

'Abbā Salāmā and his Role of Commissioner of the *Gəbra Ḥəmāmāt*: an Additional Evidence from Two Witnesses from Təgrāy, Northern Ethiopia

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Among the Gə'əz translations which, according to the Ethiopian Christian tradition, were produced and promoted by the fourteenth-century Metropolitan 'Abbā Salāmā, there is also the *Gəbra Ḥəmāmāt*, the Gə'əz version of the Coptic Lectionary for the Holy Week. This is suggested by the colophon, which concludes the readings for the Saturday of the Resurrection and which is found, in addition to three previously known manuscripts preserved in the British Library, in two witnesses from Təgrāy in northern Ethiopia, recorded by the project Ethio-SPaRe. The aim of the article is to present these two manuscripts and the colophon, in which 'Abbā Salāmā is mentioned as the one who commissioned the Gə'əz lectionary.

Introduction

'Abbā Salāmā, the Coptic monk who was Metropolitan of the Ethiopian Orthodox (*Tawāḥədo*) Church from 1348 to 1388, is credited with having personally translated or revised as well as promoted the translation of numerous texts of the Ethiopian Christian literature from Egyptian Arabic into Gə'əz, earning him the epithet *Salāmā Matarg'əm*, 'Salāmā the Translator' (ሰላማ፡ መተርጎሞ፡).¹

We have very limited biographical information about him; equally scarce is evidence concerning his literary activity in Ethiopia. The epithet *Matarg'əm* is found in the Ethiopic Synaxarion, in the very short commemoration note dedicated to him, on 21 *Naḥase*.² In the list of Ethiopian metropolitans included, on f. 90r, in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Éthiopien 160 (seventeenth century), 'Abbā Salāmā is referred to as 'Translator of the Sacred Scripture';³ yet, according to Arnold van Lantschoot, the Metropolitan Salāmā did not carry out a real translation, but rather a revision of the already existing Gə'əz Bible, on the basis of an Arabic version which was circulating in the Coptic Church in that period.⁴ In any case we have no further evidence

1 On 'Abbā Salāmā, see Marrassini 2010; cf. also Lantschoot 1960, 397–401.

2 Cf. Guidi 1912, 359.

3 Cf. Zotenberg 1877, 263a. Here, about Salāmā, we read: 'Abbā Salāmā, le traducteur de l'Écriture sainte, qui est enterré à Ḥaqālēt (ሐቃሌት)'.
4 Cf. Lantschoot 1960, in particular p. 399. About the mention of 'Abbā Salāmā as 'Translator of the Sacred Scripture' in the list of metropolitans of MS Éthiop. 160, and about the hypothesis of the revision of the Gə'əz Bible made by him, see also Conti Rossini 1895, 236–241, in particular p. 240.

on this presumable work of revision (whether he performed it alone, which books exactly he corrected, etc.). Somewhat more, though still limited, are the pieces of information concerning 'Abbā Salāmā's role as translator or promoter of translations of other Gə'əz texts, in particular, hagiographical and liturgical ones. This emerges, as Arnold van Lantschoot points out, from some colophons copied by the scribes at the end of certain texts,⁵ where the name of the Metropolitan appears as the one who translated or transcribed them.⁶

The list of works the Ethiopian Christian literature, which, according to the tradition, were translated or promoted by 'Abbā Salāmā, also includes the Gə'əz version of the Coptic Holy Week lectionary, the *Gəbra Hāmāmāt* (ገብራ ሐማማት),⁷ containing readings generally starting from the Palm Sunday's eve till the 12th hour of Easter Sunday.⁸ This attribution can be assumed from a mention of 'Abbā Salāmā as the commissioner of the lectionary in an 'embedded colophon', transmitted with some of the copies of the work.⁹ Three such witnesses are preserved in the British Library: MS London, British Library (BL), Oriental 597,¹⁰ of the fifteenth century, with the note on f. 259v; MS London, BL, Oriental 599,¹¹ of the eighteenth century (1721–1730), with the note on f. 153v; MS London, BL, Oriental 600,¹² of the end of the seventeenth century, with the note on f. 157v.¹³

5 For the list of these texts see Marrassini 2010, 488b–489a, and Lantschoot 1960, 399–401. For the hagiographical texts see in particular Bausi 2002, 8–12.

6 Cf. Lantschoot 1960, 399.

7 On the *Gəbra Hāmāmāt*, cf. Zanetti 2005. For a comparison between the Coptic and the Ethiopic lectionary, see Zanetti 1994, 765–783. On the liturgical moments, readings and 'meanings' of the Holy Week of the Ethiopian Church, see in particular Fritsch 2001, 211–247. Cf. also Habtemichael Kidane 1997, 93–134; Proverbio 1998, 99–108. A particularly detailed manuscript description was provided by Strelcyn for MS London, BL, Oriental 2083 (hereafter BL Or 2083; cf. Strelcyn 1978, 57–71, no. 40) and is therefore often used below as a point of reference.

8 Cf. Zanetti 2005, 725b.

9 As 'embedded colophon' I define here the colophon about the production of the text, copied together with the work, as opposed to the scribe's colophon produced to describe the creation of the specific copy. On the phenomenon of the colophons and *subscriptions* in Ethiopic manuscripts, see Bausi 2016; in particular, on 'embedded colophon', p. 242.

10 Cf. Wright 1877, 136–138, no. CCVII. Hereafter BL Or. 597.

11 Cf. *ibid.* 140, no. CCX. Hereafter BL Or. 599.

12 Cf. *ibid.* 138, no. CCVIII. Hereafter BL Or. 600.

13 In his list of Gə'əz texts ascribed to 'Abbā Salāmā, Lantschoot includes the *Gəbra Hāmāmāt*, indicating as source the note found in BL Or 597 (cf. Lantschoot 1960, 401, and 401 n. 34). Marrassini (2010, 489a) also mentions BL Or 597 but also adds MS London, BL, Oriental 601 (BL Or 601; cf. *ibid.*; on this manuscript cf. Wright 1877, 140, no. CCXI). Yet, the latter note is not the same 'embedded colophon'

The same colophon is contained in two manuscripts of the *Gəbra Həməmət* from Təgrāy, MSS Gol'a Dabra Bərhan Yoḥannəs, Ethio-SpaRe BGY-004 and Gwāḥgot 'Iyasus, Ethio-SpaRe GBI-002, both photographed by the project Ethio-SpaRe¹⁴ and catalogued by myself within the framework of the project. The cataloguing of these exemplars of the Ethiopic lectionary¹⁵ gave me the opportunity to identify this colophon and the information which links this text to the Metropolitan 'Abbā Salāmā.

In this article, I introduce these two manuscripts of the *Gəbra Həməmət*, provide the summary of their content as well as their physical and codicological description,¹⁶ and present this colophon, which can be considered an 'embedded colophon' of the *Gəbra Həməmət* and which constitutes an addi-

as the one in MSS BL Or 597, 599, or 600 (or in the two manuscripts discussed below). The particular 'embedded colophon', found in BL Or 601, f. 113r, belongs, in fact, not to the entire lectionary, but only to the text of the 'Homily of Cyriacus of Behnesa on the Assumption', known as the *Lāḥa Māryām* (Weninger 2007), translated from Arabic into Gə'əz by 'Abbā Salāmā (cf. *ibid.*, 477a and Marrassini 2010, 489a). The note is partially reported by Wright (1877, 140) as follows: 'ዘገተ: መጽሐፈ: ዙተርጐመ: ብፁዕ: ወርቀዕ: ሃይማኖት: ኢቡነ: ኦባ: ሰላማ: ያጽሐፍ: ሰሞ: እግዚእ {sic} ብሐር: ውስተ: መጽሐፈ: ሕይወት etc.' (The same 'embedded colophon' also concludes the *Lāḥa Māryām* in MS London, BL, Oriental 604; cf. *ibid.*, 143–145, no. CCXVI, here p. 145). Already Guidi (1932, 30) included the *Gəbra Həməmət* among the works of the Ethiopian Christian literature translated by, or under, 'Abbā Salāmā.

- 14 The digitizing of these manuscripts was carried out by the team of the project Ethio-SPaRe: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia. Salvation, Preservation, Research (EU 7th Framework Programme, ERC Starting Grant 240720, PI Denis Nosnitsin, 2009–2015, <<https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/ethiostudies/research/ethiospare/>>): MS BGY-004 during the third fieldwork mission, on 22 May 2011, MS GBI-002 during the second fieldwork mission, on 1 December 2010; on the Ethio-SPaRe missions, the churches and the relative collections, see Nosnitsin 2013. All shelf marks, here and below, were assigned by the project and used in the project database.
- 15 The other manuscripts of the *Gəbra Həməmət* photographed and catalogued by the Ethio-SPaRe project are: MSS DMB-008, GKM-006, GMG-001, AKM-006, QS-010, DAY-001, GMS-001, BQM-005, WQ-001, QDQ-002, MY-003, SDGM-003, ATH-007, QQM-003, QSM-002, AQG-004, MM-002, all of them catalogued by Vitagrazia Pisani, and MSS SMM-001, MAC-002, DZ-010, DMA-014, KTM-005, NSM-002, QMB-001, AMQ-003, AP-009, MQM-010, MKL-001, FBM-002, all of them catalogued by Irene Roticiiani. Their descriptions are available at <<https://mycms-vs03.rz.uni-hamburg.de/domlib/>> and now at <<https://betamasafeft.eu>> (updated to TEI format, last accessed 29 November 2019).
- 16 The descriptions of MSS BGY-004 and GBI-002 which I provide in this article are updated versions of the ones made in the framework of Ethio-SPaRe project and available at <https://mycms-vs03.rz.uni-hamburg.de/domlib/receive/domlib_document_00002528> and <<https://mycms-vs03.rz.uni-hamburg.de/domlib/receive/>>

tional evidence on the role of 'Abbā Salāmā as commissioner of the Ethiopic lectionary.

1. Manuscripts Ethio-SPaRe BGY-004 and GBI-002

1.1. MS Ethio-SPaRe BGY-004



Fig. 1. MS Gol'a Dabra Bərhan Yohannēs, BGY-004, late seventeenth/early eighteenth century: incipit page (f. 2r) (photo: Ethio-SPaRe).

MS BGY-004 (= Təgrāy Culture and Tourism Agency no. 1, 24–08–93¹⁷) is a witness of the *Gabra Hāmāmāt* recorded by the Ethio-SPaRe project, which is preserved in the church of Gol'a Yohannēs Maṭmēq¹⁸ (*waradā*-district Gāntā 'Afašum), in East Təgrāy (fig. 1). It contains the lectionary on ff. 2ra–208vc. On ff. 208vc (l. 19)–209ra, at the end of the entire work, a dating colophon

domlib_document_00001572>, respectively. The updated descriptions are now available at <<https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESbgy004>> and <<https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/ESgbi002>>, respectively.

17 The shelf mark of the Təgrāy Culture and Tourism Agency is written on f. 1r.

18 Also Gol'a Dabra Bərhan Yohannēs and Dabra Bərhan Qəddus Yohannēs Gol'a. About this church and its collection, see Nosnitsin 2013, 190–195. See also <<https://betamasaheft.eu/INS0161BGY>>).

states that the book was completed in the year A.M. 7191 during the time of King 'Iyāsu and when Metropolitan was 'Abuna Mārḳos:

ተፈጸመ፡ ዝነ፡ቱ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ጥበረ፡ ሕማማት፡ በረድኤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ከቡር፡ ወአዚገዜ፡ ለከከሮቱ፡ ይጸሉ፡ ሰጊድ፡ በ፳፻ወጃ፡ ፻፡ ፯ወጃ፡ ዓመት፡ እምፍጥረተ፡ ዓለም፡ በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ እንዘ፡ አበቅቱ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ፳ወጃ፡ ወአበ ቅቱ፡ ወር(f. 209ra)ነ፡ ፪፡ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለንጉሥነ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወጳጳስነ፡ አባ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ...

This book of the *Gabra Hāmāmāt* was completed, with the help of the Lord, glorious and mighty, (Whom) it is proper to venerate, for His memory, in the year 7191 from the Creation of the World, in the time of the Evangelist Luke, on the 28th epact of the sun ('*abaqtē dahay*) and on the 2nd epact of the moon ('*abaqtē warh*), (in) the year of the reign of our King of Faith, 'Iyāsu, and our Metropolitan 'Abbā Mārḳos ...

Reading this note and assuming that King 'Iyāsu and Metropolitan Mārḳos mentioned are 'Iyāsu I (r. 1682–1706)¹⁹ and 'Abuna Mārḳos IV²⁰ (tenure 1693²¹–1716), we can deduce that the manuscript was written between 1693 and 1706, and, considering Chaîne's calculation,²² precisely in 1699.

Another note, on f. 208ra (l. 19)–vb (l. 10), concludes the readings for the Saturday of the Resurrection. This is the 'embedded colophon' mentioning 'Abbā Salāmā as the commissioner of the *Gabra Hāmāmāt*, which is in the focus of this article and is discussed in detail in § 2 below.

In the following, I provide the codicological description of the manuscript and a short summary of the content.

1.1.1. Physical and codicological description

Material: parchment. State: good. Restoration: modern. Codicological units: 1. Language: Gə'əz. Date: 1699.

Outer dimensions (mm): 310 (width) × 335 (height) × 90 (thickness).

Total folia: 209 (blank ff.: 1v, 103vc, 209rb–rc, 209v).

Number of quires: 23 (A + 22). Quire structure²³: $\text{A(I-pos. 1)}^{\text{f. 1}} + {}_{1-8}\text{V}^{\text{ff. 2-81}} + {}_{9-10}\text{2.IV}^{\text{ff. 82-97}} + {}_{11}\text{III}^{\text{ff. 98-103}} + {}_{12-21}\text{10.V}^{\text{ff. 104-203}} + {}_{22}\text{III}^{\text{ff. 204-209}}$.

19 Cf. Bosc-Tiessé 2007.

20 Cf. Crummey 2007.

21 For this date cf. Bosc-Tiessé 2007, 250a.

22 Chaîne 1925, 168. It is to the same period, during the years of King 'Iyāsu I and the Metropolitan 'Abuna Mārḳos IV, that MS BL Or 600 was dated by Wright following the evidence in the dating colophon reported in the catalogue (cf. Wright 1877, 138). 'King 'Iyāsu' is also mentioned as the commissioner of MS BL Or 600 in the second part of the other colophon (starting on f. 157v; the first part mentioning 'Abbā Salāmā as the commissioner of the *Gabra Hāmāmāt*) and in supplication formulas throughout the text.

23 I use here the so-called 'improved German formula' (see COMSt 2015, 524; also Agati 2009, 167–168), with the additional indication of the number of the first folium.

Abbreviations: ስ: for ስቡሕ: ውሐቱ: ወልዑል: ውሐቱ: ለዓለም: (text 1.8., f. 173va–vc); ኪ: for ኪራላፀሶን: (text 1.8., f. 177ra–rb).

Colophon: (1) f. 208ra (l. 19)–vb (l. 10): ‘embedded colophon’; (2) ff. 208vc (l. 19)–209ra: dating colophon.

Scribal activities: textual additions, corrections and *marginalia*: (1) Several supplication formulas contain the name of Zawalda Māryām (e.g. ff. 160va, 160vc, 161rc, 162rc, 183rc), who is mentioned in the ‘embedded colophon’ as the commissioner of the manuscript. In the supplication formula on f. 160va, Zawalda Māryām is mentioned with ‘the children of this church’ (... ለደቂቱ: ዛቲ: ቤተ: ክርስቲያን: ምስሉ: ዘወልድ: ማርያም:...). (2) Subscriptio at the end of the ‘Homily by Jacob of Serug on Abraham’ (in Text 1.8.), on f. 139rc–va, ascribing the translation to ‘Abbā Salāmā (see below p. 137 and nn. 32 and 33). (3) Lacuna on f. 113ra (end of the column). (4) Spaces left unfilled (for personal names?) on f. 3va and f. 3vc. (5) Erasures: ff. 35vb–vc, 39vc, 42rb, 160vb. (6) Cues for the rubricator (numerals and words) in the margins of some folia (e.g. ff. 3v, 4r, 64v). (7) Decorated quire marks (black and red ink) on the left upper margin of the first folium of some quires: for the quires 3, 4, 5, 6 the quire marks ፩, ፪, ፫, ፬, respectively; the quire marks ፩, ፪, ፫ are also used for quires 14, 15, 17, respectively. (8) Excerpts of hymns (for the Good Friday?) written (in red, sometimes framed by lines) in the upper margin of some folia (e.g. ff. 124v–125r, 136r–v).

Varia: (1) Shelf mark of the Təgrāy Culture and Tourism Agency (TCTA), on f. 1r: no. 1, 24–08–93. (2) Personal names are written over erasure in a secondary hand in the supplication formulas throughout the text: Tasfā Māryām (e.g. ff. 4vb, 7rb), Zamanfas Qəddus (e.g. ff. 7vb, 29vb), Walatta ‘Aqlesyā (f. 82vc), Walatta Həywat (e.g. ff. 84rc, 87rb). (3) Stamp of the Church (bottom margin of ff. 2r, 64r, 208v). (4) Recent notes are written in pen or pencil in the margins and within the text of some folia (e.g. ff. 95v, 96r, 97r, 100v). (5) A text (additional note?) has been washed out on f. 207va–vb. (6) Strip of textile inserted in f. 129 (upper edge), for navigating in the text.

Miniatures and decorations: not present.

1.1.2. Description of content

Ff. 2ra–208vc: *Gəbra Həməmət*:

1.1. (ff. 2ra–4rc) Introduction (በስመ: አብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ጀኢምላክ: ²⁶ ንቀድም: በረድኤተ: አግዚአብሔር: ወበሥምረቱ: ንጽሕፍ: ዘንተ: መጽሐፈ: ቅዱስ: ዘፀደለ: አንብቦቱ: ኢምኦሪት: ወኢምክብት {sic} ²⁷...).

²⁶ In the following, the Trinitarian Formula is abbreviated as ‘በስመ: ...’.

²⁷ I give, after the ‘title’ for each text or section, the *incipit*. Concerning the punctuations *, #, †, they are reported as they are in the text; the punctuation made of a x-cross, with or without dashes, is represented and replaced with #.

1.2. (ff. 4rc–7ra) Eve of Palm Sunday:

– (ff. 4rc–7ra) for the evening (በሰሙ... በሰንበት፡ በዕለተ፡ ሆሣዕና፡ ሰርክ፡...).

1.3. (ff. 7ra–15vc) Palm Sunday:

– (ff. 7ra–8va) for the morning (ወበዝዮ፡ ያንብብ፡ ምዕዳን፡ በሰንበት፡ ሆሣዕና፡ ነግሀ፡...);

– (ff. 8va–10vb) [for the procession] (ወይትጋብኡ፡ ካህናት፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወይዑዱ፡ ታቦተ፡ ፫ጊዜ፡ ምስለ፡ መጋትው፡ ወዕፀ፡ ዘይት፡ ወሆሣዕና፡...);

– (ff. 10vb–12rb) before the Gospel (ወይብል፡ ቀሲስ፡ ዘንተ፡ ጸሎተ፡ ቅድመ፡ ወንጌል፡...);

– (ff. 12rb–14va) for the Mass (ወለእመቦ፡ ዘይክል፡ ይቄድስ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ጎርጎርዮስ፡ በዕለተ፡ ሆሣዕና፡...);

– (f. 14va) for midnight (ጸሎት፡ ዘይትነብብ፡ በሰሙን፡ ሕማማት፡ ወይእቲ፡ ሰባሒ፡ ይብሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ጀወጃጊዜ፡ መንፈቀ፡ ሌሊት፡...);

– (ff. 14va–15vc) for the 11th hour (ወይትጋብኡ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ጎብ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በጀወጃ፡ ሰዓት፡ በዕለተ፡ ሆሣዕና፡...).

1.4. (ff. 15vc–39ra) Monday:

– (ff. 15vc–19vb) for the night hours (በሰኑይ፡ በኣሐዱ፡ ሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡...);

– (ff. 19vb–39ra) for the day hours (በሰኑይ፡ ጽባሕ፡...), with: (ff. 24vb–25vb) ‘Homily by John Chrysostom (*Yohannas ʾAfa Warq*) for Monday morning’ (በሰሙ... ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ወብፀ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ኣፈ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘይትነብብ፡ በዕለተ፡ ሰኑይ፡ ነግሀ፡...);²⁸ (ff. 25vb–29vb) ‘Homily by John Chrysostom on the fig tree for Monday morning’ (በሰሙ ... ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ወብፀ፡ ዮ(f. 25vc)ሐንስ፡ ኣፈ፡ ወርቅ፡ በእንተ፡ ዕፀ፡ በለስ፡ ዘይትነብብ፡ በዕለተ፡ ሰኑይ፡ ነግሀ፡ ዘዕለተ፡ ሕማማት፡...);²⁹ (ff. 35vb–37ra) ‘Anonymous Homily for the ninth hour of Monday morning’ (ድርሳን፡ በሰኑይ፡ ዕለት፡ በቫ፡ ሰዓት፡ ዘይትነብብ፡...)³⁰.

1.5. (ff. 39rb–60rc) Tuesday:

– (ff. 39rb–42vb) for the night hours (በቀዳሚት፡ {sic} ሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘሰሉሥ፡...);

– (ff. 42vb–60rc) for the day hours (በሠሉስ፡ ጽባሕ፡ ዘይትነብብ፡...).

1.6. (ff. 60rc–77vb) Wednesday:

– (ff. 60rc–67vc) for the night hours (በቀዳሚት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘረቡዕ፡...);

– (ff. 67vc–77vb) for the day hours (በጽባሕ፡ ዕለተ፡ ረቡዕ፡...).

1.7. (ff. 77vb–103vb) Thursday:

– (ff. 77vb–81vb) for the night hours (በጁ፡ ሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘሐሙስ፡...);

– (ff. 81vb–103vb) for the day hours (በጁ፡ ሰዓት፡ በሐሙስ፡ ጽባሕ፡...).

28 The same homily is also in e.g. MS BL Or 2083, f. 29va (cf. Strelcyn 1978, 59, no. 40).

29 On the oriental manuscript tradition of this homily (= CPG 4588) and on the analysis and critical edition of the Gəʿəz and Arabic versions, see Proverbio 1998. For a hypothesis on the *Vorlage* of the text, on its translation into Gəʿəz and incorporation into the *Gabra Həməāmāt*, see *ibid.* 106–108. The same homily is also in e.g. MS BL Or 2083, f. 31rb (cf. Strelcyn 1978, 60, no. 40). On John Chrysostom, cf. Witakowski 2007a; on this homily, cf. in particular *ibid.* 294a.

30 For the same homily see also MS BL Or 2083, f. 42ra (cf. Strelcyn 1978, 60, no. 40).

1.8. (ff. 104ra–180rc) Friday:

– (ff. 104ra–117va) for the night hours (በጅሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ በዕለተ፡ ዓርብ፡...), with: (ff. 109rb–112vc) ‘Homily by John [Chrysostom], Bishop of Constantinople on the Saying of Christ “If it be possible, let this cup from me”³¹ (ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘቀሩሰጥንጥንድ፡ ጥንድ፡{sic} ጳሊስ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘይቤ፡ እግዚእ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለእመ፡ ዝንቲ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ወአይምሰሉ፡...);

– (ff. 117va–180rc) for the day hours (በጽዓሕ፡ በእርብ፡...), with: (ff. 137vb–139va) ‘Homily by Jacob of Serug on Abraham’³² (በሰመ፡ ... ድርሳን፡ ዘደረሰ፡ አባ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ኢ.{sic}ጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘሀገረ፡ ሥሩግ፡ በእንተ፡ ኢብርሃም፡ አቡነ፡ አርከ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ...);³³ (ff. 148va–160va) ‘Homily and Teaching of the Apostles regarding the Passion, Crucifixion and Resurrection of Our Lord’ (በሰመ፡ ... ድርሳን፡ ትምህርት፡ ዘእባዊን፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ዘመሀሩነ፡ መንፈሳዊያን፡ እሉ፡ እመንቲ፡ እሉ፡ ገብሩ፡ ኃይላት፡ ወተአምራት፡ ወትምህርተ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወዝ፡ ነገር፡ በክመ፡ ገብሩ፡ አይሁድ፡ ላዕሊ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘጸረ፡ ሕማማት፡ በዲበ፡ ዕፁ፡ መስቀል፡ ቅዱስ፡ በእንተአነ፡...);³⁴ (ff. 175vc–177rb) *Sə 'latāt ba-samuna həməmət* ‘Petitions in the Passion Week’ (ወይብል፡ ካህን፡ ዘንተ፡ ስእለታት፡ በሰመነ፡ ሕማማት፡...); (ff. 177rc–180ra) *Maḥāləya maḥāləy* ‘Song of Songs’ (መኃልዩ፡ መኃልይ፡...).

1.9. (ff. 180rc–208vc) Saturday:

– (ff. 180rc–197vc) for the night hours (በሰንበተ፡ አይሁድ፡ በዕለተ፡ ትንሣኤ፡ ዘይትነበብ፡...), with: (ff. 184ra–197rc) ‘Revelation of John’ (ዘዮሐንስ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘቀሩሰጥንጥንድ፡ ምጥሮጳሊስ፡ አመ፡ ሀለዎ፡ ያሰደድ፡ ራእዩ፡ ለዮሐንስ፡...);

31 On this homily (= CPG 4654), cf. Witakowski 2007a, 294b. See also Proverbio 1998, 71–72, 104, and 107, n. 6. The same homily is also in e.g. MS BL Or 2083, f. 129va (cf. Strelcyn 1978, 66, no. 40).

32 On Jacob of Serug, cf. Witakowski 2007b; on this specific homily, cf. in particular *ibid.* 263a, Marrassini 2010, 489a, Proverbio 1998, 104–105. The same homily is also in e.g. MS BL Or 2083, f. 154va (cf. Strelcyn 1978, 67, no. 40).

33 The homily ends (on ff. 139rc–va) with a *subscriptio* ascribing the commissioning of the translation from Arabic into Gə‘əz to ‘Abbā Salāmā and attributing the authorship of the work to the Bishop Athanasius (Bishop of Alexandria from 328 to 373; on him and the attribution of this and other works of the Ethiopic literature, cf. Witakowski 2003): ... (f. 139rc l. 18) ወይረሰ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ማኅደሮ፡ ለአቡነ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ ጳጳስነ፡ ምስሌሆም፡ ደርጉ፡ አሜን፡ ለዝንቲ፡ ድርሳን፡ ዘአጽሐፎ፡ አቡነ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ርቱዓ፡ ሃይዩት፡{sic} እመጽሐፈ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ለግዕዝ፡ ወይተሉ፡ ዝዩ፡ ተጽሕፎ፡ ዘይቤ፡ አባ፡ አትናስዮስ፡ ጳጳሱ፡ ተሀሉ፡ (f. 139va) ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡. The same *subscriptio* (with minor variants) concludes the same homily also in other manuscripts of the *Gəbra Həməmət* from the Ethio-SPaRe collection, MSS GBI-002 (f. 99rc), GMS-001 (f. 127rb), AQG-004 (f. 104va), and ATH-007 (f. 93ra). In BGY-004, as in ATH-007, the word እምሀረቢ or ሀረቢ (‘[from] Arabic’) is omitted.

34 For the same text, see MSS London, BL, Oriental 752, f. 183v (cf. Wright 1877, 215, no. CCCXXI.IV) and Oriental 775, f. 160r (cf. *ibid.*, 229, no. CCCXLI.II).

– (ff. 197vc–207va) for the Eucharistic liturgy (በሰንበተ፡ አፀሁድ፡ በጊዜ፡ ቅዱሴ ቊርባን፡...), with: (ff. 206rb–207va) *Təmhəarta həbu* ‘at ‘Doctrine of Mysteries’³⁵ (በእነተ፡ ትምህርተ፡ ኅቡአተ፡ ቅድመ፡ ዘትትነገር፡ እምጽርስፎፊ፡ ለምእመናን፡...);

– (ff. 207vc–208vc) for the evening (በሰንበተ፡ ሰርከ፡ ትንሣኤ፡ ይትጋብኡ፡ ከህናት፡ ወሕዝብ፡ ኅብ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወይትቀነዩ፡ ለበዓል፡...), with: (ff. 208vb–208vc) ‘Blessing of the sheep of the Lord’ (ይብል፡ ከህን፡ ህየንተ፡ ቡራኬ፡ በግዑ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡...).

1.10. (f. 208vc) [Sunday] (ህየንተ፡ ዝወእት፡ ትብል፡ በበዓለል፡ ፋሲካ፡ እስከ፡ በዓል፡ ሃምሳ፡...).

1.2. MS Ethio-SPaRe GBI-002



Fig. 2. MS Gwähgot 'Iyasus, Ethio-SPaRe GBI-002, late seventeenth/mid-eighteenth century: *incipit* page (f. 3r) (photo: Ethio-SPaRe).

MS GBI-002 is another witness of the *Gabra Həməāmāt* (on ff. 3ra–138ra) recorded by the Ethio-SPaRe project, which contains the ‘embedded colophon’ mentioning ‘*Abbā* Salāmā as the commissioner of the text, identical to the one in MS BGY-004. MS GBI-002 is preserved in the rock-hewn church

35 On this text, known also as the *Doctrina Arcanorum*, cf. Burteta 2010.

Gʷahgot ʿIyasus³⁶ (*waradā*-district Gāntā ʿAfašum), in East Təgrāy (fig. 2). According to a scribal ownership note in the upper margin of the *incipit* page of the text (f. 3r), ‘ግብረ ሕማማት ዘቅዱስ መድኃኔ ዓለም’, ‘*Gəbra Həməmət* of Qəddus Madhāne ʿĀlam’, this manuscript belonged and was preserved in the church of Madhāne ʿĀlam, that is the known church of Maqdalā in Wallo.³⁷ The codex is not explicitly dated, it does not contain a colophon with the date of the completion of the copy or with any other information concerning its production. However, some paratextual elements, supported by a paleographical analysis, allow us to date the manuscript between the seventeenth and the eighteenth century. In the second part of the ‘embedded colophon’, on f. 137va (ll. 1–2), we read, in fact, ‘ለዛቴ ግብረ ሕማማት ዘአጽሐፉ ንጉሥ ኢየሱስ {*er*.³⁸ } ተክለ ሃይማኖት’, ‘The one who had this *Gəbra Həməmət* written (is) our king ʿIyāsu for {*er*.³⁸ } Takla Hāymānot’. King ʿIyāsu is therefore mentioned as the commissioner of this specific manuscript (the first part of the name Takla Hāymānot has been erased, it is therefore not clear whether the name belongs to a church or to a person). King ʿIyāsu is also mentioned in numerous supplication formulas throughout the text. We cannot know whether King ʿIyāsu I (r. 1682–1706) or King ʿIyāsu II (r. 1730–1755)³⁹ is meant, and therefore can only accept the wider range between 1682 and 1755 as a production date.

In the following, I provide the codicological description of MS GBI-002, with a summary of its content.

1.2.1. Physical and codicological description

Material: parchment. State: good. Restoration: modern. Codicological units: 1. Language: Gəʿəz and Amharic. Date: 1682–1755 (?).

Outer dimensions (mm): 360 (width) × 400 (height) × 70 (thickness).

Total folia: 140 (blank ff.: 1r, 2v, 140v).

Number of quires: 19 (A + 17 + B). Quire structure: $I^{\text{ff. 1-2}} + {}_1V^{\text{ff. 3-12}} + {}_{2-16}15. IV^{\text{ff. 13-131}} + {}_{17}(IV\text{-pos. } 8)^{\text{ff. 132-138}} + {}_B(I\text{-pos } 1\text{-pos } 2)^{\text{ff. 139-140}}$.

Binding: Two wooden boards covered with reddish-brown leather (with tooled ornament; the leather cover is partly missing). Two pairs of sewing stations.

36 Also Dabra Šəge ʿIyasus Gʷahgot, Gʷahgot Dabra Šəge ʿIyasus. About this church and its collection, see Nosnitsin 2013, 250–254. See also <<https://betamasaheft.eu/INS0117GBI>> (last accessed 29 November 2019).

37 On this church cf. Pankhurst 2007. Concerning some manuscripts digitized by the project Ethio-SPaRe in East Təgrāy, and originally preserved in the Maqdalā library, see Ancel and Nosnitsin 2014, 91–95.

38 Er. = *erasit*.

39 On King ʿIyāsu II, cf. Chernetsov and Nosnitsin 2007.

Pricking and Ruling: visible; dry-point ruling. Ruling pattern: 1A-1A-1A1A-1A1A/0-0/0-0/C (Muzerelle system); the top written line is placed above the top horizontal ruled line (on f. 3r, below) and the bottom written line above the bottom ruled line (Pattern 1, according to Nosnitsin's classification).

Palaeography: one hand (quite regular). Scribe: Sæge Dængel; his name is mentioned in the ‘embedded colophon’ on f. 137vb, on the bottom margin of f. 3r, and within the text divider on f. 82va. Script: late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. The letters are slightly right sloping and with rounded shapes. The letters *œ* and *ʷ*, especially in the first order, show the upper horizontal strokes slightly slanted to the left side; the letter *œ*, in the first and second orders, has the left loop slightly bigger than the right one and the right loop which does not rest on the ruled line. Some archaic features: the letter *æ* has the sixth-order marker set up on the vertical stroke at the top, oriented to the left (f. 68rb l. 5); the loop of the numeral *ṡ* is open, looking like a ‘compressed’ *ṡ*; the numeral *ḡ* has the bottom loop open; the numeral *ḫ* is triangular and upwards-oriented; coronis.

Rubrication: Holy names; the name of King 'Iyāsu, commissioner of the manuscript (throughout the work); the name of 'Abbā Salāmā, commissioner of the work, in the 'embedded colophon'; the name of 'Abbā Salāmā in the subscriptio to the 'Homily by Jacob of Serug on Abraham' (f. 99rc, in Text 1.8.); the name of the scribe Ṣāge Dəngəl (on f. 137vb, on the bottom margin on f. 3r, and within the text divider on f. 82va). A few lines (some alternating with black lines), on the *incipit* page of some texts (1.1., 1.5); headings and *incipits* of the texts, sections and subsections (sometimes alternating with black lines); some lines in the 'embedded colophon' (first two lines, after the concluding formula, and the first two lines of the second part). Titles of the Biblical books and other works; directives for the ministers (in text 1.7.); names of Hebrew letters (in text 1.8.); some words (e.g. ቤኑ: መተርጉሞ፣ እግዚአ: ተሣሃለኑ; ኪርያለዕላን; and its abbreviation ኪ); scribal notes in the margins; Ethiopic numerals and parts of the punctuation signs, of the text dividers and of quire marks.

Abbreviations: **h:** for **ከርያለቤት** (text 1.7., ff. 72vc–73ra); **ፍ:** for **ፍፆፍት** (text 1.7., ff. 72vc–73ra).

Colophon: ff. 137rc (l. 1)–vb (l. 23): ‘embedded colophon’.

Scribal activities: textual additions, corrections and *marginalia*: (1) The name of *nəguś* ‘Iyāsu is written in the supplication formulas throughout the manuscript. (2) Subscriptio at the end of the ‘Homily by Jacob of Serug on Abraham’ (in Text 1.8.), on f. 99rc, ascribing its translation to ‘Abbā Salāmā (see below). (3) Lacunae (spaces left for rubrications?) on f. 62ra. (4) Compressed script over erasure (e.g. ff. 85rb, 112ra). (5) Corrections (?) marked by dots above and below the word(s) (e.g. ff. 10va, 10vc). (6) Interlinear corrections (e.g. f. 8vb). (7) Cues for the rubricator (numbers) are written in the margins of some folia (e.g. ff. 4r, 6r). (8) Quire marks are written (in black and red ink) in the upper margin of the first folium of quires 1–17. The quire marks **፱**, **፲** are decorated with dashes all around. The quire marks **፲፩**, **፲፪**, **፲፫**, **፲፬**, **፲፭** and **፲፮** are decorated with the word **መረሐኒ**, written in red all around the number. The quire mark **፲፫** is decorated with the word **ተሣላኒ**, written in red around it. (9) Marginal note mentioning the original provenance of the manuscript: ‘**ኅብረ: ሐሞግት: ዘቅዱስ: መድኃኒ: ዓለም:**’, ‘*Gəbra Həməmət* of Qəddus Madhāne ‘Ālam’. The sentence is written (in black and in a faded ink) in the upper margin of the *incipit* page of the text (f. 3r). (10) Marginal note with the supplication to God written (in red and with chains of red dots above and below) in the upper margin of ff. 3r, 12v, 15v, 28v, 30v, 42r, 45r, 57r, 82v, and within the text divider on f. 73ra: ‘**ኢየሱስ: ከርሱቶስ: ወልደ: ኢግዚአብሔር: ሕያው: ተሣላኒ:**’, ‘Jesus Christ, the living son of the Lord, have mercy on us’. (11) Marginal note mentioning the scribe, Ṣəge Dəngəl: ‘**ዘጽኔ: ደግግል:**’, ‘Of Ṣəge Dəngəl’; it is written (in black, decorated by red dots above and below) in the bottom margin of the *incipit* page (f. 3r) and within the text divider on f. 82va. (12) Excerpts of hymns (for the Good Friday?) are written in red (decorated by dots and thin lines above and below) in the upper margins of some folia (e.g. ff. 88r, 103v, 110r).

Varia: (1) Pen trials on f. 140v. (2) An unclear note, in black ink and by a secondary hand, in the upper margin of f. 62r. (3) The title of the text, in Latin script as ‘*Gebre H{n.l.⁴⁰}mamāt*’, and the number 834 are written in pencil (or faded ink) in a secondary hand on f. 1r. (4) Strip of textile inserted in f. 28 (right edge), for navigating in the text.

Additions: (1) Ff. 1v–2r, 138rc, 138va (in the upper and bottom margins), 139vb–140r: Records concerning land transaction (?).⁴¹ (2) F. 138rb–rc: Excerpt from a liturgical text. (3) F. 138va–vc: Record concerning tributes or

40 *N.l.* = *non liquet*.

41 The notes are written by several hands in Amharic (partly in Gə‘əz). On f. 140r. the notes are almost completely erased.

land distribution (?). (4) F. 139ra–rb: *Salām-hymns to Mary*.⁴² (5) F. 139rc–va: *Hymns to God*.⁴³

Miniatures and decorations: not present.

1.2.2. Description of content

1. Ff. 3ra–138ra: *Gabra Hāmāmāt*:

1.1. (ff. 3ra–4vb) Introduction (በስመ፡... ንቀድሞ፡ ንጽሐፍ፡ ዘንተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘይደሉ፡ አንብቦቱ፡ አምኦሪት፡ ወእምነሊያት፡...).

1.2. (ff. 4vb–6va) Palm Sunday eve:

– (ff. 4vb–6va) for the evening (በስመ፡... ዝንተ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘይትነብብ፡ በሰንበት፡ በዕለተ፡ ሆሳዕና፡ ሰርክ፡...).

1.3. (ff. 6va–12vb) Palm Sunday:

– (ff. 6va–7va) for the morning (ወበዝዮ፡ ያንብብ፡ ምዕዳነ፡ በሰንበት፡ ሆሳዕና፡ ነግህ፡...);

– (ff. 7va–9ra) [for the procession] (ወይትጋብኡ፡ ካህናት፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ (f. 7vb) መቅደስ፡ ወይቡዱ፡ ታቦተ፡ ሠለስተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ምስሊ፡ መኃትው፡ ወዕፁ፡ ዘይት፡ ወሆሳዕና፡...);

– (ff. 9ra–10rb) before the Gospel (ወይብል፡ ቀሲስ፡ ዘንተ፡ ጸሎተ፡ ቅድመ፡ ወንጌል፡...);

– (ff. 10rb–11vb) for the Mass (ወለእመቦ፡ ዘይክል፡ ይቀድስ፡ ቅዳስ፡ ጎርጎርዮስ፡ በዕለተ፡ ። ሆሳዕና፡...);

– (f. 11vb–vc) for midnight (ጸሎት፡ ዘይትነብብ፡ በስመ፡ ሕማማት፡ ወይእቲ፡ ሰባሔ፡ ይብሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ጀወጃጊዜ፡ በመንፈቅ፡ ሌሊት፡...);

– (ff. 11vc–12vb) for the 11th hour (ወይትጋብኡ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ጎብ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በጀወጃሰዓት፡ በዕለተ፡ ሆሳዕና፡...).

1.4. (ff. 12vc–28rc) Monday:

– (ff. 12vc–15va) for the night hours (በሰኑይ፡ በኣሐዱ፡ ሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡...);

– (ff. 15va–28rc) for the day hours (በሰኑይ፡ ጽባሕ፡...), with: (ff. 18vb–19va) ‘Homily by John Chrysostom (*Yohannas ’Afa Warq*) for Monday morning’ (በስመ፡... ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ውብፁዕ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አፈ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘይትነብብ፡ በዕለተ፡ ሰኑይ፡ ነግህ፡...); (ff. 19va–22ra) ‘Homily by John Chrysostom on the fig tree for Monday morning’ (በስመ፡ ... ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ውብፁዕ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አፈ፡ ወርቅ፡ በእንተ፡ ዕፁ፡ በለስ፡ ዘይት<ነ>ብብ፡ በሰኑይ፡ ነግህ፡ ዘዕለተ፡ ሕማማት፡...).

1.5. (ff. 28va–42rc) Tuesday:

– (ff. 28va–30vc) for the night hours (በቀዳሚት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘሠሉስ፡...);

– (ff. 30vc–42rc) for the day hours (በሠሉስ፡ ጽባሕ፡ ዘይትነብብ፡...).

1.6. (ff. 42rc–54rc) Wednesday:

– (ff. 42rc–45ra) for the night hours (በቀዳሚት፡ ሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘረቡዕ፡...);

– (ff. 45ra–54rc) for the day hours (በረቡዕ፡ ጽባሕ፡...).

42 The words *salām* (and its abbreviation *salā*), the name of Mary, and the elements of punctuation signs are rubricated.

43 The words *’Iyasus* and *səbhāt* (and its abbreviation *səb/səbhā*), some initial words, and elements of punctuation signs are rubricated.

1.7. (ff. 54rc–73ra) Thursday:

- (ff. 54rc–57ra) for the night hours (በጀሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘሐመሱ፡...);
- (ff. 57ra–73ra) for the day hours (በሐመሱ፡ ጽባሕ፡ በጀሰዓተ፡...).

1.8. (ff. 73ra–118^{a44}va) Friday:

- (ff. 73ra–82va) for the night hours (በጀሰዓተ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘዐርብ፡...), with: (ff. 77rc–79vb) ‘Homily by John [Chrysostom], Bishop of Constantinople on the Saying of Christ “If it be possible, let this cup from me”’ (በሰሙ፡...ድርሳን፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘቀሩጥንዮድ፡ ጳሊስ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘይቤ፡ እግዚእን፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለእመ፡ ይትከሀል፡ ይገል (f. 77va)፡ፍ፡ እምኔየ፡ ዝንተ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ኢያምስሉ፡...);
- (ff. 82vb–118^ava) for the day hours (በዐርብ፡ ጽባሕ፡...), with: (ff. 95ra–99rc) ‘Homily by Jacob of Serug on Abraham’ (በሰሙ፡ ... ድርሳን፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አባ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘስሩዊ፡ በእንተ፡ ኦብርሃም፡ አቡነ፡ አርክ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡...)⁴⁵; (ff. 117rc–118^arb) *Maḥālāya maḥālāy* ‘Song of Songs’ (መኃልየ፡ መኃልይ፡...).

1.9. (ff. 118(a)va–137vb) Saturday:

- (ff. 118(a)va–130rc) for the night hours (በሰንበተ፡ አይሁድ፡ በዕለተ፡ ትንሣኤ፡ ዘይትነብሱ፡...), with: (ff. 121ra–130ra) ‘Revelation of John’ (ዘዮሐንስ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘቀሩጥንዮድ፡ መዋርዶሊስ፡ አመ፡ ሀለዎ፡ ይሰደድ፤ ራእዩ፡ ለዮሐንስ፡...);
- (ff. 130rc–137ra) for the Eucharistic liturgy (በሰንበተ፡ አይሁድ፡ በጊዜ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቊርባን፡...), with: (ff. 136ra–137ra) *Təmhəarta ḥəbu’at* ‘Doctrine of Mysteries’ (በእንተ፡ ትምህርት፡ ቅድመ፡ እምጽርሰፍሬ፡ ዘትትነገር፡ ለምእመናን፡ ኅቡአት፡...);
- (f. 137ra–rc) for the evening (በሰንበተ፡ ሰርክ፡ ትንሣኤ፡ ይትጋብሉ፡ ክህናት፡ ወሕዝብ፡ ኅብ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወይትቀነዩ፡ ለበዕል፡...).

1.10. (ff. 137vb–138ra) [Sunday] (ሀዩንተ፡ ዘውእተ፡ ትብል፡ እምበዓለ፡ ፋሲካ፡ እስከ፡ በዓለ፡ ሃምሳ፡...), with: (ff. 137vb–138ra) ‘Blessing of the sheep of the Lord’ (ይብል፡ ካህን፡ ሀዩንተ፡ ቡራኬ፡ በግዑ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡...).

2. The ‘embedded colophon’: ‘Abbā Salāmā as the commissioner of the *Gəbra Ḥāmāmāt*

As already mentioned, the same note stating the name of ‘Abbā Salāmā as commissioner of the Gə‘əz lectionary for the Holy Week concludes the readings for the Saturday of the Resurrection in both MS BGY-004 (f. 208ra l. 19–vb l. 10, fig. 3) and MS GBI-002 (f. 137rc l. 1–vb l. 23, fig. 4). The long *subscriptio* can be divided into two parts, wherein the initial note with the

44 The foliation number for the folium between ff. 117 and 119 is missing: the picture of this folium has been numbered 118^a.

45 The homily ends (on f. 99rc l. 20) with a *subscriptio* ascribing the commissioning of the translation from Arabic into Gə‘əz to ‘Abbā Salāmā, and attributing the authorship of the work to Bishop Athanasius (same as in BGY-004 and other *Gəbra Ḥāmāmāt* MSS in the Ethio-SpaRe collection, see n. 33 above): ‘... ወይረሰ፡ ማኅደር፡ ለአቡነ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ምስሊሆመ፡ ደርገተ፡ አሜን፡ * * * ለዘንተ፡ ድርሳን፡ ዘአጽሐፎ፡ አቡነ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ርቱዓ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ እምዐረቢ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ለገዕዝ፤ ይተሉ፡ ዝዩ፡ ተጽሕፎ፡ ዘይቤ፡ አባ፡ አትናስዮስ፡ * * *’.



Fig. 3. MS BGY-004, f. 208r: the first part of the 'embedded colophon' (f. 208ra l. 19–rb l. 26), with the mention of 'Abbā Salāmā, and the second part (f. 208rb l. 27–vb l. 10) with the mention of Zawalda Māryām (f. 208rc ll. 1–2), commissioner of the manuscript; photo Ethio-SPaRe.

mention of 'Abbā Salāmā is followed by a second one with an invocation for the commissioner of the manuscript, the scribe and the readers, and where the name of the commissioner of the manuscript and, in the case of GBI-002, also the name of the scribe are revealed.

The same note is also found in three British Library manuscripts, MSS BL Or 597, 599 and 600.⁴⁶ Only for MS BL Or 597 is the first part almost entirely reproduced in Wright's catalogue; the other descriptions are referenced to the former one: for MS BL Or 599, we read that the colophon on f. 153v 'agrees in its first part with Orient. 597'⁴⁷ and for MS BL Or 600, that the colophon on f. 157v is, in the first part, 'identical with Or. 597'.⁴⁸

46 See n. 13 above. In my work of comparison between MSS BGY-004 and GBI-002, I could not personally verify the manuscripts from the British Library. I rely therefore on the description provided by Wright (1877).

47 Wright 1877, 140.

48 *Ibid.* 138.

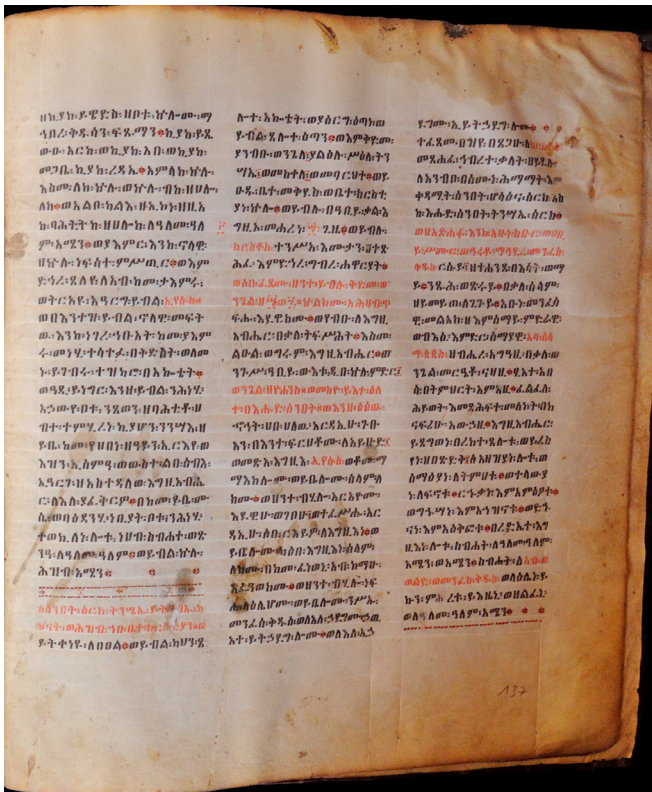


Fig. 4. MS GBI-002, f. 137r: first part of the ‘embedded colophon’ (f. 137rc l. 2-rc), with the mention of ‘Abbā Salāmā (f. 137rc ll. 13-14), photo Ethio-SPaRe.

In the following I provide the text of the first part of the ‘embedded colophon’, transcribed after MSS BGY-004 and GBI-002.⁴⁹

(A: f. 208ra l. 19; B: f. 137rc l. 1) ተፈጸመ፡ በዝዮ፡ በጸጋሁ፡ ለከርሰቶብ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ኅብረተ፡ ቃላት፡
 ዘይደሉ፡ ለአንብቦ፡ በሰሙነ፡ ሕማማት፡ እምቀዳሚት፡ ሰንበት፡ ሆሣዕና፡ {ሆሣዕና፡ B} ሰርከ፡ እስከ፡ እሑድ፡
 {እሑድ፡ B} ሰንበት፡ ትንሣኤ፡ ሰርከ፡⁵⁰ ዘእጽሐፋ፡ {ወዘእጽሐፋ፡ B} እንከ፡ አቡነ፡ ክቡር፡ ወዓቢይ፡ {ወዐቢይ፡

49 I transcribe the note after MS BGY-004 (=A), and I give the variants (including the punctuations) of GBI-002 (=B) in curly brackets. I do not attempt a philological reconstruction of the note. For the translation, however, I consider the variants from both manuscripts.

50 The initial lines of the colophon, ‘ተፈጸመ፡ በዝዮ፡ ...ሰርከ፡’, constitute actually a concluding formula, which is also found at the *explicit* of the text of the Saturday of the Resurrection in other manuscripts of the *Gəbra Həməmāt* recorded by Ethio-SPaRe: MSS SMM-001 (f. 214rc), DZ-010 (f. 176ra), DMA-014 (f. 159va), NSM-002 (f. 163rb), GMG-001 (f. 144ra), AKM-006 (f. 139vc), AMQ-003 (f. 207rb), MQM-

B} ወሥመር፤ {ሥመር: B} ወኅሩይ፡ ማኅደረ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅ(A: f. 208rb)ዱስ፡ ርሱይ፡ {፤ B} ዘተሐን፡
 {ዘተሐን፡ B} በእሳት፡ ወማይ፡ ገጽሕ፡ ወጽሩይ፡ {፡ B} በቃሉ፡ ሰላም፡ ዘይመይጦ፡ ለፒጉይ፡ አቡን፡ መንፈሳዊ፡
 መልእክ፡ ዘእምሰማይ፡ ምድራዊ፡ ውበእሱ፡ ምድር፡ {እምድር: B} ሰማያዊ፤ {ሰማያዊ: B} አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ ጳጳስ፡
 ዘብሐረ፡ አግዓዚ፡ በቃሉ፡ ወንጌል፡ መርዓቱ፡ ናዛዚ፡ {፡ B} ዒኣተ፡ አቡነ፡ በትምህርቱ፡ አምኣዚ፡ ፈልፈለ፡ ሕይወት፡
 እመጸሕፍተ፡ መለኮት፡ በከፍፍሪሁ፡ አውሕዚ፡ {አውሕዚ፡ B} እግዚአብሔር፡ ይጸግወን፡ በረከተ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ [...] (A: f. 208rb l. 22; B: f. 137 l. 26)ስብሐት፡ ለኣቡ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ {ቅዱስ: B} ወላዕሌን፡
 ይኩን፡ ምሕረቱ፡ ይኣዚኒ፡ ወዘልፈኒ፡ ወለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ {፡ B}

Here, with the grace of Christ, the book of the collection of the words, which it is proper to recite in the week of the Passion, from the first Saturday, the *Hoṣā ʾənā*⁵¹ vigil, till the vigil (of) Sunday (of) the Resurrection, is completed. The one who made it write, therefore, is the glorious, big, delightful, elect *ʾAbuna*, established residence of the Holy Spirit, that was erected with fire and water, blameless and pure in the word of the peace, who converts the sinner, father of the spiritual angel who (is) from the Earthly Paradise and man from the celestial earth, *ʾAbbā* Salāmā, Metropolitan of the region of *ʾAg ʾāzi*, with the word of the Gospel, who consoles his flock, who perfumes the rot of the sin with his teaching. Fountain of life pouring out from the Books of the divine rule with his lips. May the Lord give us the blessing of his prayer [...] Glory to the Father and Son and Holy Spirit. And may his mercy be now on us and also perpetuity. For ever and ever, Amen.

The second part of the note, written in BGY-004 on f. 208rb l. 27–vb l. 10, and in GBI-002 on f. 137va–vb l. 23,⁵² mentions the commissioner of the manuscript, respectively Zawalda Māryām in BGY-004 (f. 208rc ll. 1–2) and King ʾIyāsu in MS GBI-002 (f. 137va l. 2). Besides, at the very end of the note in MS GBI-002 (f. 137vb l. 10), the name of the scribe is given, Ṣəge Dəngəl. In MS BGY-004 the name of the scribe is omitted. (In the aforementioned MS BL Or 597,⁵³ which also contains the ‘embedded colophon’, the name of the commissioner is *ʾAbuna* Marḥa Krəstos, and the name of the scribe Gabra Krəstos).

(A: f. 208rb l. 27; B: f. 137va)ለዛቲ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ {om.⁵⁴ B} ግብረ፡ ሕ(A: f. 208rc)ማማት፡ ዘእጽሐፋ፡ ዘወልድ፡ ማርያም፡ {ንጉሥን፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ለ{er.⁵⁵ } ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ B} ይጽሐፍ፡ ሰሞ፡ እግዚአብ

010 (f. 138rc), GMS-001 (f. 179ra), ATH-007 (f. 129rc), FBM-002 (f. 93va). In a few cases (e.g. in MS GMG-001), the formula is followed by an exhortation for the scribe, the commissioner, and the reader.

51 It is the Palm Sunday; cf. Fritsch 2001, 214.


52 In MS GBI-002, at the end of f. 137rc, a chain of red and black dots separates the second part of the colophon from the first.

53 See the note, with the first part mentioning *ʾAbbā* Salāmā and the second part mentioning the commissioner and the scribe of the manuscript, in Wright 1877, 137.

54 Om. = *omittit*.

55 A word, first name, or title, of Takla Hāymānot has been erased. Such a Takla Hāymānot is also mentioned in the note of Or. 597, as we read in Wright 1877, 137: ‘ለዛቲ፡ [መጽሐፈ፡ interlined] {sic} ግብረ፡ ሕማማት፡ ዘእጽሐፋ፡ አቡን፡ መርሐ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሠርዐ፡ አቡን፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት...’.

ሐር፡ ፀባዖት፡ {ጸባዖት፡ B} ጎብ፡ ዓምደ፡ ወርቅ፡ በሰማያት፡ [...] (A: f. 208va l. 20; B: f. 137vb l. 8)
 ለፀሰቅ፡ ትንታኒከሙ፡ {፡ B} ወያኛዝዝ፡ ትከዘከሙ፡ {፡ B} ለደጽንዕ፡ ድካመከሙ፡ ምስሉ፡ ጸሐፊው፡ ኃዋኢ፡ {ጽፌ፡
 ድንግል፡ add.⁵⁶ B} ኢኃው፡ {ኢኃው፡ B} ዚኢከሙ፡ {፡ B} [...] (A: f. 208vb l. 8; B: f. 137vb l. 22)
 ለፀኩን፡ በእንተ፡ ሥጋው፡ ወደሙ፡ ለከርሰቶሱ፡ ለፀኩን፡ ለፀኩን፡ {፡ ፡ B}

The one who had this manuscript written (is) Zawalda Māryām {‘our king ‘Iyāsu for {*er*: } Takla Hāymānot’ in B}. May the Lord (of) hosts write his name by the column of gold in the heavens. [...] May he (God) support your vacillation and console your sorrow. May it fortify your weakness, with its (of the manuscript) sinful scribe {‘Səge Dəngəl’ add. in B}, your brother [...]. Let it be according to the body and the blood of Christ. Let it be. Let it be.

3. Some observations

The note mentioning the Metropolitan ‘Abbā Salāmā as the commissioner of the *Gəbra Həməmət* is transmitted in the three witnesses preserved in the British Library, MSS BL Or 597, 599, and 600, respectively of fifteenth, eighteenth and seventeenth century. To this list we can add two manuscripts recorded by the project Ethio-SPaRe, BGY-004, of the seventeenth century, and GBI-002, from the seventeenth or eighteenth century. It is interesting to note that one of these latter manuscripts, MS GBI-002, was originally kept in the famous church of Maqdalā in Wallo, where, as it is well known, the Ethiopian manuscripts preserved in the British Library come from.⁵⁷

I would consider the first part of the note, mentioning ‘Abbā Salāmā’s activity of commissioner of the *Gəbra Həməmət*, an ‘embedded colophon’,⁵⁸ or even an embedded ‘colophon of the work’, which was originally created with the intention to give information about the production of the text,⁵⁹ and which was then copied and incorporated, maybe deliberately or maybe almost unconsciously, by the scribes of our witnesses of the lectionary at the end of the readings for the Holy Saturday, becoming subsequently part of the textual transmission.

The second or additional section, with the invocation for the commissioner of the manuscript, the scribe and the readers, can be also considered an ‘embedded (or part of an embedded) colophon’, but here the information with the names of the commissioner and of the scribe of the specific exemplar was revised by each scribe during the copying process. Figuring out when the

56 *Add.* = *addit.*

57 According to the marginal note on f. 3r, see above. On the British Library and its Ethiopian manuscripts, cf. Pankhurst 2003.

58 See n. 9 above.

59 This has to be distinguished from the colophon of the specific copy, where we find information about the material production and/or about the copying of the specific manuscript. Cf. also Bausi 2016, 238 n. 19.

model of this note was created, and which the first codex to contain it was, is open to further investigation. It is also not clear whether the second part, whichever its model, was at some point added to the first part or whether the ‘embedded colophon’ contained both parts from the very beginning.

As for the role of ‘*Abbā* Salāmā, the Metropolitan is clearly referred to as the commissioner: we read, in fact, ‘ዘኣጽሐፋ፣’, i.e. he is ‘the one who had it written’. However, this does not tell us whether ‘*Abbā* Salāmā should be considered as the commissioner of the entire translation of this liturgical text, or rather only of its transcription and/or of a manuscript copy (or copies), meaning that the lectionary had already been circulating in Gə‘əz at his time.

The activity of the Metropolitan as translator appears defined more clearly in other works. This is for instance the case of the ‘Homily by Jacob of Serug on Abraham’ (also present in both MSS BGY-004 and GBI-002),⁶⁰ where in the *subscriptio* concluding the text we find, ‘ለዝነተ፣ ድርሳን፣ ዘኣጽሐፎ፣ ኣቡነ፣ ኣባ፣ ሰላሚ፣ ጳጳስ፣ ርቱባ፣ ሃይማኖት፣ እምዐረቢ፣ መጽሐፈ፣ ዚኣሁ፣ ለግዕዝ፤ ...’⁶¹ ‘the one who had this homily written, from his Arabic (‘*arabi*) book into Gə‘əz, (is) the orthodox Metropolitan ‘*Abuna* ‘*Abbā* Salāmā’. Also the *subscriptio* concluding, in many witnesses (though not in MSS BGY-004 or GBI-002),⁶² the homily *Lāḥa Māryām*⁶³ mentions ‘*Abbā* Salāmā, but here his role of translator is made even more evident: ‘ዘነተ፣ መጽሐፈ፣ ዙተርጉመ፣ [...]’ ‘the one who translated this book’.

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60 Text 1.8 in both MSS; see nn. 33, 45.

61 Taken from MS GBI-002, f. 99rc. Cp. n. 45.

62 For instance, see the following manuscripts (catalogued by Vitagrazia Pisani): GMG-001, with the Homily on ff. 145ra–155rc, and with *subscriptio* on f. 155rc; AKM-006, with the Homily on ff. 140ra–148va, and with *subscriptio* on f. 148va; DAY-001, with the Homily on ff. 222rb–248va, and with *subscriptio* on f. 248va; BQM-005, with the Homily on ff. 141vc–152vb, and *subscriptio* on f. 152vb; SDGM-003, with Homily on f. 130rc–139rc, and *subscriptio* on f. 139rc; ATH-007, with the Homily on ff. 130ra–139ra, and *subscriptio* on f. 139ra; QSM-002, with the Homily on ff. 171ra–181ra, and with *subscriptio* on f. 181ra.

63 Cf. n. 12.

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