

Yahia Bihram's narrative colophons

Part 2: DC 47

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This article presents an *editio princeps* and translation of a narrative colophon authored in 1249 AH (= 1833–4 CE) by the renowned Mandaean communal leader Yahia Bihram. The text describes events in his life in the period leading up to the great cholera epidemic of 1831–1832 and in its immediate aftermath. The narrative is composed in the idiom that is characteristic of this genre, i.e., a mixed literary language that combines classicising features with elements drawn from the vernacular. The accompanying notes examine particularly the post-classical elements and their relationship to contemporary Neo-Mandaic.

Keywords: Mandaic, Mandaeans, Neo-Mandaic, Neo-Aramaic.

1. Introduction¹

This article is the second in a series of editions and translations of the narrative colophons composed by the Mandaean *yalufa* (learned layman) turned priest Yahia Bihram.² Along with his brother-in-law Ram Zihrun, Yahia played a vital role in saving the Mandaean priesthood in the wake of the calamitous cholera epidemic of 1831–1832. While some information on the impact of the epidemic on the Mandaeans may be gleaned from other contemporary sources,³ the most detailed and vivid accounts of the immediate aftermath of the epidemic come from historical narratives which Yahia and Ram

¹ I wish to thank Tom Alfia and Livnat Barkan for their assistance in preparing the texts discussed herein, and Prof. Hezy Mutzafi for his advice on the Neo-Mandaic materials. Dr. Ohad Abudraham and Tatyana Azarova read a draft of this article and made helpful suggestions. Citations from written Mandaic sources are presented in bold characters using Macuch's transliteration system, e.g. **riš**, except that Arabic ξ is represented by Υ . Phonological transcriptions—attested or reconstructed—are presented in italics, e.g. *eštó*, and citations from Neo-Mandaic are presented according to Mutzafi's system. Superlinear insertions in the text are marked with carets, e.g. [^]tun[^], while scribal deletions are marked with double brackets, e.g. {{a}}. Citations from the *Rbai* Rafid Collection are reproduced by kind permission of the custodian of the collection. This research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation grant no. 263/21.

² The first part was published in Morgenstern (2019a).

³ See Buckley 1999 and in an expanded form Buckley (2010: 121–147) and Morgenstern (2021).

Zihrun appended to manuscripts that they copied or repaired.⁴ They tell a desperate tale of loss, persecution, and of a community in disarray. Yahia's accounts indicate that as well as acting to save the priesthood, at the heart of his scribal efforts lay a desire to preserve and transmit Mandaean literature.

In this article, I present an *editio princeps* and translation of the narrative colophon that Yahia appended to DC 47. Yahia wrote this account in the year 1249 AH (= 1833–4 CE), i.e., in the immediate aftermath of the epidemic and shortly after the colophon of DC 35 published in Part 1 of this article. The text is composed in the mixed literary idiom employed widely by Yahia and his priestly contemporaries, in which classicizing elements appear alongside numerous Neo-Mandaic grammatical forms, words and phrases (Morgenstern 2017a). The present text has proven particularly difficult to interpret. Yahia's use of the classical language herein is imprecise, and the Neo-Mandaic and Arabic elements are not always easily interpreted. Moreover, his writing skips from one event to another, often with no indication of their relative chronologies, making it difficult to follow his narrative and to even identify who the subjects and objects of the verbs may be. The meaning of several passages remains opaque, and these ambiguities are reflected in the translation. It is hoped that when all of the available texts have been edited and translated, the sequence of the events that Yahia describes will become more apparent.

The edition here is presented in parallel columns. The text has been divided into sense-units to facilitate the comparison with the translation. Brief philological comments are provided in the footnotes. Particular emphasis has been given to the post-classical, i.e., Neo-Mandaic and Arabic uses. For reasons of space, the comments are kept brief, and in cases where these late forms have been analysed in detail elsewhere, the reader is directed to those discussions. This article is happily dedicated to Professor Pennacchietti, whose love of the Aramaic dialects of Iraq is renowned.

2. The text, translation, and notes

The narrative colophon is appended to Yahia's copy of *Šafta u-Miniana d-Šambra* "The Incantation series and Spell⁵ of Rue." An edition of the exorcism was published in Drower 1946 but without its colophon. Buckley (2010, 142) provides a summary of the colophon's contents with a partial translation.

⁴ DC 36 was copied in 1088 AH (1677 CE), but was repaired by Yahia, who added his own narrative colophon in 1251 AH (1835–1836 CE). Yahia's text will be published in a future article.

⁵ See *DJBA*: 648 s.v. מניא def. 5.

**kḍ ansita lhazin šapta mn riš ualma ltit ḍ-
dnab hazin šapta huit mn dukta ldukta
larahiḡna mn kinuta ḍ-iuzaḡaq manda ḍ-
hiia**

**bšnia ḍ-hanatun lahua ʿniš mn tarmidia
bhazin dukia ḍ-ana huit
mn šara ḍ-parsaiia ḍ-laḡaiia ualma ʿl
arbaiia ḍ-madaiia ualma lbnia babil huit
ulahzit maria naširuta uginzia sdiria**

**haizin tidiria ḍ-nibḡul ḍ-hiia bhazin atra
ḍ-tibil**

mahu nibad

**hiia mḡabil butai utušbiḡtai ulanagzar ʿlai
haka ana msakinalun lʿutria aḡai ulamšina
lmimnia ḡunia ḍ-hazin ḍ-huat kḍ ḍ-huit**

**ubalhudai ab šamran latra ḍ-hiia uʿm
haizin**

**kḍ aḡai ḡašiša uana ukḍ dadai huainia
bbašra luat had ḡrab ab dilia ḍ-hu ḡabra
apraiia anʿgʿriz ḍ-hu ḡilir big šumḡ uzḡit**

When I copied this series from the beginning until the very end of this series, I was (going) from place to place (but) I (was) not estranged from the rectitude of Iozataḡ, the Knowledge-of-Life.

In those days, none of the *tarmidi* (priests) was (to be found) in these places wherein I was.

I have been from the region of the Persians, of the barbarians⁶ up to the Arabs of Media and to the people of Babil⁷ and I did not see any master of the Našorean wisdom or well-ordered treasures.⁸

Thus it would come about⁹ that (that) of the Life would cease in this part of the world.¹⁰

What should we do?

May the Life accept my prayers and praises and not decree against me here! I await my brother uthras and cannot (re)count the evil¹¹ that I see:¹² that which has transpired in my time.

For my father left me alone for the place of Life, and my mother similarly.¹³

When¹⁴ my elder brother and I and my elder sister¹⁵ were¹⁶ in Basra, my father approached someone –

⁶ The word *laḡaiia* is not otherwise attested, and I have interpreted it in light of *anašia laḡaiia* “barbarians” (Gy. 385: 19).

⁷ I.e. the region of Baghdad.

⁸ Here probably in the meaning of “books”; compare *nasaka ḍ-ḡinza sdira* “copyist of the well-ordered treasure” (colophon to RRC 1A, composed in Shushtar in 1156 AH [1744–5 CE]).

⁹ Apparently based upon Jb. 262: 6, 263: 1, 264: 3, wherein it means “this is what shall befall him”. See Lidzbarski (1915, 235) and Häberl and McGrath (2020, 319). I have assumed that Yahia used the phrase here loosely.

¹⁰ An adaptation of the common Mandaic phrase *arḡa ḍ-tibil* “the earth, the material world”. I have not found the expression elsewhere.

¹¹ This precise meaning is recorded in the 17th century Leiden *Glossarium*: Arabic: اثم, pl. اثم, Latin: iniquitas, Mandaic: *ḡnia*, *ḡnaii* (29:10); Arabic: شك, pl. شكوك, Latin: scandalum, Mandaic *ḡnia*, *ḡnaii* (96: 14); Arabic: شر, Latin: iniquitas, Mandaic: *ḡnia* (98: 10). On the interchanges of *g* and *q* in the *Glossarium* see Borghero (2004: 77–79).

¹² NM *hazín* (Mutzafi 2015: 327).

¹³ The syntax here is unclear, and it is possible that *haizin* belongs with the following sentence.

¹⁴ Yahia here describes an earlier period, probably the 1820s.

¹⁵ For the correct meaning of *dadai*, see Mutzafi (2014: 89 n. 273).

¹⁶ The *-ni* 1 c.pl. morpheme is characteristic of NM (Häberl 2009:192, Mutzafi 2015: 326 and Morgenstern 2017a: 256), but is already found sporadically in earlier sources (Abudraham 2016: 402).

ana uab uaha d-ab dilia iahia ihana br
mahnuš šbiqlh manda d-hiia haṭaiun d-ab
adam iuhana br mahnuš

haizak ata luatan ‘trin mandaiia uhad
šumh karam adamihana br simat d-hišta
bmutana ia ahai hun qal{{a}}iia
manda^iia^ hazin d-sibrit d-iaditun d-
hazin hadina bnaširuta binataihun d-halin
d-minaihun tama mn mandaiia ulaiadin
mahu d-abdia

uana uab dilia ukaram lʿabd
lsiid uknar hda hua mn šurbta d-bnia
‘karia d-dispul hurina d-mn šara d-arbaiia
d-ansit binatun ubdukta d-margab šar
uhur nahra uhaka hua mṣarilh mṣarah

tum kd huainia bbagdad tartinan bhukum
d-dauud paša dirian hak gabra mn bašra
ualma lbagdad abatar d-paruanaiia ualma

he is an English European, Taylor Bey is his name¹⁷
—and I went¹⁸ with my father and my father’s
brother Yahia Yuhana son of Mahnuš, may the
Knowledge-of-Life forgive the sins¹⁹ of my father,
Adam Yuhana son of Mahnuš.

Then two²⁰ Mandaean came to us, one of whom
(was) Karam Adam Yuhana son of Simat by name,
(saying) “Now²¹ in the epidemic, O my brothers, the
Mandaean are perishing—I thought you know
this—I rejoice in the Naṣorean wisdom—that this is
amongst them, that some of the Mandaean have
remained,²² and they do not know what to do.”²³
And my father and I and Karam al-ʿabd the
gentleman, and Kunar—one was from a family of
the farmers from Dezful and the other from the
Arab territory, amongst whom I was copying
(texts), and in the area of Margab,²⁴ and in the
region of the river marshes, which they call here
Mučarraḥ.²⁵

Also, when we were in Baghdad, the two of us,
under the rulership of Dawud Pasha—that man
took us²⁶ from Basra to Baghdad after the

¹⁷ On Robert Taylor, see Parry (2013) and Morgenstern (2021: 389 n. 77).

¹⁸ On the NM root *z-g-y*, see Morgenstern (2018: 196) with previous literature.

¹⁹ Literally, “their sins”. Yahia has used the plural possessive pronoun for the singular.

²⁰ The numeral appears here with a prosthetic vowel, as in the *Glossarium*: Arabic: اثنين, Latin: bini, Mandaic: **atria** (39: 9). Similarly, in NM, *tren* ~ *etren* (Macuch 1989: 444 s.v. *trēn*).

²¹ For CM **hašta**, Yahia employs **hišta**, apparently under the influence of NM *eštá* “now” (see Mutzafi 2014: 116).

²² NM *tammə*, from root *t-m-m* “to become, remain, stay.” It is already found in the earliest surviving colophons (Morgenstern 2018, 201).

²³ The syntax here is very opaque.

²⁴ The Mandaean quarter of Sūq eš-Šiūk; see Morgenstern (2019a: 383).

²⁵ This may be identified with the present-day settlement المشرح (colloquially pronounced *ilimšarraḥ*) located around 32 km. east of Amarah. For reasons that are unclear, Yahia marks the š in both this toponym and the following **paša** “Pasha” with the diacritic that is usually employed with š to indicate a \dot{s} or \dot{f} phoneme.

²⁶ In CM **dirian** would mean “he took me” (cf. **hizian** “he saw me” Gy. 164:6, MG 284), but the context here makes it clear that the 1 pl. object pronoun is required here. Accordingly, it is best interpreted as the NM form *deryan* “he took us.” The NM form for “he took me” would be *derye*. Compare *hezye* “he saw me” (Macuch 1993: 166 l. 791) with *hezyan* “we saw us” (Macuch 1993: 124 l. 251).

had mn qalas d-lbiš zaina uatia kaṭia
bšuma d-ṭilir big baliuz qarilia arbaia

hua ‘zga ab u‘m balhudun uana uiai d-hu
^ahai^ qašiša udadai uhuntai ualma d-
kulan ‘zginia bbašra taminia tmania šnia
mn iuma ‘zginia babašra d-hua qaria
umitapraš bginza halin trin gubria had
iusip ulip d-hua ata mn apraiia ^d-^angriz
uhak ṭilir gabra d-hua bbašra mn qudam

ualma d-‘zginia bbagdad ualma d-kamarni
lhašta ‘tša šnia hua
haizak ana hašta baiina mn hiia umn
manda d-hiia d-lahauia mindam d-hiia
snun

English, whose name was Wolff (English) Joseph³⁸ – who was in Basra—and someone came from Qalas³⁹ who was armed and he brought⁴⁰ a letter⁴¹ in the name of Taylor; the Arabs call him⁴² “The Consul-Bey”.

So, my father and mother went⁴³ alone, and I and my brother⁴⁴—who is my older brother—and elder sister and my (younger) sister⁴⁵ [stayed]⁴⁶ until we all went to Basra.⁴⁷ We stayed for eight years from the time we went to Basra, because he was reading and interpreting the Ginza (to) these two men, one Joseph Wolff who had come from the English Europeans; and that Taylor, the man who was in Basra from before.⁴⁸

And by the time we went to Baghdad and by the time we returned till now has been nine years.⁴⁹ Moreover, I now request (of) the Life and the Knowledge-of-Life that there be nothing that Life despises.

³⁸ On the correct identification of this person as the German-Jewish-born convert and missionary Joseph Wolff (1795–1862), see Morgenstern (2019a: 389 n. 74).

³⁹ This is unclear. It is just possible to read **qauas**, in which case we should translate: “and one kavass came.”

⁴⁰ NM *atti* (Macuch 1993: 369, Häberl 2009: 299); CM would be **aitia** (MG 243).

⁴¹ Derived from Arabic *kaṭṭ*. It has previously been attested in post-Classical Mandaic texts in the senses of “strip of material” (MD 196) and “writing” (Morgenstern 2018: 197).

⁴² Yahia uses the digraph **-ia** to represent the 3 m.s. pronoun *-i*.

⁴³ NM *ezgə*; see n. 18 above.

⁴⁴ Compare NM *yəyə* “brother (affectionate)” (Mutzafi 2014: 88–89). The spelling **ui ai** may represent a pronunciation such as *yəe < yəye*.

⁴⁵ MD 136 mistakenly glossed this “cousin”. For the correct interpretation, see Morgenstern (2017b: 161 n. 101).

⁴⁶ Yahia has omitted the verb in this sentence. The implication appears to be that he stayed behind with his siblings when his parents went to Basra.

⁴⁷ For the use of the preposition **b-** after verbs of motion, see Morgenstern (2017a: 268).

⁴⁸ According to Petermann’s account, Adam taught Taylor the Ginza for 12 years. This would imply that four years would pass before Adam’s initial summons and the arrival of his children.

⁴⁹ I.e. from the time that Yahia left for Basra, went to Baghdad and returned. This would put his age at 27 at this time (1833–4), placing his birth around 1806–7. When Petermann visited him in 1854 he assumed Yahia was around 40.

uana ia ahai balhudai baiina nihuta
lkulhun rahmia šuma d̄-had malka ʿlaia

And I, O my brothers, I alone request tranquility
for those who love the name of the one exalted
King.

uana tamit luat ab babašra unipqit uatit
lnhirat abatar d̄-npaqiuṇ ahai šiša
samš^{ai} ar br haua simat udadaṇ uhuntai
{{u}}bhirat atun

And I remained with my father in Basra, and (then)
I left and came to in-Nihirāt after my brother Šiša
Sam Šaiar son of Hawa Simat and my elder sister
and my younger sister Bhirat left (and) came.

uana ab u^m uhata d̄-ab dilia šbaqtinun
uatit abatar par^u anaiia bnihirat utamit
bit rahal uhua hatai ubila d̄-hu zaua hun
ka^{ma} riun bitan babašra uab u^m hun
kulhun bašra

And I—my father and my mother and my father’s
sister⁵⁰—I left them and went after the *Parwanaia* to
in-Nihirāt and stayed in a boarding house (?).⁵¹ But
my sister and her husband (i.e. her spouse)⁵²
returned⁵³ to our house in Basra, and my father and
mother were all in our house in Basra.⁵⁴

haizak hua mutana ulatašailun ana huit
bhur u^{kma} mša hailai usimkit u^tparqit
mn ʿbidata sainata

Then came the epidemic—do not ask! I was in the
marshland⁵⁵ as much as I could be, and I had faith⁵⁶
and was saved from the odious matters.

latama ʿniš mn kulhun bintan uqinan
ukulhun d̄-lbr huntai u^{nta} d̄-iai uhatai
uzaua d̄-^a na huit ʿurku {{bh}}⁵⁷ bhur

Nobody remained from all of our home and family
and all of them except my younger sister and my
brother’s wife, and my sister and her husband with
whom⁵⁸ I had been in the marshlands.

⁵⁰ The form *həṭə* with aphaeresis is characteristic of NM (Macuch 1993: 384, Häberl 2009: 324), but sporadic examples are already attested in the Early Mandaic epigraphic corpus (Abudraham 2022: 189).

⁵¹ The term *bit rahal* is unparalleled. In the context, it appears to be some form of lodging. The second element could be from the Arabic root *r-ḥ-l* “to travel.”

⁵² Yahia uses NM *bellə* (Mutzafi 2014, 112–114) and glosses it with the more formal *zawwə* “spouse”. The latter survives into NM as a formal alternative to *eṭṭə* “wife” (Mutzafi, p.c.).

⁵³ NM *kammaryon* (Khorramshahr) or *ekamaryən* (Ahvaz). On the verbal ending see Mutzafi (2015: 324) and n. 10, Häberl (2009: 180). For the verbal base *kammar* with aphaeresis, see Häberl (2009: 221, 321).

⁵⁴ **bašra** for **bbašra** (haplology or assimilation).

⁵⁵ Arabic *hūr*.

⁵⁶ Lit: I depended.

⁵⁷ There was insufficient space to complete the word at the end of the line, and Yahia rewrote it at the start of the following line.

⁵⁸ NM *orku*. The preposition is already attested in the 17th century (Morgenstern 2018: 203).

haizak zga ginza mn anašia mindam d-zga
bhur d-ana huit ulatišailun Iridpa d-siblit
mn šara d-smala

uhaizak atinia bnihirat utamit
uatun mandaiia uatunai bta dukta d-
margab d-mata d-mandaiia balhudun

hda rišaiia d-atiun humud bn kamas mn
huaiza ata bhdiā atunai qar burka bn
sabtia uparhan br ahai uahh šaralah
usarhan hua d-hun rišaiia d-mandaiia d-
dinba d-dara adinqia tarmidia

uhaizak bun minai d-mindam d-nismik
libaihun lšarša d-hiia d-laba^ʿti^ʿl ulamit
šumh d-hahu qašiša

mašbuta baiin ulika maria taga man mša
hailh d-nihua dainilia qudam abatur
uptahil ʿutra

Then many⁵⁹ people went; a few went to the
marshland where I was.⁶⁰ Now do not ask what
persecution I suffered from the left side!

And then we came to in-Nihirāt and I remained.
And some Mandaean came and brought me⁶¹ to
that⁶² place of Margab, of the quarter of the
Mandaean alone.

One of the leaders who brought me⁶³ (was) Humud
son of⁶⁴ Kamas from Huweiza; he came with him
(?); they brought me to⁶⁵ Burka son of Sabti and
Farḥān son of Ahai, whose brothers were Šaralah
and Sarhān. They were the leaders of the
Mandaean of the end of the generation⁶⁶ without
tarmidi (priests).

And then they requested of me something that
would set their hearts upon the religion of the Life,
for the name of that ancient one does not cease and
does not die.⁶⁷

They seek baptism, but there is no one with the
crown!⁶⁸ Who could possibly judge me before
Aḇaṭor and Ptahil the uthra?

⁵⁹ NM *genzo*, *genz*, already attested in the 17th century (Morgenstern 2018: 202; 2019: 38).

⁶⁰ Alternatively, both examples of the verb *zga* “went” in this sentence could be a euphemism for “died”. Compare, e.g. in the Yahia’s colophon to DC 35: *abatar mutana lahualai ʿniš abihdai kulu zgūn bruaaha d-hiia* “after the epidemic I had no one with me; they all went to the relief of Life” (Morgenstern 2019a: 383 with minor improvements to the translation). Similarly in an early colophon: *zgat gud hiia* “she went to Life (i.e. died)” (RRC 1C from 1074 AH = 1663–1664 CE, published in Morgenstern 2019c: 109).

⁶¹ NM *u aṭonne* for CM *uatiun* (Morgenstern 2017a: 257–258).

⁶² *ta* is a characteristic post-CM pronoun which is found in the colophons but barely survived into the 20th century (*MD* 477 s.v., Morgenstern 2018: 189; 2019b: 34).

⁶³ Here Yahia uses the CM form of the transitive verb. It is less likely to be the G-stem 3 m.pl. “who came,” as this would be *atun* or *ʿtun* in CM (*MD* 258) and *aṭón* (Khorramshahr) or *ʿṭón* (Ahvaz) in NM (Häberl 2009: 299; Mutzafi 2015: 325).

⁶⁴ Here Yahia uses Arabic *bin* rather than Mandaic *bar*.

⁶⁵ NM *qor* (Morgenstern 2018: 204).

⁶⁶ Based upon Gy. 301: 7.

⁶⁷ Alternatively: “of that Ancient one that does not cease or die.”

⁶⁸ I.e. priest.

u^haizak latišailun d-ana balhudai ulika
 ʿniš d-hua mdakia ʿušria
 uana uharina usaliqnḥ mn kulhun
 ʿštazab
 ha ʿzgit [^]b[^]b[^]a[^]šra utamit hda ihra
 utkamrit uzgit b[^]m[^]hamra uatit si[^]a[^]gia
 bligrai ʿl mata d-nhirat mṭit
 uatun mandaiia ukulhun uman d-mšia
 hailia d-nitaqan širša d-had ʿraša d-tagā
 ʿu d-nismik libaihun mn hiia linipisqun
 uatunan u^ʿka bnia tarmidia hamša šita
 ubaiin d-dara d-hibil ziua h^ʿ napaqan mn
 šuba utrisar hamša mdabranah
 bhilqaihun ula nistakar

And then—do not ask, for I was alone and there was no one whose mind/treasure was pure.⁶⁹
 I and another,⁷⁰ separated from all those (who) were saved.
 For⁷¹ I went to Basra and stayed for one month, then I returned and went to Mohammara. I came walking⁷² by foot and reached the town of in-Nihirāt.
 Then the Mandaean came, and all of them—and whoever was able—to (re)-establish⁷³ the religion by⁷⁴ one coronation⁷⁵ and to support their hearts, that they may not⁷⁶ be cut off from Life.⁷⁷
 And they brought us⁷⁸—there were five or six sons of *tarmidi* (priests)—and we⁷⁹ were praying that the house of Hiḅil Ziwa would save us⁸⁰ from the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (Zodiac signs) and the five

⁶⁹ I have not found this expression elsewhere, but it appears to refer to a priest in a state of purity.

⁷⁰ **harina** is taken as a variant spelling of **hurina**, still employed in NM *horinā* (Mutzafi 2014: 96).

⁷¹ It is also possible to read **hua**, Yahia’s impersonal “and it came to pass.”

⁷² Yahia appears to have corrected **sigia** to **sagia**.

⁷³ Taking **nitaqan** as 3 m.s. D imperfect (for **nitaqin**).

⁷⁴ The use of **d** here is unclear.

⁷⁵ I.e. ordination of a priest. Yahia writes **ʿraša** for standard Mandaic **traša**. Already in the colophon of RRC 20 from 1077 AH (1666–1667 CE) we find the use of the verbal root *t-r-s* for *t-r-š* (Morgenstern 2018: 197). Yahia similarly writes **ʿraša** in the colophon of RRC 4G: 304 (copied in 1248 AH = 1832–3 CE) and **ʿrašnḥ** “we crowned (i.e. inaugurated)” in the colophon of DC 50: 797 (copied in the same year).

⁷⁶ The **a** of the negation **la-** is malformed and looks more like **i**.

⁷⁷ The syntax of this sentence is unclear.

⁷⁸ NM *aṭonan*.

⁷⁹ In CM, the form **baiin** is the 3 m.pl. participle (MG 69), while the 1 c.pl. participle is **baiinin** (MG 259). However, the context here clearly requires the 1 c.pl., and it is likely that Yahia has conflated the CM forms of *b-ʿ-y* (< Aramaic *b-ʿ-y*) with the NM forms, in particular the participle (*qā*)*bén* “we seek” (Macuch 1991: 363; Häberl 2009: 305).

⁸⁰ There is a lack of grammatical agreement between Mandaic **dara** “house,” the pronoun **h^ʿ** “she, it (f.s.)” and the verb **niparqan** “let it (m.s.) save us.” Yahia appears to have been influenced by the feminine gender of Arabic *dār*, while the 3 m.s. **niparqan** may result from attraction to the subject Hiḅil Ziwa or from Yahia’s lack of familiarity with the CM imperfect, which, as the *Glossarium* indicates, no longer survived in the 17th century and may well have been in decline prior to that (Häberl 2015).

	governors in their lot ⁸¹ and (that) we would not be held back. ⁸²
hiia hdun ulalam hiia zakin lkulhun	Life rejoiced, and forever Life is victorious over all
ʿubadia	works!
bhukum ḡ-arbaiia ṡisa bn mhamad bn	In the rule of the Arabs—ṡisa son of Muḥammad
tamir bn saʿddun hiia zakʿin	son of Ṭamir son of Saʿdūn. Life is Victorious!

Abbreviations

CS = Codex Sabéen, Bibliothèque nationale de France

DC = Drower Collection, Oxford

DJBA = Sokoloff (2020)

Gy. = Ginza Yamina

MD = Drower and Macuch (1963)

MG = Nöldeke (1875)

NM = Neo-Mandaic

RRC = Rbai Rafid Collection, Nijmegen

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⁸¹ See Gy. 11: 1 and Morgenstern and Abudraham (2023: 113).

⁸² I.e. from the world of light. Compare Gy. 25: 4.

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