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H. V 6 bb tang čē dōžax
Hic 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 axšādīfīt
H. V 3 ab dīgd andar nē ast
D 3 / + + + /
A.R. VIII 13 ab gyān wēnāh nidāmag
H. V 9 ab žad bawēnd pad žafūn
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 ʾastūnān
29 aa ud nāwāzān
VI 51 ba ud murgārīd
63 ab čē burzwār
VIIa 14 aa ud āgust aʿi
VIII 11 aa ud ʿezwartēnd

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 Huwīdāgmān; 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.
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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 aj man widārāh
+ + / + + / + + / + + / + + /
(A 6)

VI
43 a  az au tau bóžān o aj harwīn abnās
+ + / + + / + + / + + / + + /
(A 2)

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

Vlc
11 b  čē pad hau padmōjēd šādīft o ud šāhṛdīft
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); Vlc 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. I a
2  ud winawād harw kārm o ud axtarān āyušt
+ + / + + / + + / + + / + + /
ud harw astārag o "xēbē čamag waxrēd
+ + / + + /

VII
13  mas āsāh tū gyān o ud mā bawāh frēh
+ + / + + / + + / + + / + + /
žāmanīn āšmār o ud kambīg rōjān

VII
35  [bas]t(b) bawēnd sāgān o čē grīwān murdagh
+ + / + + / + + / + + / + + /
pad maran dahmag o čē harwīn syāwīft
+ + / + + / + + / + + /

VIIa
11  [ud] bawāh šādżīrd o pad im rōţ əzgām
+ + / + + / + + / + + /
[čē] ābīst yōbahr o ud harwīn tau audaţān

H. Vlc
1  az pad zōš əstānān o ud fraważān pad bāzur
+ + / + + / + + / + + /
abar aj harw zāwarān o ud axtsēndīn 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: \( A.R. \) I 29; VIII 14.
Ten \( , \) A.R. VI 54, 63; VII 13.
Eleven \( , \) A.R. VI 51, 57; VII 5, 14, 17; H. V 3.
Twelve \( , \) A.R. I 24; VI 64, 66; VII 21; VIIa 1; H. 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 Huwidagmān 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
A.R. \text{ VII 3 a } & \, \text{āsāh tū gyān o ud fạ́j čāmāh} \quad 4+4 = 8 \\
& \quad \text{b} \quad \text{ud mā bawāh āwarjog o abar kadag diżwāfīft} \quad 7+7 = 14
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
A.R. \text{ VI 56a } & \, \text{ud pad tau bast dēdēm o au harwūn dušmanīn} \quad 6+6 = 12 \\
& \quad \text{b} \quad \text{ud būd āgas ud padixsahād o pad žamanīn axšēndift} \quad 9+7 = 16 \\
67a & \, \text{ud āstānān pad zāwar o ud nigundān pad frōhīft} \quad 7+7 = 14 \\
& \quad \text{b} \quad \text{ud wāyān au padişt o au wyāg āfrīdag} \quad 6+5 = 11 \\
69a & \, \text{ud hau rōšnān mād o au tau nimāyān} \quad 5+5 = 10 \\
& \quad \text{b} \quad \text{ud yāwēdān wišmanāh o pad āstāwādag šādīft} \quad 7+7 = 14
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
H. \, \text{ I 23a } & \, \text{gārānīft ud ambāhag o nē ast pad hawūn tanbār} \quad 7+7 = 14 \\
& \quad \text{b} \quad \text{ud wigān nē ahāz o pad harwūn handām} \quad 6+5 = 11 \\
\text{IVb 1a} & \, \text{imīn frabadēnd o abar harwūn dēsmān} \quad 5+6 = 11 \\
& \quad \text{b} \quad \text{ud pad hawūn ud abnās o harw zāwarān wiganēnd} \quad 7+7 = 14
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VIC 13a} & \, \text{ud au harwūn dēnābarān o ud wījīdagān kirbakkarān} \quad 8+9 = 17 \\
& \quad \text{b} \quad \text{padmōjēd āstāwīsh o ušān dēdēm bandēd} \quad 6+6 = 12
\end{align*}
\]
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H. V1c 14a  ud padixšāhēnd pad šādif  o čiwāgōn abar nām bād
paštag  8 + 9 = 17
b  ud anjūgif  widārād  o aj  dast dušmanūn  7 + 5 = 12

There is no question, however, of regular compensation in syllables between the lines to produce a mean for the verse; for one finds also lines of nine syllables linked with ones of ten, and a line of seventeen syllables linked with one of fourteen (H. I 1).

This brief study shows that there is a very wide range of stress-patterns. In fact few combinations of stressed and unstressed syllables are excluded; and the number and fluidity of the resulting patterns makes any general attempt at schematization of doubtful value. The purpose of this study was not, however, to evolve a scheme of general application, but to find a means of comparing two particular poems in detail. From this point of view also the value of the results is to a certain extent negative. The majority of the verse-patterns are common to both cycles, and in both cycles they are freely combined in the same ways. It is true that the heavier A-patterns, such as ++/+ ++/, ++/+ ++++, ++++/ +++, are relatively commoner in Huwidağmān than in Angad Rōsnān; but to say this is only to restate in a different way that the average line in Huwidağmān is longer than that in Angad Rōsnān. There are, however, a few small but definite points of difference between the cycles. Lines of four syllables occur in both of them, although only rarely in Huwidağmān; in Angad Rōsnān these lines usually have A1-pattern stress, but in Huwidağmān this stress-pattern is unknown, and the four-syllabled lines have D-pattern stress. No lines with B-stress occur in Huwidağmān, and no lines of C1-stress, which approximates to B-stress in that both have one or more unstressed syllables after the second stress. Finally there are no lines in Huwidağmān which have only one word capable of taking the stress. Such lines, and those with B- and C1-stress, are fairly well represented in Angad Rōsnān.

To a certain extent these differences in stress-pattern coincide with the differences in the number of syllables. Thus several examples of A1-stress occur in lines of eight or nine syllables, which are in any case peculiar to Angad Rōsnān. But in more instances the A1-stress and B-stress occur in lines of ten, eleven, and twelve syllables, which could otherwise have been assigned to either

---

1 The pattern / ++ / + is unknown, but on the hypothesis of final stress this is not one which is readily produced.
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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 Huwidagmān from a run of verses of Angad Rōsnān; 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 Huwidagmān, T II D 178 III to Angad Rōsnān. A detailed study of the length of their lines yielded the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average length</th>
<th>T II D 178 II</th>
<th>T II D 178 III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First half-line</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>5.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second half-line</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole line</td>
<td>12.40</td>
<td>10.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Rōsnān, contains two half-lines with A1-stress. These are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
A.R. VI 2 aa & \quad + / \quad + / \\
      & \quad + / \quad + /
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
5 ba & \quad \text{ud harw čihrag}
\end{align*}
\]

¹ These two fragments have not been included in the material hitherto considered.
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The second example is combined with a half-line of five syllables:

5 bb ud yud ärwendag

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

A.R. VI 1 aa ud kad imin wäxtum

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); 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 Rōśnān, 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.

<table>
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<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Original signature</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
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<td>M 88 I</td>
<td>A.R. VI</td>
<td>M 93 I</td>
<td>H. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>A.R. VIII</td>
<td>93 II</td>
<td>H. VIc</td>
</tr>
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<td>91</td>
<td>A.R. VI-VII</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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.
### Original signature | Assignment
---|---
M 175 | A.R. VI–VII
233 V | H. I
256 R | *H. VIIIa
256 V | A.R. I
287 | A.R. VII
289a | H. VIc
326 | A.R. VI
439 | A.R. VII
449b | Fr. D
459a | A.R. VII
489a | A.R. VII
489b | H. Vb
502 α,b | H. VIb
502 β,a | *H. VIII
503 α,c | Fr. O
517 | A.R. VII
518 | A.R. Ia
578 | A.R. VII
588 | *H. VII
603 | H. I
620 | A.R. VIIa

### Original signature | Assignment
---|---
M 625b | H. I
667 | A.R. VIIa
673 | A.R. I
675 | A.R. VI
689 | *H. VIII
690 | A.R. VII
698 | Fr. L
774 | A.R. VII
780 | A.R. I
815 | A.R. Ia
817 | A.R. VII
831 | A.R. I
855 R | *H. VIIIa
855 V | A.R. I
858e | H. V
859 | Fr. A
863 | A.R. II
871f | *H. VII
889 | A.R. I
895a | H. V
918a | A.R. VIIa

### Original signature [and new number] | New signature | Assignment
---|---|---
T I α (→M 287) [1223] | 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
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<td>178 IX g [6265]</td>
<td>dv</td>
<td>A.R. VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178 IX j [6266]</td>
<td>dw</td>
<td>A.R. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178 β, a [6238]</td>
<td>dx</td>
<td>A.R. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T II K (5 p.) e [6729]</td>
<td>ea</td>
<td>H. V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T II K 11 (15 p.) n [6943]</td>
<td>ed</td>
<td>A.R. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T III D 280 [8285]</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>A.R. VIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x [8801]</td>
<td>ef</td>
<td>A.R. VI–VII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Huwîdagmân I

233 R+V+625b R  nys‘r’d hwydgm’n¹
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 wcwysh²
233 V+625b R  b šhrd‘r kyrbrk³ o
      kr⁴ ‘br ‘m’hš ‘xšd’gyft⁶

233 V+625b R  2a [fry]š[t][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 [bw rz⁹ ‘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 wcwysh written at the beginning of 1b in 233, and followed by a dot. In 625b the verses are written in interspersed groups of three lines ³ qyrbg[r] 625b ⁴ qr 625b ⁵ ’m²33 ⁶ written -gt with two dots under the f in 233; 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 (It was) fortunate for us that through thee we knew and accepted thy teachings. Beneficent Sovereign, show mercy to us.

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

3 (Traces only are legible.)

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

   (One verse missing)

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

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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. laksāna-; 'clear speeches' represents Skt. vikalpa-, and 'deeds' Skt. karmas- (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. nigstig 'hidden' (see Henning, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1944, p. 113 n.1), although to equate mēng with nigstig is evidently to force its meaning.

4 The word rendered by Tsui Chi as 'worries and afflictions' in 3c represents Skt. kleṣa- (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 Nirvāṇa and other Sūtras (W.).
625b V 7a 'wd hrw ky 'wwd 'dyhyn[d o]
       ['wyştynd 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 pdmwcynnd o]
       [kyc ny] (q)yrd 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 wmyys(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 hwyn 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 wdybyşn [pd hwyn ny 'st]6

1 The MS. has no punctuation-point 2 H.'s readings and restorations
throughout the verse; see loc. cit. 3 Restoration suggested by H., who
hesitates between *mrw and *mwrw 4 H.'s new reading in preference to
'm(b)st 5 In preference to w[y'g] 6 H.'s restoration 7 The
MS. has no punctuation-point 8 sic; dr'wng (BSOAS. xi, p. 218) is a
misprint
7 All who enter there, stay for eternity. [Neither] blows nor torture [ever] overcome them.²

8 (Traces only are legible)³

(Ten verses missing)

18 [The clothes 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

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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. vuyḍ’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. samskṛta- and jārāmarāna- (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 dr̥wṅg see glossary.