

H.	V	6 bb	/ + + / tang čē dōžax
	VIc	10 ba	/ + + / burz ud kalān
D 2	/	+ + +	/
A.R.	Ia	14 ab	/ + + + / bast ahēnd pad tars
	VI	51 ab	/ + + + / sar čē man fragāw
		66 ab	/ + + + / bar pad harw asmān
		72 bb	/ + + + / tang ud axšādift
H.	V	3 ab	/ + + + / drōd andar nē ast
D 3	/	+ + + +	/
A.R.	VIII	13 ab	/ + + + + / gyān wēnāh nidāmag
H.	V	9 ab	/ + + + + / žad bawēnd pad žafrān
D 4	/	+ + + + +	/
A.R.	VI	50 ab	/ + + + + + / dast nē andāsād wasān

There are finally a few half-lines in *Angad Rōšnān* which are outside this scheme, for they contain only one word capable of bearing a stress. We have therefore to infer either that occasionally one word bore two main stresses, or that a few lines had only three instead of four stresses. These half-lines are given below:

A.R.	I	27 ba	ud əstūnān
		29 aa	ud nāwāzān
	VI	51 ba	ud murgārid
		63 ab	čē burzwār
	VIIa	14 aa	ud āgust a'i
	VIII	11 aa	ud əzwartēnd

In the following two examples *wasnād* presumably receives a stress, as in A.R. VI 61 aa (A 2), and 62 aa (A 9):

A.R.	I	21 ba	wasnād āšōb
	VI	57 aa	ud tau wasnād

No such half-lines are found in *Hurwīdagmān*; but they occur in other poems which appear to have in general four stresses to a line.¹

¹ See, e.g., M 763 (Henning, *BSOAS*. xiii, p. 646), in which 1 ab, 4 ba, 6 aa, ba, ab, bb, and 11 ba contain only one word which can be stressed.

In both hymn-cycles there are a number of lines whose two halves are of the same pattern. These are set out below, with illustrations from each cycle:

A.R. I 3 a harwīn wigānišn o aṣ man widārāh (A 6)

VI 43 a az au tau bōžān o aṣ harwīn abnās (A 2)

H. IVb 1 b ud pad hawān ud abnās o harw zāwarān wiganēnd (A 10)

VIc 11 b čē pad hau padmōjēd šādift o ud šahrdārīft
dēdēm bandēd (A 5)

A.R. I 22 b (A 2); Ia 2 a (A 3), 3 a (A 9); VI 54 b (A 6), 63 b (A 2), 67 a (A 10); VII 3 a (A 1), 8 b (A 3), 11 b (A 3), 13 b (A 2), 18 a (A 2), 19 b (A 2), 35 b (A 2); VIIa 4 a (A 9), 11 a (A 2); VIII 12 a (A 7), 15 a (A 6).

H. IVb 2 a (A 9); V 2 a (A 9), 9 b (A 2); VIc 1 b (A 10), 3 a (A 10).

Only half-lines of A-pattern are thus combined; but several variants of the A-pattern, both short and long, are used together.

It occurs much more rarely that three out of the four lines in a verse are of the same pattern. There are only five instances of this:

A.R. Ia 2 ud winawād harw karm o ud axtarān āyušt
ud harw astārag o "xēbē čamag waxrēd

VII 13 mas āsāh tū gyān o ud mā bawāh frēh
žamanīn əšmār o ud kambīg rōjān

VII 35 [bas](t) bawēnd sāgān o čē grīwān murdag
pad maran dahmag o čē harwīn syāwīft

VIIa 11 [ud] bawāh šādzird o pad im rōž əzgām
[čē] absist yōbahr o ud harwīn tau audažan

H. VIc 1 az pad zōš əstānān o ud frawazān pad bāzur
abar aṣ harw zāwarān o ud axšēndān wistambag

There is no instance, however, of a symmetrical verse consisting of four half-lines of the same pattern. Sometimes the two lines of a

verse are of the same length, but this is the result of a combination of different patterns in each. These verses are given below, under the number of syllables contained in each of their equal lines:

Nine syllables:	<i>A.R.</i> I 29; VIII 14.
Ten „	<i>A.R.</i> VI 54, 63; VII 13.
Eleven „	<i>A.R.</i> VI 51, 57; VII 5, 14, 17; <i>H.</i> V 3.
Twelve „	<i>A.R.</i> I 24; VI 64, 66; VII 21; VIIa 1; <i>H.</i> V 4; VIc 44.

These evenly balanced verses are not common; and it is a striking fact that in *Angad Rōšnān* only lines of from nine to twelve syllables are thus combined, and in *Huwwidagmān* only those of from eleven to twelve. Very heavy or very light verses are thus avoided in both cycles. On the other hand, very short and very long lines are sometimes combined in one verse, perhaps in order to compensate one for the other. The following example is the most striking:

<i>A.R.</i> VII 3 a	āsāh tū gyān o ud frāj čāmāh	4+4 = 8
b	ud mā bawāh āwaržōg o abar kadag dižwārīft	7+7 = 14

In these other instances also the difference in length between the lines is marked:

<i>A.R.</i> VI 56a	ud pad tau bast dēdēm o au harwīn dušmanīn	6+6 = 12
b	ud būd āgas ud padixšāhād o pad žamanīn axšēndīft	9+7 = 16
67a	ud əstānān pad zāwar o ud nigundān pad frəhīft	7+7 = 14
b	ud wāyān au padišt o au wyāg āfrīdag	6+5 = 11
69a	ud hau rōšnān mād o au tau nimāyān	5+5 = 10
b	ud yāwēdān wišmanāh o pad əstāwādag šādīft	7+7 = 14
<i>H.</i> I 23a	garānīft ud ambāhag o nē ast pad hawīn tanbār	7+7 = 14
b	ud wigān nē ahāz o pad harwīn handām	6+5 = 11
IVb 1a	imīn frabadēnd o abar harwīn dēsmān	5+6 = 11
b	ud pad hawān ud abnās o harw zāwarān wiganēnd	7+7 = 14
VIc 13a	ud au harwīn dēnābarān o ud wiḡīdagān kirbakkarān	8+9 = 17
b	padmōjēd əstāwišn o ušān dēdēm bandēd	6+6 = 12

cycle. The same is true of the half-lines with apparently a single stress. Thus the differences in stress-pattern increase the certainty with which one can tell a run of verses of *Huwīdagmān* from a run of verses of *Angad Rōšnān*; but there are still many individual lines which are not distinguished in any of the ways discovered by the above analysis.

This fact limits the usefulness of the metrical differences for the purpose of textual reconstruction; for few of the fragments whose allocation is doubtful have enough verses with complete lines for these differences to be apparent. The two fragments T II D 178 II and III both contain, however, a series of perfectly preserved verses.¹ They have been assigned, on various grounds, to different cycles; and it was therefore a matter of considerable interest subsequently to study their metres. T II D 178 II had been assigned to *Huwīdagmān*, T II D 178 III to *Angad Rōšnān*. A detailed study of the length of their lines yielded the following results:

Average length		T II D 178 II	T II D 178 III
First half-line	. .	6.25	5.21
Second half-line	. .	6.15	5.67
Whole line	. . .	12.40	10.88

The average length of the whole lines in each fragment is slightly shorter than that established as the average for each cycle as a whole; but the relative differences between the two fragments are roughly the same as the relative differences between the two cycles. Thus in T II D 178 II the first half-line is a little longer than the second; in T II D 178 III the second half-line is longer by a little more than the first. The first half-line of T II D 178 II is about a syllable longer than the first half-line of T II D 178 III; and the whole line of T II D 178 II is about a syllable and a half longer than the whole line of T II D 178 III. This is an interesting confirmation of the general distinctions discovered between the cycles.

Furthermore, the fragment T II D 178 III, assigned to *Angad Rōšnān*, contains two half-lines with A1-stress. These are as follows:

A.R. VI 2 aa ⁺um [/]dīd ⁺dīdān
 ⁺5 ba [/]ud harw ⁺čihrag

¹ These two fragments have not been included in the material hitherto considered.

The second example is combined with a half-line of five syllables:

5 bb ud yud āwendag

The result is a line of nine syllables, which is of a type peculiar to *Angad Rōšnān*. There is, moreover, a line with C1-stress, which again is a stress-pattern unknown in *Huwīdagmān*:

A.R. VI 1 aa ud kad imīn wāxtum

Thus the metrical distinctions strongly reinforce each other, and confirm the allocation of the two fragments; and this in turn is a valuable confirmation of the soundness of the general scheme of differences between the two cycles.

THE TEXTS

THE TEXTS

MANY of the fragments reproduced below share a common signature, such as T I a or T I D. In his private collection of photographs Professor Henning has sought to differentiate these by numbers or other indications. Thus in his lettering 'T I D (3 p.) a' indicates a fragment which is one of three pieces with the signature T I D mounted together in the Berlin Academy. These additional indications are invaluable for reference, but result in a necessarily clumsy signature. For convenience, therefore, all fragments except those with the signature 'M+ a number' have been given new signatures here, consisting of letters of the alphabet. The fragments with 'M+ a number' are indicated in the text by the number alone. There follows a list of all the fragments here reproduced, under their original signatures (together with any additional indications of Professor Henning's)¹; beside these are set their new signatures (if any); and their allotted positions either within one of the hymn-cycles or within the group of fragments at the end. *H.* = *Huwīdagmān*, *A.R.* = *Angad Rōšnān*, *Fr.* = *Fragment*. Both sets of signatures are in alphabetical (and numerical) order.

In the reproduction of the text the margin carries beside each line the signatures of all the fragments in which that line—or any part of it—is preserved, together with R or V by the signatures to indicate recto or verso page. The text is a highly composite one; but the number of fragments involved has made it impossible always to show, without an over-cumbersome apparatus, in exactly which fragment each word occurs; and even in places where fragments are few it has not seemed necessary to attempt this when the text presents no problems. But wherever interesting words or constructions, unusual spellings, or doubtful readings occur, an effort has been made to show clearly the precise nature of the manuscript evidence.

<i>Original signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>	<i>Original signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
M 88 I	<i>A.R.</i> VI	M 93 I	<i>H.</i> I
89	<i>A.R.</i> VIII	93 II	<i>H.</i> VIc
91	<i>A.R.</i> VI-VII	96	<i>A.R.</i> VI

¹ During the printing the fragments have been renumbered in agreement with Professor Henning and Dr. Lentz; the new numbers have been added in square brackets.

<i>Original signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>	<i>Original signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
M 175	A.R. VI-VII	M 625b	H. I
233 V	H. I	667	A.R. VIIa
256 R	*H. VIIIa	673	A.R. I
256 V	A.R. I	675	A.R. VI
287	A.R. VII	689	*H. VIII
289a	H. VIc	690	A.R. VII
326	A.R. VI	698	Fr. L
439	A.R. VII	774	A.R. VII
449b	Fr. D	780	A.R. I
459a	A.R. VII	815	A.R. Ia
489a	A.R. VII	817	A.R. VII
489b	H. Vb	831	A.R. I
502 α ,b	H. VIb	855 R	*H. VIIIa
502 β ,a	*H. VIII	855 V	A.R. I
503 α ,c	Fr. O	858e	H. V
517	A.R. VII	859	Fr. A
518	A.R. Ia	863	A.R. II
578	A.R. VII	871f	*H. VII
588	*H. VII	889	A.R. I
603	H. I	895a	H. V
620	A.R. VIIa	918a	A.R. VIIa

*Original signature [and new number]*T I α (+M 287) [1223]

1530 I
 1530 II
 1531 I
 1531 II
 1532 I
 1532 II
 1533 I
 1533 II
 1534 I
 1534 II
 1535 I
 1535 II
 1536 I
 1536 II
 1537 I
 1537 II
 1538 I

New signature Assignment

aa A.R. VII
 ad A.R. IV
 ae A.R. IV
 af A.R. IV
 ag A.R. IV
 ah A.R. III
 ai A.R. V
 aj A.R. III
 ak A.R. V
 al A.R. III
 am A.R. V
 an A.R. IIa-III
 ao A.R. V-VI
 ap A.R. IIa
 aq A.R. VI
 ar A.R. IIa
 as A.R. VI
 at A.R. I-IIa

<i>Original signature [and new number]</i>	<i>New signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
T I α 1538 II	au	A.R. VI
1539 I	av	A.R. I
1539 II	aw	A.R. VII
1540 I	ax	A.R. I
1540 II	ay	A.R. VII
1541 I	az	Fr. E
1541 II	ba	Fr. F
1542 I	bb	Fr. G
1542 II	bc	Fr. J
1543	bd	Fr. K
1544	be	*H. IVa
T I D (1 p.) [1838]	bh	A.R. VI
(3 p.) a [1892]	bi	A.R. I
(3 p.) b [1890]	bj	*A.R. Ib
(3 p.) c [1891]	bk	Fr. C
(5 p.) d [1953]	bl	H. VIb
(9 p.) g [2206]	bm	A.R. V-VI
(10 p.) j [2339]	bn	*H. Va
(12 p.) h [2457]	bp	*A.R. IIIa
(12 p.) i [2458]	bq	H. V
8 (11 p.) b [2412]	br	*H. IVa
11 (7 p.) a [2078]	bs	Fr. M
16 (9 p.) c [2220]	bu	H. V
16 (9 p.) g [2224]	bv	H. V
27 (10 p.) e [2306]	by	H. I
T I D 51 (+M 620) [2604]	bz	A.R. VIIa
(+M 780) [2600]	ca	Fr. B
(+T I α , 6p., i) a [1663]	cb	H. I
(+T I α , 6p., i) f [1668]	cd	Fr. P
(+T I α , 6p., ii) e [1673]	cg	*A.R. IIIb
(3 p.) b [2751]	ch	*H. VIII
(5 p.) b [2851]	ck	H. I
(9 p.) b [3121]	cl	H. V
α (2 p.) b [2701]	co	*A.R. IIIb
T II D 52 (+T II D 66, 5 p.) d [4727]	cp	Fr. N
52 (23 p.) a R [4900]	cr	Fr. Q
52 (23 p.) a V [4900]	cs	A.R. I
57 [4970]	ct	H. VIc
66 ^r [5263]	cu	*H. VII
67 (12 p.) a [5350]	cw	H. V
67 (12 p.) j [5359]	cx	A.R. VIII
75 [5503]	db	A.R. VI

<i>Original signature [and new number]</i>	<i>New signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
T II D 77 ² (5 p.) c [5540]	dc	*H. III-IV
79 (1 p.) [5570]	dd	A.R. I
79 (3 p.) a [5586]	de	*A.R. IIIc
79 (3 p.) b [5587]	df	H. I
137 ² [5846]	dg	H. VIb
140 [5930]	dh	A.R. I
167 (10 p.) a [6130]	di	H. I
167 (10 p.) b [6131]	dj	H. I
167 (10 p.) j [6139]	dk	H. VIb
178 I [6220]	dl	H. IVb-V
178 II [6221]	dm	*H. IVa
178 III [6222]	dn	A.R. VI
178 IV [6223]	do	H. VIa
178 VIa [6240]	dp	A.R. VI
178 VIIa [6242]	dq	A.R. VI
178 IXb [6260]	dt	A.R. I
178 IXf [6264]	du	A.R. I
178 IXg [6265]	dv	A.R. VII
178 IXj [6266]	dw	A.R. I
178 β, a [6238]	dx	A.R. I
T II K (5 p.) e [6729]	ea	H. V
T II K 11 (15 p.) n [6943]	ed	A.R. I
T III D 280 [8285]	ee	A.R. VIIa
x [8801]	ef ¹	A.R. VI-VII

The following conventions and abbreviations are used in the reproduction of the texts:

(bcd) = damaged letters, or uncertain readings.

[bcd] = suggested restoration of missing letters.

(. . .) = visible, but illegible letters.

[. . .] = estimated number of missing letters.

[] = a lacuna of undetermined extent. When an entire half-line is missing, this is indicated by a series of dots. . . .

In the translation parentheses are used for explanatory additional words. In the notes H. = Henning, L. = Lentz.

¹ The fragments bh and ef were identified, from among recently acquired material during printing. They are not mentioned in the introduction.

Huwīdagmān I

233 R+V+625b R	nys'r'd hwydgm'n ¹
93 I R	nxwyn hnd'm
93 I V	hwydgm'n
233 V+625b R	1a hwydgm'n cy pd tw frwd'd o u pdgryft tw wcyhyšn ²
233 V+625b R	b šhrd'r kyrbkr ³ o kr ⁴ 'br 'm'h ⁵ 'xšd'gyft ⁶
233 V+625b R	2a [fry]št[g] cy [pydr o] (kr)y(d) gy'n'n drwšt
233 V	b ['w hrwyn dh]yd (š'd)yft [o] 'zgyrwyd 'nd[g] ⁷
233 V	3a [](sys)[]
233 V	b [hw] (d)w z['wr o] ⁸
233 V	4a [bwrz ⁸ 'wd 'by wy](m)nd o pd (h)[w kd'c t'r ny 'st]
	(One verse missing)
625b V	6a [nxšg hrwyn m]'(nys)t'n [o] ['wd 'r'm
625b V	b cy wyš[mnynd pd r]wšn o 'wt drd ny z'n[ynd] ⁹

¹ -m'[n] 625b ² wcyhyšn written at the beginning of 1b in 233, and followed by a dot. In 625b the verses are written in interspaced groups of three lines ³ qyrbq[r] 625b ⁴ qr 625b ⁵ 'm' 233 ⁶ written -gft with two dots under the f in 233; 'x[625b ⁷ H.'s readings, in the light of the Chinese, throughout the verse (see *BSOAS.* xi, p. 218). Two doubtful letters only are preserved on 625b ⁸ H.'s restoration ⁹ H.'s readings and restorations throughout the verse (except for the first two words in 6a); see loc. cit.

Huwīdagmān I

Begun (is) *Huwīdagmān*
First canto of *Huwīdagmān*¹

1 (It was) fortunate for us that through thee we knew
and accepted thy teachings. Beneficent Sovereign,
show mercy to us.²

2 The Envoy of [the Father (?)³] heals spirits, gives joy
[to all], and removes sorrows (?).

3 (*Traces only are legible.*)⁴

4 [Lofty and] limitless, where [Darkness never comes]

...

(*One verse missing*)

6 [All] the monasteries [are magnificent,⁵ and] the . . .
dwelling places. For they are happy [in] the Light and
know no pain.⁶

¹ A complete translation of this canto is preserved in the Chinese *Hymnscroll* (see Henning, *BSOAS*, xi, p. 217). In this the Parthian verses of two lines are rendered by Chinese ones of four, of which the second and fourth rhyme. Sometimes the sense of the original appears to have been altered slightly for the sake of the rhyme. The Chinese is itself obscure, and is considered by Dr. Waley to lack any poetic merit. The whole of this very difficult text was translated by Mr. Tsui Chi (see *BSOAS*, xi, pp. 199–208); and Dr. Waley has most kindly re-examined those verses for which the Parthian is now known. His elucidations are given here (in my words), with the indication (W.).

² Henning's translation (with minor changes); see op. cit., p. 218. The Chinese contains several Buddhist technical terms: i.e. the word rendered by Tsui Chi as 'of superior form' represents Skt. *lakṣaṇa*-; 'clear speeches' represents Skt. *vikalpa*-, and 'deeds' Skt. *karman*- (W.).

³ Before the word for 'Father' the Chinese has a character, *mēng*, usually used as a surname, but occasionally as an adjective meaning 'dark(ened), obscure' (W.). Possibly this adjective renders the idea expressed elsewhere by Pa. *ngwstg* 'hidden' (see Henning, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113 n.1), although to equate *mēng* with *ngwstg* is evidently to force its meaning.

⁴ The word rendered by Tsui Chi as 'worries and afflictions' in 3c represents Skt. *kleśa*- (W.).

⁵ The word translated as 'solemn' by Tsui Chi is a taboo-substitute for one meaning 'adorned, magnificent' (W.).

⁶ Henning's translation (loc. cit.) except for the words supplied. The phrase rendered by Tsui Chi as 'to say . . . is not true' (6d and *passim*) means rather that the situation is one which cannot logically exist. It occurs commonly in the *Nīrvāṇa* and other Sūtras (W.).

- 625b V 7a 'wd hrw ky 'wwd 'dyhyn[d o]
 [']wyštynd y'wyd'n
 625b V b 'wš'[n kd'c ny] trwyd¹
 ny j[xm] u dyjw'r²

625b V 8a [] cy []

(*Ten verses missing*)

- 603 R 18a [pdmwcn cy pdmwynd o]
 [kyc ny] (q)yrđ pd ds(t)
 603 R b [hmyw pw'g 'wd nys'g o]
 ['wd mr]w³ pd hwyn ny 's[t]
 603 R 19a
 'wd nys['g]

(*Two verses missing*)

- 93 I R 22a hwyn pwsg zrgwng o
 y'wyd'n ny wmysy(d)
 93 I R b 'wd 'm(y')st⁴ pd nys'gyft o
 pd 'n's'g gwng
 93 I R 23a gr'nyft 'w[d] 'mb'hg o
 ny 'st pd hwyn (t)[nb'r]⁵
 93 I R b 'wd wyg'n ny 'h'z
 pd hrwyn hnd['m]⁶
 93 I R 24a gr'n xwmr 'br hwyn⁷
 gryw'n ny g[yrwyd]⁶
 93 I R b 'wd xw(mr) d(r)'w'ng⁸ o
 u wdybyšn [pd hwyn ny 'st]⁶

¹ The MS. has no punctuation-point throughout the verse; see loc. cit.

hesitates between *mrw and *mwrw

'm(b)st

⁵ In preference to w[y'g]
 MS. has no punctuation-point

misprint

² H.'s readings and restorations

³ Restoration suggested by H., who

⁴ H.'s new reading in preference to

⁶ H.'s restoration

⁷ The

⁸ sic; dr'wng (BSOAS. xi, p. 218) is a

7 All who enter¹ there, stay for eternity. [Neither] blows nor torture [ever] overcome them.²

8 (*Traces only are legible*)³

(*Ten verses missing*)

18 [The clothes⁴ which they wear none] has made by hand.⁵ [They are ever clean and bright, and] no ants (?) are in them.

19 (*Traces only are legible*)

(*Two verses missing*)

22 Their verdant garlands never fade; they are wreathed brightly, in numberless colours.⁶

23 Heaviness and drooping do not exist in their bodies. Paralysis does not affect any of (their) limbs.⁷

24 Heavy sleep never overtakes their souls. Deceptive dreams and delusions⁸ [are unknown among them].⁹

¹ The Chinese also has 'goes to' (mistranslated as 'lives' by Tsui Chi) (W.). The fourth line of the Chinese verse should be translated 'there is never a case of . . .' (not 'cause for') (W.).

² Henning's translation (loc. cit.).

³ The fourth line of the Chinese should be translated 'to say one person attacks another is not true' (W.).

⁴ The adjective for 'clothes' in the Chinese is *ming* (famous), which throughout the Chinese text is written for *ming* (light) (W.).

⁵ Cf. M 178, 14-18 (see H., *BSOAS*. xii, p. 307).

⁶ Henning's translation (loc. cit.). The literal translation of the Chinese is as follows:

a) The flowery headdresses are halcyon-blue, wonderfully adorned,

b) shining on each other only fresh and never fading or falling,

c) [as Tsui Chi's translation]

d) wonderful colours, inexhaustible, not thinning or diminishing.' (W.)

⁷ Henning's translation (loc. cit.) with minor changes. The word 'paralysis' has been used by Prof. Henning to render Pa. *wygy'n* in 23b; it has no connexion with the incorrect use of the same word by Tsui Chi to translate the Chinese rendering of 23a, which is literally 'Their hands and feet, limbs and joints have no impediment or blocking up' (W.). The last expression has little meaning in the context, and may have been used simply for the rhyme. The terms in 23c translated by Tsui Chi as 'active works of life and death' render Skt. *saṃskṛta-* and *jarāmaraṇa-* (W.).

⁸ The Chinese word translated by Tsui Chi as 'whim' in 24c renders Skt. *viparīta-* 'topsy-turvy; perverse'. The third line of the Chinese verse runs literally 'already no dream-imaginings or delusions' (W.).

⁹ Henning's translation, with minor changes; for *dr'w'ng* see glossary.