook the living fire, and went and adored the consuming fire.

They adored the consuming fire and adored the burning fire.

Yes! Behold Manda ḫ-Hiia, that which the uthras have done.


744) in BLO 1236: 35v and in BL 23600: 35v.
Behold that which the uthras have done, and (how) they produced in themselves imperfection and deficiency.745

If we shake up the world and leave it, who will bring order to them?

Who will deliver them from blunder, which they manufactured by themselves?

Who will make them hear the voice of the Great [one],

745 The “fall of the uthras” bears traces of the “Fallen Angels and the Giants who were responsible for the corruption of the world before the Flood” mentioned in the Book of Watchers. (See Bauckham, Vigiliae Christianae, 1985: esp 314)

746 In BL 23601: 35r.
who sits in the House of Perfection?"

(GRR pp. 89)
equipped you, commanded you, commissioned you
מָכְפַדְתָּם וַתָּמָצָהָם
and made you rule over everything.
וַיִּצְפָּקְקְקֻם חֲבָרָיו

He commanded you concerning the skinsas,
םֵשָּׁלַטְתָּם על כָּל־כָּלמה
and the great portals of the concealed (or: mystic) place.
ִשָּׁלַטְתָּם על שְׁלִילָתוֹ

He made you rule over the concealed uthras,
לָשָּׁלַטְתָּם עַל עֲתָרָיו
who are standing and praising the Great (ones).
שָּׁלַטְתָּם על יַעֲדֵן שְׁרֵדֵרֵיה

He made you rule over the Jordan (river) of the Great (ones),
שָּׁלַטְתָּם עַל מִדֵּי הָשָּׁמִית
and over the living and vigorous waters.
שָּׁלַטְתָּם עַל חֲפָרָיו

When the Great (ones) ordered,
סָמַע קְפַדְתְּךָ לָשָּׁמִית

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750 in BL 23601 35r, BLO 1236 35r, BL 23600 and BL 23599: 36r.
751 מַעְרְכָה מְאֹד לָשָּׁמִית שָׁלְטָתָם מִצְפָּקְקֻמ.
752 שָׁלְטָתָם עַל חֲפָרָיו מִמְּאֹד לָשָּׁמִית, מִחִית אִנְשָׁאָה שְׁרַקְמוּת.

'utria eternal beings, spirits of light and life. The 'utria are the inhabitants of the Ether-World. (for more about the 'utras see SA, Ch. VII pp. 56 ff. and § 2.4.3 above)
750 מַיִּה חִיתֶא: (very often) living (i.e. flowing) water (an expression borrowed from Judaism ?) a gnostic term.
He created uthras for you.

He created messengers for you,

the mild and firm uthras.

When the Life spoke thus to me,

I bowed (in worship) and praised the Great ones (or: the Great Life).

I praised the Great Life,

the Life who planted for me a plant.

He planted for me a plant of Life

and provided me with helpers.

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753 pl. *padibra* (< Iranian *pa*dgām* cf. mod. P. *pādibār* ) messenger. (MD p. 260)
754 BL 23601.
755 pl. *adiaura* (M. Prth. Aḏyāvar) (a) helper assistant (b) aid, assistance. (MD, p. 7)
I shone in my glory,

with what the Life bestowed on me.

I shone in my glory

upon everything in the concealed place.

I shone in my lustre

and I raised my eyes to the rebellious.

From before the uthras appeared (there),

I went to the place of darkness.

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756 PE. Pf BAR, BHR (יְהִי יְהִי) to break forth, come to light, shine out, shine forth. (MD, p. 49) not in BL 23600, not in BLO 1236.
757 this verse is not in BL 23600.
759 in BL 23601: 35r and BL 23599: 36v, נפשו not in BL23600: 35v and in BLO 1236: 35v
As I stood in the House of Life, I beheld the rebellious.

I beheld the portals of darkness.

I beheld the depths full of darkness.

I beheld the destroyers

and the Lord of the abode of darkness.

I beheld the warriors

who are buried in darkness.

Mesopotamian influence on Mandaean beliefs. The chief temple of Babylon, Esagila, is called ‘bit balāṭi’ “The House of Life”: šu-ri-ba-an-ni-ma a-na Ē-sag-ila, ēkal ilāni bit balāṭi) “Cause me to enter into Esagila, the palace of the gods, the House of Life (Langdon, 1923: 143: 25).

This verse not in BL 23601.

Read Ethpa. Pt. QBR: covered, buried.
how they burn and blaze.

(The GRR p. 90)

The evil ones burn and blaze
and deliberate upon flaw and imperfection.

I beheld Hewath the female,
how she plots in malice in darkness.

She speaks with evil.

With evil she speaks,
and with witchcraft and sorcery which she practices.
She speaks with the wisdom of an illusionist
and sits enthroned in falsehood.

I beheld the portals of darkness
and the vein (or: stream) of the earth Siniauis, (just) as it was (there)
I beheld the black water in it,
which rose up boiling, seething and bubbling,
and whoever enters there dies,
and whoever behold it is scorched.

I beheld the dragons,

hrara (cf. Bibl. – Aram. הראל, delusion, illusion (MD. p 152).}
in BL 2360:35v.

širiana d-arqa (lit. "blood vessels of the earth").
siniauis : underworld, abode of darkness (Ibid. p. 328).
who were hurled there and writhe about.

I beheld the dragons of every kind and every colour.

I beheld the chariots of (the sons of) darkness,

which do not resemble one another.

I beheld the evil rebels,

as they are seated in their chariots.

I beheld the evil rebels,

How they are arrayed with weapons of evil.

They are arrayed with weapons of evil,

“the chariots of darkness”.

BL 23600: 36r: 13, BL 23600: 36r and BLO 1236: 36r.
and plot evil against the Place of Light.

I, when I saw them,

I turned back towards my father's house.

I stood in the presence of the Life

and I told Him as how I beheld them.

I spoke to Him about the king of darkness,

and I spoke to Him about all and sundry.

What I beheld, I said it in the presence of the Life.

"How can I go to that place;
לאתאר דְּרַשְׁכוֹךָ

to the place of darkness

וּנֵקַשְׁדוּךָ  דִּינְאֵלֶֽתָּ  מְרֵסֵדָֽוְקָו  לְכִֽכְבָּה
and into the darkness which has no glimmer of light.

עַל שִׁירֵיהֶנָּה  דְּמֵיָּה  דַּרְבֵּךָ דְרַשְׁכוֹךָ
To the vein (or: stream) of water of the earth of darkness

וּנֶֽקַשְׁדוּךָ  דִּינִמְלָֽוְקָו  דְּרַשְׁכוֹךָ
which is boiling, seething and bubbling

וַחֲלֹל  דָּרַבְרֵכְבָּה  מְאִיָּה
Whoever enters there dies,

וַחֲלֹל  דָּרַבְרֵכְבָּה  מְטִינוּלָֽיָה
dislosed.

וַחֲלֹל  דָּרַבְרֵכְבָּה  מַדִּינְקָלָֽי
discovered.

Whence is the darkness?

לָשֹׁנְךָ שְׁמֵיהֶה  שִׁמֵּה
did it sit down which?

“Whence is the darkness?

לָשֹׁנְךָ שְׁמֵיהֶה
did it sit down which?

Whence is the darkness

וַחֲלֹל  הוֹה  דָּרַבְרֵכְבָּה  דִּינְמָֽלָֽוְקָו
discovered.

and whence are its inhabitants, who sit in it?
Whence are their deeds, which are so repulsive and dreadful.

Whence is their deficiency, which is so far-reaching?

Its appearance is so ugly and appalling,
as it is full with delusions.

It is full with cracks.

Whence are the mighty, evil monsters who sit (or: live) in the glowing fire?
Whence are the black waters, which boil and bubble? Whoever enters them, dies, and whoever beholds them is scorched.

Whence are the dragons, which are cast therein and writhe about? Whence are their chariots, and whence are the wicked ones who are seated in them?

Whence is Hiwat Niqubta?

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77 Hiwat the female: name of a female demon sometimes associated with the queen of Darkness “Rūha” (see §2.3.9).
which is of every kind and variety?"

When I spoke thus in the presence of the Life, my Father, became surpassingly rich without lacking

the Life, my Father, became surpassingly rich without lacking

The Life is well informed.

The Life is well informed but kept his silence.

The Life is well informed, then He said to me:

"Come in order that we may explain to you Manda d-Hiia;

the well armed and better equipped Uthra.

Before all the worlds came into being,
there was this great Fruit.

When the great Fruit was in the great Fruit,
the great glorious King of Light came into being.

From the great glorious King of Light

the great radiant Ayar - Ayar Ziwa Rba - came into being,

and from the great radiant Ayar

the Living Fire came into being.

From the Living Flame, there was Light,

and by the might of the King of Light,

the great Fruit became real.
the Life and the great Fruit came into being.

and in it the Jordan came into being.

A great Jordan came into being,

and the Living Water came into being.

Radiant and resplendent water was brought into being.

(GRR p. 92)

From the Living Water

then all the uthras came into being."
I spoke before the Life and said:

"Since you, Life, were there,
then how did darkness come into being (there)?

How did darkness come into being,
(and) how did imperfection and deficiency come into being?"

When the Life spoke thus to me,
the Life became full of bounty.

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780 not in BL 23601.
and said to Manda d-Hiia:

“You are the valiant uthra, the well armed and better equipped uthra, know you not, valiant uthra, 

know you not how darkness came into being.

I was allowed to tell how it was. 

I spoke to the Great Life
and to the Life who existed since eternity, 

If I were not (allowed) to speak about it,

I should not (have) belong(e)d to the Great ones.

(But) since I came into being from the Great One,

the Life himself explained to me how it was.

The Life in his greatness and glory spoke to me:

"We authorize you valiant uthra;

the well armed and better equipped uthra,

we authorize you, valiant uthra,

not in BL 23601.

tusbihta (rt. ŠBH) praise, glory (MD, p. 484).
to speak of how it was,

(a) and how the uthras of the hidden place came into being."

When the Life spoke thus to me,

I cheered with praise of the Great Ones,

with the bliss of the Great Life,

with what the Life said to me:

"You, Uthra, rise and depart to the Great House,

not in BL 23601.

Read "how they came into being" in BL 23601: 36v and BL 23600: 37r.
the place where the Great Ones dwell,
in order to tell you about all and sundry.”

When the Great One spoke thus to me,
I went to the house of the great ones,
the place where the great ones dwell,
the place where the virtuous dwell.

(As) I stood before them, I wanted to ask them:
“How did the first beginning take place?”
As soon as I was sought to address them,
they embraced me, kissed me, and seated me in my place and said:

"We authorize you Kbar-Ziwa;

We authorize you valiant Uthra,

we authorize you valiant Uthra,

the Uthra who sustains his friends,

the well equipped and confirmed Uthra,

785 In BL 23600 37r: 22 & BLO 1236: 37r: 22 786 kbar (rt. KBR) a name given to higher beings.
to speak of how it took place,
and to explain to the concealed uthras.
When you go to that location and place,
you shall explain it to your friends,
you shall explain it to the righteous elect,
you shall explain it to the true and faithful men.
We shall speak with you concerning the glorious “Form”.

There is no boundary for its light.
There is no boundary for the light,
and it was not known when it came into being.
Nothing existed when there was no light,

Nothing existed when there was no radiance.

Noting existed when there were no Great Ones.

There never was a boundary for light.

Nothing existed when there was no water;

Prior to the darkness is water:

there is nothing without end,

and there is no reckoning of which we (could) say to you,

miniana: number, count, enumeration, summing up, reckoning (MD p. 268).

787 In BL 23600 Stevenson reads 2 ב"ה סנה סנה 2 "and nothing was when radiance did not yet exist and appear."

788
how it was when the uthras were not yet there."

The uthras are prior to the darkness,

and more ancient than its inhabitants.

Goodness is prior to the wickedness of the Place of Darkness.

Tranquility is prior to the rebellion of the Place of Darkness.

The living fire is prior to

the consuming fire of the Place of Darkness,

(GRR p. 94)

and praise is prior

is not found.
faith is prior to this or that,
The throne of rest is prior
to the throne of rebellion.

Hymns and liturgies are prior
to the witchcraft of Hiwath, the woman who terrifies.

The kanna (receptacle) of Ayar-Sagia "Abounding-Ether" is prior
to the talk which Rüha speaks.

We informed you about the Second,
in order that we shall tell about the Third parties, when they came into being.

Bhaq-Ziwa is prior

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790 not in BL 23599 38v: 21 & BL 23601 37r: 23.
791 rüha: evil spirit, the goddess (queen) of the underworld, the breath of Physical Life. Rüha is also the mother of the malignant zodiac spirits and of the planets (See above § 2.3.9).
792 Bhaq-Ziwa: Abathur; the Third Life, the Father of the uthras. He is the Father of Ptahil; the Demiuruge and the Fourth Life (see § 2. 2.5).
to Rūha when she came into being.

The design of all the *uthras*

is prior to the call of rebellion.

The boundary of the good is prior

to the lord of the whole place of darkness.

The chosen righteous are prior

to all the creatures of darkness when they came into being.”

The idea of rebels who are subdued by “Manda d-Hiia” is common in Mandaean writings. The following passage describes the conflict between Light and Darkness, the main Gnostic principle in the Mandaean belief. It also refers to Yōsamin’s “the Second Life” revolt against his father, “the Life”:

“From the day when the Evil one began to think, the evil was molded in him. He was angry in a great anger and made war with the Light. The Messenger was sent out to tread down the power of the Rebels.” (Draśa d’Yahya “The Book of John” p. 48 = Lidzbarski’s manuscript, Das Johannesbuch p. 51)
When the Great One spoke thus to me,

when the Great Ones, my ancestors, who fashioned me, spoke thus to me,

when the Great One spoke thus to me,

I understood it in my mind.

When I understood it in my mind,

I spoke to Him: “How was the darkness formed?

How was the darkness formed,

and from what was it formed in its place?

","94 Not in BL 23600: 38r & BLO 1236: 38r.
95 Not in BL 23599 39r: 7 & BL 23601 37v: 8. Not in BL 23600 38r & BLO 1236: 38r.
Since you are the Great Chosen ones,
why does the darkness not disappear?

Why does the darkness not disappear
and the beams of light are set in perfection?"

(GRR p. 95)
the Uthra who sustains his friends.

The good one in his goodness

suffers no flaw or defect.

The good one in his goodness,

is confirmed for eternity.

The roots of the good in his goodness

are implanted in their place.

The good is ardent in his radiance.

The waters are concealed by their garments.

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798 Read: BL 23600 38r: 10 & BL 23601 37v: 16.
799 BL 23601, בְּבָשָׁהוֹן BL 23600.
800 BL 23600.
The hidden words are concealed
and preserved in their liturgies.

As water mixes not with pitch,

Darkness is not reckoned with Light.

The abode of darkness is not illuminated,

The stagnant waters does not shine.

Darkness expanded

and its inhabitants were formed.
The darkness was formed,
and as soon as it was formed, it tested its strength.

Because of the evil which possessed its mind,
it is confined in its own kanna “receptacle”,
and all its works are void.

The sons of darkness are void,
but the sons of the great ones are established.

The house of the evil ones is void,
and the devouring fire is extinguished.

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803 In BL 23600 38r: 16 & BLO 1236: 38r: 16 there is
804 In BL 23600 38r: 20 & BLO 1236: 38r: 20 there is
Their spells will die and disappear,
because they did not exist from the beginning.

Their deeds will come to an end,
but the family of the Life remains established for ever and ever.

The living doctrine is existing
and enlightening the perishable abode.

When the Great (Life) thus spoke to me,
I regained my confidence (lit: my heart set up on its support).

805 “aforetime” in BL 23600.
806 Read Inf. SUP to end, finish, cease, vanish etc. (MD, p. 323). Aa in BL 23601. Aa in BL 23600.
I, by the strength of the Great One,

(GRR p. 96)

מאללאית ועמרית ושアイית לרוברי

spoke to the Great Ones, praised them, and said to them:

ך ברילון טאביית להזאתית בישהית

"Since you, in your goodness, did not produce evil in them,

זא אָיהיָית וואָיָית לאראָךְ דוכָאא

then why should I go to that place?"

When I wanted to speak,

תָיָיָא רבעא אָמָילאי

the Great Life said to me:

"The pregnant became pregnant with the Second,

קָוָא ווֹתָלָחָא לאלמאמ

Rise, descend to the world.

באללָאָא דילָאֶל נוֹוָה צוֹתָיא

By your strength, uthras will come into being.\(^{809}\)

\(^{807}\) not in BL 23600 38v: 3 & BLO 1236: 38v: 3.

\(^{808}\) The Second Life 'Yōśamin' became obsessed with the thought of a second creation.

\(^{809}\) in BL 23601.
and by your splendour the Great Ones will be established.

The Great One, in his greatness,

bestowed on me an overflowing radiance.

He bestowed on me an overflowing radiance

and ample light.

He provided me with victory,

which preserves me from every hateful thing.

He gave me a great attire,

Another translation: "By your strength, uthras will calm down" since יָסֵן is Impf. of HUA and also of NHA (=NUH) to calm, to ease, to rest. (MD, pp. 290 and 293) The second translation is more likely because Manda d-Hiaa "Gnosis of Life" is a messenger of the World of Light and not a creator.

in BL 23601, in BL 23600.
which was so extensive and without limit,
and made me great for ever and ever.
He gave me the margna (staff) of the Living Water,
gauaza (a rod) wherewith the rebels are laid low.
He gave me the crown of the Living Flame,
which is so wonderful and lucid more than any likeness.
He equipped me with his armor,
then embraced me and kissed me like the Great Ones.
He said to me: "March against the rebels of darkness
in BL 23600 and BL 23601.
who think out evil designs against us.

They ponder evil,

and the Evil conceals Himself in his place,

and none of your own words will reach him."

He said to me: "The good, through his virtues, will rise

and see the place of Light.

The evil, through his evilness, will be hurled down to the doors of Darkness.

Voices are proclaimed aloud

and all words are reckoned.

One voice comes

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814 not in BL 23601.
and instructs concerning all voices.

One word comes
and instructs concerning all the words.

One Man comes and instructs concerning all and sundry (or: concerning everyone).”

(GRR p. 97)

When the Great (Life) spoke thus to me,

I went by his power to the place of darkness,

To the place where the wicked ones dwell,

and to the dwelling which is full of destroyers.

815 not in BL 23600.
816 Read ספומוק by BL 816.
817 not in BL 23600: 38v.
To the place of the dragons, and to the furnaces of the consuming flames.

To the furnaces of fire, whose flames ascend (and) reach the middle of the firmament.

I descended and found them, the rebellious monsters of darkness.

I descended and found them, as all of them were plotting in wickedness.

Standing and plotting in wickedness,
and standing and forging weapons.

Standing and forging weapons

and plotting evil against the good ones.

Plotting in wickedness,

and taking counsel with each other.

They take counsel with each other and say:

"Is there any other being

who (wants to) carry out a division among our world?

If there is anyone mightier than us,

\[81\] In BL 23600 39r: 1 & BLO 1236: 39r: 1.
\[82\] In BL 23600 39r: 3 & BLO 1236: 39r: 3.
we shall rise and fight him.

and find out who he is,

and where is his abode and the world (he belongs to).

This house belongs entirely to us,

and there will be no dissension in our world.

Is there anyone whose strength is greater than (that of) the monsters?

No, there is no one whose strength is greater.

than (that of) the Angels of our place.”

All of them ponder and seek,
and they are inflamed against one another.

Rūha Qadaštā's mind is cunning and (full) of lies.

(full) of lies and deceitful is her mind,

which is completely full of sorcery.

She is completely full of sorcery, full of witchcraft and (false) wisdom.

Hiwath the Female, Rūha sits there with her *humurtas* (female spirits),

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* Rūha Qadaštā, lit. “Holy Spirit”, one of Rūha’s epithets, a devalued Christian “Holy Ghost”. In the Mandaean literature Rūha as a fallen wisdom figure resembles Sophia (Wisdom) in other Gnostic traditions. However, Qadishtu is an Akkadian name meaning Sacred women. In Babylon they were known as Ištaritu – women of Ištar. In (GRR f. 31v: 19) she is Rūha d-Qudša whose name is Libat-Ištar-Amamit. Rūha is the 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. (see above §2.3.9).

* Hiwat or Hivat Lidzbarski from *hiuia*, pointing to ḫ as a name of the goddess of the underworld in Carthaginian inscription (MD p. 142). Cf. Ḫwiuia “the lady Hebât (i.e. the Hurrian goddess Hepat), the goddess queen of Išhara. Also Hewwat the goddess (See G. Levi Della Vida, “A Hurrian Goddess at Carthage?”, JAOS, vol. 68, No. 3, 1948, pp. 148-149). A Hurrian rock relief (mid-thirteenth cent. B.C.) shows the great queen Puduhepa pouring libation to Hepat (Alexander, JNES, vol. 36, No. 3, (1977) pp. 199-207, esp. p. 199). Mountain gods and goddesses were commonly worshiped in Anatolia and Syria. At Yazili Kaya, the goddess Hipat stands on an animal, standing itself on blocks suggesting mountains, while her consort Teshub stands on the necks of two mountain-gods (Barnett, “A Winged Goddess of Wine on an Electrum Plaque”, Anatolian Studies, vol. 3, (1980), pp. 169-178, esp. p. 177). Hepat is a Hurrian goddess, the consort of the weather god Teshub. She was called Queen of Heaven and was assimilated by the Hittites to their national goddess, the sun goddess of Arinna. Teshub and Hepat had cult centres at Kummanni (classical Comana Cappadociae) and at Aleppo (Halab) and other cities in the region of the Taurus Mountains. (http://www.britannica.com/eb/topic-258989/article-9039751).
whist she tears out the locks of her head.

She sits there and practices false magic.

She and her kumras (amulet spirits) are indulged in (fake) wisdom.

How she ponders and seeks,

(GRR p. 98)

she disturbs them with false magic.

And is possessed by evil sorceries,

in which she is involved.

How she ponders and is aroused by sorcerers,

Rüha perceived this and that.
As for Rüha – who told her?

The faulty and deficient one – who gave her instructions?

Who instructed the liar,

the female, the mother of the base monster?

Who instructed the liar

about the Strange Man who came hither?

The liar ascended with all her humrtas,

she came and found them,

the great monsters as they sit there,

as they were all arrayed with weapons.

They were all arrayed with weapons and seated before him, the King of Darkness.

The King of Darkness in his mightiness, blustered about in his *skina* and he cried:

"Is there anyone who is mightier than I, whom all the worlds serve?

If there is someone who is mightier than me, (then) let him come forward and fight with me, 829

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829 Cf. the demiurge issuing the cry “I am God and there is no other God than I.” (See Jonas, JR, 1962: 267).
(with the one) whose food are mountains,
and (and) in whose belly poison no blood is found."

All the mighty and the powerful,
along with the demons and the evil spirits,
they all serve me.

They stand by to serve me,
and worship me everyday.

When the King of Darkness spoke thus,
Rūha trembled down from her thrown.

Read: bhimš d-himta'인 udma lamitaša as suggested by Drower (MD P.146 under himta 1).
Ruha sobbed and wept,
she and all her humurtas “spirits”.

Ruha spoke to her son
and made it clear to the King of Darkness:

“There is someone who is mightier than you,
and whose strength surpasses all your worlds.
There is a world more far-reaching than yours,
in which the great ones dwell.

(GRR p. 99)

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831 Cf. the retort from on high to the demiurge who thinks that he alone exists and there no other god
"Thou art mistaken (or "don't lie") . . . The is above thee . . . (according to the Gospel of Thomas) (See
The great ones dwell in it,
and their forms are more bright than the worlds.”

When Nimrus thus spoke,
before the falling mountain,
at once his garment was filled,
and became the fullness of the world.
He was bitterly grieved,
and the evil became boastful in wickedness.

in BL 23601: 39r, 23600: 39v.
mlaiã or mlaiah “fullness.” In Gnostic cosmology, the Pleroma is the region of god himself and the dwelling place of Archons and Aeons, spirits, and the non material world. (for the full definition of the Pleroma see Scholem, 1987: 68).

BL 23601: 39r.
BL 23600: 39v.
He spattered and vomited his fiery venom,
which was (hot) like fire.

He deliberated in evil,
and gathered an unworthy army.

He gathered an unworthy army and said:

“I will rise up and ascend from the Place of Darkness.
I will fasten my chains to the earth and uproot it,
and clasp my rope around the whole world.
I will swallow (it),

839 not in BL 23601: 39v.
840 BL 23600: 39v.
841 BL 23599 41r: 11& BL 23601 39v: 4.

332
and I will cast the great ones down from their thrones.”

The evil one was embittered with evil

and opened his corrupt mouth,

so that bad smell emanated from within.


When I (Manda d-Hlia) saw him,

I appeared to him in the garment of the Great (ones).

in BL 23601: 39v.
In the garment of the Great (ones) I appeared to him,
which is so extensive and infinite.

When I appeared to him in a far-reaching radiance,
which is more immense and surpassing from the world,
I showed him the *margna* (staff) of Living Water,
which my fathers gave me.

I showed him the *margna* (staff) of living water,
by which the rebels are crushed down.

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843 in BL 23600: 39v.
844 Cedar staff is a symbol of rulership in Mesopotamia (Widengren, 1950: 8, 9).
which instills terror into demons, when they see it.

When I appeared to Nimrus,

she cried “Alas, Alas!”

When I appeared to the giant,

all his army scattered.

When his army scattered,

he tore his troops (lit: tribes) asunder,

he tore his warriors asunder,

(GRR p. 100)

who had taken arms against him.

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ם"חכ può המדהיל which instills terror into demons, when they see it.

כ"חכ"ט הוהי הלמ"ן When I appeared to Nimrus,

שהי"כ אלא אל אלא she cried “Alas, Alas!”

כ"חכ"ט הוהי הלמ"ן When I appeared to the giant,

כלוהו הוהי הוהי all his army scattered.

כ"חכ"ט הוהי הלמ"ן When his army scattered,

וה שאריתך בשבעאתו he tore his troops (lit: tribes) asunder,

שאריתך בקארבתניה he tore his warriors asunder,

(GRR p. 100)

who had taken arms against him.

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845 cf. 846 מ"ש כריבס הברבניא "he encamped amongst the tribes, he encamped amongst the warriors" (MD p. 474 ).
He tore asunder all the demons, deities, and demons
and engulfed part of the Place of Darkness.

He contained it with all his strength and buried half of his mouth in the earth.

He took twelve measures of dust and engulfed part of the Place of Darkness.

He swallowed the black water,

847 a female demon or genie (MD, p. 236). Montgomery writes “In the Babylonian the Lilith (ardat lili) is the ghostly paramour of men, and her realm is the sexual sphere; hence women in their periods and at childbirth, maidens, children, are the special objects of her malice” (Montgomery, 1913: 76).
and swallowed all the demons and *dewis* who were in it,

and he swallowed all the *hmurtas* and *liliths*.

He rose up and annihilated the whole world.

His eyes blushed blood-red.

and his heart heaved with groans.

as he stood empty in the world.

A second time I appeared to him with the call of the Great One,

his crown fell from his head.

When his crown fell from his head,

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849 In BL 23600 40r: 4 & BLO 1236: 40r: 4.
850 In BL 23601: 40r and in BL 23600: 40r.
his gall was trailed along the earth.

By the breath which poured out from his mouth,

the mountains start up and boil.


I appeared to him in the strength of the Great One,

which my father had given me.

851 'Ur, the Leviathan, in the Mandaean system is the father of the Seven (planets), the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and the Five (monsters). The mythological archetype of this figure is he Babylonian Tia'mat, the chaos-monster slain by Marduk in the history of creation. Jonas believes that the closest Gnostic parallel to our tale is to be found in the Jewish apocryphal Acts of Kyriakos and Julitta, “where the prayer of Kyriakos relates how the hero, sent out by his Mother into foreign land, the “city of darkness,” after long wandering and passing through the waters of the abyss meets the dragon, the “king of the worms of the earth, whose tail lies in his mouth. This is the serpent that led astray through passions the angels from on high; this is the serpent that led astray the first Adam and expelled him from Paradise . . .” (Jonas, 1958: 117), (See above § 2.3.7).

852 This verse is not found in BL 23600 4or & BLO 1236: 40r.
I appeared to him in the strength of the Great One, and some of his breath reached my garment.

When some of his breath reached my garment,

the burning flame (of his breath) was extinguished.

The burning flame was extinguished,

he embraced the earth in his embrace and swallowed it up.

When he embraced and swallowed up the earth,

his navel fell upon the gate of the stream (lit: vein) of darkness.

When his navel lay in the vein of darkness, all the darkness was formed from him.

\[88\] In BL 23600 40r: 9 & BLO 1236: 40r: 9 we read: שִׂאָרָה בְּהַר שִׂירְיָאָה, דְּתוֹרָא נִנְאֵל.
Then the place of darkness was enlarged,
and he grasped it with its heart.
In his heart he grasped the darkness,
the kanna (place), from which he came to being.
I seized his eyes
and fettered his heart.
I dissolved his joints
(GRR p. 101)

and crushed his liver.
I folded his stomach with his bowels,
and I wrapped him with four shawls.

I put a band on his navel,

and tied a knot around his heart.

I cast poison into his bowels,

and gall into his whole stature.

A tear filled his eye,

which was flaming like fire.

The knots (usually odd in numbers) are used in exorcism, to break the spells, or for healing, and the magician had recourse to several options are used as a powerful means to subdue evil. In text 22:213 ff. Hibil says, “I sent against him (the demon) the knot which was above all knots ..” (Yamauchi, 1967: 249). In Surah no. 113 of the Qur'an “Muhammad seeks refuge from the "evil of blowers (feminine) upon knots = m k ll ^ 0lLdJi." (Ibid 60) The story tellers say that “a Jew called Lubaid and his daughters bewitched Muhammad by tying eleven knots in a cord which they hid in a well. The result was that the Prophet fell seriously ill and would undoubtedly have died had not God intervened” (Budge, 1930: 62).


in BL 23601: 40r.
He was bound with a fetter,
which was thicker than he was.

It was thicker than he was
and it crushed his bones.

A muzzle was placed (lit. fell) on his mouth,
and he was bridled with an iron bridle.

He was bound hand and foot,
and pain assailed his side.

Convulsions attacked (lit. fell on) his head,
and his eyes went blind and shone no more.

858 Read (PE. Pf. RSS to crush, to break to pieces).  in the other copies.
The wretched became tongue tied and confined himself in his own kanna (place).

"Alas, Alas onto myself", he cried.

"Woe, woe", he cried for himself,

as anger overtook him.

\[\text{859 BL 23600: 40r.} \]
\[\text{860 BL 23599 42r: 3, BLO 1236: 40r: 23.}\]
and ulcers covered him from head to toe.

All the waters became turbid,

and his eyes darkened and shone no more.

His wings pounded the ground

(and) thunder pealed in his heart.

His heel stamped on the ground,

spasms attacked his sides.\textsuperscript{863}

\textsuperscript{861}BL 23601: 40v.

\textsuperscript{862}BL 23600: 40v.

\textsuperscript{863}or: sores filled his chest (MD, p. 105).
The King of Darkness concealed himself in his own kanna (place), and none of my words reached him.

He hurled himself down with moans and cried:

“Compassionate one, have mercy upon me.”

Whatever he had devoured he cast out of his mouth,

(PRR p. 102)

and its foul stench was repulsive.

When he said: “Compassionate One, have compassion on me,”

864 BL 23600: 40v.
865 not in BL 23600: 40v and BL 23601: 40v.
866 in BL 23601: 40v.
all his worshipers scattered.

His worshipers scattered,

and his own burden pressed hard on him.

which was colossal and had no end.

When he clattered about boisterously,

he shook his škina.

When he shook his škina,

guards were provided for (: set over) him.

The guards who were set over him
were giants and monsters of the world.

Because of the giants and monsters,
a spasm shook the heart of Ruha.

A spasm shook the heart of Ruha,
she wept, groaned and sobbed,
and addressed the base monster,

whose foul breath rose up (from him):

"Who has done this to you,
who has caused you this humiliation?"

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

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He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

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He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,
the Lord of the whole world.

He talked as he spoke to Namrus, the mother of this world:

"The man who has done this to me is greater than all the world."

I beheld the countenance of his face, but I did not equal his whole stature.

because he is greater than all the worlds."

When he had thus spoken to his mother,
he wanted to commit adultery with her.
The angels who were watching him called him by his worthless name.
One says to the other:
"Ur is moving from his place!"

(GRR p. 103)

When Ruha heard this, she clasps her hand(s) to her head.
She clasps her hand(s) to her head,
and ravages the plait(s) of her head.

\[^{87} \text{In BL 23600 40v: 26 & BLO 1236: 40v: 26 לְמַּעֲלוּיָה is not found.} \]
She ravages the plait(s) of her head and cries: "Alas, alas!"

Rūha and the astartes (female demons)

They stand there and devise mysteries

against the giants, the guards of ‘Ur.

I, when I saw it,

I encircled him with a chain

'sṭira or 'stru Akk. Ištar (Venus-Libat) used of female demons (MD p. 355).

BL 23600 411: 1 & BLO 1236: 411: 1

Read ...
the chain which I encircled him with

I created and erected a wall for him, an iron wall,

and I surrounded his dwelling.

Upon the wall with which surrounded him, I appointed watchers;

watchers who kept a watch over his lair.

I set in it twenty four gates,

by which (his) world is guarded.

Through them (his) world is guarded

---

and dust rises on him.

When I set the twenty-four gates in it,

he cried: “Woe, alas, alas!

When I am hungry, what shall I eat?

When I am thirsty, what shall drink?

and on what shall I lie down,

and who will be my companion?”

I spoke and said

to Ur, the futile King of Darkness:

“The good one because of his virtue ascends
and beholds the Place of Light.

The evil one because of his wickedness is cut off in the place of darkness.

You will lie at the gates of darkness,

It shall be your companion,

the kanna (place), in which you concealed yourself.

When you are hungry, (then) eat from your own tribe (or: hosts),

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876 not in BL 23601: 41r.
877 BL 23600 41r: 13. In BL 23600 41r: 13 not in BL 23601 41r: 25.
878 not in BL 23601 41r: 25.
of everything which has come from you.

Your drink shall be from those black waters,

where you have dwelt.”

“When I eat and have not had enough,

who will sustain my inner parts in their place?

When I drink and am not satisfied

who will quench my thirst?”

(GRR p. 104)

When the evil one spoke thus,
I laughed and I was resplendent in my garment.

I mocked and laughed at him,

at the serpent who is without hands and feet.

“You sought to devour the whole world,

which was powerful and commanding.”

When I thus spoke to him,

he wailed and wept unto himself.

He wailed and wept unto himself, and said:

---

881 BL 23599 43r: 10 & BL 23601 41v: 4.
882 BL 23599 43r: 14, BL 23600 41r: 22, BL 23601 41v: 8 & BL 23600 41r: 22.
"Is there anyone who is greater than you, who has the authority upon all the worlds?

If there is anyone who is greater than you, be you lenient to me.

If I sinned, do not condemn me, be, you, lenient to me.

Lord! we have greatly sinned.

Forgive our sins and trespasses.

Be compassionate to us,

---

883 BL 23601: 41v.
884 BL 23601: 41v. See also BL 23600: 41r and BLO 1236: 41r.
885 This verse not in BL 23600 41r: 25.
886 BL 23600: 41v.
887 BL 23601.
and we all will abase ourselves beneath you."

"I am the good, I am for the good,
Life has the authority over you."

I spoke and said to him:

"Until the Life wishes it,
and Abatur is planted hither.

Until Abatur is called into being,
and the sons of perfection are called into being,

888 BLO 1236: 41r: 22.
and Gabriel, the envoy, is called into being,

and creates the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks. 892

and stops up the well of the stagnant water.

From the dust which rises up from Siniawis (the underworld),

890 Gabriel is associated with Ptahil (see above 2. 2. 6).
891 Bl 23599 43v: 21
892 This verse is a reflection of the Hellenistic influence on Mesoepotamia. We recall the distinguished works of Berosus (a Hellenistic Babylonian writer and astronomer 3rd century B.C.E.) who introduced the writings of the Babylonians concerning astronomy and philosophy amongst the Greeks.
893 Bl 23600 41v: 10
there will be a conduit for you,

there will be a conduit for you,

and it will be filled with living and bright water,

whose fragrance is sweet,

and from them goodness is obtained.

And from the overflow of those waters

From the food which the devouring fire devours;
the (scraps) which falls upon you from that;

the leftovers which drop form it,

shall be your food.

(Let) some of your demons, diwīs, humras and līlīths,

become your food.

When the firmament is spanned out

wrath will fall on you.

'Ur groaned loudly and said to me:

Mead believes that 'Ur is originally the Caldaean Deus Lunus (snake); he is the oldest son of Rūha, the world-mother, and corresponds in some respects with the Yaldabāōth of "Ophite" origin. (See Mead, 1924: 35 note 2, and §2.3.7 above).

\[899\]
"How long must I live alone
and bear the burden of the world?"

When Ur spoke in this way,
Ruha his mother shook and trembled.
Ruha feared and trembled,
and cried: "Alas, alas!"
Ruha groaned loudly
and said to the giant who was abased:

"Who will be like unto you,

901 BL 23600 41v: 24 & BLO 1236: 41v: 22
902 BL 23601: 42r.
and rise and lead your world?

Who will be lord over your demons,

and master of your humras?

(Is he) a powerful one, a giant?

Who will hold your colours (or: banners),

the women, the splendour of the women?

When the evil one(s) had thus spoken,

I answered and spoke to them about all things,

As the Great One wills it,
thus it came to pass immediately.

As the Great One wills it,

my Father, who planted (or: created) me, told it to me,

The voices proclaim:

that which Rūha planned

will be idle voices.

When the Seven planets came to being

from whom need is produced.

(Then) the names of those voices


---

904 BL 23599 44r: 3, BL 23600 42r: 4, BL 23601 42r: 14 & BLO 1236: 42r: 4
905 (פָּקְדָו) not in BL 23600 42r: 8 & BLO 1236: 42r: 8.
Thereupon the twelve voices come into being,
from which all the flaws and defects are produced.

Because of the plan of the liar,
they are seized by sorrows.

Five voices come into being,
who make a terrifying appearance.

The worlds behold them and are petrified;
and they appear in the kanna (place) of the burning fire.

---

\textsuperscript{906} BL 23599 44r: 6, BL 23600 42r: 8, BL 23601 42r: 17 & BLO 1236: 42r: 8.
\textsuperscript{907} not in BL 23600 42r: 10 & BLO 1236: 42r: 10.
\textsuperscript{908} in the other manuscripts.
They march in the wheels of anger, and appear in the colours of fire.

They spoke to me about the first (events), and clarified all and sundry. They informed me about all voices, as they happened in their place.

One call comes and explains about all calls.

Jonas states: "The symbol of the call as the form in which the transmundane makes its appearance within the world is so fundamental to Eastern Gnosticism that we may even designate the Mandaean and Manichean religions as "religions of the call."" (Jonas, 1958: 74).
One speech comes and explains about all speeches. A cherished son will come, who was formed from the bosom of the radiance. From the bosom of the radiance he was formed, and his counterpart is preserved in its place. He arrives with the splendour of Life, and by the command which his father gave him. He comes in a garment of the Living Flame, 

911 BL 23600 42r: 19 & BLO 1236: 42r: 19 “in the place of Life”. 
912 BL 23600 42r: 22 & BLO 1236: 42r: 22 .
and set off towards your world.

He makes a profound obeisance to the Great One

Splendour is brought out from his thought

He brings solidity and throws it in the water.

He throws solidity in the water

and he appoints a limit to the worlds.

He brings the Living Flame

and casts it into the deep waters.

He fills in the ditches,
and dries out the stagnant waters.

He creates a world for himself,

and builds a building like the Great Ones.

He brings glory from the House of Life

and illuminates the skins

He creates a king to the world

and casts a soul into his body.  

Into his body he casts a soul, 

and allows him to eat food of the body.

_________________________________________________________________

913 Cf. “Ptahil threw the form which the Second (Life) had formed into the world of darkness. He made creations and formed tribes outside the Life” (GRR 287: 7).
By the strength of the living fire,
the devouring fire spoke.

The devouring fire spoke,
and from it all and sundry was formed.

(GRR p. 107)

When leaves, flowers and vegetables came to being,
and all fruits, grapes and trees,
which (begin) to thrive in the world,

(by) the odour of the living water,

and by the odour of the living flame,

914 In BL 23600 42v: 6 & BLO 1236: 42v: 6 is not found.
the stink of their putridity becomes pleasant.

From the food which the devouring fire devours,

will be your food.

Three Uthras will arrive

and safeguard the souls (nišimata).

They will call aloud the voice of Life,

and illuminate the perishable house (the earthly world).

Two Uthras will arrive,

and go to the watersheds.

They will bring water hither,

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915 They are Hibil, Šitil and Anoš: the head of the whole race (CP, p. 58).
916 they are Šalmai and Naidbai, guardian uthras of the Jordan (CP, p. 58).
and establish a Jordan (river) in the world.

A Jordan they will establish in the world, and spread luster over it.

They will plant worthy plants

They will be full of faith, wisdom and insight,

and call (aloud) a wonderful voice.

The outflow that flows out of the water,
The outflow of the earth of Tibil,
if you thirst, it shall be water for you.

The house of the earth of Tibil,
shall be your prison.

Some of your sons, who are from you,
will be watchmen over you.

They are charged to look after your bond.

---

918 BL 23600 42v: 16 & BLO 1236: 42v: 16.
919 this verse is not in BL 23601: 43r.
920 is not in BL 23601: 43r.
(to look after) the chain which is the fullness of the world.

They are charged to look after your foot block,

which is heavier than all of the worlds.

When the evil one heard this,

his heart became full with anger.

and he shook the anvil of the earth.

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922 in BL 23601: 43r.
923 is not found in BL 23600 42v: 24.
He shook the chains, and shook the chains.

which are the fullness of the world,

and I put a request to the Great Life,

and I entangled him in a bond.

In a bond I entangled him,

and I created and set a wall around him, an iron wall,

whose strength none can attain.

I rose up by the strength of the Life,
None can attain his strength,

or shake him from its place.

My heels stamped on the ground,

and shook down his heart from its pillar.

I wrapped his heart with a veil,

and tied a ligament around his body.

I tied seven knots around him

so the voice of darkness departed him.

I tied the great knot,
I wrapped him with twelve veils,
so the twelve (evil) schemes departed him.

I bound him by the great voice,
so their whole blunder was annulled from them.

I fettered him with a fetter,
so the seven flashes departed him.

I flung my club and struck him,
and split his head open.

I made him shriek a womanish shriek,
and I made him weep like a child.

I made dung his food,

and urine his drink.

I extinguished the fire and the glow of the devouring and destroying fire.

I deprived him of his greed (or: lust),

and I clothed him with wrath.

I trod out a path for the good,

and I made a gateway for the world.
and erected a chair (throne) in it.

I erected a chair (throne) for the good ones,

and I set up a light beside it.

A light I set up beside it,

which is completely perfect.

And a watch-tower for the sons of perfection,

is the place where they live and without lacking anything.

(GRR p. 109)
I established the Jordan of the Great [one],
and appointed guardians over it.

I stationed two uthras beside it,
who were surpassingly rich and without lacking.

I set up a throne to Rab-Ziwa (the lord of beings of light)
and erected a light before it.

A light which I erected,
which was completely perfect.

They are Šalmai & Nadbai, the two spirits regarded generally as the guardians of the Yardina (Jordan) river.
I with fervour and praise,

I set forth and went towards the House of the Great Ones.

In the joy that I felt,

I reported to the Great Ones.

The Life rejoiced and was in high spirits,

and they were overjoyed with me.

The Life thanked me,

and he gave me more radiance than I had (before) and spoke (to me):

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\footnote{BL 23600 43v: 1 & BLO 1236: 43v: 1}
The Life spoke blissfully to the uthrás (and) said:

Praise the strength of the man who cured water through fire

Praise the strength of the man, against whom the fire sinned not.

The fire did not sin against him!

---

929 see above page 74 for the phrase "he brings the living flame and casts it into the deep waters".
The uthra shone in its radiance; and trod out a path for the perfect ones, and remembered their names in the House of the Great Ones.

The uthra was cheerful and delighted when the Life thanked him.
He embraced and kissed the uthra
and gave him the Kuṣṭa, like the great (ones).

"He worked and succeeded.' They hailed to the uthra.

In whatever you do you will succeed.

If you create and plant uthras,
then your uthras may go to that place.

(GRR p. 110)

(You are) the great father;
(and) to you Life has proven his immense gratitude.”
I received the *kusṭa* from them, and went to the house of the great ones, the place where the good ones dwell,

When I arrived to the house of the good ones, I bowed down (in worship) before the Great Ones.

As I wanted to address the Great One, the Great One spoke to me.

As I wanted to relate to them,
the Great One thanked me.

The Great One thanked me, and spoke to me about everything.

The Great One, in his majesty, called me: "The great beyond all measures!"

"He worked and succeeded," hailed the Great One.

"The uthra who sustains his friends, worked and succeeded!" hailed the Great one.

"In whatever you do, you will succeed.

You will be the father of the uthras,
who provides his friends with provisions.

You are the chosen one of the uthras,

and makes all works right.

You make all works right,

because (you are the one who) "worked and succeeded."

You, Manda Ḫ-Hiia,

the valour and well-prepared Uthra,

arise, draw off a channel of living water

and lead it into that world.

Summon the three uthras,

934 BL 3600 43v: 23 & BLO 1236: 43v: 23

935 They are: Hibil, Śtíl & Anōš.
who shall care for the treasure of the Life.

They shall care for the treasure of Life,

which is taken from here.

Imprudent uthras take it,

and bring it into that world.

They put it in filth

and clothe it in the colour(s) of the flesh.

They put it in the filth,

and clothe it with a perishable garment.

In BL 23600 44r: 2 there is  

936 In BL 23600 44r: 2 there is  

388
With a perishable garment they clothe it and produce in it defect and blunder.

Defect and blunder they produce in it, and distortion afflicts them.

and ensue in them all and sundry."

(GRR p. 111)

Then the Second (Life) straightened up, and the Uthra rose up and held counsel.

His uthras stood and gave him advice, and spoke to him (to the Second Life):
Grant us to call forth a world, and establish skins for you, which will be declared as yours!"

He gave them some of his radiance and ordered(?) them to call forth a world. The sons of the Second (Life) arose, set forth and descended towards the Place of Darkness. They called forth Ptahil-Uthra

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937 BL 23599 46r: 8, L 23601 44r: 22 & BLO 1236: 44r: 8
938 ngad PE. Pf. NGD "to draw (forth or out), stretch out, extend etc. for pqad (idiom) (MD, p. 288). ṭaw to flow, pull, draw, guide (DJPA, p. 340).
939 Ptahil the Mandaean demiurge who created the physical world (See above § 2.3.6).
They called him forth and set him in his place.

They called the sons-of-perfection
and set them on their thrones.

They called forth and created skins,
and created uthras in them.

They arrived at the streams of water
and looked intently at the Place of Darkness.

Bhaq-Ziwa shone by himself and became arrogant,

940 Sum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai and Zamar-Hai: the four beings of perfection who come towards sincere and believing people and take them out of bonds (See CP, p. 87).

941 Bhaq-ziwa name of a light spirit. He is created by the Second (Life) and he is identified with Abathur. His other name is “the Father of the Uthras” (See above §2. 2.5).
and conducted himself like the great ones.

He conducted like the great ones,

and abandoned the name that his father called him by. And he spoke:

"I am the father of the uthras,

the father of the uthras am I,

who made skinas for the uthras."

He pondered over the deep waters

and said: "I shall call forth a world!"

He took no advice

עֲנָד אָלָמָא

The father of the uthras

who made skinas for the uthras.

He pondered over the deep waters

and said: "I shall call forth a world!"

He took no advice
and did not perceive the deep waters.

He did not perceive the deep waters

and he did not perceive the devouring flame,

which has no splendour.

The father of the uthras took no advice

and he offered them (the uthras) no support.

He called Ptahil-Uthra,

embraced him, and kissed him like a great one.

He bestowed names on him,

944 BL 23599 46v: 10 & BL 23601 44v: 10.
which are concealed and guarded in their place.

He gave him the name “Gabriel, the messenger,”

He summoned him, gave command and spoke to him:

“Arise, go, descend to the lower place,

where there are no škinas nor worlds.

(GRR p. 112)

Call forth and make a world for yourself,

just like the sons of perfection, whom you saw.

Set up and establish a world,

establish a world for yourself,

and make uthrás in it.

The father of the uthrás, in his arrogance,
said to him nothing about the hostility,
and he neither armed him nor instructed him.

Ptahil-Uthra rose up, set forth
and descended below the škinas,
to the place where there is no world.

He stepped in the lump of filth
and waded in the deep water.

\[^{946}\text{in the other copies.}\]
He spoke with his voice,

as the living flame (in him) changed.

947

When the living flame (in him) changed

he was troubled in his heart and said:

"Since I am the son of the Great One,

why has the living flame (in me) changed?"

When Ptahil-Uthra spoke thus,

She, Rūha, strengthened.

Strengthened was she, Rūha,

948

in the other copies (when the Great One changed the Living Flame (in him ?).
and she herself became arrogant.

She spoke: “His radiance has changed,
his radiance has become deficient and imperfect.”

She arose, destroyed her property,
and clothed herself in a flowing dress.

Rûha removed her majesty,
and conducted herself as she was not.

She spoke to the foolish warrior (the King of Darkness),
who has no sense or understanding. She spoke to him:
“Arise and behold how the radiance of the strange man has diminished, and how his radiance has become deficient and imperfect.

“Arise and sleep with your mother, and you will be released from the chain which binds you, which is thicker than the whole world.”

When the wicked one heard this, he rattled his bones.

He slept with Rūha, and she conceived seven forms from the one intercourse.
And (after) seven days she was in labour

and gave birth to the follies,

She gave birth to the Seven (Planets),

(GRR p. 113)

from which seven figures originated.

when she caught sight of them, her heart fell down from its support,

and she said:

"I spoke and am not spoken to.

Lidzbarski translates the word: "planets", presumably from šaba ahia, “seven brothers” (MII n. 5 p. 254). The Planets are, indeed considered little better than demons since actions swayed by emotions are harmful to the soul, and faults committed under planetary influence must be expiated after death in the mafarata, realms equivalent to purgatories (Drower, The Coronation of Great Shišlam, 1962: xvi). The planetary deities survived among Mandaeans as forces governing the days of the week. (Budge, 1939: 380) The official Mandaean religion condemns the worship of the old Babylonian planetary deities, even though popular magic has seen fit to invoke their aid, e. g. in the unpublished text (DC 18) “Zrazta d-Suba Sibiahia” or The Protection of the Seven Planets. We read of the evil designs in the marriage ceremony of the Great Shišlam: “I laughed at the planets, (and) at what they planned and did. I dwelt amongst the Seven (planets) but they laid no hand upon me. For the Elect that loved the Life there shall be good things. Woe to the planets that scheme wickedness against my Chosen Ones” (Drower, Sarh d-Qabin, 1950: 63. Also, Yamauchi, 1967: 32). As for demonizing the planets, Zaehner writes: “The stars proper followed their regular courses and so reflected the divine order: the planets, however, followed eccentric courses and for this reason could not be fitted into that order: hence they must be diabolical” (Zaehner, 1955: 152).
The thing I wished for did not become true,
that no one resembles the other.”

When Rūha spoke in this way,
her sons became hostile.

They became hostile and denied their father.

There is nothing without an end.

Ptahil washed his hands in the deep water and spoke:

"May an earth come into being,
and no one resembles the other."
like it did in the House of the Great Ones."

When he immersed his hands

a solidity was formed.

A solidity was formed

which was thrown down and ran about, as though there was no matter.

When no earth came into being and was solidified,

his heart was torn with discord.

When his heart was torn with discord,

Rūha, again became strong

and stood, upon the Mount.

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954 BL 23601: 45r.
955 not in BL 23599 47r: 17 & BL 23601 45r: 18.
956 BL 23601: 45r.
and spoke: "I will rise and destroy my property, 
and depart to the King of the World."

She arose at once, 
destroyed her property and put on a dress 
she got up and destroyed her property 
and went to the monster and spoke to him:

"Rise! great monster, 
rise, behold the whole world is yours!"

I heard that the House was deserted 

957: in BL 23600 44v : 30 & BL 23601 45r.
and all its knots are loosed."

When the wicked heard this,
his heart became twice as strong

She spoke to him: "I am your sister
If you sleep with me,
your strength will be twice as much."

When he slept with her,
by the one intercourse,

in BL 23599 47r: 24 & BL 23601 45r: 25.
She conceived by him twelve monsters, but none of which was worthy.

Pains overtook Rūha for twelve days. 959

(GRR p. 114)

She was in labour and gave birth to twelve forms,

none of which resembled any other another.

The did not resemble one another,

and each one rose on the other’s lap.

959 For these acts of insect see above § 2.3.9.1
960 in the other manuscripts.
961 Cf. one demon is described as biting another in an old Babylonian text (cited by Yamauchi, 1967: 53).
When she caught sight of them, her heart fell from its support.  

Her heart fell from its support, 

and she howled and wept onto herself, and she said:

"I said I shall be pregnant and bear forth, 

and they will resemble the Lord of the World. 

I ran, my Lord, and did not arrive, 

and I have brought disgrace on myself."

When Namrus spoke thus,
The Twelve became wickedly infuriated, and denied their father. There is nothing without an end.

Ptahil stood engrossed in thought, engrossed in thought Ptahil stood and cried: “I shall leave the world!”

When Ruha heard this, her heart righted itself on its support and she said:

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965 In BL 23600 45r: 17 & BLO 1236: 45r: 16 there is
966 In BL 23600 45r: 21 there is
967 In BL 23600 45r: 21 & BL 23601 45v: 15 there is
The alien has no hostility, and the alien has no (more) power in the world.

She stood and destroyed her property and put on her dress and went to the source of the Place of Darkness. She spoke to the degraded warrior, who is without hands or feet:}

968 In BL 23600 45r: 21 & BLO 1236: 45r: 20 is found without 21
"Rise, my father, and behold!
I am your daughter!
Fondle me and kiss me,
and gaze your fill at the world.
and behold (the world) which fully belongs to you.
The Stranger who came to your world
set out urgently and ascended to his place.
If you sleep with me
your eyes will remain as they are!"

When the wicked heard this
he embraced her, kissed her and slept with her.

He kissed her and slept with her,
and she became pregnant from him.

(GRR p. 115)

She conceived five wrathful ones by him,
who disavowed each other.

They disavowed each other,
and practiced anything which was unseemly and awful.

---

909 PE. Pt. HUB (always with la) lahāiāb ulašapīr "unseemly and not good"; la is to emphasize hāiīb which itself is negative (MD p. 134).
On the first day (the sky) split opened and there was lightning.

On the second day it thundered.

On the third day it was surrounded by flames.

On the fourth day an earthquake shook the portals of the Darkness.

On the fifth day her heart was afflicted and mournful.

Her mind was convulsed,

cu(6JcbaO cJ aJ (O Ca aL i.

as a convulsed labouring woman confined in childbed.

She was in labour and gave birth to five forms,

970 In, BL 23600 45v: 8 (zahrira). In BL 23599 48r: 4 & BLO 1236: 45v: 8 (zahrira).

971 zahrira pl. zahrīrā: flashes, flames (found only in plural) (MD. p. 157).

972 hamīṣ feminine hamša “five” (MD p. 124).

973 hamīṣ dmawata the five planets excluding the sun and the moon.
but none of which resembled any other.

and they are inflamed against one another.

Through them imperfection originated,

with which all the worlds are unable to cope.

When she beheld them,

she hit her head with her hand(s)

She hit her head with her hand(s)

and tore out the tress(es) on her head.

974 In BL 23600 45v: 13 & BLO 1236: 45v: 13:
975 In BL 23599 48r: 9 & BL 23601 46r: 9.
and she brought distortion to her heart, and she spoke:

I ran, my Lord, and did not arrive.

I brought disgrace upon myself.

I did not see them and I was not relieved.

All my spells were lost

and all my words were scattered.

Wherefore I destroyed my property,

She tore out the tress(es) on her head.

I spoke and it did not happen.

All my spells were lost

wherein many spells were scattered.

Wherefore I destroyed my property,
and wherefore I clothed myself with my gown?

Wherefore I clothed myself with my gown,

while I have no share of it the House?"

Ptaihil pondered in his mind

and he conferred with his wisdom, and he spoke:

"I shall rise, prostrate to the Life and submit (myself) to the Great (One),

My wish is to get a garment of the Living Flame,

and wade in turbid water.

In the turbid water I shall wade,

\[980\] In BL 23600 46r: 1 & BLO 1236: 46r: 1

\[981\] In BL 23600 46r: 3 & BL 23601 46r: 19 there is
When Ptahil, by the wisdom he devised,
worshiped and praised the Life.
He received the garment of the Living Flame
and waded in the turbid water.
When the Living Flame mingled
with the turbid water,
at the scent of the garment of the Living Flame

983 The above six lines not in BLO 1236: 46r.
Dust ascended from the earth Siniawis.

Dust rose up from the earth Siniawis and fell in (every) place.

All the seas were stopped up and all the hollows were leveled.

There became dry land, and a solidification was formed and fell into the water.

Then a curtain was raised,

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984 BL 23599 48r: 24 & BL 23601 46r: 25 siniauis: underworld; abode of darkness (MD, P. 328).
985 Not in BL 23600 46r: 11 & BLO 1236: 46r: 11.
986 Cf. Genesis 6-10.
987 br guda (a popular etym. of Parthian bargöd, Aram, (MD p. 69), Iraqi parda “curtain”. Also expressed in the Jewish tradition “Pargod” is a religious notion borrowed from Middle Persian indicate the separation between the “here” and the “hereafter”. This curtain (barrier) can be lifted from time to time (for more details concerning “pargod”, see Shaked 1994: 5).
When the firmament was spanned out,
(Ptahil) prostrated and praised the Man, his creator.

When he saw the lofty Throne,
he rejoiced, and his heart was pleased.

He seized the navel of the earth
and tried to bind it to the heart of the heavens.

When he sought to seize the navel of the earth,
the perishable ones (the Planets) surrounded him.

---

990 in BL 23600 46r: 15 & BLO 1236: 46r: 15.
The basket (or: bundle) of the crafty ones surrounded him,
which is full of (false) wisdom.

It is full with delusion,
which is full of (false) wisdom.

How full it is with delusion,

a woman's market basket of witchcraft (spells).

The Seven Planets encircled him

and the twelve good-for-nought monsters.

Aṭrapan and Lupan surrounded him,


991 not in BL 23599 48v: 11 & BL 23601 46v.
992 Not in BL 23599 48v: 12 & BL 23601 46v: 11.
993 Not in BL 23599 48v: 11.
994 aṭarpan ulupan: two demons (MD, p. 13).
the two viceroys of the world.

Urp'il and Marp'il, who have dominion over wrath in the Tibil.

They encircled the great dragon, ascended, and stood in the vault.

When he grasped the navel of the earth he raised it and tied it to the vault.

(GRR p. 117)

When he held the high circumference of the firmament, ascended and tied it to his throne.

995 ُ‘urp’il & ‘urp(q)iil: two light spirits (MD, p. 346).
996 talia fictive dragon causing eclipse Ginza talia rba: the great dragon, kbašt Italia rba d-alahia “I subdued the great dragon of the gods” (MD p. 479).
997 is not found in BLO 1236: 46r: 26.
The Seven (planets) concealed themselves, climbed and took their place in the vault.

The (Twelve) monsters took up position, and were fettered by their bonds.

As for their Five leaders, they (cried): “Alas, alas!”

Ptahil put up with his wisdom, he sat down and questioned them one by one:

“Where do you come from, you wicked,

...parunia = pirunia: sneers, fetters, bonds. (MD p. 372) See also parunia (MD, p. 363).

In BL 23600 46v: 5 & BLO 1236: 46v: 5 there is.
whose forms are not from the father’s house?”

When he spoke thus to them,

Rūha answered him from below:

“We come to be your humble servants,

ingom mithwālāt ya’dūrūn
we step forward and would be your helpers.

“Adāmār mithwālāt bād lāmḥet
We would be your helpers in everything you do,

On your throne we would leave you in peace,

we would rise and restore order in the world.

or servant (see MD, p. 418).
We would be praiseworthy and entirely surrender to you.”

When the Seven had thus spoken to him,

He said to them: “You are my sons!

If you perform good deeds,

then I will reckon you on my side!”

When Ptahil spoke thus,

his house was taken away from him.

His house was taken away from him,

and the feeble ones gained authority over it,

---

1001 BL 23600 46v: 11 & BLO 1236: 46v: 11.
as before the firmament was spanned out

and the earth settled in solidification.

When Ptahil spoke thus,

His house was taken away from him.

Ptahil discerning in his wisdom and said:

“I will rise (and) descend to the House of my Father
to tell my Lofty Father:

“I have done all that you have asked me to do.”

When Ptahil spoke thus,
Rūha perceived in her wisdom and said:

עקרת המוריה תсадיאתה

"I shall call forth hmurtas and astartes,

והנה נביא באלמה

who shall be my children in the world.

בריאתיהם התאזרתו והאמצאות ניקומ

The planets and their demons shall rise up in defiance.

(GRR p. 118)

ותRecovered: כַּהֲנַה הָאָדָם הֲזָנִית

The monsters and dewis shall rise in defiance,

וכלת אלמה חפריא

and we shall disorganize the whole world.

והאמשתיהם התאזרתו והאמיתיות ניקומ

The five potentates of the house shall rise up

וקראבות ניבית

and wage war."

---

1002 not in BL 23601: 47r.
1003 BL 23599 49r: 12, BL 23600 46v: 18, BL 23601 47r: 1 & BLO 1236: 46v: 17 כְּפָר הַנַּוּד בַּיָּדוֹ.
1004 BL 23600 46v: 18 & BLO 1236: 46v: 17 כָּסְפָר הַנַּוְּד בַּיָּדוֹ.
1005 PRA (טנ) to destroy, to disarrange. Kulh alma naprḥ "we will disorganize the whole world." (MD, p. 378) in the other manuscripts כָּסְפָר הַנַּוְּד בַּיָּדוֹ.
When Ptahil beheld them,
he was enlightened by his wisdom.
He clenched his fist
and beat upon the forecourt of his chest and said:
"Before I depart to the father’s house,
I shall appoint a master over this world.
The masters of the House do not realize,
that this world has a master."

---

1006 The Planets.
1007 Adam is the new master of the world.
When he went to the house of the Life,

The Rūha created *hmurtas*

and created *astartes* that are veiled.

The planets created demons,

powerful and great in number.

The obscene beasts created the *dewis,*

according to their images in the world.

The five (planets) who created the sword,

---

1008 not in BL 23601: 47r.
were given authority over the wrath in the Tibil. Some of their forms exist on land, and some in the murky waters. “We want to stay in Heavens and (yet), our creatures dominate the whole world. Earth will become ours, and nobody else has the authority over this world. The house that our father had built for us, we shall dwell in it after him, because we are the masters of the House.
Rūha will be the Mistress of our place.

Rūha d-Qudša “The Holy Ghost” is with us, and we shall be her guardians.

The twelve stars will rise and divide the days and the months.

They must divide the hours and the šušīn, and divide the minutes and the seconds.

When we accomplish this, the whole House will belong to us.”

---

*nagia* found only in plural: a small unit of time (MD p. 281. See also MG, p. 64).
Since the earth became condensed and until Adam came (into being), there had been three hundred and sixty thousand years.

Since Adam came (into being) and until the end of the worlds, there will be four hundred and eighty thousand years.

The Seven planets distributed the years into even parts, that none fell short of his companion.

Rūha, the seductress, divided the whole world, (that) none of the twelve sons of the faulty fell short of his companion.

Rūha and all the planets did not perceive and did not realize
that the world has a lord and his helpers are beside him.

Nevertheless, they stand there forging plans in order to create a lord for the world.

There is nothing without an end.

He came and listened to what his father said to him.

Then he spoke, "I came here in order to create a beloved son,

in order he rises and praises the Great Ones.

When he stands on his feet he will hit the wild beast(s) with his hand.
With his hand he will hit the wild beasts and the cattle as well.

It would do them benefit, because of what the Planets had committed.

They (the planets) divided the government (?) so the bodies feed on all beasts of the field and on the fruit of the earth,

which everything came to being from the water fruits.”

When Ptahil came and spoke to all the planets:

“Let us create Adam that he may be the king of the world!”

When he thus spoke to them, they all conferred together:

“We will tell him: We want to create Adam and Hawa (Eve)
because he belongs to us."

They said to him: “Come now, we will create Adam and Eve;

(GRR p. 120)

\(1\) Ptahil was troubled in his heart and said:

\(2\) Then Ptahil-Uthra spoke to the planets and said:

\(^{1011}\) not in BL 23600 47v: 4 & BLO 1236: 47v: 3.

\(^{1012}\) Read: 'nțįt blih Ethpe. Pf. NṬṬ: to be afflicted, troubled. (MD, p. 295) in the other manuscripts.
(Then) the Planets spoke to Ptahil and said:

"Whom do we trust and rely on, and what is our authority in the world?"

Ptahil answered them and said:

- You shall be his fosterer(s) and render him full service.

Then they created Adam and laid him down, but without a nišimta (soul) in him.
to cast the *nišimta* (soul) into him.

They appealed to *Ayar-Ziqa* “the Ether wind”

to hollow out his bones,

and to form marrow in them,

then he might spring up and stand on his feet.

They summoned the splendour of the Living Flame,

that might illuminate his attire.

---

and make him spring up and stand on his feet.

They sent for the mist of the streams and the fumes of the consuming fire,

to enter his trunk,

so he might clench his fist,

and beat with his arm(s) (wings).

That he might grumble and shake himself,

and springs up and stand on his feet.

The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying:
"Allow us to cast into him some of the spirit (ruha),
which you brought with you from the House of your Father."

All the Planets exerted themselves
and the Lord of the world exerted himself.

Despite of all their efforts,

(GRR p. 121)

they were unable to make him stand on his feet.

Ptaḥ-il set off, in his glory,
and ascended to the Place of Light.

---

1014 only in idiomatic “to be unable”. ŠKA (< Aram. ח.setColumns > af. to find, discover, aquire, attain (MD, p. 464).
1015 BLO 23600 47v: 27 & BLO 1236: 47v: 27
He stood in the presence of the Father of the *uthras*

His Father spoke to him:

"What have you accomplished?"

He answered him, "Everything I made, I put in order,然而, I could not put my counterpart and your counterpart in order."

The Father of the *uthras* raised himself up and set off and hastened to the secret place.

He fetched the *mana*.

---

1016: *aba d'uthria* "the father of the *uthras*, Bhaq-Ziwa or Abatur (see §2.2.5).
1017: BL 23600 47v: 29 has: "(all) I did was in order before me, however, I could not put your counterpart in order."
1018: The Great Mana (the highest being) is not meant in this verse. *mana* is the soul matter which fills the bodies and make them alive, therefore,  is to be ignored.
which illuminates all corruptible things.

It illuminates the physical garments,
of every kind and colour.

He wrapped it in his pure turban,

by the (secret) names which the Life gave him.

He fetched it by the ends of his turban,

and brought it hither and gave it to Ptahil his son.

When he gave it to Ptahil-Uthra,

the Life called for the helpers.

He called for Hibil, Šīl and Anōš,

1019 Not in BL 23601: 48v.
the outstanding flawless uthras.

He summoned them and commanded them,

and warned them about the nišmata (soul).

He said to them: “You, be a guardian over her,

so all the worlds may know nothing about her.

Let not Pthahil, the muddle-headed, know

how the nišmata “soul” falls into the body.

biila: idle, confused, useless, muddle-head, irrational (MD pp. 65-6). Cf. Sakla “the prince of darkness” (Stromsa 1984: 120), Sakla “fool” ‘so called because he does not know that there is One higher than he (Churton 2005: 40-1) Sakla is the “the Gnostic Demiurge” (Deutch 1999: 75).
How the soul falls into the body,
and how the blood fills it,
how the blood fills it,
and how the channels (veins) permeate it.

Let the (supporter?) of Adakas-Mana,
be her protector.

When (Adam) is clothed in radiance of the Life,

1021 Maulānā "Our Lord." Stroumsa writes: "According to the Kalām-i-Pir, the Divinity (Maulānā, "Our Lord") manifested itself in each generations of mankind, Maulānā appeared under three different names which are, in fact, variations upon Melchizedek's name or title (melekh šalem, King of Salem, Gen 14: 18). The people of the first prophet, Adam, were the Sabaeans. They identified Melchizedek with Seth and said that at the resurrection he would appear as a judge and as a revealers of the teachings kept secret during history. Melechizedek appeared again during the generations of Noah and Abraham, i.e. at the time of the flood and of Sodom's punishment" (For the conception of maulana in the Isma'ili belief, see Stroumsa 1984: 11).

1022 Adakas-Mana, Adakas-Ziwa = Adam Kasia "the Hidden Adam" the mystic or occult Adam, who completes the unsuccessful creation of Ptahil.
When he speaks with pure mouth,
you bring him back again to his place.
Bring him back to his place,
and protect him against all and sundry.

Ptahil wrapped him in his pure turban,
and enfolded him in his garment (or: he enfolded him by the body).

(GRR p. 122)

They embraced him by the body” under HNN: ‘mhanibh b’sṭuna’; “They embraced him by the body” under HNN: ‘mhanibh b’sṭla Gy 102:10 (where Lidzbarski proposed mkanibh, Ginza 110 n. 2) he enfolded him in the garment, but where DC 22. 97 has b’uṣṭunh instead of b’sṭla, hence: “he enfolded him by the body” (MD, p. 150).
and his helpers go (down) with him.

Those who go down with him are the men who have been set in charge of the souls.

When they reached Tibil, and the physical trunk

When he (Ptahil) wanted to cast her (the soul) into the trunk, I (Manda-\{Hiia) snatched her from his pocket.

While Pthahil lifted Adam up, I erected him on his bones.

While he laid his hands on him,
I made him breathe the breath of the Great Ones.

The body became full of living substance (marrow), and the radiance of the Life appeared (lit. spoke) in him.

When the radiance of the Life appeared (lit. spoke) in him,

he opened his eyes in the bodily trunk.

When the radiance of the Life appeared in him (lit: spoke in him),

Adakas-Ziwa ascended to his place.

I led him upwards to the House to the Great Ones,
to the place where the Great One is seated (or: enthroned).

I handed him over to the treasurers, the uthras who hold the Jordans.

The Life thanked the uthra who had brought the nišimta (soul).

The Great One summoned me and commanded me and said to me:

"Descend, bestow on him with a sublime call,

a sublime call bestow on him,

and on his head".

---

1025 {

1026 \( \text{aisha "call"}. \) The call is the revelation of the divinity bestowed on the bhiri ziqqa "the righteous elect", while Ptahil "the demiurge" and his followers remain in ignorance towards the nature and the presence of mana the particle of light nišimta "soul".

\footnotesize

\textit{ganzibra}: treasurer, the ecclesiastical rank above that of tarmida (priest). (MD p. 77) These celestial ganzibras represent the heavenly priests who are responsible for purifying spiritual entities. The Mandaeans modeled their early rituals, especially baptism, according to the celestial ones.

\footnotesize
so the evil ones may learn nothing about the nišimta (soul).”

1027 nisimta

I came and found

all the wicked, as they sit there.

1029

As the wicked ones sit there,

and discharge witchcraft over it (over the soul).

Over it they discharge witchcraft,

and the wicked ones seek to divide it (the soul) into single pieces.

1030

1027 nisimta

1028 is not in BL 23599 51r: 20 & BL 23601 49r: 6.

1029 is not fin BL 23601 49r: 7.

1030 This motif is common in many Gnostic imagery where the soul descends to earth and the hostile planets seek to endow it with their own evil nature in order to ensnare it. (Jonas, 1958: 156ff.)
I glowed in my pure attire.

I appeared to the worlds in the great radiance, which my father had given me.

I appeared to Ptahil-Uthra, who (then) wailed and wept onto himself.

He wailed and wept onto himself, because of the what he had done.

I appeared to Rūha, the seductress,

(GRR p. 123)

who seduces all the worlds,
I revealed to her the great mystery, by which the rebels are crushed down.

I revealed to her the second (secret).

I held her back with a camel bridle.

I revealed to her the third mystery, and I split her head open.

When they saw me, they all became afraid and declared themselves guilty.

Lupieri believes that the term “mystery” is “emission or manifestation of power and of knowledge.” He assumes that this “knowledge” is able to blind, subject and finally destroy its adversaries. The head represents the seat of prophecy and that the splitting of Rūha’s head should mean that the knowledge is designated to the elect and cannot be contained inside the mind of the evil (Lupieri, 2002: 190 n. 17).
The Seven (planets) declared themselves guilty.

They declared themselves guilty,

and were hurled down and fell on their faces.

They were hurled down and fell on their faces,

and raised their hands to their faces.

They spoke, "Our Lord! We have greatly sinned,

forgive us all our sins."

When the wicked ones spoke thus,
I made a breach in their phalanx,

I adjured them by the Great Mystery,

not to harm the nišimta.

I concealed myself before the Seven and restrained myself.

I took on a bodily form.

I said to myself, “I would not startle nišimta the soul.

I would not frighten nišimta the soul,

and she (it) would not be alarmed in her (its) garment (body).”

I assumed bodily for its sake,
and I sat beside it with the splendour.

and I sprinkled over him (Adam) the splendour of the Great Mana, from which he was created.

I sat beside him and instructed him what the Life commanded me.

I instructed with a calm voice, which was more sublime and luminous than all the worlds.

I instructed him with a sublime voice, and awakened his heart from his sleep.

1037 From now on the subject is Adam and not the soul. BL 23599 5iv: 17 & BLO 1236: 48v: 24.

1037 This verse not in BL 23600 48v: 21 & BLO 1236: 48v: 22.
I spoke to him in the speech of the uthras,
and taught him my wisdom.

From my wisdom I taught him, and I told him,
that he should arise, prostrate himself and praise the Great Ones.

That he should praise the exalted place,

(GRR P. 124)

the place where the good ones reside,

That he should praise Adakas-Ziwa,

the Father from whom he came into being.

As I sat there and instructed him,
he rose up, prostrated himself and praised the Great Ones.
He praised his Father Adakas-Ziwa,
the Mana, from whom he was created (or: planted).

When he prostrated himself and praised his father, the uthra,
he appeared to him out of the concealed place.

When he beheld his father, the uthra,
he became full of praise, beyond all measures.

He chanted (hymns) with a loud voice
and overturned the planets.

1039 not in BL 23601: 49v.
1040 This verse not in BL 23600 49r: 3 & BLO 1236: 49r: 3.
He overturned the planets
and overturned the Lord of the world.

He disowned the sons of the House (or: this world)
and the all the deeds that they have done.

He bore witness to the name of the Life,
and the uthra who had let him hear his voice.

He disowned the works of Tibil
and raised his eyes to the Place of Light.

When he did this,
The uthra of Life became full of kindness towards him,
and commanded a building to be erected for him.
He commanded a building to be erected for him,
and commanded a plantation to be planted for him.
He commanded a Jordan to be hewed for him.
When his measure is full,
he will make him ascend and sets him up in his building.
He sets him up in the Place of Light
beside his father Adakas-Ziwa,
and make him an uthra in the Place of Light.

When Rūha and the Planets heard this,

and they all sat in lamentation.

and commenced forging (evil) plans, and said:

“We shall entrap Adam and catch him.

and detain him with us in the world!”


1042 The last two verses are not found in BL 23600 49r: 12 & BLO 1236: 49r: 12.
1043 not in BL 23600 49r: 16 & BLO 1236: 49r: 16.
When he speaks with a mild voice, we shall speak with the voice of rebellion.

(GRR p. 125)

When he eats and drinks, we shall entrap the world,

and create all kinds of forms in it.

We shall take snares, and shall practice embracing in the world.

---

1044 Read \( \text{אין} \) \( \text{anin} \) we. (MD, p. 27)
and found a congregation in the world.

A congregation we will found in the world,

and entrap him (Adam) and lead (or: install) him into our congregation.

We shall entrap him and install him in our congregation,

we shall catch and pack his heart,

and entrap him with horns and flutes

(so that) he will not break away from us.

We will produce seven forms (or: counterparts) in it (in the world)

Cf. "They shall not hear the words of the alien Man who has come here. .... Since we have created Adam, he shall come and obey us and our father Ptahil" (GRR 291: 3).
of every kind and variety."

As the wicked considered in wickedness,

I considered in goodness,

to donate goodness in the world.

I summoned the uthras, my brothers,

the men who confirm the generation.

I approached and addressed my brothers the uthras,

is not found in BL 23600 49v: 2 & BLO 1236: 49v: 2.
who received the command over the generation:

Do you not know uthras, my brothers, what are the Planets plotting?

and say: “Let us seduce the Family of Life (or: the Stem of Life),

and cut it off with us in the world!”

When the uthras heard this,

the gentle and confirmed uthras, they said:

is not found in BL 23601 50r: 13.

In BL 23599 52v: 12 & BL 23601 50r: 15 there is
"Allow us to create a wife for Adam,\textsuperscript{1049}
and make his race plenteous.
\textsuperscript{1050}
We will call forth an uthra for Adam
and we will make him take a spouse.\textsuperscript{1051}
In a planting we will plant him,
and arrange a wedding for him.

\textsuperscript{1049} lit. plant a planting for Adam.
\textsuperscript{1050} uthra: Referring to Eve as a heavenly being?
\textsuperscript{1051} lit. we will plant him in a planting.
and make șauta a “companion” for him.

(GRR p. 126)

We will recite hymns and (ritual) books,

and the Life will build a building,

and we will summon the Planets to us,

that they may come to our congregation.

They shall come to our congregation

and stay with us.

---

1052 If we read instead of as in page 4:6, then this verse will read: “and the Life will make a prayer”.

1053 If we read: “we will overthrow the planets” the meaning of the whole verse will be obscure. Therefore we should read: “and we will call them”, or “and we will summon them.”
They shall stay with us,
and Adam shall be exalted above them all.”

I and the uthras, my brothers,
prepared all good things (tabta).

We prepared good things (tabta),
and arranged a wedding for Adam in the world.

We arranged a wedding for Adam,
and we gave him a wife.

We gave him Hawa (Eve) as a wife,
Concerning the old deities of Mesopotamia during the Sasanian dynasty Morony writes: “Several ancient native deities were still venerated in late Sasanian Iraq. Šamiš or Shamash (the sun), Sin (the Moon), Bel (Jupiter), Nanai and Nergal are all invoked as benevolent powers on a Syriac incantation bowl from Nippur. Bel and Nbu (Mercury) were associated with Babil and were objects of sacrifice at the court of Shāpur II. . . The great goddess of Mesopotamia had several names during the Sasanian period, but she was also still known by her original name of Nanai (from Sumerian Inanna), ‘the great goddess of the entire earth’. The cult of Nanai was originally associated with the regions of Maysan and Babylonia” (Morony, 1984: 386).
Šamiš (sun-god) brought a garment,
and Sirra (moon-god) brought a skirt.
‘Nbo (Mercury) brought gold.
Kiwan (Saturn) brought sandals and shoes.
Bel (Jupiter) brought the bread and wine.
Nirig (Mars) brought the drinking cups.
All the twelve stars,
of every kind and variety:
Some of them were carpenters,
and some of their demons twined wreaths.
Their Dewis were obedient servants, and some of their temple-demons were cup-bearers.

Their humurtas were dancers.

And their hobgoblins brought myrtle blossoms by the load, and sweet basil in heaps.

They brought the big jasmine from the Skina of the Life.

Myrtle, which was used for bridal wreaths is mentioned in one of the rare positive appearances of Ishtar on a Mandaic bowl from Khuabir, on which she is invoked by saying, “You will come with this wine and perfume and myrtle” (Yamuchi, 1967: 205-7). Myrtle wreaths are given to Mandaeans by their priests as part of the rite of maštûta “baptism” (MII, p. 100).

Lady Drower states: “Magian priests wore myrtle wreaths. Sumerians and Babylonians apparently held foliage before the god for the promotion of fertility” (MII, p. 121-2).
They brought the camel’s foot marjoram, and produced in them every evil.

(GRR p. 127)

They brought the water mint and the rosemary, whose fragrance came from the *skins* of the two pure mountains.

They brought the big narcissus, myrtle and wild marjoram and they wrongly used them.

---

1056 Gr. οὐκομβριον: watermint (MD, p. 322).
1057 tapseranka *Ocimum basilicum*, Odoriferous plant (MD, p. 480).
of every kind and every colour,
and produced in them every evil.

Their hobgoblins became cooks,
and their demons became bakers.
They made their stammerers butchers,
and their demon visitants cooks.
All their imps became cup-bearers.
All of them were obedient servants,
and obeyed Adam and all his race.
I and the uthras, my brothers,
destroyed their evil.

We destroyed their evil against Adam
and prepared all good things for him.

We prepared all good things for Adam
and we promoted him for ever.

We arranged a great wedding for him
with fabulous hymns and liturgies.

We disgraced the words of Rūha
and suppressed her rebellious call.
We abolished the evilness of the Planets
and brought all the monsters to naught-

We set up the root of Life;

(The Life) triumphed and brought victory to his entire race.

We stayed with Adam
until Hawa (Eve) was in labour.

We remained with them.

“for him”.

1058 BL 23599 53v: 4 "for him".
and I was for him Sabūs (instructor?) of the women.

I instructed Adam to take a wife,

as men take wives.

I instructed Adam to take a wife

and I said (to myself), "May the race of the Life be bountiful!"

(GRR p. 128)

May the race of the Life to be bountiful,

and by them the world will be roused.

The world will be roused by them,

and the Life will be grateful to them.

one who instructs about conjugal life (?).
The Life will be grateful to them, deliver them, and make them rise up from this world of the evil."

At the head of the first generation was Adakas-Ziwa. There was Adakas-Ziwa, and there was Anana d-Nhura [the cloud of light].

When she had her first pregnancy, Wara razón Đnhora Anana d-Nhura was there.

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1060 "Cloud of Light" or "Cloud of Radiance" also called Hawa-Kasia "Occult Breath of Pneuma-Eve), spouse of Dakas-Ziwa (SA, p. 36).
Hibil and Anat-Hiia came into being

When she had her another pregnancy,

Anan-Nṣab and Anhar-Ziwa came into being.

whose names are pleasant to the worlds.

Anan-Nṣab Ziwa-Šitil

and Anhar-Ziwa-Hawa who was born from Hawa

to whom all the worlds and generations (aeons) call out for his perpetuity,

whose name is established in the worlds.

1061 Anathiia ("Thou-art-the-Life"): a higher female being (MD, p. 25).
1062 BL 23600, O 12366
1064 Anhar-Ziwa: a supernatural female being (MG, p. 26)
1065 qimtu Var. qamaita: (a) raising up, resurrection, (b) a prayer of dedication or consecration (MD, p. 400).
With the third pregnancy

Bar-Hiia (son of life) and Dmut-Hiaa (counterpart of life) came into being.

Bar-Anoš-Adam who confirmed his race.

Dmut-Hiaa, by whom the world was called forth.

Hibil, Lord of the earth,

whom the worlds saw and (stood) in fear before him.

Šitil (Seth), the good child,

the uthra who confirms the perfect ones.

Hibil is one of the heavenly triad (Hibil, Šitil and Anoš). He is usual Hibil-Ziwa “the Light-Bearer”; a spirit of Light who descended to the underworld and triumphed over the forces of Darkness. (SA, p. 36)

Šitil (Seth) – Šitil-Ṭaba “the good plant”; the origin of the pure generation of mankind (SA, p. 36. See also, Stroumsa, 1984: 59). “Seth is an important figure among Essenes, Gnostics and early Christians, and closely connected with such characters as Shem and Melchizedek as well as Jesus” (Welburn, 1991: 44).
Anus, the gentle *uthra*,

who confirms his race.

Adam the king of the *uthras*,

whom all the worlds serve.

I put Adam on a par with the great ones,

at the head of the building.

I made Hawa (Eve) equal with Anana d-Nurah (the cloud of light),

mistress of the whole world.1071

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1068 Anuš (Biblical Ḥanaš). He is the "patron and promoter of Naṣırūta – and of Naṣoraeans who profess and practice it. In Haran Gawaita Anuš guides the persecuted Naṣoraeans to Harran and later into Babylonia, and he avenges them by destroying Jerusalem" (SA, p. 37).

1069 As not in BL 23601: 51r.

1070 BL 23601: 51r.

1071 The elevation of "Man" to a transmundane deity is one of the "most significant traits of Gnostic theology in the general history of religion." (Jonas, h., The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, (JR), 1962: 268).
When I (Manda d-Hiia) installed Adam

I appointed three uthras over him.

The uthras whom I appointed over Adam and Hawa,

I set myself at their head.

(GRR, p. 129)

And I stood before them and taught them wonderful drašé “hymns”.

I taught them liturgies in order to perform the ritual of masiqa “ascension”

according to the way of the uthras.

I taught them prayers,

so that they might be confirmed through the prayers of the Life.

1072 In BL 23601: 51r there is 1073 masiqa (ascension): ritual of the dead. (See above § 1.4.2)
I said to them, "You are set up and confirmed, in the place where the good are confirmed, amongst the Manas of Light, there, you shall be confirmed."

I sat and taught them, as a master (teaches) his novices.

I spoke with them and I blessed them, (and) the bless of the good ones, shall rest upon them.

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1074 In BL 23599 54v: 10, BL 23600 50v: 23, BL 23601 51v: 5 and BLO 1236: 50v: 23 there is 1075 šualia: postulant. The name given to a candidate for priesthood (ATS p. 15).
Adam, his children and his race shall behold the Place of Light.

When Ruha saw them, she called her demons.

and gave them worthless advice.

which was unworthy of the place of Light,

1076 In BL 23600 50v: 24 & BLO 1236: 50v: 25 there is 1077 In BL 23601: 51v.
and she said to them, “What will come to us from being in the House
and illumine in the world?

Why should we illumine
when we have no share in it?

We have no share in it,
and the whole house is not ours.

Step forward. Let us speak to the stranger
so he might grant us a share in the world.

If he denies us a share,
we shall pick a quarrel with him.
If he denies us (a share),
we will completely forsake the world.

If we forsake the world completely,
who will be its brightness?

When Ruha and the planets,
the children of the perishable abode, spoke thus,

I spoke and said them,
to the vile monsters:

“If you want to leave, leave the house at once.

I, by myself, shall illuminate it.

I shall illuminate this house,

(GRR p. 130)

and set it up in perfect order.”

All the demons rose up against him,

and began contriving secret plots,
and say to each other, “Arise, let us arrange a feast,
arise, let us make a drinking banquet!
Let us practice the mysteries of love,
and seduce the whole world.
Let us recite the secret spells,
and set a term for our world.
We shall cause an uprising
in order to foil the voice of Life.

1079 “The orgiastic feast prepared by world for the seduction of man, or more generally of the alien Life from beyond, is repeatedly described in extensive scenes in Mandaean writings” (Jonas, 1958: 71).
1080 This is a general Gnostic motif, nevertheless, the Mandaeans abhor celibacy and encourage marriage and have children. According to Jonas, seduction with “love” is the main weapon of the material world with which it entraps man and makes him remain in the world of darkness. (Ibid pp. 72, 3).
We want to foil the voice of the Life for ever.

Who will pick a quarrel and cast it in the house, that might not be settled for eternity?

We shall cast a quarrel in the house and kill the stranger!

We shall kill the stranger and annihilate his whole race.

We shall take Adam into our party and see who will be a deliverer for him?"

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1081 This verse in not found in BL 23600 51r: 16 & BLO 1236: 51r: 17
Rūha and the Planets departed and ascended to the Mount Carmel.

They ascended and thought of the secrets of love.

The demons sat there and indulged themselves in plotting.

They took from the mysteries of every one, and from the mystery of Rūha they took some, and they sit and practice witchcraft.

They sit and think over in their sagacity and say (to each other):

1082 Mt. Carmel is identified with the story of Elijah and has always continued to be a sacred mount. Doubtless communities of 'Sons of the Prophets' and the rest had continuously there their retreats. Carmel had been sacred spot long before the days of Elijah, who hid there from his pursuers. The Arabs still call it Jebal Mar Elyas (Mount Lord Elijah). Mead says "Yamblichus in his Life of the sage says that Pythagoras visited it." (Mead, 1924: 47 n. 4) Biblically, Mt. Carmel is referenced most often as a symbol of beauty and fertility. To be given the "splendor of Carmel" was to be blessed indeed (Isa 35: 2). Solomon praised his beloved: "your head crowns you like Mount Carmel" (Song of Songs 7: 5).
"Arise, let us arrange a feast
and we shall cast therein offerings.
We will gather the twelve planets
and all of us will manufacture mysteries.
All of us will swear, with oaths,
not to reveal the mysteries of love.
Let us practice the mystery of love with myrtle
and seduce the whole world!
Let us practice the mystery of love with wine
and entrap the world by our drunkenness.
We will perform the mystery of love with water, and stir up the whole world.

We will stir up the whole world, and take it captive by the great mystery of love.

No one will know about us.

(No one) will know the secret of our vows,

and (no one) will reveal our word.

1083 Cf. "From the Lord’s spring came speaking water in abundance to my lips. I drank and was drunken with the water of everlasting life, yet my drunkenness was not that of ignorance, but I turned away from vanity." (Charlesworth, Odes of Solomon XI. 6-8, 1977: 52).
We will not reveal our vows
and all what we designed for our world.
We will not reveal all the secrets,
and we will cause confusion in the faction,
in the faction which the Alien founded,
so that no share will be his in the world.
No share in the world will belong to him,
and the whole house will belong to us.
The whole (house) will belong to us,
and nobody's else in this world.

\[\text{1084 In BL 23599 55r: 7 & BL 23601 52r: 18 we read}
\text{not in BL 23601: 52r.}\]
What has the stranger done in the house,
that he could found himself a faction therein?

The master of the house does not know
that the whole house belongs to us.

The house is ours,
and the others have no share (in it)."

They rose (and) cast confusion on their deeds,
and produced in them blunder and defect,
The house is not theirs, and it was not created for their sake.

To the house which the uthras created, they have sent me in person, and the uthras, my brothers, in order to descend and do good therein.

hence, the good ones will see (the good) and be restored.

1088 In BL 23600 51v: 16 and BLO 1236: 51v: 16 we find

487
then rise and behold the place of Light.

The wicked ones will only observe and be ashamed, (and) into the glowing ovens they shall sink. They shall sink into the burning ovens, into the place from which they were created. The place from which they were created, because they did nothing satisfying.

1089 or: they will die
Since they did nothing satisfying, they will end on the day of the end.

They stood and cast a lot, and allotted a portion for themselves. as they are unworthy of the place of Light.

They perverted goodness, the thing which the Lord of the world has made.

They perverted the right mysteries (or: the orthodox rites),
something which the First (Life) made.

They perverted the words of truth (kuša),

and held the words of lie (kadba).

They held the words of lie,

because they are unworthy of the place of Light.

They changed head into tail

and changed tail into head.

They perverted their deeds (or: rites),

and did evil into the world.

1091 In the Book of Jue it is written that “After reciting magical prayers, Jesus administers to his disciples baptism of water, of fire, and of Holy Spirit. As preparation of the baptism of water
They brought all the fruit and did every evil in them.

They brought the vegetables and made blunder and defect in them.

They brought living water and poured turbidity into it.

They brought the head of the race and practiced on him the mystery of love and of lust,

through which all the worlds are inflamed.

the disciples bring to Jesus various plants, the juniper, the terebinth, etc., probably for their magical properties” (cited by Yamauchi, 1970: 12).

Adam is the head of the race.
They practiced on him seduction,

to lead the whole world astray.

They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness,

by which all the worlds are drunken.

They made them drink from the cup of drunkenness,

so that they turn their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.

They brought gold and silver

and the pearls of this world.

They brought gold and silver,
The worlds became drunk and turned their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.

They brought money and possessions and did with them every vileness.

They allotted lust for Rüha,

(\textit{GRR} p. 133)

In this concern Jonas writes: “The “drunkenness” of the world is a phenomenon peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual aspect of what the Gnostics understood by the term “world.” . . . The drunkenness of ignorance is opposed by the “sobriety” of knowledge, a religious formula sometimes intensified to the paradox of “sober drunkenness.”” (Jonas 1958: 71).

The planets continued to be worshiped in Iraq in spite of the Sasanians attempts to close the old temples. In this concern Morony writes: “Although paganism was declining in Sasanian Iraq, ancient Mesopotamian religious traditions survived in several important ways . . . There

\textsuperscript{1098} not in BL 23600 52r: 10 & BLO 1236: 52r: 10.

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They allotted wisdom for Nbü

and made him the Lord of love.

They allotted for him drums and flutes,

by which all the world are lured.

To Kiwan they allotted wickedness,

from which flaw and defect came into being.

To Šamiš (Sun-god) they allotted deceit,

by which all the worlds are befooled.

may have been temples of Bel and of Nabu at Burs as late as third century. There are references to pagan temples with idols in the late sixth and early seventh centuries in Beth 'Arbiyaye, Arzon, Margha, Adiabene, Beth Garme, Kaskar, and Maysan... By the fourth century, pagans were already beginning to celebrate their festivals in secret. Such a festival was held in honour of Nabu at his altar in a mountain village near 'Anat and included dancing, raillery, and the playing of the lyre and drums" (Morony, 1984: 384-85).

In BL 23600 52r: 13 & BLO 1236: 52r: 13 we read

1101
To Sin (Moon-god) they allotted imperfection,

from which all the blemish generated.

To Bil they allotted the mystery of the water,

with which he stirs up all the worlds.

He stirs up all the worlds,

and blends good with evil.

To Nirig (Mars) they allotted arms,

to wage the war in the world.

They called the Twelve Stars,

and divided the signs of the zodiac (milwašia) between them.
They divided them (the planets) into Houses

and once more they cast them into wickedness.

Once more they cast them into wickedness,
hatred, jealousy and discord.

They divided the days and the months.

They divided the hours and the šušias (five minutes?).

They divided the hours and šušias.

They divided the minutes and seconds.

They spread every deficiency,

Instead of this verse we read in BL 23600 52r: 20 & BLO 1236: 52r: 20: 

In BL 23600 52r: 22 & BLO 1236: 52r: 22 as above.

In BL 23601: 53r.
and they spread all the flaw and blunder.

They divided the whole world between them,

and the name of the First was not mentioned.

They made an alliance,

and discarded their great fetters(?).

They confirmed their oaths,

which all of them confess with lies.

They confirmed their vows,

which they made on the Mount Carmel.

\[\text{Cf. GRR, p. 85: 20.}\]

\[\text{In BL 23600 52r: 27 & BLO 1236: 52r: 27 there is } \text{not found in BL 23600 52v: 1 & BLO 1236: 52v: 1.}\]

\[\text{We read: } \text{not found in BL 23600 52v: 1 & BLO 1236: 52v: 1.}\]
In the feast which the Seven (planets) prepared,
the head (foundation) of all sorcery,
all the aeons and demons spoke.

They played the drums and (sung) songs;
the head (or: foundation) of all sorcery;

They played the horns and balūria “cymbals”;
the head of every (sacrificial) slaughter;

(GRR p. 134)

by which all the worlds are entrapped.

They played the horns and balūria “cymbals”;
the beginning of every hostility,
by which all the worlds were captivated.

They played the lute of lust,

by which lust was formed amongst them.

They played the tambourines,

by which all the ruhas “spirits” spoke.

With which all the ruhas “spirits” spoke,

and made a catch in the world.

They played the trumpets,

ey all played with excitement.

\[1109\] In BL 23599 56r: 17 & BL 23601 53r: 20 there is
They played the flutes of the liar,
by which all the lie came forth from them.
They played with a loud din,
so a thunder pealed in the world.
A thunder pealed in the world,
and they shock the whole world.
They shock the whole world,
and they shook the earth entirely.

110 BL 23601: 53r.
and quaked the whole firmament.

They quaked the whole firmament, and made a catch in every place.

Their voices and the sound of their din, made one mana to ascend upwards from the sea.

One mana ascended upwards from the sea, and all vines and trees were planted.

When the vines and trees were planted,

---

111 Jonas comments: "The Mandaean scene of the conspiracy of the world prompts an additional observation. The orgiastic feast, intended to draw man into its drunken whirl, has besides intoxication another aspect: its noise is to drown out the "call of Life" and deafen man to the voice of the alien Man" (Jonas 1958: 73).

112 A recollection of Ea-Oannes myth.

113 In BL 23600 52v: 17 & BLO 1236: 52v: 17 read: "were planted".

114 BL 23600 52v: 17 & BLO 1236: 52v: 17 "were planted".
When their noise fell into Adam’s ear(s),
Adam awoke from his sleep,
and raised his face to the place of Light.
He called his helpers.
He called the gentle and confirmed uthras.
He spoke to Hibil-Uthra,
the Man who heard his voice:

"What ensued in the House,

---

Hibil-Uthra appears here as a redeemer in place of Manda d-Hiia. Their names exchange places more often in the Mandaean texts."
What ensued in the House,

(GRR p. 135)

What ensued (what ensued) in this world?

makes us see what

What ensued in the House,

(what ensued) in this world?

makes us see what

What ensued in the House,

(what ensued) in this world?

makes us see what

What ensued in the House,

(what ensued) in this world?

makes us see what

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(what ensued) in this world?

makes us see what

What ensued in the House,

(what ensued) in this world?

makes us see what

What ensued in the House,

(what ensued) in this world?

makes us see what

What ensued in the House,
tears were formed in his eyes.

When Adam spoke thus, I shone forth in my attire.

I shone forth in the attire of the living flame, which my father bestowed on me.

I shone forth in a pure garment, which is so wide and infinite.

I drew near and held Adam, by the palm of his right hand, and I let his heart rest on its support.
I calmed him and told him,
and how they devise a secret plot.

Then I told him of what happened there and then,
and how they devised a secret plot.

That was the voice of the Planets,
who took a worthless advice.

They took a worthless advice,
when they said, “We will pick a fight.”

“We will pick a fight,” they said.

And they said, “We will disorganize the world!”
(When) they said, “We will disorganize the world,
and cause in it flaw and defect.”

I said to him, “Be calm and steady,
be not troubled about them.
Be not troubled about the Planets,
and about Namrus, the mother of the world.
I will show you part of your persecutors,
and (then) I will abase your persecutors.
Calm Hawa, your woman,
and flaw and blunder will not afflict you.”

1117 In BL 23599 56v: 23 & BL 23601 53v: 21 we read:
Once I spoke thus to Adam,
then I spoke to all his sons.

Hibil is pleased with his radiance,
and Šītil calls aloud for his helpers.

Šītil (rejoices) in his illumination,
and Anos (is pleased) by the voice which his brothers the uthras let him hear.

They make merry, exult and rejoice.

(GRR p. 136)
Once Adam finished eating he rejoiced and was glad, he called Hawa, his woman, and inspired her with confidence.

Whilst Hibil-Uthra was asleep in his place from exhaustion, one of Adam’s sons, his soul was inflicted with blunder. His soul was inflicted with blunder, and sleep did not visit his eyes. There was a groaning in his heart and his body began to shake.

He thought out in vice,
and forsook his father, Adam,

and his mother, Hawa,

and forsook his brothers whilst they were asleep.

He forsook all his brothers,

and climbed the fortress by the wall.

He climbed the fortress by the wall,

and went into their assembly.

When Rüha saw him,

she laughed, gladdened and became rejoiced.
Rūha gladdened and became rejoiced, and all the Planets were pleased.

Ruha fetched the fire,

and Šamiš brought the incense.

Ruha bowed herself and worshipped,

prostrated herself and praised him (Adam’s son).

Ruha cast the incense (into the fire),

and Šamiš made obeisance and bowed to him.

Bil in his own pride took myrtle

and went to meet him.
They approached him and blessed him and said to him:

May our bless be bestowed upon you.

Kiwan courteously (?) set a blossom in his hand.

and passed a wreath into his hand,

then he bowed to him (in worship), embraced him and kissed him.

Sin blessed him with his heart,

and Rūha blessed him with her jaws (or: voice).

They blessed (or: welcomed) him with cymbals (bilūria)

and leading astray she brought him into a church.

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1110 BL 23599 57r: 19 & BL 23601 54r: 16 we read:  ב câממקא. In BLO 1236: 53r: 27 ל câממקא
1111 tirat, tira: inner part of the body, inner conviction, conscience. (MD, pp. 486-7)
When the Planets surrounded him, he laid his hand on his garments.

He laid his hand on his garments, and he shook for them his garments,

He began to spit bile.

He shook for them his sandals (?)..

(GRR p. 137)

He remembered his brothers, the uthras,

and remembered the speech which his brothers, the uthras, let him hear.

At the great assembly of the uthras, Remembering for sometime the speech of the uthras,

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1122 or qirqna dress, sandals, shoes (?) MD p. 412
1123 in BL 23599 57v: 2 & In BLO 1236: 53v: 5 we read: 1123

512
When they seated him on top,
they offered him the drinking cup.

Until they offered him the cup to drink,
until they (offered him the cup) twice and three times,
his heart misgave him (lit. stood in doubt),
and his body desired dance.\(^{1124}\)

When Adam, the son of Adam, had done that,

\(^{1124}\) The Mandaean scriptures warns frequently against lust, dance and consuming wine which results in adultery and fornication. (GRR, p. 26: 1, 35: 6, 48: 15, etc.)

\(^{1125}\) BL 23601 54v \(\text{םיירניא סלועה} \) "from their scroll".
When he became drunk from the drink of the Planets,
he stood up and danced in intoxication.

After he was calm and sat down,
he stood up in order to go back to his place.

Rūha took the form of Hawa, his wife, who is in fact his sister,
and approached him half way.

She prepared the bed of deceit,
and created the site of sin.

She mixed up the times,
and she arose and took him by the hand.

When she took him by the hand,

She, herself, asked him to fornicate with her.

He desired to kiss (lit. address) her by the mouth,

and embrace her body.

In the hot desire that occupied his mind,

he spoke to Rüha and said:

"Since you are my sister Hawa
and your outfits are white,


why do you wear a skirt,
which is so colourful and exciting?

Your figure is (like) a high cedar,
why do you to wash with water?

Your thighs are vines of ether,
why do you wear gold?

Your wings (arms) are veils of ether,
why do you wear silver?

You, your head is a cloud of light,
Why do you wash and comb (yourself)?

Your eye is an eye of radiance,

why do you fill it with kohl?

(GRR p. 138)

She spoke and said to the false prophet,

to the deficient who is flawed and lowly,

“Keep your voice quiet, Adam!

If no inequality there were,

if there were there no inequality,
one our nature would be.

Now, as there is no equality,

You they have made a man,

and me a woman they have made.

Me they have made a woman,

and brought me and put me before you,

and said to me that you desire me,

and with you I should have an affair,

113\* in BL 23601: 54v. trur\(a\) (rt. TR\(\S\)) evenness, equality (MD, p. 484).

1134 BL 23600 54r: 3 & BLO 1236: 54r: 3
When he held her and kissed her, and wanted to something with her, I appeared to him in a cloud of radiance, and I made him hear a wonderful (or: an overwhelming) voice. A wonderful (or: an overwhelming) voice I made him hear, and I threw his heart from its support. I undid the spells of Rūha,
I showed him that it was not Hawa (Eve).

and he felt ashamed of it,

and he recognized himself as guilty.

because all kinds of repulsive thing came from him.

because he deviated from the proclamation of the Life.


1138 This verse is not found in BL 23600 54r: 9 & BLO 1236: 54r: 9.
1139 This verse is not found in BL 23600 54r: 10 & BLO 1236: 54r: 10.
He deviated from the proclamation of the Life,
and from what the Great One commanded him.

He left the company of his brothers, the uthras,
and went and cherished the society of the Planets.

He left the company of his woman, Hawa,
and went (and) fell into the blazing fire.

He beheld the furnace of fire,
that whoever beholds it (her) dies,
and whoever is embraced by her inflames.

Whoever undresses and sleeps with her,

\[1140\] is not found in BL 23600 54r: 14 & BLO 1236: 54r: 14.
He will fall into the end of the world, and his eyes will never behold the Light.

When they all saw me, they were hurled down and fell onto their faces.

第一步 is not found in BL 23599 58r: 20 & BL 23601 55r: 10.
then, they stood and subjected themselves to me.

They subjected themselves (to me), blessed me and said to me:

"Be our leader,

and we shall be your followers.

Be our leader and the head of our entire world.

Be our leader,

and we shall be your followers

Place Rūha, in her majesty, amongst your women.

Place her amongst your women,

and be our leader in this world."

is not found in the other four manuscripts.

This verse and the above two verses not found in the other manuscripts.
When the Planets spoke thus to me,
I mocked and laughed at all of them.
I spoke to the Seven, who condemned themselves, and said:

“If you want me to be your leader,
and place Rūha amongst my women,
arise and disengage your feast.
Arise and leave your assembly
and tell me your mystery.
and reveal to me all your words.”

1144 In BL 23601 55r: 15 we read: אטראלאטן אטראלאטנ לכסאלה אטראלאטן
When I sat amongst them,

I took away their secrets,

and I shone in my pure garment,

which is so vast and boundless.

I exposed their mystery,

and discredited their speech.

I discredited their speech,

and I belied their oaths,

\[\text{In BL 23599 58v: 13 we read: \text{הַנַּחַל רֹאֵשׁ לִקְדָּשָׁה}}\]

\[\text{In BL 23600 54v: 3, BL 23601 55r: 24 & BLO 1236: 54v: 3 we read: \text{חָנַב רֹאֵשׁ לִקְדָּשָׁה}}\]

\[\text{In BL 23599 58v: 14 & BL 23601 55r: 25 we read: \text{לִכְדָּשָׁה}}\]

\[\text{In BL 23600 54v: 4 & BLO 1236: 54v: 4 we read: \text{לִכְדָּשָׁה}}\]
which they took on mount Carmel

I threw Rūha off her throne,

and I held her back with a camel-bridle.

I threw down and struck her with my scourge,

and I split her head open.

I bound her by her tresses,

and I tied her up to the heart of the heavens.

(GRR p. 140)

I grasped Šamiš by the secret things (genitals),

and I made him just like a woman.

1147 In BL 23600 54v: 6 & BLO 1236: 54v: 6 we read: יִתְשָׁמֶשׁ בְּרֹאשֵׁיָה לַגּוֹתְךָ.
1148 In BL 23600 54v: 7 we read: יִתְשָׁמֶשׁ בְּרֹאשֵׁיָה לַגּוֹתְךָ.
I made Yorba just like a woman,

because he slept with Rüha.

As for Sin, I struck him with my scourge,

and I undressed him and took away his clothes.

I took away his clothes,

and I left him behind in a vain garment.

I left him behind in the garment of the devouring flame,

wrath of which overwhelmed him.

Sin: Moon, moon god (MD p. 327)
and he retired in leprosy to his place.

I broke Nabu's reed pipe,

and I destroyed the amulet in his hand.

I revealed his shameful parts (or: nudity),

and I displayed his male organs to the world.

I adjured the wicked Edomite(?)

that his image not to be seen in the world.

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1150 In BL 23599 59v: 3, BL 23601 55v: 9 & BLO 1236: 54v: 14 we read: נבוכדנסור. In BL 23600 54v: 14 we read: נבוכדנסור. 1151 In BL 23599 59r: 4 & BL 23601 55v: 10 we read: נבוכדנסור. In BL 23600 54v: 15 & BLO 1236: 54v: 15 we read: נבוכדנסור.

1152 nbu or 'nbu: (Bab. Nabu) Nebo, the planet Mercury (MD p. 287). "Babil had a reputation as the place where the Planet Mercury (Nabu or Tir) was bound and as the earthly location of the "houses" of the planets and the signs of the zodiac" (Cited form Ibn an-Nadim, Fihrist by Morony, 1984: 392).

1153 The Hans Wehr Arabic-English Diet.

1154 In the other four manuscripts we read: הדומיא הדרומיא.

1155 в בובב בובב. The Dumaiia are probably the Idumaeans or Edomites, as suggested by Drower. (For more about the domaia or Edomites see Drower, Diwan Abatur, 1950, Appendix. II).

1156 In Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 132 n. 10.
I seized the evil planet.

I hurled him down and threw him off his throne.

I broke his backbone,

and I made him despicable in the world.

I broke him, stretched him out and placed him in isolation.

I hurled down the evil star,

so no malice will afflict the world.

As for Bel, I struck him with the scourge,

and I removed the crown from his head.

1157 Bel (god), Jupiter (planet) (MD p. 60).
I removed the crown from his head, and I incurred blemish to his body.

I smote Nirig with a mace, and I amputated his limbs.

I amputated his limbs, and I gave them to his priests.

I gave them to his priests and his worshipers, so they will move about in the wilderness of the world.

---

1158 Nirig (Bab. Nirgallu) the planet Mars (MD P. 299).
1159 kumra, priest (not mandaean), not in BL 23600 54v: 22 & BLO 1236: 54v: 23.
1160 Read: באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלמה באלmah

They will move about in the world,
and they will show their follies to the world.

I dealt with the Planets,

who became arrogant towards the family of Life.

(\textsuperscript{GRR} p. 141)

and I exposed their follies to the world.

What I did to the Planets,

they will do to their priests and worshipers,

\textsuperscript{1161} In BL 23600 54v: 25 & BLO 1236: 54v: 25 we read: 
\textsuperscript{1162} In BL 23599 59r: 16 & BL 23601 55v: 23 we read:
and they will disappear from the world.\textsuperscript{1163}

\[\text{and they will disappear from the world.}\]

When I drew near Adam,

\[\text{When I drew near Adam,}\]

I said to him: “I showed you your persecutors.

\[\text{I said to him: “I showed you your persecutors.}\]

the evil race, who deserve to be killed.

\[\text{the evil race, who deserve to be killed.}\]

All their priests and worshipers,

\[\text{All their priests and worshipers,}\]

will become your slaves.

\[\text{They will become your slaves,}\]

\textsuperscript{1163} Cf. Marduk who bound, by his magic seal, the seven stars and the twelve signs of the zodiacs. (Morony, 1984: 392) Morony also states: “By the end of the Sasanian period, paganism in Iraq was characterized by sacrifice, magic and astrology. The ancient native deities survived and were venerated mainly because of their association with the planets in astrology and with imported Hellenistic and Iranian gods. But even among pagans, the old gods were being relegated to the position of demons. This was probably due to the influence of Gnosticism, which emphasized the harmful aspect of the planets in astral paganism” (Ibid 394).

\textsuperscript{1164} BL 23601 55v: 26 we read:

\[\text{BL 23601 55v: 26 we read:}\]

\textsuperscript{1165} is not in BL 23601: 55v.
and they will be obedient to you totally.

There will be no clemency to all the planets,

nor to the men who worshiped them.

Because anyone who performs their rites,

will not be worthy of the place of Light.

If I go the House of the Life,

I will create the world and put it in a perfect order.

I will raise their roots (to the summit),

and I will confirm the Family of the Life for eternity.

When the Seven allotted the destinies,
The world was doomed by death,

Yet, the souls of the true and faithful men

will ascend and behold the place of Light.

But the souls of the Planets

will be detained in their purgatory.

Their souls will be detained in their purgatory,

until their souls yield (or: their lives come to an end)

and die and vanish, as if they were never existed.
The sects (doors) that Rūha created,

מאתסינתהו יָּכַאְבָּא

(Rūha) the seducer of lies,

The sects that Rūha created,

ברבָּיָא יָּכַאְבָּא

will be taken all by the sword.

The sects that Rūha created,

בְּראָבָיָא יָּכַאְבָּא

and the whole day they sit with fasting.

The sects that Rūha created,

בְּרָבָיָא יָּכַאְבָּא

and the whole day they sit with lamentation.

---

1166 This line is not in BL 23601 s6r: 15.
until their souls yield.

When their measures are full (or: their lives come to an end),

they will turn their faces towards the Place of Darkness.

As for the sects that mšiha "Messiah" produced,

they all belie each other.

They all belie each other,

and they do not stick to one opinion. (lit. to one word)

they do not stick to one opinion,

because they come into being from a deceitful creation.
He perverts the speeches, and casts folly into the world.

The abominations which mšiha “Messiah” commits, will all end on the day of the end.

From the sect which Šamiš created, From the sect that Adonai created, the whole people of Israel came into being.

From the people of Israel,

---

1167 The Mandaeans identified Šamiš (the sun god) with Adonai as a result of the mutual enmity between the Našoraeans and the Jews during the first century B.C.E (for more on this subject see Drower, Mandaean Polemic, BSOAS, 1962).

1168 BL 23599 59v: 22 & BL 23601 56v: 3 (משלי) (משלי).
who slap each other by the hand.

They slap each other by the hand,

and they do something unseemly.

They do something unseemly,

and they will end on the day of the end.

From the people of the yahutaia “Jews”

all sects (lit: gates) came forth.

The people of Yazuqaians came forth,

"on the great day of the end (or: destruction)".*

Fire-worshipers (etym. doubtf.) (MD, p. 185). In the CP iazuqaeans reverence fire. They are mentioned along with kiwanaitia, idumaeans and zandiqs (Manicheans?) as blasphemous peoples (CP, p. 251).
The scornful who worship fire, came forth from the likeness of the garment of mšiha “Messiah”.

The Yazuqaians shall take an end, and those who listen to their calls.

The sect that Agz’il created, whom all the worlds called Sin. All the worlds called him Sin, because his ugly image was everywhere.

---

117 agz’il a byname of Sin (the moon) (MD p. 5)
The sect that Sin created,
all pains and infirmities came forth from them.

(GRR p. 143)

Those who perform witchcraft and sorcery (lit: sit on witchcraft and sorcery)
twist the hearts,
and put stumbling-blocks into the world.

Anyone who listens to their speeches,
will fall into the end of the world.

The cult (gate) that Kiwan found,
fears the days and the hours.

(therefore), they sit the whole days fasting.

and produce prophets of lying.

sit upon falsehood.

and produce (false) wisdom from their (weak) minds.

---

1175 not in BL 23600 55v: 10.
1176 אב in BL 23601: 56v.
1177 BL 23600 55v: 12 & BLO 1236: 55v: 12
Those who are celibates and "saints"
will all end on the day of end.1178
Anyone who listens to their speeches,
will never see the place of Light.

The sect that Angi'il found,
Angi'il whom all the worlds call Bel.
From the sect that Bel found,
came out all the potentates and dignitaries.

1178 Cf. the baptized Marcionites who were common in the upper Mesopotamia during the fourth and fifth centuries. They remained pure through celibacy and continual fasting and excessive prayers (Morony, 1984: 402).
1179 BL 23599 60r: 16 & BL 23601 56v: 22
1180 ang’îl a name given to Bel-Jupiter (MD, p. 25).
The potentates and dignitaries who came out therefrom, are given authority over wrath in the Tibil. Every single day, they sit on the throne of rebellion. They fetter, beat, torture, restrain and interrogate (whoever) works for their charity and fails to fulfill. They scourge him with leathern lashes. He will be flogged with a scourge of fire. Those who harness, restrain and hang up, will never see the place of Light.

1181 BL 23600 55v: 19 & BLO 1236: 55v: 19
He who acts in their foolish ways,
will fall and there will be no rising for him.

He will fall and there will be no rising for him,
He will end on the day of the end.

The sect that Nirig created,
it was all created with deception.

It was all created with deception,
and their demons move about in the wilderness of the world.

nirig (בב. Nirgallu, H. בנה) the planet Mars, identified with Muhammad and regarded as a symbol of the Arabs. (MD, 229)
Their demons move about in the wilderness of the world,

(GRR p. 144)

The 

humras who came out from him,

are given authority upon the wrath in the Tibil.

They commit murder,

and they shed blood.

The one who summoned them,

strides at the head of the war troops.

humra or humarta (amulet-) spirit (MD p. 135).
and he sheds blood in the world.

יומא דנאטלא גאטיל

On the day which he commits a slaying,

הואיא דנאטלא כי טאבית

he enjoys the slaying more than good deed.

יומא דנאטלא גאטיל

On the day which he commits a murder,

ואיסי רספסי ימי סדאם

מאמילל וההכ מוי טראיה

he chatters and laughs from his heart.

יומא דנאטלא לנאטלא

On the day which does not commit murder,

במרגיא רבעליא קומחת

his body is dyed with bitter herbs.

נאגא דקרא נירז

The sect that Nirig created,

 ngươiיספי ס薷קוי לסאטא עסっち

מידיאט סאיה ילוומא דסח

will end on the day of the End.

מוירטינכן על שיבאותיא

 mãrrair a strongly bitter herb which grows in southern Iraq.
I explained to you about the Planets,
and about the sects (gates) which they created in the world.

I explained to you their works.

They were all created with flaw.

They were created with flaw, hatred, jealousy and discord.

I explained to you about the secrets of the Seven (planets),
and I explained to you about the Twelve stars who made this division.

When they carried out the division, they allotted (the shares) to themselves.

---

BL 23600: 6 & BLO 1236: 56r.

not in BL 23601: 57r.
When they allotted Aries a share,
they allotted him a number of years totaling twelve thousand years.

They allotted Taurus a share totaling eleven thousand years.

They allotted Gemini a share totaling ten thousand years.

They allotted Cancer a share totaling nine thousand years.
They allotted Leo a portion totaling eight thousand years.

They allotted Virgo a share totaling seven thousand years.

They allotted Libra a share totaling six thousand years.

They allotted Scorpio a share totaling five thousand years.

They allotted Sagittarius a share

(GRR p. 145)
They allotted Capricorn a share totaling three thousand years.

They allotted Aquarius a share totaling two thousand years.

They allotted Pisces a share totaling one thousand years.

When they distributed their years,
Then they said:

"We will find by ourselves

the whole world one by one.

We will utter twelve voices,

hence twelve appearances will come forth from them."

From the voice that Aries uttered,

all creatures came to being.

All the creatures that came to being,

their voice came to being by the evil call.

\[\text{not in BL 23599 61r: 8 & BL 23601 57v: 12.}\]

\[\text{BL 23600 56r: 26 & BLO 1236: 56r: 26.}\]
By the evil call which said:

"A portion of this world should be mine."

From the call which Taurus uttered,

all evil forms came forth.

Evil creatures which developed from him,

spit forth scum from their mouths.

They spit scum from their mouths;

because they try to expel their own venom from their digestive organs (from their inside).

---

1993 guara: (cf. P. 82) digestion) digestive organs, stomach, belly, interior, inside; (= gubara) male organ (MD P. 82).
The creatures of those two stars are like each other.

From the creation which Gemini created, all the devils came forth.

The devils who were from them, include all alter-demons.

They include all alter-demons,

(GRR p. 146)

and they hold the river-banks (or: destinies?)


BL 23601: 57v. See *gada* (MD, p. 73).
From the call which Cancer uttered

issued all voracious animals.

Voracious animals issued from this
cause evil in the world.

From the call which Leo uttered

issued all wild animals.

The wild animals that issued therefrom,

are sent against the souls.

They are sent against the souls,

and produce panic in the world.

---

1197 not in BL 23601 57v: 26.
From the call which Virgo uttered,
all the fruit came into being.

All the fruit, grapes and trees that came therefrom,
are flourishing in the world.

From the call which Libra uttered,
the water-fruit came into being.

The evil fruit came into being,
wherewith the worlds was covered.

From the call which Scorpio uttered,
all evil vermin (or: harmful reptiles) came into being.

The evil vermin that came forth from it,

kill people with their wrath.

From the call which Sagittarius uttered,

all the wrath came forth.

By the great evil wrath which developed from it,

all the worlds are destroyed.

From the call which Capricorn uttered,

all the domestic cattle came into being.

Of the domestic cattle which came into being,
their wings are weaker and less perfect than (those of) birds.

From the call which Aquarius uttered,

The perversity that came forth therefrom,

generated the defection and error.

From the call which Pisces uttered,

all (kind) of fish came forth.

The fish and dolphins came forth,

and everything evil generated from it.
All those who came forth from the twelve stars
decided, "We want to remove the family of Life."
The Seven (planets) set out to allot the shares.
and produced (launched?) (celestial) chariots in the centre of heavens.

(GRR p. 147)

As soon as they have done all that, they said:
"Let us remove the Family of Life.
who set off a strife every day."

1199 BL 23600 56v: 27 & BLO 1236: 56v: 27
But the Seven Planets,
the sons of the futile abode,
who made the division,
did not realize that I am the one who divided their race.

I divided their race,
and allocated some of them for cultivation (?),
and some for slaughter,
Some of them were allocated for riding,
and the other for eating.

All the calls they made,
were made for the sake of Adam,
because they all obtained their smell from the sacrifices.

Those who made the call,
should pursue the course,
and they must obey Adam,
and obey all his race.

When I dealt with the Seven in this way,
they were unable to speak.

When I disclosed the matter to Adam,

Akk. *nuqu(m)* also *niq'um* 'offering, sacrifice'. (A Concise Dict. of Akk. p. 255. See also MD, p. 229)
he rejoiced and was fully glad.

My brothers, the uthras, and I

set off to teach Adam and all his family.

We spoke to them, “Do the good deeds,

and provide yourselves with provisions.

Recite the word of Life,

so your names will be established in the House of the Great Ones.

Speak with pure words,

so you will be confirmed in pure peace.

Speak with kindness,
and do not speak with evilness (or: cruelty).

Worship and praise the Great one

and the great Light that arrived hither.

Worship and praise the uthras,

who will be your helper(s).

They will be your helper(s) and support,

from the place of darkness to the place of Light.”

The Life is praised and Manda d-Hiia is confirmed.

Blessed are your names Selmai, Nedbai and Anoš.
Life is victorious upon all deeds. Yauar Ziwa and his helpers are triumphant.
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