

Manuscripts and Scribes of the Church of Mədrä Ruba (Gulo Mäḵäda, Təgray)

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The church of Däbrä Gännät Šəllase Mədrä Ruba is one of the fourteen historical sites of the Gulo Mäḵäda *wäräda* (East Təgray Zone) visited by the Ethio-SPaRe project team¹ during the first field research mission carried out between 23 April and 26 May 2010. This church preserves an extensive manuscript collection which is interesting for it both exhibits unique features and at the same time shows features typical for other collections of the region. The biggest part of the collection was photographed by the team of the project within three days, 11-13 May 2010. The present paper focuses on the general description of the collection and in particular on some manuscripts that seem most valuable, interesting or peculiar in some respects.

Däbrä Gännät Qəddəst Šəllase Mədrä Ruba: a general description

The church of Däbrä Gännät Qəddəst Šəllase Mədrä Ruba [fig. 1] is located in the northern area of the Eastern Təgray (East Təgray Zone), in the district (*wäräda*) of Gulo Mäḵäda, *quṣāt* Däbrä Gännät Mədrä Ruba. The site can be easily reached by car via the asphalt road which goes from ʿAddigrat to Zäla Ambäsa, a city at the border with Eritrea, and then via the road from Zäla Ambäsa to Säbäya.

The church, situated in a picturesque valley surrounded by mountains, stands near a seasonal river which remains dry during the dry season. The geographical location explains the name of the church: *Mədrä Ruba* means “the land of the river” in Təgrəñña.² Besides this name form, syntactically influenced by Gəʿəz,³ the local people use the Təgrəñña *Mədri Ruba* or, colloquially, *Mədərrəba* or even *Mədəbba*.

¹ The team consisted of the members of the project from Hamburg University (Dr. Denis Nosnitsin, the principal investigator and head of the project, Dr. Stéphane Ancel and Vitagrazia Pisani M.A., research fellows) and some representatives of the Təgray Culture and Tourism Agency (TCTA) and of the Gulo Mäḵäda *wäräda* Ethiopian Orthodox Church administrative office.

² Cp. Kane 2000, vol. 1, 506, 563.

³ *Mədr* is actually a Gəʿəz word meaning “land” (cp. DILLMANN 1865:217); it ends in *ä* (*mədrä*) if it is used as the first element in a Gəʿəz genitive construction (construct state, as in *Mədrä Ruba*).

The full name of the church, as already mentioned, is Däbrä Gännät Qəddəst Šəllase Mədrä Ruba (or Mədri Ruba), which, literally translated, means “the Mount of the Garden (dedicated to) the Holy Trinity, of the land of the river”.

The church building is recent. It was constructed, as is confirmed by the inscription on the façade, in the “year of grace” 1978 (i.e. 1985 A.D.), that is during the time of the *Därg* military government. It is built in the traditional Təgrayan style, in rectangular shape, slightly raised above the ground on a large concrete basement. A wide staircase leads to the facade of the church. The other buildings of the compound look much older, like the compound walls or the gate house [fig. 2], which is also used as sacristy (*‘əqa bet*).

According to the priests, the church has seven *tabots*. The main *tabot* of the church is dedicated to the Šəllase (Trinity). The others are devoted to *abunä* Libanos, Maryam (St. Mary), Mika’el (St. Michael), Qirqos (St. Cyricus, or Quiricus), Gäbrə’el (St. Gabriel) and to *abba* Ananya⁴ of Däbrä Šärabī, one of the members of the so-called Əwostətan movement.

According to the local tradition, the church was initially founded by the half-legendary Aksumite king Gäbrä Mäsqäl (r. ca. 534-48).⁵ The same local tradition also claims that a monastic community existed in Mədrä Ruba Šəllase in the past, but this cannot be easily proved, as in the case of many other churches.

Another church, dedicated to *abunä* Libanos and built in the sixteenth century, was reportedly once situated in the vicinity. A few decades ago, the local community decided to merge both institutions, and the *tabots* and the books of the Libanos church were transferred to Mədrä Ruba Šəllase. Apparently the same happened to two more churches: Däbrä Mika’el ʾƏnba Hərisay and Maryam Aba’ko, which seem to have disappeared some time ago, their *tabots* and manuscripts being transferred to Medrä Ruba.

Manuscript collection of Mədrä Ruba

The library of the church of Mədrä Ruba Šəllase currently preserves a relatively large collection of manuscripts: more than sixty books, of which nearly fifty have been photographed by the Ethio-SPaRe team. According to the categories of the texts, the manuscripts can be grouped as follows: nineteen liturgical manuscripts: five Biblical manuscripts, including three Gospel books; four manuscripts with Apocryphal texts; ten manuscripts containing hagiographies; four homiletic manuscripts; one manuscript with a theological work; and one manuscript with historiographic texts.

⁴ Cp. *EAE* vol. 1, 250f.

⁵ Cp. *EAE* vol. 2, 623f.

From a preliminary palaeographic analysis of the handwriting and according to the historical information provided by the marginal notes and colophons, one can state that the majority of the codices date into the late nineteenth century. However, there are a few manuscripts which were written in the eighteenth century and at least one, probably the oldest in the collection, originating from the late sixteenth century. The remaining manuscripts could be dated to the first half of the twentieth century.

The oldest manuscript of the collection, MR-005, seems to be a copy of the *Arganonä Wəddase* (“The Organ of the Praise”), a well-known poetic work praising the Virgin Mary [fig. 3].⁶ The manuscript consists of 133 folios, and is in poor condition. It is not dated. Some palaeographic features of the handwriting, however, possibly hint at a dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. The handwriting, in fact, is homogeneous in size, especially in height, and with regular proportions. The letters are slender and rounded, set on the lines with substantial space in-between. For some letters, it is possible to recognize the traits that seem to be typical for the period: the upper part of the sign appears parallel and usually horizontal to the lines; the letter “L” rarely ends with a high point at the top [fig. 4].⁷ The text is written in two columns; it is incomplete in the end where some leaves are missing. A few leaves are damaged by rodents. The original wooden boards of the binding are also missing, and they were later replaced with cardboard.

Another manuscript, MR-041, likely among the oldest in the collection, is the codex containing the *Sənkəssar* (“Synaxarion”) for the months from *Təḥśās* (4th month of the Ethiopian Calendar) to *Yäkkatit* (6th month of the Ethiopian Calendar). The manuscript consists of 146 folios [fig. 5]. The collection contains two other witnesses of the *Sənkəssar*, which, however, seem more recent: one (MR-003), also containing three months, for the months of *Mäskäräm* (1st month of the Ethiopian Calendar) until *Hədar* (3rd month of the Ethiopian Calendar), and another one (MR-037) for the period between *Mäggabit* (7th month of the Ethiopian Calendar) and *Paḡwəmen* (intercalary month of the Ethiopian Calendar).

Manuscript MR-041 has no colophon and no historical notes that inform us about the time when it was written. One possession note (fol. 146rb) at the end of the text refers to the names of the donors and the original provenance of the manuscript, which was not Mədrä Ruba but the church of *abunä Libanos* of Mäštəḥ [fig. 6], the same Libanos church that the local tradition remembers of (s. also below). On the basis of some palaeographic features [fig. 7] the codex may be tentatively dated in the first half of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the handwriting of the manuscript is very

⁶ Cp. *EAE* vol. 1, 329f.

⁷ For palaeography of Ethiopian manuscripts, cp. UHLIG 1990.

similar to the handwritings attested in a few manuscripts from the churches Säbäya Maryam and Däbrä Maṣo Yoḥannēs, both very close to Mədrä Ruba.

Among the illuminated manuscripts, there is the manuscript MR-015, containing the *Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus* (“The [Spiritual] Contending of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus”), with the *Vita* (*gädl*) as well as thirteen miracles (*tä’ammər*) and a *mälkä’* hymn in honour of the saint [fig. 8].⁸ The codex is in good condition. It is composed of 73 folios and written in two columns. It can be dated into the period between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The handwriting is neat and careful. According to the colophon [fig. 9], placed after the collection of the miracles of the saint, the manuscript was commissioned and donated by a local lord, *däggazmač* Ḥagos Täfäri,⁹ and by the members of his family. The colophon reads as follows: “This (is) the book of the life and miracles of the blessed *abunä* Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus which the governor of Təgray Ḥagwās, whose baptismal name is Zä-Waldä Maryam, had it written by his own money ...”. The name Zä-Waldä Maryam is repeated several times in some passages in the text, especially at the end of each miracle.

The manuscript contains four full-page miniatures [figs. 10-11]. The first, on fol. 4v, most probably depicts *däggazmač* Ḥagos Täfäri himself, wearing ceremonial vestments. Behind him, some figures probably represent the members of his family, whose names are also mentioned in an *additio* placed at the end of the *mälkä’* hymn dedicated to him. The second miniature, on fol. 5r, represents the Virgin with Child, and in the background, above, two figures of angels. The dominant colours, as in the previous miniature, are blue, green, red and yellow. On fol. 72v, a famous hagiographic motif from the *Passio* of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus is depicted:¹⁰ following a request of the Saint to compensate for his nakedness as hermit, his hair grew on his face and on the entire body. Again, the Saint is accompanied by a lion, on his left, and a leopard on the right. The last miniature, on fol. 73r, shows two female figures, who probably represent *däggazmač* Ḥagos Täfäri’s wife, on the left side, and beside her, the daughter.

Another manuscript with a miniature, which could be dated in the second half of the nineteenth century, is the codex MR-001 [fig. 12ab], containing a miscellany of nine different collections of miracles: ninety *Tä’ammərä Maryam* (“Miracles of Mary”); three *Tä’ammərä Mika’el* (“Miracles of St.

⁸ Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus is an Ethiopian saint of Egyptian origin. He is among the most revered Ethiopian saints, especially in Təgray (cp. *EAE* vol. 2, 619-22), where most church libraries have at least one manuscript of his hagiography.

⁹ Ḥagos Täfäri was one of the most important feudal lords in ‘Agamä, right between the end of the 19th and the beginning of 20th century (cp. *EAE* vol. 2, 972).

¹⁰ Cp. MARRASSINI 2003.

Michael”); four *Tä’ammərä Libanos* (“Miracles of Libanos”); two *Tä’ammərä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus* (“Miracles of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus”); one *Tä’ammərä Mädhane ‘Alām* (“Miracles of the Savior of the World”); four *Tä’ammərä Iyäsus* (“Miracles of Jesus”); and three *Tä’ammərä Šəllase* (“Miracles of the Trinity”). The manuscript, consisting of 99 folios, contains only one miniature, placed in fol. 2v, before the *incipit* page of the text [fig. 12a]. This miniature, protected by a small piece of cotton cloth, represents St. Mary with Child and the archangels Gabriel and Michael behind them. The colours used are yellow, red and black.

At the top of the image there is an inscription reading: “(St. Mary) together with her beloved Son, Gabriel [and] Michael”. At the bottom, a second inscription refers to an individual: “[How] Your servant Rämha Šəlla[se] received in trust”. The formula refers, therefore, to a proper name, which probably could be the name of the one who painted the miniature. Both in the first and in the second sentence some words or passages are missing: in the first the name *Maryam*, subject of the sentence as well as of the miniature, is missing or it could be supposed. In the second sentence the preposition *bäkämä*, with the meaning of “how, as, like”,¹¹ seems to be missing, as well as the third syllable of the word *Šəllase*. If we consider, in fact, that the miniature was not painted directly on the leave of the quire, but seems to have been cut out from a different manuscript, we could say that the miniature was originally of different format and contained probably more passages, frames, and perhaps other images.

Other elements of decorations [figs. 13a-g] found in the manuscript are ornamental bands (*haräg*). The first [fig. 13a] is in the *incipit* page, wider than the others and consisting of coloured bands with geometric motifs, two bands placed horizontally and one vertically between the text columns. In addition, the page is decorated with an elaborated quire mark. In a *subscriptio* to the manuscript, the copyist reveals his own name: *Wä-Šəḥafiha Wäldä Muse*, literally “And its (of the book) scribe is Wäldä Muse” [fig. 13f]. Such ornamental bands are typical for the codices which were written by this local scribe called Wäldä Muse (s. below).

Another manuscript interesting for some particular decorations is MR-032, containing the Four Gospels (*Arba’tu Wängel*), probably dating around the second half of the nineteenth century [fig. 14]. In particular, the codex contains four *haräg* [figs. 14, 15a-c], one in the *incipit* page of each Gospel. They are composed by ornamental coloured bands and by geometric motifs. Two of them are also formed by anthropomorphic motifs, as in the case of the band in fol. 16r [fig. 14], containing the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, and also by zoomorphic motifs, as in fol. 101r [fig. 15c], *incipit* page of the Gospel of John.

¹¹ Cp. DILLMANN 1865:26.

Among other interesting manuscripts, there is MR-035, containing a collection of Amharic historiographical texts covering Ethiopian history, from the beginning until the second half of the nineteenth century. The codex [fig. 16] is in good condition and consists of 186 folios, bound between wooden boards. It is decorated by an interesting frontispiece miniature showing a seraph who holds a book with the names of Adam and Eve in his hands. In the upper part, there is a Gəʿəz inscription with the words: “Seraph, the angel, keeper of the paradise”. On the right side of the seraph, the image of the cross, with flowers growing on it, is accompanied by a second inscription which says “The sign of the Cross”. This miniature seems clearly to refer to the biblical passage in Genesis 3.24, where God placed angels at the east of the garden of Eden to guard the way to the tree of life, here also symbolically represented in the right side of the image.

The text is written carefully and in a nice handwriting, with the exception of the last part that seems to have been done in a hurry. According to some *marginalia* at the end, the manuscript, the content of which is described, as usual for this kind of works, as *Kəbrä Nəgäst*, was bought for the church of Mədrä Ruba on the 11th of Ṭərr, in the “year of grace” 1943 (i.e. 1950 A.D.). A second *additio* bearing historical information includes the mention of ləḡ Iyasu,¹² ruler of Ethiopia from 1913 to 1916, and the date of 17th of Mäskäräm, “year of grace” 1909 (1916 A.D.).

As I have mentioned above, the church of Mədrä Ruba possesses several codices and *tabots* originating from three different churches. In particular, among the manuscripts, seven (MR-009, MR-010, MR-023, MR-026, MR-037, MR-039, MR-041) were at first owned by the church of *abunä* Libanos of Mästäḥ, one (MR-033) belonged to the church of Däbrä Mikaʾel ʾƏnbä Hərisay and two (MR-002, MR-032) to that of Maryam Abaʿko. This is the information which we obtain from some *additiones* and colophons contained in these manuscripts.

Among the codices coming from *abunä* Libanos of Mästäḥ, beside the Synaxarion MR-041 discussed above (cp. also [fig. 6]), an example is manuscript MR-009 which contains the *Dərsanä sänbätä krəstiyan* (“Homily on the Sabbath of Christians”, i.e. the “Homily on the observance of Sunday, ascribed to Jaqob of Serug”). In the colophon [fig. 17] we read the following note: “(This) is the homily of the Sabbath (of the church) of *abunä* Libanos Mästäḥ, which *abunä* Wäldä Tənśaʿe donated ...”. Also in the possession note of manuscript MR-023 containing a copy of the *Gädlä Qirqos* (“The [Spiritual] Contending of Cyricus”) it is said that “his *tabot* and his clergy are (of the church) of Mästäḥ ...” [fig. 20b]. The same applies to codex MR-026 with a copy of the Four Gospels. In the colophon (fol. 177rb) we read, among other things, that the manuscript is from the church of “... *abunä*

¹² Cp. *EAE* vol. 3, 253-56.

Libanos of Mäštəh ...”. Further originating from the church of Libanos is manuscript MR-010, containing a copy of the *Mäṣḥafä Təklil* (“The Book of the Coronation”, i.e. of the Matrimony Rite). Its colophon (fol. 40rb) reads: “This is the book which Gäbrä ʿġziʿabḥer and his wife Wälättä Šəllase gave to (the church of) *abunä* Libanos Mäštəh ...”.

Some codices which now are in Mədrä Ruba Šəllase originate from another unknown church, probably nearby, called Däbrä Mikaʿel ʿEnba ʿHarisay. We learn this from a few *additiones* present in the Four Gospels manuscript MR-033. One of the *marginalia* (fol. 2ra) is a traditional genealogy “of the lineage of (the church of) ʿEnba ʿHarisay” [fig. 18a]. In a second *additio* of the same manuscript, located on a different folium (fol. 84vb) and apparently written by a different hand, the genealogy continues, and it concludes with a possession note stating that the manuscript belonged to the church of Däbrä Mikaʿel ʿEnba ʿHarisay [fig. 18b].

From three possession notes contained in the Four Gospel manuscript MR-032 [s. above, fig. 14], we learn the name of one more church, Maryam Abaʿko. In three *additiones* contained in the manuscript, each placed at the end of a Gospel, it is stated that the book was in the possession of the church of Maryam Abaʿko and was donated by the “People of Kʷədäla”. Also manuscript MR-002 with a copy of the *Mäṣḥafä Gənzät* (“The Book of the Funeral [Rite]”), which was accomplished, according to the first colophon (fol. 142ra, l. 23-30 – 142rb, l. 23-25), in the “year of grace” 1926 (1933 A.D.), comes originally from the church of Maryam Abaʿko. In a second colophon (fol. 142rb, l. 1-10) it is said that “This (is) the manuscript of (the church of) Maryam Abaʿko, which the (people) of Kʷədäla Abaʿko ordered to be written ...” [fig. 19].

The scribes of Mədrä Ruba: Wäldä Muse

Among the approximately sixty manuscripts of Mədrä Ruba Šəllase, several were written by the same scribe, a certain Wäldä Muse, whom I have already mentioned. His peculiar handwriting, almost always careful and homogeneous, perhaps imitates older types of handwriting which were used in the region or is influenced by them. In some cases his handwriting seems to recall, apparently, the monumental style used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, it is possible to distinguish typical features of Wäldä Muse’s individual style, definitely recent.

Typical of his writing is, for example, the aforementioned copy of the text *Dərsanä sənbatä krəstiyān*, MR-009 [cp. fig. 17]. In the formula of invocation to the Lord and protection placed after the *explicit* we see his name. The passage reads: “... And save me, and the ones who had this book written, hide them from the troubles, namely *abunä* Wäldä Tənsäʿe, ʿƏquba Libanos, Lahəyā Dəngəl, and their children Gäbrä Həyiwät, Wäldä

Yohannēs, Wäldä Maryam, Sälomon, Gäbrä Giyorgis, and also its scribe Wäldä Muse. Forever and ever. Amen. ...”. Also here, as in the case of the manuscript with signature MR-001, mentioned above and in which the name of Wäldä Muse appears as the copyist [fig. 13f = 21a], there is one *ḥaräg* which seems typical of the manuscripts made by this scribe [fig. 21e]. It is a simple ornamental band, made up of simple geometric motifs, located on the *incipit* page, horizontally and on top of both columns.

Another manuscript the text of which was copied by Wäldä Muse is manuscript MR-023 with the text *Gädlä Qirqos*, already mentioned among the codices originating from the church of *abunä* Libanos. The text is written in one column on a total of 45 folios. The two cover boards are made of wood, the threads are destroyed and the quires got separated from each other. Possession notes do not only reveal the provenance of the book but also give names of the owners, commissioners as well as provides historical information on the period in which it was made and, finally, the name of our scribe. The main text is separated from the colophon by a typical ornamental band [fig. 20a], simple, uncoloured, with geometric motifs, very similar to the decorations in the manuscripts mentioned above. In the colophon [fig. 20ab] we read: “The book of the life of St. Cyricus, martyr, and of his mother Julitta (is) of Säḥasəḥle and Baḍälim, which was written [in the time of] John the Evangelist, and our King (is) Yoḥannēs and our Metropolitan (is) Atnatewos. Forever and ever. His *tabot*, his clergy (are) of Mäsṭəḥ, and its scribe (is) *abunä* Wäldä Muse”. From these notes, we learn that the manuscript was written during the reign of Yoḥannēs, who was certainly Yoḥannēs IV (r. 1872-1889),¹³ and during the office of the Metropolitan *abunä* Atnatewos (1869-1876),¹⁴ that is, between 1872 and 1876.¹⁵

With these notes it is not only possible to date this one manuscript but also all the other manuscripts signed by Wäldä Muse [fig. 21], who therefore would have been active as a copyist during the second half of the nineteenth century.

It is curious that, at least so far, manuscripts with his signature have not been reported outside of Mədrä Ruba, with the exception of one manuscript belonging to ‘Ura Qirqos, another church in Gulo Mäḳäda visited during the first Ethio-SPaRe field trip. This is the codex (UM-023) containing a copy of the *Mäṣḥafä Qəddase* (“Missal”). In the two marginal notes, one before the text and one after it, besides the names of the donor and of the person who commissioned the book, the name of the copyist Wäldä Muse is

¹³ Cp. *EAE* vol. 5, forthcoming.

¹⁴ Cp. *EAE* vol. 1, 393f.

¹⁵ Beside the mention of Yoḥannēs IV and of *abunä* Atnatewos, the note gives a further chronological hint, identifying the year as that of John the Evangelist. The manuscript, therefore, must have been written in either 1872 or 1876 (cp. CHAINE 1925:171).

also mentioned. Other names mentioned include, once again, King Yohannēs IV and the Metropolitan *abunä* Atnatewos, who was in charge during the period when the manuscript would have been produced.

Conclusion

This presentation does not pretend to draw any final conclusion. Moreover, studies in this field show that any conclusion is always something provisional. *A fortiori*, this study, based on a single collection of manuscripts, is preliminary and leaves open many questions, such as: Which role did the church of Mədrä Ruba play in the territory of Gulo Mäḳäda, compared to the churches from which it has received several manuscripts? Which role did the scribe Wäldä Muse have, whose name appears so many times in the collection of Mədrä Ruba? Is it possible to talk about the church of Mədrä Ruba as a *scriptorium*, or as an important centre of copying in the region, at least in the 19th century?

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Fig. 1. Church of Däbrä Gännät Qəddəst Šəllase Mədrä Ruba. Photo Ethio-SPaRe, 2010.



Fig. 2. Gate house and sacristy of the church. On the roof of the entrance, the working team of the project Ethio-SPaRe during the mission, 11 May 2010.

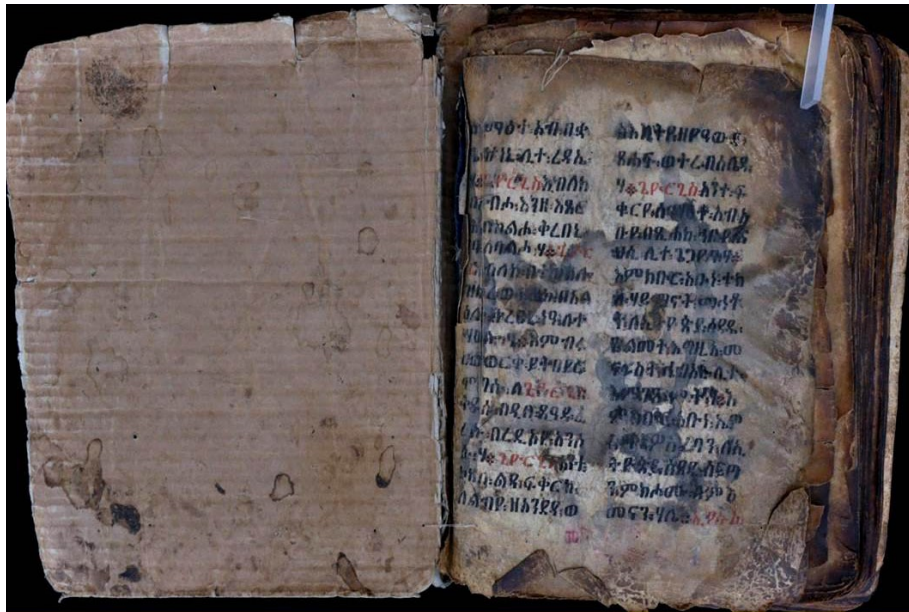


Fig. 3. Manuscript MR-005: *Arganonä Wæddase*, second half of the 16th cent. (?), left cover board and fol. 1r.



Fig. 4. Manuscript MR-005: some examples of handwriting and letters from the text.



Fig. 5. Manuscript MR-041: *Sənkəssar* (*Tabšas' - Yäkkatit*); 18th cent. (?), fols. 2v-3ra.

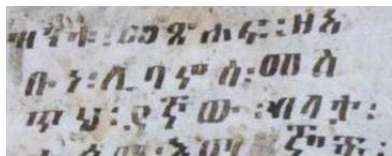


Fig. 6. Manuscript MR-041: *Sənkəssar* (*Tabšas' - Yäkkatit*); 18th cent. (?), “Possession note”, fol. 146rb: “This (is) the book (of the church of) of *abunä Libanos Mästäḥ*”.

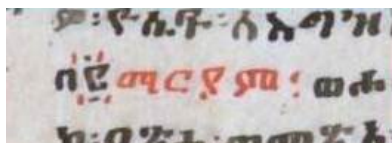


Fig. 7ab. Manuscript MR-041: some examples of handwriting and letters from the text.



Fig. 8. Manuscript MR-015: *Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus*, late 19th – early 20th cent. (?), fols. 6v-7r.

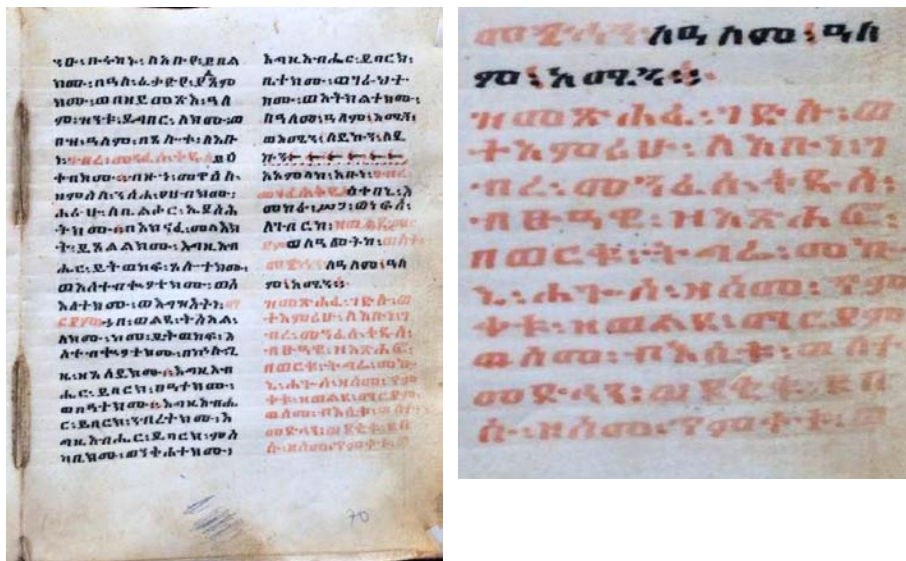


Fig. 9ab. Manuscript MR-015: *Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus*, late 19th – early 20th cent. (?), fol. 70r, complete (left) and detail with colophon (right).



Fig. 10. Manuscript MR-015: *Gädlä Gäbrä Mämfäs Qəddus*, late 19th – early 20th cent. (?), fol. 4v-5r.



Fig. 11. Manuscript MR-015: *Gädlä Gäbrä Mämfäs Qəddus*, late 19th – early 20th cent. (?), fol. 72v-73r.



Fig. 12ab. Manuscript MR-001: Collection of Miracles; second half of the 19th cent., fols. 2v (miniature, usually covered by cotton cover) and 3r (incipit page).

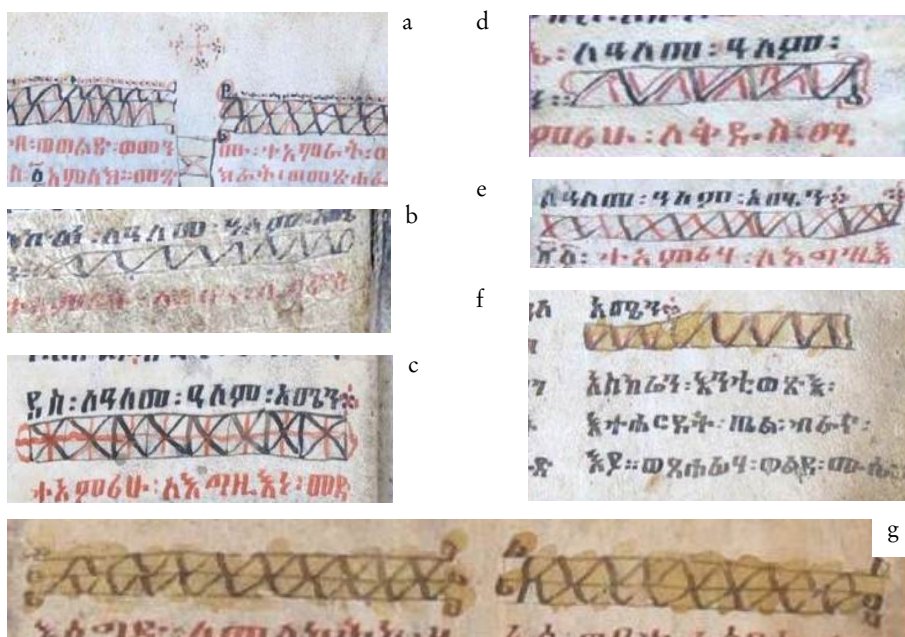


Fig. 13abcdefg. Manuscript MR-001: Collection of Miracles; second half of the 19th cent., examples of *haräg* ornaments, fols. 3r (a), 78vb (b), 81vb (c), 77va (d), 82ra (e), 97rb (f, with *subscriptio* of Wäldä Muse), 95r.



Fig. 14. Manuscript MR-032: the Four Gospels; second half of the 19th cent. (?), fols. 15v - 16r (the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew).



Fig. 15abc. Manuscript MR-032: the Four Gospels; second half of the 19th cent. (?), examples of *ḥaräg* ornaments, fols. 44r (left above), 64r (left below), 101r (right).



Fig. 16. Manuscript MR-035: *Tarikā Ityoḥya*, late 19th-early 20th cent. (?), fols. 2v (miniature) – 3r (incipit page).

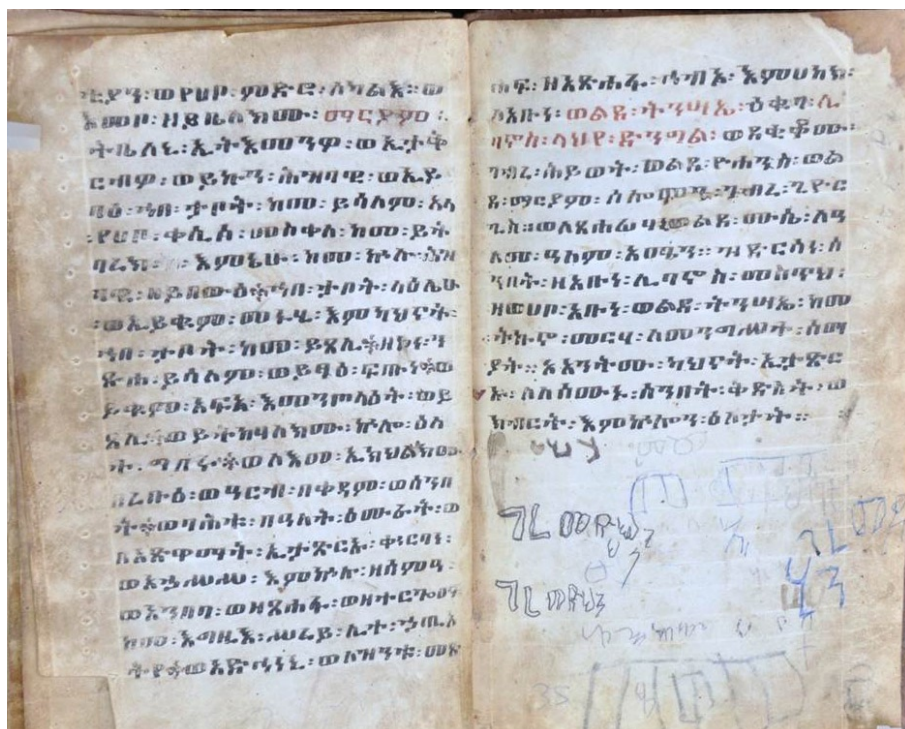
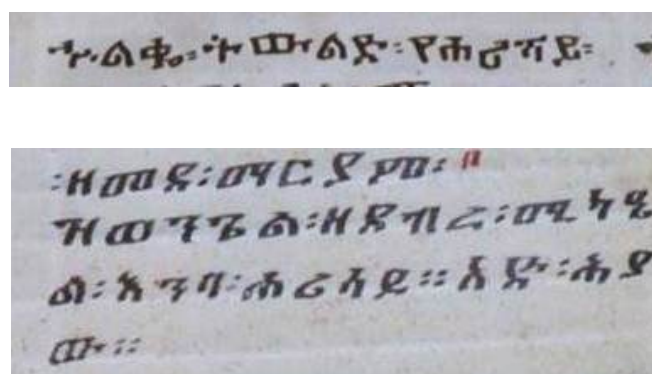


Fig. 17. Manuscript MR-009: *Dərsanä sänbätä krəstiyan*, 19th cent., fol. 34v-35r (with colophon on fol. 35r).



Above: Fig. 18ab. Manuscript MR-033: Four Gospels. *Additio* I, fol. 2ra (a); *Additio* II, fol. 84vb (b).

Fig. 19. Manuscript MR-002: *Mäṣḥafä Gənzät*, first half of the 20th cent., fol. 142r (explicit, colophon 1 [fol. 142ra, ls. 23-30, rb, ls. 23-25] and colophon 2 [fol. 142rb, ls. 1-10]).

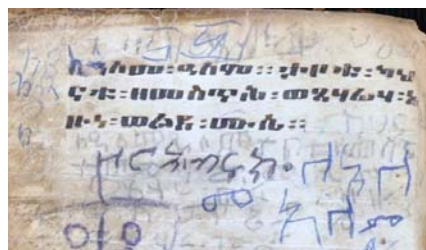
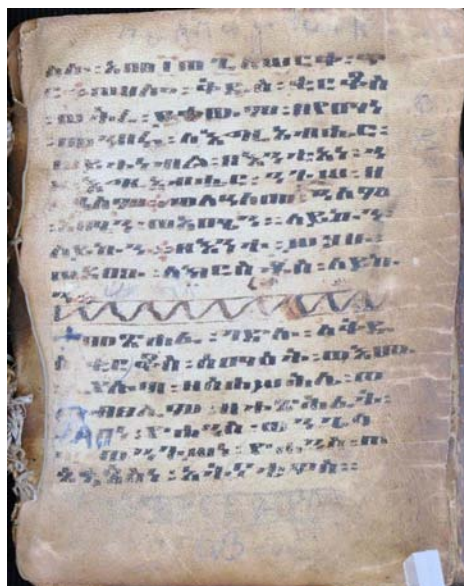
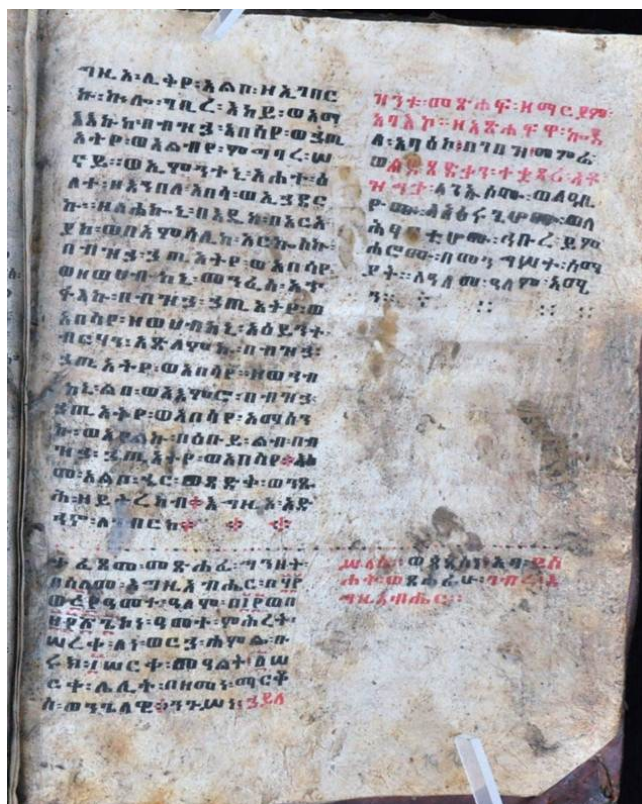


Fig. 20ab. Manuscript MR-023: *Gädlä Qirqos*, 1872-76, fols. 43r-44v (colophon).

Fig. 20abcdefgh. Excerpts from manuscripts copied by Wäldä Muse showing his name and ornamental bands.

Name of Wäldä Muse:

Haräg:



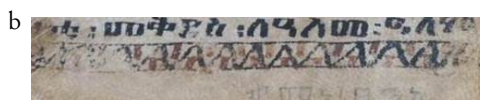
MR-001, fol. 97r (cp. fig. 13f)



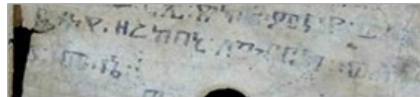
MR-001, fol. 3r (cp. fog. 13a)



MR-004 (Prayer for the Incense), fol. 36v



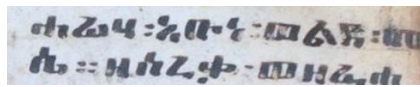
MR-004 (Prayer for the Incense), fol. 36v



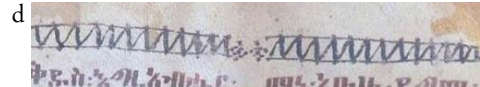
MR-006 (Prayers), fol. 17r



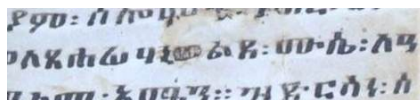
MR-006 (Prayers), fol. 2r



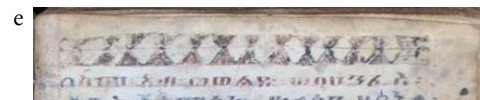
MR-007 (Missal), fol. 97r



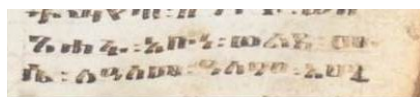
MR-006 (Prayers), fol. 2r



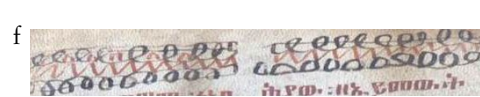
MR-009, fol. 35r (cp. fig. 17)



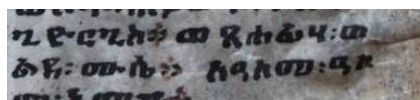
MR-009, fol. 3r



MR-014b (Missal), fol. 61r



MR-014b (Missal), fol. 5r



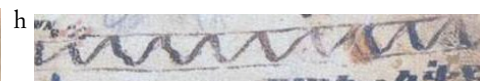
MR-016 (Prayer Mādḥane 'Alām), fol. 48r



MR-016 (Prayer Mādḥane 'Alām), fol. 3r



MR-023, fol. 43v



MR-023, fol. 43v