

sometimes by two, and sometimes by a space between dots. One or two manuscripts also have a dot sometimes at the end of a line, as a space-filler.<sup>1</sup> When a line of verse is unusually long, the last word of a first line is sometimes written at the beginning of the second, or the first word of a second line at the end of the first. In such cases the end of the verse-line is always marked by a dot.

The manuscripts usually have ten verses to a page, and a heading. The only exception known is T II D 178, which has five verses to a page and no heading.<sup>2</sup> The verses are grouped in cantos, and one canto is divided from the next by the space of a verse left blank. The heading gives the name of the cycle on the verso page, and the number of the canto on the recto, as in the following example:

M 96 (R) šhwm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

Exceptions occur only at the beginning of each cycle, where the first pages bear, instead of a canto-number, a general heading. The following are examples:

M 233 (R) nys'r'd hwydgm'n (V) hwydgm'n  
M 855 (R) 'ngd rwšn'n (V) nys'r'd 'ngd rw[šn'n]

Some of the manuscripts have a *p* in the margin by alternate verses. Others containing the same verses do not. Müller's explanation, that this *p* (for *padwāg* 'answer') marks the antiphon, has been generally accepted. In the fifth canto of *Huwiḍagmān* and the seventh of *Angad Rōšnān* *p* stands by the second verse and subsequent even verses; but (if the identification of the fragments concerned is correct) in the first and sixth cantos of *Angad Rōšnān* it is the opening verse which has the *p*. In the case of the first canto the identification is, however, very doubtful;<sup>3</sup> but if some cantos contained an odd number of verses, and the cantos were chanted continually, the position of the *p* may have varied from one to the next.<sup>4</sup> On a verso page the *p* is written thus, ▴; but on a recto page it is upside down, thus, ▾. The difference is sometimes helpful for establishing the order of pages.

The manuscripts were made up of separate quires, each con-

<sup>1</sup> These ornamental dots are not reproduced in the transcription of the text.

<sup>2</sup> Photographs of two sheets from this manuscript are reproduced in W.-L. i (Taf. IV). The manuscript is further distinguished by being written in a script peculiarly difficult to read (see Reitzenstein's comments in *Erl. Myst.*, p. 27); and by some anomalies of spelling which suggest a copyist familiar with Sogdian (see *A.R.* I 12a, 18a, 19a; VI 5a).

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the alteration in position of the *p* in some groups of abecedarian hymns (see *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 436).

taining a considerable number of sheets. Surviving fragments show that in one manuscript verses from the first to sixth cantos of *Huwīdagmān* were contained in a single quire;<sup>1</sup> and in another verses from the first to seventh cantos of *Angad Rōšnān*.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case there appear to have been twelve double sheets in the quire. Probably the average manuscript contained several sets of texts. Fragments exist from at least seven manuscripts which contained both hymn-cycles; and it is a possibility that the two cycles were regularly written together. This cannot be established, however, since many of the forty-odd *handām* manuscripts are represented by a single fragment. There is evidence for other texts being contained in the same manuscripts with the hymn-cycles. M 88 and M 91, for example, have verses from *Evangelionīg* hymns on one sheet and from *Angad Rōšnān* on the other; and the manuscript represented by fragments with the signature T II D 178 contained not only both hymn-cycles, but other verse and prose texts in Iranian, and Uigur texts as well. The fact that the hymn-cycles appear together in the same manuscripts is unfortunate for the reconstruction of the text, as it makes manuscript-evidence useless for distinguishing between the cycles.

## V. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

The mutilation of the manuscript-material made it at first difficult to discern even the general character of the hymn-cycles; and the reconstruction of the text, initiated by Müller and Andreas,<sup>3</sup> and carried on chiefly by Henning, demanded much patient work. Its progress depended in the first place on the discovery of fragments with titles, or adequate traces of titles, by which they could be assigned to their proper place within the cycles. Thirteen such fragments exist for *Angad Rōšnān* and six for *Huwīdagmān*. With them it was possible to construct a skeleton framework to which other fragments again could be attached. Since the manuscripts concerned are numerous, the connecting of these fragments has been chiefly on the basis of subject-matter alone; but in several instances it has been possible to piece together fragments from the same page of a single manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 32, 33.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> The contributions of these two scholars to the reconstruction of the hymn-cycles cannot be assessed separately, since Reitzenstein did not state the extent of his indebtedness to them individually.

The full scope of the work of reconstruction appears from the texts themselves, reproduced below. Here I propose to describe briefly the stages by which this reconstruction was achieved, and also to indicate as precisely as possible the contributions made by each scholar who has worked in this field.<sup>1</sup>

Let us begin with the better-preserved cycle, *Angad Rōšnān*. Two of the five complete manuscript-sheets mentioned above contain verses from the sixth canto of this cycle, and on each its title is fully preserved, namely

(R) šhwm hnd'm                      (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

These two sheets have the signatures M 96 and M 175. To them Müller and Andreas joined M 88 I, another fragment of considerable length. This has no title, but contains almost the same verses as M 96. Another fragment, M 91, from the next page of the same manuscript as M 88 I, has the title

(R) hf[twm] hnd'm                      (V) 'ng[d rw]šn'n

but its recto page contains the last verses of the sixth canto, also preserved on M 175. These four fragments provided a series of twenty-three verses at the end of the sixth canto. To them Henning added M 675, which has the title

(R) šhwm hnd'm                      (V) ['ng]d rwšn'n

This fragment he showed to belong to the preceding page of the same manuscript as M 175. Since M 675 V 1 = M 88 I R 2 + M 96 R 2, this discovery added nine more verses to the series, with a gap of five verses, for M 675 consists only of the upper half of a page. This gap I was later able to fill by verses from the verso pages of four small fragments, M 326, T II D 178 VIa and VIIa, and T I α 1537 II. These fragments overlap with each other, and the recto pages of T II D 178 VIa and VIIa overlap in turn with M 675 R (there being only five verses to a page in T II D 178). The verses on the recto pages of the other two fragments precede those on M 675 R, with one verse missing in between. The number of verses known from the end of *A.R.* VI was thus increased

<sup>1</sup> Müller, Andreas, and Lentz were able to base their work on a study of the original fragments. Henning also studied the material at first in the original; but for his later work he used an almost complete series of photographs in his own possession. These he very kindly allowed me to use in my turn (see preface), since the original fragments are not at present accessible.

to thirty-six. I was also able to add to the text established by Müller and Andreas the small piece T I α 1538 II.

The seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān* is also well represented by readily decipherable fragments. Two of those belonging to the sixth canto contain verses from the seventh also. These are M 91 (with the title of 'Seventh Limb', as we have seen) and M 175. To these Müller and Andreas added M 774, from the next page of the same manuscript as M 175, with the title:

(R) [hf]twm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rw[šn'n]

and M 439, which has no title, but whose contents overlap with those of M 175 and M 91. To these four pieces Henning joined eight smaller fragments: M 690 (from the same page of manuscript as M 439); M 459 a and M 817 (fragments of one page); M 517 (with a title); M 489 a (from the same manuscript and possibly the same page as M 774); M 287 and T I α (fragments of the one page, on which part of a title is preserved, with the number of the canto missing); and M 578 (from the same manuscript as M 96). I was later able to add three more tiny fragments: T I α 1539 II, T I α 1540 II, and T II D 178 IX g.

Henning reconstructed a further group of fragments from this canto, to which he gave the signature *A.R. VIIa*. This group depends on the fragments T III D 280 and M 667, which bear the words, respectively:

(R) [ ]twm hnd(')[ ] (V) [ ] rw(š)[ ]

and

(R) [ ]twm [ ] (V) [ ] rwš[ ]

In M 667 a dot is visible over the gap before the *t* of ]*twm*, making the restoration of [hf]*twm* certain; and since the two fragments contain in part the same verses, both can be assigned with assurance to the seventh canto. Henning further pieced together with M 667 three other bits from the same manuscript-page, namely M 620, M 918 a, and T I D 51. He thus restored a series of seventeen verses, with a gap. *A.R. VII* contains thirty-six verses, and so there survive fifty-three verses from this canto, which even so is evidently not complete.

The eighth canto of *Angad Rōšnān* is represented by the fragment M 89, which has the title

(R) hštwm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

To this I added the small fragment T II D 67 (12 p.) j.

For the first canto of *Angad Rōšnān* there exist three fragments with a title. One is M 855 V, which was published by Lentz. On this the title runs:

(V) nys'r'd 'ngd rw[šn'n]

i.e. 'Begun (is) *Angad Rōšnān*'. The first verse on this fragment is actually the first verse of the canto and cycle. Henning identified with the verses on M 855 V those on M 256 V, thus restoring in part the first four verses of the cycle. The fragment T II D 79 (1 p.) bears traces of the same title as M 855 V, namely

(R) ny(s)[r'd 'n]g[d rwšn'n]      (V) [ngd rwšn'n]

The position of the *g* on the recto page showed that 'ngd rwšn'n was to be restored and not hwydgm'n; and our present knowledge, thanks to Henning, of the whole of the first canto of *Huwidagmān* proves the correctness of this. Henning discovered that the verso of T II D 79 overlaps with the recto of M 780, a fairly well-preserved fragment with seven verses on each page; and to M 780 he joined M 831 and T II D 140, two small fragments from the same page of the same manuscript. M 831 contains verses from the bottom of a page, and its relationship with M 780 shows that the latter fragment is from the top of a page. It is almost certain that for the beginning of the first canto the scribe would take a fresh page;<sup>1</sup> and if the first verse of *A.R.* I is set at the top of a page, and there are ten verses to a page, it follows that M 780 R I must have a number ending in 1 in the total series—viz. 11, 21, or 31, &c.; and since T II D 79 V 1 = M 780 R 3 it follows that T II D 79 R 1 must have a number ending in 3 in the total series—viz. 3, 13, or 23, &c. But the caption 'Begun is . . .' is naturally restricted to the first page or two of the cycle;<sup>2</sup> and on the basis of these calculations Henning identified T II D 79 R 1 with *A.R.* I 3. This fragment thus follows directly on M 855 V (= *A.R.* I 1-2). The identification, based on calculation, is supported by the fact that M 855 V contains traces of a third verse, and has two letters, appropriately spaced, in common with the first line of T II D 79.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M 256 and M 855. In both these fragments a space is left after the end of *Huwidagmān* (on the recto page) and *Angad Rōšnān* is begun at the top of the next (the verso) page.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in *Huwidagmān* two fragments containing the opening verses have the title nys'r'd hwydgm'n; but M 93 I (whose first verse = *H.* I 22) has the title nxwryn hnd'm hwydgm'n.

Henning added two other fragments, namely M 673 and M 889, to the group which he had thus created for the beginning of *A.R. I*; and to these eight fragments I was able to join seven more: T I α 1540 I, T I D (3 p.) a, T II K 11 (15 p.) n, and T II D 178 β, a together with T II D 178 IX b, f, and j. The last four are from the same page of the same manuscript. It was also possible to identify tentatively the verso of a tiny fragment, T II D 52 (23 p.) a, with the opening words of the canto. On this page there is the beginning of a title, namely '[n](g)[ . . . , and beneath this are the words 'ngd rws[ with a *p* in the margin beside them. On the recto page are the last words of another line of poetry, accompanied by another *p*. These should perhaps be assigned to *Huwidagmān*; but unfortunately the fragment is too small to make even the identification of the verso page certain.

The third fragment with a title from *A.R. I* is M 518. This bears the words:

(R) nxw(y)[n hn]d'm (V) ['n](g)[d rws'n]

The trace of the *g* on the verso page is faint, but the fragment can be assigned with certainty to *Angad Rōšnān* for the reason given above—namely that the whole of *H. I* is known in translation. The verses on M 518 do not overlap with any on the other fragments from this first canto, and Henning therefore gave the fragment the separate signature of *A.R. Ia*. To it he joined a bilingual fragment M 815, which gives a Sogdian translation beneath the Parthian original. M 518 contains, with a gap, fifteen verses, and there are thirty verses in the earlier group of fragments. Thus there is a total of forty-five extant verses from *A.R. I*.

The second canto of *Angad Rōšnān* is represented only by the fragment M 863, which has the title

(R) bdyg [hnd'm] (V) ['ngd r]ws'n

This is the last fragment of the cycle which can be assigned to its place by the evidence of an adequately preserved title either on the fragment itself or on an associated piece.

With the cycle *Huwidagmān* it is again convenient to begin with some of the first fragments to be made known, namely T II D 178 I–III, three complete sheets written in a difficult script, which were published by Lentz. Lentz, on evidence already described,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5.

identified the last six verses on T II D 178 I with the beginning of the fifth canto. The first three verses belong therefore to the end of the fourth. Lentz assumed that this fragment was followed by T II D 178 II, III, and the more fragmentary IV with possibly a page missing between III and IV; and he published all these together.<sup>1</sup> The assumption seemed justifiable; the contents of II followed smoothly upon those of I, and though there was some abruptness in the transition between II and III, it nevertheless was reasonable to suppose that these three perfect sheets of one manuscript had been preserved lying on top of each other. Yet further research has proved this supposition wrong. As has already been said, T II D 178 is unusual in that it has only five verses to a page. If therefore the recto page of another fragment with the usual number of verses to a page (ten) contains verses in common with, e.g., those of the recto page of T II D 178 I, its verso will overlap, not with the verso of T II D 178 I, but with the recto of the following sheet of this manuscript, supposedly T II D 178 II. As it happened, Henning discovered a fragment whose recto page did coincide with the recto page of T II D 178 I. This was M 858 e, the order of whose pages is fixed by the presence of a complete marginal *p* on the verso page. The recto of M 858 e coincides with T II D 178 I R, but its verso has nothing in common with T II D 178 II R, as would have been the case had these two sheets been consecutive. Henning was able, moreover, to add a second fragment, M 895 a, whose recto could be identified with T II D 178 I V, but whose verso was independent of T II D 178 II V. Thus it was certain that at least one sheet was missing between T II D 178 I and II.

Later I found three fragments, T II K (5 p.) e, and T I D 16 (9 p.) c and g, of which the two latter are from the same page of the same manuscript as M 895 a. All three have verses in common with T II D 178 I R but not with T II D 178 II. Further, the recto sides of three other fragments, T II D 67 (12 p.) a, T I D 51 (9 p.) b, and T I D (12 p.) i, proved to have verses in common with the verso of M 858 e; but again their versos did not overlap with T II D 178 II, as would have been the case had only one sheet been missing between T II D 178 I and II. There was thus established a series of twenty verses (with

<sup>1</sup> See W.-L. i, pp. 111-14.

*lacunae*) at the beginning of *H. V*, which did not include T II D 178 II.

Further, it was possible to identify lines from the verso of a fragment T I D (9 p.) g with the first lines on the recto page of T II D 178 III. T I D (9 p.) g is a mere scrap of manuscript; but enough remains of the line immediately preceding the first verse of T II D 178 III to show that it is not the same as the last line of T II D 178 II. Nor has the recto page of T I D (9 p.) g anything in common with T II D 178 II; so at least two sheets must be missing between T II D 178 II and III also, and the links between the assumed series are thus severed entirely.

There is, moreover, the space of a verse left blank on the verso of T I D (9 p.) g which shows that the first verse on T II D 178 III R is the beginning of a canto. This fact accords admirably with the contents of the verse itself, for in it the Saviour appears to the soul—a moment of climax. The lines run as follows:

When I had said these words, with soul a-tremble,  
I beheld the Saviour as he shone before me.

One would readily assign this verse to the beginning of the sixth canto of *Hurvidagmān* but for the evidence of the Sogdian material. A page with the signature T II K contains the last five verses of the Sogdian translation of *H. V*, and the first verse of *H. VI*, together with its two opening Parthian words in Sogdian transcription, namely *'wm* *'wδyn*, i.e. 'and while I . . .' Henning translates the Sogdian version of *H. VI* 1 as follows:

While I thus wept, and shed tears upon the ground,  
I heard the voice of the beneficent king.

These words are clearly not a translation of T II D 178 III R 1, which cannot therefore be assigned to *H. VI*. There is, moreover, the difficulty that although the Sogdian is not a translation of the Parthian verse, it presents much the same situation. In both the soul in distress becomes aware of its Saviour. It would be possible to understand the apparent parallelism as a dramatic development; in *H. VI* the soul hears the voice of its Saviour, and in a later canto it sees the god himself. This is not very likely, however; and the possibility therefore arises that T II D 178 III does not belong to this cycle at all. This is a matter to which we must return later.

There is a small fragment, M 489 b, which has the title

(R) pnjwm hn[d'm]                      (V) [hwyd]gm'n



This is the only fragment from this canto with a title, and it has not been linked with any other piece. Henning gave it a separate signature, and it now stands as *H. Vb.*

Of the other cantos of *Huwidagmān*, the first is known in its entirety in a Chinese translation, containing originally seventy-eight verses.<sup>1</sup> Three Parthian fragments with titles have survived, and it was through these that Henning succeeded in identifying the Chinese version.<sup>2</sup> Two, M 233 and M 625 b, bear the following words:

M 233 (R) nys'r'd hwydgm'n (V) hwydgm'n  
M 625 b (R) [nys]'r'd h(w)[yd]gm"[n]

Both contain the opening verses of the hymn-cycle. M 625 b is singular in having the verses written in interspaced groups of three lines. The third fragment, M 93 I, has the title

(R) nxwyn hnd'm (V) hwydgm'n

It does not overlap with any other fragment, but can be assigned to its exact place within the canto by means of the Chinese. I was able to identify the following additional fragments: M 603, which is from the same manuscript as M 780 and other fragments containing verses from *A.R.* I; T II D 167 (10 p.) a, and T II D 167 (10 p.) b, two fragments from successive pages of the same manuscript; T I D 27 (10 p.) e; T II D 79 (3 p.) b; T I D 51 (+T I α 6 p.) a; and T I D 51 (5 p.) b. None of these small fragments has a title or is connected with a fragment with a title, and without the Chinese version it would be impossible to assign them even approximately.

Almost nothing is known of the second canto of *Huwidagmān* except its title, which is preserved as follows on two sheets from Sogdian manuscripts:<sup>3</sup>

T II K 178 (R) δβtykw 'n(δ)[ (V) ](t)βr's  
T II D 178 (R) δβtykw 'nδ[ (V) ](k)kr'yty p't[

The whole title can be reconstructed thus:

δβtykw 'nδ[m'y γwyδkm'n] [γnt']kk'r'yty p'tβr's

i.e. 'Second Limb (of) *Huwidagmān*: The Punishment of Sinners'.

<sup>1</sup> One verse has been omitted by a copyist; see below, p. 77 n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The identification was made difficult, however, by the obscurity and verbosity of the Chinese rendering.

<sup>3</sup> Henning's readings and reconstruction.

Traces only are preserved in Sogdian of the last verse of this canto and the first verse of *H. III*<sup>1</sup>—not enough for a reconstruction of the verses, but sufficient to be a check on Parthian fragments. No identification has been possible.

No other trace remains of *H. III*. *H. IV* is represented by the first three verses on T II D 178 I R, which are the final verses of this canto. *H. VI* survives more fully. The fragment M 93 is a double sheet, of which the second sheet, M 93 II, contains verses from the sixth canto, under the heading

(R) šhwm hnd[?m]      (V) [hwyd]gm'n

With it Henning linked the fragment T II D 57, which has the same title, perfectly preserved; and I later added M 289 a, which is from the same page of the same manuscript as M 93 II. These three fragments give, with *lacunae*, a series of twenty-two verses. The Sogdian translation shows that these are not from the beginning of the canto.<sup>2</sup> The group has the signature *H. VIc* in the final reconstruction.

Finally Henning discovered from its colophon that the fragment M 256 R contains the last three verses of *Huxwidagmān*, which are also found in M 855 R. Neither fragment has a title, so that the number of this last canto is unknown.

All the fragments discussed so far—with the exception of those belonging to *H. I*—were assigned to their places on the evidence either of a title or of a colophon. Other evidence exists, however, by which several more fragments can be assigned with a fair measure of certainty; this part of the reconstruction is my own.

There exists a group of small fragments which has proved of considerable importance for the reconstruction of *Angad Rōšnān*. This is the series T I α 1530–44. The fifteen fragments consist each of a small part from the centre of a double sheet; on each page is preserved either the first or last words (or parts of words) of from one to four verses. The scraps of manuscript are too small to add much to our knowledge of the text, but are of value for the allotting of other fragments, since it appears that most of them have been kept in their original order in relation to one another. This was shown by the identification of several of them with verses of

<sup>1</sup> Together with colophon and heading; see W.-L., i, pp. 67–68.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 31.

*Angad Rōšnān*. These identifications have been mentioned in the appropriate places above; but to make the matter clear a table of them is given here:

T I α 1540 I R	A.R. I 18-19	T I α 1540 II V	A.R. VII 33-35
V	„ „ 28-29	R	„ „ 23-24
		1539 II V	„ „ 14-15
		R	„ „ 4-5
		1538 II V	„ „ VI 67-69
		R	„ „ 57-59
		1537 II V	„ „ 48-49
		R	„ „ 38-39

It is evident from this that the double sheet 1540 originally enclosed other double sheets containing the end of the first canto, the beginning of the seventh, and the whole of the intervening cantos (i.e. the second to sixth). Unfortunately gaps at the beginning of *Angad Rōšnān* make it impossible to identify 1539 I-1537 I; but on the evidence of the other fragments these may be assigned to the early cantos of the cycle.

Even without the decisive textual evidence, there would be reason to think that the fragments 1540-1537 had lain on top of each other. All are of roughly the same size and shape; and deteriorations which are apparent in 1540 show, but less conspicuously, on each successive fragment. There is, for example, a hole in the centre of 1540; and holes similar but diminishing in size are found in each of the rest of the series. From the character of the fragments alone, therefore, one would be justified in assuming 1540 to have been an outer sheet, which had enclosed, and to a certain extent protected, the inner ones.

Moreover, the shape of the fragments suggests that not only 1539-1537, but also the unidentified 1536-1530 had all lain within 1540, thus forming a continuous series; for the minute stages of deterioration can be traced throughout the group. Fragment 1530 is the best preserved of all; and its two sheets are almost identical in outline, as would naturally be the case with an inmost double sheet, whose sides would lie directly against each other. In the next fragment, 1531, a tiny tear appears, which is larger in 1532-7, and leads to the loss of a corner in 1538, on which the traces of only two verses are preserved, instead of three as in 1530-7. This is the case also for 1539-40.

From this it follows that 1540 enclosed all the ten double sheets

1539-1530, comprising approximately 400 verses.<sup>1</sup> These ten sheets must have contained between them about six cantos (i.e. the first to seventh); and a rough measure is thus provided of sixty-six verses to a canto. The only canto from either cycle known in its entirety is *H. I*, in which there are seventy-eight verses.<sup>2</sup> The discrepancy between the figures is not great, and there is no need to question on this score the combined textual and material evidence.

We must now leave this series of fragments temporarily to reconsider T II D 178 III. The identification of this fragment with T I D (9 p.) g<sup>3</sup> had severed its connexion with T II D 178 II, which had in turn already been divorced from T II D 178 I. Thus both these important fragments were left *in vacuo*. Moreover, the manuscript to which they belong contains both hymn-cycles (as had been shown by the identification of seven fragments, T II D 178 β, α, VIa, VIIa, IXb, f, g, and j, with verses from *Angad Rōšnān*). The possibility was therefore present that T II D 178 II and III belonged to *Angad Rōšnān* rather than to *Hurwidagmān*. For T II D 178 III this was almost a probability, on account of the Sogdian translation of *H. VI*, which showed that the Saviour's coming was described in that cycle in terms different from those used in the opening verse of the fragment.<sup>4</sup> The matter was finally decided by the identification of verses on the verso page of T II D 178 III with others on the verso of T I α 1535 II. The verses on the recto page of 1535 II fall accordingly between those on the recto pages of T II D 178 III and its associated fragment T I D (9 p.) g, with both of which they agree perfectly.

T II D 178 III contains, as we have seen, the beginning of a canto. It follows that 1535 II contains verses close to the beginning of the same canto. By a curious chance, however, 1535 I also contains the opening of a canto, as is shown by a space left blank between two verses on its recto page. It remained, therefore, to discover if possible which cantos were thus represented.

Let us first consider the assignment of the group of verses made

<sup>1</sup> 1540 I R 1 = *A.R. I* 18, so that the sheet preceding 1540 I must have contained the opening verses of *Angad Rōšnān*. Possibly this missing sheet enclosed 1540 in its turn, making up a quire of twelve double sheets—a likely even number. The manuscript to which the fragments belonged may thus be compared with M 801, in which one double sheet originally enclosed at least fourteen others (see Henning, *BBB.*, p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 77 n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*

up by T I D (9 p.) g+1535 II+T II D 178 III. We have seen that the fragments 1530-40 form an unbroken series. Fragment 1537 II contains the first verses of a block of thirty-six from the end of *A.R.* VI.<sup>1</sup> Our rough calculation of sixty-six verses to a canto, together with the actual example of seventy-eight in *H.* I, suggests that cantos were of considerable length. At least one more fragment from the series must therefore be assigned to this sixth canto. The inclusion of 1536 II brings the number of verses in the canto to fifty-six; but since the preceding page, 1535 II V, contains verses from near the beginning of a canto, it is plain that these must be added also. Together with the verses on the recto page of the associated T II D 178 III, they bring the total for *A.R.* VI to seventy-three, a number which agrees well with the other evidence. We may therefore assign T II D 178 III with confidence to the beginning of *A.R.* VI.<sup>2</sup> A result of this is that in both cycles the Saviour appears at the beginning of the sixth canto—a piece of parallelism which provides further evidence for the correctness of the allocation.

The double sheet 1535 enclosed, as we have seen, the double sheets 1534-1530. There were thus approximately 220 verses (viz.  $5 \times 40 + 20$ ) between the canto beginning on 1535 I R and that beginning on 1535 II, a number which should comprise three cantos. Since 1535 II contains verses from the sixth canto, 1535 I should therefore contain the opening of the third. This accords well enough with the fact that 1535 I is preceded by the single sheets 1536 I-40 I, with 1540 I R 1 = *A.R.* I 18. These preceding sheets would then contain *A.R.* I and II, which would thus consist together of approximately 120 verses, i.e. roughly sixty verses to a canto. I have therefore assigned 1535 I to *A.R.* II and III; and have given T II D 178 III and its allied fragments the following signatures: T II D 178 III = *A.R.* VI; T I D (9 p.) g R+1535 II R = *A.R.* V.

According to these calculations the fragments 1534-1530 contain verses from cantos III-V. These fragments bear variously, on their left- or right-hand sheets, words such as *kym* . . . 'wm (i.e. 'Who [shall . . .] me, and . . . me'), which suggest verses from

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Fragments from the same manuscript, namely T II D 178 VIa and VIIa, had already been identified with the verses now numbered *A.R.* VI 42-45, 47-50. Two sheets of manuscript are thus missing between them and T II D 178 III.

a part of the cycle preceding the coming of the Saviour. The Saviour is present in the sixth canto; and there is good reason, therefore, to be satisfied with a reconstruction which allots these fragments to cantos earlier than the sixth.

Few of the series T I  $\alpha$  1530-40 can be precisely assigned, since the exact number of verses in all cantos but the sixth is unknown; but approximate positions for the whole series are given in the following table:

T I $\alpha$ 1540 I R	A.R. I	18-19	T I $\alpha$ 1540 II V	A.R. VII	33-35
V	„ I	28-29	R	„ VII	23-24
1539 I R	„ I	38-39	1539 II V	„ VII	14-15
V	„ I	48-49	R	„ VII	4-5
1538 I R	„ I	58-59	1538 II V	„ VI	67-69
V	„ IIa	1-2	R	„ VI	57-59
1537 I R	„ IIa	10-13	1537 II V	„ VI	48-49
V	„ IIa	20-23	R	„ VI	38-39
1536 I R	„ IIa	30-33	1536 II V	„ VI	27-29
V	„ IIa	40-43	R	„ VI	17-19
1535 I R	„ IIa 50+III 1		1535 II V	„ VI	7-9
V	„ III	9-11	R	„ V	61-63
1534 I R	„ III	19-21	1534 II V	„ V	51-53
V	„ III	29-31	R	„ V	41-43
1533 I R	„ III	39-41	1533 II V	„ V	31-33
V	„ III	49-51	R	„ V	21-23
1532 I R	„ III	59-61	1532 II V	„ V	11-13
V	„ III	69-71	R	„ V	1-3
1531 I R	„ IV	1-3	1531 II V	„ IV	71-73
V	„ IV	11-13	R	„ IV	61-63
1530 I R	„ IV	21-23	1530 II V	„ IV	51-53
V	„ IV	31-33	R	„ IV	41-43

A separate small fragment from a single page of the same manuscript, namely, T I D (12 p.) i, has been identified with verses from *H. V.* The manuscript is thus one of those which contained both hymn-cycles.

There are now two fragments with traces of titles to be considered. On one of them, T II D 75, the following words have survived:

(R) [     ] hnd'm            (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

Since the fragment does not coincide with any other, the only evidence for supplying the missing number of the canto is in its contents. These consist of verses addressed by the Saviour to the soul. The fragment must, therefore, come after T II D 178 III (= *A.R.* VI 1-10) in which the Saviour first appears. Moreover, its contents resemble closely, both in matter and manner, the last

verses on T II D 178 III and those at the beginning of the group of fragments first combined under the signature *A.R. VI*. It is a characteristic of both hymn-cycles to have long runs of verses of a similar type, and it is therefore probable that these three sets of verses form a single group. T II D 75 cannot well follow the group of fragments at the end of *A.R. VI*, for the beginning of *A.R. VII* is known, and contains matter of a different kind. It must therefore be set between it and T II D 178 III. The gap of twenty-seven verses which exists there is spanned by the fragment T I α 1536 II; but this contains only the beginning of lines on the recto page and the end of lines on the verso page, whereas the opposite is true of T II D 75. Even if the two fragments contained verses in common it would therefore be impossible to prove it. From the scanty traces on T I α 1536 II it seems unlikely, however, that they exactly coincide. The precise position of T II D 75 within the gap remains doubtful, therefore; but since for convenience of reference precision is desirable, I have identified T II D 75 R 1 with *A.R. VI* 21.<sup>1</sup> This is probably approximately correct, and as a result *A.R. VI* is almost complete.

The other fragment with a title is T II D 137<sup>2</sup>, on whose recto page the one word *shawm* has survived. To this fragment it was possible to join three others: T I D (5 p.) d, M 502 α, b, and T II D 167 (10 p.) j. The four fragments together give a run of twenty-four verses, with one considerable gap. The length of this series makes it impossible to assign it to the now almost complete *A.R. VI*, and we may therefore place it with confidence in *H. VI*. From its contents it is probable that the group precedes the verses already known from this canto; it has therefore been given the signature *H. VIb*.

The evidence for assigning the foregoing fragments is strong, although not so decisive as the existence of a full title. There remain several interesting fragments for whose assignment there are only slight indications; but an attempt has nevertheless been made to allot these to approximately correct positions. The tentative nature of their placing is shown by an asterisk before each signature.

One of these fragments is the complete page T II D 178 II.

<sup>1</sup> T II D 75 contains marginal *p*'s, as do several fragments belonging to the later part of the canto; and their position shows that it is necessary to equate the first verse of the fragment with a verse of an odd number.