

Recenzje

ARAM Periodical. Volume 16 – *Mandaeans and Manichaeans*, Peeters, Leuven 2004, IX+314 pp. *ARAM Periodical*. Volume 22 – *The Mandaeans*, Peeters, Leuven 2010, VII+611 pp.

The two volumes under review belong to the series of annuals published by the ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies, based at the Oriental Institute of Oxford University. As a rule, the issues of the periodical contain the papers read at international conferences organized by the Society. They deal with the past of the Aramaic world and with its offshoots, inclusive of Syriac, Mandaic, Palestinian Christianity, etc. The two fascicles of vol. 1 (1989) appeared as a journal, but vol. 2 already provides the papers read at a conference on Nabataeans, held at Oxford in 1989, and vol. 3 contains the proceedings of a conference dealing with the Syriac-Arabic cultural interchange during the Abbasid era in Iraq, held likewise at Oxford in 1991. Vol. 4 contains the papers of the conference on Decapolis, held at Oxford in 1992, while vol. 5 was dedicated in 1993 to Sebastian P. Brock, a world-wide known specialist of Syriac, passed away a few years ago. Vol. 6 deals with cultural interchange during the Umayyad period in Bilād aš-Šām, i.e. in Syria-Palestine, while Palmyra is the subject of vol. 7, and the Near-Eastern trade routes constitute the central topic of vol. 8. Vols. 9 and 10, issued in 1999, concern the history and archaeology of the Mamluk and early Ottoman periods in Bilād aš-Šām. Vols. 11-12 deal with Antioch, Edessa, the Arabian Peninsula, also with the Mandaeans, which provide the special topic for vols. 16 and 22, presented here below. The history and archaeology of Beirut, as well as water problems in the pre-modern Near East, are the subject of vols. 13-14, while Palestinian Christianity since 500 A.D. is dealt with in vols. 15, 18, 19, concerning also pilgrimages and shrines. Related topics on Prophet Elijah, St. George, etc., are treated in vol. 20. Surprisingly, at first sight, alcohol is the topic of vol. 17. Instead, important contributions to modern Syriac literature are presented in vol. 21, issued in 2009.

Vol. 16, dealing with the Mandaeans and the Manichaeans, contains the proceedings of conferences held in 2002 at Oxford University, while vol. 22 on the Mandaeans includes the papers of the Sydney conference in 2007 and of the Oxford conference in 2009. The majority of Mandaeans immigrated to Australia live in or around the Liverpool quarter of

western Sydney and use an area at the Nepean River, west of Sydney, for their religious rites. This site at Penrith was specially allocated to them by the local council to undertake Mandaean ceremonies that incorporate their “baptism” in the river, a fundamental rite of Mandaean religious practice. These circumstances explain the organization of a scholarly conference on Mandaeism at Sydney.

The Mandaeans are a Gnostic sect of southern Iraq and south-western Iran, attested from the early first millennium A.D. on. The publication of their holy writs, the recent discovery of vernacular Mandaic still spoken by some emigrants, their present-day religious practices, and the fact that the language of their writings hardly differs from Jewish Babylonian Aramaic aroused great interest in recent linguistic, religio-historical, and ethnographic studies. Two new series of scholarly text editions and studies have been created by publishers to collect apposite works: *Mandäische Forschungen*, edited by Rainer Voigt and published by Harrassowitz at Wiesbaden, and *Corpus Codicum Mandaeorum*, edited by Rifaat Ebied and Erica Hunter, and published by Brepols at Turnhout. Besides, ARAM Society already plans conferences on Mandaeism at Stockholm University in July 2013 and at Berlin University in July 2017.

The First paper of vol. 16 by Kurt Rudolph stresses *The Relevance of Mandaean Literature for the Study of Near Eastern Religions* (pp. 1–12), describing the particular place of the Mandaeans in the Near Eastern history of the first and second millennia A.D. until their flight from their old Iraqi and Iranian settlements in the aftermath of the Gulf Wars of the 1980’s and the early 1990’s. One of their holy writs, the *John-Book*, is presented by Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley, *A Re-investigation of the Book of John* (pp. 13–23), in which John the Baptist plays an important role. The Author discusses it by comparing the little-known Danish doctoral dissertation by Viggo Schou-Pedersen, *Bidrag til en analyse af de mandaeiske skrifter* (Aarhus 1940) with Edmondo Lupieri’s book, *The Mandaeans: the Last Gnostics* (Grand Rapids-Cambridge 2002). The next paper by Edmondo Lupieri himself deals with *Friar Ignatius of Jesus (Carlo Leonelli) and The First “Scholarly” Book on Mandaeism (1652)* (pp. 25–46). This Carmelite missionary, working at Basra, regarded the Mandaeans as “Christians of Saint John” and wrote a book dealing with their origin, rituals, and errors. Christa Müller-Kessler, well-known for having edited Syro-Palestinian texts, as well as Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic magical inscriptions, deals with *The Mandaeans and the Question of Their Origin* (pp. 47–60), arguing that Mandaean creed and practices originated among the Aramaic population of Babylonia. Roberta Borghero then describes *Some Phonetic Features of a Mandaean Manuscript from the 17th Century* (pp. 61–83) housed in the Library of Leiden University. This is a handwritten glossary in Mandaic, Arabic, Latin, Turkish, and Persian, probably composed by an Italian Carmelite, called Matteo di San Giuseppe, who was one of the first missionaries in the Mandaean community of Basra. The paper of Bogdan Burtea, *Șarh d-Paruanaiia. A Mandaean Ritual Commentary* (pp. 85–93), presents a Mandaean ritual text belonging to the Drower Collection (DC 24) in the Bodleian Library. It was the subject of his Ph.D. dissertation and was published by him in 2005: *Das mandäische Fest der Schallttage* (Wiesbaden 2005). His transcription system is unfortunately problematic, especially in

the case of pharyngeals, and it makes it difficult for the reader to trace the original spelling back.

The next article by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst deals with *The Parthian* mwqr'nyg b's'h (pp. 95–107), a Turfan fragment (M4a I V 3-16) containing a Manichaean hymn in Parthian and believed to be based on an Aramaic original. The Author refers to a somewhat similar passage in the *Ginza*, the main Mandaean holy writ, and assumes that both depend on Aramaic texts of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Şinasi Gündüz then points at *Mandaean Parallels in Yazidi Beliefs and Folklore* (pp. 109–126), which is not surprising if the Mandaeans were native from Adiabene, as recorded in the 8th century A.D. by Theodore bar Koni, Nestorian bishop of Kashkar, near al-Waşit (Iraq).

The second part of vol. 16 deals with Manichaeans, whose technical terms can often be traced back to their Syriac roots. Samuel N.C. Lieu thus presents *Manichaean Terms in Syriac: Some Observations on Their Transmission and Transformation* (pp. 129–140). Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst deals then with *The Apotropaic Magical Text M389 and M8430/I in Manichaean Middle Persian* (pp. 141–160), providing readable photographs of both fragments, obverse and reverse. The topic of Jason David Bedhun's paper are *The Near Eastern Connections of Manichaean Confessionary Practice* (pp. 161–177): Akkadian, Jewish, Christian. Since Mani was raised as an Elchasaite Christian, *The Book of Elchaisai in Its Relevance for Manichaean Institutions* is dealt with by F. Stanley Jones (pp. 179–215), who also provides a reconstruction and translation of the book, based on its quotations by Epiphanius, Origen, Hippolytus, and some other sources. John C. Reeves then raises the question of *A Manichaean "Blood-Libel"?* (pp. 217–232). Frédéric Nicolas Alpi deals with *Les Manichéens et le Manichéisme dans les Homélie cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche (512–518): Observations sur l'HC 123 et sur quelques passages négligés* (pp. 233–243). Two papers consider Ephrem's relations to Manichaeism: «*Odysseus Bruises*». *Traces of Literary Influence between the Manichaeans and Ephrem Syrus* is the title of Tudor Andrei Sala's article (pp. 245–262), while Marcus Bierbaum examines the views of *Ephraim the Syrian on Freedom of Will in Manichaeism (PR I-XXVIII: First Discourse to Hypatios) – Reference to Manichaean Common Property?* (pp. 263–277). A short paper by François Decret presents *Le Manichéisme en Afrique du Nord et ses rapports avec la secte en Orient* (pp. 279–283). The final article of vol. 16 by Helmut Waldmann presents a rather humorous subject: *Manichaeism shapes Modern Europe. Seen from Example: our Parliamentary System* (pp. 285–293).

Vol. 22 deals only with Mandaism, also in its present form, as practiced in Australia by expatriated Mandaeans. Beside the text editions at the end of the volume, only one article by Matthew Morgenstern considers linguistic questions: *Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Mandaic: Some Points of Contact* (pp. 1–14). Phonological features dealt with are the loss of the pharyngeals and the widespread appearance of anaptyctic vowels. The second topic concerns the enclitisation of the prepositions *b-* and *l-* with the consequent assimilation of the final *waw* or *nun* of verbal forms, for instance *amarillt*, "I said to him". The third subject dealt with is the conjugation of the irregular verb *y-h-b*. Jorunn J. Buckley then presents *New Perspectives on the Sage Dinanukt in Right Ginza 6*

(pp. 15–29), a wise scribe – half-book, half-human. In the next paper, Mark J. Lofts considers *Mandaeism – the Sole Extant Tradition of a Sethian Gnosticism* (pp. 31–59), a subject also dealt with in this volume by J.J. Buckley (pp. 495–507). Garry W. Trompf and Brikha H.S. Nasoraia are *Reflecting on the “Rivers Scroll”* (pp. 61–86), published in 1982 by Kurt Rudolph, while Iain Gardner is *Searching for Traces of the ‘Utria in the Coptic Manichaica* (pp. 87–96) and argues that there are unmistakable traces of these divine beings in Coptic Manichaean texts. The ritual of the Mandaean sacramental meal is then described by Edward F. Crangle and Brikha H.S. Nasoraia: *Soul Food: The Mandaean Laufani* (pp. 97–132). This article is illustrated by photographs taken by Crangle at the *Laufa* ceremony. Book 18 of *Right Ginza* is then examined by Dan D.Y. Shapira, *On Kings and on the Last Days in Seventh Century Iraq: A Mandaean Text and Its Parallels* (pp. 133–170). Jennifer Hart deals further with the parallelism between John the Baptist in Mandaean writings and Mohammed: *Yahia as Mandaean Rasul? Some Thoughts on Islam’s Influence on the Development of Mandaean Literature* (pp. 171–181). Further studies on Mandaean-Islamic relations are provided below by A.Sh. Gasimova, I.I. Nadirov, J. Hart, and E. Cottrell.

Mandaean manuscripts contain drawings of specific trees or plants; one of them is examined with illustrations by Sandi Van Rompaey, *The Tree Šatrin and Its Place in Mandaean Art* (pp. 183–207). Possible means to preserve Mandaean cultural heritage are then presented by Charles G. Häberl, *The Cultural Survival of the Mandaeans* (pp. 209–226). The Mandaean *Book of the Zodiac* is compared by Daphna Arbel with Babylonian divinatory traditions and with the Hebrew III Enoch: *“Acquainted with the Mystery of Heavens and Earth”*: Sfar Malwašia, *Mesopotamian Divinatory Traditions, and 3 Enoch* (pp. 227–242). One turns back to the relations between Mandaeism and early Islam with the paper of Aida Shahlar Gasimova, dealing with Sabians in three Qur’ānic passages and in the very confusing, mediaeval Arabic sources: *The Sabi’ans as One of the Religious Groups in Pre-Islamic Arabia and Their Definition through the Qur’an and Medieval Arabic Sources* (pp. 243–261). A second article of Sandi Van Rompaey deals with *The Symbolism of the Drabša in the Mandaean Illustrated Manuscripts: The Drabša of Radiance* (pp. 263–310). The *drabša*, “banner” or the like, was taken by 17th-century missionaries for a cross. Covered with a white sheet, as shown by the illustrations of pp. 299–310, it symbolizes radiating light. References to Mohammed in Mandaean holy writs are identified by Ilnur I. Nadirov, who regards *Bišlom*, *Bizbat*, and *Nirig* as Mohammed’s cryptonyms: *Encoded Names of Muhammad in Mandaean Religious Books* (pp. 311–319). One does not understand why *byšlwm* in the *John-Book* 45,2 should be translated “without peace”, with a Persian prefix *bē-*, “outside”, instead of meaning “in peace”: “Lucky is the person who in the imperfect age lives in peace”.

Although the Cologne Mani Codex identifies the “baptists” of Mani’s youth with Elchasaites, Iain Gardner looks for a Mandaean perspective in *Mani’s Book of Mysteries. Prolegomena to a New Look at Mani, the “Baptists” and the Mandaeans* (pp. 321–334). John Flannery then presents *The Augustinians and the Mandaeans in the 17th C. Mesopotamia* (pp. 335–348), while Brikha H.S. Nasoraia and Edward F. Crangle describe

the Mandaean contemplative and healing practices: *The Asuta Wish: Adam Kasia and the Dynamics of Healing in Mandaean Contemplative Practices* (pp. 349–390), with illustrations. *Mandaean Macrohistory* is dealt with by Brikha H.S. Nasoraia and Garry W. Trompf (pp. 391–425) on a large background of biblical and Iranian conceptions, mixing myth and history. The impact of Islam on Mandaeism is examined further by Jennifer Hart, *Making a Case for a Connection between Islam and Mandaean Literature* (pp. 427–440), while David Hamidović looks for possible links with the Dead Sea scrolls: *About the Links between the Dead Sea Scrolls and Mandaean Liturgy* (pp. 441–451). The Author contends that his study confirms the Jewish background of Mandaeism, although Mandaean liturgy as such cannot be attributed to the Essenes. Such considerations stop half-way up to the conclusion that Jewish Babylonian practices of the Parthian and Sassanid periods have influenced Mandaean rites and customs to a certain degree. A re-edition of DC 20 with its variant DC 43 E is then proposed by Christa Müller-Kessler, *A Mandaic Incantation against an Anonymous Dew Causing Fright (Drower Collection 20 and Its Variant 43 E)* (pp. 453–476). The whole text is provided in transliteration with an English translation and philological notes. Despite its spelling, the first word š'pt' of the title is interpreted as Akkadian šiptu. This is obviously šaptu, “lips, organ of speech”, used in the sense of “speech act”, like Hebrew šāpāh and Sabaic s²ft, which can mean “order, injunction”. The title š'pt' d-d'hwltwly' can thus be translated “Injunction for Frights”. Transliteration and translation can be compared with the first edition of DC 20 by B. Burtea in *AOAT* 317 (Münster 2005, pp. 71–96). This contribution is followed by Christa Müller-Kessler's edition of a Mandaic lead roll: *A Mandaic Lead Roll in the Collections of the Kesley Museum, Michigan: Fighting Evil Entities of Death* (pp. 477–493). The transliteration and translation of two incantations are followed by philological comments. A third incantation on a lead roll in the Vorderasiatische Museum of Berlin is added as appendix. The printed photographs of the Kesley Museum lead roll, obverse and reverse, are unfortunately unreadable and no facsimile is provided, only a table of characters.

Mandaean-Sethian Connections are examined by Jorunn J. Buckley (pp. 495–507). A partly related subject is dealt with by Emily Cottrell, *Adam and Seth in Arabic Medieval Literature: The Mandaean Connections in al-Mubashsher ibn Fātik's Choicest Maxims (11th C.) and Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrāzūrī al-Ishrāqī's History of the Philosophers (13th C.)* (pp. 509–547). A Neo-Mandaic folktale, collected in Iraq by Lady Drower before World War II, is then published for the first time and commented by Charles G. Häberl, *Flights of Fancy: A Mandaean Folktale of Escape from Persecution* (pp. 549–572). Transcription and translation are followed by philological comments. Next comes an iconographic study by Jay Johnston, *Prolegomena to Considering Drawings of Spirit-Beings in Mandaean, Gnostic and Ancient Magical Texts* (pp. 573–582). The Mandaean story of Miriai is then discussed by James F. Mc Grath, *Reading the Story of Miriai on Two Levels: Evidence from Mandaean Anti-Jewish Polemic about the Origins and Setting of Early Mandaeism* (pp. 583–592).

The volume closes with ARAM news announcing forthcoming conferences and publications. Its content is undoubtedly very rich. It mainly concerns religious history,

although valuable philological studies are presented as well. The reviewer followed the order of the articles, as published in vol. 22, but he wonders whether a grouping of contributions by main themes or study fields would not be advisable in the future, for instance by presenting all the articles dealing with Mandaean-Islamic relations in one section, text editions and linguistic studies in another one, etc. This is just a suggestion to the chief-editor of ARAM, dr. Shafiq Abouzayd, who should be congratulated for the whole work he is accomplishing.

Edward Lipiński

Yosef Garfinkel, Saar Ganor and Michael Hasel, *Footsteps of King David in the Valley of Elah. Sensational Discoveries in Biblical Archaeology* (in Hebrew), Yediouth Ahronoth, Tel Aviv 2012, 229 pp. with 48 drawings and 65 colour plates.

After the scholarly report of the excavations conducted by Y. Garfinkel and S. Ganor in 2007 and 2008 at Khirbet Qeiyafa (cf. “Rocznik Orientalistyczny” 64/2 [2011], pp. 131–133), the Israeli archaeologists of the Hebrew University published a work aiming at a larger audience and taking the results of the excavations in 2009–2011 into account. The Hebrew inscription on an ostrakon, dating from the early 10th century B.C., was the most important discovery of the earlier seasons and its presentation by H. Misgav and A. Yardeni is summarized in the present volume with photographs, a copy, and a synoptic table of characters (pp. 123–132, pls. 51–52). Instead, no reference is made to decipherments and comments by other scholars, especially by É. Puech, largely followed by the reviewer (references in “Rocznik Orientalistyczny” 64/2 [2011], pp. 131–132). Among the discoveries of the last seasons one should point in particular at the miniature sanctuaries in stone (ca. 10 x 12 cm.; 12 x 20 cm.; 20 x 35 cm.), discovered in houses (pp. 133–163, pls. 58–65). They most likely contained a figurine. The head of a figurine has in fact been found, and the Authors wonder whether this was a “Voodoo” or a household god (pp. 163–164). In a biblical context, one should rather refer to the *teraphim*, which are termed *’ēlohīm*, “gods”, in the Books Genesis 31:30,32 and Judges 18:24, and may designate ancestor figurines. The discovered miniature sanctuaries and the figurine head would then constitute an outstanding archaeological documentation on these *teraphim*.

The Authors connect the Iron Age findings of Khirbet Qeiyafa with the earlier period of David’s reign in Jerusalem (pp. 174–193), but this opinion is based on the symbolic length of forty years attributed in the Hebrew Bible to each of the reigns of David and of Solomon. Instead, more reliable data place the reigns of both kings in Jerusalem ca. 960–928/7 B.C. with 928/7 being Year 1 of Rehoboam, son of Solomon (I Kings 14:25; cf. “Rocznik Orientalistyczny” 64/2 [2011], pp. 126–127). Since Rehoboam became king at the age of 16 according to the Septuagint (III Kings 12:24a) and was most likely