



Aethiopica 19 (2016)

International Journal of Ethiopian and
Eritrean Studies

GETATCHEW-HAILE, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library,
Saint John's University, Collegeville, MN

Article

The Marginal Notes in the Abba Gärima Gospels

Aethiopica 19 (2016), 7–26

ISSN: 2194–4024

Edited in the Asien-Afrika-Institut
Hiob Ludolf Zentrum für Äthiopistik
der Universität Hamburg
Abteilung für Afrikanistik und Äthiopistik

by Alessandro Bausi

in cooperation with

Bairu Tafla, Ulrich Braukämper, Ludwig Gerhardt,
Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg and Siegbert Uhlig

Editorial

The present issue of AETHIOPICA, like the preceding one, is partly monographic, with a section containing the proceedings of the Panel on Islamic Literature in Ethiopia: New Perspectives of Research, from the '19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies', held in Warsaw, Poland, on 24–28 August 2015.

Starting from this issue, the annual bibliography on Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic linguistics held from its inception in 1998 for eighteen years by Rainer Voigt is handed over, on Voigt's own will, to a pool of younger scholars, with the substantial support of the AETHIOPICA editorial team. I would like on this occasion to express the deep gratitude of the editorial board of AETHIOPICA and of all scholars in Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic linguistics to Rainer Voigt for his fundamental and valuable contribution.

Bibliographical abbreviations used in this volume

- AE* *Annales d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1955ff.
ÄthFor Äthiopistische Forschungen, 1–35, ed. by E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, 36–40, ed. by S. UHLIG (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (1–34), 1977–1992; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (35–40), 1994–1995).
AethFor Aethiopistische Forschungen, 41–73, ed. by S. UHLIG (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2011); 74–75, ed. by A. BAUSI and S. UHLIG (*ibid.*, 2011f.); 76ff. ed. by A. BAUSI (*ibid.*, 2012ff.).
AION *Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale'*, Napoli: Università di Napoli 'L'Orientale' (former Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli), 1929ff.
CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1903ff.
EAE S. UHLIG, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I: A–C; II: D–Ha; III: He–N; in cooperation with A. BAUSI, eds, IV: O–X (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010); A. BAUSI in cooperation with S. UHLIG, eds, V: Y–Z, *Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).
EI² *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I–XII (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960–2005).
EMML Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa.
JES *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1963ff.
JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester 1956ff.
NEASt *Northeast African Studies*, East Lansing, MI 1979ff.
OrChr *Oriens Christianus*, Leipzig–Roma–Wiesbaden 1901ff.
PICES 9 A.A. GROMYKO, ed., 1988, *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies, Moscow, 26–29 August 1986*, I–VI (Moscow: Nauka Publishers, Central Department of Oriental Literature, 1988).
RSE *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Roma, 1941–1981, Roma–Napoli 1983ff.
ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig–Wiesbaden–Stuttgart 1847ff.

The Marginal Notes in the *Abba Gärima* Gospels*

GETATCHEW HAILE, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library,
Saint John's University, Collegeville, MN

Introduction

It is clear that, due to the age of the manuscripts of the *Abba Gärima* Gospels and the condition in which they are preserved, some leaves of one Gospel manuscript have been inadvertently rebound with another Gospel manuscript. My presentation follows *Garima I* and *Garima II*, as titled, which have been graciously sent to me for this conference. For my personal study of the notes, I was fortunate to have access to copies made three times, first by D.M. Davies, then by Jacques Mercier, and now by HMML, the Museum and Library to which I am affiliated. Unfortunately, there are letters and words that might be lost forever unless there is a technology that can retrieve them.

Also, a few people and many places will remain unidentified, at least for now, as it is not clear if two words which come following one another are names of one place or of two. As one will see, the method I followed is this: (1) editing the texts, (2) translating them into English, and (3) offering my views under 'Commentary'. The Index helps when questioning if words that look alike are names of the same place or of different places. Conti Rossini's edition of *Liber Axumae* (1909) and the study of its 'Land Charters' by Huntingford (1965) have been helpful.

These notes are what one might call Land Charters; none of them is a colophon.¹

* Paper presented at the international conference on 'Ethiopia and the Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity: The *Garimā* Gospels in Context', sponsored by the Ethiopian Heritage Fund, Ioannou Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies, University of Oxford, 2–3 November 2013. The presentation style of the paper is intentionally preserved.

¹ This confusion, to which I might have contributed—see Davies 1987, 297—has been cleared by Manfred Kropp while analysing the King Armaha's note, Kropp 1992, 264.

Texts

Garima I

(fol. 7r = Davies 2, frame 7r, making it the second document, seven-teenth/eighteenth century)

- 1 በአኩተተ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወሀብኩ ፡ አነ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ለአቡነ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ አድ ፡ ቀሾ ፡ ወቤተ ፡ ቂርቆስ ፡ ማኅደረ ፡ ለሰብአ ፡ ቤት ፡ እለ ፡ ይተልዉ ፡ መምህረ ፡ ቦ ፡ ዘይጸውር ፡ ሐይመተ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ዘይጸውር ፡ ቀሱተ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ዘይጸውር ፡ ፅዕዱተ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ዘይጽዕኑ ፡ አዕዱገ ፡ ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡ ይነድኡ ፡ አልሀምተ ፡ ዝውእቱ ፡ ገብሮሙ ፡ እለ ፡ የኃድሩ ፡ ውስቴን ፡ ወአውገዝኩ ፡ አነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይደኃሩ ፡ እምዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ግዑዛን ፡ ንሕነ ፡ አውገዝኩ ፡ አነ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ በአፈ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወበአፉሃ ፡ ለእግዝእትነ ፡ ማርያም ፡ እመ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ወበአፉሁ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ገሪማ ።
- 2 ወካዕበ ፡ ወሀብኩ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ሀገራይ ፡ አተሬት ፡ መዝበር ፡ ገንደት ፡ ገቤት ፡ አድ ፡ ገቦ ፡ ውራኼት ፡ ቀንፀቤት ፡ ዘሬማ ፡ ብለይ ፡ ባልኢ ፡ ደመርመሬ ፡ ፀዕዳ ፡ መቃብር ፡ ሶቦን ፡ አደመጉዕ ፡ ስረ ፡ አበሰ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ መከን ፡ በአት ፡ ዔሮ ።
- 3 ወካዕበ ፡ ወሀብኩ ፡ በምድረ ፡ ሰሐርት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ማኅበር ፡ ውቅሮ ፡
- 4 ወበአይባሂ ፡ ጽጋባ ፡ እንተ ፡ ትሰማይ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ማኅበር ፡ ወበአምባ ፡ ስነይትሂ ፡ ሐምሎ ። ወበአድ ፡ ጺዋሂ ፡ ጁ ፡ አህጉር ፡ ዘውእቶን ፡ አድ ፡ ተር ፡ ቢለ ፡ አድ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ነቢያት ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ጽባሕ ፡ በለሆ ፡ ድራር ፡ ዓይን ።
- 5 ወካዕበ ፡ ወሀብኩ ፡ ኅንዛት ፡ ወቤተ ፡ አበ ፡ አንበስ ፡

(fol. 7v = Davies 2, frame 8, contemporary)

- 6 በአኩቴተ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወሀብኩ ፡ አነ ፡ [ሰይፈ ፡] አርዐደ ፡ ለካህናት ፡ እለ ፡ ይትለአኩ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘአባ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ [ዐ]ደ ፡ ቀራን ፡ ጅአሕያዋ ፡ ጅኮሎ ፡ ጅ ቤተ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ጅማየ ፡ ጉንድ ፡ ጅጠራጊት ፡ [ጅ]ወዝንቱሰ ፡ ኅቢሮሙ ፡ ወመጠራሂ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበሩ ፡ ተዝካሩ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ ለቀይሰ ፡ ገበዝ ፡ ወዐደ ፡ ሠናይቶሂ ፡ ለዐቃቤ ፡ መርኖ ። ዘተአገሎሙ ፡ ወዘሂደሙ ፡

1,1 በአኩተተ ፡ ... ቅዱስ ፡] this is the old *fathab* of any work, especially of writing and copying, which is later replaced with በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ... 5 ገብሮሙ ፡] sic; for ግ". | ውስቴን ፡] sic; for ውስቴቶን ፡ 8 ምሕረት ፡] cf. ኪዳነ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ 2,2 ብለይ ፡] or ብላይ ፡, not clear. 3 መከን ፡] or መካን ፡, not clear. 4,1 ሐምሎ ።] the copying error of the last symbol, ሌ, was corrected by adding to it the vowel sign of the seventh order, resulting in one symbol carrying the vowel signs of both the sixth and the seventh orders. Document 11 shows that the place name in question is ሐምሎ (not ሐምሌ or ሐምሎሌ or ሐምሌሎ), an error made most probably by the influence of the name of the eleventh Ethiopian month. 2 ቢለ ፡] or ቢላ ፡ 3 በለሆ ፡] or በላሆ ፡, not clear. 5,1 አበ ፡] for አባ ፡ 6,3 ጅኮሎ ፡] or "ከ". 4 ተዝካሩ ፡] for "ሮ ፡.

Texts

Garima I

With thanksgiving to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. I, King Gäbrä Mäsqäl, have granted to (the Monastery of) *Abunä Gärima* (the land of) Add Qäšo and Betä Qirqos for a living quarter to the households who follow the abbot. Some carry tents, some carry (water) jars, some carry (cooking) pots, some load the donkeys, some drive cattle. These are the duties of those who live in them. I have issued an excommunication lest they stay back from these duties, saying, ‘We are free people’.² I, King Gäbrä Mäsqäl, have issued an excommunication by the mouth of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and by the mouth of Our Lady Mary, Mother of Mercy,³ and by the mouth of *Abba Gärima*. 1

I have granted also the land of Hagäray, Atäret, Mäzbär, Gändät, Gäbet, Add Gäbo, Wəraḳet, Qänzäbet of Rema, Bəlay,⁴ Bal’i, Dämärmäre, Zä^cda Mäqabər,⁵ Sobon, Addämäg^{wəc}, at the source of (?) the River Ab(b)äsä, a place at At ^cEro. 2

I have granted also the Wəqro Betä Maḥbär in the land of Säḥart. 3

And in Ayəbba, (the land of) Şəgaba, which is called Betä Maḥbär;⁶ in Amba Sənäyt, Ḥamlo; in Add Şiwa, the six countries, which are Add Tär(r), Bilä, Add Täklä Näbiyat, Şännay Şəbaḥ, Bäläho,⁷ Dərar ^cAyn. 4

I granted also Ḥənzat and Betä *Abba* Anbäss. 5

With thanksgiving to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. I, [Säyfa] Ar^cadä (1344–1372), have granted to the clergy who serve at the church of *Abba Gärima* (the lands in) one [°A]ddä Qäran, one Aḥyawa, one Kolo, one Betä Maryam, one Mayä G^{wə}ənd, (and) [one] Tära^cit. And (I have granted) Mätära to the *Qäysä Gäbäz* and ^cAddä Şännayto to the lock keeper. (I did) this so that they may celebrate the memorial of *Abba Gärima* in cooperation (with the priests). May whoever violates 6

1 ² In contrast to slaves. | ³ Cf. *Kidanä Məḥrät* ‘Covenant of Mercy’. 2 ⁴ Or Bəlay. | ⁵ *Mäqabər* is ‘grave yard’. 4 ⁶ ‘Community house’. | ⁷ Or Bälaho.

ሙ፡ ወዘገፍቶሙ፡ ይኩን፡ ውጉዝ፡ በአፈ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ።

7 ወዘንተ፡ ዘወሀብኩ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘነሣእኩ፡ ንዋየ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያኑ፡ ለአባ፡ ገሪማ፡ ሄመስቀል፡ ዐይን፡ ላም፡ ወሄመስቀል፡ ለሰላስ፡ ወሄመማሰስ፡ ዘይፌውስ፡ ሕሙማነ፡ ልብ፡ ወንዋየ፡ ቅዱሳትሂ፡ ሥሩዕ፡ ከሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ጸሕል፡ ወጽዖዕ፡ ወዐጽፍሂ፡ ዘመላእክት፡ ወጎልቀትሂ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ። ወዘንተ፡ ዘነሣእኩ፡ በተአምኖ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለአባ፡ ገሪማ፡ ።

(obviously during the reign of King Zār'a Ya'eqob, AD 1434–1468)

8 በዘ፡ ንዜከር፡ ተዝካሮሙ፡ ለነገሥተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ አመ፡ ሸለጥቅምት፡ አብርሀ፡ ወአጽብሐ፡ አመ፡ ሸለጎዳር፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ አመ፡ ፲ወ፪፡ ለመጋቢት፡ ዐምደ፡ ጽዮን፡ አመ፡ ፲ወ፭፡ ለግንቦት፡ {ሰይፈ፡ አርዐደ፡ ።} አመ፡ ፳ወ፬ ለሰኔ፡ <ለ>እንድርድስ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፱ለዝ፡ ወርሳ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ አመ፡ ፲ወ፱ለ መስከረም፡ ሕዝበ፡ ይናኒ፡ አመ፡ ሸለጥቅምት፡ ዳዊት፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፱፡ ለዝ፡ ወርሳ፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ።

ወዘይትገበርሂ፡ በጎበ፡ ሄሥዩም፡ ሿጎብስት፡ ወጸኮራ፡ ወክልኤሆሙ፡ ከማሁ፡ ዘንተስ፡ በጎበ፡ ገባር፡ ወበጎበ፡ ቤቶሙሂ፡ በበ፡ ሸኮራ፡ ወበበ፡ ፲ጎብስት፡ ወዘንተስ፡ ዘሠርዐ፡ ዘርእ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወእለ፡ ኢይገብሩ፡ ዘንተ፡ አማን፡ ዐላዊ[ያ]ነ፡ ነገሥት፡ ።

(in a seventeenth/eighteenth-century hand)

9 ዓዲ፡ ሀሎ፡ ነገር፡ ዘንግረክሙ፡ መምህራን፡ ቅድስት፡ መደራ፡ ከመ፡ ኢትቅረቡ፡ ጎበ፡ ምድሮሙ፡ ወጥራቶሙ፡ ለንቡረ፡ ዕድ፡ ክፍለ[፡] ታዖስ፡ ወለደቂቁ፡ እስመ፡ ሐነጽዋ፡ ለዛቲ፡ መቅደስክሙ፡ በአርአያሐ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም፡ እመሰ፡ ሔድክሙ፡ ምድሮሙ፡ ወጥራቶሙ፡ ኩኑ፡ ውጉዛነ፡ በአፈ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወበአፉሁ፡ ለአባ፡ ገሪማ፡ ።

7,2 ዐይን፡] for ጎነ፡; a Təgrəñña influence. 8,3 {ሰይፈ፡ አርዐደ፡ ።} inserted. 4 ለሰኔ፡] inserted. 5 ይናኒ፡ ።] so the Amharic verb ናኘ comes from the Gəʿəz verb ናነየ!

them or robs them or oppresses them be excommunicated by the mouth of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

I donated this because I took the property of the church of *Abba* 7
Gärima—one cow’s eye (? *ʿayn lam*) cross, one smooth (*läslas*) cross, and one (cross) for touching (*mägsäs*) (the sick), which heals those with heart disease. As for the holy articles, which include a platter, chalice, vestment of high officials, and golden ring, all are (in place) as ordered (in the church). I took these in trust in the prayer of *Abba Gärima*.

(The days) on which we should commemorate the memorial of the 8
kings of Ethiopia: On the 4th of ʾṬəqəmt: Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa; on the 30th of ʾḤədar: Gäbrä Mäsqäl; on the 12th of Mäggabit (1336 EC = 8 March AD 1344): ʿAmdä Ṣəyon; on the 15th of Gənbət (1364 EC = 10 May AD 1372): Säyfä Arʿadä; on the 24th of Säne (1422 EC = 18 June AD 1430): ʾƏndəryas; on the 29th of this same month (Säne 1406 EC = 23 June AD 1414): Tewodros; on the 14th of Mäskäräm (1425 EC = 11 September AD 1432): ʾḤəzbä Nayni; on the 9th of ʾṬəqəmt (1406 EC = 6 October AD 1413): Dawit; on the 29th of this same month (ʾṬəqəmt 1421 EC = 26 October AD 1428): Yəṣṣəḥaq.

The celebration with one official is with fifty pieces of bread and twenty jars (of beer). Both of them (public and private) are alike. This is (when feasting in public) with the serf. In their (private) houses, (it should be) with four jars and ten pieces of bread. The one who set this ordinance is Zärʾa Yaʿəqəb, the king of (Orthodox) faith. Those who do not implement this are, truly, rebels against the kings.

There is also something we should tell you, O abbots of holy 9
Mädära—that you should not come near the land and property of *Nəburä ʿEd Kəflä Taʿos* and his offspring, because they built this shrine of yours in the likeness of (the temple in) Jerusalem. If you ever rob their land and their property, be excommunicated by the mouth of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and by the mouth of *Abba Gärima*.

Täklo’s land of inheritance was ninety (pieces). During the tenure of 10
our abbot Yämanä Krəstos, two-thirds (went) to (the Monastery of) *Abba Gärima* (and) one-third to Täklo, the proprietor of the inheritance land. The shrine of *Abba Gärima* was built by *Wäyzäro*

(in a seventeenth/eighteenth-century hand)

10 ዘተክሎ ፡ ርሱት ፡ ጳ ነበረ ፡ ጀእጅ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ ጀእጅ ፡ ለተክሎ ፡ በዓለ ፡ ርሱት ፡ በመምህርነ ፡ የማነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወለመቅደስ ፡ አባ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ ሐነጽዋ ፡ ወይዘሮ ፡ ክርስቶሳዊት ፡ ወደጅዣትማች ፡ ክፍለ ፡ ዋሕድ ፡ ያዕርፍ ፡ ነ

(fol. 8v = Davies, first and frame 7, fourteenth/fifteenth century)

11 [በ]አኩቲተ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ጎነጽኩ ፡ አነ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ ወአሠነይኩ ፡ ጎነጽታ ፡ በዕፅ ፡ ወእብን ፡ ወጎጺን ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዕባዩ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ ፈጸምኩ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ወወሀብኩ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ጣፋ ፡ ቈላሃ ፡ ወደጉዓሃ ፡ እምንጽፋ ፡ እስከ ፡ ጽንፋ ፡ ወኩሉ ፡ ዘይትወሀብ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ነጋሢ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩኖሙ ፡ ሲሳዩሙ ፡ ለመነከሳት ፡ ምስለ ፡ አባ ፡ ምኔቶሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበሩ ፡ ተዝካሩ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ ወካዕብ ፡ ወሀብኩ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ዓድዋ [፡] ጎብ ፡ አጉዮያ ፡ ዕፅ ፡ ወእብነ ፡ እስከ ፡ ቀራራውዕቶ ፡ ወካዕብ ፡ ወሀብኩ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ሀገራይ ፡ [አ]ቴሬት ጌበት ፡ ዐድ ፡ ገቦ ፡ ውራኬት ፡ መዝበር ፡ ገ[ን]ደት ፡ ቀጸቤት ፡ ከነናዊት ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሰብአሙ ፡ ወበሐር[ት]ሂ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ማኅበር ፡ ወቅሮ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ወበአይባ ፡ አጽገባ ፡ ወበአምባ ፡ ስነይትሂ ፡ ሐምሎ ፡ ወበአድ ፡ ጸዋ ፡ ጅ ፡ አህጉር ፡ ወማኅበረ [፡] ማርያም ፡ ወሀብኩ ፡ አነ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ በጻሕኩ ፡ ጎብ ፡ መካኑ ፡ [ለአባ] ፡ ገሪማ ፡ ወነገሩኒ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዕባዮ ፡ [ወመን]ክሮ ፡ ወተአምራሁ ፡ ዘገብረ [፡] ወአነሂ ፡ ወሀብኩ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ አልባሰ ፡ ወዲባጋተ ፡ ዘወርቅ ፡ ወአግባእኩ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ምድሮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበሩ ፡ ተዝካሪ ፡ ወተዝካሪ ፡ ደቂቅየ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ እለ ፡ እምድጎሬየ ፡ ወእመቦ ፡ ዘተጎየለ ፡ ወዘተአገለ ፡ እመሂ ፡ መኩንን ፡ ወእመሂ ፡ አውፋሪ ፡ ዘአ []ገብአ ፡ ጎልፈ ፡ ወፈረስ ፡ ወአንበሳ ፡ ውጉዝ ፡ ለይኩን ፡ በአፈ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡

(contemporary, Bāʿədä Maryam, dated 1469 EC = AD 1477/1478)

12 በአኩቲተ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘወሀብ ፡ ወዘከመ ፡ አግብአ ፡ ንጉሥነ ፡ በእደ ፡ ማርያም ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍቅሩ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ እስመ ፡ አርአዮ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዕባያቲሁ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ገሪማ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ጎደግነ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ግብ

10,3 ወደጅዣትማች ፡] sic; for ወደጅ ፡ አዝትማች ፡ 11,6 ተዝካሩ ፡] for ተዝካሮ ፡ 7 አጉዮያ ፡] the first and the last letters are not clear. 10 ወበሐር[ት]ሂ ፡] possibly, ወበሐርትሂ ፡ ወቅሮ ፡] definitely for ውቅሮ ፡ 12 ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡] inserted in a later hand, seventeenth century. 17 ጎልፈ ፡] the same expression appears in the Golden Gospel of Abba Libanos; see Conti Rossini 1901, 200 (no. 17).

10 ⁸ Died in 1637 EC (AD 1644/1645). 11 ⁹ *Däbtära* ‘tabernacle’, as in *Däbtära Orit*, is rare in the literature. | ¹⁰ Or Ateretgebät. | ¹¹ Canaanite? | ¹² Interestingly, some of these lands are listed in his grant recorded in the *Liber Axumae*, with the grant renewed by Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508–1540), Conti Rossini 1909, 19 and 32. | ¹³ Or ‘And in Bāhart’. | ¹⁴ ‘Community house’. | ¹⁵ Betä Giyorgis. | ¹⁶ ‘Community of Mary’. | ¹⁷ *Mäkan*. | ¹⁸ The

Ḳṛəstosawit⁸ and *Dägğazmač* Ḳəflä Waḥəd. May he rest their (souls in his Heavenly Kingdom).

[With] thanksgiving to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. I, King Gäbrä Mäsqäl, have built (the church of) *Abbä* Gärima. King Gäbrä Mäsqäl said, ‘I beautified its construction with wood, stone, and iron because of the greatness of *Abbä* Gärima. I completed (the construction of) this tabernacle⁹ and granted the land of Ṭafa, its low and high land from boarder to boarder, so that all that is brought to the palace may be the livelihood of the monks and their abbot so they may observe the memorial of *Abbä* Gärima. I have granted also the land of °Adwa from where they cleared the wood and stone up to Q^wərawə^cto. I have granted also the lands of Hagäray, *[A]teret Gebät,¹⁰ °Add Gäbo, Wəraket, Mäzbär Gä[n]dät, Qäšäbet the Känawit,¹¹ with the people in (it/them)’.¹²

I, Gäbrä Mäsqäl, have granted in Hart¹³: the Betä Maḥbär¹⁴ Wäqro, the Church of George;¹⁵ and in Ayəbba: Ašgäba; and in Amba Sənäyt: Ḥamlo; and in Add Šiwa: the five villages and Maḥbärä Maryam.¹⁶ I came to the centre¹⁷ of [*Abba*] Gärima; and they told me everything about his greatness, (including) the wonders and miracles he worked. And I, on my part, donated many vestments and golden embroideries, and restored all his lands as the former kings (had granted them) so that they may observe my memorial and the memorial of my offspring—kings who will come after me. May whoever overpowers and robs (these grants), whether a governor or an *awfari* who let (any beast) trespass¹⁸ or a horse or a lion drive into (it) be excommunicated by the mouth of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

With thanksgiving to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. (The land) our King Bä^ədä Maryam granted and how he reinstalled (it to the Monastery of *Abba* Gärima) because of his love to *Abba* Gärima, was because God has revealed to him all great things of *Abba* Gärima. He said, ‘We have given up (collecting) all former taxes. Let (the revenue)

same expression appears in the Golden Gospel of *Abba* Libanos; see Conti Rossini 1901, 200 (no. 17), ‘domestic animal’.

ረ : ዘነበረ : ቀዳሚ : ወይኩን : ሲሳየ : ለመነኮሳት ። ወተዝካርሂ : ከመ : ይኩን : ለንጉሥነ : በእደ : ማርያም : በአስተርእዮ : ማርያም : ሲሕ : ኅብስተ : ወ[///] ሰዋ : ዘምስለ : ሚስ ። እንዘ : ንጉሥ[:] በእደ : ማርያም : ወመኩንንሂ : በ አ[ፈ. :] ወርቅ ። [//////] ገብረ : ብርሃን ። [ወ]በፀል : ተገዛገዛ : እስጢፋኖስ : [ወ]ቤተ : ሆንሳ : ራእስ : ተዐጋሲ : አም[ላክ :] ወቃለ : ሐጸይ : ዘአጉለተ : ባሮ : [ወካ]ልኡ : ብሌነይ ። ወአፈ : መኩንንሂ :] ወሳነይ ። ወመምህርሂ : ዘአባ[:] ገ ሪማ : አባ : ኪሮስ ።

(in a different contemporary hand of the same time)

ወዝ : ዘኮነ : በጀጃወጀ : ዓመተ : ምሕ[ረት :]

(in a nineteenth-century hand)

ቤተ : ኃራሁ : ለመምሕር : ዘ[///] ዘአልባ : ግብር : ጴጥ[ሮ]ስ : ወጳው[ሎስ : ውጉዘ : ለ]ይኩን :

(fol. 10r = Davies 2, frame 9v, late fifteenth century)

- 13 በአኩቴተ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : አጽሐፍኩ : እነ : ዘአማኑኤል : ከመ : ይግበሩ : ተዝካረ : ንጉሥነ : ዘርእ : ያዕቆብ : *በ<ላ : > ጅ : ላህም : በጎበ : ሥዩ[ማ]ን : ወበጎበ : ንቡረ : እድሂ : ጅ : ላህም[:] ወእ[ም]ነ : ዐሌትሂ : ጅ : ላህም ። ወበ : ካዕቦ : ጥሕን : ወበበ : ጧ : ኅብስ[ት :] ወበበ፫ : ሰዋ ። ወካዕበ : አጽሐ[ፍ]ኩ : ሰማ : ለንግሥት : ሐና : ስመ[:] ርስታ : ሰማ : በዕግን : ወበመ ሥ[ዋዕት :]

(fol. 10v = Davies 2, frame 8r, possibly seventh century)

- 14 በአኩቴተ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : እነ : አርመሐ : ንጉሥ : ሐነ ጽኵዋ : ለቤተ : ማሪያም : ለሐምዛት : ወለቤተ : ገርጊዮስ : ወለቤተ : አበ : አን በሠ ። ዘአልባተ : *ግብር : ወግብጋበ : * ዘአልበቲ : ዐብጠ : ወዘንበ : ዘእንበለ : ለቤተ : አበ : ገሪማ :

12,6 በአ[ፈ. :] በ is an influence of በ in በእደ : 7 [//////] title effaced. 12 ምሕ[ረት :] 1469 EC (= AD 1476/1477). 13,2 *በ<ላ : > ጅ : ላህም : Scribal error in copying and correcting. 14,1 አርመሐ :] The last letter looks like the seventh order of ሐ, i.e. ሐ, but it is not when compared with the letter in the body of the manuscript, e.g. ዮሐንስ ፤ ሐ መር ፤ ባሕር ፤ ጽባሕ. In the case of the seventh order, both legs on the right are shortened, or better, the left leg is elongated. In the manuscript, the first letter in ሐንጽኵዋ and the second letter in በሐምዛት might look like ሐ, but its leg on the right is shorter than its leg of the left in both words. See also the last letters in ዐብጠ ወዘንበ. To come back to the name, in the list of kings it is አርማሕ/አርማላ/ አርምሐ/አርማህ/armāḥ. See Dillmann 1853, 349; and Conti Rossini 1909, 295 and 299. 2 አበ :] for አባ : We will see this repeated with 'አበ : ገሪማ : ' Perhaps one should not consider this an error. 3 ዘአልባተ :] for "ቲ : *ግብር :] for "ረ : | *ግብር : ወግብጋበ : *] the same expression appears in the Golden Gospel of Abba Libanos; see Conti Rossini 1901, 200 (no. 17). | ወዘንበ :] the last letter looks like the seventh order of በ, but see the similar letter in the next word ዘእንበለ.

be the livelihood of the monks'. (He has also ordered) that commemoration of our King Bā'ädä Maryam be on *Astärə'yo Maryam*¹⁹ with 1,000 pieces of bread and [?] hydromel with beer. (Enacted) while the king was Bā'ädä[dä] Maryam, the governor (*Mäk'ännən*) A[fä] Wärq, [/////]²⁰ Gäbrä Maryam, the head of furnishers of the royal camp (*Bä'alä Täg'äzag'əza*) Ḥṣṭifanos, the *Betä Hansa Ra's* Tä'aggasi Amlak, the king's spokesman (*Qalä Ḥaṣäy*) who executed the grant Baro with his friend Bəlenäy, and the spokesman of the governor Wäsanäy, and the abbot (of the Monastery) of *Abba Gärima*, *Abba Kiros*.

This (land grant) was enacted in 129 Year of Mercy (1469 EC = AD 1476/1477).

The house of the guards of Abbot Zä[////] is exempt of taxes. [Let whoever violates this] be excommunicated [by the mouth of] Peter and Paul.

With thanksgiving to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. I, 13
Zä'amanu'el, have commissioned the writing (of this), that (the monastic community) celebrate the memorial of our King Zär'a Ya'əqob, (slaughtering) one cow at the officials; and at the *Nəburä Ed*, one cow, and at 'Alet one cow, *ka'bo* dow, thirty pieces of bread, and three (jars) of hydromel²¹ at each of them. Also, I commissioned the recording of the name of Queen Ḥanna, the name of her inheritance (and) her (baptismal) name with (prayers of) incense and the Eucharist.

With thanksgiving to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. I, 14
King Armäḥa, have built the church of Mary of Ḥamzat, the church of George,²² and the church of *Abba Anbäsä*, which are exempt from taxes and forced labor, with no conscription²³ and *zänb* (= duty?)²⁴ other than for the church of *Abba Gärima*.²⁵

12 ¹⁹ The feast day of Mary that takes place following the feast of Transfiguration. | ²⁰ Effaced. 13 ²¹ Säwa. 14 ²² Betä Gärgiyos. | ²³ 'Abätä is the verb they used in describing what the soldiers did to Simon of Cyrene to carry Jesus's cross, Mt 27:32; Mk 15:21. | ²⁴ Or 'conscription', like *katmät* of the time of King Zär'a Ya'əqob. | ²⁵ Translated and analysed by Kropp 1992, 264.

(seventeenth/eighteenth-century):

- 15 ይቤሉ፡ ደጃእዝማች፡ ክፍለ፡ ኢየ[ሱስ፡] ምድረ፡ ጠፈናይ፡ አግባእኩ፡ [////] ለቤተ፡ ማኅበር፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ [ለ]ተዝካሩ፡ ለአባ፡ ገሪማ፡ ቀዳሚ[ኒ፡] ዘነበ ረ፡ በአፍአ፡ በጀ፡ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለንጉሥነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት[፡] ወበ መሀምሀርሂ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ አው፡ ዘተዓገለ፡ አው፡ ዘአውረዳ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ምድረ፡ ጠፈናይ፡ እመ[ሂ፡] መምህር፡ ወእመሂ፡ ካልአን፡ [ሥ]ዩማን፡ ውጉዛነ፡ ይኩኑ፡ በአ[ፈ፡ ጴ]ጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎ[ስ]፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን፡ ወአሜን፡ ለ[ይኩን፡] ለይኩን፡ # #

Garima II

(frame 1 (1r) = Davies 2, frame 9r, early sixteenth-century)

- 1 እደቂቀ፡ መደራ፡ ዝክርዎሙ፡ ለዜና፡ ሐዋርያት፡ መኩንን፡ ወለአመተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ብእሲቱ፡ ወግበሩ፡ ተዝካሮሙ፡ እስመ፡ ገብሩ፡ ለክሙ፡ ሠናየ #

(contemporary, AD 1563–1597)

- 2 በአኩቱተ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አዘዝኩ፡ አነ፡ ሠርፀ፡ ድንግል፡ ወሰመ፡ መንግሥትየ፡ መለክ፡ ሰገድ፡ ከመ፡ ይሕንፀ፡ ምዝገቤሃ፡ ለደብረ፡ ገሪማ፡ ዘሀለው፡ ጉልት፡ ውስተ፡ እዴሁ፡ ለአባ፡ ገሪማ፡ ወካልአትሂ፡ አህጉራት፡ እለ፡ ይብልዎን፡ መምበርታ፡ ወአጽቢ፡ ደራ፡ ወሰንአፌ፡ አጋምያ፡ ወእዳ፡ መኩንን፡ አምባ፡ ሰነይት፡ ወገርዓልታ፡ ፅራፅ፡ ወመረታ፡ ፀድያ፡ ወሠርዔ፡ አውገር፡ ወሐ፡ ኃይሌ፡ ዛታ፡ ወገንደብታ፡ ምምሳሐ፡ *ወማይ፡ ዳዕሮ፡ ወእለ፡ ተርፉሂ፡ አጎጉራት #

(continued in a nineteenth-century hand)

- 3 ወካዕበ፡ ወሀብኩ፡ ፲ ማሕረሻ፡ በጉልት፡ ወ፲ጫን፡ እሕል፡ ዓዲ፡ ወጀ ሰየምት፡ ዘጣፋ፡ ፳ ወጀማሕረሻ፡ ወክልሂ፡ ከማሁ፡ ወጠፈናይሂ፡ ሽ፡ ቅናት፡ ዘአውልዕ፡ ወ[//ሸ]ማ፡ ለመጋቢ፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ግ[ብሮ]ሙ፡ አድ፡ መርአዊሂ፡ []ማ፡ ሸማ፡ ለቃ፡ ጠባቂ[፡]

15,3 ወበመሀምሀርሂ፡] sic. 4 ሃይማኖት፡] the copyist has missed some words here. 2,6 *ወማይ፡ ... 7 አጎጉራት #] added in the right margin. 3,2 ወክልሂ፡] or ወከ". Probably for ወእክልሂ፡ | ቅናት፡] possibly plural of the Amharic ቁና፡ 'qunna'. | ዘአውልዕ፡] in the margin.

Däḡḡa'azmač Kəflä Iyyäsus says, 'I have returned the land of Ṭäfānay 15
[///], which was previously excluded, to the (monastic) community, so
that it may be for observing the memorial of *Abba Gärima*'. (Enacted)
on the 2nd year of the reign of our King Täklä Haymanot (I,
1706–1708), and Abbot Täklä Haymanot. May he who,²⁶ or takes this
land of Ṭäfānay (by force), or robs or excludes it, be it an abbot or
other officials, be excommunicated by the mouth of Peter and Paul,
forever and ever. Amen and amen; let it be; let it be.

Garima II

O children of Mādära,²⁷ remember the (late) Governor Zena Ḥawaryat 1
and his wife Amätä Şəyon. Celebrate their memorial because they have
done favor to you.

With thanksgiving to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. I, 2
King Šäršä Dəngäl, whose regnal name is Mäläk Säggäd (1563–1597),
have ordered that they rebuild the ruins of Däbrä Gärima. (I affirm the
ownership of) the land grant²⁸ in the possession (of the Monastery) of
Abba Gärima and the other countries called Mämbärta, Aşbi, Där(r)a,
Sän'afe, Agamyä,²⁹ Ḥda³⁰ Mäk'ännän, Amba Sənäyt, Gär'alta, Zəra^c,
Märäta, Zädya, Šär'e, Awgär, Ḥa Ḥayle, Zata, Gändäbta, Məmsaḥa,
*and May Da^cro, and the remaining countries.³¹

I also donated ten plows as a³² *gʷəlt*, and ten loads of grain. The two of- 3
ficials of Ṭafa also (donated) twenty-four plows, and grain likewise.
And from Ṭäfānay 1,000 bushels (*qənnä*) of *awlə^c*; and [///] *šämma*
(will be brought) for the administrator. This is the tax (imposed on)
Add Mär'awi [///] *šämma* for the store keeper.

15 ²⁶ The copyist has missed possible offender(s). 1 ²⁷ That is, the monastic community
of the Monastery of *Abba Gärima*. 2 ²⁸ *Gʷəlt*. | ²⁹ Now: Agame. | ³⁰ Or Ḥdä, possibly, for
Ḥndä. | ³¹ Added in the right margin. 3 ³² Or 'per'.

Commentary

Garima I

1. The notes related to Gäbrä Mäsqäl

When Did Gäbrä Mäsqäl Reign? King Gäbrä Mäsqäl is a very famous and highly revered saintly ruler in local tradition. Almost every historian who mentions him identifies him as one of the sons of King Kaleb³² who took a successful military expedition to Sheba in AD 525 on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. Tradition makes him contemporary with the legendary Yared, the church musician and *Abba* Arägawi/Zä-Mika'el, leader of the Nine Saints.³³ It credits him with the building of the church of Däbrä Damo³⁴ and *Abba Mätta's*/Libanos's Betä Mäsqäl during the saint's lifetime.³⁵ But the period of 532 years, named the Cycle (*Qämär*) of Gäbrä Mäsqäl, began in 884 EC (AD 891). It is apparently named after him because it began during his reign. Knowing which year of his reign it began is important, but at least we can say that in 884 EC King Gäbrä Mäsqäl was on the throne. However one interprets it, the *qämär* began about 350 years after the time of his father and whom he succeeded on the throne, flourished, if the sources speak about the same ruler.

Other independent sources that agree on this date abound. One of them is preserved in the book of the computes, MS EMMML no. 2063, fol. 26v.³⁶ According to it, there were 421 years from the coming of Christianity to Ethiopia in 463 EC (that is, AD 470/471?) to the beginning of King Gäbrä Mäsqäl's reign. That is, 463 + 421 = 884 EC. Why this source gave 463 EC for the year Christianity began in Ethiopia is another matter.

The second source is the *Kəbrä Nəgəst*, the legendary book that establishes a link between the Ethiopian royal throne and that of Israel. It contains a prophetic statement that said Gäbrä Mäsqäl, the son of Kaleb, would reign in Aksum at the end of the twelfth *qämär* since the creation of Adam, the first man, in 5500 BC. This means that according to the *Kəbrä Nəgəst*,

³² Sergew Hable Sellassie 1972, 161–166; Kobishchanov 1979, 114–115 and *passim*; Phillipson 1998, 129.

³³ Conti Rossini 1904.

³⁴ Guidi 1896, 76–77.

³⁵ Bausi 2003, 56 and *passim*.

³⁶ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, 122–125.

Gäbrä Mäsqäl ascended the throne in $532 \times 12 = 6384$ AM (Anno Mundi) or $6384 - 5500 = 884$ EC.

The third source is a Fälaša or Betä ʾEsraʾel book, titled *Təʾəzazä Sänbät* or ‘Commandment regarding the Sabbath’, which prophesizes Gäbrä Mäsqäl’s ascension to the throne by the end of the 912th *subaʿe* (seven-year cycle), since the creation of the world. So, the *Təʾəzazä Sänbät*, too, suggests that the king started his reign in $912 \times 7 = 6384$ AM (884 EC).

The fourth source, too, is worth considering, even though at first glance it looks unclear. It is preserved in the Apocryphal book of Baruch. According to it, there were 530 years from the Emperors Constantine (I, 306–337) and Theodosius (II, 408–450) to King Gäbrä Mäsqäl. Obviously, it is impossible to be precise here because the two Emperors did not begin or end their reign at the same time, but it is clear that the difference of 530 years from Constantine I–Theodosius II to Gäbrä Mäsqäl makes the year 884 a possibility.

If we take this note at its face value, it quotes him as having said, ‘I restored all his (*Abba Gäräma*’s) lands as the former kings (had granted them)’. Who could these former kings be who ruled before him?

Ethiopia has several kings who were called Gäbrä Mäsqäl, which history might have confused.³⁷ Budge identifies with ʿAmdä Şəyon the Gäbrä Mäsqäl, who died on this day of 30 Hədar.³⁸

Who has the authority to Excommunicate? Excommunication is the right of one ordained as a priest. In the manuscripts, copyists and others (as in no. 6) issue excommunication to people who handle manuscripts illegally or grab land grants of monasteries. But they give the authority to others by saying, *yəkun wəguzä bä-afä ...* (‘let him be excommunicated by the mouth of ...’) But the king’s excommunication was direct: *awgäzku anä Gäbrä Mäsqäl ...* ‘I, Gäbrä Mäsqäl, have excommunicated ...’ Can we assume from this that he (and the Aksunite kings) were also ordained priests like the legendary Prester John of the Indies and the Zagʿe kings? The note is, unfortunately, in a seventeenth- or even eighteenth-century hand.

Another land grant by King Gäbrä Mäsqäl to this monastery is recorded in a manuscript of another monastery, *Liber Axumae*.³⁹

³⁷ Huntingford 1965, 99 also has raised this problem when discussing a land grant the king made to another monastery.

³⁸ Budge 1976, 308; this is in addition to Yəşəq and Saint Lalibäla.

³⁹ Conti Rossini 1909, 19; Huntingford 1965, 30. This could be a settlement of dispute over ownership of these lands.

Questions regarding the grants. Betä Qirqos (in no. 1), Qänzäbet of Rema (in no. 2), Betä Maḥbär Wəqro (in no. 3), and Betä Maḥbär in Abbay and Ḥamlo (in no. 4), Betä Ab[ba] Anbäs(s) (in no. 5), and possibly others look like defunct monasteries with their properties given to the monastery of *Abba* Gärima, unless this is a decree of making them daughter monasteries.

The service of those who use Betä Qirqos as their residence is strange. They serve the abbot while he is on a journey. He must have been traveling very often and with a huge entourage. The note, 'We are free people', implies that monasteries once had slaves for such services.

2. The notes ascribed to [Säyfä] Ar^cadä/Nəwayä Krəstos (AD 1344–1372)

The name of the king is Säyfä Ar^cadä, the object sign '–a' at the end of the first and the subject pronoun '–a' suffixed at the verb, means 'He terrorizes the sword'. In the course of time both 'a's drop. In fact 'Ar^cadä' becomes 'Ar^cəd', in the imperative: 'Do terrorize'!

The first note of King Säyfä Ar^cadä (no. 6) treats the monastery of *Abba* Gärima like a church of a community, not a monastery. The monastic community and its abbot (to which this note does not refer) must have died out at some point in time.

The content of the second note (no. 7) is rather strange. The king did not justify why he took the church's articles. Also, it is not clear if he took only the three crosses, and left the rest 'as ordered'. If what he took is only the crosses, one would be left with one guess: he intended to use them to heal sick people in the palace.

3. The note on the Commemoration of the kings (no. 8)

This note was undoubtedly authored by the order and approval of Emperor Zär^a Ya^cəqob (AD 1434–1468). This contemporary note is important because dates notating when the listed kings died can be relied upon, as they were recorded under the supervision of an authority on the subject. It is interesting to note that the emperor did not recognize the two kings, 'Amdä Şəyon/Iyäsus and Məḥərka Naññ, whom the nobility, who did not want Zär^a Ya^cəqob, had tried to crown when Emperor Yəşəq died in 1428. The years between his death and Zär^a Ya^cəqob's ascension to the throne (AD 1428–1434) were spent in a power struggle. Taddesse Tamrat has presented a document, a manuscript from Däbrä Wärq, documenting the

struggle.⁴⁰ That there was a problem at the palace at that time has been verified by contemporary sources, the history of the Ḥṣṭifanosite monks⁴¹ and the emperor's *Ṭomarä Täsbat*.⁴²

4. The notes in nos 9 and 10 contain names of historical importance for the Church. *Näburä Ḥd Kəflä Ta'os* (a unique name) and his descendants are credited for building the church of Mädära, and Lady Krəstosawit (and her husband?) *Dägğazmač Kəflä Waḥəd* for building the church of *Abba Gärima*. Here 'building' must mean 'rebuilding'. We know from note 11 below that it was built, if not rebuilt, by King Gäbrä Mäsqäl. The next note (no. 9), written in a seventeenth-century hand, could not be a continuation of note 8. It is only made to look so.

5. The problem with determining the time King Gäbrä Mäsqäl reigned has been discussed above. If this note (no. 11) has anything to contribute to the issue, it is the fact that the king does not know *Abba Gärima*, one of the Nine Saints, in person. He says, 'They told me everything about his greatness ...', implying that the two were not contemporaries. But according to the note, it was he who built the monastery's church.

6. King Bä'ədä Maryam died on 12 Ḥədar (1471 EC = 8 November 1478). His note (no. 12) shows that he wanted to be commemorated not on the day he died but lavishly on Mary's feast day, probably because he believes he is, and is called, 'In the Hands of Mary', and because this was the day he celebrated the death of the ruler of Adäl by his Army.⁴³

The note does not mention any land granted by Bä'ədä Maryam but that he returned the right to collect taxes. It would be interesting to know more about the nature of *gəbr* (tax) and by what authority the right was taken from the monastery, as well as why it was not returned by his father, Zär'a Ya'əqob. The document is valuable in that it gives part of the list of dignitaries during the reign—not all are identified or mentioned in the king's chronicles—and the Abbot of *Abba Gärima*. Of the two officials who enforced the order, the name of Bəlenäy comes up in the manuscripts very often.⁴⁴

7. The ordinance in no. 13 regarding the commemoration of Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob must have been issued at the time the king died. If Zä'amanu'el, who issued the ordinance, is the *Näburä Ḥd* of the Monastery of Libanos,⁴⁵ it will help in determining the time he flourished. But the

⁴⁰ Taddesse Tamrat 1974, 512–513.

⁴¹ Getatchew Haile 2011, 23.

⁴² Getatchew Haile 1991, 62–63.

⁴³ Perruchon 1893, 159.

⁴⁴ 'Bəlen Säğädä', *EAE*, I (2003), 524a–525a (G. Lusini).

⁴⁵ Bausi 2003, 180.

name is not uncommon.⁴⁶ The other person of interest is *Nəgəst* Hanna. She could be one of the king's consorts. On the other hand, princes and princesses are titled *nəguś* and *nəgəst*, respectively, even if they are not crowned.

8. Anyone who sees note no. 14 by *Nəguś* Armäha would immediately notice the unusual shapes of some of the letters, notably of ጸ (m) and ጹ (ś). It gives the impression that it is the recent copyist's intention to make the grant ancient by connecting the note with an ancient *nəguś*, who ruled in the seventh century.⁴⁷ The suspicion appears reasonable because the shape of the majority of the letters is not markedly different from those of after the seventeenth century. But we have now at least as many as three old manuscripts (MSS EMMML nos 6913, 6940, and 8509) whose letters are comparable to *Nəguś* Armäha's note. One may not be able to determine the origin of a manuscript from its present location. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the first two (MSS EMMML nos 6913 and 6940) come from Lasta, in Wällo, and the third (MS EMMML no. 8509) from Tana Qirqos, in Goğgam. Sergew's analysis of MS EMMML no. 8509 leaves no doubt that the manuscript is of the Aksumite era.⁴⁸ This does not mean that the note is as old as the manuscript itself. It is closer to the Zagwe era than the early Aksumite era during which the manuscript was copied. The similarity of the language of this note with several made by King Lalibäla is striking, e.g. ወዝ ፡ ጉላት ኩ ፡ ዘአልዐ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ወገብጋብ ፡ ዘኢተስጣ ፡ ወኢመኃለፍተ ፡ ዘአልዐ ፡ ዘኖቤ ፡ ወአባኪ ፡⁴⁹ Like Conti Rossini, I will not attempt to translate this, but the similarity of the two languages is visible. Not only that both have the expression, ዘአልዐ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ወገብጋብ ፡, but also this ዘኖቤ ፡ (*zänabe*), whatever it means, is definitely Armah's ዘንባ ፡ (*zänbä* < *zänb*). Where would a fifteenth-century writer, whose knowledge of Gəʿəz is not commendable, find these archaic words?

Now only one question remains: the identity of *Abba* Anbäsä in whose name a king of the seventh century has built a church. If he is the monk who has the Synaxary entry of 3 Mäskäräm, he flourished in, or even after, the fourteenth century.⁵⁰ Because on this and other points, Manfred Kropp suspects 'Armäho' to be possibly another name of one of the known kings. But one can equally suspect that *Abba* Anbass could be a monk of the Aksumite

⁴⁶ For another Zäʿamanuʿel, see Conti Rossini 1909, 52; and Huntingford 1965, 65.

⁴⁷ Munro-Hay 1993, 116; Phillipson 1988 72–74; Uhlig 1988, 48. Uhlig's attention was paid to the body of the manuscript, not to this strange note; see Kropp 1992, 260–265.

⁴⁸ Sergew Hable Sellasie 1991, 64–80. See also Bulakh 2014, 177–212.

⁴⁹ Conti Rossini 1901, 186; see also 187. This phrase must have been common in olden time.

⁵⁰ Kropp 1992, 264; 'Anbäs', *EAE*, I (2003), 253b–254a (U. Zanetti).

era, one of the non-Ethiopians who assumed an Ethiopian name like the Egyptian *Abunä* Gäbrä Mämfäs Qəddus. Although it is in a seventeenth-century hand, it is recorded (Gärima I, no. 5) that this Betä Anbäss was given to the Monastery of *Abba* Gärima by the Aksumite King Gäbrä Mäsqäl. Furthermore, we do not know much about the other Anbäs *zä-əm-^cAräb* ('from of the west'), who has a Synaxary entry for 2 Taḥśaś. One other observation: The space this note occupies could have not remained blank through the centuries to be used for the first time in the fifteenth century.

Finally, the language of this note is not the best, as noted also by Kropp. The writer might look like a non-Semitic-language speaker, actually a Greek or one with Greek cultural background, who would spell the name of Saint George as Gärgiyos. But, as is witnessed in MS EMMML no. 7078, fol. 26v, this was how it was spelled during the Aksumite era. MS EMMML no. 7078 belongs to the oldest group of manuscripts.

Index

Titles and other terms

Astärə^oyo Maryam: I, 12
awfari: I, 11
awla^c: II, 3
əyn lam: I, 7
Bä^oalä Täg^wəzag^wəza: I, 12
Betä Hansa Ra^s: I, 12
Däbtära: I, 11(n)
Däbtära Orit: I, 11(n)
Dägğazmač: I, 10; I, 15
g^wəlt: II, 2(n); II, 3
ka^cbo: I, 13
Kidanä Məbrät: I, 1(n)
läslas: I, 7
mägsäs: I, 7
Mäkan: I, 11(n)
Mäk^wännən: I, 12
Mäqabər: I, 2(n)
Nəburä Əd: I, 9; I, 13
Qalä Haşäy: I, 12
Qäysä Gäbäz: I, 6
Ra^s: I, 12

šamma: II, 3(2)

säwa: I, 13(n)

Wäyzäro: I, 10

zänb: I, 14

Personal names

Abrəha and Aşbəha, kings: I, 8
 [Afä] Wärq, governor: I, 12
 Amätä Şəyon: II, 1
 əmdä Şəyon, king: I, 8
 Armäha, king: I, 14
 Bä^oədä Maryam, king: I, 12 (3)
 Baro, *qalä haşäy*: I, 12
 Bəlenäy: I, 12
 Dawit, king: I, 8
 Əndəryas, king: I, 8
 Əstifanos, *bä^oalä täg^wəzag^wəz*: I, 12
 Gäbrä Maryam (title erased): I, 12
 Gäbrä Mäsqäl, king: I, 1; I, 8;
 I, 11(2)
 Һanna, queen: I, 13
 Һəzbä NaynI, king: I, 8
 Kəflä Iyyäsus, *dägğazmač*: I, 15
 Kəflä Ta^cos, *nəburä əd*: I, 9

- Kəflä Wahəḍ, *däggəzmač*: I, 10
 Kiroso, abbot: I, 12
 Krəstosawit, *wäyzäro*: I, 10
 Mäläk Säggäd, king: II, 2
 Mary, Mother of Mercy: I, 1
 Paul, Apostle: I, 12; I, 15
 Peter, Apostle: I, 12; I, 15
 Šäršä Dəngəl, king: II, 2
 Säyfä Ar^oadä, king: I, 6; I, 7; I, 8
 Tā^oaggasi Amlak, *betä hansa ra^s*:
 I, 12
 Täklä Haymanot, abbot: I, 15
 Täklä Haymanot, king: I, 15
 Täcklo: I, 10
 Tewodros, king: I, 8
 Wäsanäy, a spokesman of a gover-
 nor: I, 11
 Yämanä Krəstos, abbot: I, 10
 Yəšhaq, king: I, 8
 Zä[], abbot: I, 12
 Zä^oamanu^oel, abbot (?): I, 13
 Zär^oa Ya^oəqob, king: I, 7; I, 8; I, 13
 Zena Həwaryat, governor: II, 1
- Place names
- Ab[ba] Anbäss: I, 5
 Ab(b)äsä, river: I, 2
 Add Gäbo: I, 2; I, 11 (°Add Gäbo)
 Add Mär^oawi: II, 3
 Add Qäš: I, 1
 Add Šiwa: I, 11
 Add Täklä Näbiyat (in Add Šiwa):
 I, 4
 Add Tär(r) Bilä (in Add Šiwa): I, 4
 Addämäg^{wə^o}: I, 2
 [°A]ddä Qäran: I, 6
 °Addä Šännayto: I, 6
 °Adwa: I, 11
 Agamyä: II, 2
 Ahyawa: I, 6
- °Alet (?): I, 13
 Amba Sənäyt, Həmlö: I, 4; I, 11
 Amba Sənäyt: I, 4; I, 11; II, 2
 Anbäsä, church of *Abba*: I, 14
 Ašbi: II, 2
 Ašgäba in Ayəb(b)a: I, 11
 Astärə^oyo Maryam, feast: I, 12
 Atäret: I, 2
 Ateret Gebät: I, 11
 At^oEto: I, 2
 Awgär: II, 2
 Ayəbba: I, 4; I, 11
 Bäläho (in Add Šiwa): I, 4
 Bäläy/Bəlay: I, 2
 Betä *Abba* Anbäss: I, 5
 Betä Maḥbär: I, 3
 Betä Maḥbär (in Aybba): I, 4
 Betä Maḥbär Wäqro: I, 11
 Betä Maryam: I, 6
 Betä Qirqos: I, 1
 Da^oro, May: II, 2
 Dämärmäre: I, 2
 Där(r)a: II, 2
 Dərar^oAyn (in Add Šiwa): I, 4
 Əda Mäk^{wənnən}: II, 2
 Gäbet: I, 2
 Gebät: I, 11
 Gändäbta: II, 2
 Gändät: I, 2
 Gär^oalta: II, 2
 George, church of: I, 11
 George, church of: I, 14
 Hagäray: I, 2; I, 11
 Ha Həyle: II, 2
 Həmlö (in Amba Sənäyt): I, 4; I, 11
 Hənzat: I, 14
 Hərdäy: I, 11
 Hənzat: I, 5
 Jerusalem: I, 9
 Kolo: I, 6

The Marginal Notes in the *Abba* Gärima Gospels

Mädära, I, 9; II, 1	Sän'afe: II, 2
Maḥ[bärä] Maryam: I, 11	Šännay Şəbaḥ (in Add Şiwa): I, 4
Mämbärta: II, 2	Šär ^c e: II, 2
Mätära: I, 6	Şəgaba: I, 4
Märäta: II, 2	Sobon: I, 2
Mary, church of: I, 14	Ṭafa: I, 11; II, 3
Mayä G ^w ənd: I, 6	Ṭäfānay: I, 15(2); II, 3
May Da ^r o: II, 2	Ṭāra ^c it: I, 6
Mäzbär: I, 2	Wäqro, Betä Maḥbär: I, 11
Mäzbär Gädät: I, 11	Wəqro Betä Maḥbär: I, 3
Məmsaḥa: II, 2	Wəraḳet: I, 2; I, 11 (Wəraḳet)
Qänzäbet of Rema: I, 2	Zä ^c da Mäqabər: I, 2
Qäşäbet the Känawit: I, 11	Zädya: II, 2
Q ^w əraw ^c to: I, 11	Zata: II, 2
Säḥart: I, 3	Zəra ^c : II, 2

References

- Bausi, A. 2003. *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, CSCO, 595, *Scriptores aethiopici*, 105 (Lovanii: Peeters, 2003).
- Budge, E.A.W. 1976. *The book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church* (Cambridge 1928; repr. Hildesheim–New York: Olms, 1976).
- Bulakh, M. 2014. 'Ancient Gəſəz Orthography: Evaluation of the Fragment of Luke (Verses 6:37–6:43) in the Manuscript MY-002 from Däbrä Maſšo, Təgray', in A. Bausi, A. Gori, and G. Lusini, eds, *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 177–212.
- Conti Rossini, C. 1909. *Documenta ad illustradam historiam*, I: *Liber Axumae*, CSCO (repr. 54), *Scriptores aethiopici series altera*, 8 (repr. 24), (Parisiis–Lipsiae: E Typographeo Reipublicae–Harrassowitz, 1909; repr. 1961).
- 1901. 'L'Evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos', *Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 10, 5 (1901), 177–219.
- 1904. *Vitae Sanctorum Antiquiorum*, II: *Gadla Panṭalēwon seu Acta S. Pantaleonis*, CSCO (repr. 26), series altera, *Scriptores aethiopici*, 17 (repr. 9) (Romae–Lipsiae: De Luigi–Harrassowitz, 1904; repr. 1961).
- 1909. 'Les Listes des Rois d'Aksoum', *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 10, 14 (1909), 263–320.
- Davies, D.M. 1987. 'The dating of Ethiopic manuscripts', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 46 (1987), 287–307.
- Dillmann, A. 1853. 'Zur Geschichte des abyssinischen Reichs', *ZDMG*, 7 (1853), 338–364.
- Getatchew Haile 1991. *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob* (Ṭomarä Təsbəṭ), CSCO, 523, *Scriptores Aethiopici*, 96 (Lovanii: Peeters, 1991).

- 2011. *A History of the First Estifanosite Monks*, CSCO, 635, *Scriptores Aethiopici*, 112 (Lovanii: Peeters, 2011).
- and F.W. Macomber 1982. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1982).
- Guidi, I. 1896. ‘Il «Gadla ’Aragāwi»’, *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 5, 2 (1894 (1896)), 54–96.
- Huntingford, G.W.B. 1965. *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure, 1 (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 1965).
- Kobishchanov, Y.M. 1979. *Axum*, Translated from the Russian by L.T. Kapitanoff, With an introductory essay by J.W. Michels (University Park, PA–London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979).
- Kropp, M. 1992. Review of Uhlig 1988, in *Oriens Christianus*, 76 (1992), 260–266.
- Lusini, G. 1993. *Studi sul monachesimo eustaziano (secolo XIV–XV)*, Studi Africanistici, Serie Etiopica, 3 (Napoli: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi e ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi, 1993).
- Munro-Hay, S.C. 1993. ‘Aksumite Coinage’, in M. Heldman and S.C. Munro-Hay, eds., Roderick Grierson, ed., *African Zion: The Sacred Art of Ethiopia* (New Haven, CT–London–Addis Ababa: Yale University Press, 1993), 101–116.
- Perruchon, J. 1893. *Les Chroniques de Zâr’â Yâ’eqôb et de Ba’eda Mâryâm, rois d’Éthiopie de 1434 à 1478*, Bibliothèque de l’École pratique des hautes études, Sciences philologiques et historiques, 93 (Paris: Émile Bouillon, Éditeur, 1893).
- Phillipson, D. 1998. *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum: its antecedents and successors* (London: British Museum Press, 1998).
- Sergew Hable Sellassie 1972. *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History* (Addis Ababa: United Printers, 1972).
- 1991. ‘An Early Ethiopian Manuscript: EMM 8509’, *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 40 (1991), 64–80.
- Tadesse Tamrat 1974. ‘Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: A Presentation of the Documents’, in *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 10–15 Aprile 1972)*, I (*Sezione storica*), Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura, 191 (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei), 501–535.
- Uhlig, S. 1988. *Äthiopische Paläographie*, ÄthFor, 22 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1988).