

|                             |  |     |
|-----------------------------|--|-----|
| 287 R+774 V+817 R           | 22a 'wd hmg šhrd'ryft <sup>1</sup> o<br>'d hrw 'st'rg br'zysn <sup>2</sup> | [p] |
| 287 R+774 V+817 R           | b y'dyd hwyn 'bn's o<br>'wš'n tng 'nrgypt <sup>3</sup>                     |     |
| 774 V+817 R                 | 23a 'wd hrw 'xšy(n)[d']n o<br>'wd wymnd wstmgb'n <sup>4</sup>              |     |
| 459a R+774 V+817 R<br>+ay R | b pd 'dwr wxš[yndg] o<br>'wd pd dyjw'r y'wyd'n <sup>5</sup>                |     |
| 459a R+578 R+774 V<br>+ay R | 24a 'wd hrw 'wrjwg <sup>6</sup> o<br>'wd dydn wbr'(z)[ "g] <sup>7</sup>    | [p] |
| 459a R+578 R+774 V<br>+ay R | b wydbdynd <sup>8</sup> pd w'[ o]<br>. . . . . . . . .                     |     |
| 459a R+578 R                | 25a 'wd hmg jywchr o<br>cy wysp twxm (u) <sup>9</sup> [bwn] <sup>10</sup>  |     |
| 489a V+578 R                | b 'c tgnbnd wygnynd o<br>u y'dynd 'w 'bn's                                 |     |
| 489a V+578 R                | 26a ['wd hm]g 'wrjwg o<br>zrnyn 'd hrw brhm                                |     |
| 489a V+578 R                | b [.....]dwr o<br>u 'ndyšt <sup>11</sup> bwynd pd hw                       | p   |
| 287 V+489a V+aa V           | 27a [.....] hrw dstygyrd <sup>12</sup> o<br>[ ]nd <sup>13</sup> cy 'wst'd  |     |
| 287 V+489a V+aa V           | b (w)yš'd bwynd hrwyn o<br>[ ]br <sup>14</sup> hwyn 'mbdynd <sup>15</sup>  |     |
| 287 V+aa V                  | 28a [.....] hrwyn wyg'n o<br>cy [ ]  |     |
| 287 V+aa V                  | b [.....]s'd 'sm'n o<br>u [ ]  | [p] |

<sup>1</sup>]ft 287<sup>2</sup> br'zysn with two dots under the š in 774 (the only MS.)<sup>3</sup> So in 774 (the only MS.)<sup>4</sup> Up to 'xšy(n)[ is in 817; from ]n o 'wd is in 774<sup>5</sup> Up to wxš[ is in 459a+817+ay; from ] o 'wd is in 774<sup>6</sup> "wrjwg 774;<sup>7</sup> w(r)[ 459a (the only MSS.)<sup>7</sup> wbr'(z)[ in 774 only<sup>8</sup> wy(d)[ 578;<sup>8</sup> wydb[ ay; ](d)bdynd 774; ]dbdynd 459a<sup>9</sup> The w is clear, but the MS. is<sup>9</sup> torn above, so that if dots existed, they have disappeared. Possibly one should<sup>10</sup> rather read w[.....]; 578 is the only MS.<sup>10</sup> H.'s restoration<sup>11</sup> In<sup>11</sup> 578 only<sup>12</sup> So in 287+aa only<sup>12</sup> The '[ is on 287, from ]nd on<sup>13</sup> 489a only<sup>13</sup> hrwyn o [ is on 287; ]br is on 489a. More than one letter may<sup>14</sup> be missing<sup>14</sup> On 489a only

- 22 The whole dominion, with the brilliance of all the stars  
—ruin will come upon them, and the pang of their  
indignity.<sup>1</sup>
- 23 All the Princes and the border-rebels (will suffer) for  
ever in wretchedness within the blazing fire.
- 24 Every desire and every shining show will dissolve (?)  
through . . .
- 25 The whole of life, from every seed and [stem], will  
swiftly be wrecked and brought to perdition.<sup>2</sup>
- 26 The whole of the lusts, gilded with all (their) charm  
. . . fire, will be heaped upon it.<sup>3</sup>
- 27 . . . each mansion . . . which has been established—  
each will be broken open, and will tumble down upon  
them.
- 28 . . . every injury of . . . heaven and . . .

<sup>1</sup> Or ‘their pangs of indignity’; or ‘the indignity of their pangs’?

<sup>2</sup> Henning’s translation (see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113), except that the restoration (*u*) [*bwn*], proposed by him previously, has been adopted here.

<sup>3</sup> Henning’s translation (*loc. cit.*).

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 287 V+aa V        | 29a [ . . . . ] pt hw rwc o<br>p'(d)[ ]   |
| 287 V+aa V        | b [ . . . . ] 'dr zmyg o<br>bwyd h[ ]   |
| 287 V+aa V        | 30a [ . . . . ] (h)rw dyw'n o<br>hwyn [ ]   |
| 287 V+817 V+aa V  | b [ . . . . ] (t)nng <sup>1</sup> 'dwrynd o<br>'wt [ ] <sup>2</sup> (hw) ['n]jywgyft <sup>3</sup> |
| 287 V+817 V+aa V  | 31a [pt] jfr'n 'ywštg o<br>cy hmg w(s)wbyšn <sup>3</sup>  |
| 287 V+817 V+aa V  | b [p'dy]jfr's <sup>4</sup> wyndynd o<br>pd [d]yjw'r y'wyd"n <sup>3</sup>                          |
| 287 V+817 V       | 32a [ . . . . . . . . . . . . ] dg o<br>'wd [ ] ynd <sup>5</sup> 'w šrg'n                         |
| 287 V+817 V       | b [ . . . . . . . . . . . . ](r) o<br>dy[ ]'drwdg <sup>6</sup>                                    |
| 817 V             | 33a . . . . . . . . . . . .<br>[y]'wyd'n 'by rwšn   |
| 459a V+817 V+ay V | b . . . . . . . . . . . .<br>[dyjw'] (r)yft jywhr <sup>7</sup>                                    |
| 459a V+578 V+ay V | 34a . . . . . . . . . . . .<br>[ . . . . . . . . . . . . t'](r)yg gzng <sup>8</sup>               |
| 459a V+578 V+ay V | b . . . . . . . . . . . .<br>[ . . . . . . . . . . . . dys]m'n rymn <sup>9</sup>                  |
| 459a V+578 V+ay V | 35a [bs](t) <sup>10</sup> bwynd s(')g'n <sup>11</sup> o<br>cy gryw'n mwrdg <sup>12</sup>          |
| 578 V             | b pd mrn dhmq o<br>cy hrwyn sy'wyft   |

<sup>1</sup> So in aa only<sup>2</sup> The length of the gap is uncertain. Possibly no letters are missing between 'wt (287) and (hw) (817)<sup>3</sup> So in 817 only<sup>4</sup> H.'s restoration from 287+aa<sup>5</sup> 'wd[ 287; ]ynd 817<sup>6</sup> So in 817 only;

possibly not a complete word

<sup>7</sup> ](r)yft j[ . . . . r 817; ]ywh[ 459a; ]hr ay<sup>8</sup> ](r)yg gzng[ 459a; ]g 578, ay<sup>9</sup> ]m'n rymn[ 459a; ](m)n 578; rymn ay<sup>10</sup> H.'s restoration from 578 only<sup>11</sup> So in 578 only

578; ]n[ 459a

<sup>12</sup> gryw[ . . . mwrdg

29 . . . upon that day . . . beneath the earth, it will become . . .

30 . . . all the demons, those . . . fiery pangs . . . and . . . that redemption (?)<sup>1</sup>.

31 [In] the troubled deeps where all is anarchy they will find (their) reward in endless wretchedness.

32 . . . and they will . . . to the lions . . . (?)

33 . . . for ever without light<sup>2</sup> . . . a life of wretchedness (?).

34 . . . a dark (?) treasure-house<sup>3</sup> . . . a filthy building (?).

35 The parts of the dead souls will be [fettered]<sup>4</sup> in the tomb of death where all is blackness,

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that [’n]iywgyft ‘redemption’ is a mistake for ’njwgyft ‘anguish’.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Keph.*, p. 106 <sup>14-15</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly hell is here conceived as the ‘treasure-house’ of evil deeds, in contradistinction to Paradise, where good acts are stored up; on the latter conception see G. Widengren, *The great Vohu Manah*, pp. 84-86.

<sup>4</sup> This translation of 35a is Professor Henning’s.

578 V                    36a 'wt hmg w(y) o  
                          cy t'r 'bzw(y)(s)[n .....]  
578 V                    b wxd pdmwcnyd o  
                          pd tnng cy h[ ]

p

(End of the first fragment of the seventh *handām*)

## Angad Rōšnān VIIa

|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 667 R+ee R                  | [hf]twm <sup>1</sup> hnd['m]   |
| 667 V+ee V                  | 'ngd rwš[n'n]  |
| 667 R+ee R                  | ra 'wd bwynd h(y)styg <sup>2</sup> o<br>wnštg u 'mštg <sup>3</sup>                     |
| 667 R+918a R+ee R           | b cy ny scyd kw snynd o<br>'w dysm'n b'[n](n) <sup>4</sup>                             |
| 620 R+667 R+918a R<br>+ee R | 2a qfynd pd jfr'n o<br>x'z'd (b)[w]ynd <sup>5</sup> pd mrn                             |
| 620 R+667 R+918a R<br>+ee R | b 'wt p[dm]wcynd 'w t'r o<br>'w (tnn)g <sup>6</sup> u <sup>7</sup> 'dwr                |
| 620 R+918a R+ee R           | 3a 'wd ms 'xšd'g o<br>(n)[y] wyndynd y'wyd'n   |
| 620 R+918a R                | b 'wd kyc ny 'st o<br>[kyš]n nrh br wš'h-  |
| 620 R+918a R                | 4a 'wd bwynd swgb'ryg [o]<br>(p)[d] hrwyn wnwhg  |
| 620 R+918a R                | b (n)'rynd <sup>8</sup> 'wd 'bxrwsynd o<br>'c b(nd) [y](wyd'n) <sup>9</sup>            |
| 620 R+918a R                | 5a [']wd ny 'st (ky) <sup>10</sup> ng[wš' ? o]<br>[u '] (bxš)'h <sup>11</sup> 'br hwyn |
| 620 R+918a R                | b wsn'd '[ o]<br>[ ] wg'nyšn   |

p

p

<sup>1</sup> The dot over the missing *f* is visible in 667                    <sup>2</sup> So in 667 only; possibly *h(w)styg*                    <sup>3</sup> In ee only                    <sup>4</sup> *dysm*[ 667; ](d)ysm'n b'[n](n) ee                    <sup>5</sup> (b)[ 620+667; ]ynd ee                    <sup>6</sup> So in 620 (the bottom of the letters only visible); ](g) ee                    <sup>7</sup> '[wd] 620                    <sup>8</sup> So in 918a                    <sup>9</sup> [y](wyd'n) with two dots under the *n* in 620 (the only MS.)                    <sup>10</sup> So in 620; (ky) very doubtful, since only the tops of these letters are visible. They may even belong to the same word as the following *ng*                    <sup>11</sup> So in 620

- 36 and (where) all (is) woe of Darkness . . . (?)<sup>1</sup> . . . ; truly  
they<sup>2</sup> will be clad in the distress of . . .

(End of the first fragment of the seventh canto)<sup>3</sup>

## Angad Rōšnān VIIa

### Seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

- 1 They<sup>4</sup> will become the bricks (?) (which are) spoilt and smashed, which are not fit to go up to the keepers of the Building.<sup>5</sup>
- 2 They will fall into the deep and be devoured in death. They will clothe themselves in darkness, distress, and fire.
- 3 They will nevermore find one to pity them. None will open for them the gate of hell.
- 4 They will be seared with sorrow amid all the quakings. They will groan and shriek at (their) bondage for ever.
- 5 There is none who will hear (?) and have mercy upon them, for the sake of . . . destruction.

<sup>1</sup> For 'bzwy(?)[n] see glossary.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. 'the parts of the dead souls'.

<sup>3</sup> For the identification of the verses in *A.R.* VII see above, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly 'they' are the *s'g'n cy gryw'n mwrdg* of *A.R.* VII 35a; in any case, the sinful.

<sup>5</sup> If his reading *hyštyg* is correct, Henning sees in this passage an interesting allusion to the *Pastor Hermae*; and compares M 97a 17–21 (Müller, *Eine Hermas-Stelle*, p. 2; Salemann, *Man. St.*, p. 34).

|                             |   |   |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| 620 R+bz R                  | 6a . . . . . . . . . . . .  |   |
|                             | b [ wdy](ft)gy(f)[t <sup>1</sup> ]bgws(t) <sup>2</sup> bwyd ](s) o                    | p |
| 620 R+bz R                  | b pdgyrwynd p('dyš)nw(h)r   |   |
| bz R                        | 7a . . . . . . . . . . . .  |   |
|                             | b [ hwyn pd jfr   |   |
| bz R                        | b [ ('gr[.]   |   |
|                             | (Three verses missing)  |   |
| 667 V+ee V                  | 11a ['wd] bw' š'dzyrd o<br>pd 'ym rwž 'zg'm   |   |
| 667 V+918a V+ee V           | b [cy] 'bsyst <sup>3</sup> ywbhr o<br>u hrwyn tw 'wdjn <sup>4</sup>                   |   |
| 667 V+918a V+ee V           | 12a 'wd byh (')[wz]yh'h <sup>5</sup> o<br>'c 'ym dbgryy <sup>6</sup>                  |   |
| 620 V+667 V+918a V<br>+ee V | b cy kyrd '(y)y tnd <sup>7</sup> pd tnng o<br>pd mrn (dy)jw'ryft <sup>8</sup>         | p |
| 620 V+918a V                | 13a 'wt nhxt 'yy '[w] <sup>9</sup> jfr o<br>cy hrwyn 'swb                             |   |
| 620 V+918a V                | b 'wt kyrd 'yy [wrd]g <sup>10</sup> o<br>pd hrwyn wy'g'n                              |   |
| 620 V+918a V                | 14a 'wt 'gwst ('yy) o<br>pd hrwyn "jwn  |   |
| 620 V+918a V                | b u <sup>11</sup> bwd ('y)y wygndg o<br>pd hrwyn šhryst <sup>12</sup> n <sup>12</sup> | p |
| 620 V+918a V                | 15a frhyd kyrd (t)[ o]<br>[ ](dys)'d 'skrfy[šn] <sup>13</sup>                         |   |
| 620 V+918a V                | b 'wt wyg[ o]<br>[ ] u dysm'n   |   |

<sup>1</sup> H.'s restoration from bz; the first (ft) is very doubtful  
the letters are very cramped, and the reading of the t is doubtful

<sup>2</sup> So in 620;

<sup>3</sup> In 667+918a

<sup>3</sup> So in ee;

<sup>4</sup> In 667+918a

<sup>5</sup> H.'s restoration; byh '[ ee; ]yh'h 667

<sup>6</sup> sic (clearly) in 918a only

<sup>6</sup> Written dyjw'ryft with

<sup>7</sup> In 620 only

<sup>7</sup> So in 620;

<sup>8</sup> Written dyjw'ryft with

two dots instead of one over the f in 918a (the only MS.)

<sup>8</sup> So in 620;

there is hardly room to restore '[c]

<sup>9</sup> So in 620;

after two small punctuation points at the end of 14a in 918a

<sup>10</sup> So in 620;

918a

<sup>11</sup> u written

[ 620; ]skrfy[ 918a

<sup>12</sup> So in

6 . . . deception (?) will be laid bare . . . they will receive  
(their) reward.

7 . . . those in the abyss . . .

*(Three verses missing)*

- 11 Be glad of heart on this day of departing, [for] sickness  
is ended, and all thy rigours.
- 12 And thou shalt go forth out of this deceiver,<sup>1</sup> which  
has made thee faint through distress and the agony of  
death.
- 13 Thou wast held back within the abyss, where all is  
turmoil; thou wast made captive (?) in every place.
- 14 Thou wast suspended amid all rebirths. Thou hast  
suffered ravage amid all cities.
- 15 Many were made . . . stumbling, and destruction (?)  
[to the] . . . and structure.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the body (cf. *A.R.* I 3b; VIII 14a).

620 V+bz V      16a 'wt bw[d']yy wm[.] (g)[o]

620 V+bz V      b cy b(w)t<sup>1</sup> 'yy pd dyjw[r] o

P

bz V      17a 'c 'y(d fr)[c o]

bz V      b [..]h[ o]

. . . . . . . . . .

(End of this fragment of the seventh *handām*)

## Angad Rōśnān VIII

89 R      hštwm hnd'm  
89 V      'ngd rwšn'n89 R      1a 'wd pdyzb(')d 'c (m)n o  
hw cmg (s)[..](n)yn<sup>2</sup>89 R      b (ky)<sup>3</sup> pd wysp zmbg o  
'w 'skrfyš(n) nhxt hym89 R      2a 'wd bwxt mn gryw o  
'c hrwyn (')st[']r<sup>4</sup>89 R      b (ky)<sup>3</sup> wysp rwc'n o  
'w 'njwgyft (c)[yd] (n)[ydrynj']d<sup>5</sup>

P

89 R      3a 'wd 'zgrysp'd 'c mn o  
hw t'ryg t(ft)<sup>6</sup> [t]n(g)89 R+cx R      b ky 'c hs pd nwx o  
wrd kyrd (hym)<sup>7</sup> (pd) [....](nd)89 R+cx R      4a 'wd pdm[w]xt hym pdmwcn o  
cy rw[šn ]89 R+cx R      b 'wd fr'mwxt 'c mn o  
wysp gw(n)[g ....]

P

<sup>1</sup> So in 620+bz; the middle letter is very doubtful, and may even be a very cramped *s*      <sup>2</sup> *s* very doubtful; almost certainly not (*s*)[*hm*]yn, since the upper line of the *m* should then show      <sup>3</sup> Or (*kw*)      <sup>4</sup> H.'s reading  
<sup>5</sup> H.'s restoration; the (*n*) is doubtful; possibly the first part of a *b*, or *m*      <sup>6</sup> (*ft*)  
doubtful; possibly (*s*)      <sup>7</sup> The *h* almost certain; *ym* very doubtful

16 Thou wast . . . for thou wast (?) in affliction . . .

17 Hence! [spirit, come!] . . .

(End of this fragment of the seventh canto)<sup>1</sup>

## Angad Rāšnān VIII

### Eighth canto of *Angad Rāšnān*

- 1 The . . . current is deflected (?) from me, which dragged me down in stumbling during many a fray.
- 2 My soul is saved from all the sins which day by day [oppressed] (me) [ever] in anguish.
- 3 The dark, hot (?) distress is taken from me which at the outset, in the beginning, made me captive in . . .
- 4 I am clothed with a garment of Light . . . Every kind of . . . is taken off from me.

<sup>1</sup> For the identification of the verses in *A.R.* VIIa see above, p. 27.

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 89 R+cx R | 5a 'wd wydrd <sup>1</sup> hym hwyn tnb'r o<br>drd 'wd (?)[nj](w)g[yft] <sup>2</sup> |
| 89 R+cx R | b 'wd hrwyn (n.)hg <sup>3</sup> o<br>dwr bwd 'hynd 'c [mn]                          |
| 89 R      | 6a 'wd wyn'[r'd] (u) (hwfr)y'd'd 'hym <sup>4</sup> o<br>mn gy'n bwj['](g)[r]        |
| 89 R      | b pd z'wr '[.....] (o)<br>(cy) ny '(nd)r(x)s'd y'wyd'[n] [p]                        |
| 89 R      | 7a [ ky]š(fr) pr (o) <sup>5</sup><br>(k)d 'g(w)št <sup>6</sup> [ ]                  |
| 89 R      | b [ ] o<br>· · · · · · · ·  |
|           | <i>(Three verses missing)</i>   |
| 89 V      | 11a 'wd 'zwrtynd o<br>dyw'n h'mcyhrq  |
| 89 V      | b pd hrw zynd'n o<br>'wd mr(n) 'zwrddyšn  |
| 89 V      | 12a 'wm dyd kw bwd t'ryg o<br>'wd rwšn 'ndr ny 'st                                  |
| 89 V      | b (dw)rc(y)hr <sup>7</sup> pd dydn o<br>'wd syzdyn pd cyhrg p                       |
| 89 V      | 13a [']wd (w)'xt ('w) mn bwj'gr o<br>gy'n wyn'h nyd'(m)g                            |
| 89 V+cx V | b (cy w)z'd <sup>8</sup> pt jfr o<br>pd 'bn's [u 'jsp'w                             |
| 89 V+cx V | 14a [']wd <sup>9</sup> wxd bwd ('w) tw o<br>h'mgyh <sup>10</sup> dbgr               |
| 89 V+cx V | b ('wd) tnng zynd'n o<br>pd hrwyn dwjx p  |

<sup>1</sup> So in 89; *wydr*[ cx<sup>2</sup> In 89 only<sup>3</sup> In 89 only; the first (verydoubtful) letters are blurred; they appear to be joined to the *h* at the base<sup>4</sup> This half-line is unusually long, but the above restoration fits the traces. The full line is matched in length by A.R. VI 56b<sup>5</sup> ]š pd pr (oo).

The word-division is doubtful, as frequently in this MS. The above reading is H.'s

<sup>6</sup> Or 'g(y)št<sup>7</sup> H.'s reading<sup>8</sup> In 89 only<sup>9</sup> Or possibly [cy]<sup>10</sup> In 89 only

- 5 I am passed beyond the pain and anguish of their bodies.<sup>1</sup> Every . . . (?) has become remote from [me].
- 6 I am arrayed and succoured by the Saviour of my spirit, through the . . . power, which never was constricted.
- 7 . . . beyond (?) the continent (?) . . . when . . . hidden (?) . . .

(*Three verses missing*)

- 11 Those who are of the same shape<sup>2</sup> as the demons will pass again through all the prisons and the cycle of death.
- 12 I saw that it<sup>3</sup> became dark, and there is no light therein; hideous in appearance and overpowering in form.
- 13 The Saviour said to me: Spirit! behold the husk<sup>4</sup> (thou hast) abandoned in the deep in terror [and] destruction.
- 14 Truly for thee it was a deceptive partner, a distressful prison in every hell.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *A.R.* I 3b.

<sup>2</sup> *h'mcyhrg* has latterly been translated by Henning as 'homomorphic' (see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 112 n. 1). Puech, while accepting this, has pointed out that the general gnostic tradition tempts one rather to translate 'consubstantial' (see *Le Manichéisme*, 1949, p. 155 n. 275). The present passage strongly supports the rendering 'homomorphic', however; the reference is presumably to sinners who have sunk below the level of man, and are reincarnated among the creatures whose forms pre-existed in hell. [cf. now Henning, *Asia Major*, III ii, p. 194 n. 54.]

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the abandoned body.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M 4 b 22.

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|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 89 V+cx V | 15a [’wd] <sup>1</sup> wxd b(w)d ’w tw o<br>mrn ’šwbgr <sup>2</sup> |
| 89 V+cx V | b (cy) [bryd] <sup>3</sup> tw gryw o<br>’c jywchr y’wyd’n           |
| 89 V      | 16a [’wd] <sup>1</sup> wxd bwd ’w tw o<br>’skrfyšn šybḥ             |
| 89 V      | b [cy] (hm)g t(r)s krm o<br>’wd ws ywbhr                            |
| 89 V      | 17a [ ](d)[...] o<br>nrḥ [h]rwyn h[....]                            |
| 89 V      | b . . . . . . . .<br>(’njw(gyf)[t ])                                |

[p]

(End of this fragment of the eighth *handām*)<sup>1</sup> Or possibly [cy]<sup>2</sup> So in 89; ]šwbgr cx<sup>3</sup> H.’s restoration

15 Truly for thee it was an unruly death, which  
[severed] thy soul from life for ever.

16 Truly for thee it was a path of stumbling [which] was  
wholly deeds of dread, and much sickness.

17 . . . the hell of every . . . anguish . . .

(End of this fragment of the eighth canto)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the identification of the verses in *A.R.* VIII see above, p. 27.

## FRAGMENTS

### A (= 859)<sup>1</sup>

|      |     |                                    |
|------|-----|------------------------------------|
| R(?) | 1a  | ]o 'njw[gyft 'wd] dyjw['r]         |
|      | b   | ]o 'ngwn 'ndr ny 'st               |
|      | 2a  | ]o 'wd zmbwdyg dyjw['r]            |
|      | b   | ]o 'wd hw tnng [ ]                 |
|      | 3a  | ](g ')[                            |
| V(?) | 11b | (ky) [...]yw [.](gd)[....](z)'r o[ |
|      | 12a | [....]yd (')[w] wy('g) wy('g)[o    |
|      | b   | [ ](.tg o[                         |

### B (= ca)<sup>1</sup>

|      |     |                           |
|------|-----|---------------------------|
| R(?) | 1a  | ]o 'wd gy[']n[            |
|      | b   | ]d 'c hrw o[              |
|      | 2a  | jy]whr o[                 |
| V(?) | 11a | ](..)[o](....)yd kw ('g)[ |
|      | b   | ']wd zrhg (m)['sy'g'n]    |
|      | 12a | ](.)'d[                   |
|      | b   | ]h[                       |

### C (= bk)<sup>1</sup>

|      |     |  |
|------|-----|--|
| R(?) | 1a  | ]m <sup>2</sup> fr'mwx <sub>t</sub> o[ |
|      | b   | ] (xt) <sup>3</sup> 'c[                |
| V(?) | 11a | ]s (o 'w)yš(t)[                        |

<sup>1</sup> This fragment is from the MS. represented by M 603, M 780, and other fragments, which contained both hymn-cycles      <sup>2</sup> sic      <sup>3</sup> Only the tops of the letters are visible

## D (= 449b)

|      |     |                            |
|------|-----|----------------------------|
| R(?) | 1a  | ] cy hrwyn d'm[d'd'n]      |
|      | b   | o 'w]d 'yw 'w 'yw wyg'nynd |
|      | 2a  | mr]dwhm'n tnb"r            |
|      | b   | ] (y)'dynd 'w 'bn's        |
| V(?) | 11a | [...] wxšyd hw (')[dwr     |
|      | b   | pd gy'n'n 'byj(')[         |
|      | 12a | hw ('st wy'g b[            |
|      | b   | 'wd š(h)r t'ryg[           |

E (= az)<sup>1</sup>

|   |    |      |   |     |           |
|---|----|------|---|-----|-----------|
| R | 1b | wyš[ | v | 11b | ] 'w hwyn |
|   | 2a | 's[  |   | 12a | ] 'n      |
|   | b  | 'w[  |   | b   | ] 'n      |

## F (= ba)

|   |    |          |   |     |                        |
|---|----|----------|---|-----|------------------------|
| R | 1b | 'wd pd [ | v | 11b | ] m'nynd('n)           |
|   | 2a | r(s)[    |   | 12a | ] (gy)r'n <sup>2</sup> |
|   | b  | '(.)[    |   | b   | ] (.t                  |

## G (= bb)

|   |    |        |   |     |           |
|---|----|--------|---|-----|-----------|
| R | 1b | 'wd [  | v | 11b | ] (')bn's |
|   | 2a | cy h[  |   | 12a | ] nynd    |
|   | b  | wx(s)[ |   | b   | ] šn      |

<sup>1</sup> Fragments E-K are from the MS. represented by T I a 1530-40, which contained verses from both hymn-cycles      <sup>2</sup> The top-stroke only of (g?) is visible

## J (= bc)

|   |             |   |     |            |
|---|-------------|---|-----|------------|
| R | 1b 'wd (h)[ | V | 11b | ] cy 'zg'm |
|   | 2a 'wd (.)[ |   | 12a | ] 'ydw'ynd |
|   | b cy [      |   | b   | ] (nd)     |

## K (= bd)

|   |            |   |     |            |
|---|------------|---|-----|------------|
| R | 1b wyš(')[ | V | 11b | ] (')(bn's |
|   | 2a 'wd w[  |   | 12a | 'w]jy'n    |
|   | b 'w[      |   | b   | ] tnng     |

## L (= 698)

|      |                |                    |  |  |
|------|----------------|--------------------|--|--|
| R(?) | 1a 'wd qr[     |                    |  |  |
|      | b kw byd rwš[n |                    |  |  |
| V(?) | 11a            | ]yn phrg 'stftyft  |  |  |
|      | b              | h](r)w zwnws 'bn's |  |  |

## M (= bs)

|      |                                    |       |                      |
|------|------------------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| R(?) | 1a ] (')(w(d) hrwyn (w)[           | V (?) | 11a ] ('y)myn hrwy[n |
|      | b ] (')(wd hwynd 'nd[ <sup>1</sup> |       | b ] ('z)wrdyšn       |
|      |                                    |       | wymn[d               |
|      |                                    |       |                      |
| 2a   | ] qwf'n ph[                        | 12a   | ]wyn wymnd[          |
| b    | ] bnd 'wd d(yj)[w'r                |       | b ](t)'b 'wd zmbg[   |
| 3a   | ] (h)wyn jfr'[n                    | 13a   | ] (h)rwyn zynd'[n    |
| b    | ] (')(wd 'st[                      |       | b ] 'bš'(m)[g        |

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly *hwynd'nd*[ (a single word); the letters are clear

## N (= cp)

|      |    |                         |                                       |       |     |        |  |       |       |
|------|----|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|-----|--------|--|-------|-------|
| R(?) | 1a | ](w)[                   | ]d w(.)[                              | V (?) | 11a | ]<br>b | m(n)[  | ]     | m(n)[ |
|      | b  | ]<br>m(n)[              | ]'c (h)[                              |       |     |        | ]  | h(w)[ |       |
|      | 2a | ]<br>'strb'd o d'mg [   |                                       |       | 12a | ]<br>b | (r)nj bwd o 'c<br>]  | hrw[  |       |
|      | b  | ]<br>d 'hynd o hrw w'   |                                       |       |     | b      | ]<br>ft 'c mn o hw<br>gr(.)[   |       |       |
|      | 3a | ](w) o 'w hrwyn '[<br>b | ]<br>](n) o k(y pd) ['n]j(w)<br>[gyft |       | 13a | ]<br>b | 'c mn o hw (c)[<br>]<br>](.)[..](rg) <sup>2</sup> [o]<br>m(n) <sup>3</sup> [ |       |       |

O (= 503<sup>a</sup>, c)

|      |     |   |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |
|------|-----|---|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| R(?) | 1a  | ](.w)d o 'wd ('d)w(r) [<br>b                | ]<br>](.)m'dn o 'wd w'st 'w                  |   |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | 2a  | ]<br>(b)zkr o ('nd)rxtg'[n                  | ](m)[<br>b                                   | ]<br>g'n o kw r[w](s)n (ny) <sup>4</sup> n[ |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | 3a  | ](sp.)[..](.)[<br>b                         | ]<br>](.)[                                   | ]<br>](n)yrd (h)[<br>]<br>](')wd t'(r) (.)[ |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | 4a  |   |  | ]<br>(t)[                                   |  |  |  |  |  |
| V(?) | 11a |   | ]<br>b                                       | 'yw by](d)'n 'sp'wynd o 'w[d                |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | 12a | ]<br>(')w[..](q)yrdg'n o 'wd mr(d)[whm<br>b | ]<br>]wm (kw )s(pw)hynd <sup>4</sup> o 'wd [ |   |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | 13a | ]<br>b                                      | dysm['n<br>]<br>]d y'dy d o wy(g)[nyd        | ]<br>r[']m kw [<br>]<br>]b(')[              |  |  |  |  |  |

<sup>1</sup> The right-hand side of the letter only is visible      <sup>2</sup> The top of *g* (or just possibly *t*) only is visible, with a dot showing above the letter which preceded it  
<sup>3</sup> The *m* is certain, a final *n* almost so. These two letters prevent an identification of N<sub>13</sub> with *A.R.* VIII 1      <sup>4</sup> Reading suggested by H.; 2b and 12b are both affected by a small tear in the paper

P (= cd)<sup>1</sup>

R(?) 1a ]'d 'br (h)wyn o kw (w)yssp pd (hw)y(n š)'d<sup>2</sup>  
 b ](n)d (pd hrw) b[nd o] (u) gryspynd pd dyjw'r

2a ] 'skrfyyšn<sup>3</sup> 'wt  
 b ]yn o u 'w nr(h) y'dynd

V(?) 11a 'wt bwyd prmwsyšn o 'br [  
 b 'wt t'r pry'by[d o] 'w hrw[

12a 'wd w'd hw'rm(y)[n  
 b ('gws(t b)wyd '(ndr)[

Q (= cr)<sup>4</sup>

R 1a ]yn wymnd  
 b ](...) p

<sup>1</sup> A fragment from the bottom of a page. The order of the pages is probably that given here      <sup>2</sup> Reading suggested by H.      <sup>3</sup> Written 'sxrpypyšn

<sup>4</sup> The verso of this fragment may contain the opening words of *Angad Rōšnān*; see above, p. 29. The letters on its recto page are found also on *M* 12a, but possibly not at the end of the line. They are in any case common (cf. *H.* Vb 1a), and no identification would be possible without more evidence

## ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPTS

A LIST is here appended of the fifteen handām manuscripts which are represented by more than one fragment. Those given in group I are known to have contained both hymn-cycles. A (*p.*) after a signature indicates a manuscript in which the letter *p.* appears in the outer margins; an asterisk marks one for which the outer margins are lacking in all extant fragments; and an unadorned signature shows a manuscript in which the device of the *p.* was definitely not used.

### I

**A:** 603, 780, 831, 859, T I D (3 p.)b [1890], c [1891], a [1892], T I D 51 [2600], T II D 140 [5930]—**B:** the eleven fragments with the signature T II D 178—**C (p.):** 93, 175, 289a, 489a, 675, 689, 774, 858e, T II D 167 (10 p.)a [6130], b [6131], j [6139], T III D 280 [8285]—**D\*:** T I D (9 p.)g [2206], T I D (10 p.)j [2339], T I D 27 (10 p.)e [2306]—**E\*:** 287, 855, T I a [1223]—**F\*:** T I a (15 p.) [1530–1544]; T I D (12 p.)i [2458].

[Note: In addition, the single fragment M 256 contains verses from both hymn-cycles.]

### II

**G (p.):** 620, 667, 918a, T I D 51 [2604]—**J:** 895a, T I D 11 (7 p.)a [2078], T I D 16 (9 p.)c [2220] and g [2224], T I D 51 [9 p.]b [3121]—**K\*:** 517, 863, T II D 77<sup>2</sup> (5 p.)c [5540], T II D 79 (1 p.) [5570]—**L (p.):** 88 I, 91—**M (p.):** 96, 578—**N\*:** 459a, 817—**O\*:** 439, 690—**P\*:** 889, T I D 8 (11 p.)b [2412]—**Q\*:** 449b, 503a,c.

This list contains eighty fragments. Altogether, one hundred and fourteen fragments are reproduced in this edition of the texts, over forty manuscripts being represented.

## GLOSSARY

[NOTE: Parthian words from the hymn-cycles only are given in the glossary. They are cited with the title of the hymn-cycle (abbreviated to *H.* or *A.R.*) and the number of the canto (in Roman numerals) to which they belong; or with the signature of a fragment in italic capital letters. Variations in spelling are given only in exceptional cases, and very doubtful readings have usually been omitted. The following abbreviations are used: *rest.* for restored; *H.* for Henning; *List* for Henning, 'A List of Middle-Persian and Parthian words', *BSOS.* ix, pp. 79–92.]

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>         "drwdg ? (perhaps incomplete)<br/> <i>A.R.</i> VII 32b.<br/>         "dwryñ see 'dwryñ.<br/>         "gs see 'gs.<br/>         "jvn see 'jvn.<br/>         "jy- see 'jy-.<br/>         "r'm see 'r'm.<br/>         "rg 'side' <i>A.R.</i> I 14a, 21a, 25b.<br/>         "s- see 's-.<br/>         "šwb see 'šwb.<br/>         "šyft see 'šyft.<br/>         "wðyn 'such, so much' <i>H.</i> VI title<br/>             (see above, p. 94 n. 1).<br/>         "wrjwg see 'wrjwg.<br/>         "wyndq 'equal' (<i>H.</i>, as = <i>h'w(y)nd</i><br/>             rather than 'wynd), see <i>ywd</i><br/>             "wyndq.<br/>         "ywštg see 'ywštg.<br/>         "ywz see 'ywz.<br/>         "z'd see 'z'd.<br/>         'b 'water' <i>H.</i> Va 12a; <i>A.R.</i> I 25b.<br/>         'bd'b 'sunshine' <i>A.R.</i> VII 11a, 12b.<br/>         'bd'c- pr. st. 'set free' <i>H.</i> IVa 5a<br/>             (<i>rest.</i>); <i>A.R.</i> VI 43b; imp. sg. with<br/>             suff. sg. i 'bd'cwm <i>A.R.</i> I 4b;<br/>             opt. 'bd'cyndyy <i>A.R.</i> IIIb 12a.<br/>         'bdn see 'pdn.<br/>         'bdys- pr. st. 'show' <i>H.</i> VIII 2a;<br/>             <i>A.R.</i> VII 16a.<br/>         'bg'm 'torment' (see <i>List</i>) <i>H.</i> VIII<br/>             11b.<br/>         'bgwst pt. 'uncover' <i>H.</i> VII 10a;<br/>             <i>A.R.</i> VIIa 6a (<i>rest.</i>); pr. st.<br/>             'bgwnd- <i>H.</i> VIc 21a; <i>A.R.</i> VI 61b.<br/>         'bgws[tg] 'revealed' <i>H.</i> I 53a.       </p> | <p>         'bj'm- pr. st. 'torture' (see <i>List</i>)<br/> <i>A.R.</i> I 3b.<br/>         [']bj'mg 'torturing' <i>A.R.</i> I 48b.<br/>         'bn's 'ruin, perdition' <i>H.</i> IVa 8b;<br/>             IVb 1b, 2b; V 1a; <i>A.R.</i> I 30a;<br/>             VI 43a; VII 4a, 14b, 19a, 21a,<br/>             22b, 25b; VIII 13b; <i>D</i> 2b;<br/>             <i>G</i> 11b; <i>K</i> 11b; <i>L</i> 11b.<br/>         'bnft pt. 'flee away' <i>A.R.</i> VI 5a;<br/>             VII 1b.<br/>         'bns- pr. st. 'be destroyed' <i>A.R.</i> VII<br/>             20a.<br/>         'br<sup>1</sup> prep. 'upon, over' (of place) <i>H.</i><br/>             I 48a, 49b; IVb 1a; VIc 10a, &amp;c.;<br/>             'for, on account of' <i>H.</i> IVa 6a;<br/>             VIc 14a; <i>A.R.</i> VII 3b, 14a;<br/>             VIIa 5a, &amp;c.<br/>         'br<sup>2</sup> adj. 'higher, upper' (<i>H.</i>, from<br/>             Av. <i>upara-</i>) <i>A.R.</i> VI 61b; as adv.<br/>             'upwards, above' (with 'c) <i>H.</i><br/>             VIc 1b; VIII 2b.<br/>         'br'stg 'lifted up' <i>A.R.</i> I 24a.<br/>         'bryñ 'upper' <i>A.R.</i> VI 54b.<br/>         'bsyst pt. 'be finished, end' <i>A.R.</i><br/>             Ia 8a (<i>rest.</i>); VII 2a; VIIa 11b.<br/>         'bš'mg 'swallowing' (Av. <i>šam-</i>; cf.<br/>             Pers. <i>āšāmīdan</i>) <i>M</i> 13b (<i>rest.</i>); pl.<br/>             <i>H.</i> IVa 10a.<br/>         'bxrws- pr. st. 'cry out, shriek'<br/>             <i>H.</i> Va 1a, 2a (<i>rest.</i>); <i>A.R.</i> I 11b,<br/>             29b; VIIa 4b.<br/>         'bxš'h- pr. st. 'have mercy (on)'<br/>             <i>A.R.</i> VIIa 5a (<i>rest.</i>).<br/>         'bxvn 'call, cry' (see <i>List</i>) <i>A.R.</i> I<br/>             23b.       </p> |
|--|--|

- 'by* 'without' *H.* IVa 3b; V 9a; VIc 3b; *A.R.* IIIC 3a; VI 66b; VII 6a, 33a.
- 'by'b* 'waterless' *H.* V 5a.
- 'by'd* 'memory'; *'by'd kr-* 'remember' *A.R.* VII 17a.
- 'bzwy(§)[n]* ? [found recently in parallelism with *nfryn-*, hence = 'malediction', comparable with Av. *zava-* (+ *abi/apa*), Arm. *nzov-*. *H.*] *A.R.* VII 36a.
- 'c, 'z* prep. 'from' (of place or thing) *H.* IVa 1a, 3a, 5a, 5b, 6a &c.; *'br 'c* 'high over . . .' *H.* VIc 1b; VIII 12b; 'at, on, in' (of place) *A.R.* I 14a, 21a, 22a, 25b; Ia 4b; *'c 'ndr* 'within' *H.* Va 11a; *A.R.* I 11a, 28b; 'at, in' (of time) *A.R.* VI 55a (*'z nwx* 'in the beginning'); VIII 3b (*'c hs*, the same); VII 5b (*'c hs 'wd 'c nwx*); 'at, by means of' (agent or instrument) *H.* VIc 14b, 20a; *A.R.* I 16a; VIIa 4b; 'by, in' (manner) *A.R.* Ia 4b (*'c hrwyn brhm* 'in every way'); VII 18b and 25b (*'c tgnbnd* 'swiftly')—*'c kw* 'whereby' *A.R.* VI 49b.
- 'd* prep. 'with' *H.* VIc 15a; VIII 1a; *A.R.* I 29a; VI 2b, 7a, 71a (rest.), 73b; VII 7b, 20a, 22a, 26a.
- 'dr* prep. 'below, under' *A.R.* VII 29b.
- 'dryy* adv. 'below, beneath' *A.R.* Ia 3a.
- 'dw̄r* 'fire' *H.* VIb 21b; *A.R.* I 14b; II 1a; IIIb 12b; VI 38b; VII 19a, 23b, 26b (rest.); VIIa 2b; O 1a.
- 'dwryñ*, *"dwryñ* 'fiery' *A.R.* I 19a; VII 2b, 30b.
- 'dy'wr* 'helper, friend' *H.* V 2b; pl. *H.* V 11a (rest.); VIc 12a.
- 'dyh-* pr. st. 'enter' *H.* I 7a; VIIa 2a.
- 'dyhynd* 'one who enters' pl. *H.* V 4b; Va 12b.
- 'frydg* 'blessed' *A.R.* VI 67b.
- 'g* 'if' *H.* IVa 6a.
- 'g'm* adv. 'willingly' (H.; see above, p. 87 n. 1) *H.* V 1a.
- 'gd* pt. 'come' *H.* VII 11a; *A.R.* VI 64a.
- 'gs, "gs* 'apparent, visible' *A.R.* I 16b; VI 56b, 61a, 62a.
- 'gwst* pt. 'hang up' *A.R.* VIIa 14a; *P* 12b.
- 'g(w)st* pt. 'hide' (*ā+gauz-*) *A.R.* VIII 7a (but reading doubtful).
- 'h-* pr. st. 'be'
- pret.* (?) *'h'z* *H.* I 23b (in usage apparently parallel with *'st*); *A.R.* I 30a; as auxil. verb, with *ppp*, *A.R.* VII 1b.
- pres. sg. 3 'st* *H.* I 23a, 32b, 33b, 34a, 49a, 62a, 63a; III 3b, 4b; IVa 2b, 5b; IVb 2b, &c.
- pres. sg. 2 'yy* *H.* VIa 1b; *A.R.* VI 9a, 50b, 51a, 63a; as auxil. verb *H.* VIa 8b; *A.R.* VI 45a, 55a, 55b, &c.
- pres. sg. 1 'hym, hym* *H.* VIa 2b; *A.R.* I 20a; VI 8b, 10a, &c.; as auxil. verb *A.R.* I 15b, 18b (twice); Ib 13a; VIII 1b, 4a, 5a, 6a.
- pres. pl. 3 'hynd* *H.* I 51a; IVa 1b; as auxil. verb *A.R.* I 15a, 27b (variant), 28a; Ia 13b, 14a, &c.
- 'hr's'd* pt. 'frighten' *H.* VIa 3b (rest.), 8b; *A.R.* VI 9b.
- [*]hr'sg* 'one who frightens' *H.* VII 19a.
- 'hrmyñ* 'Ahrmen; the devil' *H.* Va 1b.
- 'hrywwr* 'pool of destruction' (see Bailey, *BSOS.* vii, pp. 295–6; and *Mir. Man.* iii, glossary s.v.) *H.* VIa 7b.
- 'hxt* pt. 'draw out' *A.R.* Ia 14b.
- 'jwn, "jwn* 'rebirth' *H.* IVa 5a, 9a; *A.R.* III 50a; VII 8a; VIIa 14a.
- 'jy-, "jy-* pr. st. 'be reborn' *A.R.* VII 9a.
- 'm'h, 'm* 'we, us' *H.* I 1b.