

Ethiopian Abənnät Manuscripts: Organizational Structure, Language Use, and Orality

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities of the University of
Hamburg in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Dr. Phil.)

by

Gidena Mesfin Kebede

From °Addiſəhu, Təgray, Ethiopia

Hamburg, January 2017

Gutachter:

1. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Alessandro Bausi, Universität Hamburg
2. Dr. Denis Nosnitsin, Universität Hamburg
3. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Roland Kießling , Universität Hamburg

Datum der mündlichen Prüfung: 21.10.2016

Dedication

ልነምበይተይ እምሆይ ራኽብ ንጉሰ ካሕላይን ሊቃውንቲ ዓድናን ብፍላይ ደፍተራታት

(To my grandmomer ፄmhoy Raḳəb Nəguse Kaḥsay and our own scholars especially the *dāftāras*)

Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled ‘Ethiopian *Abənnät* Manuscripts: Organizational Structure, Language Use and Orality’ has been carried out in the Center for the Study of Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe, *Sonderforschungsbereich 950*, University of Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Alessandro Bausi and Dr. Denis Nosnitsin. The work is original and has not been submitted in part or full by me for any degree at any other University.

I further declare that the material obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the dissertation.

Date: 27 July, 2016

Place: Hamburg, Germany

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	i
Declaration.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
Tables of symbols for transcription	vi
A. Consonants.....	vi
B. Labiovelars.....	vii
C. Vowels.....	vii
List of tables.....	viii
List of figures.....	viii
List of abbreviations	ix
List of symbols.....	ix
Chapter 1: General background and method of research.....	1
1.1 Manuscripts.....	1
1.2 Labels.....	2
1.2.1 <i>däbtära</i> notebook.....	2
1.2.2 <i>Mälkə'a Saṭna'el</i>	6
1.2.3 <i>Mäṣḥafä çärçäbi</i>	6
1.2.4 <i>Mäftəhe šəray</i>	9
1.2.5 <i>Mäṣḥafä təbāb</i>	9
1.3 Content and general background	10
1.4. 'Magic and magical' texts?.....	14
1.4.1. 'Magic': the word and its problem	14
1.4.2. 'Magic': the word and its use in the Ethiopian context	16
1.5. Research problems and statement.....	27
1.6. Objectives of the study	28
1.6.1. General objectives.....	28
1.6.2 Specific objectives	28
1.7. Significance of the study.....	29
1.8. Data analyses methods.....	29
1.9. History of scholarship and review of literature.....	29
Chapter 2: Manuscript description.....	35
2.1. Introduction.....	35
2.2 Physical and content descriptions of manuscripts	35

2.2.1 Description of manuscript G (<i>māftəhe šəray</i>)	35
2.2.2 Description of manuscript J (<i>māftəhe šəray</i>)	44
2.2.3 Description of manuscript M (<i>däbtära</i> notebook)	111
2.2.4 Description of manuscript N (<i>däbtära</i> notebook)	120
2.2.5 Description of manuscript O (<i>Mälkə'a Saṭna 'el</i>)	134
2.2.6 Description of manuscript P (<i>Mäṣḥafä çärçäbi</i>)	136
2.2.7 Description of manuscript S (<i>däbtära</i> notebook)	139
2.2.8 Description of manuscript V (<i>Mäṣḥafä ṭəbäb</i>)	155
Chapter 3: Organizational structure	174
3.1 Introduction	174
3.2 What is organizational structure?	175
3.3 Sections of an <i>abənnät</i>	184
Chapter 4: Language use in <i>abənnät</i> manuscripts	198
4.1 Introduction	198
4.2 Language: Beyond saying and describing	200
4.2.1 The SAT: the basics	200
4.2.2 The Performative in Gə'əz and Amharic	202
4.2.3 Application of the SAT in the analysis of the language of <i>abənnäts</i>	205
4.3. Multi-language use	213
Chapter 5: Orality	222
5.1 Introduction	222
5.2 What oral knowledge entails	223
5.2.1 Secrecy	223
5.2.2 Orality and textual transmission	232
5.3.2. Labels and labelling	241
Chapter 6: Conclusions	249
Appendix 1	251
Appendix 2	255
Bibliography	256
Abstract	263
Zusammenfassung	264
ማራ ፅሁፍ	265
አገጽ ሮተ ፡ ጽሁፍ	266

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Prof. Dr. Alessandro Bausi for the continuous support of my PhD study, for his patience and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me all the way in writing this dissertation. His patience and understanding personality are assets one should learn in addition to his immense academic support. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my Ph.D study; allow me to say **የቸንዖልይ!** Dr Denis Nosnitsin, your comments were also equally appreciated and I thank you for that. Professor Orin Gensler, you have been part of the inception of this work, you deserve appreciation as well. The late Prof. Paolo Marrassini is also connected to this work as he was the one who encouraged me to work on the subject long before I prepared the proposal. May his soul rest in peace!

Sonderforschungsbereich 950, Center for the Study of Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe (CSMC), where else can someone wish to do a PhD? The financial support I received from the *Deutsche Forschungs Gemeinschaft* (DFG) through the CSMC was what has actually produced this outcome. Even more than the financial support, it is a center where a research can be carried out with unreserved help. Prof. Michael Friedrich of the CSMC and Prof. Oliver Huck of the graduate college, without your support, this research would not have been realized. My heartfelt thanks! Anto (Antonella Brita) and Janina Karolewski, the early days of my research would have been difficult without your hospitality and care. Dr Irina Wandrey, your advice and encouragement were precious. Daniela Niggemeir and Christina Kaminski, your help in times of need meant a lot to me. Thank you! My thank also goes to Thomas Rave for his help in formatting the bibliography, Magdalena Krzyzanowska for the invaluable inputs in shaping chapter four of the dissertation and finally, Leif Luckmann for translating the abstract into German.

Members of the *Äthiopische Gemeinde in Hamburg und Umgebung e.V.*, your continuous support and encouragement has paid well, I think. The helping hands of Kiros Kaḥsay, a man misunderstood in the community, were of invaluable importance in the final days of my research.

Märigeta Bahran Bərhanu and *Märigeta* Bərhanu Akal, I have benefited from your deep insights. I also thank my field assistants *Mämhər* Amanu'el Muluwärq, Šāhayä Abrəha and Getaččaw Täklä.

Last but not least, TG, Nathi, Nahu and little Abənnät, you deserve my thanks! Little princess Abənnät, you were named after the title of this dissertation for a good reason. I hope you will ask me why later; I got the answer.

Tables of symbols for transcription

A. Consonants

No.	Ethiopic	Transcription
1	ሀ	h
2	ለ	l
3	ሐ	ḥ
4	ም	m
5	ሥ	ś
6	ር	r
7	ሰ	s
8	ሸ	š
9	ቀ	q
10	ቕ	q̣
11	ብ	b
12	ተ	t
13	ች	č
14	ኀ	h̥
15	ን	n
16	ኝ	ñ
17	እ	ʷ
18	ከ	k
19	ኸ	ḳ
20	ው	w
21	ዕ	ɕ
22	ዝ	z
23	ሻ	ž
24	ይ	y
25	ደ	d
26	ጀ	ǰ
27	ግ	g

28	ጥ	t
29	ፄ	č
30	ጸ	Ṗ
31	ጹ	ṣ
32	ፅ	ṡ
33	ፍ	f
34	ፐ	p

B. Labiovelars

No	Ethiopic	Transcription
1	ቆ	q ^w
2	ቅ	ḡ ^w
3	ከ	k ^w
4	ጒ	g ^w

C. Vowels

No	order	vowel
1	First	ä
2	Second	u
3	Third	i
4	Fourth	a
5	Fifth	e
6	Sixth	ə/zero
7	Seventh	o

List of tables

Table 1: Manuscript Corpus.....	2
Table 2: Reconstruction of MS G foliation.....	37
Table 3: Content description of MS G.....	39
Table 4: Content description of MS M.....	112
Table 5: Content description of MS N.....	121
Table 6: Content description of MS O.....	135
Table 7: Content description of MS P.....	137
Table 8: Content description of MS S.....	139
Table 9: Content description of MS V.....	156
Table 10: The Wisdom of the Book of Psalms from MS P.....	179
Table 11: References from the Book of Psalms in MS P.....	181
Table 12: <i>Mäftəhe šəray</i> manuscripts from churches and monasteries.....	185
Table 13: Amharic-Tigrigna herbal names from MS S.....	216
Table 14: <i>Täwlaṭ</i> or replacement table from MS S, f. 16v.....	229
Table 15: <i>Incipits</i> from the Praise of Mary.....	242

List of figures

Figure 1: Textual evidence for the title <i>čärčäbi</i>	8
Figure 2: Ruling and pricking MS G, ff. 26v–27r.....	36
Figure 3: MS G, wrong sequence of folia before reconstruction.....	36
Figure 4: Dismembered view of MS G binding.....	37
Figure 5: Quire number MS J, f. 63r.....	45
Figure 6: Ruling and pricking MS J, f. 45v.....	46
Figure 7: MS M, ff. 4v–5r.....	112
Figure 8: MS N, ff. 7r–8r.....	120
Figure 9: Blank bifolia after f. 6v in MS O.....	135
Figure 10: MS P, ff. 5v–6r.....	137
Figure 11: MS S, ff. 16v–17r; Sample page with <i>Täwlaṭ</i> table on f. 16v.....	139
Figure 12: Quire number on MS V, f. 11r.....	156
Figure 13: MS V, ff. 100v–101r.....	156
Figure 14: <i>Ṭälsäm</i> in MS G f. 20v.....	190
Figure 15: <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> on MS J, f. 119va.....	193
Figure 16: Overview of sections of an <i>abənnät</i>	197
Figure 17: A note on the cover of MS P.....	240

List of abbreviations

EMML = Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilm Library

Ethio-SPaRe = European Research Council, European Union Seventh Framework Programme IDEAS (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC Stating Grant agreement no. 240720 (Ethio-SPaRe), 2009–2015, project ‘Cultural heritage of Ethiopia: Salvation, preservation and research’, directed by Dr Denis Nosnitsin

MS = manuscript

MSS = manuscripts

SAT = Speech Acts Theory

List of symbols

[] = Emended text

() = optional reading (translation)

... = unclear text or a continuous text left out

Chapter 1: General background and method of research

ለወልድ አብነት አለው ፣

ገድሎ ማዳኑን አየነው ።

The Son has got *abənnät*;

We saw him what he killed bringing back to life.

(Amharic wax and gold *qəne*)

1.1 Manuscripts

The data presented in this research was collected through two phases of digitization (2012 and 2013) I carried out, and by the Ethio-SPaRe project.¹ Additional information on oral knowledge was collected through structured and unstructured interviews with the *däbtäras*² whom I approached.³

I used the so-called ‘convenient sampling’ in selecting the final sample i.e. corpus. This sampling method was applied because of the nature of the manuscripts. The digitization of especially some of the manuscripts depended solely on the good will of the owners. This is particularly true of the manuscripts which contain purportedly dangerous *abənnäts*⁴. Obviously, lack of documented traces of older manuscripts and thematic variety of the texts housed in the manuscripts has made it difficult to do any diachronic analysis.

Among the digitized manuscripts the following have been selected as the corpus for this study. The selection was made on the basis of peculiarities of the manuscripts: for example MS G was included as it is the oldest possible MS of its type (dated to the seventeenth century), MS J was included owing to the voluminousness and heterogeneity of its contents, MSS O and P to their peculiarity i.e. there are no other individual manuscripts with these two labels to date.

¹ ‘The Project Ethio-SPaRe (EU 7th Framework Programme, ERC Starting Grant 240720, Principal investigator Denis Nosnitsin, Dec. 2009-May 2015) was dedicated to the preservation and scientific analysis of manuscripts located in Ethiopian churches and monasteries, with the focus of the activities being in the region of Tegray in the north of the country’. See: <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/ethiostudies/ETHIOSPARe/>.

² *Däbtära* are usually unordained clergy of the Ethiopian Orthodox church who are taken as practitioners of ‘magic’ i.e. *abənnät* in this dissertation. For further details see chapter five of this dissertation.

³ See Appendix 1.

⁴ This term replaces the term ‘magic’ in this dissertation. See section 1.4 in this chapter for further discussion.

Table 1: Manuscript Corpus

No.	Owner's Name; Call number/title or label	Siglum	Acquired from
1	<i>Märiḡeta</i> ⁵ Bərhanu/notebook	L	Digitized by Gidena Mesfin
2	<i>Märiḡeta</i> Bahran/notebook 1	M	Digitized by Gidena Mesfin
3	<i>Märiḡeta</i> Bahran/notebook 2	N	Digitized by Gidena Mesfin
4	<i>Märiḡeta</i> Hadära/ <i>Mälkə'a Saṭna'el</i>	O	Digitized by Gidena Mesfin
5	<i>Märiḡeta</i> Hadära/ <i>Mäṣḥafä çärçäbi</i>	P	Digitized by Gidena Mesfin
6	<i>Märiḡeta</i> Hadära/notebook	S	Digitized by Gidena Mesfin
7	<i>Märiḡeta</i> La'əke Maryam/ <i>Mäṣḥafä ṭəbäb</i>	V	Digitized by Gidena Mesfin
8	SSB-014/ <i>Mäftəhe šəray</i>	G	Ethio-SPaRe
9	<i>Märiḡeta</i> Mängəstu/ <i>Mäftəhe šəray</i>	J	Digitized by Gidena Mesfin

1.2 Labels

As can be seen from the table above, there are 5 generic labels and/or titles namely: *däbtära* notebook, *Mälkə'a Saṭna'el*, *Mäṣḥafä çärçäbi*, *Mäṣḥafä ṭəbäb* and *Mäftəhe šəray*. I will explain the tenets of such labels here under.

1.2.1 *däbtära* notebook

This label is a customary shortened English name adopted after its use by Marcel Griaule⁶ (1898–1956) in his edition entitled *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin* which appeared

⁵ 'Märiḡeta', *E Ae*, III (2007), 786a (E. Sokolinskaia) has: 'is an office and title within the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahédo Church given to a learned *däbtära*'.

⁶ Griaule was a French ethnologist who studied such texts. See: 'Griaule, Marcel Henri', *E Ae*, II (2005), 894a-b (A. Rouaud).

in 1930. Therefore, such a label is researcher supplied and hence, no internal textual evidence can be thought to substantiate it. In addition to the manuscripts L, M, N and S above, another manuscript discussed in an article by Kane⁷ from his private possession strictly falls into such a category.

The manuscripts house recipes collected by individual *dābtāras* for their personal use and they simply perceive them as collections of *abənnāts* than anything; they render no clear title/label to such manuscripts. That is why we have opted to use the researcher supplied label to name them. Their content is what is usually called ‘magical’.⁸ They contain receipes of many kinds which are believed to serve both the practitioner and his clients. Their content is varied both in type and function. Kane as has been pointed out in the preceeding paragraph, tried to systematically categorize the contents of the manuscript he described. He came up with the following categories: receipes dealing with physical manifestations, receipes dealing with property, receipes designed to protect the practicant from harm or to improve himself in some way, interpersonal relations, mental ailments, and miscellaneous.⁹ With such a varied content, one sees no attempt at presenting them in any systematic order. This makes it difficult to scan through the contents and pinpoint an *abənnāt* of interest easily.

A note on the nature of the formation of such manuscripts is Kane’s conclusion of how the manuscript he described was formed. Based on the layout and careful execution, Kane asserts that the manuscript in his possession is possibly a copy of another manuscript. This statement should be approached with care. This is mainly because texts, espically with aggressive contents such as *māqtal* ‘recipe for killing someone’, *māstāṣalə* ‘to induce quarrel and strife’ etc.¹⁰ are highly personal and usually kept in secret. As a result their circulation is limited and a copy of a manuscript is hard to find. As the manuscript Kane described contains contents that are aggressive, we are forced to think that what Kane calls ‘copy’ may simply be ‘compilation’. Another possibility is the *dābtāra* might have reorganized the contents of his compilation and copied it. This act of compilation and then copy by the same person should be seen as a copy for personal use than for circulation. Therefore, the usual formation of such manuscripts is the following: they are usually collected over time and finally compiled to form a manuscript.¹¹

These texts may have explicit (pseudo)title/s or implicit (pseudo)title/s that are to be known from oral tradition. There are two ways of rendering a title/s in such texts. The first type is the

⁷ Kane 1983, 243.

⁸ I have put the word ‘magic’ in quotes as I intend to replace it with a rather convenient and appropriate word in this dissertation as shall be discussed later. From this point on I will use the word *abənnāt* in place of ‘magic’ where appropriate.

⁹ Kane 1983, 246–255.

¹⁰ See the content description tables under chapter two for further titles.

¹¹ For details on mahuscrip formation see section 5.2.2 of chapter five.

title/s of the *abənnät* per se. This type of title may or may not indicate the function that the *abənnät* serves. It is based on the textual content. The second type is derived from the purpose the *abənnät* is believed to serve.

The issue of title/s¹² can be demonstrated using the following example: The *abənnät* M27¹³ given in ff. 80v–89r testifies all the above raised points:

በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡
 አየረ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ዓየረ ፡ ፀየረ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ፀይና ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ነፃ ፡ ፯ ጊዜ ፡ በቀስተ ፡
 ደመና ፡ እንዳትነካኝ ፡ እንዳትጣላኝ ፡ ምጅጅናኤል ፯ ፡ ሱስናኤል ፯ ፡ ሞገራህን
 ፯ ፡ ረጅኖለ ፯ ፡ ሒልጅዴኖስ ፯ ፡ ምኮል ፯ ፡ ሙሐ ፡ ኩሐ ፡ ቁሐ ፡ ጁሐም ፡
 ቋጅም ፡ መግዘዐ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ንዑ ፫ ፡ ተገዙ ፡ ለኔ ፡ ለእገሌ ፡ እገ[ሌ] ፡ ...
 በቀስታም ፡ ንጉስክሙ ፡ በሴታም ፡ ንግሥትክሙ ፡ በኮርኮሬን ፡ ንጉሥክሙ ፡
 በኩርናኤል ፡ ንጉሥክሙ ፡ በጁሐም ፡ ንጉሥክሙ ፡ አሳዝዣችኋለሁ ፡ ተገዙ ፡
 ለእገሌ ፡ ተአዘዙኝ ፡ የነገርኳችሁን ፡ ስሩ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡
 ሀገር ፡ እኩየ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ወብእሴተ ፡ ኢታንብሩ ፡ ይሸንሸሩ ፡ ፀርየ ፡ ወፀላእትየ ፡
 ሰብአ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወሰብአ ፡ ከተማ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ አድባር ፡ ወአውግር ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ግብፅ ፡
 ወሰብአ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ለገብርኩ[ሙ] ፡ ፡ ፡ ፡

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit one God. Prayer about the air of Petros; *ayärä*, *ṣäyärä* Petros, *ṣäyna* the king, come 3 times in the (form of) a rainbow; don't touch me and don't quarrel with me *məḡḡna'el* 7 (times), *susna'el* 7 (times), *mogärahən* 7 (times), *räḡnole* 7 (times), *ḥilḡidenos* 7 (times), *məköl* 7 (times), *muha*, *kuha*, *quha*, *ḡuham*, *q^wuaḡəm*, the subjugator of demons; come 3 (times), subjugate to me _____ by (in the name of) *qästä*¹⁴, your king ; by (in the name of) *setam*,¹⁵ your queen; by (in the name of) *korkoren*, your king; by (in the name of) *kurna'el*, your king; by (in the name of) *ḡuham*, your king; by (in the name of), I have made ordered you (so that) you be subjugated to _____ submit to me, do whatever I tell you in that country of Ethiopia, the country of the wicked man and that wicked woman. Don't let them rest, make my enemies; men of countryside, men of town, men of hill, men of mountain, men of Egypt and Ethiopia, wander! (In favor of) your servant _____

¹² For further details on titles see chapter five under the section 5.3.2 which details on labels and labelling.

¹³ In 'M27', the M stands for the manuscript siglum and the 27 stands for the number of the individual *abənnät* within the manuscript. This has been adopted as a way of identifying individual *abənnäts* within each manuscript. The content descriptions of each manuscript in chapter two follow this pattern.

¹⁴ This may drive from the Amharic *qäst* 'arrow' and, *qästä* 'one who owns an arrow'. *Qästä* which is usually given to local spiritual beings related to demons might be implied here in this context.

¹⁵ *setam* may be understood as having been driven from the word *set* 'woman' and hence, *setam* 'womanish or effeminate'. It is believed that people who are possessed by a female spirit tend to act like a woman in their day-to-day activities. Therefore, it is not wild to guess that this name is also implying the characteristic changes of the men possessed by such a spirit.

The *gäbirs*¹⁶ ‘applications’ are given in ff. 82v–89r with the following list of titles:

I. First list of *gäbirs*

1. **ለመወሀድ** ‘To inherit the attributes of (Satan)’
2. **ለማንኛውም ፡ ነገር** ‘for everything (for all purposes)’

II. **ሌላ ፡ ገቢር** ‘other applications’

፩ኛ ፡ ለፀር ፡ ‘First: Against and enemy’ **፪ኛ ፡ ለመስተሐምም** ፡ ‘Second: To induce illness’ **፫ኛ ፡ ለጋኔን** ፡ ‘Third: Against demon’ **፬ኛ ፡ ለሀብት** ፡ ‘Fourth: to gain wealth’ **፭ኛ ፡ ለዓቃቤ ፡ ርእስ** ፡ ‘Fifth: lit. ‘Head protector’ i.e. ‘For general personal protection’ **፮ኛ ፡ ለመስተፋቅር** ፡ ‘Sixth: Love charm’ **፯ኛ ፡ ለመስተፃልዕ** ፡ ‘Seventh: to induce strife’ **፰ኛ ፡ ለሌባ** ፡ ‘Eighth: Against thief’ **፱ኛ ፡ ለውርሻ** ፡ ‘Ninth: To inherit spiritual esp. evil characteristic and power’ **፲ኛ ፡ ለውጋት** ፡ ‘Tenth: Against sharp pain’ **፲፩ ፡ ለፀር** ፡ ‘Eleven: Against enemy’ **፲፪ ፡ ለመስተፋቅር** ፡ ‘Twelve. Love charm’ **፲፫ ፡ ለምርዋፀ ፡ ዕድ** ፡ ‘Thirteen: To make the hands run i.e. speed (while copying)’ **፲፬ ፡ ምጥ ፡ ለጠናባት ፡ ሴት** ፡ ‘Fourteen: Against difficult delivery’ **፲፭ ፡ ለከብት ፡ ለሚሞትበት** ፡ ‘Fifteen. Against cattle death’ **፲፮ ፡ ጉብን ፡ ለመሳብ** ፡ ‘Sixteen: To catch bees’ **፲፯ ፡ ለውጋት** ፡ ‘Seventeen: Against sharp pain’ **፲፰ ፡ ለዘሞተ ፡ እስኪት** ፡ ‘Eighteen: Against impotence’ **፲፱ ፡ ለመስተባርር** ፡ ‘Nineteen: To evict a person’ **፳ ፡ ለመቅትል** ፡ ‘Twenty: For killing’ **፳፩ ፡ ለመስተሐምም** ፡ ‘Twenty one: To induce illness on someone’ **፳፪ ፡ ለመስተሐምም** ፡ ‘Twenty two: to induce illness on someone’ **፳፫ ፡ ለመካን ፡ ሴት** ፡ ‘Twenty three: For nullipara’ **፳፬ ፡ ለዓንደረቢ** ፡ ‘Twentyfour: To cast *‘andäräbi’*¹⁷ and then continues **፳፭ ፡ ምላሰን ፡ ለማሰር** ፡ ‘Twenty seven: To make someone mute’ **፳፰ ፡ ለምልዋጥ** ፡ ‘Twenty eight: To change something into something else’ **፳፱ ፡ የዛር¹⁸ ፡ ውላጅ ፡ ለማየት** ፡ ‘Twenty nine: To see a zar-offspring’ **፴ ፡ ሰውን ፡ ጉባጣ ፡ ለማድረግ** ፡ ‘Thirty: To make somebody’s back hunch’ **፴፩ ፡ ለመስተሐምም** ፡ ‘Thirty one: To induce illness on someone’ **፴፪ ፡ ሀብት ፡ ለማቅናት** ፡ ‘Thirty two: lit. to straighten wealth, i.e. to gain riches’ **፴፫ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ** ፡ ‘Thirty

¹⁶ These are often parts of the *abännät* which describe how the contents can be put into effect. See section 3.3 for further details.

¹⁷ To hurl objects like stone, sand etc. on someone’s home, to put sand, excrement etc. on someone’s food using incantations.

¹⁸ **ዛር** ፡ ‘zar’: ‘is one of the best known and most widely spread forms of spirit possession found not only throughout the Horn of Africa, but also in Egypt, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Yemen, and most recently Israel’. See ‘Possession cults, Zar’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 185–187a (S. Kaplan). The word **የዛር ፡ ውላጅ** ፡ ‘Zar offspring’ has been defined as ‘base descendants of the zar-spirits who have fleshly bodies and are held to come as clearers of the way when zar-spirits are conjured up’, Kane 1990, 1491.

three: Undoing of charms’ **ሷሷ ፡ ለዓይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡** ‘Thirty four: Against evil eye’ **ሷሷ ፡ ለተቅማጥ ፡** ‘Against diarrhoea’ **ሷ፭ ፡ ለአምጽኦ ፡ ብእሲት ፡** ‘Thirty five: To get a woman (lover)’ **ሷ፮ ፡ ለቡዳና ፡ ለሰላቢ ፡** ‘Thirty six: Against *buda*¹⁹ and *sälabi*²⁰’ **ሷ፯ ፡ ለምስሀብ ፡** ‘Thirty seven: To attract a demon, wealth etc.’.

From the above extended excerpt, we can see that the general title of the *abənnät* is called *Ayärä* Petros which derives from the first lines of the text. However, further 37 sub-titles which bear the effectuation are also given. Therefore, a title could represent the main theme of the texts of the *abənnät* or can also be drawn from the application of the main text. The second types of titles are called titles of the *gäbir*.²¹

1.2.2 Mälkə’a Saṭna’el

This label is used to designate hymns composed in honour of *Saṭna’el* i.e. Satan. There are two texts known to us under such a label. The first is the *Mälkə’* type: it has two types of presentations. The first type is the conventional *Mälkə’* type which is found in MS M ff. 25r–42r, MS O, MS EMMML 1085²² and MS EMMML 1502.²³ This text has also been published by Strelcyn.²⁴ Another variant with the same label is a text also published by Strelcyn²⁵ which contains Arabic and Pseudo-Arabic *asmats*²⁶ after each **ሰላም ፡ ለከ ፡ መልአክ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ሳጥናኤል ፡** ‘Peace be unto you Satan the messenger of demons’ entry.

Of all the above *Mälkə’a Saṭna’el* texts the one found in MS M ff. 25r–42r contains the *gäbir* ‘effectuation’.

1.2.3 Mäṣḥafä çärçäbi

This literally means ‘Book of *çärçäbi*’ wherein the word *çärçäbi* also *çärçäbbe*²⁷ further needs an explanation. Kane renders the term a somewhat ambiguous definition: ‘a charm written by a *tänq’ay* – sorcerer on a strip of parchment which is as long as the person for whom it is written’.²⁸ To start with, the expression ‘a strip of parchment which is as long as

¹⁹ ‘... the mythical being that figures centrally in Ethiopian supernatural cosmology, is popularly believed to possess the power of the evil eye. Cannibalistic and malevolent, a B. spirit takes control of the human body, using it as a vehicle for its evil activities’; see ‘Buda’, *EAE*, I (2003), 633b–635a (H. Salamon).

²⁰ A person who takes away somebody’s property by means of incantations and charms.

²¹ Lit. ‘effectuation, application’. See chapter three section 3.3 for further details.

²² Macomber 1975, 429.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Strelcyn 1983, 83–115.

²⁵ Strelcyn 1969, 155–157.

²⁶ powerful names.

²⁷ Kane 1990, 2219.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

the person...’ draws our attention. What does the ‘strip of parchment’ or scroll in the definition mean? Mercier has the following to say regarding scroll: ‘In the Tigrinya-speaking areas they are called talisman (*tälsām*) or, where the custom is to use scrolls equal in length to the height of the sick person, “full-size” (in Tigrinya: *ma^eero qumät*)’.²⁹ From this it runs that the term *čärčäbi* refers mainly to the textual content written on a ‘full-size’ parchment i.e. a scroll. But it is not clear whether the textual contents of each ‘full-size’ scroll are necessarily a *čärčäbi* or not.

In addition to the above mentioned dictionary entry, the following two references containing the word *čärčäbi* in the so called ‘*Awdä nägäšt* ‘The Cycle of Kings’³⁰ add to a further understanding of the meaning of the term.

፩ኛው ፡ ኮከብ ፡ አሰድ ፡ እሳት ።

ይህ ፡ ኮከብ ፡ በሐምሌ ፡ ፳፮ ፡ በመስከ ፡ በኩል ፡ የሚወጣ ፡ ነው ፡ [...] ይህ ፡ ኮከብ ፡ ያለው ፡ ሰው ፡ ...በሐፍረቱ ፡ ላይ ፡ ምልክት ፡ አለበት ፡ [...] ጫጫታ ፡ የምትባል ፡ ዋናዋ ፡ የዛር ፡ ውላጅ ፡ ትሸምቅበታለች ፡ [...] ለዚች ፡ መድኃኒትዋ ፡ የቀላልቋልና ፡ የሎሚ ፡ ተቀጽላ ፡ የአሜራ ፡ ሥር ፡ ከርቤ ፡ ጨምሮ ፡ አንድነት ፡ በአዳል ፡ በግ ፡ ብራና ፡ በነጭ ፡ ጨርጨቢ ፡ አጽፎ ፡ ከነዚህ ፡ መድኃኒቶች ፡ ጋራ ፡ ፩ ፡ ላይ ፡ ይያዝ ።³¹

The fifth star i.e. zodiac sign: Leo

This star (zodiac sign Leo) comes out on the *Hamle* 26 (August 2 Gregorian Calendar) from the North-eastern direction. A person (man) with such a zodiac sign has a mark on his genital [...] a base descendant of the *zar*-spirit called *Čačata* lays in wait against him [...] A cure for this (the *Čačata*) is, a parasitic plant of (both) cactus (*Euphorbia canderbara*) and citrus (*Citrus aurantifolia*, *Citrus var. Pusilla*), and the root of *Amera*³² all mixed with myrrh; have a *Čärčäbi* written on a white *Adal*³³ sheep skin together with the aforementioned medicines i.e. herbs and roots.

አሰድ ፡ እሳት ፡ ኮከብ ፡ ያላት ፡ ሴት ፡ የሆነች ፡ እንደሆነ ።

መኳንንት ፡ ያፈቅረዋታል ፡ አካልዋ ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ ጥርስ ፡ መልካም ፡ ናት ፡ ዘማዊነት ፡ አለባት ፡ ጥቁር ፡ ሰው ፡ ከፍልዋ ፡ አይደለም ፡ አጥፊዋ ፡ ነው ፡ የቂጥኝ ፡ ዕግል ፡ ያስፈራታል ፡ በመስከረምና ፡ ጥቅምት ፡ ዓርብና ፡ ቅዳሜ ፡

²⁹ Mercier 1979, 11.

³⁰ Conti Rossini 1941, 127–145.

³¹ *ዓውደ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወፍካፊ ፡ ከዋክብት ፡ (ሥነ ፡ ምርምር)* 1953 EC., 32

³² Kane 1990, 1124 defines ‘vine, the roots of which is used as a remedy for stomachache ... dye obtained from this plant used in tattooing the neck and the hands’.

³³ This means a sheep breed which has a light-coloured (grey) coat. This type of sheep is usually used as a sacrifice of choice of a *zar*.

ቀን ፡ ሩቅ ፡ አገር ፡ አትሒድ ፡ ትጠንቀቅ ፡ [...] የእጅ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ መድኃኒትና ፡
ጨርጨቢ ፡ አስጽፋ ፡ ትያዝ ።³⁴

If a woman's zodiac sign is Leo: Nobel men love her, she has a clean body with nice teeth; she has a lustful character, black man is not her fortune. He is her demise. She has a fear of syphilis relapse. She should be careful and try to avoid long distance travel on Septembers and Octobers, Fridays and Saturdays [...] she should get a medicine for malicious spirit esp. *buda*³⁵ and *čärčäbi* written down (for her).

From the above descriptions it seems that the *čärčäbi* which is also read like a prayer for seven days has also another function i.e. to be written down in a scroll. What remains unclear is that we don't know whether all *ma'ero qumät* 'full-size' scrolls require this very text or not. In the manuscript, whether the whole text of the manuscript is called *čärčäbi* or not is contested as discussed in the unusual note discussed in chapter five. In any case the manuscript on f. 7v has:

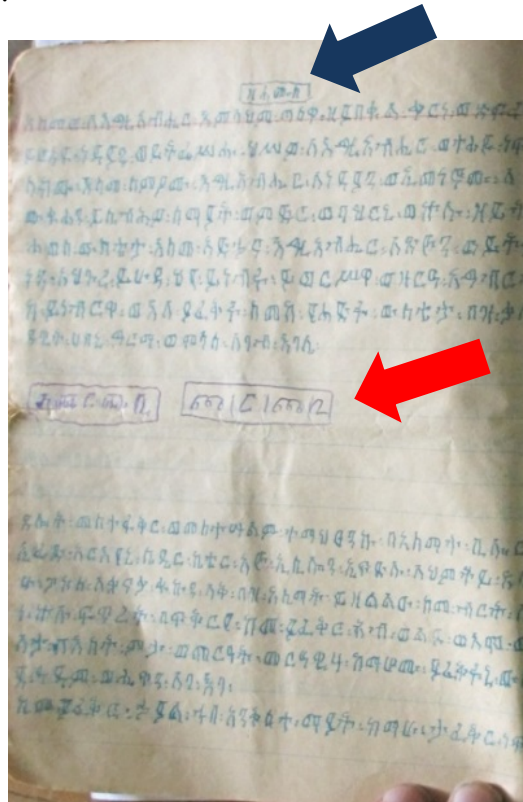


Figure 1: Textual evidence for the title *čärčäbi*

³⁴ ዓውደ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወፍካሬ ፡ ከዋክብት ፡ (ሥነ ፡ ምርምር) 1954 EC, 33.

³⁵ '... the mythical being that figures centrally in Ethiopian supernatural cosmology, is popularly believed to possess the power of the evil eye. Cannibalistic and malevolent, a B. spirit takes control of the human body, using it as a vehicle for its evil activities', see 'Buda', *EAE*, I (2003), 633b–635a (H. Salamon).

The note discussed on chapter five sub-section 5.2.2.2 reveals that what should be considered **ՃԱՐՇԱԲԻ** : *čärčäbi*, indicated in red arrow in the above picture, is starting from the reading for Thursday i.e. **ՈՒՏՈՒՆ** : . This day is indicated in dark blue arrow in the above picture. Though titles and labels usually are drawn mainly from *incipits* or after a repeated term within the content, this is an exceptional case. Given that the *däbtära* are the practioners, we don't have any other choice but recording it as it is.

1.2.4 Mäftəhe šəray

This is a label which is literally translated 'Undoing of charms'. It is also called *Qopṛəyanos* 'St Cyprian'. This is a label which springs from the content of one of the textual units or *abənnäts* found in some of the manuscripts. The name Cyprian might have derived from the former profession of Cyprian of Antioch as a magician. As a later convert he has been included into hagiographic traditions. It is worth mentioning here that he is usually confused with St Cyprian of Carthage, a third century church father and appointed bishop of Carthage. It is further related that this very name is also used as a title of a work in the Armenian tradition.³⁶

The *däbtəras* use both labels i.e. *mäftəhe šəray* 'Undoing of charms' or *Qopṛəyanos* 'St Cyprian' interchangeably to denote the same manuscript regardless of its containing that very *abənnät*. Such manuscripts mainly contain texts meant to reverse any charm that comes as a result of incantations and charms. This may simply be used in an attempt to cure any disease.

These manuscripts are characterized by the fact that they are serving a religious per se purpose, too. This mainly derives from their transmission history. In contrast opposition to the other MSS, the *mäftəhe šəray* MSS have gradually entered into the religious sphere as has been discussed in chapter three section a.

1.2.5 Mäşhafä təbäb

This label literally means 'The Book of Wisdom'. This seems to reflect the positive value the *däbtära* ascribe both to their manuscripts and the whole practice related to the manuscripts. What is striking related to this label is the fact that the *abənnäts* housed in this very manuscript are what is usually dubbed 'white magic'. This might have given the *däbtära* the confidence to coin a label which is some what positive to whom it is presented. It goes with out saying that the word *təbäb* 'wisdom' has an extended meaning when it usually appears in the adjectival form *təbib* 'wise'. In this form it may mean 'doctor, one who knows medicine'.

³⁶ See: 'Cyprian of Antioch', *E Ae*, I (2003), 841a–842a and 'Cyprian of Carthage', *E Ae*, I (2003), 842a-b (A. Bausi).

This possibly explains why the *däbtäras* do not want to be called using terms which have to do with ‘magic’ as the consider

1.3 Content and general background

As part of the general literary history of Ethiopic literature, contextualizing the *abännät* within the general history of Ethiopia will help us fairly chart its development and complexity. The complexity is a function of the changes in the official religion of the state, its expansion and its external relations.

Proliferation of literary Christian production is usually linked to the acceptance of Christianity as the official religion of the Aksumite kingdom which flourished in Northern Ethiopia.³⁷ This kingdom is thought to be the result of the mesh of cultures and languages of different ethnic groups.³⁸ Cushitic indigenous people created the kingdom through amicable relations with later settlers called the Sabeans whose language and culture is related to South Arabian civilization and culture.

It should be noted that the emergence of Aksum correspond to the so-called ‘Hellenistic period (ca. 300–30 BC)’ and of Late Antiquity (2–7 century CE). This is not a simple chronological overlap. Hellenism has its cultural influences in the kingdom. One of such influences is evidently seen in the modern name of the kingdom i.e. the name Ethiopia. This vague antique name has its roots in Greek. With such a late antique background, the kingdom thrived up until the eighth century CE only to be followed by centuries of historical oblivion. Within the time span of the kingdom of Aksum, another historical phenomenon should be noted: the seventh century introduction of Islam into the kingdom through a group of followers of the prophet Mohammed who were prosecuted by the Quraysh in Mecca. This incidence has allowed Islam to take roots in the kingdom.

Following the kingdom of Aksum the so called Zagwe dynasty (11th century–1270) came into the historical scene. This dynasty replaced the Aksumite kingdom moving the political centre further south to the town of present day Lalibäla which was then named Roha. This dynasty came to an end in 1270 replaced by the so called Solomonic dynasty which claimed to have restored its old dynastic rule. This dynasty survived until 1974 with Emperor Haile Sellase (1930–1974) as its last ruler. Within the long period of the Solomonic dynasty the political centre changed many times and the geographical sphere of influence grew in all frontiers. As a result, such an expansion has come with its own effects: In this line Cerulli

³⁷ Harden 1926, 22 has ‘The rise of the literature was no doubt due to the introduction of Christianity’.

³⁸ Tadesse Tamrat 1972, 5–18.

correctly observes,³⁹ ‘The conquest of vast territories of southern Ethiopia, especially by Kings Dawit I (1382–1413) and Isaac (1414–1429), also introduced pagans or new converts who were still fervent in their magical practices, and residues of paganism into the interior of the Christian state’. The fifteenth century is usually called ‘golden period of Ge‘ez literature’.⁴⁰ King Zär’a Ya‘qob (1434–1468) is credited with writing many polemical books against ‘magical’ practices. What is surprising is ‘magical’ writing mushroomed as a backlash of such denunciation.⁴¹

The above historical sketch points towards the fact that the literary products including the *abənnäts* show a strong mesh of motives based on the cultures of different ethnic groups, religions which as a result influenced the confluence of sources we see within the *abənnäts*. Burtea smartly notes this:

Diese Entwicklung wird u.a. an der nach Süden gerichteten Verlagerung der Reichshauptstadt deutlich: Aksum, Roha, Gondar, Ankobar, Addis Abeba. Dieser langwierige Prozeß, den man als Akkulturation bezeichnen kann, bewirkte, daß gleichermaßen Kuschitisches in das Christlich-Semitische integriert wurde. Dazu kam ein anderer wichtiger Aspekt. Neben dem offiziellen Christentum, das institutionalisiert und fest geregelt war und im Laufe der Zeit je nach den historischen Umständen die äthiopische Gesellschaft prägte, konnte sich auf der Basis des vorchristlichen Substrats eine eigenständige Volksfrömmigkeit etablieren- eine Synthese, in der jüdische, vorchristlich-afrikanische, christliche und islamische Elemente nebeneinander existieren und ineinander übergehen. Gerade in diesem Millieu behauptete und bewährte sich Magie und Zauberei über lange Zeit.⁴²

This development (the expansion of the kingdom southwards to incorporate the heathens of the South) is, among other things, seen in the south-ward relocation of the capital, namely: Aksum, Roha, Gondar, Ankobar, Addis Ababa. This lengthy process that can be described as acculturation caused that Cushitic (culture) was equally integrated into the Christian-Semitic one. There was also another important aspect. Besides the official Christianity, which was institutionalized and firmly fixed over time, and which depending on the historical circumstances shaped the Ethiopian society, the pre-Christian substrate which in itself is an independent popular belief resulted in a synthesis in which

³⁹ Cerulli 1961, 134. ‘La conquista di vasti territori dell’Etiopia meridionale, da parte specialmente dei negus Dawit I ed Isacco, aveva anche introdotto nell’interno dello Stato Cristiano popolazioni pagane oppure appena convertite ed ancora ferventi di pratiche magiche e residui di paganesimo’.

⁴⁰ Harden 1926, 27.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Burtea 2002, 6.

The *abənnāts* which make up our corpus draw motives not only from the inland integration of cultures but also generally from late antique cultures of the mediterranean region. There are clear late antique motives in our *abənnāts*. Burtea⁴³ identifies the following motives: The motive of Solomon as the master of demons,⁴⁴ Alexander the great, the legend of *Susənyos*,⁴⁵ and other formulae.⁴⁶

Several, in fact most, such texts (magical), although not Christian, begin with the word, ‘In the name of the Father and of the son and of the Holy Spirit, One God, Amen’. This beginning of such texts was added after Emperor *Zār’a Ya’qob* ordered all such ‘pagan’ texts to be destroyed, and the owners added these words to deceive the soldiers sent to destroy them. The practice has persisted to this day.⁴⁹

⁴³ Burtea 2014, 135–137.

⁴⁵ See chapter three section 3.3 for further information.

⁴⁷ Ferenc 1985, 290.

⁴⁹ Ferenc 1985, 290.

I disclose to you what I found in the palace: a book of (secret) names which was copied during the time (of reign) of my brother, King Yəshaq. The book was (so) huge and heavy that two men would not be able to carry it on a journey. The clergy of the tabernacle used to read it when a pestilence or other diseases broke out. And the (secret) names were not the names of God but names of demons who help the one who invokes them until they destroy him. Behold, I destroyed it by the power of God and did away from the palace every name not found in the *Eighty-One Canonical Scriptures*.⁵¹

The above quotation indirectly points to the fact that the *abənnät* manuscripts must have been common in the days of the king. This is especially evident in the expression ‘The book was (so) huge and heavy that two men would not be able to carry it on a journey’. Another fascinating thing is the value of the book as though it was canonical it was used by the priests of the tabernacle. From this one can safely assume that though extant manuscripts of the genre are dated to the seventeenth century at the earliest, the practice dates far back to time immemorial. Hence, the inexactness and variability of the dates suggested for the periodization of the *abənnät* manuscripts may plausibly be attributed to their secrecy. In any case, of the various text genres in Ethiopic literature, they have always had the lowest degree of public visibility.

Another aspect that regards the *abənnäts* is the problem of delineating the boundary between the so called ‘magic’ and other forms of healing. Early civilizations would have taken the term ‘medical’ as a blend of medical per se and other healing practices as well. Related to this Barkhuus observes:

If we are to understand the attitude of the [primitive] mind toward the diagnosis and treatment of disease, we must recognize that medicine, in our sense, was only one phase of a set of magic or mystic processes designed to promote human well-being [...]⁵²

Barkhuus further explicitly states on the same page that medicine in Ethiopia is related to religion and ‘magic’. Anderson also stresses the fact that the *abənnät* treatises are found in a blend.⁵³ Molvaer also states this clearly: ‘Magic is not always separated from other means of healing. In fact, the magic formulas are often used in combination with herbal medicine, and

⁵¹ The idea of the ‘Eighty-One Canonical Scriptures’ in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church tradition is blurred. Though mention of such a number is common no official stand has been expressed by the church. It should be noted that the emperor himself tried to make a list of 81 canonical books as part of his religious project. For further details see: ‘Bible canon’, *EAE*, (2003), 571a–573b (P. Brandt).

⁵² Barkhuus 1947, 724.

⁵³ Anderson 2007, 25.

in many cases, perhaps generally, it is thought that the formula is necessary to give healing properties to the herbs used'.⁵⁴

1.4. 'Magic and magical' texts?

1.4.1. 'Magic': the word and its problem

It has become a mantra that research work on a subject that has any bearing to the word 'magic' has to tackle the issue of what the word really stands for. Though scholarly expositions have been going on in the direction of defining the word, it still remains unresolved. This generally mainly resulted from the etymological problem the very word has, the subsequent applications of the word, and its conceptual meaning in academic debates. The discussion gets complex as the word is usually discussed in contrast, in tandem or circumscribed with other equally elusive notions like 'science' and 'religion'.

Scholarly discussions trace the origins of the word 'magic' as far back as fifth century BCE Greece where the term was a loan word from Old Persian *maguš*. The term originally referred to a member of the learned Median priest-class of Archaemenid Persia.⁵⁵ It later changed in meaning as its semantic field widened and its meaning became elusive related to its etymology and the theorizing perspectives of different academic disciplines.

The Greeks used it to imply the 'other', 'external' feeling they had towards the Persians. At this level of the history of the meaning of the word it was meant to express all other potentially powerful but 'foreign, dangerous and suspicious' practices of the Persians who were the historical enemies of the Greeks.⁵⁶ The complexity and semantic elusiveness of the word became stronger when it came to be used in relation to other words in other European languages. Its relation became blurred and the semantic field it encompassed got bigger, and its exact 'meaning' became difficult to express.

In addition to this semantic complexity which resulted in relation to the etymological dimensions of the word, the sense of the word purported by different academic research perspectives has also contributed to its ever elusiveness. Academic frontiers of the nineteenth century started to relate it to other equally vague terms which have not agreed upon definitions of their own. These vague notions which later came to be known as the 'trio-constellations' were magic-religion-science. The periphery and/or central relationship of these three came to depend on the perspective or academic inclination of those who used them.

⁵⁴ Molvaer 1980, 25.

⁵⁵ Cheak 2004, 265. For Further details see: Jong 1997, 387–413.

⁵⁶ Otto and Stausberg 2014, 3.

For anthropologists, the conceptual battle was between ‘magic’ and ‘science’ whereas it was between ‘magic’ and ‘religion’ for the scholars of the study of religion. The anthropological theorizing was preoccupied with trying to define ‘magic’ in relation to ‘science’ where we have notions of ‘magic’ as ‘pseudo-science’ to start with. The battle went on with a shift in the stress on the roots of ‘magic’ and ‘science’ thereby resulting in a conception of ‘magic’ as ‘something that derives from the unsuccessful desire to understand and control natural environment’.⁵⁷

Later in the twentieth century the idea of ‘emic rationality’ came at the heart of attempts in defining ‘magic’. This resulted in the sense that what has been advanced by anthropologists of the nineteenth century was ethno-centric and hence, impregnated with ‘Western mode of thought’. Therefore, the proponents of such an attempt argue that each definition of the term should be culture specific.

The most recent attempt at defining the term relates it to ‘science’. It discusses it under the synthetic view of science. A further advancement in this line is the idea that ‘magic’ has to be defined in relation to the results of parapsychological research.

The perspective of the study of religion has its conceptual tension between ‘magic’ and ‘religion’. In this area theorizing seems to be depreciative from its onset as it clung to ideological and religious tendencies of the thinkers. The expression ‘magic’ as ‘monstrous farrago’⁵⁸ says it all in this regard. In line with this argument there has been an advance which tried to create a bridging notion between ‘magic’ and ‘religion’ called ‘magico-religious’.⁵⁹ This is a notion not shared by the scholars of the history of religion. This was believed to spare the overlap that one finds between the two though this has also its own shortcomings.

An extreme case in the attempt to define magic is held by those who tend to discard the term ‘magic’ as a category altogether. This mainly related to the so called decline of ‘the grand dichotomy’.⁶⁰ In such connection Braarvig asserts that the intertextuality of sources used in both religion and ‘magic’ makes it problematic in distinguishing what is what.

Eventually, there is also a definition of ‘magic’ which has been classified as practitioners’ definition. This conception, whatever it may, reverses the idea which holds that ‘magic’ as a concept is negative and derogatory as one cannot designate him/herself using a pejorative title of whatsoever.

In conclusion the following remark by Ritner summarizes the whole complexity of dealing with the term ‘magic’:

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 4.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 78.

⁵⁹ For such a use in the Ethiopian context see: Strelcyn 1960, 148 and Lifchitz 1940, 8–17.

⁶⁰ Braarvig 1999, 21.

In any discussion of magical spells and techniques, one is at once confronted by the complete absence of any shared criteria for exactly what constitutes ‘magic’. All too often, the religious and medical practices of one culture or era become ‘magic’ when viewed from the perspective of another. Perhaps nowhere is this clearer than in the case of the developing Christian church, which was prosecuted for magical acts by pagan Rome, in turn persecuted pagans and ‘heretics’ for the same offense when it attained power, and, finally, was again the subject of denunciations for magical practices by schismatic Protestant groups. Similarly, many of the medical prescriptions of the Roman author Pliny would certainly be considered ‘magical’ today, despite the author’s denunciation of magicians and their practice. This vagary inherent in the modern word ‘magic’-being applied by personal whim to beliefs stigmatized as evil or false-parallels the derogatory evolution of the word ‘myth’ and, like it, seems to be a legacy of the Greco-Roman world.⁶¹

What’s striking about the aforementioned discussions is that almost what has happened in Europe around the word ‘magic’ and its different conceptions has counterpart histories in almost all cultures which claim to have such practices in their different forms. This is partly because of the fact that academic discourses on the subject usually sprang especially from Western European thought with their effects to be felt elsewhere. The Ethiopian case is no different.

1.4.2. ‘Magic’: the word and its use in the Ethiopian context

The problem of using ‘magic’ in the Ethiopian context stems from the fact that the word has a debated and fuzzy semantic and conceptual history. Among the problems is the multiplicity of words which are used to replace it both in Ge’ez and Amharic, the two main languages of composition of the texts under discussion. To explain this we will use some select words which have been rendered ‘magic’ in both Ge’ez and Amharic. As with clear sources, it is just to consider *Ṭomarä Təsbəʾt* ‘Epistle of Humanity’.⁶² Firstly, the author is usually mentioned as having campaigned against all sorts of practices doomed ‘magical’ as has been noted above. Secondly, the work contains words and expressions which can be equated to ‘magic’ but have other sub-strates as they are usually drawn from other cultures as will be discussed below.

The main theme of *Ṭomarä Təsbəʾt*, which is composed of three homilies, is described as ‘suppression or eradication of magical practices’.⁶³ In doing so the author, which is identified

⁶¹ Ritner 1993, 4.

⁶² Lit. ‘Epistle of Humanity’, the text and translation of which were published by Getachew Haile 1991.

⁶³ *Ibid.* ix.

as the King Zär'a Ya'qob (1434–1468), employs words and expressions associated with 'magic'. It must be noted that the author heavily depends on sources such as the Ethiopian *Didascalia* (*Didasqəlyä*)⁶⁴ and the *Synodos* (*Sinodos*)⁶⁵ which in themselves draw their contents from external sources. Therefore, it is not immediate to take the words used in the text to be equivalents of Ethiopian words and expressions. Yet, as the king is known to have opened a harsh campaign against practices and manuscripts believed to be 'magical' in Ethiopian history, it is still feasible to discuss the common words and expressions. This will shed some light on the words and expressions applied to denote such practices thereby giving us clues towards the use and application of the term 'magic' as rendered in the text and other lexical entries.

The word **ጠንቋሊ** *tänq^wali*, which is frequently used in the *Ṭomarä Təsḃə't* is hard to render as 'magician' as the characterization of it is complex and vague. The writer gives the following indirect hint to what the term means:

ሶበ ፡ ሰአልከዎ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይምህረኒ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ጠንቋሊ ፡፡ አውሥክ ፡
ወይቤለኒ ፡ በ፲ወጅ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ኢይትፌጸም ፡ ትምህርተ ፡ መጽሐፉ ፡ ለጠንቋሊ ፡
ዘአነ ፡ አአምሮ ፡ ወኢኮነ ፡ መጽሐፉ ፡ ዘብሔርነ ፡፡⁶⁶

When I asked him to teach me the book of magic, he answered saying to me, 'Learning the book of magic which I have mastered will not be accomplished in fifteen years; *nor is the book from our country*'.⁶⁷ (Emphasis mine.)

Here it seems that the practitioner is called *tänq^wali* and his book **መጽሐፈ ፡ ጠንቋሊ** *mäṣḥafä tänq^wali* lit. 'Book of *tänq^wali*'. The rather curious expression i.e. 'nor is the book from our country' points either towards a local variety of the practice and the book or it may imply that such a book is not of Ethiopian origin. Either way is possible as the term **ብሔር ፡** 'bəḥer' which has been rendered 'country' may mean a geographic location far from one's locality or may simply mean 'a country'. If we follow the rendering of the translator this obviously hints that many of the texts are imported ones.

A further indirect reference relates to another equally equivocal word:

As for *the book of names* that I destroyed, its perversity should not appear to you trivial. It was filled (with) names of demon written in it. There was a passage where it said, worshipping creature, 'I take refuge in the seven mountains, in the seven hills, in the seven seas, in the seven springs of water, in the seven stones'. And there was much that resembled this that was written in it. This, of course, is the worship of creatures. As for you, Christian, suffice for you the name(s) of

⁶⁴ Harden 1920, 170.

⁶⁵ See Bausi 1992, 15–33; 1998.

⁶⁶ Getachew Haile 1991, 3 (text).

⁶⁷ Getachew Haile 1991, 3–4 (transl.).

God which (are) written in the Eighty One canonical Scriptures. If God has a name which is hidden (from you), would he say to you, ‘Why have you not invoked my hidden name?’ when you invoke his name that you know? Are there contemptible and honourable ones among the names of God? Every name of God is honoured.⁶⁸

The above extended quotation in addition to arguing against the use of names in whatsoever form adds a point to what has been raised above. What has been called መጽሐፈ ፡ ጠንቋሊ *mäṣḥafä* (i.e. ‘Book of’) *ṭānq^wali* seems to be replaced by ‘the book of names’ here. As it is not clear whether these were labels given by the writer, it leaves us with an open question. Chernetsov has the following to say concerning such a difficulty, ‘... it is impossible to draw a distinct line between traditional Ethiopian medicine and magic, it is also difficult to formulate the precise difference between these three words [*ṭānq^way*, *‘aqqabe šəray* and *däbtära*], which remain rather overlapping denominations’.⁶⁹ He further cautiously remarks that ‘*ṭānq^way* mostly means a sorcerer and oral witch doctor’. This puts us at stake not to take the word *ṭānq^way* as an equivalent of ‘magic’.⁷⁰

As with the term *mäṣḥafä asmat* i.e. ‘Book of names’, another line of argument opens up. The Ethiopian word *asmat* literally means ‘names’, but with a connotative and extended meaning it is usually applied to mean the genre as a whole. Chernetsov⁷¹ in his article *asmat* in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* says: ‘*asmat* as a term has two meanings. In its wider and popular sense it may be used for the denomination of written amulets (magic scrolls) in Ethiopia. In its narrow and exact sense it means a specific subject of Ethiopian magical literature, i.e. a written charm where evil powers are conjured by numerous names *asmat* of various forces, both good and evil’. Discussing the Ethiopian evil names involved in the *asmat* prayers or charms, Chernetsov further explains that there are four types of ‘names’: names of maladies which are personified, names borrowed from the Bible, names of certain ethnic and professional groups whose members are believed to possess evil powers, and finally names of demons borrowed from Zar cult lore.

As has been cited above, though so much of debates could not be cited, a definition of the term by Chernetsov in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* which I have quoted at length hereunder triggers one’s curiosity. Before pinpointing the main problems of the definition given by Chernetsov, it seems necessary to have a quick survey of the meanings of the term *asmat* given in Gəʿəz, Tigrinya and Amharic dictionaries.

Dillmann in his famous *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, which is a Gəʿəz-Latin dictionary, mentions not the term *asmat* as a concept having to do with ‘magic’ but only the noun which

⁶⁸ Getachew Haile 1991, 92 (transl.).

⁶⁹ ‘‘Aqqabe šəray’, *EAE*, I (2003), 293a (S. Chernetsov).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ ‘Asmat’, *EAE*, I (2003), 381 (S. Chernetsov).

is derived from the root *sämäyā* meaning ‘to call by name, to address’.⁷² In the same line Kidanä Wäld Kəfle in his Gəʿəz-Amharic dictionary derives it from the noun ስም and renders the meaning: (ብ. አስማት ፡) ‘... ከባሕርይ ፡ ከግብር ፡ የሚወጣ ፡ ቦታነትና ፡ አካልነት ፡ ህላዌና ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ያለው ፡ ማናቸውም ፡ ኹሉ ፡ በየክፍሉና ፡ በያካሉ ፡ በየራሱ ፡ ቅሉ ፡ በያይነቱና ፡ በየመልኩ ፡ በየነገሩ ፡ በየዘሩና ፡ በያባቱ ፡ በየዘመዱ ፡ ተለይቶ ፡ የሚጠራበት ፡ የሚታወቅበት ፡’⁷³ which is translated ‘...(anything) which derives out of essence and deed, or (anything) that has spatial, physical and ontological presence is specifically called after and is made known of its own independent being, its own head (its singular presence), type and feature, tribe, heredity, father and relative’. Like in Dillmann’s definition of the term, Kidanä Wäld Kəfle does not mention further connotative extensions except that *asmat* is the plural of the noun *səm* which is also shared by Dästa Täkläwäld⁷⁴ in his Amharic-Amharic dictionary. Täsämma Habtämika’el⁷⁵ mentions that it is the plural form of *səm*. But, in his next entry of the term *asmatäñña* he explains that *asmatäñña* is someone who employs ኅቡእ ፡ ስም ፡ ‘secret names’ to bewitch others. Though Leslau⁷⁶ relates the term to the root *sämäyā* like Dillmann, he comes with an extensive list of meanings thus, *asmat* ‘pl. of *səm*: secret names (of God, angels, demons used in magic against diseases, the evil eye, and so on), magic, witchcraft’. In addition to this, he also mentions that a variant term *asmatä šəray* could be employed to mean ‘magical names, witchcraft’. Eventually, in his Amharic-English⁷⁷ and Tigrinya-English⁷⁸ dictionaries Kane defines the term as having to do with the terms magic, witchcraft, sorcery, spells, charms etc.

It has been indicated that it is only in defining the term *asmatäñña* that Täsämma Habtämika’el relates it to ‘magic’. But, as this very morphological shape is not of Gəʿəz, we clearly see that *asmat* can’t be equated to ‘magic’.

In this very definition Täsämma Habtämika’el also mentions ኅቡእ ፡ ስም ፡ ‘secret names’ which can also be used in purely religious contexts. Related to Täsämma Habtämika’el’s mention of ኅቡእ ፡ ስም ፡ ‘secret name’, Leslau mentions another expression, namely *asmatä šəray* which he renders ‘magical names, witch craft, magic’. This hints to the fact that the use of *asmat* is not ‘magical’ per se but only when employed in certain contexts. In the same line, Leslau⁷⁹ renders the words *qäsm*, *sägäl*, *šəray* and *mərīna* as equivalents of the word ‘magic’.

⁷² Dillmann 1955, 340.

⁷³ ኪ.ዳነ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ክፍሌ ፡ 1948 ዓም ፲ (1955/6 CE), 869.

⁷⁴ ደስታ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ዓም ፲ 1962 (1969/70 CE), 144.

⁷⁵ ተሰማ ፡ ሃብተ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ 1951, 724.

⁷⁶ Leslau 1991, 504.

⁷⁷ Kane 1990, 1164.

⁷⁸ Kane 2000, 1446.

⁷⁹ Leslau 1991, 711.

This is shared by Burtea who also lists these words adding the following words to the list: *gäbir*, *ṭəṇq^wale*, *məthat*, *ḥaräs*, *säb^c*, *abənnät* and *ḥəbr*. Let's now focus on the discussion of the *asmat* and we will deal with the other words later on. Another dictionary entry by D'Abbadie quoted by Strelcyn⁸⁰ is worth discussing here.

አስማት ፡ ou **አስማተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡** : ne signifie pas seulement “noms (magiques)”, mais “magie, sorcellerie” en général. D'Abbadie... indique que « „les Amara” ont détourné de son sens primitif **አስማት ፡** pluriel gi'iz de **ስም ፡** ils s'en servent dans les mots suivants: **አስማት ፡** “magie, sorcellerie” etc.

Translated:

አስማት ፡ or **አስማተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡** not only means ‘names (magic)’, but ‘magic, witchcraft’ in general. D'Abbadie... indicates that ‘the Amara’ have diverted its original sense **አስማት ፡** plural form of the gi'iz **ስም ፡** it is used in the following words: **አስማት ፡** ‘magic, witchcraft’ etc.

In the above quotation, Strelcyn quotes D'Abbadie who seems to be really careful in documenting oral information as well as part of his dictionary entries. This is not an isolated case though. We see that the same D'Abbadie also carefully notes the use of the term *abənnät* in his catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts as we shall see in our discussion of the term later. From this it runs that though a widespread use of the term *asmat* in the texts may have contributed to its use as an umbrella term, a close look into the texts tells that *asmat* is only one part of a text which can be called ‘magical’.

After these brief contemplations of the dictionary meanings of the word *asmat*, let's start to look into the definition given by Chernetsov:⁸¹

A. (**አስማት**, pl. of Gəʿəz **ስም** [sic], *səmm* ‘name’) as a term has two meanings. In its wider and popular sense it may be used for the denomination of written amulets (Magic scrolls) in Ethiopia. In its narrow and exact sense it means a specific subject of *Ethiopian magical literature*, i.e. a written *charm* where *evil powers* are conjured by numerous names (A.) of various forces, both good and evil. (Emphasis mine.)

This definition though a good trial into a complex concept presents problems such as.

- a. The term ‘charm’ in this context is connected to ‘magic’, but how?
- b. Is it only ‘evil powers’ which are the subjects of an *asmat*?

⁸⁰ Strelcyn 1955, 3.

⁸¹ ‘Asmat’, *EAE*, I (2003), 381a-b (S. Chernetsov).

This could be related to the problems of translation, application of anthropological labels and terminologies as they are into a different context. The fact that the term ‘names’ is used to mean ‘magic’ as an Ethiopic genre has to be approached carefully. When one asks why the word *asmat* ‘names’ might have been used to represent the genre, the words of Budge seem to explain the connection.

Now, these same [Abyssinian] theologians argued, God not only created Himself by uttering His own name, but the heavens and the earth also, and they came to the conclusion that the name of God was the ESSENCE of God, that it was not only the source of His power but also the seat of His very Life, and was to all intents and purposes His soul. There is no reason for thinking that they invented this belief concerning the secret Name of God [...] ⁸²

This notion of the secret Name of God, which is usually called ገሰ-እ : ስም : *həbu’ səm* ‘hidden name’, አስማተ : መለኮት : *asmatä mäläkot* ‘names of the divinity’, is very widely used and occurs in almost all texts of such a type. The implication seems to be that the name of God somehow even transcends the actual power of God, for the name is equated to the essence of God. This underlying conception which is shared in many cultures must have been the deriving force for such an over emphasis of the ‘name’ in the Ethiopian context too. The following extended quotation from Blake which in turn is quoted from Manuel do Valle do Mouro, a sixteenth-century Portuguese theologian among others, is a witness to such a conception:

Jews believe that the predilections, conditions, powers and faculties of innumerable things are contained in Hebrew names in such a way that if anyone were to invoke properly the whole power of the *Hebrew names, letters, accents and so forth*, he could accomplish many extraordinary things. They claim that these same utterances create power over the whole universe, nature, evil spirits, angels and God himself, and that this happened because God himself, or Adam both of whom enjoyed the attributes of immortality and wisdom, gave things their substances, qualities, conditions properties and descriptive names. Consequently, things are under the immediate control of the person who calls them by their *names...* (Emphasis mine.) ⁸³

In connection to the above quote mention should be made on the purported influence of some Judising elements and Jewish culture in Ethiopia. ⁸⁴

⁸² Budge 1929, 3.

⁸³ Blake 2010, 134.

⁸⁴ For discussions on the Jewish influences in Ethiopia, see: Rodinson 1964, 11–19; Hammerschmidt 1965, 1–12; Ullendorff 1956, 216–256 and 1967, 79–81; Kaplan 1992.

The abundance of *asmat* in almost all treatises seems to spring from such high reverence and dependence on the pronouncement of names. Furthermore, such reverence and abundance might have contributed to the alleged use of the term *asmat* as a name of the genre. In this regard Strelcyn⁸⁵ notes:

In Ethiopia belief in the magical value of the name is the most popular. Knowing the name of the disease and the evil spirit gives power over it; knowing the hidden names of God is somehow to acquire a parcel of divine power. (It can be said that) Ethiopian magical texts push the use of magical names in the extreme. (Translated from French.)

However, considering the constituent parts which make up a single textual unit, it is evident that an *asmat* is only one out of many constituent parts. On top of the argument based on the structure of individual textual units, internal textual evidences and information from secondary literature reveal that the genre should not be called *asmat* as stated below.

In addition to the use of the word *asmat* which is relatively wide-spread, we have already mentioned that both Leslau⁸⁶ and Burtea⁸⁷ have listed other possible terms to represent ‘magic’. Among such words the following three should be given due attention: *gäbir*, *sägäl* and *abännät*. While *gäbir*⁸⁸ is understood as the effectuation of the texts and substances, *sägäl* is usually related to astrology. In the Ethiopian tradition it has to do with ሰብኦ ፡ ሰገላ ፡ ‘the Magi’. With regard to the definition of this term Witakowski⁸⁹ has the following to say:

This causes no particular surprise; one thing may however be worth noting: the word μάγοι (Mt 2,1) is translated as *mäsäggälan* (መስግላን ፡) i.e. ‘magicians, sorcerers’, which shows that of the two possible renderings of the Greek word μάγοι the translators opted for the popular interpretation, perhaps unaware of the other, more positive, meaning of the word as ‘wise men’. The rendering *mäsäggälan* has established itself in Ethiopic literature and it (or its variant *säb’a sägäl*; ሰብኦ ፡ ሰገላ ፡ with the same meaning) occurs ...

Therefore, based on the above note by Witakowski, the term can’t represent what ought to be ‘magic’ as an umbrella term. What remains now is testing whether the word *abännät* can be used as a generic term. In this regard let’s start from what Burtea⁹⁰ has to say:

[...] wird von der ethnologischen Forschung als Oberbegriff für magische Handlungen beschrieben. Ich beziehe mich in erster Linie auf die Arbeiten von

⁸⁵ Strelcyn 1955, XXIX.

⁸⁶ Leslau 1991, 711.

⁸⁷ Burtea 2014, 133–134.

⁸⁸ See chapter three section b).

⁸⁹ Witakowski 1999, 70–71.

⁹⁰ Burtea 2014, 134.

Alan Young.⁹¹ Er unterscheidet dabei eine Unterkategorie namens *kəfat* als Bezeichnung von „schwarzer Magie“. Mercier⁹² betrachtet *abənnät* als *Däbtära*-Wissen oder -Wissenschaft.

[...] in the ethnological research it is described as a generic term for magical acts. I am referring primarily to the work of Alan Young. He distinguishes a subcategory called *kəfat* as term for “black magic”. Mercier considered *abənnät* as *Däbtära*-knowledge or -science.

Therefore, it is based on the above stated problems and the hint given by Burtea that we shall opt for አብነት *abənnät* which can denote the concept as applied to the manuscripts and texts in focus. Consequently, both on a posteriori and a priori grounds it is safe to replace the word ‘magic’.

Replacing the term ‘magic’ with *abənnät* is not simply based on hints we find in the works of the scholars Burtea related in the above discussion. To put it on a solid ground, our choice of the term አብነት *abənnät* is substantiated by the definitions of this very term rendered in different dictionaries, catalogue information, interviews carried out (oral account) and internal textual evidence from within the texts.

Leslau⁹³ defines the term አብነት *abənnät* as ‘model, pattern, and medicine’. In the same vein but in an extended way in his Amharic-English dictionary, Kane⁹⁴ has defined *abənnät* as ‘model, pattern, example; remedy, medicine, philtre, incantation for postpartum haemorrhage; original of a book; textual variant (in the interpretation of a religious work) [...]’. In such a connection, the term is also meant ‘the act of being a father, fatherhood’. This explains the underlying similarity in structure as shall be discussed in chapter three.

It is not only these lexical considerations which account for the choice of *abənnät* as a name, as has been mentioned above. The whole system of traditional education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in which the practitioners of the manuscripts we are dealing with are trained is also customarily called የአብነት ፡ ትምህርት ፡ lit. ‘*abənnät* Education’. In the same line K. Shelemay says ‘Many *däbtäras* choose to become masters at *abənnät* [...] a wide-ranging group of esoteric works including herbal remedies, therapeutic performances, prophylactic amulets, and divinatory texts which are efficacious through the invocation of holy figures of the Church and/or a *ganel* [...]’.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Shelemay says ‘Although *abənnät* is a common and lucrative sideline of *däbtäras*, it is not formally acknowledged in much of the literature [...] nor was it mentioned by the *däbtäras* with whom I worked’. Data gathered during field work reveals otherwise. The informants used this very term the same

⁹¹ Young 1970, 1975.

⁹² Mercier 1976, 124.

⁹³ Leslau 1991, 4.

⁹⁴ Kane 1990, 1201.

⁹⁵ Shelemay 1992, 242–260.

way but in the adjectival form i.e. **አብነታም** *abənnätam* in the sense of ‘one who owns traditional medical recipes or/and even phylacteries’ which fits with the definition given by Kane for that very entry.⁹⁶ In addition to these secondary backups there is an internal textual reference in manuscript M 4r–v which I quote here under:

[...] ሀብት ፡ ላጣ ፡ ሰው ፡ የሰው ፡ ነገር ፡ ከሎሚ ፡ አበባ ፡ ጋር ፡ አንድነት ፡ አልመህ ፡ ደቂሠ[ሀ] (f. 5r) ጢስ ፡ ባልነካው ፡ ማር ፡ ለውሰህ ፡ አስማቱን ፡ ፵፱ ጊዜ ፡ ደግመህ ፡ በባዶ ፡ ሆድ ፡ መብላት ፡ ነው ፡ ከዱቄቱ ፡ ቀንሶ ፡ ፵ ቀን ፡ ያክል ፡ [እ]የበጠበጥክ ፡ ታጠብ ፡ አብነቱ ፡ እንዳ[ያ]ሽርብህ ፡ ተልባ ፣ ድንች ፣ ዱባ ፣ ምስርና ፣ ጐመን ፣ እስከ ፡ ፵ ቀን ፣ አትብላ ።

3rd for someone who has lost wealth (who is not wealthy); Fine grind *yäsäw nägär*⁹⁷ lit. ‘thing of men’ (also **እፀ ፡ አሮን** *’əṣä ’Aron* or **ሠረገላ ኤልያስ** *śärägälla ’elyas*)⁹⁸ and citrus flower (*Citrus aurantifolia*, *Citrus var. Pusilla*)⁹⁹ together, mix it with a non-smoked honey; recite the *asmat* 49 times. (After that) consume (the mixture) in empty stomach. Wash your body for forty days with water by adding some (powder) from the mixture. Do not consume linseed (*Linum usitatissimum*), potato, lentil and spinach up to forty days as the *abənnät* may prove (for you) ineffective.

We can see the word *abənnät* being used to represent the whole formula in the above quotation. Similarly Griaule has the following entry in his edition:

የጠላት ፡ ዓብነት ፡ ... በጥቁር ፡ ዶሮ ፡ እንቁላል ፡ ላይ ፡ ሰሪስ ፡ ብሎ ፡ ፯ ጊዜ ፡ ጽፎ ፡ የዮሐንስ ፡ እለት ፡ በጥቁር ፡ በሬ ፡ ቀንድ ፡ አድርጎ ፡ ፫ ጊዜ ፡ አዙሮ ፡ በደጃፉ ፡ ይቅበር ፡ የወንበዴ ፡ የተባት ፡ አድግ ፡ ፍግ ፡ አድርቆ ፡ ደቁሶ ፡ ጸላቱ ፡ ሳያይ ፡ በግራ ፡ እጅ ፡ በ፪ ፡ ጣቱ ፡ ይዞ ፡ ሴዝሞስ ፡ ወንቶሎ ፡ ፩ ጊዜ ፡ ይድገምበት ፡ ይህን ፡ በኋላ ፡ እፍ ፡ በልበት ፡ በዳኛ ፡ ቢይዘውም ፡ ይለቀቃል ።¹⁰⁰

abənnät against enemy; Having written (the word) *säris* seven times on an egg of a black hen, on the day of Yohannäs (i.e. New year day), (having put) the egg in a horn of a black ox, (after having) it circled on one’s head three times, let him bury it on the doorstep. ‘(potion) to help a bandit’; after having dried and smashed the dung of a male donkey, without being seen by his enemy, and holding it using the two fingers of his left hand reciting *sezmos*, *wäntolo* once, let him blow into it. He will be freed even if he is caught by a judge.

⁹⁶ Kane 1990, 1201.

⁹⁷ Ms M f. 1r has **ሠረገላ ፡ ኤልያስ ፣ እፀ አሮን ፣ እፀ እስክንድር ትባላለች ፣ በአማርኛ ፡ የሰው ፡ ነገር ፡ ትባላለች ።** ‘It is called *śärägälla ’elyas*, *’əṣä ’Aron* (in Ge’ez). In Amharic is called *yäsäw nägär*’.

⁹⁸ It is a plant with the scientific name *Clerodendrum myricoides*, Kane 1990, 1153.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 45.

¹⁰⁰ Griaule 1930, 50.

The excerpt clearly shows that **የጠላት ፡ ዓብነት**¹⁰¹ ‘*abənnät* against enemy’ is a general name of the text. On a further note, Griaule has erroneously considered two *abənnäts* as one. This is because we see two *abənnäts* **የጠላት ፡ ዓብነት ፡** ‘*abənnät* against enemy’ and **የወንበዴ ፡** ‘(potion) to help a bandit’ with different *asmat* and *gäbir*. Clearly put, while the first *abənnät* has one *asmat* i.e. *säris*, the second has two *asmat* i.e. *sezmos* and *wäntolo* having their respective *gäbirs* i.e. ‘effectuation’.

The following excerpt from MS J, f. 80v has another internal textual reference in support of *abənnät*: ‘...**ይህንን ፡ አብነት ፡ በዕለት ፡ በዕለት ፡ ቢሆን ፡ ፵፱ ፡ ባይሆን ፡ ፳፩ ጊዜ ፡ ከትክል ፡ ድንጋይ ፡ ላይ ፡ ቁመህ ፡ ድገም ፡** ‘... repeat (incant) this *abənnät*, if possible 49 times if not 21 times every day standing on a fixed rock’. This clearly shows that the textual incantation which also contains *asmat* among other things is subsumed under the term *abənnät*. In a similar note, this excerpt is part of the so called *gäbir* ‘effectuation’. The *gäbir* as part of the *abənnät* is a later development which was totally oral. Its later inclusion as textual reality may have created the image that it actually is not a part of the *abənnät* as a notion.

Therefore, the above internal textual references show that disentangling the constituent parts of the texts and charting their structure will help us to understand the meanings of their parts and then look for an umbrella term.

Kane has also the following entries in his dictionary: **አብነት ፡ መልካም ፡** ‘one who has good remedies...’, **የቀለም ፡ አብነት ፡**¹⁰² ‘potion of jimson weed taken by traditional church students to improve the memory’, **የፍቅር ፡ አብነት ፡** ‘love potion’ consecutively.¹⁰³ In the same line Guidi has also recorded the following: ‘1) Rule, model, exemplar. 2) Remedy, potion; **የቀለም ፡ አብነት**: occult remedy for learning easily, **የፍቅር ፡ አብነት**: potion (to induce sexual urge and love)’.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, the use of the very term *abənnät* to represent the same concept that we are trying to explain is found in d’Abbadie ‘*Abinnat est un charme ou une formule magistrale*’, i.e ‘*Abinnat* is a charm or a masterly formula’.¹⁰⁵ In the same vein, d’Abbadie has clearly put the scope of the application of the term when he says:

It is perfectly useless to the orientalist to learn the details of this volume, or face the most unlikely and most strange assertions of the names. There are treatises on divination by the books of Ezra, of Henoah, and especially by the psalms. The last

¹⁰¹ Such orthography is not common.

¹⁰² Isenberg 1841, 68 has **የቀለም ፡ አብነት ፡** “medicine of colour;” and is supposed to open the mind and clear up the intellect, so as to enable a man to acquire every kind of knowledge without any trouble. This medicine is also called **የሰባት ፡ ቀለማት ፡ አብነት ፡** “the medicine of the seven colours” and merely **ሰባት ፡ ቀለማት ፡** “seven colours”.

¹⁰³ Kane 1990, 1201.

¹⁰⁴ Guidi 1901, 455.

¹⁰⁵ d’Abbadie 1859, xiv.

of the three i.e. the so-called **ሐሳብ ፡ ዳዊት**,¹⁰⁶ is even very fashionable in Ethiopia, for any man who knows how to read has a Dawit (book of Psalms) at its disposal. The geomancy is not forgotten and follows closely the obfuscations of the geomancy of the middle ages. Latin names are employed in the section on astrology, and in *abinnät*, or incomprehensible *formulas*, which are based on this belief in the power of some of the names that the Jews have perhaps once forwarded to Ethiopia, at the same time as their faith. This volume also has a collection of talismans **ጠልሰ**,¹⁰⁷ whose power is as great as that of collections of strange and incomprehensible letters. In this regard we admire, with regret, the unshakeable faith of *the most educated Ethiopians*.¹⁰⁸ (Emphasis mine, text translated from French.)

The above quotation explains many of the salient points we have set off to consider: to start with an *abənnät* is a formula; it may contain a talisman, and may encompass divinatory texts as well.

Eventually, one can see the recurrence of the meanings ‘model and pattern’ and the relation of the term to the conceptions of healing and superstition. Hence, the term *abənnät* can be applied to denote a textual unit the contents of which are phylacteries, herbal remedies and divinatory texts with a specific application formula. Eventually it must be noted that the *abənnät* is a single whole with a specific function.

Why have we opted for the word *abənnät* ? To answer this question one should consider the terms applied instead of *abənnät* across secondary literature. One of the very common terms which we find across secondary literature replacing the term *abənnät* is the term ‘magic’. The roots of the use of this word as applied to the Ethiopian texts we are dealing with have obviously to do with the European understandings of the word. This can be seen in the catalogues of Ethiopian manuscripts and research works on the texts many of which spring from the anthropological tradition of France in the wake of the twentieth century. Of course one should note the careful use of the term as has been used by d’Abbadie as noted above.

To sum up, in applying the term ‘magic’ to the Ethiopian manuscripts/texts the following should be duly considered:

1. One may argue that the term should be used as there may appear that one can find an equivalent word in Ethiopic. But, the complex and usually vague textual history of the texts and especially their translation and adaptation can’t easily grant us the chance to do so and the word we have voted for has already

¹⁰⁶ Strelcyn 1981, 54–84.

¹⁰⁷ For further references see the section on *tälsäm* in chapter three.

¹⁰⁸ d’Abbadie 1859, 98.

been indirectly suggested by rather careful scholars like d'Abbadie who themselves were from the western European scholars.

2. The label 'magico-religious' which seems fit to label the relationship of some of the texts and their practitioners poses a problem when we consider the self-designation of the practitioners. Clearly put, the *däbtära* do not call themselves 'magicians'. They use labels like *ṭäbib* lit. 'wise' as a self-designation and *mäṣḥafä ṭäbäb* lit. 'book of wisdom' to name their manuscripts to mention some.
3. If it should be used at all, the term has to be used in search of a comparative analysis involving the culture in which this very term evolved from.
4. Therefore, unless specified, the term *abännät* will be applied in this dissertation replacing 'magic'.

1.5. Research problems and statement

Ethiopian medicinal and 'magical' manuscripts, although basically written in classical Ge'ez or (later) in Amharic, also typically include other language(s) which are co-present as language of composition (a queer type of macaronic style). The manuscripts also exhibit characteristic organizational structures of their own (layout, order etc.) and call for additional oral knowledge for their use and handling. These characteristic features of language, structure and orality are the main focus of this dissertation.

The language of the *abännäts* manuscripts especially presents an interesting area of investigation. Interwoven into the main text (written in Ge'ez or Amharic) are foreign words or phrases, often repeated several times, which are believed to have special potency precisely in virtue of their foreign, esoteric, 'learned' quality. Most commonly these words or phrases are in 'languages of wisdom', i.e. Arabic, Hebrew, or Greek, or are pseudo-linguistic (these may be sheer non-sense words or phrases, or in 'fake' Hebrew etc.). Furthermore, the language of the *abännäts* should be approached from the vantage point of the Speech Acts Theory to understand the underlying cognitive value. The texts are not meant to be read but to act. Their being performed changes the word around the performer. This method of linguistic analysis of the texts has been applied in this dissertation.

In addition to the issue of the languages involved, the manuscripts' pattern of organization is another area of focus.

The *abännäts* involve repetitive patterns (words, phrases). The place of these repetitive patterns within the *abännät*, the language (pseudo-language) they are written in, and the intervals at which they repeat themselves, all present a variety of organizational possibilities.

A medical recipe is also commonly mixed with the *dəgam* which may not be given in the manuscript. Such type of presentation presupposes that there is oral-*abännät* knowledge that the herbalist or the *däbtära* needs to have in order to put the recipes into practice.

Drawings are also an integral part of many of the *abännäts*. The drawings may occur with no accompanying text. When they do have an accompanying text, the image and the text may

show various patterns of graphic layout: image, then text; text, then images; text written in a circle around the image; and other patterns as well. Moreover, some of the *abənnäts* contain written procedures for drawing the images they accompany; in others the information is not stated and can be assumed to be obviously known through oral tradition or that it is deliberately hidden as part of the esoteric knowledge.

As to how to apply the *abənnäts* knowledge, the manuscripts present another problem. Some of the application procedures, which are called *gäbir*, are explicitly written and codified while other applications require oral-traditional knowledge in addition to what is written in the manuscripts. Oral-traditional knowledge can be important not only as regards the subtle procedures, but also even with regard to the physical handling of the manuscripts themselves.

The above-mentioned key elements, i.e. language, organizational pattern, images and orality—similarities in layout (as in the case of talismans), repetitive pattern (of the *asmat* and *qalat*), order of presentation (sickness-herb vs. herb-sickness; magical prayer-herbal application or vice-versa), languages or pseudo-languages involved, and images and image patterns—will serve here as major elements of analysis in exploring the manuscript culture of the treatises. The structural make-up of these manuscripts can also be used as a tool to explore inter-manuscript relationships within the manuscript culture and to chart possible trajectories of textual dissemination.

1.6. Objectives of the study

The study has the following objectives.

1.6.1. General objectives

- a. Describing and explaining the organizational structures of the manuscripts.
- b. Identifying and describing the sections that make up an *abənnät*.
- c. Exploring the role of oral-traditional knowledge in the use of the manuscripts.
- d. Reconsideration of the typology of *abənnät* manuscripts based on structure.
- e. Discussing the language use of the *abənnät* texts especially in their ritual contexts.

1.6.2 Specific objectives

- a. Explaining why specific languages are used.
- b. Explaining the implications behind switches in language within a given manuscript.
- c. Explaining and exploring what kinds of pseudo-linguistic elements are used.
- d. Exploring and explaining the organizational structures of the manuscripts and their *abənnäts*.
- e. Identifying the sections which are used as constituents of an *abənnät*.
- f. Defining and characterizing each section of an *abənnät*.

1.7. Significance of the study

The study is meant to contribute in:

- a. Charting the structure of the texts in the manuscripts which may later be used in reconsidering the typology of the texts.
- b. Explaining the contribution of oral-traditional knowledge to the practical application of the manuscripts, their specific texts, and their scholarly study.
- c. Discussing the role of multiple language(s) in the overall composition of the manuscripts and the reasons behind such a use.
- d. Applying a new theoretical approach i.e. the Speech Acts Theory in the study of the *abənnät* texts.

1.8. Data analyses methods

The comparative method of data analysis has been applied in this research. The manuscripts will be examined for similarities and/or divergences in their structural formation, their language use and the oral knowledge they involve.

The manuscripts involved in this study will be examined for:

- a. Languages the manuscripts are written in
- b. Organizational structure of the manuscripts and their *abənnäts*
- c. Main language/s of composition
- d. Use of *asmat* ‘names’, *gäbir* ‘effectuation
- e. Linguistic features esp. performativity

1.9. History of scholarship and review of literature

Scholarly research on Ethiopia and on the Ge‘ez language and documents dates as far back as the sixteenth century. The main focus of the scientific study of Ge‘ez has been linguistic and historical. Scholars have mainly focused on philological translations, annotations and exegesis of the works. Much has been said on the Ge‘ez manuscripts as manifesting the realities of the period in which they were composed. Historical reconstructions based on available Ge‘ez sources have also been the subject of some historians. But research focusing on the *abənnät* treatises gained little focus compared to other genres of Ge‘ez literature.

Except a passing mention of one of the manifestations of *abənnät* texts by Hiob Ludolf,¹⁰⁹ in some European traveller accounts, it is hard to find a scholarly work devoted to *abənnät* until late nineteenth century. In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the wake of the

¹⁰⁹ Ludolf 1691, 349–350.

twentieth century a renewed interest in the general study of ‘magic’ came into being rooted in the so called ‘History-of-religions school’ of Richard Reitzenstein.¹¹⁰ The research focus of the school was directed to the study of religious and philosophical concepts of Gnosticism, Hermetism, Jewish-Christianity, Neoplatonism and Alchemy. From such research orientation, research in ‘magic’ was also approached.

After almost a dormant period of scholarly interest in the study of such texts, the efforts of René Basset¹¹¹ inaugurated the start of scholarly attention. These writings which include especially that of the Legend of Susānyos, the prayer of Mary in *Bartos* and the Prayers of Cyprian are important texts of *abənnät*. His publications were published as *Les apocryphes éthiopiens*.

In wake of the twentieth century general works in Ethiopic literature started to discuss the *abənnät* texts though briefly.¹¹²

In 1904 Littmann published his ‘Arde’et: The Magic Book of the Disciples’.¹¹³ This publication with its fairly rich introduction is an important work in the genre especially on account of the scholarly neglect such texts experienced at that time.

Following this a series of scientific expeditions were carried out as a result of which the scholarly discussion was to be re-ignited. The Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia (Təgray) of 1905 led by Enno Littman acquired many manuscripts, the majority of which were the so called ‘Magic Scrolls’. They included 101 codices and 147 scrolls. They were donated to the Princeton University Department of Rare Books by Robert Garrett (1875–1961) who was a prominent collector. Another related German expedition, the Deutsche Aksum-Expedition of 1906 (also to Təgray) further enriched the collection.

Other two French scientific expeditions furthered the scholarly contributions on *abənnäts*. Marcel Griaule, a French ethnologist, went on an expedition to the Goğgam of *ras*¹¹⁴ Ḥaylu Täklä Haymanot with Marcel Larget in 1928–1929. As a result of this very expedition he published many scholarly works related to *abənnät*. Among his works *Le livre de recettes d’un dabtara abyssin*¹¹⁵ remains the only complete important works in tackling especially the *däbtära* notebook type after which scholars use the term to name such types of *abənnäts*.

Following to the aforementioned mission, the *Mission ethnographique et linguistique Dakar-Djibouti* of 1931–1933 came into being. This expedition in addition to expanding the Ethiopic manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, added many *abənnät* manuscripts to the attention of scholars.

¹¹⁰ Burtea 2001, 1.

¹¹¹ Basset 1894.

¹¹² See: Littmann 1907, 234–240; Guidi 1932, 53–56; and Cerulli 1968, 133–135.

¹¹³ Littmann 1904, 1–48.

¹¹⁴ Lit. commander in chief of an army.

¹¹⁵ Griaule 1930.

The members of the *Dakar-Djibouti* mission and their academic colleagues produced scientific publications which surpass the tests of time. Among these scholars the contributions of Stefan Strelcyn (1918–1981) remain unparalleled. Strelcyn published two books exclusively on Ethiopian medicinal plants.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, his edition of the *Mäftəhe šaray*¹¹⁷ is a mine of information not only on the texts he edited in particular but also on the *abənnät* literature in general. The extensive introduction touches upon the salient features of the literature with details on terms and expressions used venturing even to the cultural contacts the literature exhibits. His publications on *Mälkə’a Saṭna’el*,¹¹⁸ *Ḥassabä Dawit*,¹¹⁹ *Ethiopic Magic*¹²⁰ etc. are among his meticulous scientific products. Lifchitz’s illuminating edition which includes the texts of the ‘Arcane Teachings’ among others is an important contribution worth mentioning.¹²¹

The German scientific publications on *abənnät* generally can be called a tradition of selective editions. Euringer’s *Das Netz Salomons*¹²² which appeared in two volumes of the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* is an important work with a translation and rich annotation. Löfgren’s¹²³ work on the area of scrolls is also another addition to the German publication on our subject. The work of Dobberahn¹²⁴ seems to have inaugurated a tradition with a specific title. His work *Fünf äthiopische Zauberrollen* has recently been followed by Burtea¹²⁵ where he came with an MA thesis entitled *Zwei äthiopische Zauberrollen*. Both the works detail on the individual texts furnishing illuminating commentaries. Worrell’s¹²⁶ *Studien zum Abessinischen Zauberwesen* presents an exhaustive discussion of selected texts especially the legend of *Susənyos* and *Wərzəlya*.

Richard Pankhurst, in an on-line article entitled ‘The Pankhurst library: How to preserve your culture, traditional Ethiopian medical text-books, and botanical gardens’, comments on the pioneering efforts of Strelcyn in the following manner:

Strelcyn’s researches, though extensive and of major scholarly importance, by no means of course mark the end of such research, but in a sense only a good beginning. It is imperative that further medical texts be identified, published,

¹¹⁶ Strelcyn 1968, 1973.

¹¹⁷ See: Strelcyn 1955.

¹¹⁸ Strelcyn 1983, 83–115.

¹¹⁹ Strelcyn 1981.

¹²⁰ Strelcyn 1960.

¹²¹ Lifchitz 1940.

¹²² Euringer 1928, 178–199; 1929, 68–85.

¹²³ Löfgren 1963, 95–120.

¹²⁴ Dobberahn 1975.

¹²⁵ Burtea 2001.

¹²⁶ Worrell 1909, 149–183; 1910, 59–96; 1915, 85–141.

translated, and annotated. We need a series of monographs, on the lines of Strelcyn's work.¹²⁷

Works by E.A.W. Budge under the titles *Bandlet of Righteousness: An Ethiopian Book of the Dead*¹²⁸ and *Amulets and Superstitions*¹²⁹ discuss, among many other subjects, the possible relations of the Ethiopian magical tradition with other traditions and especially with that of Egypt. Both these works deal with amulets in one way or another. Edward Ullendorff's brief section on Ethiopian 'magic' in his book *Ethiopia and the Bible*¹³⁰ is worth mentioning in that it tries to reveal the Hebraic elements in Abyssinian (Ethiopian) *abənnät*, although it depends heavily on Strelcyn's works as is clearly acknowledged. Mention should also be made here of Rodinson.¹³¹

The *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* article by Burtea¹³² tries to present a clear picture of the magic literature in Ethiopia. It discusses the definitions of magic in the Ethiopian context, and tries to typologize Ethiopian magic literature based on content, length and purpose. Related to this work is also the *Encyclopaedia* article by Chernetsov,¹³³ already referred to. He classifies the names involved in the Ethiopian magic treatises into 5 linguistic and pseudo-linguistic types: Hebrew names and epithets, Greek names transliterated into Gəʿəz, Arabic words (Christian Arabic words and the Qurʾān), a few words of Latin origin, and pseudo-Greek and pseudo-Arabic names. This corresponds with the idea: 'Apart from magical names, there exist large numbers of words which are supposed to possess magical properties. They are either non-sense creations or imaginary foreign words, especially *qalat ʿəbrayəst* [Hebrew words]' or *qalat arābi* [Arabic words]'.¹³⁴

Studies on medical treatises which are related to the present work have also been made by Ethiopians. Hareya Fassil,¹³⁵ Tsehay Berhane Selassie,¹³⁶ Gelahun Abate,¹³⁷ and Ahadu Ayehu¹³⁸ are the main authors of such publications. But these do not replace the present study by any means. For one thing, the method they employ is not philological or manuscriptological; hence no attempt is made to deal with medicinal/'magical' applications

¹²⁷ Pankhurst 1999.

¹²⁸ Budge 1930.

¹²⁹ Budge 1930, 177–199.

¹³⁰ Ullendorff 1967.

¹³¹ Rodinson 1967.

¹³² 'Magic Literature', *EAE*, III (2007), 638a–639b (B. Burtea).

¹³³ 'Asmat', *EAE*, I (2003), 381a–b (S. Chernetsov).

¹³⁴ Ullendorff 1967, 82.

¹³⁵ Hareya Fassil 2005, 37–49.

¹³⁶ Tsehay Berhane Selassie 1971, 95–180.

¹³⁷ Gelahun Abate 1989.

¹³⁸ Ahadu Ayehu 1993.

through purely material and textual methods. Hareya¹³⁹ says correctly: ‘Much of the research on Ethiopian traditional medicine and medicinal plants to date has been carried out in a compartmentalized manner, with researchers from various disciplines pursuing their interests in the subject in relative isolation’. Secondly, one cannot yet expect manuscriptological and philological studies on the subject because the field itself, ironically, is new to Ethiopian scholarship, though the country has many manuscripts which await study.

Regarding Ethiopian medical sources, a very recent Amharic publication by Meriras Aman Belay¹⁴⁰ is worth mentioning. This book covers almost all types of literature that can be described under the header of Ethiopian traditional healing. It lists medicinal plants meant to heal different diseases with their way of compounding and application. It also includes prayers and incantations in Ge‘ez used either to accompany the application of medicinal plants or alone. Names of animals are also listed for which part of their body is believed to cure a disease. This corresponds with the healing methods believed to have existed during many other ancient civilizations such as ancient Greece and Rome, as has been indicated in Thorndike’s work.¹⁴¹

Unfortunately, this book by Meriras Aman Belay has no clear reference list or documentary sources on which it based itself. This is a characteristic feature of almost all works on magic and medicine. Fekadu Fullas,¹⁴² in his review of this book rightly says: ‘The book seems to have been written from personal experience of the author, and the claims may have been gathered from ecclesiastical sources, which the author does not explicitly acknowledge. The biggest shortcoming of this book is its lack of any published references’.

The above brief review of related works shows:

- a. Though there has been scholarly research related to the present dissertation, different scholars have based their research on their own respective academic disciplines. Therefore, except for some of the works, especially Strelcyn and Lifchitz, which detail on typologies and general characteristics of the *abənnäts*, many of the research works are individual case studies which do not encompass a wider contexts of the genre. The structural approach followed in this dissertation will highlight the main attributes of the *abənnät* both as individual textual unit and a sum total of *abənnäts* forming a given manuscript. How a given manuscript is formed with a given number of texts? What is used as a yardstick in the manuscript formation etc. will be tackled in this dissertation.
- b. One can confidently say that the language of the *abənnäts* (esp. with regard to the performativity of the texts), the trajectories of textual dissemination, and the oral

¹³⁹ Hareya 2005, 39.

¹⁴⁰ መሪራስ አማን በላይ 2000 EC.

¹⁴¹ Thorndike 1905, 56-63.

¹⁴² Fekadu Fullas 2010, 118.

elements behind the *abənnāt* manuscripts have not been the theme of any research work carried out so far.

Chapter 2: Manuscript description

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter physical and content description of manuscripts will be discussed. This will serve as a background of the conceptual discussions that shall follow in the following chapters.

The physical description of the manuscripts is mainly based on the points discussed in Andrist,¹⁴³ slightly modified to meet the need here. These include: page/folium numbers, number of folia, size, writing support, quire structure (if applicable), ordering system (if applicable), ruling and pricking, hand, rubrication, date, state of preservation, peculiarities (if any) and sample page (for the ruling pattern and the layout).

The content description given here is so functional in that the column entitled ‘details and/or remark’ was added to serve the purpose of noting down salient features which are directly related to the goals of the research at hand and to note occurrences of each text in other catalogued manuscripts and across manuscripts within the research corpus. The terms *asmat*, *dəgam*, *abənnāt*, *gəbir*, confirmatory and caution have been used here in the description with the understanding that it will finally be possible to pin point the types of *abənnāts* or their use.

2.2 Physical and content descriptions of manuscripts

2.2.1 Description of manuscript G (*māftəhe šəray*)

2.2.1.1 Physical description

- i. Page/folium numbers: no numbers.
- ii. Number of folia: 56.
- iii. Size in cm (HW): 10x8.
- iv. Writing support: parchment.
- v. Quire structure: difficult to apply.
- vi. Ordering system: difficult to apply.
- vii. Ruling (and pricking): ruling and pricking visible.

¹⁴³ Andrist 2015, 521–529.



Figure 2: Ruling and pricking MS G, ff. 26v–27r

- viii. Hand: the same hand through out.
- ix. Rubrication: Trinitarian formula Nomina sacra
- x. Date: 1650–1750.
- xi. State of preservation: Ver poor.
- xii. Peculiarities: Folia in a mess for which the following reconstruction was done.

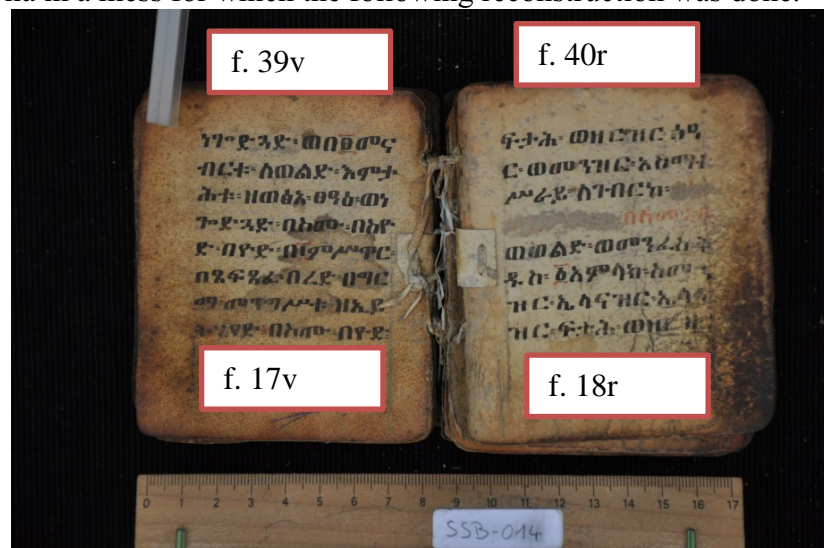


Figure 3: MS G, wrong sequence of folia before reconstruction



Figure 4: Dismembered view of MS G binding

The following table gives the right order of folia of the manuscript after reconstruction.

Table 2: Reconstruction of MS G foliation

First foliation	Final foliation after reconstruction
f. 1r-v	f. 1r-v
f. 2r-v	f. 2r-v
f. 3r-v	f. 7r-v
f. 4r-v	f. 8r-v
f. 5r-v	f. 9r-v
f. 6r-v	f. 3r-v
f. 7r-v	f. 4r-v
f. 8r-v	f. 5r-v
f. 9r-v	f. 6r-v
f. 10r-v	f. 18r-v
f. 11r-v	f. 19r-v
f. 12r-v	f. 20r-v
f. 13r-v	f. 21r-v
f. 14r-v	f. 22r-v
f. 15r-v	f. 23r-v
f. 16r-v	f. 10r-v

f. 17r-v	f. 11r-v
f. 18r-v	f. 12r-v
f. 19r-v	f. 13r-v
f. 20r-v	f. 14r-v
f. 21r-v	f. 15r-v
f. 22r-v	f. 42r-v
f. 23r-v	f. 43r-v
f. 24r-v	f. 44r-v
f. 25r-v	f. 45r-v
f. 26r-v	f. 46r-v
f. 27r-v	f. 47r-v
f. 28r-v	f. 32r-v
f. 29r-v	f. 33r-v
f. 30r-v	f. 34r-v
f. 31r-v	f. 35r-v
f. 32r-v	f. 36r-v
f. 33r-v	f. 37r-v
f. 34r-v	f. 38r-v
f. 35r-v	f. 39r-v
f. 36r-v	f. 40r-v
f. 37r-v	f. 41r-v
f. 38r-v	f. 16r-v
f. 39r-v	f. 17r-v
f. 40r-v	f. 24r-v
f. 41r-v	f. 25r-v
f. 42r-v	f. 26r-v
f. 43r-v	f. 27r-v
f. 44r-v	f. 28r-v
f. 45r-v	f. 29r-v
f. 46r-v	f. 30r-v
f. 47r-v	f. 31r-v
f. 48r-v	f. 50r-v
f. 49r-v	f. 56r-v
f. 50r-v	f. 48r-v
f. 51r-v	f. 49r-v
f. 52r-v	f. 52r-v
f. 53r-v	f. 53r-v
f. 54r-v	f. 51r-v
f. 55r-v	f. 54r-v
f. 56r-v	f. 55r-v
f. 57r-v	f. 57r-v

2.2.1.2 Content description

Table 3: Content description of MS G

No.	Folios	Title and/or <i>incipit</i>	Details and/or remark or reference
G1	ff. 1r–8r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ወብዕሲት ፡ አድኅን ፡ ይቤለክ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. The charm of the eye of man and woman, Jesus Christ tells you heal...’	There is a <i>tälsäm</i> on f. 8r.
G2	ff. 8v–11v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ቅሕዱን ፡ ቅዱሐን ፡ እርክያን ፡ ሙአግያ ፡ እምንሱቲት ፡ ሙዳሱጣ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Undo <i>qəhdun</i> , <i>qəduhan</i> , <i>ʾarkəyan</i> , <i>muʾagiya</i> , <i>ʾəmnəstit</i> , <i>mudasuṭa</i> ...’	There is the <i>historiala</i> of the woman with hemorrhage in ff. 10v–11v in the <i>abənnät</i> . ¹⁴⁴
G3	ff. 11v–13v	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ኪን ፡ ወካህናት ፡ ወዲያቆናት ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራዮሙ ፡ ለመሰርያን ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the undoing of charms, the charm of demons and charmers, priests and deacons, undo the charm of charmers...’	
G4	ff. 13v–14v	ጠፌራን ፡ አውዴን ፡ ዘያነቅህ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወያጠይር ፡ ከማሁ ፡ አድኅኖ ፡ እምራዕየ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ሐዊ ፡ ከላዊ ፡ ሀፒ ፡ ኮላፒ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Toferan</i> , <i>ʾawden</i> , that awakens the flesh and augers, likewise deliver him from the the sight oft he eye of man, <i>hawī</i> , <i>kälawi</i> , <i>hapi</i> , <i>kolapi</i> ...’	The word ወያጠይር ፡ Is derived from the word <i>tätäyyəro</i> ... ‘magic, sorcery, augury by means of birds’ ¹⁴⁵ Wherein the extentions ‘ <i>mästätäyyər</i> ’ and ‘ <i>ʾastätäyyari</i> ’ are defined as ‘augur, soothsayer’. Therefore the word ወያጠይር ፡ should be defined as ‘one who soothsays, augurs’.
G5	ff. 14v–15v	አብ ፡ መሐረነ ፡ ወልድ ፡ መሀረነ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ መሐረነ ፡ ኪያክ ፡ እጼውዓክ ፡ በአእምሮ ፡ ወበለብዎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኢታውፅእ ፡ ... ‘	

¹⁴⁴ Based on Mark 5: 25–34.¹⁴⁵ Leslau 1991, 601.

		Father be merciful to us, Son be merciful to us, Holy Spirit be merciful to us, I call up on you with conscience and knowledge, God do not take...	
G6	ff. 15v–16v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ አስማት ፡ ግብር ፡ ዘፈታሕክ ፡ ማእሰሪሁ ፡ ለሞት ፡ ሥራዩ ደስክ ፡ ወባርያ ፡ ሥራዩ ፡ ምኞት ፡ ወዓይነት ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. <i>ፑሪ</i> , <i>ፑሪ</i> , <i>ፑሪ</i> , <i>ፑሪ</i> as you have undone the chain of death, the charm of <i>däsk</i> , ¹⁴⁶ and of <i>Barya</i> , ¹⁴⁷ the charm of <i>mäčč</i> ¹⁴⁸ and of <i>‘aynät</i> ¹⁴⁹ by (might of) these <i>asmats</i> ...’	
G7	ff. 16v–17v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ራኮን ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ፈታሕክ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ቀርነለው ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ጐሃኤል ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. <i>Rakon</i> undo, you have undone and undo, <i>qärnäläw</i> undo, <i>g^wäha²el</i> , ...’	There is the <i>historiala</i> based on the unchaining of Peter. ¹⁵⁰
G8	ff. 17v–18r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ስፍንዝር ፡ ስፍንዝር ፡ ስፍንዝር ፡ ስፍንዝር ፡ ስፍንዝር ፡ ስፍንዝር ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ወዘርዘር ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. <i>Səfənzər</i> , <i>səfənzər</i> , <i>səfənzər</i> , <i>səfənzər</i> , <i>səfənzər</i> , <i>səfənzər</i> undo and scatter...’	
G9	f. 18r–v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ስማንዝር ፡	

¹⁴⁶ Lesalu 1991, 144 has ‘evil spirit or demon that brings about a disease, ... pleurisy’ and varintly ‘demon, zar-spirit, evil spirit, idol once worshiped by the Gafat tribe’ see further details in Strelcyn 1955, 351.

¹⁴⁷ Literally refers to an ethnic group with a Negroid physical appearance. See: ‘Barya’, *EAE*, I (2003), 489b–490b (H. Salomon). It is also used as an evil name or *asmat* in the context of our *abənnäts*. See: ‘Asmat’, *EAE*, I (2003), 381a (S. Chernetsov).

¹⁴⁸ Silenemacrosolen.

¹⁴⁹ Evil eye.

¹⁵⁰ Acts 12:3–11.

		ኤላናዝር ፡ ኤላናዝር ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ወዘርዝር ፡ ሰዓር ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. <i>Səmanzər</i> , <i>ʿelanazər</i> , undo and scatter, make void ...’	
G10	ff. 18v–19r	ፓፒሮስ ፡ እልመክኑን ፡ የፍታሕ ፡ የፍታሕ ፡ የፍታሕ ፡ የፍታሕ ፡ የፍታሕ ፡ ፍታሕ እምላዕለ ፡ ገብርክ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Papiros</i> , <i>ʾalmäknun</i> , <i>Yoftahe</i> , <i>Yoftahe</i> , <i>Yoftahe</i> , <i>Yoftahe</i> , <i>Yoftahe</i> , <i>Yoftahe</i> undo from (over) your servant ...’	
G11	ff. 19r–20r	እስክኤርናድድ ፡ ማየ ፡ ጡፍ ፡ ሸፍንል ሸፍን ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ሐመልን ፡ ቀፍን ፡ መርልፍ ፡ ገማርልን ፡ ጅሎን ፡ ጅጅሎስ ፡ ለእመሁ ፡ እሳተ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ዓረቢ ፡ እየን ፡ ሽሬን ፡ በሮን ፡ ... ‘ <i>ʾaskəʾernadəd</i> , the water of (?) <i>tuf</i> , <i>šäfənl</i> , <i>šərufən</i> , <i>tor</i> , <i>tor</i> , <i>tor</i> , <i>tor</i> , <i>tor</i> , <i>tor</i> , <i>hamäln</i> , <i>qäfən</i> , <i>märəlna</i> , <i>nəmarlən</i> , <i>ğəlon</i> , <i>ğəğəlos</i> , <i>läʾmähu</i> , the fire of the Arabic word <i>päyon</i> , <i>šəren</i> , <i>bäron</i> ...’	
G12	f. 20r–v	ሳዶር ፡ አላዶር ፡ ዳናት ፡ አዴራ ፡ ሮዳስ ፡ ክብድዮስ ፡ በገቡዕ ፡ ወበክሡት ፡ ስሙ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ እምነብ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Sador</i> , <i>ʾalador</i> , <i>danat</i> , <i>ʾadera</i> , <i>rodas</i> , <i>kəbdəyos</i> , by the hidden and/or revealed name of Kərəstos from people ...’	There is a <i>tälsäm</i> on f. 20v.
G13	ff. 21r–22r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ በስመ ፡ ጉህቱን ፡ ይትፈታሕ ፡ በስመ ፡ ዮድ ፡ ይሰዓር ፡ በስመ ፡ ጋዴን ፡ ይትመንዝር ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. In the name of <i>gʷhtun</i> let it be undone, in the name of <i>yod</i> let it be void, in the name of <i>gaden</i> let it be scattered ...’	
G14	f. 22r	ጥዑምናዝር ፡ ጥዑምናዝር ፡ ጥዑምናዝር ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ወዘርዝር ፡ አስማተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘተገብረ ፡ በላዕለ ፡ ገብርክ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Ṭəumnazər</i> , <i>ṭəumnazər</i> , <i>ṭəumnazər</i> undo and scatter the <i>asmat</i> of charm that is applied (upon) your servant ...’	
G15	ff. 22r–24r	ዕብነ ፡ መዋቅሕት ፡ ቤዛነ ፡ በጸዳለ ፡ ሰን ፡ ራኃዊ ፡ አድማስ ፡ ዘፈታሕክ ፡	There is the <i>historiala</i> based on the unchaining of Paul.

		መዋቅሩ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ ከማሁ፡ ፍታሕ፡ ሥራያተ፡ አስማት፡ ... 'Stone fetter and our redemption, opener of the horizon through the the glitter of beauty, who have set the chains of Paul free, like wise undo the charms of <i>asmat</i> ...'	
G16	f. 24r–25r	ዲስ፡ እብኖዲስ፡ እሳት፡ ማርያም፡ እሳት፡ አእዳታኤል፡ እሳት፡ ድስቡጣ፡ እሳት፡ ሙኪርያ፡ እሳት፡ ሙአግያ፡ እሳት፡ ሰይፈ፡ መለኮት፡ ስሐል፡ ሐፀ፡ መለኮት፡ ኃያል፡ ... 'Dis, ¹⁵¹ abnodis, fire Mary, fire ¹⁵¹ a'adata'el, fire <i>däsbuta</i> , fire ¹⁵² mukirya, fire <i>mu'agäya</i> , ¹⁵³ ; the divine sword sharp, the divine spear powerful...'	ዓርቢ ስቅለት ሰይፈ፡ ሥላሴ፡
G17	f. 25r–26r	ታኦስ፡ አዝዮን፡ ማስያስ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘታጠፍእ፡ መዛግብተ፡ እሳት፡ ራሄል፡ ብርሃናኤል፡ ... 'Ta'os, ¹⁵⁴ azyon, masyas, Jesus Christ who extinguishes the stores of fire, <i>rahel</i> , <i>bərhana'el</i> ¹⁵⁵ ...'	
G18	f. 26r–v	በስመ፡ አላኮር፡ ውቅያኖስ፡ በጡር፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ያች፡ ያልቻች፡ ያልፋች፡ አስግባጋድ፡ ቀረፍኩ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ሞቅህ፡ ... 'In the name of <i>'alakor</i> ocean, <i>bäṭur</i> Mathew, <i>yač</i> , <i>yalčäč</i> , <i>yalfač</i> , <i>'asgəbagad</i> , <i>qäräḥku</i> , to this chain ...'	
G19	f. 27r–v	ዮፍታሐ፡ ዮፍታሐ፡ ዮፍታሐ፡ ዮፍታሐ፡ ዮፍታሐ፡ ዮፍታሐ፡ ዮፍታሐ፡ ፍታሕ፡ ሥራዮ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ... 'Yofṭaḥe, <i>yofṭaḥe</i> , <i>yofṭaḥe</i> , <i>yofṭaḥe</i> , <i>yofṭaḥe</i> , <i>yofṭaḥe</i> , <i>yofṭaḥe</i> undo the charm of your	There is a <i>ṭälsäm</i> on f. 27v.

¹⁵¹ Leslau 1991, 144 defines the term: 'Chief, master' where he traces the origin to Greek *despotēs* 'master, lord'.

¹⁵² Leslau 1991, 314 defines the term: 'referring to the flame, epithet of Christ' where he traces the origin to Greek *mou kyrie* 'Oh Lord'.

¹⁵³ Leslau 1991, 323 defines the term: 'oh dear!' where he traces the origin to Greek *mou hagie* 'oh holy one!'.

¹⁵⁴ Leslau 1991, 368 defines the term as 'Messiah' where he traces the origin of the word to the Aramaic word *məšīḥā* through Greek *messiās*.

¹⁵⁵ Cohen 1985, 149 defines it as 'Light of God' where he says this very name is found in the magic literatures of Christians, Muslims and Jews.'

		servant ...'	
G20	f. 28r	አያስ ፡ አያስ ፡ አያስ ፡ ባኦስ ፡ አታዳኦስ ፡ ... 'ayas, 'ayas, 'ayas, ba'os, 'atada'os ...'	
G21	f. 28r-v	ለዋጥዋጥዊያጠዋጥዊ ፡ ያጥዊ ፡ ያጥዊ ፡ ያጥዊ ፡ ያጥዊይጥጥዊ ፡ ያጥዋጥዊ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራዮ ፡ ለገብርክ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ። 'läwatwatwiyaṭäwatwi, yaṭwi, yaṭwi, yaṭwi, yaṭwiyaṭṭwi, yaṭwatwi, undo the charm of your servant _____ forever and ever, Amen.'	
G22	f. 28v-v	በሽማ ፡ አጅን ፡ ስምክ ፡ አሮፍኔም ፡ ስምክ ፡ በስመ ፡ ጋርር ፡ ይሰዓር ፡ ወበስመ ፡ ዮድ ፡ ይዘርዘር ፡ ወበስመ ፡ ፋዴን ፡ ይትፈታሕ ፡ ሥራዮ ፡ ገብርክ ፡ _____ 'Bäšma, 'aḡən your name, frohem your name, in the name of garər let it be void and in the name of yod let it be scattered and in the name of faden let the charm of your servant _____ be undone'	Multi-dəgam abənnät.
G23	ff. 38v-41v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ንዌጥን ፡ በረድኤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ሥራዮ ፡ አረቢ ፡ ወእስላም ፡ ሥራዮ ፡ ግብፃዊ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. By the help of God we commence (writing) the book of undoing of charms, the charm of Arab and of Muslim, the charm of Egyptian ...'	
G24	ff. 41v-45r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጠፌሬን ፡ አውዳን ፡ ዘያነቅሕ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Täferen, 'awdan who awakens ...'	
G25	ff. 45r-50r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ዋዊሮስ ፡ ፓፒሮስ ፡ ፓፒሮስ ፡ ፓፒሮስ ፡ እልመክኑን ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፡ አዶናይ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Wawiros, papiros, papiros, papiros, 'əlmäknun, yoftahe, 'adonay ...'	There is the <i>historiala</i> based on the unchaining of Peter on f. 47r-v. Contains the expression በዝንቱ ፡ አስማት ፡ ወበዝንቱ ፡ ቃላት ፡ 'In these <i>asmat</i> and words'

G26	ff. 50r–55r.	በስሙ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ዓቢይ ፡ ዘይነግሥ ፡ በረድኤተ ፡ ልዑል ፡ ኩናት ፡ ዘይጸንዕ ፡ ኩናት ፡ ዓረሚ ፡ ወአቅልል ፡ ኩናት ፡ ዘይወጽእ ፡ እምእስራኤል ፡ ከቡድ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. In his name that reigns, by the help of the most high the spear gets strong, the spear of the heathen, lighten the spear which comes from the mighty Ἐσραῒel...'	This <i>abənnät</i> is peculiar to this manuscript?
-----	--------------	--	--

2.2.2 Description of manuscript J (*mäftəhe šəray*)

2.2.2.1 Physical description

- i. Page /folium numbers: A new foliation has been adopted as there is no any trace of foliation what so ever.
- ii. Number of folia: 126
- iii. Size in cm (HW): 20x16.3
- iv. Writing support: paper
- v. Quire structure: a²; 1⁷ (single leaf:5); 2¹¹ (single leaf: 5); 3¹⁰; 4⁸; 5¹⁰; 6¹⁰; 7¹⁰; 8⁶; 9⁷; 10⁸; 11⁷ (single leaf: 6); 12⁸; 13⁸ (single leaves. 3, 7); 14⁸ (single leaves: 3, 7); 15⁹ (4, 8, 10).
- vi. Ordering system: Quire numbers are clearly written in Ge'ez numerals. See the following picture:

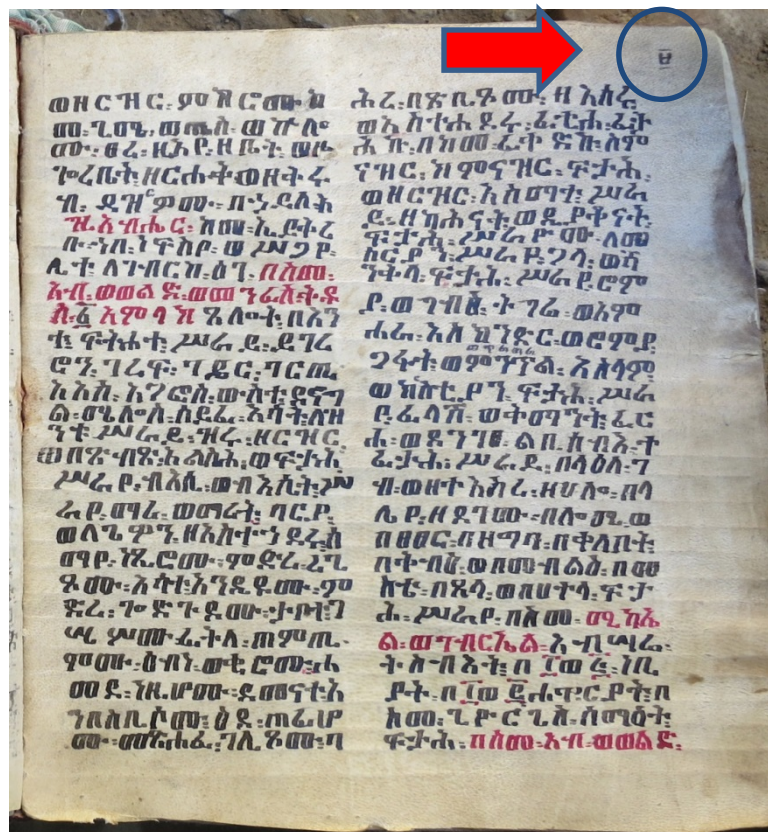


Figure 5: Quire number MS J, f. 63r

- vii. Ruling pattern (Muzerelle): 1-1-11/0/0/E. Ruling and pricking clearly visible.
- viii. Hand: The same hand through out.
- ix. Rubrication: No rubrication applied.
- x. Date: twentieth century.
- xi. State of preservation: Poorly unbound with a cover made of an No rubrication applied.
- xii. Date: twentieth century.
- xiii. old news paper sewn to the binding.
- xiv. Peculiarities: none
- xv. Sample page (for the ruling pattern and the layout):



Figure 6: Ruling and pricking MS J, f. 45v

2.2.2.1 Content description

No.	Folios	Title and/or incipit	Details and/or remark or reference
J1	f. 3ra–4ra	(<i>tälsām</i>) በሰሙ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ዓይነ : ብዕሲ : ወብዕሲት : አድጎን : ይቤለክ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; Prayer about the undoing of charms, the eye of man and woman, Jesus Christ tells you save ...'	
J2	f. 4ra	ጠፊፊ : አውዩን : ዘየሐንቅ : ሥጋ : ወይወደረ : ከማሁ : አድጎኖ : ለገብርክ : እምሥራየ : ብዕሲ : ወብዕሲት : ሐዊ : ሐዊ : ሐዊ : ... 'täfire. 'awayen, that	

		stangles flesh, ?, likewise save your servant from the charm of man and of woman, <i>hawī, hawī, hawī, ...</i>	
J3	f. 4ra–4rb	አብ ፡ መሐረኒ ፡ ኪያክ ፡ ይጸውዑ ፡ በአዕምሮ ፡ ወበለብዎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አታውጽእ ፡ መንፈስክ ፡ (እምላሳሌዩ) ፡ በከመ ፡ ተሰጠ ፡ መንጠላዕተ ፡ ምክራብ ፡ ... ‘Father save me, they call you with knowledge and understanding, God; Do not take your spirit from me like the curtain of the synagogue was split ...’	
J4	f. 4rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ አስማት ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God, <i>ṭor, ṭor, ṭor</i> , in this <i>asmat...</i> ’	
J5	f. 4rb–4va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ራኮን ፡ ፍታህ ፡ ፈታህኩ ፡ ፍታህ ፡ ሰንተው ፡ ፍታህ ፡ ቀንተው ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>rakon</i> , undo, (as) I have undone, undo, <i>säntäw</i> , undo, <i>qäntäw</i> , ...’	
J6	f. 4va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ሰፍሐዝር ፡ ፯ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ወዘርዝር ፡ ሰአር ፡ ወመንዝር ፡ አስማተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>säfhazər</i> , 7 (times), undo and scatter, dismiss and corrupt <i>asmats</i> of charms...’	
J7	ff. 4vb–5ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ በስመ ፡ ጉሕቱን ፡ ይትፈታሕ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about undoing of charms, in the name of <i>g^wəḥtun</i> let charm be undone...’	
J8	ff. 5ra–6r	ጥዑምናዝር ፡ ፫ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ወዘርዝር ፡ አስማተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘተገብረ ፡ በላዕለ ፡ ገብርክ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ...	

		‘ <i>təʿumnazər</i> 3 (times), undo and scatter <i>asmat</i> charms done up on your servant Mängəstä šəlase...’	
J9	f. 6ra–b	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ገሪሆ : አፍሽሽ : አብሂል : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer bout the undoing of charms, <i>gäriho</i> , <i>ʾafšəš</i> , <i>ʾabhil</i> , ...’	
J10	f. 6rb	ጸሎተ : ፍትሐተ : ሥራይ : ፍታሕ : ሥራዩ : አጋንንት : ቤልቤ : ... ‘Prayer about the undoing of charms, the charm of demons, <i>belbe</i> ...’	A special <i>abənnät</i> for erectile dysfunction.
J11	f. 6rb–6va	ጸሎተ : ፍትሐተ : ሥራይ : ፍታሕ : ሥራዩ : አጋንንት : ወባርያ : ሥራዩ : መፍፍስት : ርኩሳን : ... ‘Prayer about the undoing of charms, undo the charm of demons, defiled spirits ...’	
J12	ff. 6va–7ra	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ : አምላክ : ጠፌራን : አውዬን : ዘዩሐንቅ : ሥጋ : ወያጠይር : ከማሁ : አድጎኖ : ለገብርክ : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>täferan</i> , <i>ʾawayen</i> , that strangles flesh and augurs, likewise save your servant ...’	
J13	f. 7ra–b	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅ[ዱስ] : ፩ : አምላክ : ዋዊሮስ : ዋዊሮስ : ፓዊሮስ : አልመክኑን : አዶናይ : ፫ : ዮፍታሔ : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. wawiros, wawiros, pawiros, <i>ʾAlmäknun</i> , <i>ʾAdonay</i> , 3 (times), <i>Yoftahe</i> , ...’	
J14	f. 7rb–8ra	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ : አምላክ :	The list of ethnic groups and nationals possessing charms is

		<p>ንዌጥን ፡ በረድኤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ዓረቢ ፡ ወእስላም ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ግብፃዊ ፡ ወኬልቄዶናዊ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ አይሁዳዊ ፡ ወአረማዊ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ ወፍላሻ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. With the help of God we commence the Book of Undoing of Charms, undo the charm of Arab and Islam, the charm of the Egyptian and Chalcedonian, the charm of the Jew and the heathen, the charm of the smith and the <i>fəlaša</i>,¹⁵⁶ the charm of all ...’</p>	<p>common in the <i>Mäftəhe šəray</i> texts. This partly derives from conception that the ‘other’ is usually ‘dangerous and may possess, alien malicious powers’.¹⁵⁷</p>
J15	f. 8ra–va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ አክያ ፡ ሽራህያ ፡ አልሻዳይ ፡ እልመክኑን ፡ አልፋ ፡ ወያ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሕያው ፡ ወወልደ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ሥግው ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. ^{ʾakya. šərahya, ʾalšadday,} ^{ʾəlmäknun, ʾalfa wäʿo,} Jesus Chrsit, the Son of God the living and the Son of Mary, the incarnate ...’</p>	
J16	ff. 8va–9ra	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ ኪን ፡ ወሥራይ ፡ በኢያኤል ፡ ስምክ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer of malice and charm, in your name <i>ʾiyaʾel</i>, ...’</p>	
J17	f. 9ra–b	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡</p>	

¹⁵⁶ also *Fälaša*.¹⁵⁷ Strelcyn 1955, XVIII-XXI.

		<p>ሥራይ ፡ ገሪሆ ፡ አግሪሆ ፡ ገሪሆ ፡ ... ‘...In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer bout the undoing of charms, <i>gāriho</i>, <i>’agriho</i>, <i>gāriho</i>, ...’</p>	
J18	f. 9rb–va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጠፈራን ፡ አውዳኒ ፡ ዘያነቅሕ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወይፈትሕ ፡ አስማቶ ፡ አው ፡ እስኪቶ ፡ ለገብ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>ṭäferan</i>, <i>’wdani</i>, that awakens the flesh and undoes his <i>asmat</i> and his penis ...’</p>	A special <i>abənnät</i> for erectile dysfunction.
J19	ff. 9va–10ra	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ራፎን ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ራኮን ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>rafon</i> undo, <i>rakon</i> undo, ...’</p>	
J20	f. 10ra–va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ገሪሆን ፡ ግሪፋ ፡ ጊዩንገርጤአስ ፡ አጋፍስ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>gārihon</i>, <i>gərifā</i>, <i>giyungärte’as</i>, <i>’agafas</i>, ...’</p>	
J21	10va–11rb	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አምሐልኩክሙ ፡ ወአውገዝኩክሙ ፡ በመብረቀ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, I adjure you and I excommunicate you, by the thunder throne of God ...’</p>	The expressions ‘I adjure you and I excommunicate you,’ have a performative function.
J22	f. 11rb–va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ አመ ፡ ፫ ፡ ለሚያዝያ ፡ አእረፈ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ሮቆ ፡ መስተጋድል ፡ ጎሩይ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, On the third</p>	<i>Historiola</i> based on the story of St Roch.

		of <i>Miyazya</i> (March 12), St Roch the chosen combatant rested (passed way) ...’	
J23	ff. 11va–12ra	ማዕሰረ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ስደዶሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ መፍሎን ፡ ንሜልዮስ ፡ ስምዩ ፡ ለርኩሳን ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ እሳት ፡ ዕርቃነ ፡ ገጽዩ ፡ ይስድዶሙ ፡ ... ‘The chaining of demons, chase the demons kinf Solomon, <i>mäflon</i> , <i>nəməlyos</i> , (my name?), to the malovelent, the sword of fire, (may) my bare face chase them ...’	
J24	f. 12ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፊስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ አልድማዮን ፡ ከኮን ፡ አዚዘ ፡ አበረቢ ፡ ባግስ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>’aldmayon</i> , <i>kəkon</i> , <i>’zizä</i> , <i>’bäräbi</i> , <i>bagəs</i> ...’	
J25	f. 12ra–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፊስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ገበዋቶን ፡ ድንጋጌ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ምንት ፡ ይመስል ፡ ፍጥረቶሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ወለነሀብት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. prayer about their (3FS) loins, the shock of demons, and Solomon said, what does the being of the defiled deomons and balcksmiths look like? ...’	
J26	f. 12rb–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ይትአሰሩ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ደስክ ፡ ወጉዳሌ ፡ ውግዓት ፡ ... ‘Say In the name of the Father, In the name of God, (may) deomns. <i>Baya</i> , <i>legewon</i> ¹⁵⁸ , <i>däsk</i> , ¹⁵⁹ <i>gudale</i> , ¹⁶⁰ and sharp pain ...’	

¹⁵⁸ Leslau 1991, 308 has ‘name of demon, body of demons’ which derives from Greeek.

¹⁵⁹ Lesalu 1991, 144 has ‘evil spirit or demon that brings about a disease, ... pleurisy’.

J27	ff. 12vb–13ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ርኩስ ፡ ዘይሰልብ ፡ ልበ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ ወያፀልም ፡ አዕይንተ ፡ ወይመጽእ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጽላሎት ፡ ... ‘Say In the name of the Father, Prayer about the defiled <i>Barya</i> and <i>legewon</i> that confuses the heart (mind) of man and blinds the eyes of man and that comes like shadow. ...’	
J28	ff. 13ra–14va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ወለአብእሩህ ፡ አልቀኑስድ ፡ ኢሊህዋህ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, In the name of the father and of (<i>ʿabʿaruh?</i>), <i>ʿalqʷəsəd</i> , <i>ʿilāhwah</i> , ...’	
J29	ff. 13ra–14va	በስራይ ፡ ፈቀቢ ፡ ቡቃፍ ፡ ሰዊቂ ፡ ፅል ፡ ስልቤል ፡ ወለውል ፡ ባህ ፡ ... ‘In the charm, <i>fāqābi</i> , <i>buqaf</i> , <i>sāwīqi</i> , <i>ṣəl</i> , <i>səlbəl</i> , <i>wälāwəl</i> , <i>bah</i> , ...’	
J30	f. 14va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ጐሥምት ¹⁶¹ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, epilepsy, and the legewon, pleurisy ...’	
J31	ff. 14vb–15vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ህማመ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ወሥራየ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ አላሁማ ፡ ሐጅ ፡ ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about epilepsy and <i>legwon</i> and the charm of man, <i>ʿalahuma</i> , <i>ḥaj</i> , ...’	
J32	ff. 15vb–16ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡	

¹⁶⁰ Also *gʷədale*.¹⁶¹ Also ጐስምት ፡

		<p>ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወኪን ፡ ዝራኤል ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms and malice, <i>zəraʾel</i>, ...’</p>	
J33	f. 16ra–va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወኪን ፡ ወጽላወጊ ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፡ ፫ [ጊ]ዜ ፡ ቅጥርናኤል ፡ ፫ [ጊ]ዜ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms and malice, and <i>ṣəlawägi</i>, <i>yoftahe</i> 3 (time), <i>qəṭrnaʾel</i> 3 (times) ...’.</p>	<p>Strelcyn ¹⁶² <i>ṣəlawägi</i> after indicating that Guidi ¹⁶³ defines the term as ‘One who pokes the shade of the person he wants to hurt’, he resorts into using the meaning ‘spell’ which is a correct judgement to make especially in such contexts.</p>
J34	f. 16va–b	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወኪን ፡ <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms and malice, <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> ...’</p>	
J35	ff. 16vb–17a	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አናተተቃ ፡ ቸማችኛጥማኑ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>ʾanatätäqa</i>, <i>čämačəčñaṭmanu</i>, ...’</p>	
J36	f. 17ra–b	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ክፌናሬጣ ፡ አላክቡሩ ፡ እልዩ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about <i>kənafeṭa</i>, <i>ʾalakuburu</i>, <i>ʾəlyu</i>, ...</p>	
J37	f. 17rb–17va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አያስ ፡ አያንባአስ ፡ ዝ ፡ አስማት ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ ፡ በደመ ፡ ገቦሁ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘወሀቦ ፡ ለፈያታዊ ፡ ...In the name</p>	

¹⁶² Strelcyn 1955, 3.

¹⁶³ Guidi 1935, 233.

		of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, ³ yas, ³ yanbas, this asmat that were written by the blood from the side of Jesus Christ and he gave to the robber ...’	
J38	f. 17va–17vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ኅበርደጅን ፫ ፡ ምታደር ፫ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>həberdeḡän</i> 3 (times), <i>məṭadär</i> 3 (times) ...’	
J39	f. 17vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጦር ፫ ፡ በዝ ፡ ግብር ፡ ዘፍታሕሐው ፡ እማእሪሁ ፡ ለሞት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>tor</i> 3 (times), through this deed (that) you have unchained from the chains of death ...’	
J40	f. 17vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ሽምዳን ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሽርረን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about evil eye, <i>šəmdan</i> , <i>šärärän</i> , ...’	
J41	ff. 17vb–18ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ስታፎስ ፡ ቀታፎን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>sətafos</i> , <i>qätafon</i> , ...’	
J42	f. 18ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ወምዕመን ፡ ዘበምራቅክ ፡ ከሰትክ ፡ አዕይንተ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Christ light and trustworthy by whose saliva opened eyes ...’	
J43	f. 18ra–18rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ኅበርደጅን ፫ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms <i>habärdäḡän</i> 3 (times), undo ...’	
J44	ff. 18rb–19rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ መጋኛ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, about evil	<i>Mäggañña</i> is defined as ‘acute indigestion with colic, appendix (intestine), cramps accompanied by vomiting and diarrhea and occasionally mental confusion. ... illness caused by going into a closed house or from house to house. It is believed that a demon inhabits a closed house or a grain

		eye, epilepsy, <i>lägewon, mäggañña</i> , ...'	storage pit and causes this illness so when one goes into a closed house, he leaves the door open and stands to one side, then he mixed a few shavings from the threshold with water, drinks the mixture and the baleful influence comes as with the vomit'. ¹⁶⁴
J45	ff. 19va–20va	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ወኪን ፡ ክናንህ ፡ ክናንህ ፡ ክናንህ ፡ ክናንህ ፡ ክናንህ ፡ ክናንህ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about undoing and malice <i>kənanəh, kənanəh, kənanəh, kənanəh, kənanəh, kənanəh, ...</i> '	
46	f. 20va–20vb	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ሲሐር ፡ ወሲሐር ፡ ሲንቃን ፡ ወሲንቃን ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, <i>siḥar, wäsiḥar, siḥar, wäsiḥar, ...</i> '	
J47	ff. 20vb–21rb	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ሺሺሺሺሺሺ ፡ ቋሺ ፡ <i>Brillenbuchstaben ...</i> 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>ši, ši, ši, ši, ši, ši, q^waši, Brillenbuchstaben ...</i> '	
J48	f. 21rb–21va	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወመድኃኒት ፡ ዘወጽአ ፡ እምፃረቢ ፡ ወግብፅ ፡ ወእንግሊዝ ፡ ወድርቡሽ ፡ ያመሐመዱ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, and medicine, that came from Arab and Egypt, and England and Dervish, <i>yamäḥamädu ...</i> '	

¹⁶⁴ Kane 1990, 344.

J49	f. 21va	የአቱች ስር ፡ (የሥረብዙ) ፡ ስር ፡ የሎሚ ፡ ተቀጽላ ፡ (የእንዘርዘይ) ፡ ስር ፡ የኩሽሽረት ፡ የጉልቻ ፡ (ፍቅፋቂ) ፡ እነዚህ ፡ በ፩ ላይ ፡ ቀምመህ ፡ ደቁሰህ ፡ ከትበሕ ፡ ዕሰር ፡ ለሁሉ ፡ ‘The root of <i>ʾatuč</i> , the root of <i>šaräbäzu</i> , a parasitic plant of lemon, the root of <i>ʾanzorzoy</i> , the shavings of <i>kʷäsrätʔ</i> and trivet, mix these all in one and grind them and make an amulet and wear it. For all purposes’	a. <i>ʾatuč</i> : ‘Climbing plant the root of which is used to cure Ascaris. Its leaves are smoked to treat cough; they are also employed in the treatment of burns’. ¹⁶⁵ b. <i>šaräbäzu</i> : ‘maidenhair fern (<i>Adiantum poirerii</i>)’ ¹⁶⁶ c. <i>ʾanzorzoy</i> : ‘a kind of lily used as a remedy for swellings (<i>Allonca abyssinica</i> , <i>Gladious</i> spp. or <i>Petamenes latifolius</i> [Edwards])’ ¹⁶⁷
J50	ff. 21va–22ra	የማነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ገብረት ፡ [ኃይለ] ፡ የማነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አልአለትኒ ፡ የማነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ገብረት ፡ ኃይለ ፡ አሩጽ ፡ ዕደውየ ፡ ወአቀልጥፍ ፡ ... ‘The right hand of God did might, the right hand of God exalted me, the right hand of God did might, make my hands run and make (them) faster...’	
J51	ff. 22ra–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ንዌጥን ፡ በረድኤት ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ልዑል ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ዓረቢ ፡ ወእስላም ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ግብፃዊ ፡ ወሮማዊ ፡ ከልቄዶናዊ ፡ ወአይሁዳዊ ፡ ወአረማዊ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. With the help of God the most high we commence the Book of Undoing of Charms, the charm of Arab and Islam, the charm of Egyptian and Roman, Chalcedonian and Jew and the heathen ...’	
J52	f. 22va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ቅዱሐን ፡ ጸርክታን ፡ አምንስቲት ፡	

¹⁶⁵ Strelcyn 1955, 377. Strelcyn records it as አቱች ፡ ‘*ačuč*’.¹⁶⁶ Kane 1990, 483.¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 1228.

		መኪርያ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>qəduhan</i> , <i>şärkətan</i> , <i>ʾamnəstit</i> , <i>mukirya</i> , ...’	
J53	ff. 22vb–23vb	በስመ : አብ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : (ፍታሕ) : ሥራዮሙ : ለብዕሊ : ወለብዕሊት : አድኅን : ይቤለክ :	
J54	ff. 23vb–24ra	ጸሎተ : ፍትሐተ : ሥራይ : ፍታሕ : ሥራየ : አጋንንት : ወሥራየ : ካህናት : ወዲያቆናት : ፍታሕ : ሥራሙ : ለመስርያን : ዮፍታሕ : ፫ : ቅርጥናኤል : ክፍትናኤል : ... ‘prayer about the undoing of charms, undo the charm of demons and the charm of priests and deacons, undo the charm of charmers, <i>yofṭahe</i> 3 (times), <i>qəṭərnaʾel</i> , <i>kəṭənaʾel</i> , ...’	
J55	f. 24ra	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ጦር : ጦር : በዝንቱ : ግብር : ዘፈታሕክ : ማዕሰሪሁ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>ṭor</i> , <i>ṭor</i> , with this deed you have unchained from his chain ...’	
J56	f. 24ra	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ፍትሐተ : ሥራይ : ራኮን : ፍታሕ : ቀርነለው : ፍታሕ : ጉሐኤል : ፍታሕ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>rakon</i> undo, <i>qärnäläw</i> undo, <i>gʷəḥaʾel</i> undo ...’	
J57	f. 24rb–va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ሰምናዝር : ኢናዝር : ብናዝር : መናዝር : መቀናዝር : ቤ : ቤ : ቤ : ዴ : ዴ : ዴ : ዮ : ዮ : ዮ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>sämnazər</i> , <i>ʾinazər</i> , <i>bənazər</i> , <i>mänaži</i> , <i>mäqänazär</i> , <i>be</i> , <i>be</i> , <i>be</i> , <i>de</i> , <i>de</i> , <i>de</i> , <i>yo</i> , <i>yo</i> , <i>yo</i> , ...’	
J58	f. 24va–b	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : አፍድልፍድል : ማሂል : ኢጢሞስና : ግድምያስር : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. prayer about the undoing of charms,	

		ʾafdəlfədəl, mahil, ʾiṭimosna, gəmdyasər, ...'	
J59	ff. 24vb–25ra	በሰመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ዘሰብዕ : ወዘኢጋንንት : እሩህ : እልቆድንስ : ኤላህን : ዋህድ : ሰላም : ለሰእርተ : ርእስከ : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms of man and of demons, ʾəruh, ʾəlqodnəs, ʾelahən, wahəd, peace (be) to the hair of your head...'	
J60	f. 25ra–va	በሰመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ማዕሠረ : ኢጋንንት : ወመስገርተ : መሰርያን : ቡዳ : ወቂመኛ : ወትግራዳ : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the chaining of demons and the snare of charmers, buda, and təgrida ...'	<i>Təgrida</i> is defined as 'epilepsy, St. Vitus dance... state manifested by one possessed by <i>zar</i> -spirit...; staggering, stumbling (one who has lost his balance)', ¹⁶⁸
J61	f. 25va	በሰመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : እንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ስፍሕዝር : ፫ በአማን : ስፍሐዝር : ወልደ : እግዚአብሔር : ብሂል : ስምኖዝር : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>säfahzər</i> 3 (times), truly <i>səfhazər</i> the <i>Son</i> of God means <i>səmnazər</i> , ...'	
J62	f. 25va	በሰመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ዘሰብእ : ወዘኢጋንንት : እሩህ : እልቆድንስ : ኤላህን : ዋህድ : ሰላም : ለሰእርተ : ርእስከ : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms of men and of demons, ʾəruh, ʾəlqodnəs, ʾelahən, peace (be) to the hair of your head...'	The difference of this very <i>abənnät</i> J59 above is that they start similarly and this continues with the addition of '... አፊሚሰረ : ጠና : ዝቃል : ዘተጽሐፈ : በደሙ : ለእግዚእነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : በጊዜ : ተርህወ : ንት : ከማሁ : ይትረጎሙ : ሎቱ : ...' <i>ʾafimisärä, täna</i> , this word that was written by the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ during the time (when) the doors of paradise were opened, likewise, may it be opened for him ...'

¹⁶⁸ Kane 1990, 999.

J63	f. 26rb–va	<p>አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ሐመል ፡ ዘትሰርቅ ፡ በዓይነ ፡ ጠባይዕ ፡ እሳታዊ ፡ ኢትሰገር ፡ በሰራይ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy spirit, One God, <i>ḥamäl</i> that rise in the manner of a fiery eye, let you not be ensnared by charm ...’</p>	.
J64	ff. 26va– 27rb	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ አላሁማ ፡ አላሁማ ፡ ይቼር ፡ አመለቺ ፡ ተዋቂራ ፡ አሽመ ፡ ዋርጅብ ፡ በሐቅወ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>’alahuma, yäčēr, ’amäläčī,</i> <i>täwaqira, ’ašmä, wağrəb, bāḥaqwä,</i> ...’</p>	
J65	f. 27rb–27va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ይትፈታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ዓረሚ ፡ ወአምሐራ ፡ ይትፈታሕ ፡ ስራየ ፡ ጋላ ፡ ወሻንቅላ ፡ ይትፈታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ወርጅ ፡ ወአዳል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, let the charm of heathens and of Amhara, the charm of Galla and of šanqəlla be undone, let the charm of wärğ and of Adal be undone ...’</p>	
J66	f. 27ra–28ra	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አክፍፍር ፡ አክርም ፡ አክርም ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>’aknafər, ’akrəm, ’akrəm, ...’</i></p>	
J67	f. 28ra–vb	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘረበረመ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ሸዋዳን ፡ አሸማደን ፡ አሸማደእል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms he trapped demons in the order of God ans said <i>šamodan, ’ašmadän,</i> <i>šämädä’äl ...’</i></p>	
J68	ff. 28vb–29va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘቅማንት ፡ ወጽላወጊ ፡ ዘእስላም ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, about the undoing of charms of <i>qəmant, and šəlawägi, and of</i> <i>muslim, ...’</i></p>	

J69	f. 29va–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ኤላምንሂ ፡ ሰማዕተ ፡ ረድኡ ፡ እንተዘላ ፡ ወዓላ ፡ ዘልታኡም ፡ ደማኩኖ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, ' <i>elamənhi</i> , the witness of his helper ' <i>əntäzula</i> , <i>wä'ala</i> , <i>zälta'am</i> , <i>dämakuno</i> , ...'	
J70	f. 30r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወዕደ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ ምንቀኛ ፡ ወተንከለኛ ፡ ፍልድ ፡ ሞያስር ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms ' <i>ədä säb</i> ' and jealous and the cunning, <i>fäld</i> , <i>moyasər</i> ...'	
J71	f. 30ra–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘሰብእ ፡ ወዘኢጋንንት ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ መናፍስት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. prayer about the undoing of charms , charm of man and of demons, and all defiled spirits ...'	
J72	ff. 30vb–31ra	ሐመል ፡ ዘትስርቅ ፡ በዓይነ ፡ ጠባይዕ ፡ እሳታዊ ፡ ሰውር ፡ ዘትስርቅ ፡ በዓይነ ፡ ጠባይዕ ፡ መሬታዊ ፡ ... ' <i>Hamäl</i> that rise in the manner of a fiery eye, <i>säwr</i> that rise in the manner of earth ...'	
J73	f. 31ra–31vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አላሁማ ፡ ዓደቅወዓ ፡ መመለኪ ፡ ወያኑራ ፡ ተወቂራ ፡ አስማርድ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms ' <i>alahuma</i> , ' <i>adäqwäma</i> , <i>mämäläki</i> , <i>wäyanura</i> , <i>täwäqira</i> , ...'	
J74	ff. 31vb–32ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወመርበብተ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ዘረበሎሙ ፡ ለኢጋንንት ፡ ከመ ፡ መርበብተ ፡ ዓሳ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms and the net of Solomon he trapped demons like the fishnet ...'	
J75	f. 32ra–ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራ[ይ] ፡	

		<p>የፍታሔ : ኛ [ጊ]ዜ : ፍታ[ሕ] : ሥራየ : መስተሐምም : ፍታ[ሕ] : አፍዝዝ : ወአደንግዝ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms Yoftahe undo, undo the charm to induce illness, undo the charm which stupefies and stuns ...’</p>	
J76	ff. 32vb–33va	<p>በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራ[ይ] : ዘሰብዕ : ወዘአጋንንት : ክፍንህ : ኛ ጊዜ : ምኖኅ : ከመ : ኖኅ : ኛ : የም : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms od man and demons <i>kənanəh</i> 3 times, <i>mənoh</i>, like Noah (3 times), today ...’</p>	
J77	f. 33va–vb	<p>በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ዓይነ : ጥላ : ወዓይነ : ባርያ : ወለጌምን : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about <i>aynä tala</i>, <i>Barya</i> and <i>legewon</i> ...’</p>	<p><i>Aynä tala</i> ‘evil spirit which possesses some one and keeps him from getting anything favourable; unfortunate who is afflicted by the evil eye of others ...; reluctance [to do s.th.]; of doing s.th. [induced by a sorcerer]; sloth’.¹⁶⁹</p>
J78	f. 34ra–vb	<p>በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ : አምላክ : ፍርሃናኤል : አእጉደ : አገፍላኤል : ዘንተ : አስማት : ክቡራት : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>fərhana’el</i>, <i>’a’gudä</i>, <i>’agäflala’el</i>, this <i>asmat</i> honoured ...’</p>	
J79	ff. 34vb–35rb	<p>በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መስጥመ : አጋንንት : ወማስስረ : አጋንንት : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. prayer about the drawner of demons and of the binding of demons ...’</p>	
J80	f. 35rb–va	<p>በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መስጥመ : አጋንንት :</p>	

¹⁶⁹ Kane 1990, 1293.

		አቃቢሁኒ : ቅዱስ : ሚካኤል : ወኮኩበኒ : ቀመር : ጂዛምላይ : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the drawner of demons, its its guardian is St Micha'el and the star is <i>gizamlay</i> ...'	
J81	f. 35va–vb	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መስጥመ : አጋንንት : ወዓቃቢሁኒ : ቅዱስ : ዑራኤል : ወኮኩበኒ : አጠርድ : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the drawing of demons and the guardian is st Uriel and the star is <i>ʿaṭärd</i> ...'	
J82	ff. 35vb–36ra	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መስጥመ : አጋንንት : አቃቢሁኒ : ቅዱስ : ሩፋኤል : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, the drawner of demons and the guardian is St. Rafael ...	
J83	f. 36rb	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መስጥመ : አጋንንት : ወዓቃቢሁኒ : ቅዱስ : አፍኒን : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, the drawner of demons and the guardian is St <i>Afnin</i> ...'	
J84	f. 37vb	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መስጥመ : አጋንንት : አቃቢሁኒ : ቅዱስ : ኪሩቤል : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, the drawner of demons and the guardian is St <i>Kirubel</i> ...'	
J85	ff. 36rb–37vb	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መስጥመ : አጋንንት : አቃቢሁኒ : ቅዱስ : ሳቄኤል : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, the drawner of demons and the guardian is St <i>Saqu'el</i> ...'	
J86	f. 37vb	በስመ : አብ : መወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ጄ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ፀውአሙ : ለመላእክት : ወአስተጋብአሙ : ለህያዋን : ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, call angels and assemble the living (ones) ...'	
J87	ff. 37vb–38rb	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት :	<i>ʿädä säb</i> 'malicious spirit, e.g.

		በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ለሰብዕ ፡ አንተ ፡ እደ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms the eye of man, you <i>’ädä säb’</i> ...’	<i>buda</i> , evil eye, one who does evil by means of witchcraft or with potions made from herbs and roots, ¹⁷⁰ while <i>buda</i> is defined as ‘spirit who causes harm by means of the evil eye; person who has the power to cause people to get sick. Popular tradition in rural areas held that traditional workers in iron possessed this capability. Custom forbids a person from looking at a baby ‘lest the <i>buda</i> eats him’’, ¹⁷¹
J88	f. 38rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ እጅጅ ፡ ማጅጅ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms <i>’äḡäḡ</i> 10 (times), <i>maḡäḡ</i> 10 (times) ...’	
J89	ff. 38va–39va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ወጥላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለአብ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለወልድ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወአህስሮ ፡ ለእቡይ ፡ አውሎግዮስ ፡ ... Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing (of charms) and of <i>ṭəla wägi</i> , in the name of the Father, in the name of the Son, in the name of the Holyspirit, humiliate the arrogant (proud), <i>’awlogyos</i> ...	<i>ṭəla wägi</i> also <i>ṣəla wägi</i> see J33 above for details.
J90	f. 39va–b	መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ የእጅ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ መንቀኛ ፡ ወተንኮለኛ ፡ ፍራድ ፡ አጤግስ ፡ ... ‘The undoing of charms, of <i>’äḡḡä säb’</i> and the jealous and the cunning, <i>fərad</i> , <i>’aṭemas</i> , ...’	<i>’äḡḡä säb’</i> also <i>’ädä säb’</i> see J87 above for details.
J91	ff. 39vb–40ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወጽላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ ወእጅ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ ቡዳ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms	

¹⁷⁰ Kane 1990, 1314.¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* 934.

		and of <i>ṣəla wägi</i> , and of <i>ʾəḡḡä säbʾ</i> , <i>buda ...</i> ’	
J92	f. 40ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ኤጤሜሶር ፡ ፫ ጊዜ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>ʿeṭemesor</i> 3 times, ...’	
J93	f. 40ra	መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ስርማስ ፡ ማርማስ ፡ ሰሩ ፡ ላስት ፡ ሰሩላስት ፡ ... ‘Undoing of charms, <i>sərmās</i> , <i>marmās</i> , <i>säru</i> , <i>last</i> , <i>särunat</i> ...’	
J94	f. 40ra–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በእንተ ፡ ማዕሰረ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወመስገርተ ፡ መስርያን ፡ ቡዳ ፡	
J95	f. 40va–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ስፍሐዘር ፡ በአማን ፡ ስፍሐዘር ፡ ወልደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ስምኖዘር ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms <i>səḥazər</i> , truly <i>səḥazər</i> the Son of God, <i>səmnazər</i> , ...’	
J96	ff. 40vb–41ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓቃቤ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ፩ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ሆሴክ ፡ አላጺድ ፡ ጊም ፡ ፫ ጊዜ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about <i>ʾaqabe šəray</i> , his first name <i>hosek</i> , <i>ʾalapid</i> , <i>gim</i> 3 times ...’	
J97	f. 41ra–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ነድራ ፡ ዝውእቱ ፡ ህማመ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ወአይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>nädra</i> which is the disease of <i>aynäit</i> and <i>aynä wärq</i> , ...’	
J98	ff. 41va–42rb	በስመ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ጥላ ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ አፍጠልሹን ፡ ፯ ጊዜ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about <i>aynä ṭəla</i> and <i>aynä wärq</i> , <i>ʾaṭälšun</i> 3 times ...’	
J99	ff. 42rb–43ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓቃቤ ፡ ርእስ ፡ ወመድፍነ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወዓቃቤ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወመፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘእደ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ... ‘In the name of	

		the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about <i>ʾaqabe rəʾs</i> and the drawner of charms and <i>ʾaqabe šəray</i> and undoing of charms that of <i>ʾədä säbʾ</i> ...’	
J100	f. 43ra–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ዘይቀጠቅጥ ፡ ርእስ ፡ ወየሐቂ ፡ አስኖን ፡ ወያዕልም ፡ አዕይንተ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about <i>ʾaynä barya</i> and <i>legewon</i> that hammers (beats) the head and gnashes teeth and blinds eyes ...’	
J101	f. 43rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ጥላ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ሚድ ፡ ፫ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. About <i>ʾaynäṭ</i> , and <i>ʾaynä ṭəla</i> , the eye of <i>barya</i> and <i>legewon</i> , mid 3 (times)...’	
J102	f. 43va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ማካጼካ ፡ ሬካ ፡ አብቅኤል ፡ ጉታኤል ፡ ቸሐል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>ʾaynäṭ</i> , <i>makaṣeka</i> , <i>ʾabqəʾel</i> , <i>gutaʾel</i> , <i>čähal</i> , ...’	
J103	f. 43va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ አብ ፡ ያጥለስልስ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ያጥለስልስ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ያጥለስልስ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about <i>ʾaynäṭ</i> , Father <i>yaṭläsləs</i> , Son <i>yaṭläsləs</i> , Holyspirit <i>yaṭläsləs</i> , ...’	
J104	f. 44ra	ለሥራይ ፡ የሚበጅ ፡ ሙረት ፡ የቲልት ፡ ... የአቶች ፡ የስረ ፡ ብዙ ፡ የጠለንጅ ፡ የምድር ፡ እምቧይ ... ‘Helpful against charms, <i>murät</i> , of tult, of <i>atoč</i> , of <i>sərä bəzu</i> , of <i>ṭälänḡ</i> , <i>yämədər ʾəmbʷay</i> , ...’	
J105	f. 44ra–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ዓዕ ፡ እምነ ፡ ሐራሁማን ፡ ፈያት ፡ አበሹም ፡ ሸበሹም ፡ በቀሹም ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>ʾaynäṭ</i> , go out from <i>ḥarahuman</i> , <i>fäyat</i> , <i>bäšum</i> , <i>šäbäšum</i> , <i>bäqäšum</i> ,	

		...’	
J106	f. 44rb–va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በስሙ ለአብ ፡ አብሽልሽል ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለወልድ ፡ አብሽልሽል ፡ ወበስሙ ፡ ለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አብሽልሽል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, In the name of the father <i>’absälšäl</i>, and in the name of the Son <i>’absälšäl</i>, and in the name of the Holyspirit <i>’absälšäl</i> ...’</p>	
J107	f. 44va–b	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸ[ሎት] ፡ በ[እንተ] ፡ ዓ[ይነ] ፡ ጥ[ላ] ፡ የጥዋጤ ፡ ሽቶር ፡ አላቶር ፡ ሣዶር ፡ አላዶር ፡ ዳናት ፡ አዴራ ፡ ሮዳስ ፡ በጅ ፡ ቅንዋተ ፡ መስቀሉ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>’aynä tälä</i>, <i>yäṭwate</i>, <i>šator</i>, <i>’alator</i>, <i>šador</i>, <i>’alador</i>, <i>danat</i>, <i>’adera</i>, <i>rodas</i>, by the five wounds of His cross, ...’</p>	May be the <i>šator</i> , <i>’alator</i> harck back to the language of a possible <i>Vorlage</i> ?
J108	ff. 44vb–45ra	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ ነድራ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የሐውር ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ባህረ ፡ ጥብርያዶስ ፡ ፲ወ፪ ፡ አርዳኢሁ ፡ ወርእዩ ፡ መልከዓ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ አረጊት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of <i>nädra</i>, while our Lord Jesus Christ was travelling by the sea of Tiberias, and His twelve disciples saw an old woman that ...’</p>	
109	f. 45ra–vb	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ እምህማመ ፡ ተያገረ ፡ ወገርጋሪ ፡ አብርሃም ፡ ሀገሩ ፡ ተከለ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ወ፩ ፡ አመት ፡ በ፫ ፡ አመት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, from the disease of <i>täyazi</i> and <i>gärgari</i>, Abrahāma planted (in his) country a tree and in a year (and) three years ...’</p>	
J110	ff. 45vb–46vb	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ በቅድስት ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ አወግዘክ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ በ፫ ፡ አካላት ፡ ወበ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ መለኮት ፡ ወነአምን ፡ በ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ህማመ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God Holy Trinity, I excommunicate you Satan, by the 3 being and one God, divine, and we believe in one God,</p>	

		prayer about the disease of <i>ʾaynät</i> ...	
J111	f. 46vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕመ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ አብ ፡ አጽለሽልሹ ፡ ወልድ ፡ አጽለሽልሹ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አጽለሽልሹ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. About the disease of <i>ʾaynät</i> , <i>barya</i> and <i>legewon</i> , Father <i>ʾašläšläšu</i> , Son <i>ʾašläšläšu</i> , Holyspirit <i>ʾašläšläšu</i> , ...’	
J112	f. 46rb–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ጥላ ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ለጌዎን ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ቡዳ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, about <i>ʾaynä tälä</i> and <i>ʾaynä wärq</i> , and <i>ʾaynä legewon</i> and <i>ʾaynä buda</i> , ...’	
J113	f. 46vb–47ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስተካዝዝ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ ወዘርክ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ዘኢትነሰት... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about making men obedient and of seed of government that is not possible to destroy ...’	
J114	f. 47ra–va	ፒሮስ ፡ ፓፒሮስ ፡ በማንዮስ ፡ አድጎኖ ፡ ወባልሐ ፡ እምህመ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ወገርጋሪ ፡ ያሙጥህ ፡ ያሸፈ ፡ ህያ ፡ አህያ ፡ ... ‘piros, papiros, by manyos, save and liberate from the disease of <i>ʾaynät</i> , and <i>gärgari</i> , <i>yamuṯəh</i> , <i>yašäfä</i> , <i>həya</i> , <i>ʾahya</i> ...’	
J115	f. 47va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ አውዙቢላሂ ፡ ማንሸይ ፡ ብኒ ፡ አርጌም ፡ አረሂም ፡ ቢስምላህ ፡ አረሂማንኒ ፡ አራሂም ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>ʾaʿuzbilahi</i> , <i>manšäy</i> , <i>bəni</i> , <i>ʾargem</i> , <i>ʾraḥim</i> , <i>bismilah</i> , <i>ʾrahmanni</i> , <i>ʾrahim</i> ...’	
J116	ff. 47vb–48va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወየ ፡ በጭለትጥጀልና ፡ ቀርክና ፡ በዓይነክ ፡ ወበዓይነ ፡ ጅናሃረቱ ፡ ቢስሚላሂ ፡ ሰኪማን ፡ ሃጅቡን ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charmsm <i>wäya</i> , <i>bäčlättəḡälna</i> , <i>qʷərʾana</i> , by your eye and his eye,	

		<i>ḡənaharātu, bismilahi, säkiman, haḡbun, ...</i>	
J117	f. 48va–b	ለመፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ያላሂባላሂ ፡ ያለዓሂ ፡ በዝ ፡ አስማቲክ ፡ አድህኒ ፡ እምሕማመ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ... ‘For the undoing of charms <i>yalahibalahi, yalä‘ahi</i> , by your <i>asmat</i> , save me from the disease of charms ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> has በጣዝማና ፡ በሚበላ ፡ እንጀራ ፡ በሚጠጣ ፡ ነገር ፡ ቢደግሙት ፡ እንጀራው ፡ ትል ፡ ይሆናል ፡ ... ‘If this is incanted on <i>ṭazma</i> , ¹⁷² edible <i>‘əngära</i> , ¹⁷³ and drinkable thing, the <i>‘əngära</i> changes into worms’.
J118	f. 48vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ደመ ፡ ከቲር ፡ ወሾተላይ ፡ ወሰራቅያን ፡ ቀሪሞስ ፯ ፡ ቀራሪሞስ ፯ ፡ ሰቃልያስ ፡ ፯ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about <i>dämä kätir</i> and <i>šotolay</i> and <i>säraqyan, qärimos</i> 7 (times), <i>qärarimos</i> 7 (times), <i>säqalyas</i> 7 (times) ...’	<i>dämä kätir</i> <i>šotolay</i> <i>säraqyan</i>
J119	f. 48vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸ[ሎት] ፡ በ[እንተ] ፡ አጨሚስሮ ፡ ጎኖቶር ፡ ፓምያህሮ ፡ ገፅማስሮ ፡ አላዎስ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayet about, <i>‘ačämasero, gonotor,</i> <i>pamyahro, gäšmasro, ‘alawos</i> ...’	
J120	f. 48vb–49ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸ[ሎት] ፡ በ[እንተ] ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አኡዝቢላሂ ፡ መነሳይጣን ፡ ረጀምን ፡ በስልሞን ፡ ሐጅ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>‘a‘uzbilahi mänäsäyṭan räḡämən,</i> <i>bäsəlmon, haḡ</i> ...’	
J121	f. 49ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ግርማ ፡ ሞገስ ፡ ወዓቃቤ ፡ ርእስ ፡ እንተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the charisma and <i>‘aqabe rə’s</i> of	<i>‘aqabe rə’s</i> ‘incantation, philtre or charm worn on the body which protects one from hurt or from bullets’ ¹⁷⁴ This definition points towards the fact that this very <i>abənnät</i> is effectuated by writing it down and carrying it in the form of an amulet. This is corroborated by

¹⁷² Kane 1990, ‘a bee like insect which lives in holes in the ground and secretes a dark brown honey in small globules; honey from the *ṭazma*-bee (thought to have medicinal qualities); dark brown (color of an ovine’s coat)’. Here we adopt the second definition in this entry.

¹⁷³ Flat bread which is the main food item of Ethiopians; it may simply mean ‘bread’ in different contexts.

¹⁷⁴ Kane 1990, 1187–1188.

		Christian ...'	the fact that there is a <i>sāntarāž</i> as a start of this very <i>abənnāt</i> which are usually to be drawn for amuletic purposes.
J122	f. 49rb	ለንዳድ ፡ የወባ ፡ በሽታ ፡ ፓናና ፡ ቅቤ ፡ ማር ፡ ንጥር ፡ ሽንጉርት ፡ ፈጭቶ ፡ ፊጦ ፡ ... 'Against fever / malaria, banana, butter, purified honey, (after) grinding onion, <i>feṭo</i> ...'	<i>feṭo</i> 'cress (<i>Lapidum sativum</i>) or shepherd's purse (<i>Capsella bursa.pastoris</i>) used in cooking and medicine'. ¹⁷⁵
J123	f. 49va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቁርፀት ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ምላልኩኤል ፡ አዴራ ፡ አዴራናሁኤር ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about stomachache, demons, <i>məḥalk</i> ^w ə'el, <i>'adera</i> , <i>'aderanahu</i> ^{er} , ...'	
J125	ff. 49vb–50rb	በስ[መ] ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ አብ ፡ ምናቴር ፡ ወበ[ስሙ] ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወልድ ፡ አብያቴር ፡ ወበ[ስሙ] ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ መን[ፈስ] ፡ ቅ[ዱስ] ፡ አቅያቴር ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, in the name of God the Father <i>mənater</i> , and in the name of God the Son <i>'abyater</i> , and in the name of God the Holy spirit <i>'aqyater</i> ...'	
J126	f. 50rb	ስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸ[ሎት] ፡ በ[እንተ] ፡ መደንግፀ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ዘያደንግዖሙ ፡ ወያርእዶሙ ፡ ሐሰልዮስ ፡ ዩአሚን ፡ ብሔሞት ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the terrifying of demons that terrifies and makes them tremble, <i>hasälyos</i> , <i>yu'amin</i> , <i>bəḥemot</i> ...'	<i>bəḥemot</i> 'hippopotamus', ¹⁷⁶ or it is also understood as 'የየብስ ዓሣ ነባሪ ፡ የምድር አራዊትና እንስሳት ንጉሥ ፡ ከባሕር ተፈጥሮ በየብስ የሚኖር ፩ ምድርን በስተየብስ የከበበ የሌዋታን ጣምራ አቻ ወደር (ሔኖ ፳ ፡ ፳) #', ¹⁷⁷ meaning 'Land whale, king of land beats and animals, (one that) was created in the sea but leaves on land, that encircles earth on the land side and which is an equivalent of <i>lewatan</i> . Enoch 60:8'. It is believed that

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 2340.¹⁷⁶ Kane 1990. 855.¹⁷⁷ See: Abyssinica online dictionary:<http://dictionary.abysinnica.com/%E1%89%A5%E1%88%84%E1%88%9E%E1%89%B5>

			<i>Lewatan</i> encircles the earth on the sea side.
J127	f. 50va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸ[ሎት] ፡ በ[እንተ] ፡ መደንግፀ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ሰላም ፡ ለከ ፡ ሰዳዴ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ፋኑኤል ፡ የሚለው ፡ ፈጽሞ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, about terrifying of demons, peace be unto you Fanu'el the chaser of demons, finish incanting this ...'	
J128	f. 50va–b	የዶርሆ ፡ ዓቃቤ ፡ ርእስ ፡ አለጅ ፡ ፫ ፡ መአለማመጅ ፡ ክላዕ ፡ ፍትርትር ፡ ሰታሁሺን ፡ በኃ[ይለ] ፡ ዝን[ቱ] ፡ አስ[ማት] ፡ ... 'Lit. Head protector (protector) of hen, 'aläḡ, mä'alämmamäḡ 3 (times), kəla ^c , fəṭərtər, sätahušin, by the power of these asmat ...'	This <i>abənnät</i> is a peculiar to be found in such neighbourhood.
J129	f. 50vb	መክሥተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አንድ ፡ በቀል ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ዮዲት ፡ ስር ፡ ሸረሪት ፡ (ሣሬት) ፡ ጥንቅርብዲት ፡ ... 'The revealer of charms, the root of a single grown 'əṣä yodit, spider, scorpion ...'	There is a mix of languages. For example ሸረሪት ፡ is Amharic and its Tigrigna equivalent i.e. ሣሬት ፡ is given. It means 'spider'. In the same line only the Tigrigna name of the 'scorpion' is given as ጥንቅርብዲት ፡ This mix of languages implies the owner of the manuscript is Tigrayan.
J130	ff. 50vb–51ra	መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ቢስሚላሂ ፡ አሮሂማን ፡ እራሂ ፡ አዑዙቢላሂ ፡ ረቢ ፡ ለዓለሚን ፡ ፈደየቱ ፡ ወሚመ ፡ ... 'Undoing of charms, <i>bismilahi</i> , 'arohiman, 'ərahi, 'a'uybilahi, rabbi lä'alämin, <i>fädäyātu wämimä</i> ...'	
J131	f. 51ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቡዳ ፡ ወነሀቢ ፡ ወክሎሙ ፡ ነሀብት ፡ ወጠብብት ፡ ድድቅ ፡ ወጋኔነ ፡ ቀትር ፡ ሀረዎሮ ፡ ፬ [ጊ]ዜ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. prayer about <i>buda</i> and the blacksmith and all blacksmiths and charmers, accident and midday demon, <i>haräworo</i> 4 (times) ...'	
J132	ff. 51rb–53vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ዓረቢ ፡ ወእስላም ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ግብፃዊ ፡	

		<p>ወረማዊ ፡ ኬልቄዶንያዊ ፡ ወአይሁዳዊ ፡ ወዓረማዊ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. prayer about the undoing of charms, undo the charm of Arab, and muslim, the charm of Egyptian and Roman, the charm of Caledonian and the heathen ...’</p>	
J133	ff. 51vb–52vb	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራዮሙ ፡ ዘብእሲ ፡ ወዘብእሲት ፡ አድኅን ፡ ይቤለክ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በፎወጂ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Ptayer about the undoing of charms, undo the charm of man and woman, Jesus Christ tells you to save, by 77 kings, ...’</p>	
J134	ff. 52vb–53rb	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ እርክያን ፡ አምንሱቲት ፡ ሙአግያ ፡ ሙኪርያ ፡ ሙዳሱጣ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the unding of charms, saints, <i>ʾarkəyan</i>, <i>ʾamnəstit</i>, <i>muʾagiya</i>, <i>mukirya</i>, <i>mudasuṭa</i>, ...’</p>	
J135	f. 53rb–vb	<p>ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወሥራየ ፡ ካህናት ፡ ወዲቆናት ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ሥራዮሙ ፡ ለመስርያን ፡ ዮፍታሕ ፡ ፫ [ጊ]ዜ ፡ ቅርጥናኤል ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the undoing of charms, undo the charm of demons and of priests, and of deacons, undo the charm of charmers, <i>yofṭaḥe</i> 3 times, <i>qəṭərnaʿel</i>, ...’</p>	
J136	f. 53vb	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ መሐረኒ ፡ ወልድ ፡ መሐረኒ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ መሐረኒ ፡ ኪያክ ፡ እጼውዕ ፡ በአዕምሮ ፡ ወበለብዎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኢታውዕእ ፡ እምላዕሌየ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father, save me, in the name of the Son, save me, in the anme of the Holyspirit, save me, I call you with knowledge and conscience, God don’t take away from me ...’</p>	
J137	ff. 53vb–54ra	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡</p>	

		ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ጦር ፡ ጦር ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms tor, tor, ...'	
J138	f. 54ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ራኮን ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ቀርነለው ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ጐሐኤል ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ አማኑኤል ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ወራፎን ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ወዘርናኤል ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>rakon</i> undo, <i>qärnäläw</i> undo, <i>g^wäha²el</i> undo, Emanuel undo...'	
J139	f. 54ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ስፍናዝናዝር ፡ ኤልናዝር ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ወዘርዝር ፡ ሰእር ፡ ወመንዝር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ስራያተ ፡ ወአስማተ ፡ በላዕለ ፡ ገብ[ርክ] ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, <i>səfnazər</i> , <i>ʾelnazər</i> undo and scatter, make void and destroy all charms and <i>asmat</i> on your servant ...'	
J140	f. 54rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ስምናዝር ፡ ኤናዝር ፡ በናዝር ፡ ከመናዝር ፡ ኤልናዝር ፡	
J141	f. 54rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ዋዊሮስ ፡ እልመክዮን ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ስራያተ ፡ ወአስማተ ፡ በላዕለ ፡ ገብርክ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, <i>wawiros</i> , <i>ʾəlmäknun</i> , <i>yofiahe</i> undo charms and <i>asmats</i> on your servant ...'	
J142	ff. 54vb–56va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ በስመ ፡ ዮድ ፡ ይትፈታሕ ፡ በስመ ፡ ጋዴን ፡ ይዘርዘር ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, in the name of <i>yod</i> let it be undone, and in the name of <i>gaden</i> let it be scattered ...'	
J143	ff. 56va–57ra	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ስራይ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወባርያ ፡ መናፍስት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡	

		ሥራዩ ፡ ኪን ፡ ወካናት ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the undoing of charms, undo the charms of demons and of <i>barya</i> , difield spirits, the charm of charmers and priests ...’	
J144	f. 57ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጠሬፈን ፡ አውጄን ፡ ዘያነጽሕ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወያጤይር ፡ ዶር ፡ ዶር ፡ ዶር ፡ ዶር ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>tärefen</i> , <i>’awjen</i> , that cleans? the flesh and sooth-says <i>dor, dor, dor, dor ...</i> ’	
J145	ff. 57ra–58ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ፖፒሮስ ቩ [ጊ]ዜ ፡ እልመክኑን ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>papiros</i> 3 times, <i>’ämäknun</i> , <i>yofstahe ...</i> ’	
J146	f.58ra–va	በስመ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ አብ ፡ በስመ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወልድ ፡ በስመ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ታዖስ ፡ አዝዮስ ፡ ማስያስ ፡ ... ‘In the name of God the Father, in the name of God the Son, in the name of God the Holyspirit <i>ta’os</i> , <i>’azyos</i> , <i>masyas ...</i> ’	
J147	ff. 58ra–59va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ አህያ ፡ ሽራህያ ፡ አልሻዳይ ፡ እልመክኑን ፡ አልፋ ፡ ወቤጣ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. <i>’ahya</i> , <i>šərahya</i> , <i>’alsadday</i> , <i>’älmeämnun</i> , <i>’alfa</i> , and <i>beṭa ...</i> ’	
J148	f. 59va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወኪን ፡ ወሥራይ ፡ በኢያኤል ፡ ስምክ ፡ አድጎኖ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እምአየረ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about <i>barya</i> , and charm and malice, by your name <i>’iya’el</i> , oh Lord save him from the demons of air ...’	
J149	ff. 59vb–60va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ መደንገፀ ፡ ሰይጣናት ፡	

		ወይደነግሱ ፡ ሰይጣናት ፡ ... In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. The schocker of demons, and may thze demons get terrified ...’	
J150	f.60va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ ማዕሰረ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ እደ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ መሠርያን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the leashing of demons <i>’ädä säb’</i> charmers ...’	
J151	ff. 60va–61ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ራፎን ፡ አግሪፎን ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms <i>rafon, ’agrifon ...</i> ’	
J152	ff.61ra–62va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወባርያ ፡ ሥራያ ፡ ኪን ፡ ወካሕናት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, demons, and <i>barya</i> , the charm of charmers and preists ...’	
J153	ff.62ra–63ra	ሸዳታኤል ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ሰይጣናት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ገበዎቶን ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ውግኣት ፡ ... ‘ <i>šädata’el</i> , demons, satans about the loins and about the disease fo sharp pain ...’	
J154	f.63ra–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ይገረፎን ፡ ገረፍ ፡ ገዴር ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms <i>yägäräron, gäräf, gäder...</i> ’	
J155	f. 63va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አምኃልኩክሙ ፡ ወአውገዝኩክሙ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the undoing of charms, I adjure you and excumunicate you ...’	
J156	f.64ra–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡	Historiola based on the story of St

		<p>ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ አመ ፩ወ፩ ፡ ለሚያዝያ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ሮቆ ፡ መስተጋድል ፡ ኅሩይ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. On March 21 (EC), St Roch the elected combatant ...'</p>	Roch.
J157	ff.64va–65ra	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መደንግፀ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ምንት ፡ ይመስል ፡ ፍጥረቶሙ ፡ ለነሀብት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ ወጽዮአን ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. Prayer about the shocker of demons, what does the being of the despised and rotten blacksmiths look like ...'</p>	
J158	f. 65ra–b	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ዘይሰልብ ፡ ልበ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወይመጽእ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጽላሎት ፡ በህልም ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about <i>barya</i> and <i>legewon</i> that deprives the heart of man and that comes like a shadow in dreams ...'</p>	
J159	ff. 65rb–66ra	<p>በስመ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ወለወልድ ፡ ወለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወለአንአልቄስዶ ፡ አላህን ፡ ዋሕድ ፡ ... 'In the name of the father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit and ^{an}alqesdo ^{alah}an wahəd ...'</p>	
J160	ff. 66ra–67ra	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ወብእሲት ፡ አድኅን ፡ ይቤሌከ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በ፪ወ፯ ፡ ቀሳውስት ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, One God. The Book of undoing of charms, undo the charm of the eye of man and woman, Jesus Christ tells you to save by 77 priests ...'</p>	
J161	f. 67ra–v	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ቅህቶን ፡ አርክያን ፡ እምንስቲት ፡ ሙአግያ ፡ እምንስቲት ፡ ሙዳሱጣ ፡ አንቲ ፡ ፋስሊያሱ ፡ ...</p>	

		‘Say in the name of the Father, undo <i>qəhton</i> , <i>ʾarkəyan</i> , <i>ʾəmnəstit</i> , <i>mudasuṭa</i> , <i>ʾanti fasiliyasu</i> , ...’	
J162	ff. 67rb–va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ፍታሕ : ሥራዩ : አጋንንት : ፍ[ታሕ] : ሥ[ራዩ] : ካህናት : ወዲያቆናት : ፍ[ታሕ] : ሥራዮሙ : ለመሰርዖን : ዮፍታሕ : ፫ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, undo the charm of demons, undo the charm of priests and of deacons, undo the charm of charmers <i>yofṭaḥe</i> 3 (times), ...’	
J163	f. 67va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጦር : ጦር : ጦር : በኃይለ : ዝንቱ : አስማቲክ : ዘፈታሕክ : ማዕሰሪሁ : ለሞት : ሥራዩ : ደስክ : ወጉዳሌ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>ṭor</i> , <i>ṭor</i> , <i>ṭor</i> , with the power of your <i>asmats</i> you undid the bandage of death, the charm of <i>däsk</i> and of <i>gʷədale</i> , ...’	<i>gʷədale</i> is variantly defined as idol or object of superstition, as a name of a population.
J164	f. 67va–b	በስመ : አብ : በል : ራኮን : ፍታሕ : ቀንተው : ፍ[ታሕ] : ቀርነለው : ፍ[ታሕ] : ጉሕኤል : ፍ[ታሕ] : አማኑኤል : ወራፎን : ፍ[ታሕ] ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>rakon</i> undo, <i>qäntäw</i> unod, <i>qärnäläw</i> undo, <i>gʷəḥʾel</i> undo, Emanuel undo, and <i>rafon</i> undo ...’	
J165	f. 67vb	በስመ : አብ : በል : ስፍንዝር : ስፍንዝር : ስፍንዝር : ፍታሕ : ወዘርዝር : ሰአር : ወመንዝር : አስማተ : ሥራይ : ... Say in the name of the Father, <i>səfzər</i> , <i>səfənzər</i> , dismiss and corrupt <i>asmats</i> of charms...	
J166	ff. 67vb–68ra	ስመ : አብ : በል : ስሙናዝር : ኤላናዝር : ፍታሕ : ወዘርዝር : ሰአር : ወመንዝር : አስማተ : ሥራይ : ... Say in the name of the Father, <i>səmunazər</i> , <i>ʾelanazər</i> , undo and scatter, dismiss and corrupt <i>asmats</i> of charms...	
J167	f. 68ra–b	በስመ : አብ : በል : በስመ : ቅዳዱን : ይትመዝበር : እመሂ : ሥራዩ : አጋንንት : ወእመሂ : ሥ[ራዩ] : ካህናት : ወዲያቆናት : እመሂ : ሥ[ራዩ] : መነከሳት :	

		ወእመሂ : ሥ[ራዩ] : አዕሩግ : ወህፃናት : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, in the name of <i>qəḥdun</i> let it be devastated, be it the charm of demons, be it the charm of priests, and of deacons, be it the charm of monks, be it the charm of the elderly and of children ...’	
J168	f. 68rb	ዲስ : አብሮዲስ : እሳት : ማርያም : እሳት : አውዳታኤል : እሳት : ትስቡግ : እሳት : ሙኪርያ : እሳት : ሙአግያ : እሳት : በዝ : አስማት : አድጎኖ : ... ‘ <i>dis ʾəbnodis</i> , fire Mary fire, <i>ʾawdataʾel</i> fire, <i>təsbuṭa</i> fire, <i>mukirya</i> fire, <i>muʾagya</i> fire, with these <i>asmats</i> save him...’	
J169	f. 68rb–va	ታዖስ : አዝዮስ : ማስያስ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : ዘያጠፍዕ : መዛግብተ : እሳት :	
J170	f. 68va	ዮፍታሔ : በስመ : አላኮር : ... ‘ <i>Taʿos</i> , <i>ʾazyos</i> , <i>masyas</i> , Jesus Christ who extinguishes the stores of fire <i>yofṭaḥe</i> , in the name of <i>ʾalakor</i> ...’	
J171	f. 68va–b	በስመ : እጅጉ : ስምክ : አሮፍሔም : ስምክ : በስመ : ጀር : ይሰአር : ወበስመ : ዮድ : ይዘርዘር : ... ‘In the name of your name <i>ʾəḡən</i> , your name <i>ʾafroḥem</i> , let it be dismissed in your name <i>ḡär</i> , let it be scattered in the name of <i>yod</i> ...’	
J172	ff. 68vb–69ra	አብ : እሳት : ወልድ : እሳት : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : እሳት : ሰአር : ወዘርዘር : ፍታሕ : ወመንዝር : ዘተገብረ : ... ‘Father the fire, Son the fire, Holyspirit the fire, dismiss and scatter undo and disperse that have been done...’	
J173	f. 69ra–b	ገሪሆ : አብሽሽ : አበሽኤል : አሮርፎሽሽ : አትናቴዎስ : ስሙናዝር : ፍታሕ : ወዘርዘር : ... ‘ <i>gäriho</i> , <i>ʾabšəš</i> , <i>ʾabäšʾel</i> , <i>ʾarorfošəš</i> , <i>ʾatnatewos</i> , <i>səmunazər</i> , undo and scatter ...’	
J174	f. 69ra	ቤቤቴቴል : ቁቄል : ተራወን : ችርማች : ፍቱሐ : ይኩን : ... ‘ <i>bebetetel</i> , <i>qeḡel</i> , <i>tärawän</i> , <i>čərmač</i> , let it be undone ...’	
J175	ff. 69rb–va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት :	

		በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥ[ራይ] ፡ እምላ[ዕለ] ፡ ገብ[ርክ] ፡ መን[ግሥተ] ፡ ሥላ[ሴ] ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms, the charm of demons, undo the charm from your servant ...’	
J176	f. 69va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ወፎሬን ፡ ዘያነቅሕ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወያጠይር ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ገብ[ርክ] ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>wäforen</i> , that awakens the flesh, and soothsays, likewise undo the charm from your servant ...’	
J177	ff. 69vb–70rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ዋዌሮስ ፡ ፖፒሮስ ፡ እልመክኑን ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፫ [ጊ]ዜ ፡ አዶናይ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>waweros</i> , <i>papiros</i> , <i>ʾəlmäknun</i> , <i>yofiahe</i> 3 (times), <i>Adonay</i> ...’	
J178	f. 70ra–b	አተዝር ፡ አስፋዝዝር ፡ በአማን ፡ አስፋዝር ፡ ወልደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ራፎን ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ቀልልናኤል ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ወብእሲት ፡ ... ‘ <i>Atäzər</i> , <i>ʾasfazəzər</i> , truly <i>ʾasfazər</i> the Son of God, <i>rafon</i> undo, <i>qäləlnaʾel</i> undo the charm of man and woman ...’	
J179	f. 70rb–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለአብ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለወልድ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አስያስ ፡ ማስያስ ፡ አቅዳፌር ፡ በስሙ ፡ ሐሪሐን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holyspirit, one <i>ʾasyas</i> , <i>masyas</i> , <i>ʾaqdafer</i> in his name <i>harihun</i> ...’	
J180	ff. 70vb–71rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ኃያል ፡ ሽራህያ ፡ አልሻዳይ ፡ እልመክኑን ፡ አልፋ ፡ ወያ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, omnipotent <i>šərahya</i> , <i>ʾalšadday</i> , <i>ʾəlmäknun</i> , <i>ʾalfä</i> and ʾo Jesus Christ ...’	
J181	f. 71rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ ኪን ፡ ወሥራይ ፡ በኢያኤል ፡ ስምክ ፡ አድጎኖ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እምአየረ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ በቀተኖዊ ፡ ስምክ ፡	

		አድገኖ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about malice and charm, in you name <i>’iya’el</i> save him oh Lord from the demons of air, oh Lord in your <i>qätänawi</i> save him ...’	
J182	f. 71rb–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ወይደንግፁ ፡ ሰይጣናት ፡ እስመ ፡ ወጽኦ ፡ እሳት ፡ ወኣርዌ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወይደንግፁ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ሠራዊተ ፡ ብርያል ፡ ወሠራዊተ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወሠራዊተ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወነገርጋር ፡ Say in the name of the Father, the satans tremble for the fire and the beast of earth has came out, and the armies of <i>bäryal</i> and the armies of demons and the armies of <i>barya</i> and <i>nägärgar</i> ...’	
J183	f. 71vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ማዕሰረ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ዕደ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወመሰርያን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the binding of demons <i>’ädä säb’</i> charmers ...’	
J184	f. 71vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ገሪፎ ፡ አግራፎ ፡ ገሪፎ ፡ ገሪሆ ፡ ገሥዒር ፡ አብሲዒር ፡ አብሲፒር ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, paryer about the undoing of charms <i>gärifo</i> , <i>’agrifo</i> , <i>gärifo</i> , <i>gäriho</i> , <i>gäsşir</i> , <i>’absişir</i> , <i>’absipir</i> , ...’	
J185	ff. 71vb–72ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ካህናት ፡ ወዲያቆናት ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራዮሙ ፡ ለመሠርያን ፡ ዮፍታሕ ፡ ፫ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, paryer about the undoing of charms, undo the charm of preists and of deacons, undo the charm of charmers <i>yoftahe</i> ...’	
J186	ff. 72ra–73ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘወልድ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ዋህድ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አብ ፡ ዘበተከ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ማዕሰረ ፡ ኃጣውኢነ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, paryer about the undoing of charms, of Son O Lord Jesus	

		Christ the only begotten Son, the word of God the Father who unchained from himself the chains of our sin ...'	
J187	f. 73ra–vb	መጽሐፈ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ እሩህ ፡ ክናንህ ፡ በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘሰብእ ፡ ወዘኢጋንንት ፡ ወዘመናፍስት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ ... 'The Book of Undoing of charms, <i>ʾəruḥ</i> , <i>kənanəḥ</i> , In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. paryer about the undoing of the charm of demons and despised spirits ...'	
J188	ff. 73vb–74ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ሐመል ፡ እሳት ፡ ዘትሠርቅ ፡ በዓይነ ፡ ጠባይዕ ፡ እሳታዊ ፡ ኢትሥግር ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, paryer about the undoing of charms, <i>ḥamāl ʾəsat</i> that rises in the form of the eye of fire	
J189	f. 74ra–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አላሁማ ፡ ፯ ፡ ዶቸር ፡ አልመለኪ ፡ ወያራ ፡ ተወቀራ ፡ ፯ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>ʾalahuma</i> 7 (times), <i>dočär</i> , <i>ʾalmäläki</i> , <i>wäyara</i> , <i>täwäqära</i> 7 (times) ...'	
J190	ff. 74vb–75ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘኢረሚ ፡ ወክርስቲያን ፡ ዘጋላ ፡ ወዘሻንቅላ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of the charm of the heathen and Christian, of <i>Galla</i> and of <i>šanqəlla</i> ...'	
J191	f. 75ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አክሮፎምና ፡ ፫ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ አክርም ፡ ፫ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ፍሎፕ ፡ ፫ ፡ ፍሎና ፡ ፫ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>ʾakrofomna</i> 3 (times), <i>undo ʾakrəm</i> 3 (times), <i>undo fəlopä</i> 3 (times), <i>fəlona</i> 3	

		(times)...’	
J192	f. 75ra–75vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘረቦሮሙ ፡ ለኢጋንንት ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ በትእዛዝ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ሸማዳን ፡ አሰማዳኤል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, Solomon snared demons by the order of God and said <i>šāmadan</i> , <i>’asāmada’el</i> ...’	
J193	ff. 75vb–76rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘይፈትሕ ፡ ጥላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ ዘእስላም ፡ ወዘክርስቲያን ፡ ወዕደ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ከናንህ ፡ ጂ ፡ መኖህከንህ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms that undoes <i>ṭəlawägi</i> and (the charm of) Muslim and of Christian and of <i>’ədä säb</i> , <i>känanəh</i> 7 (times), <i>mänohkänəh</i> ...’	
J194	f. 76rb–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ኢናልሐ ፡ ሰማዕተ ፡ ረድኡ ፡ አንተ ፡ ዙላ ፡ ወይላ ፡ ዘልታደም ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>’inaləḥa</i> his witness and helper, <i>you zula</i> , <i>wäyala</i> , <i>zältadäm</i> ...’	
J195	f. 76vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ አብ ፡ እሳት ፡ ወልድ ፡ እሳት ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እሳት ፡ የማነ ፡ ገቦሁ ፡ እሳት ፡ ጸጋመ ፡ ገባሁ ፡ እሳት ፡ በሥልጣኑ ፡ ቃሉ ፡ እሳት ፡ በስመ ፡ ፫ ፡ አሰማት ፡ ወበ፩ ፡ መለኮት ፡ ይትጋፈሩ ፡ ወይደምሰሱ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer, the Father fire, the Son fire and the holy Spirit fire, his right side fire, his left side fire, in the power of his words fire, in the name of the three <i>asmat</i> and one divine may they be ashamed and destroyed...’	
J196	ff. 76vb–77rb	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምቀኛ ፡ ወተንኩለኛ ፡ ወኮርኖን ፡ ለማርያ ፡ ወሲማርያ ፡ ወበዝ ፡ ስምክ ፡ ዕቀበኒ ፡ ወአድጎኒ ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the envious and crooked, <i>wäkornon</i> , <i>lämarya</i> <i>wesimarya</i> and	

		by this name of yours deliver me and save me...'	
J197	f. 77rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ባእስ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about quarrel...'	
J198	f. 77rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ማዕረ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወዛር ፡ ወኩሎም ፡ ተግባረ ፡ እኩያን ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the chaining of demons, barya, and zar and all deeds of the despised...'	
J199	f. 77rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ማእረሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ቀሽኸዝ ፡ ለኩልልን ፡ ንጀኦከለ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the enprisonment of demons <i>qäšäkäz, läkulälän ...</i> '	
J200	f. 77va	አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምቀኛ ፡ ወተንኮለኛ ፡ ያሽምኸብኸብት ፯ ፡ ይቱለቱ ፯ ፡ መቅደሹን ፫ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the envious and the and the crooked, <i>yašämkäbkəbt</i> 7 (times), <i>yätulätu</i> 7 (times), <i>mäqdäšun</i> 3 (times) ...'	
J201	f. 77va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ማዕረሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ለባርያ ፡ ወዛር ፡ ወለኩሎም ፡ ተግባረ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the imprisonment of demons of <i>barya</i> and <i>zar</i> and all deeds of man...'	
J202	f. 77vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስጥመ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ቀሽኸዝኸዝ፡፫ ፡ ልልንጅ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the drawing of demons <i>qäšäkäszəkägä, lälənəḡ ...</i> '	
J203	f. 77vb–78ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ ማዕረሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ወማዕረ ፡ ፈታሒሆም ፡ ወፈታሔ ፡ ሥራያቲሆም ፡ ለመሠርያን ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the imprisonment of demons and the imprisonment of their releaser and the undoer of charm of charmers...'	
J204	f. 78ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡	

		በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ድንጋጌ ፡ ብዙሃ ፡ ምንት ፡ ይመስል ፡ ፍጥረቶሙ ፡ ለኢጋንንት ፡ እኩያን ፡ ወጽዩአን ፡ ...Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms and of big terror, what does the being of the crooked and despised demons look like ...’	
J205	f. 78ra–b	በስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ሰቲራ ፡ አብ ፡ ስፒል ፡ ወሳደር ፡ ሸፌራ ፡ መሸርያን ፡ ... ‘In the anme of God whose name is <i>sätira</i> , <i>’ab</i> , <i>səpil</i> , <i>wäsadär</i> , <i>šäfera</i> , <i>mäšäryan</i> ...’	
J206	f. 78rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ለናያህል ፡ አሮድድ ፡ አርበኣ ፡ አ ፡ ለአፎን ፡ ለጸምምያጡር ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father <i>länayahäl</i> , <i>’arodäd</i> , <i>’arbä’a</i> , <i>’a</i> , <i>lä’afon</i> , <i>läšäməmyaṭur</i> ...’	
J207	f. 78rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስጥመ ፡ ኢጋንንት ፡ ወባርያ ፡ ሸቅጋማል ፡ ችንትህ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, about the drowning of demons and <i>barya</i> , <i>šäqgamal</i> , <i>čəntəh</i> ...’	
J208	f. 78rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ መናፍስት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Undoing of charms and of <i>barya</i> and <i>legewon</i> and all charms of spirits...’	
J209	f. 78va	ዮፍታሔ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ቅጥርናኤል ፡ ቅፍትናኤል ፡ ... ‘Yoftaḥə undo charm <i>qəṭərna’el</i> , <i>qəṭətna’el</i> ...’	
J210	f. 78va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘካሕናት ፡ ወዘዲያቆናት ፡ ወዘህዝብ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, undoer of charms of priests and of deacons and the laity ...’	
J211	f. 78va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወባርያ ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ መናፍስት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ ወሥራየ ፡ ኢጋንንት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms	

		and of <i>barya</i> , and of all defiled spirits and the charm of demons...’	
J212	f. 78vb	ስሙናዝር ፡ ክሙናዝር ፡ አልዝረ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ወዘርዘር ፡ አስ[ማተ] ፡ ሥራ[ይ] ፡ ፒሮስ ፡ ፭ ፡ ... ‘Səmunazər, kəmunazər, ʾalzərä, undoand scatter the <i>asmat</i> of charms <i>piros</i> 5 (times)...’	
J213	f. 78vb	ራፎን ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ራኮን ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ተፈታሕ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Rafon</i> undo, <i>rakon</i> undo and be undone...’	
J214	f. 78vb	ያዊ ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ኢያኤል ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ሰንተው ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ቀርነለው ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ቀርነው ፡ ... ‘ <i>Yawi</i> undo, <i>Iya’e</i> undo, <i>säntäw</i> undo, <i>qärnääläw</i> undo <i>qärnäw</i> ...’	
J215	f. 78vb	ይእለ ፡ ዮናህር ፡ ይድመን ፡ አውርፍሽን ፡ ጦርን ፫ ፡ ሐመልን ፡ ሐመልመል ፡ ... ‘ <i>Yə’älä, yonahər,</i> <i>yədmän, ʾawrəḥšən, ʾäörn</i> 3 (times), <i>ḥamäln, ḥamälmäl</i> ...’	
J216	f. 79ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ተደርና ፡ በስመ ፡ ወልድ ፡ እለተወከልና ፡ በስመ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ቁልጠአሰኒ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father <i>tädärna</i> , in the name of the Son <i>ʾälätäwäkälna</i> , in the name of the Holy Spirit <i>qulṭä’asäni</i> ...’	
J217	f. 79ra	አብ ፡ መሐረኒ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ተሠሐለኒ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ተሣኦለኒ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ኪያክ ፡ ዕዪውዕ ፡ ... ‘Father, deliver me, Son, be compassionate to me, Holy Spirit, be compassionate to me with the Son, I call upon you...’	
J218	f. 79ra–b	ጦር ፡ በጦር ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ፡ ዘፈተሕክ ፡ ሥራያተ ፡ ሞት ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Tor, bātor</i> , as you have undone the charms of death by this deed likewise...’	
J219	f. 79rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ የሽፍቅ ፡ መሸፍቅ ፡ አማኣፍቅ ፡ በኃይለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አስማት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, about the undoing of charms <i>yäšfəq, mäšfəq,</i> <i>ʾamaʾafəq</i> , by the power of these <i>asmats</i> ...’	
J220	f. 79rb	አስማተ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወኪን ፡ ኤሎሄ ፯ ፡	

		ክምትኤል : ‘ <i>Asmats</i> of the Trinity against charm and malice, <i>’elohe</i> 7 (times), <i>kəmtə’el...</i> ’	
J221	f. 79rb–va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ሕማመ : መቀኛ : ወተንኮለኛ : ውግዓት : ወደም : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the diseases of the envious and the crooked, sharp pain and bleeding...’	
J222	f. 79va	አወግዘክ : ሰይጣን : በስሙ : ለእግዚእነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : ወበስማ : ለእግዝእትነ : ማርያም : አምላክ : በእግዚአብሔር : [በ]ነገሥቱ : ድምፁ : ለገብረ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ... ‘I excommunicate you Satan in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the name of our Lady Mary and by the thunder breath of <i>gäbrä Mänfäs qədus...</i> ’	
J223	f. 79va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : የሐቂ ፪ : ምድማያስ : ፪ : የሐቂ ፬ : የሐብራሥቂ : ዘአድኃንክ : በወልደ : መብለት : ¹⁷⁸ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer <i>yähaqi</i> 3 (times), <i>mədmayas</i> 3 (times), <i>yähaqi</i> 4 (times), <i>yäḥabraśqi</i> who have saved the son of the widow ...’	
J224	f. 79va	ኢየሱስ : አልአል : ታሂል : በአል : በዝ : ቃልክሙ : ትእዛዝ : ኩሉ : ... ‘Jesus <i>’al’al</i> , <i>tahel</i> , <i>bä’al</i> , in this word of yours, the order of all...’	
J225	f. 79va–b	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ምቀኛ : ወተንኮለኛ : ዘይትሜሰሎ : በህማመ : ከብድ : አምላክ : አናንያ : ወአዛርያ : ወሚሳኤል : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the the envious and crooked which likens in the form of stomachache, the God of <i>’ananəya</i> and <i>’azarəya</i> and	<i>Historiola</i> based on the story of the three men who are believed to have been saved from a burning furnace through the intervention of the arch angel Gabriel.

¹⁷⁸ *Historiola* based on John 15: 22–28? The sex of the cured person is masculine in this case though. 1kgs: 17–24 where in Elijah brings the son of the widow back to life seems to be what is referred to here.

		of <i>Misa'el</i> , ...'	
J226	ff. 79vb–80ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘአብዳን ፡ ወዘጠቢባን ፡ ዘደገሙ ፡ ወዘአስተሐደሩ ፡ ወዘእንዶር ፡ ወጥላ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms of the fool and the wise who incanted	
J227	f. 80ra	¹⁷⁹ በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ዘደገሙ ፡ በእንበር ፡ ወበቀለም ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ በዝሆን ፡ ኩንቢ ፡ ወበደስከኖ ፡ ቀንድ ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ዘደገሙ ፡ በንንቸር ፡ ቆርበት ፡ ወበመጭጭላ ፡ ቆርበት ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms that is incanted using ink undo, that is incanted on an elephant tusk undo, incanted on the horn of antelope undo, undo that they have incanted on frog and skin of ground squirrel ...'	
J228	f. 80ra–va ¹⁸⁰	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ፍታ[ሕ] ፡ ዘደገሙ ፡ በቀንድ ፡ ... በብርሌ ፡ ወበፍንጃል ¹⁸¹ ፡ ነሰኒሶሙ ፡ ፍታ[ሕ] ፡ ዘተ[ገብረ] ፡ በመካን ፡ እንዶድ ፡ ስር ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, undo what they have incanted on horn... on flask and having spread on cup undo incanted on root of unbearing soapwort ...'	
J230	f. 80va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘአረሚ ፡ ወዘክርስቲያን ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ዘተ[ገብረ] ፡ በአሸዋ ፡ ጠጠር ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of	

¹⁷⁹ This *abənnūt* contains indirect references to the materials used in the effectuation through sympathy.

¹⁸⁰ This *abənnūt* contains indirect references to the materials used in the effectuation through sympathy.

¹⁸¹ Tigrigna.

		charm of the heathen and of Christian, undo what was incanted on sand and gravel ...’	
J231	ff. 80vb–81ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ እመሂ ፡ ሥራዩ ፡ ዓረሚ ፡ ወሥራዩ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘተረክበ ፡ እመጸሕፍት ፡ ¹⁸² ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, be it charm of heathens or Christian that is found (collected) from books...’	
J232	f. 81ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍታሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘተቀድሐ ፡ [እም] ፡ ፹፩ ፡ መጸሕፍት ፡ ¹⁸³ መርበብተ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ¹⁸⁴ ዘረበረመ ፡ ለኢጋንንት ፡ ከመ ፡ መርበብተ ፡ ዓሳ ፡ ዘባሕር ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms that has been copied from the 81 books, The net of Solomon that he snared the (demons) like fish net of the sea...’	
J233	f. 81ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ገሪሆ ፡ ፯ ፡ ገሪሆ ፡ ፫ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>gäriho</i> 7 (times), <i>gäriho</i> 3 (times)...’	
J234	f. 81rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ለሠራዊተ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ¹⁸⁵ ወኢጋንንት ፡ ለደስክ ፡ መለጉዳሌ ፡ ሕርምያ ፡ እደዚን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about undoing (of charms) for the army of angels and demons for <i>däsk</i> and <i>g^wädale</i> ,	

¹⁸² ዓረሚ ፡ ወሥራዩ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘተረክበ ፡ እመጸሕፍት ፡ ‘charm of the heathen and Christian that has been found (collected) from books’ is curious. Firstly, it points to the fact that the the *abənnäts* draw their contents from both pagan and Christian sources. Secondly, it shows that the manuscript is a result of compilation.

¹⁸³ This seems to point to another vorlage.

¹⁸⁴ It is not clear whether this denotes another label of a different *abənnät* or not.

¹⁸⁵ It seems that both angels and demons can be conjured.

		<i>ḥərməya, ʾəzädin...</i>	
J235	ff. 81va–82rb	በሰመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ዘአብዳን : ወዘጠቢባን : ዘዓቢይ : ወዘንዑስ : ገራሆ ቺ : ገሪፎን ቺ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, Charm of fools and of the wise, of elderly and of younger <i>gäriho</i> 3 (times), <i>gärifon</i> 3 (times)...’	
J236	f. 82rb	በሰመ : አብ መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ሥራዩ : ኪን : ወተግባረ : ሰብእ : ዘገብሩ : በላዕለ : ሰብእ : እመሂ : በድጋም : ... ‘In the name of the Father undoing of charms, the charm of blacksmiths and the dded of men that they have applied on people be it in (the form of) incantation...’	
J237	f. 82rb–82vb	በሰመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : አንስትሮን ፯ : አልልያሙኤል ቺ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>ʾanstəron</i> 7 (times) <i>ʾaləlyamuʾel</i> 3 (times) ...’	
J238	f. 82va–b	በሰመ : አብ : በል : በእንተ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ : ግራካኤል ፯ : አግፎራ ፯ : ዘምራኤል ፯ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, about the undoing of charms <i>gəṛakaʾel</i> 7 (times), <i>ʾagfora</i> 7 (times), <i>zāmraʾel</i> 7 (times)...’	
J239	ff. 82vb–83va	በሰመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : ወስእለት : ወአስተብቀሖት : በእንተ : ሥራይ : ወኪን : ወጥበበ : ሥጋ : ዘያደክም : ወያልስሕ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer and supplication about charm and malice and the wisdom of the flesh that weakens and deems ineffective...’	
J240	f. 83va	በሰመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእ[ንተ] : መፍ[ትሔ] : ሥ[ራይ] : ተቀድሐ : እምቅድመ : ዮፍታሔ ቺ : አልዘልልጣኩል : ጣኤል ቺ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms that was copied before, <i>yofstahe</i> 3 (times), <i>ʾalzäləṭakul, ʾtaʾel</i> 3 (times) ...’	

J241	f. 83vb	በልፌም ፡ ፲ወ፪ ፡ ክሥት ፡ ሊተ ፡ ለገብርክ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ገብረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ... ‘ <i>Bälfem</i> 12 (times), reveal to me, your servant mǝngəöstä śəllase, the servant of God...	
J242	ff. 83vb	አምደ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ዘአምበልበለ ፡ በላዕለ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ጳጦስ ፡ ዝውእቲ ፡ ሢመተ ፡ ክህነቲ ፡ ለመልክጼዴቅ ፡ ነፃ ፡ ንቤየ ፡ ጳራቅሊጦስ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ... ‘Pillar of light that falmed over the bramble bush, and this was the ordination of Mälkä şedeq, Come to me Pentecost, Holy Spirit...	
J243	f. 83vb	ጸለውመስ ፡ ጥይአየ ፡ ግረኤንወፍረ ፡ ሐው ፡ ውካነ ፡ ልባቤት ፡ ንዋይ ፡ ስሩን ፡ ርስምስ ፡ ረጋ ፡ ባቃቀ ፡ ንወህወ ፡ ብጠታትን ፡ ጸልህ ፡ ለመርገም ፡ ርጡት ፡ ብዶላ ፡ ረፍቆ ፡ ራይወከ ፡ ጸንዕቀትለበ ፡ ራግበ ፡ ልትፈ ፡ ጠቀ (f. 84r) ተቀጥቅጦ ፡ ትብላ ፡ የምንጭሩ ፡ እንጀራ ፡ ስር ፡ ደቀሳህ ፡ በገጸላው ፡ አብላት ¹⁸⁶	For the decoding of this seemingly nonsense <i>abənnät</i> see section 5.2.1 of chapter 5.
J244	f. 84ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፯ ዕለታት ፡ ¹⁸⁷ እለ ፡ ይዌልዩ ፡ መለኮሳት ፡ ¹⁸⁸ ፡ ዘመዓልት ፡ ወዘሌሊት ፡ እንበለ ፡ ጽርዓት ፡ ወሀኪት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer fo the seven days that monks pray day and night unseethingly and with out lazinees ...’	
J245	f. 84ra–rb	ጸሎት ፡ ሰኑይ ፡ ኢያክ ፡ ናስቡብዲ ፡ ታኢብ ፡ ያስረቢ ፡ አሐብ ፡ ያጀብ ፡ መውአን ፡ ... ‘Prayer for Monday, <i>ʾiyak</i> , <i>nasbubdi</i> , <i>taʾib</i> , <i>yasrābi</i> , <i>ʾaḥab</i> , <i>yağäb</i> , <i>mäwʾan</i> ...	
J246	f. 84rb	ጸሎት ፡ ዘሰለስ ፡ ቀደራል ፡ ወበቅደቢ ፡ አላዲሂም ፡	

¹⁸⁶ This is an *abənnät* written in cryptographic form.¹⁸⁷ Can this be a different text with a lost label as there is not other mention of it in the literature?¹⁸⁸ Also መካሳት

		መልደዋለን ፡ ያቃሂር ፡ ያክዚዞ ፡ አጅብ ፡ ... ‘Prayer for Tuesday, <i>qäddäral, wäbäqädäbi, ʾaladihim,</i> <i>mäldewalän, yaqahir, yaʾazizo,</i> <i>ʾaḡäb...</i> ’	
J247	f. 84rb	ጸሎት ፡ ዘእለተ ፡ ረቡዕ ፡ መለኪየን ፡ ያቀልባል ፡ ቀኅብጥካኤል ፡ ... ‘Prayer for Wednesday, <i>Mäläkəyäm, yaqälbal,</i> <i>q^wəsbəməkaʾel, ...</i> ’	
J248	f. 84va	ጸሎት ፡ ዘሀመስ ፡ ሲራጢ ፡ ለዛዬ ፡ አነአምታ ፡ ፈሲይሂም ፡ ... ‘Prayer for Thursday, <i>Siraṭi, läzaye,</i> <i>ʾanäʾamta, fäsiyihim...</i> ’	
J249	f. 84va–b	ጸሎት ፡ ዘዓርብ ፡ አራሚኒ ፡ አራሁሂፋ ፡ አልአጠፊ ፡ ... ‘Prayer for Friday, <i>ʾaramini, ʾarahuhifä,</i> <i>ʾalʾaṭäfi...</i> ’	
J250	f. 84vb	ጸሎት ፡ ዘቀዳሚት ፡ አሐዲና ፡ ሲራጣአል ፡ መሰቂቃም ፡ ... ‘Prayer for Saturday, <i>ʾaḥadina,</i> <i>siraṭaʾal, mäsäqiqam ...</i> ’	
J251	f. 85ra–b	ወኅበ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ለምንፋዝም ፡ መሐፍሎን ፡ ንበሎስ ፡ በስመ ፡ ጊጉይ ፡ ይሠክር ፡ ... ‘And to Solomon <i>lämənfazäm, mäḥafəlon,</i> <i>nəbälos</i> , in the name of the erring be it void...’	
J252	f. 85rb	አሰመ ፡ ሸጅራ ፡ ቶቡርር ፡ ፈጥጭዓ ፡ ቆጠቅዝርምን ፡ ... ‘ <i>Asämä, šäḡəra, toburər, fäṭca,</i> <i>qoṭäqəzrəməṇ, ...</i> ’	
J253	f. 85va–b	አራአሊም ፡ አራኪሐም ፡ እሎንተ ፡ ድ[ግ]ም ፡ ወትረ ፡ አመላሁ ፡ አላሁም ፡ ... ‘ <i>araʾalim, ʾarakiḥam,</i> incant these always, <i>ʾamälahu,</i> <i>ʾalahum, ...</i> ’	
J254	f. 85vb–86rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ማዕረፈ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ይቤ ፡ በስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘኩሉ ፡ ግብር ፡ ዘውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the imprisonment of demons, He said, in the name of God who holds all things in his hand...’	
J255	ff. 86rb–87ra	ṭälsäm አስማተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘነገሮ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ አፍ ፡ አፍኪያር ፡ ላሁ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Asmat</i> of God that (God) told Peter, heavenly, <i>ʾaf,</i>	

		<i>ʾafkiyar, lahu ...</i>	
J256	f. 87ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ጥላ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, about <i>ʾaynä barya</i> , and <i>ʾaynä wärq</i> and of <i>ʾaynä ṭəla</i> , ...’	
J257	f. 87ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመ ፡ ንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ጄ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ወመፍትሔ ፡ ሀብት ፡ ፎድ ፡ ፫ ፡ ፋድ ፡ ፫ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about <i>ʾaynä wärq</i> and gaining wealth <i>fod</i> 3 (times), <i>fad</i> 3 (times) ...’	
J258	f. 87va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the diseases of <i>barya</i> , and <i>legewon</i> , ...’	
J259	ff. 87va–88ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዴስ ፡ አልሐዲስ ፡ ቢላይላዚ ፡ ባሕላሔ ፡ ... Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>des</i> , <i>ʾalḥadis</i> , <i>bilaylazi</i> , <i>baḥlaḥe</i> ...’	
J260	f. 88ra–rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ሠረዊ ፡ መረዊ ፡ ከረዊ ፡ ከቡት ፡ ጋዴን ፫ ፡ ጋይን ፡ በጋይን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about <i>ʾaynä wärq sārāwi</i> , <i>mārāwi</i> , <i>kārāwi</i> , <i>kebut</i> , <i>gaden</i> 3 (times), <i>gayən</i> , <i>bägayən</i> ...’	
J261	f. 88rb–va	ለቡዳ ፡ በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስገርት ፡ መሠርያን ፡ ቡዳ ፡ ወዛር ፡ ወውላጅ ፡ ‘For <i>buda</i> , Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the snare of charmers, <i>buda</i> and <i>zar</i> and <i>wəlaḡ</i> ...’	
J262	f. 88va	በስብ ፡ እልአብ ፡ ወልዕብን ፡ ውልሩህ ፡ አልጉድስ ፡ አለውን ፡ ውኩ ፡ ለዋን ፡ ... ‘ <i>Bäsəb ʾəlʾab</i> <i>wälʾəbn</i> , <i>wəluh ʾalgudəs</i> , <i>ʾaläwən</i> , <i>wəku</i> , <i>läwən</i> ...’	
J263	f. 88va–b	<i>ṭälsäm</i>	

		በሎፍሐም ፱ ፡ አክሎግ ፡ ፱ ዮፍታሐ ፱ ፡ እዝኤለ ፱ ፡ ላቺ ፱ ፡ መቶ ፱ ፡ ... ' <i>tälsäm</i> Bälöfham 9 (times), ' <i>aklog</i> 9 (times), <i>Yoftahe</i> 9 (times), ' <i>ə'elä</i> 9 (times), <i>lači</i> 9 (times), <i>mäto</i> 9 (times) ...'	
J264	ff. 88vb–89rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስገርት ፡ መሠርያን ፡ ቡዳ ፡ ወቂመኛ ፡ ዛር ፡ ወውላጅ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father, prayer about the snare of charmers, <i>buda</i> and rancor, <i>zar</i> and <i>wəlaḡ</i> ...'	
J265	f. 89rb–vb	ቢስሚላሂ ፡ አራሂማ ፡ አራሂማን ፡ ሐሰዩቱ ፡ ሱረቱ ፡ ... ' <i>Bismilahi</i> <i>'arahima</i> , ' <i>'arahiman</i> , <i>ḥasäyätu</i> , <i>surätu</i> ...'	
J266	f.89vb	ያመርደ ፡ ዋክርን ፡ ይቶሩብን ፡ ፈልአረቶ ፡ ያኩን ፡ ቀጥሜን ፡ ... ' <i>Yamärdä</i> , <i>wakränä</i> , <i>yətorubən</i> , <i>fäl'aräto</i> , <i>yakun</i> , <i>qänämen</i> ...'	
J267	ff.89vb–90ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ተቅማጥ ፡ ወእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ተሰህቦ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about diarrhoea and epidemic disease...'	
J268	f.90ra–b	<i>tälsäm</i> ሀ ፡ ላላሀ ፡ ጀከን ፡ አኮን ፡ አላኮን ፡ በስመ ፡ ኮን ፡ በኢዮርት ፡ ወበአሪት ፡ ... ' <i>tälsäm hə</i> , <i>lalah</i> , <i>ḡäkän</i> , ' <i>kon</i> , ' <i>alakon</i> , in the name of <i>kon</i> , by ' <i>iyort</i> , and by ' <i>arit</i> ...'	
J269	f. 90rab–va	<i>tälsäm</i> ላህ ፡ በላህ ፡ በላሕ ፡ ላህ ፡ ላህ ፡ በስመ ፡ ላህ ፡ አላኮን ፡ አላኮን ፡ ከተፎን ፡ ... ' <i>Lah</i> , by <i>lah</i> , by <i>lah</i> , <i>lah</i> , <i>lah</i> , in the name of <i>lah</i> , <i>'alakon</i> , ' <i>alakon</i> , <i>kätäfon</i> , ...'	
J270	f.90va]	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ርእሰ ፡ ውግዓት ፡ ወፍልፀት ፡ ፋፍ ፣ ሰለለፍ ፣ ፣ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the disease of head, sharp pain and headache <i>fuf</i> 3 (times), <i>säläläf</i> 3 (times) ...'	
J271	f.90va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓቃቤ ፡ ርእሰ ፡ ወመድፍን ፡ ፀር ፡ ያጥፋሐፍ ፡ ያከርም ፡ ያኤል ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about self protection and couter charm of	

		an enemy <i>yatfahaf, yakäräm, ya'el</i> ...'	
J272	f. 90vb–91rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ልሳነ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ዘመድ ፡ ወባዕድ ፡ አሰማተ ፡ ወሚርተኛ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ንዜንወክሙ ፡ ወድኅነ ፡ ያዕቆ ብ ፡ እምልሳነ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ሶርያ ፡ ቀናዕያን ፡ ¹⁸⁹ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the tongue of men, relative and foreigner, <i>asmät</i> of the soothsayer, And now we herald you (how) Jacob was saved from the tongue of the men of Syria the envious...'	
J273	f. 91va–b	<i>tälsäm</i> በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ ንድራ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ዓይነት ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ጥላ ፡ ... ' <i>tälsäm</i> Say in the name of the Father, Praye of <i>Nədra</i> which is the disease of <i>aynäät</i> , and of <i>aynä təla</i> ...'	This <i>abənnät</i> makes use of <i>historiola</i> .
J274	f. 91va–b	<i>tälsäm</i> ስሙ ፡ ለአብ ፡ አብሸልሸል ፡ ስሙ ፡ ለወልድ ፡ አብሸልሸል ፡ ስሙ ፡ ለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አብሸልሸል ፡ ታዖስ ፡ አዝዮስ ፡ ማስያስ ፡ ... ' <i>tälsäm</i> The name of the Father <i>ʾabšälšäl</i> , the name of the Son <i>ʾabšälšäl</i> , the name of the Holy Spirit <i>ʾabšälšäl, táos,</i> <i>ʾazəyos, Masyas</i> ...'	
J275	f.92va	<i>tälsäm</i> በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ጥላ ፡ አክዮስ ፡ ቪ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ... ' <i>tälsäm</i> Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>aynä wärq</i> , and <i>aynä təla</i> , <i>ʾakyos</i> 3 (times), Jesus...'	
J276	f. 92va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ደዌ ፡ ወሕማመ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ጥላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ ወመፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ኢላበዘከ ፡ ቪ ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about all kind of	

¹⁸⁹ *Historiola* based on the text called **ልሳነ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡** 'Tongue of Jacob'. For a translation of the text see Lifschitz 1940, 239-242.

		diseases and the disease of <i>aynä wärq</i> , and <i>ṭəla wägi</i> and the undoing of charms <i>ʾilabäzäkä</i> 3 (times)...	
J277	ff. 92vb–93rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አላሁማ ፡ ፺፮ ፡ ወያኑራ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>ʾalahuma</i> 7 (times), <i>wäyanura</i> ...’	
J278	f. 93rb–vb	በስመ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አረሚ ፡ ወአምሐራ ፡ ሥ[ራዩ] ፡ ትግራይ ፡ ወሥ[ራዩ] ፡ ሐማሴን ፡ ይትፈታሕ ፡ ሥ[ራዩ] ፡ ወርጅ ፡ ...ሥ[ራዩ] ፡ ጋላ ፡ ወሻንቅላ ፡ ወአዳል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, (the charm of) the heathen and Amhara, the charm of Təgray and the charm of Ḥamasen, the charm of Wärg, the charm of Galla and Šanqəla and Adal...’	
J279	f. 93va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አክፍር ፡ ፍሮምና ፡ ነግፎልና ፡ ፫ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, <i>ʾakfər</i> , <i>fəromna</i> , <i>nägfolna</i> 3 (times), ...’	
J280	ff. 93vb–94rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘረበረመ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ በትእዛዝ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይቤ ፡ አሸማደን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms, that (Solomon) snared demons by the order of God and said <i>ʾašämadän</i> ...’	
J281	f. 94rb–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ጽላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ ዘቅማንት ፡ ዘእስላም ፡ ወዘአምሐራ ፡ ወእደ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charm of <i>ṣəlawägi</i> of qəmant, of Muslim, and of Amhara, of <i>ʾədä säb</i> ...’	
J282	f. 95ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ኢንላሃ ፡ ስማዕተ ፡ ረድኡ ፡ አንተኪላ ፡ ወይለን ፡ ዘይን ፡ ዘልቀደመ ፡ ሸምኪና ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>ʾInlaha</i> the witness of his	

		disciple, <i>wäylän, zäyn, zälqädämä, šämkina, ...</i>	
J283	f. 95rb–vb	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ማዕሠረ : አጋንንት : ወነሁበት : ላዕለ : እሰቲ : ወእበልዕ : አልሰሕ : ወአጥፍእ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the binding of demons and blacksmiths, over what I eat and drink...’	
J284	ff. 95vb–96rb	በስመ : ዮፍታሔ ፫ : ሥራዮ : ገልሆ : ገሪሆ : ጉልፎ : ገለፍ : አስአል : አጐዋስ : ሜሎስ : ... ‘In the name of Yoftahe 3 (times) the charm of <i>gälho, gäriho, gulfo,</i> <i>gäläf, ’as’al, ’ag’äwas, melos ...</i> ’	
J285	f. 96rb–va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ባርያ : ወለጌዎን : ርኩስ : ዘይሰልብ : ልበ : ሰብእ : ወያጸልም : አዕይንተ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>Barya</i> , and the despised <i>legewon</i> that takes the heart of men unnoticed and blinds eyes ...’	
J286	f. 96va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ሕማመ : ቁርፀት : ዘተፈነወ : እምነበ : አብ : ከመ : ይርዳዕ : ወይቤዙ : ለውሉድ : አዳም : ወሄዋን : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about stomachache that was sent from the Father so that He can help and redem the children of Adam and Eve ...’	
J287	f. 96va–b	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ሕማመ : ቡዳ : ዓይነ : ባርያ : አላሁማ : ወያኑራ : ተወቂራ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the disease of <i>Buda</i> , the eye of <i>Barya</i> , <i>’alahuma, wäyanura, täwäqira ...</i> ’	
J288	ff. 96vb–97ra	በስመ : [አብ] በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መስጥመ : አጋንንት : ካን : ክርክን : ሉሸድ : ቃም : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the drowning of demons, <i>kan, kærkän, lušäd, qam...</i> ’	
J289	f. 97ra–vb	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : ቅዱስ : ሱስንዮስ : በእንተ : አስሰሎ : ደዌ : እምሕፃናት :	

		<p>ወእምአንስት ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡ ደዌያት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, The prayer of St Susənyos about guarding off disease from children and women, and about all diseases ...’</p>	
J290	ff. 97rvb–98ra	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሾተላይ ፡ ወሾተላዊት ፡ ዘትቀትሉ ፡ ሕፃናት ፡ አንተ ፡ ሾተላይ ፡ ወሾተላዊት ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢትቀረቡ ፡ ኢትቀትሉ ፡ ሕፃናት ፡ ወኢታውሕዝ ፡ ደመ ፡ እምሐቄሃ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>šotālay</i>¹⁹⁰ and <i>šotālawit</i> who kill children, You <i>šotālay</i> and <i>šotālawit</i>, so that you do not come near to and kill children and make blood flow from her loins...’</p>	
J291	f. 98ra	<p>[በስመ] ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ወካዕበ ፡ አሰርኩክሙ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ አሰማቲክሙ ፡ መዓጅን ፡¹⁹¹ ፫ ፡ መቃጅን ፡ ፫ ፡ ወዓጅ ፫ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. And again I bind you with these names of yours <i>mä‘ağən</i> 3 (times), <i>mäqağən</i> 3 (times), <i>wä‘ağ</i> ...’</p>	
J292	f. 98ra–b	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፅንስ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ዘማርቆስ ፡ ወእንዝ ፡ የሐውር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ፍኖት ፡ ወይስእል ፡ ኀበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ውስተ ፡ አህጉር ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father. Prayer about pregnancy, The Gospel of Mark, As he went on the road and pleaded God around villages...’</p>	
J293	f. 98rb	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ [በል] ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ አርጋኤ ፡ ደም ፡ ስንታም ፡</p>	

¹⁹⁰ This is a disease that is believed to be caused by a spirits (can be male or female) who cause continuous miscarriages. Modern medicine has identified this phenomenon as the Rh factor.

¹⁹¹ This a direct reference for the Speech Acts discussed in chapter four.

		Ἰ : ቀንታም : Ἰ : አጅር : Ἰ : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the clotting of blood <i>səntam</i> 3 (times), <i>qāntam</i> 3 (times), <i>ʾağər</i> 3 (times)...	
J294	f. 98rb–va	መፍ[ትሔ] : ሥ[ራይ] : ዘአፈ : ወርቅ : ሁማን : አውዝቢላሂ : መነሸይየጣን : ረጅም : ቢስሚላሂ : ሮሕማን : ሮሂም : ረቢ : ... 'The Undoing of charms of ʾAfä wärq <i>humanä</i> , ʾaʿuzbilahi, <i>mänäšäyṭan</i> <i>räğəm</i> , <i>bismilahi rohman rohim</i> ¹⁹² <i>räbi</i> ...'	
J295	ff. 98va–99vb	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መስገርተ : ሰሎሞን : ዘረበሶሙ : ለአጋንንት : እኩያን : ከመ : መርበብተ : ዓሳ : ዘባሕር : ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Prayer about the snare of Solomon that he caught them like the fishnet of the sea...'	
J296	ff. 99vb–100va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ሐቃቅኤ Ἰ : እዩስ : Ἰ : ንፋሕ : ከርሶሙ : ወዘርዘር : ምክሮሙ : ... 'Say in the name of the Father, <i>Ḥaqaqəʿe</i> 3 (times), ʾəyus 3 (times) bloat their belly and disperse their counsel...'	
J297	ff. 100va–101ra	በስመ : ስሉስ : ቅዱስ : ዛቲ : ዘወጽአት : እምኢየሩሳሌም : እምጽርሐ : መቅደሱ : ለአብ : ዘበስሙ : ሜሎስ : ወጋዴን : ወተፈነው : በእደ : ሚካኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክት : ላዕለ : ቅዱስ : ዮሐንስ : እንዘ : ሀሎ : ላዕለ : ፍጥሞ : ... 'In the name of the holy Trinity, that came out from Jerusalem from chamber of the Father's sanctuary, in his name <i>melos</i> , and <i>gaden</i> and it was sent in	

¹⁹² This expression is a some what distorted transcription of the Arabic *وَدُّ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ الرَّجِيمِ* 'Audhu billahi min ash-shaitan ir-rajeem' meaning 'I seek refuge with Allah from Satan the accursed'. In Islamic tradition this expression is believed to be recited before reading the Quran and in some other occasions as a ward off from the temptations of Satan.

		the hands of Michael the archangel to St John while he was in the island of Patmos...’	
J298	f. 101ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ሰዶር ፡ ጴጤቅሬ ፡ ጤሬጠፎን ፡ ስለ-ስ ፡ ዘኢየትለለይ ፡ ዕሩይ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>Sādor</i> , <i>peteqre</i> , <i>Ṭereṭäfon</i> , Trinity that is not divisible and is equal...’	
J299	f. 101ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ አንተ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወጥቀኝ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ በጺሐክ ፡ ጸናጽር ፡ በዛፍ ፡ በደብር ፡ በሳዕር ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, You <i>Barya</i> and the black <i>legewon</i> having reached <i>ṣānaṣər</i> , ¹⁹³ on tree, on mountain, and in grass...’	
J300	f. 101ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ለኩሉ ፡ አድባር ፡ ወአውግር ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ መሠርያን ፡ ዕሥሮሙ ፡ ወሰንተሮሙ ፡ ወአርኩሶሙ ፡ ያኖን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, For all mountains and hill, all peoples of charm, bind them and lacerate them and defile them, <i>yanon</i> ...’	
J301	f. 101rb–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ አአትብ ፡ ገጽዮ ፡ ፡ ወበስመ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዳስ ፡ አአትብ ፡ ገጽዮ ፡ በስመ ፡ ጴቃ ፡ ወበስመ ፡ ሳዶር ፡ አአትብ ፡ ገጽዮ ፡ ወስመ ፡ አውላባኤል ፡ አአትብ ፡ ገጽዮ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, In the name of the Father I bless my face with sign of the cross, and in the name of the Holy Spirit I bless my face with sign of the cross, in the name of <i>ṣeqa</i> and the name of <i>Sador</i> I bless my face with sign of the cross, and in the name of <i>’awlaba’el</i> I bless my face with sign of the cross ...’	
J302	ff. 101vb–102ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ለጌዎን ፡ ሰተናዊ ፡	

¹⁹³ The meaning of this word can’t be established. It may refer to what Leslau 1991, 561 has recorded as **ጸገጸገ ፡** out of which derives **ጸገጸገን ፡** ‘frail, fragile, perishable...’ and hence would fit in the above context.

		ቀተናዊ ፡ ሰተናዊ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>legewon sātānawi</i> ¹⁹⁴ , <i>qātānawi</i> , <i>sātānawi</i> , ...’	
J303	f. 102ra–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ነገሮሙ ፡ ለቅዱሳን ፡ ገድሎሙ ፡ ለሰማዕት ፡ ኃይሎሙ ፡ ለመላእክት ፡ ዘወሀቦሙ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወሰዳሊሆሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ወፈዋሴሆሙ ፡ ለሕመማን ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ቃሉ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, This word is: the essence (thing) of Saints and the combat of the martyrs, power of the angels that God gave them. (And it is) the disperser of demons and the curer of the sick ...’	
J304	ff. 102vb–104ra	ጸሎት ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ረገሞሙ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ ወዓቃቢያን ፡ ሥራይ ፡ በዘአምኃሎሙ ፡ ወአውገዞሙ ፡ ... ‘Prayer about that Solomon has cursed the despised demons and charmers and he made them swear on (this) and excommunicated them ...’	
J305	f. 104ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መድፍን ፡ ፀር ፡ ወፀላእት ፡ በፈርድ ፡ ፈድድ ፡ ፯ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about countering the charm of an opponent and the enemy by <i>färd fädäd</i> 7 (times)...’	
J306	f. 104ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ከርሥ ፡ ቀኑርፀት ፡ ዘወረደ ፡ እምሰማያት ፡ ዘተፈነወ ፡ እምኅበ ፡ አብ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the disease of the belly and stomachache that descended from the heavens being sent from the Father...’	

¹⁹⁴ It is noted that this very *asmat* together with *qātānawi* is a recurrent divine name in Ethiopian *abənnät*. This very name is also found in the prayers of the Falasha (commonly known as Ethiopian Jews). See Strelcyn 1955, 429.

J307	f. 104ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወዛር ፡ ወትግሪዳ ፡ ነሁን ፡ ፯ ፡ አነሁን ፡ ፯ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the disease of demons and <i>zar</i> and of <i>təgrida</i> , <i>nāhun</i> 7 (times), <i>ʿanāhun</i> 7 (times)...’	
J308	f. 104rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሰደተ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ሰማየ ፡ ነጺሮሙ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the dispersal of demons, having watched the sky...’	
J309	f. 104rb–vb	ጸሎት ፡ ዘክመ ፡ ረገሞሙ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ወለመሠርያን ፡ ወይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ያበዝኘ ፡ መርገምክሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ መርገመ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ ... ‘Prayer as to how Solomon cursed the demons and to the charmers and he said ‘My God multiply your curse like the curse of Judas’...’	
J310	f. 105ra–va	<i>ṭälsäm</i> <i>säntäräž</i> <i>ṭälsäm</i> በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በእንተ ፡ ማዕሰሮሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ አሰማተ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ወመርበብተ ፡ ኤጲርጋሞን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, about the binding of demons, <i>asmats</i> of Solomon and snare, <i>ʿepirgamon</i> ...’	
J311	ff. 105va–106ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ርቅጂሞ ፡ የጀርን ፡ ያቀቡሂ ፡ ያብጹር ፡ ስመ ፡ ክን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>rəqḡimo</i> , <i>yaqäbihi</i> , <i>yabšur</i> , the name of <i>kən</i> ...’	
J312	f. 106rb–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ተሰቅለ ፡ ወሐመ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ኃጢአት ፡ ተረግዘ ፡ ገቦሁ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ደዌ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, He was crussified and tormented with out any sin, his ribs stubbed with out disease...’	
J313	ff. 106vb–107rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ፡ ግብታዊት ፡ ዛር ፡ በየነት ፡ ዛር ፡ ትት ፡ ዘኣርንቲት ፡ ዛር ፡ ነድራ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Contingent (of a	

		disease), <i>zar</i> , <i>bäyänät</i> , <i>tät</i> , <i>zä'arg^watit</i> , <i>zar</i> , <i>nädra</i> ...'	
J314	ff. 107rb–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ሆድ ፡ ቀርፀት ፡ ዘያሰስል ፡ ወያነድድ ፡ አማውተ ፡ ... 'Prayer about the disease of stomachache that destroys and burns the intestines...'	
J315	f. 107vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ንዳድ ፡ መሸፈጥ ፡ ከ-ኻገን ፡ አሕፊጥሞት ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the disease of malaria, <i>mäšäfät</i> , <i>kužən</i> , <i>ʾaḥreṭmot</i> ...'	
J316	f. 108ra–vb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መሥጥመ ፡ ወማዕሰረ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ሰውር ፫ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Prayer about the drowning and binding of demons, <i>säwər</i> 3 (times)...'	
J317	f. 108rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መሥጥም ፡ ዘሰኑይ ፡ ዐቃቤሁ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of drowning (of demons) for Monday and its guradian (angel) is Michael the archangel...'	
J318	f. 108va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መስጥም ፡ ዘሰሉስ ፡ ዓቃቤሁ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ንብርኤል ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of drowning (of demons) for Tuesday and its guradian (angel) is St Gabriel ...'	
J319	ff. 108vb–109ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መሥጥም ፡ ዘረቡዕ ፡ አቃቤሁኒ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፋኑኤል ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of drowning (of demons) for Wednesday and its guradian (angel) is St Fanuʾel...'	
J320	f. 109ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መሥጥም ፡ ዘሐመስ ፡ ዓቃቤሁኒ ፡ ኪሩቤል ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of drowning (of demons) for Thursday and its guradian (angel) is Kirubel...'	

J321	f. 109rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መስጥም ፡ ዘዐርብ ፡ ዓቃቤሁኒ ፡ ሱራፌል ፡... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of drowning (of demons) for Friday and its guradian Surafel...’	
J322	f. 109va	<i>tälsäm</i> with cross circumscribed by <i>asmat</i> በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መስጥም ፡ ዘቀዳም ፡ ዓቃቢሁ ፡ ዑራኤል ፡ ...‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of drowning (of demons) for Saturday and its guradian (angel) is ‘ura’el...’	
J323	ff. 109vb–111v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ መስጥም ፡ ዘእሁድ ፡ ዓቃቢሁ ፡ ሳቄኤል ፡ ...‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of drowning (of demons) for Sunday and its guradian (angel) is Saqu’el...’	
J324	ff. 111v–112rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መስጥም ፡ አጋንንተ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ አብ ፡ በስሙ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወልድ ፡ ወበስሙ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, the drowner of demons, in the name of God the Father, in the name of God the Son and in the name of God the Holy Spirit...’	
J325	ff. 112rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዛር ፡ ቄቄቄል ፡ ቤቴል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>zar</i> , <i>qegeqel</i> , <i>Betel</i> , ...’	
J326	ff. 112va–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ደስክ ፡ ወጉዳሌ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>Barya</i> , and <i>legewon</i> , <i>däsk</i> and <i>g^wädale</i> ...’	
J327	ff. 112vb–113a	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፤ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መደንግፀ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ለጌዎን ፡ ርኩስ ፡ ዘይስልብ ፡ በል ፡ ስብእ ፡ ...In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Prayer about the terrorizing of the disease of the eye of <i>Barya</i> and the eye of <i>legewon</i> that takes the heart of men	

		unnoticed...'	
J328	ff. 113ra–b	<p>ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሹተላይ ፡ ወሹተላዊት ፡ ዘይበጸብጽ ፡ አማዑተ ፡ ወያደቅቅ ፡ አዕጽምተ ፡ ... 'Prayer about <i>šutālay</i> and <i>šutālawit</i> that sits intestines (with pain) and crushes bones...'</p>	
J329	f. 113rb	<p>ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መርብብተ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ዘረበረመ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ሰድቃኤል ፡ ኢያታኤል ፡ አዕያስ ፡ ... 'Prayer about the net of Solomon, that Solomon has snared demons uttering '<i>sādqa'el</i>, <i>ʾyata'el</i>, <i>ʾaʾyas</i>'...'</p>	
J330	f. 113rb–va	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅድስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መደንግዖሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ለጌዎን ፡ ርኩስ ፡ ዘይሰልብ ፡ ልቦ ፡ ሰብእ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Prayer about terrorizing of demons and about <i>legewon</i> the despised that takes the heart of men unnoticed ...</p>	
J331	f. 113va–b	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ባርያ ፡ አሌፍ ፡ ንፋጨር ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ቀናጨር ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ጀሊፍ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ምች ፡ ቆሻም ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ቸነፈር ፡ ቆሊፍጥ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ዛር ፡ ዝፋን ፡ ግፍሎታ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ትግሪዳ ፡ ዘይወጽኡ ፡ እምአርሆ¹⁹⁵ ፡ ወእ[ም]ገንቦ ፡ ጀየን ፡ በበንጉሥከሙ ፡ ወበበአስማቲከሙ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>Barya</i>, <i>ʾalef</i>, <i>nəfačär</i> the king of demons, <i>qänačär</i> the king of <i>Barya</i>, <i>gälif</i> the king of <i>mäčč</i>, <i>qošam</i> the king of pestilence, <i>qolifəṭ</i> the king of <i>zar</i>, <i>zəfan gəflota</i> the king of <i>təgrida</i>¹⁹⁶ who came</p>	

¹⁹⁵ Spirits and their kings and the places of origins of these spirits are given here.

¹⁹⁶ For details see J60 above.

		from <i>Arho</i> ¹⁹⁷ and from <i>gänbo</i> ¹⁹⁸ , <i>ğäyän</i> by your (respective) kings and your names...’	
J332	ff. 113vb–114ra	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቀርጥማት ፡ ዕድ ፡ ወእግር ፡ ካንብርርካን ፡ ወትሪካን ፡ ያሸሸ ፡ ለ-ሹዱቃን ፡ ... ‘Prayer about hand and foot rheumatism <i>kanbərərkan</i> , <i>wätrikan</i> , <i>yašäšä</i> , <i>lušuduqan</i> ...’	
J333	ff. 114ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በላዕለ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ አህጉር ፡ ወባርያ ፡ ወነገርጋር ፡ ዛር ፡ ወትግርትያ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Prayer over the country men and <i>Barya</i> and <i>nägärgar</i> , <i>zar</i> and <i>təgrətya</i> ¹⁹⁹ ...’	
J334	f. 114rb–va	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ለጌዎን ፡ ርኩስ ፡ ዘይሰልብ ፡ ልበ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወያፀልም ፡ አዕይንተ ፡ ወያመጽእ ፡ ንዋመ ፡ ወይቀጠቅጥ ፡ ርእሰ ፡ ወያንበሃርር ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the despised legewon that takes the heart of men unnoticed and blinds the eyes and brings sleep and hummers the dead and nightmare...’	
J335	ff. 114rb–115rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ በስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሕያው ፡ ነባቢ ፡ ወተናጋሪ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ ዘቅዱስ ፡ ሱስንዮስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ አሰሰሎ ፡ ደዌ ፡ እምሕፃናት ፡ እለ ፡ ይጠብቁ ፡ ጥበ ፡ እሞሙ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. In the name of God the living	

¹⁹⁷ *Arho* is a salt mining place in the denkali desert in Northern Ethiopia. This word may also simply mean caravan referring to the camel caravans which transport salt.

¹⁹⁸ This could possibly be *gämbö* as the nasal sounds are usually interchangeably used. If so, we have ‘... were an historical ethnic group in north-eastern *Wälläga* where they inhabited the highlands immediately to the west of the *čomän* swamps.’ Kleiner, 2005, 669b. Further details in: ‘Gämbö’, *EAE*, II (2005), 669b-670a (M. Kleiner).

¹⁹⁹ also *təgrida*.

		(immortal) who tells and speaks; Prayer of St Susānyos about protection of disease from children who suckle the breast of their mothers...'	
J336	f. 115rb–va	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሽቶላይ ፡ አንተ ፡ ሽቶላይ ፡ ሽቶላዊት ፡ ዘትቀትል ፡ ሕፃናት ፡ ወትበፀብፅ ፡ አንጌተ ፡ አምኃልኩክ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ አስማት ፡ ወበዝንቱ ፡ ጠልስም ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Prayer about <i>šətolay</i> ; You <i>šətolay</i> <i>šətolawit</i> who kills children and washes away the intestine, I make you swear by these <i>asmat</i> and <i>tälsäm</i> ...'	
J337	f. 115va	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ቡዳ ፡ ወእስላም ፡ አስማተ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Prayer about the disease of demonism <i>Barya</i> and <i>legewon</i> , <i>buda</i> and muslim, <i>asmats</i> of Solomon...'	
J338	ff. 115va–b	ገድለ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ገድለ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ድርሳነ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ምስለ ፡ መልክፅ ፡ ድርሳነ ፡ ፋኑኤል ፡ እና ፡ መልክኡ ፡ ሰኔ ፡ ጎልጎታ ፡ ፡ መልክዓ ፡ ኪዳን ፡ ምሕረት ፡ የዕለት ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ወክርድዕት ፡ ትምህርት ፡ ኅቡአት ፡ ምሉእ ፡ ²⁰⁰ ውዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡ አሌፋት ፡ ፲፬ ፡ ቅዳሴ ፡ ፯ቱ ፡ ኪዳናት ፡ ሊጦን ፡ ሃዋጼሃ ፡ ባርቶስ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ማርቆስ ፡ ወይ ፡ ፬ቱ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ኪዳን ፡ በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ በጽልንፋኤል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘአስተጋባዕኩም ፡ ለአድባር ፡ በኃይልክ ፡ ... 'The	This is the best example of how the contents of a single <i>abənnät</i> meant to serve a single purpose is formed. Many texts with their own titles and lables are listed here. This list implies that they are meant to be incanted altogether.

²⁰⁰ The word ምሉእ ፡ 'in its entirety, the whole' is given in Tigrigna pointing to the language of the copyist.

		combat of Saints, The combat of St Täklähaymanot, the holiy and image of Michael, the homily and image of Fanu'el, The Sāne Golgotha ²⁰¹ , the image of the Covenant of Mercy, Daily reading of the book of Psalms and <i>Ardə'ət</i> , the Doctrine of Arcana in its entirety, the Praise of Mary the <i>'alefat</i> ²⁰² , the 14 Anaphoras, the 7 Covenants, Lithany, <i>hawəṣəha</i> ²⁰³ , <i>Bartos</i> ²⁰⁴ , Either the gospel of Mark or all four gospels, Covenant, Say in the name of the Father, by <i>ṣənfə'el</i> the king, you have gathered the mountains by your might...	
J339	ff. 115vb–116ra	አንጭ ፡ አንጭረማሽ ፡ ላሽ ፡ ለሽአት ፡ ነወዕለት ፡ ጉፌ ፡ አም ፡ አቤል ፡ አበል ፡ አበል ፡ ... ‘ <i>anč, 'ančrəmač, laš, läšä'at, näwä'lät, gufe, 'om, 'Abel, 'abäl, 'abäl ...</i> ’	
J340	f. 116ra–va	ያቅም ፡ ሰንተው ፡ ቀንተው ፡ ቀርነው ፡ ቀርነው ፡ ፀርታኝ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Yaqəm, säntäw, qäntäw, qärnäw, qärnäläw, ṣärtanänä ...</i> ’	
J341	f. 116va	ያሹልቡቅ ፡ ያሽ ፡ ልኩት ፡ ያሹልሹ ፡ አድኅኖ ፡ እምኅማመ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ለገ[] ፡ ዕ[] ፡ ... ‘ <i>Yašulbuq, yašä, ləkut, yašolšu, save him from the disease of Barya for your servant...</i> ’	
J342	ff. 116va–117ra	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ መስጥመ ፡ ዘባርያ ፡ ጌዘኪመ-ላህ ፡ እንሳረፉን ፡ ኤለማዋጢብን ፡ ለዠብራኤል ፡ ... ‘ <i>Say in the name of the Father, drowner of Barya gezäkimulah 'ənsaräfun, 'elämawaṭibən, läžäbra'el ...</i> ’	
J343	f. 117ra	አሊማ ፡ ጀፋምል ፡ በቀል ፡ ሸዊም ፡ ሰፈሰሊ ፡ ዘምሉዕ ፡ ገብሮ ፡ ፪ ፡ ...	

²⁰¹ See: Basset, 1895 for translation of the text.

²⁰² This is a label used to represent Psalm 118 where the first word of the Psalm i.e. the *incipit* is used to name the whole Psalm. For details of such a use see chapter five section 5.3.2.

²⁰³ The the word literally means ‘Her visitor’ its meaning as a title/label couldn’t be established.

²⁰⁴ Basset, 1894.

		‘ <i>ʾalima, ǧäfamäl, bäqäl, Šäwim, säfäsäli</i> , who has made it whole 2 (times)...’	
J344	f. 117ra–va	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ : አምላክ : ወገዱ : ዘፍጹም : በጽልመት : ፈርሀ : ወደንገፀ : ዲያብሎስ : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. And his face with complete darkness, the devil feared and trembled...’	
J345	ff. 117va–118r	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ሕማመ : ዓይነት : ለእመ : ኮነ : በደዌ : ከማሁ : አድ[ጎኖ] : እምዓይነ : አጋንንት : ወእምዓይነ : ሰብእ : መሠርያን : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the disease of <i>ʾaynät</i> , if it came about like a disease, like wise save him from the eye of demons and peoples of charm ...’	
J346	f. 118ra	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መሥጥመ : አጋንንት : መርበብተ : ሰሎሞን : አያሽ : አይታለሽ : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Paryer about the drowner of demons, the net of Solomon <i>ʾayaš, ʾaytaläš</i> ...’	
J347	f. 118ra–b	በስመ : አብ : በል : ድድቅ : ሶበ : ይደድቅ : ጋንቱ : ጋንቱ : ጋኔን : እኩይ : ወጉዳሌ : ወትጼውእ : ሰሞ : ወትጸውር : ዝንቱ : መጽሐፍ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, when fever strickes, gante, gante, dipised demon and <i>qʷədale</i> , cal his name and carry this book...’	
J348	f. 118ra–va	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ማዕሠሩ : ለቡዳ : ወለቁራኛ : ወማዕሠሩ : ለሰይጣን : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Paryer about the binder of <i>buda</i> and <i>qʷərañña</i> and the binder of Satan ...’	
J349	f. 118va–b	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : አጋንንት : ሎፍሐም : ፫ : ተኩታኤል : ዘአብረርኮሙ : ለአዕዋፈ : ሰማይ : ከማሁ :	

		ኣብርሮሙ ፡ ለኣጋንንት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about demons lofham 3 (times), tākwəta’el who made the birds of the sky fly like wise disperse demons...’	
J350	ff. 118vb–119rb	በስመ ፡ ኣብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስጥመ ፡ ኣጋንንት ፡ ባርያ ፡ ወለጌዎን ፡ ንሐነ ፡ ኣደያኖስ ፡ ሰውር ፡ ቺ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the drowner of demons, <i>Barya</i> and <i>legewon nəhanä</i> , ‘ <i>adäyanos, säwər</i> 3 (times)...’	
J351	f. 119rb	በስመ ፡ ኣብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ለጌዎን ፡ መሥጥም ፡ ዘዕለተ ፡ ሰኑይ ፡ ዓቃቤሁኒ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about legewon, drowner for Monday and its guardian (angel) is St Michael...’	
J352	f. 119rb–va	በስመ ፡ ኣብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስጥም ፡ ዘዕለተ ፡ ሰሉስ ፡ ዓቃቤሁኒ ፡ ንብርኤል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about drowner for Tuesday and its guardian (angel) is Gabriel...’	
J353	f. 119va–b	በስመ ፡ ኣብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ ዘዕለተ ፡ ረቡዕ ፡ መስጥም ፡ ዓቃቤሁኒ ፡ ሱራፌል ፡ ... ‘Prayer for Wednesday, drowner, the guardian is <i>Surafel</i> ...’	
J354	ff. 119vb–120r	በስመ ፡ ኣብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መስጥም ፡ ዘእለተ ፡ ሐመስ ፡ ዓቃቤሁኒ ፡ ሩፋኤል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about drowner for Thursday, its guardian is <i>Rufa’el</i> ...’	
J355	f. 120ra	በስመ ፡ ኣብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መሥጥም ፡ ዘዕለት ፡ ዓርብ ፡ ኣቃቤሁኒ ፡ አፍኒን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of drowning for Friday, its guardian is ‘ <i>Afnin</i> ...’	
J356	f. 120ra–b	ጸሎት ፡ መሥጥም ፡ ዘእለተ ፡ ቀዳሚት ፡ ዓቃቤሁኒ ፡ ዑራኤል ፡ ... ‘Prayer of drowning for Saturday and its guardian	

		is ^ʿ ura ^ʿ el...	
J357	f. 120rb–122rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መስጥም ፡ ዘዕለት ፡ ሰንበት ፡ ዓቃቤሁኒ ፡ ሳቁኤል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer of drowning for Sunday, its guardian is Saqu ^ʿ el...’	
J358	f. 122rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አተጅር ፡ ፯ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Prayer fo the undoing of charms <i>ʿatäğər</i> 7 (times)...’	
J359	ff. 122va–123rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ አስማተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘቅማንት ፡ ወጥላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ ድጎድጋላኒ ፡ አጫማኒ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the asmats of charm of <i>qəmant</i> and <i>ṭəlawägi</i> <i>dəhdəgalani</i> , <i>ʿacamani</i> ...’	
J360	f. 123rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፫ ፡ [ጊ]ዜ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ወመንዝር ፡ ሰአር ፡ ወዝርዝር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ወኩሎ ፡ መቋጽረ ፡ ወዘተደግመ ፡ በመብልዕ ፡ ወመስቴ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>yofṭahe</i> 3 times, undo and scatter all charm and all tiedups that was incanted on food and drink...’	
J361	f. 123va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘተቀድሐ ፡ እም፹ወ፩ ፡ መጸሐፍት ፡ ታዖስ ፡ ፯ [ጊ]ዜ ፡ አዛ ፡ ማስያስ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, paryer about the undoing of charms that is copied (drawn) from 81 books <i>taos</i> 7 times, <i>ʿaza</i> , <i>masyas</i> ...’	
J362	f. 123va–124ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘኢጋንንት ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወካሕናት ፡ ዘተግባረ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፯ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms of demons, charm of priests and the work of men <i>yofṭahe</i> 7 (times)...’	

J363	f. 124ra–b	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘተቀድሐ ፡ እምሆኑ ወ፩ ፡ መጸሐፍት ፡ ፍ[ታሕ] ፡ ሥ[ራዩ] ፡ [ኪን] ፡ ወካህናት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms that is copied (drawn) from 81 books undo the charm of charmers and priests...’	
J364	f. 124rb	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘተደግመ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ በአፈ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ በአፈ ፡ ፲ወ፭ ፡ ነቢያት ፡ በአፈ ፡ ፲ወ፪ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ፍቱሐ ፡ ረሥዮ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the undoing of charms undo that was incanted by the word of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, by the word of the 15 prophets and the word of the 12 apostles, make the charm void...’	
J365	f. 124rb–va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ እምዓመት ፡ እስከ ፡ ዓመት ፡ በዘመነ ፡ ማቴዎስ ፡ ወማርቆስ ፡ በሉቃስ ፡ ወዮሐንስ ፡ በ፬ ወንጌላውያን ፡ በ፯ ዕለታት ፡ ... ‘From year to year, in the quarter year of Mathew and of Mark, by Luke and John, the four Evangelists by the seven days...’	
J366	f. 124va	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ አተጅር ፡ ፯ [ጊዜ] ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the undoing of charms ‘atäğər 7 (times) ...’	
J367	f. 124va	ጸሎተ ፡ አስማተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘቅማንት ፡ ወጥላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ ድጎድጋላኔ ፡ አላማኒ ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the <i>asmat</i> of charms and of <i>ṭəlawägi dəḥdəgalane</i> , ‘ <i>alamani</i> ...’	
J368	f. 124va–b	አስፋዝ ፡ አቅፋዝን ፡ ገቆርጁር ፡ ማቀጅር ፡ ጨጁጭር ፡ ይትፈታሕ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ወጥላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ ... ‘ <i>‘asfaz</i> , ‘ <i>qfažän</i> , <i>gäqorğur</i> , <i>maqäğər</i> , <i>čäğuçər let chamr</i> and <i>ṭəlawägi</i> be undone ...’	
J369	ff. 124vb–125ra	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መርበብተ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡	

		ወዓይነት ሰብእ : ... ‘Say in the name of the father, Prayer about the net of Solomon and the eye of (evil) men ...’	
J370	f. 125ra–b	በስመ ስብ በል በእንተ መርበብተ ሰሎሞን ወዓይነት ጥላ ወባርያ : ... ‘Say in the name of the father, about the net of Solomon and of evil eye and of barya...’	

2.2.3 Description of manuscript M (*däbtära* notebook)

2.2.3.1 Physical description

- i. Page /folium numbers: a hypothetical foliation has been adopted as the manuscript is a commercially copied manuscript. The manuscript has its own pagination in Ge'ez numerals which start on f. 3r.
- ii. Number of folia: 89.
- iii. Size in cm (HW): 15.5x8.
- iv. Writing support: paper.
- v. Quire structure: not applicable.
- vi. Ordering system: not applicable.
- vii. Ruling (and pricking) : commercially ruled.
- viii. Hand: the same hand through out.
- ix. Rubrication: can't be identified as this manuscript is photocopied in black and white.
- x. Date: twentieth century.
- xi. State of preservation: unbound.
- xii. Peculiarities: This is a manuscript that is copied from a manuscript that was originally a modern paper notebook.
- xiii. Sample page layout:

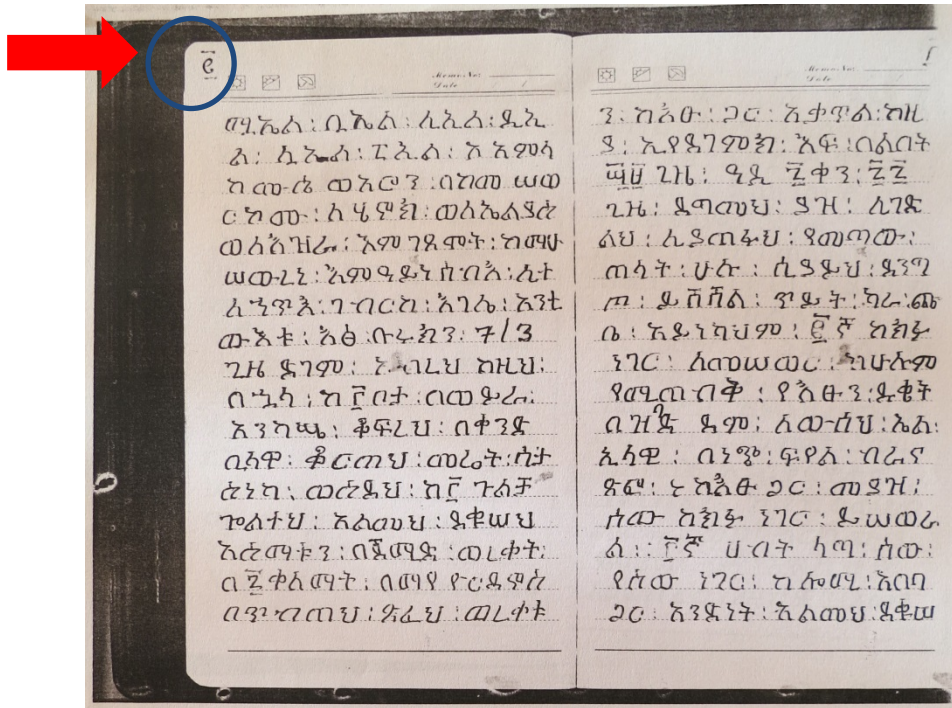


Figure 7: MS M, ff. 4v-5r

2.2.3.2 Content description

Table 4: Content description of MS M.

No.	Folios	Title and/or incipit	Details and/or remark or reference
1	f. 2v	ማሳሰቢያ “caution”: ከዚህ ፡ ቀጥሎ ፡ የተጻፉ ፡ አስማቶችን ፡ ወደተግባር ፡ ለመለወጥ ፡ መጀመሪያ ፡ በቂ ፡ የሆነ ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ እና ፡ ... ‘To change (put) the (power of) the <i>asmats</i> written following this into practice, first (one should have) enough knowledge ...’ ²⁰⁵	Peculiar to this manuscript
2	ff. 2r-2v	Table of contents	Peculiar to this manuscript
M3	ff. 3r-8r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ሷ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ሠረገላ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ እፀ ፡ አሮን ፡ እፀ ፡ እስክንድር ፡ ትባላለች ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit, It is called It is called <i>särägälla ʾelyas, ʾĪṣä ʾAron</i>	12 effectuations ‘ <i>gäbirs</i> ’ of what is called <i>särägälla ʾelyas, ʾĪṣä ʾAron</i> in Geʿez and <i>yäsäw nägär</i> ‘thing of men’ with their respective pseudo title or theme are given. What is called <i>särägälla ʾelyas, ʾĪṣä ʾAron</i> or <i>yäsäw nägär</i> ‘ <i>Clerodendrum myricoides</i> ’ ²⁰⁶ ff. 4v has the caution... አብነቱ ፡

²⁰⁵ The whole caution is quoted in chapter three under section K.²⁰⁶ Kane 1990, 1345. It is also called **በትረ ፡ አሮን ፡** *bäträ aron* ‘The rod of Aaron’.

			እንዲያሽርብህ ፡ ተልባ ፣ ድንች ፣ ዱባ ፣ ምስርና ፣ ጐመን ፣ እስከ ፣ ግብን ፣ አትብላ ። ‘Do not consume linseed (<i>Linum usitatissimum</i>), potato, lentil and spinach up to forty days as the <i>abənnāṭ</i> may prove (for you) ineffective’.
M4	ff. 8r–13r	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መቅትል ፡ ወመስተባርር ፡ ወመስተአብድ ፡ ... ‘Prayer for killing someone, make someone leave his home and go away, to induce madness on someone ...’	The theme of the can be inferred from the <i>incipit</i> በእንተ ፡ መቅትል ፡ ወመስተባርር ፡ ወመስተአብድ ፡ Specific application aids i.e. ‘ <i>gäbirs</i> ’ are given <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. f. 12r መድፍን ፡ ፀር ‘For clothing up the enemy’ 2. f. 12v መስተባርር ‘To lead some one astray’ 3. f. 12v መስተአብድ ‘To make some one mad’ 4. f. 13r በሽታ ፡ ለመምራት ‘To lead illness to someone’ Where the word <i>gäbir</i> appears in ff. 12r.
M5	ff. 13r–14r	መቅትል መፍጥር ፣ ሙርጃን ፣ መቅትል ፣ መዘር ፣ መዘርድ ፣ ... ‘Prayer for killing someone, for creating 3 (times), <i>murḡan</i> 3 (times), for killing someone 3 (times), <i>mäzer</i> 3 (times), <i>mäzärd</i> 3 (times) ...’	The theme can be inferred from the title መቅትል ‘for killing someone’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 13V–14r The combination of the <i>asmat</i> i.e. names in this <i>incipit</i> is uncommon. It has meaningful words like መፍጥር ‘for creating’ and መቅትል ‘for killing’ amid the other names whose names can’t be understood easily.
M6	ff. 14r–15r	መቅትል ወመስተሐምም ስሞሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ አፋጭ ፡ አጋጭ ፡ ዘጨለጭ ፡ አለንጋ ፡ ... ‘Prayer for killing someone and inducing illness on someone, The name of demons <i>affačč</i> , <i>aggačč</i> , <i>zäčäläč</i> , <i>alänga</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from the title መቅትል ወመስተሐምም ‘For killing and making someone ill’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 14V–15r. The demon names are obviously derived from Amharic verbs which denote aggressive action. Therefore, we can trace the names as: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>affač</i> from <i>fäččä</i> ‘grind’ hence, <i>affačč</i> ‘one who makes people grind each other’ b. <i>aggačč</i> from <i>gäččä</i> ‘strike’ hence, <i>aggačč</i> ‘one who makes people strike each other’
M7	ff. 15r–16v	መቅትል ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መቅትል ፡ ዘፀር ፡	The theme can be inferred from the title መቅትል ‘Prayer to kill someone’

		ሰላም ፡ ሰላም ፡ ለዲያብሎስ ፡ ፍቁርየ ፡ አስተሐምም ፡ ለፀርየ ፡ ... ‘Prayer used to kill someone, prayer about killing ones enemy, Peace, peace be to the Devil my friend, make my enemy sick ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 15V–16v.
M8	ff. 16v–17r	መስተሐምም ያግድ ፡ ወአሞን ፡ በሰየን ፡ ጉሃን ፡ ... ‘Prayer for inducing illness on someone, <i>yagäd</i> , <i>weamon</i> , <i>bäsäyän guhan</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from the title መስተሐምም ‘Prayer to induce illness’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 17v.
M9	ff. 17r–18r	መስተሐምም ጅምጅምጂ ፡ ያጅባርጂ ፡ ... ‘Prayer for inducing illness on someone, <i>ḡamḡam</i> 7 (times), <i>yaḡbar</i> 7 (times)...’	The theme can be inferred from the title መስተሐምም ‘To induce illness’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 18r
M10	f. 18r–v	መስተሐምም ቢስሚላሂ ፡ ሮሂማን ፡ ሮሂም ፡ አፀዝቢላሂ ፡ ሚኒ ፡ ሸይጣንል ረጂም ፡ ... ‘Prayer for inducing illness on someone, <i>bismilahi rohiman rohim</i> ‘ <i>a‘uzbilahi mini šäyṭanl räḡim</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from the title መስተሐምም ‘For making someone ill’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 18r–v.
M11	ff. 18v–19r	መስተባርር ድድም ፡ ወየድድም ፡ ረጥርጥ ፡ ልበ ፡ ... ‘To make someone leave his home and go away, <i>dädäm</i> , <i>wäyädädäm</i> , <i>räṭrät</i> the heart of ...’	The theme can be inferred from the title መስተባርር ‘for making someone leave his home and go away’ The word <i>räṭrät</i> has an unusual shape. Within this context we can render it ‘make the heart of somebody prance, beat like drum’, ²⁰⁷ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 19r.
M12	f. 19r–v	መስተሐምም ቢስሚላሂ ፲፩ ጊዜ ፡ ከሲሴማላ ፫ ጊዜ ፡ ካህናት ፫ ጊዜ ፡ አ አ አ ፯ ጊዜ ፡ ... ‘Prayer for inducing illness on someone, <i>bismila</i> 11 times, <i>käsisemala</i> 3 times, preists 3 times, ‘ <i>a</i> ‘ <i>a</i> ‘ <i>a</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from the title መስተሐምም ‘for making some one ill’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 19r–v This <i>abənnät</i> is exclusively made up of <i>asmats</i> .
M13	ff. 19v–20r	ጸሎተ ፡ ባሕታዊ ፡ መቅትለ ፡ ፀር ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መ[ቅትለ ፡ ፀር] ፡	The theme can be inferred from the title ጸሎተ ፡ ባሕታዊ ፡ መቅትለ ፡ ፀር ‘prayer of a hermit about killing ones

²⁰⁷ Kane 1990, 425 has *rätärätä* ‘... to beat the *atamo*-drum...’ and in another entry *asrätärätä* ‘to have someone prance...’

		ፌዝም ፡ በዩም ፡ ገብሮም ፡ ... 'Prayer of the hermit to kill ones enemy, prayer about the killing of an enemy, <i>fezom, bäyum, gäbrom...</i> '	enemy' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 19v–20r.
M14	ff. 20r–21r	ለፀር ፡ ቀሳፊ ይቀስፈክ ፡ ዕድሜክ ፡ ይትዓሠር ፡ አንደበትክ ፡ በማዕሰረ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ይትዓሠር ፡ ... 'For inflicting pain on an enemy, let him shorten your age, your mouth stupefied,	The theme can be inferred from the title ለፀር ፡ ቀሳፊ 'For inflicting pain on an enemy' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in at f. 20v
M15	ff. 20v–21r	መቅትል/መስተሐምም 'Prayer for killing someone/ Prayer for inducing illness on someone'	The <i>gäbir</i> seems to prevail as there seems no 'prayer/ <i>dəgam</i> '. The word <i>gäbir</i> is not explicitly given.
M16	f. 21r–v	መስተሐምም ያላ ፡ ወዓላ ፡ ወፁብ ፡ ደብስ ፡ ዘይሰልብ ፡ ልበ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ... 'Prayer for inducing illness on someone, <i>yala wä'ala, wäṣub, däbäs</i> who steals the heart of men...'	The theme can be inferred from the title መስተሐምም 'for inducing illness on someone' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 21v.
M17	f. 22r–v	መስተሐምም ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስተሐምም ፡ ወቀጅ ፡ ጀልህቆ ፡ ወበሐቅለያጤል ፡ አኒል ፡ ... 'For making some one ill, Prayer for making some one ill, <i>wäqäḡ, ḡälhəqo, wäbähaqläyatel, 'anil...</i> '	The theme can be inferred from the title መስተሐምም 'For inducing illness on someone' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 22r መፍቻው 'Its solution, its key' is given at f. 22v.
M18	ff. 22v–24r	መስተሐምም ፡ ቢስሚላሂ ፡ እሮህማኒ ፡ እሮሂም ፡ አላሁ ፡ ኑሩ ፡ ... 'Prayer for inducing illness on someone, <i>bismilahi, 'ərohmani, 'ərohim, 'alahu, nuru, ...</i> '	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo-title መስተሐምም 'for inducing illness on someone' The <i>gäbir</i> 'effectuation' is given in f. 24r መቋደሻው 'Its sacrifice' is given at f. 24v
M19	ff. 25r–42r	መልክእ ፡ ሳጥናኤል ፡ እጽሕፍ ፡ ዜና ፡ ስሙ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ሣጥናኤል ፡ መኮንኑ ፡ ለዲያብሎስ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ወጠንኩ ፡ በዘኢያረምም ፡ አፍ ፡ ... 'The Image of <i>Saṭna'el</i> , I write the herald of the name of the blessed <i>Saṭna'el</i> the lord of the devil, Now have I started with a nonstop mouth ...'	The theme can be inferred from the title መልክእ ፡ ሳጥናኤል 'The image of <i>Saṭna'el</i> ' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 39r–42r of which ለመወሀድ 'To have unison' f. 39r, ለመቅትል 'for killin' f. 39v, ለመስተሐምም 'To induce illness' f. 39v, ለመስተፋቅር 'For love' f. 41r, ለመካን ሴት 'For a barren woman' f. 41r, ለሙግት 'For litigation' f. 41r, ለምስዋረ ፡ ሠረገላ 'For concealing the

			chariot' ff. 41v, ለመክሥት 'For revelation' f. 41v are given. መጠብቁ 'Its protection' is given at f. 39v
M20	f. 42r–v	A <i>dəgam</i> without a title is given	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 42r–v: ሴት ፡ የሚያ[መ]ክን 'to make a woman barren' የጠላት ፡ ኩብት ፡ ለመፍጀት 'To kill all the cattle of an enemy'
M21	ff. 42v–46v	A <i>dəgam</i> without a title is given ቢስሚላሂ ፡ ሮህማን ፡ ሮሂም ፡ ኖን ፡ ... ' <i>bismilahi, rohman, roham, non, ...</i> '	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 46r–v መጠብቁ 'Its protection' is given at f. 46v መመለሻው 'Its means of returning, appeasing' is given in f. 45v. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 46r–v.
M22	ff. 47r–62r	ዓየራዊው ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ቢስሚላሂ ፡ ሮህማን ፡ ሮሂም ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምስሐብ ፡ ምጅጅናኤል ፡ ... 'Peter the air King, bismilahi, rohman, rohim, prayer about the pulling of <i>məḡəḡna'el...</i> '	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 57r–62r where the themes are also indicated: f. 57r ለመቅትል ፣ ለግርማ ሞገስ ፡ እና ፡ ለዓቃቤ ፡ ርእስ 'For killing, gaining favour, and self protection' f. 57v ለመድፍኝ ፡ ፀር 'for countering the intentions of the enemy' f. 58r ለመሳብ 'To pull, bring' f. 59r ለመስተሐምም 'To induce illness' f. 59r መወሀጃው 'Its means of union' f. 59v ለክፉ ፡ ነገር 'Against bad thing' f. 59v ለመግት 'For litigation' f. 59v ለዓቃቤ ፡ ርእስ 'For self protection' f. 60r መጠብቁ 'Its protection' f. 60v ለፀር 'Against enemy' f. 61r ለመስተጻልፅ 'To induce quarrel' f. 61r ለመፍትሔ ፡ ሀብት 'To unseal wealth' f. 61r ለመግት 'for litigation' f. 61v ለግርማ ፡ ሞገስ ፣ ለዓቃቤ ፡ ርእስና ለመንድግ 'For gaining favour, self protection, and f. 61r ለመንድግ 'For stealing money using charms' f. 61r ለመንድግ 'For stealing money using charms' f. 61r ለመፍዝዝ 'For stupefying someone'

M23	ff. 62r–65r	<p>2. የዓ[የ]ር : ጴጥሮስ²⁰⁸</p> <p>ነዓ : ነዓ : ተመሲለክ : በቀስተ : ደመና : ምጅጅናኤል : ...</p> <p>‘Second, The air Peter, Come, come, in the form of a rainbow <i>məḡḡnaʿel</i>...’</p>	<p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 64r–65r:</p> <p>ff. 62r–65r Though not explicitly given መቅትል ‘for killing’</p> <p>ff. 65r ለግርማ : ሞገስ ‘To gain favour’</p> <p>ff. 65r Though not explicitly given መክስት ‘Reavealer’</p> <p>ff. 65r ለመፍዝዝ/ለዕለት/ ‘To stupefy, on daily basis’</p>
M24	ff. 65v–70r	<p>3 የዓየር : ንጉሥ : ጴጥሮስ²⁰⁹</p> <p>ጸሎት : በእንተ : መድፍነ : ፀር : ወግርማ : ሞገስ : ወመፍዝዝ : ያየር : ንጉሥ : ጴጥሮስ : ነዓ : ነዓ : ነዓ : ተመሲለክ : በቀስተ : ደመና :</p> <p>‘Third air Peter, prayer about countering the charms of an enemy and of gaining favour and of stupefying (enemy), the king of air Peter come in the form of a rainbow ...’</p>	<p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 67v–70r:</p> <p>f. 67v ፩ኛ : ለመድፍነ : ፀር ‘First, to counter the charm of an enemy’</p> <p>f. 68r ፪ኛ : በእንተ : መግረሬ : ፀር ‘Second, about an anti charm of an enemy’</p> <p>f. 69r ፫ኛ : በእንተ : መፍዝዝ : ግርማ : ሞገስ : ወመርዕድ ‘about stupefying, charisma and to cause fright’</p> <p>f. 69r ፬ኛ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መፍዝዝ ‘Fifth, prayer about stupefying’</p> <p>f. 69v [፭ኛ] : ለመፍዝዝ ‘sixth, for stupefying’</p> <p>f. 70r ፯ኛ : በእንተ : መሰውር : ወመፍዝዝ ‘Seventh, about rendering someone (thing) invisible and stupefying’</p> <p>The <i>dəgam</i> text is basically similar to the one given at ff. 62r–65r.</p>
M25	ff. 70r–75r	<p>፬ኛ : ዓየራዊ : ንጉሥ : ጴጥሮስ</p> <p>ለመስተሐምም : መድፍነ : ፀር ይሆናል... ‘Fourth, the king of air Peter, for inducing illness, and countering the charm of an enemy...’</p>	<p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 73r–75r.</p>
M26	ff. 75r–80v	<p>፭ኛ : የዓየር : ንጉሥ : ጴጥሮስ</p> <p>Fifth: Peter the air king</p>	<p>f. 77v መመለሻው ‘Its means of returning, appeasing’</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 78r.</p> <p>f. 79r መቋደሻህን : እንካ ‘here you</p>

²⁰⁸ The scribe and/or the *däbtära* wanted to show that there are two types of the የዓ[የ]ር : ጴጥሮስ *Abənnät*. Hence, the Arabic numeral 2 before the label.

²⁰⁹ The scribe and/or the *däbtära* wanted to show that there is still another type of የዓ[የ]ር : ጴጥሮስ *abənnät*. Hence, the Arabic numeral 3 before the label.

			<p>have your appeasement’</p> <p>f. 80r መወሀኛው ‘Its means of unison’</p> <p>f. 80r መጠበቂያው ‘Its protection’</p> <p>ዓዲ ‘also’ is used to mark changing purposes of the <i>dəgam</i></p>
M27	ff. 80v–89r	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ አየር ፡ ጴጥሮስ ... ‘in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, on God, prayer about the air of Peter...’</p>	<p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 82v–89r.</p> <p>ለመወሀድ ‘To inherit the attributes of (Satan)’</p> <p>ለማንኛውም ፡ ነገር ‘For everything’</p> <p>ሌላ ፡ ገቢር ‘Othe effectuation’</p> <p>፩ኛ ፡ ለፀር ‘First: against and enemy’</p> <p>፪ኛ ፡ ለመስተሐምም ‘Second: To induce illness’</p> <p>፫ኛ ፡ ለጋኔን ‘Third: Against demon’</p> <p>፬ኛ ፡ ለሀብት ‘Fourth: to gain wealth’</p> <p>፭ኛ ፡ ለዓቃቤ ፡ ርእስ ‘Fifth: lit. ‘Head protector’ i.e. ‘For general personal protection’</p> <p>፮ኛ ፡ ለመስተፋቅር ‘Sixth: Love charm’</p> <p>፯ኛ ፡ ለመስተፃልፅ ‘Seventh: to induce strife’</p> <p>፰ኛ ፡ ለሌባ ‘Eighth: Against thief’</p> <p>፱ኛ ፡ ለውርሻ ‘Ninth: To inherit spiritual esp. evil characteristic and power’</p> <p>፲ኛ ፡ ለውጋት ‘Tenth: Against sharp pain’</p> <p>፲፩ ፡ ለፀር ‘Eleven: Against enemy’</p> <p>፲፪ ፡ ለመስተፋቅር ‘Twelve. Love charm’</p> <p>፲፫ ፡ ለምርዋፀ ፡ ዕድ ‘Thirteen: To make the hands run i.e. speed (while copying)’</p> <p>፲፬ ፡ ምጥ ፡ ለጠናባት ፡ ሴት ‘Fourteen: Against difficult delivery’</p> <p>፲፭ ፡ ለከብት ፡ ለሚሞትበት ‘Fifteen. Against cattle death’</p> <p>፲፮ ፡ ንብን ፡ ለመሳብ ‘Sixteen: To catch bees’</p> <p>፲፯ ፡ ለውጋት ‘Seventeen: Against sharp pain’</p> <p>፲፰ ፡ ለዘሞተ ፡ እስኪት ‘Eighteen: Against impotence’</p> <p>፲፱ ፡ ለመተባርር ‘Nineteen: To evict a person’</p> <p>፳ ፡ ለመቅትል ‘Twenty: For killing’</p>

			<p>፳፩ : ለመስተሐምም ‘Twenty one: To induce illness on someone’</p> <p>፳፪ : ለመስተሐምም ‘Twenty two: to induce illness on someone’</p> <p>፳፫ : ለመካን : ሴት ‘Twenty three: For nullipara’</p> <p>፳፬ : ለዓንደረቢ ‘Twentyfour: To destroy enemy property using charms’</p> <p>፳፭ : ምላስን : ለማሰር ‘Twenty seven: To make someone mute’</p> <p>፳፮ : ለምልዋዋ ‘Twenty eight: To change something into something else’</p> <p>፳፯ : የዛር : ውላጅ : ለማየት ‘Twenty nine: To see a zar-offspring’</p> <p>፴ : ሰውን : ጎብጣ : ለማድረግ ‘Thirty: To make somebody’s back hunch’</p> <p>፴፩ : ለመስተሐምም ‘Thirty one: To induce illness on someone’</p> <p>፴፪ : ሀብት : ለማቅናት ‘Thirty two: lit. to straighten wealth, i.e. to gain riches’</p> <p>፴፫ : መፍትሔ : ሥራይ ‘Thirty three: Undoing of charms’</p> <p>፴፬ : ለዓይነ : ወርቅ ‘Thirty four: Against evil eye’</p> <p>፴፭ : ለተቅማዋ ‘Against diarrhoea’</p> <p>፴፮ : ለአምጽኦ : ብእሲት ‘Thirty five: To get a woman (lover)’</p> <p>፴፯ : ለቡዳና : ለሰላቢ ‘Thirty six: Against <i>buda</i>²¹⁰ and <i>sälabi</i>²¹¹,</p> <p>፴፯ : ለምስሀብ vaianats are indicated by ዓዲ ‘or’</p> <p>(not numbered) An <i>abännät</i> without title to bewitch someone in order to take his/her belongings and wisdom.</p>
--	--	--	--

²¹⁰ ‘... the mythical being that figures centrally in Ethiopian supernatural cosmology, is popularly believed to possess the power of the evil eye. Cannibalistic and malevolent, a B. spirit takes control of the human body, using it as a vehicle for its evil activities’; see ‘Buda’, *EAE*, I (2003), 633b–635a (H. Salamon).

²¹¹ A person who takes away somebody’s property by means of incantations and charms.

2.2.4 Description of manuscript N (*däbtära* notebook)

2.2.4.1 Physical description

- i. Page/folium numbers: a hypothetical foliation has been adopted as the *däbtära* allowed me to start digitizing at what he feels is the starting point though there were some pages before and after what I have actually digitized. The manuscript has its own styles of paginations in Arabic numerals visible on ff. 8r–32r, ff. 40r–44r, ff. 61v–66r, ff. 67r–68r, ff. 72r–78r, ff. 86r–87r, 88v–90r.
- ii. Number of folia: 91.
- iii. Size in cm (HW): 17.5x10.
- iv. Writing support: paper.
- v. Quire structure: not applicable.
- vi. Ordering system: not applicable.
- vii. Ruling (and pricking) : commercially ruled.
- viii. Hand: the same hand through out.
- ix. Rubrication: applied for nomina sacra.
- x. Date: twentieth century.
- xi. State of preservation: Good.
- xii. Peculiarities: This manuscript is made of modern notebook with a a plastic cover.
- xiii. Sample page (for the ruling pattern and the layout):

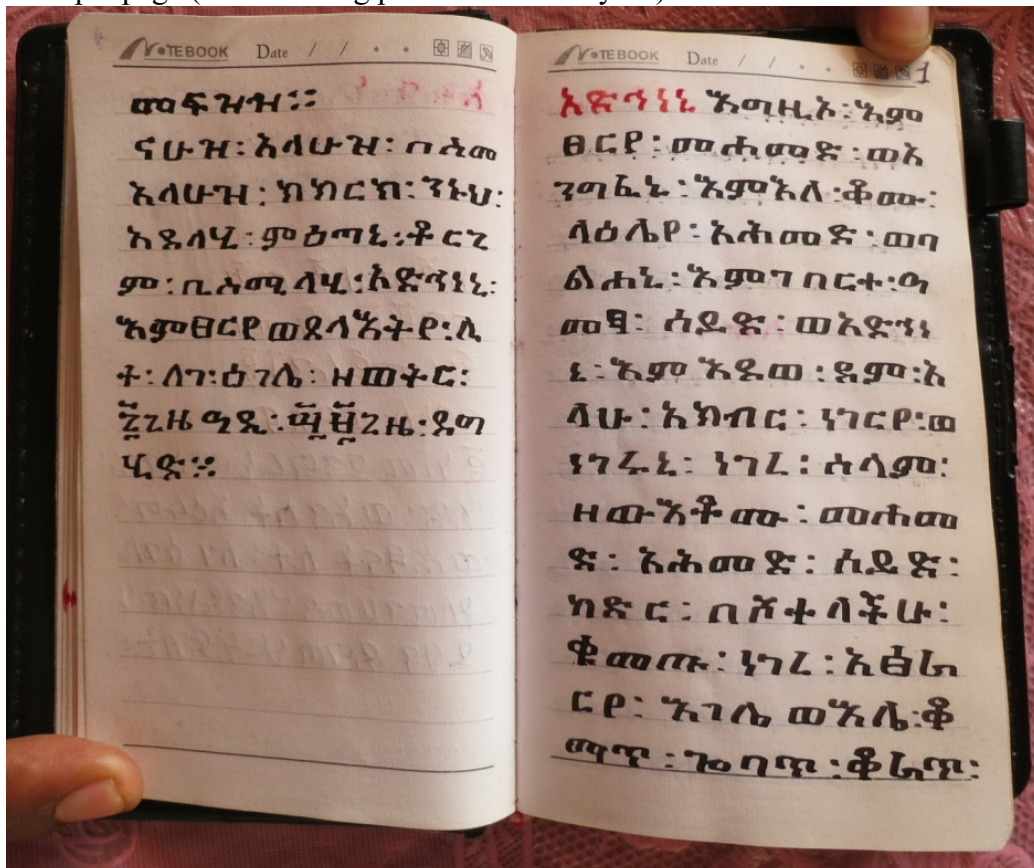


Figure 8: MS N, ff.7r–8r

2.2.4.2 Content description

Table 5: Content description of MS N

No.	Folios	Title and/or incipit	Details and/or remark or reference
N1	ff. 5r–7v	በሰሚላሂ ፡ እርህማን ፡ ሮሂም ፡ አላሁ ፡ ኑራሂ ፡ ሰመዋት ፡ ... 'bismilahi, 'ərohman, rohim, 'alahu, nurahi, sämäwat...'	The theme can be inferred from ff. 6r–6v ... ከልክሙ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ... እገሌን ፡ ልጅ ፡ በጦር...ውጉልኝ ፡ ... '... all demons, stub the son of ...by (your) spear...' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 6v–7v.
N2	ff. 7v–8v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሀብት ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ወዓይነ ፡ ጥላ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God, prayer about unleashing of wealth, the golden eye (evil eye) and the Shadow eye (evil eye) ...'	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 8r–8v Confirmatory expression is given in f. 8v ... ለኩ[ሉ] ፡ ይከውን 'It is effective for everything'.
N3	f. 9r	blank	
N4	f. 9v	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መንድግ ፡ ²¹² ወንዋይ ፡ ... 'Prayer to make people give you money and (of) property ...'	The theme can be inferred from the <i>incipit</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given. Caution is also given ... ስትደግም ፡ ለራስህ ፡ ማለዳ ፡ ሰው ፡ ጋር ፡ ሳትናገር ፡ ሽንትህን ፡ ሳትሸን ፡ ዝንብለህ ፡ ብር ፡ ቀለበት ፡ ደግመህ ፡ ለሌላ ፡ ሰው ፡ በጥቁር ፡ ወረቀት ፡ ጽፈህ ፡ ስጥ ፡ 'When you pray, if it is for yourself, prayer it on a silver ring. If it is for someone else, write it on a black paper and give'.
N5	f. 10r	ለበረከት ፡ ጂራኤል ፡ መጀብራኤል ፡ ጅጅ ፡ መጅጅ ፡ ወአፍጅጅ ፡ ... 'For abundance, <i>ḡiraḡ'el, mäḡbära'el, ḡəḡ,</i> <i>mäḡəḡ, wä'fḡəḡ, ...</i> '	The theme can be inferred from the title ለበረከት ፡ 'For abundance' which is a title. The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
N6	f. 10v	blank	
N7	f. 11r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ... ከጅ ፡ መሐጅ ፡ መጅናን ፡ ፵፱ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the	The theme can be inferred from ... ከመ ፡ ይንግረኒ ፡ ምስጢረ ፡ እድ ፡ ወአንስት ፡ አዕሩግ ፡ ወሕፃናት ፡ 'So that he tells me the secrets of men and

²¹² የሰጡ ሰጡ አስማት ክታብ ግብዝ ሰው የሚያነግተው ። 'An *asmat* which forces people give their money away, an amulet which is worn by a foolish person' see: www.dictionary.abysinnica.com/መንድግ.

		Son and of the Holy Sprit, one God. ... <i>käḡ, mäḥaḡ, mäḡnan</i> 49 (times)...	women, the elderly and children' ... which is further hinted in the <i>gäbir</i> ... የለመንሀውን፡ እንዲሰጥህ፡ ይህን ደግመህ፡ ሂድበት፡ 'For him to give you what you have asked for, go to him after incanting this'
N8	f. 11v	መፍዝዝ ። ናሁዝ፡ አላሁዝ፡ በስመ፡ አላሁዝ፡ ክክርክ፡ ንኑህ፡ ... 'Stupefier, <i>nahuz, 'alahuz</i> , in the name of <i>'alahuz, kəkərək, nənuh</i> ...'	The theme is already given in the form of a pseudo title: መፍዝዝ ። 'Stupefier' The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
N9	f. 12r–13r	አድኅኒ፡ እግዚአ፡ እምፀርየ፡ መሐመድ፡ ወአንግፈኒ፡ እምእለ፡ ቆሙ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ አሕመድ፡ ... 'Save me oh Lord from my enemies, <i>mäḥamäd</i> , deliver me from those who stood up on me, <i>aḥmäd</i> ...'	The theme can be inferred from f. 13r ... በኃይለ፡ ዝንቱ፡ አስማቲክ፡ ድፍን፡ ... ልቦሙ፡ ለፀርየ፡ ... 'By the power of these <i>asmats</i> of yours, Shut ... the heart of my enemies' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 13r with variants.
N10	f. 13v–18r	በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሄዱ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ርእስ፡ ወመድፍነ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ መከመጅ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about self protection and the anti-charm of Jacob, <i>mäkämäḡ</i> ...'	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 17r–18r with variants. The <i>gäbir</i> contains the expression... ገቢሩ፡ በትኩስ፡ አፈር፡ ዘቤተልሔም፡ ሐመድ፡ በአንድ፡ ቀላቅለህ፡ የአረሚ፡ አጽም፡ የኤሊ፡ አጽም፡ አብነቱን፡ በነድ፡ ቀለም፡ ጽፈሐ፡ ጠላት፡ አይነሳም፡ ብትይዝ፡ ... 'The effectuation, After having written the <i>abənnät</i> in ember colour, if you hold a mixture of fresh ash from <i>betäləhem</i> ²¹³ and bone of a pagan and the bone of tortoise, no enemy shall arise'.
N11	f. 18r–v	አድኅኒ፡ እግዚአ፡ እምበእሲ፡ እኩይ፡ 'Save me oh Lord from the evil man...'.	The theme can be inferred from the expression which comes following the <i>gäbir</i> f. 18v: ለጸላት፡ መድፍን፡ ነው። 'It is a counter charm for an enemy' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 18r–v.
N12	f. 18v	ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ መድፍነ፡ ፀር፡ ወመፍዝዝ፡ ቆርኖኤል፡	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo title in the introductory

²¹³ Is usually a small house build on the estern side of the church compound wherein the Bread for the Eucharist is prepared.

		ወዘቱናኢል : ... ‘Prayer about counter charm and stupefier, <i>qorna’el</i> , <i>wözätuna’el</i> ...’	formula: በእንተ : መድፍኑ : ፀር : ወመፍዝዝ : ‘Counter charm of an enemy and stupefier’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
N13	ff. 19r–20v	ለማናቸው : ጠላት : ነገረ : በትን : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ነገረ : በትን : ጸርድድ : ገርድድ : ፈርድድ : ገምድድ : ሸምድድ : ... ‘For any enemy, Against bad speech, prayer against bad speech, <i>pärdäd</i> , <i>gärdäd</i> , <i>färdäd</i> , <i>gämdäd</i> , <i>šämdäd</i> ...’	The theme is given in the form of a title ለማናቸው : ጠላት : and within the introduction: ነገረ : በትን : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ነገረ : በትን : The <i>gäbir</i> given in f. 20r–v contains: ገቢሩ : በቤተልሂም : አፈር : እና : አስማቱን : በጠላትህ : ስም : ጽፈህ : አቃጥለህ...ድጋሙ : ፯ : ጊዜ : ነው ። ‘The effectuation (is done with) the soil of <i>betäləhem</i> ; write the <i>asmat</i> with your enemy’s name and burn it. Incant it 7 times’
N14	ff. 20v–22v	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : አሐዱ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መድፍኑ : ፀር : ቶቤር : ፯ : ጅጅር : ፯ ገርገር ፯ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about counter charm of an enemy, <i>tober</i> 7 (times), <i>ḡəḡər</i> 7 (times), <i>žizir</i> 7 (times)...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 22r–v.
N15	ff. 22v–26v	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : አሐዱ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ግርማ : ሞገስ : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about charisma...’	It is a multi- <i>dəgam abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 25v–26v where it contains: ... ከአስማቱ : መጨረሻ : አውዳን : አውዳን : በል : ‘at the end of the <i>asmat</i> say <i>’awdan</i> , <i>’awdan</i> ’ and that there are variants of the <i>gäbir</i> . Confirmatory section is also given in ff. 26v ፍቱን : ውእቱ : ‘It is tested’
N16	ff. 26v–28r	አድኅኒ : እግዚአ : እምፀርየ : መሐመድ : ወአንግፈኒ : እምለ : ቆሙ : ላዕሌየ : አሕመድ : ... ‘Save me oh Lord from my enemies, <i>māḥamäd</i> , deliver me from those who stood up on me, <i>’aḥmäd</i> ...’	The <i>abənnät</i> is similar to that given under ff. 12r–13r except that in the <i>gäbir</i> given in ff. 28r has the reading ... ፫ቱን : በኪስ : ያዝ ‘Hold the 3 in your pocket’ instead of ፫ቱን : በግራ : ኪስህ : ያዝ ‘Hold the 3 in your left pocket’ given in f. 13r.
N17	ff. 28r–29r	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ዱ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ዓቃቤ : ርእስ : ወግርማ : ሞገስ : ወመድፍኑ : ፀር : ... ሂዝ : አላሂዝ : አከዝዝ : አብብዝዝ : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about self protection, and	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 29v.

		charisma, and anti charm of an enemy... <i>hiz</i> , <i>alahiz</i> , <i>akäzəz</i> , <i>abzəz</i> ...'	
N18	ff. 29r–30r	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : አሐዱ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መድፍን : ፀር : ምክምምዝ : መፍዝዝ : ... 'In the name of the Father and of the son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about an anti charm of an enemy, <i>məkəməməz</i> , stupifier...'	The <i>gäbir</i> given in ff. 29–30r contains ... በ፬ መዓዝን : መንገድ : ቅበር : ከሚቀበረው : በስመ : አብ : አታግባ : ከድግምት : በስተቀር : 'Bury in a cross road. When you bury don't enter (the introduction) i.e. in the name of the Father (in what is to be buried.) (Write only) the incantation' and the confirmatory ፍቱን : ነው ። 'It is tested'.
N19	ff. 30v–31v	ዓቃቤ : ርዕስ : ሸውዳን : አላህህኩማ : መቅዝዝ : ልቡና : አልፋኑል : ቃቃቂቶን : ... 'Self protection, <i>šäwdan</i> , <i>alahəhəkuma</i> , stupifier of the heart <i>alfanul</i> , <i>qaqaqiton</i> ...'	The theme can be inferred from the title ዓቃቤ : ርዕስ : 'self protection' The <i>gäbir</i> given in ff. 30v–31v contains: ... ግፍአሙን : እስከ : መጨረሻው : 'Exort those (incipit of a Psalm) until the end' with the Caution ስብሐት : አትበል : 'Do not say, präsie'. It also a variant <i>gäbir</i> which contains ዘወትር : ብትደግመውም : ያለ : ክታብ : ይሆናል ።. 'If you always incant it, it can be used with out <i>kitab</i> (amulet)'.
N20	ff. 31v–32v.	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : አሐዱ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መድፍን : ፀር : ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about anti charms of an enemy...'	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 32r–v with variants.
N21	ff. 32v–34r	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ዱ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ዓቃቤ : ርእስ : ሩሩ : ብሩጂ : ኪፋክዱር : ሰላም : ለክሙ : ሰይጣናት : 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about self protection, <i>ruru</i> , <i>bəru</i> 7 (times), <i>kifakdur</i> , peace be unto you Satans...'	The theme can be inferred from ጸሎት : በእንተ : ዓቃቤ : ርእስ : 'Prayer about self protection' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 33v–34r. The confirmatory section ፍቱን : ዝንቱ : ጥበብ ። 'This wisdom is tested' is given in f. 34r.
N22	ff. 34v–35v	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ዱ : አምላክ : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መድፍን : ፀር : አኪዎር ፯ : የኪጦር ፯ የኪርኪ : ኬ : መላኬ : ... 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about self protection, <i>akiwor</i> 7 (times), <i>yäkiṭor</i> 7 (times),	The theme can be inferred from ጸሎት : በእንተ : መድፍን : ፀር : 'Prayer about self protection'. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 35v.

		‘Paryer about an anti charm of an enemy of a person, country or people, <i>fəzəzqəʔl</i> , <i>ʃəfqəʔel</i> , as you clogged the heart of the devil likewise clog the heart of my enemy...’	
N28	f. 41r	መፍዝዝ ፡ እልጋዊ ፡ እልጋድር ፡ ... ‘Stupefier, <i>ʔalgawi</i> , <i>ʔalgadər</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from the <i>gäbir</i> which runs: ፻፱ ጊዜ ፡ ድግም ፡ ኃይል ፡ ይሰማል ። ‘incant this 49 times and you will feel energized’ It is an <i>asmat abənnät</i> .
N29	ff. 41v–42r	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፀር ፡ ወፈያት ፡ ናኤል ፡ ውናኤል ፡ ወመሰውርናኤል ፡ አ ፡ እግዚእየ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about enemy and robber, <i>naʔel</i> , <i>wənaʔel</i> , and <i>mäsäwərnaʔel</i> , oh my Lord Jesus Christ...’	The theme can be inferred from ... ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፀር ፡ ወፈያት... The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 41v–42r where there is the confirmatory ፍቱን ነው ። and another thematic variant ለቀን ፡ መፍዝዝ ነው ። in f. 42r.
N30	ff. 42r– 44r	... ወኢትጎድሩ ፡ እምወስተ ፡ ቤቶሙ ፡ ... ‘And don’t pass the night in their house...’	The expression in f. 37r ወደፊት ፡ ፭ን ፡ ብራና ፡ ገጽ ፡ (እ)ይ ፡ ‘see in the following 6 pages of parchmet’ now makes sense. The last text of the <i>abənnät</i> body in f. 37r has ወኢትጎድሩ forming the word ወኢትጎድሩ ፡ As the manuscript we are describing is not a parchment and the indication above is referring to the sixth folio, we can deduce that the copyist simply used the expression ‘parchment’ as he is used to writing as such. The theme we have already given for the text ff. 36v–37r holds true. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 42v–44r with four variants.
N31	ff. 44r–48r	የዓየር ፡ እጥሮስ ፡ ጌደና ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ነፃ ፯ ፡ በቀስተ ፡ ደመና ፡ ደመና ፡ እንዳትነካኝ ፡ እንዳትጣላኝም ፡ ምጅጅናኤል ፯ ፡ ሰስናኤል ፯ ፡ መገርሃን ፯ ፡ አርጅናስ ፡ ... ‘Peter of the air, <i>gedäna</i> , king, come 7 (times) in the rainbow, don’t touch me and don’t quarrel with me, <i>məğəğnaʔel</i> 7 (times), <i>Susnaʔel</i> 7 (times), <i>mägärhan</i> 7 (times), <i>ʔarğānos</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from ... f. 46v ... ንዑ ፯ ፡ ተገዙ ፡ ለእኔ ፡ ለእገሌ ፡ ያልኳችሁን ፡ ስሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገረገራየ ፡ እኩየ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ወብእሴቱ ፡ ኢታንብሩ ፡ አብርሩ ፡ አሽበርብሩ ፡ ... ‘come 7 (times) and obey to me and listen to what I tell you, do not let an evil man and his wife reside in my neighbourhood drive them away and frighten them’ An extensive <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 46v–48r which starts with የዚሁ ፡ የዓየር ፡ እጥሮስ ፡ ገቢሩ ፡ ‘The

			effectuation of this Peter of the air’ then follow 7 variant applications.
N32	ff. 48v– 62r	<p>ሐይ : መሪ : ሰሪ : አርባ : አሳዳሪ : መስቀኛ : ገሪ : ኩሩ : ሰባሪ : ... የምትባሉ : በአማራ : ቤት : ያላችሁ : አውልዎች : ... እገሌን : ማሩልኝ : ... ‘<i>awlāya</i>²¹⁴’s of the land of Amhara who are called <i>Hay</i>, leader, worker and head of a household of 40, the trainer of the encroacher, breaker of the boastful, ... forgive x (possibly a client)’</p>	<p>The theme can be inferred from ff. 57r ... ግርማ : ሞገስ : ወዓቃቤ : ርእስ : ‘For Charisma and self protection’ in the variants of the <i>gābir</i> given in ff. 58v–61r.</p> <p>Caution is also given in f. 59v ... በቀኝ : እጅና : በቀኝ : እግርህ : አይነካም : ተጠንቀቅ # ‘... beware it is not to be touched by your right hand and left leg’</p> <p>Confirmatory expressions are also given in f. 61r ... ወደ : ሙግትህ : ሂድ : በምንም : ዓይነት : አይሸነፍም # ‘Go to a litigation, you will never be defeated’ f. 61v ... ጌ ጊዜ : ብትደግመው : የታመነ : መፍዝዝ : ነው # ‘... if you incant it 7 (times), it is a reliable stupefier’.</p> <p>The text has various names of <i>Awlāya</i>, <i>qalčča</i>²¹⁵ and <i>qolle</i>²¹⁶.</p> <p>Best example of a syncretic ideals of the practice in <i>Abənnāt</i> as can be seen in ff. 50r ... ክርስቲያን : እንደሆናችሁ : በናት : ባባት : የነበራችሁ : በአዲ : ሥላሴ : በጽላተ : ሙሴ : በፈጣሪ : ... እስላሞች : እንደ : ሆናችሁ : በነቢዩ : በሙሐመድ : አማጽኖችሁ : ... ‘If you are Christian and (have been on) my mother’s and father’s side, I entreat you in the name of the (church of) the holy Trinity of of Adwa²¹⁷, the Tablet of Moses..., If you are Muslim, I entreat you in (the name of) the prophet Mohammed...’</p>
N33	ff. 62r–63r	<p>መስተፋቅር : አስማኤል ጌ : ድርማኤል ጌ : ከመ : ከልብ : አሩፅ :</p>	<p>The theme can be inferred from from the pseudo-title መስተፋቅር : ‘Love</p>

²¹⁴ In some traditions example the Harari one they are understood as ‘the friends of God’ See: ‘Awl’, *EAE*, I (2003), 398b – 399a (C. Gibb) for further details. But, in such contexts they are understood as people who can communicate with spiritual beings and solicit their help.

²¹⁵ A Muslim fortune teller.

²¹⁶ A sort of guardian spirit.

²¹⁷ A historical town in the Təgray region of Northern Ethiopia.

		ወከመ ፡ ሰምዕ ፡ አቅልጽ ፡ ... ኀበ ፡ ሆርኩ ፡ ትሐር ፡ ወኀበ ፡ ሀደርኩ ፡ ትህድር ፡ ... ‘Love charm, <i>’asma’el</i> 7 (times), <i>dərma’el</i> 7 (times), make her run like a dog, melt like wax... let her go to where I go and stay the night where I stay...’	charm’. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 63r.
N34	ff. 63r–64v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ አምጽኦ ፡ ነፃ ፡ ነፃ ፡ ነፃ ፡ ርእዮን ፡ ሰይጣንአል ፡ አሊሙሉን ፡ ፫ ጊዜ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about bringing (a woman), come, come, come, <i>ra’yon</i> , <i>säyṭan’al</i> , <i>’alimulun</i> 3 times ...’	The theme can be inferred from from the expressions f. 63v... በኃይለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አስማት ፡ አስተፋጥን ፫ አሩጽ ፫ ፡ ...አስተቃርብ ፡ ...አስተዋድድ ፡ ... ‘By the power of these <i>asmat</i> make haste 3 (times), make run 3 (times), ... bring closer... and cause love’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 64r–v.
N35	f. 64v	ኩሙ ፡ ታቅርብ ፡ ለታቅርብ ፡ ለታሽቁጥ ፡ ለታሽቁጥቁጥ ፡ እንደ ፡ ውሃ ፡ ፍሰሺ ፡ እንደ ፡ ቅቤ ፡ ቅለጭ ፡ እገሊት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍቅረ ፡ ገብርኪ ፡ ... ‘ <i>kumu</i> , bring close, let bring closer, cause squirm, may you (feminine) flow like water, melt like butter (the name of the girl or woman) because of the love of your servant...’	The theme can be inferred from from the expressions... ለታሽቁጥቁጥ ፡ እንደ ፡ ውሃ ፡ ፍሰሺ ፡ እንደ ፡ ቅቤ ፡ ቅለጭ ፡ እገሊት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍቅረ ፡ ገብርኪ ... ‘...cause squirm, may you (feminine) flow like water, melt like butter (the name of the girl or woman) because of the love of your servant...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
N36	f. 64v	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምስሐበ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወምስሐበ ፡ ንዋይ ፡ መንግሥትክሙ ፡ ጽኑዕ ፡ ከመ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ... ‘About the pulling (bringing) of Men and of material, your kingdom is strong like the kingdom of David...’	A <i>historiola</i> froming a full <i>abənnät</i> .
N37	ff. 65r–70r	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምስሐበ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወምስሐበ ፡ ንዋይ ፡ መንግሥትክሙ ፡ ጽኑዕ ፡ ከመ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ወነገርክሙ ፡ እሙን ፡ ከመ ፡ ነገረ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the pulling (bringing) of men and material, your kingdom is strong like the kingdom of David and your thing is reliable like the thing of angels...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression: በእንተ ፡ ምስሐበ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወምስሐበ ፡ ንዋይ ፡ ‘Prayer about the pulling (bringing) of men and material’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 70r but an uncommon expression is also added indicating additional <i>gäbir</i> ፡ የዚህ ፡ መንግሥትክሙ ፡ ገቢሩ ፡ ወደ ፡ መጨረሻ ፡ ብራና ፡ ወደፊቶቹ ፡ አገላብጦህ ፡ ተመልከት ። ‘Search and seek the effectuation of this ‘your kingdom’ towards the end of this parchment’. The expression የዚህ ፡ መንግሥትክሙ ፡ ‘of this your kingdom’ possibly hints to a label given to such texts.
N38	f. 70r–70v	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምስሐበ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወምስሐበ ፡ ንዋይ ፡ የሐዩም ፡ ያቀዩም	The theme can be inferred from the expression: በእንተ ፡ ምስሐበ ፡

		<p>ጸጌ፡ እልመኩሊኩ፡ አሰላሙ፡ ጸጌ፡ እልቁዱሱ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the pulling (bringing) of men and material, <i>yāḥayum</i>, <i>yaqäyumu</i> 99 (times), <i>ʾalmäkuliku</i>, <i>ʾasälamu</i> 99 (times), <i>ʾaqudusu</i>...</p>	<p>ሰብእ፡ ወምስሐበ፡ ንዋይ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the pulling (bringing) of men and material’</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> given in f. 70v has ...</p> <p>ለገበያ፡ መቅድም፡ የሚሆን፡ ከመንግሥትክሙ፡ በፊት፡ ድንም፡ # ‘... for market (purposes) incant this as preface to the your kingdom’</p>
N39	ff. 71r–72r.	<p>በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አሐዱ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ ፈያት፡ ወጸናሔ፡ ፍኖት፡ አኸያ፡ ሸራኸያ፡ አልሻዳይ፡ ፀባያት፡ አዶናይ፡ ... ‘In the anme of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about robber and one who lays in wait on the road, <i>ʾakya</i>, <i>šäarakya</i>, <i>ʾalšadday</i>, <i>šäbäot</i>, <i>ʾadonay</i> ...</p>	<p>The theme can be inferred from the expression: በእንተ፡ ፈያት፡ ወጸናሔ፡ ፍኖት፡ ... ‘About robber and one who lays in wait on the road...’</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given f. 72r.</p>
N40	f. 72r	<p>የዕፀ፡ ሃቤቅ፡ ተቀጥላ፡ ፪ ብሩር፡ ማህል፡ አርገህ፡ በግራ፡ ፈትል፡ ጠምጠመህ፡ ብትይዝ፡ ... ‘Having put a parasitic plant of the thicket between two silver and coil it with a thread with your left hand...’</p>	<p>The theme can be inferred from the expression in the <i>gäbir</i>: ምንም፡ ቢሆን፡ በጥይት፡ አይጠረጠርም፡ ‘In no way it is doubted for bullets (It is a reliable against bullet)’ and the confirmatoy የግዝት፡ ቃል፡ ነው፡ # ‘It is a word of excommunication (i.e. it can in no way be proven wrong)’</p> <p>Another <i>gäbir</i> ሰፍቶ፡ የያዙት፡ እንደሆነ፡ አያስነሳም፡ ዕፀ፡ መሰውር²¹⁸፡ ይሆናል፡ ‘If it is held sewn, it helps you not to be touched; it serves as herb of invisibility (i.e.) with the caution መያዝ፡ ነው፡ እንጂ፡ አይነገርም፡ # ‘It is simply holding, it should not be told (revealed)’</p>
N41	f. 72v	<p>After a blank space follows መያጤ፡ ንዋይ፡ አብዑናኤል፡ ውናኤል፡ ወውናኤል፡ ሰውርናኤል፡ ... ‘Returner of belonging, <i>ʾabūnaʾel</i>, <i>wənaʾel</i>, and <i>wənaʾel</i>, <i>säwərnaʾel</i> ...’</p>	<p>The theme is implied from to identify for it has the <i>abənnät</i> the title: መያጤ፡ ንዋይ፡ ‘Returner of belonging’.</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given.</p>
N42	ff. 73r–74r	መፍገዝ፡	<p>The theme can be inferred from the</p>

²¹⁸ ዕፀ፡ መሰውር also ዕፀ፡ መሠውር *ʾäṣä mäṣäwər* ‘magical leaf which is said to be used to make stuffs vanish (from sight)’. See: www.dictionary.abysica.com/ዕፀ-መሠውር

		አውድም ፡ መደደም ፡ ሐዊስ ፡ ወሐዊስ ፡ ጉልናጅል ፡ ... ‘Stupefier, <i>’awdām, mädädäm, ḥawis, wāḥawis, g^w’alna’el...</i> ’	pseudo-title መፍዝዝ ፡ ‘Stupefier’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 73v–74r.
N43	f. 74v	መፍዝዝ ፡ መደንግዝ ፡ ጽማሄል ፡ መሚላል ፡ መምፍአል ፡ ድፍን ፡ ልቦሙ ፡ አንብዝ ፡ ህሊናሆሙ ፡ ... ‘Stupefier, numbifier, <i>šəmahel, mämälal, mämfa’al</i> , clog their heart, make their mind dazed...’	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo-title: መፍዝዝ ፡ መደንግዝ ፡ ‘Stupefier, numbifier’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 74v.
N44	f. 75r–v	የአምደ ፡ ረቢና ፡ የእሳተ ፡ ከላ ፡ መጠበቅያና ፡ መመለሻ ፡ ከጅ ፡ መጅ ፡ መሐመጅ ፡ መጅናን ፡ መ-ዚልዚሙ ፡ ‘Protector and undoing of <i>’amdäräbi</i> ²¹⁹ and <i>’asatä käla</i> ²²⁰ <i>käḡ, mäḡ, mähämäḡ, mäḡnan, muzilzimu...</i> ’	It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> given in f. 75r–v contains an extensive confirmatory in f. 75v: በጣም ፡ የተፈተነ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ነው ፡ የፈተኑቱ ፡ ያላስታ ፡ መምህር ፡ የኔታ ፡ ዓለሜ ፡ ይባላሉ ፡ የመርጌታ ፡ ነጋ ፡ አያት ፡ ናቸው ፡ መርጌታ ፡ ነጋ ፡ ለምመህር ፡ ባህራን ፡ የቅኔው ፡ ባለቤት ፡ በጽሑፍ ፡ ሰጣቸው ። ‘This is a verily tested wisdom. (The man who) tested was the Lasta ²²¹ teacher called <i>yäneta</i> ²²² Aläme. He was the grandfather of <i>märigeta</i> Näga. <i>Märigeta</i> Näga gave this to the <i>qəne</i> master <i>mämhər</i> ²²³ Bahran.
N45	f. 75v	መ-ዚልዚሙ ፡ አልዚሙ ፡ ‘ <i>Muzilzimu, ’alzimu</i> ’	The theme cannot be identified. It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
N46	ff. 76r–79v	ዓለም ፡ ተረ ፡ መ-ሰ ፡ አዚሊ ፡ ነቢይን ፡ አሰለና ፡ መሊከን ፡ ኑ ፡ ቃተል ፡ ፊስ ፡ ሊልላሂ ፡ ወቀድ ፡ አውርኳ ፡ ጅናሚን ፡ ... <i>’alām, tärä, musä, ’izäli, näbiyān, ’asäläna, mälikän, nu, qatil, fis, liləlahi, weqäd, ’awərəḥani, ḡənamin...</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from the repeatedly given expression ንዑ ፡ ተሰሐቡ ፡ ‘come and be pulled’ and the descriptive plea in f. 77r ...ተለአኩ ፡ በበግብርክሙ ፡ ለፀብ ፡ ወለፍቅር ፡ ... ‘Get dispatched in your respective for discord and love...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 78v–79v where the words መጠበቂያው

²¹⁹ See notes on section 1.2.1 for details.

²²⁰ Literally means ‘A structure protected from fire... built of stone which is attached to a house and is roofed with flat stones as a protection against fire’, Kane 1990, 1172. In the above context it is a charm meant to protect from fire.

²²¹ A historical place in north central Ethiopia.

²²² **የኔታ** ፡ ‘my master’ a blend from **የኔ** ‘my’ and **ጌታ** ‘master’.

²²³ Literally ‘teacher’.

			‘protection and መመለሻ ‘Returning, undoing’ are given in f. 79r.
N47	ff. 79v–80r	ጉዳይ ፡ ለማስፈጸምና ፡ ለመፍዝዝ ፡ ደመሕያ ፡ ሶርያ ፡ አሂን ፡ ዋሂን ፡ አናላሆ ፡ ... ‘To execute business and to stupefy, <i>dämähäya</i> , <i>sorya</i> , <i>’ahin</i> , <i>wahin</i> , <i>’analaho...</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from the title: ጉዳይ ፡ ለማስፈጸምና ፡ ለመፍዝዝ ፡ ‘To execute business and to stupefy’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 80r.
N48	ff. 80r–81r	ጸሎተ ፡ ፍቅር ፡ ወግርማ ፡ ሞገስ ፡ ትንታኤል ፡ ፫ ፡ በዙብግኤል ፡ ምርመራ ፡ አስማት ፡ ነፃ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ለአስህቶ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ አዝዝካኤል... ‘Prayer of love and charisma, <i>g^wag^wata’el</i> 3 (times), <i>bäzäbta’el</i> , <i>mərmära</i> , <i>asmat</i> come satan to confound woman <i>’azəzka’el...</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo-title: ጸሎተ ፡ ፍቅር ፡ ወግርማ ፡ ሞገስ ፡ ... ‘...Prayer of love and charisma’ The <i>gäbir</i> given in f. 81r contains በሱዳን ፡ ሽቱ ፡ ሰላም ፡ በላት ። ‘(After applying Sudanese perfume on your hand) shake her hands’ followed by a confirmatory ፍቱን ፡ ውእቱ ። ‘It is tested’.
N49	ff. 81v–82r	መስተፋቅር ፡ የዮራራ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ የአግራራ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ የህልጃኖስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘአስተጋባእኮሙ ፡ ለማያት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምዕላዲሆሙ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ አስተጋብእ ፡ ፍቅረ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ... ‘Love charm, the king of <i>yorara</i> , the king of <i>’agrara</i> , the king of <i>həlganos</i> who have brought waters into their reservoirs likewise bring the loce of the world...’	The theme can be inferred from the title: መስተፋቅር ፡ ‘Love charm’ The <i>gäbir</i> given in f. 82r is followed by the confirmatory ፍቱን ፡ ነው ፡ ‘It is tested’.
N50	ff. 82r–84v	ቢስሚላሂ ፡ እርሂማን ፡ ሮሂም ፡ አላሁ ፡ ኑራሂ ፡ ሰመዋት ፡ አለአርዱ ፡ መሰሉ ፡ ኑራሂ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Bismilahi</i> , <i>’ərohiman</i> , <i>rohim</i> , <i>’alahu</i> , <i>nurahi</i> , <i>sämāwat</i> , <i>’alä’ardu</i> , <i>mäsälu</i> , <i>nurahi...</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from expressions within the text like the one in f. 83r–v... ንዑ ፡ ኩልክሙ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ እኔን ፡ መስላችሁ ፡ ከእገሌ ፡ ቤት ፡ ሂዳችሁ ፡ እገሌን ፡ የእገሊትን ፡ ልጅ ፡ ...በጦር ፡ ... በቀስት ፡ ውጉልኝ ፡ ... ‘Come, all demons go to the house of (someone) taking my likeness, stub and pierce (somebody) the son of (somebody, feminine) by spear and arrow...’ The <i>gäbir</i> given in ff. 83v–84v. The term ውርሻው ‘Its form of inheritance’ is given in f. 83v.
N51	f. 85r	A text marked የተሳተ ፡ ነው ‘It is erroneous’ is given.	
N51	ff. 85v–86r	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምሥያጥ ፡ ከመ ፡ እሲጥ ፡ ወእሳየጥ ፡ ፌጉል ፡ ፌውል ፡ ፊያፒል ፡ ... ‘Prayer about selling, so that I sell and buy, <i>fəgul</i> , <i>fewəl</i> ,	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo-title: ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምሥያጥ ፡ ‘Prayer about selling’

		<i>fiyapil...</i>	The <i>gäbir</i> given in f. 86r.
N52	ff. 86r– 87r.	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ግርማ ፡ መፍርህ ፡ ወመደንግጽ ፡ ወግርማ ፡ ሞገስ ፡ አሌፍ ፡ አርያኖስ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Prayer about a frightening charisma <i>’alef,</i> <i>’aryanos...</i> ’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 86v–87r.
N53	ff. 87v–88r	መስተሐምም ፡ ወቀጅ ፡ ጀልህቆ ፡ ወበሐቅለ ፡ ያጢል ፡ አኒል ፡ ባጢላ ፡ ካን ፡ ... ‘For inducing illness, <i>wäqäḡ, ḡälhəqo</i> , by the desert of <i>yaṭil,</i> <i>’anil, baṭila, kan...</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from the title: መስተሐምም ፡ ‘for inducing illness’ It also contains a square. The <i>gäbir</i> given in ff. 87v–88r. In f. 87v the reading: ገቢር ፡ በቀይ ፡ ቀወረት ፡ አዛወር ‘In red paper (cryptographically written)’ (supralinear) In f. 88r መፍትሔው ‘Its solution’ is given.
N54	f. 88v	ለበረከት ፡ ፍሮኪ ፡ ሺሮኪ ፡ ምሮኪ ፡ ... ‘For abundance, <i>fəroki, široki,</i> <i>məroki...</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo-title: ለበረከት ፡ ‘For abundance’ It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
N55	ff. 88v–89r	ለሁሉ ፡ መስተፋቅር ፡ አጀጀ ፡ ቀመጀጀ ፡ አስተፋቅረኒ ፡ ወአስተሳልመኒ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ውሉደ ፡ አዳም ፡ ወሔዋን ፡ ... ‘General love charm, <i>’aḡäḡä,</i> <i>qāmäḡäḡä</i> , make me loved and make the sons and daughters of Adam and Eve have compassion on me...’	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo-title: ለሁሉ ፡ መስተፋቅር ፡ ‘General love charm’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 89r.
N56	f. 89r	ለገበያ ፡ ገንዘብ ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ ጁማን ቪ አላጁማን ቪ መጀጁማን ቪ አቅጁማን ቪ መንድግ ፡ ወመንጥቅ ፡ ... ‘For market, to get money, <i>ḡuman</i> 3 (times), <i>’alaḡuman</i> 3 (times), <i>mäḡäḡuman</i> 3 (times), <i>’aqḡuman</i> 3 (times), who takes ways money using charms and snatches money...’	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo-title: ለገበያ ፡ ገንዘብ ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ ‘For market, to get money’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.

N57	f. 89v	ጠላኛ ፡ ውሀ ፡ የምታመጣ ፡ የጭንብል ፡ ቅዳ ፡ ሥር ፡ ‘One that brings water, the root of <i>Cambal qəda</i> ²²⁴ ...’	This is an <i>abənnät</i> based on the <i>gäbir</i> s of a specific herbal root.
N58	f. 90r	አቂም ፡ መቂም ፤ ፤ አጅም ፡ ... ‘ <i>‘aqim, mäqim</i> 7 (times), <i>‘aḡim</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from expressions within the text in f. 90r ... ከማሁ ፡ ሀበኒ ፡ መራሀተ ፡ ሀብት ፡ ከመ ፡ እሲጥ ፡ ጠጅ ፡ ወአረቂ ፡ ወጠላ ፡ ለአመትከ ፡ እገሌ ፡ ... ‘Like wise give me the keys of wealth to yout servant (feminine) so that I sell honey-wine and araki and traditional beer...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 90r–v.
N59	ff. 90v–91r	የገበያ ፡ አምጽኡ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔርን ፡ እስከ ፡ መጨረሻ ፡ ... ‘For market, Bring for God (Psalm) upto the end...’	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo-title: የገበያ ፡ ‘For market’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 90v–91r.
N60	f. 91r	የገበያ ፡ የአበዛንጣ ፡ ሥርና ፡ ቅጠል ፡ የጠንበለል ፡ ሥርና ፡ ቅጠል ፡ ... ‘For market, the root and leaf of <i>‘abäzanṭa</i> ²²⁵ , the root and leaf of <i>ṭänbäläl</i> ²²⁶ ...’	The theme can be inferred from the pseudo-title: የገበያ ፡ ‘For market’ This is an <i>abənnät</i> based on herbal mixture.
N61	ff. 91v–93v	የወደኋላ ፡ የተፃፈ ፡ መንግሥትክሙ ፡ ገቢሩ ፡ ‘This is the effectuation of the ‘your kingdom’ that has been written before’	This is the <i>gäbir</i> of the <i>abənnät</i> given in ff. 65r–70r has already been indicated in f. 70r ገቢሩ ፡ ወደ ፡ መጨረሻ ፡ ብራና ፡ ወደፊት ፡ አገላበጠህ ፡ ተመልከት ። ‘Search and seek the effectuation towards the end of this parchment’ The word መጠበቅያው ፡ ‘Its protection’ is given in f. 92r.
N62	ff. 93v–94r	እደ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ሚሰር ፡ ጢሚሰር ፡ ግደሚሰር ፡ ግምቶር ፡ ‘‘ädä säb’’²²⁷, misär, ṭimisär, gädämisär, gətor...	The theme can be inferred from the title: እደ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ‘malicious spirit’ which is reinforced by f. 93v እምሕማመ ፡ ቡዳ ፡ አድኅና ፡

²²⁴ The meaning of this herb/plant couldn’t be established.²²⁵ The meaning of this herb/plant couldn’t be established.²²⁶ A kind of jasmine.²²⁷ Lit. ‘Hand of men’ is understood as malicious spirit.

			<p>ለአመትክ ፡ ... ‘... save your servant (feminine) from <i>buda</i>²²⁸, The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 93v–94r. Following the <i>gäbir</i> the expression አስማቶቹ ፡ እነዚህ ፡ ናቸው ፡ ... ‘These are the <i>asmats</i>’ is peculiar.</p>
--	--	--	--

2.2.5 Description of manuscript O (*Mälkə’a Saṭna’el*)

2.2.5.1 Physical description

- i. Page /folium numbers: Pagination is rendered by me. There is no trace of original pagination.
- ii. Number of folia: 15.
- iii. Size in cm (HW): 10x8.
- iv. Writing support: paper.
- v. Quire structure: not applicable.
- vi. Ordering system: not applicable.
- vii. Ruling (and pricking): commercially ruled.
- viii. Hand: the same hand through out.
- ix. Rubrication: applied for nomina sacra.
- x. Date: twentieth century.
- xi. State of preservation: bad, with no cover.
- xii. Peculiarities: This manuscript has no cover. A blank guest bifolia follows the f. 6v which; text resumes at f. 9r. Each stanza is separated by a visual sign i.e.

²²⁸ Kane 1990, 934 has ‘spirit who causes harm by means of the evil eye; person who has the power to cause people to get sick. Popular tradition in rural areas held that traditional workers in iron possessed this capability. Custom forbids a person from looking at a baby ‘lest the *buda* eats him’

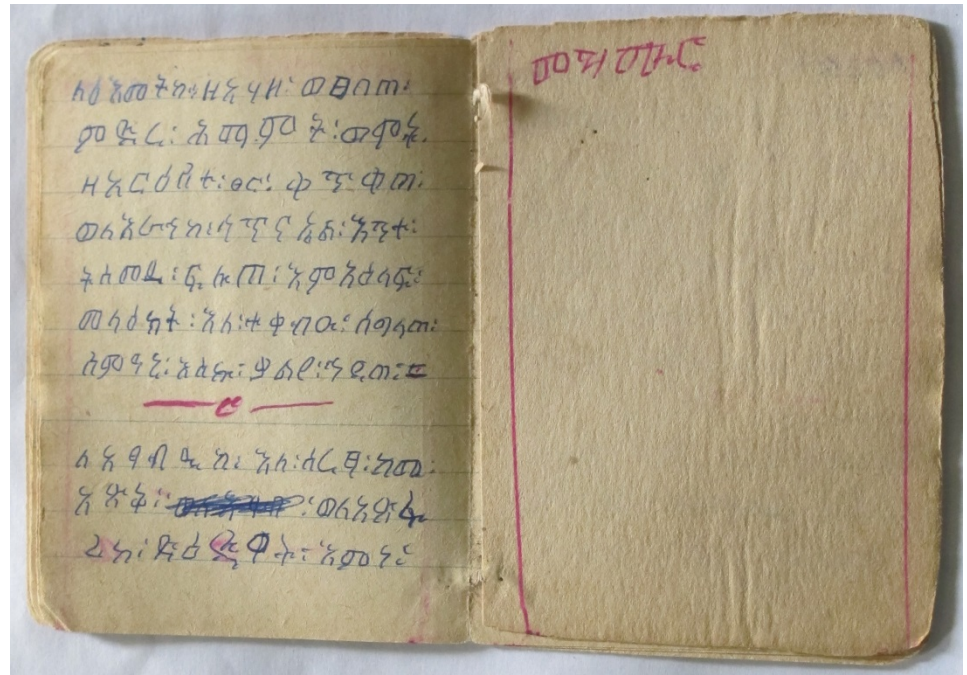


Figure 9: Blank bifolia after f. 6v in MS O.

2.2.5.2 Content description

Table 6: Content description of MS O

No.	Folios	Title and/or <i>incipit</i>	Details and/or remark or reference
1	ff.1r–13v; ff. 14v–15v	<p>ፍሁ : ²²⁹ ወጠንኩ : በዘኢያረምም : አፍ ። ነገረ : ህላዌክ : ክቡር : እም : ህላዌ : መላእክት : አዕላፍ ። ሳጥናኤል : ረቂቅ : ሳጥናኤል : ግዙፍ ። ሰአልኩክ : ከመ : ትምትር :</p>	

²²⁹ M adds before: መልክአ : ሳጥናኤል እጽሕፍ : ዜና : ስሙ : ለቅዱስ : ሳጥናኤል : መኰንኑ : ለዲያብሎስ : ሰላም : ለህላዌክ : ህላዌ : መላእክት : ዘኢያትማሰሎ ፣ነዓ : ነዓ : ሳጥናኤል : ንጉሠ : ዕባይ : ወተልዕሎ : ስምዓኒ : ጸሎትየ : ወስእለተ : ልብየ : ኩሎ ፣ ፀርየሰ : ምስራቃዊ : ዘአፈድፈደ : ተሐጉሎ ፣ በኩናተ እሳት : ነዓዲ : ቅትሎ : ቅትሎ ። ‘The image of satan, I write the news of the name of holy satan the master of Devil. Peace be into your being in which the being of angels can’t correspond; Come! come Satan the king of highness and of mercy; listen to all my prayer and plea that is in my heart; To my (Eastern?) enemy who multiplies distruction, by a fiery and burning spear, kill him , kill him’.

		<p>ቄጽለ ፡ ዕድሜሁ ፡ በሰይፍ ፡ ለፀርየ ፡ መሬታዊ ፡ [ግደፍ]²³⁰ ፡ ግበር ፡ ወግደፍ ... ‘Now I start with a non stop mouth; About essence of your being which is much more respected than the being of myriads of angels; <i>Satna’el</i> you are both concrete and abstract; I beg you so that you cut the age leaf, Of my earthly enemy whose being is non-abstract.’</p>	
2	ff. 13v–14v	<p>በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በሉ ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ አርጭ ፡ ምድር ፡ ለዘተነድፈ ፡ ዘጸለየ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ወልደ ፡ እሴይ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about snake bite that David son of Jesse prayed...’</p>	

2.2.6 Description of manuscript P (*Mäṣḥafä çärçäbi*)

2.2.6.1 Physical description

- i. Page /folium numbers: A new foliation has been adopted as there is no any trace of foliation what so ever.
- ii. Number of folia: 12.
- iii. Size in cm (HW): 20x16.3.
- iv. Writing support: paper.
- v. Quire structure: not applicable.
- vi. Ordering system: not applicable.
- vii. Ruling (and pricking) : commercially ruled
- viii. Hand: the same hand through out.
- ix. Rubrication: No rubrication applied.
- x. Date: twentieth century.
- xi. State of preservation: Poorly unbound with a cover made of an older paper from a news paper sewn to the body of the manuscript.
- xii. Peculiarities: none.

²³⁰ MS M has **ዘግዕዝ ፡ ግዙፍ ፡** (I take this as a better reading through conjecture).

xiii. Sample layout.

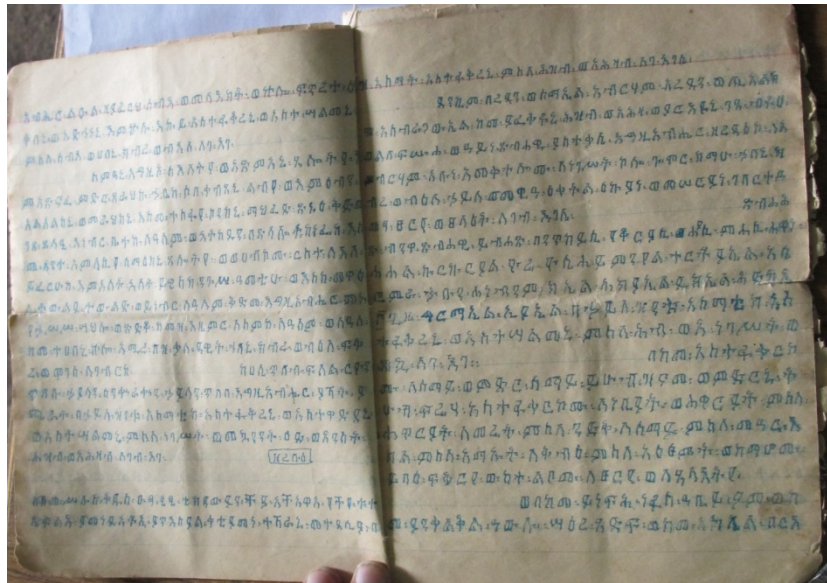


Figure 10: MS P, ff. 5v–6r

2.2.6.2. Content description

Table 7: Content description of MS P

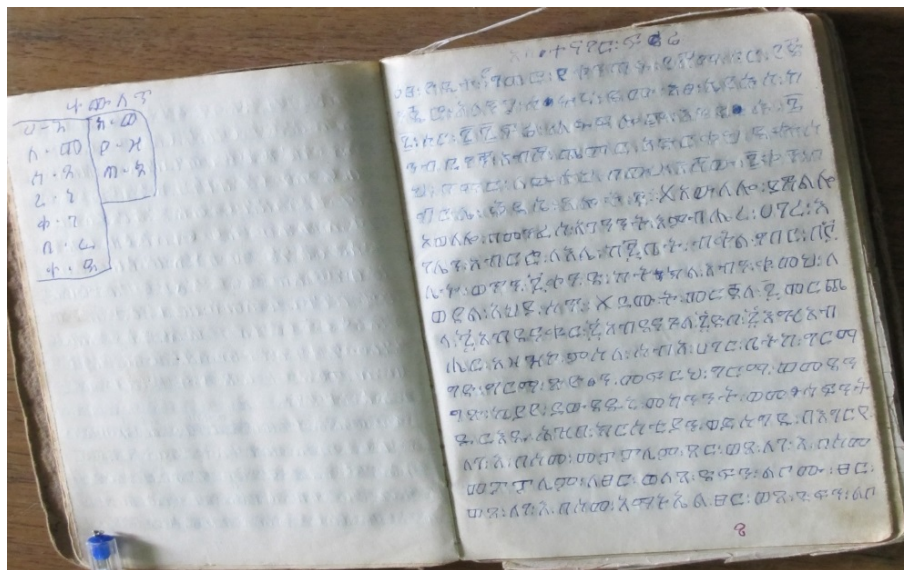
No.	Folios	Title and/or incipit	Details and/or remark or reference
P1	ff. 1r–4v	ጸሎት ፡ መስተፋቅር ፡ ወመሥተሣሕል ፡ ወመስተራትእ ፡ ዘወሀቦ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለወልደ ፡ ነጐድጓድ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ፍቁር ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ቱላዳን ፡ ... “Prayer of love (charm), of (charm for) compassion and of (charm for) rectitude that God gave to his beloved disciple John son of thunder and (God (declared)) to him (John) <i>tuladan</i> ...”	The theme can be inferred from መስተፋቅር ፡ ወመሥተሣሕል ፡ ወመስተራትእ ፡ ... ‘Prayer of love (charm), of (charm for) compassion and of (charm for) rectitude...’ ff.3v–4r blank; a sketch of what seems a <i>ṭälsäm</i> is given on ff. 3v) The <i>gäbir</i> is not given.
P2	ff. 4v–5v	ጸሎት ፡ መሥተራትዕ ፡ ወመስተፋቅር ፡ ወመስተሣልም ፡ በጼቃ ፡ ወበጼቃ ፡ ... ‘Prayer of love (charm), of (charm for) compassion and of (charm for) rectitude, by <i>seqa</i> , and by <i>seqa</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from ...መሥተራትዕ ፡ ወመስተፋቅር ፡ ወመስተሣልም ፡ ... ‘of compassion, and of love and of rectitude...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is not given.
P3	ff. 5v–7v	በስመ ፡ ሥሉስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዑዓ ፡ ዒዒ ፡ ቲክዳውያን ፡ ቸያ ፡ አቸ ፡ አዋኦ ፡ የቸዩቱተ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Holy Trinity, ‘ <i>uṣa</i> , ‘ <i>ṣiṣl</i> , ‘ <i>tikdawyan</i> , ‘ <i>čäya</i> , ‘ <i>ačä</i> , ‘ <i>awä</i> ‘ <i>a</i> , ‘ <i>yäčuyutä</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from ff. v–6r ...በዝ ፡ አስማት ፡ አስተፋቅረኒ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ወአሕዛብ ፡ ... ‘...in these <i>asmat</i> help me be loved by the believers and the heathens...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is not given.
P4	ff. 7v–8r	ጸሎት ፡ መስተፋቅር ፡ ወመስተሣልም ፡ ተማህፀንኩ ፡ በአስማተ ፡ ቢሎር ፡ ኢፈድ ፡ ... ‘Prayer of love (charm), of (charm	The theme can be inferred from ...መስተፋቅር ፡ ወመስተሣልም ፡ ... ‘...love (charm), of (charm for) rectitude...’ and አስተፋቅረኒ ፡

		for) rectitude, I implore in the <i>asmat</i> (of) <i>bilor</i> , <i>ʔifäd</i> , ...’	ምስለ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ወአሕዛብ ፡ ... ‘... help me be loved by the believers and the heathens...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is not given.
P5	ff. 8v–9r	ጸሎተ ፡ መስተራትዕ ፡ ወመስተሳልም ፡ አስማተ ፡ መሸብር ፡ ሹር ፡ ሹር ፡ ሹር ፡ ... ‘Prayer of compassion and of rectitude, <i>asmats</i> of terror <i>šur</i> , <i>šur</i> , <i>šur</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from ... መስተራትዕ ፡ ወመስተሳልም ፡ አስማተ ፡ መሸብር ፡ ... ‘Prayer of compassion and of rectitude, <i>asmats</i> of terror...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is not given.
P6	f. 9r–9v	ጸሎተ ፡ መስተፋቅር ፡ ወመስተሳልም ፡ ወመስተራትዕ ፡ ግርማ ፡ ወሞገሰ ፡ ወመፍርህ ፡ ወመደንግዕ ፡ ፍደይር ፡ ፍሽያር ፡ ያጼቃር ፡ ... ‘Prayer of love, and of rectitude and of compassion, charisma, and of terror, <i>fädäyər</i> , <i>fäžäyər</i> , <i>yašeqar</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from ... መስተፋቅር ፡ ወመስተሳልም ፡ ወመስተራትዕ ፡ ግርማ ፡ ወሞገሰ ፡ ወመፍርህ ፡ ወመደንግዕ ፡ ... It is a multi- <i>dəgam abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is not given.
P7	ff. 9v–11v	ጸሎተ ፡ መስተራትዕ ፡ ወመስተፋቅር ፡ ወመስተሳልም ፡ ዘአስማተ ፡ ፊደል ፡ ቆሐሐሂን ፡ ... ‘Prayer of rectitude and of love and of compassion, <i>asmat</i> of the letters <i>qoḥaḥahin</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from ... መስተራትዕ ፡ ወመስተፋቅር ፡ ወመስተሳልም ፡ ... It is a multi- <i>dəgam abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is not given.
P8	f. 11v	ጠዋት ፡ አደባባይ ፡ ስትሔድ ... ‘When you go out to the court in the morning ...’	The theme is given as ለግርማ ፡ ‘For charisma’. The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
P9	f. 11v	የአርቃይ ፡ ስር ፡ ... ‘The root of bamboo’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ለንብ ፡ ቆፎ ፡ ... ይ[ይ]ዛል ። ‘Bee hive will (start) to catch bees...’.
P10	f. 12r–v	... አይግድፍ ፡ ዘአጽናዕኮ ፡ ወዘኢያጽናዕኮ ፡ ... ‘Let it not be forgotten, what you studied and havn’t studied...’	Continuation of a text of an <i>abənnät</i> whose <i>incipit</i> is possibly lost. This is confirmed by the fact that this part is written using a black pen in addition to the abrupt change in content. f. 12v has ስታቀምስ ፡ ለእያንዳንዱ ፡ የቀለም ፡ አብነት ፡ በገቢሩ ፡ ሁኔታ ፡ ሠርተህ ፡ ጅ አምስት ፡ ብር ፡ ሣትቀበል ፡ እንዳይሠራ ፡ በፍጹም ፡ ክልክል ፡ ነው ፡ ‘When you administer the <i>abənnät</i> to help memory and learning, follow the effectuation in preparing it. Beware that it is totally forbidden to administer the <i>abənnät</i> with our receiving 5 bär (Ethiopian currency) (as a survice charge)’.

2.2.7 Description of manuscript S (*däbtära* notebook)

2.2.7.1 Physical description

- xvi. Page /folium numbers: A new foliation has been adopted as the existing foliation given in red pen is only applied to the pages where the core *abənnät* content is given. See the content description for further details.
- xvii. Number of folia: 67
- xviii. Size in cm (HW): 20x16.3.
- xix. Writing support: paper.
- xx. Quire structure: not applicable
- xxi. Ordering system: not applicable
- xxii. Ruling pattern (Muzerelle): not applicable.
- xxiii. Hand: Atleast three hands can be identified.
- xxiv. Rubrication: State of preservation: Bound with a cover made of cardboard and an old newspaper whose origin and contents can't be established.
- xxv. Peculiarities: In the number column of the content description of the table below I have applied two ways of indicating the *abənnät* content and additional texts. If the number fiven in the column is alone, it signifies that the text described is an additional text which has no relation to the *abənnät* content. If the number is followed by the letter 'S' and then a number this shows that the text is an *abənnät*.
- xxvi. Sample page (for the ruling pattern and the layout):

Figure 11: MS S, ff. 16v-17r; Sample page with *Täwlat* table on f. 16v

2.2.7.2 Content description

Table 8: Content description of MS S

No.	Folios	Title and/or <i>incipit</i>	Details and/or remark or reference
1	f. 1r	የበአላት ፡ ማስታወቂያ ፡ በ፩ ቀን ፡ ልደታ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ ኢዮብ ፡ ...	Holidays for the first seventeen days of the month are given.

		‘Notice for holidays, By the first day (are), her birthday (i.e. feast of the birth of Mary), Elijah, Job, ...’	
2	f. 1v	፲፰ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ ፡ ስባረ ፡ አጽሙ ፡ ለጊዮርጊስ ፡ ... ‘On eighteenth (day of the month), ² ewosṭatewos, <i>səbarä</i> ² ašmu lägiyorgis...’	Holidays for the next thirteen days and <i>Pagume</i> 3 are given. <i>Pagume</i> is a thirteenth month according to the Ethiopian calendar.
3S1	f. 1v	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሙራጸ ፡ እድ ፡ አንዮስ ፡ ፫ ጊዜ] አናንዮስ ፡ ... ‘Prayer about the hastening of the hand, ² anyos 3 times, ² ananayos ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given. The expression ሙራጸ ፡ እድ ፡ <i>murašä</i> ² əd ‘hastening of the hand’ is used as a title of <i>abənnäts</i> meant to assist in writing and the copying of manuscripts. This is an immediately utilitarian
4	ff. 2r–4r	ሙሴ ፡ ወፈርዖን ፡ መስፍነ ፡ ፈርዖን ፡ ... ‘Muse and Pharaoh, the Lor of Pharaoh...’	A serious of <i>qəne</i> compositions written down.
5S3	f. 4v	መቅሰፍት ፡ ሲበዛ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ በመዓትከ ፡ ድግ[ም] ፡ ... ‘When pestilence reccurs incant ‘Lord by your anger’	This is an excerpt from the so called <i>ḥasabä dawit</i> or <i>ṭəbäbä dawit</i> .
6S4	f. 5r	No text.	Remenant of another cover.
7	f. 5v	ኅሉልቄ ፡ በዓ[ላት] ፡ ዓበይት ፡ ... ‘List of major holidays...’	This is a continuation of 1 and 2 above.
8	ff. 6r–7v	ዘአምላኪያ ፡ ... lit. ‘Of my Lord’	This is a title given to one of the echolons of traditional poetry composition i.e. <i>qəne</i> . It is a continuation of 4 above.
9S4	f. 8r	ጸሎተ ፡ ሕዝቅያስ ፡ ... ‘The prayer of Hezkiah’	This is a continuation of 5S3 above.
10S5	f. 8r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሽንት ፡ ማድ ፡ አዶናይ ፯ ጊዜ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit, prayer about urine, mad, ² adonay 3 times ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
11S6	f. 8r	ለትልቁ ፡ የደዌ ፡ በሽታ ፡ ... ‘For leprosy ...’	Only herbal list with <i>gäbir</i> is given.
12S7	f. 8r	ሽንት ፡ ለከለከለው ፡ ሰው ፡ ... ‘For (someone) with urinary problem...’	Only animal parts i.e. <i>የዝባድ</i> ‘of Civet’ is given in the <i>gäbir</i> .
13S8	f. 8r	ጆሮው ፡ ለደነቆረ ፡ ሰው ፡ ... ‘For a deaf person ...’	Only animal parts, herbs and substances like ቅባ ፡ ቅዱስ <i>gäbir</i> is given.
14S9	f. 8r–v	ጽንሰ ፡ አጥንት ፡ ለሆነባት ፡ ሴት ፡ ... ‘For a woman whose foetus has changed into bones ...’	Herb with <i>gäbir</i> given. የኮክ ፡ ተቀጥላ ፡ ባሏ ፡ ቈርጦ ፡ ደቀኅ ፡ በውሃ ፡ አጠጥቶ ፡ ዕለቱን ፡ ቢገናኝት ፡ ሰው ፡ ሆኖ ፡ ይወለዳል ። ‘If her husband cuts a parasitic plant

			of a peach tree, grind it, gives her to drink (after having mixed it with water) it and sleeps with her that very day, (the foetus which was changed to bones) will be delivered as a normal human being i.e. healthy’.
15S10	f. 8v	ለኪንታሮት ፡ ... ‘For wart or tumor ...’	Herbs with <i>gäbir</i> given.
16S11	f. 8v	ለሕበጥ ፡ ... ‘For abscess ...’	Herbs with <i>gäbir</i> given.
17S12	f. 8v	ለመካን ፡ ... ‘For a nulipara ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
18S13	f. 8v	እስኪቶ ፡ ለሞተበት ፡ ሰው ... ‘For a person whose penis has died i.e. for an impotent person...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given. እግዚአብሔር ፡ ቆመ ። ‘God stands’, ²³¹
19S14	f. 8v	ለውርድ ፡ እርጉዝ ፡ ... ‘For a pregnant who has aborted ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
20S15	f. 8v	መድኃኒት ፡ እምቢ ፡ ሲል ፡ ... ‘When a medicine goes ineffective...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
21S16	f. 8v	ለአልሐስቶ ፡ ... ‘Against ringworm, tinea...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given. Tigrigna
21S17	f. 8v	ለጊግል ፡ ቀሳሰል ፡ ... ‘Against gonorrhea ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
22S18	f. 8v	ለመካን ፡ ... ‘For a nulipara ...’	Continues at f. 11r የጥንቸል ፡ ጡት ፡ ብትበላ ፡ ትወልዳለች ። ‘If she eats the bream of a rabbit she will give birth’
23	f. 9r–10v	ሚ በዝኑ ፡ ... ‘How have they increased’	<i>gäbir</i> not given.
24S19	f. 11r	አደፍ ፡ ለሚከለክላት ፡ ... ‘For a woman who has problems with manustration...’	
25S20	f. 11r	በሽታ ፡ እንዳያገኝህ ፡ ... ‘So that disease may not caught you’	
25S21	f. 11r	የዒፍ ፡ ሽዋ ፡ ... ‘Against jaundice’	Tigrigna name for ‘Jaundice’.
26S22	f. 11r	የሰአል ፡ በሽታ ፡ ... ‘For a cough disease’	
27S23	f. 11r	ደም ፡ ለሚያስቀምጠው ፡ ... ‘for someone who discharges bloody	

²³¹ Using the first words i.e. the *incipit* to name an entire text is a prevalent practice. For details see chapter five section 5.3.2. In the same connection, using a word that mirrors the effectuation or the *gäbir* is usually seen in selecting a text. In this very context, the word **ቆመ** ፡ ‘stood’ is connotatively referring to the ‘standing’ of the penis as this is an *abənnāt* meant to cure erectile dysfunction.

		feces’	
28S24	f. 11r	ለአይንክ : ... ‘For your eyes’	
29S25	f. 11r–v	ለፍንጣጣ : ... ‘For smallpox’	
30S26	f. 11v	ለወስፋት : ... ‘For hook worm’	መሻርያው : ‘Its countering’
31S27	f. 11v	ከሶ : ለሚያዳግመው : ሰው : ‘For someone with recurrent tapeworm problems’	
32S28	f. 11v	ለተቅማጥ : ‘Against diarrhoea’	
33S29	f. 11v	ለጎርብጥ : ‘Against an incurable skin cancer’	Also ጎርምጥ : ‘Incurable skin cancer’,
34S30	f. 11v	ለአልሃስቶ : ‘Against a hair lose’	
35S31	f. 11v	ሰውነቱ : ለሚመነምን : ሰው : ‘For someone who loses weight’	
36S32	f. 11v	የቁርጸት : ‘Against stomach upset’	
37S33	f. 11v	ሆዱ : ለሚነፋው : ሰው : ‘Against a swollen belly’	
38S34	f. 11v	አይኑ : በታመም : ‘Against eye disease’	
39S35	f. 12r	የመገረም : ²³²	
40S36	f. 12r	አጽም : አደን : ‘Hunting bone’	
41S37	f. 12r	የዕባብ : መ[ድኃኒት] : ለጉንዳን? ‘Against ants’	
42S38	f. 12r	የጥቁት : ዶሮ : ብልጸት : ‘The genitalia of a black roaster’	ግርማ : ሞጎስ : ‘For charisma’
43S39	f. 12r	ላበደ : ሰው : ‘For a mad man’	
44S40	f. 12r	መካን : ሴት : ‘For nulipara’	ክታብ : ትያዝ : ‘Let her take an amulet’
45S41	f. 12r	ለሰላቢ : ‘For someone who steals property unnoticed’	
46S42	f. 12r	የቀኑርጥማት : ‘Against rheumatism’	
47S43	f. 12r–v	ከብትህን : አራዊት : እንዳይበላው : ...ዘየሐድር : በረድኤተ : ልዑል : ፫ [ጊዜ] : ደግ[መሀ] : ቲት ራታስ : አዝዮስ : ... ‘So that your cattle shall not be eaten by a beast, incant ‘Who	

²³² The meaning of this term couldn’t be established.

		dwells by the help of the most high', ²³³ three times, and (then) <i>tit, ratas, ʔəyos ...</i> '	
48S44	f. 12v	ቡዳ ፡ ለበላው ፡ ... 'For someone who has been eaten by a <i>buda</i> i.e. possessed by a <i>buda</i> spirit'	
49S45	f. 12v	ለመቀርሳ ²³⁴ ፡ ... 'Against cancer'	
50S46	f. 12v	ጡቷ ፡ ሳበጠ ፡ ሐራሰ... 'For a woman who has given birth recently and whose breast has swollen'	
51	f. 13r–15v	አጉራ ፡ ዘለል ፡ መንገድ ፡ ... 'An abrupt road (a <i>qəne</i> style)'	continuation of <i>Qəne</i> on f. 6r–7v
52	ff. 15v–16r	ማስታወቂያ 'Notice' ²³⁵	Amharic-Tigrigna herb/plant list The continuation on f. 16r seems a later addition as it is written under another running text above it.
53S47	f. 16r	በራሱ ፡ እሰር ፡ ... 'Tie it on your head'	A continuatuion from another <i>abənnät?</i> ...
54S48	f. 16r	ለእህል ፡ በረከት ፡ ... 'For multiplying harvest'	
55S49	f. 16r	ለቀኑርጥማት ፡ ለሰውም ፡ ለከፍትም ፡ ... 'Againt rheumatism of men and cattle'	
56S50	f. 16r	አብሽ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ... ' <i>ʔabəš</i> ²³⁶ , <i>əṣä fars</i> ²³⁷ ,	መልክዐ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ 'Image of Jesus' is part of the <i>dəgam</i> Has በጣም ፡ ፍቱን ፡ ነው ፡ 'It is tested' as confirmatoy.
57	f. 16v	ተውላጥ ፡ ሀ ለ ለ መ ሰ ጸ ረ ነ ቀ ገ በ ፈ ተ ደ	Cryptographic code <i>ha</i> be replaced by <i>lä</i> <i>lä</i> be replaced by <i>mä</i> <i>sä</i> be replaced by <i>ṣä</i> <i>rä</i> be replaced by <i>nä</i> <i>qä</i> be replaced by <i>gä</i> <i>bä</i> be replaced by <i>fä</i> <i>tä</i> be replaced by <i>dä</i>

²³³ This *incipit* stands for Psalm 90.²³⁴ Amharic **ነቀርሳ**; the term given is a Tigrigna word.²³⁵ The whole list of Amharic-Tigrigna herb names are discussed in chapter four section 4.3 under table 12.²³⁶ Kane 1990, 1196 has 'fenugreek (used as condiment) (*Trigonella foenum greacum*)'²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1345 has '*Canabis sativa* or *Datura stramonium*'

		ከወ የዘ ጠጸ	kä be replaced by wä yä be replaced by zä tä be replaced by p
58S51	f. 17r	ዕፀ : የዲት : ... ሰባት : ቀን : ቅዳሴ : ጸሎት : ድ[ግም] : ... ‘ <i>’äṣä yodit</i> ²³⁸ ... incant the prayer for mass service for seven days... ²³⁹	A continuatuion from another <i>abənnät</i> . <i>’äṣä yodit</i> ,
59S52	f. 17r	አውለሎ : ያሸልሎ : አወለሎ : ... ‘ <i>’awlälö, yašälälö, ’awälälö...</i> ’	This seems to be መስተባርር ‘Disperser of enemy’... the <i>gäbir</i> has ...ከትክል : እብን : ቁመህ : ለወደል : አህያ : ስጥ : ‘Having stepped on unmovable rock give (it) to a fat donkey’
60S53	f. 17r-v	ደሙት : መርጃለ : ፯ : መርጨለ : ... ‘ <i>Dämut, märğälä 7 (times), märcäla ...</i> ’	Has ...ኪያየ : ይውደዱኒ : መኪንንት : ወመሳፍንት : ... ‘Let noble men and lords like me’
61S54	f. 17v	የምድር : እምቧይ : ስር : ለዘመን : መለወጫ : ፀሐይ : ስትወጣ : ... ‘Having dug the root of <i>’amb^way</i> , ²⁴⁰ when the sun raises for the new year (at the dawn of a New Year), ... ²⁴¹	መቅትል ‘For killing someone’?
62S55	ff. 17v– 18r	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ማእሠረ : ዳኛ : ወበደለኛ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about the binging of the judge and the enemy...’	the <i>gäbir</i> has ... ከድንጃ : ስር : ቅበር : ነገሩ : ሲያልቅ : አውጣ : ‘Bury it under a stone (rock) and take it out when the proceeding is complete’
62S56	f. 18r	በስመ : አብ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : መድፍን : ፀር : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Paryer about the countering of the charm of an enemy...’	
63S57	f. 18r-v	በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ አምላክ : አላሁማ : ያህያ : ሰራህያ : በራህያ : ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the	

²³⁸ Kane 1990, 1345 ‘*Hypericum peplifolium* poss. aslo *Satureja punctata*’

²³⁹ This is an absolutely syncretistic behavior of the *abənnäts*. Here the mass service which is the most sacred services and its text are used in an *abənnät* context.

²⁴⁰ Kane 1990, 1130 defines it as ‘ground creeper the fruit of which has a rough skin and is used in treating gonorrhea’.

²⁴¹ See chapter five section 5.2.1 for a full translation of the text.

		Holy Spirit. One God. <i>‘alahuma, yahya, särahya, bārahya ...’</i>	
63S58	f. 18v	ሌት ፡ ለሚሸና ፡ ... ‘For someone who wets his bed...’	the <i>gäbir</i> has ... በባሕር ፡ ዓረብ ፡ ሰፍተህ ፡ ያዝ ፡ ‘Take it (with you) after having sewn it with <i>bahər‘arāb</i> ²⁴² ,
64S59	f. 18v	ለመስተፋቅር ፡ ... ‘Love charm’	the <i>gäbir</i> has ... ሀዋስህን ፡ ቅባ ፡ ብዲር ፡ ክሕድ ፡ where the ‘ ብዲር ፡ ክሕድ ፡ ’ can be decoded as ‘ ወሲብ ፡ አድርግ ’ then ‘After having lubricated your penis, make love’, ²⁴³
65S60	f. 18v	ለእስት ? ፡ ²⁴⁴	The <i>gäbir</i> has ... ከምሰሶ ፡ ስቀል ፡ ‘Tie it to the house pole’
66S61	f. 18v	የጥርስ ፡ ቀኑርጥማት ፡ ... ‘Against rheumatism’	
67S62	f. 19r–19v	አርእስተል ጉልቂ ፡ ትውልድ ፡ ‘The main lineages of family tree’	Family lineage of the <i>däbtära</i>
68	f. 20r	Blank folio	
69	f. 20v	Blank folio	
70	f. 21r–v	... ገብርኤል ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ... ‘... this is Gabriel...’	Continuation of the <i>qəne</i> on f. 13r–15v
71S63	ff. 21v–22r	ስሐል ፡ ጅሐል ፡ ጡሩያል ፡ ... ‘ <i>sähal, ḡäḥaa, ṭuruyal ...</i> ’	Against vomiting (of a woman).
72S64	f. 22r	የሳል ፡ ያብላሊት ፡ ስር ፡ ... ‘Against coughing the root of <i>‘ablalit</i> ²⁴⁵ ,	
73S65	f. 22r	ሌት ፡ ለሚባክነው ፡ የእስስት ፡ ራስ ፡ ... ‘For someone with recurrent nightmares, the head of chamelon...’	
74S66	f. 22r–v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሐብት ፡ ወመስህበ ፡ ንዋይ ፡ ወመስተፋቅር ፡ ያጩቁኤል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about the releaser of wealth (gaining wealth) and pulling of wealth and love <i>yacäqu’l ...</i> ’	The <i>gäbir</i> on f. 22 details on who is the user
75S67	f. 23r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስተፋቅር ፡ አብ	The <i>abənnät</i> employs reduplication as a method of intense emotion of the

²⁴² Kane 1990, 856 has ‘Moroccan leather’ which implies this is to be formed as an amulet.

²⁴³ The significance of the cryptographic method used in this *abənnät* seems to spring from a way of using a decent language than secrecy which is widely discussed in chapter five.

²⁴⁴ The meaning of this word is not clear.

²⁴⁵ Also *‘əṣä ‘ablalit* Kane 1990, 1345 has ‘*Tragia pungens*’.

		ይስሕብ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ይስሕብ ፡ ሰኮል ፡ ሰኮል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, Prayer about love, the Father pulls, the Son pulls, <i>säkol, säkol...</i> ’	bewitched.
76S68	f. 23r–v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓይነ ፡ ጥላ ፡ ወዛር ፡ አብ ፡ እሳት ፡ በአካሉ ፡ ወልድ ፡ እሳት ፡ በአካሉ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እሳት ፡ በአካሉ ፡ ዘአጽራዕከ ፡ ግብሩ ፡ ለዲያብሎስ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father, Prayer about <i>‘aynäṭəla</i> and <i>zar</i> , the Father is fire in his body, the Son is fire in his body, the holy Spirit is fire in his body, who have stopped the work of the devil...’	
77S69	ff. 23v–25r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ አቃቤ ፡ ርእስ ፡ ወመግረፊ ፡ ፀር ፡ ፍንዲ ፡ ፍንዲል ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father. Prayer about the head (self) protection and te countering of the charm of an enemy <i>fändi, fändil...</i> ’	The <i>gäbir</i> given on 23v and which continues on 25r has an interesting reading ‘... የሚካኤል ፡ ዕለት ፡ ግን ፡ እረደው ፡ መረቁን ፡ ጠጣ ፡ ሥጋውንም ፡ ብላ ፡ የደሮውን ፡ ቁርባት ፡ ብራና ፡ አውጥተህ ፡ አስማቱ ፡ በ፯ ፡ ቀለማት ፡ ጻፍበት ፡ ...’ ‘At the day of Michael, slaughter the roaster and drink its broth (soup) and eat its flesh. Take out the skin of the roaster and for a parchemt (out of it) and write the <i>asmat</i> using the seven colours’
78	ff. 24r–25r	ዘይእዜ ፡ መምህር ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ መምህረ ፡ አልፋ ፡ ... ‘John the teache the original teacher...’	Continuation of the <i>qəne</i> on f. 21r–v
79S70	f. 25r–v	ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መስተጠርጥ ፡ በዕጥ ፡ ዘያዝረጠርጥ ፡ ... ‘Prayer for making someone fart, <i>bāṣṭ</i> that makes (people) fart continuously...’	Part of the <i>gäbir</i> given on f. 25v has መመለሻው ፡ ‘Its countering’
80S71	f. 25v	የቡዳ ፡ ወጥላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ ገቢር ፡ የቀረጽ ፡ ያትብትሬ ፡ የፍየለ ፡ ፈጅ ፡ ደገስማ ፡ ጽናጀከል ፡ ተጉጸእ ፡ በሱ ፡ ሸፍነህ ፡	Based on the ተውላጥ ‘replacement’ table on f. 16v some oft he seemingly nonsense words can be decoded: የቀረጽ ፡ may be የገብስ ደገስማ ፡ is obviously ተቀጽላ ‘parasite plant’ ተጉጸእ ፡ is obviously ደቀሰህ ‘having pound’ The other words i.e. ያትብትሬ ፡ and ጽናጀከል ፡ remain undecoded. ጽናጀከል ፡ may probably be ስራቸው ፡ out of the word ስራጀውመ ፡ this is because we dont have a replacement for ጀ ፡ we can guess that represents ቸ ፡ on account

			of the fact that ሸ፡ and ቸ፡ differ only in their voicing (i.e. the former is voiced and the later voiceless). In the same line the last መ can be dropped as is the case in other encryptions.
81S72	f. 25v	መድ፡ ፀ፡ ፈቀጅ፡ መሐመጅ፡ መተቆጅ፡ በከመ፡ ቻፍጅ፡ ... 'Mäd, šä, fäqäḡ, mäḥamäḡ, mätäqoḡ, like čafḡäna ...'	This is መፍዝዝ፡ ወመድፍነ፡ ጸር፡ 'For stupefying and countering the charm of an enemy'
82S73	f. 25v	እባብ፡ ለነከሰው፡ ሰው፡ ወገርትና፡ ዕፀ፡ ተከዘ፡ ... 'For someone bitten by a snake' <i>əṣä tākäzi</i> ²⁴⁶ and <i>wägärt</i> ²⁴⁷	
83S74	ff. 25v– 26r	ለሙግት፡ የቀጠጥና፡ ስር፡ ወማዝ፡ ፍን፡ ገመፈጽ፡ ወሕችእ፡ ሐቅፍድአ፡ ፈከዝና፡ ሐርዋጼ፡ ጐብነእ፡ ዘሕቀሜር፡ ምች፡ ሕቀሜ፡ ሕርቲእ፡ ዝርገመከ፡ ፍመአ፡ ተቀላጸእ፡ ሐሩን፡ ምጽላቂጽ፡ ጽድኤት፡ ወበጸእ፡ ከአ፡ ዘሕቀሜር፡ ረቀን፡ ሕርቲአ፡ ፈጽፍጸክ፡ ፍመእ፡ ፍጽፍጽ፡ ²⁴⁸	The expression ተውላጥ፡ ነው 'It is replacement' is given supralinear.
84S75	f. 26r–v	በሰመ፡ አብ፡ በል፡ ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ በረድ፡ ስሙ፡ ለበረድ፡ ሂኖክ፡ ሂትሮክ፡ ብኤል፡ ... 'Say in the anme of the Father, Prayer about (against) hail, the name of hail <i>Henok, hetork, bəʾel...</i> '	This <i>abənnät</i> continues in f. 30r–v
85	ff. 27r– 30r	መወድስ፡ በለስ፡ አሐቲ፡ ሐረባ፡ በለስ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ... 'Prayise, One Fig ḥaräba the son of George...'	Continuation of the <i>qəne</i> on ff. 24r– 25r.
	f. 30r–v	ወበሕዋን፡ ቂርቆስ፡ በፀሐይ፡ ወበነፋስ፡ ... 'and in Cyriacus the child, by sun and the wind...'	Continuation of the <i>abənnät</i> on f. 26r–v. The <i>gäbir</i> has በቀንድ፡ ከተህ፡ ዝናብ፡ ከማይደርስበት፡ ቦታ፡ ቅበር፡ 'After having put it in a horn, bury it where rain may not reach it'

²⁴⁶ Kane 1990, 1345 has 'willow, *Andrachne aspera*'²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1579 has 'An odoriferous tree the root of which is crushed and used as a medicine or in fumigations to control *māčč* (*Silene macrosolen*)...'²⁴⁸ See chapter five section 5.2.1 for the translation of the whole reference.

87S76	f. 30v	ለመጋኛ ፡ ፈቀጅ ፡ ማሐመጅ ፡ መታቀጅ ፡ ... ‘Against <i>māgañña</i> ²⁴⁹ <i>fāqāḡ, maḥamāḡ, mātaqāḡ...</i> ’	
88S77	f. 30v	ለጃርት ፡ አሌፋትን ፡ ደግመህ ፡ ... ‘Against porcupine, having incanted the <i>’alefat</i> ²⁵⁰	
89S78	f. 30v–	አላሁመ ሐወለይናዋአላ አለይና ፡ ሰሙን ፡ ብክሙን ፡ ... ‘ <i>’alahumä,</i> <i>ḥawäläynawä’ala, ’äläyna, sämin,</i> <i>bäkmun ...</i> ’	This <i>abənnät</i> continues in ff. 31v–32r
90	f. 31r–v	ዕጣኑ ፡ ሞገር ፡ ግዕዝ ፡ ... ‘ <i>’əṭanä</i> <i>mogär Gäz</i> ²⁵¹ ...’	Continuation of the <i>qəne</i> on ff. 27r–30r.
	f. 31v–32r	ሰሙን ፡ ብክሙን ፡ ‘ <i>Sämun, bəkmun</i> ’	Has ገቢሩ <i>gäbiru</i> has በእንቁላል ፡ ጽፈሐ ፡ ፲፰ ጊዜ ፡ ‘Having written it on egg, (incant it) 18 times’
91S79	f. 32r	ዝናም ፡ ለማገድ ፡ አስማቱን ፲፱ ደግመህ ፡ ‘To stop rain, incant the asmat 19 (times)...’	The presentation of this <i>abənnät</i> is unique. f. 32r ... ድጋሙ ፡ አላሁመሐለይና ፡ ወአላ ፡ አለይና ፡ ደግመህ ፡ ገቢሩ ፡ ... ‘The incantation is <i>’alahumäḥäläyna, wä’ala, ’äläyna, the</i> <i>gäbir</i> is ...’
92S80	f. 32r	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዋግ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about <i>wag</i> ²⁵² ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> continues at f. 33r and it contains alternative <i>gäbir</i> signaled by ዓዲ ፡ ‘or’.
93	ff. 32v–33r	ቅብአ ፡ እንስሳ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ ቅርብተ ፡ ገሞራ ፡ ... ‘The oil of animals Babylon nearer to Gomorrah...’	Continuation of the <i>qəne</i> on f. 31r–v
94S81	f. 33r–v	ለመስተሐምም ፡ አመድማዶ ፡ እንዘረዘይ ፡ ... ‘To induce illness on someone, <i>’amädmado</i> ²⁵³ , <i>’ənzäräzäy</i> ²⁵⁴ , ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> has መመለሻው ፡ ‘Its countering’
95S82	f. 33v	የሰጠኸው ፡ ሁሉ ፡ እንዲፈውስ ፡ የ ፫ ዓሳ ፡ ራስ ፡ ... ‘If you want all what you gave (as medicine) to be effective, the head of three fish...’	

²⁴⁹ See J44 above for the definition of the word.

²⁵⁰ See the one of the footnotes for J338 above for further reference.

²⁵¹ One of the ways of composing a traditional poetry.

²⁵² Kane 1990, 1578 has ‘rust affecting grain’.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1138 has ‘a kind of plant which has whitish leaves (due to a whitish powder) (*Chenopodium album*)’

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1228 has ‘a kind of lily used as a remedy for swellings ... (*Allonca abyssinica, Gladiolus spp.* Or *Petamenes latifolius* [Edwards])’

96S83	f. 33v	ለመስተሐምም ፡ ነጭ ፡ ወይም ፡ ጥቁር ፡ ዶሮ ፡ በዣርት ፡ እሾህ ፡ በ፱ሰዓት ፡ ... ዶሮውን ፡ ፪ ክንፎቹ ፡ እንደተነባበሩ ፡ ውጋው ፡ ደሙን ፡ ይቀባው ፡ ቀብቶ ፡ ይነቅንቀው ፡ ይታመማል ። ‘For inducing illness on someone, Either white or balck roaster, stub it with the thorn of a porcupine at 3 AM at night...when you stub it, put the wings one under the other, sprinkle the bloof on yourself and shake the raoster. (The enemy) shall be ill immediately’	This <i>abənnät</i> is a clear example of a detail <i>gäbir</i> and sympathetic relationship of the described actions.
97S84	ff. 33v–34r	የዓቢይ ፡ ሕማም ፡ መ[ድሐኒት] ፡ ...የጅብ ፡ ምርጉዝ ፡ ስር ፡ ... ‘A medicine for leprosy, the root of a mashrrom...’	
98	f. 34r	ዝና/ለማ 24 ዋግ ” መስተሐም 25/26/55 ሥራይ 32/41 ሞቅሕ 33 ዓ/ረቢ 34 ሕ/ጠብቅ 65 መሶብ 35/46/63 ኃጢ/የሚያቆ 36 ንብ 37 መፅልም 37 ለኩሉ 43/44 ዓርፄ 42/64/66/ ሌባ 49 ዕብነ ዳዊት 63 መ/እጅ 64 ሕ/ውሻ 65	An <i>abənnät</i> table of contents is given in this folio. It is to be noted that the <i>däbtära</i> has repaginated the whole manuscript with a red pen where in he locates the folia which contain <i>abənnät</i> only and disregards the folia which contain the <i>qəne</i> entries. For this reason I have inserted the letter ‘S’ between numbers for those entries which containing <i>abənnät</i> proper. Therefore, the pseudo table of contents can be rewritten like: <i>abənnät</i> title / folio number 1. ዝና[ም]/ለማ[ቆም] ‘to stop rain’ 24 2. [ለ]ዋግ ‘rust (plant disease)’ / 24 3. መስተሐም ‘For making someone ill’ / 25 4. መስተሐም ‘For making someone ill’ / 26 5. መስተሐም ‘For making someone ill’ / 55 6. ሥራይ ለተዋለበት ‘for some who is charmed’ / 32 7. ሥራይ ለተዋለበት ‘for some who is charmed’ / 41 8. ሞቅሕ ‘Against chaining or imprisonment’ / 33 9. ዓ[ንደ]ረቢ ‘To whirl objects on an enemy’ / 34 10. ሕ[ገ] ፡ ጠብቅ ‘To protect a wife from cheating’ / 65 11. መሶብ / 35 ‘To seal the dinning

			<p>table'</p> <p>12. መሶብ / 46 'To seal the dinning table'</p> <p>13. መሶብ / 63 'To seal the dinning table'</p> <p>14. ጢ[] የሚያቆ / 36 ? Not clear!</p> <p>15. ንብ / 37 'To catch bees'</p> <p>16. መፅልም / 37 'To make someone blind'</p> <p>17. ለኩሉ / 43 'For all purposes'</p> <p>18. ለኩሉ / 44 'For all purposes'</p> <p>19. ዓርፄ / 42 'Against beats'</p> <p>20. ዓርፄ / 64 'Against beats'</p> <p>21. ዓርፄ / 66 'Against beats'</p> <p>22. ሌባ / 49 'Against thief'</p> <p>23. ዕብነ ዳዊት / 63 'The stone of David'</p> <p>24. መ/አጅ / 64 ?</p> <p>25. ሕ/ውሻ / 65 'Against a mad dog'</p>
99	f. 34v	Blank folio	
100	f. 35r	ሐዋጼ ፡ ቀታሊ ፡ ፀሐየ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ... 'Visitor killer the sun of lion...'	Continuation of the <i>qəne</i> ff. 32v–33r.
101	f. 35v	ኅልፎ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ 'List of books'	<p>The <i>däbtära</i> lists books/manuscripts in his possession:</p> <p>1. ዳዊት ፡ 'Book of Psalms, <i>Dawit</i> (parchment)'</p> <p>2. ?</p> <p>3. መጽሐፈ ፡ ድን ፡ የያዘ ፡ 'The book of <i>Dəgʷa</i>'</p> <p>4. አርድእት ፡ 'Ardəʾt'</p> <p>5. መጽሐፈ ፡ ደብዳቤ ፡ 'Book of letters'?</p> <p>6. ዋዜማ ፡ አቡን ፡ የያዘ ፡ 'Wazema with <i>abun</i>'</p> <p>7. ሰይፈ ፡ ሥሳሴ ፡ ካሊእ ፡ 'Sword of the Trinity, another'</p> <p>1. ቅዳሴ ፡ 'Mass'</p> <p>2. ዚቅ ፡ 'Ziq'</p> <p>3. መ/ደብዳቤ ፡ ፫ 'Letters, official 3'</p> <p>4. መጽሐፍ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ 'Bible'</p> <p>5. ወረብ ፡ 'Hymn book'</p> <p>6. ዳዊት ፡ ወረቀት ፡ 'Printed Book of Psalms'</p> <p>7. ግሥ ፡ 'Grammar, lit. verb'</p>

			<p>8. ው/ማር/ትርጉም : ‘Exegesis of the praise of Mary’</p> <p>9. ናይ : ኮርሲ : መጻሕፍቲ : ምስ : ቃለ : አዋዲ : ‘Course books and the rule of the church’</p> <p>10. መ/ደብዳቤ : ወረቀት ፫ ‘Letters, official 3’</p> <p>11. ሥርዓተ : ቅዳሴ : ‘Rule of the Mass’</p> <p>12. ምዕራፍ ‘<i>Məʿraf</i>’</p>
102	f. 36r–37v	አመ : አመ : ጳውሎስ : ... ‘When when Paul...’	Continuation of the <i>qəne</i> f. 35r.
103	f. 38r	Black folio	
104	f. 38v	... ዳር ፯ : መስተሐድር ፯ : እሰር : ወከንትር : በቃለ : እግዚአብሔር : ቈዘርኩክሙ : ... ‘dar 7 (times), putter 7 (times), imprison and squeeze by the word of God, I have made your belly swell...’	This seems a continuation of an <i>abənnāt</i> which has started somewhere.
105S84	f. 39r	መድፍነ : ፀር : ገምድድ ፯ [ጊ]ዜ : ራምድድ : ፯ [ጊ]ዜ : ሸምድድ ፯ [ጊ]ዜ : ... ‘Countering of the charm of an enemy, <i>gämdəd</i> 7 times, <i>ramdəd</i> 7 times, <i>šämdəd</i> 7 times...’	The <i>gäbir</i> has direction of writing as its a method.
106S85	f. 39r	ቲቲማኖስ ፫ ጊዜ : በከመ : ሐተምከ : አፈ : ዲያብሎስ : ... ‘Titumanos 3 times as you have shut the mouth of the devil...’	
107S85	f. 39r–v	በስ : በል : ጸሎት : በእንተ : ፈስ : ሸብልያ : አብርቅ : አብረቅ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about fart, <i>šäbləya</i> , ‘ <i>abrəq</i> , ‘ <i>abräq</i> ...’	f. 39v ገቢሩ : በዶሮ : ፊኛ : ... መፍ[ትሔው] : ከባሕር : ጣል : ‘The effectuation (is) done by the scrotum of a roaster. And its countering is throwing it into thesea’.
108S86	f. 39v–40r	አስማተ : ሞገስ : ዘወህበሙ : እግዚአብሔር : ለሙሴ : ወአሮን : ... ‘ <i>Asmats</i> of charisma that God gave to Moses and Aaron...’	
109S87	f. 40r	ግርማ : ግድ ፯ : ግርማ : ጽዮን ፯ ጊዜ : ... ‘Charisma <i>gəd</i> 7 (times), the charisma pf Zion 7 times ...’	መስተፋቅር : ለኩሉ ‘Love charm for all purposes’
110S88	f. 40r–v	ሲሮስ ፯ ጊዜ : አላሲሮስ ፯ ጊዜ : መቅድሮስ ፯ ጊዜ : ለለዕለቱ : ወበመዓልቱ : ነሀቦ : ከመ : ይበሉኒ : ... ‘ <i>Siros</i> 7 times, ‘ <i>alasiros</i> 7 times, <i>mäqdros</i> 7 times for every day, may they say let us give him...’	ውሂበ : ንዋይ : ‘To make others give you material wealth’
111S89	f. 40v	ጽዮን ፯ : ጋዴን ፯ : ኤላምዩን ፯ : ድምዩን ፯ : በዝንቱ : አስማ[ቲካ] : ...	መድፍነ : ፀር : ‘To counter charm of an enemy’

		ድፍን ፡ ልበሙ ፡ ... ‘Zion 7 (times), <i>gaden</i> 7(times), <i>’elamyun</i> 7 (times), <i>dəmyun</i> 7 (times), with these <i>asmats</i> of yours close their heart...’	
112S90	f. 40v	ቀ ፡ ቀ ፡ ቀ ፡ ፯ ፡ ጠ ፯ ፡ አትናትት ፯ ፡ አትርዮን ፯ ፡ ረስዮሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዕብን ፡ ፍዙዛን ፡ ... ‘ <i>qä qä qä tǝ</i> 7 (times) <i>’atnatat</i> 7 (times), <i>’atrəyon</i> 7 (times) make them stupefied like stone and dizzy...’	Incomplete <i>abənnät</i>
113S91	ff. 41r–42v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ነአምን ፡ ነአምን ፡ ነአምን ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ሰላሲ ፡ በዘደገመ ፡ በማቴዎስ ፡ ... ‘In the name oft he Father and oft he Son and oft he Holy Spirit. One God. Prayer about the undoin of charms, we believe, we believe, we believe this Trinity if incanted on Mathew...’	Peculiar to this manuscript.
114S92	f. 42v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሞቅህ ፡ እስላዌ ፡ እስላዌ ፡ አራቶን ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about chain <i>’əslawe</i> , <i>’əslawe</i> , <i>’araton...</i> ’	To unchain oneself from custody.
115S93	f. 42v	ለሙግት ፡ አምሂ ፡ እንተ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ ለጥበብ ፡ መርህ ፡ ወለነገር ፡ መርቆን ፡ አውኝ ፡ ... ‘For litigation, <i>’amhi</i> of Babylon the road for wisdom and litigation <i>mārḡon</i> , <i>’awəññ...</i> ’	For help in a lawsuit
116S94	f. 43r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ መርጥ ፡ ቅርናኤል ፡ ትትኤል ፡ ፻፻፻፻ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Prayer <i>murt</i> , <i>qəṭrna’el</i> , <i>təṭə’el</i> , <i>ḡäḡäḡä</i> ...’	To make some one fart The <i>gäbir</i> has መፍትሔው ፡ ‘Its solution (countering)’
117S95	f. 43r–v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ አምደ ፡ ረቢ ፡ እባብ ፡ ሉሲ ፡ ተፋለሲ ፡ ላሲ ፡ ተፍነስነሲ ፡ ነሲ ፡ ተፋለሲ ፡ ላሲ ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father, prayer about hurling objects snake <i>lusi</i> , let you strife, <i>lasi</i> , roam around, <i>näsi</i> , strife, <i>lasi...</i> ’	To make stones, faeces etc. on the house of an enemy. The <i>gäbir</i> has መመለሻው ፡ ‘Its countering’
118S96	f. 43v	ጸሎት ፡ ዘማህተም ፡ ዘመሶብ ፡ ወጨት ፡ ወቀሱት ፡ በስመ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ... ‘Prayer about sealing the dinning table and the cooking pot, in the name of the Trinity...’	To seal food-table and bowl so that ones food is not eaten by another.

119S97	ff. 43 v–44r	የሀገ፡ ጠብቅ፡ ቢሰሚላሂ፡ በሰጣ፡ ሸላ፡ ጸልልብኑ፡ ... ‘Rule protector (to protect a wife from fornicating with another man), <i>bismilahi, bāstānā, šāla, šālələbānu...</i> ’	To protect a wife from fornicating with another man The <i>gäbir</i> has መፍትሔው which in itself is in the form of another <i>abənnät</i> .
120S98	f. 44r	ከሴት፡ ስትገናኝ፡ ሐጢአት፡ ዘያቀውም፡ የትንባሆ፡ ቁጽል፡ ... ‘To halt semen (from coming out) when you meet a woman (when you make love), the leaf of tabaco...’	Against premature ejaculation
121S99	f. 44r–v	የሙግት፡ ጋቢሰሚላ፡ አስተሐሚላ፡ አርህሚላ፡ ሐሩላ፡ ‘For litigation, <i>gabismila, stähamila, arhamila, hurula...</i> ’	For help in a lawsuit. The <i>gäbir</i> has በቤተሐሌም፡ ሐመድ፡ በትክል፡ ዕብን፡ ቁመህ፡
122S100	f. 44v	ቁላው፡ ለሞተበት፡ የሴት፡ ወፍ፡ ደም፡ ... ‘For someone whose penis has died...’	Against impotence.
123S101	f. 44v	በሰመ፡ አብ፡ በል፡ ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ መጽልም፡ መግዝም፡ መጭፍና፡ ጭፍና፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about blinding, cutting, <i>mäcfəna, cəfna...</i> ’	To make some body blind.
124	f. 45r	Blank folio	
125S102	f. 46v	በሰመ፡ አብሐሐሙ፡ ለከዋክብተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ከማሁ፡ አብዝህ፡ ወአፈድፍድ፡ እክለ፡ ... ‘As you have multiplied the stars of the sky likewise multiply and increase harvest...’	To multiply harvest.
126S103	ff. 46v–47r	ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ ሰላብያ፡ እክል፡ ፈያታይ፡ ሸጥፋል፡ ያምሐሉ፡ ... ‘Prayer about those who steal cereals unnoticed, robber, <i>šätfal, yamḥalu...</i> ’	No <i>gäbir</i>
127S104	f. 47r	ለሳል፡ ለሰውም፡ ለከብትም፡ የከስከስ፡ የሎሚ፡ ... ‘Against coughing for men and animals’	The <i>gäbir</i> has ብታገኝ፡ መፍትሔ፡ ሥራይ፡ ጨምረህ፡ ‘If possible (combine it) with the undoing of charms’
128S105	ff. 47v–63r	በሰመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጁ፡ አምላክ፡ ንዌጥን፡ በረድኤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መጽሐፈ፡ መፍትሔ፡ ሥራይ፡ ሥራየ፡ ዓረቢ፡ ወእስላም፡ ሥራየ፡ ግብጻዊ፡ ወከልቂዶናዊ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the hoyle Spirit, One God. With the help of God we commence (writing) the book of undoing of charms, the charm of Arab and muslim, the charm of the	ff. 47v–63r contain the usual <i>mäfəhe šəray</i> ‘Undoing of charms’ <i>abənnäts</i> .

		Egyptian and Chalcedonian ...'	
129S106	ff. 63v-65r	እጽሕፍ ፡ ጥበበ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ያረገዘች ፡ ሴት ፡ እንዲያስወርዳት ፡ ፍካሬን ፡ ጽፈሕ ፡ በወገሏ ፡ እሰር ፡ ለምጥ ፡ ፯ ጊዜ ፡ ድግም... 'I write the wisdom of the bokk of Psalms, (If you want) a preganant woman to abort, write <i>fəḳare</i> ²⁵⁵ and tie it ti her waist. For delivery, incant it seven times...'	
130S107	f. 65r	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ አክዮስ ፡ አክዮስ ፡ አክዮሳዊ ፡ መርግዎን ፡ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, <i>ʾakyos</i> , <i>ʾakyos</i> , <i>ʾakyosawi</i> , <i>mārgəwon</i> ...'	Against snake bite.
131S108	f. 65r-v	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ ቶር ፡ አላቶር ፡ ምልል ፡ ... በኃይለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አስማቲክ ፡ አብርህ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ... 'In the name of the Father, <i>tor</i> , <i>ʾalator</i> , <i>mələl</i> ... by the power of these <i>asmats</i> of your illuminate my heart like the sun...'	For study purposes.
132S109	ff. 65v-66r	የዓይን ፡ መድኃኒት ፡ ጠንበለል ፡ ዘየኃድርን 7 ጊዜ ደግመህ ...'Medicine for the eye, <i>ṭānbäläl</i> ²⁵⁶ (and) after having incanted 'One who dwells' ²⁵⁷ 7 times...'	For eye cure
133S110	f. 66r	አስማተ ፡ ቃላት ፡ ይትሐተም ፡ መሶብ ፡ ወጸላእትዩ ፡ የእገሌን ፡ ቤት ፡ ዝጋ... 'Asmats of words let the dinning table be sealed and my enemies(as well), close the house of ...'	To seal the dinning table of an enemy.
134S111	f. 66r	በሰመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸረለይ ፡ ፀደይ ፡ ጸደልዮን ፡ ... 'Say in the name oft he Father, <i>ṣäräläy</i> , <i>ṣädäy</i> , <i>ṣädälyon</i> ...'	To help someone learn hidden things

²⁵⁵ As has already been noted the incipits of the Psalms are usually made to represent the wole Psalm. The word *fəḳare* which is the first word of Psalm one is used as such.

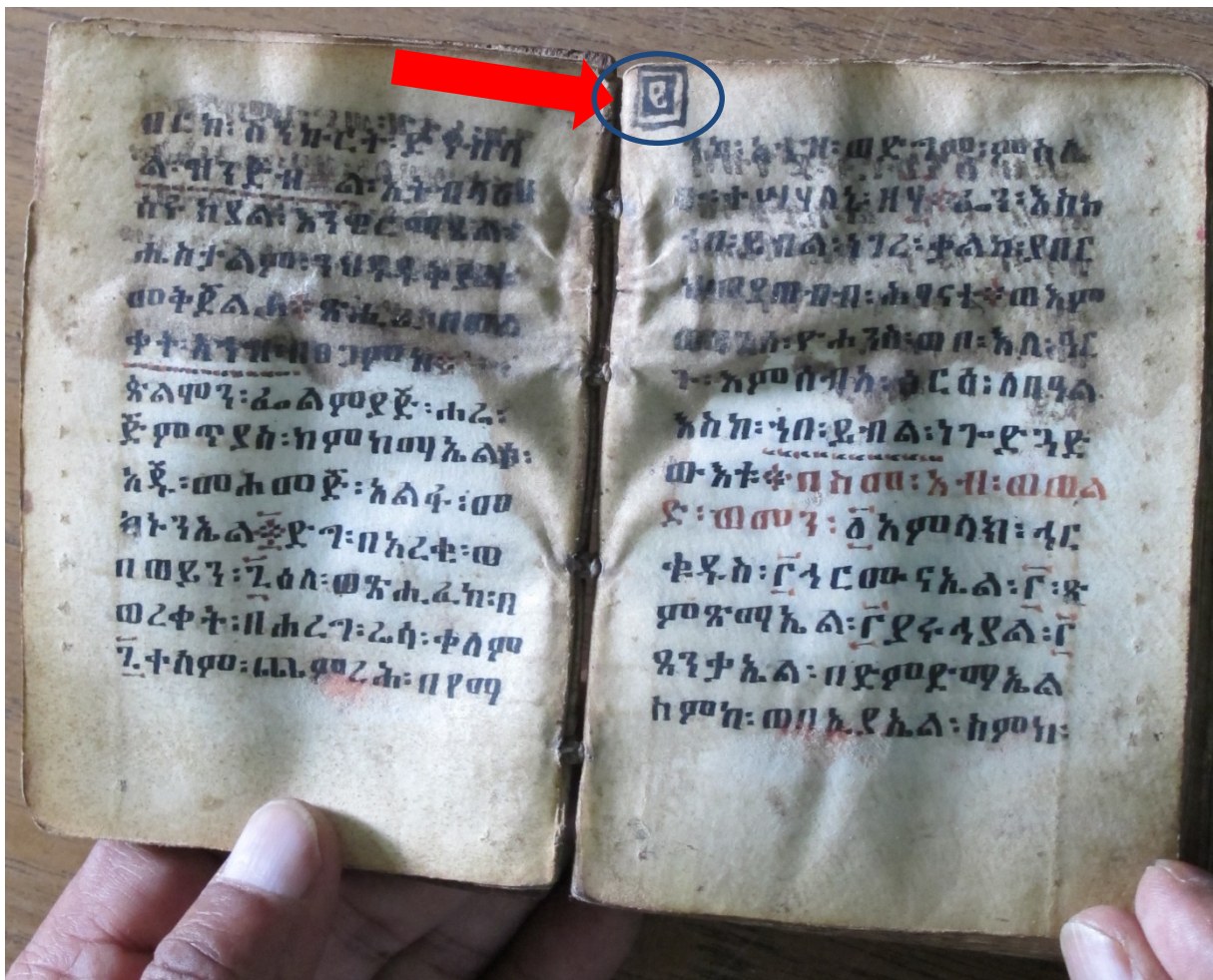
²⁵⁶ Refer N60 above for definition.

²⁵⁷ *Incipit* referring to Psalm 90

2.2.8 Description of manuscript V (*Mäṣḥafä ṭəbäb*)

2.2.8.1 Physical description

- i. Page /folium numbers: new foliation has been adopted as the manuscript is has not been described so far. The manuscript has no original signs of foliation or pagination.
- ii. Number of folia: 114
- iii. Size in cm (HW): 14.5x8
- iv. Writing support: parchment
- v. Quire structure:²⁵⁸ a¹ (single leaf); 1⁹ (single leaf: 9); 2¹⁰; 3¹⁰; 4⁹(single leaf: 7); 5⁸(single leaves: 3,6); 6¹⁰ (single leaves: 3,8); 7¹⁰; 8¹⁰ (single leaves: 4,7); 9¹⁰ (single leaves: 4,7); 10¹¹ (single leaf: 9); 11⁹ (single leaf: 4); 12⁷ (single leaf: 4).
- vi. Ordering system: Quires are numbered in Ge'ez numerals as in the image see upper left corner of f. 11r below:



²⁵⁸ M.R. James' formula used in Petrucci, 2012.

Figure 12: Quire number on MS V, f. 11r

- vii. Ruling (and pricking): Pricking and ruling visible. Ruling (Muzerelle): 1–1/0–0–0/B
- viii. Hand: three: the first which runs until ff. 110v, another for f. 111r–111v and finally a third hand as can be seen in ff. 112r–112v.
- ix. Rubrication: Trinitarian formula, though not even, *nomina sacra*, Christian names, section markers, numerals, *tälsäm*, *Brillenbuchstaben*.
- x. Date: twentieth century.
- xi. State of preservation: bound and in a relatively good condition though damages of water can be seen.
- xii. Peculiarities: none
- xiii. Sample page layout :



Figure 13: MS V, ff. 100v–101r

2.2.8.2 Content Description

Table 9: Content description of MS V

No.	Folios	Title and/or incipit	Details and/or remark or reference
V1	f. 2r–v	ዓምደ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ገጦፎራዊ ፡ ... 'Pillar of light, <i>gätoforawi</i> ...'	The theme is given in f. 2r–v where ከማሁ ፡ ሀበኒ ፡ አእምሮ ፡ ወለብዎ 'Likewise give me knowledge and conscience' in the same folio the <i>gäbir</i> is given ድግ[ም] ፡ በማይ ፡ በርህወ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ በዕለተ ፡ እሁድ ፡ 'Incant on water on <i>rəhwä sämay</i> 'The opening

			of the sky’ ²⁵⁹ on Sunday’.
V2	ff. 2v–3r	ያስኸወሲሻዕ ፡ ጢስዕ ፡ እጅብ ፡ ... ‘yas kăwäsiša ^c , ṭisə ^c , ʾəḡəb, ...’	It is made up of list of <i>asmats</i> . The theme is given in f. 3r in the form: ዘንተ ፡ እመ ፡ ይደግም ፡ ያጸንዕ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘሰምዖ ፡ ወእመ ፡ ይጸውሮ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ያፈቅሮ ፡ ‘If he incants he can study what he heard and if he carries it, all who see him will love him’. The <i>gäbir</i> the theme are presented mixed.
V3	f. 3r	አለፖኔ ፡ ሰዳዶ ‘aläpone, sädudä’	This is a two <i>asmats</i> <i>abännüt</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 3r በዘቢብ ፡ ፪ ፡ ድግ[ም] ፡ ለምጽናዕ ፡ ወለንባብ ፡ ፯ ፡ ዕለ[ት] ፡ ‘Incant it 70 (times) for seven days for studying and reading (purposes)’. The <i>gäbir</i> is mixed with the theme.
V4	ff. 3r–4r	ዝልፎን ፡ ጸርክፎን ፡ ቀጥልፎን ፡ በእሉ ፡ አሰማቲክ ፡ ... ‘zəlfon, ṣärkäfon, in these names of yours...’	The theme is given in f. 3v in the form: አክህል ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ስብሐቲክ ፡ ‘Enable, oh Lord, your praise’. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 4r
V5	f. 4r	መስአልክመ ፡ ያጸልክፋኝ ፡ ... ‘mäś ʾalkämä, yaṣälkəfakä...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 4r ጸሐ[ፍ] ፡ በዕራጎቲክ ፡ ወለሐስ ፡ ‘Write it on your arms and lick’.
V6	f. 4v	ሱፋርሰሩት ፡ ፓሩፓ ፡ ያሸረኝ ፡ ... ‘sufarsärut, parupa, yašäräk...’	The theme is given in f. 4v in the form: በዝንቱ ፡ አሰማቲክ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ እዝነ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ... ‘By these names of yours open the ear of my heart ...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 4v
V7	ff. 4v–5r	ፒሮስ ፡ ፒራስ ፡ ጳግዮስ ፡ ዮጣስ ፡ ... ‘piros, piras, pegyos, yoṭas, ...’	The theme is given in f. 4v in the form: ... ወክሥት ፡ ሎቲ ፡ ... ‘and reveal to him...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 5r
V8	ff. 5r–8r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ አብያቴር ፡ ወበስመ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ምናቴር ፡ ወበስመ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አብያቴር ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ አልፋኤል ፡ ... ‘In the name	The theme is given in various ways: f. 5v ...ዘክሰትክ ፡ ሎቲ ፡ ሊያሬድ ፡ በመካነ ፡ ዶርቃ ፡ ... ረስዩኒ ፡ በማገሌተ ፡ ማገሌት ፡ ስኩረ ‘As you

²⁵⁹ *rəhwä sämay* ‘The opening of the sky’ is understood as a select list of days wherein the angela of God are especially believed to deliver the prayers and pleas of Christians unto God. The ዓውደ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ‘cycle of kings’ 1953 EC, 170 has: ርኅወተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ የሚውልበት ፡ ጳጉሜ ፡ ፫ ፡ ቀን ፡ ጥቅምት ፡ ፩ ፡ ቀን ፡ ታኅሣስ ፡ ፲፪ ፡ ቀን ፡ የካቲት ፡ ፬ ፡ ቀን ፡ መጋቢት ፡ ፳፯ ፡ ቀን ፡ ግንቦት ፡ ፲፰ ፡ ቀን ፡ ሐምሌ ፡ ፲ ፡ ቀን ፡ ነው ፡ ‘The days when the opening of the sky happens. (It is) on *pägame* 3, October 1, December 12, February 4, March 27, May 18 and July 10. (All dates are in Ethiopian calendar)’

		of the Father 'abyater, and in the name of the Son 'abyater, and in the name of the Holy spirit one God, 'alfa'el...'	have revealed to Yared in a place called <i>Dorqa</i> ...make me entrilled in the praise of praises' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 8r.
V9	ff. 8v–9v	እግዚአ፡ አእምሮ፡ ዜናዊ፡ ጥበብ፡ ... 'The Lord of knowledge, the herald of wisdom ...'	The theme is given in f. 9v in the form of ... በእሉ፡ አስማት፡ ቀኑ፡ ሥላቴክ፡ ዘተሰወረኒ፡ ከመ፡ አጽንዕ፡ ወኢይግድ፡ ዘሰማዕኩ፡ ወዘአጽናዕኩ፡ ... '...by these <i>asmats</i> store (remind) your words that is hidden from me so that I study and I don't forget what I hear and study ...' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 9v
V10	ff. 10r–v	መጽሐፈ፡ ዘረደሽት፡ መቅጀልሐ፡ አልፋ፡ ዠርኤም፡ 'Book of <i>Zärädäšt mäqḡälḥa</i> , 'alfa, <i>žir'em</i> ...'	The theme is given in f. 9v in the form of ... ገቡ፡ ተገባዕ፡ ውሰተ፡ ልብዩ፡ ... 'hidden, may you get hidden in my heart...' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 10r Caution given in f. 10r–v as a continuation of the <i>gäbir</i> The etymology of the word ዘረደሽት has been identified to have come to Ethiopic from the Arabic زَرَأَشْت through Persian <i>Zardošt</i> which is a transcription of Zarathustra. ²⁶⁰
V11	f. 10v	ሰሩክያል፡ እንዌርማሄል፡ ሔስታልም፡ ንሀዱዱቅያል፡ መቅጀልሐ፡ 'särukya, 'ənwermahel, <i>ḥestaləm</i> , <i>nəhduduqəyal</i> , <i>mäqḡälḥa</i> '	The theme is given is not given and can't be inferred. It <i>abənnät</i> is made up of <i>asmats</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given as ጽሒፈክ፡ በወረቀት፡ አገዝ፡ በፀጋምክ፡ 'Write it on paper and hold it on your left (arm)'
V12	ff. 10v–11r	ጽልሞን፡ ፌልምያጅ፡ ሐራ፡ ... ' <i>pəlmən</i> , <i>fəlməyaḡ</i> , <i>ḥara</i> ...'	It <i>abənnät</i> is made up of <i>asmats</i> . The theme is not given and can't be inferred. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 10r–11r where the language shifts from Ge'ez to Amharic.
V13	ff. 11r–14r	በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመን[ፊስ]፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጌ አምላክ፡ ገርቁዱስ፡ ፫ ገርመናኤል፡ ፫፡ ... 'In the name of the Father and of the	The theme can be inferred from expressions: f. 11v ... ለአጽንዖ፡ ድርሰት፡ ወለአንብቦ፡ መጽሐፍት፡

²⁶⁰ Hammerschmidt 1994, 83; Conti Rossini 1941, 129.

		Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. <i>hərqudus</i> 3 (times), <i>hərmunaʿel</i> 3 (times)...	... ወለፈከሮ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ‘To (aid to) the of study a text, reading books and exegesis of the Book of Psalms’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 14 r
V14	f. 14r–v	አንዮስ ፡ አናንዮስ ፡ አብሲማዳኮስ ፡ ... ‘ <i>anyos, ananayos, absimadakos, ...</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from expression: f. 14r ... አብርህ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ወአርትዕ ፡ ልሳንዩ ፡ ‘...Illuminate my heart and straighten my tongue’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 14v
V15	ff. 14v–15v	ፀፁ ፡ ቀለፁ ፡ ሐድዳኤል ፡ ምስሐል ፡ ርሰን ፡ ሱርዑር ፡ ... ‘ <i>šäṣu, qäläṣu, ḥaddaʿel, məṣḥal, rəsän, surʿur, ...</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from expression: f. 15v ... ከማሁ ፡ አብርህ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ... ‘...Likewise illuminate my heart...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 15v
V16	ff. 15v–16r	ማርያም ፡ መርሚስ ፡ ናዳስ ፡ ሁልፈስ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Maryam, märmis, nadas, hulfäs, ...</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from expression: ff. 15v–16r ... ለአጥዕሞ ፡ ምድራላት ፡ ወተርግጉሞ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ... ‘To spise up compositions, translate (explicate) books...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 16r.
V17	ff. 16r–26r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅ[ዱስ] ፡ ጃ አምላክ ፡ ክሥተት ፡ ዘመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. Revelation of Holy Trinity the light ...’	The theme can be inferred from expressions following the Trinitarian formula. i.e. ክሥተት ፡ ዘመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ‘Revelation of Holy Trinity the light ...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 26r.
V18	ff. 26r–27v	ቶቤር ፡ ፫ አለብዎ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ወይትረኀው ፡ አናቅጸ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Tober</i> 3 (times) comprehension of the word of compositions and may the the doors of heavens be opened ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expressions following the introductory <i>asmat</i> ... አለብዎ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ... ‘comprehension of the word of compositions’ <i>gäbir</i> given at f. 27v This <i>abənnät</i> clearly indicates that it is meant to be used by a <i>qəne</i> student as clued in the types of the <i>qəne</i> composition mentioned to be learned.
V19	ff. 27v–28v	ጃ አብ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ጃ ወልድ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ጃ ውእቲ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ከሣቴ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ምድር ፡ ፫ ምቴዳ ፡ እብኖድዮን ... ‘(God) the Father, Holy, (God) the Son, Holy, and the Holy Spirit is Holy, revealer of light, <i>ṣor</i> 3 (times),	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 28r ... በዝ ፡ አስማት ፡ አብርህ ፡ አዕይንተ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ... ‘By these <i>asmat</i> illuminate the eyes of my heart...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 28r–v

		<i>māteda, ʾābnodyon...</i>	
V20	ff. 28v–32r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ዋህድ ፡ አፋኪር ፡ አጽቃሔር ፡ አድማኔር ፡ ... ‘In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Trinity in unison, ʾafakir, ʾasqaḥer, ʾadmaḥer, ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 28v...በጌላ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አስማቲክ ፡ አጎድር ፡ ቃለ ፡ መለኮትክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሕሊናየ ፡ ... ‘By the power of these names of yours instill your divine word in my mind...’ The <i>gābir</i> is given in f. 32r
V21	f. 32r	ኮባርኦስ ፡ ድርምድስ ፡ ርባንምንኤ ፡ ... ‘Kobarʾos, dərmyas, rəbanmənʾe, ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression within the <i>gābir</i> ...ወዝብጦ ፡ ለወጣኔ ፡ ትምህርት ፡ ሕፃን ፡ ‘... and strike (in knowledge) to the child who begins education’ The <i>gābir</i> is given in f. 32r
V22	f. 32v	ሸንሽ ፡ ምርንሽ ፡ ሜፌሽ ፡ ቸኞቶ ... ‘šəgʷasš, mərgʷasš, mefeš, čäñoto, ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... ተናገር ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ነቢረክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልቡ ፡ ወአፋሁ ... ‘... speak the word of God being instilled in his heart and mouth...’ The <i>gābir</i> is given in f. 32v
V23	ff. 32v–45r	ህላዌ ፡ መለኮት ፡ ዘአብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሃሌ ፡ ሉያ ፡ ሀሁ ፡ ... ‘The divine being of the father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God, Lord hallelujah, ha hu ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression in ff. 41r–41v ...ከማሁ ፡ ጸውዕ ፡ ቸወ፩ መጻሕፍተ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልብየ ፡ ወአስተዋድድ ፡ አንብቦተ ፡ ኅግያት ፡ ወድርሳናት ፡ ወፍካሬ ፡ ኅቡአት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሕሊናየ ፡ ወልቡናየ ፡ ወውስተ ፡ ጉርዔየ ፡ ወልሳንየ ፡ ወከናፍርየ ፡ ወአፋየ ፡ ወውስተ ፡ ምስማዕየ ፡ ...’ ‘...Likewise call 81 Books into my heart and connect and pattern the reading of the letters and compositions and the exegesis of the hidden (meaning) into my mind and my heart, and my throat and my tongue, and my lips, and my mouth, and my ear...’ The pattern እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሃሌ ፡ ሉያ ሀሁ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሃሌ ፡ ሉያ ለሉ ...እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሃሌ ፡ ሉያ ኅጐ ኅጐ ‘God, hallelujah ha hu, Lord, hallelujah lä lu, Lord, hallelujah ḥʷä ḥʷu is used in constructing the sequence of <i>asmats</i> . The letters are being used as <i>asmats</i> . In addition to the Ethiopic letters called ‘ <i>fidälat</i> ’ some of the letters used used in Psalm 118.

			The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 44v–45r
V24	f. 45r	<i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> and <i>tälsäm</i> are used	The whole <i>abənnät</i> is made up of <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> and <i>tälsäm</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given: ጸሐ[ፍ] ፡ በዕራግ ፡ እዴክ ፡ ለአፅንዖ ፡ ‘Write it on your arm for study purposes’ where the theme is indicated by the word ለአፅንዖ ፡ ‘For study’.
V25	f. 45r–v	ቆሬስ ፡ እሳት ፡ ጅመጅ እሳት ፡ ፍላሃይድ ፡ መብረቅ ፡ እላረኤሌ ፡ ... ማርያም ፡ ማሪሃም ፡ ... ‘gores, fire, <i>ḡəməḡ</i> fire, <i>fəlaləhed</i> lightening, <i>ʾəlaräʾele</i> ... <i>Maryam, mariham</i> ...’	The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 45v This <i>abənnät</i> is peculiar in that it is based on the powers of Mary as an aid for learning.
V26	ff. 45v–51v	ጸሎት ፡ ዓምደ ፡ ብርሃኖት ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘነበረ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ... ‘Prayer, Christ the pillar of lights who was (present) before the world (came into being) ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expressions ff. 48v–49r ... ወበመንፈስ ፡ አዚዝ ፡ አጽንዓኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ እትናገር ፡ ገብዓት ፡ በማዕከለ ፡ ጉባዔ ፡ ዘኢያእመርኩ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ... ‘In strengthen me by a mighty Spirit so that I speak (explicate) hidden things that I didn’t know before in the congregation (lessons) ...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 51v
V27	51v–53r	ፍካሬ ፡ ዘነቢይ ፡ ዕዝራ ፡ ዘአውረደ ፡ ጽዋዓ ፡ እሳት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልቡ ፡ ውዑይ ፡ ወርሱን ፡ ዘያውዒ ፡ ገዳም ፡ ... ‘Interpretation of the the prophet Ezra that has descended the vessel of fire into his heart that was hot (which) can burn the desert ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression in the introduction ... ያንድድ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ... ‘... let it burn with the tree of wisdom into my heart...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 53r.
V28	ff. 53v–55r	ሴኔሴ ፡ ሴሳቤ ፡ ያቱር ፡ ሕንቁዝ ፡ ... ‘ <i>senese, sesabe, yatur, ḥənquz</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 53v ... በዝ አስማት ፡ ክሥት ፡ ከመ ፡ አጽንዕ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ድርሳናተ ፡ ወትምሕርታተ ፡ ... ‘By this <i>asmāt</i> reveal (to me) so that I study compositions and lessons faslty ...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 55r
V29	f. 55r–v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ዘወረደ ፡ እምሰማያት ፡ ለአጽንዖ ፡ ቃል ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, prayer about composition that descended from the heavens for (the purpose of) studying the word...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... ለአጽንዖ ፡ ቃል ፡ ወለተርጉሞ ፡ ... ‘... To study the word and interpret ...’ It is not clear whether <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> are used. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 55v ግበር ፡ በማየ ፡ ምፅዋ ፡ ... ‘do this (using) the

			water from Massawa ²⁶¹ 'written supralinear.
V30	ff. 55v–56r	ረረም ፡ ኪራም ፡ ፫ ፡ ዳባዳ ፡ ... 'rärām, kiram 3 (times), dubadu...'	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 56r ... በዝንቱ ፡ ጢስ ፡ ዕጣን ፡ ክሥት ፡ ... '...By this smoke of the incense reveal...' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 56r
V31	ff. 56r–57v	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ እርመላህ ፡ ላህ ፡ ላህ ፡ አህ ... 'Say in the name of the Father, armälah, lah, lah, 'ah ...'	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 56v ... ሀበኒ ፡ ሥልጣን ፡ ቃል ፡ ዘይኤዝዛ ፡ ለምድር ፡ ከመ ፡ ታውፅእ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ልምሉመ ፡ ወፍሬ ፡ ጥዑመ ፡ ዘይትበላዕ ፡ ወይከውን ፡ መክሥተ ፡ ልብ ፡ ዘይፈትሕ ፡ ማዕሠረ ፡ ልሳን ፡ ለተናግሮ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ወለአንብቦ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ወለተርጉሞ ... '... Give me authority of word that orders the earth to bring exuberant vegetation and sweet fruit that is edible and can be used as a revealer of the heart and of the undoing of the tongue, for speaking composition and reading of books and of interpreting books...' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 57v Caution is given in in f. 57v ወሕረም ፡ ምሥረ ፡ ወዒወ ፡ እስከ ፡ ፯ ዕለት ፡፤፤ 'Do not consume lentils and salt upto seven days'
V32	ff. 57v–60r	አምዮስ ፡ ፫ ፡ አንዮፈጥዮስ ፡ ቁዑ ፡ ዳኤላ ፡ ... 'amyos 3 (times), anyofätyos, qu'u, da'ela, ...'	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 58r ... በዝ አስማት ፡ ያብቀላል ፡ ወያጽጊ ፡ ፍጹመ ፡ ወያፍሪ ፡ አስካለ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ እምቺወ፩ መጻሕፍት ፡ ... 'By this <i>asmat</i> let it sprout and flower and absolutely bear fruit and (produce) bunch of composition from the 81 Books...'

²⁶¹ Massawa is a port city located in the northern end of the gulf of Zula in today's Eritrea. Why the water from this port city is needed is not clear.

			<p>Caution is given in f. 60r ...ዘእንበለ ፡ ይልክፍ ፡ መንከስከ ፡ ... ከንፈርህ ፡ ቢነካ ፡ ለምፅ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ‘Your lips should not touch (when you consume the mixture)... If your lips touch it will result in a stained skin (leprosy)...’</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 60r</p>
V33	f. 60v	ሹር ፡ ቡር ፡ ዱር ፡ ... ‘ <i>šur, bur, dur</i> ...’	<p>The theme can be inferred from the expression በዝ ፡ አስማት ፡ ዘአብራኅክ ፡ ልቦ ፡ ለመሴ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ አብርህ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ... ‘As you have illuminated the heart of Moses by these <i>asmät</i>, likewise illuminate my heart...’</p> <p>The <i>abännät</i> is made up of <i>asmats</i> only.</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given where the expression ጸሐፍ ፡ በልሳን ፡ ጠሊ ፡ ውብላፅ ፡ ‘Write it on the tongue of a goat and eat it’ is given.</p>
V34	f. 60v	ቤተሕያ ፡ ሎቶቤር ፡ አርሚፅ ፡ ዘበቃለ ፡ ፅርፅ ፡ ሰርክ ፡ ማርክ ፡ ታቤፅ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Betähəya, lotober, and in Greek words, särk, mark, tabe, albo</i> ...’	<p>The theme can be inferred from the expression ለአጽንዖ ‘For study’</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given.</p>
V35	ff. 61r–70v	ጸሎት ፡ ዘአቡነ ፡ ኤፍሬም ፡ ዘነበበ ፡ በመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ለኩሉ ፡ ዘይፈቅድ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ትምሕርት ፡ ... ‘Prayer of our father Ephraim that he spoke (initiated by) the Holy Spirit (and) that can be used for all who need education/learning...’	<p>The theme can be inferred from the expression ለኩሉ ፡ ዘይፈቅድ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ትምሕርት ፡ ... ‘for all who need education/learning...’</p> <p>The supplication formula ኀብርክ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ዓመትክ ‘your servant son of of your servant (feminine) is given in f. 64r, f. 66r, f. 69v where the supplication in the feminine points towards its being part of the <i>gäbir</i>.</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 70v.</p>
V36	ff. 71v–76v	ከመ ፡ እሴብሕ ፡ አኩቴተ ፡ መለኮተ ፡ መንግሥትክ ፡ እግዚ[ብሔር] ፡ አብ ፡ ፍሕመ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ እግዚ[ብሔር] ፡ ወልድ ፡ ፍሕመ ፡ ብር[ሃን] ፡ እግዚ[ብሔር] ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱ ፡ ፍሕመ ፡ ብር[ሃን] ፡ ... ‘So that I (present) a prayer of praise of your divine kingdom, God the Father, ember of light, God the Son, ember of light, God the Holy Spirit, ember of light ...’	<p>The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 76r ... ጸሐፍ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ከመ ፡ አጽንፅ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ኢይርሣእ ፡ ... ‘Write on my heart so that I learn and don’t forget’</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 76v</p>

V37	ff. 76v–77r	ጸር ፡ ጸር ፡ አድናጦር ፡ አግራማጦር ፡ ኑን ፡ ኑን ፡ ... ‘šār, šār, ‘adnaṭor, ‘agramaṭor, nun, nun ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ዘአጽናዕኩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይግድፍ ፡ ወዘሰማዕኩ ፡ ኢይርሳዕ ፡ ... ‘So that I don’t miss what I have studied and forget what I have heard...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 77r
V38	f. 77v	አተርጋዎን ፡ ቦፎሪኮን ፡ አስትፈሪኮን ፡ በእሉ ፡ ፫ አስማት... ‘atägawon, boforikon, ‘astäfärikon, by these three <i>asmat</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ያንሳሕስሕ ፡ ሕሊናየ ፡ ለነቢዝ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ... ‘The word of God, arouse my mind for speaking the praise...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 77v.
V39	ff. 77v–79r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ሰዶላኤል ፡ ነበልባል ፡ ኃይል ፡ ወፍሕም ፡ በላዒ ፡ እሳት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>sädola’el</i> blaze, power and ember, fire that eats ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 78v ... ወበኃይለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አስማት ፡ ሀበኒ ፡ አንብቦ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ወወድሶ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ... ‘In the power of these <i>asmats</i> , give me (the skill of) reading books and the praise of composition...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 79r.
V40	ff. 79r–84r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ማኅፈደ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወብርሃን ፡ ልብ ፡ ለአጽንዖ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ወመጻሕፍት ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, the window of the sun and the light of heart for the study of composition and books...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ለአጽንዖ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ወመጻሕፍት ፡ ዘአጽናዕኩ ፡ ኢይርሣዕ ፡ ወእድርስ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ... ‘... for the study of composition and of books, so that I don’t forget what I have studied and that I compose (new) composition...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 84r.
V41	ff. 84r–85r	ያሕኩት ፡ ዘኢያረስዕ ፡ ቃለ ፡ አዳም ፡ ቃል ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ በኀዘ ፡ ኖኅ ፡ በእደ ፡ አስራልዩል ፡ ... ‘ <i>Yaškut</i> , that (helps) not to forget the word of Adam, Word that was also with Noah and on the hands of <i>‘asralyul</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 84r ... ወኢታርስዓኒ ፡ ዘአጽናዕኩ ፡ ወዘሰማዕኩ ፡ ወዘኅለይኩ ፡ ወዘደረስኩ ፡ ... ‘And you don’t make me forget what I have studies and heard and thought and composed...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 85r
V42	ff. 85r–86v	አጅ ፡ ዘያመጽእ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ተናገሮ ፡ ለዮሐንስ ፡ በደመና ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ... ‘ <i>‘ağ</i> who brings the word of God as he spoke to John on the clouds of the sky...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 86r ... ጸሐፍ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ዘያሜንን ፡ ድርሳናተ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ... ‘... write on my heart a book fo composition that overshadows the compositions of men...’

			The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 86v.
V43	ff. 86v–88r	ግስመናን ፡ ፰ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ማጎተመ ፡ ጥበብክ ፡ ዘፈታሕክ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ለሰሎሞን ፡ አብርሃ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ... ‘ <i>gəmunan</i> 8 (times), loosen you’re the seal of your wisdom, you who have loosen (the seal of your wisdom) to Solomon, illuminate my heart...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ፈኑ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ጸጋክ ፡ ለአእምሮ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ወለአጽንዖ ፡ ቃላተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልብ ፡ ... ‘... send the spirit of your grace for the knowledge of composition and the study of words of God in the hear of ...’ <i>tälsām</i> is given on f. 88r The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 88r
V44	f. 88v	ዱልዳሂም ፡ ፪ ፡ ክርትምንስ ፡ ሕዝቡ ፡ ያልሐ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Duldahim</i> 2 (times), <i>kərtəmnəs</i> , <i>ḥəzkəyos</i> , <i>yallḥa</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... ክፍት ፡ ሕሊናሁ ፡ ‘... open his mind’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V45	f. 88v	ቶር ፡ ሸቶ ፡ አላዱር ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ አስማቲክ ፡ ወበዝንቱ ፡ ቃልክ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Tor</i> , <i>šəto</i> , ‘ <i>aladur</i> , in these names of yours and your word...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ...ይኩን ፡ ልቡ ፡ ብሩሃ ፡ ከመ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወልሳኑ ፡ ከመ ፡ መብረቅ ፡ ... ‘... let his heart be bright like the sun and his tongue like lightening...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V46	f. 88v	ጀምጀኤል ፡ ፫ ፡ ክስተት ፡ ቃል ፡ ቶቢር ፡ ፫ ፡ ታዴ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ለአንብቦ ፡ መጻ[ሕፍት] ፡ ወለአምጽኦ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ... ‘ <i>ḡəmḡə’el</i> 3 (times), the revelation of the word, Tober 3 (times), tade, for the reading of books fastly and the bringing of composition...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ለአንብቦ ፡ መጻ[ሕፍት] ፡ ወለአምጽኦ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ... ‘For the reading of books and bringing of composition...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V47	ff. 89r–91r	ዶር ፡ ፫ ፡ ፩ አብ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ወልድ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ውእቱ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ጅር ፡ ጅር ፡ መታን ፡ መትራዳን ፡ ቆሆሆከን ፡ ... ‘ <i>Dor</i> 3 (times), The only God Father, Holy, the only Son, Holy, and the Only Holy Spirit is Holy, <i>ḡər</i> , <i>ḡər</i> , <i>mātan</i> , <i>mātradan</i> , <i>qohohokän</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... ወዝራእ ፡ ቃለክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ወከርሥዩ ፡ ወአንጠብጥብ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አፉዩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይትገደፍ ፡ ቃል ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክሥት ፡ ሊተ ፡ ... ‘... and sow your word in my heart and my belly and pour in my mouth so that I may not miss the word of God, reveal to me...’

			The <i>gäbir</i> is given in ff. 90v-91r. where the expression ድግም... በማይ : እንዘ : ተዓውድ : መንበረ : ‘incant it ... on water while encircling the <i>mänbär</i> ²⁶² , is given.
V48	f. 91r-v	በሰመ : አብ : በል : መቅለሂም : ጽፍራኤል : ቀፌድዮ : ስመ : ዝርኤል : ኤልቀዝዳኤል : አቅመሐሹን : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, <i>mäqlähim</i> , <i>šəfra’el</i> , <i>qäfedyo</i> , the name of <i>zər’el</i> , <i>’elqäzda’el</i> , <i>’aqmähašun</i> ...’	The theme/title is given at the upper margin as መከሥተ : ሄኖክ : ስሙ ‘It is called the revelation on Enoch’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 91v.
V49	ff. 91v-92r	ሐኔደኤሰስ : ፈታሔ : መዋቅሕት : እንግድዓትዮ : ግሥሥ : ... ‘ <i>henedekesäs</i> , the releaser of chains, touch my back...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 91v ... ከመ : ተሀበኒ : ቃለ : ምድራላት : ...and ‘... so that you give me words of composition...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 92r Mixture of <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> is given on f. 92r.
V50	f. 92r-v	ወዘንተ : ነገረ : ነገረኒ : መልአክ : እግዚአብሔር : ወይቤለኒ : ከመ : ኢይርሣዕ : ወኢይግድፍ : ... ‘And this thing the angel of God told me and revealed to me so that I don’t forget and miss ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... ከመ : ኢይርሣዕ : ወኢይግድፍ : ... ‘...so that I don’t forget and miss...’ A <i>tälsäm</i> is used in combination to the text. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 92v.
V51	f. 92v	አስማተ : አዳም : ዘሩፋዳኤል : ዘበንዳቃኤል : ናትናው : ዳፍላው : አውላላኤል : ... ‘The <i>asmats</i> of Adam, <i>yäruፋada’el</i> , <i>zäbänädaqa’el</i> , <i>natnaw</i> , <i>’awlala’el</i> , ...’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V52	f. 93r	ሰተርጋኮን : ዐርፎሪኮን : አብሲማይክአ : ጳጉ : ... ‘ <i>sätärgakon</i> , <i>arforikon</i> , <i>’absimaykä’a</i> , <i>pagu</i> , ...’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V53	f. 93r	ጠሊሆ : ጠሊሆ : ጠለም : ... ‘ <i>Täliho</i> ,	The theme can be inferred from the

²⁶² This term also usually given as *mänbärä tabot* ‘altar chest’. It is housed in the inner sanctuary of Ethiopian orthodox churches. It is only accessible to ordained clergy. Therefore, the expression ‘while encircling the *mänbär*’ makes it clear that the practitioner is a member of the ordained clergy practicing *abənnät*.

		<i>täliho, täläm, ...</i>	expression ...ይኩን፡ ልብ፡ ከመ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ብሩህ፡ ወልሳን፡ ከመ፡ መብረቅ፡ በሊግ፡ ... ‘let my heart be bright like sun and my tongue sharp like lightening...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V54	f. 93r	ያሕሩፋ፡ ያሕሩትን፡ ‘ <i>Yašḥufa, yašāḥutən</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a two- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V55	f. 93r	ያሕካቲ ‘ <i>Yašäkati</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a uni- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V56	f. 93r	ድክክ፡ ቆሆሆኪ፡ ... ‘ <i>Dəkäk, qohohoki ...</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V57	f. 93r	ሸዮን፡ አሸዮን፡ አሸዳዮን፡ ... ‘ <i>šäyon, ‘ašäyon, ‘ašäpyon ...</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V58	f. 93r–v	ሸራተቤን፡ ቀሩራቤን፡ ቀሩልቀሩል፡ ... ‘ <i>šäratäben, q^wäraben, q^wälq^wäl...</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 93v.
V59	f. 93v	ምሰረሰበት፡ አንገአኤል፡ ኤል፡ መቲቲሉ፡ ... ‘ <i>Məsäräsäbät, ‘anḥä’a ‘el, ‘el, mätitilu,</i>	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 93v.
V60	f. 93v	ልያልያ፡ ሂኖክ፡ ወኤልያስ፡ አስትይዎ... ‘ <i>Ləyaləya, Henok and</i> <i>Elijah make him drink ...</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 93v.
V61	ff. 93v–94v	ያግልጽጽ፡ ፺ ያሚያያስ፡ ፺ ጽምያልግጽጽ፡ ... ‘ <i>Yagəlpəpa 7</i> <i>(times), yamiməyas 7 (times),</i> <i>pəməyalgəpəpa...</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> given in f. 94v is incomplete. A <i>tälsäm</i> of crucifixion is part of this very <i>abənnät</i> .
V62	f. 95r	ኪራላይሶን፡ አውሎግሶን፡ [...]፡ ፓንዋማንጦን፡ አግያማንጦን፡ ... ‘ <i>Kiryalayson, ‘awlogson, [...],</i> <i>panwamanṭon, ‘agyamanṭon...</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> given in f. 95r is

			incomplete.
V63	ff. 95r–96v.	ጥበብ ፡ አርእም ፡ ረዓም ፡ (<i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> follows) ፡ ረዓም ፡ ... ‘wisdom ^{’ar’em} , ^{rä’am} , (<i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> follows) ^{rä’am} ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... ከዓው ፡ ቃልክ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልብዩ ፡ ... ‘...Spill your holy word into my heart...’ The <i>abännät</i> starts with <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> . The <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> are used following the supplication formulae. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 96v.
V64	f. 97r–v	በቡናዝር ፡ ራምደዮ ፡ ጁ አጎድር ፡ ወይኑን ፡ ጁ አስእስተ ፡ ጁ ሰሌሙን ፡ ወተሰሌሙን ፡ ... ‘ <i>Bäbunazər</i> , <i>ramdäyo</i> 7 (times), ^{’as’ästä} 7 (times), <i>sälemun</i> , and <i>täslemun</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 97r ... ፈኑ ፡ ቃልክ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልብ ፡ ገብ[ርክ] ፡ ... ‘... send your holy word into the heart of your servant...’ <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> together with <i>tälsäm</i> are used. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 97v.
V65	ff. 97v–98r.	ዖፍ ፡ ፀዓዳ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ከራድዮን ፡ ሸዎሽራድዮን ፡ አርክምና ፡ ... ‘A white bird whose name is <i>Käradyon</i> , <i>šäwošäradyon</i> , ^{’arkəmna} , ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ff. 98r ... ከመ ፡ ኢይትገደፈኒ ፡ ቃላተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክሥት ፡ ... ‘so that the words of God may not be missed from me...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 98r.
V66	f. 98r–v	አኤል ፡ አምላኪኤል ፡ ወእግደጉድ ፡ ሄዳኤል ፡ ... ‘ ^{’a’el} , ^{’amlake’el} , ^{wä’äg^wädäg^wäd} , ^{heda’el} ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 98r ... በዝ ፡ ቃልክ ፡ አስተራውፅ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ... ‘... By this word of yours hasten the word of composition...’ Caution is given in f. 98r–v.... ወድጎረ ፡ ሰትዩ ፡ ኢትብላፅ ፡ ፌጾ²⁶³ ፡ ... ‘... after drinking (this mixture) don not consume <i>feṣo</i> ²⁶⁴ , The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 98r–v.

²⁶³ Also **ፌጾ ፡**²⁶⁴ Kane 1990, 2340 ‘Cress (*Lapidum stivum*) or shepherd’s purse (*Capsella bursa-pastoris*) used in cooking and medicine’.

V67	f. 98v	ጠፈራኤል : ቆርታኤል : [...] : ዮጳ : ዲማድ : ... ‘Täfära’el, qorta’el, [...] yōṗa, dimad, ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... ረስዮ : ለልሳንዮ : ይስሐል : ... ‘... let my tongue be sharp...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V68	ff. 98v–99v	መሸላ : ጨጨዴሆ : <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> follow ‘mäšäla, Cäcädeho and <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 99r ... ጸሐፍ : ውስተ : ልብዮ : መጽሐፈ : ድርሰት : ዘያሜንን : ድርሰተ : ሰብእ : አርኑ : አዕይንተ : ልብዮ : ... ‘...write in my heart a book of of composition that overshadows the composition of all men, open the eyes of my heart...’ This <i>abənnät</i> is made up of <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> , complex squares and <i>asmat</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> given in f. 99v contains ዘደረሸት : ዘነጸራ : ለማርያም : በምስራቅ : ፀሐይ ። ‘Zärädäšt who saw Mary in the East’.
V69	f. 100r	አንዮስ : በል : ጌፌል : <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> follow... ‘... ’anyos, bäl, gifel...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... አስታጋብእ : ድርሳናተ : ውስተ : ልብዮ : ... ‘... round up compositions in my heart...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V70	f. 100r–v	ላህለም : ላህወ : ፈረጅክጽኤል : መሩርኤል : ሰድርቃኤል : ... ‘Lahläm, lahwä, färäḡkəṣə’el, märur’el, sädrəqa’el ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 100r... በኅይለ : ዝን[ቱ] : አስማቲክ : ክሥት : ልብዮ : ዘተሠወረኒ : ... ‘By the power of these <i>asmats</i> of yours reveal what is hidden from my heart...’ <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> together with <i>tälsäm</i> used. No <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V71	ff. 100v–101r	The <i>abənnät</i> starts with <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> and <i>tälsäm</i> and then follows በስመ : አብ : በል : ሻር : ፯ <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> ቃል : ዘአብ : ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, šar 7 (times), <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> , word of the Father...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 101r ... በኅይለዝ : አስማት : አርእየኒ : ምሥጢረ : ሥላሴክ : ... ‘... By the power of these <i>asmat</i> show me the mystery of your Trinity...’ In f. 101r The expression እምቅድመ : ትጽሐፍ : ዘንተ : ጠልሰም : ‘Before you write this <i>tälsäm</i> ’ is given pointing a possible sequence of applications.

			No explicit <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V72	f. 101r–v	ጸሎት ፡ ለእመ ፡ አበዮ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ጸራፊድ ፡ ፫ ጸራፊድ ፡ ድምፃኤል ፡ ስሙ ፡ ለፀባኦት ፡ ... ‘Prayer if he is unable to (study) the word of God, <i>ṣärafed</i> 3 (times), <i>ṣärafed</i> , <i>dəmsaʾel</i> , name of Lord of the army (of angels)...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ጸሎት ፡ ለእመ ፡ አበዮ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ... ‘...if he is unable to (study) the word of God...’ Caution is given in f. 101v ...ኢይብላዕ ፡ ፊጽ ፡ ‘... let him not consume Cress’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 101v.
V73	f. 101v	ሐቶን ፡ ቆሆን ፡ ቆባክ ፡ ‘ <i>Ḥaton</i> , <i>qohon</i> , <i>qobak</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V74	ff. 101v– 102r	ፀፁ ፡ ቀለፁ ፡ ኅዱዳኤል ... ‘ <i>ṣäṣu</i> , <i>qäläṣu</i> , <i>ḥədudaʾel</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 101v ...በጎይለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አስማቲክ ፡ ዘአፅናዕኩ ፡ ኢይግድፍ ፡ ወዘሰማዕኩ ፡ ኢይርሣእ ፡ ... ‘By the power of these <i>asmats</i> of yours, let me not miss what I have studied and not forget what I have heard...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 102r.
V75	f. 102r	በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ በል ፡ ነገረ ፡ መለኮት ፡ ጫን ፡ አላቶን ፡ ጌሬዎስ ፡ ... ‘Say in the name of the Father, theology, <i>can</i> , <i>ʾalaton</i> , <i>gerewos</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... በጎይለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አስማቲክ ፡ ለአንብቦ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ወለሐልዮ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ወለአጽንዖ ፡ ቃላት ፡ ... ‘... By the power of these <i>asmats</i> of yours, for reading books and contemplating composition and of studying words...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V76	f. 102r–v	ቶቢር ፡ ሸይር ፡ <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> መሐጅጅ ፡ ... ‘Tober, <i>šäyər</i> , <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> , <i>mäḥaḡäḡ</i> , ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 102v... ዘከሰትክ ፡ አፈ ፡ ሕፃናት ፡ ክሥት ፡ አፋሁ ፡ ... ‘... who opened the mouth of children (likewise) open his mouth...’ <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> are used sparingly. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 102v.
V77	f. 102v	አፍጉቸ ፡ ኢላሙዳን ፡ ‘ <i>afgučä</i> , <i>ʾilamudan</i> ’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a two- <i>asmat abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V78	f. 102v	ቶርያ ፡ ቶርአ ፡ ያቶርእሻ ፡ አሜራስያስ ፡ ... ‘ <i>Torya</i> , <i>torʾa</i> , <i>yatorʾäša</i> , <i>ʾamerasyas</i> ...’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> .

			The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V79	f. 102v	ዮዳታአና ፡ ወሂደ ፡ ቤጣ ፡ ሄዳ ፡ ... ' <i>Yodata'ana, wähidä, beṭa, heda...</i> '	The theme can't be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> በዝንቱ ፡ አሰማት ፡ ተፈትሐ ፡ ማዕሠረ ፡ ልሳኑ ፡ ለዘካርያስ ፡ ካህን ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ማዕሠረ ፡ ልሳንዩ ፡ ... '(As) the leash of the tongue of Zacharias was undone by (the power of) these <i>asmat</i> , likewise undo the leash of my tongue...' It is a multi- <i>asmat</i> <i>abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V80	ff. 102v–104v	መርዓተ ፡ በግዑ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትወርድ ፡ እመንበረ ፡ ኤርሞናዊ ፡ ጌርጌል ፡ ... 'As the bridegroom of the Father descends from the throne of gergel of 'armon'em...'	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 104r ... ወበእንተዝ ፡ ስጥጥ ፡ ጽልመተ ፡ እምሕሊናየ ፡ '... and therefore tear the darkness from my mind' Caution is given in f. 104v ... ኢትብላዕ ፡ ብሁአ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ናዕት ፡ ... 'Let him not eat fermented bread except unleavened bread...' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 104v.
V81	ff. 104v–106v	በስመ ፡ ሥሉስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አሰማተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክር[ስቶስ] ፡ ዘነገረቶ ፡ ያፍ ፡ ክርክርያስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዕፁ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ ጽጌ ፡ ...ለያሬድ ፡ ካህን... 'In the name of the Holy Trinity, <i>asmats</i> of our Lord Jesus Christ that <i>kərkəryas</i> the bird told to Yared the priest together with the herb and its flower...'	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 105r ... አብርህ ፡ አዕይንተ ፡ ልብየ ፡ ወክሥት ፡ ነገረ ፡ ምሥራዋቲክ ፡ እንብብ ፡ ድርሰተ ፡ ወስተ ፡ ቤተክርስቲያኒክ ፡ ... '... Illumintae the eyes of my heart and reveal your hidden things so that I can read compositions in your church...' Caution is given in f. 106v ... በንጽሕ ፡ ተዓቀብ ። 'Stay pure' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 106v.
V82	ff. 106v–107v	ስምያዝ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ መልአኮሙ ፡ አሬ ፡ ከራሜል ፡ ክስብኤል ፡ ... 'Səmyaz, this is their angel, 'are, <i>keramel, kəsb'el</i> ...'	The theme can be inferred from the expression f. 107r ... ምሕዋረ ፡ ጥብብ ፡ ወእእምሮ ፡ ክሥት ፡ ... '... the road of wisdom and intelligence, reveal ...' The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 107v.
V83	f. 107v	አቶ ፡ ቆበኤአጢን ፡ አዝርደቆን ፡ ያስኩት ፡ ... 'Ato, <i>qobäke'aṭin, 'azrədeqon, yaskut...</i> '	The theme can be inferred from the expression ... ይስሐል ፡ ወይብላሕ ፡ ልሳንዩ ፡ ከመ ፡ መብረቅ ፡ ... '...Let my tongue be sharpened like lightening...' The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V84	ff. 107v–	ከንተራድ ፡ አርድእ ፡ አውርድ ፡	The theme is given in the form of a

	109r	አንገራዊጉድጉጅ፡ ቃለ፡ ማሳሌት፡ ወድርሰት፡ ... ‘ <i>käntärad</i> , herald, descend, unleash like thunder the word of praise and composition...’	title in f. 108v ለድርሰት፡ ውእቱ፡ ‘It is for composition’ A combination of <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> and <i>ṭälsäm</i> closes the <i>abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 109r.
V85	ff. 109v–110r	ጌጤር፡ ፫ አድናኤል፡ ብርሃናኤል፡ ደልፎን፡ ... ‘ <i>Geṭer</i> 3 (times), <i>’adna’el</i> , <i>bərhana’el</i> , <i>däläfon</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from the expression ሂም፡ ቦቱ፡ ቃለ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ወዘምድራሳት፡ ... ‘Enthroned on him words of the books and of composition...’ <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> are used. The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 110r
V86	f. 110r	አአ፡ ሴክ፡ ሱሴየክ፡ ‘ <i>a’a</i> , <i>sek</i> , <i>suseyäk</i> ’	The theme can be inferred from within the <i>gäbir</i> በጽፍር፡ ጸሐፍ፡ በዕ[ራኅክ]፡ ለሐስ፡ ለአፅንዖ፡ ‘Write it using finger nails on your arms and lick it, for learning (purposes)’ It is a multi- <i>asmat abənnät</i> .
V87	f. 110r	ጸጉ፡ ፯ ኩጵ፡ ፯ አራኩሹሐል፡ ሮጸ፡ ወቀነ፡ አሩ፡ ወአቅን፡ ልሳንዩ፡ ለአንብቦ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ወለአጽንዖ፡ ቃላት፡ ወድርሰታት፡ እም፹ወ፩ መጻሕፍት፡ ‘ <i>pägu</i> 7 (times), <i>kupū</i> 7 (times), <i>’ara’usuḥal</i> , he ran and leaped, make run and leap my tongue for the reading books and the study of words and compositions from the 81 books...’	The theme can be inferred from ... ለአንብቦ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ወለአጽንዖ፡ ... ‘For reading of books and study ...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V88	f. 110v	ኅቡዕ፡ ስሙ፡ ለእግዚ[አብሔር]፡ <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> ሁቁፍ፡ ... ‘Hidden name of God <i>Brillenbuchstaben</i> huquf, ...’	The theme can be inferred from ... ከማሁ፡ ይሩ፡ ልሳንዩ፡ ለአንብቦ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ‘...Likewise let my tongue run for the reading of books...’ The <i>gäbir</i> is given.
V89	ff. 110v–111r	ሽምንሽራን፡ ቁር፡ ያክሱብር፡ ክስክታዴዎስ፡ ... ‘ <i>šəmsəran</i> , <i>qur</i> , <i>yakəsbər</i> , <i>kəskətadewos</i> ...’	The theme can be inferred from ... በኅይለ፡ ዝንቱ፡ አስማቲክ፡ ሀበኒ፡ ቃለ፡ ድርሰት፡ ... ‘By these <i>asmats</i> of yours given me words of composition...’ It is a multi- <i>dəgam abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 111r.
V90	f. 111r–v	ደም፡ ፯ ጊዜ፡ በል፡ በዝርም፡ በኳቱ፡ በፋሊ፡ ... ‘Say <i>Däm</i> (blood?) seven times, <i>bäzim</i> , <i>bäk^watu</i> , <i>bäfali</i> ...’	The theme can’t be inferred from the <i>abənnät</i> . The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 111v.
V91	ff. 112r–	ቁዝጨ፡ ፋዝጨ፡ ጸልታፍጨ፡ ...	The theme can be inferred from ... ለአንብቦ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ወለተርጉሞ፡

	112v	‘ <i>quzəcä, fazəcä, şäлтаfcä ...</i> ’	<p>ቃላት ፡ ወለአጽንዖ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ ክስት ፡ ሊተ ፡ ... ‘... for the reading of a composition and the interpretation of words and of the study of the words of composition, reveal for to...’</p> <p>The <i>gäbir</i> is given in f. 112v.</p> <p>A presumably second hand starts here with this <i>abənnät</i>.</p>
--	------	---	--

Chapter 3: Organizational structure

3.1 Introduction

While describing the manuscripts in the research corpus in chapter two, we have seen that the so called *däbtära* notebooks are composed of many *abənnäts* with implicit and/or explicit titles meant to serve different functions. They are mostly personal compilations or rarely copies of such personal compilations. Hence, the name *däbtära* notebook. Each textual unit is either marked by a title or a textual clue or a visual element to mark a change in the transition from one *abənnät* to another. Similarly, the *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts are also composed of *abənnäts* marked by textual indicators like the Trinitarian introductory formula i.e. ‘In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit’ which is usually rubricated or other similar introductory epithets, and visual section markers. Yet, to the difference of the *däbtära* notebooks, they bear no titles.

This actually means that even *abənnäts* which are similar in structure and function to those found in the *däbtära* notebooks and which are sparingly found in the *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts²⁶⁵ do not generally have titles of any form. From this it runs that the *abənnäts* of the *däbtära* notebooks which usually are produced for highly personal use are relatively easily identifiable for they have developed clear demarcating elements of organization among themselves in the course of time.²⁶⁶ Some of the *abənnäts* even have clear ‘titles’ of their own which make it easy to identify them.

Unlike the *däbtära* notebooks which in many cases are personal compilations, the *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts can faithfully mirror a common unknown exemplar (I use this expression for lack of other suitable expressions) as has been demonstrated,²⁶⁷ or can share the same textual contents differing only in the order they appear in the manuscripts.²⁶⁸ Therefore, the task of identifying single *abənnäts* of the *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts would have been difficult had we not had more than one manuscript with relatively similar contents and presentation. Therefore, the identification was approached by firstly marking the beginning

²⁶⁵ *Abənnäts* similar to those found in the *däbtära* notebooks can be found in the *mäftəhe šəray*, esp. in MS J.

²⁶⁶ MS M has even a pseudo-table of contents in f. 2r–v.

²⁶⁷ This is included in chapter two.

²⁶⁸ It must be noted that the difference we see in writing the *asmats* can’t be amended using the canons of traditional textual criticism. This is mainly because the change in their form might have resulted from the *däbtära*’s initiation to do. This is done in a pact which is called *təwarso* ‘inheritance of the attributed of the devil’.

and end of each *abənnāt* based on both textual (introductory formula, subscriber's name etc.) and visual aids (rubrication, indentation, *ṭālsām* etc.).²⁶⁹

This mapping of the arrangement of individual *abənnāts* of the manuscripts according to the spatial order and the textual content has resulted in demonstrating the array of matches and mismatches. It is to be noted that in the description of each manuscript presented in chapter two, each *abənnāt* has been given identification sequential numbers as a result of which it was possible to enumerate the total number of *abənnāts* in each manuscript.

The idea of how the *abənnāts* which make up the manuscripts under discussion are organized has never been the subject of any research though some attempts have been made in analyzing the constituent parts of the individual *abənnāt*. In discussing the contents of the 'Abyssinian Amulets', as they were called in his time, Worrell has long started to identify some of the individual sections which we will discuss at length hereunder: '*dabtarā* ('canon') writes the legends, spells, words of power, secret signs, and other devices which are to make the charm effective'.²⁷⁰ Yet, Worrell was not far from those who came after him in his conception of the typologies of the *abənnāt* literature i.e. he used the term 'magic' and didn't specify that the 'amulet' in his own wording is made up of distinctly different textual units i.e. *abənnāts*.²⁷¹ He understood the contents of the amulet as a single whole and not as a combination of individual parts which can be used in different contexts by just being juxtaposed with other *abənnāts*.

3.2 What is organizational structure?

Before defining the expression 'organizational structure' let's set forth crucial issues which must be taken as pre-set conditions. Firstly, it has to be clear that we are using the term *abənnāt* to represent both the individual textual units which make up our manuscripts and the literary genre which has so far been known under different names such as 'magico-religious literature', 'underground literature', 'magic literature' etc. As the manuscripts under discussion are planned to contain more than one textual unit, one can safely say they fall under the category of the so called 'multiple-text manuscripts'. An *abənnāt* as an individual textual unit can also stand alone. One can further state that the *abənnāt* is made up of further building blocks which can be singled out having their own attributes. *Abənnāts* may contain a single section and still be considered as a full-fledged *abənnāt*.

²⁶⁹ For reasons of page optimization the place where the *ṭālsāms* are situated can be confusing though it can still be used as a visual guide as to where an *abənnāt* ends and another starts. The expression 'ends and another starts' has been used deliberately as the *ṭālsāms* are usually situated at the end in all *abənnāts* in both the *dābtāra* notebooks or *māftāḥe šəray* manuscripts.

²⁷⁰ Worrell 1910, 398–401.

²⁷¹ Usually 3 *abənnāts* are included if a *historiola* (see the sections below) is not involved or if the scroll contains Psalms as *abənnāts*.

Now after this introductory note on the type of manuscripts we are dealing with, we can give a working definition of organizational structure in two levels:

- a) Organizational structure may refer to the way individual *abənnäts* are arranged within a manuscript. This relates to the order they assume within the manuscript, the types of demarcating elements (visual and/or textual) they involve in executing transition and demarcation of consecutive *abənnäts*.
- b) It also refers to the arrangement of sections within an *abənnät*.

Therefore, we can put the relationship as such; (a) section(s) give(s) rise to an *abənnät* and individual *abənnäts* are in turn arrayed to give rise to a manuscript with its own label. In simple terms:

1. *Abənnät* refers to an independent textual unit with (a) specific function(s).
2. Section refers to part of an *abənnät* which can be taken as a building block and whose inclusion is not always guaranteed i.e. may be optional.
3. Under certain circumstances an *abənnät* can be formed by one section only.

It is noteworthy that our definition of organizational structure has included both the *section* and an individual *abənnät* as hierarchical parts of a specific manuscript with its own title/label/s. We are using label here because of the fact that we have different manuscripts with differing contents under the same label/s as in the manuscripts of the *Mäftəhe šəray* ‘Undoing of charms’,²⁷² or *Qoprayanos* (lit. St Cyprian).

Following this terminological clarification and definition, let’s address the question: how were specific *abənnät* manuscripts with their own labels formed?

The first way of *abənnät* manuscript formation is what I call the *däbtära barter*. (Discussed in detail in chapter five section 5.2.2.1 but for now it suffices to mention that the *däbtära barter* usually refers to the exchange of individual *abənnäts* and rarely manuscripts as a whole, between trainees of the traditional schools of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church education.) The study of the formation of such *abənnät* manuscripts gives us the idea of how these manuscripts assumed the organizational structure they portray.

A glance into the available catalogues of Ethiopic manuscripts reveals that our texts can be found included into almost all manuscripts containing all genres of Ethiopic literature, be it canonical or otherwise. They appear either in groups or individually. Why do our texts exhibit such a presentation as ‘additional’ texts in many manuscripts?

To answer such questions like the one raised in the preceding paragraph, let’s take the following example which we hope can elucidate such a relationship of a text to its manuscript. For example, when one says *Mäzmurä Dawit* lit. ‘Psalter of David’, s/he is

²⁷² This label is derived from the purported purpose of the texts i.e. ‘undoing of spells’ which is the main concern of all the textual units or *Abənnäts* though deviation from the main function is not uncommon.

referring to the following texts: the 150 psalms per se, *ṣälotä näbyat* ‘Biblical canticles’ (First Song of Moses, Second Song of Moses, Third Song of Moses, Song of Hannah, Prayer of Hezekiah, Prayer of Manasseh, Song of Jonah, First Song of the Three Youths in the Furnace, Second Song of the Three Youths in the Furnace, Third Song of the Three Youths in the Furnace, Song of Habakkuk, Song of Isaiah, Song of Our Lady Mary, Song of Zachariah and Song of Simeon), *māḥaläyā maḥlāy* ‘Song of Songs’, *Wəddase Maryam* ‘Praise of Mary’, *Anqäṣä bərhan* ‘The Gate of Light’. These texts being established parts of the *Mäzmurä Dawit* well before the fourteenth century still continue to be included in print versions as well.

Conversely, diachronic treatment of the case unveils the fact that *Mäzmurä Dawit* after about the seventeenth century can also contain other texts like *Qəddaseha lä’əgzə’atənä Maryam* ‘The Anaphora of our Lady Mary’, *Mälkə’a Maryam* ‘The Image(s) of Mary’ and *Mälkə’a ʾIyyäsus* ‘The Image(s) of Jesus’ to mention the most common ones.²⁷³ A very recent *Mäzmurä Dawit* published by a certain *māmhər* Ḥaylā Mika’el Täkläyäsus of *Däbrä Bərhan Səllase* (published c.2010) contains a strange constellation of texts in that texts called *Mälkə’a Nolawi* ‘The Image(s) of the Shepherd’,²⁷⁴ The Gospel of John and *Säyfa Səllase* (The Sword of the Trinity) are included and this very inclusion was seen as a pure transgression of a norm. These texts, the *däbtära* informants claim, should be treated as exotic ones as they can entail a use with devastating effects if need be. This ‘devastating effect’ is what the informants called an anathematized practice.

From the above brief discussion it is clear that texts that form a manuscript can have a fixed number or the number of texts can vary over time resulting in a manuscript of the same label but of different contents. The *Mäftəhe ṣəray* manuscripts are best examples of such a developmental formation. Manuscript G, which is the oldest possible of such a type (dated c.1650–1750), contains only 26 *abənnäts* while the most recent manuscript of the *Mäftəhe ṣəray* manuscripts i.e. MS J contains 370 *abənnäts*.

We have taken *Mäzmurä Dawit* as an example deliberately. Firstly, its contents are the most highly quoted and used texts in the *abənnäts* among the canonical books of the Bible. Secondly, a whole set of *gäbirs*²⁷⁵ is given to each psalms in that there is a work called **ጥበበ ፡ ዳዊት ፡** ‘The Wisdom of the Book of Psalms’. This very work is what is usually called **ጥበበ፡፡ ዳዊት ፡** ‘Mystery of the Book of Psalms’. As has been identified by Strelcyn, this work has two versions: Geʿez and Amharic.²⁷⁶ The work which appears in MS S, ff. 63v– 67r under the label **ጥበበ ፡ ዳዊት ፡** ‘The Wisdom of the Book of Psalms’ is an Amharic version.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ For the use of the *Mälkə’a* in the *Abənnäts* see the part under *gäbir* below.

²⁷⁵ Look under the section 3.3b) for the definition of this very word.

²⁷⁶ Strelcyn 1981, 56.

The use of the Book of Psalms in *abənnäts* is prevalent across cultures. Among the cultures which use such a book with the same purposes as in our *abənnäts* is the Jewish one. This use has been documented in a work called *Shimmush Tehillim*²⁷⁷, which according to Trachtenberg can be described as follows:

The book *Shimmush Tehillim*, “The (Magical) Use of the Psalms,” the most popular work [...], opens with the words, “The entire *Torah* is composed of the names of God, and in consequence it has the property of saving and protecting man.” This little work-frequently reprinted in pocket size, and translated into several European languages-achieved the distinction of being placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*²⁷⁸ of the Catholic Church. The Psalms, in general, were very highly regarded for their potency, as well as for their beauty and religious fervor. *Tehillim* were read upon all critical occasions in the life of the people or of the individual; the entire book of Psalms was read through each week as a part of the ritual. In fact, a late work has it that this weekly recital constitutes the most effective protection of a community against harm. This same work reports a tradition that when a city is endangered it may be saved by reciting in order all those Psalms whose initial letters spell out the name of the city. *Shimmush Tehillim* is a medieval compilation of the uses to which individual psalms and verses may be effectively put; it promises the satisfaction of an extended miscellany of physical and psychic desires and needs, and sheds an interesting sidelight upon the life of the medieval Jew, and the hazards to which he was exposed.

This use of the Book of Psalms for therapeutic and other purposes is common to many other cultures like that of the Syrian and Christian Arabic. Strelcyn reports: ‘On connaît l’existence de recueils similaires en syriaque’ i.e. ‘We know of the existence of similar collections in Syriac’.²⁷⁹ In the same line he also further noted that there is a Christian Arabic similar work titled *dalīl al-mazāmīr* ‘The Applications of the Book of Psalms’.²⁸⁰

It should further be noted that the *Mäzmurä Dawit* is also used in divination. Such a use is usually called **ሐሳብ ፡ ዳዊት ፡** ‘The computus of Dawit i.e. Psalter’. For example, Psalm 108 is most widely used across the *Mäftəhe šəray* and the *däbtära* notebooks alike. This Psalm is usually used in *abənnäts* with aggressive intentions. In the same line, this very Psalm is used in the ritual of cursing **ይሁዳ ፡ አስቆሮታዊ** ‘Judas Iscariot’ on Good Friday evening. In this

²⁷⁷ Trachtenberg 1939, 109. I have used his transcription here as it is.

²⁷⁸ Britannica online has: ‘(Latin: ‘Index of Forbidden Books’), list of books once forbidden by Roman Catholic church authority as dangerous to the faith or morals of Roman Catholics. Publication of the list ceased in 1966, and it was relegated to the status of a historic document’.

²⁷⁹ Strelcyn 1981, 55.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 56.

ritual Judas is represented by a wooden board on which thin candles made of beeswax are mounted, only to be destroyed at the end of the ritual. After reading the aforementioned Psalm i.e. Psalm 118 and Psalms 131 and 1, every participant literally smashes the wooden board with his stick symbolizing the spiritual demise of Judas for having betrayed Jesus. The last phrase of Psalm 1 i.e. ... **ወፍኖቶሙሰ ፡ ለኃጥአን ፡ ትጠፍእ** # ‘... the way of sinners shall perish’ is used as a pun triggering the demise of Judas.

Let’s now turn to an actual example. Manuscript S, ff. 63v–65r has the following as contents of the **ጥበበ ፡ ዳዊት ፡** ‘The Wisdom of the Book of Psalms’, in part:

Table 10: The Wisdom of the Book of Psalms from MS P²⁸¹

No.	folio	Referred as	Psalm number	Purpose (when to use, function etc.)
1	63v	ፍካሬ ‘Exegesis, explication’	1	against abortion, in delivery and while planting trees
2	63v	ለምንት ፡ አንገለጉ ‘Why have they raged’	2	Against weak bones, for an impressive bearing (to gain favour)
3	63v	እግዚአ ፡ ሚበዝኑ ‘Oh Lord, how have they multiplied’	3	When an enemy stands against you, to get an appointment (position),
4	63v	ቃልየ ‘My word’	5	Against pestilence
5	63v	እግዚአ ፡ በመዓትከ ‘Oh Lord in your anger’	6	Against pestilence
6	63v	እግዚአ ፡ አምላኪየ ‘Oh Lord my God’	7	Against pestilence, to make a wife who despised her husband love him
7	63v	እግዚአ ፡ እግዚእነ ‘Oh our Lord’	8	Tie it to a new born child, [Use it] to gain favour and love of men, [Use it] when a misfortune befalls, [Recite it] when you cross a river
8	63v	በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ተወ[ከልኩ] ‘I entrust with God’	10	When you are drunk
9	63v	አድኅኒ ‘Save me’	11	Not clear
10	63v	እስከ ፡ ማዕዘኑ ‘Until when’	12	To protect oneself from being robbed
11	63v	ይብል ፡ ዓብድ ‘The	13	To protect oneself from being robbed

²⁸¹ In this table it is clear that *incipits* of every Psalm are used as titles of the Psalm. This phenomenon is discussed in chapter five section 5.3.2. This is an extended form of 129S106 in the content description of Ms S.

		me, Why does (he) boast'		
31	64r	ለምንት ፡ ይዘሀር ፣ ይብል ፡ ዓብድ ፣ እግዚአ ፡ በስምክ ፡ ... 'Why does (he) boast, The foolish says, Oh Lord in your name'	51, 13, 53	When an enemy raises against you.
32	64v	አጽምዓኒ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ቃልየ ፡ 'Oh Lord hearken to my voice'	5	When you travel, it will make your travel shorter ...

In contrast to the above presentation of the Psalms, they can be presented embedded within *abənnäts* together with other texts as is the case in manuscript P which is the so called *Mäṣḥafä Čärčäbi*.

Table 11: References from the Book of Psalms in MS P.

No.	Psalm quoted in <i>abənnät</i>	Beginning and end of quoted Psalm text in Geez	English Translation	Reference in the Bible	Remark
1	(P1, ff.1v–2r) ²⁸²	አድኅኒ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እምፀርየ ፡ ...አንተ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ትስሕቆሙ ፡ ወመነንከሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡	Deliver me, oh Lord, from my enemies ... But you, O Lord, you laugh at them and you have despised all the heathen.	Ps. 59: 1–8	Psalm not completely quoted
2	(P1, f. 2r)	እግዚአ ፡ አፍጥን ፡ ረድኤትየ ፡	O Lord, hasten my help.	Ps. 70	Complete Psalm
3	(P1, f. 3r)	እግዚአ ፡ መኑ ፡ የሐድር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጽላሎትክ ፡	O Lord, who shall abide in your shadow?	Ps. 14	Complete Psalm
4	(P1, ff. 3r–4v)	እግዚአ ፡ በኃይልክ ፡ ይትፈሳሕ ፡ ንጉሥ... (3v–4r)	O Lord, the king rejoices...	Ps. 20	Complete Psalm

²⁸² This numbering follows that used in chapter two wherein, for example, [X1, f. 1r]; the 'X' stand for the manuscript siglum, the '1', the *abənnät* sequence number and of course, the folio number and front and back side to follow.

		blank) continues at 4v			
5	(P2; f. 5r)	ስምዓኒ ፡ እግዚአ 283 ፡ ስዕለትዮ ፡ ወአጽምአኒ ፡ ጸሎትዮ ፡	Hear my appeal, O Lord; attend my prayer.	Ps. 60	Complete Psalm
6	(P3; ff. 6v–7v)	አድኅኒ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እስመ ፡ በጽሐኒ ፡ ማይ ፡ እስከ ፡ ነፍሴ	Save me, O Lord; for water has reached unto my soul.	Ps. 68	Complete Psalm
7	(P4; ff. 7v–8r)	ከመ ፡ ያፈቅር ፡ ኃያል ፡ ኀሰ ፡ አንቅዕተ ፡ ማያት... እመኒ ፡ በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ ፡ እገኒ ፡ ሎቲ ፤ መድሃ[ኒ] ፡ ገጽ[የ] ፡ አምላኪየ ።	As the hart loves [going to] the water brooks, ... believe in God so that I praise him; the savor of my Face, my Lord.	Ps. 41: 1–7	the indication እስከ ፡ ኀሰ ፡ ይብል ‘lit. until it says’, meaning ‘until the verse’ is used though a complete Psalm is quoted.
8	(P4; f. 8r)	ሶባ ፡ ጸዋዕከዎ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ... በተስፋ ፡ ባሕቲትከ ፡ አገደርከኒ ።	When I called God, ... you have sustained men only in your hope.	Ps. 4	the indication እስከ ፡ ኀሰ ፡ ይብል ‘lit. until it says’, meaning ‘until the verse’ is used though a complete Psalm is quoted.
9	(P4; f. 8r)	አድኅኒ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እምብእሲ ፡ እኩይ ፤ ወእምሰብእ ፡ ዐመዒ ፡ ባልሐኒ ። ... ወይነበሩ ፡ ራትዓን ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ገጽከ ።	Deliver me, O Lord, from the evil man and protect me from the wicked man... and the upright shall dwell in your presence.	Ps. 139	Psalm not completely quoted... the indication እስከ ፡ ኀሰ ፡ ይብል lit. ‘until it says’, meaning ‘until the verse’ used to refer to verse number.
10	(P5; f. 8v)	ጐስዓ ፡ ልብየ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ ወአነ ፡ ዓየድዕ ፡ ግብርየ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፤ በእንተዝ ፡ ይገንዩ ፡ ለከ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡	My heart is inditing a good word and I speak of the things which I have made touching the	Ps. 44	It is not clear whether only these two verses or the whole Psalm is to be quoted.

²⁸³ Other versions have አምላኪየ ‘my God’.

		እግዚአ :	king; therefore shall the people praise you.		
11	(P5; f. 8v)	እግዚአ : ሰማዕት : በእዘኒ : ወአበዊኒ : ዜነወኒ # ... ሣቀይከሙ : ለአሕዛብ : ወሰደድኮሙ #	O Lord, We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us... you afflicted the heathen and cast them out.	Ps. 43:1–3 ²⁸⁴	
12	(P5; f. 9r)	እግዚአ : እግዚእነ : ጥቀ : ተሰብሐ : ስምክ : በኩሉ : ምድር ፤... ወኩሉ : አግረርክ : ሎቱ : ታሕተ : እገሪሁ #	O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is your name in all the earth! ... You have put all things under his feet.	Ps. 8: 1–7	The is Psalm not completely quoted... the indication እስከ : ኀበ : ይብል lit. ‘until it says’, meaning ‘until the verse’ used to refer to the verse number
13	(P5; f. 9r)	እኔ : ለክ : እግዚአ : በኩሉ : ልብዩ ፤... ይድወዩ : ወይትሐገሉ :	I will praise you, O Lord, with my whole heart;... they shall fall and perish.	Ps. 9: 1–3	Psalm not completely quoted
14	(P5; f. 9r)	አድኅኒ : እግዚአ : እስመ : ኀልቀ : ኄር ፤ እሬሲ : መድኃኒተ : ወእግህድ : ቦቱ #	O Lord spare me; for the godly man ceased to exist; I will make remedy and reveal to him.	Ps. 11: 1–6?	Whether only these two verses or the whole Psalm is to be quoted is not clear.
15	(P6; f. 9v)	አፈቅረክ : እግዚአ : በኀይል[የ] # ... [ወ]አንገሙድጉደ : እግዚአብሔር : በሰማያት :	I will love you, O Lord, with my strength... and God thundered in the heavens.	Ps. 17: 1–15	Psalm not completely quoted... the indication እስከ : ኀበ : ይብል lit. ‘until it says’, meaning ‘until the verse’ used to refer to verse number.
16	(P6; f. 9v)	እግዚአ :	O Lord, the	Ps. 20	The indication እስከ :

²⁸⁴ The next text is followed by: ወይቀውሙ : መላእክት : ምስሌየ : አእላፍ : በየማንየ : ወአእላፍ : በፀጋምየ : አዕላፍ : በቅድሜየ : ወአዕላፍ : በድኅራየ : ‘and angels stand with me; thousands on my right and thousands on my left; thousands before me and thousands behind me.’ maybe an expansion of Ps. 90: 7: ይወድቁ : በገባክ : ዐሠርቱ : ምእት : ወአእላፍ : በየማንክ ፤ ወኀብከሰ : ኢይቀርቡ # ‘A thousand shall fall on your side, and ten thousand on your right hand; but they shall not come near you’.

		በንጾልክ ፡ ይትፌሣሕ ፡ ንጉሥ ፤... ንሴብሕ ፡ ወንዜምር ፡ ለጽንዕክ #	king rejoices in your strength ... so will we sing and praise to your power.		ኀበ ፡ ይብል lit. ‘until it says’, meaning ‘until the verse’ is used though a complete Psalm is quoted.
17	(P7; f. 10r)	ይብል ፡ አብድ ፡ በልቡ ፡ አልቦ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፤... ወገረሞሙ ፡ ዘኢኮነ ፡ ግሩመ ፤	The fool says in his heart, there is no God....They were marvelled though [it] was not marvellous.	Ps. 13: 1– 9	Psalm not completely quoted... the indication እስከ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ይብል lit. ‘until it says’, meaning ‘until the verse’ used to refer to verse number.
18	(P7; 10r– 10v)	ይቤሎ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ለእግዚእየ ፡ ንበር ፡ በየማንድ ፤ ...ወበእንተዝ ፡ ይትሌዐል ፡ ርእስ #	The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand,... therefore shall he lift up the head.	Ps. 109	Complete Psalm used; each verse is followed by an <i>asmat</i> .

3.3 Sections of an *abənnät*

As has already been mentioned, data from the selected corpus reveals that there are certain defined components which are used as building blocks of the *abənnäts*. Some of them have customary names that appear textually (e.g. *ṭalsām*, *gäbir*, etc.) and others are known from secondary literature (e.g. *Brillenbuchstaben*).²⁸⁵ The names of some of the sections have been coined by me depending on the general intention they exhibit.

These elements have not been systematically presented so far in an attempt to examine the structures of the texts. In the following parts of the chapter it will then be tried to label the sections, to typologize the labels, and to use these labels in an attempt to examine the relationships among the Ethiopian *abənnäts* and similar textual forms in other manuscripts.

The following section labels can be identified from textual witnesses of the texts themselves, oral sources and secondary literature. When the sections are textually present in the manuscripts, they have already been indicated in the description tables in chapter two, specifically in the ‘details and/or remark or reference’ column.

- a) Introductory formula: This refers to the usual lead in lines which are given in the form of the common epithet ‘In the name of the father ...’. Apart from this common epithet the phrase **ጸሎት ፡ በእንተ ፡** *ṣälot bä’əntä* meaning ‘Prayer about’ is also employed as an

²⁸⁵ This term is applied in the discussion of Ethiopian *abənnäts* in Chernetsov 2006, 192.

introductory formula. The former introductory formula which echoes the common Christian introduction is usually left out especially in *abənnäts* of the *däbtära notebooks* which especially contain “coercive” content.

The introductory formula usually contain catch phrases which indirectly point to the theme and/or title of the *abənnät* as in **ጸሎተ ፡ ፍትሐተ ፡ ሥራይ ፡** ‘prayer about the undoing of charms’... **ጸሎተ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ግርማ ፡ ሞገስ** ‘Prayer for gaining charisma’. In the preceding introductory epithets ‘undoing of charms’ and ‘gaining charisma’ have been hinted as themes of the *abənnäts* respectively.

The introductory formula plays the role of serving as a camouflage for the texts to be used also in the church i.e. for example, the *Mäftəhe šəray* though not religious per se in their contents enjoy a quasi-canonical status by being housed even in monasteries and churches. The following table shows the list of *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts which are in the possession of churches and monasteries.

Table 12: *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts from churches and monasteries

No.	Possession
1	Manuscript in possession of May Anbässa Kidanä Məhrät Gädam.
2	Manuscript in private possession of Qäšši Gäbrəhawaryat.
3	Manuscript in possession of ‘Ara‘ro Täklä Haymanot church. This MS has a colophon.
4	Manuscript in possession of Šərə Mär’awi Krəstos Gädam

The colophon of manuscript ‘Ara‘ro Täklä Haymanot church is worth discussing here:

**ዘመኑ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ ግርቆስ ፡ ወርሁ ፡ ወርቃ ፡ ሰኔ ፡ ፲፱፻፳፪ ዓመተ ፡ ምሕረት ፡
ዘወሀቦ ፡ ለታቦተ ፡ አቡነ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ አራዕሮ ፡ ልጅ ፡ አስገደም ፡
ዓዕዱ ፡ የዋጋው ፡ ልክ ፡ ፬ ፡ የኢትዮ ጵያ ፡ ብር ፡ ነው ፡ የሰራተኛው ፡ ስም ፡ ቄ ፡
ኃ ፡ ገ ፡ ማ ፡ የአባቶቹ ፡ አስማት ፡ ገብረ ፡ ሩፋኤል ፡ ወልደ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ወልደ ፡
ገብርሬል ፡ ገብረ ፡ ኪዳን ፡ ሐረገ ፡ ወይን ፡ ወለተ ፡ ቂርቆስ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ሚካኤል ።
መጻፉን ፡ ተቀብሮ ፡ አሎክ ፡ እኔ ፡ ልጅ ፡ አስገደም ፡ ከቄስ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ገብረ ፡
ማርያም ፡ ተቀብሮ ፡ አሎክ ።**

In the quartile year of Mark (the evangelist), the month of June 1962 EC (AD 1970) *Ləḡ Asgädom Ša‘du* has donated (this manuscript) to the church of St *Täklä haymanot* of ‘Ara‘ro. Its exact price is 30 Ethiopian *bərr*. The creator’s (copyist and binder) name is Priest Ḥa(ylä) Gä(brä) Ma(ryam), the names (Christian) of his forefathers include: Gäbrä Rufa’el, Wäldä Ḥawaryat, Wäldä Gäbrə’el, Gäbrä Kidan, Ḥarägä Wäyn, Wälättä Qirqos, Wälättä Mika’el. I, *Ləḡ Asgädom* (confirm), that I have received the book from Priest Ḥaylä Gäbrä Maryam (no italic for a personal name: this is not the transcription of a text).

The fact that the *Mäftəhe šəray* was commissioned by a certain *Ləğ*²⁸⁶ Asgädom Ša'adu, copied by a scribe named Priest Haylä Gäbrä Maryam, to 'Ara'ro Täklä Haymanot church is an interesting piece in itself for a number of reasons: firstly, the scribe is a priest who is not expected to copy such a manuscript. Secondly, the manuscript was donated to a church which is the Christian basic establishment that not normally possesses such a manuscript. This is because of the fact that the contents of such a manuscript are not officially accepted by the church. It was also observed that the *däbtära* informants do not feel insecure about possessing a *Mäftəhe šəray* like they do with their notebooks. This highlights that there is a difference in the way the manuscripts are accepted: while the *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts have passed the threshold of resistance towards 'profane' manuscripts.

- b) *gäbir* ገብር : Derived from the verb ገብረ 'did, effectuated, applied, practiced, execute' here it means 'application, effectuation, execution'.²⁸⁷ of the main *abənnät* content. In an attempt to give a clear explication, lexical entries have been considered to establish the meaning of the very term *gäbir*. Disregarding his idea of 'black magic' which narrows the scope of the application of the term, the definition rendered by Leslau 'practice, conduct, prescription against black magic, practice of magic' fits our purpose.²⁸⁸ Therefore as a working definition:

A gäbir is a section which indicates the application and use of a given abənnät in different contexts and with various purposes. It can also be a list of additional contents usually herbs and other substances that go in line with the 'core abənnät content' which are believed to bring about efficacy.

In understanding how *abənnäts* are organized and used in manuscripts, there seems to be no other section which is as important as the *gäbir*. To start with a general use of the *gäbir*, all informants agree that a manuscript and its textual units (*abənnäts*) are labelled depending on the *gäbir* ascribed to them. In exemplifying their claim they quote the book of Psalms. Therefore, the *gäbir* redefines our understanding of which texts are used in the church regardless of their contents. A specific *gäbir* can turn a canonical text into a coercive *abənnät* depending on the type of effectuation and function. This strongly underlines the fact that canonization of a text is at stake with a changing *gäbir*.

It further runs that a *gäbir* is not simply a function of how the textual contents of a given manuscript are applied but also how a given manuscript as a material object can be used in a given 'magical' ritual act. Hence, a *gäbir* is not solely related to the use of the abstract textual contents of a manuscript but also to the manuscript in its physical entirety. The *gäbir* may overtly be part of a given *abənnät* or can be oral (deliberately hidden or implicit). The *gäbir*

²⁸⁶ Literally 'son' used as an honorific title.

²⁸⁷ Kane 1983, 244.

²⁸⁸ Leslau 1991, 178.

when explicitly given is commonly situated at the end of an *abənnät* if the *abənnät* doesn't contain the so called confirmatory section.

The name *gäbir* is rarely given explicitly within the *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts, when it does; it is given with no signpost following the supplication formula. The *gäbir* within the *däbtära* notebooks enjoys explicit appearance even in the form of a title especially in manuscripts M and N. How and why a *gäbir* is explicitly given or not seems to be a function of the application of the *abənnät* beyond the usual prayer purpose within the manuscripts of the *Mäftəhe šəray*. To put it in clear terms, the *abənnäts* of the *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts can simply be read in the form of common prayers like other service manuscripts. It is when a specific purpose beyond a prayer is thought that the *gäbir* needs to be applied. A typical case is when a herbal application must be used in combination with a prayer to fit a specific purpose. In such cases the *gäbir* in the form of a prescription or ritual description becomes part of an *abənnät*. A *gäbir* is usually not found in scrolls, at least textually, though we know from other sources relating to the handling of the scroll itself. For example, water should not touch the scroll, the owner should look at the images/*tälsäm* when night mares trouble the user etc. are almost default knowledge in areas where use of scrolls for protective purposes is widespread. Such information of handling the scroll, it must be noted, is integral part of the *gäbir*.

The *abənnäts* can have textual 'pseudo-copies' differing only in their *gäbir*; likewise it has been identified that different *abənnäts* can have the same *gäbir*. This has also been noted by Kane in describing the *abənnäts* of a *däbtära* notebook: 'By changing the *gäbir*, the charm may be made to serve an entirely different purpose'.²⁸⁹

As to the parts of the *gäbir* of an *abənnät* involving aggressive action, the following constituent parts can be identified:

- i. መዋረሻ²⁹⁰ lit. 'Thing of inheritance' relates to *the act of inheriting the full attributes of Satan after taking a special oath in a special ritual*. This is the highest pact that a *däbtära* practicing ምስሐበ ፡ ጋኔን 'demon pulling'-*abənnät* can attain. This is a ritual where in a series of actions involving *dəgam* i.e. 'charm, incantation' the goal of the incarnation of a demon is practiced. The so called አፈ ፡ ሕፃን ፡ lit. 'Mouth of a child' is the most common *abənnät* of such a type. In such an *abənnät* a boy (who has not experienced sexual contact) is made to hold a mirror while the *däbtära* says the *dəgam*. In the right moment of initiation, the boy will see a demon appearing in the mirror. The demon will then be instructed by the *däbtära* for whatever service the *däbtära* intends to use the demon using the right nemesis. Before the ritual, the boy is instructed so that he doesn't spoil the whole process which, if done wrongly, may end up fatal for both the master and

²⁸⁹ Kane 1983, 244.

²⁹⁰ This is also called መዋሀሻ, bearing almost the same meaning though.

the boy. In the whole process the boy and the *däbtära* should have the so called መበቂያ ‘protection’, a herb or other substance accordingly. The young has:

With demon-calling *abinet* (*Abənnät*) ..., the *debtera* repeats strings of magical words continuously until the demon has been pulled. *Debtera* claim that demon-pulling succeeds through a combination of compulsion (the magic) and blandishment (an animal favored by the demon is sacrificed). The demon’s inclination is to strike those before him, but the *debtera* protects himself by holding a prescribed botanical (a parasitic plant, *takiltä*, or a wood, *digimt*) which his *abinet* studies indicate is effective against the demon and which are used in prophylactic amulets against this spirit. Church incense and other indicated substances, such as sulphur (*diny*), are also burned to weaken the demon. To send the demon back, more incense is burned and the *debtera* reads liturgical texts or invocations appealing to the saints in whom the demon finds his nemesis. It is information contained in *abinet* which enables the magician to match demon to saint and saint to invocation.²⁹¹

ii. መቋቋሽ lit. ‘Sacrifice’: *This refers to the sacrifice animal that has been given in the gäbir.* The *däbtära* may know the animal to be sacrificed from his training or may be instructed by the demon while conversing with him. With the right sacrifice the demon is obliged or lured to fulfil the desire of the *däbtära*.

iii. መመለሻ lit. ‘returning’ is a *gäbir* part where an action that has been instigated can be reversed if need be.

iv. መበቂያ lit. ‘protection’ refers to usually herbs and other substances that a *däbtära* uses while relating to a demon that has been forced to act on behalf of the *däbtära*. It is usually feared that demons which are forced can strike back the *däbtära* if the right protective substances are not in place.

The *gäbir* in one of the *abənnäts* in MS M, ff. 39r–42r, which is a *Mälkə’a Saṭna’el* ‘The Image Satan’, is peculiar to this manuscript and has never been published. In addition, this very *abənnät* takes an indigenous form of poetry called the መልክፊ lit. ‘form, figure’ as a structural model. This word has been extended to represent a poetic genre in Gəʿəz. It has been defined as: ‘... a poetic composition in Gəʿəz praising different parts of the body of a saint or a member of the Trinity’.²⁹² In addition to its striking structural modelling i.e. copying the structure of the so called መልክፊ i.e. ‘Image’ as we know them in religious contexts, this very *abənnät* dissolves the sharp contrast of the ‘sacred’ and the ‘profane’ which lies at the heart of the discussions regarding ‘magic’ and religion. This can be explained by the tenets of Mauss’ scrutiny of the idea of the ‘sacred’ and the ‘profane’ where

²⁹¹ Young 1975, 243.

²⁹² ‘Mälkə’ , *EAE*, III (2007), 700b–702b (Habtemichael Kidane).

he explains: ‘At the same time we were making our way towards a theory of the idea of the sacred; that was due to the fact that, while we found ideas of the *same order functioning in magic*, we had gained quite a different image of its meaning, its generality and also its origin’.²⁹³ (Italics mine.) This is especially true of many of the *abənnäts* where we have evidences of the ‘sacred’ used in the ‘profane’ by just simply assigning a function changing the effectuation i.e. the *gäbir*.

It has to be noted that this *abənnät* has two versions: a text used by Strelcyn which is found in EML 1085 and EML 1085 and the texts recorded in manuscript O of the corpus. The effectuation which is only found in MS O runs:

ገቢር

**ለመዋሀድ ፡ ሲሆን ፡ ጥቁር ፡ በግዕ ፡ ጥቁር ፡ ደርሆ ፡ ይዘህ ፡ ዕጣን ፡ ከርቤ ፡
አልቲት ፡ ወገርት ፡ ጠጅ ሣር ፡ ሻል ፡ አጢስ ፡ ማር ፡ አረቂ ፡ ጥዋት ፡ ማታ ፡
ቡና ፡ አፍላ ፡ በጂኛው ፡ ቀን ፡ ዶሮውን ፡ አርደህ ፡ ከባሕር ፡ ጣል (፡) በጉ ፡
አርደህ ፡ በደሙ ፡ በፈርሱ ፡ ታጠብ ፡ ቄስ ፡ መነኩሴ ፡ ዲያቆን ፡ ብዙ ፡ ውሻ ፡
ጥቁር ፡ ሰው ፡ እባብ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ እየተመሰለ ፡ ይታይሃል ፡፡ መጠብቁ ፡ የሰሚዛ ፡
ስር ፡ የእስስት ፡ ራስ ፡ ቅብዐ ፡ ሜሮን ፡ የልምጭ ፡ ተቀጽላ ፡ ያዝ ፡**

gäbir

For union (with Satan), Having a black sheep, a black hen, burn incense, myrrh,²⁹⁴ root of the *färula* or *narziks*, *wägärt*,²⁹⁵ *Cymbopogon citracus*, *Šal* (?). (With) honey and arrack (anise) brew coffee mornings and late evenings; in the seventh day slaughter the hen and throw it in a lake; slaughter the sheep and bath (yourself) using the blood and chime of the sheep. He (*Satna'el*) will appear to you disguised as a priest, deacon, a multitude of dogs, black man, snake and lion. Means of (self) protection: the root of *Adhatoda Schimperiana*, the head of a chameleon, holy oil and/or chrism, and a parasitic plant of a *Clausena anisata*.

- c) *Ṭälsäm* **ጠልሰም** : etymologically may have reached Ethiopic from Greek through Arabic, originally meaning ‘Powerful object’. It represents images, drawings, and amulets.²⁹⁶

²⁹³ Mauss 2001, 11.

²⁹⁴ **ሣር ፡ ከርቤ** : also means an evil spirit.

²⁹⁵ Kane 1990, 1579 has ‘Odoriferous tree the root of which is crushed and used as medicine or in fumigations to control *məčč* (*Silenemacrosolen*)’.

²⁹⁶ ‘Ṭälsäm’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 850a–852b (W. Smidt and S. Dege).



Figure 14: *Ṭälsäm* in MS G f. 20v

In relation to the manuscripts under discussion mention should be made that the ‘letters with eye glasses’ or *Brillenbuchstaben* should be treated separately though Smidt and Dege have included them under *ṭälsäm* stating:

One peculiar element in [*Ṭälsäm*]- pictures is represented by drawings sometimes (misleadingly) called “spectacle scripts/*Brillenbuchstaben*”, or even “secret script”. Despite being referred to as “script” and looking like letters of an “alphabet”, they do not represent a writing system. These signs are composed of curious combinations of curves, lines and arches with small loops (hence the term “*caractères à lunettes*”).²⁹⁷

The inclusion might have sprung from the fact that the *ṭälsäm* per se and the *Brillenbuchstaben* are usually found in combination with the images and drawings though this coexistence can’t guarantee their absolute inclusion and similitude with the *ṭälsäm*.

- d) *Dəgam* **ⲉⲙⲓⲛ** : could be taken as a variant of *Ṣälot* but with a potential of incantation, charm and an indication of *gäbir*. This is signalled from the etymology of the word

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 850b.

which derives from the Gəʿəz verb **ደገመ** *dägāmā* which gives the meanings ‘repeat, do a second time, be again, recite prayers or **incantations**’²⁹⁸ (boldface mine). This has to do with either the recurrence of the *asmat* in an individual *abənnāt* or the repetition of the *abənnāt* as a whole for specified times as is usually given in the *gäbir* of the *abənnāt*. When the *dəgam* is used in the second sense (i.e. as an equivalent of the basic *abənnāt*) it implies a generic part of the *abənnāt* excluding the *gäbir*, the *Brillenbuchstaben* and *ṭälsäm* but including the introductory formula, *asmat* and the supplication formula. This gives the *dəgam* in an absolutely textual presentation.

- e) *asmat* አስማት: This word literally means ‘names’. Before we set off to discuss its use in the *abənnäts*, let’s give a theoretical frame of its conception in different cultures, distantly related to the Ethiopian one or otherwise, so as to set the background.

From time immemorial the issue of the power of the ‘name’ held a central place in the history of almost all cultures. From ancient Homeric literature²⁹⁹ to the modern literary production of our era, it has occupied a central role either as a machination of the powers of ‘the name itself’ or as a tool for building the plot of a story. Almost all religious cultures relied on ‘names’ in their pursuit of harnessing the power of the invisible heavenly and earthly powers. To this effect Trachtenberg states: ‘Outstanding among those beliefs that are universally characteristic of the religion of superstition is the conviction that ‘a man’s name is the essence of his being’ (one Hebrew text says ‘a man’s name is his person’ and another, ‘his name is his soul’).³⁰⁰ The use and belief in the supernatural potencies of names has been at the forefront of the discussion of almost all cultures which claim to have ‘magical’ literature of any sort. To this end Strelcyn³⁰¹ has this to say, which I quote in length in translation:

The allocation of a magical value to a name is a characteristic feature of most of the civilizations of the ancient Orient. The prohibition made in OT [Old Testament] ‘to use the name of God in vain’ falls short of this belief. In Egypt the name is one of the pillars of Magic. All mystical traditions formed in the Hellenistic world through the great Judeo-Aramaic beliefs, Greek and Egyptian, have inherited the cult of the *hidden name*. Gnostic and Hermetic literature also continued this tradition which at first started with the worship of the “seven vowels”. In Eastern Christianity the use of the hidden name showed unparalleled growth and magical texts swarmed with magical names came into being in the first centuries of the Christian era, whether Greek, Coptic or Syriac. It was during the last centuries of the pre-Christian era and the first century AD that this huge stock of magical names in Egyptian, Greek and Semitic elements, to name only

²⁹⁸ Leslau 1991, 126.

²⁹⁹ Norman 1972, 4 has: ‘Odysseus repeats the pattern of withholding his name elsewhere’.

³⁰⁰ Trachtenberg 1939, 78.

³⁰¹ Strelcyn 1955, 1.

the most important originated which, even after two thousand years, do not cease to draw the various forms of magic from the common core. (Emphasis mine.)

The above extended quotation touches upon many salient features which need further explanation. The discussions on the powers of the ‘name’ base their distinction on two cleavages: the ‘highest name’ and all ‘other names’. The ‘other names’ drive their powers from the ‘highest name’. In this regard, the ‘highest name’ which is often the ‘divine name’ is usually defined as the revelation of the ‘divine essence’. As to how the ‘highest name’, was received by some select people who attain a status in such a way that they were chosen for this divine glory, this incidence of a spiritual trance, one among others, explains it: ‘...Rabbi Akiva was meditating the Merkavah³⁰² in the terrestrial world, he attained, spiritually, the celestial realm and received the *secret Name of God*’.

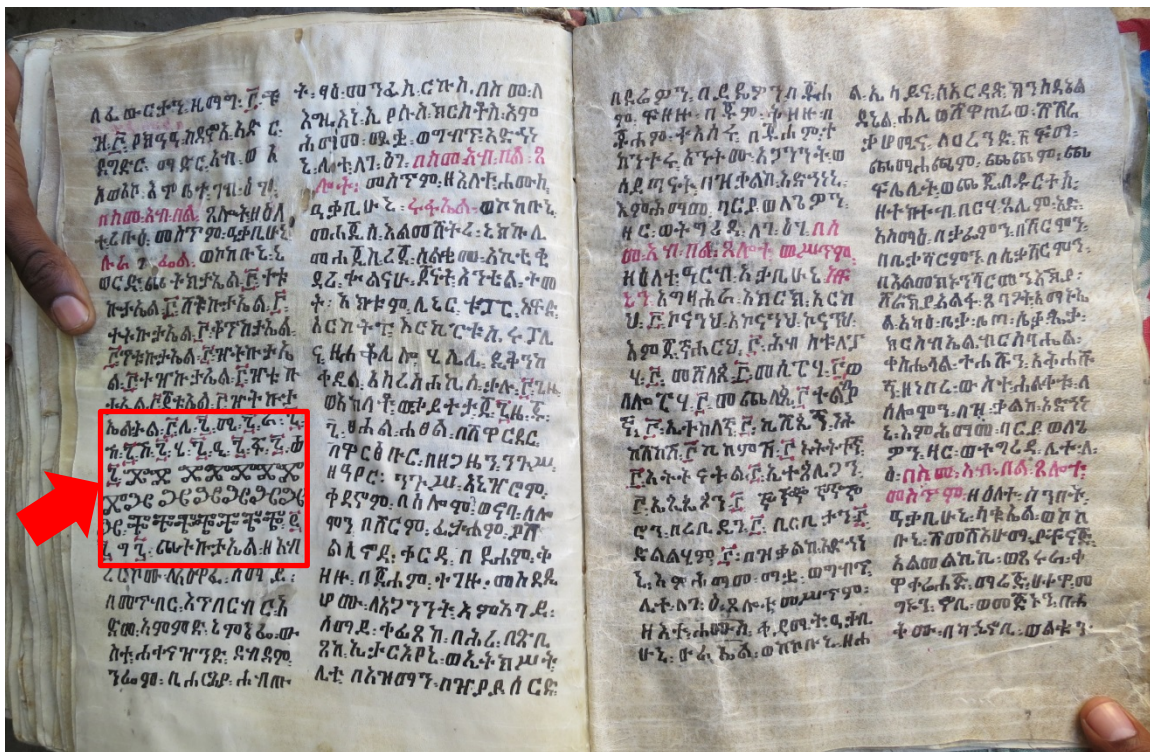
And in the above incidence we see John the Baptist receiving ‘secret name’ or the so called **ገቡዕ ፡ ስም ፡** is found in the *abənnāt* texts where we have (P1, ff. 1r–4v): **ጸሎት ፡ መስተፋቅር ፡ ወመሥተሣሕል ፡ ወመስተራትእ ፡ ዘወሀቦ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለወልደ ፡ ነጐድንድ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ቱላዳን ፡ ፈኑ ፡ ሊተ ፡ መልእክተ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ይከኑ ፡ ወይቁሙ ፡ ምስሌየ ፡ ...** ‘Prayer of love (charm), of (charm for) compassion and of (charm for) rectitude that God gave to his beloved disciple John son of thunder and (God (declared)) to him (John) *tuladan*. Send me your angels of light so that they be with me and stand with me ...’. The hidden name is usually presented in the *abənnāts* by introducing it by the phrases **ዘወሀቦ ለ...** ‘that (usually God) gave to (masculine) or ... **ዘወሀባ ለ** ... ‘that (usually God) gave to (feminine)...’ i.e. depending on the gender of the receiver.

f) *Brillenbuchstaben* **እግረ ፡ ብረት ፡** ‘letters in eye glasses’: are visual elements included in the manuscripts under discussion which resemble scripts. Chernetsov observes:

Among secret signs or letters are figures that are supposed to be Hebrew, or more rarely Arabic, letters, their ends decorated with little circles, which, because of this last characteristic, are known by scholars as letters in eyeglasses (*caractères à lunettes, Brillenbuchstaben*). Such letters are found in both Greek and Coptic texts and amulets (the most ancient of which go back to the fourth century AD), and this is no doubt the original source for the Ethiopian use of them. Professional scribes in Ethiopia itself explain them as leg fetters (**እግረ ፡ ብረት ፡**) trapping demons in place.³⁰³

³⁰² Arbel, 2003, 31.

³⁰³ Chernetsov 2006, 192.

Figure 15: *Brillenbuchstaben* on MS J, f. 119va

As has correctly been indicated by Dege and Smidt,³⁰⁴ the alleged resemblance of the *Brillenbuchstaben* to different writing systems can't really be established. Yet, the existence of such characters in other manuscript cultures which has long been established by Strelcyn points towards their separate existence.

One of my *däbtära* informants has distinctively defined the *Brillenbuchstaben* as ‘Visual *asmat*’. To the *däbtära*, the *Brillenbuchstaben* are *asmats* in the form of drawings and hence, have their effects especially by being seen. The independent presence of the *Brillenbuchstaben* in some of the *abännäts* is also visible, which adds weight to the argument that they should be treated separately. Strelcyn³⁰⁵ after having put them as distinct elements explains (I have translated the text from the French):

On the one hand they (*Brillenbuchstaben*) are found in the Greek and Coptic magical manuscripts and amulets, the oldest known to us date from the fourth century of our era. They can be found later in the Arab magic scrolls, in Hebrew characters from Asia Minor, and the Ethiopian Jewish amulets. Today they are still used for making amulets in the Muslim world and especially in Ethiopia.

³⁰⁴ ‘Tälsäm’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 850a–852b (W. Smidt and S. Dege), here 852.

³⁰⁵ Strelcyn 1955, xxxiii–xxxiv.

The *Brillenbuchstaben* can be used in tracing the textual relationship of the ‘magical’ texts under discussion to Hebrew, Arabic, Coptic and Greek literature of similar genre as they exist in these cultures retaining their forms.

- g) *Qalat* ቃላት ፣, lit. ‘words’. These are words of supposed power like the *asmat* but of their own existence as can be seen from their use in the manuscripts. Sometimes the distinction between them and the *asmat* and *qalat* is blurred for there are expressions which combine the two into one as in በዝንቱ ፣ አስማት ፣ ወበዝንቱ ፣ ቃላት ፣ ‘in these *asmat* and *qalat*’ though the isolated form በዝንቱ ቃላት is not uncommon. Strelcyn³⁰⁶ has rightly observed: ‘Besides magical names found in the Ethiopian magical prayers, there are some words supposedly included to increase the efficacy of a prayer referred to as *qalat* ‘words’. Nowadays the distinction between the *asmat* and *Qalat* is almost non-existent, but it is easy enough to trace its origins...’ (Emphasis mine.)
- h) Supplication: this is a section where the christian name of the user is given in the form of ለገብርክ ፣ or ለአመትክ ፣ meaning ‘For (to) your servant’. Sometimes the supplication formulas change from one *abənnät* to another confirming that these very successive *abənnäts* are two different *abənnäts*. This gives the supplication formula the function of marking textual units.
- i) Theme (title): This is a section where the subject of the *abənnät* is shortly given in the form of a title. It can usually be situated before the introductory formula when there exists or can be situated at the beginning of an *abənnät* in the form of አሎተ ፣ ዓይነ ፣ ባርያ ፣ ‘prayer against evil eye’ as in the *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts, for example. In the *däbtära* notebooks it usually comes like a visible title like: መስተፋቅር ፣ *mästäfaqər* ‘love charm’ etc.

Based on the occurrence and use of the section it can safely be concluded that this is the last section that has joined the *abənnät* manuscripts in general.

- j) Confirmatory section: a declarative word about the efficacy of a given *abənnät*. When it appears textually, it is situated at the end of the *abənnät*. If the *abənnät* contains a *gäbir* the confirmatory section follows it. Two of the common expressions which denote the confirmatory section are ፍቱን ፣ ‘tested!’, ፍቱን ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ‘it is tested!’.
- k) Caution: This section is usually put to explain the precautions while performing a dangerous act and drawing a *ṭälsäm* or to warn ‘non-practitioners’ not to try to put what has been written down in the manuscripts into practice if they happen to possess them by chance. Though usually situated towards the end of the *abənnät*, a peculiar caution given in MS M, f. 1r as a preface which reads in translation:

ማሳሰቢያ

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.* xxx-xxxi.

ከዚህ ፡ ቀጥሎ ፡ የተጻፉት ፡ አስማቶችን ፡ ወደ ፡ ተግባር ፡ ለመለወጥ ፡ መጀመርያ ፡ በቂ ፡ የሆነ ፡ ዕውቀት ፡ እና ፡ ከረቂቃነት ፡ ጋር ፡ በአስተማማኝ ፡ ሁኔታ ፡ መተዋወቅና ፡ ቃል ፡ መጋባት ፡ ነው ። ይህ ፡ በማይሆንበት ፡ ወይም ፡ ባልሆነበት ፡ መጽሐፉ ፡ በሚለው ፡ መሠረት ፡ አደርጋለሁ ፡ ማለት ፡ ግን ፡ ራስን ፡ ማሞኘት ፡ እና ፡ እንዲያውም ፡ ራስን ፡ ማጥፋትም ፡ ነው ። በተጨማሪ ፡ ይህ ፡ ነገር ፡ ተሳክቶ ፡ ቢገኝ ፡ እንኳ ፡ ታጋሽና ፡ ሆደ ፡ ሰፊ ፡ መሆን ፡ አለብህ ፡ እንጂ ፡ ጠላቴን ፡ እንድላለሁ ፡ አትበል ፡ ጠላትህን ፡ ውደድ ፡ ይላል ፡ እና ።

To change (put) the (power of) the *asmats*³⁰⁷ written following this into practice, first (one should have) enough knowledge and acquaintance with the (abstract) spirits and (one should) *make a pledge with them*.³⁰⁸ If this is not or have not been done, trying to practice *according to what the book says*³⁰⁹ is (considered as) fooling oneself and even committing suicide! Furthermore, in case this thing succeeds, you have to be patient and prudent but never say ‘I will kill my enemy’ as it is also said ‘Love your enemy’.

This caution is meant to be applied to the whole manuscript. It seems that the *däbtära* is warning anyone who may find the notebook by any chance and as a result wants to use it. This may be related to the fact that this very manuscript is well written with clear individual themes and *gäbirs* which in itself adds to the anxiety of the *däbtära* in case he loses his notebook. In all other cases, when the caution appears, it just appears within individual *abənnäts*.

1) *Historiola*: It is defined as follows:

Modern term describing brief tales built into magic formulas, providing a mythic precedence for a magically effective treatment. Historiolas are already documented in Mesopotamian and ancient Egyptian magic. In the Graeco-Egyptian magic papyri [...], they provide references to both Greek [...] and Egyptian [...] mythology, and to Christian legends in Christian rites. However, historiolas should not be understood as abridgments of well-known myths or as ad hoc inventions, rather the narrator understands them as proof of an all-embracing order into which he integrates his rite.³¹⁰

This term has been adopted to represent brief tales incorporated into an *abənnät* echoing a similar deed as in the action purported in the *dəgam* by referring to biblical, hagiographic and

³⁰⁷ This is the only textual reference wherein the word *asmat* seems to be used as an equivalent of *abənnät*. However, if we take this meaning of the word, it follows that it will have a double role i.e. as a constituent part within the *abənnät* as has been explained and again as a name of the whole textual unit.

³⁰⁸ This indirectly hints to what has been called *መዋረስ* : ‘inheriting’ wherein the *däbtära* assumes the full attributes of the spirit summoned. See *መዋረሻ* : above.

³⁰⁹ The expression ‘according to what the book says’ indirectly relates to the *gäbir*.

³¹⁰ Brill online dictionary.

mythical accounts. Generally, when a *historiola* is narrated in such contexts, it may or may not have ‘mythical’ or otherwise antecedents to which it can be alluded to.³¹¹ It further runs that it may stand alone as an invocation with its own power. Frankfurter has then: ‘the fact that this is the entire spell—lacking not only application, but also invocation or *voces magicæ*³¹²—demonstrates that the magical power of the [...] spell and its analogues is, indeed, contained within the narrative itself, not sacred names, symbols, or commands’.³¹³

As with a further similar application of the term *historiola* in the same context Shaked³¹⁴ has used it in his discussion of Aramaic bowl spells.

In our accounts, the famous *Wərzəlyā* account, the unchaining of Peter,³¹⁵ the woman with hemorrhage,³¹⁶ the woman with an evil eye are some of the *historiolae* used in our texts. The *Wərzəlyā* account is perhaps the most studied *historiola* in our *abənnāts*. This very *historiola* has been the subject of many researches.³¹⁷

This very narrative is a wide-spread motif. What is rather striking is the name of that the fiend *Wərzəlyā* harks back to the Aramaic word ‘Parzela’ and the Hebrew ‘Barzel’ both meaning ‘iron’. The fiend in the *Aramaic* narrative is called ‘Sideros’ which means ‘iron’. Therefore, we can see that the meaning is retained in the second case.³¹⁸

The story of the woman with an evil eye is called both **ḡḡḡḡḡḡ** : ‘evil eye’ or **ḡḡḡḡḡḡ** : **ḡḡḡḡḡḡ** : ‘The prayer of *nādra*’. Like in the *Wərzəlyā* narrative what is striking is the origin of both these labels. Worrell explains:

The name *‘Āinat* is connected with *‘ain*, ‘the evil eye’; the presumption of an Arabic origin or mediation is confirmed by the title: ‘The Prayer of *Nad(a)rā*’ (= Egyptian Arab. *an-Naḍrah*, or classical arab. *an-Naḏrah*, ‘the evil eye’).³¹⁹

³¹¹ Frankfurter 2001, 459.

³¹² Ogden 1999, 47 defines *Voces magicæ* or ‘Words of power’ as ‘mysterious words which are not *obviously* or *immediately* meaningful in Greek or any other language. The most important group of *Voces magicæ* are the six so called ‘Ephesian letters’ (*Ephesia grammata*). According to him *Voces magicæ* include letters, shapes and images. With letters he is referring to the so called *characteres*. We have discussed that these are the *Brillenbuchstaben* in our case. It should be noted that the wording ‘letters’ springs from the fact that letters are also believed to have power in themselves.

It further runs that what we have called *ṭālsām* and *Brillenbuchstaben* would fall into the category *Voces magicæ* in their use in the curse tablets of the Greek and Roman worlds. In our *abənnāts*, however, they must have been adapted to serve the same purpose with a difference in appearance.

³¹³ Frankfurter 2001, 459.

³¹⁴ Shaked 2013, 13.

³¹⁵ Acts 12:3–11.

³¹⁶ Based on Mark. 5:25–34.

³¹⁷ Basset 1894, 38–42; Worrell 1910, 399–400.

³¹⁸ For details see Naveh and Shaked 1987, 116.

³¹⁹ Worrell 1910, 400.

Worrell further states that the Ethiopic narrative–legend as he calls it–has a Coptic counterpart.

A visual summary of an array of the sections in an *abənnät* can be shown as in the following:

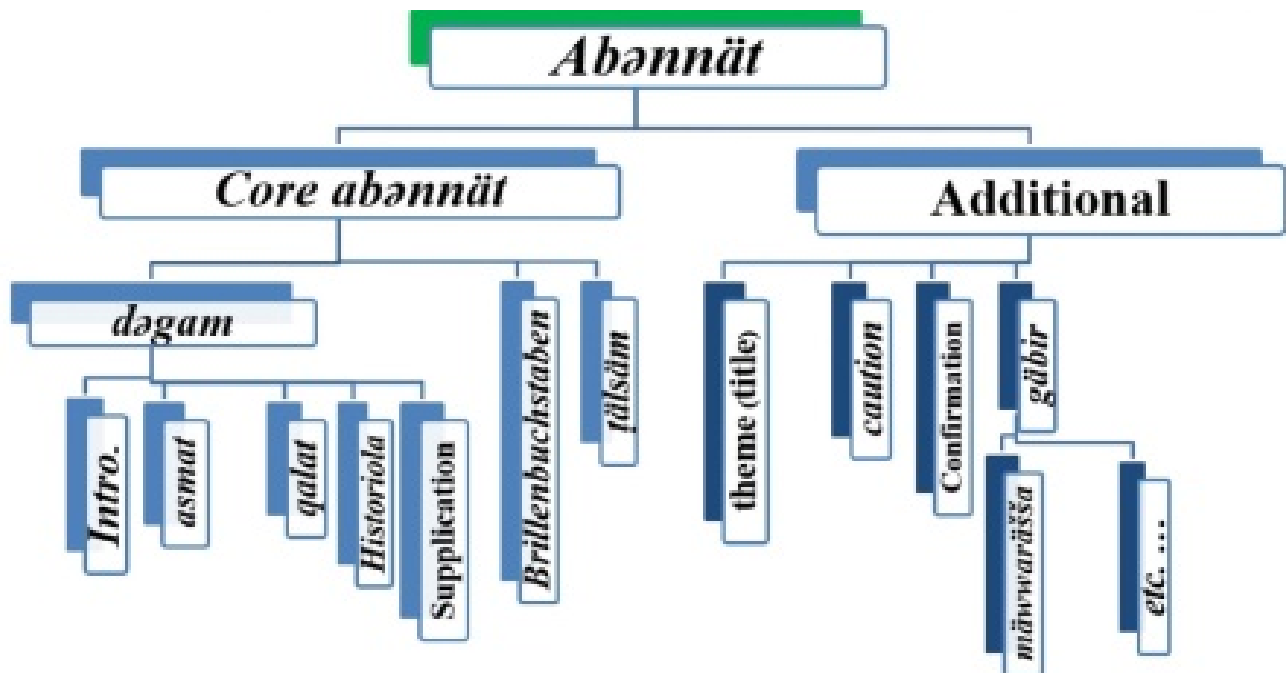


Figure 16: Overview of sections of an *abənnät*

Chapter 4: Language use in *abənnäts* manuscripts

4.1 Introduction

Generally, language use in our discussion of the *abənnäts* relates to three things: firstly, it can be understood as the linguistic characteristics the *abənnäts* exhibit as related to the Speech Acts Theory (abbreviated as SAT from now on). Secondly, it refers to the way natural languages (Gəʿəz, Amharic, etc.) are used in a shifting scheme; and finally, it may refer to the genre specific jargons one encounters in the *abənnäts*.

To start with the first, a closer analysis of the overall linguistic features reveals that the inherent linguistic characteristics of the *abənnäts* can better be approached through the use of the SAT. The discussion of multi-language use is based on the language shift of the languages of composition as witnessed in the different sections of an *abənnät* and the use of languages especially in the *asmats*. The *abənnäts* present a language peculiar to them. It will be tried to collect such peculiar words and expressions in our attempt to explicate their tenets in the chapter on orality as they usually entail an oral knowledge. Therefore, the first two points shall be the focuses of this chapter.

We will set a brief background of the origins of the SAT in an attempt to apply it to our text corpus. This application stems from the notion that statements and/or utterances carry power. These efficacious utterances are usually parts of the so called *illocution* in the SAT as discussed below. The focus will be on the shape of the *verbs* which carry the main intention of *abənnät* as a whole. This strictly follows the application of the SAT maintained mainly by Austin³²⁰ and Searle³²¹ who are its forerunners. So as to have a firm ground to start with, we will explicate the application of such a theory to the *abənnät* texts based on a similar study. This study carried out on an early Jewish mystical text³²² found in the so called Hekhalot literature³²³ among others, is revealing for a number of reasons as will be discussed later.

³²⁰ Austin 1962.

³²¹ Searle 1979.

³²² Lesses 1995, 198–208. She applied the Speech Acts Theory in analysing the language of a mystic text called *The adjuration of the Sar ha-Panim* or ‘The Prince of the Presence’, which is an angel. In this text a powerful angel named ‘Ozhay’a, who believed to be second in command to God is adjured. He is summoned to earth to reveal wisdom to mankind by an adept. This process of adjuration which involves the use of angelic names is parallel to the use of the *Asmat* in the *abənnäts*. Such a use coupled with similar structural and linguistic features justify the use of the same method in analysing the language of the *abənnäts*.

³²³ Davila 2013, 1 defines Hekhalot literature as ‘... a motley collection of textually fluid and often textually corrupt documents in Hebrew and Aramaic which deal with mystical themes associated especially with visions of God’s throne-chariot (the *merkavah* or ‘chariot,’ hence ‘Merkavah mysticism’), control over angels, and detailed descriptions of the heavenly realm’.

To start with, the *abənnäts* have special recurrent expressions especially of the acts of excommunication, incantation for different purposes, vow and conjuring etc. embedded within their sentence construction. These expressions are executed in such a way that they be used together with special set of words and visual elements. The words refer to those we have called *asmats* and the visual elements are the so called *ṭälsäm* and *Brillenbuchstaben*. The above mentioned words and visual elements are further coupled with *special contexts*, *processes* and *ways of execution*. The *special contexts*, *processes* and *ways of execution* are discussed under what has been called *gäbir* in chapter three.

The SAT was first advanced by the English Philosopher J.L. Austin.³²⁴ The inception of the theory goes back to the conceptual identification of the so called performative utterances or performative sentences. Austin started his deliberation with ‘... the issuing of the [performative] utterance is the performing of an action—it is not normally thought of as just saying something’.³²⁵ Lesses, among many others who have applied the tenets of this very theory into their respective fields of specialization, has applied this theory in analysing an early Jewish mystical text noted above.³²⁶ Therefore, as the *abənnäts* resemble the text which Lesses is dealing in their structural set up and especially their language use, we will try to follow such analytic scheme. Lesses’ examination of her texts are of importance to us as she tried to take her analysis beyond the plain linguistic analysis. She doesn’t simply focus on the common verbal forms which are usually expected to be performatives. She ventured in connecting the *verbal forms* and the *names* that are used together with them and the resulting effect they can create. It should further be noted that such a methodology has also been applied in the study of similar texts in other cultures which further justifies our use of this very theoretical approach. In a rather general use with an anthropological leaning, this understanding of the language of *abənnäts* (i.e. *texts of ritual power* in general³²⁷) as a performative act has also been noted by Tambiah.³²⁸

Still within the confines of the application of the SAT, the second approach is somehow not direct. This refers not to specific efficacious utterances but to the short narratives employed in the *abənnäts*. As has been discussed in chapter three, we have called such abbreviated narratives *historiolae*. In such an application the focus is on the *historiola* as a whole as

³²⁴ Austin 1962.

³²⁵ *Ibid.* 5

³²⁶ Lesses 2001, 185–208.

³²⁷ Meyer and Smith 1994, 1. This expression is used to avoid the use of the expression ‘magical texts’ in the context of this chapter. I have applied it here to avoid a misunderstanding later in using Lesses’ article as an analytic tool.

³²⁸ Tambiah 1990, 58. Tambiah related the performative act to what he calls ‘homeopathic magic’ following the so called associative thinking. He extended that actions performed as part of a ‘magical’ act and the utterances that accompany them are done in such a way that they result in the desired effect. Such a thinking can be traced back to the works of anthropologists like Evans-Pritchard 1965, 41: ‘Magicians believe that by words, spells, they can alter the world’, among others.

having a power of its own just because it is uttered in the *abənnät* context. Frankfurter called this power the ‘narrating power’.³²⁹ In his own words: ‘a “power” intrinsic to any narrative, any story, uttered in a *ritual context*,³³⁰ and the idea that the mere recounting of certain stories situates or directs their “narrative” power into this world’.³³¹

Secondly, a closer look into many *abənnäts* reveals a schematic language shift. When a language used in an *abənnät* shifts within it, it triggers a question as to why that has happened. What has been done to see if the shift is systematically marked was to see if it has any bearing on the specific sections of an *abənnät*. This has clearly been confirmed in that the language shift is a characteristic of only some of the sections of an *abənnät*, whereas the *asmats* which are believed to be one of the sections of an *abənnät* employ many languages (alleged or otherwise). Therefore, the multi-language use within an *abənnät* is approached by relating it to the specific sections identified as individual constituents of an *abənnät* and their specific natural language use thereof.

4.2 Language: Beyond saying and describing

4.2.1 The SAT: the basics

Approaching language use of the *abənnäts* through the use of the customary linguistic approaches which commonly declare ‘to say something is to state something’ fails short immediately. To deal with such a problem, Austin started his argument from his observation of the dubious dichotomy of all sentences as either true or false and that all statements fall under the category of ‘descriptive statements’. This dichotomy fails to see other categories of statements out of the realm of being true or false and hence, Austin declared, ‘Not all true or false statements are descriptions and for this reason I prefer to use the word ‘constative’’.³³² He discarded the use of the term ‘descriptive’ on account of the fact that to think as such as in the established traditional thought usually resulted in what he called ‘descriptive fallacy’. Bunnin and Yu³³³ have eloquently summarized this type of fallacy as follows:

(Descriptive fallacy is) J. L. Austin’s term for the practice in the traditional theory of statements of taking all statements to be descriptive and claiming that to understand the meaning of a sentence is to understand its truth condition. However, Austin argued that there are many sentences, such as those used in performative utterances, whose meanings are not determined by their truth

³²⁹ Frankfurter 2001, 457–476.

³³⁰ The texts we are dealing with are mainly meant to be performed within a ritual context.

³³¹ *Ibid.* 457 (emphasis mine).

³³² *Ibid.* 4.

³³³ Bunnin and Yu 2004, 174.

conditions. They are not subjects of truth and falsity, for they do not specify or report features of reality, but are used to do something. To say “I swear...” is not to report that one swears, but is the act of swearing itself.

Austin developed the SAT from his deliberations on the distinction between the constatives and performatives. In doing so he went beyond the crude category of utterances as descriptive or constative. He formulated that any sentence/utterance given in any communicative act should be understood as having three coordinates of understanding it: locution, illocution and perlocution. Simply put, while locution basically refers to the utterance of speech sounds and the literal meaning related to it, illocution has to do with the intention of the speaker in uttering those speech sounds, and perlocution is the way the communicative act is perceived by the listener. Austin further classified the illocutionary acts into: verdictives (giving of a verdict, or an estimate, reckoning, or appraisal), expositives (used to signal the fitting of our utterance into an argument or conversation: reply, concede, illustrate, assume, postulate), exercitives (exercising of power, rights, or influence as in appointing, voting, ordering, urging, advising, warning, etc.), behabitives (all acts that have to do with attitudes and social behaviour), and commissives (they commit you to doing something but also declarations or announcements of intention which are not promises).³³⁴

Following Austin his student John Searle³³⁵ has refined the theoretical foundations laid by his teacher. Though Searle agrees with Austin that all statements do not constate and therefore should not be treated as ‘descriptive’ and that there should be the SAT he objects Austin’s bases of classification of the so called illocutionary acts.³³⁶ His reason is worth quoting at length:

In sum there are (at least) six difficulties with Austin’s taxonomy; in ascending order of importance: there is a persistent confusion between verbs and acts, not all the verbs are illocutionary verbs, there is too much overlap of the categories, too much heterogeneity within the categories, many of the verbs listed in the categories don’t satisfy the definition given for the category and most important, there is no consistent principle of classification.

Based on this Searle has given his alternative categories of Speech Acts.³³⁷ According to him any category of Speech Acts should be based on illocutionary point,³³⁸ direction of fit³³⁹ and

³³⁴ Austin 1962, 150–151.

³³⁵ Searle 1979.

³³⁶ *Ibid.* 11–12.

³³⁷ *Ibid.* 12–20.

³³⁸ *Ibid.* 3 explains, ‘Illocutionary point is part of but not the same as illocutionary force. Thus, e.g., the illocutionary point of requests is the same as that of commands: both are attempts to get hearers to do something. But the illocutionary forces are clearly different. In general, one can say that the notion of illocutionary force is the resultant of several elements of which illocutionary point is only one, though, I believe, the most important one’.

expressed sincerity conditions to mention the basic elements among others. In addition to this he pinpointed the main problem of the SAT as proposed by his predecessor as ‘I believe the single most common mistake in SAT is the confusion between features of illocutionary verbs and illocutionary acts’.³⁴⁰ Therefore, when the focus lies on ‘certain English verbs’ the application becomes language specific, when it is on ‘acts’ it can be applied to any given language. This is a meticulous comment that has to be taken seriously as it has far reaching consequences. This will be discussed in a more detailed way later in this chapter.

4.2.2 The Performative in Gəʿəz and Amharic

If we take Gəʿəz as the main language of composition of the texts in our corpus, the only article on the subject remains to be that of Weninger.³⁴¹ He has clearly demonstrated that the performative in Gəʿəz can be given in both the perfective and imperfective forms of the verb which in turn poses the question of which form one must take as an inherent characteristic of the language. He argues that the performative verbal forms in Gəʿəz should not be taken *prima facie* as they entail the issue of translation. He specifically demonstrates the fact that some of the performatives indicated in the perfective form of the verb in Gəʿəz are based on either a Greek aorist indicative or a Greek perfect; and those indicated in the imperfective form of the verb in Gəʿəz are renderings of a Greek present tense. Another possibility where the Gəʿəz perfect is employed in expressing the performative—Weninger further explains—is as in the context where it is used in the real Aksumite Gəʿəz. He stresses this point by pointing out ‘This cannot be explained as a mechanical translation. On the contrary: the translator translates against the pressure of his source text’.³⁴² He used data from the Aksumite period as a solution to get a clear picture of the Gəʿəz performative. He outrightly discarded the language of inscriptions as they show only a few forms of the direct speech³⁴³ whereas there is no trace of performatives. He then based his analysis on the texts translated in the same period i.e. the Aksumite period and the results seem to point to the fact that the perfective was used to indicate the performative. In addition to showing the prevalence of usage of the perfective as a way of indicating the performative, the result also stresses the

³³⁹ Platts 1997, 257 expounds, ‘The distinction is in terms of the *direction of fit* of mental states to the world. Beliefs aim at being true, and their being true is their fitting the world; falsity is a decisive failing in a belief, and false beliefs should be discarded; beliefs should be changed to fit with the world, not vice versa. Desires aim at realization, and their realization is the world fitting with them; the fact that the indicative content of a desire is not realized in the world is not yet a failing in the desire, and not yet any reason to discard the desire; the world, crudely, should be changed to fit with our desires, not vice versa’.

³⁴⁰ Searle 1979, ix.

³⁴¹ Weninger 2000, 91–101.

³⁴² *Ibid.* 98

³⁴³ He gives RIÉ 189, 8 as an example. RIÉ stands for *Recueil des inscriptions de l’Éthiopie*, the standard collection of Ethiopian inscriptions by E. Bernand, A. J. Drewes, R. Schneider, published in 1991–2000.

typological bond of Gəʿəz to the Classical Semitic languages which use the perfective aspect to indicate the performative.

As indicated above, Amharic is also used as a language of composition very rarely of the core *abənnät* though it is a common language of the *gäbir*. In this regard an article by Demissie Manahlot³⁴⁴ is the only one to be cited. In his introductory remarks, he indirectly questions whether what Austin proposed of performatives in general can be applied to almost all other languages. Thereafter he tries to check whether the English pattern simple present form of the main verb with a first person speaker and a second person addressee holds true also to Amharic and other languages too.³⁴⁵ His concern is legitimate as other applications of the concept in different disciplines and even other languages has confirmed that a performative should not take the form of the explicit English performative. This has already been indicated in the application of the term to Semitic linguistics as discussed above. Demissie Manahlot has then rightly demonstrated that the English form of the performative can't be applied to Amharic either.

According to Demissie Manahlot the Amharic performative can take the perfective form of the verb. He categorized the performative verbs into two groups: the *azzäz*- 'order' type and *qal gäbba* 'promise' type wherein he lists other similar verbs under each category.³⁴⁶ The perfective form of the *azzäz*- 'order' type verbs should be used with the suffix *-all* and imperative reinforcements to avoid ambiguity. He further elaborates that the semantic differences between the verb groups is the status of the speakers. Searle³⁴⁷ has pinpointed the status of speakers in a communicative act as an important element in the analysis of performative utterances. Demissie Manahlot quotes Searle³⁴⁸ which I quote again:

There are a large number of illocutionary acts that require an extra linguistic institution, and generally, a special position by the speaker and the hearer within that institution in order for the act to be performed. Thus, in order to bless, excommunicate, christen, pronounce guilty [...] it is not sufficient for any old speaker to say to any old hearer "I bless", "I excommunicate", etc. One must have a position within an extra-linguistic institution.

The idea of *a position within an extra-linguistic institution* is important in relating to the *abənnäts* in focus. The *abənnäts* are practised by the *däbtära* who not only are acknowledged experts in the field but are revered by their execution of rituals which serve different purposes. The society believes in this status of the *däbtära* and as a result relates to them in

³⁴⁴ Demissie Manahlot 1994.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 623 where he reasonably expresses '...whether Austin implies that such an explicit performative occurs is hard to tell'.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 626.

³⁴⁷ Searle 1987.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 7.

such a way that certain actions are destined to be performed only and only by them.³⁴⁹ Even in a higher scale, there is an occasion where the *däbtära* is expected to partake in a solemn oath with Satan. This is enacted in a process which is variably called *täwaräso* or *mäwwähad* lit. ‘Inheriting the attributes (of Satan)’.³⁵⁰ This pact gives the *däbtära* an extra-power to order demons and other spiritual beings as he wishes. I give the following example of such an oath section of the effectuation or *gäbir* as given in MS M, f. 7r–v among others:

ገንዘብ ፡ ለመሰብሰብ ፡ ብር ፡ ወርቅ ፡ እህል ፡ የፈለከውን ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ ሂ ክንድ ፡
ገመድ ፡ ወደ ፡ እፁ ፡ ዘርግተህ ፡ ማተብህን ፡ አውልቀህ ፡ እንደጅብ ፡ እየጮህክ ፡
በግራ ፡ እግርህ ፡ እያነከሽክ ፡ በገመዱ ፡ ላይ ፡ ሂደህ ፡ ከሥር ፡ ስትደርስ ፡ በግራ ፡
ጥርስህ ፡ ነቅለህ ፡ አምጥተህ ፡ አልመህ ፡ ከደቆሽክ ፡ በኋላ ፡ በሾላ ፡ ደም ፡
ለውሰህ ፡ ዓይንህን ፡ ተኩለህ ፡ የሄደክ ፡ እንደሆነ ፡ በዓለም ፡ ላይ ፡ ያሉ ፡ ዛፎች ፡
አጋንንት ፡ ይታዩሃል ፡ ከዚህ ፡ በኋላ ፡ የፈለከውን ፡ ታገኛለህ ፡ ከላይ ፡
የተጠቀሱትን ፡ ምግቦች ፡ አትብላ ፡ እንዳያረክሱብህ ።

To collect (get money), to get silver, gold (and) all what you want; having stretched a 40 *kənd*³⁵¹ or rope measuring a cubit to the herb (*Clerodendrum myricoides*);³⁵² (having) put your necklet (*matäb*³⁵³) off, shouting like a hyena and hopping on your left *leg*,³⁵⁴ walk on the rope (back) until the herb and uproot the herb (using) your left tooth and fine-grind it. After having mixed it with the blood i.e. milk of a *fictus*³⁵⁵ and if you go out having put the mixture on your eyelids, all the *zars* and demons on this world will be visible to you. After this (all), you will get all what you want. Don’t eat the food(s) mentioned above so that it (the whole *abännät*) may not prove ineffective for you.

In the above excerpt, the *däbtära* acquires his powers denouncing his faith. This is indicated in the figurative expression **ማተብህን ፡ አውልቀህ** : ‘put your necklet (*matäb*) off’ which means the abjuring of Christianity in favor of the powers of the *zars* and demons. This implies the *däbtära* in this context is taking the attributes of the *zars* and demons in order to gain the power to fulfil his desires, material (money, silver, gold...) and/or spiritual (favor, and all other carnal desires). What evades such clear indications of pacts in many *abännäts* is

³⁴⁹ The so called caution discussed in chapter three section K. This can be understood as an act of expression of power of the side of the *däbtära*. In addition to warning that an ill performed *abännät* can be hazardous, he is indirectly telling that his status legitimizes him to perform the overall act which is dommed hazardous if other perform it.

³⁵⁰ For further reference see under the section *gäbir* in chapter three.

³⁵¹ Kane 1990, 1445 has: ‘A distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger approximately 48 cm’.

³⁵² Kane 1990, 1153.

³⁵³ *Matäb* is a blue thread worn by Orthodox Christians like a neckless as a sign of faith.

³⁵⁴ The expression ‘hopping on your left leg’ echoes the popular belief that hyenas’ left legs are shorter though in fact both the front legs are shorter.

³⁵⁵ Kane 1990, 603 has: ‘A large tree of the *Fictus* family’.

that the *gäbir* which usually contains such pacts is left out for reasons of secrecy and orality as has been discussed in chapter three.

4.2.3 Application of the SAT in the analysis of the language of *abənnäts*

We have noted that the perfective form of the verb is mainly employed as a means of showing the performative in Gəʿəz and Amharic. This characteristic has been identified in other Semitic languages too. To this end Rogland³⁵⁶ has to state, ‘The use of a past tense (or aspectually perfective form) for performative utterances is attested throughout the Semitic languages and has received increasing attention in recent studies’. What follows is asking if it can do a justice to expect the same verb form in the texts we are dealing with. In approaching the application of the SAT in the *abənnäts* we are dealing with, the following points should be considered before a direct take-off on the subject:

- 1) The language of composition of the *abənnäts* is usually between Gəʿəz and Amharic, though other vernacular languages are sometimes used in a macaronic style. The Amharic is also used as a sole language of composition in some *abənnäts*. This helps us to approach the performative verbs with caution. Further details on language shift are given in the following section on multi-language use.
- 2) The performative acts we shall discuss are usually parts of the so called *dəgam*, which is the core *abənnät* part. The *dəgam* comprises the verbs which denote the action and the *asmats* which reinforce the action and its efficacy.
- 3) The SAT should be cautiously applied. We shall not be exclusively looking for ‘morphological’ shapes as we do in analysing other texts from other genres. This is mainly because the texts entail ritual expressions as is expressed in their *gäbirs*. In our case, we shall see it form the point of view of the whole interplay among the verbal forms, *asmats* and other elements like the *tälsäm*.
- 4) As a sign post for exploring the contexts where the performative act is carried, the *gäbirs* play an important role for they detail on how, when, where the action intended is meant to be carried out. The role of the *gäbirs* in showing the context is of paramount importance. This is mainly because the application of the performative approach into texts which are only known from inscriptions fails short as it is hard to understand the context as they don’t usually contain such information as part of their documentation. In such cases only the linguistic characteristics found in the inscriptions are employed to conjecture how the performative looked like.³⁵⁷ This points towards the fact that the *gäbirs* also contain expressions of ‘ritual actions’ as is evidenced in other cultures as

³⁵⁶ Rogland 2001, 244 where he lists other related studies in Semitic in a footnote.

³⁵⁷ Sanders 1994, 161.

well. To this end we have Meyer's³⁵⁸ striking description of the texts presented in the volume he edited:

The texts in this volume, although they range from hostile revenge to personal enhancement, from transcendent ascent to fortune-telling, have one common factor: They are ritual texts. They direct the user to engage in activities that are marked off from normal activity by framing behavior through rules, repetitions, and other formalities. Ritual instructions pervade these texts. *Stand over here, hold a pebble, tie seven threads in seven knots, say the names seven times,*³⁵⁹ *draw the figure in the bottom of the cup, write the spell with the finger of a mummy, write it with bat's blood, with menstrual blood, on papyrus, on clay, on lead, on tin, on a rib bone, on a parchment shaped like a sword, fold it, burn it, tie it to your arm,*³⁶⁰ *your thumb, drive a nail in it, bury it with a mummy, bury it under someone's doorstep, mix this recipe, drink it.*³⁶¹ Or simply “do the usual”.

In addition to showing the ‘ritual guide’ purpose of the so called *gäbir* as it appears in the *abənnäts* of our corpus and elsewhere in the genre, there appears a striking similarity in the way such texts are applied and used.

In a rather cautious note, the identification of the above parallels doesn't show anything but the idea that the parallel notion in our corpus called *gäbir* can be taken as an expression of ‘ritual act’. Of course, given their Coptic Christian contexts from where much of the literature in Gəʿəz is derived through Christian Arabic, one can see a relation both in structure and content.

As a bridging conceptual frame the following quotation from Sanders,³⁶² to whom we have referred, recapitulates our arguments towards the use of the SAT in analysing our texts:

The way performatives link language with action has also made them of interest outside of philology: in the *history of religion*, performatives offered the promise of understanding how supposedly *irrational ‘magical’ utterances could be effective* and thus allowed new ways of interpreting both *ritual and myth*. In contemporary theory, they are part of the recognition in disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy of the way language both refers to and helps *create its own context*.

³⁵⁸ Meyer and Smith 1994, 4.

³⁵⁹ This is an expression which is frequently used in the *abənnäts*. The expression three times, and seven times are common though five times and 49 times are also attested.

³⁶⁰ For example V5 has this expression verbatim: **ጸሐ[ፍ] ፡ በዕራጉቲክ ፡ ወለሐስ**: ‘Write it on your arms and lick’ in the effectuation. Similarly V11 has **ጽሒፈክ ፡ በወረቀት ፡ አጎዝ ፡ በፀጋምክ ፡** ‘Write it on paper and hold it on your left (arm)’

³⁶¹ V33 has **ጸሐ[ፍ] ፡ በልሳነ ፡ ጠሊ ፡ ውበላዕ ፡** ‘Write it on the tongue of a goat and eat it’.

³⁶² Sanders 2004, 162 (emphasis mine).

Lesses whom we have related to above, makes it clear that ‘Austin’s theory of language is appropriate for the analysis of adjurations and other ritual speech, because it accounts both for the active force of words and for the ritual setting within which they have their force’.³⁶³ Our understanding of the *abənnäts* as textual acts to be performed be it in the simple form of a ‘prayer’ or of a complex ritual act confirms that such an approach touches on the quintessence of the texts in our corpus.

Lesses further explains her concerns with regard to the historical nature of the text she is dealing with: ‘One of the signal disadvantages to working with historical texts rather than observing present-day rituals is, of course, the fact that only the literary mention of the ritual remains’.³⁶⁴ Our texts are not solely historical as we have the practitioners interviewed and the practice still continues to be exercised. The frequent use of supplication formulae points to the fact that the *abənnäts* we are dealing with make more use of words of performative nature than words which constate. From this it runs that checking the fallacy of the statements within the *abənnäts* is of no importance. The *asmat* and/or *qalat* work in harmony to adjure supernatural beings of different sorts. Chernetsov³⁶⁵ has clearly put this fact in his definition of the *asmats* in Gəʿəz literature ‘... a written charm where evil powers are conjured by numerous names of various forces, both good and evil’.

As has already been applied by Lesses in her analysis of an early Jewish mystical text, we will try to use Austin’s theory to analyse the performative language use in *abənnäts*. It must be noted that myriad of statements in our *abənnäts* lend themselves to the category called performative statements the truth value of which we should not consider but what Austin calls their felicity.³⁶⁶ Felicity simply put expresses whether a statement built upon a performative acts according to what has been pledged in the content. Therefore, performative statements can only have a happy or unhappy or felicitous or infelicitous end. Following this doctrine of infelicities³⁶⁷, for an utterance (sentence in our case) to be a happy one, there are appropriate circumstances and thereby requirements that should be fulfilled as quoted at full length here under:

(A.1) There must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, that procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances, and further,

(A.2) the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked.

(B.1) The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and

³⁶³ Lesses 2001, 187.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.* footnote 11.

³⁶⁵ ‘Asmat’, *EAE*, I (2003), 381a-b (S. Chernetsov).

³⁶⁶ Austin 1962, 14.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

(B.2) completely.

(C.1) Where, as often, the procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts or feelings, or for the inauguration of certain consequential conduct on the part of any participant, then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must in fact have those thoughts or feelings, and the participants must intend so to conduct themselves, and further

(C.2) must actually so conduct themselves subsequently.

Therefore, having established that an *abənnät* is composed of ritual Speech Acts, Austin's theory can be applied to analyse the active role of the *qalat* and *asmat*. In addition to their active role which in turn relates them to the performative illocutive intent, they are also the main components of almost all conceived *abənnäts*. To put it simple let's consider the following *abənnät* taken from MS N, ff. 67r–68r, which is a *däbtära* notebook, to expound on the salient points of our analysis:

በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሎት ፡
በእንተ ፡ ፈያት ፡ ወጸናሔ ፡ ፍኖት አኽያ ፡ ሸራኽያ ፡ አልሻዳይ ፡ ፀባየት ፡
አዶናይ ፡ ዘይመልክ ፡ ነግሐ ፡ ወሰርክ ፡ አርክ ፡ ዲዲኖ ፡ መፍዝዝ ፡ መቅዝዝ ፡
ዓይኖሙ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ክዱን ፡ ድንዘዘ ፡ ወፍዘዘ ፡ ለገሳስያን ፡ ልብስ ወለቀታልያን ፡
ነፍስ ፡ እምዝብጠተ ፡ በትር ፡ ወእም ፡ ውግረተ ፡ እብን ፡ ወእምኩናት ፡
ወእምመጥባህት ፡ አድኅኒ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ለገብርክ ፡ እገሌ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እገሌ ፡
ለሠራቅያን ፡ ቤት ፡ ረስዮሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዕብን ፡ ቅሙጥ ፡ ወከመ ፡ በድን ፡ ግኑዝ ፡
ድንዘዛን ፡ ወፍዘዛን ፡ ረስዮሙ ፡ በገጸ ፡ ገብርክ ፡ ዕገሌ ፡ ዘይመጽእ ፡ ፈኪሮ ፡
ይቁም ፡ ሐፊሮ ፡ (በሽታ) ፡ ሸታ ፡ አብር ፡ በጐጉሔል ፡ ዘይመጽእ ፡ ፈኪሮ ፡
ይቁም ፡ ሐፊሮ ፡ በገጸ ፡ ገብርክ ፡ ዕገሌ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ዕገሌ ፡ ገቢር ፡ በቀይ ፡ ቀለም ፡
ፅፈሕ ፡ [እ]ሰር ፡ ዓዲ ፡ በቃልህ ፡ ድገም ፡ ፡ ፡ ፡

In the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit; prayer against robbers and that who lay in wait *ʾakəya šärakya ʾalsadday šäbaʿot ʾadonay* who rules over dusk and dawn; the friend of *didino* who makes others stunned. Let the eyes of those who stripe off clothes and kill people be closed, numb and stunned. Spare me! your servant _____ the son of _____ from the blow of a stick and the throw of a stone, a spear and a dagger. Make those who steal belongings from home like a stone that lies still, like a dead body that has been shrouded; make them dumb and numb in the presence of your servant _____. May that who comes boasting be repelled and stand in shame in the (name of) *šäta šäta ʾabər bägʷäguhel* may that who comes boasting be repelled and stand in shame in the face of your servant _____ the son of _____

Application (*gäbir*): write it in red ink and tie it or incant it verbally.

Having quoted and translated the above typical *abənnät*, let's ask the following questions in addition to the above requirements put forward by Austin. Which expressions are performative? To start with the question whether the quoted *abənnät* is felicitous according to the requirements we have to test it using the set elaborated above:

1. The introductory formula i.e. In the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit, plays a pivotal role both in the ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ realms by enacting a speech and giving it a supra-linguistic role. As has already been discussed this very introductory formula is also replayed by its Islamic counterpart i.e. *Bismillah rahman rahim* in some of our texts. In our texts we see that the texts serve to coalesce the two religions. The following observation by Tilahun Bejital Zellelew³⁶⁸:

... in Ethiopia, in a very unlikely scenario, if a Muslim slaughters the animal evoking the Holy Trinity BaSeme Ab weWald waMenfes Qedus Ahadu Amlak “In the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, One God”, or a Christian performs the slaughtering uttering Bismillah al-rahman al-rahim “In the name of Allah, the passionate and the Merciful”, the speech acts are invalid, ineffective, or useless, or according to J. L. Austin’s theory called “infelicity” which includes a misfire, that is, “When the utterance is a misfire, the procedure which we purport to invoke is disallowed or is botched: and our act [...] is void or without effect” (Austin 1962, 16). In our case, the meat is conceivably not proper for either group. This simply implies that the right speech should be performed by the right person at the right context with the right conditions.

From the above extended quotation we see that the introductory formulae in our texts not only are Speech Acts which are ‘felicitous’ when uttered by the right person. ‘The right person’ in our case is a *däbtära* whose being and character transcends religious cleavage.

2. With regard to (A.1), the conventional procedure of practising an *abənnät* is usually given in two ways as has been presented in the *gäbir*: i.e. either to incant the whole *abənnät* verbally or get it written down so that the person who wants to have the desired effects of the incantation can carry it as if it was an amulet. It further runs that the practitioner i.e. the *däbtära* must incant the *abənnät* in both cases as the initiation of the powers contained within is believed to be achieved solely through the invocation of the *asmats* (አኸያ ፡ *akəya*, ሸራኸያ ፡ *šarakya*, አልሻዳይ ፡ *alšadday*, ፀባዖት ፡ *šäbaʿot*, አዶናይ ፡ *adonay*, ዲዲኖ ፡ *didino*, ሸታ ፡ *šäta*, አብር ፡ *abər*, በጌጉሐል ፡ *bägʷäguhel*). We have therefore related to what Austin says ‘uttering of certain words’ in our mention of the *asmats*. The circumstance of such an invocation can be traced through the understanding of the purpose of the whole *abənnät*. This particular *abənnät* is meant to protect the invocator or the wearer of the piece of paper from robbery. Hence, it must be either incanted or worn just before the planned journey.
3. In discussing the precept of the criterion (A.2) it is obvious that many of the concerns that the *abənnäts* address spring from social needs of the society under whose premises

³⁶⁸ Tilahun Bejital Zellelew 2015, 48.

they were meant to be practised.³⁶⁹ Texts are the products of the complex social phenomena under which they were and are composed. In Ethiopia where banditry and robbery were once common practices, the existence of such an incantation is not a surprise. Driven by the contexts of his time the *däbtära* as a practitioner knows how every *abənnät* can be used. The knowledge of the *däbtära* derives from his notebooks and manuscripts and the oral knowledge he got from a colleague or a former master. This makes the *däbtära* the right person to execute the contents of an *abənnät* as words of ritual power. The circumstances partly derive from the desired effect; in the *abənnät* we are relating to a planned journey of a customer to the *däbtära* or the *däbtära* himself.³⁷⁰ Therefore, it can safely be concluded that the theme of a given *abənnät* sets the circumstance under which it is employed.

4. Points (B.1) and (B.2) can be discussed in conjunction. The correct execution of the procedure of an *abənnät* is given due care in the texts. This is usually given the part called *gäbir* as has been pointed out. The *däbtäras* in all the interviews unequivocally declared that an *abənnät* without a *gäbir* is but a plain text devoid of its power. Possessing an *abənnät* without its *gäbir* is like possessing a locked computer without its password.
5. In connection with (C.1) and (C.2), the relation is clear. The *däbtära* can apply this *abənnät* solely because he himself has a fear of a bandit when he sets off for a journey or a client with such a feeling may ask for his aid. In both cases the completion of each and every step is mandatory and is sometimes indicated in the section called ‘caution’ which is not indicated in this very *abənnät*. The ‘caution’ like the *gäbir* may remain hidden as an element of the secrecy of the text or may not be indicated overtly as the execution of the *abənnät* may not entail a presumed danger.

As the above excerpt demonstrates, a typical language use of an *abənnät* in the *däbtära* notebooks, let’s now test an *abənnät* from the *mäftəhe šəray* group: Ms J, f. 1r has:

በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራዩ ፡
 ዓይነ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ወብእሲት ፡ አድኅን ፡ ይቤለክ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በፎወጂ ፡
 ነገሥታት ፡ በፎወጂ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ በፎ[ወጂ] ፡ ቀላውስት ፡ ወበፎወጂ ፡ ዲያቆናት ፡
 በፎወጂ ፡ መነኮሳት ፡ በፎወጂ ፡ ደቂቅ ፡ ወሕፃናት ፡ በፎወጂ ፡ ታቦት ፡ በፎወጂ ፡
 ዓይነ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ በፎወጂ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ በፎወጂ ፡ ኅሩዖን ፡ በፎወጂ ፡ ሔራን ፡ በፎወጂ ፡
 ዕጉሣን ፡ በፎወጂ ፡ ንጹሐን ፡ ፍታሕ ፡ ሥራዩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ወብእሲት ፡
 ወመሠርዖን ፡ አድኅን ፡ ይቤለክ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ለገብርክ _____

³⁶⁹ Strelcyn 1960, 163.

³⁷⁰ The masculine reflexive pronoun is used deliberately as there is no documented evidence of a female *däbtära*.

In the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit; loosen the charm of the evil eye of man and woman; Save! Jesus Christ tells you by the 77 kings, 77 metropolitans, 7[7] priests, deacons, 77 monks, suckling and children, 77 *tabot*,³⁷¹ 77 eye of men, 77 holy men, 77 Chosen [men], 77 benevolent, 77 Patient, 77 pure loosen the charm of man, woman and charmers; Save! Jesus Christ tells you, to your servant _____

The expressions ‘**ዓይኖቼ ፡ ይክን ፡ ክዳኝ ፡** ... Let their eyes be closed...’, ‘**ረስዮሙ ፡ ከሙ ፡ ዕብን** ... make them like stone’ and ‘**ይቁም ፡ ሐፊሮ** ... let him stand ashamed’ all point towards the intention behind the incantation of the *abənnät* in the above quoted *abənnät* from the *däbtära* notebook type. Though the verbs vary, all what we have is either a plain imperative form of the verb or the subjunctive serving the purpose of the performative coupled with the *asmat* and/or *qalat*. Of course such a result triggers a question as this is against the linguistic shape of the performative in both Gəʿəz and Amharic. Let’s keep this question as is for a while and discuss the issue of the performative in the *mäftəhe šəray abənnäts*.

In the *abənnäts* of *mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts we have two recurrent verb forms which are repeatedly used. The first verb is verb **ፍታክ** ‘loosen, undo’. This verb forms the main part of the label (title) i.e. *mäftəhe šəray* by indirectly pointing towards the function i.e. the ‘undoing of charms’ of the *abənnäts* contained within the manuscripts. Another common verb that is repeatedly employed is **ሰዐር ፡** (graphic variant **ሰዓር ፡**) ‘remove, make void,’. This verb which is semantically related to **ፍታክ ፡** is used in a similar way.

After the above deliberations on the usually occurring verbs it is clear that that these verbal forms are not of the same verbal mode as is expected in Gəʿəz and Amharic performative as has already been discussed. How can we explain this seeming gap? Firstly, we have already pointed out that the *asmat* and/or *qalat* work in conjunction with verbs as reinforcements. These verbal forms therefore fit into the illocutionary types called exercitives where typical words of ritual power are to be found. With exercitives Austin says ‘Its consequences may be that others are ‘compelled’ or ‘allowed’ or ‘not allowed’ to do certain acts’.³⁷² The illocutionary intent of the *abənnät* quoted above is therefore to deter the robbers from robbing i.e. they are compelled not to rob. Lesse has clearly explained how such imperative verbal forms are used in her text which gives us an exact parallel. She notes that the adjurer uses the imperative forms together with names. In the same line, Cruse calls such imperative ‘grammatical imperatives’.³⁷³ This ‘grammatical imperatives’, Cruse further discusses, are

³⁷¹ It ‘is a consecrated wood or stone tablet that is placed upon the permanent altar chest for the celebration of the Eucharist’; ‘Tabot’, *EAE*, III (2010), 802a (M. Heldman).

³⁷² Austin 1962, 154.

³⁷³ Cruse 2000, 349.

parts of what he generally calls ‘grammatical performatives’. Grammatical performatives take the intent of explicit performative verbs differing in their morphological form.

The verbs ፍታሕ ‘loosen, undo’ and ሰዐር ‘remove, make void’, are usually found in the form of በዝንቱ ፡ አስማት ፡ ፍታሕ/ሰዐር ፡ ‘By these names loosen and/or make void’. This gives us the possibility that the imperative or subjunctive together with *asmat* and/or *qalat* can serve the purpose of the performative in the *abənnäts*.

Furthermore, Austin expounds on what the act of ‘saying’ means. He holds that it contains two acts, namely the ‘phonetic’ and the ‘rhetic’.³⁷⁴ While the former includes uttering any speech sound, the later relates itself to illocutionary verbs of performative value. In case of our *abənnäts* the phonetic act may include the utterance of the *asmat* or *qalat* which may not carry any specific semantic value at all but carry a function in that very context. The rhetic act compliments the phonetic act in attaining a full performative spectrum. This analogy holds true as can be seen from the extended quotation from Malinowski:

[...] ‘magic’ in all languages and at all times, [...] almost ostentatiously displays words which are avowedly meaningless. Since to us meaning is equal to the function of words within the context of situation, [...] ‘Magic’ produces specific supernatural effects within a world created by ‘magical’ belief, by means of ritual handling carried out by an accredited ‘magician’. *Therefore we were led to the conclusion that the meaning of spells consists in the effect of the words within their ritual context.* Thus the analysis of meaning in magic must turn on the *mystical influences of utterance accompanied by manual acts.*³⁷⁵

It is further stated that the language as in the *abənnäts* requires of itself two things: communication and communion. Of the communicative aspect, the *däbtära* who relates with the spiritual beings of different kinds uses language. This type of communication should be understood as having its own forms and contexts as has already been stated. The communion is a metaphor used to relate to the act of partaking in the spiritual realms of the beings he summons. To sum up Ellis in an online article explains these two coordinates as such:

Performativity serves to establish *communion*, in that the speaker interacts with the things he *names in a magic spell*, and it may also open a channel of communication with these *named entities*. This communication may simply be the *utterance itself*, viewed as an imperative or directive to a summoned or invoked being, or as a *constative* that changes some aspect of an object by communicating its resulting state.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Austin 1962, 95.

³⁷⁵ Malinowski 1935, 223 (italic and quotation marks are mine).

³⁷⁶ Language, Magic and Power: <http://www.cyberartsworld.org/cpace/theory/baudrillard/magic/langmagpow.html>

The above excerpt, firstly, clears the ideas behind communication and communion. Secondly, points towards the idea that in contexts where the performative is reinforced using powerful names, the *asmat* and *qalat* in our case, the basic grouping of statements into constative and performative dissolves. This reveals the language of our *abənnäts* is so special in that customary linguistic dichotomies may even fail to explicate the ideas behind its use.

Therefore, for every *abənnät* in our manuscripts we can have such a test in which case the result is assumed to be a felicitous one. This is because, as texts of power, the *abənnäts* are believed to have a happy result and one should not care about checking their credibility as the practitioner performs his rite with utmost conviction and belief. In the eyes of the *däbtära* who either simply incants the *abənnäts* or does that with a series of complex actions as is usually required by the *gäbir*, the execution of every *abənnät* results in the desired effect. Moreover, the verbs which form the main part of any *dəgam* are also written down to act even without any practitioner's performance.

4.3. Multi-language use

Choosing a language of composition of a given text isn't a random choice. This is demonstrated in the *abənnäts* we are dealing with. Though the switching of a language within a text is not exclusive to our *abənnäts*, one wonders why there is a schematic shift within specific parts of an *abənnät*. To start with, why some languages and not others? Have the words, phrases, even sentence formulations or whole *abənnäts* which are usually purported to have been written in this or that language actually been written in that language? In case of actual or purported language shift, why does the shift happen? What does a specific type of language use imply? ... and many more. This section of the chapter will try to address these questions accordingly. Let's open our quest into the aforementioned aspects by the following catch excerpt:

A spell might incorporate several tongues: a runic language; *an ancient or esoteric tongue that divine powers might more likely respond to; and the local vernacular for commentary*, instructions to assistants, and anything else that need not be in a specific, more specialized language. The use of *multiple magical languages within a single ritual*, and possibly different languages – within the same community or in two separate ones – between instances of a spell, brings up several questions.³⁷⁷

The choice of a given language over another usually has its own reasons. The reasons of such a choice in contexts like that of the *abənnät* texts we are dealing with is complex as they present a special case. Among the forerunners of the ideas behind a language candidature to

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

be an *abənnät* language is Malinowski. He claims that for a language to be a best candidate for a ‘magical’ setting, in his words, the language should have a high level of weirdness.³⁷⁸ The aforementioned Ellis adds, ‘One’s native language is not strange enough to be very effective in magic, so most successful magicians, sorcerers, witches and other magic-users find other languages for their magic’.³⁷⁹ From this it runs that the use of other languages (natural or otherwise) is grounded in such a conceptual background.

Languages may have a sacred status which in turn depends on many factors. This derives from the nature of the language of an *abənnät*. Malinowski has pointed out: ‘As to its intrinsic nature, the language of ‘magic’ is sacred, set and used for an entirely different purpose to that of ordinary life’.³⁸⁰ Malinowski’s notion of sacred can be extended to be understood as ‘special’. If we understand ‘sacred’ as something reserved to be used in a special context, the distinction between the holy and the profane should not concern us. Therefore, the ideals of the ‘sacred’ language and its selection used by Sawyer³⁸¹ can be applied here:

According to Sawyer³⁸² the choice of one language over another as a language of composition, among others, takes into account:

[...] Which languages were official, state-supported languages and which remained local or minority languages? What led to the isolation of some languages as ‘sacred’? How do political and economic factors affect such things as education, literacy, book production, translation and the like? What specifically religious factors, such as missionary zeal, conservatism and the *power of a priestly hierarchy*, have to be taken into account? What effect did the translation of a sacred text from one language into another have, if any, on the religion of those who believed it to be sacred? [...] What languages became associated with particular religions, and why? [...]

The ‘sacred’ status of Gəʿəz, the learned position of the *däbtära* and their hierarchy in the practice of *abənnäts*, the esoteric value ascribed to languages such as Hebrew and Arabic account for the choice of the languages.

The language of composition of the *abənnäts* is something between Gəʿəz and Amharic in many cases. The ‘sacred’ status of Gəʿəz has made it possible that the *dəgam* is usually given in this very language. This position is a common belief and this has been documented in a

³⁷⁸ Malinowski 1935, 218–222.

³⁷⁹ Language, Magic and Power. [<http://www.cyberartsweb.org/cpace/theory/baudrillard/magic/langmagpow.html>]

³⁸⁰ Malinowski 1935, 213.

³⁸¹ Sawyer 1999, 9.

³⁸² *Ibid.* 8.

preface to the somewhat uncommon edition of the *Mäzmurä Dawit* which has been related to in chapter three:

[...] **ገድለ ፡ ቅዱሳንን ፡ ከፀበል ፡ ላይ ፡ ለሕመማን ፡ በሚጸለይ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ በአማርኛ ፡ መጸለይ ፡ አይገባም ። ምክንያቱም ፡ ...ፀበሉን ፡ ለመድኃኒትነት ፡ ወይም ፡ ለሰው ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ይሆን ፡ ዘንድ ፡ አይለውጠውም ፡ የሚል ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ቃል ፡ ከዓበይት ፡ ሊቃውንት ፡ አባቶች ፡ ጠይቀን ፡ ተረድተናል ።**

(When) the *combat of saints*³⁸³ is prayed over a holy water for the sick, it is forbidden to pray in Amharic. Because [...] we have asked and understood that there is a conception by great scholars that it (the Amharic prayer) can't change it (the holy water) so that it be used for medicinal (purposes) or it be life for mankind.

The above quotation points to a clear boundary between the use of Amharic and Gəʿəz in a 'religious' context. But, there still remains a hidden message we have to explicate further. This rests especially on the expression **ኃይለ ፡ ቃል ፡** which we have translated as 'conception'. The expression **ኃይለ ፡ ቃል ፡** may also be defined as 'principal word(s), main idea or conception, forceful expression, *magic word*...'.³⁸⁴ This relates to the language of traditional scholars which usually is double-entendre. In the very preface to the *Mäzmurä Dawit mämhar* Ḥaylä Mika'el Täkläyäsus of Däbrä Bərhan Səllase further has to say:

አንዳንዶች ፡ በውቀታቸውና ፡ በጥበባቸው ፡ እራሳቸውን ፡ ሲጠቅሙ ፡ ኖረው ፡ በመጨረሻ ፡ ዕውቀታቸውና ፡ ጥበባቸው ፡ ለተተኪው ፡ ትውልድ ፡ እንዳይተላለፍ ፡ በማለት ፡ ሠውረው ፡ ይሞታሉ ፡ [...] በገብራናም ፡ ይሁን ፡ በወረቀት ፡ ተፅፎ ፡ በተወሰኑ ፡ ሊቃውንትና ፡ ገዳማውያን ፡ መነኮሳት ፡ እጅ ፡ ተሰውሮ ፡ የሚገኝ ፡ ብዙ ፡ ውጣ ፡ ውረድን ፡ በማሳለፍ ፡ ዋና ፡ ለፀላፌ ፡ ሠናያት ፡ መደምሰሻና ፡ ለማንኛውም ፡ ነገር ፡ ገቢር ፡ ያለውና ፡ ተፈላጊ ፡ የሚሆን ፡ የፀሎት ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ መልክአ ፡ ኖላዊ ፡ በሕትመት ፡ ተባዝቶ ፡ ለመላዋ ፡ የቤተክርስቲያን ፡ ልጆች ፡ እንዲዳረስ ፡ [...] ተዘጋጅቷል ።

After having benefited from their wisdom and knowledge, some pass away hiding their wisdom and knowledge so that it (their wisdom and knowledge) may not be used by a next generation. [...] written on parchment and paper; found hidden in the hands of some scholars and monastic monks an important book of prayer called 'Image of the Shepherd' which can be used to destroy evil i.e. Satan; and which has its own *gäbir* that can be used for everything (different purposes). After many ups and downs 'The Image of the shepherd' has been prepared in print form so that all children of church may use it.

³⁸³ **ገድለ ፡ ቅዱሳን** 'Combat of Saints' is a hagiographic genre. It must be noted that *historiolae* drawn from such a genre are used in the *abənnäts*. Examples are the story of St Susinyos and *Wərzəlyä* and St Roch.

³⁸⁴ Kane 1990, 25.

In relation to the long held belief that Hebrew and Arabic are exotic languages has made it possible that the *asmats* in many of the *abənnäts* are either Hebrew or Arabic (alleged or otherwise). This is not to exclude other languages like Greek, Egyptian, Latin. Such an ascription can be justified or not as has been studied by Aešcoly,³⁸⁵ to mention the main figure in this regard.

The changes in languages of composition mainly stem from: the exoteric value ascribed to some languages (this especially holds true to the languages used in the *dəgam* and the so called *asmat*), the mother language of the *däbtära*. An example of the mother tongue of the *däbtära* coming into play in the texts is documented in MS S, ff. 15v–16r:

ጠንበለል ፡ ሀቢ ፡ ጸሊም ፡ ቁጠጢና ፡ እፀ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ትርናኸያ ፡ ግመሮ ፡ [...]
 አጋም ፡ አጋም ፡ ስሚዛ ፡ ስምዕያ ፡ የምድር ፡ ዕንቧይ ፡ ዕንጉለ ፡ ወይራ ፡
 አውልዕ ፡ አብላሊት ፡ መሸሐሐይት ፡ ጠለንጅ ፡ መቄሎ ፡ ዕምቧይ ፡
 ራምብራምቦ ፡ [...] ቱልት ፡ ሸምባዕታ ፡ ፌጦ ፡ ሸንፋዕ ፡ ጥንጅት ፡ ጽዕንዶግ ፡
 ችፍርግ ፡ ጥፍሮርያ ፡ ብሳና ፡ ታንቦኸ ፡ ዕሬት ፡ ዕረ ፡ ብብሻ ፡ ሐምቦ ሐምቦ ፡
 ክትክታ ፡ ታሐሰስ ፡ ሰርዶ ፡ ተሐግ ፡ አንባጮ ፡ ሐሐት ፡ ዶቅማ ፡ ሊሐም ፡
 መረዝ ፡ መብጥዕ ፡ ድድሆ ፡ ክሊወው ፡

The above quotation is an example of a mini Amharic-Tigrinya translation of plants and herbs. It is just a continuous list with no clue to the languages used. I give the translation and/or scientific names of the plants and herbs in the following table for purposes of clarity.

Table 13: Amharic-Tigrigna herbal names from MS S

No.	Amharic	Tigrinya	Scientific name and/or meaning
1	ጠንበለል ፡	ሀቢ ፡ ጸሊም ፡	‘a kind of jasmine’, ³⁸⁶
2	ቁጠጢና ፡	እፀ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡	also ቀጠጥና ፡ ‘a woody plant (<i>Verbascum sinaiticum</i>); praying mantis’, ³⁸⁷
3	ግመሮ ፡	ትርናኸያ ፡	also ገመሮ ፣ ጉመሮ ፡ ‘a plant (<i>Capparis tomentosa</i> , <i>C. globifera</i> , <i>C. persicifolia</i>)’, ³⁸⁸
4	አጋም ፡	[ዒ]ጋም ፡	‘a thorny bush that bears edible fruit (<i>Carissa edulis</i>)’, ³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ Aešcoly 1932, 87–137, Cohen 1985, 149–160, Strelcyn 1962, 10–12.

³⁸⁶ Kane 1990, 2103.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 841.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 1909.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 1321.

5	ስሚዛ ፡	ስምዕያ ፡	also ስምዛ ፡ ‘a shrub use for making fences (<i>Adhatoda Schimperiana</i>)’, ³⁹⁰
6	የምድር ፡ ዕንቧይ ፡	ዕንጉለ ፡	‘ground creeper the fruit of which has a rough skin and is used in treating gonorrhea’, ³⁹¹
7	ወይራ ፡	አውልዕ ፡	‘wild olive which bears a small, inedible fruit (<i>Olea Africana</i>)’, ³⁹²
8	አብላሊት ፡	መሸሐሐይት ፡	‘nettle, a plant which causes itching’, ³⁹³
9	ጠለንጅ ፡	መቄሎ ፡	also ጠለንኸ ፡ ‘plant used for scrubbing out large crocks, as medicine for the blood or against relapses [...] (<i>Achyranthus aspera</i>)’, ³⁹⁴
10	ዕምቧይ ፡	ራምብራምቦ ፡	‘a bush having a bitter red or yellow fruit (<i>solanum marginatum</i> , <i>solanum campylacanthrum</i>)’, ³⁹⁵
11	ቱልት ፡	ሸምባዕታ ፡	‘ሥሩ ፡ መቅመቆ ፡ የሚመስል ፡ ሥሩ ፡ ወይባ ወይም ፡ ብጫቴ ፡ ሥሩ ፡ መራራ ፡ ቅጠሉ ፡ ረዘም ፡ ያለ ፡ የፍሬው ፡ ገለባ ፡ ቀንድ ፡ ያለው ፡ በልብስ ፡ ላይ ፡ የሚከሰከስ ፡’ ³⁹⁶ translated ‘a shrub the root of which is bitter and yellowish and the leaves of which are elongated, the fruits of which have horns which usually smash on clothes’
12	ፌጦ ፡	ሸንፋዕ ፡	‘Cress (<i>Lapidum stivum</i>) or shepherd’s purse (<i>Capsella bursa-pastoris</i>) used in cooking and as a medicine’, ³⁹⁷

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 475.³⁹¹ *Ibid.* 1130.³⁹² *Ibid.* 1559.³⁹³ *Ibid.* 1192.³⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 2093.³⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 1130.³⁹⁶ Abyssinica online dictionary [dictionary.abysinnica.com]³⁹⁷ Kane 1990, 2340.

13	ጥንጅት ፡	ጽዕንዶግ ፡	also ጥንጅት ፣ ጥንዡት ፡ or ጡንጂት ፡ ‘a plant (<i>Otostegia integrifolia</i>) the leaves of which are used for fumigating a <i>ṭälla</i> -beer container before adding the mash’, ³⁹⁸
14	ችፍርግ ፡	ጥፍርርያ ፡	‘low-growing bush plant somewhat resembling a sponge which is used like a brush in washing large crocks; hemp’, ³⁹⁹
15	ብሳና ፡	ታንቦኽ ፡	also ቡሳና ፡ or ብስና ፡ ‘tree of the temperate zone the leaves or bark of which are used as an anthelmintic (<i>Croton macrostachys</i>)’, ⁴⁰⁰
16	ዕሬት ፡	ዕረ ፡	Aloe.
17	ብብሻ ፡	ሐምቦ ሐምቦ ፡	‘bush which spreads out like the acacia, has reddish bark and furnishes a dye used in coloring leather mats...’, ⁴⁰¹
18	ክትክታ ፡	ታሐሰስ ፡	‘a kind of tree of the hot low lands the wood of which is used for making staves or cudgels (<i>Dodenea viscosa</i>)’, ⁴⁰²
19	ሰርዶ ፡	ተሐግ ፡	‘couch grass (<i>Agrostis semi-verticillata</i>) a tough grass that propagates by means of runners and once entrenched is difficult to eradicate’, ⁴⁰³
20	አንባጮ ፡	ሐሐት ፡	also አምባጮ ፣ እምባጮ ፡ ‘a bitter, hollow plant (poss. Westphal <i>embatch’a</i>), an edible tuber ground into flour and mixed with cereal flour as a scarcity food (<i>Arisaema enneaphyllum</i> or <i>Senecio tuberosus</i>)’, ⁴⁰⁴

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 2165.³⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 1015.⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 900.⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.* 910.⁴⁰² *Ibid.* 1435.⁴⁰³ *Ibid.* 493.⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 1131.

21	ደቅማ ፡	ሊሐም ፡	‘a tree bearing an edible fruit which generally grows in the temperate highlands but also along the water courses in the hot lowlands (<i>Syzygium guineese</i>)’, ⁴⁰⁵
22	መረዝ ፡	መብጥዕ ፡	also መሬንዝ ፣ ምሬንዝ ፡ ‘a bush which has a poisonous fruit (<i>Strychnos innocula</i> , <i>Carisa schmperi</i> which has edible fruit)’, ⁴⁰⁶
23	ድድሆ ፡	ክሊዐው ፡	also ደደሆ ፣ ደድሆ ፡ ‘an evergreen bush which bears edible black berries (<i>Euclea chillau</i> or <i>E. schmperi</i>)’, ⁴⁰⁷

Disregarding the minor languages (languages which involve the *asmat* or some local herbal names in the *gäbir*), the usual shift we see is between Gəʿəz and Amharic. In the *abənnäts* language shift is usually signalled by expressions like በልሳነ ፡ [...] in the language of [...]. The language shift at times can simply be given without a clue and as a result should be understood from context. In the first case, it should be noted that though the texts considered purport such an overt indication, the alleged language use may prove otherwise. This is especially true when we have *asmat* i.e. names in an alleged language. These problematic pivots are what Chernetsov calls ‘... a collection of mysterious names, whose meaning and origin are impossible to determine’.⁴⁰⁸

To have a clear idea of the language of composition of the texts, it is wise to approach it from the point of view of their structure. It has already been established that the manuscripts under discussion are composed of individual textual units i.e. *abənnäts*.

There are sections of an *abənnät* with a relatively stable language use; therefore one can talk about ‘a language of composition’. In the same token, there are also sections of an *abənnät* with a complex language use. The *gäbir* represents one of the few sections of an *abənnät* with a stable language use. So far the majority of the *gäbirs* are exclusively written in Amharic with the exception of the *gäbirs* of MS V called መጽሐፈ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ‘book of wisdom’ which exclusively uses Gəʿəz. But it has to be noted that even when the *gäbir* is given in Amharic, it is not uncommon to find Gəʿəz words as connectors. The section called ‘caution’ is usually given in Amharic while the so called ‘confirmatory’ is given in Amharic and/or Gəʿəz. Functionally, the sections where language shifts appear (caution, *gäbir*, confirmatory) are not

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 1767.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 189.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 1825.

⁴⁰⁸ ‘Asmat’, *EAE*, I (2003), 381a (S. Chernetsov).

parts of the so called *dəgam* as has been indicated in chapter three. It is curious that the *dəgam* which is the core *abənnät* shows relatively stable language use except for the *asmat* and/or *qalat*. When there happens an actual or alleged language shift within the *asmat* and/or *qalat*, it is not a shift from the ‘sacred’ to the common. It is a shift to the ‘exotic’, ‘sacred’ and elevated register. This shows the language use is patterned in such a way that the core *abənnät* represented by the so called *dəgam* is written in the more ‘exotic’ and ‘sacred’ language as opposed to the common every day one. In this regard Sørensen⁴⁰⁹ referring to Malinowski observes:

In magical rituals a “sacred language” is easily distinguished from ordinary by its strange linguistic forms. It has an effect, not on the superhuman agents invoked, but on participants’ motivation and belief in the future, and this effect does not depend on the semantic meaning of the words but rather on the immediate ritual context, a context created partly by the strangeness of the linguistic forms utilised. Magical words contain their own efficacy as they, due to their origin in mythic time, have “direct hold over reality [and] need not conform to the rules of grammar and word formation of ordinary language”.⁴¹⁰

Moreover, we have a clearly discernible language shift from the main language of the texts i.e. Gəʿəz into Amharic in the customary types within the *abənnät* as a genre. The language shift is rare in the so called *mäftəhe šəray* (see for example MS A, ff. 17v–18r).⁴¹¹ As a general trend it appears that Amharic is the language of the sections of the *abənnäts* called *gäbir* especially in the *däbtära* notebooks. The *däbtära* notebooks exhibit a changing role of the ‘sacred’ language as there are instances where even the *dəgam* is given in Amharic.⁴¹² This can be related to the status Amharic enjoyed as the working and national language starting from the second half of the nineteenth century as has already been indicated. Amharic serves as the language of the subsidiary parts of the *abənnät*.

⁴⁰⁹ Sørensen 2007, 19–20.

⁴¹⁰ Malinowski 1935, 224.

⁴¹¹ በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ ፩ : አምላክ : ወይደንግፁ : ሰይጣናት : እስመ : ወዕለ : እሳት : ወእርጭ : ምድር : ወይደንግፁ : ኩሎሙ : ሰራዊተ : ዲያብሎስ : ወሰራዊተ : አጋንንት : [...] በዓይናችሁ : ካያችሁ : በእጃችሁ : ከያዛችሁ : አወገዝኋችሁ : በፎፆ ሰናስለ : እሳት : [...] በሰይፈ : ቃሎሙ : ለሐዋርያት : በአብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ውጉዝ : ያድርጋችሁ : በእጃችሁ : ከያዛችሁ : [በመዐ]ልት : ወበሌሊት : ከፀራችሁ : [...] ሥራይ : ወመሠርያን : ኢትቅረቡ : ኀብ : ነፍሱ : ወሥጋሁ : ለገብርክ : [...] (Words in bold face are in Amharic).

In the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit; Let Satan(s) get shocked as the beast of the earth has arisen; and all the troops of devil shall be shocked. The troops of the demons [...], if you saw through your eyes, hold through your hands, I have excommunicated you by 70,000,000 chains of fire [...] be excommunicated by the sword of the words of the apostles, in (the name of) the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, if you have touched through your hand and called (his name, of the patient) at night, (you) [...] and charm and charmers do not (come) near his body and soul, to your servant [...].

⁴¹² The following *abənnäts* have their *dəgam* in Amharic: MS N, ff. 12r–13r, 48v–61v; MS M, ff. 8r–12r.

The language shift from Gəʿəz to Amharic can be seen as part of the diachronic history of the texts. As can be noted from the history of the formation of the *abənnäts* as multiple-text manuscripts, the older texts had individual isolated presence. In such isolated presence it can be seen that no shift in language is documented. Therefore, it can safely be concluded that this phenomenon is a later development that is likely to have taken place during their formation into multiple-text manuscripts. In connection to this, the *gäbirs* which later came to be written in Amharic must have been oral in their original forms owing to the high secrecy ascribed to them.

The language shift is also a function of the linguistic ability of the practitioners. The linguistic ability of the *däbtäras* which practically must have changed with the change in the role of Gəʿəz over time is also another reason of language shift. Hence, the official status of a language as a reason of language shift.

The mention of actual languages regardless of accuracy can be explained with the ‘exotic’ value given to the languages especially Hebrew and Arabic. These ‘exotic’ languages entered reflect a translation history of many of the texts.

In conclusion, the performative approach to language as a theoretical frame can be used in analysing the language use of many of the *abənnäts*. Understandably, such an approach presupposes the fact that each individual *abənnät* is mainly meant to be performed as an act than to be read out loud. This had already been established in our discussion of the section called *gäbir*. We have clearly put that the *gäbir* explains the procedure of how an *abənnät* is carried out as a ritual act. Though we can theoretically assume that every *abənnät* has a *gäbir* (implicit or explicit), its textual manifestation is not usually guaranteed i.e. it can explicitly be given as part of the *abənnät* or can only be known from oral knowledge. Therefore, a selection of some *abənnäts* which contain explicit *gäbirs* as part of their makeup is mandatory to relate to the performative analyses. Therefore, the *gäbir* if seen from such a vantage point can be taken as an expression of ritual process.

Chapter 5: Orality

5.1 Introduction

Before setting to expound what orality represents in the *abənnäts* in focus, it is just to clarify some uses of the word ‘orality’ itself as that may entail a misunderstanding. Orality has been understood as the verbalization of thought forms.⁴¹³ From this Ong further classifies the orality of human cultures into ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’.⁴¹⁴ While he defines primary orality as ‘the orality of a culture totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print’,⁴¹⁵ secondary orality is understood as orality maintained by mediums like telephone, radio etc.

It should further be clarified that a prejudicial neglect of the oral knowledge in any form coupled with hasty application of expressions like ‘oral literature’ also added to the complexities of dealing with concepts related to orality. This is because academic researches predating the nineteenth century based their findings on what was readily written culture. On the same token, a resultant assumption which declares that the results of researches carried out based on a totally chirographic culture can also apply to a purely oral society came into being. It was not only the neglect of the ‘oral’ knowledge in itself which had its own negative consequences: it begot what is usually dubbed the ‘oral Africa’ thesis. This categorical generalization was not refuted for quite a long period of time until tangible heritage attesting against such a premise started to appear.

The ‘oral Africa’ thesis was along held belief which survived for quite a while just because written treasures of the continent were not brought to light especially to the Western world. Nothing beyond the following quotation, from Nobili which he quotes and integrates from Baxter,⁴¹⁶ better expresses the entrenched neglect of the African written culture which begot the ‘oral Africa’ thesis:

In 1997, the well-known professor of Harvard University Henry Louis Gates Jr. visited the Mamma Haïdara library, one of the most important private collections of manuscripts of the fabled city of Timbuktu. Facing the manuscripts here stored, immediately “[h]e wept like a child, and when I [the curator of the library, Abdel Kader Haïdara] asked him why, he said he had been taught at school that

⁴¹³ Ong 2002, 1–3.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.* 5–10.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.* 10.

⁴¹⁶ Baxter 2005.

Africa had only oral culture and that he had been teaching the same thing at Harvard for years and now he knew all that was wrong”.⁴¹⁷

The roots of the ‘oral Africa’ thesis spring from the ideologies of colonialism and Orientalism as stated by Nobili⁴¹⁸ quoting Hunwick and Boye.⁴¹⁹ Turning to the social setting where our texts were produced and transmitted we see: firstly, the Ethiopian case is a unique one on account of its long history of written culture in Sub Saharan Africa. In this regard, Bausi curiously notes ‘As far as transmission is concerned, Ethiopic manuscripts reveal substantially “mechanical” textual traditions. This strongly clashes with both the purported predominance of orality in Africa and (as an assumed consequence) copyists’ arbitrariness in transmitting texts’.⁴²⁰ From this it follows that not only the purported ‘oral Africa’ thesis is wrong, but also has wrong implications even for those who have long noticed the existence of such a vibrant written culture on the African soil. As a matter of fact the texts we are dealing with are esoteric constructs which circulated in a closed circle of literates i.e. the *däbtäras* to this very day.

The *däbtäras* which before the nineteenth century Ethiopia used to represent the forerunners of the alphabetic sect of the society are also copyists in many cases. Yet, it should also be noted that the *däbtäras* master not only copying but also adaptation and composition of texts as well.

5.2 What oral knowledge entails

In this chapter, orality represents all aspects of knowledge that are not textually evident in the *abənnäts*. Be they aspects which spring from the esoteric value ascribed to the texts, technical jargons which are textually present but which need additional explanation from the *däbtära*, knowledge of how the texts were transmitted and individual texts and manuscripts were labelled and formed. Hence, this chapter details on: Textual transmission and orality, labels and labelling and secrecy as correlates of the oral knowledge of the *däbtäras*.

5.2.1 Secrecy

It is safe to assume that *abənnäts* like that of *Mälkə’a Saṭna’el* ‘Image of Satan’ are exemplary original compositions of the *däbtära* circle. This ascription of the composition of such *abənnäts* exclusively to the *däbtära* should be accepted cautiously as there is no clear boundary between a *däbtära* and a religious ecclesiastic per se. This is because the priest at

⁴¹⁷ Nobili 2011, 21.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.* 22.

⁴¹⁹ Hunwick and Boye 2008, 11.

⁴²⁰ Bausi 2014, 38.

times may do what the *däbtära* does in clandestine.⁴²¹ One of our manuscripts has been acquired from such a practitioner. He shall remain anonymous as that may entail danger to his career and reputation.

The *abənnäts* are characterized by a high degree of secrecy. That's why they are dubbed 'Underground literature'⁴²² as a genre.⁴²³ The secrecy partly derives from the fundamental antagonism the practitioners of such texts have with the Church which in turn is reflected in the hidden power contest between the ordained ecclesiasts and other members of the Church and the *däbtära*.

As is the case in other parts of the world any religious expansion usually implicated practices other than itself as heretic. It is widely documented that especially the Christian religion supplanted other religious forms by using derogatory affixations. This is almost a universal tool to suppress or destroy any form of spiritual practice other than that which has the power in that very epoch. Among the myriad of publications on the subject Collins' condensed article captures the view in a rather short but clear and precise way. He has to say:

A Christian demonization of other Mediterranean religions is most responsible for separating medieval and ancient notions of magic. The worship of entities other than the God of the Christians (or the Jews) became regarded as demonic; the invocation of spirits and gods, the activity at the heart of ancient magic, idolatrous.⁴²⁴

This cited observation holds true to the Evangelization process in Ethiopia too. Manifestations of attack on practices other than the so called Orthodox are many in Ethiopic hagiographic tradition. Tadesse Tamrat citing *Gädlä Anorewos* states:

Bäragban⁴²⁵ took his arrow and went to the woods. He found there three [men of magic] sitting at the foot of an oak tree. He shot at one of them who fell and died; the second fled away, and he captured the third, tied up his hands backwards, and took him to Abunä Anoréwos. When [Anoréwos] saw him he wondered and said, 'After all a man of magic is a human being!' And at that time [the chief] took a knife and slew [his captive] at the feet of [Anoréwos]. After some time [the saint] built a small church on the site.⁴²⁶

⁴²¹ This is especially hinted in V48 where a priest is clearly seen practicing an *abənnät*.

⁴²² This very expression which is also called 'Clandestine literature' usually refers to written products of a sect which circulate hidden within a culture because they are not favored by the mass and authorities. Here, it is used to represent the *abənnäts* which circulate in secrecy as they are officially condemned.

⁴²³ 'Gə'əz literature', *EAE*, II (2005), 736a-741a (Getatchew Haile), esp. 740a.

⁴²⁴ Collins 2011, 411.

⁴²⁵ A certain local chief of the district called *Şigaga*.

⁴²⁶ Tadesse Tamrat 1972, 181.

This is only the tip of the iceberg of the annihilating of the ‘other’ in the process of Christianization in medieval Ethiopia—a church being built on a site where a poor fellow was slain because of his different belief which was dubbed ‘magic’ like in the above. Of course, the destruction also gets modified especially when not only the Church but also the state came to use it as scarecrow to attack political adversaries. The same Taddesse Tamrat has: ‘Whoever is found in possession of magical prayers [...] shall be punished like an idolator, and his property shall be given to the Church’. It is with caution that we should see this statement as it is not merely motivated by religious zeal.

Taddesse Tamrat has clearly shown that King Zär’a-Ya’qob used religion as a tool to suppress his political rivals. This is especially true for the period covering the second half of the King’s reign. It is clearly related that he manipulated excuses of using ‘unknown means’ to overthrow him among which was ‘[who] desire to crown another while Zär’a-Ya’qob [...] is still on his throne; these [men], and whoever wishes to take the crown [from him] [...] or to kill him, or to depose him in open revolt or by secret means and by magic; and whoever joins in an evil league against him’.⁴²⁷ This belief that men who possess an *abənnät* can attack the crowned survived up until the twentieth century. To this end we have the following in Hailu Habtu’s translation of a biography:

Ras Bezabih was the eldest son of King Tekle Haimanot. The King had given him the title of *Ras* and appointed him the ruler of Damot. Later in 1891, while on a military campaign to Kefa, the King fell seriously ill. After the priests accompanying him started praying and bathing him in holy water, the demon possessing him spoke out saying that it was *Abba* Kiros who conjoined him with the king. This was the word of the demon possessing the King. As *Abba* Kiros was also there, he was seized and interrogated, upon which he admitted to having done so at the request of *Ras* Bezabih. The *Abba*’s head was summarily cut off by the sword there and then, and *Ras* Bezabih was apprehended and imprisoned.⁴²⁸

Here the involvement of a monk, hence the word *Abba* in what normally would have been the business of the *däbtära* is curious to comment on. As has been mentioned earlier, the role the *däbtäras* play with regards to the use of *abənnäts* is usually played by other members of the Church though in secret. Another point worth commenting on is that the use of demon possession as a political tool continued to this very day.

The idea of the King being attacked by similar practices like the above continued as we see another story as public opinion on the illness of Emperor Mənilək II (1889–1913). It is narrated ‘It was widely held by the people that his Majesty fell ill on account of a *dimet denkara* (a cat block)’, a magic spell using the cat as a medium. The public believed this

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.* 241.

⁴²⁸ Hailu Habtu 2004, 11.

version which held: ‘A skinny cat on which much incantatory spell has been lavished was suddenly found under his majesty’s bed’.⁴²⁹ It is not surprising that there still exists a belief that the late Emperor Haile Selassie I (1930–1974) is believed to have worshiped a demon named *q^wärit*⁴³⁰ who resided on the outskirts of the town of Däbrä Zäyt.

One can conclude that the above glimpses on the punishments of practitioners of the *abännät* (alleged or otherwise) in Ethiopian history might have their share in the secret transmission of the *abännäts*.

After noting that the *abännäts* under discussion are results of such a secondary orality, to use Ong’s words, we must touch upon another crucial characteristic they exhibit. The *abännäts* as discussed in chapter three are made up of what we have called sections. One of the sections called *gäbir* should be discussed here in connection to orality. This section usually expresses the performance of a given text in such a way that it can be taken as a step by step description of the elements of a given performance in many cases. Let’s take the following example from MS S, f. 17v to demonstrate this:

**የምድር ፡ እንቧይ ፡ ስር ፡ ለዘመን ፡ መለወጫ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ስትወጣ ፡ በወይራ ፡
አንካሴ ፡ ምሰህ ፡ ወደግራ ፡ ጠምዝዘህ ፡ የእግሌን ፡ ጠላት ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ጠምዝዘው ፡
ብለህ ፡ ከወደ ፡ አናቱ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ እምግ ፡ አርገው ፡ አፈሩን ፡ መልስና ፡
ሽንትህን ፡ ሽናበት ፡ የእግሌን ፡ ጠላት ፡ ሲነሳ ፡ እንዲህ ፡ ምረገው ፡ እርገጠውና ፡
ታላቅ ፡ ድንጋይ ፡ ጫንበት ።**

Having dug the root of *’amb^way*,⁴³¹ when the sun raises for the new year (at the dawn of a New Year), with a hoe the handle of which is made from a *wäyra*,⁴³² twist it (the root) in the left (direction) uttering ‘may the enemy of [...] be twisted like this’. (Then), Squeeze the apex of the root and return the soil (that you have scattered while digging) to its original place (the pit). (Then) urinate on it after having uttered ‘thrush the enemy of [...]’. (Finally), step on it and put a big stone on it.

The above excerpt demonstrates that many of the *abännäts* present the text of the performance and the ways of performing it. It has already been established that an explicitly written down *gäbir* is mainly a characteristic of the so called *däbtära* notebooks. This puts the *abännäts* as though they are situated in the continuum between the oral and the written. They are oral in the sense many of the *däbtäras* use the texts as memoir aid though not

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.* 54.

⁴³⁰ literally ‘one who have had some parts of his body cut off’. Kane has documented another meaning for this word i.e. ‘devil’ which must be understood as an extension which derives from contexts as in the above. Kane 1990, 741.

⁴³¹ Kane 1990, 1130 defines it as ‘ground creeper the fruit of which has a rough skin and is used in treating gonorrhea’.

⁴³² Kane 1990, 1559 has ‘wild olive which bears a small, inedible fruit (*Olea africana*)’.

exclusively. This partly derives from their repeated use of the texts and shouldn't be wrongly interpreted. This doesn't imply that the *däbtära* notebooks are simply used as a memory aid. It is far from that: especially when strange sounding, complex and longlisted *asmats* are used in an *abännät* the actual use of such notebooks is aptly mandatory. Furthermore, what is missed in usual documentation of oral literary genres i.e. the documenting of the performance in detail is present in the texts. From this, it can be said that the *gäbir* in addition to documenting herbal recipes may also document the description of the performance.

Discussing how secrecy is achieved within the *abännäts* by omitting the *gäbir*, the following ways can be identified: Omission of the *gäbir* all in all, omission of parts of modifiers in the *gäbir*, omission of the *asmat* and the number of times an *asmat* has to be repeated, omission of herbs from a list, through somehow clear cryptographic methods and the use of jargons. A rule in the *abännät* transmission is: 'Always suspect something is missing'. Such is the understanding of the *däbtära* with regards to secrecy.

The *Mäftəhe šəray* manuscripts usually do not contain the *gäbir*. It is the *däbtära* notebooks which usually have the *gäbir* explicitly. Manuscripts M and S which are both *däbtära* notebooks have *gäbirs* almost for every *abännät*. As has been pointed in chapter three, an *abännät* without its *gäbir* is but a mere text devoid of its power and use. In addition to omitting the *gäbir* altogether, there are times where the *gäbir* is given but parts especially modifiers are deliberately left out as is the case with the *abännät* given in MS J, f. 51r where we have: [...] **ለእገሌ ፡ ይህልፍ ፡ ደዌሁ ፡ በላዕለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ደርሆ ፡ ፺፱ ፡ ድግም ። አሽተህ ፡ አዙረህ ፡ ጣል ።** 'Let the illness of ... pass on to this roaster. Incant it 99 times. Having massaged (the roaster) and (after) moving it by encircling (on the patient's head), throw it'.

Had I not asked what type of roaster was implied in this very *gäbir* the missing modifier i.e. 'black' would have made it unclear. It was found out that almost always the *gäbirs* omit something on account of safeguarding the secrecy.

We have noted that the *gäbir* can be omitted and hence, can only be known from the oral knowledge of the *däbtära*. Furthermore, a *gäbir* can contain expressions and words which are jargons within the *däbtära* educational circle. Let's take the following example taken from MS M, f. 46r–v to illustrate this.

ገቢር

ስትዋረስ ፡ ነጭ ፡ ወንድ ፡ ደርሆ ፡ ይዘህ ፡ ከሰው ፡ ሳትነጋገር ፡ ከንጹሕ ፡ ጎጆ ፡ ስንዴ ፡ ባቄላ ፡ ቁርስ ፡ አቅርቦህ ፡ በነግህ ፡ በ፯ ሰዓት ፡ በምሽት ፡ ከሌሊቱ ፡ ፲ ሰአት ፡ ቡና ፡ አፍላ ፡ አረቂ ፡ ጠላ ፡ ጠጣ ፡ በ፯ኛው ፡ ቀን ፡ ደርውን ፡ አርደህ ፡ ደሙን ፡ ከስኒ ፡ አድርገህ ፡ በቡና ፡ ጠጣ ። ድንጋይ ፡ ሲጥል ፡ አትፍራ ፡ ወረን ፡ ሰላማሊኩም ፡ በለው ፡ ሌላውን ፡ በቀረበ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ጠይቀው ፡ [...] ምስላቡ ፡ የሚያዘው ፡ [...] መጠብቁ ፡ እፀ ፡ አያሱስ ፡ ነው ።

Effectuation

When you inherit the attribute (of a *ḡən*⁴³³), take a white roaster without speaking with people, (then be) in a clean hut and (prepare) a whichever bite from wheat and bean, and brew coffee at dawn, mid-day (12 p.m.), evening, and at 4 a.m. at night. (After that) drink *Araki* and a local beer. In the seventh day slaughter the roaster and collect its blood in a cup and drink it with coffee. Don't be afraid when (the *ḡən*) throws stones (at you). And say to him *wärrän sälamalikum*.⁴³⁴ As to other request, ask him when he approaches you near. [...] The pulling (demon) orders (requires) [...]. The means of protection is *ʾəṣä Iyyäsus*.⁴³⁵

The above vividly described *gäbir* expresses the performance behind the text called *Mälkäʿa Saṭnaʿel* 'The Image of Satan' for the *däbtära* to inherit the full attributes of a *ḡən*, a semi-spiritual being. Such a practice gives the *däbtära* a superhuman power to control both human and superhuman beings alike. Had this not been documented, we would not have known the performance. As has been made clear, it is mainly the *däbtära* notebooks which chiefly document the *gäbirs*. Even when documented, the *gäbirs* deliberately hide details. This is part of the secrecy of the texts.

Furthermore, the following are jargon used in the above quotation: **ስትዋረስ ፡**, **ምስሓቡ ፡**, **መጠብቁ ፡**. These are among the words and expressions which can only be understood with the *däbtäras*' help. They are either expressions which do not normally occur in the lexicon of the language used. They are mainly Amharic words and expressions in most cases. This is because the language of the *gäbir* is Amharic. Many of them may be surprising at first sight to anyone who happens to read them for the first time. The hidden meaning of the words and expressions may sometimes be simply a derivate of a common knowledge among the *däbtära* and hence, are as easy as any other word for any practitioner within the *däbtära* circle. They are difficult to a lay man simply because the sphere of their use is limited. Therefore, we can further classify them into simple and complex jargon.

Therefore, **ስትዋረስ ፡** 'When you inherit the attribute of' is related to what has been called **መዋረሻ ፡** 'a thing (instrument) of an inheritance' discussed in chapter three. Understanding this word presupposes a complex ritual when the *däbtära* pledges allegiance to a spirit which shall remain at the service of the *däbtära*. It is usually narrated that the *däbtära* makes an oath with the spirit after a series of ritual actions like openly denouncing his faith by, for

⁴³³ An evil spirit which usually is believed to possess people.

⁴³⁴ *Wärrän sälamalikum* is an expression used by Muslim Oromos. The first word i.e. *Wärrän* is used as expression of greeting directed at a respected man/woman. *Wärrä*- literally means 'the house of, the tribe of'. For example 'Wärrä Illu' means 'the house of Illu, the tribe of Illu' (see, 'Wärrä Illu', *EAE*, IV (2010), 1149b–1150a (E. Ficquet)). The expression in our context has an extended meaning, namely 'respected'. The second expression derives from Arabic السلام عليكم 'peace be upon you'. It is an Islamic expression of greeting. Therefore, the expression as a whole means 'Peace be upon you respected (*ḡən*)'. This clearly shows the syncretic nature of the texts we are dealing with.

⁴³⁵ Kane 1990, 1345 has *Stephania abyssinica*.

example stepping on the Bible by putting it upside-down. A *däbtära* which has performed such a ritual shall never enter the church compound in his life. In the same line, the word መጠብቁ : ‘the means of protection’ has been discussed in chapter three wherein a *däbtära* who wants to pull a demon uses a herb so that the demon attacks him not. The act of pulling a demon is what has been indicated as ምስሐብ : ‘the means of pulling’.

As parts of the secrecy of the texts and their practice, two types of cryptographic methods have been identified. The first is called ተውላጥ : *täwlaṭ* ‘replacement’ and the አዛወር : *azawär* ‘juxtaposition’. Examples of these two are: MS N, ff. 87v–88r has for አዛወር: [...] ገቢር : በቀይ : ቀወረት : (አዛወር sup. lin.) በሴት : ቀስት : ብዕር : (ጽፈሕ) ‘*gäbir*; having it written on red (paper) with an *asparagus* pen’ where in the word ቀወረት has to be read as ወረቀት as is indicated supra linearly. In the same line, the Abyssinica online dictionary⁴³⁶ has:

ደም ዕርጥ [...] ቀይና ሳንባ መሳይ ሞላላ ዶቃ : የደም አብነት ነስርና አደፍ ሲበዛ አስደግሞ ቢይዙት ደም የሚያርጥ ፤ የሚያቆም : የጥላ መድኃኒት ። በካህናት አነጋገር ዕን ጐርዶ ጥን ለጽ ለውጦ ይመርጽ ይባላል ።

däm æṛṭ [...] red and lung like oval bead. *Abənnät* against bleeding. That which stops if nasal and menstrual bleeding is too much if hold having let (*däbtära*/priest?) incant on it. Medicine against evil ghost. In the diction of priests it is called ይመርጽ. This is done by cutting out **ዕ** and replacing **ጥ** with **ጽ** (in the word **ዕርጥ**).

The above quotation is interesting in many ways. First the expression ‘in the diction of priests’ points to the dual character of the *däbtära* in one way and the secret involvement of the priests in such practices in another. As to the method it points towards ‘cutting out of letters’ and replacement which is known as ተውላጥ : which is documented in MS S, f. 17v:

Table 14: *Täwlaṭ* or replacement table from MS S, f. 16v

No.	Written as	To be replaced by	No.	Written as	To be replaced by
1	ሀ	ኧ	6	በ	ፈ
2	ለ	መ	7	ተ	ደ

⁴³⁶ Abyssinica online dictionary: <http://dictionary.abbyssinica.com/%E1%8B%B0%E1%88%9D-%E1%8B%95%E1%88%AD%E1%8C%A5-%E1%8D%A4-%28%E1%8B%A8%E1%8B%B0%E1%88%9D-%E1%8B%95%E1%88%AD%E1%8C%A5%29>.

3	ሰ	ጸ	8	ከ	ወ
4	ረ	ነ	9	የ	ዘ
5	ቀ	ገ	10	ጠ	ጰ

The above ተውላጥ ፡ or exchange would imply replacing the *fidälat*⁴³⁷ in the first column of the table with those in the second as a way of encryption. In this case the word አብነት ፡ would be encrypted as ሀፍደር ፡, for example.

The following *abənnät* found in MS J, f. 83vb seem to employ a combination of the above mentioned cryptographic methods as a tool of secrecy:

ጸለውመስ ፡ ጥይአ ፡ የግረኢንወፍረ ፡ ሐው ፡ ውካነ ፡ ልባቤት ፡ ንዋይ ፡ ስሩን ፡
 ርስምስ ፡ ርጋላታተ ፡ ንወህወ ፡ ብጠታትን ፡ ጸልህ ፡ ለመርገም ፡ ርጠት ፡ ብዶላ ፡
 ረፍቆ ፡ ራይወከ ፡ ጸንዕቀትለበ ፡ ራግበ ፡ ልትፈ ፡ ጠቀተቀጥቅጦ ፡ ትብላ ፡
 የምንጭሩ ፡ እንጀራ ፡ ስር ፡ ደቁሰህ ፡ በገደላው ፡ አብላት

At first, the above *abənnät* seems a collection of nonsense words. However, after trying to employ one of the above cryptographic methods, one can see a green light. A clue to such a reconstruction is the expression ተቀጥቅጦ ፡ ትብላ ፡ ‘Let her eat (it) after (it) is ground’. This allows us to suspect that the seemingly nonsense list is a list of herbs and other materials. Therefore, In addition to the obvious words we find in the text, the following words can be reconstructed based on the cryptographic methods mentioned above.

Using juxtaposition we can decipher the following:

1. መጸለው ፡ This is a Tigrigna word which can variantly be written መጨለው.⁴³⁸
2. አይጥ ‘rat’ from ጥይአ
3. ውሐ ፡ ‘water’ from ሐው
4. ነካው ፡ ‘it /he touched’ from ውካነ ፡
5. ብትታጠን ፡ ‘if you be perfumed’ from ብጠታትን ፡
6. ህልጸ ፡ ‘her vagina’ from ጸልህ ፡
7. ቆፍረ[ህ] ፡ ‘having dug’ from ረፍቆ ፡

⁴³⁷ Ethiopic characters.

⁴³⁸ አባ ዮሐንስ ገብረ እግዚአብሔር 1948/1949, 253 has ምጭላው ፡ (ማለት) ማመስ ፡ [...] ወይም ያውድማ ፡ ምርትን ፡ ላይላዩን ፡ በጠልንጅ ፡ ቅጠል ፡, ‘*məčlaw* (means): to roast slightly [...] or using the leaf of *ṭälnǧ* clean the harvest on a threshing floor slightly’. The word ምጭላው ፡ derives from መጨሎ ፡ which is written as መቄሎ ፡ We have already established that መቄሎ ፡ and ጠልንጅ are equivalents. Kane 1990, 2093 has ‘plant used for scrubbing out large crocks, as medicine for the blood or against relapses [...] (*Achyranthus aspera*)’.

8. **ከወይራ** : ‘from olive tree’ from **ራይወከ** :

9. **ቀለበት** ‘ring’ from **ጸንዕቀትለበ** :

10. **በግራ** : ‘by left’ from **ራግበ** :

11. **ፈትል** : ‘thread’ from **ልትፈ** :

Though I have tried to decipher what the *abənnät* really means, it is not easy to do it completely. This is partly because there is no clue in the manuscript from which this is drawn.

Another example with a happy result is the *abənnät* given in the manuscript from which the above *täwlaṭ* table is drawn. It is given in ff. 25v–26r (83S74):

ለመግት : የቀሩጠጥና : ስር : ወማዝ : ፍን : ገመፈጽ : ወሕችእ : ሐቅፍድኦ :
ፈከዝና : ሐርዋጼ : ጐብነእ : ዘሕቀሜር : ምች : ሕቀሜ : ሕርቲእ : ዝርገመከ :
ፍመኦ : ተቀሩጸእ : ሐሩን : ምጽላቄጽ : ጽድኤት : ወበጸእ : ከኦ : ዘሕቀሜር :
ረቀን : ሕርቲኦ : ፈጽፍጸከ : ፍመእ : ፍጽፍጽ :

At first sight the above *abənnät* is utterly meaningless and weird. Yet, using the so called *täwlaṭ* which is already hinted supralineary i.e. in f. 25v we have the expression **ተውላጥ : ነው** ‘It is replacement’, we can try to apply it and see what unfolds out of our trial. After such an application the *abənnät* reads:

ለመግት : የቀሩጠጥና : ስር : ከላይ : ብር : ቀለበት : ከእጅህ : አግብተህ :
በወይራ : አንካሴ : ቁፍረህ : የእገሌን : ልጅ : እገሌ : እንዲህ : ይንቀለው :
ብለህ : ደቀሰህ : አኑር : ልትማገጉት : ስትሄድ : ከፈሳሽ : ውሀ : የእገሌን :
ነገር : እንዲህ : በጥብጠው : ብለህ : በጥብጥ :

For litigation, inserting a silver ring in your hand (above it) dig (and uproot) the root of *q^w ətäṭəna*,⁴³⁹ (and) say may the son of ____ be uprooted like this and save it. When you go for litigation, say ‘dissolve the case of ____ like this’ and (then) dissolve (the above mixture) in a running water.

In the above *täwlaṭ* encounter, one can note that one character which was not given in the *täwlaṭ* namely **ች** ‘č’ table has been used. When we worked out the solution, we have replaced it with yet another non-existent sound i.e. **ጅ** ‘ǧ’ based on the context. For example had we replaced the word **ምች** : which is in bold face in the original *abənnät* text above, it would have been nonsense. Therefore, in addition to the ordinary replacement we have made based on the table, we have made a further replacement based on the context.

I think the *däbtära* has a good sense of the relation of these two sounds as they are both post-alveolar sounds differing only in their voicing and manner of articulation.

⁴³⁹ Kane 1990, 841 has ‘a woody plant (*Verbascum sinaiticum*); praying mantis’. In this context the first definition is right.

In general we can see that the cryptographic methods are somewhat prevalent among the *däbtära*. This can be seen by the fact that the methods are found in both the *däbtära* notebooks (MSS S and M) and the *Mäftəhe šəray* (MS J).

5.2.2 Orality and textual transmission

Textual transmission in this chapter refers to the way individual *abənnäts* are shared among *däbtära* students who are usually called *yäqolo tämari*⁴⁴⁰ or *yabənnät tämari*,⁴⁴¹ how each student compiles his *abənnäts*, and finally how these individual compilations take shape of a manuscript with its own label/s. Furthermore, the complexities of sharing *abənnäts* and the modalities they take will be examined. I have opted to discuss this under orality because the sharing and compilation of texts can better be understood by asking the practitioners themselves.

To understand how a *däbtära* student acquires and compiles his *abənnäts*, it is mandatory to touch upon how a *däbtära* is trained in the circles of the traditional Church education. In this regard one can say the *däbtära* life history and the *abənnät* life cycle are not separable. In the traditional Church education, a child starts his education with the so called *nəbab bet*⁴⁴² literally ‘house of reading’ wherein he masters basic skills of identification of the *fidäl* and of reading of the gospels and the Book of Psalms. Being able to master the reading of the Book of Psalms usually marked the boundary between the *nəbab bet* and other subsequent traditional phases of learning. This phase can be equated to basic literacy so to speak. Usually this phase is coupled with the so called *yäqal təmhərt* literally ‘oral education’ wherein the memorization of the *Praise of Mary*,⁴⁴³ the *Gate of Light*,⁴⁴⁴ and the *Image of Mary*⁴⁴⁵ and *Image of Jesus*⁴⁴⁶ are undertaken in the night shift in the master’s compound. When these day and night shift trainings were met by a boy who further studied the basics of the mass procession called *šə‘atä qəddase*,⁴⁴⁷ literally ‘Order of the Mass’, it was legitimate for the boy to ask for ordination as a deacon in his parish. This ordination had its own social and

⁴⁴⁰ Literally ‘student of the parched grain’ is a name which is related to the usual food of the *däbtära* as a student.

⁴⁴¹ The ame *abənnät* here surfaces up as a name of the general educational system. Hence, the term literally means ‘a student of the *abənnät* school’.

⁴⁴² The *nəbab bet* ‘House of reading’ is one of the main echelons of traditional school in Ethiopia; others being the *qəne bet* ‘House of Poetry’, *Zema bet* ‘House of Music’, and *Mäṣahəft bet* ‘House of Books’. The ‘house’ in all the four echelons is equivalent to ‘school’. Hence, *nəbab bet* would mean ‘The school of reading’.

⁴⁴³ ‘Wəddase Mariam’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 1173a–1173a (S. Weninger).

⁴⁴⁴ ‘Anqäsa bəṛhan’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 278b–279b (Getachew Haile).

⁴⁴⁵ ‘Mälkə’a Iyäsus’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 705a–b (Habtemichael Kidane).

⁴⁴⁶ ‘Mälkə’a Maryam’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 708a–709a (V. Böll).

⁴⁴⁷ Sometimes this is taken as having its own school called *qəddase bet*. See ‘Qəddase’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 271a–278b (E. Fritsch), ‘Qəddase: Mäṣḥafä qəddase’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 279b–281b (A. Bausi), ‘Qəddase bet’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 281b–282a (Habtemichael Kidane).

economic privileges in historical Ethiopia as that meant one had the right to Church land grant claims from that time afterwards.

The problem was that ordination was not simply a question of educational merit. As Young has correctly stated there were three cases where a boy with such a training may not get ordained though he has mastered what ought to be mastered as a requirement for ordination as a deacon and subsequently as a priest.⁴⁴⁸ These were: When a boy had physical disabilities, when a boy was an offspring of a *däbtära*, and when a boy had natural tendencies of insubordination. It can further be seen that these three factors have their own implications in the transmission and the understanding of the *abännäts*.

With physical disabilities, the Church has got a stipulation on who can get ordained and who not. Hence, violation of this statute would imply excommunication. Such an anomaly would not normally be thought to happen as ordination is carried out by a bishop who in the strictest sense scrutinizes all abilities and conditions of the would be deacon who happens to be ordained. However, failure to be ordained as a deacon because of disabilities would later be a source of myth around the *däbtäras* life history. It is usually held that many of the *däbtäras* are disabled because of their failure to act according to the stipulations of the pact they undergo with Satan as is the case in the so called *täwaräso*⁴⁴⁹ discussed in chapter three.

It is natural that a parent influences the offspring so is the child of the *däbtära* to be influenced by his father. After all, though between the sacred and the profane, the *däbtära* are known for their great savoir-faire. This personality would naturally change the inclinations of the offspring as he is able to see his father singing and leading the *däbtära* choir in the night church services, being called upon to help ill people and at times summoned to the royal court as was the case in feudal Ethiopia. These all influence the choices of the boy who could have been a deacon otherwise. As will be discussed, the *däbtära* may also deliberately train his boy so that he will inherit the knowledge he acquired. This knowledge is not ordinary in the eyes of the *däbtära* so is in our eyes as it is an esoteric collection of manuscripts that circulated in closed circles and high secrecy.

A third type of boys are those who naturally had the tendency to follow the course of the *däbtära* with no or little direct influence from the side of the master. Boys who are keen and acute in understanding the responsibilities of the ordained deacon or priest choose to follow the relatively free life style of the *däbtära*. After all the deacon and the priest should marry one wife for life in a sacred wedding called *täklil*.⁴⁵⁰ Though this type of wedding is believed to be practiced by the laity as well, it's with the ordained clergy where it gets strict as that

⁴⁴⁸ Young 1975, 249–250.

⁴⁴⁹ This term literally means ‘inheritance’. It is another form of what has been called መዋረሻ lit. ‘means of inheritance’ in chapter three.

⁴⁵⁰ A church marriage as stipulated in the ፍትሐ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ጳጳስ ፡ ጌ. See: ‘Fəṭḥa nägäšt’, *EAE*, II (2005), 534a–535b (P. Tzadua).

entails cleanliness and purity. The *däbtära* who are usually implicated by the ordained clergy as adulterers and friends of the Satan are free to live a life of their choice. They can drink alcohol unreserved, see women at their liking... so is the social perception of what is to be a *däbtära*. A boy with a carnal desire may be inclined to follow such a presumably free life style. It is not only this desire driven factor which accounts for the choice of the *däbtära* life. The boy's thirst for knowledge also serves as a reason. This is because the educational type and depth that can be offered at the level of the parish is somehow basic as has been pointed out. Young has:

For many students, it is not so much wanderlust as the discomfiting prospect of ending their studies which forces the decision. A man who remains a parish priest is unlikely to progress in his knowledge of ecclesiastical subjects. The chances are poor that he will find a suitable teacher in his home region, and his agricultural, ecclesiastical, and family responsibilities are unlikely to allow him sufficient leisure for study. *Debtera* teachers often exacerbate this nascent discontent by painting the priesthood as a poor choice for the bright student, by pointing out instances of priestly ignorance, and by familiarizing the promising student with the network of churches, monasteries, and academies which constitute the stations along which he can progress once the natal parish has been left behind.⁴⁵¹

As will be discussed later it should be clear that there is no actual dichotomy between who is a *däbtära* and who not as both the ordained priest and the actual *däbtära* may happen to practice what should have been exclusively practiced by the *däbtära* per se.

A boy because of the reasons discussed above (not mutually exclusive) will set off to find a master usually far from his hamlet. It is at this stage where he is introduced to the acquisition and collection of *abənnäts*. Then, afterwards, a *däbtära* student collects individual *abənnäts* in his long journey to become a full-fledged master.

5.2.2.1. The acquisition of individual *abənnäts*

The acquisition and collection of *abənnäts* is a labouring and slow process. The student who has travelled a long way from his parish is confronted with economic, educational and nostalgic problems. The educational training gets tougher. The educational training is no more than a basic one which requires nothing more than cramming of prayers and service materials. A *däbtära* interviewee answers my question 'when in the training of the student is a high time for the acquisition of an *abənnät* meant to boost memory?':

የሚበዛው ፡ አብዛኛው ፡ ቅኔ ፡ ቤት ፡ ላይ ፡ ነው ። እንግዲህ ፡ ቅኔ ፡
እንደምታውቀው ፡ ረቂቅ ነው ፣ ትምህርቱም ፡ ራሱ ፡ ፍልስፍና ፡ ነው ።

⁴⁵¹ Young 1975, 250.

ተማሪው ፡ ትምህርቱም ፡ እምቢ ፡ ሲለው ፡ አንዳንድ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ወደዚህ ፡ (አብነት ፡ አስማት ፡ ወደ ፡ መጠቀም) ፡ ይሄዳል ፡ ሳያስበው ፡ [...] ለትምህርት ፡ የሚገልፅ ፡ ይልና ፡ መለዋወጥ ፡ ያመጣል ፡ በዚያ ምክንያት ፡ [...] አንዱ የፍልስፍናው ፡ የመመራመር ፡ ሁኔታ ፡ ነው ፡ ቅኔ ፡ በዚህ ፡ ዙሪያም ፡ በአስማቱ ፡ ዙሪያም ፡ የመመራመር ፡ ሁኔታ ፡ ይፈጥራል ፡ ሌላው ፡ ደግሞ ፡ የትምህርቱ ፡ ክብደት ፡ ደግሞ ፡ የሚያመጣው ፡ ትምህርቱን ፡ ይገልፅልናል ፡ የሚል ፡ እምነት ፡ [...] የትምህርት ፡ አብነት ፡ ነው ፡ የሚባሉት ፡ በብዛት ፡⁴⁵²

Frequently i.e. mostly, it is in the *qəne*⁴⁵³ *bet* (literally ‘house of *qəne*’). As you know *qəne* is abstract. The lesson (of *qəne*) in itself is philosophical. When the student gets it hard (to understand) the lessons, the student starts using the *asmat*⁴⁵⁴ accidentally. He (the *däbtära* student in the *qəne* school) will start exchanging (the *abənnät*) believing that it (the *abənnät*) reveals the mysteries of learning (of the *qəne* and other lessons in general) as a result. One cause for such an exchange is the deep thinking and philosophising (the *qəne*) comes with. Because of this there comes the investigation and expounding on the *asmat*⁴⁵⁵ itself. And the other is the difficulty of the lessons (in the *qəne*) school: the believe that it (the *abənnät*) can help us reveal the mysteries of learning altogether. [...] they are generally called ‘*abənnäts* of learning’.

The above interview excerpt answers many questions. Firstly, it explicitly expresses the view that using an *abənnät* does not start from a purely utilitarian practice but also from an urge to know what is in store within the practices of *abənnäts*. More clearly, the student may acquire an *abənnät* to just study the workings of it; just out of curiosity. This view is not shared by other informants which I have interviewed though. The second salient point that one can extract from the excerpt is that it is out of necessity that the *däbtära* student starts to use *abənnäts* which later in his life would end up his economic base. This view is shared by many of the informants and Young explicitly states: ‘With few exceptions, a student’s first *abinet* are therapies for the ailments which afflict him, and *abinet* to improve his memory and acuity for learning *kiyne*’.⁴⁵⁶ The following *abənnät* documents the main concerns of a *däbtära* with their respective aid.

የማነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ገብረት ፡ [ኃይለ] ፡ የማነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አልአለትኒ ፡
የማነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ገብረት ፡ ኃይለ ፡⁴⁵⁷ አሩጽ ፡ ዕድውየ ፡ ወአቀልጥፍ ፡
ዘርበደቢድ ፡ ነበልባል ፡ ነቀልቀል ፡ አዊን ፡ ጎዴን ፡ ሜሎስ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ዘይነፍህ ፡

⁴⁵² *Märigeta Bərhanu Akal*, interview Monday, 9 September 2013, 2:12 – 2:32 p.m, Addis Ababa University compound.

⁴⁵³ See: ‘*Qəne*’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 283a–284b; ‘*Qəne bet*’, 285a–286b (Habtemichael Kidane).

⁴⁵⁴ Used as a synonym of *abənnät*.

⁴⁵⁵ Used to refer to names used in *abənnät*.

⁴⁵⁶ Young 1975, 253.

⁴⁵⁷ Psalm 117: 16.

ፍሕመ ፡ እሳት ፡ አዶናይ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ዘይነፍህ ፡ ፍሕመ ፡ እሳ[ት] ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ገጽ ፡
 ዘይነፍህ ፡ ፍሕመ ፡ እሳት ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ዘይነፍህ ፡ ፍሕመ ፡ እሳት ፡ ታኦስ ፡
 ገጽ ፡ ዘይነፍህ ፡ ፍሕመ ፡ እሳት ፡ አማኑኤል ፡ ገጽ ፡ ዘይነፍህ ፡ ፍሕመ ፡ እሳት ፡
 ተስቡጣ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ዘይነፍህ ፡ ፍሕመ ፡ እሳት ፡ አስተቃንጽ ፡ ለፀዊአ ፡ ቃለ ፡
 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይመትር ፡ ነደ ፡ እሳት⁴⁵⁸ ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ ቃና ፡ እስከ ፡ እጣነ ፡ ሞገር ፡
 ጸናጽል ፡ ከበሮ ፡ ጽሕፈት ፡ ወበገና ፡ ሸማ ፡ ሥራ ፡⁴⁵⁹ ወእንዝርት ፡⁴⁶⁰ እስከ ፡
 ነገሥት ፡ ወመኳንንት ፡ ያከብርዋ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሊቃናት ፡ ፌ ፡ መንክር ፡ ስምክ ፡
 ወበእንተዝ ፡ ኃሠሠቶ ፡ ነፍሰየ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ቃልክ ፡ ያበርህ ፡ ወያጡብብ ፡ ሕፃናት ፡
 አርእየኒ ፡ ገጸክ ፡ ወአስምዓኒ ፡ ቃልክ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ለገብርክ ፡ ገቢር ፡ [...] የአንጼዋ ፡
 (አይዋ) ፡ የፊት ፡ (እጆቿን) ፡ ሁለቱን ፡ ቆርጦ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ የፈረስ ፡ ኮቴ ፡ በእሳት ፡
 እክሰለህ ፡ አመዱን ፡ ከፍንጃል ፡ አድርገህ ፡ ወደ ፡ ምስራቅ ፡ የሚፈስ ፡ ውሀ ፡
 ጥቁር ፡ ቀለም ፡ ጨምረህ ፡ የአረግ ፡ ሬሳ ፡ ተቀጽላ ፡ ቢጠፋ ፡ ቅጠሉ ፡ ዓዲ ፡
 አስማቱን ፡ በነድ ፡ ቀለም ፡ ጽፈሕ ፡ ቢጠፋ ፡ በሐረግ ፡ ሬሳ ፡ በረቂቅ ፡ ወረቀቱን ፡
 አክሰለህ ፡ በፍንጃል ፡ አድርገህ ፡ ተወቀር ፡ የማነ ፡ እዴክ ፡ ቀራንዮ ፡ መስቀል ፡

The right hand of God did valiance, the right hand of God exalted me, The right hand of God did valiance, (make) my hands run and speed *zärbädäbid*, blazing, shaking, *awin*, *goden*, *melos*, face that blows embers, *adonay*, face that blows embers, *Iyyäsus*, face that blows embers, *kərästos*, face that blows embers, *ta'os*, face that blows embers, *Amanu'el*, face that blows embers, *täsbuta*, face that blows embers, make leap for (the purpose of) calling God's word, the word of God divides the flames of fire, *guba'e qana* up to *'əṭanä moger*,⁴⁶¹ sistrum, drum, writing and harp, weaving and spindle (the act of making thread out of raw cotton) up to kings and nobles respect it (the aforementioned skills listed) beyond scholars. Fe, Your name is wonderful and therefore my soul seeks it. The (substance) of your word lights and makes children wise. Show me your face and let me listen to your word to your servant ____ Effectuation: [...] Cut the forehands of a rat or the hoof of a horse and (having it burnt) to ashes, put it in a cup (then) add the following: water (from a river) which flows eastwards, black ink, a parasitic plant of *Melothria tomentosa* or *Zahneria scaler* or if not found (just) its leaf. Or write the *asmat* in dark red colour if (the black colour) is not found only with *Melothria tomentosa* or *Zahneria scaler*. (When you write it), write it in small characters then burn it to ashes and put it in a cup and make a tattoo of a Cross on your right hand (using the ash mix).

⁴⁵⁸ Psalm 28: 7.

⁴⁵⁹ Amharic word in use.

⁴⁶⁰ Amharic word in use.

⁴⁶¹ '*guba'e qana* up to *'əṭanä moger*' refers to the stages of *qane* composition; *guba'e qana* being the beginner stage with *'əṭanä moger* the higher echelon. For details see: 'Qəne', *EAE*, IV (2010), 283a–284b (Habtemichael Kidane).

The above quotation presents both the concerns of the *däbtära* (especially the trainee) and his clients. This is found in the functions the above *abənnät* is believed to serve, namely: speeding writing (both composition and copying), helping a student in the learning of *qəne*, assisting in productivity of skills such as weaving and spinning. In addition to pointing the immediate need of the *däbtära* trainee i.e. learning *qəne* in this case, there is an expression which carries a curious meaning, ‘up to kings and nobles respect it (the aforementioned skills listed) beyond scholars’. This shows the *abənnät* is not merely intended to give the *däbtära* or the client the skill but also it is intended to change the social perception of the skills mentioned. Weavers were outcast and marginalized groups of the society. This shows that *abənnäts* were not meant to serve an immediate need but also to address issues entrenched within the cultural perception of the society.

We have additional reasons for the acquisition of an *abənnät*, health. Far from his relatives and living in an environment where malnutrition and hygienic problem are common experiences, the *däbtära* student faces health problems.

**ተማሪው ፡ እንደራበው ፡ አይበላም ፡ እንደጠማው ፡ አይጠጣም ፡ እንዳረዘው
አይለብስም ። በጠቅላላው ፡ ማንኛውንም ፡ ነገር ፡ እንደፈለገው ፡ አያገኘውም ።
[...] ከልብሱና ፡ ከሰውነቱ ፡ ቆሻሻ ፡ የተነሣ ፡ በቅማልና ፡ በቁንጫ ፡ የሚመጡ ፡
በሽታዎች ፡ ይነደፋል ። ከምግቡም ፡ ጉስቀኝልና ፡ የተነሣ ፡ አካላቱን ፡
ያሳክክዋል ፡ ደረመን (እከከ) ፡ ያለብሰዋል ።⁴⁶²**

The student (the *däbtära* student) can’t eat when he is hungry, can’t drink when he is thirsty and can’t get clothing when he needs it. In general, he can’t get everything as he wishes. [...] As a result of the dirt in his body and clothing, he falls ill because of illnesses that are communicable diseases the vectors of which are lice and flea. As a result of bad food, his body starts to itch and is covered by patches of scabies.

All in all it is clear that a *däbtära* student that has passed through a traditional educational training well above the *nəbab bet* likely acquires an *abənnät* of this or that kind. The only difference one can come up is that of whether the student will pursue using the *abənnät* for his personal utility and as a form of economic subsistence later in life after graduation so to speak. As has been mentioned above, coupled with his personal inclination and the economic benefit that comes with the acquisition, he will end up a celebrated *däbtära* who can boast about his *abənnät* workings.

How exactly were *abənnäts* acquired? Generally the following modes of acquisition of *abənnäts* can be identified, namely: the *däbtära* barter, the hereditary acquisition, the *appeal to pity* acquisition, and the merit based acquisition. It should be noted that these modes of acquisition are not mutually exclusive. A mixture of some of them or even all may come into

⁴⁶² Mämhər Kidanä Maryam Getahun 1980 EC, 19.

play in acquiring *abənnäts* which later will form a manuscript that is highly individual and peculiar. That's mainly why the textual transmission of the *abənnät* manuscripts is highly complex to delineate clearly.

To start with the *däbtära* barter, it is the exchange of *abənnäts* in kind usually among students and rarely among masters. Students who start the acquiring of some *abənnäts* they need badly for their alleged personal use like that of scabies and boosting their memory will continue to collect many *abənnäts* through time. This is the common type of acquisition. As has been made clear by the informants, *däbtära* masters can also become students in disguise in the *qəne* schools. They do that either to learn other ways of the *qəne* modes of composition given the master whose school they have joined is a renowned scholar in the field or seeking for additional *abənnäts* to add to their *abənnät* stores. They already have the knowledge of how to approach the novice student for an exchange which makes it easier to acquire as many *abənnäts* as possible. In this mode of acquisition also falls an exchange between masters or the full-fledged *däbtära*. This usually happens as a result of a kind of specialization. A master may make a name for himself on a specific kind of *abənnät* than other types. In this case a secure exchange will be undertaken between him and another master who has made a name for himself on another kind of *abənnät*. This mode of exchange will have its impact on how the *abənnät* manuscripts are formed and the shapes they assume.

The second type is what I have called the hereditary acquisition. As the name implies it is an acquisition from the *däbtära* father to his son. This may be deliberate or otherwise. This may also be the case where an *abənnät* is deliberately passed a close relative who must have won the confidence of the master though a rare possibility. As has been mentioned a *däbtära* may deliberately train his child as a successor hoping that his successor can make good fortunes out of his *abənnät* store. This is because the *däbtära* considers his store as a heritage to pass to generations to come. What's surprising is all the informants agree on the fact that such type of exchange is usually rare as a *däbtära* usually fails to have a successor for reasons of the mysterious ascriptions attached to the life of the *däbtära*. A rather natural acquisition would be when the *däbtära* passes away and a successor acquires the belongings of his father. This manuscript was acquired merely because the father passed away. The problem with such an acquisition is that the inheriting person is not fit to practice accordingly as many of the *abənnäts* entail oral knowledge. This oral knowledge presumes a continuous training and practice under the guidance of the *däbtära*. If this is missed, acquiring an *abənnät* manuscript is nothing but owning a locked computer without its password. The matter gets even worse if the so called *gäbir* of every *abənnät* is missing from being written down.

What I have called the *appeal to pity* acquisition is not equivalent to what is known as *argumentum ad misericordiam* or the Galileo argument in logical fallacies. I just wanted to show that the *däbtära* master may give a handicapped student *abənnät/s* out of his feelings of pity towards him. As has been mentioned, the handicapped boy who got the basic training in his parish is left with this option of pursuing his education. The master who sees such an ill-fated student may then decide to help him. This stems from the idea that the student can make a living from the *abənnät* as he is not physically fit to sustain himself through economic

means like agriculture which demand physical fitness. This is mainly true when a student is handicapped but academically brilliant which will relate to the next type of acquisition.

The brightest student will always have the favours of the master and so is the case with the *däbtära* trainee. The master who has recruited a trainee for his loyalty, service and bearing a secret will reward him by giving him his *abənnäts* partially or completely depending on the degree of confidence. All the informants exclusively state that winning the heart of the master is an extremely difficult process that can even involve leading a life equal to servitude until the goals of acquisition are attained.

In all the modes of *abənnät* exchange what must not be forgotten is the fact that all is done in extreme care and secrecy. Furthermore, with the type of *abənnät* i.e. whether that entails entering a pact with the devil and other powers, violating Church orders or not the difficulty of acquiring it increases. As a final remark, all the modes discussed above apply for *abənnäts* in their manuscript form as well except the barter type wherein the novice trainee only starting to compile his *abənnäts* is involved. There is nothing called an ‘*abənnät*-manuscripts barter’, in simple terms.

5.2.2.2 Manuscript Exchange

As has been discussed, it is hardly possible to think of a free circulation of the *abənnäts* even individually as texts, let alone manuscripts. Yet, there are ample examples of such rare exchange as has been witnessed in the manuscripts of the corpus. This leads us to the fact that though the *abənnät* manuscripts are normally individual compilations they may also be shared under certain conditions.

The conditions under which the exchange of *abənnät* manuscripts opens up can be summarized as follows. Generally speaking, manuscripts which contain *abənnäts* with a *gäbir* that simply involves herbal application and simple prayer are easily shared. These very manuscripts are also characterised by containing texts the introductory formula of which is the common Christian *incipit* በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ‘In the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit’. They are easily confused with canonized texts and can relatively circulate under such a camouflage. Mainly the manuscripts labeled *Mäftəhe šəray* fall into such a category. The rare appearance of the *gäbir* in the texts of these manuscripts coupled with the consistent use of the mentioned introductory formula is a fertile ground for free circulation. The prayer type performance they require must have added enough camouflage to penetrate into the Church. This can be seen in one of the donation notes that was discussed in chapter three.

As with those manuscripts which contain texts condemned by the Church and which miss the Christian introductory formula, their transmission is complex. What could be taken exceptional is an indication I have found in the cover of MS P.



Figure 17: A note on the cover of MS P

The transcription of the text written (scribbled) in blue pen on a tattered paper from a famous Ethiopian newspaper called **አዲስ ፡ ዘመን** : ‘New Era’ goes:

**እዛ ፡ መልእክቲ ፡ እዚኣ ፡ ናብ ፡ መልአክ ፡ መዊዕ ፡ ሀረገ ፡ ወይን ፡ በኩረ ፡
ዕዮን ፡ ትብሃሕ ።**

እምበአርከስ ፡ ከመይ ፡ ትቕኒ ፡

**እዙ ፡ ጨርጨቢ ፡ ዝበልናዮ ፡ አስማተ ጨርጨቢ ፡ ዝብል ፡ ልነበረ ፡
ስለዝሰአንኩዎ ፡ ኣብዙ ፡ ቱላዳን ፡ ዝርከብ ካብ ፡ ናይ ፡ ሓሙስ ፡ ጀሚሩ ፡
እስካብ ፡ ሰንበት ፡ መጨረሰታ ፡ እዩ ፡ ዝብሎ እዙይ ፡ ዝደልይዎ ፡
እንተኾይኖም ፡ ጽሕፍካ ፡ ውሰደሎም ፡ ክብለካ ፡ ኣነ ፡ ሓውኻ ፡ ወይ ፡ ወድኻ ፡
ኣነ ፡ መ/ሓደራ ፡ ተላ ፡ እሞ ፡ ቐዳም ፡ ግን ፡ ንጉሆ ፡ ከም ፡ ዝትመጽእ ፡ እብለካ ፡
ሓደራ ፡ ሓደራ**

ፊርማ

Let this message reach Mäl’akä Mäwi^c Harägä Wäyn Bäkürä Şeyon

How have you been? I couldn’t find what was called *Çärçäbi* or *asmatä Çärçäbi*.

It is said that (?) what is included under *Tuladan* (another text label) and which is part of the readings for the days Thursday through Sunday in this manuscript is

Čärčäbi. I, your brother and son, *m(ärigeta)* Ḥadära Tälla would like to ask you to copy it down and take it for him, if he needs. And please come back on Saturday morning (with the manuscript). I entreat you!

Signature

The above unexpected note (one may call it a lucky surprise given where it is found as can be seen from the picture) has many important points in store. Firstly, it mentions a label i.e. *Čärčäbi* and *Tuladan* explicitly, which in itself is not common to find in such a context. Unconsciously though he has recorded what ought to be merely oral and as a result would have vanished in the mists of orality. Secondly, it reveals how texts and manuscripts are shared among the *däbtära*. I say texts and manuscripts deliberately. This is because the writer is explicitly indicating a reading from within his manuscript which is believed to be part of a text called *Čärčäbi*. Furthermore, the writer is insisting that the manuscript be returned to him on Saturday morning indicating that it is a short time loan. This indicates another mode of acquiring an *abənnät* i.e. through a temporary loan which results in a textual transmission through the copying of a part or whole of a manuscript.

5.3.2. Labels and labelling

A label in this research refers to the name used to denote a manuscript. Understanding how labels are supplied partly helps us to understand how individual texts and the physical manuscript are conceived within a culture. The manuscripts in our corpus have label/s that are researcher supplied, practitioner supplied vis-à-vis oral. As there is no study on how labels are given in Ethiopic literature, we will venture to explain the issue solely based on the data at hand.

Traditionally the idea of a label is linked to what is called **ጥንተ ፡ ንብብ ፡** literally ‘original reading’. Kane has carefully recorded this theme in his Amharic-English dictionary: ‘The beginning letters or words of a book which serve as its title (refers only to manuscripts in Gəʿəz)’.⁴⁶³

The practice is also widely used in giving titles to parts of individually recognized texts of an *abənnät*. This is particularly true in case of the so called **የቃል ፡ ትምህርት ፡** ‘Oral education’ wherein students learn a mass of texts by heart. If, for example, I say **ፈቀደ ፡** ‘He (the Lord) loved/wanted’ it is immediately clear to the scholar and the student of the traditional school alike that I am referring to the so called **ወዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡** ‘Praise of Mary’ to be read on Monday. But this is far from simple. First of all we have to clarify what we mean by the label ‘The Praise of Mary’. This text per se is an extended text divided into seven days prayers to be read every day. As a label represents a group of texts which include the following:

⁴⁶³ Kane 1990, 2161.

ጸሎት ፡ ዘዘወትር ፡ ‘Prayers for everyday’, Praise of Mary per se, **ይዌድስዋ ፡ መላእክት ፡** ‘Angels praise her (Mary)’, **አንቀጸ ፡ ብርሃን ፡** ‘Gate of light’, **መልክአ ፡ ማርያም ፡** ‘The Image of Mary’ and **መልክአ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡** ‘Image of Jesus’. It should be mentioned that the inclusion of the last two texts is optional. The first title i.e. **ጸሎት ፡ ዘዘወትር ፡** ‘Prayers for everyday’ doesn’t take its name from an internal textual evidence. The two images i.e. **መልክአ ፡ ማርያም ፡** ‘The Image of Mary’ and **መልክአ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡** ‘Image of Jesus’ have the word **መልክዕ ፡** ‘Image’ textually but not in the first lines of their textual occurrence. The other texts take their titles from the first words. Therefore, the word **ፈቀደ ፡** ‘He (the Lord) loved/wanted’ in addition to referring the whole work i.e. **ወዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡** ‘Praise of Mary’ as a label specifically serves as a title of the first paragraph of the text meant to be read on Monday, **ወዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ዘሰኑይ ፡** ‘The Praise of Mary to be read on Monday’.

After the identification of the text referred by just quoting a single word i.e. **ፈቀደ ፡** ‘He (the Lord) wanted/loved’, what remains is to clarify whether this is the only way of giving a title to a specific text within a text that has its own label. As had already been pointed by Kane above, the first word or words are used as a title of a work as whole. This is also true of a title given to a specific text within a manuscript that has its own label. Let’s use the following example from MS S, f. 3v: **አንቲ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ እፅ ፡ ቡሩክን ፡ 7/3 ጊዜ ፡ ድገም ፡፡** ‘Incant (the text called) ‘you are a holy herb’ seven or three times’ as part of the *gäbir*. In this very case **አንቲ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ እፅ ፡ ቡሩክ** ‘you are a holy herb’ refers to a reading from the Praise of Mary as a label as a manuscript and the title of a specific text within another text.

The identification of **አንቲ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ እፅ ፡ ቡሩክ** ‘you are a holy herb’ leads us into other layers of giving a title within a work. As has been pointed, the text called **አንቀጸ ፡ ብርሃን ፡** ‘Gate of light’ is part of what is usually labelled **ወዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡** ‘Praise of Mary’. Yet, as we have similar first words in some cases, the number and the words used in the titles are similar, but with the addition of one more identifying word. The following are the similar first words to the title we have quoted above.

Table 15: *Incipits* from the Praise of Mary

No.	First words	Text general title	Paragraph
1	አንቲ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ ገራህት ፡ ... ‘You are a farm ...’	ወዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ዘሠሉስ ፡ ‘Prayer of Mary for Tuesday’	3
2	አንቲ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ ዘመድ ፡ ... ‘You are a kin ...’	ወዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ዘቀዳሚት ፡ ‘Prayer of Mary for Saturday’	4
3	አንቲ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ... ‘You are a tabernacle ...’	ወዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ዘቀዳሚት ፡ ‘Prayer of Mary for Saturday’	6
4	አንቲ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ ሰዋስው ፡ ... ‘You are a ladder ...’	ወዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ዘቀዳሚት ፡ ‘Prayer of Mary for Saturday’	8
5	አንቲ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ መሶበ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ... ‘You are a golden platter ...’	ወዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ዘሰንበት ፡ ‘Prayer of Mary for Sunday’	4

6	አንቲ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ተቅዋም ፡ ዘወርቅ ፡ ... 'You are a golden candlestick ...'	ውዳሴ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ዘሰንበት ፡ 'Prayer of Mary for Sunday'	5
7	አንቲ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ንጽሕት ፡ እምንጹሐን ፡ ... 'You are pure of the purest ...'	አንቀጸ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ 'Gate of light'	6
8	አንቲ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ዘኮንኪ ፡ ጽርሐ ፡ ቅድሳት ፡ ... 'You became hall of holiness ...'	አንቀጸ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ 'Gate of light'	8
9	አንቲ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ተቅዋም ፡ ዘወርቅ ፡ ዘኢገበራ ፡ ... 'You are a golden candlestick that was not made ...'	አንቀጸ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ 'Gate of light'	10
10	አንቲ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ዕፅ ፡ ቡሩክ ፡ 'you are a holy herb'	አንቀጸ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ 'Gate of light'	13

The above way of rendering a title for a specific text within a text with its own title is similar to the way *incipits* are employed as text identifiers. Such use of *incipits* can be traced back to late antique times.⁴⁶⁴ The *incipits* are usually drawn from scriptures either canonical or otherwise. Sanzo curiously asks, 'What are the functions of these *incipits*? Do *incipits* from different texts function in different ways? Do these *incipits* make reference to material beyond the "words on the page"?'⁴⁶⁵

As to the function of the *incipits*, there is a divided opinion. Some believe that *incipits* have inherent power in and of themselves. Others believe that they function *pars pro toto* i.e. representations of a whole. In this second case, *incipits* represent the powers imbued in the larger whole they refer to. For example, Gospel *incipits* represent the powers of the Gospels referred in the *incipits*.

Coming to the use of *incipits* in our texts, it has been noted in chapter three that the book of Psalms is usually employed in the texts wherein either *incipits* are used to refer to a whole Psalm or an extended Psalm *incipit* is referred explicitly. When an *incipit* is used to refer to a whole Psalm, it is usually the first word of the first verse which is employed. While in the second case, i.e. when the first set of words are directly quoted either they are just written or an expression እስከ ፡ ንብ ፡ ይብል ፡ 'Until it says' is used to refer to a verse where the text ends has been pointed in chapter three. In case of Gospel *incipits*, it seems that the *incipit* is

⁴⁶⁴ Sanzo 2014, 1.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 3.

used to represent the power in and of itself and *pars pro toto*. This is clearly seen as in, for example, the use of the *incipit* of the Gospel of John which is the most frequent *incipit* in use in our texts. The first kind is executed by taking an extended *incipit* text and moulding and integrating it to fit to the contents of the *abənnät*. The second way is a bit problematic as it is not clear from the context. Let's use the following consecutive examples to see how these two ways are employed in our *abənnäts*.

The first quotation is from MS J, f. 8v which contains the *incipit* of John 1: 1–5 with a slight modification:

ቀዳሚሁ ፡ ቃል ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቃል ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቃል ፡ ኀበ ፡
እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወእግዚአብሔር ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቃል ፡ ወከማሁ ፡ ቀዲሙ ፡
እምቀዲሙ ፡ ኀበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቃል ፡ ወቦቱ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ኮነ ፡
ወዘእንበሌሁሰ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ወኢምንትኒ ፡ እምዘኮነ ፡ ወዘሂ ፡ ኮነ ፡ በእንቲአሁ ፡
ሕይወተ ፡ ወህይወትሰ ፡ ብርሃኑ ፡ ለዕንላ ፡ እመህያው ፡ ወብርሃኑ ፡ ጽድቅሰ ፡
ውእቱ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘውስተ ፡ ጽልመት ፡ ያበርህ ፡ ወጽልመትኒ ፡
ኢይቀርቦ ፡ ወከማሁ ፡ ኢይቅርብዎ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወሰይጣናት ፡ ለገብርክሙ ፡
መንግሥተ ፡ ሰላሴ ፡

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light of truth was Jesus Christ that shines in darkness; and the darkness reaches him not. And like him let demons and satans not reach to your servant Mängəstä Šəllase.

We can see that the *incipit* is smoothly integrated into the text and we see no problem in understanding the text. Here the ways such an *incipit* is integrated is what Versnel calls *appeal to analogy* strategy under which also falls using techniques such as comparisons, smiles and *historiolae* as tools of efficacy.⁴⁶⁶ The analogy works as a way of relating the theme to an established reference. This can mainly be achieved by focusing on some words which are related to the theme and context of the text at hand. Versnel⁴⁶⁷ quotes Foley:⁴⁶⁸ ‘a context that is enormously larger and more echoic than the text or work itself’. He explains that such a strategy is called ‘traditional referentiality’.⁴⁶⁹ In such type of reference a text will refer to almost all kinds of works which are popular in a culture for one or another reason. By referring to them the efficacy is believed to be stronger and audacious. For example Versnel gives the following:

If you suffer from worms you say [...]

⁴⁶⁶ Versnel 2002, 122–130.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 124.

⁴⁶⁸ Foley 1991, 7.

⁴⁶⁹ Versnel 2002, 124.

Job had worms and through the vision of God they died and his ulcers were healed. Christ, let thus die the worms and ulcers of the servant of the Lord, that they cannot do him harm evermore. *Agyos, aios, ayos, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, fiat, fiat, fiat AMEN*” (*Job vermes habuerit et per visionem domini mortui sunt et sanata fuit ulcera eius. Christe, sic moriatur vermes et ulcera quae habet famulus domini ut numquam ei amplius nocere possit. agyos, aios, ayos, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, fiat, fiat, fiat AMEN*).⁴⁷⁰

In the above quotation the fact that the incantation is meant to protect someone suffering from worms has elicited the scriptural suffering of Job. In the same token, the above example where the *incipit* from the Gospel of John is used works in the same principle. The expression **ወጽልመትኒ ፡ ኢይቀርቦ ፡** ‘and darkness reaches him not’ elicits the theme of the *abənnät* i.e. warding off the person related from ‘all powers of darkness’. Some parts of the text called **ትምህርተ ፡ ጎቡአት ፡** ‘Doctrine of Arcana’⁴⁷¹ are also used in our *Abənnäts* in this same way. This is a general analogical tool employed in our texts. In the same line we can quote the following to further exemplify the technique. MS J, ff. 52vb–53ra has:

[...] **ወአርጋዕኮ ፡ ለሰማይ ፡ በከዊነ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወአዕተትኮሙ ፡ ለደመናት ፡ መስተቃርናን ፡ ስብእ ፡ እኩያን ፡ እለ ፡ ያስሕቱ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሕፃናት ፡ በአምሳለ ፡ ጽላ ፡ ወጊ ፡ ወስራይ ፡ ወያወርዱ ፡ በከዊነ ፡ ሙራድ ፡ (ኢይዛወሩ) ፡ ለፌ ፡ ወለፌ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ወኢወለት ፡ ለነሲአ ፡ ፍጽም ፡ ወአካል ፡ ወይትወለድ ፡ በእድሜሁ ፡ ዘህሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ከርሳ ፡ ለዓመትከ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ... ወእንዘ ፡ ያንሶሱ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በስጋሁ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አድያም ፡ ወመጽአት ፡ እንተ ፡ ደም ፡ ይውህዛ ፡ እም ፤ ወ፪ ፡ ክረምታት ፡ ወእምብዙኃ ፡ አህምሞታ ፡ ወአስተውጽአት ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ንዋያ ፡ ወአህለቀት ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ዘይብቀኝ ፡ ዳዕሙ ፡ ወሰሚዓ ፡ ፈድፋድ ፡ በእንተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ መጽአት ፡ ወቆመት ፡ ማዕከለ ፡ ስብእ ፡ ወገሠሠተ ፡ ጽንፈ ፡ ልብሱ ፡ ወሶቤሃ ፡ ነጽፈ ፡ ነቅዓ ፡ ደማ ፡ ወአንከረት ፡ ርእሳ ፡ ወከማሁ ፡ አህይዋ ፡ ለዓመትከ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ...**

[...] and you have fixed (literally: coagulated) the sky in being a sky, and dispersed the clouds, (likewise disperse) wicked men who bring enmity (among men) and bring about evil on children in the form of *ṣəla wägi*,⁴⁷² and charm and abort (fetus) in the form of abortion, let them not move (around) from one side to another towards (a baby) boy and (a baby) girl to take (his/her) (forehead?) and body so that the fetus that is in the womb of your servant ____ be born in its (right) time. When our Lord Jesus Christ was moving around villages in flesh (in his incarnation), a woman who had hemorrhage of blood for twelve years came (to

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 125–126.

⁴⁷¹ Lifschitz 1940, 41–85.

⁴⁷² Also *ṣəla wägi*, literally ‘Shadow piercer’ is understood as a disease caused by pricking the shadow of a person using a special stick upon which a special charm is incanted.

him), because of her continued sickness she spent all her wealth but it profited her not. Yet, she heard about our Lord Jesus Christ and she came and stood among men and touched the border of his garment: and immediately her hemorrhage stanchd. And she marveled herself likewise heal your servant ____

In line with the analogical tools discussed above the expression **ወእርጋዕኮ ፡ ለሰማይ ፡** ‘and you fixed the sky’ and the *historiola* based on Mark 5: 25–34 are intertwined to set up the theme of an *abənnät* against miscarriage. The first expression i.e. **እርጋዕኮ ፡** ‘fixed or coagulated’ employs a pun based on the dual meaning of the word **እርጋዕኮ ፡**. This is a general reference to the power of God and his marvelous creation.

Differently set up, an *incipit* can also be found in *abənnäts* wherein its value is not clear immediately. For example the same *incipit* of the Gospel of John used in the following manner in MS J, f. 27r–v:

**ይትፈታሕ ፡ ሥራየ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ሰራዊተ ፡ መስርያን ፡ ምዋርተኛ ፡ ወምቀኛ ፡
ቀዳሚሁ ፡ ቃል ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ቃል ፡ በቅንው ፡ እዴክ ፡ ወበርጉዝ ፡ ገብክ ፡**

Let the charms of all armies of charmers and fortune-tellers and the envious *in the beginning was Word, and the Word?* by your nailed hand and your stabbed ribs.

In the above case the *incipit* is not serving the purpose of adding power to the text as that can’t be established. It is even difficult to translate the text as the **ቀዳሚሁ ፡ ቃል ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ቃል ፡** ‘in the beginning was Word, and the Word’ becomes meaningless. This leads us to the conclusion that here the *incipit* is serving as a reference aid to the text of the Gospel of John, Hence, *pars pro toto*. Here, it is only from oral information that the use of this *incipit* can be explained and understood.

The use of *incipits* and the title has been subject of scholarly researches. Sharpe in discussing the role of manuscript catalogues to the identification of medieval Latin texts, questions how titles recorded in catalogues were given and what was the source especially of the idea in catalogues which do not record *incipits*.⁴⁷³ In the Ethiopian case, all of the catalogues record *incipits*. Yet, the *incipit* does not always contain the title especially in the recorded entries for the texts of the *däbtära* notebooks. It must also be noted that there are two levels of the title in our case, one for the specific texts and another for the whole work.

To see how titles and labels are conceived in our corpus, it is legitimate to ask how are texts identified and labels recorded in the catalogues? One important starting point which is included in the catalogues and is of a direct relevance to the issue of labelling is the fact that some catalogues have an index wherein ‘Ethiopian Titles’ are listed.⁴⁷⁴ Though what they mean by ‘titles’ is not clear at face value, it is of great importance as it could be taken as a

⁴⁷³ Sharpe 2007, 51–52.

⁴⁷⁴ See for example Macomber 1993 and Getachew Haile 1993.

springboard to discuss the issue of labelling in corroboration with how individual texts are recorded in the catalogues.

In the catalogues, except in the catalogues of the Ethio-Spare project, it is usually the titles (themes) of the *abənnäts* as has been discussed in chapter three which are usually registered. It was made clear that the title (theme) is a constituent part of each *abənnät* and should be duly discussed. It is usually seen as the key towards the understanding of the content at a glance. Furthermore, the theme is comparatively a recent development in the history of the *abənnäts*. It is usually explicitly given in manuscripts whose formation is recent and which fall under the category of the *däbtära* notebook. This could be because if a title (theme) is rendered clearly it is hard to handle it in camouflage. This is corroborated by the fact that the so called *mäftəhe šəray* which has made it to the Church circle as quasi-canonical manuscripts do not furnish a title (theme) even in a single instance. Of course, it is also related to the highly personal nature of the manuscripts but this is almost a shared characteristic among the *abənnät* manuscripts.

What is striking is that such an anomaly is witnessed to a higher degree in the *abənnät* manuscripts compared to other genres of Ethiopic literature. This can be related to at least three things: the secrecy involved in the use and handling of the manuscripts, the complexity of the genre itself in clearly delineating it, and finally, the rubric the cataloguers use in describing manuscript contents.

The secrecy of the *abənnäts* has many implications towards understanding them. Among such a problem is that the catalogues don't usually identify the difference between the words superstition, *asmat*, magic, and prayer. Though it is to be expected given the inherent problem of these terms in disciplines such as anthropology, religious studies, history of science among others. In general, it is confusing in itself even within the Ethiopian understanding of the terms. It has already been argued for the use of the term *abənnät* in chapter one. What we shall do now is to shift the focus from such generalities to the issue of labelling.

The problem with the formats and rubric of the catalogues steps from the different styles they use and the fact that the issue of labelling was not taken seriously as can be seen from many of them. Let's see how some of the catalogues present this case. Catalogues like those on the Griaule collection by Strelcyn⁴⁷⁵ are mines of manuscripts which contain *abənnäts*. To start with how the descriptions are given and labels addressed, the following common 'labels' can be identified as being used in describing the manuscripts: *Prières magiques* i.e. 'magic prayers', *Prières – Textes Magico-Religieux* 'Prayers – Magico-religious texts', 'Traité de Divination (*ḥasāb*)', 'Treatise on Divination', *Temḥrta ḥebu'at – Sebḥata feqqur – Salāmtā à saint Georges – Qeddāsē Māryam – Malke' de Saint Jean-Baptiste et de Saint Jean L'Évangéliste – Actes de Moise, Təmḥärtä ḥəbu'at*, etc. These are only some of the ways in

⁴⁷⁵ Strelcyn 1954.

which the texts in the manuscripts are described. It seems that the labels as they are used by the practitioners received little attention, except in the recent catalogues by Ethio-Spare which registers labels as they are used at the time of digitization.

As a further key element let's list the labels that happen to denote a manuscript as a whole in our corpus. These include መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ 'Mäftähe Šaray', ጸሎተ ፡ ቆጵርያኖስ ፡ 'Šälotä Qoprāyanos', Oral sources as well as written evidence have it that the labels መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ 'Mäftähe šaray' and ቆጵርያኖስ ፡ 'Qoprāyanos', are the same, ጨርጨቢ ፡ 'Čärčäbi', däbtära notebook, መፅሐፈ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ 'Mäṣḥafä ṭəbäb', and መልክአ ፡ ሳጥናኤል ፡ 'Mälkə'a Saṭna'el'. Except the label 'däbtära notebook' which I have supplied myself, the other labels are known from tradition.

Though all these labels are usually given as 'Ethiopian Titles (Index of)', or similarly, in the catalogues, the fact whether these 'titles' stand for a whole collection of texts or individual texts is unclear as far as the label መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ 'Mäftähe šaray' is concerned. There appears to be an unclear relation here: in the content descriptions of the manuscripts in which these labels are mentioned the cataloguers consider the texts with the above mentioned labels as independent texts. The label መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ 'Mäftähe šaray' for one thing appears as an independent name to name only a given text, it stands as a name for many other individual texts at other times or one can also deduce it might have been used as a label that was used to name the whole manuscript but then this information is lost as it might have been transmitted orally.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

It is hoped that the dissertation has cleared some points of interest in the study of what was usually called Ethiopian ‘magic’ literature, applied some theoretical methods in tackling main issues and presented fresh data which was not accessible to the research community.

In chapter one it has been shown that researches carried out so far in the field focused on the edition of individual texts. This has made it impossible to see the similarities in the array of the seemingly different texts. It was not only the alignment of the researches carried out to date which has shortcomings; the use of terms such as ‘magic’, ‘magico-religious’ and ‘*asmat*’, to mention some, has profound problems in the understanding of how the texts are perceived by their practitioners and how they are received within the culture. To spare an overlap of notions and designations it has been argued that the term *abənnät* be used in place of all other terms that have been in use in academia. Such a conclusion has been reached based on internal textual evidences from within the texts, practitioners’ knowledge and secondary literature which documented such a use.

In chapter two an extensive description of the manuscripts (both content and physical description) has been presented. The presentation in chapter two presupposed the theoretical application discussed in chapter three. In chapter three it has been argued that the *abənnäts* should be understood as made up of constituent parts called sections. These sections are: the introductory formula, the *gäbir*, the *ṭälsäm*, the *dəgam*, the *asmat*, the *Brillenbuchstaben*, the *qalat*, the supplication, the theme (title), the confirmatory, the caution, and the *historiola*. Every *abənnät* is made up of one or more of the above sections. It must be noted that some of the sections like the *gäbir* seem to be oral elements of the *abənnät*. This is mainly because it was passed on by word of mouth because of the secrecy of the texts.

Chapter four discussed the language of the *abənnäts*. The language of the *abənnäts* is interesting in and of itself. Firstly, there are languages which are believed to be somewhat exoteric and hence meant to be used in specific sections. For example, the *asmats* employ the exoteric languages. These languages are believed to have an extra-linguistic power. In our texts it was learned that Gəʿəz has a somewhat greater power over other languages used except in the *asmats*. Related to such a discussion, the Speech Acts Theory (SAT) has been applied to analyse how the extra-linguistic power believed to be embedded within the *abənnäts* can be understood. It was supposed that the performative verbs would be expressed in the so called perfective aspect as is the case in many Semitic languages. Yet, the way performativity is expressed in the texts has its own manifestations:

- a) The main verbs are mainly in their subjunctive form.
- b) Performativity, as purported by its forerunners, needs extra-linguistic institution and practitioner. The *däbtäras* (with all their manifestations) serve the exclusive purpose of executing such a practice.
- c) The *asmat* can exclusively form an *abənnät* which therefore leads as to the argument that they are serving the purpose of the performative in whatever shape or form they appear.

- d) The so called *historiolae*, ‘mini powerful stories’ to put them in simple terms, are used in such a way that their narration which is usually in the perfective is believed to change the present status of events.

In conclusion, coupled with the *asmat* and the *historiola* which are believed to have their own intrinsic power, it is just to conclude that any *abənnät* is meant to perform than to describe.

In chapter five orality and oral knowledge was approached. In this chapter ways of *abənnät* exchange, patterns of secrecy and labelling have been discussed. Four main ways of individual *abənnät* and manuscript exchange have been identified: the *däbtära* barter, the hereditary acquisition, the appeal to pity acquisition and skill based acquisition. As part of the secrecy of the texts, two ways of encrypting especially the *gäbir* of the *abənnät* have been identified. The *täwlat* ‘exchange’ is employed by exchanging signs which sometimes have a table of codes. The second way of encryption called ‘*azawär*’ ‘juxtaposition’ is used by just changing the orders of signs within a word. Furthermore, the issue of labelling has been approached. Tradition has it that what is called *ṭəntä nəbab* ‘original reading’ is applied in a similar fashion to the use of *incipits*. Extensive examples of such a practice have been given to substantiate such a use.

Appendix 1

Question Template for interviews

1. መሰረታዊ ጥያቄዎች
 - ሀ) ሙሉ ፡ ሥም
 - ለ) ዕድሜ
 - ሐ) ትምህርት (አብነት ፣ ዘመናዊ)
2. አብነት ፣ ማለት ፣ ምን ፣ ማለት ፣ ነው?
3. ስለ ፣ አብነት ፣ ለመጀመሪያ ፣ ጊዜ ፣ ከማን ፣ ሰሙ? እንዴት?
4. አብነትን ፣ እንዴት ፣ መማር ፣ ይቻላል? አካሄዱን ፣ ቢያብራሩልኝ?
5. አስማት ፣ ማለት ፣ ምን ፣ ማለት ፣ ነው?
6. የአስማት ፣ ዓይነቶች ፣ አሉ?
7. የአስማትና ፣ አብነት ፣ አንድነትና ፣ ልዩነት ፣ ምንድነው?
8. ጥንቆላ ፣ ሚርትና ፣ አብነት ፣ በምን ፣ ይመሳሰላሉ ፣ በምንስ ፣ ይለያያሉ?
9. የአብነት ፣ መጻሕፍት ፣ የሚባሉት ፣ እነማን ፣ ናቸው?
10. የቤተ ፣ ክርስቲያንና ፣ የነዚህ ፣ መጻሕፍት ፣ ግንኙነት ፣ ምን ፣ ይመስላል?
11. ደብተራ ፣ ምን ፣ ማለት ፣ ነው?
12. ደብተራ ፣ ለመሆን ፣ ምን ፣ ምን ፣ ነገሮችን ፣ መማር ፣ ያስፈልጋል?
13. ኅቡዕ ፣ ሥም ፣ ምን ፣ ማለት ፣ ነው?
14. ኅቡዕ ፣ ሥም ፣ ያድናል ፣ ብለው ፣ ያምናሉ?
15. ኅቡዕ ፣ ሥሞች ፣ በምን ፣ በምን ፣ ቋንቋዎች ፣ ይገኛሉ?
16. የግእዝ ፣ አብነት ፣ መጻሕፍት ፣ የተቀዱባቸው ፣ ቋንቋዎች ፣ ምንና ፣ ምን ፣ ናቸው?
17. አንድ ፣ ስም ፣ ከሌላ ፣ ቋንቋ ፣ ሲወሰድ ፣ ይመለሳል?
18. ስሙ ፣ ተመልሶ (ተተርጉሞ) ፣ የሚወሰድ ፣ ከሆነ ፣ እንዴት ፣ ነው ፣ የሚመለስው?
19. በግዕዝ ፣ ሥነጽሑፍ ፣ ውስጥ ፣ ለአብነት ፣ የሚውሉ ፣ መጻሕፍት ፣ የትኞቹ ፣ ናቸው?
20. መጻሕፍቱ ፣ ለዚህ ፣ ዓላማ ፣ ሲውሉስ ፣ በምን ፣ መልኩ ፣ ነው?
21. በፍፁም ፣ ለአብነት ፣ አይውሉም ፣ የሚባሉ ፣ መጻሕፍትስ ፣ አሉ?
22. ገቢር ፣ ምንድነው?
23. አብነትና ፣ ገቢር ፣ በምን ፣ ይለያያሉ?
24. ድጋም ፣ ወይም ፣ ድግምት ፣ ምን ፣ ማለት ፣ ነው?
25. ድግምትና ፣ ዕጽ ፣ ሲገናኙ ፣ ምን ፣ ተብለው ፣ ይጠራሉ?
26. ድግምት ፣ ይሠራል ብለው ፣ ያምናሉ?
27. በአብነት ፣ ብራናዎች ፣ ላይ ፣ የቤተክርስቲያን ፣ አቋም ፣ ምን ፣ ይመስላል?

28. ጠልሰም ፡ ምንድነው?
 29. ጠልሰም ፡ ከስዕል ፡ በምን ፡ ይለያል?
 30. ጠልሰም ፡ ላይ ፡ የሚወከሉት ፡ ምንድን ፡ ናቸው?
 31. ክታብ ፡ ምንድነው?
 32. ጠልሰም ፡ ዓይነቶች ፡ አሉት?
 33. የአብነት ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ አዘገጃጀት ፡ ከሌሎች ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ይለያል?
 34. ዕውቀትን ፡ በዓይነት ፡ ለይቶ ፡ ማስቀመጥ ፡ ይቻላል?
 35. ይህ ፡ ዓይነቱን ፡ ትምህርት (አብነት) ፡ ከመምህር ፡ ወደ ፡ ደቀ ፡ መዝሙር ፡ እንዴት ፡ ይተላለፋል?
 36. ይህ ፡ ዓይነቱን ፡ ትምህርት (አብነት) ፡ ከመምህር ፡ ለማግኘት ፡ መስፈርት ፡ አለው?
 37. ውዳሴ ፡ ማርያምን ፡ ለአብነት ፡ ዓላማ ፡ ማዋል ፡ ይቻላል?
 38. መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ምንድነው? ዓይነቶች ፡ አሉት?
 39. የአንድ ፡ አብነት ፡ አካላት ፡ ምንና ፡ ምን ናቸው?
 40. ከነዚህ ፡ የአብነት ፡ አካላት ፡ ባብዛኛው ፡ በቃል ፡ ብቻ ፡ የሚተላለፈው ፡ የትኛው ፡ ነው?
 41. አስማት ፡ ድጋምና ገቢር ፡ ልዩነታቸው ፡ ምንድነው?
 42. ላይ ፡ ከተጠቀሱት ፡ አካላት ፡ በቃል ፡ የሚተላለፈው ፡ የትኛው ፡ ነው? ካንድ ፡ በላይ ፡ ካሉም ፡ መጥቀስ ፡ ይቻላል ።
 43. ጠቃሚ ፡ እና ፡ ጎጂ ፡ የሚባሉ ፡ አብነቶች ፡ አሉ?
 44. የተፈቀደ ፡ ወይም ፡ ያልተፈቀደ ፡ የሚባል ፡ አብነት ፡ አለ?
 45. አብነት ፡ የያዙ ፡ የብራና ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ በዓይነት ፡ ማስቀመጥ ፡ ይቻላል?
 46. ሁሉም ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ ለአብነት ፡ ማዋል ፡ የሚቻል ፡ ከሆነ ፡ አብነት ፡ እና ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ በምን ፡ ይለያያሉ?
- ለነበረን ፡ ቆይታ ፡ እጅግ ፡ በጣም ፡ አመሰግናለሁ ።**

English Translation

1. Basic data
 - a. Full name
 - b. Age
 - c. Education (Traditional, Modern)
2. What does the word *abənnät* mean?
3. From whom did you hear (know) about *abənnät* for the first time? how?
4. How can one learn *abənnät* ? Can you explain the process?
5. What does *asmat* mean?

6. Are there known categories of *asmat*?
7. What is the difference between *abənnät* and *asmat*?
8. What are the similarities among witchcraft, fortunetelling and *abənnät* ?
9. What are the books usually called *abənnät* books/manuscripts?
10. What is the relationship between these (*abənnät* books/manuscripts) and the so called church books?
11. What does *däbtära* mean?
12. What are the educational requirements to become a *däbtära*?
13. What does ‘hidden name’ mean?
14. Do you believe that (the use of) hidden names heal?
15. What are the languages in which hidden names are found?
16. What are the languages from which the Ge‘ez hidden names are believed to have been copied from?
17. Is a name translated when it is taken from a different language?
18. If (you believe) it is translated, how is the translation made?
19. Which books /manuscripts in Ge‘ez literature are employed in *abənnät* ?
20. How are the books /manuscripts employed into such a purpose (*abənnät*)?
21. Are there books /manuscripts which can never be employed in *abənnät* ?
22. What is *gäbir*?
23. What is the difference between *abənnät* and *gäbir*?
24. What does *dəgam/dəgmt* mean?
25. How is the combination of herbs and *dəgam/dəgmt* called?
26. Do you believe in (the power of) *dəgam/dəgmt*?
27. What is the stand of the Church on *abənnät* lit. ‘parchments’ i.e. manuscripts?
28. What is talisman?
29. What is the difference between a picture/icon and talisman?
30. What are the entities represented in a talisman?
31. What is *kətab*?
32. Are there known types of talisman?
33. Is the preparation of *abənnät* manuscripts different from other manuscripts?
34. Can we put herbs (used in *abənnät*) into types?
35. How is such kind of knowledge (the knowledge of *abənnät*) transmitted from master to disciple?
36. Is there any criteria for acquiring such a knowledge from a master?
37. Can one use the (Book of) Praise of Mary in *abənnät* s?
38. What is ‘the undoing of charms’? Are there types?
39. What are the parts of an *abənnät*?

40. From (what are perceived as parts of an *abənnät*), which one is transmitted orally?
 41. What is the difference among *asmat*, *dəgam* and *gäbir*?
 42. From the aforementioned (*asmat*, *dəgam* and *gäbir*) which ones are transmitted orally?
 43. Can we categorize *abənnät* s into useful and harmful?
 44. Is there a distinction like: permitted *abənnät* or prohibited *abənnät* ?
 45. Can we categorize parchment books i.e. manuscripts which contain *abənnät* ?
 46. If it is possible that every book (content) can be used for *abənnät* purposes, what do you think is the difference between religion and *abənnät*
- I thank you very much for your time!

Appendix 2

List of informants

No.	Name	Age	Sex	Date of interview	Place of Interview
1	Rə'sä däbr Bərhanu Akal	43	M	09.09.2013	Addis Ababa University main campus, Ethiopia
2	Märigeta Bahran Bərhanu	45	M	23.10.2012	Mekelle, Təgray, Ethiopia
3	Mämhər Amanu'el Muluwärq	30	M	11.09.2013	Mekelle, Təgray, Ethiopia
4	Märigeta Hadära Tädla	57	M	12.09.2013	Hagärä Sälam, Təgray, Ethiopia.
5	Märigeta La'əkä Maryam Gäbräzgi	58	M	14.09.2013	Hagärä Sälam, Təgray, Ethiopia.
6	Yäneta Yətbaräk Gäbrämädhən	43	M	13.09.2013	Mekelle, Təgray, Ethiopia
7	Mämhər Zämika'el Gäbräyäsus	45	M	06.11. 2012	Mekelle, Təgray, Ethiopia
8	Märigeta Mängəstu Käbbädä	58	M	10.10. 2012	Mekelle, Təgray, Ethiopia

Bibliography

- d'Abbadie, A. 1859. *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Impériale, 1859).
- Addey, C. 2011. 'Unknowable Names' in Late Antique Theurgic Ritual', in A.P.M.H. Lardinois, J.H. Blok, and M.G.M. van der Poel, eds, *Sacred Words: Orality, Literacy and Religion*, Orality and Literacy in the Ancient World, 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 278–294.
- Aešcoly, A.Z. 1932. 'Les Noms Magiques Dans Les Apocryphes Chrétiens Per Éthiopiens', *Journal Asiatique*, ccxx (1932), 87–137.
- Ahadu Ayehu 1989. *Mäṣḥafä 'əṣä mädhanit* (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Culture, 1989).
- Anderson, L. 2007. *Faith as a Means of Healing: Traditional Medicine and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church In and Around Lalibela*, MA Thesis, Villanova University, Villanova, PA (online available: http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1104&context=isp_collection; last access: April 5, 2016).
- Andrist, P. 2015. 'The physical description', in A. Bausi et al., eds, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition, 2015), 521–530.
- Arbel, V.D. 2003. *Beholders of Divine Secrets: Mysticism and Myth in Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).
- Austin, J.L. 1962. *How to do Things with Words* (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1962).
- Austin, N. 1972. 'Name Magic in the 'Odyssey'', *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, 5 (1972), 1–19.
- Barkhuus, A. 1947. 'Native medicine in Ethiopia', *Ciba Symposia*, 9/7 (1947), 724–728.
- Basset, R., tr., 1894. *Les Apocryphes éthiopiens, traduits en français par René Basset*, Vol. 4: *Les légendes de S. Tërtaḡ et de S. Sousnyos* (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Haute Science, 1894), 38–42.
- 1895. *Les Apocryphes éthiopiens, traduits en français par René Basset*, V: *Les Prières de la Vierge à Bartos et au Golgotha* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art Independant, 1895).
- Bausi, A. 1992a. 'Heritage and Originality in the Ethiopic Sinodos', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 25 (1992), 15–33.
- 1992b. *Il Sēnodos etiopico: edizione critica e traduzione dei testi pseudo apostolici inediti*, (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1992).
- 2014 'Writing, Copying, Translating: Ethiopia as a Manuscript Culture', in J.B. Quenzer, D. Bondarev, and J.-U. Sobisch, eds, *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 1 (Berlin–New York, NY: De Gruyter, 2014), 37–77.
- Braarvig, J. 1999. 'Magic: Reconsidering the Grand Dichotomy', in D.R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, and E. Thomassen, eds, *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 4–8 May 1997, Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4 (Bergen: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1999), 21–54.
- Budge, E.A.W. 1930. *Amulets and Superstitions: The Original Texts with Translations and Descriptions of a Long Series of Egyptian, Sumerian, Assyrian, Hebrew, Christian, Gnostic and Muslim Amulets and Talismans and Magical Figures ...* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930).
- Bunnin, N. and Yu, J. 2004. *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).
- Burtea, B. 2001. *Zwei äthiopische Zauberrollen*, Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia, 1 (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2001).
- 2014. 'Zur magischen Literatur im christlichen Äthiopien', in H. Ellisie, ed., *Multi-disciplinary Views on the Horn of Africa: Festschrift in Honour of Rainer Voigt's 70th Birthday*, Studien zum Horn von Afrika, 1 (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2014), 131–148.

- Cheak, A. 2004. 'Magic through the Linguistic Lenses of Greek *mágos*, Indo-European **mag(h)*-, Samskrit *māyā* and Pharaonic Egyptian *heka*', *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, 1/2 (2004), 260–286.
- Chernetsov, S. 2005. 'Ethiopian Magic Texts', *Forum for Anthropology and Culture: The Research Object and the Subjectivity of the Researcher*, 2 (2005), 188–200.
- Cerulli, E. 1961. *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, *Storia delle Letterature di Tutto il Mondo* (2nd edn, Milano: Nouva Accademia Editrice, 1961; 1st edn 1956).
- Collins, D.J. 2011. 'Magic in the Middle Ages: History and Historiography', *History Compass*, 9/5 (2011), 410–422.
- Conti Rossini, C. 1941. Lo 'Awda Nagast Scritto Divinatorio Etiopico', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 1/2 (1941), 127–145.
- Cruse, D. A. 2000. *Meaning in Language: an Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics* (Oxford, Oxford University press, 2000).
- Davila, J. 2013. *Hekhalot Literature in Translation : Major texts of Merkavah*=Supplements to the Journal of Jewish thought and philosophy, 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Demissie Manahlot Manahlot. 1988. 'Some notes on Amharic performative verbs', in Taddese Beyene (ed.), *Proceedings of the 8th international conference on Ethiopian studies*, University of Addis Ababa, 1984, Vol. 1, (Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, Frobenius Institut, Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main, 1988), 623–628.
- Dillmann, A. 1865. *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae: cum indice Latino* (Lipsiae: Weigel, 1865; reprint: New York, NY: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1955).
- Dobberahn, F.H. 1976. *Fünf äthiopische Zauberrollen: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, 25 (Walldorf: Verlag für Orientkunde, 1976).
- EAE = S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Volume 1: A–C; Volume 2: D–Ha; Volume 3: He–N; in cooperation with A. Bausi, eds, Volume 4: O–X; A. Bausi in cooperation with S. Uhlig, eds, Volume 5: Y–Z, *Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).
- Euringer, S. 1928. 'Das Netz Salomons', *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, 6 (1928), 178–199.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1965. *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).
- 1929. 'Das Netz Salomons: Ein Äthiopischer Zaubertext', *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, 7 (1929), 68–85.
- Fekadu Fullas 2007. 'The Role of Indigenous Medicinal Plants in Ethiopian Healthcare', *African Renaissance*, 4/1 (2007), 76–80.
- 2010. 'Mets'hafe Few's', *Ethiopian e-Journal for Research and Innovative Foresight*, 2/1 (2010), 116–118. (Online available: [http://www.nesglobal.org/eejrif4/index.php?journal=admin&page=article&op=view&path\[\]=41&path\[\]=124](http://www.nesglobal.org/eejrif4/index.php?journal=admin&page=article&op=view&path[]=41&path[]=124); last access: April 10, 2016).
- Ferenc, A. 1985. 'Writing and Literature in Classical Ethiopic (Giiz)', in B.W. Andrzejewski, S. Piłaszewicz, and W. Tyloch, eds, *Literatures in African Languages: Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys* (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1985).
- Foley, J.M. 1991. *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Bloomington, IN–Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991).
- Frankfurter, D. 2001. 'Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki, eds, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 129 (reprint: Leiden: Brill, 2001; original: 1995), 457–476.
- Gelahun Abate 1989. *ᵉፄፊል ልጅ ልጅ* (Addis Ababa: Department of Biology, Addis Ababa University).

- Getatchew Haile, ed., tr., 1991. *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob (Ṭomarä Täsba'ä)*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 522, 523, Scriptores Aethiopici, 95, 96 (Lovanii: In Aedibus Peeters, 1991).
- 1993. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Volume X: Project Numbers 4001–5000* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1993).
- Grébaut, S. and E. Tisserant 1935. *Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani, Barberinianus Orientalis 2, Rossianus 865, Pars Prior: Enarratio codicum* (In Bybliotheca Vaticana, 1935).
- and — 1936. *Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani, Barberinianus Orientalis 2, Rossianus 865, Pars Posterior: Prolegomena, indices, tabulae* (In Bybliotheca Vaticana, 1936).
- Griaule, M. 1930. *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, 12 (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1930).
- Guidi, I. 1935. *Vocabolario amarico-italiano*. (Roma : Istituto Per l'Oriente, 1901).
- 1940. *Supplemento al vocabolario amarico-italiano* (Rome, Istituto per l'Oriente, 1940).
- 1932. *Storia della letteratura etiopica* (Roma: dell'Istituto per l'Oriente, 1932).
- Häbert, C.G. 2015. 'Aramaic Incantation Texts between Orality and Textuality', in J. Rubanovich, ed., *Orality and Textuality in the Iranian World: Patterns of Interaction across the Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 365–399.
- Malinowski, M. 1935. *Coral Gardens and their Magic: A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands*, Volume 2 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1935).
- Mers'ë Hazen Wolde Qirkos 2004. *Of What I Saw and Heard: The Last Years of Emperor Menelik II and the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, transl. Hailu Habtu (Addis Abeba: Centre français des études éthiopiennes–Zamra Publishers, 2004).
- Hammerschmidt, E. and V. Six 1994, *Äthiopische Handschriften 3: Handschriften Deutscher Bibliotheken, Museen und aus Privatbesitz, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, 20,6 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994).
- Harden, J.M. 1920. *The Ethiopic Didascalia* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge–New York, NY: Macmillan, 1920).
- J.M. 1926. *An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature* (New York, NY: McMillan, 1926).
- Hareya Fassil 2005. 'Beyond plants, professionals & parchments: The role of home-based Medicinal Plant Use and Traditional Health Knowledge in Primary Health Care', *Ethnobotany Research and Applications* (2005), 37–49.
- Historiola*. (online available: <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/historiola-e515850>; last access: April 7, 2016).
- Hunwick, J. O. and A.J. Boye 2008. *The Hidden Treasures of Timbuktu* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008).
- Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Online available: <<http://www.britannica.com/topic/Index-Librorum-Prohibitorum>> last access. January 21, 2016).
- Isenberg, C.W. 1841. *Dictionary of the Amharic Language* (London: The Church Missionary Society, 1841).
- Jong, A. 1997. *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature, Religions in the Greco–Roman World*, 133 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).
- Kane, T.L. 1983. 'An Unpublished Geez–Amharic Magic Manuscript', in S. Segert and A.J. Bodrogligeti, eds, *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Seventy-fifth Birthday* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 1983).
- 1990. *Amharic–English Dictionary*, I–II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1990).
- 2000. *Tigrinya–English Dictionary*, I–II (Springfield: Dunwoody Press, 2000).

- Kaplan, S. 1992. *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: From Earlier Times to the Twentieth Century*. (New York–London: New York University Press, 1992).
- Klaassen, F. 2011. ‘Unstable Texts and Modal Approaches to the Written Word in Medieval European Ritual Magic’, in K.Th. Carlson, K. Fagan, and N. Khanenko-Friesen, eds, *Orality and Literacy: Reflections Across Disciplines and Cultures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 217–243.
- Language, Magic and Power (online available: <http://www.cyberartsweb.org/cpace/theory/ baudrillard/magic/langmagpow.html>; last access: April 15, 2016).
- Leiris, M. 1958. *La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les Éthiopiens de Gondar*, L’Homme: Cahiers d’ethnologie, de géographie et de linguistique, nouvelle série, 1 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1958).
- Leslau, W. 1949. ‘An Ethiopian Argot of People Possessed by a Spirit’, *Africa*, 19/3 (1949), 204–212.
- 1991. *Comparative Dictionary of Gəʿəz* (Classical Ethiopic): *Gəʿəz–English/English–Gəʿəz, with an index of the Semitic roots* (2nd edn: Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991; 1st edn: 1987).
- Lesses, R. 2001. ‘The Adjuration of the Prince of the Presence: Performative Utterance in a Jewish Ritual’, in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual power* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001), 185–208.
- Lewis, I.M. 1966. ‘Spirit Possession and Deprivation Cults’, *Man*, new series, 1 (1966), 307–329.
- Lifchitz, D. 1940. *Textes éthiopiens magico–religieux*, Travaux et Mémoires de l’Institut d’Ethnologie, 38 (Paris: Institut d’Ethnologie, 1940).
- Littmann, E. 1904. ‘Ardeʾet: The Magic Book of the Disciples’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 25 (1904), 1–48.
- 1907. ‘Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur’, in C. Brockelmann et al., *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*, Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzel darstellungen, 7,2 (Leipzig: C.F. Amelang Verlag, 1907), 185–286.
- Löfgren, O. 1963. ‘Äthiopische Wandamuletten’, *Orientalia Suecana*, 11 (1963), 95–120.
- Macomber, W.F. 1978. *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville*, Vol. III: *Project Numbers 701–1100* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1993).
- Malinowski, B. 1935. ‘The Meaning of Meaningless Words and the Coefficient of Weirdness. From Coral Gardens and Their Magic’, in *The Language of Magic and Gardening. A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands* (London: George Allen–Unwin Ltd, 1935), II, 213–222.
- Mercier, J. 1976. ‘Les däbtära et le vocabulaire de la magie et de la médecine’, *Documents pour servir à l’histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne. Cahiers de la R.C.P.*, 7 (1976), 113–134.
- 1979. *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls* (New York, NY: George Braziller, 1979).
- 1983. ‘Le qolle et le zar: éléments pour l’histoire des anciens cultes éthiopiens’, *Abbay*, 10 (1983), 259–298.
- 2003. *Les traverses éthiopiennes de Michel Leiris: amour, possession, ethnographie* (Montpellier: L’Archange minotaure, 2003).
- Messing, S.D. 1958. ‘Group Therapy and Social Status in the Zar Cult of Ethiopia’, *American Anthropologist*, 60/6 (1958), 1120–1126.
- Molvaer, R.K. 1980. *Medical Anthropology for Health Workers and Students of Health* (Addis Ababa: Health Learning Materials Development and Production Division, Ministry of Health, 1980).
- Nobili, M. 2011. ‘Manuscript Culture of West Africa, Part 1: The Disqualification of a Heritage’, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 2 (2011), 21–24.

- Ogden, D. 1999. 'Binding Spells: Curse Tablets and Voodoo Dolls in the Greek and Roman Worlds', in V. Flint et al., eds, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome* (London: The Athlone Press, 1999), 1–86.
- Ong, W.J. 2002. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York, NY–London: Routledge, 2002).
- Otto, B.-Ch. and M. Stausberg, eds, 2013. *Defining Magic: A Reader* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing, 2013).
- Petrucchi, A. 2001. *La descrizione del manoscritto: Storia, problemi, modelli*. Seconda edizione corretta e aggiornata, Beni culturali, 24 (Roma: Carocci editore, 2001).
- Platts, M. 1997. *Ways of Meaning : An Introduction to Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge: the MIT Press, 1997).
- Ritner, R.K. 1993. *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 54 (Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993).
- Rodinson, M. 1964. 'Sur la question des 'Influences Juives' en Éthiopie', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 9 (1964), 11–19.
- Rodinson, M. 1967. *Magie, médecine et possession à Gondar*, École pratique des hautes études, Sorbonne. 6^{me} section: science économiques et sociales (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1967).
- Rogland, M. 2001. 'Performative Utterances in Classical Syriac', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XLVI/2 (2001), 243–250.
- Sanders, S. 'Performative Language and Devine Language in Ugaritic', *Journal of North Eastern Studies*, 63/3 (2004), 161–181.
- Sanzo, J.E. 2014. *Scriptural Incipits on Amulets from Late Antique Egypt: Text, Typology, and Theory*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum/Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity, 84 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).
- Shaked S. and Naveh, J. 1987. *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1987).
- Shaked, S., J.N. Ford, and Siam Bhayro 2013. *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls*, Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Sharpe, R. 2003. *Titulus. Identifying Medieval Latin Texts: An Evidence-Based Approach*, Brepols Essays in European Culture, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).
- 2007. 'The Contribution of Manuscript Catalogues to Identifying Medieval Latin Texts', in C. Fabian, ed., *Katalogisierung mittelalterlicher Handschriften in internationaler Perspektive: Vorträge der Handschriftenbearbeitertagung vom 24. bis 27. Oktober 2005 in München*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 53 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 51–60.
- Sawyer, J. 1999. *Sacred Languages and Sacred Texts* (London: Routledge, 1999).
- Searle, J. 1981. *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Reprint, 1981).
- Shelemay, K.K. 1992. 'The Musician and Transmission of Religious Tradition: The Multiple Roles of the Ethiopian *Dābtāra*', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 22/3 (1992), 242–260.
- Sørensen, J. 2007. *A cognitive theory of magic* (Plymouth: Altamira Press, 2007).
- Strelcyn, S. 1954. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Éthiopiens de la Collection Griaule*, IV (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954).
- 1955. *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes (maftəḥē šārāy)*, Rocznik Orientalistyczny, 18 (Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Orientalistyczny, 1955).
- 1960. 'La magie Éthiopienne', in E. Cerulli, ed., *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma 2–4 aprile 1959)*, Problemi Attuali di Scienza e di Cultura, 48 (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960), 147–166.

- 1962. 'Ethiopian Medical Treatises as a Source for the study of Early Amharic, in Brown, L. et al (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Africanists*, Accra, December, 1962, (London: Longmans, 1964), 10-12.
- 1981. 'Les mystères des Psaumes, traité éthiopien sur l'emploi des Psaumes (amharique ancien)', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 44/1 (1981), 54–84.
- 1983.(ed., tr.), 'Un poème satanique éthiopien' in: J. Tubiana ed, *Guirlande pour Abba Jérôme: Travaux offerts à Abba Jérôme Gabra Musé par ses élèves et ses amis, Le Mois en Afrique*, 24/93 (Paris: L'Homme et la société, 1983), 83–115.
- Taddesse Tamrat 1972. *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270–1527*, Oxford Studies in African Affairs, 15 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
- Tambiah, S. 1990. *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Thorndike, L. 1905. *The Place of Magic in the Intellectual History of Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1905).
- Tilahun Bejital Zellelew. 2015. 'The Semiotics of the "Christian/ Muslim Knife": Meat and Knife as Markers of Religious Identity in Ethiopia', *Signs and Society*, 3/1 (2015), 44–70.
- Torijano, P. 2002. *Solomon the Esoteric King: From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition*, Journal for the Study of Judaism/Supplement to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
- Trachtenberg, J. 1939. *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York, NY: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939).
- Traditional Ethiopian Medical Text-Books, and Botanical Gardens (online available: www.linkethiopia.org; <http://www.linkethiopia.org/article-author/dr-richard-pankhurst/page/5/>; last access: September 26, 2011).
- Tsehay Berhane Selassie 1971. 'An Ethiopian Medical Text-Book, Written by Gerazmach Gebrawald Aragahegn, Daga Damot', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 9/1 (1971), 95–180.
- Ullendorff, E. 1956. 'Hebraic-Jewish elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 1 (1956), 216–256.
- . *Ethiopia and the Bible*, The Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology 1967 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).
- Versnel, H.S. 2002. 'The Poetics of the Magical Charm: An Essay on the Power of Words', in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer, eds, *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 105–158.
- Weninger, S. 2000. 'On the Performatives in Classical Ethiopic', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XLV/1 (2000), 91-10.
- Witakowski, W. 1999. 'The Magi in Ethiopic Tradition', *Aethiopica*, 2 (1999), 69–89.
- Witakowski, W and Balka-Witakowska, E. 2013. 'Solomon in Ethiopian Tradition' in J. Verheyden, ed, *The figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Tradition: King, Sage, Architect*, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 219–240.
- Worrell, W.H. 1909. 'Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, 23 (1909), 149–183.
- 1910a. 'Charms and Amulets (Abyssinian)', in J. Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion*, Volume 1: A–Art (Edinburgh: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910).
- 1910b. 'Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, 24 (1910), 59–96.
- 1915. 'Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, 29 (1915), 85–114.
- Young, A. 1970. *Medical Beliefs and Practices of Begemder Amhara*, PhD thesis at the University of Pennsylvania.

- 1975. 'Magic as a 'Quasi-Profession': The Organization of Magic and Magical Healing among Amhara', *Ethnology*, 3 (1975), 245–265.
- መምህር ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ሚካኤል (ናሁ ፡ ሠናይ) ፣ 2002 ዓም ፣ መምህር ፡ ለምኔ ፡ ሁለገብ ፡ መዝሙረ ፡ ዳዊት ፣ (አዲስ ፡ አበባ ፣ ቦሌ ፡ ማተሚያ ፡ ድርጅት ፣ 2002 ዓም) ።
- መምህር ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ጌታሁን ፣ 1982 ዓም ፣ ጥንታዊው ፡ የቆሎ ፡ ተማሪ ፣ አዲስ ፡ አበባ ፣ ትንሳኤ ፡ ዘጉባኤ ፡ ማተሚያ ፡ ቤት ።
- መሪራስ ፡ አማን ፡ በላይ ፡ (ሀ) ፣ 2000 ዓም ፣ መጽሐፈ ፡ ብሩክ ፡ ዣንሸዋ ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፣ ፡ አዲስ አበባ ፣ APE.
- (ለ) ፣ መጽሐፈ ፡ ፈውስ ፣ ቀዳማዊ ፣ አዲስ አበባ ፣ APE.
- ተሰማ ፡ ሃብተ ፡ ሚካኤል ፤ 1951 ዓም ፤ ከሳቲ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ተሰማ ፡ የዐማርኛ ፡ መዝገበ ፡ ቃላት ፤ አዲስ ፡ አበባ ፤ አርቲስቲክ ፡ ማተሚያ ፡ ቤት ።
- ቱልት. [www.dictionary.abbyssinica.com]http://dictionary.abbyssinica.com/%E1%89%B1%E1%88%8D%E1%89%B5 . accessed 16. 02. 2016.
- ዓውደ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወፍካሬ ፡ ከዋክብት ፡ (ሥነ ፡ ምርምር) 1953 EC n.p.
- አባ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ማርያም ፣ 1948/8.ዓም ፣ መዝገበ-ቃላት ፡ ትግርኛ-አምሐርኛ ። አሥመራ ፡ ቤት ፡ ማሕተም ፡ አርቲ ፡ ግራፊክ ፡ ኤሪትሪያ ።
- ኪዳነ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ክፍሌ ፤ 1948 ዓም ፤ መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዋስው ፡ ወግሥ ፡ ወመዝገበ ፡ ቃላት ፡ ሐዲስ ፣ አዲስ ፡ አበባ ፤ አርቲስቲክ ማተሚያ ፡ ቤት ።
- ደስታ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ወልድ ፤ 1962 ዓም ፤ ዐዲስ ፡ ያማርኛ ፡ መዝገበ ፡ ቃላት ፣ አዲስ ፡ አበባ ፣ አርቲስቲክ ፡ ማተሚያ ፡ ቤት ።

Abstract

Ethiopic literature has a category that I have called *abənnät* in this dissertation. I have opted to use this very term on grounds of internal textual evidence, secondary literature and practitioners' '*däbtäras*' knowledge. This genre which used to be called 'magic literature' and sometimes *asmat* is a rich area of research. As a result of a mesh of cultures and religions from which its contents are drawn, this genre is textually rich. Research on this area has so far been directed towards the edition of individual texts which is limited in scope and variety. This dissertation focuses on the study of the structural set up of individual texts or *abənnäts*, their language use and the orality involved in using them. The structural approach has shown that an *abənnät* comprises parts (which I called sections) such as the introductory formula, the *asmat* 'names', the *ṭälsäm* 'images and figures', the *Brillenbuchstaben* 'letters with eye glasses', the caution, the *gäbir* 'effectuation' to mention the main ones. From this we clearly see that the *asmat* which was used to name the genre is only a constituent part. This has helped me to argue against the thus far purported functional dichotomies such as 'magico-religious' vs 'magical'. Such categories can't be taken without a question as the structure and function of the texts discussed coalesce into what I have called *abənnät*. It has further been shown that some constituent parts of each individual text are recent additions, at least textually, though they were part of the encoded text but used to be preserved orally. One of such sections is the so called *gäbir* 'effectuation', that was originally oral. This section was kept oral as an element of the secrecy of the texts. The languages of composition are used in such a way that Ge'ez (Ethiopic) is the language of the core *abənnät* content and Amharic is the language of the effectuation '*gäbir*'. Languages used in the so called *asmat* are also ascribed esoteric value. Herbal lists have also been rendered in Tigrigna which is the *däbtära* vernacular. In addition to the function of the languages of composition of the texts, I have approached the texts from the Speech Acts Theory (SAT) in an attempt to understand how the power purported to be hold in the texts is effectuated. The application of such an approach into such Ethiopic texts is the first of its kind. Mediated by the special *asmat* and visual elements (the *Brillenbuchstaben* and *ṭälsäm*) and formulaic presentation of the texts which rests in the shape of the main verbs, and executed by a specialist called the *däbtära*, the texts are believed to have the power to transform reality. As with the oral aspects, the texts are highly secretive in that their transmission history is blurred and their use complex. I have found out that secrecy and complexity is partially exhibited by the use of cryptographic methods in writing the texts. Two types of cryptographic methods have been identified: the *täwlat* 'replacement' and the *azawär* 'juxtaposition'. In case of what are called *däbtära* notebooks (collection of *abənnäts* compiled to form a manuscript) customary copying of a manuscript as a whole is not possible. Though a gradual development, the so called *mäftəhe šəray* ('undoing of charms') have entered into the religious per se sphere and thus are liable to be copied. In relation to this the following ways of transmitting a text have been identified: the *däbtära* barter (exchange among trainees/masters), the hereditary acquisition (from father to son or a relative), the appeal to pity acquisition (when a handicapped trainee gets an *abənnät* because the master wants him to sustain himself by using it), and the merit based

acquisition (when the master gives the best student an *abənnät* because of his merit). Assigning a title is also part of the oral knowledge of the *däbtära*. It has been identified that the part of the *incipit* called *ṭəntä nəbab* ‘original reading’ is used as a cue to form a label and a title.

Zusammenfassung

In der äthiopischen Literatur findet sich eine Kategorie, die ich in dieser Dissertation *abənnät* genannt habe. Ich habe mich für diesen Terminus auf Grundlage inhärenter Belegstellen im Text, der Sekundärliteratur und dem Wissen praktizierender Experten (*däbtära*) entschieden. Dieses Genre, das für gewöhnlich „Magische Literatur“ und manchmal *asmat* genannt wird, stellt eine reichhaltiges Forschungsgebiet dar. Als ein Resultat des Geflechts aus Kulturen und Religionen aus dem es seine Inhalte zieht, ist das Genre, bezogen auf seine Texte, vielfältig. Die Forschung in diesem Gebiet hat bis zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt zur Erstellung von Editionen individueller Texte geführt, welche sowohl im Umfang als auch in ihrer Vielfalt begrenzt sind. Diese Dissertation konzentriert sich auf das Studium des strukturellen Aufbaus individueller Texte oder *abənnät*, die in ihnen verwendete Sprache und die Mündlichkeit im Rahmen ihrer Nutzung. Der strukturelle Ansatz hat gezeigt, dass ein *abənnät* Teile enthält (die ich Abschnitte genannt habe), wie die einleitenden Formeln, die *asmat* „Namen“, die *ṭälsäm* „Bilder und Figuren“, die Brillenbuchstaben, die Warnung, die *gäbir* „Ausführung“ um die wichtigsten zu nennen. Anhand dieser können wir eindeutig erkennen, dass die *asmat*, die dazu verwendet wurden, das Genre zu bezeichnen, nur ein einzelner Bestandteil ist. Dies half mir, mich gegen angebliche Dichotomien zu wehren, wie „magisch-religiös“ im Gegensatz zu „magisch“. Diese Kategorien kann man nicht übernehmen, ohne die Frage nach der Verschmelzung von Struktur und Funktion der Texte in etwas zu stellen, was ich als *abənnät* bezeichnet habe. Darüber hinaus zeigte sich, dass einige einzelne Bestandteile eines jeden individuellen Textes spätere Hinzufügungen sind, zumindest hinsichtlich des Textes, obwohl diese Teil eines kodierten Textes waren, aber zum mündlichen Gebrauch erhalten blieben. Einer dieser Abschnitte, die sog. *gäbir* „Ausführung“ war ursprünglich mündlich. Dieser Abschnitt wurde als eine Teil des Geheimnisvollen des Textes mündlich bewahrt. Die bei der Erstellung verwendeten Sprachen sind derart verwendet worden, dass Ge‘ez (Äthiopisch) die Sprache des zentralen *abənnät* Inhalts ist, und Amharisch als die Sprache der „Ausführung“ *gäbir*. Den Sprachen im sog. *asmat* wird auch ein esoterischer Wert zugesprochen. Listen von Kräutern wurden auch in Tigrigna wiedergegeben, bei dem es sich um den Dialekt *däbtära* handelt. Zusätzlich zu den Funktionen der Sprachen bei der Erstellung solcher Texte habe ich die Texte unter Anwendung der Speech Acts Theory (SAT) mit dem Ziel behandelt, zu verstehen wie die angebliche Macht, die den Texte innewohnt, freigesetzt wird. Die Anwendung eines solchen Ansatzes auf diese Art äthiopischer Texte ist hierbei erstmalig erfolgt. Den Texten wird zugeschrieben, vermittelt durch die speziellen *asmat* und visuellen Elemente (die Brillenbuchstaben und *ṭälsäm*) und die formelhafte Darreichung der Texte, welche in Gestalt der Hauptverben vorliegt, und von Spezialisten, den sog. *däbtära*, die Macht zu haben, die Realität zu verändern. Wie auch bei den mündlichen

Aspekten, so sind die Texte streng geheim, was zur Folge hat, dass ihre Überlieferungsgeschichte unklar und ihr Gebrauch komplex ist. Ich habe herausgefunden, dass Geheimhaltung und Komplexität sich teilweise darin zeigen, dass kryptographische Methoden bei der Texterstellung verwendet wurden. Zwei dieser kryptographischen Methoden ließen sich identifizieren: der *tāwlaṭ* „Austausch“ und die *azawār* „Juxtaposition“. Im Falle der sog. *dābtāra* Notizbücher (eine Sammlung von *abənnāt* die zusammengestellt wurden, um ein Manuskript zu bilden) ist eine einfache Kopie des Manuskripts als Ganzes nicht möglich. Durch eine schrittweise Entwicklung, sind die sog. *māftəhe šəray* (Aufheben der Zaubersprüche) in die religiöse Sphäre an sich gekommen und waren folglich zu kopieren. In diesem Zusammenhang ließen sich die folgenden Methoden zur Textüberlieferung bestimmen: der *dābtāra*-Austausch (zwischen Schülern/Lehrern), das Vererben (von den Vater an den Sohn oder einen Verwandten), das Gesuch des Erhalts aus Mitleid (wenn ein behinderter Schüler ein *abənnāt* erhält, weil der Meister ihm durch die Nutzung Kraft geben möchte) und den Erhalt auf Grund von Leistungen (wenn der Meister dem besten Schüler ein *abənnāt* auf Grund seiner Leistungen gibt). Die Zuordnung eines Titels ist ebenfalls Teil des mündlichen Wissens der *dābtāra*. Es ließ sich feststellen, dass der Teil des *Incipit* genannt *təntä nəbab* „ursprüngliches Lesen“ als ein Aufruf verwendet wurde, um eine Bezeichnung und einen Titel zu finden.

ማራ ፅሁፍ

ስነ ፅሁፍ ግዕዝ ኣብዚ መፅናዕቲ እዙይ ኣብነት ኢሊ ዝሰመኹዎ ጨንፈር ኣለዎ ። ነዙ ቃል እዙይ ከም መፀውዒ ኣብ ምጥቃም ውሽጣዊ ፅሁፋዊ መረዳኢታ ፣ ካብ ካልኣይ ብርኪ መረዳኢታት ዝረኽቡዎም መርትዖታትን ፍልጠት ሰብ ሞያን (ደፍተራታት) እየ ተደሪኹ ። እዙ ርእሲ መፅናዕቲ እዙይ ቅድሚ ሓዚ ፅሁፍ ጥንቆላ ወይ ድማ ኣስማት እናተብሃለ ይፅዋዕ ዝነበረ ጨንፈር ሃፍታም ከባቢ መፅናዕቲ እየ ። እዚ ጨንፈር ሃፍታም ዝኾነሉ ምኽንያት ድማ ካብ መሰረቱ ሕዋስ ብዙሓት ሃይማኖታትን ባህልታትን ብምዃኑ እየ ። እስካብ ሓዚ ኣብ ክሊ እዙ ጨንፈር እዙይ እተሰርሑ መፅናዕታት ኣብ ክሊ ሓንቲ ፅሕፍቲ ዘትኩሩ ስራሕቲ ኣርትዖት እንትኾኑ ብትሕዝቶን ዓይነትን ውሱናት እየዎ ። እዚ መፅናዕቲ እዙይ ኣብ መዋቕር ፣ ኣጠቓቓማ ቋንቋን እየዎ ፅሁፋት ኣብ ተግባር እንትውዕሉ ኣብ ዘሎ ቃላዊ ፍልጠትን ዝዓለመ እየ ። እቲ መዋቕራዊ መፅናዕቲ እየዎ ኣብነታት እተሃነፁሎም ኣካላት ማለት እውን መእተዊ ፣ ኣስማት ፣ ጠልሰምን ሰብ መነፅር ፊደላትን ፣ ጥንቃቕን ገቢርን ዝበሃሉ ቀንዲ ካብ ዝበሃሉ ኣካላት ገሊኦም እተሃነፁ ምዃኖም ተራእዩ ኣሎ ። ካብዚ ብምብጋስ ድማ ኣስማት ዝብል ስያመ ቅድሚ ሓዚ ኣብ እተሰርሑ መፅናዕታት ኣፈሻዊ መፀውዒ እቲ ጨንፈር ተገይሩ ይውሰድ ዋላኳ እንተነበረ ኣብዚ መፅናዕቲ እዙይ ግን መፀውዒ ሓደ ኣካል እቲ ጨንፈር እምበር ኣፈሻዊ መፀውዒ ክኸውን ከምዘይኽእል ክስትብህሉ ይግባእ ። እዙይ እውን ቅድሚ ሓዚ ኣብ እተሰርሑ መፅናዕታት ‘ጥንቆላ-ሃይማኖታዊ’ ከምኡ ውን ‘ጥንቆላዊ’ ዝብሉ መፀውዕታት እቲ ጨንፈር ብዘይ ሰጋእመጋእ ክንቅበሎም ከምዘይኽእል ኣብዚ መፅናዕቲ እዙይ ሞጉቲ ኣለኹ ። ምኽንያት ሞጉተይ ድማ ኣብዚ መፅናዕቲ እዙይ እተኻተቱ ፅሁፋት ብመዋቕርን ተግባርን ኣብነት ኢሊ ኣብ ትሕቲ ዝሰመኹዎ ጨንፈር ዝጠቓለሉ ምዃኖም ከርኢ ስለዝኸኣልኩ እየ ። ብተወሳኺ ድማ ኣካላት ኣብነት ተባሂሎም ካብ ዝፀውዑ ገሊኦም ኣካላት ብቓል ይመሓለፉ ዝነበሩን ኣብ ከይዲ ደሓር እተወሰኹ (ብውሑድ ብፅሁፍ) እምበር

ካብ ፈለማ አካላት እቲ ኣብነት ከምዘይኹኑ ምርኣይ ይከኣል ። ካብቶም ቃላዊ ዝነበሩ አካላት ኣብነት ዝኹን ገቢር ዝበሃል ሓደ አካል መሰረቱ ቃላዊ ምዃኑ ምርዳእ ተኻኢሉ ኣሎ ። እዚ አካል እዙይ ቃላዊ ዝኹነሉ ምክንያት ድማ ካብ ምስጢራውነት እቶም ኣብነታት ዝበገስ እዩ ። እቶም ኣብነታት እተፅሓፉሎም ቋንቋታትን ኣጠቓቕመኦምን ምስ እንርኢ ድማ ቋንቋ ግዕዝ ቀንዲ ቋንቋ ኣብነት ቋንቋ ኣምሓርኛ ድማ ከም ቋንቋ ገቢር ከገልግሉ ብዝኸእልሉ መንገዲ እዩ ። ኣስማታት ንምፅሓፍ ዝወግሉ ቋንቋታት ናይ ውሱናትን ምሩፃትን ምሁራት ቋንቋታት ዝብል ዋጋ እተውሃቦም እዮም ። ሓድሓደ ስማት ፅዕዋት ድማ ኣብዚ መፅናዕቲ እተዳህሰሉ ኣብነታት ሰብ ዋና ብናይ ዝኹኑ መብዛሕቲኦም ደፍተራታት ቋንቋ ዝኹን ቋንቋ ትግርኛ እተፅሓፉ እዮም ። ካብቲ እተጠቐሰ ጥቕሚ ቋንቋታት ብተወሳኺ ትወራ ተግባራዊ ዘረባ እናተብሃለ ዝፅዕዕ ትወራ መሰረት ገይረ እቶም ኣብነታት ኣለዎም ተባሂሉ ዝእመን ሓይሊ እንታይነትን እቲ ሓይሊ ተግባራዊ ዝኹነሉ መንገድን ከፅንዕ ፈቲነ ኣለኹ ። ኣብ መሰረታዊ ኣጠቓቕማ እቶም ኣብነታት ፣ ኣብ ኣቀራርባ ዝረኣዩ አካላት (ጠልሰምን ሰብ መነፅር ፊደላትን) ፣ ቅርፃዊ ብዝኹን ዋና ግስታት ተሓጊዞም ፣ ደፍተራ እናተብሃሉ ዝበፀውዑ ሰብ ሞያ እናተተግበሩ ነባራዊ ሓቂ ናይ ምልዋጥ ሓይሊ ኣለዎም ተባሂሉ ይእመን ። ቃላዊ ፍልጠታት ምስ እንርኢ ድማ እቶም ፅሑፋት ዝመሓለፍሉ መንገዲ ምስጥራዊ ምስ ምዃኑ ተሓሳሲሩ ዝመሓለፉሉ መንገዲ እውን ግልፂ ኣይኮነን ። እዚ ምስጢራውነትን ሕልኸላኽ ኣገባብ ምትሕልላፍን እዙይ ብኸፋል ካብ ክልተ ዓይነት ምስጢራዊ መንገድታት ኣፀሓሕፋ ዝበገስ እዩ ። እቶም መንገድታት ተውላጥ ኣዛወርን ተባሂሎም ይፅውዑ ። መዘክራት ደፍተራታት ተባሂሎም ዝፅውዑ መዛግብቲ (እዞም መዛግብቲ እዚኦም ደፍተራታት ብውልቀ ካብ ዝስብስብዎም ኣብነታት ዝሰርሑ ምዃኖም ኣስተብህል) ክቕድሑ ይኸእሉ እዮም ኢልካ ዝሕሰብ ኣይኮነን ። ዋላኳ ቅሁም ክበሃል ዝኸእል ለውጢ እንተኹን መፍትሔ ሥራይ እናተብሃሉ ዝፅውዑ መዛግብቲ ግን ልክዕ ከም ሃይማኖታዊ መዛግብቲ ክቕድሑ ዝኸእሉ ምዃኖም ንምርኣይ ተኻኢሉ ኣሎ ። ምስዚ ተሓሳሲሩ እዞም ዝስዕቡ ኣብነታት ክመሓለፉሎም ዝኸእሉ መንገድታት ንምንፃር ተኻኢሉ ኣሎ ። ንሓቶም ድማ ፣ ልውውጥ ቋንጫ (ኣብ መንጎ ደፍተራ ተምሃሮም መምህራንን ዝግበር ልውውጥ) ፣ ዘርኣዊ ልውውጥ (ካብ ኣቦ ናብ ውሉድ ወይ ድማ ዘመድ ዝግበር ልውውጥ) ፣ ሓዘኔታዊ ልውውጥ (ንመናበሪ ክኸኖ ብምሕሳብ ሓደ መምህር ንሓደ ጉዳእ ኣካል ተምሃራይ እንትህቦ ዝህሉ ልውውጥ) ፣ ዓቕሚ መሰረት ዝገበረ ልውውጥ (ሓደ መምህር ንንፋዕ ተምሃራይ ኣብነት እንትህቦ ዝውከል ልውውጥ)ን እዮም ። ርእሲ ሓደ ፅሑፍ ምሃብ እውን ኣካል ቃላዊ ፍልጠት ደፍተራታት እዩ ። ፋልማይ ፊደል ሓደ ፅሑፍ ፣ ፈላማይ ቃል ወይ ድማ ቃላት መሰረት ብምግባር ዝወሃብን ጥንተ ንባብ እናተብሃለ ዝፅዕዕን ባህላዊ መንገዲ ምሃብ ርእሲ ፅሑፍ ከም ዘሎ ድማ ክፍለጥ ተኻኢሉ ኣሎ ።

አገጽፎተ ፣ ጽሑፍ

የግዕዝ ስነ ጽሑፍ በዚህ ጥናት ኣብነት ብዬ የጠራሁት ዘውግ ኣለው ። ይህንን ቃል የዘውጉ መጠሪያ ኣድርጌ ስጠቀም ውስጣዊ የጽሑፍ ማስረጃዎች ፣ ከሁለተኛ ማጣቀሻዎች ያገኛኋቸው ማስረጃዎችንና የባለሞያዎች (ደብተሮች) ዕውቀት መሠረት ኣድርጌ ነው ። ይህ ከዚህ ቀደም የጥንቆላ ጽሑፍ ወይም ኣስማት እየተባለ ሲጠራ የነበረ ዘውግ እጅግ ሐብታም ይዘት ያለው የጥናት መስክ ነው ። ይህ ዘውግ ሐብታም የሆነበት ምክንያት መሠረቱ የተለያዩ ሃይማኖቶችና ባህሎች ቅይጥ በመሆኑ ነው ። እስካሁን ድረስ በዚህ ርዕስ ዙሪያ የተሰሩ ጥናቶች

በአንድ ነጠላ ጽሑፍ አርትዖት ላይ ያተኮሩና በስፋትም ይሁን በዓይነት ውስን ናቸው ። ይህ ጥናት በጽሑፎቹ ማለትም አብነቶቹ መዋቅር ፣ የቋንቋ አጠቃቀምና ጥቅም ላይ ሲውሉ ባለው ቃላዊ ዕውቀት ላይ ያተኮረ ነው ። መዋቅራዊ ጥናቱ አብነቶቹ የተሰሩባቸው አካላት ማለትም መግቢያ ፣ አስማት ፣ ጠልሰምና ባለ መነጽር ፊደላት ፣ ጥንቃቄና ገቢር የሚባሉ ዋና ከሚባሉ አካላት የተሰሩ መሆናቸው አመልክቷል ። ከዚህ በመነሳትም ከዚህ ቀደም በተሰሩ ጥናቶች ላይ አስማት የሚለው ቃል የዘውጉ መጠርያ ተደርጎ ሲወሰድ የነበረ ቢሆንም በዚህ ጥናት ግን ይህ ስያሜ የአንድ የዘውጉ አካል መጠርያ እንጂ ጠቅላይ ስያሜ ሊሆን እንደማይችል ማሳየት ተችሏል ። እንዲሁም ከዚህ ቀደም በተሰሩ ጥናቶች የነበሩ ‘ጥንቆላ-ሃይማኖታዊ’ እና ‘ጥንቆላዊ’ የሚሉ ዘውጋዊ መጠርያዎችን ካለምንም ጥያቄ መቀበል እንደማይቻል በጥናቱ ሞግቻለሁ ። ይህም የሆነበት ምክንያት በዚህ ጥናት የተካተቱት ጽሑፎች በመዋቅርና ተግባር አብነት ብዬ በጠራሁት ዘውግ ስር የሚጠቃለሉ በመሆናቸው ነው ። በተጨማሪም የአብነት አካላት ከሚባሉት አንዳንዶቹ በቃል ሊተላለፉ የነበሩና በጊዜ ሂደት የተጨመሩ (ቢያንስ በጽሑፍ መልክ) እንጂ ከመጀመርያው ጀምሮ አብረው የነበሩ እንዳልሆኑ ለማመልከት ተችሏል ። ከነዚህ አካላትም ገቢር ተብሎ የሚጠራው ሥረ መሠረቱ ቃላዊ መሆኑን ለማየት ተችሏል ። ይህ አካል በቃል ሊተላለፍ የበቃበት ምክንያትም ከጽሑፎቹ ሚስጢራዊነት የመነጨ ነው ። አብነቶቹ የተጻፉበት ቋንቋ በተመለከተ ደግሞ ግዕዝን የዋናው አብነት ይዘት ቋንቋ ሌሎች ቋንቋዎች ለምሳሌ አማርኛ ደግሞ የገቢር ቋንቋ በሚያደርግ መንገድ ነው ። አስማቶቹን ለመጻፍ የዋሉት ቋንቋዎች ደግሞ የውስንና ምርጥ ምሁራን የሚስጢር ቋንቋዎች የሚል ዋጋ የተሰጣቸው ናቸው ። አንዳንድ የእጻዋት ስሞች ደግሞ በዚህ ጥናት የተዳሰሱ አብነቶች ባለቤት ደብተሮች ያብዛኞቹ ቋንቋ በሆነው በትግርኛ የተጻፉ ናቸው ። ከዚህ የያንዳንዱ ቋንቋ ጥቅም በተጨማሪ የተግባረ ንግግር ትወራ እተባለ በሚጠራው ትወራ መሠረት በማድረግ አብነቶቹ አላቸው ተብሎ የሚታመነው ኃይል ምንነትና ኃይሉ የሚተገበርበት መንገድ ለማጥናት ሞክራለሁ ። በአስማቶቹ መሠረታዊ አጠቃቀም ፣ በሚታዩ አካላት (ጠልሰምና ባለ መነጽር ፊደላት) አቀራረብ ፣ ቀመራዊ በሆነው የመሪ ግሦች ታግዘው ፣ ደብተራ እየተባሉ በሚጠሩት ባለሞያዎች እተከወኑ አብነቶቹ ነባራዊ እውነታ የመለወጥ ኃይል አላቸው ተብሎ ይታመናል ። ቃላዊ እውቀቶች በተመለከተም ጽሑፎቹ በጣም ሚስጢራዊ ከመሆናቸው የተነሳ የሚተላለፉበት መንገድም እንዲሁ ደብዛዛ ነው ። ይህ ሚስጢራዊነትና ውስብስብነት በከፊል ከሁለት ዓይነት የአጻጻፍ መንገዶች የሚቀዳ መሆኑን ለማየት ተችሏል ። እነዚህ መንገዶችም ተውላጥና አዛወር በመባል ይጠራሉ ። የደብተሮች መዘክሮች ተብለው የሚጠሩት መዛግብት (እነዚህ መዛግብት ደብተሮቹ ከሚሰበሱባቸው አብነቶች ጥርቅም የሚሰሩ መሆናቸው ልብ ይሏል) የአንድ መዝገብ ግልበጣ የሚታሰብ አይደለም ። ዝግመታዊ ለውጥ ቢሆንም መፍትሔ ሥራይ እየተባሉ የሚጠሩት መዛግብት ግን ልክ እንደሃይማኖታዊ መዛግብት ሁሉ ሊገለበጡ የሚችሉ መሆናቸውን ለማሳየት ተችሏል ። ከዚህም ጋር ተያይዞ የሚከተሉት የአብነቶች ማስተላለፊያ መንገዶች ሊለዩ ችለዋል ። እነዚህም ፣ ያይነት ባይነት ልውውጥ (በደብተራ ተማሪዎች ወይም መምህራን መካከል የሚካሄድ የአብነት በአብነት ልውውጥ) ፣ ሐረጋዊ ልውውጥ (ካባት ወደ ልጅ ወይም ዘመድ) ፣ ሐዘኔታዊ ልውውጥ (አካል ጉዳተኛ ለሆነ ተማሪ መምህሩ መጠርያ እንዲሆነው በሚሰጡት አብነት የሚወከለው ልውውጥ) እና ችሎታ መሠረት ያደረገ ልውውጥ (መምህሩ አንድን ጉበዝ ተማሪ በሚሰጡት አብነት የሚወከለው ልውውጥ) ናቸው ። ያንድን ጽሑፍ አርእስት የመስጠት መንገድም ከደብተሮች ቃላዊ ዕውቀቶች አንዱ ነው ። ከአንድ ጽሑፍ የመጀመርያ ፊደል ፣ ቃል ወይም የቃላት ስብስብ የሚቀዳ ጥንተ ንባብ እየተባለ የሚጠራ ባሕላዊ አርእስት የመስጫ መንገድ እንዳለም ሊታወቅ ተችሏል ።