

The Diachronic Development of the *Dəgg^{wā}*

A Study of Texts and Manuscripts of Selected Ethiopic Antiphon Collections

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Jonas Karlsson

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Folgende Gutachter empfehlen die Annahme der Dissertation:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Alessandro Bausi (Universität Hamburg)

Vertr.-Prof. Dr. Denis Nosnitsin (Universität Hamburg)

Prof. Dr. Steven Kaplan (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

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Vorsitzender der Prüfungskommission: Univ.-Prof. Dr. Alessandro Bausi
(Universität Hamburg)

Declaration on oath

I hereby declare on oath that I have written the present dissertation by my own and that I have not used any resources and aids other than those acknowledged.

Jonas Karlsson

Detta arbete tillägnas mina morföräldrar,
Arne och Eivor Johnson.

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Editorial principles

When reproducing the text of manuscript sources, the editorial symbols and abbreviations listed below have been employed. If nothing else is indicated, an editorial remark refers only to the preceding letter. In order to signal that an editorial remark concerns more than the preceding letter, an asterisk (*) placed before the first of the concerned letters and, again, within parentheses together with the symbol or abbreviation in question has been used, e.g. writing ‘*ገዋግጐ: (del.*)’ indicates that the entire word ‘ገዋግጐ:’ has been deleted. The symbol ‘⋈’ has been used for all forms of the (antiphon-final) ‘major’ punctuation mark except ‘⋈’, regardless of the precise form it takes in the relevant manuscript (see Chapter 4, 4.4.3).

| | |
|----------|---|
| () | supralinear addition |
| (!) | non-standard reading* |
| (?) | dubious reading |
| // | folio/page break or column break (the folio/page and column number of the column that begins may be added between the lines) |
| [...] | illegible character(s) |
| [] | my additions (this has been used mainly to add word dividers in contexts where it seemed inappropriate to mark them as missing by means of ‘[!]’) |
| [_!] | something, which was expected, is missing |
| [_!/] | something, which was expected, is missing at the end of a line |
| *_(!*) | a blank space in the manuscript |
| { } | ligature (mostly, ‘{ግዚ}’ for <ግዚ>) |
| {X>Y} | correction, in which a character X was changed into a character Y |
| del. | the concerned character(s) have been deleted (<i>delevit</i>) |
| cancell. | the concerned character(s) have been marked for deletion (for example, by over- and underlining or encircling) but not deleted (<i>cancellavit</i>) |
| corr. | the concerned character(s) have been rewritten, presumably in an |

* Occasionally, when transcribing the text of manuscripts characterised by a high degree of non-standard orthography, I have refrained from marking every non-standard reading individually. This concerns especially the manuscript Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EMMML 7078 and the fragments from Dabra Šāhl (for descriptions of these manuscripts, including remarks on orthography, see Chapter 2).

- attempt to improve the text (*correxit*)
- in marg. the concerned character(s) have been added in the margin (*in margine*)
- in text. the concerned character(s) have been written in the main text of the manuscript (this is relevant only for features which normally appear in the margin; *in texto*)

In the transcriptions in Appendix 1, as well as in the Data sets described at the end of this dissertation, the following conventions have additionally been employed:

- ^ ^ rubrication (the occurrence of a first circumflex indicates the beginning of rubrication, whereas the occurrence of a second indicates that the rubrication ends and the text is again written with black ink; thus, ‘[^]ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མ་’ describes a reality in which the first two characters of the word ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མ་ (*Māryām*) are written with red ink, whereas the last two, as well as the word divider, are written with black ink)
- {X = Y} ambiguous character, which has the characteristics both of character X and character Y, and where it is not possible to determine the direction of change (typically, one basic consonantal shape with two conflicting vowel markers)

List of abbreviations

| | |
|-------------|--|
| AD | Anno Domini |
| b. | born |
| BAV | Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana |
| BL | British Library |
| BnF | Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| CAe | Clavis Aethiopica |
| CANT | Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti |
| col./cols | column/columns |
| Ct./Cts | Canticle/Canticles |
| d. | died |
| <i>E Ae</i> | <i>Encyclopaedia Aethiopica</i> |
| EAP | Endangered Archives Programme |
| EC | Ethiopian calendar |
| ECCA | e-Clavis: Christian Apocrypha |
| EMDA | Ethiopian Manuscript Digital Archive |
| EMDL | Ethiopian Manuscripts Digital Library |
| EMIP | Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project |
| EMML | Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library |
| fem. | feminine |
| fl. | floruit/floruerit |
| fn./fnn. | footnote/footnotes |
| fol./fols | folio/folios |
| HMML | Hill Museum and Manuscript Library |
| IES | Institute of Ethiopian Studies |
| l./ll. | line/lines |
| LXX | Septuagint |
| masc. | masculine |
| MS/MSS | manuscript/manuscripts |

| | |
|---------|---|
| n.d. | no date |
| n.p. | no place |
| n.pub. | no publisher |
| NALA | National Archive and Library Agency |
| no./nos | number/numbers |
| p./pp. | page/pages |
| plur. | plural |
| r | recto (followed, when relevant, by ‘a’, ‘b’, or ‘c’, referring to the first, second, or third column, respectively) |
| r. | reigned |
| RIÉ | <i>Recueil des inscriptions de l’Éthiopie</i> |
| RNB | Rossijskaja nacional’naja biblioteka |
| s.v. | sub voce |
| SBPK | Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz |
| sing. | singular |
| UUB | Uppsala universitetsbibliotek |
| v | verso (followed, when relevant, by ‘a’, ‘b’, or ‘c’, referring to the first, second, or third column, respectively) |

The names of biblical books have been quoted using the traditional abbreviations listed in the Chicago Manual of Style 2017 (§§ 10.45–10.47). An exception is the Song of Songs, for which the abbreviation ‘Cant.’ has been used.

List of biblical canticles according to the Ethiopic tradition

| | | |
|----------|--------------------------------|--|
| Ct. I | Exod. 15:1–19 | ንሴብሖ: ለእግዚአብሔር: ስቡሐ: ዘተሰብሐ: |
| Ct. II | Deut. 32:1–21 | አጽምእ: ሰማይ: ወእንግርከ: |
| Ct. III | Deut. 32:22–43 | እስመ: እሳት: ትነድድ: እመዐትየ: |
| Ct. IV | 1 Sam. 2:1–10 | ጸንዐ: ልብየ: በእግዚአብሔር: |
| Ct. V | Isa. 38:10–20 | አንሰ: እቤ: በኩህ: መዋዕልየ: |
| Ct. VI | Prayer of Manasseh | እግዚአ: አኃዜ: ኩሉ: ዓለም: |
| Ct. VII | Jon. 2:3–10 | ጸራኅኩ: በምንዳቤየ: ኅብ: እግዚአብሔር: አምላኪየ: |
| Ct. VIII | Dan. 3:26–45 | ይትባረክ: እግዚአብሔር: አምላክ: አበዊነ: እኩት: ወስቡሕ: |
| Ct. IX | Dan. 3:52–56 | ይትባረክ: እግዚአብሔር: አምላክ: አበዊነ: ስቡሕኒ: ውእቱ: |
| Ct. X | Dan. 3:57–88 | ይባርክዎ: ኩሉ: ግብረ: እግዚእ: ለእግዚአብሔር: |
| Ct. XI | Hab. 3:2–19 | እግዚአ: ሰማዕኩ: ድምፀክ: ወፈራህኩ: |
| Ct. XII | Isa. 26:9–20 | በሌሊት: ትገይስ: መንፈስየ: ኅቤክ: |
| Ct. XIII | Luke 1:46–55 (= Magnificat) | ታዑብዮ: ነፍስየ: ለእግዚአብሔር: |
| Ct. XIV | Luke 1:68–79 (= Benedictus) | ይትባረክ: እግዚአብሔር: አምላክ: እስራኤል: |
| Ct. XV | Luke 2:29–32 (= Nunc dimittis) | ይእዜ: ትስዕሮ: ለገብርከ: |

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Approaching the *Dəggwā*

The present dissertation¹ is an attempt to approach the textual and manuscript tradition of the *Dəggwā* (ደጃጃ, of unclear etymology),² a collection of antiphons³ performed primarily during the Divine Office in the Ethiopic Christian tradition. Traditionally ascribed to a nebulous sixth-century saint Yāred (see 1.5.2), the *Dəggwā* contains the *proper* of the Ethiopic Divine Office, i.e. the antiphons that vary according to the liturgical calendar. The corpus of antiphons collected in the *Dəggwā* is commonly attributed to the earliest layer of literature originally written in Geez,⁴ yet its historical development has hitherto barely been studied. This dissertation aims to contribute to filling this gap in the research, although the complexity of the tradition and the current state of research (see below) make it clear that its conclusions will be only preliminary.

The antiphons of the *Dəggwā*, i.e. the items which are found in the thousands in a *Dəggwā* manuscript, are chants performed under the direction of a class of non-ordained musical specialists, the *dabtarās* (ደብተራ፡),⁵ during the so-called ‘cathedral’ Divine Office⁶ in the churches of the Ethiopic tradition. The antiphons

¹ This is a revised version of the dissertation that I defended on 27 October 2022.

² For a discussion of different theories concerning the origin of this term and a survey of its historical attestation, see 1.4.2.1.2.

³ For a discussion of the use of this term, see 1.4.4.

⁴ Cf. Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 332. This assertion is supported by the fact that the *Dəggwā* (or rather, materials later defined as part of the *Dəggwā*) are among the earliest indigenous texts attested in manuscripts (for descriptions of seven pre-mid-fourteenth-century *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, see Chapter 2). Concerning the transcription of ደጃጃ, the indigenous name of Classical Ethiopic, see Bulakh 2016, pp. 117–118. I use ‘Geez’ when referring to the language and transcribe ‘gə’z’ when the same word is used in other contexts.

⁵ For an introduction to the role of the *dabtarā*, see Velat 1954, Shelemay 1992; ‘Däbtära’, *EAE*, II (2005), 53b–54b (S. Kaplan), and ‘Musical performance of the *däbtära*’, *EAE*, II (2005), 54b (K. K. Shelemay). Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020 challenge the commonly held view that the function of the *dabtarā* is unconnected to ecclesiastical ordination, writing that a *dabtarā* is ‘ordained at least to the diaconate’ (Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020, p. 185). Whereas *dabtarās* are normally male, female performers of liturgical chant are mentioned by Kifle Assefa 2009, p. 1169.

⁶ In the Ethiopic Christian liturgical tradition, several ‘Divine Offices’ exist side by side, with even more attested in manuscripts but not currently practiced, at least as far as previous research has been able to ascertain. The ‘cathedral’ Divine Office, in which antiphons taken from the *Dəggwā* play a central role, is the only one with which we are concerned in this dissertation. Habtemichael Kidane, in several publications, has named this the ‘Divine Office of the *Dəggwā*’ (Habtemichael Kidane 1996, p. 355; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 269). For general introductions to the Ethiopic ‘cathedral’ Divine Office, see Taft 1993, pp. 262–266 (primarily based on the publications by Velat and information provided by Habtemichael Kidane and Jeffery; cf. Taft 1993, pp. 261–262, fnn. 1, 3, 4) and Woolfenden 2004, pp. 184–200 (also based on the publications of Velat and on Habtemichael Kidane 1998). The other ‘Divine Offices’, known as *Sa’ātāt* (ሰዓታት፡, ‘Hours’), are more pure reflections of ‘monastic’ practices (although, as shown by Habtemichael Kidane 1998, the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office also possesses many such elements; cf. Habtemichael

are typically short, sometimes consisting only of a few words, other times covering a dozen or more lines. Sometimes they have refrains, which are repeated on regular intervals;⁷ sometimes they are rhymed, but often not.⁸ Similar to the antiphons in Western Christianity, certain antiphons of the *Dəggwā* are performed independently, whereas others are intercalated between the lines of psalms taken from the Book of Psalms or canticles from the Old and New Testaments. Regarding the style of the antiphons collected in the *Dəggwā*, one author has written that '[e]xhortations, invocations, supplications, exclamations en sont la marque particulière',⁹ and another has added that the antiphons are 'espressioni di lode, essendo preghiere, esortazioni, meditazioni sulla Sacra Scrittura, lodi di Dio che devono essere cantate'.¹⁰

The structure of the *Dəggwā* as a written antiphon collection is intrinsically connected with the structure of the Ethiopic 'cathedral' Divine Office. Each antiphon is categorised as belonging to a *type of antiphons*, defined by its function in the Office (see 1.4.4.1). The categorisation of antiphons into types is the most basic classification of the Ethiopic corpus of antiphons. Within a collection of the post-fifteenth-century type (see below), the antiphons are organised in accordance with the liturgical services in which they are used. Further, most commonly, the antiphons within a service are presented in 'chronological' order, i.e. in their order of performance during the actual service. The liturgical services, of course, also contain many elements other than antiphons: psalms, canticles, readings, other types of poetic compositions—these are not included in the *Dəggwā*, but their written transmission (if there is one) has to be looked for elsewhere.¹¹ The

Kidane 1998, pp. 173–176, 286, 316–317). Both the contemporary practices and the historical development of the various *Sa'ātāts* have been poorly studied so far. For introductions to them, see Taft 1993, pp. 261–271 and 'Sä'atat: Mäṣḥafä sä'atat', *EAE*, V (2014), 501a–503a (U. Zanetti and E. Fritsch).

⁷ For an introduction to the use of refrains, see 1.4.5.6.4.

⁸ Cf. Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, pp. 169–170; Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 17. As elsewhere in the Ethiopic literary tradition (cf. Chaïne 1920–1921, pp. 315–318), rhyme usually concerns only the last open syllable of the word, regardless of whether it is stressed or not. Final syllables which in the read language are closed are opened up by the addition of /ə/ to the last consonant. The last syllable of rhyming lines must be phonetically identical (according to the traditional pronunciation). Grohmann 1919 notes the occurrence of purely vocalic rhymed—i.e. rhymes in which the consonant of the last syllable is irrelevant—in the *Dəggwā* (Grohmann 1919, p. 38); however, no examples are provided. The question of whether antiphons of the *Dəggwā* are subject to a poetic metre is debated, with some authors claiming that such antiphons occur (Alemayyehu Moges 1970) and others denying their existence (Velat 1954, p. 24).

⁹ Velat 1964, p. 164. This description concerns specifically the antiphons of the *Mawāṣā't*, but it applies to the antiphons of the *Dəggwā* as well.

¹⁰ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 52.

¹¹ Next to the *Dəggwā*, the most important collection of materials used during the Ethiopic 'cathedral' Divine Office is the *Mə'rāf* (ጠዕረ-ፍጥ, lit. 'chapter, pause') which contains the *common* of the services, as well as materials used in the musical instruction (the so-called 'School chants', consisting of collections of the melodic models for the melodic families of 'arbā't antiphons, ṣalast antiphons, and 'aryām antiphons (see 1.4.5.3), plus the extracts from the Book of Psalms known as *mastagābā'*) and a number of collections of other prayers performed by the priest during

‘chronological’ order is present also at another level in the organisation of the *Daggwā*, because the liturgical services are grouped together in commemorations, which are ordered like pearls on a bead in the sequence of the liturgical year. This means that the beginning of a standard *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection contains antiphons intended to be performed in a church service at the beginning of the liturgical year, and the end of the collection contains antiphons to be performed at its end.

Regarding the development of the *Daggwā* over the centuries, previous research¹² has recognised a two-step development in the structure of the collections of *Daggwā*-type antiphons:

- I) in the first stage, attested in manuscripts dating from pre-mid-fourteenth-century times¹³ to perhaps the fifteenth century, each antiphon collection contains (in principle) only antiphons of one type, i.e. of one liturgical use. Such collections may be organised either according to the liturgical year or according to musical characteristics (melodic families, see 1.4.5.3);
- II) in a second stage, attested from perhaps the fifteenth century and up to the present, the different types of antiphons are integrated into a single collection, invariably structured according to the liturgical year. Here, antiphon types of different uses (but all held together by their use within the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office) are incorporated into a single unified system.

the services (*liṭon*, *mastabqʷə* ‘āt). The ‘School chants’ also have an independent manuscript transmission, as exemplified by MSS Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Österl. litt., Ätiopisk sångbok, 12° (= Löfgren, no. 60, cf. Löfgren 1974a, p. 148) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Aeth. g. 22 (Delamarter and Demeke Berhane 2007, pp. 18–19). For an introduction to the *Mə’rāf*, see Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 93–103, and for an edition with an extensive introduction to the entire Ethiopic ‘cathedral’ Divine Office, see Velat 1966a, 1966b. Müller, on the other hand, misleadingly describes the *Mə’rāf* as a ‘Commune des Offiziums für die Tage ohne eigene Texte’ (‘Deggwā’, *Kleines Lexikon des Christlichen Orients*, (2007), 142 (W. W. Müller)). Another liturgical book is the *Mawāšə*’t (መዋሰኔት, lit. ‘answers, responses’), which contains a particular kind of antiphons used during funerals and on certain occasions in the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office. For an introduction to the *Mawāšə*’t, see Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 103–110. Mention should also be made of the *Zəmmāre* (ገግግሬ, ‘singing’), a liturgical book containing antiphons for the *Qəddāse*, i.e. the Eucharistic service. For an introduction to the *Zəmmāre*, see Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 110–116, and, for a recent extensive study, Bahlebbi Idris 2023. Lee 2011a incorrectly describes the *Zəmmāre* as ‘the Psalms set to music’ (Lee 2011a, p. lviii).

¹² I refer specifically to the seminal article ‘Oral and written transmission in Ethiopian Christian chant’ by Kay Kaufman Shelemay, Peter Jeffery, and Ingrid Monson (= Shelemay et al. 1993). I am grateful to Denis Nossitsin for bringing this article to my attention early on in the work on this dissertation.

¹³ The dating of Ethiopic manuscripts is often a difficult matter, especially for the earlier periods. Due to the dearth of pre-mid-fourteenth-century manuscripts, the palaeographical development of the script before that time is only imperfectly understood. For analyses of a number of pre-mid-fourteenth-century *Daggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts, see Nossitsin and Rabin 2014, Nossitsin 2016, Nossitsin 2018, and Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

This basic line in the diachronic development has been confirmed by the present study, although, as always when a topic is studied more in detail, the picture is complicated by a number of aberrant cases.¹⁴

The *Daggwā* is not in any way a fixed, monolithic collection, in the sense that every manuscript copy of the book contains (or aims at containing) the same antiphons in the same order. Rather, it could be seen as a genre of collections that collect material with the same usage, of the same purpose, largely overlapping, but with variations in its exact instantiation (see Chapter 3). Variation occurs on all levels of the text: in the saint and events for which a liturgical celebration is envisioned, in the corpus of antiphons that it contains, as well as in the texts of the individual antiphons. Some antiphons are more popular than others and will be found in practically every manuscript purporting to contain a *Daggwā*. Others are perhaps of regional usage or enjoyed popularity during a limited time.¹⁵ For each *Daggwā*-type antiphon, its history of transmission must be studied individually. One author has fittingly characterised the writings associated with St Yāred, including the *Daggwā*, as ‘composite, multi-layered literary mosaics’.¹⁶ As will be discussed in Chapter 3, this has consequences for how the tradition of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections can be approached philologically. The recognition of the complex nature of the *Daggwā* has also had consequences for the terminology used in this dissertation for referring to this sort of collections. In fact, what is nowadays most commonly (but not exclusively, and not unambiguously) referred to as the *Daggwā*, is attested with a number of different titles in the manuscripts (see 1.4.2). To avoid unnecessary anachronisms, I will use the term ‘*Daggwā*-type antiphon collection’ as an umbrella term referring to all collections that contain (one or several of) the types of antiphons that are presently included in the book called ‘*Daggwā*’.

Before the dissertation project is presented in detail, it is necessary to briefly mention two interconnected points. The first is that although *Daggwā*-type *antiphons* have their natural habitat within the liturgical performance of the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office in church, the *manuscripts* that contain *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections are *not* present in church during the services. Instead, *Daggwā*-type antiphons are performed exclusively from memory. The second point concerns the milieu in which *Daggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts *are* used, namely within the context of the Ethiopian-Eritrean traditional

¹⁴ There is one example of a late manuscript containing single-type collections, the nineteenth-century manuscript Paris, BnF Éth. d’Abb. 87 (Conti Rossini 1914, pp. 119–120; cf. also Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 85, fn. 43). A thorough study of this manuscript, which is provided with interlinear musical notation (*mālakāt*), is a desideratum. Inversely, there are also isolated attestations of ‘multiple-type’ collections and parts of collections of *Daggwā*-type antiphon in pre-fifteenth-century manuscripts. For an overview of such materials, see Table 9 and the sections of Chapter 2 dedicated to the respective collections.

¹⁵ Several examples of antiphons of limited diachronic attestation are discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁶ Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 339.

education.¹⁷ This, of course, reflects the present-day practice, but it seems reasonable to assume that the situation was not markedly different in previous centuries. The system of traditional education, with its heavy reliance on orality, provides a background against which the various phenomena in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts can be interpreted. These two points should be kept in the back of the mind while delving into this dissertation.

1.2 The present study

1.2.1 Aim

The main aim of the present dissertation is to describe the major lines in the diachronic development of the textual and manuscript tradition of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. In order to do this, I have chosen to focus on three broad aspects of the development:

- developments in the text (in the corpus of commemorations, in the corpus of antiphons, and in the texts of individual antiphons),
- developments in the codicology of manuscripts that contains such collections,
- developments in the way that musical aspects are recorded.

The ways in which these three aspects have been approached are concretised below. An additional aim has been to identify groups among *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts and, ultimately, to propose a typology of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. In many regards, this project can be seen as a pilot study, meant to pave the way for further philological research into the *Dəggwā* and other Ethiopic antiphon collections.

1.2.2 Methodology and material

One of the main problems connected with the contemporary study of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections is the wealth of material, manifesting itself both in a large number of antiphons contained within each collection and in a large number of

¹⁷ At least partly, the social context of the traditional education also appears to be where *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts are produced. The copying of such a manuscript is said to be (or have been?) part of the graduation at the prestigious school of Beta Ləhem (see 1.5.3); cf. Habta Māryām Warqənāh 1969, p. 101; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 63; ‘Musical performance of the *däbtära*’, *EAE*, II (2005), 54b (K. K. Shelemay). Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997 includes a copy (Amharic original plus English translation) of the *Dəggwā* certificate that was issued for him by ‘*Alaqā* Amsalu Mersha when he completed his studies at the school of Beta Ləhem (cf. Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. [xxxv]), which mentions that he had ‘written on parchment (vellum) the whole Compendium of Hymns with the appropriate musical notation’.

manuscripts.¹⁸ To address the former problem, I have focussed the research on a restricted part of the liturgical year: the so-called Season of Flowers (ዘመን፡ ጽፌ፡, *Zamana Ṣəge*), stretching from 26 Maskaram to 5 Ғədār (6 October–14 November).¹⁹ Several factors contributed to the choice of this liturgical period,²⁰ but in the end, any period of a suitable length could have fulfilled the same purpose, which is to provide a delimited portion of each *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection included in the corpus (see below) on which to focus the study.

As for the number of manuscripts, close to four hundred (complete or fragmentary) are identified in printed and online catalogues as containing *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections²¹ (not counting manuscripts catalogued as containing the *Ṣoma*

¹⁸ A century ago, the situation in the West was markedly different: Rodwell 1866 knew of the existence of only three exemplars of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts in European libraries (Rodwell 1866, p. 321, note) and Conti Rossini 1899, summarising the Ethiopic manuscript evidence for individual works in European libraries, lists only nine manuscripts of the *Dəggwā*, including the *Ṣoma Dəggwā* (Conti Rossini 1899, p. 610). The contemporary wealth of known manuscripts is largely due to the microfilming and digitising projects of the last decades active on location in Ethiopia, primarily EML and Ethio-SPaRe. It should be noted that *Dəggwā*-type antiphons may also be found outside of the collections which are the focus of this dissertation. For example, a single-commemoration corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons for St Lālibalā are found in MS Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EML 6931 (fols 99ra–100rb), whose main content is the *Life of Lālibalā* (on this complex work, see Valieva 2019), and a single-commemoration corpus of antiphons for St Yāred is found in the printed *Gadla qaddus Yāred* 2020, pp. 171–175. Cf. also the hymn collections discussed in fn. 350.

¹⁹ Velat 1966a, p. 439; Fritsch 2001, p. 114; Getāhun Damṣa 2017, p. 217; Mogas Ṣəyyum 2016, p. 14. Hammerschmidt 1987, p. 22 writes that the ‘time of the Flower lasts from 26th June to 26th September’, but does not provide any source for this statement.

²⁰ The primary reasons were the following: a) I had already done preliminary work on the commemoration of Panṭalewon, an early Ethiopic saint, b) this period included the commemorations of several other indigenous saints (‘*Abbā*’ Aragāwī, ‘*Abbā*’ Abaydo, ‘*Abbā*’ Yoḥanni), which were of special interest to me, c) the Season of Flowers coincided with a research trip to Ethiopia in 2018, in which I intended to gain some practical experience of the Divine Office (although, for various reasons, this turned out in the end to be possible only to a limited degree), and d) it appeared at that time to be of a suitable length. It is important to note that some of the saints commemorated during the Season of Flowers are also commemorated at other occasions during the liturgical year. Thus, this study is not concerned with all the antiphons for a certain saint in a certain manuscript, but only with those listed for the commemoration occurring within the Season of Flowers.

²¹ Here follows a list of 347 catalogued *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts plus 36 fragments and excerpts, sorted according to repository. For reasons of space, I have not provided sigla for the individual manuscripts; however, the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts should be easily identifiable through the indices of the respective catalogues, provided in parentheses. ‘Addigrāt (Seminario Maggiore): 1 MS (Zarzeczny 2014); Addis Ababa (National Archives and Library Agency): 3 MSS (Ministry of Education and Fine Arts 1970; the catalogue of Mangəstu ‘Abagāz (*Catalogue of the Ethiopian Manuscripts in the National Library of Ethiopia*, *Addis Abeba* published by the Imperial Ethiopian Government, Antiquities administration) has not been available to me during the work on this dissertation); Addis Ababa (Ethiopian Orthodox Patriarchate): 1 MS (Ministry of Education and Fine Arts 1970); Addis Ababa (IES): 4 MSS (catalogued for the Endangered Archives Programme within the project EAP286; more *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts kept at the IES are still awaiting cataloguing); Addis Ababa (Mekane Yesus Seminary): 2 MSS (Melaku Terefe et al. 2011); Berlin (SBPK): 5 MSS + 1 fragment (Dillmann 1878: 2 MSS + 1 fragment; Hammerschmidt and Six 1983 (cf. also Flemming 1906, Chaîne 1912a): 3 MSS); Berlin (microfilm reproductions): 4 MSS + 4 fragments

Dəggwā, the *Ziq*, or the *Mazmur*²²). While it is not improbable that some of the manuscripts catalogued as *Dəggwās* are in reality representatives of other antiphon

(Hammerschmidt 1973: 1 MS; Hammerschmidt 1977: 1 MS; Six 1999: 2 MSS + 4 fragments; MS Kəbrān Gabra'el, Tānāsee 48 = Kəbrān Gabra'el, EML 8612 (I am grateful to Ted Erho for providing this identification); MS Dāgā 'Īstifānos, Tānāsee 172 = Dāgā 'Īstifānos, EML 8384); Collegeville (HMML, microfilm reproductions): 229 MSS + 27 excerpts and fragments (Macomber 1975: 14 MSS; Macomber 1976: 19 MSS; Macomber 1978: 16 MSS + 1 fragments; Getatchew Haile 1979: 8 MSS + 1 fragments; Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981: 7 MSS; Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982: 29 MSS + 2 fragments; Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983: 26 MSS + 3 fragments; Getatchew Haile 1985: 24 MSS + 5 excerpts; Getatchew Haile 1987: 22 MSS + 7 excerpts and fragments; Getatchew Haile 1993: 40 MSS + 8 excerpts and fragments; 24 further manuscripts are described in an unpublished draft catalogue covering the numbers EML 5001–6000 available as a paper copy at the HMML; many more were also digitised as part of the EML project but are still awaiting cataloguing); Dabra 'Abbāy: 1 MS (catalogued for the Endangered Archives Programme within the project EAP704/1); Dabra Bərhān Šəllāse: 1 MS (Samuel Tesfaye Alemu 2011; other *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts from this church are included among the manuscripts digitised by the EML, for example, MS Dabra Bərhān Šəllāse, EML 1894); Dabra Koreb wa-Qarānəyo Madhane 'Ālam: 2 MSS (catalogued for the Endangered Archives Programme within the project EAP432; MS Dabra Qoreb wa-Qarānəyo Madhane 'Ālam, EAP432/1/10 = Qarānəyo Madhane 'Ālam, EMDA 00159); Dabra Warq Qəddus Māryām: 1 MS (Ministry of Education and Fine Arts 1970); Dublin (Chester Beatty Library): 3 MSS (Cerulli 1965); Ethio-SPaRe (various churches and monasteries in Təgrāy): 28 MSS (catalogued by various cataloguers in the DOMLib); EMDA (various churches and monasteries in Ethiopia): 11 MSS (provided with initial metadata by Ted Erho for the HMML website; several more *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts were also digitised as part of this project but are still awaiting cataloguing); Florence (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana): 1 MS (Marrassini 1984); Gunda Gunde: 4 MSS (catalogued by Witold Witakowski for the website of the Library of the University of Toronto Scarborough); Jerusalem (Dabra Gannat): 3 MSS (Isaac 1984; cf. also Littmann 1902a, 1902b; Aešcoly 1934a, 1934b); Limu Kosā Takla Hāymānot: 1 MS (Daniel Tesfay 2011); London (BL): 3 MSS (Dillmann 1847: 1 MS; Wright 1877 (cf. also Wright 1870): 2 MSS); Los Angeles (UCLA, Weiner Collection): 1 MS (Getatchew Haile et al. 2009); Manchester (John Ryland's Library): 2 MSS (Strelcyn 1974); Māy Wayni: 1 MS (catalogued for the Endangered Archives Programme within the project EAP526); Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek): 3 MSS + 1 excerpt (Six 1989; cf. also Rödiger et al. 1875, Hammerschmidt and Jäger 1968); Oslo (Kulturhistorisk museum): 1 MS (Erho 2017); Oxford (Bodleian Library): 2 MSS (Delamarter and Demeke Berhane 2007; Ullendorff 1951); Paris (BnF, fonds Éthiopien): 3 MSS + 1 fragment (Grébaut 1938 (collection M. Griaule): 1 fragment; Chaîne 1914 (collection M. Cohen, deposited at the BnF in 1986): 1 MS; Chaîne 1913a (collection C. Mondon-Vidailhet): 1 MS; Zotenberg 1877: 1 single-type-collection MS); Paris (BnF, fonds Éthiopien d'Abbadie): 1 MS (Conti Rossini 1914, cf. also Chaîne 1912b, Abbadie 1859); Princeton (Princeton University Library): 2 MSS (Princeton Ethiopic MSS Finding Aid n.d.); private collection of Enzo Lucchesi: 1 MS + 1 fragment (Zarieczny et al. 2020); private collection of Silvano M. Tomasi: 1 MS (Zarieczny et al. 2020); Romānāt Dabra Məhrat Qəddus Mikā'el: 2 MSS (Meley Mulugetta 2017; MS EMDL 153 = EAP254/1/5); Rome (Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, fondo Conti Rossini): 1 MS (Strelcyn 1976); Schleswig (Archäologisches Landesmuseum der Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Schloss Gottorf): 1 MS (Six 1999); St Petersburg (Institut vostočnykh rukopisej Rossijskoj akademii nauk): 1 MS (Turaev 1906a); St Petersburg (RNB): 1 single-type-collection MS (Turaev 1906a; cf. also Dorn 1838, Dorn 1852); Uppsala (UUB): 1 MS (Löfgren 1974a; cf. also Löfgren 1928); Vatican City (BAV): 13 MSS + 1 excerpts (Grébaut and Tisserant 1935 (fondo Vat. aeth.): 2 MSS; van Lantschoot 1962 (fondo Vat. aeth.): 1 MS; Raineri 2004b (fondo Cerulli): 9 MSS + 1 excerpts; Raineri 1998 (fondo Raineri): 1 MS; for an overview, see Raineri 2004a); Yəhā 'Abbā 'Afše: 1 MS (Ashenafi Minasse 2009).

²² The *Šoma Dəggwā* (ጸመ: ድገጽ, '[Season of the] Fast of the *Dəggwā*') refers to an excerpt from the full-year *Dəggwā* containing only the Season of the Great (antepaschal) Fast (see 1.4.3.1). The *Šoma Dəggwā* has a separate manuscript transmission at least since the seventeenth century (Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 79). Tradition credits Giyorgis of Gəṣāččā (c. 1365–1425) with initiating

collections, it is equally likely that some manuscripts catalogued otherwise do in fact contain versions of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. To address the problem of the large number of manuscripts, I have based the study on a limited corpus of (more or less) carefully selected manuscripts which, for reasons delineated below (see 1.2.2.2), will be referred to as the ‘Minor Corpus’.

1.2.2.1 The Major Corpus

Early on in this project, it became clear that it was not feasible to include the entire corpus of known or available manuscripts containing *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections in the study. The corpus needed to be restricted in a systematic and comprehensible way. After I had carried out an initial survey of printed and online catalogues, it turned out that the number of manuscripts predating the seventeenth century (i.e. dating from before AD 1600) was not unmanageable. The problem lay rather in the manuscripts postdating the sixteenth century (i.e. dating from after AD 1599). The study of the ‘Major Corpus’ emerged from my attempts to address this problem. In a systematic manner, I began to gather basic information about *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. Manuscripts were selected primarily on the basis of availability in digitised form.²³ In the end, 148 post-sixteenth-century manuscripts were included in the Major Corpus. For each of these manuscripts, I recorded for which commemorations within the Season of Flowers there were antiphons.²⁴ Based on this, two main groups among the post-sixteenth-century *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections emerged. This grouping of the post-sixteenth-century collections was used for the selection of manuscripts for the ‘Minor

the practice of a separate manuscript transmission of the *Ṣoma Dəggwā* (see 1.5.3). The emergence of the separate manuscript transmission for the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons used during the Great Fast may be put in connection with a demise of the use of the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office in other parts of the liturgical year (see 1.4.3.3, and also the discussion in Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 365). The *Ziq* (ዝቅደስ, of unclear etymology) is a liturgical book composed of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons and other materials needed for the modern *māhlet* service, including references to *malkā’āt*. It is often said to date to Gondarine times, i.e. seventeenth–eighteenth centuries. For an introduction to the *Ziq*, see Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 117–119. *Mazmur* (መዝሙር) refers to a variant of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. At the beginning of the work on this dissertation, I was not aware of this variant title, and thus my initial survey of catalogues did not include manuscripts catalogued as *Mazmur*, which have sometimes (for example, in most of the catalogues of the EML microfilms held at the HMML) been catalogued separately from the ‘larger’ *Dəggwā*. See 1.4.2.1.5.

²³ For more information about the selection of manuscripts for the Major Corpus, see the introduction to Chapter 2 (2.2).

²⁴ On the concept of commemorations in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, see 1.4.3.2. Originally, a more extensive study of the Major Corpus was planned. Information was systematically gathered about manuscript sizes, the use of different standardised prefaced colophons, the major divisions of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections marked in the visual organisation, as well as the codicological context in which such collections are found (i.e. if other texts are found in the same manuscript). In the end, however, it turned out to be impossible to include this extensive study of the Major Corpus in this dissertation, and its function was restricted to providing an empirical foundation for the selection of manuscripts to the Minor Corpus. The preliminary introduction to standardised prefaced colophons presented in Appendix 1 is also largely based on the analysis of the Major Corpus.

Corpus’, on the basis of which the diachronic development of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections was then studied in more detail, as laid out below. For details about the survey of the Major Corpus, see Chapter 2 (2.2).

1.2.2.2 The Minor Corpus

Based on the initial survey of printed and online catalogues, as well as on the findings of the study of the Major Corpus (see 1.2.2.1), a Minor Corpus was selected. The aim was for the Minor Corpus to mirror some of the variety displayed by *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections, both diachronically and geographically. After weighing different arguments against each other, trying to balance the size of the textual corpus (the Season of Flowers) against the size of the ‘Minor Corpus’ of manuscripts, I settled for a Minor Corpus consisting of forty-nine manuscripts.

The selection of manuscripts for the Minor Corpus was based on several criteria. Firstly, all manuscripts dated to before the seventeenth century were included. Secondly, a selection of later manuscripts was also included based on their dating, their provenance, and their grouping according to the results of the study of the Major Corpus, while also taking the availability in legible reproductions into account.²⁵ In Chapters 3–5, where the Minor Corpus forms the basis for the study of specific features of the texts and the manuscripts, further limitations of the corpus are introduced based on the presence/absence of the relevant features.²⁶ More information about the selection of manuscripts for the Minor Corpus is found in the introduction to Chapter 2 (2.1).

On the basis of this Minor Corpus, the three main aspects of the diachronic development of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections have been addressed. The aspect of textual development, treated in Chapter 3, consists of a study of two of the commemorations found within the Season of Flowers, one studied in full (the commemoration of Pāntalewon), the other partially (the commemoration of ‘*Abbā*’ Aragāwi). The focus is on diachronic developments, in the corpus of antiphons contained in individual collections and in the textual form of single antiphons, as well as on identifying and discussing sources. The codicological aspect, treated in Chapter 4, has taken the form of a study of the *mise en texte* of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections, i.e. how text is applied to the already prepared surface(s) and writing space(s) of the page. The main reason for this focus is the nature of the

²⁵ While digital and microfilm manuscript reproductions are generally of varying quality, carried out, as they are, under at times difficult circumstances, there is reason to suspect that manuscripts containing *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections have often posed particular challenges to the digitisers due to the frequent combination of large size and tiny script. Cf. Hammerschmidt 1973, p. 80.

²⁶ For example, the textual development of a certain commemoration can only be studied on the basis of collections which contain this commemoration, and the *mise en texte* of the beginning of a collection cannot be studied in acephalous manuscripts.

available material, that is as digital or digitised images.²⁷ The third aspect, i.e. how music is recorded in the manuscripts, is treated in Chapter 5. The study presented there tracks one of the various systems of musical classification attested in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections—the system of melodic families for *ʾarbāʿt* antiphons—through its historical development.

The resulting corpus is at the same time large and despairingly limited. Based on two corpora that both exclude a substantial part of the available material on no other grounds than the realisability of the study, it would not be surprising if important and relevant sources have been overlooked. Nevertheless, it might be worth reminding oneself of the limitations that underlie the works on which our knowledge of other aspects of the Ethiopic Divine Office depend. Velat, in the most important previous edition of Ethiopic antiphons, covering the four first weeks of the *Ṣoma Dəggwā*, utilised only eight manuscripts, all dated to the eighteenth century and later.²⁸ Shelemay et al. 1993, the most important study of the manuscript transmission of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections to date, is based on a corpus of twenty-seven *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts (plus some other chant collections), dating (according to the dates assigned in this dissertation; see Chapter 2) from pre-mid-fourteenth-century times to the twentieth century.²⁹ This notwithstanding, it should be underlined that due to the limited corpus that underlies this study, its results can at best be seen as preliminary.

1.2.3 Outline of the dissertation

To summarise the discussion above, the present dissertation consists of six chapters, whose contents can be briefly described as follows:

Chapter 1 introduces the topic of the dissertation, previous research, the indigenous Ethiopic terminology related to *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, as well as some traditions connected to *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections;

²⁷ As noted in Chapter 2, a majority of the manuscripts that form the basis of the Minor Corpus has been consulted in the form of digital reproductions, based either on microfilms or on the physical manuscripts themselves. This implies certain limitations regarding which codicological features can be studied in the same way throughout the corpus, often making it impossible to analyse features such as patterns of ruling and pricking, and even quire structure. Similarly, an exact measuring of the size of ornaments, letters, margins, and other features has frequently not been possible. For this reason, Chapter 4 focusses on the *mise en texte* of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, an aspect of the physical artefact that can in most cases be studied without problems on the basis of the available material. The reader should, however, remember that a number of layout features are treated in the study of the Major Corpus.

²⁸ Velat 1966b, pp. vii–xi.

²⁹ Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Chapter 2 contains descriptions of the forty-nine manuscripts that form the Minor Corpus;

Chapter 3 consists of a study of the textual development of one complete commemoration in the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus, as well as of extracts from another, focussing on developments in the sets of antiphons and in the texts of individual antiphons;

Chapter 4 consists of a study of selected *mise en texte* features in the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus. The chapter is divided into three parts describing, in turn, how the beginning of a new collection, the beginning of a new commemoration, and the beginning and end of a new antiphon are signalled in the *mise en texte*;

Chapter 5 consists of a study of the development of one of the systems for musical categorisation—the melodic families for *'arbā* 't antiphons—on the basis of the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus;

Chapter 6 contains a concluding discussion.

1.3 Previous research

1.3.1 Introduction

Despite the importance of the *Dagg^{wā}* for Ethiopian and Eritrean culture and the great appreciation shown to it, relatively little systematic research on *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons and *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections has been carried out until now. The previous literature can be divided into five main categories, which will be discussed in turn below:

- a) editions and translations of portions of the *Dagg^{wā}*, and studies of individual *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts,
- b) studies analysing the contents of portions of the *Dagg^{wā}*,
- c) studies concerned with the tradition of Ethiopic Christian liturgical chant in general, which touch upon *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections and their contents,
- d) mentions of the *Dagg^{wā}* in introductions to the history of Ethiopic literature,
- e) studies focussing on specific saints or topics which discuss *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons connected to their specific object of study.

In the following survey, I have tried to be as comprehensive as possible, but doubtlessly there are editions and studies of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections that I have overlooked.

1.3.2 Editions, translations, studies of manuscripts

There exists no critical edition or translation of a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection covering the entire liturgical year.³⁰ Besides the church editions, all of which are photostatic reproductions of late manuscripts,³¹ what we find are editions and translations of individual antiphons, commemorations, and, in one case, a portion of the text as large as four consecutive weeks.³² Two approaches can be discerned among the previous editions: Either the existence of individual antiphons is acknowledged and the metatextual elements attached to each of them are duly reproduced,³³ even if not always understood by the editor. Or this information has been (tacitly) deleted in the editing process, and the texts of multiple antiphons are amalgamated into one text block, whose length is determined by the choice of the editor.

Dillmann 1866, in the well-known *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, includes an edition of the antiphons for the commemoration of John the Baptist (*Yohannās*) on 1 Maskaram (the first day of the Ethiopic liturgical year).³⁴ As explained by Dillmann 1866 in the preface,³⁵ the edition is based on a single manuscript kept at the British and Foreign Bible Society in London.³⁶ Partly due to technical reasons, the interlinear musical notation (*mälakkāt*, see 1.4.5.5) was excluded from the edition. Rubrication is marked by underlining, and rhymes are marked by spacing after each rhymed line. Except for the identification of the sources of some psalm-

³⁰ There are indications that an edition project was initiated in the early twentieth century (cf. Conti Rossini 1947, p. 211); however, no results of this endeavour were, to my knowledge, ever published.

³¹ For introductory descriptions of these editions, see Chapter 2 (2.7).

³² Isolated antiphons found in catalogue descriptions and adduced as evidence in various Amharic-language publications have not been listed below.

³³ An antiphon in a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection is always marked (explicitly or implicitly) for antiphon type (1.4.4.1). Depending on the type of the antiphon, various other kinds of metatext (information about melodic families (1.4.5.3), melodic houses (1.4.5.4), musical mode (1.4.5.2), etc.) are also provided.

³⁴ Dillmann 1866, pp. 150–158. Furthermore, Dillmann used excerpts from the *Dəggwā* as a source in the compilation of his *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae* (= Dillmann 1865). A search for the term ‘Deg.’ in the online version of Dillmann’s *Lexicon* prepared within the framework of Beta maṣāḥəft yields hits in 243 entries [2020-11-17]. In many cases, the *Dəggwā* was used as a source for more-or-less rare vocabulary, but in other cases, Dillmann identifies technical terms, on some occasions qualified as ‘incertae significationis’ (s.v. ቅንዋት፣ ምቅናይ፡). As he explains in the Prolegomena: ‘thesauri Deguā dicti exemplar nobis deerat, sed excerpta et singularum partium apographa habemus e praestantissimo codice, qui in bibliotheca Societatis Brit. ad Biblia evulganda institutae asservatur’ (Dillmann 1865, col. xi). See also Dickhut and Ellwardt 2018.

³⁵ Dillmann 1866, pp. xiv–xv.

³⁶ According to Löfgren 1974a, p. 75, this manuscript has later disappeared. However, it might be worth to point out that manuscripts once thought to be lost sometimes reappear; cf. Valieva 2017.

based antiphon-type indications, Dillmann 1866 makes no attempt to elucidate the numerous abbreviations and liturgical terms found in the commemoration, but reproduces them, apparently faithfully. The edition of Dillmann 1866 subsequently formed the basis for a German translation and commentary by Euringer 1942, who in some cases used a comparison with Berlin, SBPK, Ms. or. quart. 284 (seventeenth century?) to complete abbreviated terms.³⁷

Rodwell 1866 and Rodwell 1867a present *Dəgg^{wā}*-type antiphons from a number of commemorations in English translation. These translations are likely based on the same manuscript as Dillmann 1866, although the editorial technique (see below) makes this difficult to confirm.³⁸ The translations, originally published in various Anglican church journals, were reprinted as a monograph (or perhaps rather, as Dix 1867 calls it,³⁹ a pamphlet)—Rodwell 1867b—together with a number of other translations of Ethiopic liturgical texts. Rodwell's translations subsequently provided the impetus for a number of versified versions appearing in various journals in the 1860s–1880s.⁴⁰ As for the editorial technique, Rodwell's publications tacitly ignore the structure of the *Dəgg^{wā}* and delete all metatextual elements, instead presenting a number of conflated antiphons as if they were a single 'hymn'. This—one may presume—was motivated by the purpose of the

³⁷ Euringer 1942, p. 151.

³⁸ In a footnote, Rodwell 1866 states that his translations are based on a manuscript in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society (Rodwell 1866, p. 321; the note is reprinted in Dix 1867, p. 214). The following information is provided about the manuscript: it is a well-preserved quarto consisting of 536 pages (268 fols?) and written in two columns. It was brought to Europe from Cairo by a Mr. Jowett (presumably the Anglican missionary William Jowett, 1787–1855) and 'is probably of the fourteenth century'. According to a note on a flyleaf, the manuscript was donated by a Walatta Mikā'el to an 'Abyssinian Monastery'. The scribe, at least according to the interpretation of Rodwell 1866, was a Gabra Mikā'el. It appears that the manuscript was not introduced with one of the standard prefaced colophons (see Appendix 1) but by a shorter formula, mentioning St Yāred and calling for both his blessing and that of the prophets, the apostles, the saints, the martyrs, and the Virgin Mary. Cf. Simon 1941, who writes the following concerning the fourteenth-century dating: 'du fait que Dillmann ne dit rien de l'âge du manuscrit, on peut conclure qu'il n'est pas très ancien' (Simon 1941, p. 311, fn. 2).

³⁹ Dix 1867, p. 214.

⁴⁰ Rodwell's 'Hymn for Priests (the Third Hour)' (Rodwell 1867a, p. 390) was put into verse in Biggs 1871a. His 'Hymn on the Day of Doom' (Rodwell 1866, pp. 331–332), 'Hymn of the Flowers and of the Sabbath-Day' (Rodwell 1866, pp. 325–326) and 'Hymn of "The Light"' (Rodwell 1867a, pp. 393–394) were versified by Dix 1867. Rodwell's 'A Sabbath-Day Hymn' (Rodwell 1867a, pp. 392–393) and 'The Vigil of the Four Beasts' (Rodwell 1866, pp. 329–330) were versified in Dix 1868. Reportedly, the 'Vigil of the Four Beasts' (Rodwell 1866, pp. 329–330) was put into verse by W.C. Dix already in the *Churchman's Shilling Magazine* of May 1867 (cf. 'Abyssinian Hymnody', (1907), 8a–8b (W. T. Brooke)), but this issue has not been available to me during the writing of this dissertation. A versification of the 'Song of the Saints' (Rodwell 1867a, p. 391) was produced by William T. Brooke (?) and published in Biggs 1871b. This text was later included in *The Churchman's Manual of Private and Family Devotion* (= Brooke 1882), although it is not clear to me whether it has found wider acceptance within the Anglican tradition. An overview of this English nineteenth-century reception of the *Dəgg^{wā}* can be found in 'Abyssinian Hymnody', (1907), 8a–8b (W. T. Brooke), where the inclusion of one of the translations in the hymn book *Songs of the Church: A Supplemental Hymnal* (= Jellicoe 1867) is also mentioned—I have not been able to identify this, although I have had access to the hymn book in question.

translations, which appears to have been to provide the Anglican Church with new hymnological inspiration, rather than to study the Ethiopic liturgical tradition in its own right.⁴¹

Grohmann 1919, in his study of Marian poetry in Geez, quotes a couple of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons in the original language based on MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. aeth. 2 (nineteenth century).⁴² Although he mostly cites single lines, antiphons which are quoted in full (see fn. 42) are given together with (at least part of) their metatextual elements.

Cerulli 1961, in his introduction to the Ethiopic literature, translates three portions of the *Dəggwā* into Italian, based on ‘due codici di Parigi’.⁴³ He does not indicate which antiphons he has translated, and based on the length of the portions, it seems probable that he disregarded metatextual elements and conflated several antiphons into one, similar to Rodwell 1866, 1867a.

Closest to a critical edition meeting modern standards is the edition by Velat 1966c, 1969 of the *Dəggwā* for the four first weeks of the Great Fast, i.e. the four first weeks of the *Ṣoma Dəggwā*. This edition takes as its point of departure the individual antiphon. The interlinear musical notation (*mələkkət*, see 1.4.5.5) is not included; instead, the editor provides information about the musical modes in which each antiphon is performed, extracted from the musical notation. The edition of Velat 1966c, 1969 is based on eight manuscripts, the earliest dating from the eighteenth century—this is perhaps the greatest weakness of Velat 1966c, 1969—and so, for the diachronic understanding of the text, this edition is of limited value.

Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, in an MA thesis subsequently published as a small monograph,⁴⁴ aims to investigate whether an early *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscript at the monastery of Ṭānā Qirqos (= MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618, see Chapter 2, 2.3.4) is an autograph of the sixth-century St Yāred or not. The study is not an edition, but an—in the context of research on *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections up to now—uniquely detailed examination of an individual manuscript. While the analysis suffers from a certain shortage of methodological clarity, Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 provides a thorough review of this most important manuscript, including an extensive discussion of the colophon and an initial quire analysis (see Chapter 2, 2.3.4.1 and 2.3.4.2).

⁴¹ Cf. Dix 1867, pp. 212–213.

⁴² Grohmann 1919, p. 244 (an ‘əzl antiphon), pp. 256–257 (a *wāzēmā* antiphon). For catalogue descriptions of this manuscript, see Rödiger et al. 1875, p. 105 and Six 1989, pp. 26–28.

⁴³ Cerulli 1961, pp. 224–226.

⁴⁴ Cf. the English abstract to Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2013. I am grateful to the project Beta maṣāḥəft for acquiring this book to the library of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies.

Poirot 2014, in a study of traditions concerning St Anthony the Great in the Christian Orient, includes a French translation, prepared by Emmanuel Fritsch, of the *Daggwā*-type antiphons prescribed for the commemoration of this monastic saint.⁴⁵ The translation, based on a printed edition of the *Ziq*,⁴⁶ clearly distinguishes the individual antiphons, and it appears that all metatextual elements present in the edition have been reproduced. The identification of antiphons taken from other commemorations,⁴⁷ which make up a large percentage of the published antiphons for St Anthony, is especially commendable.

Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014 and Nosnitsin 2016 (and see Nosnitsin 2018, below) contain editions of excerpts from early, single-type antiphon-collections fragments, recently discovered in Təgrāy. In Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, thirteen *mazmur*-family antiphons (1.4.4.1.37) for the commemoration of the Twenty-Four Heavenly Priests (*Kāhnāta samāy*) are edited based on the fragment Mə'sār Gwəḥilā, Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i (pre-mid-fourteenth century). The article includes a thorough codicological, palaeographical, and orthographical analysis of the fragment, and the texts of the antiphons are compared with the *Mashafa Daggwā* 1994 (based on a twentieth-century manuscript) and with MS Tāhtāy Rubā Māryām, Ethio-SPaRe TRM-017 (seventeenth–eighteenth century). In Nosnitsin 2016, six *mazmur*-family antiphons for the commemoration of 'Abbā Garimā are edited based on a single leaf from the manuscript 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-I/XVII/XXII (pre-mid-fourteenth century). Again, the leaf is thoroughly analysed from a codicological (including an analysis of the ink), palaeographical, and orthographical perspective. The contents of the antiphons are compared with the Homily on 'Abbā Garimā ascribed to Yoḥannēs of 'Aksum (CAe 1285).

Lee 2017a, in a study of similarities in the biblical interpretation of Ethiopic and early Syriac sources based on the author's PhD dissertation (= Lee 2011b), includes a diplomatic edition of three commemorations⁴⁸ on the basis of the sixteenth-century manuscript 'Ankobar Giyorgis, EMMML 2542 (see Chapter 2, 2.4.6).⁴⁹ The individual antiphons belonging to one commemoration have been conflated into a single text block (in the tradition of Rodwell 1866, 1867a)—disregarding the notion of antiphon types—which is then artificially subdivided

⁴⁵ Poirot 2014, pp. 536–542.

⁴⁶ Cf. Poirot 2014, p. 536.

⁴⁷ On the concept of 'wandering antiphons', see fn. 1174.

⁴⁸ In his Appendices B–D, Lee provides transcriptions of the commemorations of Zachariah (*Zakkāryās*; fols 33ra, l. 8–34ra, l. 7), Mary (here: *Māryām*; fols 112vb, l. 1–113rb, l. 30), and the Cross (*Masqal*; fols 12ra, l. 12–13ra, l. 1), respectively. The numbering in Lee 2017a is different, as he understands the folio numbers to refer to openings, and numbers the columns of each opening a–d. Thus, for example, Lee's '[p]age 113, column b' corresponds to fol. 112vb according to the system of reference used in this dissertation.

⁴⁹ Lee 2017a dates MS 'Ankobar Giyorgis, EMMML 2542 to the fifteenth century, contrary to the catalogue description in Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, 23–24, where the manuscript is dated to the late sixteenth century. For a discussion of the dating, see Chapter 2 (2.4.6.1). I am grateful to Ralph Lee for making this book available to me.

type antiphon collections, is the edition of Velat 1966c, 1969, whose main flaw—i.e. the use of late and arbitrarily chosen manuscripts—is only due to limitations in the material available at the time of its preparation. For the future, the major part of the corpus of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons still remains to be edited, and the diachronic aspect of the development of the corpus has yet to be properly taken into account.

1.3.3 Studies of the text of the *Dagg^{wā}*

Studies that have as their topic the contents of (a part of) the corpus of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons are especially hampered by the lack of a critical edition. While some studies of this kind have taken the texts of the *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons at face value and tried to identify textual parallels and dependencies, others have treated the *Dagg^{wā}* as an example of early—often sixth-century—Ethiopic theology (because of the association with St Yāred; see 1.5.2). Especially for studies applying the latter approach, the value of their contribution can hardly be assessed before their arguments have been reexamined, taking the diachronic development of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections into account. This is to say: if antiphons that have been adduced as examples of early Ethiopian theology should—after a systematic study of the manuscript evidence has been carried out—turn out to have been added to the corpus in, for example, the eighteenth century, this must lead to a reappraisal of the results of such research.

Ṭə‘uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, a standard reference work for the Ethiopic traditions concerning St Yāred, contains as its fourth chapter a study of the textual sources of the *Dagg^{wā}*.⁵⁴ Although the connections that Ṭə‘uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 establishes at times are loose, they provide an important initial survey of sources for the corpus of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons and have been fruitfully utilised by later research (e.g. Tedros Abraha 2009). It is not clear to me on the basis of which manuscript or printed edition Ṭə‘uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 has worked, although he identifies each antiphon properly by providing the commemoration, the antiphon type, and the page and column number.

Habtemichael Kidane 1998, in his introduction to the Ethiopic ‘cathedral’ Divine Office, includes a discussion of the role of the Sabbath in the *Dagg^{wā}*.⁵⁵

Connecting this to the question of the dating of the *Dagg^{wā}*, he interprets the lack of an explicit two-Sabbath theology as an indication that the *Dagg^{wā}* (or at least the substantial parts dedicated to Sundays) stems from the anti-Sabbatical camp in the fourteenth–fifteenth-century theological conflicts. While in itself interesting, this methodology, according to my understanding, is premature: before we have a

⁵⁴ Ṭə‘uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, pp. 63–182.

⁵⁵ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 82–92; cf. also Habtemichael Kidane 2017.

better understanding of the Sabbath theology of pre-fourteenth-century Ethiopia,⁵⁶ one cannot use this *ex silentio* criterium to date a text. Certainly, however, the depiction of the Sabbath in the corpus of pre-mid-fourteenth-century *Daggwā*-type antiphons will provide an important contribution to the knowledge of pre-fourteenth-century Ethiopian Sabbath theology. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 furthermore observes similarities between the certain antiphons of the *Daggwā* and the *Testamentum Domini* (CAe 2461).⁵⁷

Tedros Abraha 2009⁵⁸ is a continuation of the endeavour to unfold the sources for the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons initiated by Ṭəʿuma Ləssān Kāsā 1988.⁵⁹ The author expresses an awareness of the need to base historical-critical research into the contents of the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons on reliable editions, yet does not consider the early manuscripts in any special way. He discusses antiphons where Jesus is addressed as ‘father’,⁶⁰ antiphons where a theology of the Son’s ‘hidden descent and “concealment”’ is expressed,⁶¹ and antiphons which contain quotations from Church Fathers. The article offers valuable references to the books of St Yāred in *ʿandāmtā* literature and a collection of explicit and implicit quotations from the *Qerellos* (CAe 3309: texts by (pseudo-)Severianus of Gabala and Proclus of Constantinople), the Shepherd of Hermas (CAe 1594), and possibly the *Hāymānota ʿabaw* (CAe 1586: a text by Basil of Caesarea).

Lee 2016 is a study of the symbolism in the *Daggwā* based on the text attested in MS Addis Ababa, Mekane Yesus Seminar 21 (EMIP 621; AD 1966/1967). Compared with Lee 2011b (later published as Lee 2017a), this article is

⁵⁶ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 presumes that the two-Sabbath theology—putting the two Sabbaths on an equal level of solemnity—represents a more original stage of Ethiopic theology than the ‘anti-Sabbatical’ stance, which glorifies Sunday more than Saturday. However, the homily ‘On the Sabbaths’ (CAe 1269) by Rətuʿa Hāymānot, which Lusini repeatedly has called ‘il più antico documento conosciuto intorno alla questione dell’osservanza del sabato in Etiopia’ (Lusini 1993, p. 16; cf. also Lusini 1988, p. 205, Lusini 1989, p. 193) and which displays several archaic traits, including quotations from what appears to be an early recension of the *Senodos*, seems to reflect the position that the ‘Sabbath of the Jews’ is to be subordinated to the ‘Sabbath of the Christians’ (cf. Lusini 1988; Lusini 1989; Lusini 1993, pp. 16–27; for a discussion of the homily’s relation to the early *Senodos*, cf. Bausi 2006a, pp. 535–536, fn. 14; I am grateful to Alessandro Bausi for bringing the works of Lusini to my attention), i.e. a markedly less two-Sabbatical theology than the one later endorsed by, for example, the Ewostātewoseans. For an overview of the question of Sabbath theology in Ethiopia, see ‘Sabbath’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 432b–434a (S. Kaplan).

⁵⁷ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 69.

⁵⁸ I am grateful to Massimo Villa for bringing this article to my attention early in the work on this dissertation.

⁵⁹ As acknowledged by the author, the identification of sources in a substantial section of the article depends on the predecessor. See Tedros Abraha 2009, pp. 361–373; cf. Ṭəʿuma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, pp. 64–182.

⁶⁰ Tedros Abraha 2009, pp. 346–352; cf. also the antiphon Yəmʿattā ʿəzl, MS EAP254/1/5, fols 38vc, l. 34–39ra, l. 4.

⁶¹ Tedros Abraha 2009, pp. 352–360.

methodologically on firmer ground, as the integrity of the individual antiphons has been respected. Occasionally, the types of individual antiphons are identified.

Tsehay Dedimas 2016 studies the soteriology expressed in selected antiphons for Sundays, taken from a printed edition of the *Ziq*.⁶² His interpretations of the text are at times theologically coloured and rather widely removed from the original texts of the *Daggwā*-type antiphons. At least superficially, the *Daggwā* is understood from the traditional point of view, i.e. as a monolithic work written by a single author.

Lee 2017a, as mentioned above, is the publication as a monograph of the author's PhD dissertation (= Lee 2011b).⁶³ Its main topic is the comparison between symbolism in a number of Ethiopic (*Daggwā*, *Kābra nagašt*, 'andāmta commentaries) and Syriac works (mostly texts by Ephrem the Syrian and Jacob of Serug). Symbolic interpretations of the Ark of the Covenant, the Cross, and Paradise are the subject of individual chapters. Notwithstanding the dubious dating of the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons,⁶⁴ the use of a relatively early manuscript (the sixteenth-century MS 'Ankobar Giyorgis, EMMML 2542⁶⁵) is laudable. *Daggwā*-type antiphon are cited either based on the edition of MS 'Ankobar Giyorgis, EMMML 2542 (see above, 1.3.2) or on modern printed editions (*Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 2006 plus a version of the *Ṣoma Daggwā* published at the Tənsā'e za-Gubā'e māttamiyā bet in Addis Ababa in AD 1997). Lee 2017a concludes that the similarities in the symbolic interpretation could be the result of direct influence.⁶⁶ Future studies will clarify whether the parallels identified by Lee 2017a are also found in the pre-sixteenth-century corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons.

Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, in his PhD dissertation defended at the University of St. Michael's College in Toronto, takes as his main topic the

⁶² Tsehay Dedimas 2016, p. 133. It is unclear if Tsehay Dedimas 2016 used only *mazmur* antiphon or also antiphons of the types 'əzl, *salām*, and 'arārāt (?).

⁶³ Some of the topics discussed in Lee 2011b are recapitulated in Lee 2011a, where, contrary to the more extensive monographs, no sources are provided for the quotations of (conflated) *Daggwā*-type antiphons.

⁶⁴ Lee writes that the '[t]he original Ge'ez hymnody of *Yared*, the ደግዳ, *Daggwā*, [...] may also be placed in this [i.e. the Aksumite] period' (Lee 2017a, p. 22; italics in the original), referencing, in support for this idea, Conti Rossini 1899, p. 203. Conti Rossini, however, on the referred page expresses the exact opposite view, namely that the *Daggwā* and related works attributed to Yāred are not of Aksumite origin, but 'senza dubbio d'età assai più tarda' (Conti Rossini 1899, p. 203). Lee 2017a ascribes the text of the entire corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons to the sixth century, contending that 'it is believed that the basic text [of the *Daggwā*] has not changed significantly, apart from the revisions made by *Giyorgis of Gasāčča* [sic] in the fifteenth century CE' (Lee 2017a, p. 29). It should be pointed out that Lee 2017a is a contribution to a larger scholarly discussion on possible connections between Syriac Christianity and Ethiopic Christianity in Aksumite times. For a recent and succinct introduction to the topic, see Butts 2018.

⁶⁵ Lee dates MS 'Ankobar Giyorgis, EMMML 2542 to the fifteenth century, but see fn. 49.

⁶⁶ Lee 2017a, p. 218.

soteriology expressed in a modern printed edition of the *Dəggwā*.⁶⁷ Chapters are dedicated to the Christology, the anthropology, and the ecclesiology including the teaching on baptism and Eucharist attributed to St Yāred. Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019 treats the *Dəggwā* and the other books attributed to St Yāred as monolithic works dating from the sixth century, although, in the tradition of traditional scholarship, he also recognises the presence of later additions to the text. Methodologically intriguing is the claim—not further developed—to be able to distinguish authentic Yāredian compositions from ‘later textual developments and interpolations’ based on stylistic, syntactical, and theological grounds.⁶⁸

A point of critique against this strand of research on the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons has already been raised above: for a work whose diachronic development has not been adequately studied, the text presented by a twentieth-century manuscript or printed edition cannot uncritically be taken to represent an unaltered version of a text which legend places in the sixth century. Nevertheless, it must be underlined that certain observations, especially those made by Tedros Abraha 2009, do indeed point to the transmission of theological positions attested in early Christian literature within the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons. A more thorough analysis of the sources, based on a comprehensive survey of the early manuscripts, will enable us to discern whether this is due to the incorporation of quotations from other texts into the corpus of antiphons or whether they might also be reflected in early original compositions. The corpus of pre-seventeenth-century manuscripts presented in Chapter 2 (see 2.3 and 2.4) could form a basis for such a survey.

1.3.4 Introductions to Ethiopic Christian liturgical chant and the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office

Dəggwā-type antiphons and collections of such antiphons have also been discussed in a number of more general studies of Ethiopic Christian liturgical chant. This section is not intended as an comprehensive introduction to the history of research on Ethiopic Christian liturgical chant;⁶⁹ rather, the purpose is to review only the most important of such works from the perspective of the information that they provide about the development of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections.

Mention should first be made of the extensive body of literature on the chants and traditions connected to St Yāred (including the *Dəggwā*) that has been and

⁶⁷ Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019 primarily uses an edition printed under the title *Məṣḥafa Dəggwā* by the Ethiopian Orthodox Patriarchate at the Commercial Printing Enterprise in Addis Ababa. This edition has not been available to me.

⁶⁸ Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, p. 254.

⁶⁹ For more general introductions, see Cohen 1956; Shelemay and Jeffery 1997, pp. 131–150; and Nieten 2014, pp. 262–268.

continues to be published in Ethiopia and Eritrea.⁷⁰ While some of the Amharic and English publications written by traditional scholars of the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition represent another academic tradition than the one prevalent in Western academic institutions, they have nonetheless made important contributions to the field of studies of the *Dəggwā*. 'Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966 is one of the earliest Amharic studies of these traditions.⁷¹ It appears to be based on a combination of written and oral traditions. Works in the same tradition are Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988,⁷² Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997 (which includes an extensive English preface written by Hailu Habtu 1997),⁷³ Mogas Šəyyum 1999,⁷⁴ Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999 (in English),⁷⁵ Tāddasa 'Ālamayyahu 2012, Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2016, pp. 8–95 (first part) (= *Mə'rāf* 2015, pp. 365–411), Mogas Šəyyum 2016 (which presents an innovative approach to the analysis of the interlinear musical notation (*mələkkət*, see 1.4.5.5) and partly reprints materials published in Mogas Šəyyum 1999), Takle Sirak 2016, and the voluminous Getāhun Damša 2017. These works are important for the study of the *Dəggwā* as they offer a window into the present practices and traditions concerning the *Dəggwā* and the performance of the 'cathedral' Divine Office. As will be seen especially in the introductory Chapter 1 of this dissertation, they make significant contributions to our understanding of the practical use of the *Dəggwā*-type antiphons. Mention should also be made of Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, who in a study of traditional education in the Ethiopic Christian tradition includes extensive sections related to the teaching of liturgical chant in general and the *Dəggwā* in particular. Often treating topics in valuable detail, Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, for example, includes lists of the melodic families of 'arbā 't, *šalast*, and 'aryām antiphons (see 1.4.5.3).

Starting from the 1950s and continuing until his untimely death in 1968, Bernard Velat published a series of works on the Ethiopic 'cathedral' Divine Office and

⁷⁰ Some works have not been available to me during the work on this dissertation, but it nevertheless seems useful to list them. In 1998 EC (?), Salomon Wandəmmu published a work entitled *Ya-qəddus Yāred zenā ḥəywat ba-talayyayu šahāft šərawočč* at Horāyzon mättamiyā bet in Addis Ababa (cf. Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2016, p. 90 = *Mə'rāf* 2015, p. 410). In 2000 EC (?), 'Erməyās Walda 'Iyasus published a *Dərsān wa-gadl za-qəddus Yāred (gə'z-ənnā 'amārəññā)* at Bərḥān-ənnā salām mättamiyā dərəggət in Addis Ababa (cf. Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2016, p. 90 = *Mə'rāf* 2015, p. 410). Furthermore, a book by Getāččaw 'Alamu Šambal entitled *Mašḥaf qəddus-ənnā ya-'awālədd mašāḥəft za-'Ortodoks Tawāḥədo*, published in a second edition at Tasfā Gabra Šəllāse Printing House in Addis Ababa without a publishing year, reportedly contains a discussion of biblical quotations in the *Dəggwā* (cf. Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, p. 15).

⁷¹ Around the same time, 'Aklila Bərḥān was also involved in the work on the printed edition of the *Dəggwā* from 1966/1967 (*Mašḥafa Dəggwā* 1966), as indicated by a note on the (unnumbered) page preceding the beginning of the antiphon collection itself.

⁷² I am grateful to Daniel Yacob for making this book available to me.

⁷³ I am grateful to Magdalena Krzyżanowska for borrowing me her personal copy of this book.

⁷⁴ I am grateful to Daniel Yacob for making this book available to me.

⁷⁵ I am grateful to Daniel Yacob for making this book available to me.

the liturgical books which are connected to it.⁷⁶ Except for the edition of the four first weeks of the *Ṣoma Dəggwā* mentioned above (= Velat 1966c, 1969), the most important are the edition and French translation of the *Mə 'rāf* (= Velat 1966a, 1966b), a liturgical book which contains the common of the services of the Divine Office as well as a number of prayers performed by the priest during the Divine Office and, importantly, materials used in the instruction of liturgical chant.⁷⁷ The edition is based on eleven manuscripts dating from between the seventeenth and the twentieth century.⁷⁸ The extensive analyses of the Ethiopic ‘cathedral’ Divine Office and the individual services as described in the utilised *Mə 'rāf* manuscripts make this a fundamental work for our understanding also of the development of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections.

In the 1990s, Kay Kaufman Shelemay, Peter Jeffery, and, to a certain extent, Ingrid Monson, made fundamental contributions to the understanding of Ethiopic chant manuscripts, and especially the *Dəggwā*.⁷⁹ The importance of these works, building on a close cooperation with Berhanu Makonnen, a ‘former teacher at the Theological College in Addis Ababa and at the Bethlehem monastery’ who at the time was the ‘vice-administrator in charge of all church musical activity, including the accreditation of musicians, at the Ethiopian patriarch’s office’, as well as several other traditional church scholars,⁸⁰ cannot be overstated. Shelemay et al. 1993 is the first attempt to approach the tradition of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections based on a systematic study of the manuscript material. In this article, drawing on a corpus of twenty-nine early and later manuscripts and printed editions,⁸¹ Jeffery outlines, for the first time, the development from single-type collections to multiple-type collections. The same article contains a pioneering musicological study of the realisation of melodic families (1.4.5.3) and melodic houses (1.4.5.4), which still remains the only investigation into this topic based on an examination of the actual chanted material. The three-volume *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: An Anthology* (= Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994,

⁷⁶ Velat 1954 (an introduction to Ethiopic chant centred around the role of the *dabtarā*); Velat 1964 (an introduction to the *Mawāšə 't* and Ethiopic liturgical books in general); ‘Musique liturgique d’Éthiopie’, *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, II (1969), 234–238 (B. Velat). There is also an unpublished work by Velat with the title *L’exécution de l’Office divin éthiopien* which, although occasionally referred to by various authors, has not been available to me during the writing of this dissertation (cf. Velat 1966a, p. 302; ‘Musique liturgique d’Éthiopie’, *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, II (1969), 234–238 (B. Velat), esp. 238; according to Damon-Guillot 2012, p. 95, this work was published in Louvain by Édition Orientaliste).

⁷⁷ See fn. 11.

⁷⁸ Velat 1966b, p. vii.

⁷⁹ Shelemay et al. 1993 (I am grateful to Denis Nosnitsin for bringing this article to my attention early in the work on this dissertation); Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997. Taft 1993 mentions an unpublished work by Peter Jeffery entitled ‘The Living Tradition of Ethiopic Chant’ (cf. Taft 1993, p. 262, fn. 4)—to my knowledge, this work has as of yet not been published, and it has not been available to me during the writing of this dissertation.

⁸⁰ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 10.

⁸¹ Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74.

1997) is a continuation of this article, shifting focus towards the musical performance—both in theory and in practice—and the historical development of the musical notation. The first volume contains a general introduction to Ethiopic Christian liturgical chant, as well as detailed ‘dictionaries’ of *mələkkət*,⁸² ‘conventional signs’, and melodic houses (see 1.4.5.5 and 1.4.5.4). In the second volume, the recordings of eighteen pieces of chant (seventeen of them consisting of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons) are transcribed and provided with an extensive commentary. The third volume analyses the notation of the same eighteen chants from a historical perspective and contains a review of the previous Western scholarship on Ethiopic Christian liturgical chanting. While Shelemay et al. 1993 provides a clear hypothesis about the historical development of Ethiopic antiphon collections and the Ethiopic musical notation, the three-volume study goes more into the details of the notational system (interlinear musical notation and melodic houses), simultaneously providing a wealth of information about individual antiphons and practices. The three-volume work remains the only study of the musical notation that goes beyond a theoretical description of the system and enters into the realm of describing the musical contents of the individual notational signs.⁸³

A third major landmark is represented by Habtemichael Kidane 1998, an introductory study of the Ethiopic ‘cathedral’ Divine Office on the basis of a substantial corpus of manuscripts as well as both Western and Amharic literature.⁸⁴ Mention has already been made of his discussion of the Sabbath theology attested in the *Dəggwā*. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 offers a comprehensive introduction to the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office in all its facets, while putting special emphasis on the evening and morning services. The detailed descriptions of the services of the Divine Office offer comparative materials to the descriptions of Velat 1966a, 1966b and in many cases, Habtemichael Kidane 1998 moves beyond the purely descriptive and proposes historical analyses of the current practices.

The works described in this section, both stemming from the inside and (to various degrees) outside the Ethiopic Christian liturgical tradition, provide an indispensable background to the present dissertation.

⁸² The dictionary is based on a ‘list with the complete series of *mələkkət*’ prepared by ‘*Alaqā* Berhanu Makonnen for use in teaching at the Theology College in Addis Ababa, reportedly all ‘taken from the ... *Dəggwā*’ (Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 17). Berhanu’s list, it seems, is but one representative of a twentieth-century tradition of compiling lists of the *mələkkət* that aim at exhaustiveness (see 1.4.5.5).

⁸³ Robert Günther appears to have begun a similar project in the 1968/1969, on which he was still working in 1971 (Günther 1971, pp. 411–412); to my knowledge, the results of it were never published.

⁸⁴ Cf. also Habtemichael Kidane 1996 and the various articles in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* by the author.

1.3.5 The *Dəggwā* in more general works

As an important literary work, the *Dəggwā* has also been treated in varying depth in various introductions to the history of Ethiopic literature. There is a tendency to repeat the information provided in other general works, without taking advantage of more specialised studies (e.g. the works by Bernard Velat in the 1960s). A review of this strand of the previous literature makes clear that much of the oft-repeated information is based on a very limited amount of original material. Below, only works which treat the *Dəggwā* in some length have been discussed.⁸⁵

Conti Rossini 1899, in his notes in the history of Ethiopic literature, questions the traditional sixth-century dating of the *Dəggwā*, writing, instead, that it is ‘d’età [...] ancor non precisata.’⁸⁶ In a section devoted to poetry in the period between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century, he lists as ‘non posteriori al secolo XV’ the following collections: *səmə ‘anni*, *wāzemā mazmur*, *hāllelāt*, which at the present state of our knowledge are easily identifiable as single-type collections of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons. The dating, one may suppose, is based on the date of MS Paris, BnF Éth. 92, the only witness to *hāllelāt* and *səmə ‘anni* mentioned by Conti Rossini 1899.⁸⁷ The *hāllelāt*, he writes, are ‘inni tratti dal Degguā’, which ‘quindi non potrebbe essere di età più recente’.⁸⁸ Although, according to our present hypothesis, the case is the reversed—the multiple-type *Dəggwā* rather being a compilation of such single-type collection—this early description of single-type collections is noteworthy.

Conti Rossini 1923 has left a long-lasting impression on the Western understanding of the *Dəggwā*.⁸⁹ In a short note, he translates the mentions of

⁸⁵ Additionally, short notes are found in the following works: Littmann 1907, pp. 214, 231 (the *Dəggwā* (and the *Mawāšə ‘t*) are written ‘in guter, alter Sprache’ and one may presume that they were ‘verfaßt oder zusammengestellt oder teilweise übersetzt’ ‘im 14. oder spätestens im 15. Jahrhundert’); Baumstark 1911, p. 58 (the author suspects a seventh-century origin of the indigenous liturgical poetry, including the *Dəggwā*, but underlines the need for a study of it and related collections before anything definite can be said); Harden 1926, p. 29 (the *Dəggwā* is tentatively dated to the ‘third period’ of Ethiopic literature (i.e. 1430–1520), but later the author writes that *Dəggwā* seems to be the general name for plainsong and is unsure about whether it is also the name of a particular chant collection or not; cf. Harden 1926, pp. 57–58); Littmann 1954, pp. 381–382 (the first version of the *Dəggwā* must stem from first half of the fifteenth century, ‘wie Conti Rossini nachgewiesen hat’—I am grateful to Leonard Bahr for bringing this publication to my attention); Ricci 1969, p. 829 (the *Dəggwā* is dated to the fifteenth century, although it is noted that ‘altri [who?] ha supposto il *Dugguā* introdotto nel XIII secolo’); Löfgren 1974b, p. 79 (clearly building on the author’s acquaintance with MS Uppsala, UUB O Etiop. 36; cf. Chapter 2, 2.5.2); Brakmann 1994, p. 171; Stoffregen-Pedersen 1990, p. 56 (despite its traditional attribution to St Yāred in the sixth century, the *Dəggwā* ‘ne date probablement que de l’époque de Zar’a Yā‘eqob’—I am grateful to Steven Kaplan for bringing this publication to my attention); Teodros Kiros 2004, p. 169; ‘Deggwā’, *Kleines Lexikon des Christlichen Orients* (2007), 142 (W. W. Müller).

⁸⁶ Conti Rossini 1899, p. 203.

⁸⁷ Cf. Conti Rossini 1899, pp. 64, 72.

⁸⁸ Conti Rossini 1899, p. 260.

⁸⁹ Conti Rossini 1923, pp. 515–516 (§ 45).

'*Azzāṣ* Gerā and '*Azzaṣ* Rāgu'el (fl. sixteenth century) in the abbreviated chronicle published by Basset 1881a, 1881b, 1881c; Béguinot 1901; and Conti Rossini 1893a (see 1.4.5.5), as well as the prefaced colophon attested in MS Saint Petersburg, RNB Orlov 33 (published with Russian translation in Turaev 1906a, pp. 67–68; see Appendix 1), and discusses their contents. On unclear grounds (the number of folios?), the *Daggwā*-type antiphon-collection contained in MS Saint Petersburg, RNB Orlov 33 is identified as an extract of the 'original' *Daggwā* and it is stated that 'verosimilmente [...] essa, anziché l'intero Degguā, è contenuta in vari mss. delle biblioteche europee'.⁹⁰

Guidi 1932, referring to Conti Rossini 1923, writes that the *Daggwā* 'ad ogni modo, non è più recente dell'inizio del XV secolo'.⁹¹ The information provided by Conti Rossini 1923 is repeated: the reform of the *Daggwā* tradition during the time of King Śarṣa Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597) is said to perhaps have been an abbreviation and 'questa edizione è quella che ci presentano i mss. conosciuti in Europa'.⁹²

Ullendorff 1960 writes concerning the *Daggwā* that its 'early recension dates undoubtedly from the fifteenth century (though there also exist later versions and elaborations)'.⁹³ The interlinear musical notation (although he seems to be referring only to the so-called 'conventional signs'; see 1.4.5.5) is considered to be 'in many ways reminiscent of the biblical *te'amim* and *neginoth* or τρόπος',⁹⁴ an idea which was treated more fully in Ullendorff 1956.⁹⁵

Cerulli 1961 dedicates a relatively large section to the *Daggwā*. He summarises the information provided by Conti Rossini 1923, adding to this the information retrieved from a note in a list of the abbots of Dabra Libānos in Šawā published by himself.⁹⁶ Furthermore he presents, in Italian translation, conflated selections of antiphons for three commemorations, as discussed above (1.3.2). The *Daggwā*, he rightly observes, 'non solo è inedito, ma non se ne ha nemmeno sin ora uno studio preliminare'.⁹⁷

Ferenc 1985 contends that the first *Daggwās* stem from Aksumite times. The information provided by the abbreviated chronicle published by Basset 1881a, 1881b, 1881c and the prefaced colophon attested in MS Saint Petersburg, RNB Orlov 33 (see above) is conflated and it is claimed that one revision was made 'by

⁹⁰ Conti Rossini 1923, p. 516.

⁹¹ Guidi 1932, p. 66.

⁹² Guidi 1932, pp. 66–67.

⁹³ Ullendorff 1960, p. 149. The study of Ethiopic liturgical chant envisioned by Ullendorff 1960, p. 169 was to some extent realised by Kay Kaufman Shelemay and Peter Jeffery (cf. Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997).

⁹⁴ Ullendorff 1960, p. 172; italics in the original.

⁹⁵ Ullendorff 1956, pp. 36–40.

⁹⁶ Cf. Cerulli 1944, p. 177.

⁹⁷ Cerulli 1961, p. 223.

a priest named Gēra and two laymen, Raguel and Habta Səllasē'.⁹⁸ On unclear grounds, the version of the *Dəggwā* entitled *Malhəq* (presumably referring to MS Saint Petersburg, RNB Orlov 33, which bears this poetic title) is characterised as the 'fullest' version.⁹⁹

Platonov and Tkačenko, in a subsection in the article on hymnology in the *Pravoslavnaja ěnciklopedija* published in 2006, provide an unusually clear introduction to several aspects of Ethiopic hymnology and the *Dəggwā*, including the different types of antiphons.¹⁰⁰

Amsalu Tefera 2018, in his extensive catalogue of Geez literary works, accepts without discussion the Yāredian authorship of the *Dəggwā* and dates it to the sixth century.¹⁰¹ In the section dedicated specifically to the *Dəggwā*,¹⁰² he provides a short list of manuscripts that contain *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, among which can be identified the early manuscripts Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EMMML 7078 (see 2.3.2); Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 (see 2.3.4); Vatican City, BAV Vat. et. 28 (see 2.4.2); and Dabra Bərḥān Šəllāsē, EMMML 1894 (see 2.4.4).

As this survey hopefully has shown, the commonly recurring dating of the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons in most histories of Ethiopic literature is based on a small amount of evidence. The question of the dating, I believe, needs rather to be approached in the light of the composite origin of the collection. *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, in the end, are not the product of a single author working in a clearly definable period of time—it is not, to travesty a term from the stratigraphical study of manuscripts, a single 'composition unit'—but it is a genre of collections of antiphons, united by their liturgical use, parts of which go back to the earliest stratum of Ethiopic manuscript evidence, while other parts have been added at different points (or perhaps even continuously) during the history of Ethiopic literature. The question of dating, therefore, needs to be asked not about the collection as a such, but about each of the individual antiphons that it contains.

1.3.6 The *Dəggwā* in studies of individual saints and topics

Occasionally, references to antiphons of the *Dəggwā* are found in critical editions and studies of individual saints and their tradition. They have also been used to illustrate the Ethiopian Orthodox theology on various points.

Grohmann 1919, who has already been mentioned above (1.3.2), includes a list of Marian commemorations in the *Dəggwā* based on MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. aeth. 2 (nineteenth century), as well as a list of Marian

⁹⁸ Ferenc 1985, p. 283.

⁹⁹ Ferenc 1985, p. 283.

¹⁰⁰ 'Ēfiopskaja g[imnografija], in: Gimnografija', *Pravoslavnaja ěnciklopedia*, (2006), 510a–510c (V. M. Platonov and A. A. Tkačenko).

¹⁰¹ Amsalu Tefera 2018, pp. 283–284.

¹⁰² Amsalu Tefera 2018, p. 284.

epithets found in it.¹⁰³ In his text editions and commentaries, he occasionally identifies textual parallels with the *Dəggwā*.¹⁰⁴ Nollet 1949, in a later survey of Ethiopic texts and traditions connected to St Mary, gives examples of Marian imagery in the antiphons for commemorations related to the birth of Christ and two unidentified commemorations.¹⁰⁵ Chojnacki 1974, writing about the development of depictions of the Nativity in Ethiopian art, cites a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon for Christmas (it is not clear from which commemoration) based on MS Addis Ababa, IES 322.¹⁰⁶ Getatchew Haile 1990 briefly discusses *Dəggwā*-type antiphons for ‘*Abbā Maṭṭā*’ in his edition of a homily on the saint.¹⁰⁷ Hannah 2008, in a study of which Gospels were used as sources for the *Epistula Apostolorum* (CAe 1354, CANT 22, ECCA 265), adduces evidence from the *Dəggwā*.¹⁰⁸ Brita 2010, in her study of the traditions concerning the so-called Nine Saints, refers to the commemorations of ‘*Abbā*’ Aragāwī and ‘*Abbā*’ Garimā in the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscript London, BL Add. 16195.¹⁰⁹ Birhanu Akal 2016, in an article based on the author’s MA thesis (= Berhanu Akal Abebe 2012), cites three examples of textual overlap between the *Mawāṣā’at* and the *Dəggwā*.¹¹⁰ Habtemichael Kidane 2016 quotes (from?) two antiphons—exemplarily referring to them by antiphon type and commemoration—which are of trinitarian and christological content, and compares them to other liturgical texts.¹¹¹ Villa 2017 mentions *Dəggwā*-type antiphons for ‘*Abbā*’ Salāmā (= St Frumentius),¹¹² noting that the occurrence of antiphons for the commemoration in the manuscript Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EMMML 7078 and the fragments from ‘*Agwazā*’ Dabra Šāhl (see Chapter 2) testify to the early date of his veneration. Villa 2018a makes a similar observation for St Sophia and her daughters Pistis, Elpis, and Agape.¹¹³ Getatchew Haile 2018, in a study on the Ethiopian traditions of the Holy Cross,

¹⁰³ Grohmann 1919, pp. 27, 64. For catalogue descriptions of the manuscript, see Rödiger et al. 1875, p. 105 and Six 1989, pp. 26–28.

¹⁰⁴ Grohmann 1919, see ‘*Degguā*’ in the index, p. 468.

¹⁰⁵ Nollet 1949, p. 396.

¹⁰⁶ Chojnacki 1974, pp. 19–20.

¹⁰⁷ Getatchew Haile 1990, pp. 30–31; cf. also Bausi 2003a, p. x.

¹⁰⁸ Hannah 2008 cites two *mazmur* antiphons from the commemoration of Women during Easter (*za-’anəst za-Tənšā’ē*) based on the text in MS London, BL Or. 584, fol. 174a, b (seventeenth century, from Maqdalā; cf. Wright 1877, pp. 114a–115a (no. CLXXIV)). For Hannah 2008, the importance of these antiphons lies in their inclusion of both Salome and Sarah among the women who brought myrrh to the grave of Christ after the Resurrection. For what it is worth, one can note that both names are also included in the earliest known attestation of the antiphons in question, in MS ‘*Agwazā*’ Dabra Šāhl, DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 16vb, l. 27–17ra, l. 6; 17ra, ll. 18–24 (pre-mid-fourteenth century).

¹⁰⁹ Brita 2010, pp. 229, 234; cf. Dillmann 1847, pp. 36–38. According to the catalogue description of Dillmann 1847, the manuscript is, ‘ut videtur, antiquior’ (Dillmann 1847, p. 36).

¹¹⁰ Birhanu Akal 2016, pp. 169–170. Only one of the three *Dəggwā*-type antiphons is in any way identified. In Berhanu Akal Abebe 2012, i.e. the MA thesis on which Birhanu Akal 2016 is based, one more antiphon is provided with a reference (Berhanu Akal Abebe 2012, pp. 43–44).

¹¹¹ Habtemichael Kidane 2016, pp. 86, 91.

¹¹² Villa 2017, p. 91, fn. 16.

¹¹³ Villa 2018a, p. 477.

quotes an antiphon from the commemoration of St Helena, also based on the manuscript Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EMMML 7078.¹¹⁴ Villa 2019, a study of the Ethiopic version of the Shepherd of Hermas (CAe 1594), includes a discussion of an ‘əzl antiphon for the *səbhata nagh* service of the Thursday and Friday of the fourth week of the Great Fast (i.e. መግባዕ፡, *Mašāgʷə* ‘, ‘The Paralytic’),¹¹⁵ identified by Tedros Abraha 2009 as a quotation from the Shepherd of Hermas.¹¹⁶

It may be presumed that the use of *Dəggʷā*-type antiphons and commemorations will increase drastically as the philological study of them advances.

1.3.7 Conclusions

Against this background of the previous research on the *Dəggʷā* it is clear that the philological investigation into this complicated tradition has barely begun. Importantly, no systematic assessment of the manuscript evidence has been carried out, nor even the compilation of a list of the earliest manuscripts. Studies of the theology expressed in the corpus of *Dəggʷā*-type antiphons and of their relations to other texts have been initiated, but it may be surmised that the quality and quantity of such research will improve as our understanding of the diachronic development of the textual development of the *Dəggʷā*-type antiphons advances.

My own contributions to the field are restricted to an as-of-yet forthcoming article entitled ‘Developments in the Melody-based Categorization of Ethiopian-Eritrean ‘*Arbā ‘t* Antiphons’ (= Karlsson forthcoming) and two presentations at scholarly conferences:

- At the 20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Mekelle (Ethiopia) in 2018, I held a presentation with the title ‘Editing the *Dəggʷā*: Reflections on an Ongoing Project’, where I discussed two points related to a future edition of the *Dəggʷā*: first, that such a project must be envisioned as an edition of the *corpus of Dəggʷā-type antiphons*, not restricted to one of the types of manuscripts in which these antiphons are attested (i.e. single-type collections of *Dəggʷā*-type antiphons, multiple-type collections of *Dəggʷā*-type antiphons, and also later instantiations of the same material such as the *Ziq*), and second, that the nature of the interlinear musical notation (especially the progressive increase of

¹¹⁴ Getatchew Haile 2018, p. 106.

¹¹⁵ Villa 2019, pp. 145–147.

¹¹⁶ Tedros Abraha 2009, pp. 82–84; cf. Velat 1966c, pp. 237, 244 (edition); Velat 1969, p. 468 [184], 473 [189] (French translation). As pointed out by Villa, the existence of a quotation from the Shepherd of Hermas in the works of St Yāred was known to Western scholars since the middle of the nineteenth century, although it has not been identified with precision (Villa 2019, p. 145, fn. 2, where references to nineteenth-century mentions are provided). The earliest attestation of this antiphon, it would seem, appears in the ‘əzl collection in MS Tānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 (fol. 143va, ll. 4–12; AD 1343/1344), which presents a version of the antiphon that is closer to the text of the Shepherd of Hermas than the version of the antiphon published by Velat.

notational signs, the allographs, and the existence of different schools of chant) makes it exceedingly difficult to edit them critically.

- At the 2019 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in San Diego (California, USA), I held a presentation with the title ‘Towards a Typology of *Daggwā* Manuscripts’, where two of the points developed in this dissertation were introduced: the statistically grounded distinction between *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A and Group B (see Chapter 2, 2.2), and the practice of marking model antiphons for melodic families (see 1.4.5.3) by means of ‘fronting’ (see Chapter 5, 5.3.3.1).

1.4 Terminology

1.4.1 Introduction

Approaching *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections, the reader who is unfamiliar with the Ethiopic Christian liturgical tradition enters into a universe which in many respects is foreign. This universe, however, constitutes the natural habitat of the *Daggwā* tradition and outside of this, it cannot be properly understood. The aim of this large section is to provide an introduction to the indigenous Ethiopic liturgical terminology that is needed for understanding manuscripts containing *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections. Like other liturgical traditions, the Ethiopic Christian liturgical tradition has developed a complex terminology, born out of its specific practices. While some of the terms and concepts are reminiscent of those in other liturgical traditions—occasionally because there exists a historical connection between them, as in the case of the *Qəddāse* (ቅዳሴ, lit. ‘sanctification’), the Eucharistic service—others are specific to the Ethiopic Christian liturgical tradition and cannot be translated in an adequate manner.

One feature that will strike the reader is the widespread polysemy of the Ethiopic terminology. The same terms are used with different meanings, and the correct interpretation of a term often depends on the context. To quote one example, the term *wāzemā* (ዋጌማ) can refer to a) the evening service (see 1.4.3.3.1), b) a type of antiphons performed at the beginning of the evening service (see 1.4.4.1.29), and c) a type of *qəne* performed during the evening service. In the context of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections, the term is also used d) within collections of *salām* antiphons to indicate which ones should be performed during the *wāzemā* service. This is, of course, only one example of the polysemy, but as will be seen in the rest of this chapter, similar cases abound. To mitigate the risk of confusion, I have decided to regularly use Ethiopic liturgical terms in conjunction with an English qualification, speaking of ‘the *wāzemā* service’, ‘*wāzemā* antiphons’, ‘the *wāzemā* type of *qəne*’, etc. The intention of this combining of indigenous terms and English qualifiers is to create a satisfactorily precise and unambiguous

terminology, which is, of course, a prerequisite for a correct description and discussion of the phenomena encountered in the Ethiopic tradition.

In a dissertation like this, where the diachronic perspective is always in the foreground, the question of developments in the terminology cannot be avoided. While it can sometimes be firmly established that a terminological development has taken place (cf. the changing meaning of the term *mazmur* with reference to a type of antiphons; 1.4.4.1.37), in other cases, one can only speculate about such shifts. When the meaning of a term appears to have undergone a diachronic development, I have tried to discuss this duly, but where I have failed to identify such developments, it is hoped that future research will rectify some of my misinterpretations.

1.4.2 Titles of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections

Before discussing the indigenous terminology found *within* *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, a few pages will be devoted to the question of how *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections themselves are referred to in the primary sources.¹¹⁷ As mentioned in the introduction, the term *Dəggwā*—albeit presently the most widespread and commonly used term—is not the only one used historically for this type of collections. Two manuscripts can contain very similar antiphon collections, but whereas one is designated as a *Dəggwā* in the prefaced colophon, the other is called *Mazmur*, *Māhleta Yāred*, or something similar.

Below, the main titles attested in the prefaced colophons of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections and other sources are discussed. We begin with titles used for single-type collections (i.e. the predominantly pre-sixteenth-century collections containing only one type of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons), then continue with the various terms used for multiple-type collections (i.e. the kind of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections prevailing from the fifteenth century onwards) in alphabetical order. Apart from the information on titles preserved in the manuscripts themselves, inventory lists, sometimes found as guest texts in manuscripts and listing books either donated to or in the possession of an ecclesiastical institution at a certain point in time, have been extensively employed in this section.¹¹⁸

1.4.2.1.1 Titles of single-type collections

As indicated above, *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections up to around the fifteenth century (as a rule) contain only one type of antiphons. For most of the collections

¹¹⁷ The various terms discussed below are distinct from the ‘poetic’ designations which are applied to *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections in some prefaced colophons (ex. *Haśset*, *Malḥaq*, and *Sayqala ləbb* (Löfgren 1974a, p. 75; Strelcyn 1977, p. 115), *Maṣheta ṭəbab* and *ʿĪgʿāla šəḥay* (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 51)). For further discussion of such ‘poetic’ designations, see Appendix 1.

¹¹⁸ For examples of the previous use of inventory lists in Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies, see Bausi 1994, Erho 2015, and Villa 2019, pp. 129–143.

of this kind that have come down to us, we do not know how they were referred to at the time of their production or use. Only in one manuscript containing single-type collections, the fourteenth-century manuscript Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 (see Chapter 2, 2.3.4), a colophon has been preserved, where the manuscripts is on several occasions referred to as a *Mazgab* (መዝገብ፣ ‘Treasure’). On this title, see below (1.4.2.1.4).

Another way of approaching the titles of single-type collections is through inventory lists, i.e. lists of books either donated to or in the possession of an ecclesiastical institution at a certain point in time. Below, an overview of early inventory lists and the possible single-type collections of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons contained in them is provided:¹¹⁹

- MS Ḥayq ‘Ēstifānos, EMMML 1832, fol. 25rb (AD 1292):¹²⁰ *sa(?)lastu* (ሰ(?)ለስቲ፣), *yətbārak* (ይትባረክ፣), *kəbr yə ‘əti* (ክብር፣ ይእቲ፣),¹²¹
- MS Kəbrān Gabrə’el, Ṭānāsee 1 (= Kebrān 1), fol. 234va (fourteenth century?):¹²² *wāzemā wa- ‘arbā ‘tu wa-salastu* (ዋዜማ፣ ወእርባዕቲ፣ ወሰለስቲ፣),

¹¹⁹ The title *zəmmāre*, attested in some of the inventory lists listed below (the lists in MSS Ḥayq ‘Ēstifānos, EMMML 1832; Kebrān Gabrə’el, Ṭānāsee 1; the four-gospel manuscript of Qohayn Dabra Māryām; Lālibalā Beta Golgotā, EMMML 6934; Lālibalā Beta Golgotā, EMMML 6954), has not been included below, although this term appears as an antiphon-type designation in certain lists of the antiphon types (see 1.4.4.1.36). The reason for this is the following: it seems more reasonable to assume that this refers to collections of the kind of antiphons presently collected in the liturgical book called the *Zəmmāre* (see fn. 11). Several early exemplars of this liturgical book are known (e.g. MSS ‘Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-V (pre-mid-fourteenth century); ‘Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-XI (pre-mid-fourteenth century); Gunda Gunde, GG-075 (sixteenth century?); Gunda Gunde, GG-124 (fifteenth–sixteenth century?); Gunda Gunde, GG-206 (fifteenth century?); Ḥayq ‘Ēstifānos, EMMML 2091 (fifteenth–sixteenth century)), allowing us to suppose that the item *zəmmāre* in the early inventory lists refer to the exemplars of such collections, rather than to collection of a potential, barely attested homonymous *Dəggwā*-type antiphon type.

¹²⁰ Cf. Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, p. 296; Sergew Hable-Selassie 1992; Bausi 2002, pp. 1–2 (fn. 2), 7–8; Bausi 2020a, pp. 231–232. The list contains books donated by St ‘Iyasus Mo’a (d. 1292) to the monastery of Ḥayq ‘Ēstifānos. The potential single-type collections are placed together, after some other manuscripts of liturgical contents, at the end of the list.

¹²¹ While the term *kəbr yə ‘əti* does occur as an antiphon-type designation in the present practice, *kəbr yə ‘əti* antiphons are—at least nowadays—extremely marginal, occurring only in the place of *qəne* of the type *kəbr yə ‘əti* in a restricted number of commemorations (see 1.4.4.1.13). No single-type collection of *kəbr yə ‘əti* antiphons is known to have come down to us. Therefore, its relatively common occurrence in early inventory lists (cf. below, the lists in MSS Kəbrān Gabrə’el, Ṭānāsee 1 (= Kebrān 1); Qəfrəyā ‘Urā Qirqos, Ethio-SPaRe UM-027; and Saint Petersburg, RNB Dorn 612) is noticeable. For a general discussion of the relationship between *Dəggwā*-type antiphons and *qəne*, see 1.5.4.

¹²² Based on its placement on the page, this list seems to predate the list on fols 234vb–235r, which dates from the fourteenth century (see below). However, it cannot be much older, as the manuscript itself also dates from the early fourteenth century (see Erho 2015, p. 107). As may be seen in the enumeration, the list contains several items which are connected with the conjunction *wa-* (‘and’) and lack explicit numerals. However, based on the total sum of books is provided at the end of the list, one may conclude that each of these items also represents a separate manuscript present in one copy. I am grateful to Michael Hensley for bringing this list to my attention.

yətbāarak wa-səbhata nagh (ይትባረክ፡ ወስብሐተ፡ ነግህ፡), 'aryām 1 (አርያም፡ ፩፡),
mazmur 1 (መዝሙር፡ ፩፡),¹²³

- MS Kəbrān Gabrə'el, Ṭānāsee 1 (= Kebrān 1), fols 234vb–235r (1348–1371):¹²⁴ *mazgab 1* (መዝገብ፡ ፩፡),¹²⁵ *mazmur 1* (መዝሙር፡ ፩፡),¹²⁶ 'aryām 2 (አርያም፡ ፪፡), *yārba 'at mäsla 3 2* (ያርበዐት፡ ምስለ፡ ፫፡ ፪፡),¹²⁷ *yətbāarak 2* (ይትባረክ፡ ፪፡), *yārba 'at mäsla 'əzl 1* (ያርበዐት፡ ምስለ፡ ዕዝል፡ ፪፡), *salām 2* (ሰላም፡ ፪፡), *kəbr yə 'əti mäsla 'əṭāna mogar 1* (ክብር፡ ይእቲ፡ ምስለ፡ ዕጣነ፡ ሞገር፡ ፩፡),¹²⁸
- MS Qəfrəyā 'Urā Qirqos, Ethio-SPaRe UM-027, fol. 127ra–b (c. 1400):¹²⁹ *salām 2* (ሰላም፡ ፪፡), *mazmur 2* (መዝሙር፡ ፪፡),¹³⁰ *yətbāarak(?) 2* (ይትባረክ(?): ፪፡), 'aryām 2 (አርያም፡ ፪፡), *wāzemā hälle(?)lāt 2* (ዋዜማ፡ ሃሌ(?)ላት፡ ፪፡),¹³¹ *səmə 'anni 2* (ሰምዓኒ፡ ፪፡), *səbhata nagh* (ስብሐተ፡ ነግህ፡), *qənnəwāt* (ቅንዋት፡),¹³² *kəbr yə 'əti* (ክብር፡ ይእቲ፡),¹³³

¹²³ This term has also been interpreted as a reference to Psalters; cf. fn. 135.

¹²⁴ Erho 2015, pp. 107–108. The catalogue description of Hammerschmidt 1973, p. 89, only quotes the incipit and the information relevant for the dating of the list, but a full transcription of the inventory list is provided by Erho 2015, pp. 108–109. The items which could potentially be identified as single-type collections are not placed together as a group.

¹²⁵ For a discussion of possible other interpretations of this term, see fn. 138.

¹²⁶ This term has also been interpreted as a reference to Psalters; cf. fn. 135.

¹²⁷ Presumably, this refers to two manuscripts which each contained an 'arbā't collection and a šalast collection.

¹²⁸ Cf. fn. 121. The presence of a *kəbr yə 'əti* collection and an 'əṭāna mogar collection (another term used simultaneously for rare *Dəggwā*-type antiphons and a type of *qəne*) in one manuscript strengthens the hypothesis that *kəbr yə 'əti*, in the context of the early inventory lists, refers to collections of *qəne*, or perhaps its hypothetical, non-improvised precursors (see 1.5.4).

¹²⁹ This manuscript has been catalogued for the DOMLib produced within the framework of the Ethio-SPaRe by Stéphane Ancel, with the latest changes made by Hagen Peuken. The description, including a transcription of the text of the first inventory, is available at: https://mycms-vs03.rz.uni-hamburg.de/domlib/receive/domlib_document_00000406 [2021-03-23]. On fol. 263ra–b, a later book list appears, which, however, does not include any items connected to *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. For the dating, see Erho 2015, p. 110. In this list, no number is provided for items that are attested only once (the complete number of items given at the end of the list (87) agrees with this interpretation). As remarked by Erho 2015, p. 111, there is a tendency towards a coherent organisational principle, discernible especially in the case of the Old Testament books. The potential single-type collections are divided into several groups: the first three items are placed together, the second three are placed together, and the following two are placed together, while the last one appears later in the list together with other items.

¹³⁰ In other lists, this term has been interpreted as a reference to Psalters; cf. fn. 135. The identification of the books listed as *mazmur* with *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections is suggested by the presence of a separate item *Dāwit* (ዳዊት፡) elsewhere in the list.

¹³¹ Possibly, this refers to a collection of the antiphon type attested in MSS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMM 7618 (AD 1343/1344) and Paris, BnF Éth. 92 (fourteenth–fifteenth century); see Chapter 2 (2.3.4.3.17 and 2.3.9.2.11).

¹³² The inclusion of what appears to be a collection of *qənnəwāt* antiphons is also noteworthy: in the later tradition, these are considered a subgroup of 'asma la- 'ālam antiphons, which are both subsumed in the larger category of *mazmur*-family antiphons in the preserved single-type collections (cf. 1.4.4.1.37).

¹³³ See fn. 121.

- MS Saint Petersburg, RNB Dorn 612, fol. 161v (AD 1426):¹³⁴ 3 *mazmur* (፫መዝሙር:),¹³⁵ *kəbr yə ʾəti* (ክብር: ይእቲ:; no number is given, i.e. 1?),¹³⁶
- the four-gospel manuscript of Qoḥayn Dabra Māryām (the manuscript is dated to AD 1360/1361, the inventory list to *post* 1446):¹³⁷ *mazgab 1* (መዝገብ: ፩),¹³⁸ *maṣāḥəfta mazmur 3* (መጻሕፍተ: መዝሙር: ፫),¹³⁹ *mazmur salām 1* (መዝሙር: ሰላም: ፩),¹⁴⁰
- MS Lālibalā Beta Golgotā, EMMML 6934, fol. 3v (reign of King ʾĒskəndər, 1478–1494):¹⁴¹ *mazmur 2* (መዝሙር: ፪:),¹⁴² *ʾarbā ʾt 1* (አርባአት: ፩:), *salast 1*

¹³⁴ For a catalogue description of the manuscript, including the Geez text of the inventory list, see Turaev 1906a, pp. 12–13 (no. 4). The potential single-type collections are not placed together. The article ‘Abissinskij monastyr’ v Ierusalime i ego biblioteka’ published by Turaev in 1904 (= Turaev 1904a) which according to Platonov 1994, p. 176 contains a partial translation of this list, has not been available to me during the writing of this dissertation. Cf. also Conti Rossini 1923, pp. 508–511 (§ 42); Platonov 1994.

¹³⁵ In the previous literature, this item has ubiquitously been interpreted as a reference to Psalters. Conti Rossini 1923 translates ‘3 Salteri’ and Platonov 1994 ‘3 Psalters’ (Conti Rossini 1923, p. 508; Platonov 1994, p. 178). However, the list in MS Saint Petersburg, RNB Dorn 612 also includes as separate items *2 mazgaba Dāwit* (፪መዝገብ: ዳዊት:) and *45 leṭā Dāwit* (፵፩፪፻፵፫: ዳዊት:). These are translated by Conti Rossini 1923 as ‘2 Mazgaba Dāwit’ and ‘45 David semplicemente (lēṭā dāwit)’, and by Platonov 1994 as ‘2 Psalters with additions’ and ‘45 simple Psalters’, respectively. While Conti Rossini 1923 does not comment on the large number of Psalters listed under various titles, Platonov 1994 suggests that it ‘indicates that the library consisted mainly of gifts from donors’ (Platonov 1994, p. 179). Although we may never be able to identify the books that the scribe intended with certainty, I would suggest interpreting the *mazmur* manuscripts as single-type collections of ‘*mazmur*-family’ antiphons.

¹³⁶ See fn. 121. Conti Rossini 1923 comments that it ‘parrebbe un inno’ and Platonov 1994 writes in an endnote that it is ‘[a] collection of spiritual chants’ (Conti Rossini 1923, p. 511; Platonov 1994, p. 181).

¹³⁷ Bausi 1994, pp. 35–36 (Italian translation), p. 43 (edition); Erho 2015, p. 113; Villa 2018b, p. 68, fn. 37; Bausi 2020a, pp. 232–233. The first two potential single-type collections are placed together (together with an item *zəmmāre 2*, ዝማሬ: ፪), whereas the last is placed at the end of the list.

¹³⁸ This item is simply transliterated by Bausi 1994, Erho 2015, and Villa 2018b, but interpreted by Bausi 2020a, as a ‘Collection of Charters’ (Bausi 2020a, p. 232). This might be a possibility, but as we will see below (1.4.2.1.4), the designation *mazgab* is also attested for a manuscript containing multiple single-type collections, as well as for multiple-type collections. The placement of this item together with (other) liturgical manuscripts would seem to support this interpretation.

¹³⁹ This item is translated by Bausi 1994 as ‘3 Libri del *Salterio*’, a translation repeated in Bausi 2020a (Bausi 1994, p. 36, italics in the original; Bausi 2020a, p. 232). This seems reasonable, given that the inventory lacks other items that could be identified with the Psalter. However, Erho 2015 and Villa 2018b, more hesitantly, translate it as ‘Books of Songs’ and ‘books of *māzmur*-songs (Psalters?)’, respectively (Erho 2015, p. 113; Villa 2018b, p. 68, fn. 37, italics in the original). The possibility that it refers to collections of ‘*mazmur*-family’ antiphons should not be discarded, especially keeping in mind its placement next to the *mazgab* and an item *zəmmāre*.

¹⁴⁰ While the three first items are placed together in the list, *mazmur salām* appears at the end of the list together with other liturgical books (*salota ʾəṭān 1*, ጸሎተ: ዕጥን: ፩; *maṣḥafa gənzat 1*, መጽሐፈ: ግንዘት: ፩). It is unclear whether it should be interpreted as a collection of *salām* antiphons, of ‘*mazmur*-family’ antiphons and *salām* antiphon, or whether it refers to something else.

¹⁴¹ As pointed out by Erho 2015, this list follows a clear structure, grouping the manuscripts according to their genre (Erho 2015, p. 111). In a section obviously dedicated to *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, we find the first seven (plus one) items. After some other items of seemingly disparate nature (*gadla Teyo(!)dros 1*, ገድለ: ቱዮ(!)ድሮስ: ፩; *wangel(!) Yohannəs 1*, ወንጌል(!): ዮሐንስ:

- (ሰለስት: ፩:), *'aryām 1* (አርያም: ፩[:]), *salām 1* (ሰላም[:] ፩:), *wāzemā 1* (ዋዜማ: ፩[:]), *yətbārak 1* (ይትባረክ: ፩:), *mawāšə't 1* (መዋሥኦት[:] ፩[:]), added supralineally), *'Egzi'a(?)bəher nagša 1* (እግዚአ(?)ብሔር: ነግሠ: ፩:),
- MS Lālibalā Beta Gabrə'el, EMLL 6954, fol. 3v (reign of King 'Eskəndər, 1478–1494):¹⁴³ *mazmur 2* (መዝሙር: ፪:),¹⁴⁴ *'arbā't 1* (ዐርባዕት: ፩:), *wāzemā 2* (ዋዜማ: ፪:), *salām 1* (ሰላም: ፩:),
 - MS Ğammadu Māryām, EMLL 6977, fol. 6va–b (fifteenth–sixteenth century?): *mazmur* (መዝሙር:),¹⁴⁵ *'əzl* (ዕዝል:), *'arbā't* (አርባዕት:), *yətbārak* (ይትባረክ:), *salā(?)m* (ሰላ(?)ም:),
 - MS Ḥayq 'Eṣṭifānos, EMLL 1832, fol. 6va–b (sixteenth century):¹⁴⁶ *mazmur 1* (መዝሙር: ፩:),¹⁴⁷ *mazgab kəl'etu* (መዝገብ: ክልኤቱ:),¹⁴⁸ *1 salām* (፩[:] ሰላም:), *1 3* (፩: ፫:),¹⁴⁹ *2 wāzemā* (፪: ዋዜማ:).

The evidence from inventory lists, although in many cases open to different interpretations, seems to suggest that manuscripts containing single-type

፩:; *nagara(?) 'abaw 1*, ነገረ:(?) አበው: ፩:; *ta'amməra Māryām 1*, ተአምረ: ማርያም: ፩:), one more potentially antiphon-collection-related item follows. Does its placement indicate that this item was not considered as part of the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections on a par with the rest? Could it be that the *'Egzi'abəher nagša* in the list refers to the homonymous collection of five-line poems, rather than to an antiphon collection (see 1.4.4.1.8)?

¹⁴² In other lists, this term has been interpreted as a reference to Psalters; cf. fn. 135. The identification of this item with a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection is strengthened by its placement next to (other) single-type collections and by the appearance elsewhere in the list of an item *Dāwīt 2* (ዳዊት: ፪:).

¹⁴³ The list is organised according to genres, similar to the contemporary list in MS Lālibalā Beta Golgotā, EMLL 6934. All five potential single-type collections are placed together.

¹⁴⁴ In other lists, this term has been interpreted as a reference to Psalters; cf. fn. 135. The identification of this item with a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection is strengthened by its placement next to (other) single-type collections and by the appearance elsewhere in the list of an item *Dāwīt 2* (ዳዊት: ፪:).

¹⁴⁵ In other lists, this term has been interpreted as a reference to Psalters; cf. fn. 135. In the preserved parts of the list in Ğammadu Māryām, EMLL 6977, there are no other items that clearly refer to Psalters, making the identification of this item with a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection less certain.

¹⁴⁶ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, p. 294, date the hand to the sixteenth century, whereas Sergew Hable Selassie 1992, p. 253, dates it to the fourteenth century. The former seems more likely. I am grateful to Michael Hensley for discussing this list with me.

¹⁴⁷ In other lists, this term has been interpreted as a reference to Psalters; cf. fn. 135. The identification of this item with a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection is strengthened by the appearance elsewhere in the list of an item *Dāwīt 13* (ዳዊት: ፲፫:). Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, p. 294, suggest that the terms *mazmur* and *mazgab* may refer to the same work—I see no reason to interpret them in this way.

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of possible other interpretations of this term, see fn. 138. In his analysis of this list, Sergew Hable Selassie 1992, p. 253, translates the term *mazgab* as ‘Register’.

¹⁴⁹ In light of the other early inventory lists, this presumably refers to a single-type collection of *śalast* antiphons (cf. the lists in MSS Kəbrān Gabrə'el, Tānāsee 1 and Lālibalā Beta Golgotā, EMLL 6934, as well as the list on fol. 25rb in MS Ḥayq 'Eṣṭifānos, EMLL 1832). This item was not properly understood by Sergew Hable Selassie 1992, p. 253, and was left out by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, p. 294.

collections were called by the name of the antiphon type that they contain. For example, a collection of *'arbā 't* antiphons, at least in the context of inventory lists, appears to have been referred to as an *'arbā 't*. This general observation may facilitate the identification of single-type collections of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons in inventory lists in the future.

1.4.2.1.2 *Dəggwā*

Contemporarily, the most widely used and specific name for the type of collections of antiphons for the Divine Office which is the topic of this dissertation is arguably *Dəggwā* (ድገዳ). The term is of unclear etymology. The standard dictionaries provide definitions of the word that are primarily descriptive in nature:

- Dillmann 1865 provides two definitions for the word: a) ‘cantus ecclesiasticus’, and b) ‘liber celeberrimus [...] sive *thesaurus canticorum ecclesiasticorum, in quo canendi modi notis vel signis adscripti sunt*.’¹⁵⁰ A connection with Arabic ضج (*dağğā*, ‘be noisy, clamour, shout’) is suggested; however, this parallel entails irregular consonantal correspondences;
- Baeteman 1929, in his Amharic–French dictionary, defines ‘ድገዳ’ as an ‘antiphonaire pour tous les jours de l’année’,¹⁵¹ referring to the word ‘መድበል’ where ‘መድበል: ድገዳ’ is defined as ‘le “deggoua” en entier’;¹⁵²
- Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955 (Geez–Amharic) provides as an initial definition *ya-zemā maṣḥaf sām* (የዜማ: መጽሐፍ: ስም፤, ‘name of a book of *zemā* [i.e. liturgical chant]’).¹⁵³ This is followed by a discussion of the history and the nature of the *Dəggwā*, reminiscent of an encyclopaedia entry. The ‘numerological’ etymology which Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955 additionally provides is interesting: *da* (ደ), having the value of four, and *ga* (ገ) having the value of three, together make up the symbolically loaded number seven. Four could also stand for the four types of *'aqq'āq'ām* or liturgical dance (*qum*, *zammāme*, *maragd*, and *ṣəḫāt*, which in turn symbolise the Four Living Creatures), whereas three could also stand for the three musical modes attributed to St Yāred (*gə 'z*, *'əzl*, and *'arārāy*, on which see 1.4.5.2);¹⁵⁴
- Leslau 1991 defines *Dəggwā* as an ‘antiphonary supplied with cantillation signs indicating the proper intonation of hymns’.¹⁵⁵ The only parallel

¹⁵⁰ Dillmann 1865, col. 1130; italics in the original.

¹⁵¹ Baeteman 1929, p. 951 (s.v. ድገዳ).

¹⁵² Baeteman 1929, p. 109 (s.v. መድበል).

¹⁵³ Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955, pp. 338–339.

¹⁵⁴ Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955, pp. 338b–339a; cf. also Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 341, fn. 33. Another example of a numerological analysis is found in Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 216.

¹⁵⁵ Leslau 1991, p. 125.

evidence that he quotes is the same word in Amharic. In addition, references to two catalogues are provided.

Another etymology was proposed by Mondon-Vidailliet in 1922.¹⁵⁶ The word *Dəggwā*, he writes, is related to an (unspecified) root meaning ‘perfectionner, produire, publier’, and he suggests that the term may be connected to a revision of the text.

A more extensive discussion of the term *Dəggwā*, building on the explanations presented in the Amharic-language literature, is provided by Habtemichael Kidane 1998.¹⁵⁷ He mentions two main proposals:

- a) the term is derived from the verb *dagdaga* (ደገደገ), translated by Habtemichael Kidane 1998 as ‘essere sottile’, ‘dimagrire’, ‘esaurire’. In the context of the *Dəggwā*, the term is supposed to refer to the small size of the letters with which *Dəggwā* manuscripts are written;¹⁵⁸
- b) the term is derived from the Tigrinya verb *dagwā* ‘a (ደገወገ), translated as ‘lamentarsi’, ‘piangere’, ‘cantare le lodi piangendo’, ‘cantare le lodi di un morto, ricordando le sue gesta’,¹⁵⁹ but apparently also with the connotations of ‘comporre una poesia o un canto molto sentimentale’ and ‘parlare con ricercatezza e con proprietà di termini’.¹⁶⁰ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 also records a tradition according to which this Tigrinya word refers to ‘una regione elevata rispetto alle circonvicine’—this could then be used with reference for the antiphon collection either because it originates in such a region or because its musical style is reminiscent of the music there (specifically, Habtemichael Kidane 1998 adds in a parenthesis, in ‘*Ēndertā* in *Təgrāy*).

In the end, Habtemichael Kidane 1998 concludes that both these suggested etymologies ‘sembrano [...] etimologie popolari poco soddisfacenti’.¹⁶¹ It seems that the conclusion remains the same as from the outset: the origin of the term is shrouded in mystery. Let us instead turn to the question of the dating of the term. In the prefaced colophons of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts, the

¹⁵⁶ ‘La musique éthiopienne’, *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire*, (1922), 3179–3196, cols 3191a–b (C. Mondon-Vidailliet).

¹⁵⁷ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 48–51; cf. also Habtemichael Kidane 1996, pp. 356–358. Habtemichael Kidane 2017 appears to provide ‘Thesaurus’ as an English translation of *Dəggwā* (Habtemichael Kidane 2017, p. 333). This use could be influenced by the term *Mazgab* or, perhaps more likely, by the compound *Mazgaba Dəggwā* (see 1.4.2.1.4).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. also Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 74; Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 169; *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2006, p. viii.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. also ‘Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966, p. 47; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 74; *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2006, p. viii; Berhanu Makonnen apud Heldman and Shelemay 2017, p. 69. This is considered by the author of the preface of the *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2006 to be the ‘principal translation’ (‘ዋናው ትርጓሜ’; *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2006, p. viii).

¹⁶⁰ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 49.

¹⁶¹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 50.

term *Dəggwā* appears at least from the seventeenth century onwards.¹⁶² However, the term is also attested in a book list from the second half of the sixteenth century,¹⁶³ as well as in a marginal note in a manuscript possibly dating from around the same time.¹⁶⁴ In literary works, I have only found attestations from the

¹⁶² For a survey of the prefaced colophons, see Appendix 1. Examples of seventeenth-century *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections whose prefaced colophons include the term *Dəggwā* are found in MSS Saint Petersburg, RNB Orlov 33, fol. 3 (early seventeenth century; cf. Turaev 1906a, pp. 67–70); and Ḥayq 'Ēstifānos, EMMML 2061, fol. 5ra (AD 1657/1658).

¹⁶³ The earliest attestation of the term *Dəggwā* in an inventory list known to me is found in the manuscript Paris, BnF Éth. 160, fol. 83v, datable to the second half of the sixteenth century (see Conti Rossini 1918; for the list, esp. p. 282). I am grateful to Michael Hensley for bringing this list to my attention. Another relatively early attestation of the term in an inventory list appears in the manuscript Gunda Gunde, GG-034, whose main content is the *Hāymānota 'abaw* (CAe 1586). On fol. 193rb–vb, the manuscript contains an inventory list datable to AD 1691/1692, which includes several of the titles for antiphon collections in current use (*Dəggwā*, *Ṣoma Dəggwā*, *Mə 'rāf*, *Zəmmāre*, *Mawāṣā 't*). Of special interest is an item located towards the end of the list: 2 *ṭəre (ma)zmur* (፪፻፩፡ (መ)ዝመር፡), i.e. '2 primitive *Mazmur*'. This, I would argue, is probably a reference to the two manuscripts Gunda Gunde, GG-185 and Gunda Gunde, GG-187 (see Chapter 2, 2.3.7 and 2.3.8), which contain single-type collections of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons. Other inventory lists which include the title *Dəggwā* are found in: 1) MS London, BL Or. 520 (fol. 267v; the list is dated to the reign of King Gigār, 1821–1830); 2) MS London, BL Add. 16197 (fol. 248; the list is not dated); 3) MS Paris, BnF Éth. 112 (fol. 4r; the Amharic-language list of books in the possession of the 'couvent de Dabra-Zahāy' is placed after a deed issued by King Takla Hāymānot (r. 1769–1777), the beginning of whose reign presumably provides a *terminus post quem* for the list; I am grateful to Sophia Dege-Müller for bringing this inventory list to my attention); 4) MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Tānāsee 112 (= Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 1, fol. 4v; Six 1999, p. 56 interprets a comment in the inventory list as an indication that the listed objects (manuscripts and others) were donated by King Śarṣa Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597); however, it would seem that only seven crosses are claimed to be a donation of the king); 5) MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Tānāsee 125 (= Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 14, fols 141va–b; cf. Six 1999, pp. 112–113; the main text of the manuscript is dated to the middle of the sixteenth century on palaeographical grounds, but the list is not dated); 6) MS Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 68 (fol. 107v; cf. Erho 2015, pp. 113–115). The latter list, partly in Amharic and containing books in the possession of the monastery of Tānā Qirqos, is not dated, but probably datable to the seventeenth or eighteenth century (cf. Erho 2015, p. 113, esp. fn. 49). Apart from modern antiphon collections, the list includes 2 *yāltamalakkata Dəggwā* (፪፻፩ተመለከተ፡ ድጋ፡, in this context probably meaning 'two *Dəggwās* without *malakkāt*'). Erho 2015—with all probability with reason—interprets this as a reference to MS Tānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 (Erho 2015, p. 115, fn. 53; see Chapter 2, 2.3.4). The numeral indicates that at the time when the list was put together, MS Tānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 was not the only *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscript without *məlakḳat* extant at Tānā Qirqos.

¹⁶⁴ The manuscript in question is MS London, BL Or. 534, whose main content is the *Mazmura Krastos* attributed to 'Abbā Bāhrəy (CAe 2002). In the margin of one folio of this work (fol. 37r, l. 18), the source of one line in the thirty-third psalm is marked with the word *Dəggwā* (ድጋ፡). The note appears to be written by the same hand as many of the other marginal notes (although at least one other hand also seems to have contributed to these notes). As for the line which is marked as originating in the *Dəggwā*—'*əlla za-ba-samāy fānota deganu*' (አለ፡ ዘበሰማይ፡ ፍኖተ፡ ዴጎት፡, 'those who followed the path that is in heaven')—I have not been able to identify it in the (very restricted) textual corpus studied in Chapter 3. MS London, BL Or. 534 is dated by Wright 1877 to AD 1582 (Wright 1877, pp. 82–84, esp. p. 82), a date which may probably be extended also to the marginal notes. The same note is found in the margins of later manuscripts containing the *Mazmura Krastos* attributed to 'Abbā Bāhrəy: Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. quart. 996, fol. 41r, l. 2 (seventeenth century) and Addis Ababa (private collection), EMMML 3473, fol. 23r, l. 17 (twentieth century?). I am grateful to Sophia Dege-Müller for bringing this attestation of the term *Dəggwā* to my attention.

eighteenth century onwards.¹⁶⁵ This relatively late attestation of the term *Dəggwā* may support the idea of concentrating the search for an etymology in the modern languages of Ethiopia, although my survey of attestations has been far from comprehensive. To conclude, it might be pointed out that for some authors, the term *Dəggwā* is also used as an umbrella term covering all the liturgical books ascribed to St Yāred.¹⁶⁶

1.4.2.1.3 *Māhleta Yāred*

In the earliest prefaced colophons, found in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts from the sixteenth century onwards (Colophon A), the collections are called *Māhleta Yāred* or *Maḥāləya Yāred* (ማላሉት ያሬድ፡ or መኃልየ፡ ያሬድ፡, ‘The Song(s) of Yāred’).¹⁶⁷ This designation is not encountered in any of the inventory lists that I have consulted, but appears as a possible book title in at least one seventeenth-century literary work.¹⁶⁸ In other historical texts, the term rather

¹⁶⁵ In the genealogy found at the beginning of the chronicle of King ‘Iyāsu II (r. 1730–1755) published by Guidi 1910, 1912, the reign of King Gabra Masqal is characterised by the words *ba-mawā ‘əlihu darasa Yāred maṣḥafa mazmur za-wə ‘ətu Dəggwā* (በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ደረሰ፡ ያሬድ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዘውሐተ፡ ድን፡, ‘in his days, Yāred composed the Book of *Mazmur*, which is the *Dəggwā*’; Guidi 1910, p. 5 (edition); Guidi 1912, p. 5 (French translation); one manuscript has *ba-mawā ‘əlihu darasa Yāred mazmura* (በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ደረሰ፡ ያሬድ፡ መዝሙረ፡, ‘in his days, Yāred composed the *Mazmur*’). Later in the chronicle, a list of books donated by Queen Bərḥān Mogasā to the church of Dabra Šaḥay including 3 *Dəggwā* (፫ድን፡) is found (Guidi 1910, p. 99 (edition); Guidi 1912, p. 107 (French translation)). Still later, the abilities of the clergy of the church of Dabra Šaḥay are tested, and among the areas in which they excel is in knowledge of the *ṣawātəwa Dəggwā məsla zəmmāme* (ጸዋትው፡ ዜማ፡ ምስለ፡ ዝማሜ፡, ‘the species of *Dəggwā* with *zəmmāme*’; Guidi 1910, p. 100 (edition); Guidi 1912, p. 109 (French translation); *zəmmāme*, at least in the modern terminology, refers to a type of ‘*aqq’āq’ām*’; cf. ‘*Zəmmame*’, *EAE*, V (2014), 175a–175b (A. Damon-Guillot). In another text dating from the same time, the so-called *History of Nārgā*, a list of the books donated by King ‘Iyāsu II and his mother Queen Bərḥān Mogasā to the church of Nārgā Šəllāse in 1737/1738 is found. This list includes a *maṣḥafa zemāhu la-Yāred za-wə ‘ətu Dəggwā* (መጽሐፈ፡ ዜማሁ፡ ለያሬድ፡ ዘውሐተ፡ ድን፡, ‘Book of the *Zemā* of Yāred, which is the *Dəggwā*’). In the *Acts of Qāwəṣtoṣ* edited by Raineri 2004c and more recently by Hiruie Ermias 2021, there is an episode where ‘*Abbā* ‘Isāyāyās, the teacher of ‘*Abbā* Ḥəywat Bəna Baṣəyon (great grandfather of St Qāwəṣtoṣ), gives a large number of books, including twelve books of *zemā*, three books of the *Dəggwā*, two books of the *Zəmmāre* and the *Mawāśə ‘t*, and one book of the *Qəddāse*, to ‘*Abbā* Ḥəywat Bəna Baṣəyon for him to bring with him to Šawā (Raineri 2004c, p. 82 (edition), p. 83 (Italian translation); Hiruie Ermias 2021, p. 32 (edition), 132–133 (English translation)), where he then spends nine teaching *zemā*. While St Qāwəṣtoṣ flourished in the thirteenth–fourteenth century, the text in its present form is said to be ‘relatively late’ (‘Qāwəṣtoṣ’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 266a–267a (D. Nosnitsin)—I am not in a position to make a more precise dating.

¹⁶⁶ Taddesse Tamrat 1985 refers to the *Mə ‘rāf* as part of the *Dəggwā* (Taddesse Tamrat 1985, p. 141); cf. also Velat 1966a, p. 50.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. MSS Dabra Bərḥān Šəllāse, EMLL 1894, fol. 6r (sixteenth century); ‘Ankobar Giyorgis, EMLL 2542, fol. 5r (sixteenth century); Ğarr Šəllāse, EMLL 7174, fol. 5r (sixteenth century); Dabra Tābor Waratā Giyorgis, EMLL 8804, fol. 1r (fifteenth–sixteenth century).

¹⁶⁸ The *Acts of Marqorewos*, fragments of which have been published by Conti Rossini 1904a, 1904b, includes a list of books which the saint (?) studied. While the Marqorewos in question flourished in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, the text has been dated to the seventeenth century (cf. ‘Marqorewos’, *EAE*, III (2007), 788a–789a (G. Lusini)). The list includes, next to almost exclusively biblical books, the *māhleta Yāred manfasāwi* (ማላሉት ያሬድ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡, the ‘Spiritual song of Yāred’ or the ‘Song of the spiritual Yāred’; Conti Rossini 1904a, p. 19 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904b, p. 20 (Latin translation)).

appears to refer to the practice of performing *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection, or perhaps the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office at large.¹⁶⁹ The term is etymologically transparent. Noteworthy is, however, the explicit mention of St Yāred (see 1.5.2).

1.4.2.1.4 *Mazgab*

Another term, sometimes used with reference to *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections and sometimes with other meanings, is *Mazgab* (መዝገብ, ‘Treasure’). As mentioned above, this is the term encountered in the only preserved colophon of a manuscript containing single-type collections, MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618, probably dated to AD 1343/1344 (see Chapter 2, 2.3.4). In the colophon, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (2.3.4.1), the manuscript is repeatedly referred to as *zəntu Mazgab* (ዝንቱ መዝገብ, ‘this *Mazgab*’). MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618, in its present state, contains seventeen different single-type collections, and it is possible that the term *Mazgab* was used specifically for this type of ‘collections of single-type collections’. However, at the present state of our knowledge, this remains speculative.

The term *Mazgab* is also encountered relatively frequently in later, multiple-type collections. Colophon B, attested from the seventeenth century onwards, regularly states that the collection was put together ‘*əm-bəzuḥān/t mazāgəbt* (እምብዙኃን/ት መዝገብት, ‘from many *Mazgabs*’).¹⁷⁰ In Colophon D, also attested from the seventeenth century onwards, the collection itself is referred to as *zəntu mazgab ‘abiy* (ዝንቱ መዝገብ፡ ዐቢይ, ‘this large *Mazgab*’).¹⁷¹ Furthermore, in the more or less standardised ownership notes that frequently appear at the end of prefaced colophons (see Appendix 1), the owner is often introduced as the *ba ‘āla-zə mazgab* (በዓለዝ መዝገብ, ‘owner of this *Mazgab*’) or similar.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ In the chronicle of King Śārṣa Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597) as published by Conti Rossini 1907a, 1907b, there is an episode in which a church is prepared, among whose clergy are included ‘*alla yaḥalləyu mazmura māḥlet za-Yāred kama lamāda beta krəstiyān ityopyāwit* (አለ፡ የኃልዩ፡ መዝሙር፡ ማሳሌት፡ ዘያሬድ፡ ከመ፡ ልማድ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ[፡], ‘those who sing the *mazmur* of the *māḥlet* of Yāred according to the usage of the Ethiopian church’; Conti Rossini 1907a, p. 65 (edition), Conti Rossini 1907b, p. 75 (French translation)). Furthermore, already in the chronicle of King Ba’əda Māryām (r. 1468–1478), there is a passage in which the people of ‘Angot receives the king with *dabtarās* performing the *māḥlet* (Perruchon 1893, p. 135; edition and French translation). This passage, which lacks an explicit reference to St Yāred, has previously been discussed by Tadesse Tamrat 1985, p. 140 and Tedros Abraha 2009, pp. 401–402. The latter—perhaps reading too much into this brief episode—takes this as an indication of that King Zar’a Yā’qob (r. 1434–1468), father of King Ba’əda Māryām, left a ‘legacy of having preserved and enhanced the Yaredian corpus’, so that ‘[b]y the time his son inherited the throne, the *māḥlet*, that is, the employment of the Yaredian text and song in the liturgy, was a firmly entrenched practice’ (Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 402; italics in the original).

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix 1.

¹⁷¹ See Appendix 1.

¹⁷² Cf., for example, MSS Uppsala, UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 1r (AD 1668); Gubbālāfto Waldəyā Mikā’el, EMMML 3400, fol. 1r (AD 1653/1654); Māy Wayni, EAP526/1/40, fol. 4r (seventeenth century); Ḥayq ‘Ēstifānos, EMMML 2045, fol. 5r (seventeenth century); Dabra Dāmmo, Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 2r (seventeenth century). In MS Māy Rāzā Takla Hāymānot, Ethio-SPaRe

However, there are no certain attestations of the use of the term *Mazgab* in inventory lists, only a few potential ones.¹⁷³ It is difficult to speculate about why certain titles are considered suitable for inventory lists and others are not. A more comprehensive study of inventory lists would be needed to confirm the rarity of this term in them.

Next to the use of *Mazgab* in reference to *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections—both single-type and multiple-type—the term is also used for collections of charters and other documentary texts.¹⁷⁴ According to Wion and Bertrand 2011, this usage of the term is attested ‘at least during the Gondarine era’.¹⁷⁵

Habtemichael Kidane, in one place, suggests that *Mazgaba Dəggwā* (መዝገብ፡ ድገ፡, ‘The Treasure of the *Dəggwā*’) refers specifically to the combination of the part of the *Dəggwā* used during the Great Fast with the rest of the collection, i.e. to the inclusion of antiphons for the complete yearly circle in one collection.¹⁷⁶

According to Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, the *Mazgaba Dəggwā* is instead a ‘detailed’ version of the *Dəggwā*.¹⁷⁷

1.4.2.1.5 *Mazmur*

The term *Mazmur* (መዝሙር፡, ‘psalm, hymn, song’) is occasionally attested as a title in non-standardised prefaced colophons from the seventeenth century and onwards, especially in ‘smaller’ collections.¹⁷⁸ In certain catalogues, noticeably the latter ones of the EMMML microfilm collection held at the HMML, *Mazmurs* have been catalogued separately from other *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections; however, as far as I know (and see the examples in fn. 178), collections with *Mazmur* as their title are as a rule not structurally different from *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections with other titles, unlike, for example, the *Ziq*. The term appears in Colophon B (see Appendix 1), one of the standardised prefaces also

THRM-008, fol. 138rb, ll. 2–3 (late seventeenth–early eighteenth century), the term *Mazgab* appears in a note following after the ‘*Anqaša halletā*’ (see 1.4.5.4.1).

¹⁷³ See 1.4.2.1.1, esp. the inventory lists in MS Kəbrān Gabrə’el, Ṭānāsee 1 and in the four-gospel manuscript of Qohayn Dabra Māryām. The term *Mazgab* reportedly also occurs in an inventory list in MS ‘Ankobar Madḥane ‘Ālam, EMMML 2426 (fol. 159v); cf. Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 478. The cataloguers have suggested that this could refer to a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection (Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 610; index, s.v. ‘Mazgab’).

¹⁷⁴ Cf. ‘Archives and libraries. I. Archives, b) Medieval and modern archives in Ethiopia and Eritrea’, *EAE*, V (2014), 245a–248a (G. Fiaccadori), esp. 246a; Brita in Delhey et al. 2015, p. 9.

¹⁷⁵ Wion and Bertrand 2011, p. x. I am grateful to Nafisa Valieva for bringing this publication to my attention.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Hymns’, *EAE*, III (2007), 99a–102b (Habtemichael Kidane).

¹⁷⁷ Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 170.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. MSS ‘Andəl Qəddəst Māryām, Ethio-SPaRe MA-004, fol. 38ra (late seventeenth–early eighteenth century); Masāqo Šəllāse, EMMML 2842, fol. 4r (seventeenth–eighteenth century); Dabra Gannat ‘Elyās, EMDA 00458, fol. 5ra (twentieth century?). MS Addis Ababa, IES 2148 (= EAP286/1/1/470) is called a *Dəggwā* in the prefaced Colophon C (fol. 5r), but a *Mazmur* in the colophon at the end of the Season of Supplication (fol. 47ra). In his catalogue of the Comboniani collection in the Vatican, Raineri 2000 designates several antiphon collections (which appear to be of the *Dəggwā* type) as *Mazmur*, presumably based on titles occurring in the manuscripts themselves (Raineri 2000, pp. 43–44 (no. 51), 53–55 (no. 60), 58–59 (no. 63)).

attested since the seventeenth century, where, the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection is introduced as an *ʾastagābā ʾota mazmur* (አስተጋብሎት መዝሙር፡, ‘collection of *mazmur*’). It is unclear if this should be interpreted as a title or not. According to Furioli 1982–1983, the title *Mazmur* refers to a particular version of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections containing ‘tutti i canti da eseguire nelle domeniche dell’anno durante il Qumet (mattutino) [i.e. the morning prayer]’.¹⁷⁹

When attested in inventory lists, the title *Mazmur* poses significant problems. As it seems, the term can be used in at least three different senses:

- a) as a title of ‘smaller’ *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, typically in non-standardised prefaced colophons (see above);
- b) based on the naming habits of single-type collections (see 1.4.2.1.1), it would be expected that single-type collections containing *mazmur*-family antiphons would be named in this way, and indeed, as we have seen above (1.4.2.1.1), items entitled *Mazmur* are on several occasions found among (other) single-type collections in early inventory lists;
- c) additionally, the term is sometimes used with reference to the biblical Book of Psalms, as a short form of *Mazmura Dāwit* (መዝሙር፡ ዳዊት፡, ‘The Psalms of David’).¹⁸⁰

When encountered in an inventory list, the age of the list and the nature of other antiphon collections (are they single-type or multiple-type?) in most cases allow us to determine whether the term *Mazmur* could refer to a single-type collection of *mazmur*-family antiphons or a multiple-type collection with this title. But is it possible to unambiguously distinguish *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections with this title from Psalters? Probably not. A hint may be provided by the placement of the item within the inventory list (i.e. is it placed among antiphon collections, among Old Testament books or somewhere else?) and by the occurrence of other terms which less ambiguously refer to Psalters (e.g. *Dāwit*).¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Furioli 1982–1983, p. 64. The same article has been also published, with minor variants, as Furioli 1982 and later again, in English, as Furioli 2011.

¹⁸⁰ For example, this usage of the term *Mazmur* is attested in the *Mazmura Krastos* attributed to ʾAbbā Bāhray (CAe 2002), whose earliest witness is MS London, BL Or. 534 (AD 1582?). In this work, the term *Mazmur* (መዝሙር፡), sometimes elaborated with a psalm number, appears in the margin in order to signal places in the text which were taken from the Book of Psalms (ex. fols 24v, l. 17; 27r, l. 18; fol. 37r, ll. 4, 5, 15).

¹⁸¹ For example, the inventory list on fols 141va–b in MS Tānāsee 125 (Dāgā ʾEṣṭifānos 14), catalogued by Six 1999, pp. 112–113, includes both an item *mazmur 1* (መዝሙር፡ ፩፡) and an item *Dāwit 2* (ዳዊት፡ ፪፡). The main text of the manuscript is dated by Six 1999 to the sixteenth century, but no date is provided for the inventory list. In the list, the item *mazmur* is placed next to an item *zammāre* [...] (ዝማሬ፡ [...]), whereas the item *Dāwit* is placed together with the Old Testament books at the beginning. These circumstances, I would argue, indicate that the item *mazmur* probably refers to a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection. Inventory lists which include *mazmur* and *Dāwit* as separate items are also found in: a) MS Ganāḥti Qəddəst Māryām, Ethio-SPaRe GMG-001, fol. 1r (loose leaf?, recent); b) MS ʾAddigrāt Madḥane ʾĀlam, Ethio-SPaRe AMM-008, fol.

1.4.2.1.6 *Sanbat 'aməññe and Sanbata 'amin*

Repeated mentions of a specific version of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections entitled *Sanbat 'aməññe* (ሰንበት፡ አምኛ፡, Amh. ‘While I believe in the Sabbath’) or *Sanbata 'amin* (ሰንበተ፡ አሚን፡, ‘Sabbath of faith’) are found in the previous literature. Guidi 1896a, reporting what he learnt from *Dabtarā* Kəfle Giyorgis, writes that ‘i piccoli *degguā* che servono per l’ufficiatura ordinaria delle domeniche, si chiamano volgarmente ሰንበት፡ አምኛ “per la domenica sono tranquillo” cioè ho il libro che mi serve per la domenica’.¹⁸² According to Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, *Sanbat 'aməññe* is the name of a ‘collection drawn from the *Dəggwā*’ (ከድጋው የተውጣጣ እስትጉቡእ). He records traditions connecting it to Gondar as well as to Šawā.¹⁸³ Furioli 1982–1983 defines the ‘Sembete Amin’ as a ‘grosso libro che contiene tutti i canti liturgici per le feste principali dell’anno, eccetto quelli delle domeniche’.¹⁸⁴ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, using the same title as Furioli 1982–1983, writes that the ‘Sanbata 'Amin’ is a ‘manuale contenente l’indispensabile per la celebrazione di alcune feste annuali, commemorazioni mensili e celebrazioni domenicali’,¹⁸⁵ adding that it is used in churches which cannot afford to possess all the liturgical books necessary for the Divine Office. The word ‘ሰንበት፡ አምኛ፡’ is also included in Kane’s Amharic-English dictionary, where it is defined as a ‘collection of hymns drawn from the *Dəggwā* hymnal for the ordinary office on Sunday’.¹⁸⁶

As far as I have been able to ascertain, this term does not occur in any of the prefaced colophons of the manuscripts in the Major Corpus. Interestingly, it appears on the metadata sheet attached to the digitised microfilms of the manuscripts Ṭānā Qirqos, EML 8488 (a fifteenth-century *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscript); Dabra Tābor Waratā Giyorgis, EML 8804 (a sixteenth-century *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscript); and Dabra Mankərāt Takla Hāymānot, EML 9110 (an eighteenth-century *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscript).¹⁸⁷ Perhaps one may presume that the digitisers interpreted these smaller collections as abbreviated in comparison with modern, expanded *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. The title also appears on the inside of the wooden covers of MSS Dabra Gannat 'Elyās, EMDA 00458 and Dimā

53vb (main text from AD 1917/1918); c) MS Gol'ā Dabra Yoḥānnəs, Ethio-SPaRe BGY-008, fols 253va–254ra (main text from AD 1770–1831). The inventory list in MS 'Aḥzarā Dabra Məḥrat Qəddəst Māryām, Ethio-SPaRe DMA-001, fol. 138va–b (inventory list possibly dating from between AD 1634 and 1646) contains an item *l mazmur* (፩መዝሙር፡), but in the absence of other items identifiable with Psalters, it remains uncertain to what this refers.

¹⁸² Guidi 1896a, p. 403; italics in the original.

¹⁸³ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 84.

¹⁸⁴ Furioli 1982–1983, p. 64.

¹⁸⁵ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 46.

¹⁸⁶ Kane 1990, p. 540b.

¹⁸⁷ For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Chapter 2 (2.4.11, 2.4.13, and 2.6.2).

Giyorgis, EMDA 00401, clearly added by a recent hand, as well as in a book list in the eighteenth-century manuscript London, BL Or. 681.¹⁸⁸

1.4.3 The structure of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections

After this survey of terms used for referring to *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections and the manuscripts that contain them, we turn now to the terminology used *within* *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. In order to examine this in a systematic manner, we will follow the internal structure of such a collection, so that terms that belong to the same level of organisation are discussed together. *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections—especially in their multiple-type execution prevailing since the fifteenth century—contain a large number of antiphons, organised according to a strictly hierarchical system. Displayed schematically, this structure can be described as follows:

- I. a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection consists of *commemorations*, which are arranged in the sequence of the *liturgical calendar*,
- II. a commemoration, in turn, consists of sections containing *antiphons* of different types, which are, to varying degrees, arranged in the sequence of *services*.

All the terms printed in italics could be discussed at length, especially if a diachronic perspective is applied. Below, only short introductions will be dedicated to, in turn, the liturgical calendar (1.4.3.1) and the concepts of commemorations (1.4.3.2), services (1.4.3.3), and types of antiphons (1.4.4.1).

1.4.3.1 The liturgical calendar

The liturgical calendar provides the backbone of a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection. It is reflected in a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection in such a way that the beginning of the collection corresponds to the beginning of the liturgical year, and the end of the collection to the end of the liturgical year. In general, a study of the liturgical calendars in contemporary and historical use within Ethiopic Christianity is a desideratum. Regarding the liturgical calendar encountered in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, Jeffery 1993 has provided an initial analysis, based on one of the printed editions (*Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966).¹⁸⁹ The calendar analysed by Jeffery 1993 appears to present a larger set of commemorations than what is commonly found in earlier *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections;¹⁹⁰ however,

¹⁸⁸ The list is partially reproduced in Wright 1877, p. 66, where the reading ‘አጥኚ’ should probably be corrected to ‘አጥኚ’.

¹⁸⁹ For an introduction to *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966, see Chapter 2 (2.7.4). A list of commemorations is found on pp. 401–403. A similar list is found in Takle Sirak 2016, pp. 46–51.

¹⁹⁰ For example, within the Season of Flowers, the commemorations of Elisha the Prophet, Mary, Luke the Evangelist, Habakkuk the Prophet, and ‘*Abbā*’ ‘Abaydo—listed by Jeffery 1993 frequently found in post-sixteenth-century Group A collections (see Chapter 2, 2.2)—are missing

a full-scale analysis of the historical development of the liturgical calendar encountered in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

The liturgical year can be subdivided in different ways. A common subdivision, frequently reflected in the layout of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts¹⁹¹ and mentioned in the secondary literature,¹⁹² is a quadripartite division into four *liturgical seasons*: a Season of John the Baptist (ዮሐንስ፣, *Yohannās*),¹⁹³ a Season of Supplication (አስተምሕሮ፣, *ʾAstamḥəro*),¹⁹⁴ a Season of the [Great] Fast (ጸም፣, *Ṣom*),¹⁹⁵ and a Season of Easter (ፋሲካ፣, *Fāsikā* or ትንሣኤ፣, *Tənsāʾe*). Due to the emergence of a separate manuscript transmission of the Season of the Great Fast in the seventeenth century,¹⁹⁶ in some manuscripts this surfaces as a tripartite subdivision.¹⁹⁷

in numerous, if not most of the single-type collections (see the descriptions of individual collections in Chapter 2, 2.3).

¹⁹¹ For reasons of time, the marking of such divisions could not be included in the study in Chapter 4. The systematic study of the visual realisation of such markings, therefore, remains a topic for future research.

¹⁹² Cf. Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 80–82.

¹⁹³ There is a tradition according to which the *Dəggwā* was originally a quadripartite work with one volume for the year of Matthew, one for the year of Mark, etc. The only volume said to have survived the mythologised destructions of Gudit (tenth century?) and ʾAḥmad Grāññ (sixteenth century) is the volume for the year of John. See Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, pp. 8–9, and also the third text published by Getatchew Haile 2017, according to which ‘one season only’ has come down to us, and ‘the (other) three seasons are hidden in the River Tākkāzi’ (Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 296 (edition), pp. 300–301 (English translation)). Although this may seem like too easy an explanation, I wonder if the origin of this tradition could lie in a misinterpretation of the nature of the ‘Season of John’, reading it as a reference to John the Evangelist rather than as a reference to John the Baptist. Such misinterpretations are encountered in modern literature (cf. Woube Kassaye 2018, p. 133, who writes that the first season ‘consists of hymns on the life of Johannes, the Evangelist’; cf. also Woube Kassaye 2005, p. 187). Based on this misunderstanding, the idea could have arisen that there was originally one *Dəggwā* that started with a ‘Season for Matthew’, one that started with a ‘Season of Matthew’, etc.

¹⁹⁴ In the wake of the merging of the phonemes /h/ and /ħ/ (and /h/) in the traditional pronunciation of Geez, a discussion has arisen concerning the correct name of this season: is it *ʾAstamḥəro* (አስተምሕሮ፣, ‘supplication’) or *ʾAstamḥəro* (አስተምህሮ፣, ‘teaching, instruction’)? In the absence of a philological study of the usage of the respective forms, I have chosen to follow Fritsch 2001, pp. 129–130, esp. fn. 29, in adopting the form *ʾAstamḥəro* (አስተምሕሮ፣) with the translation ‘supplication’ (cf. also Grébaut 1944, p. 54; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 54–55; Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 9; the opposite opinion is represented by Velat’s informants (cf. Velat 1966a, p. 32, fn. 5); Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 80; Berhanu Makonnen apud Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, p. 90). The form *ʾAstamḥəro* is, furthermore, the one attested in the early antiphon collections preserved in MSS ʾAgwazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-VIII*/XIII (fol. 4) and Lālibalā Beta ʾAmānuʾel, EMMML 6944 (fol. 48rb).

¹⁹⁵ Lee 2016 contends that the *Ṣoma Dəggwā* is used ‘during lent and other long fasts’ (Lee 2016, p. 130); it is unclear which ‘other long fasts’ are intended.

¹⁹⁶ As mentioned in fn. 22, there has been—since at least the seventeenth century—a practice of transmitting the Season of the [Great] Fast in separate manuscripts. The reason for this separate transmission is presumably to be sought in a decrease in the use of the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office (see 1.4.3.3, and also the discussion in Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 365), which resulted in a situation where it is regularly performed only during the Great Fast and other most solemn occasions. Parallel to the emergence of manuscripts containing only the Season of the [Great] Fast

Next to the subdivision of the liturgical year into liturgical seasons, there is a subdivision of the liturgical year into *liturgical periods*, which is more deeply related to the text of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections itself.¹⁹⁸ Liturgical periods are generally not marked in the layout of the manuscripts; instead, they are reflected in the distribution of commemorations for Sundays, ferial days (i.e. weekdays on which no special feast is celebrated), and saints' days (*kəbra qəddusān*; see 1.4.3.2). Lists of the liturgical periods are found in Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, and are occasionally encountered as paratexts in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts.¹⁹⁹ As indicated above (1.2.2), one of these liturgical periods—the Season of Flowers (ዘመነ፡ ጸሌ፡, *Zamana Şəge*)—plays a special role in this dissertation.

1.4.3.2 Commemorations

The building blocks of the liturgical calendar are the commemorations, the Church's institutionalised remembering of persons (biblical characters, saints) and events (in the life of Christ, in biblical history, in ecclesiastical history). In a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection, the commemorations have their concrete expression in sets of antiphons designated to be performed during the liturgical celebration of the person or event in question in church. The commemorations in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections are of three main types:

(i.e. the ጸሐ፡ ጸጸ፡, *Şoma Dəggwā*, '[Season of the] Fast of the *Dəggwā*') was the appearance of manuscripts containing only the three remaining seasons, i.e. the Season of John the Baptist, the Season of Supplication, and the Season of Easter. It is not unthinkable that, at least in some cases, manuscripts of both types were created by extracting the quires which contained the Season of the Great Fast from manuscripts which originally contained antiphons for the entire liturgical year. Possibly, liturgical developments contributed to this change in the manuscripts transmission—Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 79 adduce as one reason for the emerge of the *Şoma Dəggwā* as a separate book that the Season of Supplication had 'expanded considerably during the seventeenth century, partly by reduplicating portions borrowed from Lent'—but further research is required to understand this process. Next to the *Şoma Dəggwā* manuscripts containing only the Season of the [Great] Fast and the three-season manuscripts containing only the three remaining seasons, manuscripts containing the complete liturgical year also continued to be produced.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. *Maşhafa Dəggwā* 1966, p. 398. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 devotes some pages to discussing why the *Dəggwā* is *not* divided into four seasons instead, either according to the natural seasons recognised within the Ethiopian culture (*kəramt*, *maşaw*, *ḥagāy*, *şaday*) or according to the four seasons reportedly present in the *Sənkəssār* (*Yohannəs*, *ʾAstamḥəro*, *Fāsikā*, *Kəramt*; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 55–56). He concludes that this is most probably due to Coptic influence. However, as noticed above, the quadripartite division appears to be more original. Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, writes that the *Dəggwā* is divided into three main parts, then lists four (Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 169). Ashenafi Kebede 1980 writes that the *Dəggwā* is divided into five parts, placing the *Mə'rāf* on the same level as the seasons (Ashenafi Kebede 1980, p. 33).

¹⁹⁸ Cf. 'Calendar: Christian calendar', *E Ae*, I (2003), 668a–672b (E. Fritsch and U. Zanetti), esp. pp. 669a–670a. The liturgical periods of the end of the year take their names from the incipits of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons associated with them (Velat 1966a, p. 32, fn. 4).

¹⁹⁹ Velat 1966a, pp. 30–33 (based on a list found in a *Gəşşāwe* manuscript); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 57–58. Cf., for example, MSS Ġarr Šəllāse, EMMML 7174, fol. 4rc; Lālibalā Na'akkwəto La'ab, EMMML 7529, fol. 104ra.

- a) commemorations pertaining to the celebration of a specific saint (e.g. St Mary Magdalene, St Takla Hāymānot) or event (e.g. the First Council of Nicaea, the Finding of the True Cross);
- b) ‘common commemoration’, i.e. commemorations pertaining to a category of saints. These sets of antiphons are used when a community wishes to celebrate a saint for which they do not have a specific commemoration.²⁰⁰ Examples of categories of saints include bishops (ዘጳጳሳት፣ *za-pāppāsāt*), female saints (ዘአንስት፣ *za-’anəst*), martyrs (ዘሰማዕት፣ *za-samā’t*), and righteous ones (ዘጸድቃን፣ *za-ṣādqān*);
- c) antiphons for liturgical periods (see 1.4.3.1). These are often divided into three parts: one for Sundays (ዘሰንበት፣ *za-sanbat*, or ዘሰናበት፣ *za-sanābat*), one for ferial days (ዘወትር፣ *za-watr*, or ዘዘወትር፣ *zaza-watr*), and one for the common commemorations of saints specifically within this period (ዘክብረ፡ ቅዱሳን፣ *za-kəbra qəddusān*, ‘for the honour of the saints’).

In this dissertation, commemorations are referred to by their English name in the text and a transcription of the Geez name (as attested in the source) in parentheses. For the commemorations within the Season of Flowers, which are frequently referenced, the Geez names have not been included in every instance. Instead, a selection of variants of their Geez names are presented below in Table 1.

Table 1. Commemorations frequently encountered within the Season of Flowers.

| | | |
|---------------------|--|---|
| 25 Maskaram | Peter and Paul / End of <i>Kəramt</i> | <i>Pētros wa-Pāwəlos / Ša’ata Kəramt</i> |
| 30 Maskaram | Children of Zebedee | <i>Daqiqa Zabdeḡos / Yā’qob wa-Yohannəs</i> |
| 4 Ṭəqəmt | Kings | <i>Nagašt / ‘Abrəha wa-’Aṣbəha</i> |
| 6 Ṭəqəmt | Pantalewon | <i>Pantalewon</i> |
| 26 Maskaram–5 Həḍār | Sundays in the Season of Flowers | <i>za-sanābat za-Šəge / za-Šəgeyāt</i> |
| 26 Maskaram–5 Həḍār | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers | <i>zaza-watr za-Šəge / za-Šəgeyāt</i> |
| 26 Maskaram–5 Həḍār | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers | <i>kəbra qəddusān za-Šəge / za-Šəgeyāt</i> |
| 12 Ṭəqəmt | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the | <i>Mikā’el wa-Māteḡos</i> |

²⁰⁰ Cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 59. Valieva 2019 reports of this practice in connection with the liturgical celebration of St Lālibalā (Valieva 2019, p. 194).

| | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Apostle | |
| 14 Ṭəqəmt | 'Abbā 'Aragāwi | 'Aragāwi |
| 17 Ṭəqəmt | Stephen the Protomartyr | 'Ḥṣṭifānos |
| | common for deacons | za-tazkāra diyāqonāt |
| | Elisha the Prophet | 'Elsā |
| 21 Ṭəqəmt | Mary | Māryām |
| 22 Ṭəqəmt | Luke the Evangelist | Luqās |
| 23 Ṭəqəmt | 'Abbā Yəm'attā | Yəm'attā |
| | məhəllā in the Season of Flowers | məhəllā za-Ṣəge / za-Ṣəgeyāt |
| 3 Ḥədār | Habakkuk the Prophet | 'Enbaqom |
| 4 Ḥədār | 'Abbā 'Abaydo | 'Abaydo |
| 5 Ḥədār | 'Abbā Yoḥanni | 'Abbā Yoḥanni |

1.4.3.3 Services

The commemorations have their concrete realisation in liturgical services performed in church. This is where the antiphons of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections have their natural habitat and where they are performed publicly from memory by the *dabtarās*. The services of the 'cathedral' Divine Office are, at least according to the modern practice, performed in the first section of the church building, the *qəne māhlet* (ቅኔ፡ ማጎሌት፡),²⁰¹ most often in the eve or night before a feast.²⁰² Although the *Dəggwā* and related books seem to envision a situation in which the services are performed on a daily basis,²⁰³ most sources agree that this is not the common practice in the modern tradition.²⁰⁴ Instead, in the present practice as described in the literature, the 'cathedral' Divine Office is performed only before major feasts and, importantly, during the Great Fast.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Hailu Habtu 1997, p. xx.

²⁰² On fasting days, when *Qəddāse* is celebrated after noon, the different services of the 'cathedral' Divine Office is nonetheless performed in direct connection to it, i.e. in the morning. Cf. Fritsch 2001, pp. 29–30; Damon-Guillot 2012, p. 85.

²⁰³ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 297.

²⁰⁴ Habtemichael Kidane 1996, p. 353, Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 6; Fritsch 2001, pp. 29–32. Velat 1954, on the other hand, seems to suggest a more common use (Velat 1954, pp. 22–23). Different reasons have been adduced for the rare performance of these services; for example, it has been explained by a 'manque de chanteurs qualifiés' (Velat 1966a, p. 432, specifically about why the *səbhata nagh* service is not performed on a daily basis).

²⁰⁵ It is tempting to interpret this as a result of the 'Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit' postulated by Baumstark 1927. Cf. also Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 329.

The main services of the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office in the Ethiopic tradition are the following:²⁰⁶

- the *wāzemā* service, broadly corresponding to First Vespers in the Western liturgical tradition,
- the *səbhata nagh* service, broadly corresponding to Matins or Lauds in the Western liturgical tradition,
- the *mawaddəs* service, a dominical morning service performed before—or incorporating, depending on interpretation—the *səbhata nagh* service on Sundays,
- the *kəštata ʾaryām* service, a long morning service performed instead of (or before?) the *səbhata nagh* service on a number of major commemorations during the year,
- the three Minor Hours, corresponding to Terce, Sext, and None in the Western liturgical tradition.

To these services can be added the *məhəllās*, regularly recurring days of prayer and adjuration consisting of a ferial *wāzemā* service, a *səbhata nagh* service (according to the order used within the Great Fast), and the three Minor Hours. In previous literature, the *məhəllā* has frequently been considered as a service on its own, because it has its own chapter in the *Mə ʾrāf* (the liturgical book which provides the common structure of these services).

Depending on the solemnity of a particular commemoration, the number and nature of the services which are or may be performed varies. In the hierarchy of services, as attested by *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, the *səbhata nagh* service occupies the lowest position, meaning that if, within a commemoration, only the antiphons of *one* service are attested, it is those of the *səbhata nagh* service.²⁰⁷ Often, however, a *wāzemā* service precedes the *səbhata nagh* service. As mentioned above, the use of the *mawaddəs* service is restricted to Sundays, and the use of the *kəštata ʾaryām* service is still more restricted. The three Minor Hours are only performed during the Great Fast and, as mentioned, during the *məhəllā*.

In the following sections, descriptions of the services that make up the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office in the Ethiopic liturgical tradition are provided. The focus is on the *Dəggwā*-type antiphons performed during the course of the services, other elements having been mentioned only insofar as they interact with the *Dəggwā*-

²⁰⁶ This analysis differs in detail from the one provided by Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998. Velat 1966a, following the indigenous tradition codified in the *Mə ʾrāf*, treats ‘the office of the Great Fast’ (*Ṣom*) and the *məhəllā* as separate offices. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 reanalyses ‘the office of the Great Fast’ as variants of other offices, but lists the *məhəllā* as a separate office.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Fritsch 2001, p. 32.

type antiphons in a meaningful way. The descriptions depend largely on the information provided by Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998,²⁰⁸ to whom the reader is directed for a fuller picture of the structure of these services.

1.4.3.3.1 *wāzemā service*

The *wāzemā* service (ዋሴማ፣, of unclear etymology), also called *sark* (ሰርካ፣, ‘evening’)²⁰⁹ and *maḥātəw* (መታተው፣, ‘candles’),²¹⁰ is the evening service of the Ethiopic Divine Office.²¹¹ Similar to the First Vespers of Western Christianity, this is the first office of a given day, generally celebrated on the eve before a feast.²¹² According to the traditional interpretations, the word *wāzemā* derives from the exclamation *wāy zemā* (ዋይ፡ ዘሴማ፣, ‘what a *zemā*!’), uttered by St Yāred in marvel at hearing the celestial chant.²¹³

²⁰⁸ The descriptions in Taft 1993, pp. 262–266 are based on the same sources and lack precise information about the use of antiphons. Damon-Guillot 2012 and Mebratu Kiros Gebru 2012, pp. 65–68 also provide descriptions of the services, but they are less precise (for example, Damon-Guillot 2012 does not indicate which psalms are performed when, and Mebratu Kiros Gebru 2012 does not specify the types of individual antiphons). The order of the antiphons in the offices during the Great Fast is introduced by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 85–88. Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 6 identify only an evening service and the morning service, describing the *səbhata nagh* service, the *mawaddəs* service, and the *kəštata ‘aryām* service as ‘different names’ for ‘different forms’ of the morning service. Similarly, Furioli 1982–1983, p. 64 distinguishes only an evening service, which he calls ‘Waziema’, and a morning, which he calls ‘Qumet’.

²⁰⁹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 309. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 writes that the term *sark*, ‘[n]ella tradizione manoscritta’, seems to be used primarily with reference to the ferial *wāzemā* service. Within the corpus studied in this dissertation, the term is only encountered in conjunction with *wāzemā* as *wāzemā za-sark* (ዋሴማ፣ ዘሰርካ፣) and only in manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth century (cf., for example, MSS Ġarr Šəllāse, EMMML 7174, fol. 26va, l. 28; Dāgā ‘Īstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172, fol. 13ra, l. 28; 13va, ll. 12–13; Kəbrān Gabrə‘el, EMMML 8678, fol. 3rb, l. 29).

²¹⁰ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 311–314.

²¹¹ For introductions to the *wāzemā* service, see Velat 1966a, pp. 297–302; Taft 1993, p. 263; and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 308–335; cf. also Winkler 1974, pp. 82–83. Dillmann 1865, in the entry for ዋሴማ፣, does not mention the service, defining the word in the following way: ‘modus quidam cantandi hymnos ecclesiasticos, nec non hymnus hoc modo cantatus’ (Dillmann 1865, col. 928). However, among the examples that he provides, there is one phrase from the *Gadla Takla Hāymānot*—እምጽ፡ኅረ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ ዋሴማ፣, ‘after the completion of the *wāzemā*’—where it would appear that the service, rather than the antiphon type, is intended. As explained by Dillmann 1865 in the Prolegomena (Dillmann 1865, col. xi), he consulted the *Gadla Takla Hāymānot* as attested in MS London, BL Add. 16257 (= no. 45 in Dillmann 1847, pp. 49–50); however, no more precise indication is given as to where this phrase is to be found.

²¹² Cf. fn. 202.

²¹³ Cf. Euringer 1935, p. 153; Velat 1966a, p. 297. This etymology, characterised by Leslau 1991, p. 624 as ‘doubtful’, is criticised by Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 310 based on the idea that ‘il classico ge‘ez preferisce usare piuttosto il vocabolo: *mahlēt* che il vocabolo *zemā*, per definire il canto’—although the etymology is certainly problematic, the argument brought forward by Habtemichael Kidane 1998 is not convincing, given the widespread use of the word *zemā* also in early sources (cf., for example, the pre-mid-fourteenth-century ‘*arbā‘t* collection in MS Lālibālā Beta Giyorgis, EMMML 7078 (ex. fols 50v, 62v, 66v, 67v) and the pre-mid-fourteenth-century *salām* collection in MS ‘Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-VIII*/XIII (ex. fols 31r, 31v, 34v, 36r)). In one place, Habtemichael Kidane 1998 questions the age of the term *wāzemā*, arguing that *maḥātəw* is the original name of the evening office (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 311, 313–314)—however, the presence of the term *wāzemā* in the pre-mid-fourteenth-century *salām* collection in MS

The *wāzemā* service appears in two forms: a festive form, performed during Sundays and feast days, and a ferial form.²¹⁴ According to the descriptions of Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998,²¹⁵ seven *Dəggwā*-type antiphons are performed during the course of the festive *wāzemā* service:²¹⁶

1. a *wāzemā* antiphon performed on its own,
2. a *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon performed together with Ps. 23 [LXX],
3. an *’Ēgzi’abəher nagśa* antiphon performed together with Ps. 92 [LXX],²¹⁷
4. a *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon performed together with Ps. 140 [LXX],²¹⁸
5. a *yətbārak* antiphon performed together with Ct. IX,²¹⁹
6. a *śalast* antiphon performed together with [the first lines of] Ps. 101 [LXX],²²⁰
7. a *salām* antiphon (in the musical mode *gə’z*²²¹) performed with [‘le début’ of] Ps. 84 [LXX].²²²

The ferial *wāzemā* service differs from the festive, for example by the inclusion of different psalms. Instead of Pss. 23 and 92 [LXX], two psalms are chosen according to a scheme which presupposes the singing of the entire Psalter in one

²¹⁴ Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-VIII*/XIII (ex. fol. 57r; see Chapter 2, 2.3.14) and in the pre-mid-fourteenth-century *yətbārak* collection in MS ‘Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-XX (ex. fols 36r, l. 8; 37r, l. 8) seems to testify to its presence in the earliest attested stage of the terminology related to the Divine Office. In another place, discussing names of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, Habtemichael Kidane 1998 writes that *wāy zemā* is ‘[I]’unico termine, sembra vantare antiche origini’ (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 50; cf. also Habtemichael Kidane 1996, p. 358)

²¹⁴ Velat 1966a, p. 39. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 seems to suggest that the ferial *wāzemā* service only occurs during the Great Fast (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 314, 316, 327–335).

²¹⁵ Velat 1966a, p. 299 (cf. also the schematic representation in Velat 1966a, pp. 128–129); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 315.

²¹⁶ This description largely agrees with what is presented by Damon-Guillot 2012, pp. 86–87. According to her, the latter part of the service, including the parts containing the *yətbārak* antiphon, the *śalast* antiphon, and the *salām* antiphon, are sometimes excluded due to lack of time. Cf. also Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 85, where the antiphons of the *wāzemā* service performed on the first Sunday of the Great Fast (i.e. *Za-warada*, 𐌹𐌸𐌸𐌹𐌸, ‘He who descended’), including an additional *maḥātəw* antiphon (1.4.4.1.16), are listed.

²¹⁷ Velat 1966a writes that the *’Ēgzi’abəher nagśa* antiphon is performed with Ps. 140 [LXX] and the second *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon with Ps. 92 [LXX] (Velat 1966a, p. 299)—clearly, this must be a typographical error and the *’Ēgzi’abəher nagśa* antiphon is performed together with Ps. 92 [LXX] (with the incipit 𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸: 𐌹𐌸𐌸𐌹𐌸: 𐌹𐌸𐌸𐌹𐌸: 𐌹𐌸𐌸𐌹𐌸: [...]) and the *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon with Ps. 140 [LXX], as indicated by Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 315; cf. also Velat 1966a, p. 128.

²¹⁸ Cf. fn. 217.

²¹⁹ According to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, the *yətbārak* antiphon is performed together with Ct. VIII (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 315, 331)—this would seem to be a typographical error, given that he later on only discusses the use of Ct. IX (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 321).

²²⁰ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 lacks the indication that only the first lines of this psalm are performed.

²²¹ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 300.

²²² Habtemichael Kidane 1998 lacks the indication that only the beginning of this psalm is performed.

week.²²³ These psalms are both performed with *ba-ḥammāstu* antiphons. Ps. 140 [LXX], the third psalm of the festive *wāzemā* service, is substituted by Ps. 50 [LXX] during the ferial *wāzemā* service, performed with an *'arbā 't* antiphon. According to Velat 1966a, the musical mode of Ps. 50 [LXX] depends on the melodic family of the *'arbā 't* antiphon (1.4.4.1.4).²²⁴ Ct. IX is not performed during the ferial *wāzemā* service and, consequently, the *yətbārak* antiphon is missing. In summary, the following six antiphons are performed during the ferial *wāzemā* service:

1. a *wāzemā* antiphon performed on its own,
2. a *ba-ḥammāstu* antiphon performed together with a psalm that varies depending on the weekday,
3. another *ba-ḥammāstu* antiphon performed together with a psalm that varies depending on the weekday,
4. an *'arbā 't* antiphon performed together with Ps. 50 [LXX],
5. a *śalast* antiphon performed together with [the first lines of] Ps. 101 [LXX],
6. a *salām* antiphon (in the musical mode *gə 'z*²²⁵) performed with ['le début' of] Ps. 84 [LXX].

As indicated above, the term *wāzemā* also refers to type of antiphons performed at the beginning of the evening service (see 1.4.4.1.29) and a type of *qəne* performed during the evening service.²²⁶

1.4.3.3.2 *səbhata nagh service*

The *səbhata nagh* service (ሰብሐተ ነግሣ፣ 'morning praise') is the most common morning office in the Ethiopic 'cathedral' Divine Office.²²⁷ It is performed after the *wāzemā* service, immediately preceding the *Qəddāse*.

According to Velat 1966a, there are four different forms of the *səbhata nagh* service: a festive form, a ferial form, a form reserved for the Season of Flowers, and a form reserved for the Great Fast.²²⁸ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, on the other hand, lists six forms, distinguishing 'major' and 'minor' variants of the festive

²²³ For the weekly scheme of psalms, see Velat 1966a, p. 301.

²²⁴ Velat 1966a writes that the mode is *gə 'z* if an *'arbā 't* antiphon belonging to the melodic family *Qəne dābtarā* [13] is performed, and *'əzl* if an *'arbā 't* antiphon belonging to the melodic family *'Asābā 'ihu* [31] is performed (Velat 1966a, p. 302).

²²⁵ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 300.

²²⁶ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 297, fn. 2.

²²⁷ For introductions to the *səbhata nagh* service, see Velat 1966a, pp. 432–440; Taft 1993, pp. 264–265; and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 336–358. Furioli 1982–1983 does not describe the structure of the morning service but refers to it as 'Qumet' (Furioli 1982–1983, p. 64).

²²⁸ Velat 1966a, p. 40; cf. also Velat 1966a, p. 432.

form and adding a special *səbhata nagh* service of Holy Saturday, although the variations, he asserts, are minor.²²⁹

According to the descriptions of Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998,²³⁰ the festive *səbhata nagh* service contains the following *Dəggwā*-type antiphons. Antiphons that are included only in the description of Velat 1966a have been placed in square brackets; antiphons that are included only in the description of Habtemichael Kidane 1998 have been placed in curly brackets.

1. [an 'angargāri antiphon performed on its own,]
2. [an 'əsmā la- 'ālam antiphon (in the musical modes gə 'z²³¹) performed on its own,]
3. [a salām antiphon pertaining to the *kidān*,]²³²
4. an 'əzl antiphon (naturally, in the musical mode 'əzl²³³) performed on its own,
5. {a za- 'amlākiya antiphon performed together with Pss. 62, 91, 5, 64 [LXX],}²³⁴
6. a za-yə 'əze antiphon performed²³⁵ together with Ct. XV,
7. a yətbārak antiphon performed²³⁶ together with Ct. IX,²³⁷

²²⁹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 336–337. Cf. also Taft 1993 and Habtemichael Kidane 1996, where a special form for the Holy Week is also added (Taft 1993, pp. 264–265; Habtemichael Kidane 1996, p. 353).

²³⁰ Velat 1966a, pp. 436–439 (cf. also the schematic representation in Velat 1966a, p. 137); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 341–342. Velat's schematic representation of description of the festive *səbhata nagh* service contains certain essential pieces of information which appear to be missing from the other descriptions.

²³¹ Velat 1966a, p. 439.

²³² This element is not included in the description by Habtemichael Kidane 1998. Velat 1966a writes that a '*Salām du Kidān*' (Velat 1966a, p. 137; italics in the original) is performed; it is not clear to me what is meant by this expression, but it is listed as a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon.

²³³ Velat 1966a, p. 438. According to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, a corresponding antiphon in the musical mode gə 'z designated as gə 'z *həyanta* 'əzl or *həyanta* 'əzl (ግዕዝ: ህዋሃተ: ዕዝል: ህዋሃተ: ዕዝል:; 'gə 'z instead of 'əzl', 'instead of 'əzl') is performed during 'I' Ascensione, la Pentecoste, la Trasfigurazione, la settimana di *Gäbre-hēr*, ecc.' (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 191–192; italics in the original).

²³⁴ The element is not included in the description by Velat 1966a, according to whom these psalms are performed only with a za- 'amlākiya qəne (cf. Velat 1966a, p. 137).

²³⁵ The za-yə 'əze antiphon can be sung in any of the three modes depending of the mode of the accompanying Ct. XV (Velat 1966a, p. 439).

²³⁶ First Velat 1966a writes that the yətbārak antiphon is performed in the musical mode 'əzl (Velat 1966a, p. 438), then he writes that it can be sung in any of the three modes depending of the mode of the accompanying Ct. IX (Velat 1966a, p. 439).

²³⁷ According to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, Ct. IX is performed together with a *māhlet* antiphon (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 341). Given that *māhlet* antiphons are typically associated with Ct. X, this would seem to be a typographical error. Cf. fn. 239.

8. a *māhlet* antiphon (in the musical mode ‘əzl²³⁸) performed together with Ct. X,²³⁹
9. three (?) *səbhata nagh* antiphons (in the musical mode ‘əzl²⁴⁰) performed together with the so-called *sabbəhəwwə* psalms (i.e. Pss. 148, 149, 150),²⁴¹
10. an ‘*abun* antiphon(s) performed before and after an antiphon (?) taken from the *Mawāsə’t*,²⁴²
11. [an ‘*asma la-‘ālam* antiphon performed on its own,]
12. a (second) ‘*asma la-‘ālam* antiphon performed on its own, possibly exchangeable (?) for a *qənnəwāt* antiphon (both in the musical mode ‘*arārāy*²⁴³),²⁴⁴
13. a *śalast* antiphon performed together with Ps. 101 [LXX],
14. a *salām* antiphon (in the musical mode ‘əzl²⁴⁵) performed together with Ps. 84 [LXX],

According to the descriptions of Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998,²⁴⁶ the ferial *səbhata nagh* service contains the following *Dəggwā*-type antiphons:

1. an ‘əzl antiphon performed on its own,
2. {a *za-‘amlākiya* antiphon performed together with Pss. 62, 91, 5, 64 [LXX],}
3. {a *yətbārak* antiphon performed together with Ct. IX,²⁴⁷}
4. a *māhlet* antiphon performed together with Ct. X,²⁴⁸

²³⁸ Velat 1966a, p. 438.

²³⁹ According to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, Ct. X is performed together with a *yətbārak* antiphon (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 341). Given that *yətbārak* antiphons are typically associated with Ct. IX (with the incipit ይቅባሉ: አግዛእብሔር, *yətbārak* ‘*Ḥgzi’abəher*, ‘May the Lord be blessed’), this would seem to be a typographical error. Cf. fn. 237.

²⁴⁰ Velat 1966a, p. 439.

²⁴¹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does not specify if one or several *səbhata nagh* antiphons are performed.

²⁴² According to the description of Habtemichael Kidane 1998, the ‘*abun* antiphon seems to be performed only before the antiphon (?) taken from the *Mawāsə’t*.

²⁴³ Velat 1966a, p. 439.

²⁴⁴ According to the description of Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 341, the day of the week determines whether an ‘*asma la-‘ālam* or a *qənnəwāt* antiphon should be performed. See 1.4.4.1.10.

²⁴⁵ Velat 1966a, p. 439.

²⁴⁶ Velat 1966a, p. 434 (cf. also the schematic representation in Velat 1966a, p. 136); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 341–342.

²⁴⁷ According to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, Ct. IX is performed together with a *māhlet* antiphon (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 341); this would seem to be a typographical error. Cf. fn. 237.

²⁴⁸ According to the in-text description of Velat 1966a, the *māhlet* antiphon is performed together with Ct. IX (see Velat 1966a, p. 434). However, in the schematic representation of Velat 1966a, Ct.

5. one *səbhata nagh* antiphon performed together with the so-called *sabbəḥəww* psalms (i.e. Pss. 148, 149, 150),²⁴⁹
6. an *'abun* antiphon performed on its own,
7. an *'əsmā la- 'ālam* antiphon performed on its own,
8. a *śalast* antiphon performed together with Ps. 101 [LXX],
9. a *salām* antiphon (in the musical mode *'əzl*²⁵⁰) performed together with Ps. 84 [LXX].

A detailed description of the *səbhata nagh* service during the Great Fast is given by Velat 1966a;²⁵¹ I will not summarise it here, as it is not of immediate relevance to this study. One point to be noted is, however, that in the present-day practice, there exists a special form of the *səbhata nagh* service used during the Season of Flowers. According to the description of Habtemichael Kidane 1998, it differs from the regular ferial *səbhata nagh* service through the substitution of Pss. 62, 91, 5, 64 [LXX] and Ps. 50 [LXX] with parts of the Song of Songs.²⁵² No information is provided about the fate of the *za- 'amlākiya* antiphon otherwise performed with the first set of psalms. Velat 1966a goes into even less detail in his description of this form of the *səbhata nagh* service, simply stating that the manuscripts provide the text of the Song of Songs (notated in *'əzl*) and that the *məqnāy* also derives from this biblical book.²⁵³

Next to the use of the term *səbhata nagh* as the name of a service, Velat 1966a records four additional meanings: as an antiphon-type designation (see 1.4.4.1.26) and as a name for Ps. 62 [LXX], or Ct. IX, or Ct. X.²⁵⁴

X is performed together with a *māhlet* antiphon (see Velat 1966a, p. 136). Additionally, in the edition and translation, the element 'M-10' (which in the in-text description is associated with the antiphon in question) consists of Ct. IX (Velat 1966a, p. 453; Velat 1966b, p. 236). Thus, I think that one may presume that 'Ct IX' in the in-text description is a typographical error. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, as noticed above (fn. 239), states that Ct. X is performed together with a *yətbārak* antiphon (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 341), which, again, must be understood as a typographical error, as *yətbārak* antiphons are typically associated with Ct. IX (see 1.4.4.1.30).

²⁴⁹ In the schematic representation (Velat 1966a, p. 136), the psalms are listed as Pss. 142 [LXX], 149, and 150—a typographical error?

²⁵⁰ Velat 1966a, p. 435.

²⁵¹ Velat 1966a, pp. 472–477 (esp. 475).

²⁵² In Habtemichael Kidane's description of the *səbhata nagh* service in the Season of Flowers, the performance of a *māhlet* antiphon and a *yətbārak* antiphon is not mentioned (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 346–347). However, based on what appears to be a ubiquitous occurrence of these antiphon types in the commemorations of the Season of Flowers on which this study is based (for the example of the commemoration of Pantalewon, see Chapter 3), it would appear that this is a mistake (or he considered their presence there self-evident from the occurrence of Ct. IX and Ct. X, with which they are performed).

²⁵³ Velat 1966a, pp. 439–440.

²⁵⁴ Velat 1966a, p. 432.

1.4.3.3.3 *mawaddās service*

The *mawaddās* service (መወደስ፣ ‘praise, laud’) is a form of dominical morning service performed before the *səbhata nagh* in the night between Saturdays and Sundays.²⁵⁵ Velat 1966a stresses that it is performed on every Sunday, with no changes made during the Great Fast or similar special periods,²⁵⁶ although Habtemichael Kidane 1998 lists a number of feasts which, if they fall on a Sunday, according to him suppress the *mawaddās* service.²⁵⁷ According to Damon-Guillot 2012, this service is also called *mazmur* (መዝሙር፣).²⁵⁸ Velat 1966a notes that the *mawaddās* office frequently cannot be carried out in its entirety due to time constraints.²⁵⁹

During the course of the *mawaddās* service—as described by Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998²⁶⁰—the following *Dəggwā*-type antiphons are performed. Again, antiphons that are included only in the description of Velat 1966a have been placed in square brackets, whereas antiphons that are included only in the description of Habtemichael Kidane 1998 have been placed in curly brackets.

1. a *mazmur* antiphon (in the musical mode ‘əzl) performed on its own,
2. a *za-’amlākiya* antiphon (in the musical mode ‘arārāy) performed together with Ps. 62 [LXX],
3. an ‘*arbā’t* antiphon (in the musical mode *gə’z*) performed together with Ps. 5,
4. an ‘*arbā’t* antiphon (in the musical mode *gə’z*) performed together with Ps. 41 [LXX],
5. an ‘*arbā’t* antiphon (in the musical mode ‘arārāy) performed together with Ps. 44 [LXX],
6. {an ‘*arbā’t* antiphon performed together with Ps. 45 [LXX],}²⁶¹
7. {an ‘*arbā’t* antiphon performed together with Ps. 46 [LXX],}²⁶²

²⁵⁵ Velat 1966a, p. 40; ‘Māwāddās’, *EAE*, III (2007), 876a-b (Habtemichael Kidane). For introductions to the *mawaddās* service, see Velat 1966a, pp. 338–347; Taft 1993, p. 264; and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 274–280. Damon-Guillot 2012 also contains a description, which, however, is much shorter compared to the other sources (cf. Damon-Guillot 2012, p. 93).

²⁵⁶ Velat 1966a, p. 338.

²⁵⁷ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 274.

²⁵⁸ Damon-Guillot 2012, p. 93, fn. 19.

²⁵⁹ Velat 1966a, p. 338.

²⁶⁰ Velat 1966a, p. 341 (cf. also the schematic representation in Velat 1966a, pp. 130–132); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 275 (the description is based on MS Vatican, BAV Vat. et. 131, fols 111v–113). For information about the musical mode in which individual antiphons are performed, see Velat 1966a, pp. 344–345.

²⁶¹ According to the Velat 1966a, this psalm is performed together with a ‘*Deggua* tiré du Ps 45’, not listed as a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon (Velat 1966a, p. 131; italics in the original).

8. an *'arbā't* antiphon (in the musical mode *gə'z*) performed together with Ps. 47 [LXX],
9. {a *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon performed together with Ps. 48 [LXX],}²⁶³
10. {a *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon performed together with Ps. 49 [LXX],}²⁶⁴
11. an *'arbā't* antiphon (in the musical mode *gə'z*) performed together with Ps. 50 [LXX],
12. {a *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon performed together with Ps. 117 [LXX],}²⁶⁵
13. [an *'əzl* antiphon (in the musical mode *'əzl*) performed on its own,]
14. [a *za-yə'əze* antiphon (in the musical mode *gə'z* or *'əzl*) performed together with Ct. XV,]
15. [a *māḥlet* antiphon performed together with Ct. X,]
16. [a *səbhata nagh* antiphon (in the musical mode *'arārāy*) performed together with the so-called *sabbəḥəwwo* psalms (Pss. 148–150),]
17. [an *'əsmā la- 'ālam* antiphon²⁶⁶ (in the musical mode *gə'z*) performed on its own,]
18. [an *'abun* antiphon performed before and after a *mawāśə't* antiphon,]
19. [a *śalast* antiphon performed with the incipit of Ps. 101 [LXX],]
20. [a *salām* antiphon (in the musical mode *'əzl*) performed together with the incipit of Ps. 84 [LXX].]

For Habtemichael Kidane 1998, the *mawaddəs* service ends before the performance of the *'əzl* antiphon. Everything from this point onwards is part of the following *səbhata nagh* service (although what follows does not in all details conform to what Habtemichael Kidane 1998 describes for the dominical *səbhata nagh* service; cf. 1.4.3.3.2).

²⁶² According to the Velat 1966a, this psalm is performed together with a *qəne* of the type *mawaddəs* (Velat 1966a, p. 131).

²⁶³ According to Velat 1966a, Ps. 48 [LXX] is performed with a '*Dəggua* tiré du Ps 48', not listed as a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon (Velat 1966a, p. 131; italics in the original).

²⁶⁴ According to Velat 1966a, Ps. 49 [LXX] is performed with a '*Ba-ḥaməstou* du *Me'erāf*', not listed as a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon (Velat 1966a, p. 131; italics in the original). However, this antiphon is listed by Taft 1993, p. 264.

²⁶⁵ According to Velat 1966a, Ps. 117 [LXX] is performed with an '*Arbā'et* tiré du Ps 117', not listed as a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon (Velat 1966a, p. 131; italics in the original). However, this antiphon seems to be listed by Taft 1993, p. 264.

²⁶⁶ During the Great Fast, four *'əsmā la- 'ālam* antiphons are performed, two in the musical mode *gə'z* and two in the musical mode *'əzl* (Velat 1966a, p. 341).

The term *mawaddäs* is also a) the name of a marginal type of antiphons (1.4.4.1.18), b) the name of a type of *qāne*,²⁶⁷ c) the name of the first part of the *mawaddäs qāne*,²⁶⁸ and d) according to Grohmann 1919, the metric form displayed by the *mawaddäs qāne* (thirteen rhymed lines).²⁶⁹

1.4.3.3.4 *kāstata* 'aryām service

The *kāstata* 'aryām service (ከሥተተ፡ ኦርያም፡, 'revelation of the highest heaven'), also known as *kāstat za-* 'aryām (ከሥተተ፡ ዘኦርያም፡) or simply 'aryām (ኦርያም፡),²⁷⁰ is a long morning service, which occasionally is celebrated in conjunction with (or instead of?) the *səbhata nagh* service.²⁷¹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 records two explanations for its name: a) the idea that this service mirrors in a special way the celestial liturgy, and b) the extensive use of 'aryām antiphons during this service.²⁷²

According to the description of Velat 1966a, the *kāstata* 'aryām service is 'réserve à trente grandes fêtes en l'honneur de la Sainte Vierge, et des Saints', which he lists.²⁷³ This is vehemently contradicted by Habtemichael Kidane 1998, according to whom the use of the *kāstata* 'aryām service is more frequent.²⁷⁴

During the course of the *kāstata* 'aryām service—as described by Velat 1966a²⁷⁵—the following *Dəggwā*-type antiphons are performed.

1. a *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon performed together with Ps. 50 [LXX],²⁷⁶
2. seven pairs consisting of an 'aryām antiphon and an 'abun antiphon, each performed after a *qāne* poem and one of Cts I–VII,

²⁶⁷ 'Māwāddäs', *E Ae*, III (2007), 876b–877a (Habtemichael Kidane). For unclear reasons, Habtemichael Kidane in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* insists that the *qāne* type *mawaddäs* does not take its name from the fact that it is performed during the service, but because it 'celebrates the praise of God and the saints'. On the other hand, Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998 make the connection with the name of the service (Velat 1966a, p. 63; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 217).

²⁶⁸ Cf. 'Māwāddäs', *E Ae*, III (2007), 876b–877a (Habtemichael Kidane).

²⁶⁹ Grohmann 1919, pp. 39–40. Habtemichael Kidane describes another poetical structure for the *mawaddäs qāne* ('Māwāddäs', *E Ae*, III (2007), 876b–877a (Habtemichael Kidane)).

²⁷⁰ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 398; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 281.

²⁷¹ For an introduction to the *kāstata* 'aryām service, see Velat 1966a, pp. 398–405; Taft 1993, pp. 265–266; and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 280–286. The description in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* suffers from certain unclarities ('Kāstātā aryām', *E Ae*, III (2007), 391b–392a (Habtemichael Kidane)). In the article on *zemā* in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* ('Zema', *E Ae*, V (2014), 174a–174b (A. Damon-Guillot)), the *kāstata* 'aryām is erroneously analysed as two different services: *kāstat* (which in reality refers to an element in the funerary service book *Maṣḥafa Ganzat*, CAe 1931) and 'aryām.

²⁷² Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 281. Cf. also Velat 1966a, p. 398.

²⁷³ Velat 1966a, pp. 40–42.

²⁷⁴ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 280.

²⁷⁵ Velat 1966a, p. 401, also 402–403 (cf. also the schematic representation in Velat 1966a, pp. 133–135); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 281–283.

²⁷⁶ This antiphon is missing from the enumeration in Velat 1966a, p. 401, but included in the schematic representation on Velat 1966a, p. 133.

3. an *'aryām* antiphon, an *'angargāri* antiphon, and an *'asma la- 'ālam* antiphon performed after the Gospel reading following upon Ct. VIII,
4. a pair consisting of an *'aryām* antiphon and an *'abun* antiphon, performed after a *qəne* poem and Ct. IX,
5. a *māḥlet* antiphon, performed together with Ct. X,
6. five pairs consisting of an *'aryām* antiphon and an *'abun* antiphon, each performed after a *qəne* poem and Ps. 150 or one of Cts XI–XIV,
7. a *salām* antiphon (in the musical mode *'əzl*), performed together with Ps. 101 [LXX].

The description found in Habtemichael Kidane 1998 is less detailed, but appears to differ on some points. While Habtemichael Kidane 1998 includes the performance of Ps. 50 [LXX], he does not mention the performance of a *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon. Furthermore he writes concerning the fifteen canticles that ‘ciascuno di essi è accompagnato dall’ *'Aryām*, e dall’ *'Abun*’,²⁷⁷ whereby the latter is sometimes substituted by an *'asma la- 'ālam* antiphon. This would seem to imply that also Ct. XV is accompanied by a pair of antiphons, contrary to the description provided by Velat 1966a. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does also not mention the performance of an *'angargāri* antiphon. A description of the *kəstata 'aryām* service is also found in Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969.²⁷⁸

In addition to what has been described above, the descriptions of both Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998 include the performance of Ps. 133 [LXX], with the incipit *Nāhu yəbārəkəwwə la- 'Əgzi 'abəher* (ኅሁ፡ ይባርክዎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡, ‘See, may [they] bless the Lord’). To judge from the manuscript evidence, this psalm is accompanied by a *śalast* antiphon, often belonging to a melodic family *Yətbaddar sab' = Ba-manfas yaḥəwwər*.²⁷⁹

1.4.3.3.5 Services of the Minor Hours

The services of the Minor Hours—of the Third Hour (ዘ፫፡ ሰዓት፡, *za-3 sa 'āt*), the Sixth Hour (ዘ፮፡ ሰዓት፡, *za-6 sa 'āt*), and the Ninth Hour (ዘ፱፡ ሰዓት፡, *za-9 sa 'āt*)—are performed only during the Great Fast and as part of the *məhəllā* (1.4.3.3.6). They are less elaborate than the services described above and all share a similar structure. When performed as part of the *məhəllā*, each of the services of the Minor Hours has an additional part performed at its beginning as compared to how it is performed during the Great Fast.

²⁷⁷ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 283; italics in the original.

²⁷⁸ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 119–123.

²⁷⁹ For examples of metatextual elements that point to this, see MSS 'Ankobar Madḥane 'Ālam, EMMML 2431, fol. 35rc, l. 35; Ġamaddu Māryām, EMMML 6994, fol. 34va, l. 41.

Velat 1966a describes the performance of the following *Dəgg^{wā}*-type antiphon during the course of the services of the Minor Hours.²⁸⁰ Antiphons belonging to the prefix restricted to the *məhəllā* have been placed within parentheses. The antiphons of the Third Hour are:

1. (a *mazmur* antiphon performed on its own,)
2. (a *səbhata nagh* antiphon performed on its own,)
3. (an *’əsmā la-’ālam* antiphon performed before and after Pss. 31–40 [LXX],)
4. (an *’əsmā la-’ālam* antiphon performed before and after Pss. 41–50 [LXX],)
5. (an *’abun* antiphon performed before and after Pss. 51–60 [LXX],)
6. an *’aryām* antiphon performed on its own,
7. an *’abun* antiphon performed on its own (during the Great Fast, it is repeated before and after the first *mədgām*²⁸¹),
8. an *’arbā ’t* antiphon performed together with Pss. 85–86 [LXX],
9. an *’əsmā la-’ālam* antiphon / *qənnəwāt* antiphon performed in ‘en alternance’ with a doxology,²⁸²
10. a *śalast* antiphon performed together with Ps. 101 [LXX],
11. a *salām* antiphon performed together with Ps. 84 [LXX].

Velat 1966a describes the performance of the following *Dəgg^{wā}*-type antiphon during the course of the service of the Sixth Hour:

1. (a *səbhata nagh* antiphon performed on its own,)
2. (an *’əsmā la-’ālam* antiphon performed before and after Pss. 91–100 [LXX],)
3. (an *’əsmā la-’ālam* antiphon performed before and after Pss. 101–110 [LXX],)
4. (an *’abun* antiphon performed before and after Pss. 111–120 [LXX],)
5. an *’aryām* antiphon performed on its own,

²⁸⁰ Velat 1966a, p. 140. His descriptions correspond closely to the information provided by Habta Māryām Warqənāh 1969, p. 86.

²⁸¹ In the offices of the Great Fast, the term *mədgām* (ܡܕܓܡܐ)—according to Velat 1966a—refers to a text recited ‘*recto tono* et à voix basse [...] par toute la communauté’ (Velat 1966a, pp. 469–470).

²⁸² Velat 1966a, p. 478.

6. an *'abun* antiphon performed on its own (repeated before and after the first *mədgām*),
7. a *səbhata nagh* antiphon or a *za- 'amlākiya* antiphon²⁸³ performed together with Ps. 21 [LXX],
8. an *'asma la- 'ālam* antiphon / *qənnəwāt* antiphon performed in 'en alternance' with a doxology,
9. a *śalast* antiphon performed together with Ps. 56 [LXX],
10. a *salām* antiphon performed together with Ps. 84 [LXX].

Velat 1966a describes the performance of the following *Dəggwā*-type antiphon during the course of the service of the Ninth Hour:

1. (a *səbhata nagh* antiphon performed on its own,)
2. (an *'asma la- 'ālam* antiphon performed before and after Cts I–V,)
3. (an *'asma la- 'ālam* antiphon performed before and after Cts VI–X,)
4. (an *'abun* antiphon performed before and after Cts XI–XV,)
5. (a *məsbāk* antiphon performed on its own,)
6. (a *salām* antiphon performed together with Ps. 84 [LXX],)
7. an *'aryām* antiphon performed on its own,
8. an *'abun* antiphon performed on its own (repeated before and after the first *mədgām*),
9. an *'arbā 't* antiphon performed together with Ps. 102 [LXX],
10. an *'asma la- 'ālam* antiphon / *qənnəwāt* antiphon performed in 'en alternance' with a doxology,
11. a *śalast* antiphon performed together with Ps. 87 [LXX],
12. a *salām* antiphon performed together with Ps. 84 [LXX].

1.4.3.3.6 Days of məhəllā

The *məhəllā* (ጥሐላ፡), in earlier sources known as *məhələlā* (ጥሐለላ፡), according to the previous literature, refers to a day of prayer (always a Wednesday or a Friday²⁸⁴), on which the *wāzemā* service, the prayer for the Third hour, the prayer for the Sixth hour, the prayer for the Ninth hour, and the Lenten *səbhata nagh*

²⁸³ The manuscripts consulted by Velat 1966a provide different information; cf. Velat 1966a, p. 480, esp. fn. 2.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1996, p. 353.

service are all performed.²⁸⁵ Dillmann 1865 translates the word *məhəllā* as ‘supplicatio’, ‘preces supplices’.²⁸⁶ In the liturgical context, Velat 1966a translates it as ‘[Office des] Adjurations’.

According to both Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, the *məhəllā* service is performed on ten occasions throughout the year.²⁸⁷ There are two forms of the *məhəllā*: the full *məhəllā* (በምሉእ፣ *ba-məlu*) and the abbreviated *məhəllā* (በጉደለኛ፣ *ba-gʷadalo*), ‘distinguished according to whether the psalms are recited entirely or partially’ and according to their musical mode (‘əzl and gəʼz, respectively).²⁸⁸ The full *məhəllā* is performed three times per year, and the abbreviated *məhəllā* seven times.

According to Habtemichael Kidane, the term *məhəllā* is also used for ‘popular prayers performed by the people without the institutional Church’ when hit by epidemics, wars, famine, etc.²⁸⁹ Velat 1966a distinguished ‘*Məhəllā* officielles’ from ‘*Məhəllā* non officielles’, apparently referring to the same practice.²⁹⁰ Both the story of the wars of King ʾAmda Šəyon in AD 1332 and the chronicle of King Baʾəda Māryām (r. 1468–1478) contains passages in which the king orders that a *məhəllā* be performed in thanksgiving (?) after a military victory.²⁹¹ A *Maṣḥafa məhəllā* (መጽሐፈ፡ ምህልላ፡), otherwise unidentified, appears in an inventory list of c. AD 1400.²⁹²

1.4.3.3.7 *māḥlet* service

In the modern tradition, the morning office preceding the Eucharistic service is generally referred to as *māḥlet* (ማህሊት).²⁹³ This term appears not to be encountered in this sense in the *Məʾrāf*, and it is unclear to me exactly how the *māḥlet* service relates to the services described above. Damon-Guillot 2012 includes descriptions of the *māḥlet* service in two forms, as ‘office annuel’ and as

²⁸⁵ For introductions to the *məhəllā* service, see Velat 1966a, pp. 577–587 and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 286–303.

²⁸⁶ Dillmann 1865, col. 156.

²⁸⁷ Velat 1966a, pp. 35–37; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 286; Habtemichael Kidane 1996, p. 353; cf. also Guidi 1901, p. 49.

²⁸⁸ ‘Məhəllā’, *EAE*, III (2007), 912b–913b (Habtemichael Kidane).

²⁸⁹ ‘Məhəllā’, *EAE*, III (2007), 912b–913b (Habtemichael Kidane).

²⁹⁰ Velat 1966a, p. 577; italics in the original.

²⁹¹ Kropp 1994a, p. 16 (edition), Kropp 1994b, pp. 20–21 (German translation); Marrassini 1993, pp. 76–77 (edition and Italian translation); Perruchon 1893, p. 168 (edition and French translation). While it is not entirely clear if the day of prayer is intended by this, but the suggestion of Perruchon 1893 that it—in the chronicle of King Baʾəda Māryām—refers to the *Te Deum* seems unlikely, if this is not to be taken as a ‘translation’ into French culture (Perruchon 1893, p. 168, fn. 1).

²⁹² MS Qəfrəyā ʾUrā Qirqos, Ethio-SPaRe UM-027, fol. 127ra–b. For the dating, see Erho 2015, p. 110. Within the list, this item is placed together with the books pertaining to the Eucharistic service (*qəddāse* 3, ቅዱሴ፡ ፫፡፡, *ṣalota qʷərbān* 2, ጸሎተ፡ ቀርባን፡ ፪፡፡).

²⁹³ Fritsch 2001, pp. 30–31.

‘office mensuel’, but her descriptions are rather imprecise when it comes to the performance of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons.²⁹⁴

1.4.4 Antiphons

As described above (1.4.3), the smallest building blocks of a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection are the individual antiphons. A *Dəggwā*-type antiphon could be defined as an entity which has its own role to play during the performance of the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office.

In the previous literature, different terms have been used to refer to these entities. This variation in terminology is, at least to a certain extent, caused by the apparent lack of an indigenous Ethiopic umbrella term for these entities.²⁹⁵ Within the tradition, it seems, *Dəggwā*-type antiphons are referred to by the name of the specific type of antiphons to which it belongs; one could speak of ‘an *’arbā ’t*’ or ‘a *mazmur*’, but there is little need for a more abstract ‘antiphon’, referring to a single representative of any one of the different types. The term *’ar ’asta Dəggwā* (አርአስተ፡ ድጓ፡, ‘headings of the *Dəggwā*’, see 1.4.4.1) refers to the types of antiphons, not to their individual instantiations.

Arguably the most common term used for referring to these is *antiphon*. This is used by Velat in his numerous publications on the topic (in French, *antienne*),²⁹⁶ and also by numerous other scholars (with varying degree of insight into the universe of Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian liturgical chant) before and after him.²⁹⁷ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993 chose, instead, to introduce the term *portion*, trying to mirror more closely the indigenous *’ar ’asta Dəggwā*.²⁹⁸ On other occasions, however, Shelemay used *antiphon*.²⁹⁹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 uses *antifone* (*del Dəggwā*), *elemento* (*del Dəggwā*), and *tropario* (*del Dəggwā*), seemingly without any distinction between the terms. Another alternative, used by Denis Nossitsin in a number of recent publications,³⁰⁰ is *chant*.

There are arguments for all of these terms. *Antiphon* has the advantage that it follows the previous research into the topic and highlights the parallels between

²⁹⁴ Damon-Guillot 2012, pp. 89–93.

²⁹⁵ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, when listing the number of individual antiphons in the different seasons, says that there are so-and-so many *yammizzammaraw* (‘የሚዘመረው’, ‘that which is sung’) or similar (Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 80–81). Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59, in a similar context, calls them *mazmurāt* (*qayōčč*) (መዝሙራት (ቀዮች), ‘mazmurs (red ones)’, referring to their rubrication (?)).

²⁹⁶ Cf. Velat 1966a, pp. 58–60; Velat 1969, pp. ix–xviii.

²⁹⁷ Ex. Dillmann 1866, p. 150; Euringer 1942; Ricci 1969, p. 829; Taft 1993, pp. 262–266; Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 335, fn. 15; 371, 153; Valieva 2019, pp. 71–77.

²⁹⁸ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 7. However, the term *’ar ’asta Dəggwā* refers to the types of antiphons, not to the antiphons themselves (see 1.4.4.1). One *rə ’sa Dəggwā* would thus correspond to one type of antiphons (ex. *’arbā ’t* antiphons as a group), rather than a single antiphon belonging to a type (ex. a single *’arbā ’t* antiphon).

²⁹⁹ Cf. Shelemay 1982, p. 58.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Nossitsin 2016, 2018.

the entities collected in *Dəggwā*-type collections and chants performed in similar contexts in other liturgical traditions. (The latter point is also valid for *tropario*.) On the other hand, it could be understood as a Westernisation of a non-Western phenomenon, or as an interpretation of Ethiopian Christian concepts through the lens of (more) Western Christianity. In the light of this, the term *portion* (and *elemento*) could be seen as an attempt to develop a more ‘neutral’ terminology. However, a use of this term would risk making the dissertation less available to comparative liturgiologists. One could also question whether the use of a term different than the one used in a Western Christian context is *per se* less Westernising. Certainly, it emphasises the differences between the ‘antiphons’ of Western liturgical traditions and the Ethiopian entities found in *Dəggwā*-type collections. At the same time, it obscures the important similarities between these two liturgical phenomena: for example, their function as variable elements in non-Eucharistic services and their frequent use together with psalms from the Book of Psalms and canticles from the Old and the New Testament. The term *chant* is immediately clear to most readers—perhaps even more so than *antiphon*—but at the same time, one might ask if it is specific enough. If we apply the term *chant* to the pieces that we find in the *Dəggwā* and related collections, are they then intuitively distinguished from other liturgical pieces that are chanted in the Ethiopic tradition, such as the psalm-based *məsbāk* of the *Qəddāse* (not to be confused with the *məsbāk* of *Dəggwā*-type collections; cf. 1.4.4.1.22), or the entire genre of *malkə*?³⁰¹ Keeping the delicacy of the matter in mind and after weighing the different arguments against each other, I have decided to use the term *antiphon*.

In this dissertation, individual antiphons will be referred to in the following way:

- a) antiphons which are included in the textual corpus presented in Chapter 3 have received an identification number and are referred to according to the following formula: [commemoration, in Geez] [*antiphon type*] [identification number].³⁰² Metatextual elements are not included. For example, the following antiphon, reproduced below as it is found in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 44b, ll. 26-30 (but disregarding the rubrication), which introduces the commemoration for Pāntalewon in almost all multiple-type manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus,³⁰³ will be referred to as the antiphon ‘Pāntalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun* / *məsbāk*) 024’:

³⁰¹ Damon-Guillot 2012, writing in French, classifies *malkə*’ as one type of ‘chant’ (Damon-Guillot 2012, p. 82).

³⁰² For a more extensive introduction to the antiphon identification numbers, see Chapter 3 (3.1.3).

³⁰³ On this antiphon, see Chapter 3 (3.2.3.63). Regarding its frequent position at the head of the commemoration, the information in Data set 1 must be consulted.

መጽሐፍ ቃል፡ እምስማይ፡ ዘይብል፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ ገብርየ፡ ዘኣፈቅር፡ ተፈጸመ፡
ለክ፡ ፍትወትክ፡ ወናሁ፡ ተርኅወ፡ ለክ፡ ሐዋህወ፡ ሰማያት፡ ሠራዊተ፡
መላእክት፡ ይጸንሑክ፡ ድልው፡ መንበርክ፡ ጸጋ፡ ረድኤት፡ ተውኅቦ፡ ለክ፡።

A voice came from heaven that said: ‘Pantalewon, my servant, whom I love, your desire has been fulfilled for you, and behold, the gates of the heavens have been opened for you. The hosts of angels await you. Your throne has been prepared. The grace of help has been given to you!

- b) antiphons which are not included in the textual corpus have been referred to by an indication of the commemoration to which they belong (in Geez), to the antiphon type, as well as to the exact position (folio number and line number(s)) in a manuscript in which they are attested. For example, the following antiphon, which in many cases is one of the first *Dəggwā*-type antiphons in a collection, could be referred to as the antiphon ‘Yohannəs ‘Īgzi ‘abəher nagśa, MS London, BL Or. 584, fol. 1ra, ll. 20–25’:

ጸርሐ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወይቤ፡ ድኅረ፡ እምነቢያት፡ እምቅድመ፡ ምጽኣተ፡ ወልድ፡
ቤዛ፡ ኃጢአቶሙ፡ አጥምቅ፡ በማይ፡ አንሰ፡ ተፈኖኩ፡። ምል፡ ጸርሐ፡ ዮሐንስ፡
ወይቤ፡ ድኅረ፡ እምነቢያት፡ እምቅድመ፡ ምጽኣተ፡ ወልድ፡ ቤዛ፡ ኃጢአቶሙ፡
አጥምቅ፡ በማይ፡ አንሰ፡ ተፈኖኩ፡።

John cried out and said: ‘After the prophets, before the coming of the Son, I was sent to baptise in water for the sake of their sins.’ *Məltān*: John cried out and said: ‘After the prophets, before the coming of the Son, I was sent to baptise in water for the sake of their sins.’

Ideally, as the research on *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection advances, all attested antiphons should be provided with a unique identification number. These identification numbers could easily be incorporated into a more comprehensive digital research environment, such as Beta maṣaḥəft. As will be seen below (1.4.5.6.3), the same text can sometimes be sung to different melodies. When such cases cannot be interpreted as mere textual variants in the musical notation, i.e. when there are manuscripts which list them separately, I have also considered them as separate antiphons, although they share the same text. Admittedly, there are cases where it is difficult to determine what are textual variants of the same antiphon and what are, rather, different antiphons.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ See, for example, the discussion in Chapter 5 (5.3.4.3.15).

1.4.4.1 Types of antiphons

1.4.4.1.1 Introduction

The concept of ‘types of antiphons’³⁰⁵ plays a central role both in the *Dəggwā* in its present form and in the diachronic development of the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons. As indicated above, it is a categorisation of antiphons according to their function in the Divine Office. Each antiphon is categorised as belonging to one type.³⁰⁶ Belonging to a certain type of antiphons has implications for how the antiphon is performed: whether or not the antiphon is sung on its own or together with a psalm or canticle, and if so, how the antiphon interacts with its accompanying psalm or canticle. It also has implications for the internal structure of the antiphon itself, determining whether or not it is categorised according to one of the systems of musical classification (i.e. melodic families (1.4.5.3) and melodic houses (1.4.5.4)), whether or not it may be rhymed, whether or not it may have a *məltān* or a refrain (see 1.4.5.6.1 and 1.4.5.6.4, respectively), and for the length of the text.³⁰⁷

In the indigenous tradition, types of antiphons are referred to as *’ar’asta Dəggwā* (አርእስተ፡ ድጎ፡, ‘headings of the *Dəggwā*’).³⁰⁸ This term suggests that the types of antiphons are viewed primarily as rubricated elements of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts.³⁰⁹ Several lists of the types of antiphons have been published, both by Western scholars (relying on the information provided by Ethiopian informants) and by Ethiopians (for an overview, see 1.4.4.1.38). In such lists, the number of antiphon types is often said to be twenty-two, something which is given a symbolic explanation as it concurs with the twenty-two ‘beauties of creation’ (ሥነ፡ ፍጥረት፡, *śəna fəṭrat*) listed in the Ethiopian tradition.³¹⁰ As shown by Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, there are different ways in which this number is reached (or not reached, even though the symbolic number of twenty-two may still be retained).³¹¹ The reason for this, as observed by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, is that ‘some categories are not mutually exclusive, and many portions [i.e.

³⁰⁵ Different terms have been used in the literature: ‘espèces d’antiennes’ (Velat 1969, pp. xv–xviii); ‘categories of portions’ (Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 77); ‘types de chant’ (Damon-Guillot 2009a, p. 189); ‘አርእስተ መዝሙር’ and ‘አርእስተ ዜማ’ (Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 58); and ‘አርእስተ ዜማዎች’ (Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 87).

³⁰⁶ Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 9.

³⁰⁷ Cf. Velat 1969, p. ix.

³⁰⁸ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 reports a tradition according to which the term *qəneyāt* (ቅኔየት፡) also appears with reference to the types of antiphons (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 48, fn. 19).

³⁰⁹ Cf. *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387.

³¹⁰ Cf. Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 9; Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 43.

³¹¹ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 43–44; cf also Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2016, pp. 40–41 = *Mə’rāf* 2015, pp. 386–387. On the number of types of antiphons recognised within the Ethiopian tradition, see also the first wonder of St Yāred included in the edition of Conti Rossini 1904c, 1904d, where they are said to be thirty (Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 23 (edition), Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 21 (Latin translation, in which the numeral has been erroneously rendered)).

antiphons] can be correctly called by more than one name.’³¹² Below, an attempt is made to move beyond this observation and describe which categorisations of antiphons are not mutually exclusive and which types of antiphons can—based on the manuscript evidence—be called by which names. The following discussion—based primarily on secondary sources, but also on observations from manuscripts—also comments on the formal structure of the different types of antiphons, particularly the presence of refrains, of *məltān*, and of rhyming antiphons.

1.4.4.1.2 ‘*abun* antiphons

‘*Abun* antiphons (አቡን፣ presumably short for ‘*abuna*, አቡነ፣ ‘our father’³¹³) are included in most lists of the types of antiphons.³¹⁴ They belong to the class of antiphon types which are categorised into melodic houses (1.4.5.4). ‘*Abun* antiphons are performed on their own, unaccompanied by a psalm or canticle, during the festive and ferial *səbhata nagh* service, *mawaddəs* service (according to the analysis of Velat 1966a; see 1.4.3.3.3), the *kəstata* ‘*aryām* service, and the three Minor hours.

The origin of the antiphon-type designation ‘*abun* is unclear. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 records several theories concerning the origin of the term, explaining it through: a) the occurrence in some ‘*abun* antiphons of the first word of Lord’s Prayer, i.e. ‘*abuna* [*za-ba-samāyāt*], or b) an old practice according to which it was the bishop who performed this antiphon during the course of the Divine Office. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 prefers the latter explanation, adding in a footnote that ‘[s]e si accetta questa proposizione, si deve pure supporre che l’*esecuzione dell’ ‘Abun* si facesse, originariamente, solo nelle funzioni cattedrali,

³¹² Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 7.

³¹³ In certain pre-seventeenth-century manuscripts, the form ‘*abuna* is found; cf., for example, MSS Game Giyorgis, EML 8070, fol. 10ra, l. 15; 10rb, l. 9; 12ra, l. 17 (fifteenth century); Dāgā ‘Āstifānos, Tānāsee 172, fol. 13va, l. 8; 23rb, l. 25 (fifteenth–sixteenth century); cf. also MS Ġamaddu Māryām, EML 6994, fols 33ra, l. 28; 34ra, l. 10; 34vc, l. 35 (eighteenth–nineteenth century). In later manuscripts, the antiphon-type designation is frequently abbreviated by the deletion of the last letter (cf. Velat 1966a, p. 60, fn. 2, 1969, p. xvi), making it unclear which the underlying intended form is.

³¹⁴ Cf. Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 192; *Ya-‘Ityoṗyā ‘ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102 (‘መዝሙር / አቡን’, *mazmur* / ‘*abun*); *Mə‘rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59 (መዝሙር (አቡን), *mazmur* (‘*abun*)); Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 92 (counted as group together with *maḥātəw* antiphons, *mazmur* antiphons, and *qənnəwāt* antiphons); cf. also Sergew Hable Selassie 1988a, p. 81. Velat 1966a does not include it in his list of antiphon types, but discusses it as a subgroup of *mazmur* antiphons (1.4.4.1.20). A general remark should be made about my use of entries from Sergew Hable Selassie’s *Amharic Church Dictionary* (= Sergew Hable Selassie 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c): As pointed out by Kropp 2016, this work has a complicated editorial history (cf. Kropp 2016, p. 205, fn. 8; I am grateful to Dorothea Reule for pointing me to this footnote). Due to this, it seems potentially relevant to specify that I have cited the work according to the printed volumes kept at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies in Hamburg. Page numbers—of which each page possesses one, two, or, occasionally, three—have been reproduced as found on the respective page(s).

dove il Vescovo presiedeva o partecipava, il cui uso poi si sarebbe esteso nelle altre chiese, anche nell'assenza del Vescovo.'³¹⁵

Functionally, *'abun* antiphons and *mazmur* antiphons (see 1.4.4.1.20) are interchangeable. According to the informants of Velat, the designations are in complementary distribution in such a way that these antiphons are designated as *mazmur* when they are used on Sundays and as *'abun* antiphons when they are used on ferial days.³¹⁶ He notes, however, that '[m]alheureusement les Mss ne respectent guère cette règle et mentionnent souvent des *Mazmour* dans les offices de semaine et des *'Aboun* dans l'office dominical.'³¹⁷ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, on the other hand, notes that *'abun* antiphons appears as alternatives to *mazmur* antiphons, 'quando [...] alcune grandi feste fisse cadono di domenica'.³¹⁸

The antiphon-type designation *'abun* should not be confused with the synonymous prayers which, according to both Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, are performed during the *kəštata 'aryām* service.³¹⁹

1.4.4.1.3 *'angargāri* antiphons

'Angargāri antiphons (አንገርጋፊ, from the verb *'angargara*, አንገርገድ, 'wallow, wriggle') are included less frequently in lists.³²⁰ According to the description of Habtemichael Kidane 1998, they are performed first by the *dabtarā* leading the service, then repeated by another *dabtarā*.³²¹ He notes that they are repeated several times accompanied by sistrum and the *maq'āmiyā*, but provides no information concerning in which services they appear. Velat 1966a records that it is performed on its own in the prelude to the festive *səbhata nagh* service and during the *kəštata 'aryām* service.³²²

The inclusion of *'angargāri* among the types of antiphons is not uncontroversial. Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 criticises its inclusion in such lists, writing that 'it is known' that *'angargāri* is a melodic house (1.4.5.4) and not a type of antiphons.³²³ In the corpus of antiphons studied in this dissertation (see Chapter 3, Data set 1), there are no attestations of *'angargāri* as an antiphon-type designation (although this corpus is, of course, limited). Berhanu Makonnen apud Shelemay and Jeffery 1994 identifies as *'angargāri* antiphons at least two antiphons which in the manuscript corpus uniformly have the antiphon-type designation *məltān*

³¹⁵ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 192, fn. 11.

³¹⁶ Velat 1966a, p. 60; Velat 1969, p. xvi.

³¹⁷ Velat 1969, p. xvi; italics in the original.

³¹⁸ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 192.

³¹⁹ Velat 1966a, pp. 400–401; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 192.

³²⁰ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 195.

³²¹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 195.

³²² Velat 1966a, pp. 133, 137.

³²³ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 44–45.

(1.4.4.1.21)³²⁴—this might indicate that the use of this term is late or primarily a part of oral tradition and that the term *məltān* prevails for this antiphon type in the manuscript tradition.

1.4.4.1.4 'arbā't antiphons

The antiphon-type designation 'arbā't (አርባዕት፣, ፬፣, 'four') is derived from the way in which these antiphons are performed: intercalated after every four lines of the accompanying psalm.³²⁵ They are uniformly included in lists of the types of antiphons.³²⁶ 'Arbā't antiphons are one of the three types of antiphons that are categorised into melodic families (see 1.4.5.3). 'Arbā't antiphons are primarily connected with the *mawaddās* service, but also appear during the ferial *wāzemā* service and the services of the Third and the Ninth Hours.³²⁷ Some 'arbā't antiphons are rhymed and sometimes they are provided with a *məltān* (1.4.5.6.1). A list of the melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons is found in Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969.³²⁸ For a diachronic study of the development of melodic models for 'arbā't melodic families, see Chapter 5 of this dissertation. In early collection, where 'arbā't antiphons are at times indicated with the designation *ba-4* (በ፬፣, 'in 4'), this should not be confused with a melodic-house indication.

1.4.4.1.5 'aryām antiphons

'Aryām antiphons (አርያም፣, 'the highest heaven') are almost uniformly included in lists of the types of antiphons.³²⁹ They are one of the three types of antiphons that are categorised into melodic families (see 1.4.5.3).³³⁰ Contrary to the other two types of antiphons categorised into melodic families, 'aryām antiphons are not performed intercalated between the lines of psalms, but on their own. 'Aryām antiphons are associated primarily with the *kəstata* 'aryām service, but are performed also during the Minor Hours. The names of the antiphon type and the *kəstata* 'aryām service are presumably connected. Previous discussions about the origin of the antiphon-type designation 'aryām generally take their point of departure in the heavenly origin of the *zemā* outlined in the *Life of St Yāred* (see

³²⁴ Their 'Portion 7' and 'Portion 14'; cf. Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, pp. 92, 99; Shelemay and Jeffery 1997, pp. 50, 88.

³²⁵ Cf. Velat 1969, p. xvii; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 197; Mogas Šəyyum 2016, p. 22.

³²⁶ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 197; *Ya-'Ityōpyā 'ortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə'rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 60; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 94–95; cf. also Sergew Hable Selassie 1988a, p. 55.

³²⁷ For information about how 'arbā't antiphons are performed during the *māhlet* service, cf. Sergew Hable Selassie 1988a, p. 55.

³²⁸ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 59–61.

³²⁹ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 59; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; *Ya-'Ityōpyā 'ortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə'rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 60; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 98. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does not include 'aryām antiphons in his list, as he only lists elements occurring in the *wāzemā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190). See also Sergew Hable Selassie 1988a, pp. 60–63.

³³⁰ The article on 'aryām in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* erroneously conveys the picture that the 'aryām are only the model antiphons ('Aryam', *E Ae*, I (2003), 357a–357b (Habtemichael Kidane)).

1.5.2).³³¹ Some *’aryām* antiphons are rhymed. The occurrence of rhyme seems to be connected to certain melodic families: thus, for example, antiphons belonging to the melodic family *La-za-Gabr’el* generally are rhymed. Further research into this matter is needed. A list of the melodic families for *’aryām* antiphons is found in Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969.³³²

1.4.4.1.6 *ba-ḥamməstu antiphons*

According to unanimous sources, the antiphon-type designation *ba-ḥamməstu* (በኣምስቲ፣ በ፩፣ ‘in five’) derives from the way in which these antiphons interact with the psalm together with which they are performed: intercalated after every five lines.³³³ This antiphon type is ubiquitously included in the lists.³³⁴

Habtemichael Kidane 1998 reports that *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphons are performed during the *wāzemā* service (festive as well as ferial) and the *mawaddəs* service. According to Velat 1966a, *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphons are performed in the musical mode *gə’z*.³³⁵ No single-type collections of *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphons have been identified so far. Furthermore, the *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphons attested in the textual study in Chapter 3 are generally short and often seem to be adaptations of standard models.³³⁶ Based on these factors, one wonders if the category of *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphons—and, perhaps, consequently of its place within the Divine Office—is a more recent tradition. In *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts, the antiphon-type designation—especially in the form *ba-5* (በ፩፣)—can be confused with a hallelujah number, which takes the same form. However, taking the liturgical context into account, it is most often easy to distinguish them.

1.4.4.1.7 *bəṣu’ za-yələbbu antiphons*

The antiphon type *bəṣu’ za-yələbbu* (በ፩፡ ዘይሌቡ፣ ‘blessed is he who thinks’) appears in some of the lists of the antiphon types.³³⁷ It is reportedly one of the types of antiphons that shares its name and function with a type of *qəne*,³³⁸

³³¹ Cf. Sergew Hable Selassie 1988a, p. 60; Mogas Śayyum 2016, p. 23.

³³² Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 61–63. This list of melodic families is reproduced by Sergew Hable Selassie 1988a, pp. 62–63.

³³³ Velat 1969, p. xvii; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 197.

³³⁴ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72 (‘በኣምስት’, *ba-’amməst*); Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 197; *Ya-’Ityōpyā ’ortodoks tawāḥado beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59 (በኣምስት, *ba-ḥamməs*); Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 88–89 (‘በኣምስት’, *ba-ḥamməst*).

³³⁵ Velat 1966a, p. 300.

³³⁶ For example, different adaptations of the standard formula *X, ṣalli ba-’ənti’ana, ṣalotəka watra yəbṣəḥanna* (‘X, pray for us, may your prayer continually reach us!’), where X stands for the name of a saint) is attested in the following commemorations within the Season of Flowers: Peter and Paul, Pāntalewon, ‘Abbā’ Aragāwi, Stephen the Protomartyr, and ‘Abbā Yəm’attā. For details, see the discussion of the antiphon Pāntalewon *ba-ḥamməstu* 001 in Chapter 3 (3.2.3.3).

³³⁷ Cf. Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59 (‘በ፩፡ ዘይሌቡ ሠርክ ሰንበት’, *bəṣu’ za-yələbbu śarka sanbat*, ‘*bəṣu’ za-yələbbu*: “On the night of the Sabbath”’); *Ya-’Ityōpyā ’ortodoks tawāḥado beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387 (‘ዘይሌቡ’, *za-yələbbu*); *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 60; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 95.

³³⁸ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 47.

although *bəṣu* ‘*za-yəlebbu*’ does not always appear in lists of the types of *qəne*.³³⁹ According to the table of antiphon types per season provided by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, the entire *Dəggwā* contains only one *bəṣu* ‘*za-yəlebbu*’ antiphon.³⁴⁰ However, the manuscript evidence suggests a more widespread use, at least historically, as *bəṣu* ‘*za-yəlebbu*’ antiphons are attested rather regularly in one of the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus, MS Dāgā ‘Ḥstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172 (there, the antiphon-type designation appears in the form *za-bəṣu* ‘*za-yəlebbu*, *ዘብፁ ዘይለብ*’, ‘[antiphon] for “Blessed is he who thinks”’).³⁴¹ The designation clearly has its origin in the incipit of Ps. 40 [LXX]. According to the descriptions of the offices presented above, this psalm does not appear to play a very prominent role in the Ethiopic ‘cathedral’ Divine Office. The *bəṣu* ‘*za-yəlebbu*’ antiphons in MS Dāgā ‘Ḥstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172 generally consist of three rhymed lines demarcated by punctuation marks.

1.4.4.1.8 ‘Ḥgzi’abəḥer nagśa antiphons

The antiphon-type designation ‘Ḥgzi’abəḥer nagśa (አገዚአብሔር: ነግሠ: ‘the Lord has become king’) derives from incipit of Ps. 92 [LXX], together with which this type of antiphons is performed. It is regularly included in lists of antiphon types.³⁴² According to Velat 1969, ‘Ḥgzi’abəḥer nagśa antiphons are performed during the Sunday *wāzemā* service.³⁴³ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 writes that they are performed during festive *wāzemā* services.³⁴⁴ As reported by Velat 1966a, ‘Ḥgzi’abəḥer nagśa antiphons are performed in the musical mode *gə* ‘z’.³⁴⁵

Habtemichael Kidane 1998 classifies ‘Ḥgzi’abəḥer nagśa antiphons as a variety of *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphons (1.4.4.1.6).³⁴⁶ During the ferial *wāzemā* service, when a variable psalm is performed instead of the fixed Ps. 92 [LXX] of the festive *wāzemā* service, Habtemichael Kidane 1998 writes that the ‘Ḥgzi’abəḥer nagśa antiphon is exchanged for an ordinary *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon (or, put differently, that the designation of the antiphon changes). In some of the older calendar-based *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts, ‘Ḥgzi’abəḥer nagśa antiphons are

³³⁹ Cf. Velat 1966a, pp. 63–64 (but see Velat 1966a, p. 342); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 221–222; *Ya-’Ityopyā ’ortodoks tawāḥado beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, pp. 138–139 (but see *Ya-’Ityopyā ’ortodoks tawāḥado beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 146); ‘Qəne’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 283b–285b (Habtemichael Kidane).

³⁴⁰ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 81–82.

³⁴¹ For examples, cf. MS Dāgā ‘Ḥstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172, fols 16rb–va, 53va, 56rb.

³⁴² Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 198; *Ya-’Ityopyā ’ortodoks tawāḥado beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387 (‘አገዚ ነግሠ’, ‘Ḥgzer nagś’); Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damśa 2017, pp. 89–90.

³⁴³ Velat 1969, p. xvi.

³⁴⁴ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 198.

³⁴⁵ Velat 1966a, p. 300.

³⁴⁶ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 198; cf. also Taft 1993, p. 263, presumably dependent on Habtemichael Kidane 1998.

introduced by the designation *ba-3* (በ፫፡, ‘in three’).³⁴⁷ This raises the question: Why does Habtemichael Kidane 1998 classify them as *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon and how does this classification connect with the well-attested alternative designation *ba-3*? A possible answer lies in the way that these antiphons interact with the psalm. Velat 1966a writes that Ps. 92 [LXX] is divided into lines of three, which could explain the older designation *ba-3*.³⁴⁸ However, two hallelujahs are also inserted in every such section. If these are counted as two additional lines, this could provide an explanation for description provided by Habtemichael Kidane 1998.

The *Dəggwā*-type antiphons called ‘*Ḑgzi’abəher nagśa*’ should not be confused with the synonymous collections of hymns described in Getatchew Haile 1983 and in the article ‘*Ḑgzi’abəher nägśä*’ in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*.³⁴⁹ A possible indication that these two types of chants have been confused even within the tradition is the usage, attested in certain late *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, of the designation *nagś* (ነግሥ፡, common abbreviation for the non-*Dəggwā*-type-antiphon ‘*Ḑgzi’abəher nagśa*’ chants) with reference to ‘*Ḑgzi’abəher nagśa*’ antiphons.³⁵⁰

1.4.4.1.9 ‘*Ḑgzi*’-o *ṣarāḥku* antiphons

The antiphon-type designation ‘*Ḑgzi*’-o *ṣarāḥku* (እግዚአ፡ ጸራኅኩ፡, ‘O Lord, I cried out’) is attested in the prefaced Colophon A (see Appendix 1). It is not included in modern lists of antiphon types, nor is it attested in the textual corpus studies in Chapter 3. The designation clearly has its origin in the incipit of Ps. 140 [LXX]. As seen above, Ps. 140 [LXX] is a fixed part of the festive *wāzemā* service, where it is performed together with a *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon. In the commemoration for John the Baptist (*Yohannəs*) on Maskaram 1, I have furthermore noticed the frequent use of the designation ‘*Ḑgzi*’-o *ṣarāḥku* for this *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon.³⁵¹ Based on these observations, it seems reasonable to conclude that

³⁴⁷ Cf., for example, MSS ‘Ankobar Giyorgis, EMMML 2542, fol. 17rb, l. 26; 17vb, l. 18 (sixteenth century); Ğarr Šəlläse, EMMML 7174, fols 25rc, l. 8; 27ra, l. 25 (sixteenth century).

³⁴⁸ Velat 1966a, p. 300.

³⁴⁹ Getatchew Haile 1983; ‘*Ḑgzi’abəher nägśä*’, *EAE*, II (2005), 248a–249a (Habtemichael Kidane and M. Priess); cf. also Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 204–207.

³⁵⁰ Cf., for example, MS Romānāt Qəddus Mikā’el, EAP254/1/5, fols 24rb, l. 30; 25rb, l. 14 (twentieth century). In this context, mention should also be made of the manuscripts Addis Ababa Ba’atā (Yakā), EMMML 208 and Gunda Gunde, GG-090, which contain collections of chants that, based on a preliminary survey, seem to combine ‘*Ḑgzi’abəher nagśa*’ antiphons of the type found in the *Dəggwā* and related collections with ‘*Ḑgzi’abəher nagśa*’ hymns in the sense of Getatchew Haile 1983, all presented within a unified calendrical framework. These two types of chants are distinguished by the fact that the latter, as opposed to the former, consist of rhymed lines. Further research is needed to determine whether these collections represent rare cases or whether ‘*Ḑgzi’abəher nagśa*’ antiphons (of the *Dəggwā* type) are regularly transmitted within (some) collections of ‘*Ḑgzi’abəher nagśa*’ hymns. I am grateful to Augustine Dickinson for bringing the manuscript Gunda Gunde, GG-090 to my attention.

³⁵¹ Cf. MSS Dabra Tābor Waratā Giyorgis, EMMML 8804, fol. 1va, l. 10 (fifteenth–sixteenth century); Ḑayq ‘Əstifānos, EMMML 2053, fol. 2ra, l. 23 (seventeenth century); ‘Ankobar Madḥane

’Ēgzi -o šarāḥku is an alternative name for the second *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon of the festive *wāzemā* service. Whether the designation is (or historically has been) systematically applied only to certain antiphons of this type or only within certain commemorations remains to be studied.

1.4.4.1.10 *’əsmā la-’ālam antiphons (and qənnəwāt antiphons)*

The antiphon type *’əsmā la-’ālam* (እስመ፡ ለዓለም፡, ‘for [His mercy endures] forever’) is uniformly included in lists of the antiphon types.³⁵² The antiphon-type designation is derived from the refrain which is shared by all antiphons of this type: *’əsmā la-’ālam məḥratu* (እስመ፡ ለዓለም፡ ምሕረቱ፡, ‘for His mercy endures forever’).³⁵³ This type of antiphons are performed during the *səbhata nagh* service, the *kəštata ’aryām* service, and the services of the Minor Hours.

Habtemichael Kidane 1998 divides the *’əsmā la-’ālam* antiphons into two groups: ‘simple *’əsmā la-’ālam*’ (እስመ፡ ለዓለም፡ ሌብ፡, *’əsmā la-’ālam leṭā*)³⁵⁴ and *qənnəwāt* (ቅንዋት፡, ‘nails’). Velat also defines *qənnəwāt* as an ‘*’Esma la-’ālam* particulier’, a ‘variété de *’Esma la-’ālam*’.³⁵⁵ The difference between the two subtypes *qənnəwāt* and *’əsmā la-’ālam*, according to both Velat and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, is one of contents: the former always contains ‘un riferimento particolare alla passione, alla sofferenza di Cristo’.³⁵⁶ According to a majority of ‘liturgisti etiopici’ consulted by Habtemichael Kidane 1998, this type of antiphon is called *’əsmā la-’ālam* on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays, but *qənnəwāt* on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. According to a minority, however, the two subtypes can be used interchangeably, except on most Sundays, when *qənnəwāt* antiphons are thematically improper.³⁵⁷ Velat does not mention the connection of the respective terms with specific days of the week.

In single-type collections, *’əsmā la-’ālam* antiphons are transmitted as part of the so-called *mazmur*-family antiphons (1.4.4.1.37). Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 indicates that whereas *’əsmā la-’ālam* antiphons (and *’abun* antiphons) as included in the larger group of *mazmur*-family antiphons, *qənnəwāt* antiphons are *not*. There is, according to him, an individual collection of *qənnəwāt* antiphons in

³⁵² *’Ālam*, EMMML 2431, 6rb, l. 15 (eighteenth–nineteenth century); *Maṣḥafa Dəgg’ā* 2015, p. 1b, ll. 4–5 (twentieth century); cf. also Dillmann 1866, p. 150. Sometimes an even longer incipit of the Ps. 140 [LXX] is given.

³⁵³ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 194–195; *Ya-’Ityōpyā ’ortodoks tawāḥado beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 98; see also Sergew Hable Selassie 1988a, pp. 95–96.

³⁵⁴ This phrase is attested in numerous psalms: Pss. 99 [LXX], 105 [LXX], 106 [LXX], 117 [LXX], 135 [LXX].

³⁵⁵ For a discussion of this term, see Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 194, fn. 18.

³⁵⁶ Velat 1966a, p. 60; Velat 1969, p. xvi.

³⁵⁷ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 148; cf. also Velat 1966a, p. 60; Velat 1969, p. xvi.

³⁵⁸ For a list of Sundays on which a *qənnəwāt* antiphon may be used according to Habtemichael’s informants, see Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 195.

the manuscript Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 (AD 1343/1344).³⁵⁸ It is lamentable that Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 does not specify folio numbers for the individual collections that he identifies. According to my analysis of MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 (see Chapter 2, 2.3.4), this manuscript does not contain a separate *qənnəwāt* collection. As far as I am aware, the term *ʾasma la-ʾālam* cannot be easily confused with other terms.

1.4.4.1.11 *ʾəṭāna mogar antiphons*

ʾƏṭāna mogar antiphons (ዕጥኑ፡ ሞገር፡, ‘the incense of fumigation’) are regularly included in lists of the antiphon types.³⁵⁹ It is one of the types of antiphons which shares a name and a function with a type of *qəne*, and it can be categorised as a marginal antiphon type. According to the table of antiphon types per season provided by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, the entire *Dəggwā* contains only one *ʾəṭāna mogar* antiphon.³⁶⁰ No *ʾəṭāna mogar* antiphons are attested in the textual corpus studied in Chapter 3. The antiphon-type designation *ʾəṭāna mogar* should not be confused with the synonymous *qəne* type.

1.4.4.1.12 *ʾəzl antiphons*

The antiphon type *ʾəzl* (ዕዝል፡) is ubiquitously included in lists of the antiphon types.³⁶¹ It appears, uniquely, to take its name from the musical mode in which it is performed (see 1.4.5.2). This is the interpretation provided by both Velat 1969 and Habtemichael Kidane 1998,³⁶² and it is supported by the alternative designations *gəʾz həyanta ʾəzl* or *həyanta ʾəzl* (ግዕዝ፡ ህየንተ፡ ዕዝል፡ or ህየንተ፡ ዕዝል፡, ‘(gəʾz) instead of ʾəzl’) used for this type of antiphons in feasts where the Divine Office is performed in the musical mode *gəʾz*, as reported by Habtemichael Kidane 1998.³⁶³ Already Dillmann 1865 refers to the use of *ʾəzl* as an antiphon-type designation by adding, after the discussion the use of the term *ʾəzl* as a designation of a musical mode, ‘[d]einde etiam *hymnus hoc modo cantandus* ዕዝል nominatur.’³⁶⁴ *ʾƏzl* antiphons are performed at the beginning of the *səbhata nagh* service (and, according to the analysis of Velat 1966a (see 1.4.3.3.3), in the *mawaddəs* service).

³⁵⁸ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 47.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; *Ya-ʾItyopyā ʾortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Məʾrāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 60; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 99–100. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does not include *ʾəṭāna mogar* antiphons in his list, possibly because he only lists elements occurring in the *wāzemā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190).

³⁶⁰ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 81–82.

³⁶¹ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 191–192; *Ya-ʾItyopyā ʾortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Məʾrāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 96.

³⁶² Velat 1969, p. xvii; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 191–192.

³⁶³ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 191–192; cf. also Velat 1969, p. xvi.

³⁶⁴ Dillmann 1865, col. 1002; italics in the original.

The antiphon-type designation ‘*əzl*’ should not be confused with other uses of the name of this musical mode. For example, ‘*əzl*’ also appears as a specifier to *salām* antiphons (see 1.4.4.1.24) and *yətbārak* antiphons (see 1.4.4.1.30).

1.4.4.1.13 *kəbr yə’əti* antiphons

Kəbr yə’əti antiphons (ክብር፡ ይእቲ፡, ‘it is a glory’) are regularly included in lists of the antiphon types.³⁶⁵ It is one of the types of antiphons which shares a name and a function with a type of *qəne*, and it can be categorised as a marginal antiphon type. According to the table of antiphon types per season provided by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, the entire *Dəggwā* contains only one *kəbr yə’əti* antiphon.³⁶⁶ No *kəbr yə’əti* antiphons are attested in the textual corpus studied in Chapter 3. Velat 1966a notes that they only appear as *Dəggwā*-type antiphons during the Holy Week.³⁶⁷ As noted in the survey of early inventory lists (1.4.2.1.1), *Kəbr yə’əti* frequently appears as a book title, although the contents and nature of this book remains unclear to me. The antiphon-type designation should not be confused with the synonymous *qəne* type.

1.4.4.1.14 *kʷəlləkəmu* antiphons

Kʷəlləkəmu antiphons (ኸልከሙ፡, ‘all of you’) are regularly included in lists of the antiphon types.³⁶⁸ Again, it is one of the types of antiphons which shares a name and a function with a type of *qəne*, and which can be categorised as marginal. According to the table of antiphon types per season provided by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, the entire *Dəggwā* contains only one *kʷəlləkəmu* antiphon.³⁶⁹ I have noticed the presence of *kʷəlləkəmu* antiphons only in one of the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus, in MS Dāgā ’Ēstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172 (fifteenth–sixteenth century).³⁷⁰ The *kʷəlləkəmu* antiphons in MS Dāgā ’Ēstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172 all seem to consist of five lines, although there is not always a persistent rhyme. Velat 1966a notes that, according to the present practice, *kʷəlləkəmu* antiphons only appear as *Dəggwā*-type antiphons during Holy Week.³⁷¹ The antiphon-type

³⁶⁵ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; *Ya-’Ityōpyā ’ortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 60; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 98–99. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does not include *kəbr yə’əti* antiphons in his list, possibly because he only lists elements occurring in the *wāzēmā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190).

³⁶⁶ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 81–82.

³⁶⁷ Velat 1966a, p. 60.

³⁶⁸ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59 (ኸልከሙ የጥም በዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡, *kʷəlləkəmu yom ba-zātti ’alat*, ‘*kʷəlləkəmu*: “Today, on this day”’); *Ya-’Ityōpyā ’ortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 96. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does not include *kʷəlləkəmu* antiphons in his list, possibly because he only lists elements occurring in the *wāzēmā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190).

³⁶⁹ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 81–82.

³⁷⁰ *Kʷəlləkəmu* antiphons for the Season of Flowers are found on fols 16vb–17ra. The antiphon type also appears, for example, on fols 45va, ll. 16–17; 56va, ll. 12–13.

³⁷¹ Velat 1966a, p. 60.

designation *kʷəlləkəmu* should not be confused with the synonymous (and related) *qəne* type.

1.4.4.1.15 *la-ʿĒgziʾabəher mədr ba-məlʾā antiphons*

The antiphon-type designation *la-ʿĒgziʾabəher mədr ba-məlʾā* (ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ምድር፡ በምልክት፡ ‘the earth is the Lord’s in its fullness’) is attested in the prefaced Colophon A. Similar to the designation *ʿĒgziʾ-o šarāḥku* (1.4.4.1.9), it is not included in modern lists of antiphon types, nor is it attested in the textual corpus studied in Chapter 3.³⁷² The designation is clearly derived from the incipit of Ps. 23 [LXX]. As seen above, Ps. 23 [LXX] is a fixed part of the festive *wāzemā* service, where it is performed together with a *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon. In the commemoration for John the Baptist (*Yohannəs*) on Maskaram 1, I have furthermore noticed the frequent use of the designation *la-ʿĒgziʾabəher mədr ba-məlʾā* for this *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon.³⁷³ Parallel to the *ʿĒgziʾ-o šarāḥku* antiphons discussed above (1.4.4.1.9), it seems reasonable to conclude that *la-ʿĒgziʾabəher mədr ba-məlʾā* is an alternative name for the first *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphon of the festive *wāzemā* service. Again, whether the designation is (or historically has been) systematically applied only to certain antiphons of this type or only within certain commemorations remains to be studied.

1.4.4.1.16 *maḥātəw antiphons*

Maḥātəw antiphons (መቅትው፡, lit. ‘lamps’) are included in two of the lists of antiphon types available to me.³⁷⁴ The form *māḥtaw* (ማኅትው፡), which occasionally is encountered in the manuscripts, seems to be an orthographical variant. *Maḥātəw/māḥtaw* is one of several alternative designations for the *mazmur*-family antiphons which sometimes appear before the *wāzemā* antiphons in a commemoration, i.e. at the very first position in the commemoration. For an overview of other designations, see the discussion of *məsbāk* antiphons (1.4.4.1.22).

As noticed above, *maḥātəw* is also an alternative name to the *wāzemā* service (1.4.3.3.1). I wonder if the use of this term as an antiphon-type designation might be derived from the fact that antiphons of this type often lack an explicit antiphon-type designation in the manuscripts, their type being implied by their position at the beginning of a commemoration, before the *wāzemā* antiphon. This could have

³⁷² However, MS Dāgā ʿĒstifānos, Tānāsee 172 (fifteenth–sixteenth century) contains this designation as part of referencing elements (1.4.5.7) on a number of occasions (ex. fols 12vb, ll. 14–15; 62va, ll. 15–17; 63vb, ll. 34–36; 68rb, ll. 6–7).

³⁷³ Cf. MSS Dabra Tābor Waratā Giyorgis, EML 8804, fol. 1va, l. 2 (fifteenth–sixteenth century); Hayq ʿĒstifānos, EML 2053, fol. 2ra, l. 14 (seventeenth century); Uppsala, UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 1ra, ll. 24–25 (AD 1668); ʿAnkobar Madḥane ʿĀlam, EML 2431, fol. 6ra, l. 21 (eighteenth–nineteenth century); *Maḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 1a, ll. 9–10 (twentieth century); cf. also Dillmann 1866, p. 150.

³⁷⁴ Cf. *Mə ʾrāf* 2015, p. 387; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 93. In the latter, it is counted as group together with ʾabun antiphons, *mazmur* antiphons, and *qənnəwāt* antiphons. The antiphon-type designation *maḥātəw* is also discussed by Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 311.

led to a reanalysis of the formula *ba-mahātəwa X* or *ba-mahātəw za-X*, occasionally used for introducing the *wāzemā* service,³⁷⁵ into *maḥātəw za-X*, where *maḥātəw* is understood as an antiphon-type designation (parallel to other formulas used at the beginning of a commemoration: *wāzemā za-X* and *‘əzl za-X*, where the first part does indeed refer to an antiphon type).

1.4.4.1.17 *māḥlet antiphons*

Among the various meanings of the term *māḥlet* (ማሕላት, ‘song’) is its use as an antiphon-type designation, ubiquitously included in the lists.³⁷⁶ According to Velat 1969, *māḥlet* antiphons are performed together with Ct. X (= Dan. 3:57–88) during the *mawaddəs* service.³⁷⁷ Velat 1969 seems to connect the designation *māḥlet* to the canticle together with which it is used.³⁷⁸ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, on the other hand, translates the designation but does not provide an explanation for its use. According to him, this antiphon type is performed with Ct. X (= Dan. 3:57–88), ‘nel Mäwāddes, nel Keštätä ’Aryam e nel Sebhätä Nägh feriale e festivo.’³⁷⁹

In early collections, the use of the alternative designations *yəbārəkəwwō* (ይባርክዎ, ‘may they bless Him’), *za-yəbārəkəwwō* (ዘይባርክዎ, ‘[antiphon] for “May they bless Him”’), or *za-nāhu yəbārəkəwwō* (ዘኖሁ: ይባርክዎ, ‘[antiphon] for “Behold, may they bless Him”’) based on the incipit of the accompanying canticle, are attested.³⁸⁰ One wonders if the similarity to the antiphon-type designation *yətbārək* could have been a reason for the invention of a new designation for this type of antiphons.

The term *māḥlet* also refers to a) the modern-practice *māḥlet* service (1.4.3.3.7), and b) is part of the title of various other poetic works, such as the *Māḥleta ṣəge* (CAe 1834).³⁸¹

³⁷⁵ For a discussion of introductory formulas for commemorations, see Chapter 4 (4.3).

³⁷⁶ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Märyām Warqənäh 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190; *Ya-’Ityopyā ’ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə ’rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 97.

³⁷⁷ Velat 1969, p. xvii.

³⁷⁸ Velat 1969, p. xvii.

³⁷⁹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190. In the antiphon-type description, Habtemichael Kidane 1998 writes that *māḥlet* antiphons are used together with ‘Ct IX’—this would seem to be a typographical error (cf. the description of the *kəštata ’aryām* service, where ‘Ct X’ is given (Habtemichael Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 282), but also the description of the festive *səbhata nagh* service, where ‘Ct IX’ is again repeated (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 341)). This description is apparently taken up by Ezra Gebremedhin in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* article, where it is said that *māḥlet* antiphons are performed with ‘Ct 9–10 = Dan 3’ (‘Maḥlet’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 659b–660b (Ezra Gebremedhin)).

³⁸⁰ Cf., for example, MSS Game Giyorgis, EML 8070, fols 12va, l. 19 (fifteenth century); 19ra, l. 17; Kəbrān Gabra’el, EML 8678, fols 1rb, l. 25 (fifteenth century); Dāgā ’Əstifānos, Tānāsee 172, fol. 13vb, l. 10; 20rb, l. 10 (fifteenth–sixteenth century); see also Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 45, fn. 33.

³⁸¹ ‘Maḥleta ṣəge’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 660b–661b (Habtemichael Kidane).

1.4.4.1.18 *mawaddəs antiphons*

Mawaddəs antiphons (መወድስ፣ ‘praise, laud’) are included in most lists of antiphon types.³⁸² It is one of the types of antiphons that share a name and a function with a type of *qəne*, and can be categorised as a marginal antiphon type. According to the table of antiphon types per season provided by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, the entire *Dəggwā* contains only four *mawaddəs* antiphons.³⁸³ No *mawaddəs* antiphons are attested in the textual corpus studied in Chapter 3 under this designation, but it is possible that the *za-fətāḥ lita* antiphons found in MS Dāgā ʾĒstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172 (see 1.4.4.1.32) represent this type. The antiphon-type designation *mawaddəs* should not be confused with the synonymous *qəne* type or the synonymous service (1.4.3.3.3).

1.4.4.1.19 *mawāśəʾt antiphons*

A type of antiphons with the designation *mawāśəʾt* (መዋሥኦት፣ ‘responsary’) is attested in one of the single-type collections,³⁸⁴ although it does not appear in modern lists of antiphon types. Based on the corpus of antiphons included in this study, I have not been able to connect it to a modern antiphon type.

A study of the relationship between the present-day *Mawāśəʾt*, its predecessors, and the collections of antiphons designated as ‘*mawāśəʾt*’ in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections is a desideratum, but something which—in the absence of preliminary studies on the *Mawāśəʾt*—cannot be undertaken in the present dissertation.³⁸⁵

³⁸² Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59 ((መወድስ) ፍታሕ ሊተ። ክርስቶስ ተንሥኦ።, (*mawaddəs*) *fətāḥ lita*, *Krəstos tanśəʾa*, ‘(*mawaddəs*) *fətāḥ lita*: “Christ is risen”’); Ya-ʾItyōpyā ʾortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik 2007, p. 102; Mə ʾrāf 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 95–96. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does not include *mawaddəs* antiphons in his list, possibly because he only lists elements occurring in the *wāzemā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190).

³⁸³ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 81–82.

³⁸⁴ MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618, fols 174ra–179v (AD 1343/1344); cf. also the multiple-type collection on fols 196vb–198ra. For descriptions of the manuscript, see Chapter 2 (2.3.4).

³⁸⁵ As pointed out by Shelemay et al. 1993, the earliest attested *Mawāśəʾt* collections—in the modern sense of the term—are found in Psalter manuscripts (Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 79, fn. 36). Even a cursory look reveals that they are distinct from the collections of antiphons designated as ‘*mawāśəʾt*’ in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections by their use of different metatextual elements, noticeably Psalm numbers. Among the early Psalter manuscripts that contain *Mawāśəʾt*-type antiphon collections—in the modern sense—are MSS Jerusalem, Manuscript Library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Ms 2883 (Jerusalem Ethiopic 3A), fols 170v–180r (cf. Isaac 1976, pp. 182–183); Paris, BnF Éth. 10, fols 127r–142r (cf. Zotenberg 1877, pp. 15–16); Saint Petersburg, RNB Dorn 609, fols 149r–155v (?) (cf. Turaev 1906a, pp. 5–10); Sinai, Saint Catherine’s Monastery, Eth. 6, fols 3r–4v, 111v, 208r–211v (cf. Kamil 1957, pp. 89–90); Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg, Ms 4363 (Éthiop. 2), fols 135r–146v (cf. Wickersheimer 1923, p. 771); Vatican City, BAV Vat. et. 4, fols 111v–121 (?) (cf. Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, pp. 13–20, esp. 16); Vatican City, BAV Vat. et. 10, fols 128v–143v (cf. Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, pp. 33–35, esp. 33–34); Vatican City, BAV Vat. et. 15, fols 95r–103r (cf. Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, pp. 45–61, esp. 50). It is noteworthy that in at least two of

1.4.4.1.20 *mazmur antiphons*

The antiphon-type designation *mazmur* (መዝሙር፣ ‘song’) has a transparent etymology. It is regularly included in lists of the antiphon types.³⁸⁶ According to the information provided by Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998 (see the descriptions of individual services above), *mazmur* antiphons are performed at the beginning of the *mawaddās* service and of the service of the Third Hour, when the latter is performed as part of a day of *məhəllā* (see 1.4.3.3.3 and 1.4.3.3.5).³⁸⁷

Mazmur antiphons and ‘*abun* antiphons in principle constitute one single antiphon type, and the terms are in complementary distribution. For a discussion of this matter, see 1.4.4.1.2. In early *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, the term *mazmur* is used with a broader reference and includes several antiphon types which are now distinguished. For details regarding this, see the discussion of ‘*mazmur*-family antiphons’ (1.4.4.1.37).

Next to its use as an antiphon-type designation, the term *mazmur* is also used a) as a title for certain *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections (see 1.4.2.1.5), b) as a variant title for the Psalms of David (መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡), c) as the name of a type of singing and dancing often performed after the *Qəddāse* by mixed-gendered choirs in the present liturgical practice, d) as the name of a variety of the *māḥlet* service,³⁸⁸ and e) as the first part of the title of several poetic works.³⁸⁹

1.4.4.1.21 *məltān antiphons*

Məltān antiphons (ምልጣን፣ etymologically connected to the *liṭon* (a series of sacerdotal prayers)³⁹⁰ and, ultimately, Greek λιτανεία), although not included in any of the lists of antiphon types known to me, are occasionally attested in the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus.³⁹¹ They appear either before the first antiphon of a *kəštata* ‘*aryām* service (1.4.3.3.4) or before the first antiphon of a *səbhata*

these manuscripts, the early *Mawāšə* ‘t collection is preceded by a full-page depiction of a cross (cf. MSS Paris, BnF Eth. 10, fol. 126v; Saint Petersburg, RNB Dorn 609, fol. 148v).

³⁸⁶ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənāh 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59 (መዝሙር ዘለዓባይ፣ *mazmur za-sanbat*, ‘*mazmur* of the Sabbath’); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 193–194; *Ya-Ityoṗyā* ‘ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik 2007, p. 102 (‘መዝሙር / አቡን’, *mazmur* / ‘*abun*’); *Mə-rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59 (መዝሙር (አቡን), *mazmur* (‘*abun*’)); Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 92 (counted as group together with ‘*abun* antiphons, *maḥātəw* antiphons, and *qənnəwāt* antiphons); cf. also Sergew Hable Selassie 1989a, p. 126/305 (see fn. 314).

³⁸⁷ In the *Maṣḥafa Bərhān* (CAe 1921, reading for the Third Sunday, Sixth Hour), there is a relatively detailed description of service which I have not been able to identify until now (Conti Rossini and Ricci 1965a, pp. 24–27 (edition); Conti Rossini and Ricci 1965b, pp. 14–16 (Italian translation)). However, this service appears to include several *mazmur* antiphons.

³⁸⁸ Cf. Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 28. According to Damon-Guillot 2012, *mazmur* is simply an alternative name for the service (Damon-Guillot 2012, p. 93, fn. 19).

³⁸⁹ Cf., for example, ‘Māzmurā dəngəl’, *EAE*, III (2007), 896b–897a (E. Sokolinskaia and U. Pietruschka); ‘Māzmurā Krəstos’, *EAE*, III (2007), 897b–898b (Getachew Haile).

³⁹⁰ For an introduction to the *liṭon*, see Velat 1966a, pp. 175–180.

³⁹¹ For examples, cf. MSS Māy Rāzā Takla Hāymānot, Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008, fol. 54ra, ll. 14–17; Qalāqəl Māryām Şəyon, Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, fol. 39vc, ll. 27–30.

nagh service (1.4.3.3.2). At least within the commemoration of John the Baptist (*Yohannās*) on 1 Maskaram, it also appears to be used as a synonym for a *wāzemā* antiphon.³⁹² The antiphon-type designation *mālṭān* should not be confused with the *mālṭāns* (repeated portions) of certain *Dəggwā*-type antiphons (see 1.4.5.6.1).

1.4.4.1.22 *məsbāk antiphons*

The antiphon-type designation *məsbāk* (ጸሐገክ፡, ‘proclamation’) does not appear in modern lists of the antiphon types, but is attested relatively frequently in manuscripts, referring to *mazmur*-family antiphons (1.4.4.1.37) that occasionally appear as the first antiphon of a commemoration, placed before the antiphons of the *wāzemā* service proper (see 1.4.3.3.1). The designation of this type of antiphons varies in the manuscripts, and at least the following designations are attested: ‘*abun*’ (1.4.4.1.2)³⁹³ and *maḥātəw/māḥtəw* (1.4.4.1.16).³⁹⁴ There is also the form *məsmāk* (ጸሐገክ፡), which appears to be nothing more than an orthographic variant of *məsbāk*.³⁹⁵ Regarding the use of these antiphons, Velat 1966a does not provide any clear information.³⁹⁶ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969—when discussing a commemoration for which a *maḥātəw* antiphon is provided—writes that it functions as an ‘introduction’ (መግቢያ) to the *wāzemā* antiphon performed after it.³⁹⁷ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 also discusses this antiphon type based on the information provided by Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955, saying that its function is to ‘annunciare la festa e verrebbe difatti cantato nelle prime ore del mattino; mentre il *Wazēma* (i primi Vespri) della festa viene celebrato alla vigilia della medesima’.³⁹⁸

The antiphon-type designation *məsbāk* should not be confused with the homonymous psalm versicle (also known as *qədma wangel*, ቅድመ፡ ወንጌል፡, ‘[versicle] before the Gospel’) proclaimed by the deacon and the congregation before the reading of the Gospel,³⁹⁹ nor with the excerpts of psalms described by Velat 1966a and performed during the *mawaddəs* service.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹² Cf. Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, p. 86; Shelemay and Jeffery 1997, p. 4.

³⁹³ Cf., for example, MS Dāgā ‘Ēstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172, fol. 23rb, l. 25 (fifteenth–sixteenth century).

³⁹⁴ Cf., for example, MS ‘Ankobar Ṭalāsā Giyorgis, EMMML 2253, fol. 10rc, l. 9 (seventeenth–eighteenth century).

³⁹⁵ Cf., for example, MS Māmā Mədr Qāla Ḥawāryāt, EMMML 7745, fol. 12rc, l. 8 (seventeenth century). In the table of antiphon types provided by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, both forms are used interchangeably (Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 81–82).

³⁹⁶ In one place, Velat 1966a does speak about antiphons from the *Dəggwā* which bears the designation *məsbāk* and are performed before the reading of the *Sənkəssār* in the service of the Ninth Hour (Velat 1966a, p. 582; cf. also 1.4.3.3.5). However, the *məsbāk* antiphons that I discuss appear also in commemorations in which no service for the Ninth Hour is envisioned, and thus it is questionable if Velat 1966a is really referring to these.

³⁹⁷ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 85.

³⁹⁸ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 311; italics in the original. Cf. Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955, pp. 418, 487.

³⁹⁹ Cf. Velat 1966a, pp. 56–58, Fritsch 2001, pp. 30–31; see also Heyer 1971, pp. 63–64.

Shelemay and Jeffery 1994 compare the *məsbāk* to the gradual psalm of the Western Christian

1.4.4.1.23 *mi-bazhu antiphons*

The antiphon-type designation *mi-bazhu* (ሚበዝኑ፣ ‘how numerous’) has its origin in the incipit of Ps. 3, together with which this type of antiphons is performed. It is regularly included in lists of the antiphon types.⁴⁰¹ According to Velat and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, *mi-bazhu* antiphons only appear during the ‘Semaine Sainte’ or ‘il periodo pasquale’, respectively, where they substitute the homonymous *qane* type.⁴⁰² However, in at least some early *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections, *mi-bazhu* antiphons are attested also outside of this liturgical period. Within the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus, they are attested (with the designation *za-’Ēgzi’o mi-bazhu*, ዘእግዚአብሔር ሚበዝኑ፣ ‘[antiphon] for “O Lord, how numerous”’) in MSS Game Giyorgis, EMMML 8070 and Dāgā ’Ēstifānos, Tānāsee 172.⁴⁰³ All the *mi-bazhu* antiphons that I have checked in these manuscripts consist of three rhymed lines, separated by punctuation marks, apparently following the same pattern as the homonymous type of *qane*.⁴⁰⁴

1.4.4.1.24 *salām antiphons*

The antiphon type *salām* (ሰላም፣ literally ‘peace’) is uniformly included in lists of antiphon types.⁴⁰⁵ It appears to take its name from the ubiquitous presence of the word *salām* or one of its derivatives (*salāmāwi*, ሰላማዊ፣ ‘peaceful, peace-loving’; *sulāme*, ሰላሜ፣ ‘concord, harmony’) in the text of the antiphon. A *salām* antiphon is performed as part of the end of each office, in the present practice, Habtemichael Kidane 1998 reports, together with the first stich of Ps. 84 [LXX], although some manuscripts suggest that the entire psalm ought to be performed with the *salām* antiphon intercalated.⁴⁰⁶ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 hypothesises

tradition (Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, p. 102). The article in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* seems to introduce yet another meaning of the term *māsbāk* in the form of the ‘Māwāddas M[āsbak]’, which ‘has no connection to any Gospel reading and consists of verses from the Psalter’ (‘Māsbak’, *EAE*, III (2007), 939b–940a (Habtemichael Kidane))—it is unclear to me how this relates to the other meanings of the term.

⁴⁰⁰ Velat 1966a, pp. 339–340.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənāh 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59 (እግዚአብሔር ሚበዝኑ ኣመላኪኑ ዕለት፣ ‘*Ēgzi’-o mi-bazhu ’ama šāləst ’əlat*, ‘*Ēgzi’-o mi-bazhu*: “On the third day”’); *Ya-’Ityopyā ’ortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 60; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 94. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does not include *mi-bazhu* antiphons in his list, possibly because he only lists elements occurring in the *wāzemā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190).

⁴⁰² Velat 1966a, p. 60; Velat 1969, p. xvi; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 216.

⁴⁰³ Ex. MSS Game Giyorgis, EMMML 8070, fols 8rb, ll. 14–18; ll. 10va, 11–12; 17rb, ll. 8–9; 19ra, ll. 13–14 (fifteenth century); Dāgā ’Ēstifānos, Tānāsee 172, fols 24rb, ll. 22–23; 26rb, l. 2; 30ra, ll. 30–31 (fifteenth–sixteenth century).

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Schall 1961, pp. 34–36; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 216. However, I have not been able to ascertain whether the *mi-bazhu* antiphons attested here follow the rules of the homonymous *qane* type in other regards.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənāh 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 190–191; *Ya-’Ityopyā ’ortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə’rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 91–92; cf. also Sergew Hable Selassie 1989b, p. 47/131 (see fn. 314).

⁴⁰⁶ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190.

that this psalm plus antiphon was originally preceded by a peace greeting or a prayer of peace, although, in the present practice, ‘non vi è nessuna traccia’.⁴⁰⁷ *Salām* antiphons belong to the group of antiphons which are categorised into melodic houses (see 1.4.5.4), and an indication of the type ‘*ba*-[numeral]’ is often found in connection to the introduction to a *salām* antiphon, although not always.

Salām antiphons regularly appear with an indication for the musical mode in which they should be performed: *gəʾz* or ‘*əzl*’. This can possibly be put in connection with the present practice of performing a *salām* antiphon in the mode *gəʾz* during the *wāzemā* service, and in the mode ‘*əzl*’ during the *səbhata nagh* service, as well as during the *mawaddəs* service and the *kəštata ʾaryām* service. In single-type collections, they are occasionally marked with the word *wāzemā*. A comparison with the material in later *Dəggwā* manuscripts suggests that this term marks *salām* antiphons that are to be performed during the *wāzemā* service,⁴⁰⁸ although the small corpus means that this conclusion can only be tentative.

The antiphon-type designation *salām* should not be confused with the homonymous rhymed five-line hymns found, for example, in many *Sənkəssār* manuscripts.⁴⁰⁹

1.4.4.1.25 *śalast* antiphons

The antiphon type *śalast* (ሠለስት: or ፫:, ‘three’) derives its name from the way in which antiphons of this type interact with the psalms together with which they are performed: intercalated after every third line.⁴¹⁰ They are uniformly included in lists of the antiphon types.⁴¹¹ *Śalast* is among the types of antiphons classified into melodic families, and a list of the melodic families for *śalast* antiphons is found in Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969.⁴¹²

An alternative name attested in early collections is *səmə ʾanni* (ስምዐኒ:, ‘Hear me’), derived from the incipit of Ps. 101 [LXX]. The performance of this psalm plus

⁴⁰⁷ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 190–191.

⁴⁰⁸ The *salām* antiphon found the single-type collections in MSS Şərha Şəyon Beta Hawāryāt, Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 109vb, ll. 21–29 (fifteenth century); Tānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618, fol. 113vb, ll. 17–23 (AD 1343/1344); and Dabra Šāhl, DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 2v, ll. 13–18 (pre-mid-fourteenth century), has this metatextual element, and it is listed among the *salām* antiphons for the *wāzemā* service in all later multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus where it is attested, for example in MSS Dabra Dāmmo ʾAbuna ʾAragāwi, Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 27vc, ll. 16–21 (seventeenth century), and Uppsala, UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 37vc, ll. 3–8 (seventeenth century).

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. ‘Sālam’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 484a–484b (D. Nosnitsin).

⁴¹⁰ Mogas Šəyyum 2016, p. 24.

⁴¹¹ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 195–197; *Ya-ʾItyopyā ʾortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə ʾrāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 90–91; cf. also Sergew Hable Selassie 1989b, p. 2/45–4/47 (see fn. 314).

⁴¹² Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 63–66; cf. also Sergew Hable Selassie 1989b, p. 2/45–4/47 (see fn. 314).

antiphon forms part of all services except the *kəstata* 'aryām service.⁴¹³ As indicated above (1.4.3.3.4), the manuscripts also seem to provide a *śalast* antiphon to be performed together with Ps. 133 [LXX] during the *kəstata* 'aryām service.

In early *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, where *śalast* antiphons are at times indicated with *ba-3* (በ፫፡, 'in 3'), the indication should not be confused with a melodic-house indication.

1.4.4.1.26 *səbhata nagh antiphons*

The antiphon type *səbhata nagh* (ሰብሐተ: ነግሠ፡, 'morning praise') is said to derive its designation from the incipit of Pss. 148-150 (*sabbəhəwwō*, 'praise him!'), which is the biblical text that accompanies the antiphon. It is frequently included in lists of the antiphon types.⁴¹⁴ According to Velat 1969, *səbhata nagh* antiphons are performed together with these three psalms (Pss. 148-150) during the *mawaddəs* service and the *səbhata nagh* service during the Great Fast.⁴¹⁵ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 largely agrees with this, adding that the *Dəggwā* provides this type of antiphons 'per ogni salmo del Säbhewwo', i.e. one for each of the three *sabbəhəwwō* psalms (?). In early collections, *sabbəhəwwō* (ሰብሐዎ፡) and *za-sabbəhəwwō* (ዘሰብሐዎ፡) are attested as alternative designations for this antiphon type.⁴¹⁶

The antiphon-type designation *səbhata nagh* should not be confused with the synonymous service (1.4.3.3.2).

1.4.4.1.27 *śəllāse za-nəguś antiphons*

The antiphons-type designation *śəllāse za-nəguś* (ሥላሴ፡ ዘንጉሥ፡, "'Trinity' [antiphon] for the king') is not attested in any of the modern lists of antiphon types known to me; however, it is encountered in one of the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus, MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172.⁴¹⁷ It is possible that these antiphons should be connected to the *qəne* type *śəllāse*.⁴¹⁸ However, the *śəllāse za-nəguś* antiphons all seem to consist of four rhyming lines, whereas *qəne* poems

⁴¹³ Damon-Guillot 2012, when discussing different types of liturgical songs in the Ethiopic traditions, writes that unlike *Malkə'a Māryām* and *Malkə'a Giyorgis*, which share certain points due to their belonging to the same type of chants, 'le type de chant *səmə'āni* ne renvoie qu'à une seule pièce, donc à un seul et même texte' (Damon-Guillot 2012, pp. 82–83). This would appear not to be a reference to *śalast* antiphons, because they do not share the same text.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 191; *Ya-Itiyopyā 'ortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə'rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 97.

⁴¹⁵ Velat 1969, p. xvii.

⁴¹⁶ Cf., for example, MSS Game Giyorgis, EMM 8070, fol. 12va, l. 22 (fifteenth century); Quro Gadal Śəllāse, EMM 4667, ex. fols 15vb, l. 28; 24rb, l. 12 (fifteenth–sixteenth century); Kəbrān Gabra'el, EMM 8678, fols 1rb, l. 28; 11vb, l. 3 (fifteenth century); Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172, fols 13vb, l. 12; 17va, l. 7; 20rb, l. 16 (fifteenth–sixteenth century).

⁴¹⁷ Cf., for example, fols 17ra, ll. 27–28; 45va, 32–33; 53vb, l. 24.

⁴¹⁸ 'Śəllāse', *EAE*, IV (2010), 603a–603b (Habtemichael Kidane).

of the type *šallāse* are said to contain six *bets*. The *šallāses* of King Nā'od (r. 1494–1508), attested in MS London, BL Or. 706, fols 200ra–202ra and published (with Russian translation) by Turaev 1904b, however, appear to be of the same type as what is found in MS Dāgā 'Īstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172.

1.4.4.1.28 qənnəwāt antiphons

The antiphon type *qənnəwāt* (ቅንዎት, literally 'nails') is generally considered to be a subtype of 'asma la- 'ālam antiphon.⁴¹⁹ It is occasionally included as a separate item in lists of the antiphon types.⁴²⁰ For a discussion, see 1.4.4.1.10.

1.4.4.1.29 wāzemā antiphons

The antiphon type *wāzemā* (ዋረማ, of unclear meaning) appears to derive its name from the *wāzemā* service, at the beginning of which it is performed. It is ubiquitously included in lists of antiphon types.⁴²¹ *Wāzemā* antiphons belong to the *mazmur*-family antiphons (1.4.4.1.37) and are categorised according to melodic houses (1.4.5.4). According to Velat 1966a, they are performed in the musical mode *gə* 'z.⁴²²

The antiphon type *wāzemā* should not be confused with the service *wāzemā* (1.4.3.3.1), with the *qəne* type *wāzemā*,⁴²³ or with the metatextual element *wāzemā* (ዋረማ) occurring in single-type collections of *salām* antiphons (1.4.4.1.24).

1.4.4.1.30 yətbārak antiphons

The antiphon type *yətbārak* (ይትባረክ, 'may [He] be blessed') takes its name from the incipit of Ct. IX (= Dan. 3:52–56). It is regularly included in lists of the antiphon types.⁴²⁴ According to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, it is performed together with this canticle during the festive *wāzemā* service and the ferial and festive *səbhata nagh* service. According to Velat 1966a, *yətbārak* antiphons are inserted after every two lines of the canticle.⁴²⁵ In the manuscripts corpus studied in this dissertation, *yətbārak* antiphons often have an inserted verse *səbbuḥə-ni*

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 60; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 194–195.

⁴²⁰ Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 93 (counted as group together with 'abun antiphons, *maḥātəw* antiphons, and *mazmur* antiphons).

⁴²¹ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 192; *Ya- 'Ityoṗyā 'ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə 'rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 87–88. See also Baeteman 1929, p. 800 (s.v. ዋረማ), where 'chant des vigiles' is listed as one of the translations of the term.

⁴²² Velat 1966a, p. 300.

⁴²³ The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* article 'Wazema' deals primarily with the *qəne* type, although it also mentions the service ('Wazema', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 1166b–1167a (Habtemichael Kidane)). The polysemy of this term was suspected already by Euringer 1942, p. 164.

⁴²⁴ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 191; *Ya- 'Ityoṗyā 'ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə 'rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 90; cf. also Sergew Hable Selassie 1989c, pp. 49–50.

⁴²⁵ Velat 1966a, p. 300.

wə ʾətu wa-lə ʾulə-ni wə ʾətu [...] (ሰቡሕኒ፡ ውሉቱ፡ ወለዑልኒ፡ ውሉቱ፡ [...]), ‘praised and exalted is He [...]; cf. Dan. 3:52), which is regularly abbreviated. Contrary to most other antiphon types (but see the description of *salām* antiphons, 1.4.4.1.24), *yətbārak* antiphons are regularly provided with an explicit indication of their musical mode (1.4.5.2): *gə ʾz*, *ʾəzl*, or, at least in some collections, *ʾarārāy*.⁴²⁶

1.4.4.1.31 *za-ʾamlākiya antiphons*

The antiphon type *za-ʾamlākiya* (ዘአምላኪዮ፡) takes its name from the beginning of the incipit of Ps. 62 [LXX], together with which it is performed. It is ubiquitously included in lists of the antiphon types.⁴²⁷ According to Velat 1969, it is performed together with Ps. 62 [LXX] during the *mawaddəs* service and together with Ps. 21 [LXX] during the ferial Lenten service,⁴²⁸ both of which begin with the word *ʾamlākiya* (አምላኪዮ፡, ‘my God’). According to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, it is performed together with the so-called *za-ʾamlākiya* psalms (Pss. 62, 91, 5, 64 [LXX]) during the festive and ferial *səbhata nagh* service.⁴²⁹ Many of the *za-ʾamlākiya* antiphons that I have encountered while working on the antiphons for the commemorations within the Season of Flowers as attested in the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus consist of two short lines, the first of which is repeated three or four times, according to the pattern of the antiphon *ʾƏstifānos za-ʾamlākiya*, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994, p. 42a, ll. 13–17:

ፍኖተ፡ አይወት፡ ወሀቦሙ፡ ፍኖተ፡ አይወት፡ ወሀቦሙ፡ ፍኖተ፡ አይወት፡
ወሀቦሙ፡ ፍኖተ፡ አይወት፡ ወሀቦሙ፡ ለካህናት፡ ወለዲያ(ቆ)ናት፡።

He gave the way of life to them. He gave the way of life to them.
He gave the way of life to them. He gave the way of life to them,
to the priests and to the deacons!

1.4.4.1.32 *za-fəṭāḥ lita antiphons*

The antiphon-type designation *za-fəṭāḥ lita* (ዘፍታሕ፡ ሊተ፡, ‘[antiphon] for “Open for me”’) is—with one possible exception (see below)—not included in any of the lists of antiphon types known to me. However, it is attested in one of the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus, MS Dāgā ʾƏstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172.⁴³⁰ The antiphon-type designation seems to be derived from the incipit of Ps. 42

⁴²⁶ Cf., for example, MSS Game Giyorgis, EMM 8070, fol. 15rb, ll. 20–21; 18ra, l. 21 (fifteenth century); Dāgā ʾƏstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172, fols 64vb, l. 34; 76va, ll. 36–37; 77rb, ll. 29–30 (fifteenth–sixteenth century).

⁴²⁷ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 191; *Ya-ʾItyopyā ʾortodoks tawāḥado beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə ʾrāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 60; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 93–94.

⁴²⁸ Velat 1969, p. xvi.

⁴²⁹ For an analysis of a performance of Ps. 62 [LXX] in an extralitururgical context, but ‘dans les mêmes conditions qu’à l’office’ (Tourny 2001, p. 381), comparing the actual performance with the performance-related information provided by an unidentified copy of the *Mə ʾrāf*, see Tourny 2001. The inclusion of a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon in the performance is mentioned but not elaborated upon.

⁴³⁰ Cf., for example, fols 16va, ll. 15–16; 94va, ll. 23–24.

[LXX] (not Ps. 25 [LXX], which has the same incipit), which, according to the descriptions of Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, is performed during the *mawaddās* service (see 1.4.3.3.3). Normally, this psalm is performed with a *qəne* of the type *mawaddās* and consequently, *za-fātāḥ lita* would seem to designate *Dəggwā*-type antiphons performed instead of this type of *qəne* (if the chants found in MS are not *qəne* committed to writing). However, the *za-fātāḥ lita* antiphons of MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Tānāsee 172 do not share the metric structure with the *qənes* of the type *mawaddās*, which consist of eight or nine rhymed lines.⁴³¹

In the list of antiphons provided by Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, one antiphon type is listed as follows: (*mawaddās*) *fātāḥ lita*, *Krastos tanśə'a* ((መወድስ) ፍታሕ ሊተ። ክርስቶስ ተነሥኦ።, '(*mawaddās*) *fātāḥ lita*: “Christ is risen”).⁴³² As I interpret this note, in the light of the evidence from MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Tānāsee 172, Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997 is saying that he considers *fātāḥ lita* to be an alternative designation for *mawaddās* antiphons (1.4.4.1.18), and that one (the only one?) antiphon of this type has as its incipit *Krastos tanśə'a*. See the discussion of *mawaddās* antiphons (1.4.4.1.18).

1.4.4.1.33 *za-nāhu śannāy antiphons*

An antiphon type with the designation *za-nāhu śannāy* (ዘናሁ፡ ሠናይ፡, '[antiphon] for “See, how beautiful”') is marginally attested in the modern tradition.⁴³³ According to my interpretation of the material, it is not found in the portions of the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus that I have studied.⁴³⁴ Presumably, the designation is taken from the incipit of Ps. 132 [LXX], which, according to the descriptions of Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, only plays a marginal role in the contemporary 'cathedral' Divine Office.

1.4.4.1.34 *za-tasāhalanni antiphons*

The antiphon type designation *za-tasāhalanni* (ዘተሣሰለኒ፡, '[antiphon] for “Have mercy on me”') derives from the incipit of Ps. 50 [LXX], the psalm together with which these antiphons are presumably performed. It is not included in lists of the antiphon types, but appears in the manuscripts, both in single- and multiple-type

⁴³¹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 217.

⁴³² Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59.

⁴³³ This antiphon type appears in the table of antiphon types per season provided by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969 (Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 81–82), but it is missing from his list of antiphon types (Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 72–73). The list in *Mə'rāf* 2015, p. 387 includes an item *za-nāhu* (*za- 'əṭān 'anṣara-n la-massalaw malayyā* ('ዘናሁ (ዘፅግን ኦንፀረን ለመሰለው ሠለዩ)', '*Za-nāhu* (whose nature is similar to *za- 'əṭān 'anṣara*')), which could possibly also refer to this type of antiphons.

⁴³⁴ The abbreviation *za-nāhu* does indeed occur (cf., for example, the antiphon in MS Romānāt Qəddus Mikā'el, EAP254/1/5, fol. 36vb, ll. 27–28), but according to my interpretation of the material, this is a reference to Ps. 133 [LXX], with the incipit *Nāhu yəbārəkəwwō la- 'Ēgzi 'abəḥer* (ናሁ፡ ይባርክዎ ለእግዚአብሔር፡, 'See, may [they] bless the Lord'). Indeed, other manuscripts introduce the same antiphons with abbreviations like *za-nāhu yəbārəkəwwō* (cf., for example, the same antiphon in MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Tānāsee 172, fol. ll. 26–29).

collections.⁴³⁵ At least in a number of cases in one multiple-type collection, *za-tasāhalanni* antiphons seem to be put in connection with *'arbā 't* antiphons.⁴³⁶ This conclusion is reached based on the appearance of *'arbā 't* melodic-family designations (see 1.4.5.3 in connection with the *za-tasāhalanni* antiphons. As we have seen above (1.4.3.3.1), Ps. 50 [LXX] is performed together with an *'arbā 't* antiphon during the ferial *wāzemā* service. However, it is not clear if this is the case also in the other collections containing *za-tasāhalanni* antiphons.

Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 suggests that the antiphons found in the *za-tasāhalanni* collection in MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 (AD 1343/1344) might be of the type *səbhata nagh*.⁴³⁷ However, this conclusion seems to be reached on the basis of shared texts, something which needs not be decisive. As far as I am aware, the antiphon-type designation *za-tasāhalanni* cannot be easily confused with other liturgical terms.

1.4.4.1.35 *za-yə'əze* antiphons

The antiphon type *za-yə'əze* (ዘይእኤ፡, '[antiphon] for "Now"') or *za-nāhu yə'əze* (ዘኖሁ፡ ይእኤ፡, '[antiphon] for "See, now"') takes its name from the incipit of Ct. XV (Luke 2:29–32, the Nunc dimittis). It is regularly included in lists of the antiphon types.⁴³⁸ According to Velat 1969, it is performed with this canticle during the *mawaddəs* service⁴³⁹ and the festive *səbhata nagh* service; according to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, during the festive and dominical *səbhata nagh* service.⁴⁴⁰

1.4.4.1.36 *zəmmāre* antiphons

Zəmmāre antiphons (ዘማሬ፡, 'singing') are regularly included in lists of the antiphon types,⁴⁴¹ but are not attested in the corpus of antiphons studied in

⁴³⁵ A single-type collection with the title *za-tasāhalanni* (ዘተሳሰለኒ፡) is found in MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618, fols 184va—185va (AD 1343/1344; see Chapter 2, 2.3.4.3.13). In multiple-type collections, the designation is attested at least in MSS Game Giyorgis, EMMML 8070, ex. fol. 12va, l. 17 (fifteenth century); Kəbrān Gabrə'el, EMMML 8678, ex. fol. 1rb, ll. 23–25 (fifteenth century); and Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172, ex. fol. 17ra, ll. 22–23 (fifteenth–sixteenth century); cf. also Dillmann 1866, p. 151. It might be worth pointing out that both MSS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 and Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172 share a geographical origin in the Lake Ṭānā region.

⁴³⁶ Cf. MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, Ṭānāsee 172, fols 17ra, ll. 22–23; 53va, l. 18; 56va, ll. 22–23. On other occasions, however, no melodic-family indication is provided; cf., for example, fols 73ra, l. 15; 86va, l. 13; 90rb, l. 2.

⁴³⁷ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 46.

⁴³⁸ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59 (in the form: ይእኤ፡, *yə'əze*, 'now'); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 191; *Ya- 'Ityopyā 'ortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə 'rāf* 2015, p. 387 (ዘይእኤ and ዘኖሁ are listed as separate entities); Takle Sirak 2016, p. 59; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 96–97.

⁴³⁹ Velat 1969, p. xvii.

⁴⁴⁰ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 191.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. Velat 1969, p. 59; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 72; Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59; *Ya- 'Ityopyā 'ortodoks tawāhədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102; *Mə 'rāf* 2015, p. 387; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 60; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 99. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does not include *zəmmāre* antiphons in his list, possibly because he only lists elements occurring in the *wāzemā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190).

Chapter 3. According to the synoptic table of antiphon types arranged per season provided by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, the entire *Dəggwā* contains only one *zəmmāre* antiphon.⁴⁴² Due to the lack of attestations of this type of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons in the studied corpus—which is not unexpected, given their virtual absence also from the modern tradition as recorded by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969—the relation between the *Dəggwā*-type *zəmmāre* antiphon(s) and the *zəmmāre* antiphons collected in the liturgical book called *Zəmmāre* (the latter antiphons are used during the *Qəddāse*, after the distribution of communion⁴⁴³) is not clear to me.

1.4.4.1.37 Terminological development: ‘mazmur-family antiphons’

A number of pre-fifteenth-century single-type collections contain antiphons with the designation *mazmur* (መዝሙር).⁴⁴⁴ However, these antiphons do not correspond strictly to the *mazmur* of later times (1.4.4.1.20), but the term appears to be used as an umbrella term covering a number of the antiphon types of later times: ‘*abun*, ‘*asma la-‘ālam*, *mazmur*, *məltān* (= ‘*angargāri*), *məsbāk*, *qənnəwāt*, and *wāzemā*. This observation has already been made by others,⁴⁴⁵ and it is exemplified by the antiphons included in the textual corpus in Chapter 3.⁴⁴⁶ To be able to distinguish unambiguously between *mazmur* antiphons in the narrow sense (i.e. the modern usage) and *mazmur* antiphons in the broader sense (i.e. the earlier usage), I have introduced the term ‘*mazmur-family antiphons*’ in referring to the latter.

Within collections of *mazmur-family antiphons*, individual antiphons (or groups of antiphons?) are frequently designated by the terms *qənnəwāt* (ቅንዎት, ‘nails’) and *həllāwe* (ህላዌ, ‘existence, nature’). Based on the very small corpus of

⁴⁴² Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 81–82.

⁴⁴³ Cf. fn. 11. Shelemay et al. 1993 consider the *zəmmāre* antiphons of the liturgical book called *Zəmmāre* and the *mawāšə’t* antiphons of the liturgical book called *Mawāšə’t* to be two types of antiphons that were simply not incorporated into the large multiple-type collections, but ‘continued to be transmitted in collections that were independent of the *Dəggwa*’ (Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 79). I wonder, however, if there are really reasons to consider them as part of the same system of antiphon types. To my knowledge, there are no manuscripts which contain single-type collections of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon together with collections of *zəmmāre* antiphons or *mawāšə’t* antiphons (of the type that we know from the modern printed editions; cf., for example, *Zəmmāre wa-Mawāšə’t* 1993 and *Zəmmāre wa-Mawāšə’t* 2006). Certainly, they are kept together by their attribution to St Yāred, but a categorisation based on the attestation in manuscripts would seem to be preferable.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf., in general, the *mazmur-family antiphon* collections listed in Table 9.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 77. Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 observes that the single-type collection of *mazmur* antiphons in MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 (in the terminology of the present dissertation, ‘*mazmur-family antiphons*’) contains ‘*abun* antiphons and ‘*asma la-‘ālam* antiphons next to *mazmur* antiphons (Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 47).

⁴⁴⁶ However, as no systematic, diachronic comparison of the antiphon-type designations associated with individual antiphons has been carried out as part of this study, the reader is directed to the data presented in Data set 1 for a synoptical presentation of such materials.

antiphons designated in this way which are available in the textual corpus,⁴⁴⁷ it appears that at least some antiphons designated with *qənnəwāt* are later collections considered to belong to the subgroup of *ʾasma la-ʾālam* antiphons with the same designation. Antiphons designated with *həllāwe* are frequently later part of a melodic house (1.4.5.4) with this name. The fact that these two subgroups are distinguished in these early collections—before even *ʾasma la-ʾālam* antiphons are explicitly distinguished from the rest of the *mazmur* family, before melodic houses are marked in the margin—is noticeable and calls for further study of the transmission of these antiphons. Have the designations *qənnəwāt* and *həllāwe* always had the same functions as they do today, or has the meaning of these terms changed?

There are, it seems, several residues of the broader usage of the term *mazmur* also in the present usage. For example, Habtemichael Kidane 1998 mentions that the term *mazmur* is used by some with reference to *wāzemā* antiphons.⁴⁴⁸ It can also be observed that frequently, the transition from the section containing *ʾasma la-ʾālam* and *qənnəwāt* antiphons to the section *mazmur/ʾabun* antiphons is not marked explicitly, but rather, the fact that the former lack a hallelujah number, while the latter have it, serves as the only indication.

1.4.4.1.38 Summary of the types of antiphons

Above, a more or less comprehensive survey of the types of antiphons attested in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections and in previous lists has been provided. Below,

⁴⁴⁷ For example, the antiphon *Ṗantalewon mazmur (ʾabun)* 007 is designated with the term *həllāwe* in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS Gunda Gunde, GG-185, fol. 17r, ll. 12–16 (fifteenth century); in later collections where this antiphon is attested, it is regularly assigned to the melodic house *həllāwe za-ʾAb* (ህላዌ፡ ዘኣብ፡, ‘the nature of the Father’; cf. Takle Sirak 2016, p. 54), abbreviated *hə* (ህ) or *we* (ዌ). The antiphon *Yəmʾattā mazmur (ʾasma la-ʾālam)* 002 is designated with the term *həllāwe* in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS Gunda Gunde, GG-187, fol. 156va, ll. 27–33 (Hand C (?), fourteenth–fifteenth century); in later collections, it is occasionally assigned to the melodic house *həllāwe za-ʾAb*, but more often not. The antiphon *ʾƏstifānos mazmur (ʾabun/mazmur)* 032 is designated with the term *həllāwe* in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS Gunda Gunde, GG-187, fol. 156rb, ll. 23–30 (Hand A, fourteenth–fifteenth century), and occasionally also within the text block in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections (cf. MSS *Kəbrān Gabrəʾel*, EML 8678, fol. 15ra, ll. 1–9 (fifteenth century); *Dāgā ʾƏstifānos*, *Tānāsee* 172, fol. 25ra, l. 36–25rb, l. 6 (fifteenth–sixteenth century); *Ġarr Šəllāse*, EML 7174, fol. 36vb, ll. 22–27 (sixteenth century)); however, it is uniformly assigned to the melodic house *hawāz* (ሐዋዝ፡, ‘agreeable’; cf. Takle Sirak 2016, p. 54), abbreviated *zə* (ዝ), in later multiple-type collections (also some of those which have the designation *həllāwe* in the text). The antiphon *Ṗantalewon mazmur (ʾabun/mazmur)* 009 is designated with the term *həllāwe* in the *mazmur*-family collections in MSS *Tānā Qirqos*, EML 7618, fols 22vb, l. 45–23ra, l. 3 (AD 1343/1344), and Gunda Gunde, GG-187, fol. 147vb, ll. 34–37 (Hand C, fourteenth–fifteenth century); in later collections, it is occasionally designated with the melodic-house designation *hə* (for *həllāwe za-ʾAb*, ህላዌ፡ ዘኣብ፡, ‘the nature of the Father’), but more often *də* (for *masʾa Wald*, መጽሐ፡ ወልድ፡, ‘the Son came’; cf. Takle Sirak 2016, pp. 54, 55). The antiphon *ʾƏstifānos mazmur (ʾasma la-ʾālam)* 039 is the only antiphon in the textual corpus designated with the term *qənnəwāt* in one of the *mazmur*-family collections, in MS Gunda Gunde, GG-187, fol. 156rb, ll. 30–37 (fourteenth–fifteenth century); in later collections where it appears, it is explicitly marked as a *qənnəwāt* antiphon in about a fourth, and implicitly in more than half of them.

⁴⁴⁸ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 309.

two summarising tables are found. The first, Table 2, presents synoptically the lists of antiphon types found in Velat 1966a,⁴⁴⁹ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969,⁴⁵⁰ Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997,⁴⁵¹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998,⁴⁵² *Ya- 'Ityopyā 'ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007,⁴⁵³ *Mə 'rāf* 2015,⁴⁵⁴ and Getāhun Damša 2017.⁴⁵⁵ As the list in Takle Sirak 2016⁴⁵⁶ is practically identical with the one in *Ya- 'Ityopyā 'ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, it has not been included in the table. All except the lists found in Habtemichael Kidane 1998, which only lists antiphons performed as part of the *wāzemā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service, and *Mə 'rāf* 2015 contain twenty-two items, in accordance with the modern tradition (see 1.4.4.1). For a similar table, including partly other sources, see Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014.⁴⁵⁷

The second, Table 3, summarises a number of the most salient features of the different antiphon types, namely whether there are alternative designations, how each antiphon type relates to other antiphon types, whether it belongs to the number of antiphon types which a) share their designation with a type of *qəne*, and b) whose use is interconnected with the use of *qəne*, and finally, how many of the modern lists (excluding the list of Habtemichael Kidane 1998, which only contains the antiphon types used within the *wāzemā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service, and the list of Takle Sirak 2016, due to its similarity with *Ya- 'Ityopyā 'ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007) include the antiphon type in question.

⁴⁴⁹ Velat 1966a, pp. 59–60.

⁴⁵⁰ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 72–73. In addition to this list, Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969 includes a table where the antiphons of each liturgical season are listed according to type (cf. Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 81–82). This table contains a number of antiphon types (?) not included in the previous list: *'aryām*, *həyyanta qəne* (listed separately from *mawaddəs*, *kəbr yə 'əti*, *'əṭāna mogar*, and *k'əlləkəmu*), *məsbāk/məsmāk*, *za-nāhu šannāy*, *mə 'wād*, and *məqnāy*. In some cases, I am not sure whether they should be interpreted as antiphon types or some other kind of elements.

⁴⁵¹ Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, p. 59.

⁴⁵² Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 189–198.

⁴⁵³ *Ya- 'Ityopyā 'ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 102.

⁴⁵⁴ *Mə 'rāf* 2015, p. 387. This list is not found in the version of the same text published as Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2016.

⁴⁵⁵ Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 87–100.

⁴⁵⁶ Takle Sirak 2016, pp. 59–60.

⁴⁵⁷ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 43–44.

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Table 2. Synoptical presentation of previous lists of antiphon types. Antiphon types which are listed as subtypes of other antiphon types have been placed in square brackets.

| | Velat 1966a | Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969 | Habtemichael Kidane 1998 ⁴⁵⁸ | Getāhun Damša 2017 ⁴⁵⁹ | Ləssāna Warq Gabra G. 1997 | <i>Mə 'rāf</i> 2015 | <i>Ya- 'Ityoṗyā</i> 'ortodoks 2017 |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ' <i>abun</i> | [X] | X | X | X* | | X | [X] |
| ' <i>angargāri</i> | X | | X | | | | |
| ' <i>arbā 't</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ' <i>aryām</i> | X | | | X | X | X | X |
| <i>ba-ḥamməstu</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>bəṣu 'za-yəlebbu</i> | | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ' <i>Əgz. nagsā</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ' <i>Əgz. şarāḥku</i> | | | | | | | |
| ' <i>asma la- 'ālam</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ' <i>əṭāna mogar</i> | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ' <i>əzl</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>kəbr yə 'əti</i> | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| <i>k'əlləkəmu</i> | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| <i>la- 'Əgz. mədr</i> | | | | | | | |

⁴⁵⁸ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 only includes antiphon types which are used in the *wāzemā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 190).

⁴⁵⁹ Getāhun Damša 2017 marks four antiphon types—'*abun*, *maḥātəw*, *mazmur*, and *qənnəwāt*—as subgroups within a larger type. These have been signalled with an asterisk.

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| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|---|-----|----|------------------------|---|---|
| <i>maḥātəw</i> | | | | X* | | X | |
| <i>māḥlet</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>mawaddəs</i> | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| <i>mawāsə`t</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>mazmur</i> | X | X | X | X* | X | X | X |
| <i>məlān</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>məsbāk</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>mi-bazḥu</i> | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| <i>salām</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>śalast</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>səbhata nagh</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>śəllāse za-nəguś</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>qənnəwāt</i> | [X] | | [X] | X* | | X | |
| <i>wāzemā</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>yətbārak</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>za-`amlākiya</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>za-fətāḥ lita</i> | | | | | ? (= <i>mawaddəs</i>) | | |
| <i>za-yə`əze</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| <i>za-taśāhalanni</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>[zəmmāre]</i> | X | X | | X | X | X | X |

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Table 3. Summary of salient features of antiphon types.

| | alternative designation | is a subgroup of... | is equivalent to... | <i>qəne</i> type | attest. in consulted lists |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| ' <i>abun</i> | ' <i>abuna</i> | <i>mazmur</i> family | <i>mazmur</i> | | 5/6 |
| ' <i>angargāri</i> | | <i>mazmur</i> family | <i>məsbāk, maḥātəw</i> | | 1/6 |
| ' <i>arbā 't</i> | (<i>ba-</i>)4 | | | | 6/6 |
| ' <i>aryām</i> | | | | | 5/6 |
| <i>ba-ḥamməstu</i> | <i>ba-5</i> | | | | 6/6 |
| <i>bəṣu ' za-yələbbu</i> | | | | X | 5/6 |
| ' <i>Əgz. nagsa</i> | <i>nagś</i> | | | | 6/6 |
| ' <i>Əgz. şarāḥku</i> | | <i>ba-ḥamməstu</i> | | | 0/6 |
| ' <i>əsmə la- 'ālam</i> | | <i>mazmur</i> family | <i>qənnəwāt</i> | | 6/6 |
| ' <i>əṭāna mogar</i> | | | | X | 6/6 |
| ' <i>əzl</i> | (<i>gə 'z</i>) <i>həyyanta 'əzl</i> | <i>mazmur</i> family | | | 6/6 |
| <i>kəbr yə 'əti</i> | | | | X | 6/6 |
| <i>k^wəlləkəmu</i> | | | | X | 6/6 |
| <i>la- 'Əgz. mədr</i> | | <i>ba-ḥamməstu</i> | | | 0/6 |
| <i>maḥātəw</i> | <i>māḥtəw</i> | | ' <i>angargāri, məsbāk</i> | | 2/6 |
| <i>māḥlet</i> | (<i>za-</i>) <i>yəbārəkəwwə</i> | | | | 6/6 |

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| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|---|-----|
| <i>mawaddəs</i> | | | <i>za-fətāḥ lita</i> (?) | X | 6/6 |
| <i>mawāšə`t</i> | | | | | 0/6 |
| <i>mazmur</i> | | <i>mazmur</i> family | <i>`abun</i> | | 6/6 |
| <i>məlṭān</i> | | <i>mazmur</i> family | | | 0/6 |
| <i>məsbāk</i> | <i>məsmāk</i> | <i>mazmur</i> family | <i>`angargāri, maḥātəw</i> | | 0/6 |
| <i>mi-bazḥu</i> | | | | X | 6/6 |
| <i>salām</i> | | | | | 6/6 |
| <i>śalast</i> | <i>(ba-)3</i> | | | | 6/6 |
| <i>səbhata nagh</i> | <i>(za-)sabbəḥəwwo</i> | | | | 6/6 |
| <i>śəllāse za-nəguś</i> | | | | ? | 0/6 |
| <i>qənnəwāt</i> | | <i>mazmur</i> family | <i>`əsmə la-`ālam</i> | | 3/6 |
| <i>wāzemā</i> | | <i>mazmur</i> family | | | 6/6 |
| <i>yətbārak</i> | | | | | 6/6 |
| <i>za-`amlākiya</i> | | | | | 6/6 |
| <i>za-fətāḥ lita</i> | | | <i>mawaddəs</i> (?) | X | 1/6 |
| <i>za-yə`əze</i> | <i>za-nāhu yə`əze</i> | | | | 6/6 |
| <i>za-taśāhalanni</i> | | <i>`arbā`t</i> (?) | | | 0/6 |
| <i>[zəmmāre]</i> | | | | | 6/6 |

1.4.5 Musical classification

1.4.5.1 Introduction

To understand the nature and diachronic development of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections and the manuscripts that contain them, a basic knowledge of the systems of musical classification and notation within the Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian tradition of liturgical chant is required. This liturgical chant is known by an indigenous term as *zemā* (ዘማ).⁴⁶⁰ The aim of this section is to introduce the reader to a number of the fundamental concepts of *zemā*, based on the general knowledge of these subject matters gathered in previous research.

In present-day *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, several systems of musical classification and notation are found side by side, representing different strata of the evolution of Ethiopian musical analysis and testifying to its diachronic development. These systems of musical classification all have components which are transmitted in writing, and are thus reflected in the text of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts. Put differently, many of the metatextual elements which accompany the texts of individual antiphons in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections refer, in different ways, to how the antiphons are to be performed musically. The systems of musical classification furthermore affect the collections secondarily, because like the liturgical calendar, they provide a structure according to which antiphons are in some contexts organised. In this section of the chapter, the following concepts and systems of musical classification and notation will be introduced:

- the musical modes (*gə'z*, *'əzl*, and *'arārāy*),
- the melodic families (a classification which concerns only three types of antiphons: *'arbā't*, *'aryām*, and *śalast*),
- the melodic houses (a classification which again is restricted to certain types of antiphons),
- the interlinear musical notation (*mələkkət*).

⁴⁶⁰ The term *zemā* is also used among the Beta 'Īsrā'el for referring to their liturgical chant. For a comparison between the liturgical chant of Ethiopian Orthodox Christians and the Beta 'Īsrā'el, see Shelemay 1982. *Zemā* is often construed in opposition to secular music, termed *zafan* (ዘፈን). This opposition is attested in the *Life of St Yāred* (cf. Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 19 (edition), Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 18 (Latin translation)) and thus possibly goes back to the fifteenth century (see 1.5.2). For a parallel dichotomy between the terms *mazmur* and *zafan*, primarily in the context of Ethiopian Protestant Christianity, see Steinhovden 2016.

1.4.5.2 Modes: *gə'z*, *'əzl*, and *'arārāy*

The notion of *səlt* (ሰልተ) or *zemā* (ዜማ),⁴⁶¹ in this dissertation translated as ‘musical mode’,⁴⁶² is the most basic musical categorisation within Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian liturgical chant. In the contemporary practice, three musical modes are distinguished: *gə'z* (ግዕዝ), *'əzl* (ዕዝል), and *'arārāy* (አራራይ), according to the traditional account revealed to St Yāred in the sixth century (see 1.5.2).⁴⁶³ All chants are categorised as belonging to one of these three modes, although, occasionally, the mode may shift during the course of one chant.⁴⁶⁴

For non-specialists, it is not always easy to distinguish the three modes.⁴⁶⁵

Previous literature contain numerous attempts to define them, both from a musicological perspective⁴⁶⁶ and based on more popular-descriptive criteria.⁴⁶⁷

The usage of the different modes has often been simplistically assigned to

⁴⁶¹ This use of the term *zemā* should not be confused with its use in reference to the Ethiopian Christian (and Beta 'Ēsrā'el) liturgical chant in general; see 1.4.5.1.

⁴⁶² Different terms have been used in the previous literature to refer to this classification: ‘genre musicaux’ (Velat 1969, pp. xii–xiii), ‘modi del canto’ (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 245–251), ‘categories of melody or mode’ (Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 7), *səltā* (*damša*) *zemā* (‘ሰልተ (ደምሐ) ዜማ’) (Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 68–69). Powne 1968 opposes the use of the term ‘mode’, arguing instead for ‘mood’, ‘manner’, or ‘humour’ (Powne 1968, pp. 96–97).

⁴⁶³ Shelemay et al. 1993 have put forward the hypothesis that the system of Ethiopian Christian liturgical music was originally based on only two modes: *gə'z* and *'əzl* (Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 88–89). They base this hypothesis primarily on the attestation of only these two modes in a) a number of early antiphon collections (the *mazmur*-family collection in MS Lālibalā Beta 'Amānu'el, EMMML 6944 (fourteenth century?), the *salām* collection in MS Paris, BnF Éth. 92 (fourteenth century), the *Zəmmāre* collection in MS Ḥayq 'Ēstifānos, EMMML 2091 (fifteenth–sixteenth century)) and b) the *mastagābā*, i.e. the collections of verses taken from the Book of Psalms which are part of the musical training in the traditional education and are executed liturgically during the *səbhata nagh* of the Great Fast (cf. Velat 1966a, pp. 219–221). Furthermore, this hypothesis is put in connection with the term *ba-kālā* ' *zemā*, encountered in numerous early *Dəgg'ā*-type antiphon collections (see 1.4.5.2.1), and with a musicological analysis, according to which the modes of *'əzl* and *'arārāy* are said to share the same ‘background pitch set’. The earliest attestations of the musical mode *'arārāy* known to Shelemay et al. 1993 are found in the multiple-type collection in MS Vatican City, BAV Vat. et. 28 (fifteenth century). To this can be added its attestation in connection with *yətbārak* antiphons in the multiple-type collection in MS Game Giyorgis, EMMML 8070, ex. fols 15rb, ll. 20–21; 18ra, ll. 21 (fifteenth century).

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Habta Māryām Warqənāh 1969, pp. 76–77.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Tourny 2007–2008, pp. 79–80.

⁴⁶⁶ For attempts at a musicological analysis, see ‘Musique liturgique d’Éthiopie’, *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, II (1969), 234–238 (B. Velat), esp. 234–235; Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 99–102; Tourny 2007–2008. Earlier attempts were based on an insufficient knowledge of Ethiopian liturgical music (cf. Fétis 1874, pp. 108–116, recapitulated by Wellesz 1920, pp. 84–85; see also Herscher-Clément 1934, p. 52). The suggestion of Wellesz 1920 that the three modes originally should have represented ‘das Singen in den drei Stimmenlagen, hoch, mittel und tief’ should also be seen in this context (Wellesz 1920, pp. 85–86).

⁴⁶⁷ More popular descriptions of the musical modes and their usages, at times contradictory, are found, for example, in Powne 1968, pp. 96–97; Tito Lāpīsā 1970, pp. 163–166; Doresse 1972, p. 218; Ashenafi Kebede 1980, p. 31; Nieten 2014, pp. 256–258. For overviews of some of the previous literature, see Woube Kassaye 2005, pp. 196–199 (who also suggests his own theory concerning scalar properties of the modes) and Tourny 2007–2008, p. 79. Ashenafi Kebede 1980 uniquely describes the three modes as ‘octave ranges’ and claims that the terms are sometimes ‘used to refer to the starting tones of chants’ (Ashenafi Kebede 1980, p. 31).

different parts of the liturgical year,⁴⁶⁸ but although the musical mode used in the *Qəddāse* might be described in this way,⁴⁶⁹ in the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office the usage is more complex.⁴⁷⁰

A symbolic connection between *gəʾz* and the Father, *ʾəzl* and the Son, and *ʾarārāy* and the Holy Spirit, found already in the fifteenth-century *Life of St Yāred*,⁴⁷¹ is often repeated in the literature.⁴⁷² This symbolism is occasionally put in connection with the musical characteristics of the modes themselves.⁴⁷³

In a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection, the notion of musical mode is generally not expressed explicitly,⁴⁷⁴ although it is ubiquitously implied through the connection between the *mələkkət* and musical mode (see 1.4.5.5). Still, there are a couple of contexts in which musical mode is regularly indicated:

⁴⁶⁸ Villoteau 1826, p. 272 (cf. also Wellesz 1920, p. 81); Ullendorff 1960, p. 172; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 251–252 (it is unclear to which services and specific chants the information in the table refers). Tadesse Tamrat 1985 is of the opinion that the use of different modes depending on the liturgical period and the nature of different feasts could point to a common origin of Coptic and Ethiopic liturgical music (Tadesse Tamrat 1985, pp. 137–138); however, this would seem to be something which connects more than just these two liturgical traditions. Shelemay et al. 1993, in their discussion of the history of the modes and arguing for a translation of the term *ʾəzl* as ‘special’ or ‘apart’, write that the mode *ʾəzl* is ‘associated with particular seasons of the year’ (Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 89). One should notice that at least one of the Ethiopic sources adduced by them (the only source available to me)—a fragmentary text concerned with the use of the different modes preserved in MS Vatican City, BAV Vat. et. 245, fol. 10r (nineteenth century) and partly quoted in the catalogue description by Grébaut and Tisserant 1935—explicitly deals only with the execution of the *Qəddāse*, as evidenced by the use of the word *qaddasa*, ‘celebrate the *Qəddāse*’ (ex. እምቀዳሚ: ሹር: እስከ: ሲ(!)ኔ: አባ: ገራማ: እዝል: ቀድ[ስ]፤, ‘from *Qadāmi Śur* [i.e. Holy Saturday] to Sane *ʾAbbā Garimā* [i.e. the monthly celebration of *ʾAbbā Garimā* on 17 Sane], celebrate the *Qəddāse* (in) *ʾəzl*’; cf. Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, p. 755).

⁴⁶⁹ Tito Laḥisā 1970, pp. 164–165; Fritsch 2001, p. 389. The *Qəddāse* can be sung either ‘in *gəʾz*’ or ‘in *ʾəzl*’. The division between the modes in *Qəddāse zemā* does not in all details correspond to that which is current in the context of the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office, and a melody that is classified *ʾarārāy* as during Divine Office, may be classified as *gəʾz* when it occurs in the *Qəddāse* (Baḳālu Səbhāt 2016, pp. 103–104). I am grateful to Leonard Bahr for informing me about this matter and providing me with the reference.

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Tourny 2007–2008, pp. 80–81. Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 98–99. Fritsch 2001, p. 82, fn. 117.

⁴⁷¹ Conti Rossini 1904c, pp. 5, 18, 29 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, pp. 5, 17, 27 (Latin translation).

⁴⁷² Cf. Baeteman 1929, p. 247 (s.v. ስልት); Velat 1964, p. 170; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 76; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 246; Hailu Habtu 1997, pp. xxvi–xxvii; Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, pp. 11–12; Mogas Šəyyum 2016, p. 17; Tourny 2007–2008, p. 78; Nieten 2014, p. 256, fn. 5; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 69–71. In one text, however, another symbolism is given, associating *ʾarārāy* with the Son and *ʾəzl* with the Holy Spirit (Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 287 (edition), p. 292 (English translation)).

⁴⁷³ Baeteman 1929 notes that *ʾarārāy* is ‘doux, en souvenir de la charité dont le St. Esprit est le symbole’ (Baeteman 1929, p. 247).

⁴⁷⁴ Sergew Hable Selassie 1972 and Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, on the contrary, claim that musical mode is marked by means of letters written in the margins (Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 173; Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, p. 46). At least in the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections included in the corpora of this dissertation, I have not seen examples of this.

a) in connection with *yətbārak* antiphons. This marking is attested already from the earliest single-type collections of *yətbārak* antiphons and until today. Velat 1966a mentions that Ct. IX (= Dan. 3:52–56) may be performed in any of the three musical modes during both the *wāzemā* service and the *səbhata nagh* service,⁴⁷⁵ but it is not clear to me what determines the mode. The mode of the *yətbārak* antiphons depends on that of Ct. IX, together with which it is performed.

b) in connection with *salām* antiphons. The marking of musical mode in connection with *salām* antiphons may be connected to the use of *salām* antiphons in the mode *gəʔ* specifically during the *wāzemā* service, and the use of *salām* antiphons in the mode *ʔzl* specifically during the *səbhata nagh* service.⁴⁷⁶ This means that, in the specific context of *salām* antiphons, the indication of musical mode carries a special practical significance.

1.4.5.2.1 On the term *ba-kāləʔ zemā*

As noted by Shelemay et al. 1993, early *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections—both single-type and multiple-type—occasionally contain antiphons and groups of antiphons designated with the term *ba-kāləʔ zemā* (በካልእ፡ ዜማ፡). It is attested at least in connection with *ʔarbāʔ* antiphons, *mazmur*-family antiphons, and *salām* antiphons.⁴⁷⁷ Shelemay et al. 1993 translate the term as ‘the second zema’ and relate it to their hypothesis of an original two-mode system (see fn. 463), suggesting that it might be a reference to the musical mode *ʔzl*. However, based on an analysis of the occurrence of the term in the *ʔarbāʔ* collection in MS Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EMMML 7078 (pre-mid-fourteenth century), this seems

⁴⁷⁵ Velat 1966a, pp. 299, 439.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, who observe that the explicit indication of musical mode in connection with *salām* antiphons occur less frequently in the later sources that they included in their corpus (Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, p. 93). One could speculate that the indication of mode, attested already in pre-*mələkkət* manuscripts, lost some of its meaning with the spread of the *mələkkət*, which also record this information, and perhaps also with the rearrangement of the antiphons into an organisation based on services.

⁴⁷⁷ Examples are found in the *ʔarbāʔ* collection in MS Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EMMML 7078 (fols 50v, 62v, 66v, 67v; pre-mid-fourteenth century), where individual melodic families are designated in this way; in the *salām* collections in MSS ʔAgʔazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-VIII*/XIII (ex. fols 31r, 31v, 34v, 36r; pre-mid-fourteenth century) and Tānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618 (ex. fols 220vb, 221rb, 221vb; AD 1343/1344), where different groups of antiphons within the Season of the Great Fast are introduced in this way; in the parts of the *mazmur*-family collection in MS Gunda Gunde, GG-187 (fourteenth–fifteenth century) dedicated to the Seasons of Supplication, the Great Fast, and Easter (ex. fol. 54r), where it marks either groups of antiphons (in the Season of Supplication) or individual antiphons within commemoration (frequently in the Seasons of the Great Fast and Easter). The term is also attested in early multiple-type collections, for example in MSS Dāgā ʔəstifānos, Tānāsee 172 (ex. fol. 14rb, l. 2, within a section of *ʔsma la-ʔālam* antiphons; fols 15ra, l. 30 and 15rb, l. 3, within a section of *salām* antiphons; fifteenth century) and Kəbrān Gabraʔel, EMMML 8678 (ex. fol. 12rb, l. 32, within a section of *mazmur*-family antiphons; fifteenth-century).

unlikely.⁴⁷⁸ I am of the impression that *ba-kālā' zemā* rather has a more loose meaning and should perhaps best be translated as ‘in another *zemā*’, meaning ‘in another melody [than the preceding antiphon(s)]’.

1.4.5.3 Melodic families

Three types of antiphons—*'arbā' t* antiphons, *śalast* antiphons, and *'aryām* antiphons—are categorised into *melodic families*.⁴⁷⁹ Although they are three separate types of antiphons (with different liturgical functions and various other peculiarities), they share the characteristic that each antiphon of these types is ascribed to a melodic family, i.e. a group of antiphons which are performed in a similar melody.⁴⁸⁰ The three types of antiphons each possess their own set of melodic families, which does not interact with the others; the similarity lies solely in the principle that is applied. In previous literature, the melodic families have been compared with the εἱρηνοί of the Byzantine musical tradition or the *ṛēšay qālā* (ṛēšay qālā) of the Syriac musical tradition.⁴⁸¹ The presence of similar markers of melodic signification in the Coptic musical tradition should also be noted.⁴⁸²

In the modern tradition as transmitted by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, there are thirty-three melodic families for *'arbā' t* antiphons (plus seven additional families), fifty-seven melodic families for *śalast* antiphons (plus six additional families), and fifty-six melodic families for *'aryām* antiphons (plus four additional families).⁴⁸³ Within each melodic family, one antiphon serves as the *melodic model*. This is known, with an indigenous term, as the *səray* (ሰረይ) of the melodic family.⁴⁸⁴ The melodic model acts as a representative for the family, and an abbreviation of the incipit of the melodic model is used in manuscripts to signal to which melodic family an antiphon belongs. Consider, as an example, the antiphon

⁴⁷⁸ Out of twenty-seven melodic families included in the collection in MS Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EMM 7078, four are introduced with a variant of the term *ba-kālā' zemā*: *'Aḥqər biṣaka* [5] (fol. 66v), *Za-maṣ'a 'əm-dāḥra nabiyyāt* [14] (fol. 50v), *Nāhu šannāy* [23] (fol. 62v), and *Za-ba-Dāwīt* [27] (fol. 67v). Out of these, the three first, at least according to the information provided by Velat, belong to the musical mode *gə'z*, whereas the mode in the last one shifts from *gə'z* to *'əzl* (Velat 1966a, pp. 244–249; Velat 1966b, pp. 47–51).

⁴⁷⁹ These are the “‘Type I’ portions” of Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 81–84.

⁴⁸⁰ The connection between these three types of antiphons is acknowledged by the Ethiopic tradition, for example by the fact that these three types of antiphons are learnt together in one segment in the traditional education (the so-called *ya-qāl tāmḥart* / *ya-mātā tāmḥart* (የቃል፡ ትምህርት፡ / የማታ፡ ትምህርት፡, ‘studies of the word’ / ‘nightly studies’); cf. Takle Sirak 2016, pp. 73–74) and that they are occasionally included as a separate section in the *Mə'raḥ* (cf. the descriptions of individual manuscripts in Velat 1966b, pp. viii–xi).

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 83. Nieten 2014 makes a less felicitous comparison between the *ṛēšay qālā* and the *mālakkət* (!) of the Ethiopic tradition (Nieten 2014, p. 266; see 1.4.5.5). Wellesz 1920, apparently without knowing the system of melodic families, predicted the existence of such a practice based on parallels with other Christian liturgical traditions (Wellesz 1920, pp. 101–102).

⁴⁸² Cf. Junker 1908, pp. 21–24.

⁴⁸³ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 59–66. The ‘additional families’ (ትርፍ፡, *tərḥ*, ‘remaining, extra’) of Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969 are in many cases alternative designations for other melodic families, based on other model antiphons. For several examples of this, see Chapter 5.

⁴⁸⁴ For a discussion of the etymology of the term, see fn. 514.

Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 048 as attested in MS Dabra Dāmmo, Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 (fol. 21vb, ll. 13–14; seventeenth century):

ተንሥ[፡] ውእቱ፡ እግዚእ፡ ለሰንበት፡ አሠርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽጌያት፡።

Tanś. He is the lord of the Sabbath. He adorned the earth with flowers!

The rubricated metatextual element that precedes the antiphon proper is an abbreviation of *Tanśə 'u nəḥor* (ተንሥኡ፡ ንሒር፡, 'Stand up, let us go'), the incipit of the model antiphon of the melodic family to which the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 048 belongs. Similarly, any 'arbā 't antiphon, *śalast* antiphon, or 'aryām antiphon will be preceded by a melodic-family indication when it appears in a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection.⁴⁸⁵ The melodic models are part of the curriculum taught in the traditional education. Lists of the melodic models are part of the so-called 'School chants' included in the *Mə 'rāf*, and are historically sometimes also found as a paratextual element in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. For an analysis of a number of such lists, see Chapter 5 (5.3.2).

Jeffery (in Shelemay et al. 1993) suggest a three-stage diachronic development of the system of melodic families, in which the antiphons of these three types were first arranged in melodic families ('Stage I'), then a melodic model was chosen as a representative for each family ('Stage II'), and then lists of the melodic models began to be compiled ('Stage III'). However, as will be shown in Chapter 5, melodic models are present already in the earliest sources available to us, and a stage previous to their invention remains hypothetical.

The degree of musical similarity between the antiphons within one melodic family is an open question, as little systematic research has been carried out to investigate this. Shelemay et al. 1993 present a small study in which the *mələkkət* of five 'aryām antiphons, all belonging to the melodic family *Qadāmi zemā*, are compared with those of the melodic model.⁴⁸⁶ They conclude that the melodic

⁴⁸⁵ The modern tradition, based on the figures provided by Habta Māryām Warqənāh 1969 that were referred to above, counts 146 (plus seventeen additional) melodic families, all of which have their own model antiphons. The incipits of all of these model antiphons, furthermore, appear in abbreviated form in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts. These abbreviations are a frequent source of potential confusion. For example, the abbreviation 'əs (short for the 'arbā 't melodic-family designation 'Āsma 'anta bāḥtītəka [4]; see Chapter 5) should, when it occurs within a section of a commemoration dedicated to 'arbā 't antiphons, not be mistaken for a reference to 'āsma la- 'ālam antiphons (although the same abbreviation can appear with this meaning in other sections of the same commemoration), and the abbreviation 'arā (short for the 'arbā 't melodic-family designation 'Arārāta or 'Arārāy [9]; see Chapter 5) should not be mistaken for a reference to the musical mode 'arārāy. In many cases, it is necessary to know in which section of a commemoration an abbreviation occurs to be able to interpret it correctly. Euringer 1942 mistakes a reference to the 'aryām melodic family *Qadāmi zemā* for a reference to the musical mode *gə 'z* (Euringer 1942, p. 166; the melodic model for this melodic family was included as 'Portion 12' in Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, pp. 56–61, 97–98, 1997, pp. 78–82).

⁴⁸⁶ Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 95 (discussion), 96 (comparative table of *mələkkət*).

agreement between a melodic model and the other members of its melodic family are ‘more common towards the beginning’ of each antiphon, but underline the need for more extensive studies of this kind.

The melodic families, at least for *’arbā’t* antiphons, are connected to different performance practices, more specifically to the way in which chanted psalms lines alternate with lines recited *recto tono*. Velat 1966a includes a list of some *’arbā’t* melodic families together with the chanting/reciting distribution pattern associated with them.⁴⁸⁷

According to both Velat 1966a and Habtemichael Kidane 1998, the use of an antiphon belonging to a particular melodic family may be dictated by the liturgical context.⁴⁸⁸ This means that the melodic families are not only a musical categorisation of functionally equal antiphons, but that their liturgical function is partly dependent on this musical categorisation. For example, as we have seen above in the description of the ferial *wāzemā* service (1.4.3.3.1), the *’arbā’t* antiphon performed together with Ps. 50 [LXX] must belong to one of the melodic families *Niqodimos ’amṣə’a / Qəne dabtarā* [13] or *’Aṣābə’ihu* [31]. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 writes that they ‘vengono usati nella settimana alternativamente, cioè: il primo il lunedì e il secondo il martedì; così, di seguito, fino alla domenica esclusa. L’uso alternativo di questi modelli, però, implica anche il cambiamento del tono con cui il *Liṭon* feriale della sera dev’essere cantato.’⁴⁸⁹ This is another avenue of research that has not been pursued so far and that will not be addressed in this dissertation, even though it has the potential of adding another explicatory level to the interpretation of the materials that we find in manuscripts. For example, such factors might help explaining the ordering of the different melodic families within a section containing *’arbā’t* antiphons, *śalast* antiphons, or *’aryām* antiphons. As indicated in above (1.2.2.2), Chapter 5 is dedicated to the study of the melodic families of *’arbā’t* antiphons.

1.4.5.3.1 On the formula *ba-za yəbl*

The formula *[X] ba-za yəbl* ([X] በዘ፡ ይ-ባል፡), where X stands for an abbreviation of the incipit of a model antiphon, is frequently used in early single- and multiple-type collections of *’arbā’t* antiphons, *śalast* antiphons, and *’aryām* antiphons to introduce melodic-family indications.⁴⁹⁰ It is also attested in some early collections of other antiphon types, where its function is less clear.⁴⁹¹ While the meaning of this elliptic formula, at least in the context of *’arbā’t* antiphons, *śalast* antiphons, and *’aryām* antiphons, is easily comprehensible—it introduces the

⁴⁸⁷ Velat 1966a, pp. 345–346.

⁴⁸⁸ Velat 1966a, pp. 481–482; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 197.

⁴⁸⁹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 197; italics in the original.

⁴⁹⁰ For a discussion of the attestations of this formula, see Chapter 4 (4.3.2 and 4.3.3).

⁴⁹¹ Cf., for example, the *salām* collection in MS *’Agwazā Dabra Šāhl*, DS-VIII*/XIII, fols 63v, l. 2; 75v, l. 14 (pre-mid-fourteenth century).

melodic-family designation of the following antiphon or group of antiphons—its precise translation is discussible. Shelemay et al. 1993 translate it as ‘in which one would say’ or, more in context: [X] ‘[is the model] in which one would say [the following portion, i.e. antiphon]’.⁴⁹²

1.4.5.4 Melodic houses

A number of types of antiphons—*’abun* antiphons, *’əzl* antiphons, *’əsmā la-’ālam* (and *qənnəwāt*) antiphons, *mazmur* antiphons, *məsbāk* (and *’angargāri*, *maḥātəw*, and *məltān*) antiphons, *salām* antiphons, and *wāzemā* antiphons—may be categorised into *melodic houses*.⁴⁹³ The term ‘melodic house’ is based on the indigenous Ethiopic terminology, which calls these categories *bet* (ቤት, literally ‘house’).⁴⁹⁴ Unlike the types of antiphons classified into melodic families, it appears that not all antiphons of these types necessarily belong to a melodic house.⁴⁹⁵

The system of melodic houses is similar to the system of melodic families, yet displays certain important differences. Contrary to the melodic families, there are only two sets of melodic houses in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections: those which consist of repetitions of the word *hālleluyā* (ሃሌሊዮ, ‘hallelujah’) and those which consist of the phrase *’əsmā la-’ālam məḥratu* (እስሙ ለዓለም ምስረቱ, ‘for his mercy endures forever’).⁴⁹⁶ Except for the antiphon type(s) *’əsmā la-’ālam* (and *qənnəwāt*), all belong to the first group.

Antiphons belonging to the same melodic house are connected primarily by the use of the same initial formula—be it a number of repetitions of the word *hālleluyā* or the phrase *’əsmā la-’ālam məḥratu*—performed in a certain melody. According to a practice which we have already observed in the case of the melodic families (1.4.5.3), each melodic house has a representative, known (again) as its *səray* (ሰረዩ), whose incipit functions as an indication for that particular

⁴⁹² Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 82, 83. A parallel construction is encountered in a referencing element (see 1.4.5.7) in MS Lālibalā Na’akkwəto La’ab, EMMML 7529 (eighteenth–nineteenth century): *wāze wa-k’əllu ba-za-yəbl ḥaba kəramt bal* (ዋዜ፡ ወኸሉ፡ በዘይብል፡ ኀበ፡ ከረምት፡ በል፡, fol. 25rb, ll. 26–27), which ought to be translated as ‘say the *wāze*[*mā* antiphon] and all the rest as one says at [the commemoration of] *Kəramt*’.

⁴⁹³ These are the “‘Type II’ portions” of Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 84–88, cf. also the table on p. 78. The reader will note that, historically speaking, the antiphon types which are categorised into melodic houses are, in fact, only the *mazmur*-family antiphons and the *salām* antiphon.

⁴⁹⁴ The term *bet* is also used for the rhyming lines of a *qəne* poem (cf. ‘Qəne’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 283b–285b (Habtemichael Kidane)). This is the rationale behind the *qəne* poem quoted in Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 169 and Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 21.

⁴⁹⁵ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 106.

⁴⁹⁶ According to Shelemay et al. 1993, *Zəmmāre*-type antiphons may also be classified into melodic houses. Some subtypes of *Zəmmāre*-type antiphons are preceded by repetitions of the word *hālleluyā*, others by the phrase *’əsmā la-’ālam məḥratu*, still others by the phrase *’əsmā ’albo nagar za-yəssa ’ano la-’Əgzi ’abəḥer* (እስሙ፡ አልቦ፡ ነገር፡ ዘይሰለፍ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡, ‘for nothing is impossible to the Lord’). See Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 78.

melodic house.⁴⁹⁷ Melodic-house indications typically consist of one or two letters. In a *Daggwā*-type antiphon-collection, they are generally placed in the left margin next to the beginning of an antiphon, although in a few manuscripts, the melodic-family indication is instead placed within the main text.⁴⁹⁸ For an example of the marking of a melodic house, see Illustration 1, which shows the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (‘asma la- ‘ālam) 018, belonging to a melodic house designated with the Amharic word ‘*agdāmi*’ (አግዳሚ, ‘crossbeam’, but in this context perhaps rather ‘of smooth pitch, neither high nor low’⁴⁹⁹) and abbreviated as *mi* (ሚ), in two manuscripts. The text of the antiphon, as attested in MS Dabra Dāmmo, Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 (fol. 19va, ll. 30–32; seventeenth century), goes as follows:

አንቃዕዲዎ፡ ሰማየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጳጳሳዊዎን፡ ወይቤ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ ቃልየ፡ ዘሰአልኩ፡ ኀቤከ፡
እምግርማ፡ ጸላኢ፡ አድኅኛ፡ ለነፍሰየ፡ ወባልሐኒ፡ እምክሮሙ፡ ለገበርተ፡ ዓመፃ፡
እለ፡ አብልሁ፡ ልሳኖሙ፡ ከመ፡ ሰይፍ፤

Looking up to heaven, the holy Pāṇṭalewon said: ‘Hear my voice, for I have supplicated you! Save my soul from fear of the Hater and rescue me from the works of the ill-doers, who have sharpened their tongue like a sword!’

⁴⁹⁷ For a discussion of the etymology of the term, see fn. 514.

⁴⁹⁸ This placement is attested in the fifteenth–sixteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS Dabra Tābor Waratā Giyorgis, EMMML 8804 (at least mostly), in the printed edition *Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 1994 (probably based on a twentieth-century manuscript), and, at least according to my notes from a stay at the HMML (I have not been able to recheck this later), in MSS Addis Ababa (private collection), EMMML 1258 (twentieth century); Addis Ababa (private collection), EMMML 1267 (twentieth century); Salāle (private collection), EMMML 1418 (AD 1915/1916); and Addis Ababa (private collection), EMMML 1683 (nineteenth–twentieth century).

⁴⁹⁹ I am grateful to Sisay Sahile Beyene for discussing the translation of this term with me.

Illustration 1. Example of the placement of melodic-house indications.

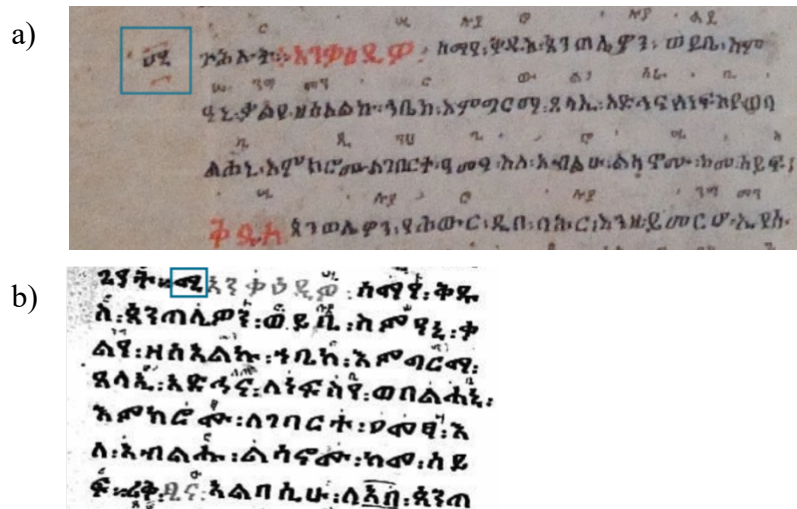


Illustration 1 depicts the antiphon *Panṭalewon mazmur* (ʿasma la-ʿālam) 018 as attested in a) MS Dabra Dāmmo, *Ethio-SPaRe* DD-018 (fol. 19va, ll. 30–32), and b) MS Dabra Tābor Waratā Giyorgis, *EMML* 8804 (fol. 24va, ll. 7–13). In a), the melodic-house indication *mi* (ሜ) is placed in the right margin next to the incipit of the antiphon, whereas in b), it is placed within the text block, before the rubricated incipit of the antiphon.

As in the case of the melodic families, the only study of the actual melodic relationship between different members of the same melodic house is found in Shelemay et al. 1993.⁵⁰⁰ Comparing one *mālṭān* antiphon with the *saray* of its melodic house, they conclude that ‘[t]o the very limited degree that we can generalise from these two portions [i.e. antiphons], it would seem that a *bet* [i.e. a melodic house] is not a model at all, but governs only the halleluya and (loosely) the incipit’.⁵⁰¹ Further comparisons of the same kind are a desideratum.

Lists of the melodic houses have been published by in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966 and by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969 and Takle Sirak 2016.⁵⁰² The list published in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966 formed the basis of the ‘Dictionary of the Bet’ published by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993,⁵⁰³ which includes transcriptions of the incipits of the *sarays*—but not of the hallelujahs (!)—into Western staff notation.

1.4.5.4.1 ʿAnqaša halletā

The ʿAnqaša halletā (አንቀጽ ሃሌታ, ‘gate of hallelujah chants’) is a schematic representation of the melodic houses, containing the hallelujahs and (at least generally) the incipits of each house with musical notation (see Illustration 2). The melodic houses are listed according to the number of hallelujahs that they contain, with a section for different melodies of the refrain ʿasma la-ʿālam *məḥratu* as

⁵⁰⁰ Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 95, 97–98.

⁵⁰¹ Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 98.

⁵⁰² *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966, pp. 398–400; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 94–97; Takle Sirak 2016, pp. 51–59.

⁵⁰³ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, pp. 106–118.

well. Within each group, there are sections for the respective musical modes. The hallelujahs (and the incipit of each melodic model) are written out in full and provided with *mələkkət*. No systematic study of the development of the *ʿAnqasha halletā* has been carried out so far, but the earliest attestation known to me is found in MS Ğarr Šəllāse, EMMML 7174, fol. 134v (sixteenth century).⁵⁰⁴ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997 include an introduction to it with a facsimile edition based on the seventeenth-century manuscript Ḥayq ʿĀstifānos, EMMML 2045, and Velat 1966c includes an edition (though the usefulness of the latter is gravely restricted by the fact that it does not include the *mələkkət*).⁵⁰⁵ As noted by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, the antiphon listed in the *ʿAnqasha halletā* is not always the present *səray* of that melodic house⁵⁰⁶—presumably, this is due to developments in the tradition, observable also in the case of the *sərays* of letter-based *mələkkət* and in the model antiphons for the melodic families.⁵⁰⁷

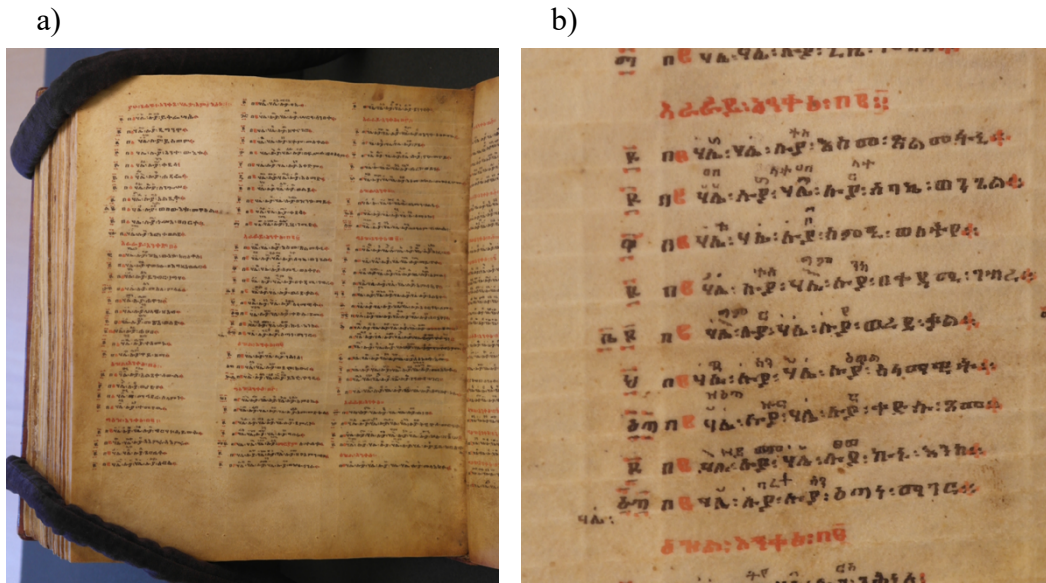
⁵⁰⁴ This *ʿAnqasha halletā* is earlier than the one in MS Uppsala, UUB O Etiop. 36, fols 189v–190r (AD 1668), which is the earliest example known by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997 (cf. Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 119). It can be noted that the *ʿAnqasha halletā* in MS Ğarr Šəllāse, EMMML 7174 lacks the incipits of the melodic models, listing instead their abbreviations—i.e. the melodic-house indications—in the margin next to the respective hallelujah(s).

⁵⁰⁵ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, pp. 119–125; Velat 1966c, pp. 255–261.

⁵⁰⁶ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, pp. 119–120.

⁵⁰⁷ For an example of developments in the *sərays* of letter-based *mələkkət*, see Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 51–52. For developments in the model antiphons for *ʿarbāʿt* melodic families, see Chapter 5. Occasionally, an *ʿAnqasha halletā* lists the melodic-house indications next to the corresponding hallelujah(s) plus incipits (cf., for example, MSS Ğamaddu Māryām, EMMML 6994, fols 155va–156ra, and Uppsala, UUB O Etiop. 36, fols 189va–190r). If I understand these indications correctly—a systematic study of them has yet to be carried out—they function in the following manner: Whenever the incipit written out in the *ʿAnqasha halletā* also has provided the melodic-house indication, the letter ʔ (*yu*, for *sərayu*) is written in the margin. However, sometimes there is a discrepancy between the incipit and the melodic-house indication—i.e. the melodic-house indication does not refer to the incipit provided in the *ʿAnqasha halletā*—in which case the latter is written out. This exemplifies what was noted by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, pp. 119–120.

Illustration 2. Excerpts from the 'Anqasha halletā in MS Uppsala, UUB O Ethiop. 36.



In a), the entire fol. 189v, which contains the beginning of the 'Anqasha halletā, is reproduced. In b), the section for melodic houses with two hallelujahs in the mode 'arāy (fol. 189vb, ll. 12–21) is given as an example. As can be seen, nine melodic houses are listed, each on one line. The line begins with a marginal (written in the intercolumnar space, as indicated by the visible ruling) melodic-house indication: *yu* (የ) on the first two lines—indicating that the following incipit is indeed seen the of the *sarāy* in the tradition according to which the collection was written—*wā* (ዋ) on the third line, etc. (regarding these marginal melodic-house indications, which are not always found in an 'Anqasha halletā, see fn. 507). Then follow the hallelujah numbers—in this case always *ba-2* (በ፪)—followed by the actual hallelujahs, written out in *fil* and provided with *mālakkāt*. As can be seen, hallelujahs are sometimes reduced either to the first two syllables of the word—*hālle* (ሃሌ፡), as in the first melodic house in the group—or to the last two syllables—*luyā* (ሉ፡), as in the last melodic house in the group—but are still counted. Thereafter follow the incipits of the model antiphons connected to the respective melodic houses: *ʿĪsma šalmatā-ni* (እስመ፡ ጳጳመትኒ፡) on the first line, *Sabāke wangel* (ሰባኤ፡ ወንጌል፡) on the second line, etc.

1.4.5.5 Interlinear musical notation: the *mālakkāt*

The *mālakkāt* (ምልክት፡, 'sign(s)'), i.e. the Ethiopian interlinear musical notation, has been discussed in numerous publications over the past centuries, displaying a clear progression in the accuracy of the descriptions.⁵⁰⁸ At this place, only a brief introduction to the phenomenon can be presented, focussing on the way in which the musical notation functions and on its history as evinced by historical sources.

The *mālakkāt*, always placed above the text which is notated,⁵⁰⁹ can be divided into two main groups: 'letter-based signs' and 'conventional signs', based on

⁵⁰⁸ For historical attempts to interpret the Ethiopian interlinear musical notation, see Villoteau 1826, pp. 282–299; Fétis 1874, pp. 111–116; David and Lussy 1882, pp. 68–72; Wellesz 1920, pp. 86–95. Modern introductions are found, for example, in Cohen 1956; Velat 1966a, pp. 97–111; and Tourny 2001.

⁵⁰⁹ Pace Ashenafi Kebede 1980, who claims that a part of the musical notation is written underneath the text (cf. Ashenafi Kebede 1980, p. 26).

formal characteristics.⁵¹⁰ Different terms have been applied to these two groups of signs in the previous research⁵¹¹ and in order to avoid confusion, I will refer to them consistently with these descriptive terms, reserving the term *mälakkät* for the system of interlinear musical notation as a whole. The two groups of signs function in completely different ways:

- the letter-based signs are abbreviations of the text of various well-known antiphons and liturgical chants.⁵¹² By a sort of metonymy, these abbreviations are used to refer to the melodic formula according to which the word(s) is chanted in the well-known ‘source text’ rather than to the words that are being abbreviated. Several hundred in number, the letter-based signs constitute the largest part of the interlinear musical notation and create a complex web of intertextuality throughout the corpus of texts performed in *zemā*.⁵¹³ The ‘source text’ of a letter-based sign, like the

⁵¹⁰ Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999 divides the interlinear musical notation into three groups of signs: ‘simple signs’ (= the conventional signs), ‘alphabetic signs’ (= ‘*anbər, dərs*, and a number of similar signs which have the shape of letters, but are not based on *sərays*), and ‘compound notes’ (= the letter-based signs). Tito Lapisā 1970 mentions something which he calls ‘*anqas* signs’ (አንቆጽ), consisting in ‘more elaborated melodies with many trillings of the voice’—they are ‘found only in some parts of the liturgical rite’, where they are ‘sung on special occasions’ (Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 167). This concept seems not to appear elsewhere in the literature.

⁵¹¹ Instead of ‘letter-based signs’ and ‘conventional signs’, Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999 uses ‘compound notes’ and ‘simple signs’; Furioli 1982–1983 uses ‘note-parola’ and ‘note-segno’ (Furioli 1982–1983, p. 64); Damon-Guillot 2012 uses የዘር፡ ምልክቶች፡ = ‘signes de la semence’ and ዘር፡ የሌላቸው፡ ምልክቶች፡ = ‘signes sans semence’ (Damon-Guillot 2012, p. 83); and Habtemichael Kidane 1998 uses ‘*meleket sillabici*’ and ‘*meleket neumatici*’ (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 251–252). The terms *mälakkät* and *səray* are used for this dichotomy by several authors, some calling the ‘letter-based signs’ *mälakkät* and the ‘conventional signs’ *səray* (Powne 1968, p. 88 (on the next page, however, Powne 1968 suggests using the term ‘*mälakkät*’ with reference to both ‘letters and signs’); Doresse 1972, p. 218; Tourny 2007–2008, p. 81), others calling the ‘letter-based signs’ *səray* and the ‘conventional signs’ *mälakkät* (Ashenafi Kebede 1980, p. 26; Woube Kassaye 2005, p. 200; Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, pp. 51–53; cf. also Tourny 2001, where the ‘letter-based signs’ are called ‘*seräyu*’). Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997 refer to the ‘letter-based signs’ as *mälakkät* and the ‘conventional signs’ as ‘*yəfidəl qərs*’, literally ‘shape of the *fidal*’ (cf. also Tourny 2001, p. 378; Nieten 2014, p. 262). This would seem odd, given that the most important characteristic of the ‘conventional signs’ is that they do *not* share shapes with the *fidal*. Indeed, a review of Amharic-language publications shows that there, the term *ya-fidal qərs* *ya-lellāččaw mälakkatočč* (የፈደል ቅርጽ የሌላቸው ምልክቶች, ‘*mälakkäts* which do not have the shape of *fidal*’) is often used for the ‘conventional signs’, contrasted with term *ya-fidal qərs* *yällāččaw mälakkatočč* (የፈደል ቅርጽ ያላቸው ምልክቶች, ‘*mälakkäts* which have the shape of *fidal*’; cf. ፒ፣ህማ ሌሰሴን ካሳ 1988, pp. 185–189; Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2016, p. 44 = *Mə ‘rāf* 2015, p. 391; Getāhun Damša 2017, p. 79). It may be presumed that this form underlies the ‘*yəfidəl qərs*’ of Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997. Possibly, Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018 has already pointed to this terminological confusion (Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, p. 12).

⁵¹² Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018 identifies ten different ways in which abbreviations are formed (Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 53–73). He suggests a symbolic meaning of the system which he himself has invented: the ten categories represent the ten strings of the *mazmura māhlet* (?) and the *masanqo*.

⁵¹³ The principle of the letter-based signs is based on and reinforces an intimate relationship between text and melody (cf. Shelemay 1982, pp. 58–59). As pointed out by Damon-Guillot 2009a, the musical notation ‘ne fonctionne que dans le système du *zemā* puisqu’elle est fondée sur l’*auto-référence*’ (Damon-Guillot 2009a, p. 197; italics in the original).

parallels in the systems of melodic families (1.4.5.3) and melodic houses (1.4.5.4), is referred to as its *səray* (ሰረይ:).⁵¹⁴ It should be noted that the realisation of a letter-based sign may depend on the liturgical context of the notated chant,⁵¹⁵ with a major dichotomy between the *zemā* used in the Divine Office and the *zemā* used in the major parts of *Qəddāse* (and *Sa'ātāt*).⁵¹⁶

- the core of the conventional signs, on the other hand, is made up of eight signs which have the shapes of dots and strokes. As described by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, their function is primarily to modulate ‘aspects of articulation, continuity, placement of melismas, motion, and vocal style modifying the melodic content of the *mələkkət* [i.e. the letter-based signs]’.⁵¹⁷ When listed, the exact number of conventional signs varies, depending on how this group of signs is defined: for some, only signs which lack ‘the form of letters’ are recognised as conventional signs, whereas others include other signs (primarily *ʿanbər* and *dərs*) which are similar in function but do have the form of letters.

The letter-based signs are, in principle, restricted to one of the three musical modes, to the exclusion of the other two.⁵¹⁸ This means that, in most cases, the

⁵¹⁴ Velat 1966a, pp. 107–108; Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 167; Leslau 1991, p. 516. Etymologically, the word *səray* is often put in connection with the word *śarw* (ሰርወ:, ‘root’; cf. Velat 1966a, pp. 107–108; Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 167, fn. 30). Cohen 1956 translates it as an imperative ‘pardonnez’ but without providing an explanation for why this word is used in this context (Cohen 1956, p. 204). For an example of the use of *sərays* in a (non-liturgical) performance of a chant, see Damon-Guillot 2009a, pp. 192–193. For the use of this term in the previous literature with referent to either the ‘letter-based signs’ or the ‘conventional signs’, see fn. 510.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 167. Furthermore, Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018 lists ‘homographs’ among the letter-based signs, i.e. cases where the same abbreviation can be used with different values in different contexts (Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 73–78). Sometimes, they belong to different musical modes, thus making an unambiguous identification possible based on the context, but in other cases, they belong to the same musical mode.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 167; Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, pp. 102–103.

⁵¹⁷ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 103.

⁵¹⁸ In the secondary literature, there exists a widespread notion that colour of the ink in which the *mələkkət* are written depends on the musical mode of the chant. See Villoteau 1826, p. 290 (who imagines a complex system governing the use of different colours, but where the modes plays a role); Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 169; Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 173; Furioli 1982–1983, p. 67; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 250; and Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, p. 46. Wellesz 1920, pp. 100–101 tries to connect the use of different colours with a parallel in the Koukouzelian musical notation of Byzantine chant. Ashenafi Kebede 1980, p. 26 contends that the letter-based notational signs are ‘usually written in red ink’, in contrast to the conventional signs which, according to him, are ‘often written in black ink’. According to my impression, the use of different colours to distinguish lines of *mələkkət* does not appear to be widespread in manuscripts containing *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections (but cf. ‘Musique liturgique d’Éthiopie’, *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, II (1969), 234–238 (B. Velat), esp. 236; Doresses 1972, p. 219). More often, it seems to me, multiple lines are all written with black ink. There are, however, examples of the use of colour to distinguish between multiple lines; cf., for example, the following antiphons in the collection in MS Dabra Dāmmo ‘Abuna ‘Aragāwi, Ethio-SPaRe DD-019: Pāntalewon *mazmur* (‘abun) 025 (fol. 19vb, ll. 17–19), Pāntalewon *mazmur* (‘asma la-‘ālam) 029

musical mode of a particular antiphon (or of another chant in another liturgical book) can quickly be determined by identifying one or a couple of the letter-based signs.⁵¹⁹ The conventional signs, on the other hand, occur with all three musical modes.⁵²⁰ Much of the previous research on the letter-based signs has had as its objective to identify the *sərays* of individual letter-based signs. Lists of letter-based signs (in some cases including their *sərays*) have been published by 'Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966, Tito Lāpīsā 1970, Tə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, *Ya-zemā 'ar'əsta mələkkət* 1990, Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997, and Mogas Šəyyum 2016.⁵²¹ While the majority of the letter-based signs stem from liturgical texts in Geez, a number of other sources have also been identified: Amharic poems and phrases;⁵²² abbreviations of semantically meaningful terms, both Amharic and Geez;⁵²³ and *qəne* poems.⁵²⁴

(fol. 19va, ll. 20–22), 'Aragāwi 'Ēgzi 'abəḥer nagśa 001 (fol. 27rb, ll. 35–27rc, l. 1), and 'Aragāwi *yətbārak* 001 (fol. 27rc, ll. 4–7). It is possible that this practice is more common in the *Mə'rāf* or the *Maṣḥafa Qəddāse*, where chants that vary in musical mode are more frequent (cf. Fritsch 2001, p. 82). Another method for distinguishing several lines of *mələkkət* over one antiphon is to have the *mələkkət* of one of the lines be preceded and followed by word dividers (:); cf., for example, the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 025 in the collection in MS 'Aṣatān Māryām, EMLL 7285 (fol. 33rb, ll. 11–13) and the antiphon Pāntalewon *śalast* 002 in the collection in MS Ḥayq 'Əstifānos, EMLL 2053 (fol. 24rc, ll. 1–3).

⁵¹⁹ Cf. Tourny 2001, p. 379; Tourny 2007–2008, p. 81. This was observed already by Villoteau 1826, whose general description of the notational system, however, rests on false premises (cf. Villoteau 1826, p. 285).

⁵²⁰ In the list provided by Tito Lāpīsā 1970, some signs are included which are restricted to one mode (Tito Lāpīsā 1970, pp. 168–169).

⁵²¹ 'Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966, pp. 63–96; Tito Lāpīsā 1970, pp. 169–187; Tə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, pp. 206–239; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, pp. 17–102; Mogas Šəyyum 2016, pp. 66–237. The lists differ in important ways: 'Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966 lists the letter-based signs according to the initial letter of the *sərays*, which are identified by reference to liturgical book or, occasionally, commemoration. Tito Lāpīsā 1970 lists the letter-based signs according to musical mode and alphabetically according to the letter-based sign. Rather unpractically, the *sərays* are identified by referring to page numbers in a manuscript in the author's private possession. The list in Tə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 is similar in organisation to the list in 'Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966. *Ya-zemā 'ar'əsta mələkkət* 1990, besides listing the *sərays*, also includes examples of the use of each letter-based sign. Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997, whose list is based on one prepared by 'Alaqā Berhanu Makonnen (see fn. 82), include transcriptions of each letter-based sign into Western staff notation, but does not indicate the *sərays*. The list in Mogas Šəyyum 2016 is organised according to the liturgical books where the *səray* is found and includes an index of all letter-based signs in alphabetic order, which makes the book more accessible also to the less initiated user. Mogas Šəyyum, in cooperation of Daniel Yacob, is currently preparing a new dictionary of *mələkkət*.

⁵²² Tito Lāpīsā 1970, p. 166; *Ya-Ityoṗyā 'ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 116; Getāhun Damša 2017, pp. 85–86. The most extensive treatment of the topic of letter-based signs of Amharic origin is provided by Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, who first lists them providing only basic information (Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 30–34), then lists them again providing stories about their origin (Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 39–50), then a third time providing Geez abbreviations which occasionally replaced them in the later tradition (Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 51–52). One case of a letter-based sign of Amharic origin is described by Guidi 1893, referencing the comment of *Dabtarā Kəfle Giyorgis* on a passage in the chronicle edited by Basset 1881a (Guidi 1893, pp. 589–590, fn. 4 on Basset 1881a, p. 338; cf. also Guidi 1901, p. 328; for an introduction to the life and works of *Dabtarā Kəfle Giyorgis*, see 'Kəfla Giyorgis', *EAE*, III (2007), 370a–372b (E. Wolk and D. Nosnitsin)). Interestingly, the same etymological explanation

In Illustration 3, an example of a notated antiphon—the antiphon *Pantalewon šalast* 001 as attested in MS London, BL Or. 584, fol. 24vb, ll. 17–18 (AD 1735)—is provided. The letter-based signs have been marked with blue quadrangles, and the conventional signs with green. No comparative analysis of the *mäləkkət* for this antiphon has been carried out, but one can note that all or most of them are attested in the ‘Dictionary of the Mäləkkət’ published by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.⁵²⁵ The antiphon, in the present manuscript, has the following text:

ኢት አዳም፡ መዓዛሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ከመ፡ ጽጌ፡ ወይን፡ ደንጐላት፡ ዘቁላት፡፤

’I-tə. Pleasant is the perfume of the saints, like the flower(s) of the vine, the lilies of the valley!

Illustration 3. Example of an antiphon notated with *mäləkkət*.

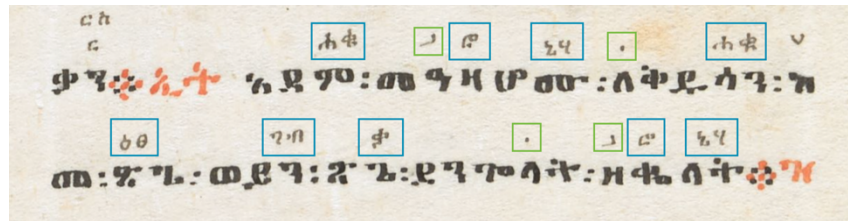


Illustration 3 depicts *Pantalewon šalast* 001—belonging to the melodic family with the incipit *’I-tərhaqu* (ኢትርሐቅ፡ ‘Do not distance’), whence the rubricated melodic-family indication *’i-tə* (ኢት)—as attested in MS London, BL Or. 584 (fol. 24vb, ll. 17–18). Letter-based signs have been placed in blue quadrangles, and conventional signs in green.

We turn now to the question of the history of the *mäləkkət*. In the secondary literature, the relationship between the musical notation and St Yāred is ambiguous. Some authors ascribe to him the invention of the entire musical notation.⁵²⁶ However, according to a notion widespread in the secondary literature rooted in the Ethiopian tradition, only the conventional signs (either only the eight

for the same letter-based sign, albeit with certain textual variants in the Amharic *səray*, is provided by Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 41–42. The story behind another letter-based signs of Amharic origin is hinted at by Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 166, fn. 26c (cf. Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 39–40). Birhanu Akal 2016, p. 177 mentions letter-based signs with their origin in Tigrinya, but does not provide any examples.

⁵²³ Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 34–37.

⁵²⁴ Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 37–39; cf. also *Ya-zemā ’ar’əsta mäləkkət* 1990, pp. 258–263.

⁵²⁵ The letter-based signs correspond to G154 (ሐቆ), G66 (ሮ), G161 (ኔሃ), G154 (ሐቆ), G178 (ዕፀ), G263 (ገብ), G280 (ቃ), G66 (ሮ), G161 (ኔሃ). As for the sign over the *ka* (ከ) in *kama* (ከመ፡), I have not been able to determine whether it is an example of the conventional sign *darat* (ደረት፡) or a letter-based sign *ha* (ሀ, which could, for example, be an alternative way of writing G89, *hā*, ኃ). Undoubtedly, someone with a basic knowledge of the system of *mäləkkət* would be able to determine this easily.

⁵²⁶ ‘Musique liturgique d’Éthiopie’, *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, II (1969), 234–238 (B. Velat), esp. 235; Pankhurst 2000a; Woube Kassaye 2005, p. 179; Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, p. 3.

most basic of them,⁵²⁷ or including *'anbər* and *dərs*⁵²⁸) are the invention of St Yāred.⁵²⁹ This notion does not appear to be based on the manuscript evidence, where the letter-based signs and the conventional signs make their appearance at the same time.⁵³⁰

An important historical note is found in the abbreviated chronicle published by Basset 1881a, 1881b, 1881c. In this text, a role in the development of the *mäləkkət* is ascribed to *'Azzāž Gerā* and *'Azzāž Rāgu'el*, 'priests knowledgeable in *zemā*', who were installed as priests in the church of Tadbāba Māryām by King Galāwdewos (r. 1540–1559).⁵³¹ This passage has been widely discussed in the

⁵²⁷ Cf. Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 75; Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 16; *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2006, p. viii; Birhanu Akal 2016, p. 176; Woube Kassaye 2005, p. 200; Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2016, p. 43; Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 21–22.

⁵²⁸ Cf. Paulos Yohannes 1988, p. 86; Ayele Bekerie 2007; Takle Sirak 2016, pp. 71–73.

⁵²⁹ Mondon-Vidailhet reports an oral (misunderstood?) tradition according to which the musical notation, but *not* the music, is attributed to St Yāred ('La musique éthiopienne', *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire*, (1922), 3179–3196, p. 3189 (C. Mondon-Vidailhet) = Mondon-Vidailhet 2003, p. 171; cf. also Ullendorff 1968, p. 95). Shelemay et al. 1993 record a tradition, transmitted by Berhanu Makonnen, according to which the invention of 'at least some of the *mäləkkət*' is attributed to St Yāred (Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 71; italics in the original). Furioli 1982–1983, on the other hand, believes that the 'conventional signs' are the invention of *'Abbā Gerā* and *Rāgu'el* (Furioli 1982–1983, p. 65). Hailu Habtu 1997, referring to Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, writes that *'Abbā Gerā* and *Rāgu'el* 'furnished eight new notations to Yāred's previous two' (Hailu Habtu 1997, p. xviii; cf. Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, pp. 227–228). Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018 records a tradition, said to stem from the Qome school of *zemā* (of Qomā Fāsīladas), according to which St Yāred invented twenty-two signs, corresponding to the twenty-two 'beauties of creation' (ሥነ፡ ፍጥረት፡, *śəna fəṭrat*) listed in the Ethiopic tradition (cf. 1.4.4.1.1). These signs are listed in Senkoris Ayalew Kassa 2018, pp. 24–25; cf. also the lists provided by Ayele Bekerie 2007.

⁵³⁰ Shelemay et al. 1993, on this topic, suggest that the fifteenth–sixteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS Quro Gadal Šəllāse, EMMML 4667 may have been 'notated at a time when the *mäləkkət* system had already developed but the *yefidel qərs'* system [i.e. the system of conventional signs] was still being worked out' (Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 90; italics in the original); however, as they note, some conventional signs are present already in the collection in MS Quro Gadal Šəllāse, EMMML 4667.

⁵³¹ As pointed out by Conti Rossini 1923, *'Azzāž Gerā* and *'Azzāž Rāgu'el* are also mentioned in an additional passage attested in some manuscripts of the short chronicle, where they are described as *zemā* teachers in the time of King Šarša Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597; cf. Conti Rossini 1923, p. 515). This passage, he notes, has been edited and translated into Italian by himself (based on the manuscript Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Or. 129) and published in Italian translation by Béguinot 1901 (based, primarily, on the same manuscript; see Conti Rossini 1893a, p. 805; Béguinot 1901, p. 40). (Conti Rossini 1923, however, cites p. 22 in the offprint version of Conti Rossini 1893b as the place where this passage appeared; if this is not an error, the offprint version of Conti Rossini 1893b, which has not been available to me while writing this dissertation, perhaps also included Conti Rossini 1893a.) On this passage, see also Perruchon 1896a, p. 185 (edition) and Perruchon 1896b, p. 278 (French translation), based on the manuscript Paris, BnF Éth. 141, as well as Foti 1941, p. 109, fn. 1, who notes that this passage is absent from the manuscript (in the church of Dabra Bərhan in Gondar) that she studied. *'Azzāž Gerā* and *'Azzāž Rāgu'el* also appear in some instantiations of the textual unit mentioning King Šarša Dəngəl that occasionally forms part of prefaced colophons (for example, in MS Hayq 'Əstifānos, EMMML 2045; see Appendix 1). For a discussion of all of these sources, see Heldman and Shelemay 2017, pp. 78–79. It does not seem unlikely that *'Azzāž Gerā* and *'Azzāž Rāgu'el* were active under both King Galāwdewos (r. 1540–1559) and King Šarša Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597).

previous literature (see below), and as its precise interpretation is not completely clear, it is reproduced below:

ወበመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ገላውዴዎስ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ አዛዥ፡ ጌራ፡ ወአዛዥ፡
ራጉኤል፡ ካህናት፡ ማእምራት፡ ዜማ፡ ወወጠኑ፡ አውጽኦ፡ ምልክት፡ ዘድጓ።
ወሠርዖሙ፡ ካህናተ፡ በተድባበ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘሐነዓ፡ ለሊሁ።⁵³²

And in the days of this King Galāwdewos, ‘Azzāž Gerā and ‘Azzāž Rāg^{wə}’el, priests knowledgeable in *zemā*, appeared and began to ‘awšə’o *mələkkət za-Dəgg^{wā}*. He [King Galāwdewos] installed them as priests in [the church of] Tadbāba Māryām, which he himself had built.

The crux of this passage regards the precise meaning of the words ‘awšə’o *mələkkət za-Dəgg^{wā}*. In the translation provided by Basset 1881a, 1881b, 1881c, it is said that the two scholars ‘commencèrent à faire régner [i.e. to disseminate?] l’usage de la notation dans le chant ecclésiastique’. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 likewise translates that they ‘divulgarono il *meleket* per il *Degg^{wā}*’, adding that this passage ‘dev’essere inteso non come testimonianza dell’invenzione, ma dell’applicazione di un sistema preesistente’.⁵³³ According to Tito Lapisā 1970, on the other hand, they ‘began to invent the signs of the Deggua’,⁵³⁴ and similarly, in the translation of Pankhurst 2000b, they ‘began the practice of musical notation in ecclesiastical chant.’⁵³⁵ Sergew Hable Selassie 1972 translates that they ‘began to produce notation for the *Digwa*’,⁵³⁶ and in Velat’s translation, they simply ‘inventèrent les notes du *Deggua*’.⁵³⁷ Wellesz 1920 also seems to interpret this as a reference to the invention of the musical notation.⁵³⁸ Tə’uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 offers a third translation: *ya-Dəgg^{wān} mələkkət māzzagāḡat ḡammaru* (የድጓን ምልክት ማዘጋጀት ጀመሩ, ‘they began to arrange the *mələkkət* of the *Dəgg^{wā}*’).⁵³⁹

⁵³² Basset 1881a, p. 336 (edition); Basset 1881b, p. 109 (French translation). The edition of Basset 1881a, 1881b, 1881c was made on the basis of MS Paris, BnF Éth. 142 (cf. Zotenberg 1877, pp. 214–216). Dillmann 1865 quotes the same passage on the basis of MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 83 (Dillmann 1865, col. 1130; cf. Dillmann 1848, pp. 74–76). See also Perruchon 1894a, p. 166 (edition) and Perruchon 1894b, pp. 269–270 (French translation), based on the manuscript Paris, BnF Éth. 141, as well as the Italian translations by Béguinot 1901, p. 33 (based, primarily, on the manuscript Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Or. 129) and Foti 1941, p. 105 (based on a manuscript in the church of Dabra Bərḥān in Gondar). A slightly different text is quoted by Sergew Hable Selassie 1989c, p. 118. This passage appears to be missing from the chronicle edited by Dombrowski 1983a, 1983b.

⁵³³ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 254. The line of reasoning is partly based on the questionable Greek and Hebrew etymologies for some of the ‘conventional signs’ proposed by previous authors (cf. Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 173; Ullendorff 1968, p. 96).

⁵³⁴ Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 166, fn. 27.

⁵³⁵ Pankhurst 2000b, p. 5.

⁵³⁶ Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 173; italics in the original.

⁵³⁷ ‘Musique liturgique d’Éthiopie’, *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, II (1969), 234–238 (B. Velat), esp. 235; italics in the original.

⁵³⁸ Wellesz 1920, pp. 86–87.

⁵³⁹ Tə’uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, p. 188.

Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, similarly, translate: ‘they began to make rules for the *malakkāt* of the *Dagg^{wa}*’.⁵⁴⁰ Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999 suggests that ‘*Azzāž* Gerā and ‘*Azzāž* Rāgu’el should perhaps be credited with reconstructing the musical notation from memory, rather than inventing it, but it is unclear to me to which extent this represents an interpretation of the verb ‘*awšə*’*a*’.⁵⁴¹

Regardless of the precise sense of the passage in the chronicle edited by Basset 1881a, 1881b, 1881c, the manuscript evidence appears to support an invention of the complete system of interlinear musical notation—both letter-based signs and conventional signs—in the sixteenth century, because the earliest *Dagg^{wa}*-type antiphon collections furnished with *malakkāt* date to around this time.⁵⁴² A different opinion is expressed by Lee 2017a, who seems to suggest that the invention of the *malakkāt* was part of a revision of the *Dagg^{wa}* carried out by Giyorgis of Gāsəččā (c. 1365–1425).⁵⁴³ Regarding the tradition of a heterogeneous origin of the two types of signs—letter-based and conventional—one wonders if this could be a reaction to the acknowledgment of the role of ‘*Abbā* Gerā and ‘*Abbā* Rāgu’el as inventors of the *malakkāt* also among traditional scholars, i.e. a sort of attempt to save for St Yāred a role in the history of the musical notation.

In the secondary literature, the question of a non-Ethiopian origin of the musical notation is a common trope, not only in the previous centuries and not only among non-Ethiopians. To quote only some voices from the last decades, Sergew Hable Selassie 1972 is of the opinion that ‘[t]he similarity between the Ethiopian [...]

⁵⁴⁰ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 4; italics in the original.

⁵⁴¹ Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 16. Ashenafi Kebede 1980, in a general comment on this passage in the chronicle, writes that ‘[c]hurch personnel find this [i.e. the idea that ‘*Azzāž* Gerā and ‘*Azzāž* Rāgu’el should have introduced the musical notation] most unacceptable due to the fact that both Gera and Raguel were civilians devoid of divine knowledge and untrained in the practices of the Holy Church’ (Ashenafi Kebede 1980, p. 26). It is unclear who expressed this opinion and whether they had access to the text of the chronicle.

⁵⁴² Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 90. Tedros Abraha 2009 writes that ‘[t]here is no evidence so far, of *Dagg^{wa}* manuscripts with musical notes, prior to the Gondär era which begun around 1635/1636’ (Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 342, fn. 38; italics in the original), but in the light of the manuscripts known today (and already by Shelemay et al. 1993), this seems exaggerated. The absence of *malakkāt* among the Beta ‘Ēsrā’el is striking and would seem to be in agreement with a sixteenth-century invention (cf. Shelemay 1982, p. 59). The transmission of liturgical music among the Beta ‘Ēsrā’el is virtually unstudied (for a summary of the historical sources, see Dege-Müller and Karlsson 2020, paragraphs 31–38), and a study of their liturgical manuscripts—even if only introductory—is a pressing desideratum. One wonders, for example, if there are any traces of a system of melodic families, whose presence within the Christian tradition we know antedates the fourteenth–fifteenth century, i.e. the time when the Beta ‘Ēsrā’el ethnogenesis is often located (cf. Abbink 1990). As for the letter-based signs for the *Zəmmāre*, the *Mawāšə*’*t* and the *Qəddāse*, Birhanu Akal 2016 records a tradition according to which they were invented by a ‘Meggabi Ezra’, teacher of Zurāmbā, and his brother ‘Raqemaseriya Salik’ (Birhanu Akal 2016, p. 177).

⁵⁴³ Lee 2017a, p. 24. In support of this statement, Lee 2017a, p. 24, fn. 34 references Harden 1926, p. 30, who does not mention anything about the topic, and Hailu Habtu 1997, p. xvii (i.e. the English introduction to Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997), who differentiates between a) an ‘enhancement’ of the *Dagg^{wa}* by Giyorgis of Gāsəččā in the fifteenth century and b) the addition of musical notation under the reign of Galāwdewos (r. 1540–1559). On the different roles ascribed to Giyorgis of Gāsəččā by tradition, see 1.5.3 (esp. fn. 594).

and the Greek-Syrian notation [...] is so close that, at first sight, they appear identical', and suggests that four of the names of the conventional signs are literal translations from the Greek.⁵⁴⁴ Ashenafi Kebede 1980 believes that an unattested Phoenician musical notation, hypothetically invented 'at least around the beginning of the Christian era', may have been introduced in Ethiopia in the sixth century by Phoenicians who 'might have been invited by Frumentius to work within the Ethiopian Church'. This hypothesis, he (somewhat absurdly) asserts, is 'just as strong as the possibility that Azaz Gera and Raguel may have invented' the Ethiopian musical notation.⁵⁴⁵ Getatchew Haile 2011a suggests that the invention of the *mälakkät* was inspired by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, writing that 'it would not be difficult to trace the stages of [the] development' from Western musical notation to the 'conventional signs' of the Ethiopic tradition.⁵⁴⁶ Nieten 2014 is of the opinion that a foreign influence, possibly Byzantine, must be assumed behind the use of the *mälakkät*.⁵⁴⁷

While it cannot be excluded *a priori* that foreign inspiration played a part in the invention of the Ethiopian interlinear musical notation, the evidence—according to my interpretation—rather points in the direction of an indigenous creation. An important argument for this are the lines of continuity between the *mälakkät* and earlier Ethiopian systems of musical categorisation. In the introduction to his translation of the *Mä'rāf*, Velat makes an observation concerning the collections of melodic models of 'arbā't antiphons, *śalast* antiphons, and 'aryām antiphons (see 1.4.5.3) found in this book.⁵⁴⁸ Albeit unaware of the single-type antiphon collections later to be discovered, he notes that the antiphons present in the *Mä'rāf* collections are only a small selection of the great number found in the *Dagg'wā* and the *Şoma Dagg'wā*, and writes that they have been reproduced in the *Mä'rāf* 'pour une seule et unique raison: ces textes sont porteurs de nombreux *Serayou* dont les mélodies particulièrement appréciées [...]'.⁵⁴⁹ In fact, the relationship must be the opposite. The *saray*, which as noticed above marks the 'source' of a letter-based sign, belongs to a later layer of musical classification and notation than the models of the melodic families. Nevertheless, this observation is important. It suggests that the model antiphons, which were presumably already part of the curriculum of a church singer, played a special role in the development of the letter-based signs, used as sources for a particularly high number of them. Bearing

⁵⁴⁴ Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 173; cf. also Wellesz 1920, pp. 95–96.

⁵⁴⁵ Ashenafi Kebede 1980, p. 26.

⁵⁴⁶ Getatchew Haile 2011a, p. 43.

⁵⁴⁷ Nieten 2014, p. 255. On the one hand, in the context of 'Rezeptionen [...] zur Zeit der Spätantike', Nieten 2014 writes that '[g]erade die Anwendung der *mälakkät* lässt byzantinisches Vorbild annehmen' (Nieten 2014, p. 155, fn. 2; italics in the original); on the other hand, she repeats the tradition that the *mälakkät* were invented in the middle of the sixteenth century (Nieten 2014, p. 259).

⁵⁴⁸ Velat 1966a, p. 232.

⁵⁴⁹ Velat 1966a, p. 232.

in mind that these chants must have been among those best known by the average church singer even before the invention of the new system of musical notation, this is not surprising. Thus, these antiphons were not chosen because of their high number of *səray*, but the other way around: the melodic pieces attested in these antiphons were chosen to be *səray* because of their occurrence in these antiphons. And consequently, even though the system of *mələkkət* is probably an invention of sixteenth century, it builds upon the systems for musical categorisation already established within the Ethiopic tradition, and any non-Ethiopian inspiration going beyond the general idea of writing down music seems unlikely.

A continued study of the diachronic development of the musical notation remains a desideratum. The methodology established by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997—comparing the notation of individual antiphons over a diachronic corpus of manuscripts—has proven fruitful: one can hope that their mantle will be taken up and that the number of antiphons for which the *mələkkət* are analysed diachronically will be increased beyond the seventeen (plus a chant from the *Qəddāse*) included in Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.

1.4.5.6 Other music-related terms

1.4.5.6.1 *məltān*

Certain *Dəggwā*-type antiphons have a *məltān* (ምልጥን), which is a short text, often consisting of a small part of the antiphon itself, that is repeated on its own during the performance of the antiphon.⁵⁵⁰ In the indigenous terminology, the base antiphon which is provided with a *məltān* is known as the *məltān*'s 'ənnāt (እናት, 'mother' in Amharic).⁵⁵¹ As an example of an antiphon with a *məltān*, consider the antiphon 'Aragāwī 'əz/ 001 as found in the seventeenth–eighteenth-century manuscript EAP704/1/36 (fol. 26ra, ll. 9–17; see Chapter 2, 2.5.6):

ብፁዓን፡ እሙንቱ፡ አበዊነ፡ እለ፡ መነንዎ፡ ወጸልእዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ኃላፊ፡
መጠወ፡ ነፍሶሙ፡ ለሞት፡ በእንተ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወሕይወት፡ ሐሙ፡ ርኅቡ፡ ጸምኡ፡
ወተመንደቡ፡ ዘኢይደልዎ፡ ለዓለም፡ ረከቡ፡ ዘበምድር፡ መነኩ፡ ዘበሰማያት፡ ዴገኩ፡
ኀብ፡ ኢይበሊ፡ ወኢይማሰን፡ ምል፡ ዘበምድር፡ መነኩ፡ ዘበሰማያት፡ ዴገኩ፡
ዘበምድር፡ መነኩ፡ ዘበሰማያት፡ ዴገኩ፡ ዘበምድር፡ መነኩ፡

Blessed are our fathers, who rejected and hated this transient world! They delivered their souls to death for the sake of righteousness and life. They suffered, hungered, thirsted and were afflicted. They found what the world does not deserve. They rejected that which is on Earth and followed that which is in Heaven, where no one (/ nothing) is spoiled and decays.

⁵⁵⁰ This is one of several meanings of the term listed in 'Məltān', *EAE*, III (2007), 918a (Habtemichael Kidane); cf. also Velat 1966a, p. 680, fn. 2.

⁵⁵¹ Cf. Birhanu Akal 2016, pp. 153, 164.

Məltān: They rejected that which is on Earth and followed that which is in Heaven! They rejected that which is on Earth and followed that which is in Heaven! They rejected that which is on Earth!

Only specific types of antiphons can have a *məltān*,⁵⁵² but not all antiphons belonging to these types do—it is a feature that depends on the individual antiphon. To my knowledge, no study of the use of the *məltān* is available, but Habtemichael Kidane 1998 has made the following important observation regarding the interaction between *məltān* and *qəne*: in numerous cases, if a *məltān* is available, it suppresses the composition of a *qəne*. Formulated in a different way, *qəne* are used when an antiphon lacks a *məltān*. For an overview of the interactions between *Dəggwā*-type antiphons and *qəne*, see 1.5.4.

1.4.5.6.2 *mədgām*

According to Shelemay et al. 1993, the term *mədgām* (ግድግዳ, ‘repetition’) is used to refer to the small numerals placed in the right margin of some antiphons to indicate that they should be repeated ‘with instrumental accompaniment and dance’.⁵⁵³ This numeral will generally correspond to double or triple lines of *mələkkət* over a limited part of the antiphon (in contrast to *məlwāt*, which refers to the provision of several lines of *mələkkət* over the entire antiphon). This usage of the term should not be confused with the *mədgām* of the Great Fast described by Velat 1966a which are prayers, psalms and canticles recited *recto tono*.⁵⁵⁴

1.4.5.6.3 *məlwāt*

In some manuscripts, the term *məlwāt* (ግለዋጥ, ‘alternative’) is used—rather transparently—to indicate that two antiphons share the same text and are distinguished exclusively by musical characteristics. For example, the antiphons Yā‘qob wa-Yoḥannəs *mazmur* (‘asma la-‘ālam) 021a and Yā‘qob wa-Yoḥannəs *mazmur* (‘asma la-‘ālam) 021b share the same text, but whereas one belongs to a

⁵⁵² Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 105 reports that according to the Amharic ‘Directory for Chanting the *Dəggwā*’ preserved in MS Dabra Bərḥān (private collection), EMMML 2936 (nineteenth century), the following types of antiphons may have a *məltān*: ‘arbā‘t, ‘aryām, ‘Īgzi‘abəher nagśa, ‘asma la-‘ālam, māḥlet, mazmur, salām, səbhata nagh, yətbāarak, and za-‘amlākiya. In the catalogue description of the same manuscript, Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, pp. 250–251 also list the elements which according to the introduction of the ‘Directory’ may have a *məltān*—confusingly, their list differs in several regards from what is reported by Habtemichael Kidane 1998 and contains the following types of antiphons: ‘arbā‘t, ‘Īgzi‘abəher nagśa, ‘asma la-‘ālam, māḥlet, mazmur, salām, səbhata nagh, wāzemā, yətbāarak, and za-yə‘əze. Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, pp. 61–62, furthermore, writes that the following antiphon types may be provided with a *məltān*: ‘arbā‘t, ba-ḥamməstu, ‘Īgzi‘abəher nagśa, ‘asma la-‘ālam, ‘əzl, māḥlet, mazmur [za-sanbat], salām, səbhata nagh, wāzemā, yətbāarak, and za-yə‘əze. In the end, for accurate information about which antiphon types occur with a *məltān*, an extensive analysis of the manuscript evidence is necessary.

⁵⁵³ Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 63; cf. also Dillmann 1865, col. 1132.

⁵⁵⁴ Velat 1966a, pp. 469–470.

melodic house abbreviated *qu* (ቁ), the other belongs to a melodic house abbreviated *na* (ነ). The text of these two antiphons goes as follows:

ያዕቆብ፡ ወዮሐንስ፡ እለ፡ ቅኑታን፡ እመንቱ፡ በኃይል፡ ተለዉ፡ ድንሬህ፡ ለልዑል፡
 ፀዊሮሙ፡ ዕፁ፡ መስቀል፡ ሰበኩ፡ ወመሐሩ፡ ቃለ፡ ወንጌል።

James and John, who are girdled with power, followed after the Most High. Carrying the wood of the Cross, they preached and taught the word of the Gospel!

In some manuscripts, this text is written with two lines of *mäləkkət*, as exemplified by the attestation of these antiphons in MS 'Ankobar Madḥane 'Ālam, EMMML 2431, fol. 25vc, ll. 30–33 (eighteenth–nineteenth century):

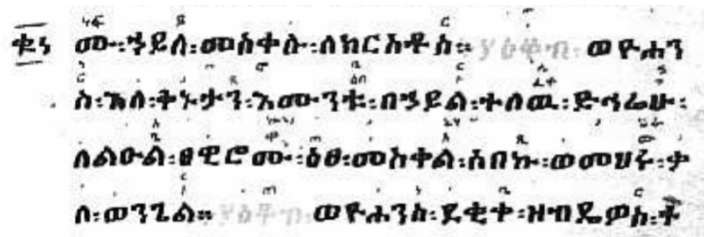


Illustration 4. *Yā'qob wa-Yohannēs mazmur ('əsmā la-'ālam) 021a and Yā'qob wa-Yohannēs mazmur ('əsmā la-'ālam) 021b in MS 'Ankobar Madḥane 'Ālam, EMMML 2431.*

Source: MS 'Ankobar Madḥane 'Ālam, EMMML 2431, fol. 25vc, ll. 30–33.

In other manuscripts, the text of these antiphons is written out in full twice, but on the second occasion, it is preceded by the word *mälwāt* (or an abbreviation of it). Compare, for example, the attestation of these antiphons in MS Ġamaddu Māryām, EMMML 6994, fol. 24rc, ll. 30–35 (eighteenth–nineteenth century):

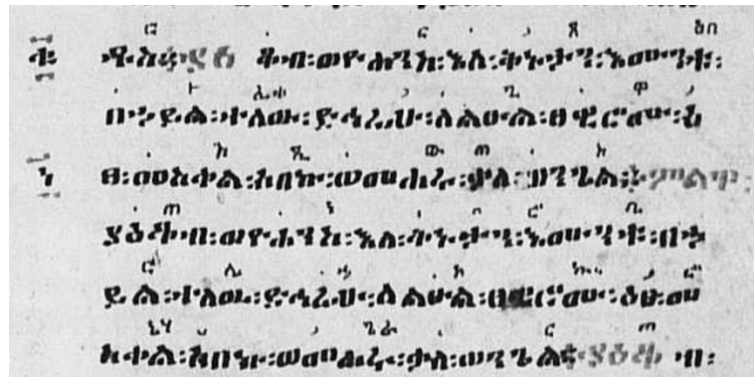


Illustration 5. *Yā'qob wa-Yohannās mazmur* ('əsmā la-'ālam) 021a and *Yā'qob wa-Yohannās mazmur* ('əsmā la-'ālam) 021b in MS *Ġamaddu Māryām*, EML 6994.

Source: MS *Ġamaddu Māryām*, EML 6994, fol. 24rc, ll. 30–35.

1.4.5.6.4 Refrains

Under the term ‘refrain’, I understand the recurring phrases, often written in abbreviated form, which are attested in certain *Daggwā*-type antiphons.⁵⁵⁵ Although there is no type of antiphons which always has a refrain, their occurrence seems—based on my preliminary impression from the antiphons encountered during the work on this dissertation—to be concentrated to the *salām* antiphons (1.4.4.1.24) and to the types of antiphons that belong to the ‘*mazmur* family’ (1.4.4.1.37). Different *mise en texte* features (for example, rubrication of the first word or first letter of the refrain, special punctuation marks) are often used for marking refrains, and the systematic study of this marking is a task for the future.⁵⁵⁶ An example of an antiphon with a refrain—the antiphon ‘*Aragāwi salām*’ 003 as attested in the twentieth-century manuscript MS *Romānāt Qəddus Mikā'el*, EAP254/1/5 (fol. 36rc, ll. 5–10)—is presented below:

ደምፀ፡ ወተሰብከ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡ ዜና፡ ምግባሩ፡ ትሩፍ፡ ለአረጋዊ፡] ኮከበ፡
 ገዳም፤ ደ፤ እንዘ፡ የዓርጉ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ሰላም፤ ደ፤ ጽጉያን፡ እሙንቱ፡ እምጽጌ፡
 ሮማን፡ ወቀይሐን፡ እምኮለ፡ ገዳም፤ ደ፤ ደቂቁ፡ ጌራን፡ ልዑላን፡ ዝክር፡ ወስም፤ ደ፤
 ወተሰብ፤ ውስ፤ ዓለ፤ ደ፤ ወ፡፡

It resounded and was preached in the world, / the story of the excellent deeds of ‘*Aragāwi*, the star of the desert! / I[t resounded and was preached in the world,] while they jointly send up the offering of praise! / I[t resounded and was preached in the world,] they are more blooming than the flower of the pomegranate and redder than the apple of the wilderness. I[t resounded and was preached in the world,] his children (are) good, of exalted memory and name! / I[t resounded] a[nd was

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Euringer 1942, p. 150, who describes the usage, but incorrectly puts it in connection with the use of *bal* (በል፡, see fn. 557).

⁵⁵⁶ For some preliminary observations, see fn. 1497.

preached] i[n the] w[orld]. I[t resounded] a[nd was preached in the world]!

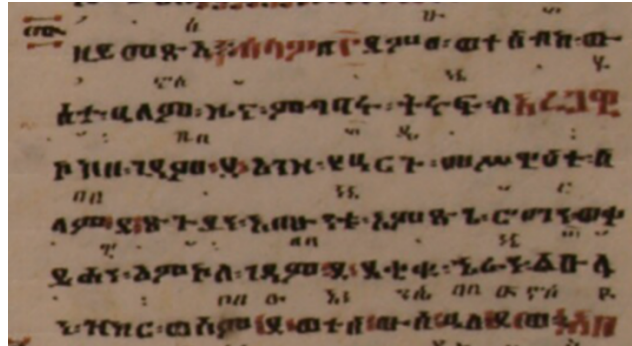


Illustration 6. 'Aragāwi salām 003 in EAP254/1/5.

Source: MS EAP254/1/5, fol. 36rc, ll. 5–10.

1.4.5.7 Referencing elements

Although not strictly related to music, another metatextual element will be introduced here. It is relatively common that a commemoration in a *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection contains references to other commemorations. This is done to avoid having to repeat the same antiphon(s). Based on the textual corpus studied in this dissertation, such referencing elements normally have the following form: X ጎበ: Y በል። (*X ḥaba Y bal*, ‘say X at Y’) or X ጎበ: Y ገቢእክ: በል። (*X ḥaba Y gabi’ akka bal*, ‘say X, having returned to Y’), where X stands for one of several antiphon-type indications and Y stands for a commemoration.⁵⁵⁷ Often the user is referred to a ‘common commemoration’; sometimes, however, the referencing elements refer to another commemoration for the same saint (in another month, for example) or to that of a different saints. An example of this kind of referencing elements, taken from MS Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 0111, fol. 25va, ll. 16–17, is presented in Illustration 7. The referencing element belongs to the commemoration of Kings and instructs the user to use *śalast* and *salām* antiphons for the *wāzemā* service taken from the commemoration of common commemoration for the Righteous (*za-ṣādqān*).

⁵⁵⁷ The word *bal* is also used in another context, namely with reference to a specific antiphon, whose initial words are then written out, followed by *bal*, as, for example, in ሰማዕተ: ባልሓ: በል። (*samā’ ta bālāḥa bal*, ‘Say: “He rescued the martyrs”’, an abbreviation of the antiphon Pāntalewon *ba-ḥammastu* 003 in MS Ḥankobar Madḥane Ḥālam, EMMML 2431, fol. 26rc, l. 23; on this antiphon, cf. Chapter 3, 3.2.3.5). Euringer 1942 suggests, in connection to such cases, that the word *bal* is not an imperative verb but an abbreviation for *ba-lāmād* (በልማድ, ‘according to the custom’; Euringer 1942, p. 150). (This suggestion, it appears, may stem from a comment in Duensing 1936, p. 89, a recension of Euringer 1934, where Euringer interprets *bal* as an imperative verb; see Euringer 1934, p. 203/[71]. I am grateful to Leonard Bahr for pointing this out to me.) Direct imperatives are known at least from the later twentieth-century tradition of *’aqwāq’ām mālakkāt*, where they have been interpreted as an indication of the oral background of the notation system (cf. Damon-Guillot 2009a, p. 194). If this line of reasoning is applied also to the term *bal*, it is interesting to note the use of Ge’ez (and not Amharic) in this context.

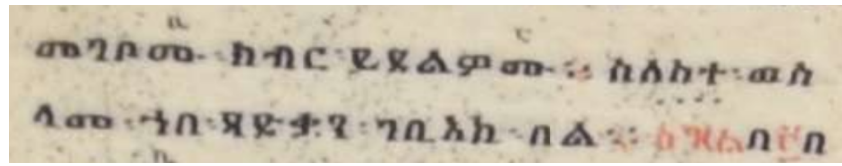


Illustration 7. Example of a metatextual element.

Source: MS *Moṣā Giyorgis*, EMDA 00111, fol. 25va, ll. 16–17; commemoration of Kings (Nagaśt).

1.5 Traditions related to the *Dəggwā*

1.5.1 Introduction

In the last section of this introductory chapter, a number of traditions and topics related to the *Dəggwā* will be briefly introduced. While they technically fall outside the scope of this dissertation, leaving them without a mention does not seem proper.

1.5.2 St Yāred

In literary and popular traditions, the *Dəggwā* is ubiquitously connected with a legendary St Yāred (ፆዴስ: ያፌድ, *qəddus Yāred*), often known as Yāred the Priest (ያፌድ: ካህን, *Yāred kāhən*).⁵⁵⁸ The epithet *māhletāwi* or *māhletāy* (ማኅሌታዊ: or ማኅሌታይ, ‘the Melodious’)⁵⁵⁹ is also given to him in various sources.⁵⁵⁹

Chronologically, St Yāred is placed in a mythical sixth century AD during the reign of King Gabra Masqal, the legendary son of the historically attested sixth-century King Kāleb. The story of St Yāred has been retold numerous times in the secondary literature⁵⁶⁰—often with personal embellishments by the authors—and is based primarily on the following textual sources:⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke 1975, p. 96 (no. 168). For an introduction to the traditions surrounding St Yāred, see ‘Yared’, *EAE*, V (2014), 26b–28b (A. Brita).

⁵⁵⁹ Colin 1997, p. 242/[50]; Guidi 1895, p. 57; Getatchew Haile 2017, pp. 301–303; cf. also Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 50.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf., for example, Powne 1968, pp. 98–101; Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, pp. 164–166; Heyer 1998, pp. 37–42; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 74–78; Pankhurst 2000a; Ayele Bekerie 2007 (republished in slightly edited form as Ayele Bekerie 2008); Lee 2011a, pp. lix–lxi. Somewhat different versions, possibly based on oral accounts, are found in Villoteau 1826, pp. 270–272 (cf. also Ambros 1862, pp. 16–17) and Furioli 1982–1983, pp. 60–62. Some themes are taken up by Tadesse Tamrat 1985, who, however, seems to treat the legend rather freely (Tadesse Tamrat 1985, p. 138). On the tradition of St Yāred’s departure to the ‘wilderness of Samen in the land of Šalamt’ (Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 21 (edition), Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 20 (Latin translation)), see Dege-Müller and Kribus 2021.

⁵⁶¹ ‘Aklila Bərhan Walda Qirqos 1966 and Tə‘uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 list more sources, including three different *Lives of St Yāred* (‘Aklila Bərhan Walda Qirqos 1966, p. 54; Tə‘uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, p. 44). For an overview, see also Amsalu Tefera 2018, pp. 283–288.

- the fifteenth-century (?) *Homily and Life of St Yāred* (CAe 1512), including three miracles, which has been published by Conti Rossini 1904c, 1904d,⁵⁶²
- the commemoration of St Yāred on 11 Gənbət in the second recension of the *Sənkəssār* (datable to AD 1563–1581; CAe 4968), most recently edited by Colin 1997,⁵⁶³
- an episode recorded in the *Gadla 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526), edited by Guidi 1895 and translated into French by van den Oudenrijn 1939, which records the story of an encounter between St Yāred and 'Abbā 'Aragāwi,⁵⁶⁴
- an episode recorded in the *Liber Axumae*, as edited by Conti Rossini 1909, 1910,⁵⁶⁵ where St Yāred is put in connection with the Anaphora of Our Lady attributed to Cyriacus of Bahnasa (CAe 1099) and the *Wəddāse Māryām* (CAe 2509),⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶² Conti Rossini 1904c (edition), Conti Rossini 1904d (Latin translation). The edition is based on a nineteenth-century paper manuscript, MS Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 227 (fols 1r–16r; the manuscript was copied for d'Abbadie), characterised by Getatchew Haile 2017 as 'the most corrupt' of the known manuscripts (Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 280). Other manuscripts include MSS London, BL Or. 12 860 (seventeenth century); Addis Ababa Ba'atā (Yakā), EMMML 208 (twentieth century); Hayq 'Īstifānos, EMMML 1844, fols 179v–189r (sixteenth century); Ġamaddu Māryām, EMMML 6986 (eighteenth century?); and 'Atkanā Giyorgis, EMMML 9031, fols 232r–237v (eighteenth century). Getatchew Haile 2017 argues that the *Homily and Life of St Yāred* (at least in the attested version) was written by King Zar'a Yā'qob (r. 1434–1468; Getatchew Haile 2017, pp. 272–280). See also Amsalu Tefera 2018, p. 184 (no. 348).

⁵⁶³ Colin 1997, p. 242/[50]–245/[53] (edition and French translation). An English translation, based on the two manuscripts London, BL Or. 660–661, was published by Budge 1928 (Budge 1928, pp. 875–877). A previous edition, based on a manuscript in Tübingen and collated against a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, is found in Dillmann's *Chrestomathia Aethiopica* (Dillmann 1866, pp. 34–36; cf. pp. x–xi). This edition forms the basis for Mondon-Vidailhet's French translation ('La musique éthiopienne', *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire*, (1922), 3179–3196, pp. 3189–3191 (C. Mondon-Vidailhet) = Mondon-Vidailhet 2003, pp. 172–174). An updated edition will appear in Butts forthcoming [*Ethiopic in 20 Lessons*], with an English translation of the new edition already available in Butts 2021, pp. 391–393.

⁵⁶⁴ Guidi 1895, pp. 76–77 (edition), reprinted without the critical apparatus in Guidi 1896b, pp. 66–70 (edition); van den Oudenrijn 1939, pp. 57–58 (French translation). There is also a tradition which connects St Yāred to another of the so-called Nine Saints, 'Abbā Pāntalewon ('Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966, p. 46; 'Musique liturgique d'Éthiopie', *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, II (1969), 234–238 (B. Velat), esp. 234).

⁵⁶⁵ Conti Rossini 1909, p. 5 (edition), Conti Rossini 1910, p. 5 (Latin translation). On the *Liber Aksumae*, a collection of feudal acts and historical texts and documents related to Aksum, see the literature quoted in Bausi 2006b and, importantly, Wion 2009 and Wion 2017 (I am grateful to Michael Hensley for pointing me to the last of these contributions). For a summary of the tradition concerning St Yāred, see 'May Kerwah', *EAE*, III (2007), 886a–886b (N. Finneran). See also Nollet 1949, pp. 376–377; Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 11; Tedros Abraha 2009, pp. 333–334; and, for an appreciation of the modern implications of the tradition, Teklebrhan G. Legese 2018.

⁵⁶⁶ This episode has a parallel in the second miracle recorded by Conti Rossini 1904c, 1904d (Conti Rossini 1904c, pp. 28–30 (edition), Conti Rossini 1904d, pp. 27–28 (Latin translation)). Getatchew Haile 2017 mentions that the episode is also transmitted in 'the royal chronicles', however without specifying where (Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 303). The Anaphora of Our Lady

- a passage in the revised, nineteenth-century (?) version of the *Dərsāna 'Urā'el*,⁵⁶⁷ which tells the story of the joint travels of St Yāred, 'Abbā 'Aragāwi and King Gabra Masqal to the monastery of Ṭānā Qirqos and their subsequent founding of the monastery of Zurāmbā.⁵⁶⁸

Most recently, the traditions concerning St Yāred have been comprehensively presented by Heldman and Shelemay 2017, who come to the conclusion that the earliest attestations of the figure of St Yāred date from the fifteenth century, with substantial elaborations of the tradition taking place in the sixteenth century,⁵⁶⁹ and by Getatchew Haile 2017, who in one article has collected a number of disparate observations and editions of texts touching on the story of St Yāred.

According to the Ethiopic tradition, five books are frequently attributed to St Yāred, although, as observed by Tedros Abraha 2009, there are different opinions concerning which these five books are.⁵⁷⁰ The *Dəggwā*, in any case, has a stable

attributed to Cyriacus of Bahnasa is put in connection with St Yāred also in the *gadl* itself (Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 10 (edition), Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 9 (Latin translation)).

⁵⁶⁷ *Dərsāna 'Urā'el* 1998, pp. 221–225 (from the reading for the month of Sane). The edition of the text available to me appears to be a representative of the 'revised' edition, described by Hummel 2016 as a nineteenth-century elaboration of an older version (cf. the partial (?) edition by Caquot 1955) produced with the aim of providing foundation stories for a number of churches and monasteries in Goḡgām and Šawā (Hummel 2016, esp. 58–59). As rightly noted by Hummel 2016, further studies are needed to evaluate this tradition and its possible sources, importantly taking the manuscripts mentioned by Getatchew Haile 2009 into account (Getatchew Haile 2009, p. 23). Birhanu Akal 2016 indicates the unsurprising presence of a manuscript of this recension at the monastery of Zurāmbā (Birhanu Akal 2016, p. 148, fn. 1). I wonder if he might be referring to the manuscript Zurāmbā, EMM 7619 (twentieth century?), where the story involving St Yāred is found on fols 9rb–13ra. The monastery of Zurāmbā also houses a sistrum (*ṣanāṣəl*) and a *maq'āmiyā* said to have belonged to St Yāred. I am grateful to Sisay Sahile Beyene for informing me about the Yāredian relics at Zurāmbā.

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. also Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 162. Related to this text is a note found on fols 1v–2v in a Gospel manuscript at the monastery of Ṭānā Qirqos. This text, which has been published and discussed by Bosc-Tiessé 2008 (Bosc-Tiessé 2008, pp. 270–281, 411–423, esp. pp. 276–277, 416–417), includes the tradition of a visit of St Yāred and King Gabra Masqal to the monastery. A mention of King 'Iyāsu II (r. 1730–1755) provides a *terminus non ante quem* for the redaction of the text.

⁵⁶⁹ Heldman and Shelemay 2017, p. 85. The earliest written record of St Yāred that they are aware of is the description of a miniature of St Yāred performing the *Wəddāse Māryām* in a Psalter manuscript described in an personal miracle story written in the early sixteenth century (Heldman and Shelemay 2017, p. 71; for the text under discussion, see Getatchew Haile 2005, p. 78). Damon-Guillot 2009b notes that mentions of St Yāred are all but absent in Jesuit sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Damon-Guillot 2009b, pp. 79–80)—one wonders if perhaps the tradition was less widespread at that time than it is nowadays.

⁵⁷⁰ Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 333, esp. fn. 7. Two main points of variation are discernible: either a) the *Ṣoma Dəggwā* is considered a work on its own and the *Maṣḥafa Qəddāse* is not included among St Yāred's works (Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, p. 44; Tedros Abraha 2009, pp. 341–342; Villa 2019, p. 147, fn. 7), or b) the *Ṣoma Dəggwā* is considered a part of the *Dəggwā* and the *Maṣḥafa Qəddāse* is counted among the works of St Yāred, although he is often said to have composed only the *zemā* of the latter ('Abuna Mātyās in the unpaginated preface to *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015; *Ya-'Ityōpyā 'ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, pp. 109–110; cf. also Tāddasa 'Ālamayyahu 2012, pp. 79–80; Takle Sirak 2016, p. 45; Getāhun Damṣa 2017, p. 101). The *'Amməstu ṣawātəwa zemāwočč* 1972 (i.e. 'The five types of *zemā*'), noticeably, does not include an edition of the *Dəggwā*, but instead has an edition of the *Ziq* (this explains the textual

place among them.⁵⁷¹ Still, the connection between the *Dəggwā* and St Yāred is ambiguous: by some traditional authorities, the authorship of the entire collection is ascribed to him,⁵⁷² whereas others recognise that he could not have composed the antiphons for saints who lived later than him.⁵⁷³

The *gadl* and the *Sənkəssār* entry do not explicitly mention the name of the *Dəggwā*, but attribute to St Yāred the authorship of an individual *Dəggwā*-type antiphon,⁵⁷⁴ as well as the invention of the three modes of chant.⁵⁷⁵ Connections between St Yāred and *Dəggwā*-type antiphons are also found in other sources:

- the first miracle of St Yāred edited by Conti Rossini defines a number of antiphon types (*mazmur*, *wāzemā*, *’aryām*, *salām*, *’əzl*, *’arārāy* (!),⁵⁷⁶ *’arbā* ‘t, and *śalast*) as the *maḥālāyāta Yāred* (መኃልያተ:የጌድድ, ‘chants of Yāred’);⁵⁷⁷
- in a description of the royal coronation ceremony at Aksum, attested in at least one manuscript containing the so-called *Liber Aksumae* and whose revision is ascribed to King Zar’a Yā’qob (r. 1434–1468), St Yāred is connected with several *Dəggwā*-type antiphons to be performed on the occasion;⁵⁷⁸

differences noticed by Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 314). Birhanu Akal 2016 represents both the tradition that St Yāred wrote five books (Birhanu Akal 2016, p. 148) and that he wrote four books (Birhanu Akal 2016, p. 180; cf. also Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, p. 14). Velat records a tradition which I have not encountered elsewhere according to which St Yāred is credited with inventing text and the music of the *Mə’rāf*, the *Dəggwā* and the *Ṣoma Dəggwā*, and exclusively the music for the *Mawāśā* ‘t, the *Zəmmāre*, and the *Qəddāse* (‘Musique liturgique d’Éthiopie’, *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, II (1969), 234–238 (B. Velat), esp. 234).

⁵⁷¹ Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019 refers to it as the ‘earliest’ of St Yāred’s works (Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, p. 249).

⁵⁷² Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 169.

⁵⁷³ Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 170; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 81–82; Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 9; Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 335, fn. 15. This opinion is also expressed by traditional church scholars. For example, Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955, after mentioning the ascription to St Yāred, adds: ‘የኋላም: ሰዎች: በየጊዜው: ጨምረውበታል፤ የሻው: መዝሙር: የዳዊት: ብቻ: እንዳይደለ፤ ድጓም: የያሬድ: ብቻ: አይደለም:’ (‘Later persons have continuously been adding to it [i.e. the *Dəggwā*]. As the one hundred fifty Psalms are not only by David, so the *Dəggwā* is also not only by Yāred’; Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955, p. 338b).

⁵⁷⁴ Cited in full is an *’aryām* antiphon which I have not been able to identify with certainty (cf. Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 10 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 10 (Latin translation); Colin 1997, p. 242/[50] (edition), 243/[51] (French translation)).

⁵⁷⁵ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 5 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 5 (Latin translation), et alibi; Colin 1997, p. 242/[50] (edition), 243/[51] (French translation). See also the second miracle published by Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 29 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 27 (Latin translation).

⁵⁷⁶ This inclusion of the name of a mode (*’arārāy*) in a list of antiphon types can probably be explained as a scribal error caused by the polysemy of the preceding term, *’əzl*. Cf. the discussion of the prefaced Colophon A in Appendix 1.

⁵⁷⁷ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 23 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 21 (Latin translation; Conti Rossini’s translation of መዝሙር: and ዋዜማ: as ‘psalmi’ and ‘antiphonae (*wāzemā*)’, respectively, is not compatible with our current knowledge of Ethiopic liturgical terminology).

⁵⁷⁸ This passage has been edited by Dillmann 1884 on the basis of MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 93, fols 89–90v (Dillmann 1884, pp. 18–20, fn. 1). Dillmann 1884 refrains from translating

- the *Māhleta ṣage* (CAe 1834), as edited by Grohmann 1919, contains a strophe where St Yāred is put in connection with a phrase that appears in the *Daggwā*.⁵⁷⁹ The *Māhleta ṣage* is dated by Grohmann 1919 to the fifteenth–sixteenth century on the basis of its sources and the events and historical persons mentioned in it.

Furthermore, the connection between St Yāred and the *Daggwā* is made in the earliest standardised prefaced colophon (Colophon A), attested in *Daggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts dating from the sixteenth century and onwards (see Appendix 1).

In the same way as St Yāred is said to have formed the *Daggwā*, the text of the *Daggwā* has contributed in forming the traditional account of the life of St Yāred. For example, in a frequently recounted story, St Yāred is said to have travelled to Rome (i.e. the New Rome, Constantinople).⁵⁸⁰ This tradition, it seems, is based on an *ʾəzl* antiphon for the fourth Sunday of the Great Fast (መግባዕ፡, *Maṣṣāgʿə* ‘The Paralytic’), which contains a quotation from the Shepherd of Hermas mentioning visits to Rome.⁵⁸¹ Similarly, one may suspect that the episode in the *Gadla ʾAragāwi* where St Yāred first meets *ʾAbbā ʾAragāwi* was inspired by pre-existing antiphons for the latter.⁵⁸²

As mentioned above, there is a tradition that associates St Yāred with the monastery of Tānā Qirqos.⁵⁸³ This is connected to the presence of an early

the liturgical instructions, noting that the liturgical chants ‘im Text blos mit den technischen Stichwörtern angegeben, und nicht wohl übersetzbar sind’ (Dillmann 1884, p. 75, fn. 1). This tradition was known by the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Manoel de Almeida in the first half of the seventeenth century (cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1954, pp. 94–95).

⁵⁷⁹ Strophe 24, Grohmann 1919, p. 76 (ll. 16–20, edition), p. 77 (German translation), p. 193 (commentary). Grohmann 1919 seems to have identified this phrase—*ḥaṣur ya ʾawwədā wa-ṣage radā ba-tə ʾmərta masqal* (ሐጺር፡ የዐውዳ፡ ወጽኑ፡ ረዳ፡ በትእምርተ፡ መስቀል፡, ‘a bulwark surrounds her, and roses in the shape of the Cross’)—in a ‘hymn’ (i.e. antiphon? commemoration?) which begins with the words *burəkt ʾanti* (Grohmann 1919, p. 77, note to 24.5). The same phrase is found in the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* (ʾabun) 031.

⁵⁸⁰ Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966, p. 46; Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 165; Tāddasa ʾĀlamayyahu 2012, pp. 126–131; Berhanu Makonnen apud Heldman and Shelemay 2017, p. 68.

⁵⁸¹ Cf. Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, pp. 6–7. For further discussion of this antiphon, see fn. 116. Hailu Habtu 1997, on the other hand, asserts that this is an antiphon for the commemoration of the ‘consecration of Ethiopia’s first monastery of Debre Damo’ and interprets the mentioning of Rome as a reference to *ʾAbbā ʾAragāwi*’s purported Roman origins (Hailu Habtu 1997, pp. xxiii–xxiv).

⁵⁸² For details, see Chapter 3 (3.3.4.4).

⁵⁸³ Cf., for example, Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966, p. 49; Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 166; Bosc-Tiessé 2000, p. 214; Pisani 2015a, p. 172, fn. 81. Bosc-Tiessé 2000 reports of a tradition that a rock in the vicinity of the monastery has concavities carved by St Yāred for mixing ink (Bosc-Tiessé 2000, p. 214). Cheesman reports that the clothes of St Yāred were shown to him at the church and that ‘[t]hese vestments, in brightly coloured cloth, are still worn in Church ceremonies by priests in attendance on the Ark’ (Cheesman 1936, p. 177; cf. Powne 1968, p. 99). For photographs of both the concavities and the cloths, as well as of the cover of MS Tānā Qirqos, EMLL 7618, see Tāddasa ʾĀlamayyahu 2012, pp. 48–49. There are also other places connected to the legend of St Yāred. Heyer reports that ‘[d]as Yared-Kloster in der Wüstenlandschaft östlich von Debarek, das der Schöpfer der Hymnen stiftete, ist heute Sitz einer Zema-Schule. Am

Daggwā-type antiphon-collection manuscript (= MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMLL 7618) at the monastery, nowadays claimed to be an autograph written by St Yāred himself.⁵⁸⁴ It is difficult to establish which is the chicken and which is the egg: did the association between St Yāred and the monastery originate as an explanation for the presence of the manuscript at the location, or did the manuscript become regarded as a Yāredian autograph because of an already existing tradition of his sojourn there?⁵⁸⁵

It falls outside the scope of this dissertation to engage in depth with the growth and developments of the traditions concerning St Yāred. Suffice it to notice that the conclusion reached by Heldman and Shelemay 2017—that an ‘[a]nalysis of the textual evidence relating to Saint Yared as creator of liturgical chant [...] yields dates ranging from perhaps as early as the mid-fifteenth century to 1581 CE’⁵⁸⁶—is supported by the observation (see Appendix 1) that the earliest mentioning of St Yāred in prefaced colophon to *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections date from the fifteenth–sixteenth century.⁵⁸⁷

1.5.3 Traditions about the later development

Several digests of the traditional account of the post-Yāredian development of the *Daggwā* are found in the secondary literature.⁵⁸⁸ St Yāred is commonly said to have taught the liturgical chant to a small number of disciples of varying names and number, through whom the teaching of the chant subsequently spread.⁵⁸⁹

Jahresfest des Heiligen kommt es zu Yared-Visionen und Auditionen: Mönche und Pilger hören den hl. Yared singen’, and also that ‘[d]urch den hl. Yared wurde das Wasser des Flusses Takazze, den der Heilige überquerte, wie Jordanwasser zur Heiligung brauchbar’ (Heyer 1998, p. 38, fn. 63). On the traditions connecting St Yāred to the monastery of Zurāmbā, see fn. 567.

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 15; Bosc-Tiessé 2000, p. 214; Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. i, and *passim*; Erho 2015, p. 115, fn. 53; Heldman and Shelemay 2017, p. 79, esp. fn. 60.

⁵⁸⁵ As mentioned above, Belay Mekonnen Seyoum has dedicated an MA thesis to the topic, subsequently published as a monograph (= Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014).

⁵⁸⁶ Heldman and Shelemay 2017, p. 74.

⁵⁸⁷ Early attestations of St Yāred where he is not explicitly put in connection with liturgical chant are found, for example, in MS Ḥayq ‘Ḥstifānos, EMLL 2063, fol. 68rb (a mention of ያሌድ: ቀሲስ: ዘኢትዮጵያ፡፡, *Yāred qasis za-’Ityopyā*, ‘Yāred the Priest of Ethiopia’, in a calendar of saints from the time of King Zar’a Yā’qob, r. 1434–1468) and in MSS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 148, fol. 182r (AD 1426) and Sinai, Saint Catherine’s Monastery, Eth. 6, fol. 197vb (AD 1359), where *ḥassāb* texts are attributed to ‘Yāred the Priest’ (*Yāred qasis*).

⁵⁸⁸ Ṭə’uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, pp. 78–80; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 60–65; Takle Sirak 2016, pp. 77–83; Tedros Abraha 2009, pp. 343–344; Woube Kassaye 2005, pp. 181–183.

⁵⁸⁹ ‘Aklila Berhān Walda Qirqos 1966, pp. 50–51 (the disciples are named Sāwīros, Sānədro and Baldādos); Habta Māryām Warqənāh 1969, pp. 75, 78 (the disciples are named Ḥawirā, Sāwirā, ‘Ėskəndərā, Pā’əskəndərā, ‘Abidrā, and they are credited with adding new *məlakkat* to the eight traditionally ascribed to St Yāred; see 1.4.5.5); Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 169 (Sewira, Menkra, Eskindir, Bedir); Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 22 (Hawira, Menkira, Eskinder, Behur); Woube Kassaye 2005, p. 181 (Sewira, Menkra, Eskendera, Bidera); Tāddasa ‘Ālamayyahu 2012, p. 138 (Sāwirā, Mankərā, ‘Ėskəndərā, Bəsdərā); Takle Sirak 2016, p. 78 (Ḥawirā/Sawirā, Mankərā, ‘Ėskəndərā, Bəsdərā). In one of the texts published by Getatchew Haile 2017, these first disciples (named Sāwirā, Mankərā, ‘Ėskəndər, Basdər) are credited with

Genealogical lists, occasionally tracking the generations of *Dəggwā* teacher from that time and up to the present, have been published⁵⁹⁰ and are at times encountered as paratext in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts.⁵⁹¹ These lists have yet to be studied critically.

According to the traditional account of the history of the *Dəggwā*, two periods of destruction are said to have been decisive for its development: first, the wars of the legendary Queen Gudit in the tenth century (?), and then the pillaging of 'Aḥmad Grāññ (c. 1506–1543) in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁹² In the wake of Gudit's destruction, the teaching of the *Dəggwā* is said to have experienced a demise, countered only by the work of Giyorgis of Gāsəččā (c. 1365–1425). He is commonly credited with having initiated the practice of copying the *Ṣoma Dəggwā* in separate manuscripts,⁵⁹³ although various roles in the development of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections have been ascribed to him.⁵⁹⁴

The pillaging of 'Aḥmad Grāññ, which in contrast to the story of Gudit rests on firm historical ground, has been put in connection both with the rise to prominence of the school at the church of Beta Ləḥem in Gāyənt⁵⁹⁵ and the invention/elaboration of the *mələkkət*.⁵⁹⁶ According to a widespread tradition, the *Dəggwā* was thought to have been lost during the pillaging of the Grāññ, and the church of Beta Ləḥem was the only place where, thanks to the efforts of 'Abbā Ləssāna 'Ēfrat, a copy of the *Dəggwā* survived.⁵⁹⁷ This tradition is adduced as the

organising the corpus of antiphons according to the seasons (Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 285 (edition), pp. 289–290 (English translation)). This tradition is also found in Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 169, where it is ascribed to oral tradition.

⁵⁹⁰ 'Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966, pp. 51–53; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 78–80 (not a complete list); Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, pp. 245–251 (partial genealogy and lists of persons certified by specific teachers); Takle Sirak 2016, pp. 77–83 (including genealogies for the schools of Beta Ləḥem, Qomā, and 'Ačābər).

⁵⁹¹ Such lists are attested at least from the seventeenth–eighteenth century. Cf., for example, MSS 'Ankobar Giyorgis, EMMML 3054, fol. 1vb; Ḥayq 'Ēstifānos, EMMML 2045, fol. 186v.

⁵⁹² Cf., for example, Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 78–80; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 60–62; Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 343.

⁵⁹³ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 85; *Ya- 'Ityopyā 'ortodoks tawāḥədo beta krəstiyān tārik* 2007, p. 117; Mezmur Tsegaye 2011, p. 10; Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020, p. 185.

⁵⁹⁴ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 78–79; Lee 2011a, p. lix. Furioli 1982–1983 tells the story of how a conflict between Giyorgis of Gāsəččā and a certain 'Macario' concerning the correct interpretation of the legacy of St Yāred was resolved by a speaking bird (Furioli 1982–1983, p. 62). Hailu Habtu 1997 simply states that he 'enhanced' the corpus of chants (Hailu Habtu 1997, p. xvii). Lee 2017a seems to suggest that the addition of the musical notation was part of the revision of the *Dəggwā* undertaken by Giyorgis of Gāsəččā (Lee 2017a, p. 24; see also fn. 543). There are several Miracles of Mary in which St Yāred and Giyorgis of Gāsəččā appear together, apparently as fellow composers of liturgical chants (Cerulli 1943, pp. 127–128).

⁵⁹⁵ For an introduction to this church, see 'Betā Ləḥem', *EAE*, I (2003), 560a–560b (C. Bosc-Tiessé).

⁵⁹⁶ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 75.

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. Velat 1954, p. 27; Velat 1966a, p. 75; 'Aklila Bərḥān Walda Qirqos 1966, p. 52; Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 78–79; Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 167; Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 71–72, fn. 30; Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, p. 4; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 62; Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, pp. 15–16; Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 344; Nieten 2014, p. 258; cf. also

reason for the prestige currently held by the school of Beta Ləhem. The invention of the *mələkkət*, as we have seen (1.4.5.5), probably took place during the reign of King Galāwdewos (r. 1540–1559). Shelemay et al. 1993 have convincingly suggested that this might be seen as a reaction to the threat against the liturgical heritage which had doubtlessly been acutely felt during the invasion of the Grāññ.⁵⁹⁸

Other events in the history of the *Dəggwā* are occasionally mentioned in the secondary literature. For example, Velat 1954, without providing any sources, records a tradition according to which the liturgical chanting attributed to St Yāred was forbidden during the reign of King Susənyos (1607–1632), who converted to Roman Catholicism, and chant books were burned.⁵⁹⁹ Cerulli 1944 (and the literature that the depends on him) describes a revision of the *Dəggwā* carried out by 'Īččāge Qāla 'Awādi (d. 1686).⁶⁰⁰ This probably refers to the creation of one version of *Dəggwā*-antiphon collections, rather than a comprehensive revision of the entire tradition.⁶⁰¹

Although the position of the school of Beta Ləhem appears to be unchallenged in modern times, several other schools of chant also exist.⁶⁰² For some of them, it is unclear whether they are still active or whether they have been superseded by other schools. Still active in the 1990s were, in any case, the schools of Qomā (with its centre in Qomā Fāsīladas in Gondar) and the school of 'Ačābər (with its centre in Bərur Māryām or 'Ačābər Kidāna Məhrat⁶⁰³ in eastern Goğgām). Other

Sergew Hable Selassie 1989b, p. 53/383 (see fn. 314). In at least some of the printed editions (*Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015), the abbreviation *za-ma* (ዘመ) appears sometimes in the right margin. According to Berhanu Makonnen apud Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, this is an abbreviation for *za-maṣḥaf* (ዘመጽሐፍ, 'of the book'), meaning that the passage was corrected by the scribe 'against an authoritative copy in Bethlehem' (cf. Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, p. 99). According to Amsalu Tefera 2018, the (poetic) title of the *Dəggwā* manuscript in Beta Ləhem is መጽሐፍ፡ ጥበብ፡ (*Maṣḥeta ṭəbab*, 'The Mirror of Wisdom'; Amsalu Tefera 2018, p. 284).

⁵⁹⁸ Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 72–73.

⁵⁹⁹ Velat 1954, p. 22; cf. also Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, pp. 233–234. The abolishment of the chants of St Yāred under King Susənyos is mentioned in the manuscript of the abbreviated chronicle translated in Foti 1941, p. 114.

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. Cerulli 1961, p. 223; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 65; see also Doresse 1972, p. 193; 'Dəggwā', *Kleines Lexikon des Christlichen Orients*, (2007), 142 (W. W. Müller). This notion is largely based on a note in a list of abbots the Dabra Libānos in Šawā preserved in MS Paris, BnF Éth. 215 (cf. Cerulli 1944, p. 177). For an introduction to 'Īččāge Qāla 'Awādi, see 'Qalā 'Awādi', *EAE*, IV (2010), 250a–250b (E. Rossignol).

⁶⁰¹ The non-standardised prefaced colophon in MS Māy Wayni, EAP526/1/40 (seventeenth century) states that 'this is a *Mazgab* which has not been written like the *Bə 'la nafs*; on the contrary, it has been written like the *Mazgab* of the great Qāla 'Awādi, *mamhər* of Dabra Libānos' (ዘንቱኒ፡ መዝገብ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ እኮ፡ ከመ፡ ብዕለ፡ ነፍስ፡ ዳእመ፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ ከመ፡ መዝገብ፡ ቃለ፡ ዓዋዲ፡ ከቡር፡ መምሕር፡ ዘደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡, fol. 4r, ll. 13–14).

⁶⁰² For an introduction to the schools of chant, see Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, pp. 4–6; cf. also Sergew Hable Selassie 1989c, p. 211.

⁶⁰³ Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 344.

schools are the school of Tagulat (with its centre in Zenā Mārəqos in Šawā) and the school of Wančare (with its centre in Wančare Giyorgis in Šawā).⁶⁰⁴

Interesting are the repeated references to criticism against the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office and the chant attributed to St Yāred. Such references are found in the *Life of St Yāred* published by Conti Rossini,⁶⁰⁵ in standardised prefaced colophons (see Appendix 1), and there are also reports of modern criticism.⁶⁰⁶ This would seem to indicate that the threat against the Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian tradition of liturgical chant do not only come from outside of the Church, but also from within the tradition itself.

Although the post-Yāredian traditions concerning the *Dəggwā* are also not part of the topic of this dissertation, they ought to be examined in the light of the conclusions summarised in Chapter 6. It is clear that the prefaced colophons to *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, used sporadically in the previous literature as evidence for the later development of the *Dəggwā*, ought to be studied systematically from a philological perspective to establish their historical value. The preliminary survey presented in Appendix 1 may form the basis for such an endeavour in the future.

1.5.4 The *Dəggwā* and *qəne*

In the Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian liturgical tradition, *qəne* are poems performed by *dabtarās* as part of the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office and in the *Qəddāse* (after the distribution of communion).⁶⁰⁷ They are always improvised and are composed according to pre-defined metrical patterns. Tradition ascribes the invention of *qəne* to St Yāred.⁶⁰⁸

Liturgically speaking, there is a relationship between *Dəggwā*-type antiphons and *qəne* poems. This is hinted at by the fact that they, in certain liturgical contexts, are interchangeable. For example, *Dəggwā*-type antiphons (called *həyanta qəne*, ህየንተ፡ ቅኔ፡, ‘instead of *qəne*’) replace *qəne* during the certain commemorations and

⁶⁰⁴ For the locations of these centres, see the map in Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁵ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 19 (edition), Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 18 (Latin translation).

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, p. 101.

⁶⁰⁷ For introductions to *qəne*, see Velat 1966a, pp. 61–67; ‘Qəne’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 283b–285b (Habtemichael Kidane); Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 207–222. For an illustrative example, see Damon-Guillot 2009a, pp. 198–199.

⁶⁰⁸ Cf. Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, p. 167; Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 209; Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, pp. 20–22; Hailu Habtu 1997, p. xxi; Mezmur Tsegaye 2011, p. 13. On the basis of the differences in the use of rhyme, fixed metres and *səm-ənnā warq* imagery, Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999 concludes that although *qəne* ‘certainly has its roots in Yared’s works, its development and expansion into the highly sophisticated and refined forms known today occurred only gradually’ (Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 22). Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, on the other hand, concludes that poetry, for some reason in the shape of *qəne*, must have existed already before St Yāred’s time (Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, pp. 167–168).

liturgical periods,⁶⁰⁹ and the presence/absence of a *məltān* (1.4.5.6.1) in a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon will sometimes determine whether a *qəne* should be performed or not.⁶¹⁰ These replacements appear to take place especially during the Great Fast, when *qəne* are not performed.⁶¹¹ Keeping the ‘Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit’ postulated by Baumstark 1927 in mind, one could hypothesise that the use of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons in these contexts reflects an older practice, which has survived in the celebration of especially solemn commemorations, and that the use of *qəne* poems has been gaining ground at the expense of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons over the centuries. This might be consistent with traditions which locate the invention (or revival) of the *qəne* tradition in the fifteenth century.⁶¹²

As has been mentioned in the introductions to the different antiphon types, several of the antiphon types which a) share a name and a function with types of *qəne*, and b) in the present practice only appear during restricted liturgical periods (noticeably the Great Fast), are more widely attested in some of the earlier manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus, specifically in the multiple-type collections in MSS Game Giyorgis, EMLL 8070 (fifteenth century) and Dāgā ‘Ēstifānos, Tānāsee 172 (fifteenth–sixteenth century).⁶¹³ In future studies of the history of *qəne*, the evidence from these and other early *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections ought to be taken into account. One wonders if these antiphons are improvised *qəne* poems (in the modern sense) that were committed to writing—in which case they are presumably the earliest preserved witnesses to this genre—or if they are *Dəggwā*-type antiphons which were subsequently suppressed by the expansion of *qəne* poems in the liturgy.

⁶⁰⁹ For example, according to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, the *mi-bazhu qəne* performed together with Ps. 3 during the *mawaddās* service is changed for a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon during the ‘periodo pasquale’ (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 216). Cf. also Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 76–77, Table 3, VIIbis.

⁶¹⁰ ‘Wazema’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 1166b–1167a (Habtemichael Kidane). For example, the presence of *məltān* in the *za-yə’əze qəne*—during the festive *səbhata nagh* service, presumably—determines whether a *za-yə’əze qəne* ‘è richiesta’ or not (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 217). If the *‘arbā’t* antiphon performed with Ps. 50 [LXX] has a *məltān*—presumably during the ferial *wāzemā* service—it replaces the composition of a *śāhləka qəne* (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 217). The composition of a *qəne* is suppressed after Ct. IX during the festive *wāzemā* services of the commemoration of John the Baptist (*Yohannās*) and of the ‘Vigilia di Natale’ (it is not clear precisely which commemoration is meant), when the *yətbārak* antiphons have a *məltān* (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 321). Occasionally, the composition of a *qəne* is suppressed during the *səbhata nagh* service, when the *səbhata nagh* antiphon has a *məltān* (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 340).

⁶¹¹ ‘Qəne’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 283b–285b (Habtemichael Kidane).

⁶¹² Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 211–212.

⁶¹³ See above, the discussions of *bəšu’ za-yəlebbu* antiphons (1.4.4.1.7), *kʷəlləkəmu* antiphons (1.4.4.1.14), *mi-bazhu* antiphons (1.4.4.1.23), and *za-fətāh lita* antiphons (1.4.4.1.32).

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a general introduction to the aims and methodology of this dissertation, as well as an overview of the previous research into the tradition of *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collections. An extensive part of the chapter is dedicated to introducing the reader to the at times complex indigenous terminology that characterises *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collections, based primarily on the works by Bernard Velat and Habtemichael Kidane, integrated with data from the present research.

Chapter 2 The Minor Corpus: Descriptions of Manuscripts and Printed Editions

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the forty-nine manuscripts that constitute the Minor Corpus (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2.2), which is further studied from different perspectives in Chapters 3–5.⁶¹⁴ For each manuscript, the aim has been to provide—as far as possible—basic codicological data, an overview of extant literature on the manuscript (if there is any), an approximate or precise dating, as well as introductory information about the *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collection(s) that it contains.

The chapter is divided into five parts, four of which are dedicated to categories of manuscripts (2.3–2.6), whereas the last treats printed editions (2.7). Section 2.3 presents fifteen manuscripts and fragments that contain *single-type* collections. Originally, the aim was to include all known manuscripts containing single-type collections in the Minor Corpus, but when I was close to finishing this dissertation, a further manuscript of this category came to my attention, kept in a collection that is not immediately available to me (see 2.3.18), and consequently, only fifteen out of sixteen known manuscripts of this category have been included. Section 2.4 contains introductions to thirteen pre-seventeenth-century manuscripts containing *multiple-type* collections. Again, the aim has been to include all known manuscripts, and for this category of manuscripts, I am not aware of having excluded any known examples. Sections 2.5 and 2.6 contain presentations of post-sixteenth-century manuscripts containing *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections, all of which are multiple-type collections. Section 2.5 is dedicated to twelve manuscripts containing ‘Group A collections’, section 2.6 to seven manuscripts containing ‘Group B collections’, according to the terminology established below (2.2). For the selection of these manuscripts for the Minor Corpus, the following criteria have been taken into consideration:

- group classification as established below (see 2.2),
- date and geographical origin of the manuscript,⁶¹⁵
- availability in easily legible reproductions.

⁶¹⁴ As pointed out in the Acknowledgements, I am grateful to Ted Erho for his valuable help at the initial stages of the work on this dissertation; the information provided by him was essential for putting together this corpus of early and later *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts.

⁶¹⁵ This has been done primarily by including manuscripts from different digitisation projects, which were active in different geographical areas.

Admittedly, the selection of post-sixteenth-century manuscripts has, to a certain extent, been arbitrary. As explained in Chapter 1, this is motivated by the virtual absence of previous studies of the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. Section 2.7 contains descriptions of the two printed editions of the *Məṣḥafa Dəggwā* that have been included in the Minor Corpus, as well as notes on the other printed editions known to me.

The way in which the individual manuscripts are described varies slightly between the different sections and is delineated in the introductions to the respective sections below (2.3.1, 2.4.1, 2.5.1, 2.6.1, 2.7.1). However, each description begins with a section providing the following pieces of information:

[city or locality], [repository, collection], [shelfmark] (= [siglum used in this dissertation]), [manuscript form], [outer measurements of the folios of the main content], [number of folios], [number of columns], [number of lines ([number of the folio on which the lines have been counted, in case this has not been adopted from a catalogue description])], [information on boards].

Manuscripts kept in repositories in Ethiopia and microfilmed or digitised by the EMLL, Ethio-SPaRe, EMDA, different Endangered Archives Programme (EAP) projects, or one of the projects to digitise the manuscripts of Gunda Gunde⁶¹⁶ or 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl⁶¹⁷ have been treated in the following way: under [city or locality] and [repository], the location of the manuscript reported during its microfilming / digitisation has been given; however, in the slot destined for a shelfmark, the respective microfilming / digitisation project's identification number has been provided (ex. 'Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EMLL 7078'). If nothing else is indicated, the information for this section has been retrieved either from a) a catalogue description, b) a metadata sheet attached to the digital photographs or the (digitised) microfilm, or c) from consulting the manuscript reproduction itself. This section is followed by information about the form in which the manuscript has been consulted (autopsy, digital colour photographs, digitised greyscale microfilm, etc.) and about previous literature on the manuscript, including catalogue descriptions.

After this introductory description follow, under separate headings, two sections concerned with a) the dating of the manuscript (or, in isolated cases, the dating of the individual collections), and b) its contents. For manuscripts that include antiphons for the commemorations of the Season of Flowers, these have been listed, so that the parts of the manuscript used—to various degree—for the studies presented in Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5 are readily available for

⁶¹⁶ For an introduction to the expedition to digitise the manuscripts of Gunda Gunde, see <https://ark.digital.utoronto.ca/ark:61220/utsc73545> [2024-09-30].

⁶¹⁷ For an introduction to the digitisation project at 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, see https://www2.lingfil.uu.se/projects/Dabra_SahelQ/ [2021-03-04].

reference. The level of detail applied in these two latter sections varies between the categories of manuscripts / printed editions, and as already mentioned, details are provided in the introductions to the respective sections (2.3.1, 2.4.1, 2.5.1, 2.6.1, 2.7.1). In brief, one could say that later manuscripts and manuscripts that were chosen arbitrarily have received a less in-depth treatment than the early manuscripts, motivated primarily by time restraints.

2.2 Preliminary note on the grouping of post-sixteenth-century collections

As delineated in Chapter 1 (1.2.2), a large number of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections has come down to us, the majority of which date from the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. In order to approach this large population of post-sixteenth-century collections, a preliminary study was carried out on what I have called the ‘Major Corpus’. This large corpus of manuscripts—chosen exclusively based on their availability in digitised form and on their legibility—was analysed based on one single feature:⁶¹⁸ the sets of commemorations that they contain for the Season of Flowers.⁶¹⁹ In the end, a total of 148 manuscripts were surveyed. Based on this analysis of an isolated feature, the manuscripts could be divided into three groups: Group A, Group B, and Group C, with a fourth group containing individual collections that did not fit into the patterns that characterise the other three.

- Group A (74 out of 148)⁶²⁰ – these collections are characterised by a large number of commemorations (see Table 4), which, however, includes only

⁶¹⁸ Originally, a more extensive analysis of the manuscripts of the Major Corpus was planned, including diachronic surveys of basic codicological features such as measurements (height, width, and, if available, thickness), numbers of columns and lines, as well as the major divisions of the collections marked in the layout. However, in the end, this extensive analysis turned out to be unfeasible within the framework of this study. It should, however, be noted that the classification of prefaced colophons presented in Appendix 1 is also based on the survey of the Major Corpus.

⁶¹⁹ In cases where the Season of Flowers has been hard to delimit, where no dates as provided for commemorations, I have not checked the period before the commemoration of the Cross (*Masqal*), nor the period after the commemoration of Q^wəsq^wām.

⁶²⁰ Below, the manuscripts and printed editions of the Major Corpus whose collections contain the set of commemorations within the Season of Flowers that characterise Group A are listed. For reasons of simplicity and space, manuscripts that were microfilmed or digitised within a well-known project have been referred to only by the number given to them in the respective project. For manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus (and printed editions), a reference to the full description below has been provided in brackets. Printed editions: *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 (2.7.3), *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1995 (see 2.7.4), *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966 (see 2.7.4). Manuscripts: BL Or. 584, BL Or. 585, EAP254/1/5 (2.5.13), EAP432/1/10 (2.5.3), EAP432/1/41, EAP526/1/40, EAP704/1/36 (2.5.6), EMDA 00097, EMDA 00111 (2.5.10), EMDA 00115, EMDA 00228, EMDA 00230, EMDA 00234, EMDA 00418, EMML 35, EMML 45, EMML 53, EMML 78, EMML 286, EMML 759, EMML 1183, EMML 1184, EMML 1267, EMML 1418, EMML 1683, EMML 1890, EMML 2045, EMML 2053 (2.5.5), EMML 2061, EMML 2431 (2.5.9), EMML 2468, EMML 3004, EMML 3054, EMML 3400, EMML 4443, EMML 4449, EMML 4768, EMML 4798, EMML 4957, EMML 4969, EMML 4971, EMML 5816, EMML 6594, EMML

a restricted number of monthly commemorations. They seem to continue the calendar of the pre-seventeenth-century collections—however, this is a topic that needs to be explored with greater systematicity in the future. Collections belonging to this group are attested from the seventeenth century and up to modern times;

- Group B (46 out of 148)⁶²¹ – these collections seem to make up a clearly definable group, characterised by a restricted number of commemorations (see Table 4) compared to Group A. Based on the studied manuscripts, the earliest examples stem perhaps from the seventeenth century (see the discussion of MS Māmā Mədr Qāla Ḥawāryāt, EMLL 7745 in 2.6.3), and the latest from the twentieth century;
- Group C (5 out of 148)⁶²² – this small group of collections form a less coherent group than the other two, but are kept together by the fact that they systematically contain a large number of monthly commemorations, as it appears at the expense of some of the ‘standard’ commemorations contained in Group A collections. Being relatively rare and late—one of the examples of such collections is dated to the eighteenth–nineteenth century (MS Danderā Dabra Məḥrat Mikā’el, Ethio-SPaRe DDM-009), the rest to the twentieth—Group C has not been studied systematically in this dissertation, although one of the printed editions included in the Minor Corpus (*Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994) belongs to this type;

6616, EMLL 6932, EMLL 6994 (2.5.8), EMLL 7035, EMLL 7227, EMLL 7228, EMLL 7285 (2.5.11), EMLL 7369, EMLL 7497, EMLL 7508, EMLL 7529 (2.5.12), EMLL 8855, EMLL 8876, Ethio-SPaRe AMQ-006, Ethio-SPaRe AP-022, Ethio-SPaRe DD-003, Ethio-SPaRe DD-015a, Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 (2.5.7), Ethio-SPaRe DD-024, Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 (2.5.4), Ethio-SPaRe QSM-016, Gunda Gunde GG-096, Gunda Gunde GG-150, IES 322, IES 838, SBPK Ms. or. quart. 1000, Tānāsee 133, UUB O Etiop. 36 (2.5.2).

⁶²¹ Below, the manuscripts of the Major Corpus whose collections contain the set of commemorations within the Season of Flowers that characterise Group B are listed. For further information, see fn. 620. Manuscripts: EMLL 231, EMLL 778, EMLL 1534, EMLL 2035, EMLL 2104 (contains Peter and Paul), EMLL 2184, EMLL 2244, EMLL 2253 (2.6.4), EMLL 2473, EMLL 2571, EMLL 2866, EMLL 3189, EMLL 3310, EMLL 3561, EMLL 3586, EMLL 3630, EMLL 3890, EMLL 4058, EMLL 4168, EMLL 4227, EMLL 4228, EMLL 4230, EMLL 4234, EMLL 4457, EMLL 4488, EMLL 4539, EMLL 4607, EMLL 5670, EMLL 7670, EMLL 7738, EMLL 7744, EMLL 7745 (2.6.3), EMLL 7746, EMLL 7758, EMLL 7826, EMLL 7881, EMLL 7882, EMLL 8016, EMLL 8084 (2.6.7), EMLL 9105, EMLL 9110 (2.6.2), Ethio-SPaRe DZ-009, Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008 (2.6.6, contains Peter and Paul), IES 497 (= EAP286/1/1/421), IES 2148 (= EAP286/1/1/470; 2.6.8), SBPK Ms. or. quart. 1001 (2.6.5).

⁶²² Below, the manuscripts and printed editions of the Major Corpus whose collections contain the set of commemorations within the Season of Flowers that characterise Group C are listed. Printed edition: *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994 (2.7.2). Manuscripts: Mihur Gedam 35 (= EMIP 1010), EMLL 523, EMLL 3845, Ethio-SPaRe DDM-009.

- irregular collections (23 out of 148)⁶²³ – in this fourth category, manuscripts that do not fit into the patterns defined for the other groups are grouped together. While some of them are close to the groups presented above, but lack commemorations which could be considered defining (see fn. 623), others differ more profoundly, for example by completely or almost completely lacking commemorations within the Season of Flowers.⁶²⁴

Although this grouping of the post-sixteenth-century *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections is preliminary and based on a restricted feature, the empirically based dichotomy between, on the one hand, Group A collections and, on the other hand, Group B collections—to my understanding—represents a noticeable advancement of our knowledge about post-sixteenth-century *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections.

Based on this preliminary grouping of the post-sixteenth-century *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections, manuscripts from Group A and Group B were chosen for inclusion in the Minor Corpus (see 2.5 and 2.6) based on availability and legibility. Within the studies presented in Chapters 3 and 4, the dichotomy between Group A collections and Group B collections is further explored. In particular, section 3.3 in Chapter 3 is intended to shed light on possible connections between the dichotomy, based on sets of commemorations and differences in the texts of individual antiphons.

Table 4. The commemorations within the Season of Flowers that characterise Group A collections and Group B collections.

| | Commemorations Group A | Commemorations Group B |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 25 Maskaram | Peter and Paul, End of <i>Kəramt</i> | |
| 30 Maskaram | James and John, Children of Zebedee | |
| 4 Ṭəqəmt | Kings | |
| 6 Ṭəqəmt | Pāntəlewōn | |

⁶²³ Below, the manuscripts of the Major Corpus whose collections contain an irregular set of commemorations within the Season of Flowers are listed. For further information, see fn. 620. Manuscripts: EML 276, EML 1258 (close to Group A, but lacks Peter and Paul), EML 1443, EML 2086, EML 2971, EML 3614, EML 4113, EML 4332, EML 5483, EML 5485, EML 5601, EML 5787 (close to Group B, but lacks 'Ewostātewos), Ethio-SPaRe BMQM-007, Ethio-SPaRe ETH-006 (close to Group B, but lacks Stephen the Protomartyr), Ethio-SPaRe MA-004, Ethio-SPaRe MAKM-019, Ethio-SPaRe MR-031, Ethio-SPaRe TRM-017, SBPK Ms. or. quart. 284 (close to Group A), Ṭānāsee 93 (close to Group B, but lacks 'Ewostātewos). Complex multi-stratal manuscripts: EML 1971, EML 3104, EML 4295.

⁶²⁴ In the category of irregular collections, I have also included three manuscripts that are stratigraphically complex. For example, the eighteenth-century manuscript 'Ankobar 'Astīt Kidāna Məhrat, EML 3104 appears to have started out as a Group B collection, but then a second collection was added to it, seemingly adding the commemorations that a typical Group A collection contains that are missing in the Group B collection.

| | | |
|------------------------|---|--|
| 26 Maskaram–5 Ḥəḍār | Sundays in the Season of Flowers | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| 26 Maskaram–5 Ḥəḍār | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers | (Ferial days in the Season of Flowers) |
| | | ʾEwoṣṭāteḡos |
| 12 Ṭəqəmt | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle | |
| 14 Ṭəqəmt | ʾAbbā ʾAragāwi | ʾAbbā ʾAragāwi |
| 17 Ṭəqəmt | Stephen the Protomartyr | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| 21 Ṭəqəmt | Mary | |
| 22 Ṭəqəmt | (Luke the Evangelist) | |
| 23 Ṭəqəmt | ʾAbbā Yəmʾattā | |
| 3 Ḥəḍār | Habakkuk the Prophet | |
| 4 Ḥəḍār | (ʾAbbā ʾAbaydo) | |
| 5 Ḥəḍār | ʾAbbā Yoḥanni | (ʾAbbā Yoḥanni) |

2.3 Manuscripts containing single-type collections

2.3.1 Introduction

As indicated in 2.1, fifteen manuscripts containing single-type collections of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons have been included in the Minor Corpus. They represent all the manuscripts of this type available to me, and all except one of the manuscripts of this type known to me (see 2.3.18). Manuscripts containing single-type collections have been preserved primarily in four geographical areas: the northern Ethiopian province of Təgrāy, the churches of Lālibalā in Lāstā, and monasteries on the Lakes Ṭānā and Ḥayq. These are all places renowned in the ecclesiastical history of Ethiopia for the importance of their manuscript collections. One of the fifteen manuscripts is presently located in Europe (see also 2.3.18), whereas the rest are preserved in Ethiopia. It is to be expected that more, perhaps even many more, manuscripts and fragments of this type will emerge if more field work is carried out in the regions historically inhabited by Christians of the Ethiopic tradition. This is the case especially for Eritrea, whose manuscript heritage has been little accessible for digitisation project during the past decades.⁶²⁵

⁶²⁵ For some reflections on the potential importance of the Eritrean material, see Villa 2018.

The manuscripts containing single-type collections have been described in the following way: After the general codicological and identificatory information has been given, the dating of each manuscript has been discussed in some detail, systematically taking a selection of palaeographical, orthographical, and linguistic features into account:

- in order to make a systematic palaeographical analysis realisable, focus has been limited to a number of letters known to display variants important for dating: <Λ> (and, occasionally, the related letters <h>, <γ>); <C> and <ϥ>; <ϥ> and <ϥ>; <h> (and the related letters <ϥ>, <ϥ>); <σ> and <σ>; <h>, ⁶²⁶ <h>, <σ>, ⁶²⁷ <σ>, <ϥ>, and <ϥ>. In addition, attention has been paid to how the fourth-order⁶²⁸ and the seventh-order⁶²⁹

⁶²⁶ The marking of sixth-order <h> by means of a left-pointing horizontal stroke placed upon the short vertical stroke at the top of first-order <h> has been noticed as an early feature by Nosnitsin 2018, p. 290, fn. 10. Examples are found in the Gospel fragment in MS Dabra Mā'šo Yohannēs, Ethio-SPaRe MY-002 (cf. Bulakh 2014 and Nosnitsin and Bulakh 2014); in the homiliary fragment on fols 1ra–3vb in MS Gunda Gunde, GG-148 (catalogued for the HMML website by Ted Erho; persistent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/500284> [2020-12-28]); in the lectionary fragment on fol. 237 in MS Dabra Ma'ār Giyorgis, EMDA 00463 (C3-IV-223; catalogued for the HMML website by Ted Erho, who dates the fragment to the thirteenth century; persistent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/601721> [2024-09-14]); in several of the fragments preserved in MS 'Urā Qirqos, Ethio-SPaRe UM-040, as well as in the main part of the manuscript; and in MSS Lālibalā Beta Madhane 'Ālam, EMLL 6913 (tentatively dated to the eleventh century by Harrelson and Plante 1979, p. vi); Lālibalā Beta Māryām, EMLL 6919, e.g. on fols 104r–109v, 128r–157v; Lālibalā Beta 'Amānu'el, EMLL 6940 (tentatively dated to the twelfth century by Harrelson and Plante 1979, p. vi); and Tānā Qirqos, EMLL 8509 (cf. Sergew Hable-Selassie 1991 (= Sergew Hable Selassie 1988b)—the last manuscript has not been available to me during the writing of this dissertation, except for the reproduction in Sergew Hable-Selassie 1991, p. 79 of the lower part of fol. 22r (the identification of the folio is based on the list of homilies given on pp. 72–73)). It also appears in some of the marginal notes of liturgical nature in MS 'Abbā Garimā I, as well as on a series of inscribed wooden panels in Lālibalā (cf. Bausi 2019, p. 71). From the distribution of this feature in early Ethiopic manuscripts, one gets the impression of two palaeographical 'schools': one in which the sixth order of <h>, <h>, <ϥ>, and <ϥ>, is marked by means of the left-slanting of the top of the letter (MSS 'Abbā Garimā I, 'Abbā Garimā III, EMLL 7078), and one in which the sixth order of the same letters is marked by means of the addition of a horizontal, left-pointing stroke on top of the basic form of the letter (MSS EMLL 6913, EMLL 6940, the fragments from 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl). In the standard writing that later (?) evolved, the sixth order of <h>, <ϥ>, and <ϥ>, is marked according to the first 'school', whereas the sixth order of <h> is marked according to the second 'school'.

⁶²⁷ The relevant feature is how the distinction between <σ> and <σ> is realised, but due to the rarity of the letter <σ>, my approach has been to gather samples of <σ> and try to draw conclusions about the realisation of the distinction based on these.

⁶²⁸ Several ways of marking the fourth order of letters with two or three straight legs (<Λ>, <h>, <h>, <h>, <h>, <h>, <h>, <h>) are attested in early manuscripts: a) by means of shortening the left leg (i.e. the modern standard way); b) by means of a lengthening of the right leg (as opposed to the shortening of the opposite leg, which is the modern standard), often extending below the base line (ex. MS Lālibalā Beta 'Amānu'el, EMLL 6940, tentatively dated to the twelfth century by Harrelson and Plante 1979, p. vi); c) by means of an additional downwards-pointing stroke or dot attached to the right leg (ex. MS Tānā Qirqos, EMLL 8509); d) by means of a 'kink' on the right leg (ex. MS Tānā Qirqos, EMLL 8509). In some manuscripts, c) and d) seem to coexist (ex. MS Tānā Qirqos, EMLL 8509).

⁶²⁹ Several ways of marking the seventh order of letters with two or three straight legs (<Λ>, <h>, <h>, <h>, <h>, <h>, <h>, <h>) are attested in early manuscripts: a) by means of shortening

vowel markers, indicating the vowels /ā/ and /o/, have been formed. These letters / features have been studied by collecting a number of samples (up to five) of each letter / feature, on the basis of which an impression of its realisation in a specific manuscript has been formed. One or a couple of representative examples of each letter / feature have then been included in the description. While this palaeographical analysis is, of course, simplified and, in many regards, remains incomplete, leaving out important pieces of evidence—for example, numerals have not been included—it serves the purpose of offering a systematic and transparent approach to evaluating the various dating proposals made in the previous literature;

- the discussion of linguistic features focusses on features which deviate from the grammar of Standard Geez, especially concerning the application of the laryngeal rules, differences in verbal conjugation and in the use of the multifunctional nominal ending *-a*;
- orthographical feature, often closely connected to the discussed linguistic features, further take the spelling of the word *ʾĒgzi ʾabəher*—in one word, as *እግዚአብሔር*: (*ʾĒgzi ʾabəher*) or as two words, as *እግዚአ: ብሔር*: (*ʾĒgzi ʾa bəher*)—into account, and, when it is relevant, cases of non-standard vocalisation.⁶³⁰

Quire analyses have only been carried out for manuscripts whose folios have been disarranged and when the available reproduction allows for this. In such cases, an attempt has been made to reconstruct the original quire composition.

As noted in 2.1, the last part of each description consists of an analysis of the contents of the manuscript, here arranged according to single-type collections. The notes concerning each single-type collection vary in nature depending on if any noteworthy features are found in it, but regularly include information about which commemorations for the Season of Flowers are attested.

2.3.2 Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis, EMMML 7078

MS Lālibalā Beta Giyorgis,⁶³¹ EMMML 7078 (= MS EMMML 7078), parchment manuscript, 69 fols (?),⁶³² 17.5 × 12.5 cm, one column, 26 lines (fol. 3v), no

the right leg (i.e. the modern standard way); b) by means of an additional stroke or dot placed by the left leg (ex. MS Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 8509). The use of a ‘kink’ on the left leg appears to be rare; I have only noticed one single example (cf. MS DS-I/XVII/XXII, 2.3.11.1, Hand B), which should perhaps be interpreted as a scribal mistake until more attestations are described.

⁶³⁰ Non-standard vocalisation is attested primarily in eight of the manuscripts containing early *Dəggʾā*-type antiphon collections, in MSS EMMML 7078, Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i, DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-II, DS-III, DS-VIII*/XIII, DS-XVI, and DS-XX.

⁶³¹ Getatchew Haile 2017 contains a reproduction of a page from this manuscript (Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 268), where the manuscript is said to be located in the church of Beta Māryām, Lāstā.

boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised microfilm made available online by the HMML.⁶³³ It has been referred to relatively frequently in the secondary literature, but has not yet been catalogued.

MS EML 7078 was included in the corpus used by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997,⁶³⁴ and plays an important role in the sketch of the diachronic development of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections presented in Shelemay et al. 1993. Getatchew Haile 2017 includes a reproduction of the fragmentarily preserved fol. 1r⁶³⁵ and the statement that ‘a review of the oldest copy of the *daggwā* (EML 7078)’ might contribute to proving that the attribution of the *Daggwā* to St Yāred is erroneous—however, this statement is not further elaborated. Getatchew Haile 2018 quotes one antiphon from MS EML 7078 and identifies its source in a Homily on the Cross.⁶³⁶ Nosnitsin 2018 makes use of MS EML 7078 in his study of the antiphons for the commemoration of ‘*Abbā* Yoḥanni and edits most of the antiphons for his commemoration.⁶³⁷ Dege-Müller and Karlsson 2020 cite one antiphon for the Season of Flowers as an example of the early use of rhyme in Ethiopic antiphons.⁶³⁸ Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020 mention MS EML 7078 as an example of an antiphon-collection manuscript which ‘may go farther back’ than the late fourteenth century.⁶³⁹

Due to the poor quality of the microfilm, the part of the leaves closest to the spine is often dark, making any attempt to analyse the quire structure of the manuscript

This is probably a typographical error for Beta Giyorgis, which is the location given on the metadata sheet accompanying the digitised microfilm.

⁶³² Between fols 64 and 65, one opening appears to be missing. This conclusion is reached based on the fact that the physical shape of the recto of fol. 64 (using the folio numbers found in its bottom margin of each recto) does not correspond to the physical shape of the verso opposite to fol. 65r. Presumably, one folio, placed between the present fols 64 and 65 and severely torn, was by accident not given a folio number together with the rest of the folios; I will refer to this as folio ‘64bis’. When the manuscript was subsequently microfilmed, the opening containing fols 64v–64bis.r was missed, as the microfilmer moved directly from the opening containing fols 63v–64r to the one containing fols 64bis.v–65r. An analysis of the contents of fols 64r, 64bis.v, and 65ra indicates that only a limited amount of textual material is missing (see Chapter 5, 5.3.3.1, last paragraph), which is consonant with the hypothesis of the missing opening. Presuming that this hypothesis of an unfoliated folio and a missing opening on the reproduction is correct, the total number of folios in MS EML 7078 is 69.

⁶³³ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/200685> [2021-01-25].

⁶³⁴ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁶³⁵ In Getatchew Haile 2017, the reproduction is erroneously labelled ‘fol. 1v’ (cf. Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 268).

⁶³⁶ Getatchew Haile 2018, p. 106, esp. fn. 3. The homily in question is the homily prescribed for the Feast of the Cross on 10 Maggābit (MS EML 1763, fols 164ra–166vb).

⁶³⁷ Nosnitsin 2018, pp. 300–302. Nosnitsin 2018 edits the five antiphons for ‘*Abbā* Yoḥanni belonging to the melodic family *Bāṣu* ‘*anta Yoḥannās* [15], as well as the antiphons belonging to the melodic families *Sanbat* ‘*amehā* I [19] ~ *Wa-yāṣu* ‘*u lottu* / *Sanbat* ‘*amehā* II [20] (see Chapter 5, 5.3.3.3.12) and *Za-maṣ* ‘*a* ‘*am-dāḥra nabiyyāt* [14] (one each). The manuscript also contains three antiphons for ‘*Abbā* Yoḥanni belonging to the melodic family *Wa-yābelomu* / ‘*Arārāta* [9] (fol. 19v, ll. 3–17).

⁶³⁸ Dege-Müller and Karlsson 2020, fn. 18.


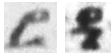
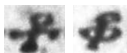
⁶³⁹ Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020, p. 179.

on the basis of the available materials futile.⁶⁴⁰ However, as far as can be said on the basis of the contents of the manuscript, it appears to be correctly bound and nearly complete.⁶⁴¹

2.3.2.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet accompanying the EMMML microfilm, MS EMMML 7078 is tentatively dated to the twelfth century. A thirteenth-century dating is proposed by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997⁶⁴² and by Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020.⁶⁴³ In Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, a fourteenth–fifteenth-century dating is suggested based on the photographs published in Shelemay et al. 1993;⁶⁴⁴ however, this statement is adjusted in Nosnitsin 2018, where it is said that a ‘13th-century dating [...] is not unjustified’.⁶⁴⁵ Getatchew Haile, in a parenthesis in a footnote, suggests that MS EMMML 7078 is ‘of Aksumite era’.⁶⁴⁶ Ted Erho prefers merely to call it ‘pre-Solomonic’.⁶⁴⁷ The contents of the manuscript contains few clues to its dating. However, a number of palaeographical, linguistic, and orthographical features may be noted.

Palaeographical features:⁶⁴⁸

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| ሎ, ከ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| ሮ, ኖ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| ቶ, ቆ |  | two forms are attested: a) the vowel marker is circular and replaces the top line of the letter, b) the vowel marker is semi-circular and is attached on the right side of the top line of the letter |

⁶⁴⁰ I am thankful to Wayne Torborg at the HMML for his attempts to produce a more legible version.

⁶⁴¹ For a discussion of a missing opening, see fn. 632.

⁶⁴² Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁶⁴³ Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020, p. 179, fn. 44.









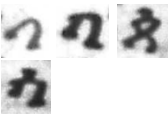

⁶⁴⁴ Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, p. 74. For the photographs, see Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 82.

⁶⁴⁵ Nosnitsin 2018, p. 300, fn. 50.

⁶⁴⁶ Getatchew Haile 2018, p. 106, fn. 3. Cf. Getatchew Haile 2016, p. 23, and also Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020, p. 179, fn. 44, where Getatchew is said to have informed the authors in 2018 that MS EMMML 7078 ‘may hail to the Zagwe era or even earlier’.

⁶⁴⁷ Personal communication, 12 March 2021.

⁶⁴⁸ Sources for palaeographical samples: ሎ: fol. 39r, l. 9; ከ: fol. 9v, l. 6; ሮ: fol. 39r, l. 18; ኖ: fol. 9v, l. 26; ቶ: fol. 11r, l. 10; ቆ: fol. 13r, l. 9; ሕ: fol. 12r, l. 20; ት: fol. 9v, l. 8; ቸ: fol. 39r, l. 10; ሙ: fol. 9v, l. 9; ሠ: fol. 9v, l. 6; ስ: fol. 12r, l. 16; ለ: fol. 37r, l. 14; ሙ: fol. 39r, l. 19; ጥ: fol. 9v, l. 28; የ: fol. 9v, l. 9; ጂ: fol. 9v, l. 14; ጥ: fol. 12r, l. 10; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 8v, l. 16 (ላ); fol. 10v, l. 10 (ባ); fol. 10v, l. 14 (ጰ); fol. 10v, l. 19 (ላ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 10v, l. 12 (ጰ); fol. 10v, l. 15 (ሰ); fol. 39r, l. 6 (ከ).

| | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| ሕ, ኀ, ቅ |  | the vowel marker has the form of a slanted top line; the lateral legs of <ሕ> are sometimes shortened, but not always |
| መ, ሠ |  | the loops of <መ> and parts of <ሠ> are connected |
| ስ |  | the vowel marker has the form of a slanted top line [= modern form] |
| እ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter and reaches outside the body of the letter |
| ወ |  | the distinction between <ወ> and <ደ> appears to be of the earlier type |
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter rests on the base line, which the vowel marker sometimes reaches |
| ዲ |  | single vowel marker [= modern form] |
| ጥ |  | lateral legs almost (?) reach base line |
| fourth order |  | shortening of the left leg(s) [= modern form] |
| seventh order |  | two forms are attested: a) with an addition to the left leg, b) with shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

Linguistic features:

- the shift from /a/ to /ā/ in closed syllables ending in a laryngeal (laryngeal rule 2a, according to the terminology of Diem 1988⁶⁴⁹) often appears not to have been operative:⁶⁵⁰ ex. ንተፌሠሕ፣ *naṭfeśśah*, for ንተፌሠሕ፣ *naṭfeśśāh* (fol. 6v, l. 2); መዕተብ፣ *ma‘tab*, for መዕተብ፣ *mā‘tab* (fol. 7v, ll. 6–7); ሰረዕከ፣ *sara‘ka*, for ሰረዕከ፣ *sarā‘ka* (fol. 7v, l. 21); ባሕር፣ *baḥr*, for ባሕር፣ *bāḥr* (fol. 12v, l. 16); ንባእ፣ *nəba‘*, for ንባእ፣ *nəbā‘* (13v, l. 23); አንቀዕዲዉ፣ *‘anqa‘diwu*, for አንቀዕዲዉ፣ *‘anqā‘diwo* (fol. 19r, l. 8). However, there are also cases where the rule appears to have been applied: ex. ያዕቆብ፣ *Yā‘qob* (fol. 17r, l. 13); ሣህለከ፣ *śāhləka* (fol. 24, l. 21); ማኅበር፣ *māḥbar* (fol. 28v, l. 9; followed by ማኅበር፣ *maḥbarəna*, as the next word, where the rule has not been applied);

⁶⁴⁹ Diem 1988, p. 240.

⁶⁵⁰ This feature has already been observed by Nosnitsin 2018, p. 300, fn. 50.

- attestations of the pattern tentatively vocalised as *yəṭqəttal* for the imperfect form of the T₁ stem:⁶⁵¹ ex. ይጥዕወቅ፡, *yəṭ'əwwaq*, for ይጥዕወቅ፡, *yəṭ'awwaq* (fol. 44v, l. 24); ይሰየም፡, *yəssəyyam*, for ይሰየም፡, *yəssəyyam* (fols 14r, l. 6; 48r, ll. 2, 4); እትንሠእ, 'ətnəśśa', for እትነሣእ, 'ətnəśśā' (fols 26r, ll. 20, 24; 26v, l. 11); ንትንሠእ፡, *nətnəśśa*, for ንትነሣእ፡, *nətnəśśā* (fol. 30r, l. 9);
- non-standard usage (or rather non-usage) of the nominal ending *-a*, both in its function as accusative marker and as marking the non-final constituent(s) of construct chains:⁶⁵² ex. ወልድ፡ እጓል፡ እምሕያው፡, *wald 'əg'wāl 'əmma-həyāw*, for ወልድ፡ እጓል፡ እምሕያው፡, *walda 'əg'wāla 'əmma-həyāw* (fol. 4v, l. 6);⁶⁵³ ቤት፡ ልሐም፡, *Bet Ləḥəm*, for ቤት፡ ልሐም፡, *Beta Ləḥem* (fol. 4v, l. 14); ፈውሱ፡ ድወያን፡ ወአንሥኡ፡ ምወታን፡, *fawwəsū dəwwuyān wa-'anśə'u məwwutān*, for ፈውሱ፡ ድወያን፡ ወአንሥኡ፡ ምወታን፡, *fawwəsū dəwwuyāna wa-'anśə'u məwwutāna* (fol. 10v, ll. 8–9); አዕማድ፡ ቤት፡ ክርስቲያን፡, 'a *mād bet krəstiyān*, for አዕማድ፡ ቤት፡ ክርስቲያን፡, 'a *māda beta krəstiyān* (fol. 10v, l. 5); ደብር፡ ዘይት፡, *Dabr Zayt*, for ደብር፡ ዘይት፡, *Dabra Zayt* (fol. 24v, ll. 22, 32); ንበልባል፡ እሳት፡ ኢያውዐዮሙ፡, *nəbəlbal 'əsāt 'i-yāw 'ayomu*, for ንበልባል፡ እሳት፡ ኢያውዐዮሙ፡, *nəbəlbal 'əsāt 'i-yāw 'ayomu* (27v, ll. 27–28); አንተ፡ ውእቱ፡ ገባሪ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወሃቢ፡ በረከት፡, 'anta wə'ətu gabāri həywat wahābi barakat, for አንተ፡ ውእቱ፡ ገባሪ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወሃቢ፡ በረከት፡, 'anta wə'ətu gabāre həywat wahābe barakat (fol. 28r, ll. 9–10). There are, however, also frequent instances where the ending *-a* is used. I have not been able to discover a pattern in its distribution;
- connected to the preceding point are attestations of nominative endings attached to the gerund, as opposed to the accusative endings that would be expected in Standard Geez;⁶⁵⁴ ex. ፈጸሙ፡, *faṣṣimu*, for ፈጸሞ፡, *faṣṣimo* (fols 4v, l. 21; 26v, l. 30); አርኢዮ፡, 'ar'iyu, for አርኢዮ፡, 'ar'iyu (fol. 7v, l. 22); አስሚሩ፡, 'asmiru, for አስሚሮ፡, 'asmiro (fol. 7v, l. 22); ብሂሉ፡, *bəhilu*, for ብሂሉ፡, *bəhilo* (fol. 19r, l. 10);⁶⁵⁵ ወሂእነ፡, *waṣi 'əna*, for ወሂእነ፡, *waṣi 'əna* (fol. 20r, l. 6); ተጋቢእነ፡, *tagābi 'əna*, for ተጋቢእነ፡, *tagābi 'əna* (fols 20r, l. 7; 28v, l. 13). Simultaneously, there are also examples of the standard use: ex. ሙኒኖ፡, *manino* (fol. 13v, l. 6); አቲዎ፡, 'atiwo (fol. 19v, l. 9);

⁶⁵¹ Cf. Bausi 2005, p. 162.

⁶⁵² This feature has already been observed by Nosnitsin 2018, p. 300, fn. 50.

⁶⁵³ The spelling እጓል፡ እምሕያው፡, 'əg'wāla 'əmma-həyāw, is attested twice (fols 122rb, ll. 15–16; 123ra, ll. 18–19) in the Gospel-commentary fragment in MS Lālibalā Beta Māryām, EMMML 7229; see Getatchew Haile 2021.

⁶⁵⁴ Cf., for example, Bausi 2011, pp. 24–25, fn. 20. In discussing a parallel nominative-ending gerund appearing in an inscription (RIÉ 232), Kapeliuk 1997 suggests that it could be interpreted as a Tigrinism (Kapeliuk 1997, pp. 494–495).

⁶⁵⁵ This spelling is also attested twice on fol. 237ra in the lectionary fragment in MS Dabra Ma'ār Giyorgis, EMDA 00463 (C3-IV-223).

- semi-regular use of particles with the vowel /ə/ where one would expect /a/ in Standard Geez: *zə-* instead of *za-*, *bə-* instead of *ba-*, *-(ə)s(sə)* instead of *-(ə)ssa*.⁶⁵⁶ Thus, one finds, in a majority of cases, examples like: *ዝተጋደለ፡ ብእንተ፡ ጽድቅ፡*, *zə-tagādala bə- 'anta şədq*, for *ዝተጋደለ፡ ብእንተ፡ ጽድቅ፡*, *za-tagādala ba- 'anta şədq* (fol. 13ra, ll. 17–19); *ዝብለዕሉ፡ ሐልዩ፡*, *zə-bə-la 'lu ḥalləyu*, for *ዝብለዕሉ፡ ሐልዩ፡*, *za-ba-lā 'lu ḥalləyu* (fol. 23v, l. 4); *ብመስቀሉ፡*, *bə-masqalu*, for *በመስቀሉ፡*, *ba-masqalu* (fol. 26v, l. 6); *ይቤ፡ ብዳዊት፡ ወብመዝመር፡*, *yəbe bə-Dāwit wa-bə-mazmur*, for *ይቤ፡ ብዳዊት፡ ወብመዝመር፡*, *yəbe ba-Dāwit wa-ba-mazmur* (28v, l. 13); *ብዲበ፡ ምድር፡*, *bə-diba mədr*, for *ብዲበ፡ ምድር፡*, *ba-diba mədr* (fol. 30r, l. 21); *አንስ፡*, *'an-s(ə)*, for *አንስ፡*, *'an-sa* (fols 12v, l. 18; 35r, l. 6; 44v, ll. 3, 8); *ዮሚስ፡*, *yomi-s(sə)*, for *ዮሚስ፡*, *yom-əssa* (fol. 25v, l. 30); *ንሕነስ፡*, *nəḥna-s(sə)*, for *ንሕነስ፡*, *nəḥna-ssa* (fol. 45v, l. 14). Noticeably, however, the preposition *la-* normally appears in its standard form;
- the preposition *'əm-* frequently appears in the form *'əma-*;⁶⁵⁷ *እመኅቤክ፡*, *'əma-ḥabeka*, for *እመኅቤክ፡*, *'əm-ḥabeka* (13v, l. 20); *እመኸሉ፡ ግ(?)ብሩ፡*, *'əma-kʷəllu gə(?)bru*, for *እመኸሉ፡ ግብሩ፡*, *'əm-kʷəllu gəbru* (fol. 20v, ll. 14–15, but later on l. 15, we find *እምስብዐ(?)ቱ፡ ዕለት[፡]*, *'əm-sab 'a(?)tu 'əlat*); *እመሊባኖስ፡*, *'əma-Libānos*, for *እምሊባኖስ፡*, *'əm-Libānos* (fol. 28v, l. 19);
- special forms of individual words with parallels in other early manuscripts: ex. *ማኑ፡*, *mānnu*, for *መኑ፡*, *mannu* (fols 19v, l. 8; 51r, l. 9);⁶⁵⁸ *ሌሌሁ፡*, *lellehu* (?), for *ለሊሁ፡*, *lallihu* (fols 26r, l. 23; 26v, l. 10);⁶⁵⁹
- on numerous occasions, /ə/ appears to have been strengthened to /i/, something which at times may be connected to the presence of a /y/, but often not;⁶⁶⁰ ex. *ቀ(?)ናንሞስ፡*, *qa(?)nānimos*, for *ቀናንሞስ፡*, *qanānəmos* (fol. 12v, l. 26); *ይሲእል፡*, *yəsi 'əl*, for *ይስእል፡*, *yəsə 'əl* (fol. 13v, l. 3); *ዶዲኅኑ፡*, *yədihənu* for *ዶድኅኑ፡*, *yədəḥənu* (fol. 13v, ll. 11, 14); *ያዲኅን፡*, *yādiḥən*, for *ያድኅን፡*, *yādəḥən* (fol. 42v, l. 8); *መእሚናን፡*, *mā 'minān*, for *ማእምናን፡*, *mā 'mənān* (fol. 13v, l. 25); *ዮሚስ፡*, *yomi-ssa*, for *ዮሚስ፡*, *yomə-ssa* (fol. 26r, l. 6); *ናሪዶስ፡*, *nāridos*, for *ናርዶስ፡*, *nārədos* (fol. 55r, l. 4); *ሒይወት፡*, *ḥiywat*, for *ሕይወት፡*, *ḥəywat* (e.g. fols 50v, l. 23; 52v, l. 31; 56r, l. 14; 56v, l. 18; 57r, l. 17); *ማሪቆስ፡*, *Māriqos*, for *ማርቆስ፡*, *Mārəqos* (fols 26v, ll. 8–9, 13;

⁶⁵⁶ Cf., again, Bausi 2011, pp. 24–25, fn. 20. This form, one may notice, possibly survives also in later *Dəggʷā*-type antiphon collection manuscripts in the word *zəsku* (ዝስኩ፡, ‘that one’); cf. fn. 1191.

⁶⁵⁷ On this spelling, see fn. 819.

⁶⁵⁸ This spelling is also attested in MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1), DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1), and DS-XVI (2.3.15.1).

⁶⁵⁹ This spelling is also attested in MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1) and DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1).

⁶⁶⁰ For a possible example of the same phenomenon in the epigraphical material, cf. the spelling *ዳኒኤል፡*, *Dāni 'el*, for *ዳንኤል፡*, *Dānə 'el*, in RIÉ 252 (Bernand et al. 1991, p. 338).

38v, ll. 23, 25);⁶⁶¹ አብረሃሚሃ፡, 'Abrahāmi-hā, for አብርሃምሃ፡, 'Abrēhāmā-hā (fol. 28v, l. 32); also ማሪያም፡, *Māriyām*, for ማርያም፡, *Māryām* (fols 17r, l. 8; 32v, l. 18 (bis); 40r, l. 9 (bis); 59v, l. 9).⁶⁶²

Orthographical features:

- the word 'Īgzi 'abəher is regularly spelled as two words: እግዚአ፡ ብሔር፡ (fols 2r, l. 6; 9v, l. 6; 51r, ll. 12, 14);
- a large number of personal names display non-standard vocalisation: ex. ቅስጥንጥኖስ፡, *Qəstəntənos*, for ቁስጠንጢኖስ፡, *Q^wastantinos* (fol. 7v, l. 10); ዮርዳንስ፡, *Yordānəs* for ዮርዳኖስ፡, *Yordānos* (fol. 17v, ll. 1, 11, 13); ቁርቆስ፡, *Qerqos*, for ቂርቆስ፡, *Qirqos* (fols 27v, ll. 21, 24, 25; 47r, l. 8); አባ፡ ዮሐን፡, 'Abbā Yoḥannā (?), for አባ፡ ዮሐን፡, 'Abbā Yoḥanni (fol. 13r, l. 12);⁶⁶³ ገርጊዮስ፡, *Gargiyos* (?), for ጊዮርጊስ፡, *Giyorgis* (fol. 26v, ll. 3, 7);⁶⁶⁴ እሌን፡, 'Ellenā (?), for እሌን፡, 'Elleni (fol. 7v, l. 9), but also ኤል(?)ን፡, 'Ellə(?)nā (?), for እሌን፡, 'Elleni (fol. 12v, ll. 17–18); ኤለን፡, 'Ellanā (?), for እሌን፡, 'Elleni (fol. 7v, l. 8).

The palaeographical features described above seem to point towards a pre-mid-fourteenth-century dating of MS EML 7078. The various 'archaic' linguistic and orthographic features contribute to this assessment. One further argument for an early dating of MS EML 7078 lies in the large number of 'arbā 't melodic families without an explicitly marked model antiphon (see Chapter 5, 5.3.3.3.16)—this may be interpreted as an indication that the 'arbā 't collection in MS EML 7078 represents a stage in the development of the musical categorisation of 'arbā 't antiphons earlier than the one attested in, for example, the corresponding collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 (fourteenth–fifteenth century?; 2.3.9.2.1) and EML 7618 (fourteenth century; 2.3.4.3.3). For details, the reader is directed to Chapter 5.

2.3.2.2 Contents

MS EML 7078 contains a melodic-family-based collection of 'arbā 't antiphons. With the exception of some partly torn folios (fols 1, 64bis), the collection appears to be complete. For a summary of the melodic families represented in it,

⁶⁶¹ This spelling is also attested in MSS DS-XVI (2.3.15.1) and DS-XX (2.3.16.1). It also appears in MS 'Abbā Garimā I; cf. Davies 1987, p. 296, and also Bausi 2015, p. 125. On the pronunciation of *Māraqos* with an audible, stressed /ə/, see Mittwoch 1926, p. 42.

⁶⁶² This spelling is also attested in MS DS-XX (2.3.16.1). Cf. also Fritsch 2019, pp. 197–198, fn. 8, according to which this spelling is attested on a mural datable to the last decades of the thirteenth century in the Beta Māryām church in Lālibalā, and Getatchew Haile 2016, p. 14 (Note 14), for an attestation of this spelling in a note in MS 'Abbā Garimā I.

⁶⁶³ Cf. Nosnitsin 2018, p. 300, fn. 50. For this spelling, see also MS DS-II (2.3.12.1; cf. Nosnitsin 2018, p. 294).

⁶⁶⁴ This spelling is also attested in a marginal note in MS 'Abbā Garimā I; cf. Getatchew Haile 2016, p. 23 and, for an image of the marginal note, Davies 1987, p. 303 (fig. 6).

see Chapter 5 (Data set 3). The antiphons included in the textual corpus in Chapter 3 are distributed throughout the various melodic-family sections; see Data set 1 for indications as to where the antiphons included in the corpus are located.

2.3.3 Ḥayq 'Ēstifānos, EMMML 2095

MS Ḥayq 'Ēstifānos, EMMML 2095 (= MS EMMML 2095), parchment manuscript, 17 × 12 cm, 56 fols, one column, 19–20 lines, no boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised microfilm made available online by the HMML.⁶⁶⁵ It has been catalogued by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982.⁶⁶⁶ As noticed by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, the microfilm lacks fols 6v–7r. On several images, the upper part of the folio has furthermore been cut, resulting in text loss (fols 1r–5r, 8v–9r, 11v).

This manuscript was included in the corpus used by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.⁶⁶⁷ Furthermore, Nosnitsin 2018 used it in his study of the antiphons for 'Abbā Yoḥanni, which included an edition of the antiphons for his commemoration.⁶⁶⁸

2.3.3.1 Dating

According to Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, MS EMMML 2095 dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.⁶⁶⁹ This dating—reiterated by Nosnitsin 2018—is presumably based on palaeographical considerations. It seems to be consistent with the palaeographical features described below. Additionally, one may note that the left leg of <ᐱ> is raised in a particularly pronounced way.⁶⁷⁰ No linguistic or orthographical deviations from Standard Geez have been noticed; the word 'Ēgzi 'abəḥer is written as one word (fols 9v, l. 6; 15v, l. 8; 28r, l. 4).

Palaeographical features:⁶⁷¹

ᐱ, ስ



the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter with a connecting line

⁶⁶⁵ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/203924> [2021-01-25].

⁶⁶⁶ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 175.













⁶⁶⁷ Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁶⁶⁸ Nosnitsin 2018, pp. 302–304.

⁶⁶⁹ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 175.

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. Uhlig 1988, pp. 95–96.

⁶⁷¹ Sources for palaeographical samples: ᐱ: fol. 12v, l. 14; ስ: fol. 50v, l. 13; ᐸ: fol. 31r, l. 13; ᐹ: fol. 10v, l. 6; ᐺ: fol. 12v, l. 16; ᐻ: fol. 18r, l. 4; ᐼ: fol. 19v, l. 10; ᐽ: fol. 11r, l. 6; ᐾ: fol. 49v, l. 12; ᐿ: fol. 10v, l. 11; ᐾ: fol. 43r, l. 4; ᐿ: fol. 10v, l. 5; ᐿ: fol. 10v, l. 3; ᐿ: fol. 10v, l. 9; ᐿ: fol. 43r, l. 17; ᐿ: fol. 12v, l. 9; ᐿ: fol. 10v, l. 9; ᐿ: fol. 10v, l. 9; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 46, l. 16 (ᐿ); fol. 50v, l. 19 (ᐿ); fol. 52v, l. 11 (ᐿ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 48r, l. 6 (ᐿ); fol. 51r, l. 10 (ᐿ); fol. 50v, l. 11 (ᐿ).

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| ረ, ሩ |  | the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter with a connecting line |
| ቶ, ቆ |  | the vowel marker is slightly triangular and replaces the top line of letter |
| ሕ, ት, ቅ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| መ, ሠ |  | the loops of <መ> and parts of <ሠ> are connected |
| ስ |  | the vowel marker has the form of a slanted top line [= modern form] |
| እ |  | the vowel marker has the form of an extra angle attached on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| ወ |  | the distinction between <ወ> and <ዐ> appears to be of the later type |
| ኅ |  | the body of the letter is reduced in size and raised above the base line [= modern form] |
| ጥ |  | the lateral legs do not reach the base line [= modern form] |
| ዲ |  | single vowel marker [= modern form] |
| fourth order |  | shortening of the left leg(s) [= modern form] |
| seventh order |  | shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

2.3.3.2 Contents

MS EMMML 2095 contains a calendar-based collection of 'arbā'ṭ antiphons.⁶⁷² The manuscript is acephalous, lacks the end, and as indicated above, the upper part of some folios has been cut in the microfilm, i.e. it has suffered significant text losses. The collection begins in the middle of the section with antiphons for the

⁶⁷² This identification of the antiphon type is made by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, who, however, also write that '[o]ther chants [i.e. other than 'arbā'ṭ?]' are indicated by their incipits [...]' (Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 175; cf. also Nosnitsin 2018, p. 302). The examples that are then provided by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982 are all incipits of model antiphons referring to melodic families, i.e. subgroupings *within* the category of 'arbā'ṭ. Nosnitsin 2018 remarks that in MS EMMML 2095, antiphons that in MS EMMML 7078 appeared 'separately from the main set' are 'introduced into the main set'; the immediate reason for this re-grouping is that the antiphons were grouped according to melodic families in MS EMMML 7078, whereas they are organised according to the liturgical calendar in MS EMMML 2095.

Season of Flowers and ends in the middle of the section with antiphons for the Second Sunday in the Great Fast (*Mak^wrāb*).⁶⁷³ The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| fols [...]1r–2r (?) | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 2r | Ṗanṭalewon |
| fol. 2r–v | ’ <i>Abbā</i> ’Aragāwi |
| fols 2v–4v | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 4v–5v | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.3.4 Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 7618

MS Ṭānā Qirqos EMMML 7618 (= MS EMMML 7618), parchment manuscript, 40 × 27.3 (?) cm, 241 fols, two columns, 48–49 lines (fols 3r, 144r, 229r), ‘wooden boards covered with new stamped leather’.⁶⁷⁴ This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.⁶⁷⁵ It has been treated in the previous literature but has not been catalogued. Four openings are missing from the digitisation: those covering fols 5v–6r (5v is partly present), 83v–84r, 182v–183r, and 183v–184r. As numerous quires have been misplaced, a preliminary codicological analysis of MS EMMML 7618 is provided in 2.3.4.2.

As far as I am aware, Ṭə’uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 was the first scholar to discuss this manuscript. He reproduces the Geez text of the colophon (see below) and

⁶⁷³ It can be noticed that the identification by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982 of antiphons for the Fifth Sunday in the Great Fast (*Gabr her*) on fol. 5r—calendrically impossible—is erroneous and apparently based on the occurrence of the phrase *gabr her* (ገብር: ሄር, ‘good servant’) in one of the antiphons for ’*Abbā* Yoḥanni (cf. Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 175).

⁶⁷⁴ The metadata sheet prefixed to the EMMML microfilm states that MS EMMML 7618 contains 141 fols; the reason for this is that fols 212–241 were mistakenly foliated ‘112–141’. In this dissertation, I use the logical folio numbers, which thus do not correspond to what is written in the bottom margin of fols 212–241. Furthermore, there is one folio, located between fols 219 and 220, that lacks a folio number; I call it fol. 219bis. Regarding the foliation, Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 writes that MS EMMML 7618 has ‘page number starting from 1–480. In this case it has 240 folios, because the first folio has no given page number. So there is no free f. in the last page and totally the text has 240 folios [...]’ (Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 37). This seems to suggest that page number have been added to the manuscript after it was microfilmed by the EMMML. This is confirmed by the video footage in the documentary film ‘የቅዱስ ያሬድ ዘጋቢ ፈልጎ’ | Documentary about Saint Yared’ (esp. 00:21:09–00:21:14; see fn. 675). The footage in this documentary also provides information about alternative measurements of the manuscript, recorded with pen on fol. 1r at some point after the manuscript was microfilmed by EMMML. According to these numbers, visible at 00:40:50 and 00:40:53, the manuscript measures 41 × 28 cm.

⁶⁷⁵ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/201145> [2021-02-01]. In addition, video footage of the manuscript features in the documentary film ‘የቅዱስ ያሬድ ዘጋቢ ፈልጎ’ | Documentary about Saint Yared’ by Yāred Marane (ጥግ Film Productions, Esheka Film Production), available on YouTube (<https://youtu.be/HuEJivmEkg> [2022-02-01]). See especially 00:20:22–00:21:30 and 00:40:20–00:41:53.

provides an Amharic translation of it.⁶⁷⁶ Another reproduction of the colophon, apparently independent from Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, is found in Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997.⁶⁷⁷ The fullest treatment of the entire manuscript is given by Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, who discusses a variety of aspects of MS EML 7618, including codicological and palaeographical features, with the main aim of scrutinising the widespread opinion (see Chapter 1, 1.5.2) that MS EML 7618 is an autograph written by St Yāred himself. Getatchew Haile 2017 discusses the colophon on the basis of the note in Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, seemingly unaware that the manuscript was digitised by the EML.⁶⁷⁸ Dege-Müller and Karlsson 2020 cite one antiphon from the manuscript.⁶⁷⁹

2.3.4.1 Dating

In the previous literature, MS EML 7618 has unanimously been dated to the fourteenth century.⁶⁸⁰ Without doubt, this is largely due to the presence of a colophon in the manuscript, unique amongst the manuscripts containing single-type antiphon collections included in the Minor Corpus. The colophon is found on fol. 241v, which in the digitised microfilm of the EML is only partially decipherable. However, as indicated above, full transcriptions are found in Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988⁶⁸¹ and Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997.⁶⁸² The text of Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 is reproduced in slightly edited forms by Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 (in full)⁶⁸³ and Getatchew Haile 2017 (in part).⁶⁸⁴

In the absence of fully legible photographs of the folio, it is a crucial question whether the transcriptions of Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 and Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997 are based on autopsies of the manuscript, on the EML microfilm (with generous filling of lacunae) or on (an)other reproduction(s). A comparison between the parts of the EML microfilm that are legible and the texts provided by Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 and Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997 suggests that they did not aim at reproducing the text as faithfully as possible: numerals have been spelled out with letters, the spelling of words has been altered (standardised?), new punctuation marks has been introduced, and additionally, there are some words which appear to have been left out by mistake. Below, the colophon, which has three parts, is reproduced in four forms: the text provided by Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, the text provided by Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis

⁶⁷⁶ Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, pp. 34–35.

⁶⁷⁷ Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, pp. 225–226.

⁶⁷⁸ Getatchew Haile 2017, pp. 306–307.

⁶⁷⁹ Dege-Müller and Karlsson 2020, fn. 18.

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 69; Erho 2015, p. 105; Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 307 (in the translation).

⁶⁸¹ Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, pp. 34–35.

⁶⁸² Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997, pp. 225–226.

⁶⁸³ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. ii.

⁶⁸⁴ Getatchew Haile 2017, pp. 306–307.

1997, a transcription based on my inspection of the EMMML microfilm (with the viewing settings somewhat adjusted to enhance legibility), and an English translation, based primarily on my own transcription, but using the two published text to fill in lacunae.

| Ṭə'uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 | Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997 | Transcription | Translation |
|--|--|---|--|
| ዝንቱ መዝገብ ዘኣጽሐፍኩዎ ኣነ ጸጋ ክርስቶስ ወውድም ጽላላ ብእሲትየ በስመ ውሉድነ ከመ ይኩኖሙ መርሐ ለመንግሥተ ሰማያት ወይሥረይ አበሳሆሙ ወይደምስስ ኩሎ ጌጋዮሙ ወይባርክ ዘርአሙ ወውሉዶሙ፥ ለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን። | ለዝንቱ መዝገብ ዘኣጽሐፍኩዎ ኣነ ጸጋ ክርስቶስ ወውድም ጽላላ ብእሲትየ በስመ ውሉድነ ከመ ይኩኖሙ መርሐ ለመንግሥተ ሰማያት ወይስረይ አበሳሆሙ ወይደምስስ ኩሎ ጌጋዮሙ። ወይባርክ ዘርአሙ ወውሉዶሙ ለዓለመ ዓለም፤ አሜን። | ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ዘኣ[...] ክርስቶስ፡ ወውድ[...] [...]እሲ(?) [...] ው(?) [...] ይኩኖሙ፡ መርሐ፡ በ[...] ሰማያት፡ ወይስረይ፡ አበሳሆሙ፡ ው(?)ይ[...]ስ፡ ኩሎ፡ ጌ(?) [...] ወይባርክ፡ ዘርአሙ፡ ወው(?) [...] ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። | This is the <i>Mazgab</i> which I, Ṣaggā Krəstos, have had written—and my wife is Wədam Ṣəlālā—in the name of our children, that it may be to them a guide to the kingdom of heaven and that [He] may forgive their iniquities and blot out all their transgressions and bless their offspring and their children, for ever and ever. Amen. |
| ወሊተኒ ዘጸሐፍኩ ኣነ ዮሐንስ ከማ ሥረዩ ወባርኩኒ ለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን። ወሀብኩ ዘንተ፡ መዝገብ ለሳፍ ቂርቆስ ከመ ይኩነኒ፤ ለሕይወት ወለመድኃኒት ወለሥርየተ ኃጢአት | ወሊተኒ ዘጸሐፍኩ ኣነ ዮሐንስ ከማ ስረዩ ወባርኩኒ ለዓለመ ዓለም፤ አሜን። ወሀብኩ ዘንተ መዝገብ ለሳፍ ቂርቆስ ከመ ይኩነ(!)ኒ ለሕይወት ወለመድኃኒት ወለስርየተ ኃጢአት። | ወሊ(?)ተኒ፡ ዘጸሐፍኩ፡ ኣነ፡ ዮሐ[...] ከማ፡ ስረዩ፡ ወባርኩኒ፡ ለዓለመ[...] [...]ለም፡ አሜን። ወሀብኩ፡ ዘንተ(?) መዝገብ፡ ለሳፍ፡ ለ(?)ቂር[...] ከመ፡ ይኩነኒ፡ ለሕይወ[...] ወለመድኃኒት፡ ወለስር[...] ኃጢአት። (?) | And also me, who have written [it], Yohannəs Kamā, forgive [plur.] and bless [plur.] me, for ever and ever. Amen. I have given this <i>Mazgab</i> to Sāf Qirqos [= the church of Cyricus of Sāf], that it may be for me life and salvation and the forgiveness of sins. |
| በአኩቴት(!) ኣብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ወሀብኩ ኣነ ጸጋ ክርስቶስ ዘንተ መዝገብ ወክልኤ ሞገሳተ ወእሥራ አልሕምተ በሐምስቱ ምዕት እሥራ ወስመንቱ ዓመተ ምሕረት ለቂርቆስ ዘሳፍ እንዘ | በአኩቴት ኣብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ወሀብኩ ኣነ ጸጋ ክርስቶስ ዘንተ መዝገብ ወጀተ ሞገሳተ፤ ወጄ አልሕምት(!) በ፲፱፻፳፯ ወጄ ዓመተ ምሕረት ለቂርቆስ ዘሳፍ እንዘ ንጉሥ ሳፍ አርዐያ፤ ወእንዘ ጳጳስ | በአኩ(?)ቴት(?)ተ፡ ኣብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመ[...] ወሀብኩ፡ ኣነ፡ ጸጋ፡ ክርስ(?) [...] [...]ንተ፡ መዝገብ፡ ወጀ፡ ሞገሳተ፡ * __(!*)ወጄ፡ አልሕምተ፡ በ[...]፲፱፻፳፯[...] [...]መተ፡ ምሕረት፡ ለቂርቆስ፡ ዘሳፍ፡ [...] | In thanksgiving to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, Ṣaggā Krəstos, gave this <i>Mazgab</i> and two cloaks and twenty cows to [the church of] Cyricus of Sāf in the year of mercy 528, when Sāf 'Ar'ayā was king (<i>nəguś</i>), 'Abbā |

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| <p>ንጉሥ ሳፍ አርአያ ወእንዝ ጳጳስ አባ ያዕቆብ ወእንዝ ንቡረ እድ ያዕቆብ ወእንዝ ቄሰ ገበዝ ዮሐንስ ወእንዝ ሥዩመ ደቀ መካን ደብረይ ወሀብኩ ኣነ ጸጋ ክርስቶስ ወጌምድር ወውድም ጽላላ ብእሲትየ ከመ ይኩነነ መርሐ ለመንግሥተ ሰማያት ሊተሂ ወለብእሲትየሂ ወሀብነ ዘንተ መዝገበ ለቂርቆስ ዘሳፍ ከመ ንርከብ መዝገበ በሰማያት ወከመ ንድኃን እምበላዔ እሳት አእሚረነ፡ ከመ የኃልፍ ኩሉ ንብረተዝ ዓለም ክብርሂ ወብዕልሂ ኃላፊ ውእቱ ዘእንበለ ዘገበርነ ምሕረተ አልቦ ዘይበቀዓነ ወይእዜኒ ይምሐረነ እግዚአብሔር በጸሎቱ ለቂርቆስ ወበጸሎቶሙ ለቅዱሳን እለ ሳፍ ወእለ አንበብክምዎ ጸልዩ ሊተ ወለብእሲትየ ወለውሉድየ ከመ ይምርሃነ እግዚአብሔር ፍኖተ ርቱዓ በዲበ ምድር ወያድኅነነ እምኅይለ ጸላዒ ወፀር ወየሀበነ መዊዓ ወሞገስ(!) በኩሉ ወበውስተ ኩሉ</p> | <p>አባ ያዕቆብ፤ ወእንዝ ንቡረ እድ ያዕቆብ፤ ወእንዝ ቄሰ ገበዝ ዮሐንስ፤ ወእንዝ ሥዩመ ደቀ መካን ድብረይ። ወሀብኩ ኣነ ጸጋ ክርስቶስ መጌምድር ወውድም ጽላላ ብእሲትየ፤ ከመ ይኩነነ መርሐ ለመንግሥተ ሰማያት፤ ሊተሂ ወለብእሲትየሂ። ወሀብነ ዘንተ መዝገበ ለቂርቆስ ዘሳፍ ከመ ንርከብ መዝገበ በሰማያት፤ ወከመ ንድኃን እም በላዒ(!) እሳት፤ አእሚረነ ከመ የኃልፍ ንብረተ ዝ ዓለም ክብርሂ ወብዕልሂ ኃላፊ ውእቱ። ዘእንበለ ዘገበርነ ምሕረተ አልቦ ዘይበቀዓነ። ወይእዜኒ ይምሐረነ እግዚአብሔር በጸሎቱ ለቂርቆስ ወበጸሎቶሙ ለቅዱሳን እለ ሳፍ። ወይእዜኒ እለ ርኢክምዎ ለዝንቱ መጽሐፍ ወእለ አንበብክምዎ ጸልዩ ሊተ ወለብእሲትየ ወለውሉድየ ከመ ይምርሐነ እግዚአብሔር ፍኖተ ርቱዓ በዲበ ምድር። ወያድኅነነ እምኅይለ ጸላዒ ወፀር። ወየሀበነ መዊኦ ወሞገስ በኩሉ ውስተ ኩሉ።</p> | <p>ንጉሥ: ሳፍ: አርዐያ: ወእ[...] አባ: ያዕቆብ: ወእ(?)ን(?)ዘ: ንቡረ: እድ(?) [...]ብ: ወእንዝ: ቀይሰ: ገበዝ: ዮሐ(?)ን(?)ስ(?) [...]። ሥዩመ: ደቀ: መካ(?)ን(?): [...]ብረ[...] [...] ኣነ: ጸጋ: ክርስቶስ: ሠ(?)ዩ(?)መ(?) [...]ም: ጽላላ: ብእሲትየ: ከመ: [...]። [...]ሐ: ለመንግሥተ: ሰማያት: ሊተ(?)[...]። [...]ብእሲትየሂ: ወሀብነ: ዘንተ: [...]። [...]ቂርቆስ: ዘሳፍ: ከመ: ንርከብ: መ[...]። በሰማያት: ወከመ: ንድኃ(?)[...]። እ(?)ም(?)[...] እሳት: አእሚረነ: ከመ: የኃልፍ: [...] ንብረተዝ: ዓለም: ክብርሂ(?): ወ[...] ኃ(?)ላፊ: ውእቱ: ዘእንበለ: ዘገበርነ: [...]ሕረተ: አልቦ: ዘይ(?)በቀዓነ(?): [...]። ይምሐረነ: እግዚአብሔር: በጸ(?)[...]። [...]ቂርቆስ: ወበጸሎቶሙ: ለቅዱሳን: እለ: ሳፍ: ወይእዜኒ: እለ: ርኢክምዎ(?): ለዝንቱ: መጽሐፍ: ወእለ: አንበብክም[...] ጸልዩ: ሊተ: ወለብእሲትየ: ወለው(?)[...]የ: ከመ: ይም(?)ርሐነ: እግዚአብሔር(?): [...]ኖተ: ርቱ(?)[...]። በዲበ: ምድር: ወያድኅ(?)[...]።</p> | <p>Yā‘qob was bishop (<i>pāppās</i>), Yā‘qob was <i>nəbura ʾəd</i>, Yoḥannəs was <i>qesa gabaz</i>, [and] Dabray was <i>šəyyuma daqqa makān</i>. I, Šaggā Krəstos Magedmər— and my wife is Wədam Šəlālā—have given [this], that it may be to us a guide to the kingdom of heaven, for me and for my wife. We have given this <i>Mazgab</i> to [the church of] Cyricus of Sāf that we may find a treasure in the heavens and that we may be saved from the ‘Eater of Fire’, knowing that everything in this world is perishable (1 Cor. 7:29). Nothing is of use for us, except the compassion which we have shown. And now, may the Lord have mercy on us through the prayer(s) of Cyricus and the saints of Sāf. And now, you [plur.] who see this book and you who read [it], pray for me, my wife and my children, that the Lord may guide us on the right path on Earth, save us from the power of the Hater and the Enemy, and give us victory and mercy through all and in all.</p> |
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| | | <p>እምኅይ(?)[...] ጸላኢ፡ ወፀር፡ ወየሀበ[...] [...]ዊኢ፡ ወሞ(?)ገስ(?)፡ በኩሉ፡ ወሰተ፡ ኩ[...]</p> | |
|--|--|---|--|

This colophon provides a wealth of data for dating the manuscript. Getatchew Haile 2017 does not discuss its contents, but his partial translation offers some glimpses into his interpretation of some of the crucial points. Getatchew emendates the እገዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ሳፍ፡ አርአያ፡ of Ṭə‘uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988 to እገዘ፡ ንጉ[ሠ]፡ ሳፍ፡ አርአያ፡, and translates ‘when the king of Saf was Ar’aya’. The dating of the year is translated by Getatchew as ‘in the 528 [= 1336] Year of Mercy [=1343/4 AD]’.

Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, on the other hand, discusses the colophon extensively.⁶⁸⁵ His identification of the year agrees with Getatchew Haile 2017. Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 goes on with attempts to identify the persons mentioned in the colophon. Concerning the identity of the king, he provides two hypotheses: a) either to emend the text in same way as Getatchew Haile 2017, which, however, would imply the existence of an otherwise unknown title as king of Sāf, or b) to read, after the title *nəguś*, a distorted version of the name Sayfa ‘Ar’ad (r. 1344–1371). Based partly on an argument which presupposes a text with the reading አርዐዖ፡, against the አርአያ፡ of the text of Ṭə‘uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988,⁶⁸⁶ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 concludes that the latter hypothesis is more probable, an opinion which I share.⁶⁸⁷

The commissioner-donor Ṣaggā Krəstos is identified by Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 as a military commander of King ‘Amda Ṣəyon (r. 1314–1344), mentioned in the chronicle of his reign.⁶⁸⁸ Taking into account that the designation ‘Bagemdər/Magemdər’ is attached to his name in both the chronicle and the colophon (as a title?⁶⁸⁹), and that the commander was active in the same geographical area at approximately the same time that the manuscript was,

⁶⁸⁵ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 29–36.

⁶⁸⁶ On this occasion, and also in the use of the form *Magemdər* instead of *Wagemdər* (!), Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 deviates from the text provided by Ṭə‘uma Ləssān Kāsā 1988, although this is the text that he cites in an appendix. It is unclear whether these readings were tacitly taken over from Ləssāna Warq Gabra Giyorgis 1997 or whether Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 consulted the manuscript himself.

⁶⁸⁷ Sayfa ‘Ar’ad had a brother called Sāf Sagad (‘Sāyfā Ar’ad’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 568a–b (M.-L. Derat)); the possibility of an intermingling of these name forms might be considered.

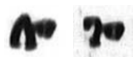
⁶⁸⁸ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 30; cf. Kropp 1994a, p. 11 (edition); Kropp 1994b, p. 15 (German translation); Marrassini 1993, p. 68 (edition), 69 (Italian translation). For a critique of the historical value of this ‘chronicle’, see Hirsch 2020. I am grateful to Steven Kaplan for bringing this article to my attention.

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. Tadesse Tamrat 1972, p. 192, esp. fn. 3; cf. also Kropp 1994b, p. 15, fn. 90.

possibly, produced, this identification does not seem improbable.⁶⁹⁰ For the copyist Yoḥannēs Kamā, Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 identifies two potential candidates—one monk with this name killed by the Beta 'Ēsrā'el leader Qozmos according to the *Life* of the fourteenth-century saint Yāfḡaranna 'Ēgzi',⁶⁹¹ and one fifteenth-century abbot of Dabra Libānos in Šawā⁶⁹²—but due to the dearth of information about them, it is difficult to evaluate these suggestions. 'Abbā Yā'qob is identified by Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 with the metropolitan who reached Ethiopia in 1337,⁶⁹³ and the *Nəbura* 'Ēd Yā'qob with an abbot of Ṭānā Qirqos who was a member of the delegation that travelled to Egypt and prompted the arrival of Metropolitan 'Abbā Yā'qob.⁶⁹⁴ Both of these identifications seem reasonable. For the identification of the *qesa gabaz* and the *šəyyuma daqqa makān*, Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 does not provide any suggestions. Taking these identifications of persons into account, the date provided in the colophon, AD 1343/1344, seems to be confirmed.

In spite of the information provided by the colophon, an analysis of other features of the manuscript is still worthwhile; a colophon may, as known, have been taken over from a Vorlage or been added later for other reasons. The following palaeographical features may be noted:⁶⁹⁵

ሎ, ጎ



the vowel marker is typically attached to the body of the letter by means of an elongation

ሮ, ኖ



the vowel marker is attached directly to a version of the letter which appears to be adapted to accommodate the vowel marker

⁶⁹⁰ Regarding the form *Magemdər* against the current *Bagemdər*, Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 'assume[s] that this changing of letter is error of the copier' (Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 30, fn. 22); however, the early variant with an initial /m/ is known from other sources ('Bāgemdər', *EAE*, I (2003), 438b–440b (L. Berry); for examples, see Marrassini 2003, p. 110, fn. 11a).












⁶⁹¹ Cf. Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 31–32, citing Tadesse Tamrat 1972, p. 199. For the text, see Turaev 1906b, p. 18 (Russian translation); Conti Rossini 1919–1920, pp. 571–572 (edition), 576–577 (Italian translation); and Wajnberg 1936, p. 58 (edition), 59 (German translation).

⁶⁹² Cf. 'Yoḥannēs Kāma', *EAE*, V (2014), 81b–82a (S. Ancel).

⁶⁹³ Cf. 'Ya'əqob', *EAE*, V (2014), 5b–6a (A. Brita). If this identification is correct, which it appears to be, the sources according to which the metropolitan was exiled during the reign of King Sayfa 'Ar'ad, rather than under his predecessor, would seem to present a better chronology.

⁶⁹⁴ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 33–34; cf. Tadesse Tamrat 1972, p. 193. On the use of the title of *nəbura* 'əd for officials, probably based at Ṭānā Qirqos, in the fifteenth century, see 'Nəburā əd', *EAE*, III (2007), 1161a–1162a (D. Nosnitsin) and Hammerschmidt 1973, pp. 87, 88 (fn. 189).

⁶⁹⁵ Sources for palaeographical samples: ሎ: fol. 113ra, l. 6; ጎ: fol. 43vb, l. 18; ሮ: fol. 23ra, l. 48; ኖ: fol. 23ra, l. 7; ቶ: fol. 23ra, l. 19; ቆ: fol. 18va, l. 13; ሐ: fol. 113ra, l. 15; ት: fol. 113ra, l. 8; ቐ: fol. 18va, l. 11; መ: fol. 113ra, l. 4; ሠ: fol. 113ra, l. 2; ስ: fol. 23ra, l. 19; ኢ: fol. 113ra, l. 12; ወ: fol. 113ra, l. 3; ዓ: fol. 113ra, l. 21; ጥ: fol. 113ra, l. 27; ዩ: fol. 113ra, l. 13; ፋ: fol. 18vb, l. 10; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 18va, l. 23 (ዛ); fol. 18va, l. 27 (ከ); fol. 18vb, l. 3 (ሳ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 15vb, l. 4 (ሰ); fol. 60va, l. 20 (ጰ); fol. 60vb, l. 11 (ኢ).

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| ቶ, ቆ |  | the vowel marker is slightly triangular and replaces the top line of the letter |
| ከ, ት, ቅ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| መ, ሠ |  | the loops of <መ> and parts of <ሠ> are connected |
| ስ |  | the vowel marker has the form of a slanted top line [= modern form] |
| እ |  | the vowel marker has the form of an extra angle attached on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| ወ |  | the distinction between <ወ> and <ደ> appears to be of the earlier type |
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter is reduced in size and raised above the base line [= modern form] |
| ጥ |  | the lateral legs do not reach the base line [= modern form] |
| ዲ |  | single vowel marker [= modern form] |
| fourth order |  | shortening of the left leg(s) [= modern form] |
| seventh order |  | shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

These palaeographical features seem to be compatible with a mid-fourteenth-century dating, although the manuscript might as well have been dated a century later on palaeographical grounds. Among the features listed by Uhlig 1988, the form of <መ> in MS EMML 7618 is important in this regard.⁶⁹⁶ There are isolated occurrences of the ten with a circle (fols 137vb, l. 1; 204vb, l. 12), but the form without a circle also appears. No linguistic or orthographical deviations from Standard Geez have been noticed, and the word 'Egzi 'abəher is written as one word (fols 16va, l. 16; 17va, l. 12; 38vb, l. 8)

2.3.4.2 Codicological reconstruction

On its own, the available reproduction of MS EMML 7618 does not allow for a reconstruction of the original quire structure. However, Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 provides some basic data on the quire structure, which, in combination with the available reproduction, have made it possible to posit a hypothesis.

⁶⁹⁶ Uhlig 1988, pp. 177–212.

According to Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, MS EMLL 7618 consists of thirty quires: twenty-five quaternions, two quinions, and three quires consisting of, respectively, five, seven, and nine folios.⁶⁹⁷ Unfortunately, however, no information is provided as to which folios make up which quire. Studying the digitised microfilm, I noticed that some recto sides have more dark areas than the surrounding folios. Observing that these recto sides occur with regular intervals, I posited the hypothesis that these folios could represent the first recto of a new quire. After producing a schematised depiction of this hypothetical quire structure, it turned out that the distribution of quaternions, quinions and more irregular quires exactly matches the information provided by Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, leading to the conclusion that the reconstruction on the basis of ‘darkened folios’ may in fact be correct, although it should be taken *cum grano salis* until an autopsy of the physical manuscript has confirmed or rejected it. Naturally, it has in most cases not been possible to say anything about the internal structure of the quires apart from the number of folios that they contain.

Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 also makes another important contribution to our codicological understanding of MS EMLL 7618 by starting to identify misplaced quires.⁶⁹⁸ On the basis of the textual contents, he identifies five places where the text on one folio is continued on a folio elsewhere in the manuscript, pointing to the misplacement of leaves or, in the present cases, quires.⁶⁹⁹ My interpretation of the data of these five cases concurs with that of Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014. Furthermore, there are two cases where Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 did not succeed in connecting an abruptly ending text passage with its continuation. In one of these—the text passage ending on fol. 154vb—I believe that a connection to another part can be made,⁷⁰⁰ but in the other case—occurring between fols 65vb and 66ra—Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 is probably right in suggesting that (at least) one quire has been lost. The hypothetical quire structure resulting from the abovementioned operations is presented in the following.

⁶⁹⁷ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 37–38.

⁶⁹⁸ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 38–39.

⁶⁹⁹ The text on fol. 89vb (‘p. 176’; the page numbers used by Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014 are given in parentheses) continues on fol. 147ra (‘p. 291’); the text on fol. 99vb (‘p. 196’) continues on fol. 163ra (‘p. 323’); the text on fol. 162vb (‘p. 322’) continues on fol. 131ra (‘p. 259’); the text on fol. 146vb (‘p. 290’) continues on fol. 171ra (‘p. 339’); and the text on fol. 170vb (‘p. 338’) continues on fol. 155ra (‘p. 307’).

⁷⁰⁰ On fol. 154vb (‘p. 306’ = ‘f. 153vb’ according to numbering of Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, p. 39), the text ends with a rubricated ሐማን:/, the first word of a new antiphon. Based on the fact that both the end of fol. 154vb and the beginning of fol. 100ra contain parts of the commemoration of Cyricus (*Qirqos*) in the ‘aryām collection, I suggest that the word ሐማን:/ belongs to the antiphon that continues with /ትቢ: ወልድዮ: I have not been able to find a parallel to this hypothetical antiphon in other collections, but taking this identification of the commemoration within the same ‘aryām collection into account, it nonetheless seems reasonable to propose this connection.

MS EML 7618 appears to be made up of three codicological blocks.⁷⁰¹ The first (*A; fols 1–89, 147–154, 100–130) can be reconstructed as consisting of fifteen quaternions and one irregular quire consisting of seven folios. These quires are visualised schematically in Figure 1.⁷⁰² As for its contents, the codicological block *A contains the *mazmur*-family collection (1), the *ʿaryām* collection (2), the *ʿarbāʿt* collection (3), and the *māḥlet* collection (4). Two of the quires (quires *A-I and *A-XI) are incomplete in the available reproduction due to the missing openings mentioned above (2.3.4). The last quire (quire *A-XVI) is irregular, but as there are no signs of text loss, it is presumably complete (the occurrence of an irregular quire at the end of codicological block is, of course, not surprising). Its composition can be reconstructed as displayed in Figure 1 thanks to the presence of a visible stub between fols 129v and 130r.

⁷⁰¹ In the description of MS EML 7618, I find the concept of ‘codicological block’, as defined by Gumbert 2004, useful, although, perhaps, it is used here in a slightly different way than intended (cf. Gumbert 2004, p. 24). A ‘codicological block’, as I understand it, refers to a section of a manuscript which is surrounded by a) quire boundaries, and b) boundaries in the text (for Gumbert 2004, p. 24, the non-quire boundaries can be ‘a boundary in any other aspect’). The concept, as used here (and cf. Bausi et al. 2020, esp. p. 135), is neutral as to whether these sections form part of a single codicological unit or not, representing, rather, a more ‘basic’ stage in the analysis of the manuscript, in which, first, the codicological blocks of which a manuscript consists should be defined, and then, the internal relationships between these can be discussed (i.e. do they belong to the same codicological unit or not?), weighing different types of continuities and discontinuities against each other.

⁷⁰² In this chapter, figures are used to visualise the individual quires schematically, when this is considered helpful to the reader. At the left side of each quire visualisation, the (hypothetical) relations between individual leaves are represented; a connection between two folios indicate that they (hypothetically) form a bifolio. A dotted line indicates a connection between loose leaves reconstructed on textual basis. Moving towards the right, the leaves of the quire are displayed as a column with numbers, where each box represents one leaf and each number a folio number. Sometimes, another column has been added to the right of this one. This additional column can contain data of various nature that is helpful to understand the codicological reconstruction. In the case of MS EML 7618, it contains information about the placement of the individual single-type collections. Each collection in a codicological block (or a group of folios, cf. fn. 735) is provided with a number in the text; this number appears in the visualisation next to the folios which house the respective collection. Different parts of the same collection have been numbered with the addition of lower-case letters. In order to increase legibility, colours have additionally been used to highlight the single-type collections within the visualisations.

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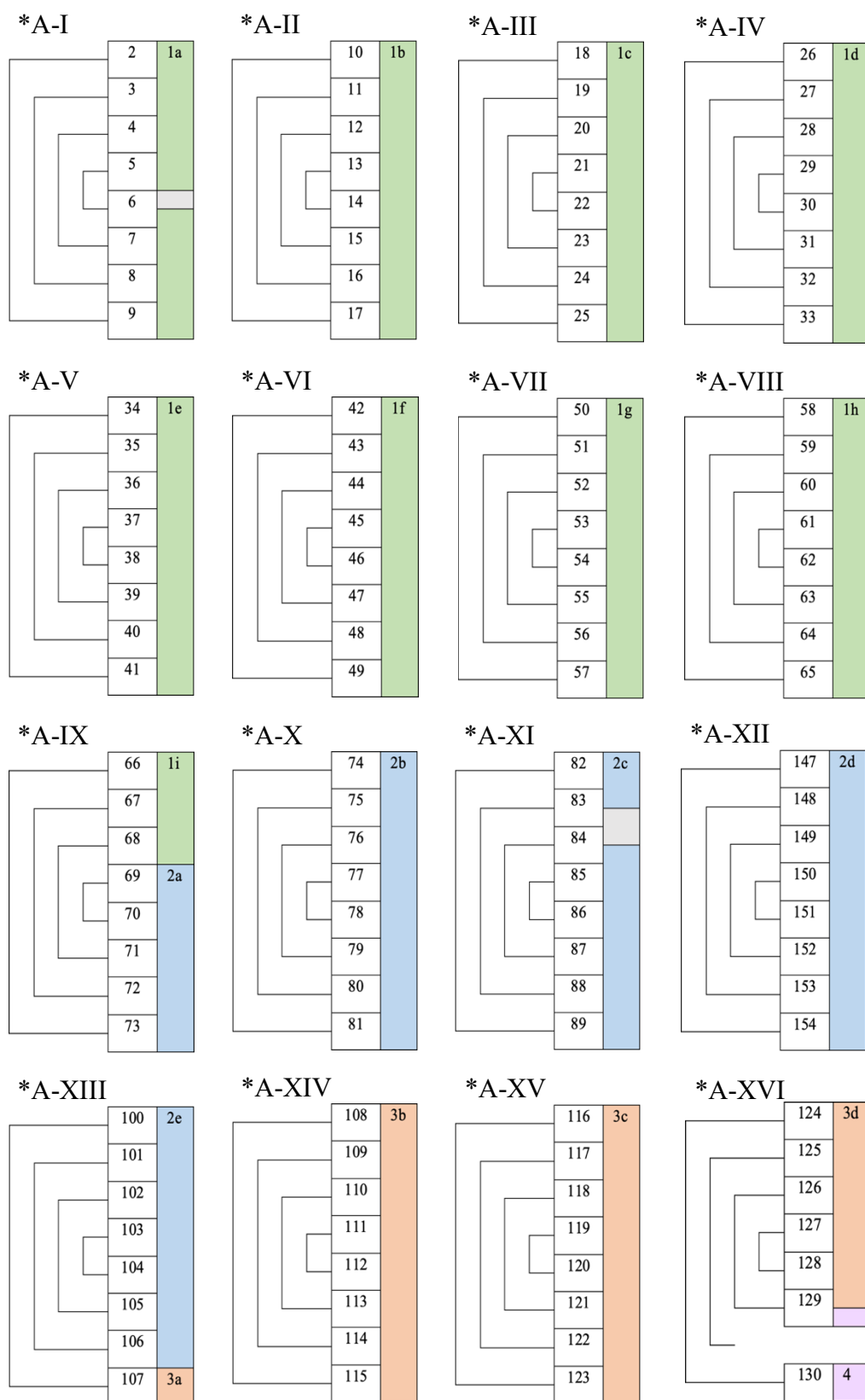


Figure 1. Schematic representation of the first reconstructed codicological block (*A) in MS EML 7618.

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The second codicological block (*B) is made up of two quinions, six quaternions, and one irregular quire consisting of nine folios. It houses the following thirteen collections: the *śalast* collection (1), the *wāzemā* collection (2), the *ʿazl* collection (3), the *za-ʿamlākiya* collection (4), the *mawāśāʿt* collection (5), the *za-nāhu yāʿaze* collection (6), the *sābhata nagh* collection (7), the first unidentified collection (8), the *za-taśāhalanni* collection (9), the *yātbāarak* collection (10), the *ʿġziʿabāher nagśa* collection (11), the multiple-type collection (12), and the second unidentified collection (13). The irregular quire (quire *B-VII) is problematic. Part of the reason for this is the fact that two openings are missing from the digitised microfilm, depicting fols 182v–183r and fols 183v–184r (cf. 2.3.4). Due to this, coupled with the uneven number of folios, no attempt has been made to connect the leaves of this quire in Figure 2, where the codicological block *B is visualised.

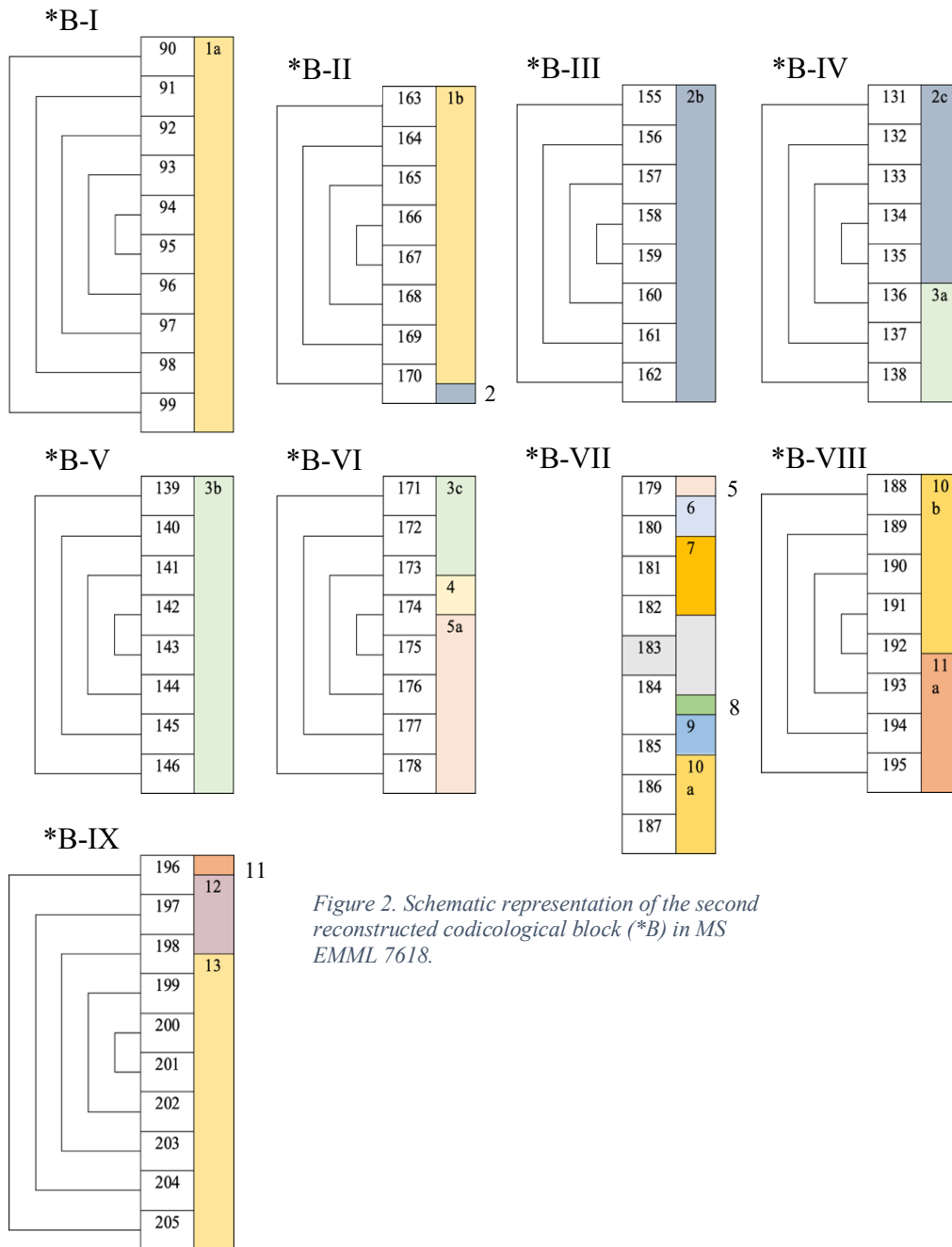


Figure 2. Schematic representation of the second reconstructed codicological block (*B) in MS EML 7618.

The third codicological block (*C) is made up of four quaternions and one irregular quire consisting of five folios. It only contains one collection: the *salām* collection (1). The irregular quire is found last in the manuscript and contains the colophon, suggesting that it has remained in its original position. I have not detected any textual loss and presumably, the irregular number of folios should be put in connection with its position as the last quire of its codicological block. The codicological block *C is visualised in Figure 3.

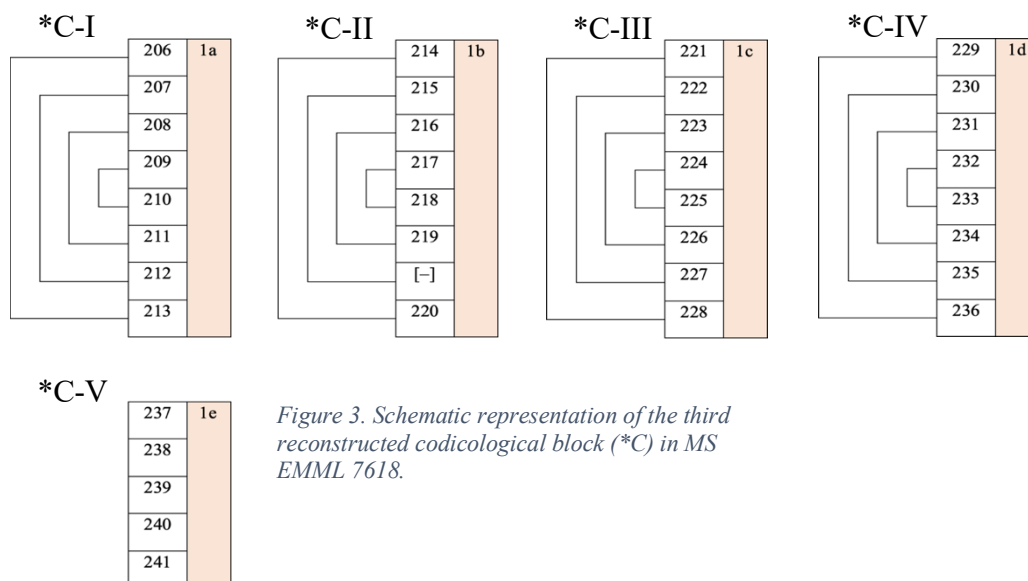


Figure 3. Schematic representation of the third reconstructed codicological block (*C) in MS EMLL 7618.

As for the relations between these three codicological blocks, my hypothesis is that they form a single codicological unit (‘articulated’, by the definition of Gumbert 2004). The textual contents of the different codicological blocks are clearly related—they all contain different single-type collections of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons—and I have not observed any discontinuities with regard to hands or other features.

2.3.4.3 Contents

MS EMLL 7618 is a collection of single-type collections containing—according to my analysis—eighteen individual collections. Below, these collections are briefly introduced.

2.3.4.3.1 mazmur-family collection: fols 2ra–68vb

A calendar-based collection of *mazmur*-family antiphons at present occupies the initial position in MS EMLL 7618. The collection, in its present state, only seems to cover the period from the beginning of the year to the end of the commemoration of the Season of Supplication. As noted above (2.3.4.2), it is possible that one or several quires have disappeared between fols 65vb and 66ra. It is furthermore possible that quires containing *mazmur*-family antiphons for the Season of the Great Fast and for the latter part of the year originally formed part of the collection but have disappeared. On fols 57rb–68vb (the beginning of this section coincides with the beginning of the commemoration of the Season of Supplication, *ʿAstamḥəro*), the antiphons are organised into subgroups, which are not attested elsewhere in the collection: first introduced by hallelujah numbers (with few exceptions), then marked for which service they belong to (*za-məḥəlālā*: fols 63rb–64vb; *za-nagh*: fol. 65ra–vb), then introduced by the formula *zə-hi-ma*

ba-zemāhu (ዘረመ: በከመሀው: ‘this one in its own *zemā*’).⁷⁰³ Due to the textual lacuna between fols 65vb and 66ra, it remains unclear whether the antiphons on fols 66ra–68vb also belong to the commemoration of the Season of Supplication or not. The possibility that they do not belong to this collection cannot be ruled out. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fols 14vb–15va | Children of Zebedee |
| fols 15va–16ra | Ṗanṭalewon |
| fols 16rb–18rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 18va–21va | Ferial days (?) in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 21va–22ra | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 22ra–23rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 23rb | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> Yəm’attā |
| fols 23rb–24va | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |
| (fol. 31va–b) | (‘ <i>Abbā</i> ‘Aragāwi) ⁷⁰⁴ |

2.3.4.3.2 ‘aryām collection: fols 69ra–89vb, 147ra–154vb, 100ra–106vb

After the *mazmur*-family collection follows a calendar-based collection of ‘*aryām*’ antiphons, which appears to be completely preserved. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| fol. 72va–b | Children of Zebedee |
| fols 72vb–73ra | Kings |
| fol. 73ra–vb | Season of Flowers |
| fols 73vb–74rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 74rb–75ra | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.3.4.3.3 ‘arbā’t collection: fols 107ra–129vb

Following the ‘*aryām*’ collection, a melodic-family-based collection of ‘*arbā’t*’ antiphons appears. As for the rest of the melodic-family-based collections, the antiphons included in the textual corpus in Chapter 3 are distributed throughout the various melodic-family sections and cannot be concisely listed; see Data set 1 for indications as to where the studied antiphons are located. For a summary of which melodic families are represented in the ‘*arbā’t*’ collection in MS EML 7618, see Chapter 5 (Data set 3).

⁷⁰³ For similar special subgroupings within the commemoration of the Season of Supplication (‘*Astamḥəro*’), see the *mazmur*-family collections in MSS EML 6944 and GG-187 (2.3.5.2, 2.3.8.3.1).

⁷⁰⁴ The commemoration of ‘*Abbā* ‘Aragāwi is located at a later point in the liturgical year, between the commemoration of community (*za-tazkāra māḥbar*) and the common for priests (*za-kāhnāt*).

2.3.4.3.4 *māhlet collection: fols 129vb–130va*

In the middle of a line, although (later?) divided from it by means of a dotted/drawn line, the *’arbā ’t* collections shifts into a collection of *māhlet* antiphons, introduced with the formula *za-yābārəkəwwō māhlet* (ዘይብርክዎ፡ ማኅሌት፡, ‘*māhlet* of “May He be blessed” [i.e. Ct. X]’). The identification of the antiphon type is confirmed by one correspondence in the textual corpus studied in Chapter 3 (see 3.2.3.37). The collection is calendar-based and the Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------------|
| fol. 129vb | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 129vb | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 129vb | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 129vb | Pantalewon |
| fol. 129vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |

2.3.4.3.5 *śalast collection: fols 90r–99v, 163r–170va*

MS EML 7618 also contains a melodic-family-based collection of *śalast* antiphons. Its beginning coincides with the beginning of the codicological block *B. The antiphons included in the textual corpus in Chapter 3 are distributed over the various melodic-family sections; see Data set 1 for indications as to where the individual antiphons included in the study are located.

2.3.4.3.6 *wāzemā collection: fols 170va–b, 155ra–162vb, 131ra–135ra*

A collection of what appears to be *wāzemā* antiphons appears codicologically connected to the *śalast* collection (see the codicological reconstruction in 2.3.4.2). This is the only collection of this type of antiphons found in the corpus of single-type collections. It is introduced as a collection of *mazmur wāzemā* (መዝሙር፡ ዋረሙ፡) and the antiphons contained in it largely agree with later what is labelled as *wāzemā* antiphons in later collections.⁷⁰⁵ The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| fols 155vb–156rb | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 156rb–va | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 156va | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 156va–b | Kings |
| fol. 156vb | Pantalewon |
| fol. 156vb | ’Abbā ’Aragāwi |

⁷⁰⁵ Cf., for example, the antiphons Pantalewon *wāzemā* 001 and ’Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001 discussed in Chapter 3 (3.2.3.2 and 3.3.3.2). For the commemoration of Stephen the Protomartyr, however, the *wāzemā* collection in MS EML 7618 has a substantially larger number of antiphons than later collections.

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| | |
|------------|--|
| fol. 156vb | ʿAzqir and Kirāq (አመ፡ ፲፩፡ ለወር(?)፡፡ ጥቅምት፡ ዋዜማ፡ ዘአጽ(!)ቂር፡ ወኪራቅ፡፡) |
| fol. 156vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 157ra | ʿAbbā ʿAbaydo |
| fol. 157ra | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |

2.3.4.3.7 ʿəzl collection: fols 136ra–146vb, 171ra–173rb

After the *wāzemā* collection, what appears to be a collection of ʿəzl antiphons—unique in the corpus single-type collections known to me—is found. In it, the term ʿəzl is frequently used in introducing new commemorations, and the antiphons contained in it frequently coincide with ʿəzl antiphons in later collections (see Chapter 3, 3.2.3.34 and 3.2.3.35). Refrains occur on several occasions in this collection.⁷⁰⁶ The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| fols 137vb–138rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 138rb–va | Kings |
| fol. 138va | Ḥanṭalewon |
| fol. 138va | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fol. 138va–b | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 138vb–139ra | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |

2.3.4.3.8 za-ʿamlākiya collection: fols 173rb–174ra

Next, a short collection of *za-ʿamlākiya* antiphons follows. Its corpus of commemorations is small, but from correspondences with antiphons other manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus, the identity of the antiphons in the collection in MS EMM 7618 appears to be confirmed.⁷⁰⁷ The following commemorations from the Season of Flowers are found:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| fol. 173rb | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 173rb–va | common for martyrs (<i>za-samā ʿt</i>) |
| fol. 173va | common for priests (<i>za-kāhnāt</i>) |
| fol. 173va | common for fathers (<i>za-ʿabaw</i>) |
| fol. 173va | common for the righteous (<i>za-ṣādqān</i>) |
| fol. 173va | Stephen the Protomartyr |

⁷⁰⁶ Ex. fols 137ra, ll. 3–16; 138vb, ll. 10–26.

⁷⁰⁷ For example, the antiphon for Stephen the Protomartyr found on fol. 173va, ll. 11–14 has a parallel in MS Dabra Koreb wa-Qarānəyo Madḥane ʿĀlam, EAP432/1/10, fol. 39vb, ll. 20–22, and the antiphon for ʿAbbā Yoḥanni found on fol. 173va, ll. 17–18 has a parallel in MS Dabra Koreb wa-Qarānəyo Madḥane ʿĀlam, EAP432/1/10, fol. 42vc, ll. 24–25.

fol. 173va

ʾAbbā Yoḥanni

2.3.4.3.9 *mawāśəʾt collection: fols 174ra–179v*

After the *za-ʾamlākiya* collection follows a collection with the antiphon-type designation *mawāśəʾt* in the introduction (fol. 174ra). Although, admittedly, the corpus of antiphons with potential correspondences in the textual corpus is restricted, I have not been able to connect the antiphons in this collection to any of those attested in the other *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections in the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus. Furthermore, they do not appear to show any affinity with the antiphons in some recent printed editions of the liturgical book called *Mawāśəʾt*.⁷⁰⁸ It remains a task for future scholars to situate this collection within the greater context of Ethiopic antiphon collections. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

fol. 175vb

Stephen the Protomartyr

fol. 176ra

Season of Flowers

fol. 176ra

Sundays [in the Season of Flowers]

2.3.4.3.10 *za-nāhu yəʾəze collection: fols 179va–180v*

Next follows a collection which, according to the introduction on fol. 179va, contains *za-nāhu yəʾəze* antiphons. It contains only one antiphon for the entire Season of Flowers (for the common of the season), which, however, corresponds to a *za-nāhu yəʾəze* antiphon attested in later sources.⁷⁰⁹ In MS EMMML 7618, the antiphon is found on:

fol. 179va (ll. 33–34)

Season of Flowers

2.3.4.3.11 *səbhata nagh collection: fols 180vb–182rb[...]*

After the *za-nāhu yəʾəze* collection follows a collection of *səbhata nagh* antiphons. In the available reproduction, it is incomplete, as its end is (presumably) found on one of the two openings containing fols 182v–184r which are missing from the digitised EMMML microfilm (see 2.3.4). However, the portion containing antiphons for the Season of Flowers is available, and as far as one can say based on the textual corpus, its contents correspond to *səbhata nagh* antiphons in the later tradition, confirming the identification of the antiphon type. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

fol. 181ra

Season of Flowers

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. *Zəmmāre wa-Mawāśəʾt* 1993, pp. 12b–14c (page numbers of the *Mawāśəʾt* part); *Zəmmāre wa-Mawāśəʾt* 2006, p. 152b/1፱b–157a/፳፬a.

⁷⁰⁹ Cf. MSS UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 29rb, ll. 13–15; EMMML 7745, fol. 9va, ll. 8–11; and *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 50c, ll. 41–43. The reader is reminded that *za-nāhu yəʾəze* antiphons for the general commemoration of the Season of Flowers have not been included in the textual corpus in Chapter 5 and that they have thus not been studied systematically in all the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| fol. 181ra | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 181ra–b | common for bishops (<i>za-pāppāsāt</i>) |
| fol. 181rb | common for fathers (<i>za-’abaw</i>) |
| fol. 181rb | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.3.4.3.12 *first unidentified collection: fol. [...]184va*

At the beginning of fol. 184va, the end of an unidentified collection appears. The beginning of this collection is presumably found on one of the two openings containing fols 182v–184r which, as noticed above (2.3.4), are missing from the available digitised microfilm. The preserved portion of the collection has a peculiar structure. It consists of two sections, marked in the layout with dot–dash lines preceded by empty lines. The first section is introduced with *ba-5* (በ፩, ‘in five’) and contains one antiphon each for Monday through Friday. The second section is introduced with the phrase *za-ma* ‘*alt za-tarfa* (ዘመዐልት፡ ዘተርፈ፡, ‘[antiphons] for the day, which remain’), and after four antiphons without metatext has a rubricated phrase *ba-rabu* ‘*za-hosā’ nā* ‘*əlat* (በ፪ቡዕ፡ ዘሆሳዕና፡ ዕለት፡, ‘on the Wednesday of [the week of] *Hosā’ nā*’, i.e. Palm Sunday). Considering the mentioning of *Hosā’ nā*, it seems reasonable to conclude that *ba-5* in the first part refer to the fifth week of the Great Fast. None of the antiphons of the collection has parallels in the corpus of antiphons from the Season of Flowers and, consequently, it has not been possible to identify to which antiphon type they belong.

2.3.4.3.13 *za-tasāhalanni collection: fols 184va–185va*

Following the first unidentified collection, a collection with the designation *za-tasāhalanni* in the introduction (fol. 184va) appears. This collection is largely paralleled by the *za-tasāhalanni* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 (see 2.3.9.2.5). Two antiphons for the Season of Flowers are present in the collection in MS EMMML 7618, but I have not been able to find parallels to these in the studied portions of the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus. The two antiphons are found on:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| fol. 184vb (ll. 1–6) | Season of Flowers |
|----------------------|-------------------|

2.3.4.3.14 *yətbāarak collection: fols 185vb–192ra*

Next follows a collection of *yətbāarak* antiphons. The identity of the antiphon type is confirmed by one correspondence in the textual corpus (see Chapter 3, 3.2.3.8). This collection displays certain similarities with the *yətbāarak* collection in MS DS-XX; for example, both contain an antiphon for ’*Abbā* ’Awāš, a saint otherwise unknown to me,⁷¹⁰ and a commemoration for Mary explicitly connected to the

⁷¹⁰ The name of this ’*Abbā* ’Awāš is spelled ሐዓ: ዐ(?)ዋጸ፡ in MS DS-XX (fol. 30v, l. 16) and ሐዓ: ዋዋጸ፡ in MS EMMML 7618 (fol. 189vb, ll. 18–19). Antonella Brita has suggested that he could be connected to ’*Abbā* ’Oš (personal communication, October 2020). In the *Sənkəssār*, ’*Abbā* ’Oš is commemorated on 4 Tāḥśās. Judging from the position within the calendrical sequence of the

month of Yakkātit (MS EMMML 7618, 188va, l. 49–188vb, l. 5). The collection in MS EMMML 7618 further has a commemoration for the Cross (*Masqal*) connected to Maggābit (fol. 189rb, ll. 15–16) and some antiphons for specific parts of the Easter liturgy (?), such as the bringing in of the gifts (በአግብአ፡ ግብር, *ba- 'agbā 'o gābr*; fol. 190ra, l. 1)⁷¹¹ and after it (አምድኅረ፡ አግብአ፡ ግብር፡, *'am-dāhira 'agbā 'o gābr*; fol. 190ra, ll. 5–6), and a little later for the ‘putting on of clothes’ (ዘአንብር፡ አልባስ፡, *za- 'anbāro 'albās*; fol. 190ra, ll. 5–6). The use of the terms *sanbata 'ayhud* and *sanbata krastiyān* can be noted. The Season of Flowers is represented in this collection by the following commemorations:

| | |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| fol. 186rb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fol. 186rb–va | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 186va | Kings |
| fol. 186va | Pantalewon |
| fol. 186va | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Aragāwi |
| fol. 186va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 186va–b | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 186vb | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 186vb | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yəm'attā |
| fol. 186vb | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.3.4.3.15 'Ēgzi'abəher nagśa collection: fols 192ra–196vb

After the *yətbārak* collection follows a collection of 'Ēgzi'abəher nagśa antiphons. In the introduction to the collection (fol. 192ra), the antiphon-type designation is given as *ba-3* (በ፫፡, 'in three'), but parallels in the textual corpus (see Chapter 3, 3.2.3.6 and 3.3.3.3) confirm that the antiphons in this collection correspond to what is known as 'Ēgzi'abəher nagśa antiphons in the later tradition. For this name of this type of antiphons, see Chapter 1 (1.4.4.1.8). The 'Ēgzi'abəher nagśa collection in MS EMMML 7618 is largely paralleled by the collection of antiphons of the same type in MS BnF Éth. 92 (see 2.3.9.2.7). The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|------------|---------------------|
| fol. 192vb | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 192vb | Season of Flowers |

collection in MS EMMML 7618, the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Awāš occurred in the period between 3 Tāhśās and the beginning of the season of *Səbkāt*; this would strengthen an identification with 'Abbā 'Oš. However, in MS DS-XX the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Awāš is placed before the commemorations of the community (*za-māḥbar*) and Peter of Alexandria, the latter presently celebrated on 29 Hədār; this complicates the identification.

⁷¹¹ On the term, see 'Qəddase', *EAE*, IV (2010), 271a–275b (E. Fritsch).

| | |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| fols 192vb–193ra | Sundays [in the Season of Flowers] |
| fol. 193ra | Kings |
| fol. 193ra | Pantalewon |
| fol. 193ra | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 193ra | 'Abbā Yoḥanni |

2.3.4.3.16 *multiple-type collection: fols 196vb–198ra*

On fols 196vb–198ra, a collection which contains antiphons of several different types appears. This represents one of only a few occurrences of multiple-type collections and multiple-type parts of collections in the early corpus,⁷¹² and therefore a more extensive discussion of this collection is motivated.

The collection is divided into two parts, the first containing antiphons from the commemoration of Advent (*Səbkāt*) to the commemoration of Pentecost (*Ba'āla 50*), and the second containing antiphons from the commemoration of John the Baptist (*Yoḥannās*) to the commemoration of the Cross (*Masqal*). Only antiphons for major feasts are included. The second part, but not the first, is introduced with an introductory formula *ba-za nəzzekkar mawāśə't za-Yoḥannās* (በዘ፡ ንዚከር፡ መዋሥኣት፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡, 'As we remember, the *mawāśə't* [antiphon] for John [the Baptist]', fol. 198ra, l. 4), which, however, only seems to identify the antiphon type of the antiphon that immediately follows it. There is no obvious explanation of this division of the collection into two calendrically misplaced parts; perhaps it is due to disordered folios somewhere in preceding transmission.

For most of the commemorations, a set of four antiphons with the following antiphon-type designations is provided: *mawāśə't*, *yəbārəkəwwō* (sometimes with the addition 'əzl), *səbhata nagh* (sometimes with the addition 'əzl), and *səmə'anni*. As noticed in Chapter 1 (1.4.4.1.17 and 1.4.4.1.25), *yəbārəkəwwō* is an early alternative designation for *māḥlet* antiphons, and *səmə'anni* is an early alternative designation for *śalast* antiphons. The designation *mawāśə't* appears to alternate with the designation *qālāya*, and occasionally, both designations are used together. *Qālāya* could possibly refer to the incipit of Ps. 140. There are also two antiphon-type designations which occur only once in the entire collection: 'Agzi'-o *ṣarāḥku* and *salām*. One can note that most of these antiphon types appear in the *səbhata nagh* service as described by Habtemichael Kidane 1998,⁷¹³ although this identification is very tentative. In that case, the designation *mawāśə't* / *qālāya* would refer to *za-'amlākiya* antiphons, which are performed with Ps. 140 during that service. The appearance of metatextual instructions included in some of the

⁷¹² Cf. the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185 (2.3.7.2.5), the multiple-type commemorations in the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (2.3.6.3.4) and the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 (2.3.8.3.1), and the last section of the *yətbārək* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 (2.3.9.2.8).

⁷¹³ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 336–358.

commemoration indications should be noted, although I do not at present understand their liturgical implications: *wa-ba-sanbata krəstiyān soba təq* ‘at (ወበሰንበተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ሰባ፡ ጥቅዓት፡, ‘And on the Sabbath of the Christians, at the blowing of the trumpet (?)’ [followed by an antiphon], fol. 197va, ll. 2–3), *wa-ba-sanbata ʾayhud ba-magās səbhata nagh* (ወበሰንበተ፡ አይሁድ፡ በመጋስ፡ ስብሐተ፡ ነግሠ፡, ‘And on the Sabbath of the Jews, in *magās* (?)’⁷¹⁴, a *səbhata nagh* [antiphon]’, fol. 197va, ll. 12–13), *wa-soba təq* ‘at *məqnāy ba-* ‘*əlata masqal nagh qāləya* (ወሰባ፡ ጥቅዓት፡ ምቅናይ፡ በዕለተ፡ መስቀል፡ ነግሠ፡ ቃልዮ፡, ‘And at the blowing of the trumpet, *məqnāy*,⁷¹⁵ on the morning of the day of the [commemoration of the] Cross, a *qāləya* [antiphon]’, fol. 198ra, ll. 20–22).

To analyse this small collection adequately, a comparative corpus of antiphons including at least some of the commemorations represented in it would be necessary. This would enable us to confirm or reject the hypothesis that it contains a part of the antiphons for the *sābhata nagh* service.

2.3.4.3.17 *second unidentified collection: fols 198ra–205vb*

Following the multiple-type collection, a second unidentified collection appears, which, contrary to the first unidentified collection (2.3.4.3.12), is preserved in its entirety. The introduction contains, as the only potential antiphon-type designation, the word *wāzemā*. The meaning of this term in this context, however, remains obscure, as the antiphons contained in the second unidentified collection do not—based on the studied corpus—match the *wāzemā* antiphons of later collections. However, there is another parallel, namely the so-called *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 (see 2.3.9.2.11), which contains largely the same material. Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, who identifies the contents of MS EMM 7618,⁷¹⁶ but without providing indications as to what is found where, does not mention that the manuscript should contain antiphons that have fallen into disuse. However, this is an argument *ex silentio* whose importance should not be exaggerated.

The second unidentified collection in MS EMM 7618 (and the parallel collection in MS BnF Éth. 92) stands out because of the set of commemorations it contains, adding numerous saints and feasts to the ‘standard’ calendar of *Dægga*-type antiphon collections.⁷¹⁷ The commemoration of the End of *Karamt* (*Ša’ata*

⁷¹⁴ Alessandro Bausi suggests a possible connection with Greek μέγας, ‘great’ (personal communication, 17 March 2021).

⁷¹⁵ This liturgical term is discussed by Velat 1966a, pp. 53–56. It seems to me that a more comprehensive study of the diachronic development of the Ethiopic Divine Office is necessary to understand its precise signification in cases like the one in the multiple-type collection in MS EMMML 7618.

⁷¹⁶ Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 43–47.

⁷¹⁷ For example, there is an antiphon for a—to my knowledge—unknown saint 'Abbā Deganā (fol. 198va; in the parallel collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, fol. 110vb, the indication for this commemoration is a later addition; note, however, that he also appears in calendars of saints, for example in MSS Paris, BnF Éth. 13, fol. 182v and Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 105, fol. 1v (later

Kəramt) coincides with a commemoration for the biblical prophet Jonah (*Yonās*), not Peter and Paul, as in other collections. There are also examples of where a month or a specific day for the commemoration is indicated.⁷¹⁸ The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| fol. 199ra | End of <i>Kəramt</i> (<i>za-ša'ata Kəramt za-Yonās</i>) |
| fol. 199ra | Susanna (<i>za-'əmməna Sosənā</i>) |
| fol. 199ra | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 199ra | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 199rb | Kings |
| fol. 199rb | Justina and Cyprian (<i>Yostinā wa-Q'əprəyānos</i>) |
| fol. 199rb | Ṕanṭalewon the Monk (<i>Ṕanṭalewon manakos</i>) |
| fol. 199rb | Ṕanṭalewon the Martyr (<i>Ṕanṭalewon samā 't</i>) |
| fol. 199rb–va | common for 'girdled ones' and fathers (<i>za-qənūtān wa-za-'abaw</i>) |
| fol. 199va | common for evangelists (<i>za-wangelāwiyān</i>) |
| fol. 199va | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 199va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 199va | common for martyrs (<i>za-samā 't</i>) |
| fol. 199va | Enoch (<i>za-Henok</i>) |

addition), as well as in the 'Igzi 'abəher *nagša* hymn collection in MS Gunda Gunde, GG-090, fol. 100r), 'our mother' Susanna (*'əmməna Sosənā*, fol. 199ra), Justina and Cyprian (*Yostinā wa-Q'əprəyānos*, 199rb), two different saints Ṕanṭalewon (*Ṕanṭalewon manakos* and *Ṕanṭalewon samā 't*, 199rb), Enoch (*Henok*, 199va), Makarios (*Maqārəs*, 199vb), the Four Living Creatures (*'Arbā 'tu 'ənsəssā*, 199vb), Philip and his daughters (*Filəpos wa-'awāləddihu*, 200ra), 'For doctors, and for Cosmas as well' (*za-'aqabta šə'rāy wa-ba-Q'azmāsə-hā*, 200vb), the prophetess Hannah (*Hannā nabit*, 201ra), the prophet Job (*'Iyob nabi'y*, 204ra), the prophet Hezekiel (*Həzqel nabi'y*, 204ra), Miriam the sister of Aaron (*Māryām 'əḥətu la-'Aron*, 204vb), Sarah (*Sārā*, 205va), and an antiphon 'over a groom and a bride' (*lā 'la mar 'āwi wa-mar 'āt*, 205vb). The antiphon for SS Cyprian and Justina contains a reference to the baptism of Cyprian, an episode that appears to be missing at least from the version of the martyrdom published by Goodspeed 1903. If the antiphon is a quotation, it must originate in another text.

⁷¹⁸ For example, there are commemorations for Michael the Archangel in *Tāḥšās* (*za-Mikā 'el za-tāḥšās*, fol. 201ra, l. 4), for Andrew the Apostle in the *Tāḥšās* (*za-'Əndəryās za-ta(!)ḥsās*, fol. 201ra, ll. 18–19), and for Simon and the 'fulfilment of the Law' on 8 Yakkātīt (*za-tafšāme ḥəgg 'ama 8 la-yakkātīt za-Səm 'on*, fol. 202ra, ll. 18–19).

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| | |
|------------|--|
| fol. 199va | common for saints (<i>za-qəddusān</i>) |
| fol. 199vb | Cosmas (<i>za-Qozmos</i>) |
| fol. 199vb | ' <i>Abbā Yəm</i> ' attā |
| fol. 199vb | ' <i>Abbā Yoḥanni</i> |

2.3.4.3.18 *salām collection: fols 206ra–241va*

The last collection in MS EML 7618, occurring in a separate codicological block according to the codicological reconstruction presented above (2.3.4.2), is a collection of *salām* antiphons. It appears to be complete, although on the available digitised microfilm, some folios are too dark to read (ex. fol. 242rb). The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| fol. 210va | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fol. 210va | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 210vb | Ṕanṭalewon |
| fols 210vb–212va | Season of Flowers |
| fols 212va–213ra | Sundays [in the Season of Flowers] |
| fol. 213ra | ' <i>Abbā Yəm</i> ' attā |
| fol. 213ra | Kings |
| fol. 213ra–b | common for the righteous (<i>za-ṣādqān</i>) |
| fol. 213rb–va | common for priests (<i>za-kāhnāt za-yədemmar</i>) |
| fol. 213va–b | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 213vb–214ra | ' <i>Abbā Yoḥanni</i> |

2.3.5 Lālibalā Beta 'Amānu'el, EML 6944

MS Lālibalā Beta 'Amānu'el, EML 6944 (= MS EML 6944), parchment manuscript, 25 × 16 cm, 77 folios, one column, 38 lines (fol. 10va), no boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised microfilm made available online by the HMML.⁷¹⁹ The available microfilm does not include fol. 77v. To my knowledge, this manuscript has not been catalogued.

MS EML 6944 was included in the corpus used by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.⁷²⁰ Furthermore, the antiphons for '*Abbā Yoḥanni*' are discussed by Nosnitsin 2018.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁹ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/200569> [2021-01-25].

⁷²⁰ Cf. Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁷²¹ Nosnitsin 2018, p. 308.

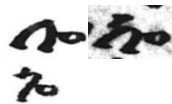
2.3.5.1 Dating

Shifting datings have been proposed for MS EML 6944. On the metadata sheet accompanying the digitised microfilm, the manuscript is tentatively dated to the fifteenth century. In Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997, a fourteenth-century dating is proposed,⁷²² something which is accepted by Nosnitsin 2018⁷²³ and by Ted Erho, although the latter adds that it is ‘possibly earlier’.⁷²⁴

Palaeographically, the following features can be noticed, which, overall, seem to be consonant with a fourteenth-century dating. The raised left leg of <ḏ> is particularly pronounced,⁷²⁵ and often, no difference can be noticed between <ḥ> and <ḏ>. No peculiarities of linguistic or orthographical nature have been noticed; the word *ʿĠziʿabəher* is generally written as one word (fols 19va, ll. 6–7; 33rb, ll. 14–15; 76rb, l. 11), but there are also cases where it is written as two words (fol. 61ra, ll. 12–13).

Palaeographical features:⁷²⁶

ḏ, ḥ, ʿ



the vowel marker is typically attached to the body of the letter by means of an elongation

ḥ, ʿ



the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter with a short connecting line or placed directly next to the body

ḥ, ʿ



the vowel marker is circular or somewhat triangular and replaces the top line of letter

ḥ, ḥ, ʿ



the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form]

ḥ, ʿ



the loops of <ḥ> and parts of <ʿ> are connected

ḥ



the letter is often undistinguishable from <ḥ>

ḥ



the vowel marker is attached horizontally




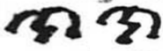


⁷²² Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁷²³ Nosnitsin 2018, p. 308.

⁷²⁴ Personal communication, 12 March 2021.

⁷²⁵ Cf. Uhlig 1988, pp. 95–96.

⁷²⁶ Sources for palaeographical samples: ḏ: fol. 57va, l. 3; ḥ: fol. 75va, l. 15; ʿ: fol. 36va, l. 23; ḥ: fol. 71va, l. 19; ʿ: fol. 31va, l. 12; ḥ: fol. 14va, l. 3; ʿ: fol. 38ra, l. 10; ḥ: fol. 57va, l. 28; ḥ: fol. 43va, l. 11; ʿ: fol. 30vb, l. 19; ḥ: fol. 31va, l. 6; ʿ: fol. 31va, l. 15; ḥ: fol. 71va, l. 22; ḥ: fol. 31va, l. 4; ʿ: fol. 31va, l. 13; ʿ: fol. 31va, l. 10; ʿ: fol. 71va, l. 22; ʿ: fol. 71va, l. 15; ʿ: fol. 40ra, l. 10; fol. 71va, l. 19; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 36vb, l. 4 (ḥ); fol. 36vb, l. 12 (ḥ); fol. 39ra, l. 12 (ḥ); fol. 43va, l. 16 (ḥ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 31va, l. 16 (ḥ); fol. 40ra, l. 19 (ḥ).

| | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| | | and reaches outside the body of the letter |
| ወ |  | the distinction between <ወ•> and <ወ> appears to be of the later type |
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter is reduced in size and raised above the base line [= modern form] |
| ዒ |  | single vowel marker [= modern form] |
| ጥ |  | the lateral legs do not reach the base line [= modern form] |
| fourth order |  | shortening of the left leg(s) [= modern form] |
| seventh order |  | shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

2.3.5.2 Contents

MS Beta 'Amānu'el EMMML 6944 contains a calendrical collection of *mazmur*-family antiphons (see Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.37). Its beginning has been preserved (although fol. 1r is illegible in the available reproduction), but the end seems to have been lost. Within some of the commemorations, the rubrics *qənnəwāt* (ቅንዎት) and/or *həllawe* (ህላዌ) are found. Within the commemoration of the Season of Supplication ('*Astamḥəro*, fols 48rb–54v), the antiphons are grouped in sections introduced by hallelujah numbers (cf. the *mazmur*-family collection in MS EMMML 7618, 2.3.4.3.1). It is possible that a Season for the Great Fast begins on fol. 55r; however, its first commemoration is not the Eve of the Great Fast (*Dərāra Ṣom*), as usual, but rather a commemoration for the Church (*za-beta krə[s]tiyān*), followed on the next page by the Eve of the Great Fast. For the Season of Flowers, the following commemorations are found:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| fol. 8rb–vb | Children of Zebedee |
| fols 8vb–9rb | Paṇṭalewon |
| fols 9rb–11rb | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 11rb–13rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 13rb–vb | <i>Qənnəwāt</i> for the Season of Flowers |
| fols 13vb–14rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 14rb–15va | 'Abbā Yoḥanni |

2.3.6 Šərḥa Šəyon Beta Ḥawāryāt, Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002

MS Šərḥa Šəyon Beta Ḥawāryāt,⁷²⁷ Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (= MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002), parchment codex, 20.5 × 30.0 × 12.5 cm, 183 fols, 41 lines, wooden boards (the front board is missing). This manuscript has been consulted in the form of two different sets of digital colour photographs: a) photographs produced within the framework of the Ethio-SPaRe project and made available in the DOMLib (in this set of photographs, the opening consisting of fols 177v–178r are missing),⁷²⁸ and b) photographs produced and kindly put at my disposal by Rafał Zarzeczný (covering only fols 71r–128v, 131r–148r). MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 has been catalogued in the DOMLib by Magdalena Krzyżanowska, with the latest revisions made by Denis Nosnitsin.⁷²⁹

The commemorations of 'Abbā Yoḥānni in the 'arbā 't collection in this manuscript (see below) is discussed by Nosnitsin 2018, where, furthermore, the commemorations of 'Abbā Yoḥānni and 'Abbā 'Abaydo in the *salām* collection are edited.⁷³⁰ Substantial parts of MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 have been disarranged, and consequently, a codicological reconstruction is presented below (2.3.6.2).

2.3.6.1 Dating

Krzyżanowska dates the handwriting of MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 to the first half of the fifteenth century, noticing that numerals are written without over- and underlining, that the vowel marker of <ʾ> is attached directly to the right leg at the upper part, and that the numerals <ḫ> and <ḡ> and the letter <ḫ> appear in their archaic forms. In Nosnitsin 2018, a dating to the second half of the fifteenth century or the early sixteenth century is instead suggested.⁷³¹

The following palaeographical features can be noticed. The tilting of <σ>, described by Uhlig 1988 as a characteristic of the period between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the sixteenth century,⁷³² is pronounced. The word 'Ēgzi 'abəḥer is written as one word (fols 1ra, l. 11; 19ra, l. 25). A dating within the fifteenth century, as suggested by both Krzyżanowska and Nosnitsin 2018, seems reasonable.

⁷²⁷ For a general description of the site, see Nosnitsin 2013, pp. 136–139. On p. 138, a colour reproduction of MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fols 112v–113r is found.

⁷²⁸ Ethio-SPaRe, EU 7th Framework Programme, ERC Starting Grant 240720, PI Denis Nosnitsin, 2009–2015, <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/ethiostudies/ETHIOSPARE> [broken link?].

⁷²⁹ URL: https://mycms-vs03.rz.uni-hamburg.de/domlib/receive/domlib_document_00001520 [2021-02-08]. The digitisation was carried out on 29 November 2010. Cf. also the Beta Maṣāḥəft record on this manuscript: <https://betamasafeft.eu/ESsb002> [2021-02-08].

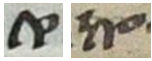
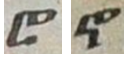











⁷³⁰ Nosnitsin 2018, pp. 304–307. The commemoration of 'Abbā Yoḥānni in the *śalast* collection (fol. 50rb) are not discussed. No commemoration for this saint has been preserved in the *mazmur* collection (see below).

⁷³¹ Nosnitsin 2018, p. 304.

⁷³² Uhlig 1988, p. 340.

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The following palaeographical features appear in the *'arbā 't* collection (I have not noticed any substantial differences in the other collections):⁷³³

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| ሎ, ከ |  | in <ሎ>, the circle is typically attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line, whereas in <ከ>, a connecting line is present |
| ሮ, ኖ |  | the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter with a connecting line |
| ቶ, ቆ |  | the vowel marker is circular or slightly triangular and replaces the top line of the letter |
| ከ, ት, ቅ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| መ, ሠ |  | the loops of <መ> and parts of <ሠ> are connected; <መ> is pronouncedly left-leaning |
| ስ |  | the vowel marker has the form of a slanted top line [= modern form] |
| እ |  | the vowel marker has the form of an extra angle attached on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| ወ, ደ |  | the distinction between <ወ> and <ደ> is of the later type |
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter is reduced in size and raised above the base line [= modern form] |
| ዲ |  | single vowel marker [= modern form] |
| ጥ |  | the lateral legs do not reach the base line [= modern form] |
| fourth order |  | shortening of the left leg(s) [= modern form] |
| seventh order |  | shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

⁷³³ Sources for palaeographical samples: ሎ: 43rb, l. 17; ከ: fol. 3vb, l. 39; ሮ: 2ra, l. 4; ኖ: 2ra, l. 4; ቶ: 2ra, l. 41; ቆ: 2ra, l. 21; ከ: 93ra, l. 3; ት: fol. 5rb, l. 15; ቅ: fol. 5rb, l. 15; መ: 93ra, l. 16; ሠ: fol. 1rb, l. 3; ስ: 93ra, l. 15; እ: 2ra, l. 9; ወ: 2ra, l. 23; ደ: fol. 5rb, l. 24; ዓ: 93ra, l. 10; ሲ: 93ra, l. 17; ሲ: 2ra, l. 4; ጥ: 2ra, l. 10; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 1ra, l. 17 (ባ); fol. 1ra, l. 21 (ላ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 5rb, l. 24 (ሰ); fol. 5rb, l. 31 (ሰ).

2.3.6.2 Codicological reconstruction

A detailed codicological analysis of MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 is provided in the description by Krzyżanowska. She describes the current state of the manuscript, whereas my aim below is to reconstruct the original order of the quires and folios, based both on codicological considerations and on the contents. I use the same numbering of the quires as Krzyżanowska, adding Greek letters to distinguish two quires which both have the number ‘XIV’.⁷³⁴ Schematic visualisations have been provided only for quires whose reconstruction is more problematic.

Based on codicological and textual criteria, the preserved quires and folios can be divided into two groups.⁷³⁵ The first group of folios (*A) consists of (remnants of) nine quires and houses the *salām* collection, a multiple-type commemoration for Mount Tabor (*Dabra Tābor*), as well as some prayers added on the last preserved leaf. The correspondences between my reconstruction and the current quires as described by Krzyżanowska can summarily be represented as follows: *A-I = XIII, *A-II = XIV α , *A-III = XIV β , *A-IV = XV, *A-V = XVII, *A-VI = V, *A-VII = fols 144, 142; *A-VIII = fols 145, 139–141, 143, 27, 83; *A-IX = fols 26, 129–130. The beginning of the first quire of this group coincides with the beginning of the *salām* collection. The text continues seamlessly over quires *A-I–*A-VI, but between quire *A-VI and quire *A-VII, there is a lacuna. Only two folios—fols 144, 142—have been preserved of what I reconstruct as quire *A-VII. Fol. 144rv

⁷³⁴ For the sake of convenience, Krzyżanowska’s quire analysis and her comments to it are reproduced below (note that Greek letters have been added to differentiate between the two quires ‘XIV’): ‘I(8/fols. 1r-8v) – II(8/fols. 9r-16v) – III(8; s.l. [single leaf]: 3, stub after 6; 6, stub after 3/fols. 17r-24v) – IV(4+3; s.l.: 1, no stub; 2, no stub; 3, no stub/fols. 25r-31v) – V(8/fols. 32r-39v) – VI(7; s.l.: 2, stub after 6/fols. 40r-46v) – VII(8; s.l.: 3, stub after 6; 6, stub after 3/fols. 47r-54v) – VIII(8/fols. 55r-62v) – IX(8/fols. 63r-70v) – X(12/fols. 71r-82v) – XI(7; s.l.: 1/fols. 83r-89v) – XII(8/fols. 90r-97v) – XIII(8/fols. 98r-105v) – XIV[α](7; s.l.: 2, stub after 6/fols. 106r-112v) – XIV[β](8/fols. 113r-120v) – $\bar{\eta}$ XV $\bar{\eta}$ (8/fols. 121r-128v) – XVI(2/fols. 129r-130v) – ξ XVII ξ (8; s.l.: 3, stub after 6; 6, stub after 3/fols. 131r-138v) – XVIII(7; s.l.: 1, no stub; 2, no stub; 3, no stub; 4, no stub; 5, no stub; 6, no stub; 7, no stub/fols. 139r-145v) – XIX(14/fols. 146r-159v) – XX(8; s.l.: 5, no stub; 8, no stub/fols. 160r-167v) – XXI(8/fols. 168r-175v) – XXII(8-1/fols. 176r-183v). The structure of quires IV and XX is uncertain. Quire IV contains two bifolios and three loose misplaced single leaves. In quire X, two bifolios (fols. 75-78) are an eccentric insertion between original leaves 4 and 5 (fols. 74 and 79). In quire XI, two bifolios (fols. 85-88) are an eccentric insertion between original leaves 2 and 3 (fols. 84 and 89). Quire XX consists of 3 bifolios, one single leaf with a stub and one single leaf without a stub.’

⁷³⁵ In the codicological reconstruction of MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, I do not use the concept of ‘codicological blocks’. The reason for this is the difficulties in applying the term as defined by Gumbert 2004 on this in part fragmentarily preserved manuscript. Instead, the ‘groups of folios’ that I describe here are defined more loosely and broadly, as a group of quires and folios kept together *either* by codicological coherence *or* by textual coherence. Thus, if two folios are materially connected, they will be considered part of the same group of folios, regardless if the single-type collections they contain are connected or not (this would, of course, also make them part of the same codicological block). If two folios that are not materially connected contain part of the same single-type collection, as identified on textual grounds, they will also be considered part of the same group of folios. Like the concept of ‘codicological block’ as defined in fn. 701, the concept of ‘group of folios’ should first and foremost be seen as an analytical tool: it makes it possible to define sections in the manuscript, and as a second step, one can approach the question whether these represent a single codicological unit or not.

seems to contain *salām* antiphons for the commemoration of Ascension (*ʿĪrgat*), although the beginning of the commemoration has not been preserved. Fol. 142rv appears to contain antiphons for the same commemoration, followed by the beginning of a commemoration for *Kəramt*. However, although the antiphons on these two folios are thematically connected, the text does not pass from one to the other, and the presumption that they stem from the same quire remains hypothetical. After another lacuna, quire *A-VIII follows. Seven consecutive loose leaves have been preserved from this hypothetical quire and naturally, it is again questionable whether they did originally form part of the same quire or not. They contain antiphons for the commemorations of *Kəramt* (?; fols 145rv, 139r–141va), the Apostles (*Ḥawāryāt*; fols 141va–143rb); Peter, Paul, and Andrew (*Ṗēṭros wa-Ṗāwəlos wa-ʿĒndəryās*; fol. 143rb–va), Cyricus (*Qirqos*; fols 143va, 27ra), *ʿAbbā Salāmā* (fol. 27ra–b), the virgins (*danāḡəl*; fol. 27rb–va), Sophia (*Sofyā*; fol. 27va–b), a common for women (*za-ʿanəst*; fol. 27vb), for the community (*za-māḡbar*; fols 27vb, 83ra–b), and commemorations for George (*Giyorgis*; fol. 83rb–va) and Mary (*Māryām*; fol. 83va–b[...]) After another lacuna follows quire *A-IX, from which one loose leaf and one bifolio (fols 26, 129–130) have been preserved. This last quire of the first group of folios appears to have been the last quire of a codicological block. On 26r, it contains what appears to be *salām* antiphons for Abraham (*ʿAbrəḡām*; the beginning of the commemoration is not preserved), Andrew the Apostle (*ʿĒndəryās*) and the Beheading of John the Baptist (*mətrata rə ʿsu la-Yoḡannəs*), the last one continuing on the verso. On fol. 26v, after the end of the commemoration of the Beheading of John the Baptist, the beginning of a multiple-type commemoration for Transfiguration (*Dabra Tābor*) is found. This commemoration continues on the bifolio represented by fols 129–130. Fol. 129rv houses the end of the commemoration for Transfiguration, fol. 130r is blank, and fol. 130v is filled with several prayers in different hands, the first with a rubricated metatextual introduction *kama-za təbl ba-mawā ʿəla(?) ʿaṣwām lalla-nagh* (ከመዝገብ: ትብል: በመዋዕለ(?): እጽዋም: ለእነግሥ: ‘Thus you say in the morning on fasting days’). As noticed by Krzyżanowska, this group of quires (*A), of which one might perhaps postulate that it originally constituted a codicological block in the sense of Gumbert 2004, is characterised by the presence of quire numbers. These appear to have been written originally in the upper inner corner of the first and the last page of each quire, and are legible on quires A*-I (ḡ; only on the last page, fol. 105vb), A*-II (ḡ; only on the last page, fol. 112vb), A*-III (ḡ), A*-IV (ḡ), A*-V (ḡ), and possible on A*-VI (ḡ; only the first page, fol. 32ra).

A second group of folios (*B) consists of (remnants of) sixteen quires and can be summarily represented as follows: *B-I = [see reconstruction], *B-II = [see reconstruction], *B-III = XXI, *B-IV = XXII, *B-V = III, *B-VI = [see reconstruction], *B-VII = [see reconstruction], *B-VIII = X (minus fols 75–78), *B-IX = I, *B-X = II, *B-XI = XII, *B-XII = VI, *B-XIII = VII, *B-XIV = VIII,

*B-XV = IX, *B-XVI = [see reconstruction]. It contains the *mazmur* collection, the *'arbā 't* collection, and the *śalast* collection, in that order. The *mazmur* collection is acephalous, beginning in the middle of a commemoration for Easter. This group of folios begins with two disarranged quires, consisting of bifolios presently found in the irregular quire XIX and the two loose leaves fols 25, 167. Their structure is displayed in Figure 4.⁷³⁶

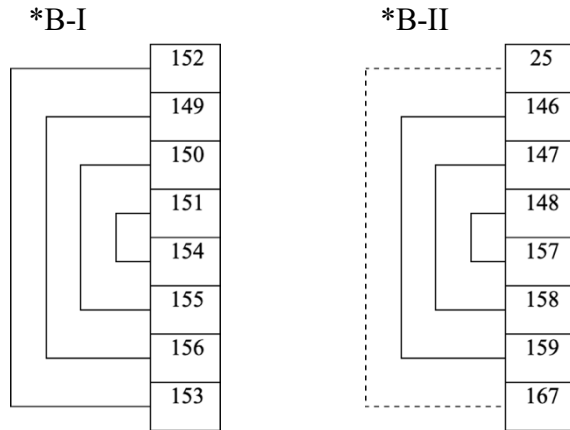


Figure 4. Schematic representation of the reconstructed quires *B-I and *B-II in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.

The text passes seamlessly from fol. 167vb to fol. 168ra, the first folio of quire *B-III. Quires *B-III–*B-V are unproblematic, but then follow two quires which, again, are more complex. They are displayed schematically in Figure 5.

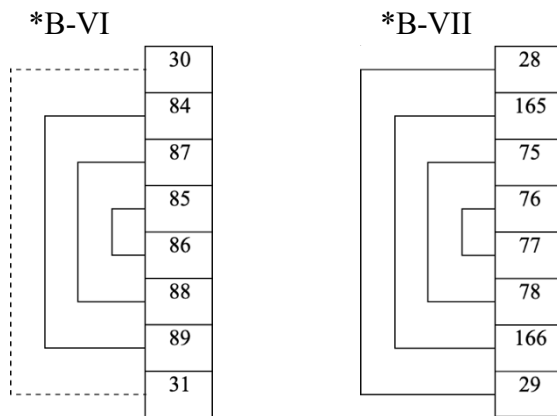


Figure 5. Schematic representation of the reconstructed quires *B-VI and *B-VII in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.

Quires *B-VIII–*B-XI are, again, unproblematic. One leaf is clearly missing from quire *B-XII, between fol. 45 and fol. 46. Possibly, it originally paired with fol. 41 to form a ‘artificial’ bifolio (cf. quires III, VII, XVII in Krzyżanowska’s

⁷³⁶ For an introduction to the way in which quires are visualised schematically in this dissertation, see fn. 702. The visualisations of quires from MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 do not have any column to the right of the one containing folio numbers.

numbering).⁷³⁷ The missing leaf must have contained the end of the *'arbā 't* collection and the beginning of the *śalast* collection. Quires *B-XIII–*B-XV are unproblematic. The last quire of the codicological unit *B corresponds to Krzyżanowska's quire XX, but without fols 165–167 and arranged as visualised schematically in Figure 6. The text flows seamlessly from fol. 163vb and fol. 161ra, suggesting that fol. 164 was originally a single leaf. Being the last quire of a potential codicological block, an irregular quire structure is not unexpected.

*B-XVI

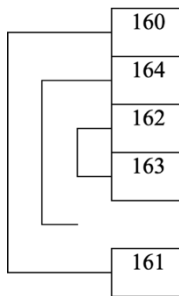


Figure 6. Schematic representation of the reconstructed quire *B-XVI in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.

To summarise, the present disarrangement of the folios in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 is due to two factors: on the one hand, a large number of quires have been misplaced, on the other hand, several of the original quires have been deconstructed and reassembled unorderedly in the synchronic quires IV, XI, XVIII, XIX, XX, plus the loose bifolio XVI (Krzyżanowska's numbering).

It is possible that the two groups of folios originally formed two codicological blocks, which in turn formed one articulated codicological unit; for example, the group that contains the *salām* collection could have followed upon the end of the *śalast* collection (fol. 166vb > fol. 98ra). However, this is difficult to prove. Differences in quire marking, in the marking of commemorations / melodic families and in the use of antiphon-final punctuation marks (for the two latter points, see Chapter 4, 4.3.2 and 4.4.3.1.1) may be consistent both with the interpretation of two originally independent codicological units and the interpretation of two blocks produced separately but planned to be one unit.

2.3.6.3 Contents

MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 is a collection of single-type collections, containing (parts of) four collections. A preliminary listing of its contents is found in the description by Krzyżanowska. An expanded content description is found below.

⁷³⁷ For this term ('bifoglio artificiale'), cf. Maniaci 2008, p. 199. I am thankful to Susanne Hummel for introducing this term to me.

2.3.6.3.1 *mazmur-family collection: fols [...]152rv, 149ra–151vb, 154ra–156vb, 153rv, 25rv, 146ra–148vb, 157ra–159vb, 167rv, 168ra–183vb, 17ra–24vb, 30rv, 84rv, 87rv, 85ra–86vb, 88ra–89vb, 31rv, 28rv, 165rv, 75ra–78vb, 166rv, 29rv, 71ra–74vb*

As indicated in the codicological reconstruction (2.3.6.2), a largely deconstructed collection of *mazmur*-family antiphons can be reconstructed as the first collection in the group of folios *B in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002. This collection is acephalous, beginning in the middle of a commemoration dedicated to Easter (possibly, the commemoration of Easter, *Fāsikā*), but complete at the end. As no commemorations for the Season of Flowers have been preserved, this collection has not been included in the textual corpus.

2.3.6.3.2 *’arbā’t collection: fols 79ra–82vb, 1ra–16vb, 90ra–97vb, 40ra–45v[...]*

Next, according to the codicological reconstruction presented in 2.3.6.2, comes a calendar-based collection of *’arbā’t* antiphons. With the exception of its very last folio, this collection has been preserved in its entirety. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| fol. 82ra | Children of Zebedee |
| fols 82ra–82vb, 1ra–1vb | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 1vb | Ṗanṭalewon |
| fol. 1vb | ’Abbā ’Aragāwi |
| fols 1vb–2va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 2va–b | ’Abbā Yoḥanni |

2.3.6.3.3 *śalast collection: fols [...]46ra–70vb, 160ra–160vb, 164ra–164vb, 162ra–162vb, 163ra–163vb, 161ra–161vb*

According to the codicological reconstruction presented in 2.3.6.2, a calendar-based collection of *śalast* antiphons originally followed the *’arbā’t* collection. The first leaf of the *śalast* collection is missing, as well as an unknown number of leaves at the end. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| fols 47va–49vb | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 49vb | Kings |
| fols 49vb–50rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 50rb | ’Abbā ’Aragāwi |
| fol. 50rb | ’Abbā Yoḥanni |

2.3.6.3.4 *salām collection: fols 98ra–128vb, 131ra–138vb, 32ra–39vb, [...]/144rv[...], [...]/142rv[...], [...]/145rv, 139ra–141vb, 143rv, 27rv, 83rv[...], [...]/26rv, 129rv*

MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 furthermore contains a collection of *salām* antiphons. As noticed in the codicological reconstruction (2.3.6.2), this collection is found on a separate group of folios (*A), and there are certain features—e.g. quire numbering—that separate it from the rest of the manuscript, which constitutes the other group of folios (*B; see 2.3.6.2). Both the beginning and the end of the *salām* collection are preserved, although there are substantial losses in the middle. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| fol. 104vb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 104vb–108rb | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 108rb–vb | ʿAbbā Yəmʿattā |
| fols 108vb–109ra | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 109ra | Cosmas and Damian (<i>Qozmos wa-Dəmyānos</i>) |
| fol. 109ra | Kings |
| fol. 109ra–b | Ṗantalewon |
| fol. 109rb–va | Season of Flowers |
| fols 109va–110ra | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 110ra–b | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |
| fol. 110rb | ʿAbbā ʿAbaydo |

On fols 26va and 129ra–129vb, a commemoration for the Transfiguration (*Dabra Tābor*) is found. This commemoration, presently celebrated on 13 Naḥase, has been placed after the commemoration for the Beheading of John the Baptist (*Mətrata rəʿsu la-Yoḥannəs*), presently celebrated on 2 Ṗāgʷəmen,⁷³⁸ which might be taken as an indication that this commemoration is a later addition, either to this manuscript or—perhaps more likely, given that no clear shift in hand or scribal practices is discernible—to a manuscript before it in the chain of transmission. Importantly, this commemoration does not only contain *salām* antiphons, but it is a veritable multiple-type commemoration, although the entire set of antiphons that later becomes the standard appears not yet to be in place. As in later times, however, antiphons for the *wāzemā* service are placed first, followed by antiphons for the *səbhata nagh* service. This commemoration has a very close parallel in the

⁷³⁸ Cf. Jeffery 1993, pp. 233–234. In MS EMLL 6994, the date is given as 1 Ṗāgʷəmen (fol. 139vb).

similar commemoration in the *mazmur*-type collection in MS GG-187 (see 2.3.8.3.1).⁷³⁹

On fol. 113v, in the middle of the *salām* collection, the order of the *kāstata* 'aryām service has been added by a later hand. Apparently, this page was originally left blank, because the last *salām* antiphon on fol. 113rb continues uninterruptedly on fol. 114ra. The reason for the presence of this originally blank space is unclear, and perhaps it is the consequence of a mishap in the copying process.

2.3.7 Gunda Gunde, GG-185

MS Gunda Gunde, GG-185 (= MS GG-185), parchment codex, 144 fols, 12.4 × 11.2 × 6.6 cm, 19–22 quires, one column, 17–33 lines, no boards.⁷⁴⁰ This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs made available online by the Library of the University of Toronto Scarborough.⁷⁴¹ It has been catalogued for the website by Witold Witakowski.

The first part of the manuscript (fols 1r–4v) is made up of loose bifolia, containing fragments from three different single-type collection. The available material does not allow for a thorough quire analysis, but according to Witakowski, MS GG-185 is made up of '19–22' quires. The use of different hands, varying numbers of lines, etc., especially within the *mazmur* collection, calls for a renewed study of MS GG-185 based on an autopsy of the manuscript.

2.3.7.1 Dating

Witakowski tentatively dates MS GG-185 to the fifteenth century, presumably on palaeographical grounds. In the absence of a codicological analysis and an analysis of the hands, it is difficult to carry out a systematic palaeographical analysis of the various (parts of) collections. A few stray observations: On fols 123v–124r, vowel marker of the fifth order are frequently open, a feature listed by Uhlig 1988 as a characteristic of the second half of the fifteenth and the first half



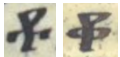
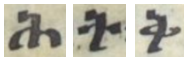





⁷³⁹ The only substantial difference appears to be that a *salām* antiphon and an 'azl antiphon in MS GG-187 (fol. 185rb, ll. 2–12) have been conflated into one *salām* antiphon in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (fol. 129rb, l. 37–129va, l. 4). For other multiple-type collections and parts of collections found in manuscripts containing primarily single-type collections, see the multiple-type collection in MS EMMML 7618 (2.3.4.3.16), the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185 (2.3.7.2.5), and the last section of the *yətbāarak* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 (2.3.9.2.8).

⁷⁴⁰ Other shelfmarks: C3-IV-202 (on a sticker on fol. 1r), 286 (written on fol. 1r). A note in Derat 2011 about a manuscript from Gunda Gunde with the same shelfmark as this manuscript ('GG 185') containing a homily on Mary attributed to Minās, bishop of Aksum, clearly refers to another manuscript (cf. Derat 2011, p. 297).

⁷⁴¹ URL: <https://ark.digital.utsc.utoronto.ca/ark:61220/utsc35390> [2024-09-30]. According to the metadata provided on the website, the digital photographs were taken on 10 November 2006. I am thankful to Kirsta Stapelfeldt at the UTSC Library for providing me with an offline version of these photographs.

of the sixteenth century.⁷⁴² <σ> appears both in the form with separated and with touching loops, and the vowel marker of <ሎ> is attached to the body of the letter with a connecting line. On fol. 79rv, however, the vowel marker of <ሎ> is mostly attached directly to the body of the letter. The word 'Īgzi 'abəher is written as one word (fols 1r, l. 5; 31v, l. 3; 142r, 6–7). Noteworthy are the cases of 'odd' vocalisation in the rubrication on the first loose folios of the manuscript: ex. አበ: ገሪማ:, 'Abba Garimā, for አባ: ገሪማ:, 'Abbā Garimā (fol. 2r, l. 4); ቁርቆስ:, Qerqos, for ቁርቆስ:, Qirqos (fol. 2r, l. 12);⁷⁴³ ማግደለዊት:, Māgdalawit, for ማግደለዊት:, Magdalāwit (fol. 2r, l. 20). Taken the palaeographical described below and the other features into account, a (late?) fifteenth-century dating does not seem unreasonable.




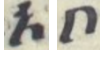
Palaeographical features:⁷⁴⁴

| | | |
|---------|---|---|
| ሎ, ከ |  | the circle is typically attached to the body of the letter with a connecting line |
| ሮ, ኖ |  | the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter with a short connecting line |
| ቶ, ቆ |  | the vowel marker is slightly triangular and replaced the top line of the letter |
| ሐ, ሐ, ቅ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| መ, ሠ |  | the loops of <σ> and parts of <ω> are mostly connected, although <σ> also appears with a line between the loops |
| ስ |  | the vowel marker has the form of a slanted top line [= modern form] |
| እ |  | the vowel marker has the form of an extra angle attached on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| ው |  | the distinction between <ω> and <ω.> appears to be of the later type |
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter is reduced in size and raised above the base line [= modern form] |

⁷⁴² Uhlig 1988, pp. 340–341.

⁷⁴³ This spelling is also attested in MS EMMML 7078; see 2.3.2.1.

⁷⁴⁴ Sources for palaeographical samples: ሎ: fol. 127r, l. 20; ከ: fol. 126r, l. 12; ሮ: fol. 130v, l. 1; ኖ: fol. 127r, l. 13; ቶ: fol. 126r, l. 7; ቆ: fol. 113v, l. 16; ሐ: fol. 127v, l. 16; ሐ: fol. 127r, l. 8; ቅ: fol. 127v, l. 10; መ: fol. 126r, l. 11; fol. 127v, l. 12; ሠ: fol. 137v, l. 9; ስ: fol. 126r, l. 5; እ: fol. 126r, l. 8; fol. 136r, l. 8; ው: fol. 126r, l. 5; ዓ: fol. 126r, l. 5; fol. 127v, l. 9; የ: fol. 136r, l. 6; ጒ: fol. 131r, l. 5; ጥ: fol. 127v, l. 9; ፡: fol. 127r, l. 6 (ጣ); fol. 127r, l. 14 (ጣ); ፡: fol. 127r, l. 7 (ኦ); fol. 127v, l. 11 (ጣ).

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| ዲ |  | single vowel marker [= modern form] |
| ፑ |  | the lateral legs do not reach the base line [= modern form] |
| fourth order |  | shortening of the left leg(s) [= modern form] |
| seventh order |  | shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

2.3.7.2 Contents

MS GG-185 is a collection of single-type collections, containing (fragments of) six collections. Its contents can be summarised as follows:

2.3.7.2.1 *first unidentified collection: fols [...]1r–2v*

On fols 1r–2v, a fragment of a collection of antiphons of unidentified type is preserved. This single bifolio contains antiphons for a large part of the liturgical year—from the First Sunday of the Great Fast (ዘቅድስት፣ *za-Qəddəst*) to the end of the liturgical year—suggesting that it was never of large size. The antiphons for the Season of Flowers are missing, but it does not seem improbable that a comparison with a larger textual corpus would enable us to identify the type of antiphons.

2.3.7.2.2 *səbhata nagh collection: fol. 2v[...]*

On the last five lines of fol. 2v, the beginning of a new collections has been preserved. It has the rubricated heading: *māhlet za-sabbəhəwwō 'əm- 'āmat 'aska 'āmat* (ማላሌት፡ ዘሰብሐዎ፡ እምዓመት፡ እስከ፡ ዓመት፡, '[Collection of] *māhlet* for *sabbəhəwwō* for the entire year'). Only two complete and one partial antiphon have been preserved, the first two belonging to the commemoration of John the Baptist (*Yohannəs*) and the last one to Sundays [in the Season of John the Baptist]. These antiphons find perfect parallels in the corresponding antiphons in the *səbhata nagh* collection in MS EMMML 7618 (2.3.4.3.11), suggesting that the fragmentary collection in MS GG-185 is also of this type.

2.3.7.2.3 *second unidentified collection: fols [...]3r–4v*

On a second loose bifolio, a second collection of antiphons of unidentified type is found. The bifolio completely lacks rubrication. The collection begins with antiphons belonging to the commemoration of the Resurrection (?) and seems to end with antiphons for the end of the year, suggesting, as in the case of the first unidentified collection in MS GG-185, that this is a 'smaller' antiphon collection. Based on the fact that two of the antiphons for a commemoration of Peter and

Paul ([*Ṗetros wa-Ṗāwəlos*]; fol. 3r) are attested in the studied corpus,⁷⁴⁵ it is possible that the antiphons in this fragmentary collection are of the type *səbhata nagh*. It could thus, theoretically, be a part of the previously described *səbhata nagh* collection (2.3.7.2.2), although this is far from certain, as the hands appear to be quite different. Furthermore, it should be underlined that the identification of these antiphons in the fragmentary second unidentified collection as *səbhata nagh* antiphons is uncertain: the commemoration of Peter and Paul attested in the second unidentified collection belongs to the end of the year, meaning that this commemoration is *not* the same as the one found in the Season of Flowers, from which the parallels identified above derive. While it does not seem unlikely that certain antiphons may recur also in the later commemoration (on 26 Sane?),⁷⁴⁶ this is a complicating factor.

After the end of the collection on fol. 4v, two additions have been made by different hands: a) a curious note, possibly incomplete (ጎሳበ: ሳቤላ: ወጎሳበ: ሄኖክ: ለእመ: ፈቀድክ: ታእምር: ፲ወስክ: እምነበ: አልቦ: ።, ‘If you want to know the calculation of the Sybil and the calculation of Enoch, add 10 [...]’; I cannot make sense of the latter part of the note), and b) two additional antiphons.

2.3.7.2.4 mazmur-family collection: fols 5r–120r

The largest part of MS GG-185 is made up of a *mazmur*-family collection. On many folios, melodic-house indications have been added in the margin, probably by a later hand. The *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-185 is visually complex, with different hands and different layouts (the number of lines differs greatly) coexisting within the same collection. There are places where text appears to be missing (ex. between fols 46v and 47r) and where substantial parts have been scraped off and rewritten (ex. fol. 56v). As indicated above (2.3.7), an autopsy of the manuscript would be necessary to fully understand its quire composition, which is fundamental to understand this collection. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| fols 16v–17r | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 17r–v | Ṗantalewon |
| fols 17v–[...]–18v | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 18v–21v | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 21v | Sergius and Bacchus (<i>Sargis wa-Bā[kos]</i>) |
| fols 21v–22r | ’ <i>Abbā</i> ’Aragāwi |

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. the antiphons *Ṗetros wa-Ṗāwəlos səbhata nagh*, MS Uppsala, UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 24ra, ll. 25–26, and *Ṗetros wa-Ṗāwəlos səbhata nagh*, MS Lālibalā Na’akkʷəto La’ab, EMMML 7529, fol. 25rc, ll. 15–17, respectively.

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. Jeffery 1993, p. 231.

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| fol. 22r–v | Gabra Krastos |
| fol. 22v | Luke the Evangelist |
| fols 22v–23v[...] | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols [...]24r–25r | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |

It appears that the outer bifolio of one quire has been lost, resulting in a loss of text among the antiphons for Sundays in the Season of Flowers (between fols 17v and 18r), and for Stephen the Protomartyr and ʿAbbā Yoḥanni (between fols 23v and 24r). While it can be presumed that the first lost folio contained only antiphons for Sundays in the Season of Flowers, it is not possible to say whether a complete commemoration (or several?) was originally present on the second lost folio.⁷⁴⁷

2.3.7.2.5 *səbhata nagh-service collection: fols 120v–122v*

On fols 120v–122v, a collection that contains antiphons of several different types is found. Structurally, this collection is similar to the multiple-type collection in MS EMMML 7618 (2.3.4.3.16),⁷⁴⁸ but although they partly seem to contain antiphons of the same types for the same commemorations, there are no textual correspondences.

The collection in MS GG-185 contains antiphons of four types—*za-nāhu yə ʿəze* (here called simple *yə ʿəze*), *yətbārak*, *māḥlet* (here called *yəbārəkəwwō*), and *səbhata nagh* (here called *sabbəḥəwwō*), in that order—for the commemorations of Christmas (*Gennā* and *Lədat*), the Circumcision of the Lord (*Gəzrat*), the Baptism of the Lord (*Ṭəmḳat*, here: *Ṭəmḳāt*), the Wedding in Kana (*Qānā*), the three [days of?] Epiphany (*salās ʿEpifānyā*), Ascension (*Bā ʿala 40*), and Transfiguration (*Dabra Tābor*). On fol. 122v, another commemoration appears to begin, but the page has not been rubricated, meaning that the indication of the commemoration is missing; however, judging from the contents of the antiphons, they seem to belong to a Marian feast, possibly, given the calendrical position, the Assumption of Mary (*Fəlsatā*). All four antiphon types listed above are performed during the course of the *səbhata nagh* service;⁷⁴⁹ for this reason, I refer to this collection as the *səbhata nagh-service* collection, which should not be confused with single-type *səbhata nagh* collections. No antiphons for the Season of Flowers are found in the *səbhata nagh-service* collection in MS GG-185.

⁷⁴⁷ Given that the set of commemorations found in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-185 is not paralleled by any of the other collection of the same type—its inclusion of the commemoration of Luke the Evangelist is unique—one could speculate that it perhaps also included antiphons for ʿAbbā ʿAbaydo, as both of these commemorations commonly occur in later collections (see 2.2).

⁷⁴⁸ Other multiple-type parts of collections are found in the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (2.3.6.3.4) and the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 (2.3.8.3.1), and the last section of the *yətbārak* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 (2.3.9.2.8).

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 336–358.

2.3.7.2.6 'arbā't collection: fols 123r–140r

On fols 123r–140r, a melodic-family-based collection of 'arbā't antiphons is found. Compared to other 'arbā't collections, it contains a smaller number of melodic families and of individual antiphons; see Chapter 5 (Data set 3) for a fuller description of its contents. Fols 123v–125r, 126r–132v, and 133v–137v lack rubrication, although it is clear from the empty spaces that it was intended to contain rubricated elements. Fols 123r, 125v, and 133r (all containing the beginnings of new melodic-family sections) are partly rubricated, whereas fols 138r–140r are fully rubricated. The antiphons included in the textual corpus in Chapter 3 are distributed over the various melodic-family sections; see Data set 1 for precise indications as to where individual antiphons are located.

2.3.7.2.7 'aryām collection: fols 140v–144v[...]

On fols 140v–144v, the beginning of an 'aryām collection has been preserved. It is melodic-family based and contains the entire sections for the melodic families *Yohannəsə-ni hallo* (fols 140v–142v) and *Yəgabbəru ba'āla* (fols 142v–143r), as well as the beginning of a section for the melodic family *Yəbeləwwə həzb* (fols 143v–140v[...]), all three listed with these designations by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969.⁷⁵⁰ As in the case of the other melodic-family-based collections, see Chapter 3 for indications about where the antiphons included in the textual corpus are found.

2.3.8 Gunda Gunde, GG-187

MS Gunda Gunde, GG-187 (= MS GG-187), parchment codex, 35 × 22 × 7.3 cm, 162 fols, 45–48 lines, no boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs made available online by the Library of the University of Toronto Scarborough.⁷⁵¹ It has been catalogued for the website by Witold Witakowski.

As mentioned by Witakowski, the manuscript is, in its present state, acephalous and lacks its end. Many folios have furthermore been disarranged. However, through an analysis of the contents of the manuscript, as well as of the system of quire numbering used in parts of the manuscript, it has been possible to attain at least a partial reconstruction of the original sequence of the quires, as displayed below (2.3.8.2).

⁷⁵⁰ Cf. Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 61–63.

⁷⁵¹ URL: <https://ark.digital.utsc.utoronto.ca/ark:61220/utsc35548> [2024-09-30]. According to the metadata provided on the website, the digital photographs were taken on 10 November 2006. I am thankful to Kirsta Stapelfeldt at the UTSC Library for providing me with an offline version of these photographs.

First, another aspect of the reconstruction of MS GG-187 will be addressed. In another of the manuscripts from Gunda Gunde—MS Gunda Gunde, GG-121⁷⁵²—one folio that originally belonged to an early *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection has been folded on the long margin and used as a flyleaf at the beginning of the manuscript. This was noticed by Ted Erho, who kindly brought my attention to the fact and suggested that this leaf might originate from MS GG-187.⁷⁵³ An analysis of the textual content of the flyleaf suggests that this is, with high probability, the case.⁷⁵⁴ In this dissertation, the fragment making up MS GG-121, fols 1r–2v, will be treated as a part of MS GG-187.

2.3.8.1 Dating

MS GG-187 is dated by Witakowski to the sixteenth century. Ted Erho, on the other hand, dates it to the fourteenth century.⁷⁵⁵ Presumably, palaeographical considerations underlie both of these datings. Below, a selection of palaeographical features of the main hand⁷⁵⁶ of MS GG-187 are described.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵² This manuscript is also available online at the website of Library of the University of Toronto Scarborough (URL: <https://ark.digital.utsc.utoronto.ca/ark:61220/utsc35352> [2024-09-30]). Like MS GG-187, it has been catalogued by Witold Witakowski, according to whom it contains the ‘Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth’ by Baḥayla Mikā’el (CAe 1954) and possibly dates from the fifteenth century.

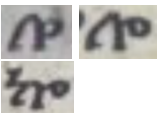
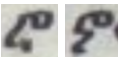

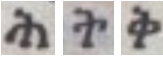





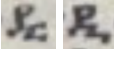

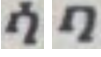
⁷⁵³ Personal communication, 29 May 2018.

⁷⁵⁴ As mentioned, this single leaf has been folded on the long margin and thus turned into a bifolio, in which the original recto is now represented by fols 1v–2r (with the text, in the present state of the manuscript, running vertically from the bottom to the top) and the original verso is represented by fols 1r and 2v. Fol. 1v appears to contain the beginning of a *mazmur* collection, leading to the suspicion that it might be the missing first leaf of the first quire of the *mazmur* collection in MS GG-187, i.e. the folio belonging before fol. 158ra, in the present state of the manuscript (see 2.3.8.2). The text found at the end of the loose leaf (= MS GG-121, fol. 2vb) seems to fit well with what is found on MS GG-187, fol. 158ra, the former ending with: ለእኩ: ጎቤሁ: አይሁድ: እምኢየሩሳሌም: ካህና/ (‘The Jews from Jerusalem asked him, the pries[...].’) and the latter beginning with: /ት: ወሌዋዊያን: ወይቤልዎ: መኑ: አንተ: ብእሲ: ዘታጠምቅ: [...] (‘[...]ts and the Levites, and said: “Who are you, man who baptises [...]”). However, as far as can be determined on the basis of the available material, this reconstructed antiphon is not attested in any of the other two single-type *mazmur* collections for which the commemoration of John the Baptist is available, in MSS EMMML 6944 and EMMML 7618. The modern *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 has an ‘*abun*’ antiphon beginning with ለእኩ: ጎቤሁ: ኩሉሙ: ሰብአ: ኢየሩሳሌም: ካህናት: ወሌዋዊያን: ወይቤልዎ: መኑ: አንተ: ብእሲ: ዘታጠምቅ: [...], ‘All the people of Jerusalem, the priests and the Levites, asked him and said: “Who are you, man who baptises [...]”’ (*Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 3, ll. 2–9), but the following lines are substantially different in the modern antiphon compared to what is found in MS GG-187—nonetheless, this attests to the use of this phrase in antiphons.

⁷⁵⁵ Personal communication, 29 May 2018.

⁷⁵⁶ MS GG-187 also contains additions and corrections by at least two further hands: Hand B and Hand C. As opposed to the situation in MS BAV Vat. et. 28, where two hands worked on the main text as part of the same production process (see 2.4.2), the three hands in MS GG-187 clearly represent different chronological strata. The chronological sequence between Hands B and C in MS GG-187 can be deduced from the additions on fol. 148r, where, in the blank space in column B, Hand B first added one antiphon (ll. 7–10), followed by numerous antiphons by Hand C (the rest of the column). They are both characterised by the use of a different, lighter ink than Hand A. While the letters of Hand B are of approximately the same size as those of Hand A, those of Hand C are pronouncedly smaller. All three hands appear to be early, as indicated for example by their

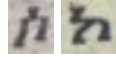
Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| ḥ, ḥo |  | two forms are attested: a) the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line, b) the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter with a connecting line |
| ḥ, ḥ |  | the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter with a connecting line |
| ḥ, ḥ |  | two forms occur: a) the vowel marker is circular and is attached on top of the letter, b) the vowel marker is slightly triangular and replaces the top line of the letter |
| ḥ, ḥ, ḥ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| ḥ, ḥ |  | the loops of <ḥ> and parts of <ḥ> are connected |
| ḥ |  | the vowel marker has the form of a slanted top line [= modern form] |
| ḥ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally and does not reach outside the body of the letter |
| ḥ |  | the distinction between <ḥ> and <ḥ> appears to be of the later type |
| ḥ |  | the body of the letter rests on the base line, which the vowel marker sometimes reaches |
| ḥ |  | the form with a single vowel marker [= modern form] is frequent, but the form with two vowel markers also occurs |
| ḥ |  | the lateral legs do not reach the base line [= modern form] |
| fourth order |  | shortening of the left leg(s) [= modern form] |

usage of x-cross-based punctuation marks (for this palaeographical feature as an indication of age in *Døggwā*-type antiphon collections, see Chapter 4, 4.4.3.4).

⁷⁵⁷ Sources for palaeographical samples: *ℳ*: fol. 90rb, l. 4; fol. 94ra, l. 36; *ℋ*: fol. 94rb, l. 13; *℄*: fol. 94ra, l. 20; *℥*: fol. 94rb, l. 11; *℥*: fol. 90rb, l. 25; *℥*: fol. 90rb, l. 31; fol. 94ra, l. 49; *℥*: fol. 94rb, l. 21; *℥*: fol. 90ra, l. 7; *℥*: fol. 94rb, l. 27; *℥*: fol. 94ra, l. 37; *℥*: fol. 94ra, l. 10; *℥*: fol. 94rb, l. 8; *℥*: fol. 94rb, l. 7; *℥*: fol. 94ra, l. 16; *℥*: fol. 94ra, l. 20; *℥*: fol. 89rb, l. 4; *℥*: fol. 90rb, l. 32; fol. 94ra, l. 23; *℥*: fol. 94rb, l. 7; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 94rb, l. 12 (*η*); fol. 94rb, l. 14 (*η*); sixth-order vowel marker: fol. 90rb, l. 12 (*η*); fol. 94ra, l. 47 (*η*).

seventh
order



two forms are attested: a) with an addition to the right leg(s) (rare), b) with shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form]

Linguistic features:

- there are a number of words in which the laryngeal rules appear to have applied differently than in Standard Ge'ez, producing, on the one hand, outcomes such as: ሳፀት፡, *sā 'at*, for ሰዓት፡, *sa 'āt* (fol. 91ra, ll. 29, 32); ባዓታት/ተ፡, *bā 'ātāt(a)*, for በዓታት/ተ፡, *ba 'ātāt(a)* (fols 91rb, l. 33; 96va, ll. 1, 4); on the other hand, outcomes such as: ማፅዛ(ሁ)፡, *mā 'zā(hu)* (?), for መዓዛ(ሁ)፡, *ma 'āzā(hu)* (fols 89rb, ll. 13–14; 96ra, l. 16; 112vb, l. 32) and ወባፅታት፡, *wa-bā 'tāta* (?), for ወበዓታት፡, *wa-ba 'ātāta* (fol. 89ra, l. 41). Possibly, such examples are restricted to the *'arbā 't* collection and the *śalast* collection.

Orthographic features:

- The word *'Ēgzi 'abəher* is written as one word (fols 154vb, l. 4; 155va, l. 13).

Overall, the abovementioned features seem to be more consonant with a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century dating than a sixteenth-century dating. One important indication of this, underlined by Ted Erho in personal communication,⁷⁵⁸ is that the loops of <መ> never appear to be separated; according to Uhlig 1988, the separation occurs with increasing frequency from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards.⁷⁵⁹ <ሎ> appear both in the form with and without a connecting line between the vowel marker and the body of the text, although the form without a connecting line appears to be more frequent in the first part of the *mazmur* collection (2.3.8.3.1). To summarise, the palaeographical features of main hand of MS GG-187 appear to be consonant with a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century dating.

2.3.8.2 Codicological reconstruction

As mentioned above (2.3.8), many folios in MS GG-187 have been disarranged, and an analysis and reconstruction of its codicological composition is necessary to understand its contents correctly. MS GG-187 can be analysed as consisting of two groups of folios.⁷⁶⁰ The first group, at present, consists of (remnants of) fifteen quires, all of which can be reconstructed as quaternions. It contains the *mazmur* collection and is characterised by the numbering of both quires and

⁷⁵⁸ Personal communication, 1 March 2021.

⁷⁵⁹ Uhlig 1988, p. 339.

⁷⁶⁰ Due to the substantial number of loose leaves in MS GG-187 in its present state, I will use the concept of 'groups of folios' (as in the description of MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, 2.3.6.2) rather than 'codicological blocks' (as in the description of MS EMMML 7618, 2.3.4.2) when discussing it. For an introduction to the term 'group of folios', see fn. 735.

bifolios. Quire numbers are found in the left upper corner of the first folio of each quire. Next to the quire number, sometimes separated from it by means of a word divider but sometimes not, is a bifolio number $\bar{\text{g}}$. On the following folios in each quire, the bifolio numbers $\bar{\text{g}}$, $\bar{\text{f}}$, and $\bar{\text{e}}$ are found, now without the quire number. The quire and bifolio numbers are written in an Ethiopic hand that displays a number of archaic features: the numerals lack lines (*passim*), the numerals $\bar{\text{g}}$ and $\bar{\text{e}}$ both have distinctly angular forms (*passim*), and the difference between $\bar{\text{g}}$ and $\bar{\text{e}}$ is expressed by the compression of the former (cf. fols 57r, 65r). In Figure 7, the structure of the first six of the preserved quires is displayed in a schematic way.⁷⁶¹ Quires *A-I–*A-IV probably represent the original four first quires. Judging from the preserved quire numbers, it appears that four complete quires have been lost between quire *A-IV and quire *A-V.⁷⁶² The possibility that stray folios can be found as flyleaves in other manuscripts originating in Gunda Gunde and related monasteries, similar to the folio in MS GG-121, should not be disregarded. As for quires *A-VII–*A-XV (fols 17ra–88vb), they follow the pattern of quire *A-VI, including the presence of legible quire and bifolio numbers, and have therefore not been displayed schematically.

⁷⁶¹ For an introduction to the way in which quires are visualised schematically in this dissertation, see fn. 702. In the visualisations of quires from MS GG-187, the quire and bifolio numbers found on the respective leaves have been provided in column to the right of the one containing folio numbers.

⁷⁶² Quire V lacks a quire number, but its text connects to quire VI, which has the quire number $\bar{\text{f}}$, leading to the conclusion that it originally must have been the ninth quire.

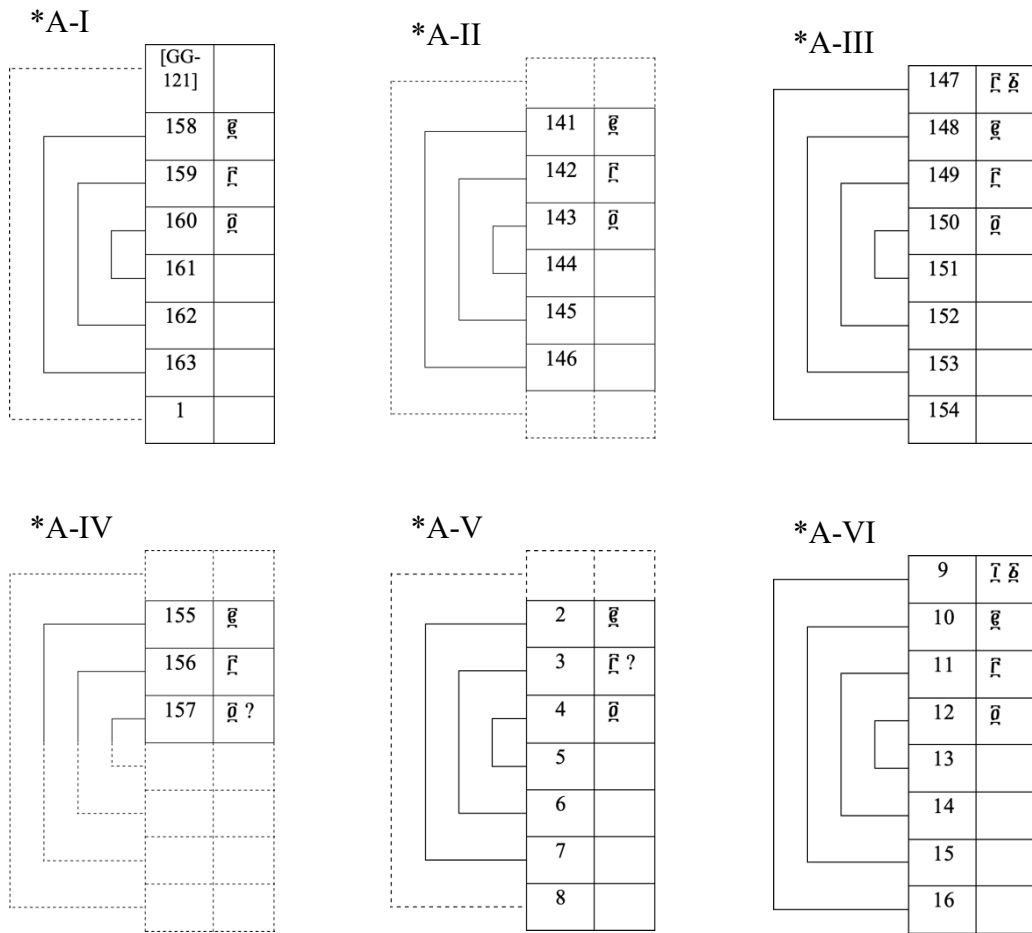


Figure 7. Schematic representations of the reconstructed quires *A-I–*A-VI in MS GG-187.

The second group of quires (which, it would seem, also constitutes a ‘codicological block’ in the sense of Gumbert 2004) consists of five quaternions and two ternions. It houses two main collections—the *’arbā’*t collection and the *ṣalast* collection—plus a number of smaller textual units. The *’arbā’*t collection begins on three quaternions (fols 89ra–112vb) and then continues into the second folio of a ternion (fols 113ra–115ra). Thereupon follows what appears to be the order of the *kāštata’* *’aryām* service, in later times found in the *Mā’rāf*,⁷⁶³ and possibly some additional antiphons (fols 115ra–115vb). On fol. 116ra, the *ṣalast* collection begins. It continues through the rest of the ternion, covers the two following quaternions, and seems to end in the middle of fol. 138ra. On fol. 138rb, what appears to be a new collection with the title *Maṣḥafa Rome za-sāmā’anni’* *’Ēgzi’-o ṣalotāya* (‘The Book of Rome of “Listen, O Lord, to my prayer”’) begins (see 2.3.8.3.3). This ends abruptly with fol. 141vb.

According to my interpretation, MS GG-187 consists of one articulated codicological unit. I see several arguments in favour of the unity of the two groups of folios: firstly, there are no noticeable palaeographical differences

⁷⁶³ On the *Mā’rāf*, cf. fn. 11.

between the two blocks as such—if palaeographical variation is found, it is rather between the first and the latter parts of the *mazmur*-family collection. Secondly, the two groups of folios also share most *mise en texte* features (cf. Chapter 4). At the same time, the presence of quire and bifolio numbers in one of them, but not the other, represents a discontinuity between the two groups.

2.3.8.3 Contents

MS GG-187 is a collection of single-type collections, containing, in total, three collections. Its contents can be summarised as follows:

2.3.8.3.1 *mazmur-family collection: fols [MS GG-121, 1r–2v], 158ra–163vb, 1rv, [...]141ra–154vb[...], [...]155ra–157vb[...], [...]2ra–88ra*

The largest part of MS GG-187 is occupied by a calendar-based *mazmur*-family collection. Its first part has been affected by substantial material loss, as laid out in the codicological reconstruction (2.3.8.2). There are occasional melodic-house indications, probably added by a later hand. The *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 is the only single-type collection where a division into seasons is clearly marked in the layout (but compare the codicological reconstruction of MS DS-VIII*/XIII, 2.3.14.2). The Season of Supplication begins on fol. 9ra, coinciding with the beginning of a new quire. The antiphons within this section are not divided into commemorations (because they all belong to the common commemoration for the Season of Supplication?), but rather into sections introduced by the term *ba-kālā' zemā* or, in fewer cases, simply by a hallelujah-number indication. On fol. 23vb, the formula *X ba-za yābl* is used on three occasions (see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.3.1). On fol. 24ra, again coinciding with the beginning of a new quire, the Season of the Great Fast begins. The antiphons are divided into commemorations based on the Sundays within the Great Fast, and within each commemoration, the term *ba-kālā' zemā* is frequently used. On fol. 35, in the middle of a quire, the Season for Easter begins. Within it, the commemorations concern saints and feasts (as in the part preceding the Season of Supplication), but the term *ba-kālā' zemā* still appears frequently within them. On fol. 84va–85rb, a multiple-type commemoration for the Transfiguration (*Dabra Tābor*), parallel to the one found in the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (see 2.3.6.3.4), is found.⁷⁶⁴ In the present state of the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, the Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

fol. 147ra–vb

Children of Zebedee

⁷⁶⁴ Other multiple-type collections and parts of collections found in manuscripts containing primarily single-type collections are the multiple-type collection in MS EML 7618 (2.3.4.3.16), the *sabhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185 (2.3.7.2.5), and the last section of the *yātbārak* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 (2.3.9.2.8).

Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| fol. 148ra–b | Ṗantalewon (later addition by Hand C: ዘጸግዕት፡ ፪፡ ለጥቅምት፡) |
| fols 148va–151rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 151vb–154vb[...] | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 155ra–156va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 156vb–157vb[...] | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |

Furthermore, both Hand B and Hand C have made additions to these commemorations. Hand B adds:

| | |
|------------|---|
| fol. 148rb | additional antiphon for Ṗantalewon |
| fol. 151rb | additional antiphons for Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 156rb | additional antiphon for Stephen the Protomartyr |

Hand C further adds:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| fol. 147vb | additional antiphons for Ṗantalewon of the Cell |
| fol. 156va | a commemoration for ʿAbbā Yəṃʿattā |
| fol. 151rb–va | a commemoration for Ṗantalewon (the Martyr; እንጠሌዎን፡ ሰግዕት(?)[፡]) |

2.3.8.3.2 ʿarbāʿt collection: fols 89ra–115ra

On fols 89ra–115ra, a melodic-family-based collection of ʿarbāʿt antiphons is found. For a summary of which melodic families are represented in it, see Chapter 5 (Data set 3). The antiphons included in the corpus are distributed over the individual melodic-family sections; see Chapter 5 (Data set 1) for indications as to where each antiphon included in the corpus is found.

2.3.8.3.3 śalast collection, incl. the Maṣḥafa Rome: fols 116ra–138ra (+ fols 138rb–141rb)

MS GG-187 also contains a collection of śalast antiphons, which, as the ʿarbāʿt collection, is melodic-family based. As in the case of the other melodic-family-based collections, see Chapter 5 (Data set 1) for indications about where the antiphons included in the textual corpus are found.

Remarkable about the śalast collection in MS GG-187 is the presence of an apparently separate collection (but also containing śalast antiphons) following the main collection. This second collection is introduced with many of the same *mise en texte* features as the ʿarbāʿt collection in the same manuscript, and, in some regards, more elaborate features than the main śalast collection (for example, a

more elaborate introductory formula). The second collection begins with the following: *Ba-səma 'ab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus šahafna Maṣḥafa Rome za-səmə 'anni 'Ēgzi'-o šalotəya* (በስሙ: አብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅስዱ: ጸሐፍነ: መጽሐፈ: ሮሜ: ዘስምዐኒ: እግዚእ: ጸሎትዮ።, ‘In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, we have written the Book of *Rome* of “Listen, O Lord, to my prayer”’). The latter part of this title refers to Ps. 101 [LXX], with which *šalast* antiphons are frequently preformed and which regularly occurs as a designation of *šalast* antiphons in earlier sources (see Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.25). But how is the word *rome* to be interpreted in this context? Dillmann 1865 lists it as a variant of the word *Rom* (ሮሞ፣, ‘Rome’, with broad reference, often including the Byzantine Empire).⁷⁶⁵ This could evoke speculations about possible connections between Ethiopian liturgical music and that of other churches, not least by being reminiscent of one type of hymns in the Syriac liturgical book *Bēṭ Gazzā* (ܬܒܬ ܕܥܙܐ, ‘The Treasury’): the *qānonā yawnāyā* (ܩܢܘܢܐ ܝܘܢܝܐ, ‘Greek canon’). A more likely connection—but one which offers little by way of explanation—may be found in one of the melodic families for *šalast* antiphons listed in Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969: *Romāy bə'əsihu* (ሮሜይ: ብእሲሁ፣, ‘The Roman’; listed as ‘additional’). One could speculate that the *šalast* antiphons in the *Maṣḥafa Rome* belong to this melodic family; however, from a cursory look at parallels among the antiphons for the commemorations within the Season of Flowers, this appears not to be the case, as the *šalast* antiphons in the *Maṣḥafa Rome* correspond to antiphons belonging to different melodic families in the later tradition. In the end, a study of the diachronic development of the *šalast* melodic families and their designations, similar to what is done for the *'arbā't* melodic families in Chapter 5 of this dissertation, would be needed to find a solution to this problem. In any case, the *Maṣḥafa Rome* offers a parallel (although they appear not to be similar in substance) to the second *šalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 (see 2.3.9.2.6).

2.3.9 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 92

MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 92 (= MS BnF Éth. 92), parchment codex, 27.3 × 16.8 cm, 152 fols, two columns, 30–48 lines, European binding. This manuscript has been consulted primarily in the form of a set of digital (or digitised?) greyscale photographs, produced by the Département de la reproduction of the BnF and made available online on various platforms.⁷⁶⁶

Furthermore, the manuscript was consulted in its physical form on 16–19 July 2019, which allowed for a more in-depth codicological analysis of the manuscript

⁷⁶⁵ Dillmann 1865, col. 1412.

⁷⁶⁶ Permanent URL to the images at Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10092996z> [2021-02-03]. The images are also available online at Beta Maṣāḥəft: <https://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BNFet92/viewer> [2020-12-28].

(see below, 2.3.9.1), and later on colour photographs taken by me during this occasion.⁷⁶⁷ MS BnF Éth. 92 has been catalogued by Zotenberg 1877.⁷⁶⁸

As for mentions in the previous literature, Cerulli 1961, in a short note, comments that MS BnF Éth. 92 ‘sembra di fondamentale importanza [...], per quanto non ancora studiato sin ora’.⁷⁶⁹ It was included in the corpus used by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.⁷⁷⁰

2.3.9.1 Dating and codicological reconstruction

Zotenberg 1877 dates MS BnF Éth. 92 (or rather, the hand) to the fifteenth century.⁷⁷¹ He does not mention any particular palaeographical features in support of this dating, and consonant with the general practice of the time, he does not discuss the codicological composition of the manuscript, which in this case turns out to be of central importance.

On fol. 109v, the following note—not mentioned by Zotenberg 1877—is found in the upper margin of the page: ‘*ama 10 la-miyāzyā ba-fəśḥ tawaṭnat zātti salām ba-‘alata salus, wa-tafaṣṣamat ba-‘alata rabu*’ ‘*ama 20 la-gənbət ba-492* (አመ፡ ፲፬፡ ለሚያዝያ፡ በፍሥሕ፡ ተወጥኑት፡ ዛቴ፡ ሰላም፡ በዕለተ፡ ሰሉስ፡ ወተፈጸመት፡ በዕለተ፡ ረቡዕ፡ አመ፡ ፳፡ ለግንቦት፡ በ፬፻፺፪፡(!), ‘This [collection of] *salām* [antiphons] was begun during Easter on 14 Miyāzyā, on a Tuesday, and it was finished on a Wednesday, on 20 Gənbət, in [the year of] 492.’). This dating corresponds perfectly to AD 1308, if one understands *fəśḥ* in the sense of ‘septimana paschatis’.⁷⁷² However, as explicitly stated in the note, this date concerns only the *salām* collection. To evaluate its validity for the rest of the collections contained in this manuscript (see 2.3.9.2), an analysis of the contents and the codicological composition of the manuscript is required.

Zotenberg 1877 notes that MS BnF Éth. 92 is ‘incomplet au commencement et à la fin’, and that there are ‘dans le corps du volume quelques transpositions de feuillets, et des lacunes entre les folio actuellement cotés 3 et 4, 4 et 5, 5 et 6, 22 et 23, 36 et 37, 92 et 93, 123 et 124.’⁷⁷³ Although pointing to a certain complexity, this is, in fact, a simplification of the state of affairs. Based both on the autopsy of the manuscript and on an analysis of its contents, the folios of MS BnF Éth. 92

⁷⁶⁷ These photographs only cover fols 1ra–44vb; for the latter part of the manuscript, I have depended solely on the reproduction produced by the Département de la reproduction of the BnF.

⁷⁶⁸ Zotenberg 1877, pp. 91–93.

⁷⁶⁹ Cerulli 1961, p. 222, fn. 1.

⁷⁷⁰ Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁷⁷¹ Zotenberg 1877, p. 93. This dating is repeated by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.

⁷⁷² Cf. Dillmann 1865, col. 1351. In the year AD 1308, Easter Sunday fell on 19 Miyāzyā, meaning that the collection was begun on the Tuesday in the Holy week (cf. Chaîne 1925, pp. 181–184). For determining which date in a particular year falls on a specific day of the week, I have used the open-source calendar application Ḥassāba Zaman developed by Augustine Dickinson and available at <https://cal.ethiopicist.com> [2021-02-03].

⁷⁷³ Zotenberg 1877, p. 93.

can be grouped together into six groups, which, in their present state, are partly confused and intermingled.⁷⁷⁴ Below, these groups of folios are presented, arbitrarily numbered according to the sequence of their main bodies in the current state of the manuscript.

The first group of folios (*A) is reconstructible as consisting of four quires, all (probably) originally quaternions. Both its beginning and its end appear to be preserved, i.e. the beginning of the first quire of this group of folios coincides with the beginning of a collection, and the end of last quire of the group of folios coincides with the end of a collection. It contains, in the following sequence, the *'arbā 't* collection (1), the *za- 'amlākiya* collection (2), and the *za-nāhu yə 'aze* collection (3), and is schematically visualised in Figure 8.⁷⁷⁵ The reconstruction of quire *A-I requires a comment. On fol. 2r, the beginning of the section for the *'arbā 't* melodic family *'Aṭmaqqa* [1] is found (for an the introduction to the melodic families, see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.3). This section is continued on fol. 2v and ends on fol. 29r (although the text does not pass uninterruptedly between these folios), which also houses the beginning of the section for the melodic family *Kokab marḥomu* [2]. This melodic family continues on the verso. Fol. 36r contains antiphons belonging to the melodic family *Wa-yābelomu* I / *'Arārāta* [9], but not the beginning of this melodic-family section. After a textual lacuna, the section with antiphons belonging to this melodic family continues over fol. 5rv and onto the next quire, ending only on fol. 31v. This sequence of the first melodic-family sections—*'Aṭmaqqa* [1], *Kokab marḥomu* [2], *Wa-yābelomu* I / *'Arārāta* [9]—is reminiscent of what is found in several other melodic-family-based *'arbā 't* collections,⁷⁷⁶ and considering that fols 2 and 5, and 29 and 36 constitute two bifolios, the evidence clearly points towards this reconstruction. Another argument for this unity of fols 2, 5, 29, and 36 is of material nature: These four folios share the feature that the pricking has been almost completely

⁷⁷⁴ As in the codicological reconstruction of MSS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (2.3.6.2) and GG-187 (2.3.8.2), I prefer to use the term 'groups of folios' in the first stage of codicological analysis of MS BnF Éth. 92. For an introduction to this term, see fn. 735.

⁷⁷⁵ For an introduction to the way in which quires are visualised schematically in this dissertation, see fn. 702. In the visualisations of quires from MS BnF Éth. 92, the column to the right of the one containing folio numbers contains information about the placement of the individual single-type collections. Each collection in a codicological block is provided with a number in the text; this number appears in the visualisation next to the folios which house the respective collection. Different parts of the same collection have been numbered with the addition of lower-case letters. In order to increase legibility, colours have additionally been used to highlight the single-type collections within the visualisations.

⁷⁷⁶ In the *'arbā 't* collections in MSS EMMML 7078 (2.3.2.2) and EMMML 7618 (2.3.4.3.3), the sequence of the first four melodic-family sections is (1) *'Aṭmaqqa* [1], (2) *Kokab marḥomu* [2], (3) *Bāṣu 'anta Yohannās* [15], (4) *Wa-yābelomu* I / *'Arārāta* [9] (in MS BnF Éth. 92, the section with antiphons belonging to the melodic family *Bāṣu 'anta Yohannās* [15] is placed after the section with antiphons belonging to *Wa-yābelomu* I / *'Arārāta* [9]). In the *'arbā 't* collections in MSS GG-185 (2.3.7.2.6) and GG-187 (2.3.8.3.2), the sequence is (1) *'Aṭmaqqa* [1], (2) *Wa-yābelomu* I / *'Arārāta* [9], (3) *Kokab marḥomu* [2], (4) *Bāṣu 'anta Yohannās* [15], still with the same four melodic families at the beginning. For a fuller treatment of the topic, see Karlsson forthcoming.

cut away. On fol. 29, I could not identify any traces of pricking, whereas on the other three folios, there are residues of pricking on the lower part of the folio. One can imagine that the quire was trimmed when the folios had already been put together to a fascicle, resulting in an uneven trimming. The rest of the quires that make up the group of folios *A is unproblematic.

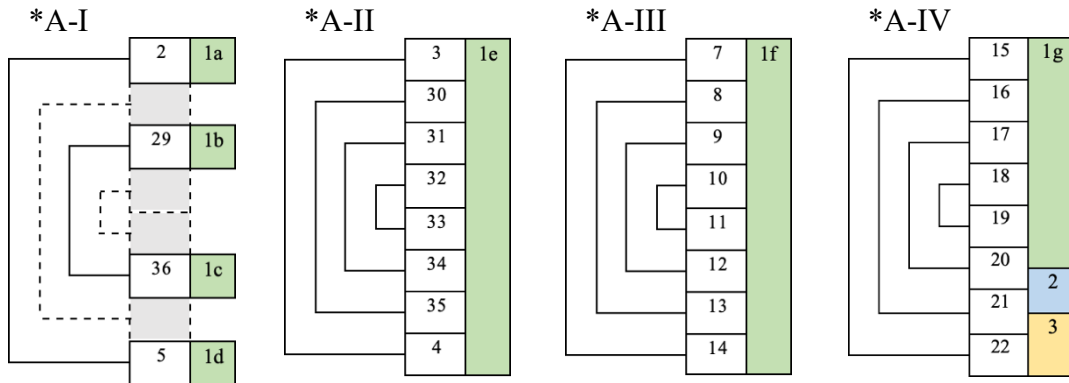


Figure 8. Schematic representation of the four quires that make up the first codicological block (*A) in MS BnF Éth. 92.

The second group of folios (*B), probably a ‘codicological block’ in the sense of Gumbert 2004, is likewise made up of four quaternions. It houses two collections—the first *śalast* collection (1) and the *za-taśāhalanni* collection (2)—plus a number of antiphons, less neatly written by different hands (without rubrication), which are not easily analysable at the present stage of our knowledge. The additional antiphons are found on fols 37rv, i.e. at the beginning of the group of folios *B (light yellow in Figure 9). Their presence on the first folio calls for special consideration, because if they were later additions—as one could imagine—why does the main text only begin on the second folio of the quire? At present, I have no explanation for this. On fol. 68vb, more ‘free-standing’ antiphons are found, which, however, seem to be additional *śalast* antiphons (also light yellow in Figure 9). The second group of folios *B is visualised in Figure 9.

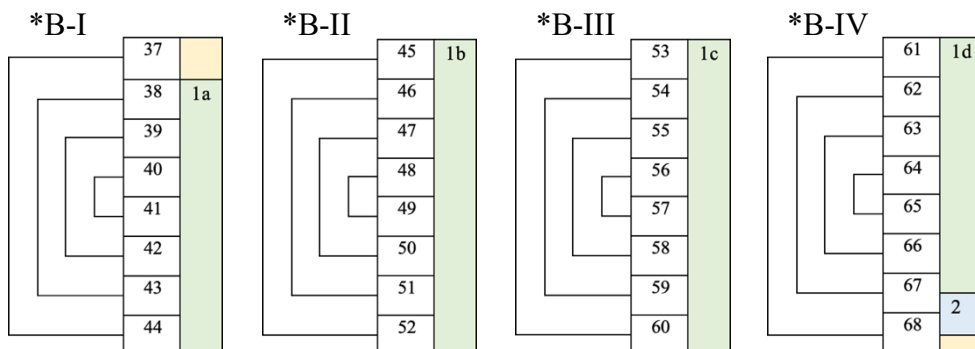


Figure 9. Schematic representation of the four quires that make up the second codicological block (*B) in MS BnF Éth. 92.

The third group of folios (*C) is made up of three quaternions. While its beginning appears to have been preserved—the beginning of the first quire coincides with the beginning of a new collection—it has suffered losses at the end. It remains unclear how much has been lost and whether it might have connected this group of folios to another (e.g. *D). In its present stage, the third group of folios houses four collections: the second *śalast* collection (1), the *ʿĠgziʿabəḥer nagša* collection (2), the *yətbārak* collection (3), and the (incomplete) *səbhata nagh* collection (4). It is visualised in Figure 10.

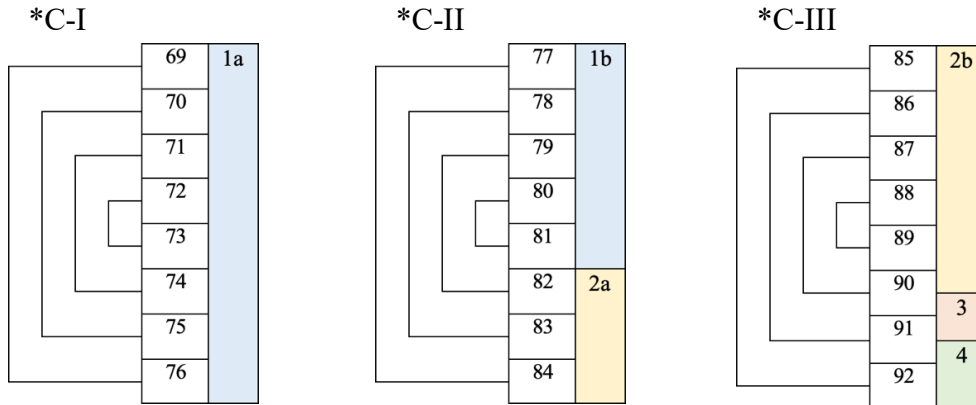


Figure 10. Schematic representation of the three quires that make up the third codicological block (*C) in MS BnF Éth. 92.

The fourth group of folios (*D), it appears, was originally made up of four quaternions, one of which has lost the outer bifolio, and one ternion. It seems to be mutilated both at its beginning and its end, i.e. the first quire begins in the middle of a collection, and the last quire ends in the middle of another. It is thus theoretically possible that the fourth group of folios was in its original state materially connected to another group, for example *C, perhaps following upon this; however, the quire(s) that, in that case, contained the end of the *səbhata nagh* collection and the beginning of the first collection of the present fourth group of folios has/have not been preserved. The fourth group of folios contains two incomplete collections: the *salām* collection (1) and the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection (2).

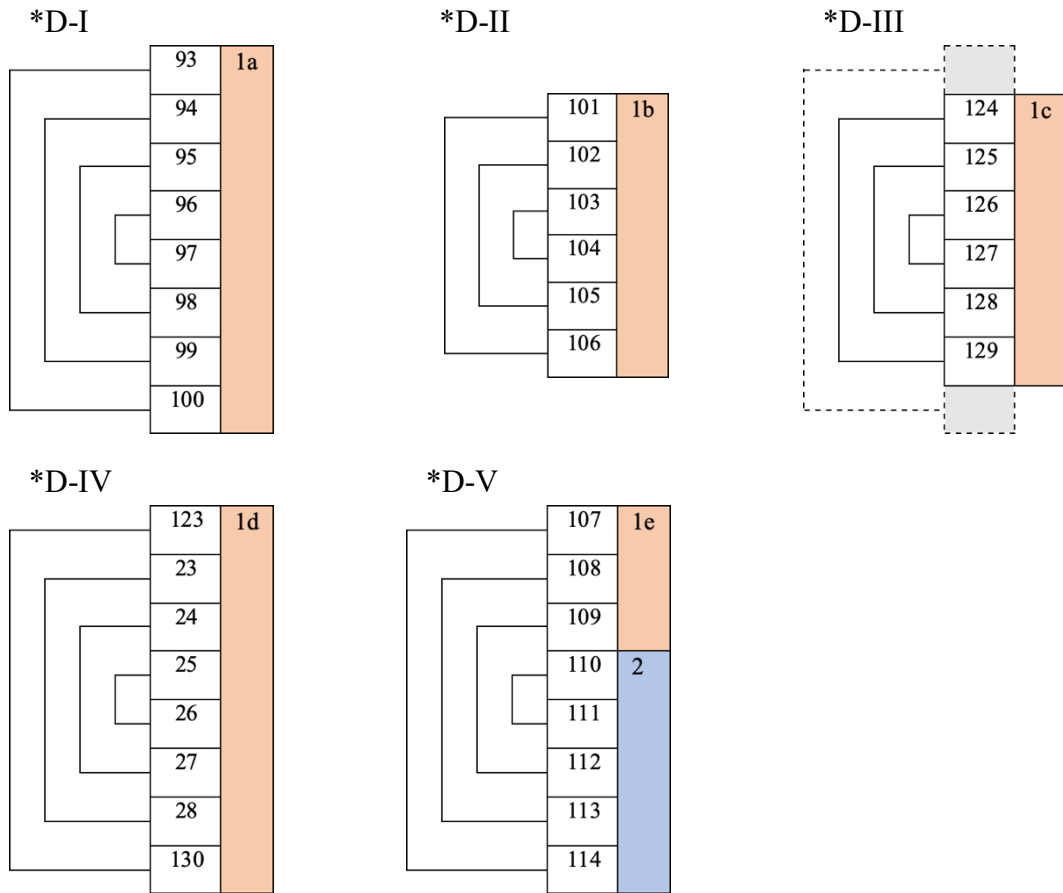


Figure 11. Schematic representation of the five quires that make up the fourth codicological block (*D) in MS BnF Éth. 92.

The fifth group of folios (*E) is made up of one probable quaternion, three quaternions and one loose outer bifolio. They contain parts of a melodic-family-based 'aryām collection (1), whose beginning and end have not been preserved. This group is schematically visualised in Figure 12. I interpret the single preserved bifolio of quire *E-IV as the outer bifolio on account of the fact that the text continues without interruption from fol. 146vb to fol. 1ra.⁷⁷⁷ The quire *E-? appears to contain part of the same 'aryām collection (1) as the rest of the folios of the fifth group; however, it is textually unconnected to the rest and in the absence of a study of the melodic families of 'aryām antiphons, it is not possible to say if it most probably belonged in front of the other quires or after them.

⁷⁷⁷ The last antiphon on fol. 146vb has the following text: አንተ፡ ተወከፍ፡ ጸሎተኑ፡ ወበጽድቅ፡ ንግበር፡ ግብረ፡ ማኅበ/ and the text on fol. 1ra begins as follows፡ /ረኑ፡፡

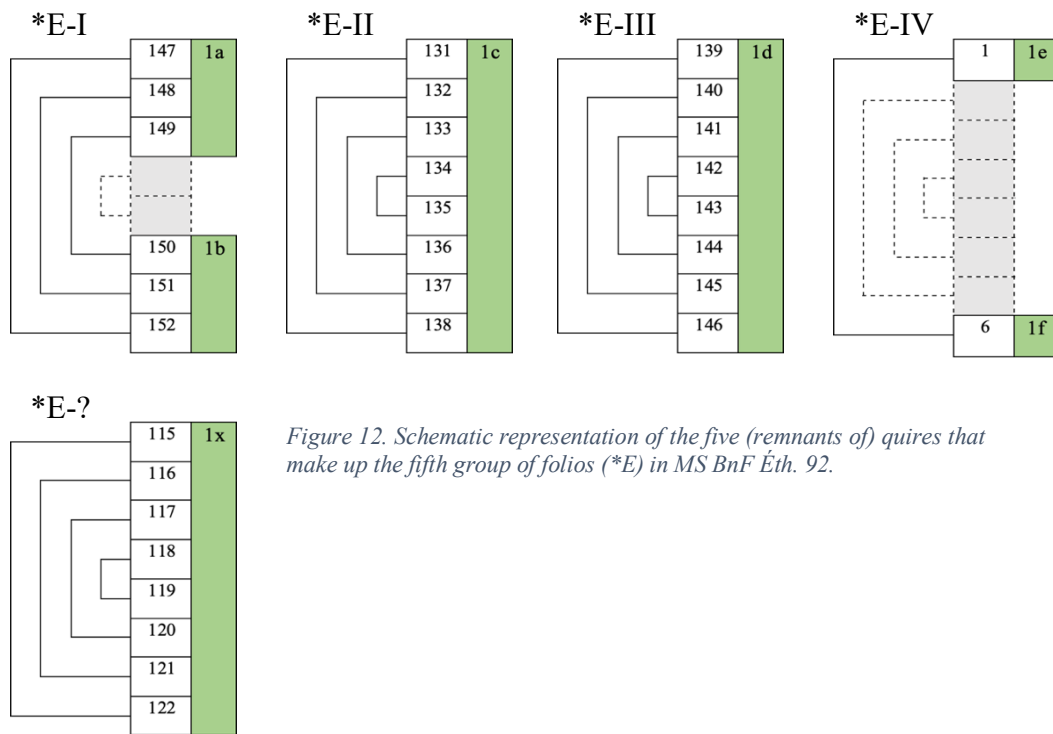










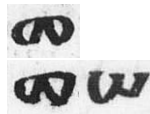



Figure 12. Schematic representation of the five (remnants of) quires that make up the fifth group of folios (*E) in MS BnF Éth. 92.

After this codicological analysis, let us return to the question of the codicological unity of MS BnF Éth. 92, and specifically to the question of whether the dating of the *salām* collection can be applied to the rest of the manuscript as well. As we have seen, MS BnF Éth. 92 can be reconstructed as consisting of five groups of folios, which cannot *a priori* be connected to each other.

In order to assess the relationship between these groups of folios, further analyses of the manuscript have to be carried out. Numerous questions may be asked: Is MS BnF Éth. 92 a composite manuscript, consisting of originally separate circulation units, or are the present caesuras between the groups of folios solely the result of material loss? Are the groups of folios defined above homogenous, or is it possible that they consist of different production units, different layers added at different points in time?⁷⁷⁸ Although MS BnF Éth. 92 is an important manuscript for this study, a full-scale analysis of all these features cannot be performed within the scopes of this dissertation. However, the palaeographical analysis performed on each manuscript in this section of the chapter (see 2.3.1) will, in the case of MS BnF Éth. 92, be performed on two of its different collections: the *salām* collection, which contains the note dating it to AD 1308, and the *ʿarbāʿt* collection, chosen because of a general interest in *ʿarbāʿt* antiphons (cf. Chapter 5). Although this is, of course, only a small *Stichprobe* of the complexity of MS BnF Éth. 92, it may provide a rough indication of how this manuscript is to be understood. I have not noticed examples of non-standard linguistic features in any of the collections.





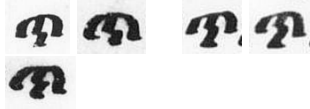


⁷⁷⁸ There are indications that the latter might be the case, namely the use of different antiphon-final punctuation marks within the same codicological block; cf. the discussion in Chapter 4 (4.4.3.1.1).

Palaeographical features of the *salām* collection⁷⁷⁹ and the *'arbā 't* collection:⁷⁸⁰

| | <i>salām</i> coll. | <i>'arbā 't</i> coll. | |
|---------|---|---|--|
| ā, h |  |  | <i>salām</i> collection: the vowel marker is typically attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line <i>'arbā 't</i> collection: the vowel marker is typically placed on a larger distance from the body of the letter and connected to it by an elongation |
| ē, ʿ |  |  | in both collections, the vowel marker has an elongation in the direction of the body of the letter and is attached directly to this without any connecting line |
| ʔ, ʕ |  |  | the vowel marker, generally circular but somewhat angular in the <i>salām</i> collection, replaces the top line of the letter |
| ā, ʔ, ʕ |  |  | in both collections, the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| σ, ω |  |  | in both collections, the loops of <σ> and parts of <ω> are connected; however, they are more left-leaning in the <i>'arbā 't</i> collection |
| ḥ |  |  | in both collections, the vowel marker has the form of a slanted |

⁷⁷⁹ Sources for palaeographical samples: ā: fol. 101rb, l. 18; fol. 103rb, l. 11; ē: fol. 101rb, l. 29; ʿ: fol. 103rb, l. 10; ʔ: fol. 101rb, l. 11; ʕ: fol. 101rb, l. 35; ḥ: fol. 101rb, l. 4; ʔ: fol. 106rb, l. 14; σ: fol. 101rb, l. 3; fol. 103rb, l. 3; ω: fol. 107ra, l. 4; ḥ: fol. 101rb, l. 10; fol. 106rb, l. 23; λ: fol. 101rb, l. 8; ω: fol. 109rb, l. 7; ʿ: fol. 101rb, l. 24; fol. 106rb, l. 13; fol. 127ra, l. 16; ʔ: fol. 103rb, l. 11; fol. 107ra, l. 4; ʕ: fol. 106rb, l. 13; ʔ: fol. 96rb, l. 19; fol. 109rb, l. 14; fol. 127ra, l. 11; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 106rb, l. 14 (q); fol. 106rb, l. 15 (ʔ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 106rb, l. 11 (ʔ); fol. 127rb, l. 10 (m).

⁷⁸⁰ Sources for palaeographical samples: ā: fol. 8ra, 28; fol. 33rb, l. 1; ē: fol. 8ra, 31; fol. 14ra, l. 15; ʿ: fol. 14ra, l. 3; ʔ: fol. 14ra, l. 40; ḥ: fol. 8rb, l. 10; ʔ: fol. 8rb, l. 22; σ: fol. 8ra, 21; ω: fol. 8ra, 7; ḥ: fol. 8rb, l. 40; λ: fol. 8ra, 6; fol. 8rb, l. 7; ω: fol. 14ra, l. 38; ʿ: fol. 8rb, l. 20; fol. 14ra, l. 9; fol. 33rb, l. 32; ʔ: fol. 8rb, l. 9; ʕ: fol. 18va, l. 20; ʔ: fol. 14ra, l. 8; fol. 14ra, l. 41; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 8rb, l. 13 (ʔ); fol. 33rb, l. 11 (ʔ); sixth-order vowel marker: fol. 8rb, l. 2 (n); fol. 8rb, l. 16 (m).

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| λ |  | top line [= modern form] in both collections, the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter and reaches the end of the body of the letter; the vowel marker has a clear serif, resulting in a shape close to the modern form of <λ> |
| ω |  | in both collections, the distinction between <ω> and <ω> appears to be of the later type |
| q |  | <i>salām</i> collection: the body of the letter often rests on the base line, which the vowel marker reaches 'arbā't collection: the body of the letter is reduced in size and raised above the base line [= modern form] |
| ʔ |  | in both collections: single vowel marker [= modern form] |
| ʔ |  | in both collections, the lateral legs do not reach the base line [= modern form]; however, they are closer to the base line in the <i>salām</i> collection |
| fourth order |  | in both collections: shortening of the left leg(s) [= modern form] |
| seventh order |  | in both collections: shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

Orthographic features:

- the word 'Ġgzi 'abəher is written as one word both in the *salām* collection (fols 97rb, l. 9; 102ra, l. 6; 108ra, ll. 15–16) and in the 'arbā't collection (fols 15va, l. 18; 16va, ll. 42–43).

From a comparison between these analyses, one can conclude that the handwriting of the two collections differ only in certain minor aspects. Most of the features attested in both collections are consonant with a pre-mid-fifteenth-century dating, e.g. the form of <ω>, but some features, such as the forms of <q> and <ʔ>, possibly indicate that the *salām* collection could be of a slightly earlier date than the 'arbā't collection. As indicated above, I will not attempt to provide an

individual dating for each of the single-type collections contained in MS BnF Éth. 92, although this might be a worthwhile undertaking in the future. Suffice it to establish that the early-fourteenth-century dating of the *salām* (and, if my impression is correct, also the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection) seems to be credible, and that possibly slightly later dates may be ascribed to the rest of the collections, perhaps in the fourteenth–fifteenth century.

2.3.9.2 Contents

MS BnF Éth. 92 is a collection of single-type collections, containing, in total, (parts of) twelve collections. Zotenberg 1877, in the catalogue entry, identifies ten textual units and provides several extracts of various antiphons (‘hymnes’, ‘chants’). A more up-to-date description, taking into account our improved general understanding of the diachronic development of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections, is presented below:

2.3.9.2.1 *’arbā’t collection: fols 2rv, 29rv, 36rv, 5rv, 3rv, 30ra–35vb, 4rv, 7ra–20rb*

Beginning on fol. 2r, there is a melodic-family-based collection of *’arbā’t* antiphons. According to the codicological reconstruction above (2.3.9.1), two bifolios have been lost, containing antiphons belonging to the following melodic families: *’Aṭmaqqā* [1], *Kokab marḥomu* [2] and *Wa-yābelomu* I / *’Arārāta* [9]. Based on his observations of this collection, Zotenberg 1877 makes a felicitous comparison—later to be repeated by Shelemay et al. 1993⁷⁸¹—between the melodic families and the εἰρηοί of the Byzantine tradition. The antiphons for the commemorations of the Season of Flowers are dispersed among the sections dedicated to individual melodic families; therefore, see Chapter 3 (Data set 1), for indications about where individual antiphons are located. For a summary of the melodic families that this collection contains, see Chapter 5 (Data set 3).

2.3.9.2.2 *za-’amlākiya collection: fols 20va–21va*

On fols 20va–21va, there is a calendar-based collection of *za-’amlākiya* antiphons. The identification of the antiphon type is confirmed by correspondences in later collections.⁷⁸² Some antiphons belonging to the beginning of the liturgical year have unexpectedly been placed at the end; thus, antiphons for Mary (*Māryām*), the Three Children (3 *daqiq*), Minas (*Minās*), Gabriel (*Gabrā’el*), and a common for the righteous (*za-ṣādqān*) appear after the antiphons for Abraham (*’Abrāhām*) at the end of the liturgical year. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

⁷⁸¹ Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 83.

⁷⁸² For example, the antiphon for Stephen the Protomartyr found on fol. 20va, ll. 34–38 has a parallel in MS Dabra Koreb wa-Qarānəyo Madḥane ‘Ālam, EAP432/1/10, fol. 39vb, ll. 20–22.

| | |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| fol. 20va | 'Abbā Yoḥanni ⁷⁸³ |
| fol. 20va | the Cross (<i>Masqal</i>) |
| fol. 20va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 20va | Season of Flowers |

2.3.9.2.3 *za-nāhu yə'əze collection: fols 21vb–22vb*

On fol. 21vb, on the same page as the end of the *za-amlākiya* collection, but in a new column, a small collection with the title *Mawāšə't za-nāhu yā(!) 'ə(?)ze* (መዋሥሕት፡ ዘኅሁ፡ ያ(!)አ(?)ዜ፡, 'Mawāšə't of Nāhu yə'əze') begins. A comparison with the *za-nāhu yə'əze* collection in MS EML 7618 (2.3.4.3.10) allows us to conclude that they contain antiphons of the same type, although there are significant differences in their corpora of *za-nāhu yə'əze* antiphons, at least at the beginning of the collections. The Season of Flowers is represented by one single antiphon, belonging to the commemoration of the Season of Flowers, but lacking a commemoration indication:

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| fol. 21vb (ll. 19–21) | Season of Flowers |
|-----------------------|-------------------|

2.3.9.2.4 *first šalast collection: fols 38ra–67ra*

MS BnF Éth. 92 appears to contain two different collections of *šalast* antiphons. The first is melodic-family-based. Following the practice for other melodic-family-based collections, indications about where the antiphons included in the textual corpus are located are provided in Chapter 3 (Data set 1).

The relationship between the two *šalast* collections in MS BnF Éth. 92 is difficult to define. There are overlaps between the materials contained in the two collections, albeit only in a couple of cases.⁷⁸⁴ As noted in the codicological reconstruction (2.3.9.1), they appear in distinct groups of folios. Whether they were originally part of the same collection of collections or whether their coming together in MS BnF Éth. 92 is the consequence of a later reformulation of codicological units remains, for now, an open question.

On fol. 48va, a curious mark is found in the margin, namely what could be described as a *crux ansata* with the words *qālu 97* (ቃሉ፡ ፻፯) written in its middle (see Illustration 8). This sign is found next to an antiphon containing a quotation from the Parable of the Sower (Matt. 13:3, 8–9) and would seem to be a reference to this Gospel pericope, albeit I have not been to determine according to which system.

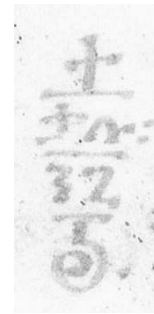


Illustration 8. Marginal sign in MS BnF Éth. 92 (fol. 48va, right margin).

⁷⁸³ The placement of the commemoration for 'Abbā Yoḥanni is exceptional.

⁷⁸⁴ Compare the two antiphons for the commemoration of Kings on fol. 63ra, ll. 33–44 (first *šalast* collection), with those on fol. 70va, ll. 11–22 (second *šalast* collection).

2.3.9.2.5 *za-tasāhalanni collection: fols 67rb–68va*

Following the first *śalast* collection, there is a collection of antiphons introduced in the text with the title *ba-6* (በ፯፡, ‘in six’). In the upper margin, the following formula is found: *za-tasāhalanni ba-za yəbl* (ዘተሣህለኒ፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡, ‘Of “Have mercy on me”, in which one says [the following antiphons]’). The function of this formula, generally used to introduce the melodic-family designations in connection with antiphons of the types *’arbā’ t*, *śalast*, and *’aryām* (see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.3.1), in this context is not clear. Initially, one gets the impression that these antiphons constitute just another melodic family within the first *śalast* collection; however, in this case, it is the incipit of Ps. 50 [LXX] that is introduced within the formula, and none of the attested *śalast* model antiphons. As noted in Chapter 1 (1.4.4.1.34), antiphons performed with this psalm constitute a separate type of antiphons in some early sources, although this type of antiphons is not included in modern lists. The corpus of antiphons in this collection is largely parallel to the antiphons in the *za-tasāhalanni* collection in MS EML 7618 (2.3.4.3.13), suggesting that this should be interpreted as a separate collection. (One may note that the *za-tasāhalanni* collection in MS EML 7618 does not indicate that these antiphons should have any special connection to *śalast* antiphons.) In the *za-tasāhalanni* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, the Season of Flowers is represented by one single commemoration:

fol. 67rb

Season of Flowers

2.3.9.2.6 *second śalast collection: fols 69ra–81vb*

The second *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 is calendar-based and lacks melodic-family indications. It is possible that all the antiphons that it contains belong to the same melodic family, but I have not been able to confirm this. A study of the diachronic development of the melodic families of *śalast* antiphons, similar to what is presented for *’arbā’ t* antiphons in Chapter 5, is necessary to make a definite evaluation of this factor.

The second *śalast* collection contains numerous attestations of the marginal ‘spiral’ sign, reproduced by Zotenberg 1877 with the Arabic letters ح. ⁷⁸⁵ For examples, see Illustration 9. Zotenberg does not attempt to explain the function of this sign nor its connection to the Arabic. ⁷⁸⁶ Inspired by other marginal notes in this manuscript, ⁷⁸⁷ I wonder if its function could be connected to a process of producing a new manuscript using (parts of) MS BnF Éth. 92 as Vorlage, perhaps

⁷⁸⁵ Zotenberg 1877, p. 92.

⁷⁸⁶ On the other hand, a note in the inner margin of fol. 124ra indeed appears to be written in Arabic, although it is hardly decipherable.

⁷⁸⁷ In the upper margin of fol. 125rb, one finds the note *za-’i-taṣa(!)ḥfa* (ዘኢተጸ(!)ሐፈ[:], ‘which has not been written (copied?)’), and in the upper margin of fol. 125rb, the following note: *taṣəḥfa* (ተጽሐፈ[:], ‘[this] has been written (copied?)’). These notes clearly appear to originate from a work process in which (parts of) MS BnF Éth. 92 served as a Vorlage for the production of another manuscript.

marking antiphons that should be or had already been copied. The occurrence of the ‘spiral’ sign in connection with antiphons of different types (see the *salām* collection, 2.3.9.2.10) makes it rather improbable that it points to liturgical or musical features of the antiphons in question.

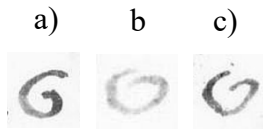


Illustration 9. Examples of marginal signs in the second *salām* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92.

Sources: a) fol. 72rb, l. 13; b) fol. 73ra, l. 16; c) fol. 77rb, l. 14.

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fol. 69va | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fol. 69va–b | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 69vb | Pantalewon |
| fol. 69vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 69vb | Sundays (Stephen the Protomartyr) |
| fols 69vb–70rb | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 70rb–va | Sundays [in the Season of Flowers] |
| fol. 70va | common for fathers (<i>za-’abaw</i>) |
| fol. 70va | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.3.9.2.7 ’*Ēgzi’abəḥer nagśa* collection: fols 82ra–90ra

On fols 82ra–90ra, there is a collection of antiphons corresponding to the type ’*Ēgzi’abəḥer nagśa* of the later tradition. In the main text, the collection is introduced with the initial formula *za-hi ba-zemāhu ba-3* (ዘሂ፡ በዜጣሁ፡ በ፫፡, ‘this one in its own melody, in three’), to which the following note is added in the upper margin: ’*Ēgzi’abəḥer nagśa ba-za yəbl* (እግዚአብሔር፡ ነግሠ፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡, ‘’*Ēgzi’abəḥer nagśa*, in which one says [the following antiphons]’). According to the conventions of initial formulas found in early *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, this would seem to indicate that the following antiphons belong to a *melodic family* called ’*Ēgzi’abəḥer nagśa*, not to an antiphon type with this designation. The designation ‘in three’ could indicate that the antiphons are of the type *salām*, but it could equally well be a hallelujah number or an indication of some other kind. As was noticed in Chapter 1 (1.4.4.1.8), it also appears as an alternative designation for ’*Ēgzi’abəḥer nagśa* antiphons in a variety of early manuscripts. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|-----------|----------------------|
| fol. 83va | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
|-----------|----------------------|

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fol. 83va | Kings |
| fol. 83va–b | Pantalewon |
| fol. 83vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 83vb–84ra | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |
| fol. 84ra | Michael the Archangel (<i>Mikāʿel</i>) |
| fol. 84ra–b | Minas (<i>Minās</i>) |
| fol. 84rb–va | Season of Flowers |

2.3.9.2.8 *yətbārak* collection: fols 90va–91rb

The collection of *yətbārak* antiphons found in MS BnF Éth. 92 contains only antiphons for the week of Easter. This is indicated by initial heading on fol. 90va: *ba-ʿalata Fāsikā nagh gəʿz yətbārak* (በዕለተ፡ ፋሲካ፡ ነግሣ፡ ግዕዝ፡ ይትባረክ፡, ‘On the Feast of Easter (*Fāsikā*), [in the] morning, [in the mode] *gəʿz*, [an antiphon of the type] *yətbārak*’). Then follows what I interpret as *yətbārak* antiphons for the morning (*ba-sanuy nagh*, etc.) and the evening (*za-sark*) for the days of the week after the Feast of Easter, often with the rubricated refrain *səbbuḥə-ni* (*wəʾətu*) found in the middle of the individual antiphons, until the following Sunday, the Sunday of the End of Easter (ጥልቀተ፡ ፋሲካ፡, *Ṭəlqata Fāsikā*). For the Sunday of the End of Easter, antiphons of the types *māḥlet* (here called *yəbārəkəwwō*; cf. Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.17) and *səbhata nagh* (here called *sabbəḥəwwō*; cf. Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.26) are also given. To substantiate this interpretation of the text, a study of the antiphons for the Feast of Easter would be necessary, which, however, falls outside the scope of this dissertation. In any regards, this represents one of the rare multiple-type segments in a single-type collection (cf. the multiple-type collection in MS EMMML 7618, 2.3.4.3.16; the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185, 2.3.7.2.5; and the multiple-type commemorations in the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, 2.3.6.3.4, and in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, 2.3.8.3.1).

2.3.9.2.9 *səbhata nagh* collection: fols 91va–92vb[...]

A calendrical collection with the initial formula *Ba-səma ʿab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus šəḥafna ba-za nəzzekkar səbhata nagh za-Yoḥannəs* (በስሙ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱሱ፡ ጸሐፍነ፡ በዘ፡ ንዚከር፡ ስብሐተ፡ ነግሣ፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡, ‘In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, we have written, as we remember, the *səbhata nagh* of John’) is found on fols 91va–92vb. The identification of the antiphons as *səbhata nagh* antiphons in the sense of the later tradition is at least partially confirmed by the evidence from later manuscripts.⁷⁸⁸ The collection contains antiphons from the beginning of the year until the commemoration of Easter

⁷⁸⁸ The antiphon for the Season of Flowers on fol. 91vb, ll. 12–15 has a parallel, for example, in MS Dabra Koreb wa-Qarānəyo Madḥane ʿĀlam, EAP432/1/10, fol. 30vb, ll. 9–10.

(*Fāsikā*), where it ends abruptly. The Season of Flowers is represented by a single commemoration (the common for the season):

fol. 91vb

Season of Flowers

2.3.9.2.10 *salām collection: fols [...]93ra–106vb, [...]124ra–129vb[...], 123rv, 23ra–28vb, 130rv, 107ra–109va*

On fol. 93ra, a collection of *salām* antiphons begins abruptly in the middle of a commemoration which appears to pertain to the Great Fast. One bifolio appears to be missing within the collection (see the codicological reconstruction in 2.3.9.1), but the end is still there. This is the collection that contains the dating discussed above (2.3.9.1). No commemorations for the Season of Flowers are present in the preserved portions.

There are marginal signs on several of the folios in this collection, probably added by a later hand. Most often, they have the form of individual letters or words written in Geez, and could represent melodic-house indication. This is the interpretation suggested by Shelemay et al. 1993.⁷⁸⁹ Some, however, have special forms. Zotenberg 1877 identifies one of them with Arabic \hookrightarrow (*hā*), but without suggesting an interpretation.⁷⁹⁰ Other signs are similar to a lunate epsilon (ε) and a ligature consisting of ḥ plus ṣ. For examples, see Illustration 10. Further research is needed to confirm if these signs are indeed connected to the melodic houses or if, perhaps, some of them could be connected to the copying process, as suggested above (2.3.9.2.6).

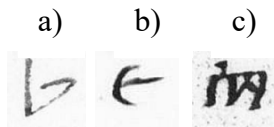


Illustration 10. Examples of marginal signs in the *salām* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92.

Sources: a) fol. 97rb, l. 7; b) fol. 96rb, l. 11; c) fol. 99rb, l. 9.

2.3.9.2.11 *wāzemā mas(!)mur collection: fols 110ra–114vb[...]*

On fols 110ra–114vb[...], the first four folios of a collection of an unidentified type of antiphons is found. The initial formula of the collection, preserved on fol. 110ra, goes as follows: *nəqdām nəṣḥaf ba-radi(!) 'eta 'əgzi 'əna 'Iyasus Krəstos wāzemā mas(!)mur za-Yohannəs* (ገብድዎ፡ ንጽሐፍ፡ በረዲኤተ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዋዜማ፡ መስ(!)ሙር፡ ዘየሐንስ፡, ‘With the help of Our Lord Jesus Christ, let us begin to write the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* of John [the Baptist]’). From this, one could presume that the collection contains the *mazmur*-family antiphons that are performed at the beginning of the *wāzemā* service and have the antiphon-type designation of

⁷⁸⁹ Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 85. Shelemay et al. 1993 date this hand (and also the main hand of this collection) to the fifteenth century (Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 85).

⁷⁹⁰ Zotenberg 1877, p. 92.

wāzemā [antiphons] in the later tradition; however, based on the antiphons included in the textual corpus (see Chapter 3), this appears not to be the case. In fact, none of the antiphons found in the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 has a parallel elsewhere in the textual corpus, except in the second unidentified collection in MS EMLL 7618 (2.3.4.3.17). The *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 and the second unidentified collection in MS EMLL 7618 contain largely the same corpus of antiphons. Unfortunately, the title of the collection in MS EMLL 7618 (i.e. *wāzemā*) does not help to elucidate if these antiphons have a correspondence in the modern tradition. Uniquely within the collections included in the Minor Corpus, every tenth antiphon in the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection have been numbered, starting from twenty.⁷⁹¹ The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| fol. 111vb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fol. 111vb | Susanna (<i>za-Sosənā</i>) |
| fols 111vb–112ra | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 112ra–b | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 112rb | Kings |
| fol. 112rb | Justina and Cyprian (<i>Yostenā wa-Qoṗrəyānos</i>) |
| fol. 112rb–va | Ṗanṭalewon the Monk (<i>Ṗanṭalewon manakos</i>) |
| fol. 112va | Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr (<i>Ṗanṭalewon samā 't</i>) |
| fol. 112va–b | common for ‘girdled’ fathers (<i>tazkāra qənutān 'abaw</i>) |
| fol. 112vb | common for evangelists (<i>za-wangelāwiyān</i>) |
| fol. 112vb | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 112vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 112vb–113ra | common for martyrs (<i>za-samā 't</i>) ⁷⁹² |
| fol. 113ra | common for saints (<i>za-qəddusān</i>) |
| fol. 113ra | Cosmas (<i>za-Qozmos</i>) |

⁷⁹¹ The numeral ‘130’ is not visible in the digitised version, probably because it was found to close to the gutter.

⁷⁹² In the second unidentified collection in MS EMLL 7618, the first of these antiphons belongs to the commemoration of Enoch (*Henok*), who is mentioned in the antiphon.

fol. 113ra 'Abbā Yəmə'attā

fol. 113ra–b 'Abbā Yohānni

2.3.9.2.12 'aryām collection: fols [...]147ra–149vb, 150ra–152vb, 115ra–122vb,
131ra–146vb, 1rv, 6rv

MS BnF Éth. 92 also contains a melodic-family-based *'aryām* collection. As noted in the codicological reconstruction above (2.3.9.1), it is rather fragmentarily preserved. The antiphons for commemorations belonging to the Season of Flowers are distributed among the individual melodic-family sections, but none of them is included in the textual corpus in Chapter 3.

On fol. 6ra, the following note is partially preserved (?): [...]ᐃᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ ᐆᓂᑦ ('forty-eight *zemā*'). It is found in connection with the beginning of a new melodic family. While, in the absence of a diachronic study of the '*aryām*' melodic families, it is difficult to make sense of this note, it could be of potential interest for the history of '*aryām*' antiphons. Does it refer to a numbering of the melodic families? If so, why are no similar numbers found in connection with the other melodic families in the collection?

2.3.10 Mə'sār G^wəhilā Mikā'el, Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i

MS Mə'sār G^wəḥilā Mikā'el,⁷⁹³ Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i (= MS Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i), parchment folio, 20.0 × 16.0 cm, single leaf, two columns, 25 lines, no boards. This fragment has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs produced within the framework of the Ethio-SPaRe project⁷⁹⁴ and kindly put at my disposal by Denis Nosnitsin.⁷⁹⁵ It has been thoroughly described by Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, who provide more codicological data on the fragment than I do here.⁷⁹⁶

At the present state of our knowledge, it is possible to make a couple of additions and corrections to the information presented in Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014. First of all, the article erroneously identifies the recto of the folio as its verso, and vice versa. This is clear from the fact that the last antiphon at their ‘fol. 1vb’ continues on their ‘fol. 1ra’.⁷⁹⁷ Below, the folio numbers are corrected, so that the ‘fol. 1r’ of

⁷⁹³ For an introduction to the site, see also Nosnitsin 2013, pp. 209–219.

⁷⁹⁴ On the Ethio-SPaRe project, see fn. 728.

⁷⁹⁵ Greyscale versions of the same photographs are published in Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, and a partial colour photograph of fol. 1v, depicting ll. 8–17, is found in Nosnitsin 2013 (Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, pp. 66–67; Nosnitsin 2013, p. 216).

⁷⁹⁶ In Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, the same fragment was referred to simply as the ‘Məʿasər Gʷəḥila fragment’. It belongs to a bunch of a fragments discovered at the location and given the collective shelfmark ‘MGM-018’ by digitisation team. After consulting Denis Nosnitsin about how to refer to this specific fragment, I add a minuscule Roman number to this shelfmark, in order to differentiate it from the other fragments in the same bunch.







⁷⁹⁷ The last antiphon of their ‘fol. 1vb’ begins: $\lambda\lambda\alpha: \omega\phi\epsilon: +\lambda\lambda\eta\text{--}: \phi(?)$ [...] $\lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda\ \epsilon\lambda\zeta\alpha\text{--}: \alpha(?)$ [...] $\phi\alpha\text{--}: \sigma\phi$ [...] $\delta(?)\alpha\lambda\text{--}?$ [...], and the first antiphon on their ‘fol. 1ra’ end: [...] \wp [...] [...] $\sigma\mu\text{--}:$ [...] $\zeta\alpha(?)$:

Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014 corresponds to folio 1v in this dissertation, and vice versa.

2.3.10.1 Dating







The dating of MS Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i is discussed extensively by Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014. Based primarily on a study of palaeographical features, they arrive at a pre-mid-fourteenth century dating. A number of other features support this conclusion, such as the occurrences of ‘odd’ vocalisation, diverging from the rules of Standard Geez, and the apparent use of a non-carbon ink (although further analyses of the use of different inks may be necessary to understand what the use of a non-carbon ink means in terms of dating).

As for palaeography, Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014 list the use of archaic forms for <መ> (in all orders), <ሠ> (in all orders), <ሰ>, <ሳ>, <ሔ>, etc.; <ኘ>, <ኙ>, etc., as well as archaic forms in the vowel marking of <ሶ>, <ሣ>, and <ኦ>. To these feature can be added the forms of <ቶ>, <ኦ>, and <ወ>. A selection of palaeographical features are presented below:⁷⁹⁸

| | | |
|---------|---|--|
| ሎ |  | the vowel marker is typically attached to the body of the connecting line, although the connecting line once seems to be missing (fol. 1vb, l. 20) |
| ሮ, ኘ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| ቶ |  | the vowel marker is circular and is attached on the right side of the top line of the letter |
| ሐ, ት, ቅ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| መ, ሠ |  | the right loop / part is connected to the left loop / part with a horizontal line at mid-height |
| ሰ |  | the vowel marker, markedly curved, is attached horizontally on top of the letter |

እ(?)[...] [...]መ፡፡. The same antiphon is attested in MS EMMML 7618 (fol. 32ra, ll. 30–33): እለሰ፡ ሠናየ፡ ተልእኮ፡ ቀሲሳን፡ ወእለ፡ ይሠርዑ፡ በምህር፡ ቃል፡ ምክሶቢተ፡ ከብር፡ ይደልዎመ፡ እ(?)ዕርፎመ፡ ነፍሰ፡ እለ፡ ኖመ፡፡. ‘The priests who have served well, and who instruct (?) by teaching of the word, deserve double honour. Give rest to the souls of the departed.’ The identity of these antiphons is further confirmed by their position within the sequence of antiphons (see 2.3.10.2).

⁷⁹⁸ Sources for palaeographical samples: ሎ፡ fol. 1ra, l. 5; ሮ፡ fol. 1vb, l. 13; ኘ፡ fol. 1rb, l. 17; ቶ፡ fol. 1rb, l. 21; ሐ፡ fol. 1vb, l. 1; ት፡ fol. 1rb, l. 17; ቅ፡ fol. 1va, l. 9; መ፡ fol. 1va, l. 4; ሠ፡ fol. 1ra, l. 6; ሰ፡ fol. 1ra, l. 24; fol. 1va, l. 9; ኦ፡ fol. 1ra, l. 9; ወ፡ fol. 1vb, l. 4; ሳ፡ fol. 1ra, l. 19; ኘ፡ fol. 1rb, l. 5; ሔ፡ fol. 1rb, l. 4; fol. 1vb, l. 2; fourth-order vowel marker፡ fol. 1vb, l. 25 (ሣ); seventh-order vowel marker፡ fol. 1va, l. 2 (ሶ); fol. 1va, l. 4 (ኦ); fol. 1vb, l. 8 (ሶ); fol. 1vb, l. 18 (ሶ).

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| አ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter and reaches outside the body of the letter |
| ወ |  | the distinction between <ወ> and <ወ> appears to be of the earlier type |
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter rests on the base line, which the vowel marker sometimes reaches |
| ዲ |  | single vowel marker [= modern form] |
| ጥ | — | [not attested] |
| fourth order |  | 'kink' on the right leg |
| seventh order |  | two forms are attested: a) with an addition to the left leg, b) with shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014 notice the occurrence of words vocalised in a way that 'may be described as "odd" or "irregular", or just different compared to the classic medieval Gə'əz';⁷⁹⁹ however, they focus on the description of this feature and explicitly do not try to relate it to linguistic and/or orthographic phenomena. Below, an attempt is made to systematise the information provided by Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014 according to the model used for other manuscripts with non-standard vocalisation discussed in this chapter.

Linguistic features:

- non-standard usage (or rather non-usage) of the nominal ending *-a*, both in its function as accusative marker and as marking the non-final constituent(s) of construct chains: ex. ለዓለም: ዓለም: *la- 'ālam 'ālam*, for ለዓለም: ዓለም: *la- 'ālama 'ālam* (fol. 1ra, l. 19); ቤት: ክርስቲያን: *bet karstiyāna*, for ቤት: ክርስቲያን: *beta krəstiyān* (fol. 1ra, l. 22–23); ቃል: ከህናት: *qāl kahñāt*, for ቃል: ከህናት: *qāla kāhnāt* (fol. 1rb, l. 3); ቃል: ሥዩ(?)ማን: *qāl śəyyu(?)māna*, for (?) ቃል: ሥዩማን: *qāla śəyyumān* (fol. 1rb, l. 5); ይዕቀብ: ሕግ: *yə 'qabu həgg*, for ይዕቀብ: ሕግ: *yə 'qabu həgga* (fol. 1rb, ll. 13–14). This can be put in connection with the use of the sixth order where the first order is expected as described below;
- the preposition *'əm-* appears in the form *'ama-*: ex. አመክፈ: *'ama- 'afa*, for አመክፈ: *'əm- 'afa* (fol. 1ra, ll. 24–25); ዘአመክቤህ(?) *za- 'ama-həbehu(?)*, for ዘአመክቤህ: *za- 'əm-həbehu* (fol. 1vb, l. 6). This can be put in connection

⁷⁹⁹ Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, p. 71.

with the use of the first order where the sixth order is expected described below.

Orthographic features:

- the word *ʿIgzī ʿabəher* is attested once, but due to material damage, it is not possible to say whether it is written as one or two words (cf. Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014);⁸⁰⁰
- use of the first order where other orders are expected: ex. *ዕረፍት*, *ʿarafat*, for *ዕረፍት*, *ʿraft* (fol. 1ra, l. 4); *ኢይርአየ*, *ʿiy-rə ʿaya* (?), for (?) *ኢርአየ*, *ʿi-rə ʿya* (fol. 1ra, l. 7); *ለቶሙ*, *lattomu*, for *ለቶሙ*, *lottomu* (fol. 1ra, l. 17); *አስተዳለወ*, *ʿasatadālawā*, for *አስተዳለወ*, *ʿastadālawā* (fol. 1r, ll. 19–20); *አክለለ*, *ʿakaləla*, for *አክለለ*, *ʿaklila* (fol. 1ra, l. 20); *ቤት* *ክርስቲያን*, *bet karstiyāna*, for *ቤት* *ክርስቲያን*, *beta krəstiyān* (fol. 1ra, ll. 22–23); *ስበሐት*, *səbaht* (?), for *ስበሐት*, *səbhat* (fol. 1ra, l. 23); *አለ*, *ʿalla*, for *አለ*, *ʿəlla* (fol. 1rb, l. 16); *ፈጽሞ*, *faṣṣum*, for *ፈጽሞ*, *fəṣṣuma* (fol. 1rb, l. 21). Further examples are listed by Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014;⁸⁰¹
- use of the sixth order where other orders are expected: *ዘኢትሐል* [...], *za- ʿi-təhallə* [...] (?), for *ዘኢትሐል*, *za- ʿi-təhallaya* (fol. 1ra, l. 9); *አክለለ*, *ʿakaləla*, for *አክለለ*, *ʿaklila* (fol. 1ra, l. 20); *ስበሐት*, *səbāht* (?), for *ስበሐት*, *səbhat* (fol. 1ra, l. 20); *ስበሐት*, *səbaht* (?), for *ስበሐት*, *səbhat* (fol. 1ra, l. 23); *አኩቴት*, *ʿakwətet*, for *አኩቴት*, *ʿakwatet* (fol. 1ra, ll. 23–24); *ፈጽሞ*, *faṣṣum*, for *ፈጽሞ*, *fəṣṣuma* (fol. 1rb, l. 21). Further examples, especially of the use of *ፍ* for *ፈ*, are listed by Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014;⁸⁰²
- although few names are attested, one can note the spelling *ኢየሩሳሌም*, *ʿIyorusālem*, for *ኢየሩሳሌም*, *ʿIyarusālem* (fol. 1vb, ll. 14, 17–18);⁸⁰³
- addition of consonants (provided that the word is correctly identified based on a comparison with the text attested in MS EMML 7618; see 2.3.10.2): *ኢይርአየ*, *ʿiy-rə ʿaya* (?), for (?) *ኢርአየ*, *ʿi-rə ʿya* (fol. 1ra, l. 7).

Taken together, these features would seem to support the pre-mid-fourteenth-century dating suggested by Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, although, as they rightly point out, ‘the exact dating [...] is an open question’.⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰⁰ Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, p. 71.

⁸⁰¹ Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, pp. 72–73.

⁸⁰² Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, pp. 72–73.

⁸⁰³ This spelling is also attested in MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1), DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1), and DS-XVI (2.3.15.1).

⁸⁰⁴ Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, p. 74.

2.3.10.2 Contents

In Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, the contents of the folio is correctly identified as a fragment of a collection of antiphons. At our present state of knowledge, the contents can more precisely be identified as a number of *mazmur*-family antiphons.⁸⁰⁵ The thirteen antiphons preserved in MGM-018i all belong to the commemoration of the (Twenty-Four) Heavenly Priests (*Kāhnāta samāy*).⁸⁰⁶ This set of antiphons corresponds closely to what is found for the same commemoration in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS EML 7618, where, on fol. 32ra, l. 1–32vb, l. 21, the same antiphons are present in the same sequence, with only a small number of minor textual variants.⁸⁰⁷

2.3.11 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-I/XVII/XXII

The manuscript which in this dissertation is referred to by the siglum ‘MS DS-I/XVII/XXII’ consists of fragments which, at the time of their digitisation, were thought to represent three different manuscripts, given the shelfmarks ‘DS-I’, ‘DS-XVII’, and ‘DS-XXII’. Based on the available material, the following information can be provided:

MS 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-I + DS-XVII + DS-XXII (= MS DS-I/XVII/XXII), parchment codex, 19–20 × 25.5–27 cm,⁸⁰⁸ 31 + 2 + 6 fols, two columns, 25–29 lines (fols 27r, 30r), no boards.⁸⁰⁹ This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs kindly put at my disposal by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska. One leaf stemming from this manuscript (see below) has been thoroughly described by Nosnitsin 2016—based on a different set of images, it appears (see below)—but the rest of the manuscript has, to my knowledge, not been catalogued or described previously in the literature.

Nosnitsin 2016 contains a presentation and discussion of what corresponds to fol. 28 according to the ‘virtual’ foliation used in this dissertation (see below).

⁸⁰⁵ Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014 suggest that their antiphon ‘VIII’ could be an *’arbā’* antiphon (Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, p. 73). This suggestion is based on the fact that it is preceded by the indication *ba-4* (נְּבָ:; ‘in four’), which in this context must be interpreted as a hallelujah-number indication, but in other liturgical contexts could indeed signal that an *’arbā’* antiphon follows.

⁸⁰⁶ In Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, the first, partially preserved antiphon does not receive a number, and consequently they number only twelve antiphons.

⁸⁰⁷ Based on the text found in MS EMLL 7618, a number of improved readings can be suggested. Lines 11–12 on fol. 1ra (the ‘1va’ in Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014) should probably be read: 11. ዳሰን፡ እ(?)መጥቱ፡ መ(?)ሴ፡ ወ / 12. [.]ሮን፡ ከነቶ(?)መ፡ ከህና(?). The last lines of fol. 1va (the ‘1ra’ in Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014) should probably be read: 23. [ት] [በ]፬፡ ሃሌሉያ፡ ናሁ / 24. [.....]ዳሰነ(?)፡ ከ[...]/ 25. [.]ነት፡ አለ፡ አ[.]መርዎ.

⁸⁰⁸ The metadata sheet attached to the folios digitised under the shelfmark 'DS-XVII' indicate that they measure 19×25.5 cm, and the metadata sheet attached to the folios digitised under the shelfmark 'DS-XXII' indicate that they measure 20×27 cm. These measurement do not seem so different that they would prove the identification wrong.

⁸⁰⁹ According to the metadata sheet the digitisation of these fragments took place 3 February 2009.

Nosnitsin 2016 describes the folio as a ‘single leaf’⁸¹⁰ and states that ‘[f]or the moment, it is impossible to say if it was originally part of a bifolio or a single leaf’.⁸¹¹ However, in the photographs at my disposal, the folio in question clearly forms part of a bifolio, which can furthermore be connected to other leaves based on its contents. Perhaps, one can presume that the state of the manuscript deteriorated between the visit to the church by the team of Balicka-Witakowska and Gervers in the beginning of February 2009⁸¹² and the visit of Nosnitsin in ‘early 2009’,⁸¹³ so that the bifolio 28–29 was transformed into two single leaves.

As mentioned above, the folios that make up MS DS-I/XVII/XXII were digitised as three different manuscripts. They were partly foliated before the digitisation, but not systematically, and in order to establish an unambiguous and clear way of referring to each folio, I have provided them with ‘virtual’ folio numbers, which will be used in this dissertation. These new folio numbers do not correspond to what was written with pencil (?) in the bottom margin on some of the folios by the digitisation team, and in order to establish an unambiguous and sustainable link between the material at hand and my reconstruction, two tables of correspondences are provided below. In Table 5, the digital photographs at my disposal are listed according to the designation that they bore when they were put at my disposal. In the columns to the right of this designation, the following information about each digital image is provided: the old manuscript ID; whether it depicts a verso, a recto, or both; the folio number written by the digitisation team on the physical folio itself; as well as the new manuscript ID and folio number(s) provided by me. Note that some of the digital photographs depict openings rather than single folios, and thus reproduce two folios (one verso and one recto). Partly because of this, some folios are available in multiple reproductions, whereas others are only available in one.

Table 5. Correspondences between digital images of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII and ‘virtual’ folio numbers.

| Image no. | Old MS ID | verso/recto | folio no. written on the folio | New MS ID + new folio no(s) |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| DS_XVII_000 | DS-XVII | r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 5r |
| DS_XVII_001 | DS-XVII | v, r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 5v–6r |
| DS_XVII_002 | DS-XVII | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 6v |
| IMG_0054 | DS-XXII | r | 1 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 20r |
| IMG_0055 | DS-XXII | v, r | 2 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 20v, 21r |

⁸¹⁰ Nosnitsin 2016, p. 86.

⁸¹¹ Nosnitsin 2016, p. 86, fn. 5.

⁸¹² According to the metadata sheets attached to fragments digitised as ‘DS-XVII’ and ‘DS-XXII’, the digitisation of these fragments took place on 3 February 2009.

⁸¹³ Nosnitsin 2016, p. 85, fn. 2.

Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

| | | | | |
|----------|---------|------|-------|-------------------------------|
| IMG_0056 | DS-XXII | v, r | 3 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 21v, 22r |
| IMG_0057 | DS-XXII | v, r | 4 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 22v, 19r |
| IMG_0058 | DS-XXII | v, r | 5 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 19v, 18r |
| IMG_0059 | DS-XXII | v, r | 6 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 18v, 23r |
| IMG_0060 | DS-XXII | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 23v |
| IMG_1673 | DS-I | r | 1 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 2r |
| IMG_1674 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 2v |
| IMG_1675 | DS-I | v, r | 2 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 2v–3r |
| IMG_1676 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 3v |
| IMG_1677 | DS-I | r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 32r |
| IMG_1678 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 32v |
| IMG_1679 | DS-I | v, r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 33r |
| IMG_1680 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 33v |
| IMG_1681 | DS-I | r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 31r |
| IMG_1682 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 31v |
| IMG_1683 | DS-I | v, r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 34r |
| IMG_1684 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 34v |
| IMG_1685 | DS-I | r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 28r |
| IMG_1686 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 28v |
| IMG_1687 | DS-I | v, r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 29r |
| IMG_1688 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 29v |
| IMG_1689 | DS-I | r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 26r |
| IMG_1690 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 26v |
| IMG_1691 | DS-I | r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 7r |
| IMG_1692 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 7v |
| IMG_1693 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 7r |
| IMG_1694 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 24v |
| IMG_1695 | DS-I | r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 24r |
| IMG_1696 | DS-I | r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 25r |
| IMG_1697 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 25v |
| IMG_1698 | DS-I | v | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 27v |
| IMG_1699 | DS-I | r | 2 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 27r |
| IMG_1700 | DS-I | r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 17r |
| IMG_1701 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 17v |

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| | | | | |
|----------|------|------|-------|-------------------------------|
| IMG_1702 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 30v |
| IMG_1703 | DS-I | r | 4 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 30r |
| IMG_1704 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 35v |
| IMG_1705 | DS-I | r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 35r |
| IMG_1706 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 8v |
| IMG_1707 | DS-I | r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 8r |
| IMG_1708 | DS-I | r | 1 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 10r |
| IMG_1709 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 10v |
| IMG_1710 | DS-I | v, r | 2 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 10v, 11r |
| IMG_1711 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 11v |
| IMG_1712 | DS-I | v, r | 3 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 11v, 12r |
| IMG_1713 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 12v |
| IMG_1714 | DS-I | v, r | 4 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 12v, 13r |
| IMG_1715 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 13v |
| IMG_1716 | DS-I | v, r | 5 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 13v, 14r |
| IMG_1717 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 14v |
| IMG_1718 | DS-I | v, r | 6 (r) | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 14v, 15r |
| IMG_1719 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 15v |
| IMG_1720 | DS-I | v, r | – | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 15v, 16r |
| IMG_1721 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 16v |
| IMG_1722 | DS-I | r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 36r |
| IMG_1723 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 36v |
| IMG_1724 | DS-I | v, r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 37r |
| IMG_1725 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 37v |
| IMG_1726 | DS-I | r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 38r |
| IMG_1727 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 38v |
| IMG_1728 | DS-I | v, r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 39r |
| IMG_1729 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 39v |
| IMG_1730 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 9v |
| IMG_1731 | DS-I | r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 9r |
| IMG_1732 | DS-I | r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 1r |
| IMG_1733 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 1v |
| IMG_1734 | DS-I | v, r | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 4r |
| IMG_1735 | DS-I | v | | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 4v |

Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

In Table 6, parts of the same information is reproduced, but the order has been reversed, so that the table shows the documentary evidence available for each of the identified folios, sorted according to their reconstructed sequence (see 2.3.11.2). As mentioned, the aim of these tables is to establish a clear and unambiguous relationship between the reproductions of this manuscript available to me and the reconstruction that I propose.

Table 6. Correspondences between the folios of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII and the digital images depicting them.

| New folio no. | Image no. | New folio no. | Image no. |
|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 1r | IMG_1732 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 20v | IMG_0055a |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 1v | IMG_1733 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 21r | IMG_0055b |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 2r | IMG_1673 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 21v | IMG_0056a |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 2v | IMG_1674, IMG_1675a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 22r | IMG_0056b |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 3r | IMG_1675b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 22v | IMG_0057a |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 3v | IMG_1676 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 23r | IMG_0059b |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 4r | IMG_1734 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 23v | IMG_0060 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 4v | IMG_1735 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 24r | IMG_1695 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 5r | DS_XVII_000 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 24v | IMG_1694 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 5v | DS_XVII_001a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 25r | IMG_1696 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 6r | DS_XVII_001b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 25v | IMG_1697 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 6v | DS_XVII_002 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 26r | IMG_1689 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 7r | IMG_1691, IMG_1693 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 26v | IMG_1690 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 7v | IMG_1692 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 27r | IMG_1699 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 8r | IMG_1707 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 27v | IMG_1698 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 8v | IMG_1706 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 28r | IMG_1685 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 9r | IMG_1731 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 28v | IMG_1686 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 9v | IMG_1730 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 29r | IMG_1687 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 10r | IMG_1708 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 29v | IMG_1688 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 10v | IMG_1709, IMG_1710a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 30r | IMG_1703 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 11r | IMG_1710b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 30v | IMG_1702 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 11v | IMG_1711, IMG_1712a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 31r | IMG_1681 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 12r | IMG_1712b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 31v | IMG_1682 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 12v | IMG_1713, IMG_1714a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 32r | IMG_1677 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 13r | IMG_1714b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 32v | IMG_1678 |

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 13v | IMG_1715, IMG_1716a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 33r | IMG_1679 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 14r | IMG_1716b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 33v | IMG_1680 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 14v | IMG_1717, IMG_1718a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 34r | IMG_1683 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 15r | IMG_1718b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 34v | IMG_1684 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 15v | IMG_1719, IMG_1720a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 35r | IMG_1705 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 16r | IMG_1720b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 35v | IMG_1704 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 16v | IMG_1721 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 36r | IMG_1722 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 17r | IMG_1700 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 36v | IMG_1723 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 17v | IMG_1701 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 37r | IMG_1724 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 18r | IMG_0058b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 37v | IMG_1725 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 18v | IMG_0059a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 38r | IMG_1726 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 19r | IMG_0057b | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 38v | IMG_1727 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 19v | IMG_0058a | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 39r | IMG_1728 |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 20r | IMG_0054 | DS-I/XVII/XXII, fol. 39v | IMG_1729 |

2.3.11.1 Dating

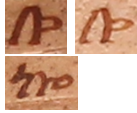












In Nosnitsin 2016, fol. 28 is tentatively dated to pre-mid-fourteenth century times, a dating which can be extended to the entire MS DS-I/XVII/XXII (or at least to the parts written by the same hand). He lists ancient shapes of the following letters: <σ> (all orders), <ω> (all orders), <ο> and <θ>, <ϑ>, <η>, <Λ^e>, and <ϖ>.

Furthermore, Nosnitsin 2016 mentions the marking of the fourth order on letters with two or three legs by means of a ‘kink’ and the writing of numerals without over- and underlining. The main text of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII (i.e. excluding later additions) contains parts written by at least three hands. The third hand is only attested in a small portion and will not be discussed in the following.⁸¹⁴ The distribution of the hands is connected to different parts of the manuscript (see below, 2.3.11.2) in a way that suggests that Hand B completed a manuscript initiated by Hand A. Given that the hands differ greatly in their general appearance, examples of both Hand A and Hand B will be provided below. First, a summary of the selected palaeographical features as attested in Hand A:⁸¹⁵

⁸¹⁴ The third hand, Hand C, is found on fol. 31vb, from line 6 to the end of the folio. The preceding part of the folio, as well as the following folios, are written primarily by Hand B. The letters of Hand C are smaller, and more space has been left between them compared to Hand B; furthermore, the letters of Hand C are more rounded.

⁸¹⁵ Sources for palaeographic samples: Λ^e: 18ra, l. 4; 23vb, l. 12; η^e: 19ra, l. 12; Ϸ: 21vb, l. 6; ϣ: 10ra, l. 25; ϣ: 19ra, l. 9; ϣ: 22vb, l. 1; η: 19rb, l. 12; ϣ: 19rb, l. 2; ϣ: 22vb, l. 5; σ: 21vb, l. 3; ω: 21va, l. 12; η: 19ra, l. 4; λ: 21va, l. 6; ϖ: 21vb, l. 4; ϑ 19ra, l. 6; ϑ: 18ra, l. 24; ϑ: 18va, l. 12; 19ra, l. 18; ϣ: 10rb, l. 17; fourth-order: 21va, l. 16 (Λ); 18ra, l. 20 (Λ); 23vb, l. 12 (Λ); 23va, l. 12 (Λ); seventh-order vowel marker: 20rb, l. 11 (Λ); 19rb, l. 12 (Λ).














Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| ʌ, h |  | the vowel marker is typically attached to the body of the letter without any connecting line; however, notice the connecting line for h |
| ɕ, ɣ |  | the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| ʁ, ɸ |  | the vowel marker semi-circular and is attached on the right side of the top line of the letter |
| ħ, ʔ, ʕ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on the top of the letter [= modern form] |
| ʃ, ʈ |  | the right loop of <ʃ> is not closed; the two parts of <ʈ> are not connected |
| ṇ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on the top of the letter |
| ḷ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter and reaches the end of the body of the letter |
| ʋ |  | the distinction between <ʋ> and <ʌ> appears to be of the earlier type |
| ɔ |  | the body of the letter rests on the base line, which the vowel marker does not reach |
| ʕ |  | both the form with a single horizontal stroke [= modern form] and the form with an additional horizontal stroke are attested |
| ʈ |  | the lateral legs reach the base line |
| fourth order |  | two forms are attested: a) with a 'kink' on the right leg, b) with an addition to the right leg |
| seventh order |  | two forms are attested: a) with an addition to the left leg, b) with shortening of the right leg [= modern form] |

Then, a summary of selected palaeographical features as attested in Hand B:⁸¹⁶

⁸¹⁶ Sources of palaeographical samples: ʌ: fol. 39ra, l. 2; ʁ: fol. 39ra, l. 9; ɕ: fol. 35va, l. 19; ɣ: fol. 35vb, l. 10; ʁ: fol. 35vb, l. 6; ɸ: fol. 34rb, l. 21; ħ: fol. 36vb, l. 21; ʔ: fol. 35vb, l. 15; fol. 39ra, l. 16; ʕ: fol. 36ra, l. 12; ʃ: fol. 39ra, l. 6; ʈ: fol. 39ra, l. 10; ṇ: fol. 39ra, l. 11; ḷ: fol. 35vb, l. 19; fol. 39ra, l. 6; ʋ: fol. 39rb, l. 25; ɔ: fol. 39ra, l. 16; ʕ: fol. 36vb, l. 18; fol. 39ra, l. 20; ʕ: fol. 36vb, l. 20; ʈ: fol. 35vb, l. 7; fol. 36ra, l. 12; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 35ra, l. 7 (ʌ); fol. 35vb, l. 29 (ʁ); fol. 35vb, l. 29 (ʕ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 35ra, l. 11 (ʁ); fol. 35ra, l. 12 (ʁ); fol. 35va, l. 29 (ʁ); fol. 39rb, l. 23 (ʁ).

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| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| ሎ, ጎ |  | the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter with connecting line |
| ሮ, ኖ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| ቶ, ቆ |  | the vowel marker is semi-circular and is attached on the right side of the top line of the letter |
| ሐ, ት, ቐ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on the top of the letter [= modern form] |
| መ, ሠ |  | the right loop/part is connected to the left loop/part with a horizontal line at mid-height |
| ስ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on the top of the letter |
| እ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter and reaches outside the body of the letter (which itself leans heavily towards the left) |
| ወ |  | the distinction between <ወ> and <ወ> appears to be of the later type |
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter rests on the base line, which the vowel marker does not reach |
| ዲ |  | single vowel marker [= modern form] |
| ጥ |  | the lateral legs reach the base line |
| fourth order |  | two forms are attested: a) with 'kink' on the right leg, b) with an addition to the right leg |
| seventh order |  | at least three forms are attested: a) with an addition to the left leg, b) with a 'kink' on the left leg, c) with shortening of the right leg [= modern form] |

It should be pointed out that although the hands differ in important ways—not least in the pronounced angularity of Hand B—I see no reason to date Hand B substantially differently than Hand A. If they do belong to the same manuscript, for which I argue below, it rather suggests, in an interesting way, that these very different writing styles were more or less contemporaneous.

Next to these palaeographical considerations, MS DS-I/XVII/XXII (together with some of the other manuscripts and fragments from 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl; see especially the descriptions of MSS DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1), DS-XVI (2.3.15.1), and DS-XX (2.3.16.1)) attests to a remarkable irregularity of vocalisation and to numerous deviations from what Nosnitsin 2016 fittingly calls 'standard medieval Gə'əz'.⁸¹⁷ My impression is that we can observe the result of three different phenomena in the preserved texts:

- a) firstly, the spelling is irregular in the sense that one word is often spelled in different ways on different occasions.⁸¹⁸ This observation should be kept in mind as other phenomena are discussed;
- b) secondly, there are a number of 'regular irregularities' in the vocalisation. Most importantly, the first order is semi-regularly used in place of other orders, particularly the sixth. This could be put in connection with the phenomenon of 'partial vocalisation' attested previously primarily in epigraphic sources.⁸¹⁹ In addition, the sixth order sometimes appears where the first order would have been expected, and sometimes, the vocalisation is irregular in ways which I am at present not able to systematise. Examples of these types of variation, taken from fols 2va–3rb, are presented below as 'orthographic' features, although the term may not fit this phenomenon perfectly;
- c) thirdly, the manuscript systematically attests to a number of archaic features, many of which have parallels in other early manuscripts. While some of these can be interpreted as reflections of phonological phenomena, others appear to be of morphological nature. Such features are listed below as 'linguistic' features.

As rightly pointed out by Nosnitsin 2016, 'one should bear in mind that at least a few such cases [i.e. cases of 'odd' vocalisation] might be scribal mistakes or have yet another origin'.⁸²⁰ At the same time, one has to remember that this statement was made when discussing a single leaf attesting to this type of variation; with

⁸¹⁷ Nosnitsin 2016, p. 93.

⁸¹⁸ For example, on fol. 3r, we find both ለዕረፍት, *la- 'ərafat* (?) (3ra, l. 27) and ለዕረፍተ, *la- 'ərafata* (fol. 3rb, l. 1) for Standard Geez ለዕረፍት, *la- 'əraft*; both ስባሐት, *səbāḥat* (fol. 3ra, l. 14) and ስባሐት, *səbahat* (fol. 3rb, l. 18) for Standard Geez ስባሐት, *səbḥat*; both (ለ)ስንበት, *(la-)sənbat* (fol. 3rb, l. 17) and ስንበት, *sanbat* (fol. 3rb, l. 20) for Standard Geez ስንበት, *sanbat*.

⁸¹⁹ Cf. Diem 1988, pp. 259–261. An important indication that we are dealing with the use of the first order in the function of other orders, and not simply variant forms of the words, is provided by readings such as አመውታን, *'am-mawwātāna* (?), for አመውታን, *'am-məwwātān* (ll. 16–17, 21–22, 24): here, the assimilation of the final letter of the preposition አመ to a word-initial /m/ suggests that the spelling <አመ> stands for a form that ends in a consonant (if we are not to posit a process of phonetically conditioned 'deduplication' which simplifies **'amamV* to **'ammV* (?), which seems to be the less economical option).

⁸²⁰ Nosnitsin 2016, p. 93.

access to a larger amount of material, the chances of discovering a systematicity in the use of ‘oddly’ vocalised forms is, of course, much larger.

Linguistic features:

- the shift from /a/ to /ā/ in closed syllables ending in a laryngeal (laryngeal rule 2a, according to the terminology of Diem 1988⁸²¹) has often not been carried out: ex. ሠህልከ፡, *śahləka*, for ሣህልከ፡, *śāhləka* (fols 2va, l. 2; 6rb, l. 14); ሰመዕት፡, *sama* ‘t, for ሰማዕት፡, *samā* ‘t (fol. 3ra, l. 11); ለዕለ፡, *la* ‘la, for ላዕለ፡, *lā* ‘la (fol. 5vb, l. 12). This could also be connected to the general use of first-order forms where other orders are expected;
- on several occasions, syllables which in Standard Geez appear in the form Ca‘C or Cā‘C, where C is any consonant, instead appear in a disyllabic form Ca‘āC; ex. በአዓጸድ፡ መቅደሱ፡, *ba-’a ‘āṣad maqdasu*, for በአዕጸድ፡ መቅደሱ፡, *ba-’a ‘ṣāda maqdasu* (fol. 2va, l. 15); ሰመዓኩ፡, *sama ‘āku*, for ሰማዕኩ፡, *samā ‘ku* (fol. 2va, l. 24); ሰረዓኩ፡, *sara ‘āka*, for ሰራዕኩ፡, *sarā ‘ka* (fol. 3rb, l. 20); በለዓሉ፡, *ba-la ‘ālu*, for በላዕሉ፡, *ba-lā ‘lu* (fol. 3ra, l. 13). It seems plausible to connect the form አብርሃኩ፡, *‘abrəhāku*, for አብራህኩ፡, *‘abrāhku* (fol. 3ra, l. 6) to this phenomenon as well. This may be put in connection with the phenomenon of ‘secondary opening’,⁸²²
- possible attestations of the pattern tentatively vocalised as *yəṭqəttal* for the imperfect form (and related forms) of the T₁ stem:⁸²³ ex. አተምህለል፡, *‘ataməhallal*, for እትመሐልል፡, *‘ətməhalləl* (fol. 6ra, ll. 15–16); አትምህለለ፡, *‘atməhallala* (?), for እትመሐልል፡, *‘ətməhalləl* (fol. 6ra, l. 19); አይተትህየይ፡, *‘ay-təṭṭəyyay*, for ኢትትህየይ፡, *‘i-təṭṭəyyay* (fol. 6ra, l. 24); ይስመዩ፡, *yəssəmmayu* (?), for ይሰመዩ፡, *yəssəmmayu* (fol. 28va, l. 10); ተጥመቁ፡, *taṭəmmaqu*, for ተጠመቁ፡, *taṭammaqu* (fol. 28vb, l. 6, imperative). This may also be connected to the phenomenon exemplified below, according to which the sixth order sometimes appears in the place of an expected first order;
- imperfect forms of verbs in the T_{1–3} stems are regularly spelled with a <ተ> in the first order, as opposed to the vowelless sixth order <ት> found in Standard Geez: ex. ንተመከሐ, *nətamakəḥa*, for ንትመከሐ፡, *nətmakkāḥ* (fol. 2vb, l. 24); አተምህለል፡, *‘ataməhallal*, for እትመሐልል፡, *‘ətməhalləl* (fol. 6ra, ll. 15–16; but on l. 19, we find the form አትምህለለ፡, *‘atməhallala* (?)); ይተፌሠሐ፡, *yəṭəfəśśəḥu*, for ይትፌሠሐ፡, *yəṭfəśśəḥu* (fol. 28va, l. 14). This may be connected to the phenomenon listed below, according to which the first order sometimes appears in the place of an expected sixth order, but could also be connected to palaeography, as there are early forms of the

⁸²¹ Diem 1988, p. 240.

⁸²² Cf. Butts 2020 and the literature referred there.

⁸²³ Cf. Bausi 2005, p. 162.

Ethiopic script where the first and sixth order of <ተ> are not well distinguished;⁸²⁴

- non-standard usage (or rather non-usage) of the nominal ending *-a*, both in its function as accusative marker and as marking the non-final constituent(s) of construct chains; ex. በአዓጸድ፡ መቅደሱ፡, *ba- 'a 'āṣad maqdasu*, for በአዓጸድ፡ መቅደሱ፡, *ba- 'a 'sāda maqdasu* (fol. 2va, l. 15); ዘገቡ፡ ልክሙ፡ መዝገብ፡, *zagabu lakamu mazgab*, for ዝገቡ፡ ልክሙ፡ መዝገብ፡, *zāgabū lakamu mazgaba* (fol. 6ra, ll. 9–10); ወንጌል፡ መንግሥት፡, *wangel mangəšt*, for ወንጌል፡ መንግሥት፡, *wangela mangəšt* (fol. 28va, l. 19); መልዕልት፡ ደብር፡, *mal 'əlt dabr*, for መልዕልት፡ ደብር፡, *mal 'əltā dabr* (fol. 28va, ll. 22–23); ቃል፡ እግዚአብሔር፡, *qāl 'Ēgzi 'a bəher*, for ቃል፡ እግዚአብሔር፡, *qāla 'Ēgzi 'abəher* (fol. 28vb, ll. 12–13); ወልድ፡ ዮናስ፡, *wald Yonās*, for ወልድ፡ ዮናስ፡, *walda Yonās* (fol. 28vb, ll. 23–24). This may be connected to the phenomenon exemplified below, according to which the sixth order sometimes appears in the place of an expected first order;
- the ending for the second person plural most commonly appears as *-kamu* instead of standard *-kamu*: ex. ኢይአብለክሙ፡, *'iy- 'ablakkamu* (?) for ኢይአብለክሙ፡, *'i-yəblakkamu* (fol. 28va, l. 3); ወሀበኩክሙ፡, *wahabakukamu*, for ወሀበኩክሙ፡, *wahabkukamu* (fol. 28va, l. 6); ወዘኪየክሙ፡, *wa-za-kiyakamu*, for ወዘኪየክሙ፡, *wa-za-kiyākamu* (fol. 28va, l. 8); ሊሊክሙ፡, *lillikamu*, for ሊሊክሙ፡, *lallikamu* (fol. 28va, l. 16). This could be connected to the general use of first-order forms where sixth-order forms are expected. There are, however, also cases in which the form *-kumu* appears: ex. ለአመላክኩሙ፡, *la- 'amalākakumu*, for ለአመላክኩሙ፡, *la- 'amlākəkamu* (fol. 29va, l. 18); ወሀበኩክሙ፡, *wahabakukumu*, for ወሀበኩክሙ፡, *wahabkukamu* (fol. 30r, ll. 14–15);
- a number of particles appear with /ə/ instead of Standard Geez /a/; ex. አመላክነሱ፡, *'amalākanə-ssə* (?), for አመላክነሱ፡, *'amlākəna-ssa* (fol. 2va, l. 28); አይሁድነሱ፡, *'ayhudə-ssə* (?), for አይሁድነሱ፡, *'ayhudə-ssa* (fol. 2va, l. 11); ዮምነሱ፡, *yomə-ssə* (?), for ዮምነሱ፡, *yomə-ssa* (fol. 3ra, ll. 5–6); ልነ፡, *ləna*, for ለነ፡, *lana* (fols 2va, l. 19; 2vb, ll. 15, 17); ለጽድቅ፡, *lə-ṣədq*, for ለጽድቅ፡, (fol. 6ra, l. 4); ልክሙ፡, *lakamu*, for ለክሙ፡, *lakamu* (fol. 6ra, l. 6); ልክ፡, *ləka*, for ለክ፡, *laka* (fol. 3rb, l. 18); አባግዲሁሱ፡, *'abāgə 'ihu-ssə* (?), for አባግዲሁሱ፡, *'abāgə 'ihu-ssa* (fol. 28vb, l. 6); but ለካታ፡, *la-ḥāṭa 'a*, for ለካታ፡, *la-ḥāṭə* (fol. 6ra, l. 24). This could be connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected. However, as far as I have noticed, *ba-* and *za-* appear with /a/, unlike in MS EMMML 7078 (cf. 2.3.2.1);

⁸²⁴ Cf., for example, Bausi et al. 2020, p. 149.

- some common words appear in special forms, sometimes with parallels in other early manuscripts: ex. ባዕዲ፣ *bā 'di*, for ባዕድ፣ *bā 'd* (fol. 5vb, l. 19);⁸²⁵ ማኑ፣ *mānnu*, for ሙኑ፣ *mannu* (fol. 6rb, ll. 20, 21, 22);⁸²⁶ ሊ(?)ሊክ፣ *li(?)lleka* (?), for ለሊክ፣ *lallika* (fol. 28vb, l. 3); ሊሊክሙ፣ *lillikamu* (?), for ለሊክሙ፣ *lallikamu* (fol. 28va, l. 16); ለሊክ፣ *lelleka*, for ለሊክ፣ *lallika* (fol. 29rb, ll. 10, 12, 19);⁸²⁷ ዮሚ፣ *yomi*, for ዮሙ፣ *yom* (fol. 26rb, l. 23). There are also attestations of so-called e-forms: ex. ዲቤ፣ *dibe*, for ዲቤ፣ *diba* (fols 16r, l. 19; 17r, l. 20);
- a number of other, potentially phonological oddities are attested more rarely: ‘strengthening’ of /ə/ to /i/; ex. ደውሎሲሃ፣ *Pewəlosi-hā*, for ደውሎስሃ፣ *Pāwəlosə-hā* (fol. 29ra, l. 3; cf. the parallel phenomenon in MS EML 7078, 2.3.2.1); absence (?) of assimilation of /' / to /y/ after 'i-; ex. ኢይአብለክሙ፣ 'iy- 'ablakkamu (?), for ኢይአብለክሙ፣ 'i-yablakkamu (fol. 28va, l. 3); non-standard monophthongisations: ጎዋኖ፣ ብርት፣ *hawāho bart*, for ጎዋኖ፣ ብርት፣ *hawāhəwa bərt* (fol. 26va, l. 14).

Orthographic features:

- the word 'Agzi 'abəher is written as two words (fols 5va, ll. 7, 23; 20ra, l. 3; 37ra, l. 31);
- use of the first order in the place of other orders, especially the sixth (examples have been taken exclusively from fol. 2va): ex. ኪዳንክ፣ *kidānəka*, for ኪዳንክ፣ *kidānəka* (l. 4); አደኅ(?)ን፣ 'adaḥə(?)n, for አደኅን፣ 'adḥən (l. 4); ርስተክ፣ *rəsataka*, for ርስተክ፣ *rəstaka* (l. 5); አብረሃም፣ 'Abrahām, for አብረሃም፣ 'Abrahām (l. 6);⁸²⁸ ኢተጉንደ፣ 'i-tagunda, for ኢተጉንደ፣ 'i-tagwandi (ll. 6–7); ተብል፣ *tabl*, for ትብል፣ *təbl* (l. 7); ዘያሐዩ፣ *za-yāḥayya* (?), for ዘያሐዩ፣ *za-yāḥayyu* (l. 11); ሰበሐተ፣ *səbahata*, for ሰብሐተ፣ *səbhata* (ll. 13–14); ለስመክ፣ *la-səmakā*, for ለስምክ፣ *la-səməka* (l. 14); መጸሐፊ፣ *maṣəḥafa*, for መጽሐፊ፣ *maṣḥafa* (ll. 19–20); ዘእመኔሁ፣ *za- 'əmannehu*, for ዘእመኔሁ፣ *za- 'əmannehu* (l. 22); በለዐ፣ *bala 'a*, for በለዐ፣ *bal 'a* (l. 22); አደመ፣ 'Addama (?), for አዳም፣ 'Addām (ll. 22–23); አደዊሁ፣ 'adawihu, for አደዊሁ፣ 'adawihu (l. 23); ደመጸክ፣ *damaṣaka*, for ደምጸክ፣ *dəməṣaka* (ll. 24–25); አነሰ፣ 'ana-ssa (?), for አንሰ፣ 'an-sa (ll. 26–27); አመለክንሰ፣ 'amalākanə-ssə, for አምለክንሰ፣ 'amlākəna-ssa (l. 28); መነደቤነ፣ *manadabena*, for ምንዳቤነ፣ *məndābena* (ll. 29–30);
- use of the sixth order in place of the first order: ex. ግነት፣ *gənnat* (?), for ገነት፣ *gannat* (fol. 2vb, l. 14); ምንግሥተ፣ *məngəšta*, for መንግሥተ፣ *mangəšta*

⁸²⁵ This form is also attested in MS DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1).

⁸²⁶ This spelling is also attested in MSS EML 7078 (2.3.2.1), DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1), and DS-XVI (2.3.15.1).

⁸²⁷ The latter spelling is also attested in MSS EML 7078 (2.3.2.1) and DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1).

⁸²⁸ This spelling is also attested in MS EML 7078 (2.3.2.1).

- (fol. 2vb, l. 20); ለመጽ፡, *ləmaša*, for ለምጽ፡, *lamṣ* (fol. 3ra, l. 9); ተቀደሰት፡, *taqaddasət* (?), for ተቀደሰት፡, *taqaddasət* (fol. 3ra, l. 8); ወሰርዕከ፡, *wa-sarə 'ka* (?), for ወሰራዕከ፡, *wa-sarā 'ka* (fol. 3ra, l. 26); ለዕርፈት፡, *la- 'ərfata* (?), for ለዕረፍት፡, *la- 'əraft* (fol. 3ra, l. 27); እምትቀንዮ፡, *'əm-təqanyo*, for እምተቀንዮ፡, *'əm-taqanyo* (fol. 3ra, l. 29); ዕርፈተ፡, *'ərfata*, for ዕረፍተ፡, *'ərafta* (fol. 3rb, ll. 12, 15, 21); ለሰንበት፡, *la-sənbət*, for ለሰንበት፡, *la-sanbat* (fol. 3rb, l. 17);
- other variations in the vocalisation and additions of consonants: ex. አይሁድዊ፡, *'ayhudəwi* (?), for አይሁዳዊ፡, *'ayhudāwi* (fol. 2vb, l. 7); ውስቱ፡, *wəstu*, for ውስተ፡, *wəsta* (fol. 2vb, l. 18); ሰባሐት፡, *səbāhat*, for ስብሐት፡, *səbḥat* (fol. 3ra, l. 10); ኢይሁድ፡, *'iyhud*, for አይሁድ፡, *'ayhud* (fol. 3ra, l. 4); ኢዮሩሳሌም፡, *'Iyorusālem*, for ኢዮሩሳሌም፡, *'Iyarusālem* (fol. 3ra, ll. 14–15);⁸²⁹ አመክሮተ፡, *'əma- 'ar 'ota*, for እምክሮተ፡, *'əm- 'ar 'uta* (fol. 3rb, l. 5); ተልእኮትሃ፡, *kʷəllə 'antihā* (?), for ተለንታሃ፡, *kʷəllantāhā* (fol. 9r, l. 20–21); ተልእኮትሃ፡, *kʷəllə 'antiyāhā*, for ተለንታሃ፡, *kʷəllantāhā* (fol. 9r, l. 27); ተልእኮትሃ፡, *kʷəllə 'əntihā* (?), for ተለንታሃ፡, *kʷəllantāhā* (fol. 9v, ll. 3, 12; but on l. 9, the form ተልንታሃ፡, *kʷəlləntihā* is found).

It must be underlined that these observations are not based on a systematic survey of the entire manuscript but rather—as may be concluded already from the folios from which examples have been taken—on a survey of a limited number of sample pages. Together with the palaeographical features, however, the orthographic and linguistic deviations from Standard Geez displayed by MS DS-I/XVII/XXII constitute an important argument in favour of an early dating of the manuscript. Due to the limited number of comparable materials (but cf. the descriptions of MSS DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1), DS-XVI (2.3.15.1), and DS-XX (2.3.16.1)), it seems best to follow Nosnitsin 2016 in suggesting a pre-mid-fourteenth-century *terminus ante quem*, while maintaining that ‘it is hardly possible to establish the earliest possible dating in a more definitive way’.⁸³⁰

2.3.11.2 Codicological reconstruction

MS DS-I/XVII/XXII is preserved in a fragmentary state, which makes it an arduous work to try to reconstruct its codicological structure. Nonetheless, such a reconstruction is necessary to form an impression of its contents. Below, the codicological structure of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII is hypothetically reconstructed according to my interpretation of the available material. Given that MS DS-I/XVII/XXII is largely made up of loose leaves and loose bifolios, no attempt to reconstruct codicological blocks can be made; instead, the focus will be on reconstructing quires and parts of quires, mostly—as will become clear—on the basis of textual correspondences. Already at this point, the reader should be aware

⁸²⁹ This spelling is also attested in MSS Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i (2.3.10.1), DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1), and DS-XVI (2.3.15.1).

⁸³⁰ Nosnitsin 2016, p. 92.

that MS DS-I/XVII/XXII contains one single-type collection—a calendar-based *mazmur*-family collection—and the reconstruction is therefore greatly helped by our general knowledge of the liturgical calendar.

Fols 1–4 constitute two non-consecutive bifolios, originally forming part of the same quire. The hypothetical structure of the quire is reproduced schematically in Figure 13.⁸³¹ These folios are connected by their contents, which place them at the beginning of the liturgical year. Fol. 1rb contains antiphons for the commemoration of Takkaze (*Takkaze*; 1). The beginning of this commemoration has not been preserved. Supposing that the bifolios that make up the first quire originally constituted a quaternion, this observation leads us to the conclusion that this was not the first quire of the manuscript, but possibly the second. On fols 2–3, antiphons for the commemoration of the Cross (*Masqal*; 2) are found. Antiphons for this commemoration, it seems, are also found on fol. 4rv, i.e. the folio that forms the latter part of the same bifolio as fol. 1.

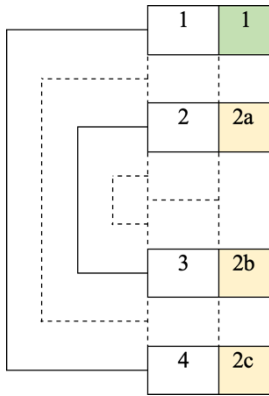


Figure 13. Schematic representation of a hypothetical quire consisting of fols 1–4 in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII.

Fols 5–6 appear to constitute the innermost bifolio of an otherwise lost quire. The text, perhaps consisting of antiphons for the Great Fast (*Ṣom*), runs seamlessly from fol. 5vb to fol. 6ra. Fols 7 appears to contain antiphons for the commemoration of the Mount of Olives (*Dabra Zayt*), the Fourth Sunday of the Great Fast. Fols 8–9 are two consecutive folios⁸³² containing antiphon for the

⁸³¹ For an introduction to the way in which quires are visualised schematically in this dissertation, see fn. 702. In the visualisations of quires from MS DS-I/XVII/XXII, the column to the right of the one containing folio numbers contains information about the placement of the individual commemorations within the single single-type collection in this manuscript. Each commemoration in a visualised quire is provided with a number in the text; this number appears in the visualisation next to the folios which house the respective commemoration. Different parts of the same collection have been numbered with the addition of lower-case letters. In order to increase legibility, colours have additionally been used to highlight the single-type collections within the visualisations.

⁸³² The last antiphon on fol. 8vb ends with the following words: [...] ወሐዓናት፡ ይሰ(!)ብሉ፡ ኪዳክ፡ አ(!)ንዘ፡ ይቤ(!)ሉ፡ አ(!)ኩት፡ ወሰ(!)ቡሕ፡ ስ(?)መ(?)ከ፡ ለዓለም፡/ and the first antiphon on fol. 9ra begins with: ይብሉ(?)፡ ሆስዕና(?)፡ በአረያም፡ መለ[...]ከት፡ አሕዛብ፡ ተጋብሉ፡ [...]. The same antiphon is attested in MS EMM 6944, fol. 64rb, ll. 13–32.

commemoration of Palm Sunday (*Hosā'nā*). No schematic representation of these folios has been provided.

Fols 10–17 can with reasonable probability be reconstructed as a complete quaternion, although the stitching in the middle of the quaternion, which one would expect to be able to observe between fols 13v and 14r, is not clearly visible. Only fol. 17 is completely detached from the rest of the quire. As for its contents, fols 10ra–12rb appear to contain antiphons for Easter (*Tənsā'e?*; 1). The beginning of this commemoration has not been preserved. On fols 12rb–13va, a complete commemoration for Tomas the Apostle (*Tomās*; 2) is found, although the folios are damaged. Fol. 13va contains the beginning of a new commemoration, probably that of Lazarus (*'Al'azār*; 3), although the commemoration indication is affected by material loss. It is difficult to identify the end of this commemoration. The name of Lazarus appears regularly in the antiphons up to fol. 14r, and from fol. 14v, the name of Adam (*'Addām*) instead appears with comparable frequency. One gets the impression that the commemoration of Adam (4), which follows upon the commemoration of Lazarus in the *Maṣṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966 as described by Jeffery 1993,⁸³³ has begun, although this shift appears not to be marked in the text. This commemoration ends on fol. 15rb. On fols 15va–16va, the commemoration for the Church (*Beta krəstiyān*; 5) is found, followed by the commemoration for Women during Easter (*za-tənsā'e za-'anəst*; 6). The last antiphon on fol. 16vb continues on fol. 17ra,⁸³⁴ connecting this loose leaf to the rest of this quire. A schematic representation is provided in Figure 14.

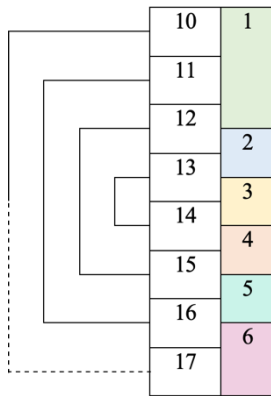


Figure 14. Schematic representation of the quire consisting of fols 10–17 in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII.

Fols 18–24 can be reconstructed as the seven last leaves of a quaternion. Fols 18 and 23 form one bifolio, fols 20 and 21 form another (the innermost bifolio of the quire), whereas fols 19, 22 and 24 are loose leaves, as displayed in Figure 15. As

⁸³³ Cf. Jeffery 1993, p. 228.

⁸³⁴ The antiphon on fol. 16vb ends with the following words: አመድኅር: ተን(?)ሠክ: አመ/, and the antiphon on fol. 17ra begins: /ከ: መውታን: አስተርአየን: ቀደመ: ለአንስት: ለማሪ(?)ያም: ወላዲት: ወለማሪ(?)ያም: መግደላዊት: [...].

for their contents, fols 18ra–21vb contain the end of a commemoration (1), which thematically is connected to Easter. In the modern calendar of the *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 1966 as described by Jeffery 1993, the commemoration for Women during Easter is followed by a commemoration for *kəbra qəddusān* in Easter. This is possibly reflected also in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII, so that this quire might be the one that originally followed the one represented by fols 10–17. On the missing first folio of the quire consisting of fols 18–24, one would then have expected to find the end of the commemoration for Women during Easter and the beginning of the commemoration for *kəbra qəddusān* in Easter. The remaining contents of this quire are as follows: On fols 21vb–22vb, the commemoration for Pentecost (*Paraqlitos*; 2) is found, followed by the commemoration for George (*Giyorgis*; 3) on fols 22vb–23va. On fols 23va–24va, the commemoration of the Synod of Apostles (*Rakb*; 4) is found, followed by the beginning of the commemoration of Mark the Apostle (*Mārəqos*; 5).

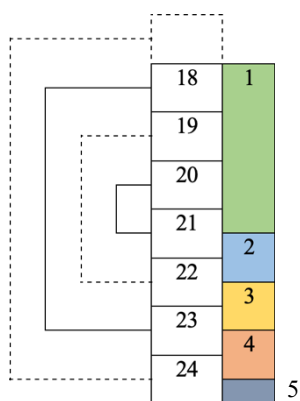


Figure 15. Schematic representation of the hypothetical quire consisting of fols 18–24 in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII.

Fols 25–30 can be reconstructed as the first six folios of a quire. Two of these folios—fols 28 and 29—constitute a bifolio, whereas the rest are loose leaves. As for their contents, fol. 25ra–va contains the end of one commemoration (Ascension, *ʿĪrgatʿ*; 1) and, on fol. 25vb, the beginning of the commemoration of Michael the Archangel during Ascension (*Mikāʿel za-ʿĪrgat*; 2). This commemoration continues over the loose folios 26rv⁸³⁵ and 27rv,⁸³⁶ and ends on the first lines of fol. 28ra.⁸³⁷ The rest of fol. 28ra is occupied by the commemoration of *ʿAbbā Garimā* (3). This is the commemoration discussed by

⁸³⁵ The antiphon on fol. 25vb ends with the following words: [...] ኩን/, and the antiphon on fol. 26ra begins with: /ን(?)ዎ: አይሁድ: ለአመላክ: ምስርተ:/. Note that a refrain, abbreviated as ::ለዘ::, occurs within this antiphon on both fols 25vb and 26ra.

⁸³⁶ The antiphon on fol. 26vb ends with the following words: [...] ሰብኩ: ተን(?)ሣኢ: ውስተ: ኩሉ: መ/, and the antiphon on fol. 27ra begins: /ድር::/. The same antiphon is attested in *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015, p. 274, ll. 1–6.

⁸³⁷ The antiphon on fol. 27vb ends with the following words: [...] ተኩነኩ: ሎቱ: መ/, and the antiphon on fol. 28ra begins: /አከተ: ለኩሎ: ሰብሐት: ዘሰማይ: ሰማይት: ይሴ(?)ብሐ: ለሰሙ: ብተፈሰሐተ::/. The corner of fol. 28ra, presumably containing a letter ለ, has been lost. The same antiphon is attested in *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015, p. 273, ll. 16–23.

Nosnitsin 2016. On fol. 28va, the commemoration for the Apostles (*Hawāryāt*; 4) begins. This commemoration continues on fol. 29rv (which, as stated above, clearly forms a bifolio with fol. 28 in the reproduction available to me, in contrast with the more recent state of the folios described by Nosnitsin 2016—they form the middle bifolio of the quire, as evidenced by the continuous text) and on the loose leaf fol. 30rv. It appears that the end of this quire has been lost. According to the calendar in *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 1966 as described by Jeffery 1993, one would have expected antiphons for Ascension to appear between the commemoration of Mark the Apostle (at the end of the last quire) and the commemoration of Michael the Archangel during Ascension. Thus, considering that the end of preceding quire appears to be preserved, as well as the beginning of this one (presuming that they are quaternions), it is possible that one quire has been lost between them. This reconstructed quire is displayed schematically in Figure 16.

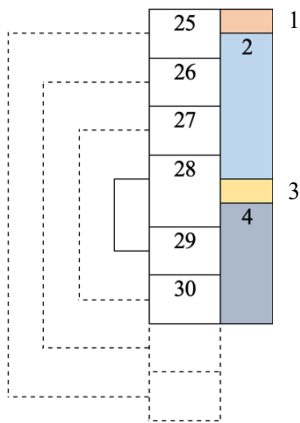


Figure 16. Schematic representation of the hypothetical quire consisting of folios 25–30 in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII.

The beginning of the next quire appears to be missing. The shift from fol. 30vb to fol. 31ra also coincides with the shift from Hand A to Hand B. The rest of the manuscript is written by Hand B, with smaller sections and additions by other hands, but Hand A does not return. Nevertheless, based on the size of the folios and the fact that the parts written by Hand B calendrically match those written by Hand A, I am of the impression that they represent one single manuscript. On fol. 31ra, antiphons for the commemoration of Cyricus (*Qirqos*; 1) are found, but the beginning of the commemoration has been lost. The text continues from fol. 31vb to fol. 32ra, which forms a bifolio together with fol. 33—apparently the middle bifolio of a quire. On fol. 32va, the commemoration for 'Abbā Salāmā (2) begins. It continues over fol. 33 to fol. 34ra, which forms a bifolio together with fol. 31. On fol. 34ra, the commemoration for virgins (*danāgəl*; 3) begins. This commemoration appears to continue on fol. 35ra.⁸³⁸ On fol. 35va, the

⁸³⁸ The antiphon that begins on fol. 34vb and end on fol. 35ra has a parallel in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB, fol. 21rb, ll. 16–22. However, the end of this antiphon appears not to be marked with a punctuation mark in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII.

commemoration for Sophia (*Sofyā*; 4) begins. This hypothetical quire is schematically visualised in Figure 17.

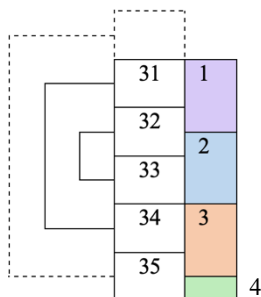


Figure 17. Schematic representation of the hypothetical quire consisting of fols 31–35 in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII.

The remaining folios cannot be connected codicologically to each other or to other folios. Fols 36–37 contain antiphons for Mary—but not the beginning or the end of a commemoration—and form the middle bifolio of an otherwise lost quire. Fols 38–39 similarly form a bifolio. On fol. 38rb, after a barely legible first column, the beginning of the commemoration of the Beheading of John the Baptist (*mātrata rā'su la-Yoḥannās*) is found. This commemoration ends on fol. 38vb, where the commemoration of the Parable of *Kāramt* (*Māssāle za-Kāramt*) begins. It appears that antiphons for this commemoration are found also on fol. 39rb, but there is a caesura in the text between fols 38vb and 39ra, i.e. one or several bifolios have been lost in the middle of the quire. No schematic representation of these folios is provided.

2.3.11.3 Contents

MS DS-I/XVII/XXII contains a single-type collection of *mazmur*-family antiphons.⁸³⁹ As indicated in the codicological reconstruction, the collection is fragmentarily preserved and covers discontinuous portions of the liturgical year. No commemorations belonging to the Season of Flowers have been preserved.

2.3.12 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-II

MS 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-II (= MS DS-II), parchment manuscript, c. 15.5 × 11.7 cm, single bifolio, one column, 19 lines (fol. 1r), no boards. This fragment of a manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs kindly put at my disposal by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska. Its codicological features (with







⁸³⁹ This identification is based primarily on comparisons between the text portions preserved in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII and *mazmur*-family collections preserved in other early manuscripts. For example, the twelve first antiphons for commemoration for George (*Giyorgis*) in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII (fols 25vb–26va) corresponds to those in the same commemoration in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 (fols 69ra–va); however, at the end, the collection in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII has two antiphons not found in the collection in MS GG-187, and the collection in collection in MS GG-187 has four antiphons not found in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII.

more data than what is provided here) and part of its contents have been presented and discussed by Nosnitsin 2018.

2.3.12.1 Dating

Based primarily (?) on a palaeographical analysis, Nosnitsin 2018 states that ‘we can only assume that DS II was produced well before the mid-14th century’,⁸⁴⁰ adding in a footnote that DS-II ‘may be placed closer to the hypothetical division boundary, mid-14th century [sic]’ than other comparable manuscripts.⁸⁴¹ He argues that the mixing of ‘archaic’ and ‘modern’ shapes of fourth-order vowel markers might indicate that it was written during a time of transition between different palaeographical periods. I wonder, however, if this feature should be connected to chronology in this manner, or if geographical etc. aspects may have been more decisive in determining the form of the fourth-order vowel marker (note, for example, that MS *ʿAbbā* Garimā I uses the ‘modern’ way of forming the fourth order).








As for palaeography, the following features may be noted, most of which have already been discussed by Nosnitsin 2018.⁸⁴²

| | | |
|---------|---|---|
| ⲁ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| Ⲅ, ⲅ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| Ⲇ |  | the vowel marker is semi-circular and is attached on the right side of the top line of the letter |
| Ⲉ, ⲉ, Ⲇ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| Ⲑ, ⲑ |  | the right loop of <Ⲑ> is frequently not closed; the two halves of <ⲑ> are barely connected |
| ⲓ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on |

⁸⁴⁰ Nosnitsin 2018, p. 292.

⁸⁴¹ Nosnitsin 2018, p. 292, fn. 13. He seems to be referring to the manuscripts DS-I/(XVII/XXII, see 2.3.11), MGM-018i, and the Gospel fragment from Dabra Māʿšo described in Bulakh 2014 and Nosnitsin and Bulakh 2014.

⁸⁴² Sources for palaeographical samples: ⲁ: 2v, l. 2; Ⲅ: 1v, l. 3; ⲅ: 1r, l. 1; Ⲇ: fol. 1v, l. 2; Ⲉ: fol. 2v, l. 1; ⲉ: fol. 1r, l. 10; Ⲇ: fol. 1r, l. 9; Ⲑ: 1r, l. 19; ⲑ: fol. 1r, l. 16; ⲓ: 1r, l. 18; Ⲕ: 1r, l. 15; ⲕ: 1r, l. 2; Ⲍ: 1r, l. 3; Ⲏ: fol. 2v, l. 1; ⲏ: 1v, l. 8; Ⲑ: 2v, l. 14; fourth-order vowel marker: 1r, l. 17 (Ⲉ); 1v, l. 11 (ⲉ); fol. 1v, l. 16 (Ⲇ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 1r, l. 5 (Ⲉ); fol. 1r, l. 6 (ⲉ); fol. 2v, l. 17 (Ⲇ).

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| | | top of the letter |
| አ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter and reaches the end of the body of the letter |
| ወ |  | the distinction between <ወ> and <ወ> appears to be of the earlier type |
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter rests on the base line, which the vowel marker does not reach |
| ደ |  | there is an additional horizontal stroke |
| ፐ |  | the lateral legs reach the base line |
| fourth order |  | two forms are attested: a) with a 'kink' on the right leg, b) with lengthening of the right leg |
| seventh order |  | two forms are attested: a) with an addition to the left leg, b) with shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

Nosnitsin 2018 lists a number of occurrences of 'odd' vocalisation, but refrains from a more thorough discussion of the orthography until the entire fragment has been analysed.⁸⁴³ Below, a number of observations are presented without any claim of exhaustiveness, following the model used in this dissertation for other manuscripts with 'odd' vocalisation.

Linguistic features:

- the shift from /a/ to /ā/ in closed syllables ending in a laryngeal (laryngeal rule 2a, according to the terminology of Diem 1988⁸⁴⁴) is missing in at least one case: ሰመዕት, *sama* 't, for ሰማዕት, *samā* 't (fol. 2v, l. 11);
- non-standard usage (or rather non-usage) of the nominal ending -a, both in its function as accusative marker and as marking the non-final constituent(s) of construct chains: ex. አሐንጸ፡ ቤቱ፡, 'i-*hanəṣa* (?) *betu*, for አሐንጸ፡ ቤቱ፡, 'i-*hanaṣa beto* (fol. 1r, ll. 11–12); ንጉሥ፡ ሰባሐት፡, *nəguś səbāḥat*, for ንጉሥ፡ ሰባሐት፡, *nəguśa səbḥat* (fol. 1r, l. 16); አብ፡ ጥልኒ፡, 'ab *kʷəlləna*, for አብ፡ ጥልኒ፡, 'ab *kʷəlləna* (fol. 2v, l. 13).

Orthographic features:

⁸⁴³ Nosnitsin 2018, pp. 93–94.

⁸⁴⁴ Diem 1988, p. 240.

- Nosnitsin 2018 reports that the word *ʿĪgzi ʿabəher* is written as two word in MS DS-II;⁸⁴⁵ however, I have not been able to locate any attestations of this word;
- on a number of occasions, the first order is used where other orders would have been expected: ex. *በፀዕ፡*, *baṣu* ‘, for *በፀዕ፡*, *bəṣu* ‘ (fol. 1r, l. 1); *አበ(?)፡*, *ʿabba(?)* (?), for *አባ፡*, *ʿabbā* (fol. 1r, l. 1);⁸⁴⁶ *ቀደመ(?)ተ፡*, *qadama(?)ta*, for *ቀደመት፡*, *qadamt* (fol. 1r, l. 5); *ተዕግሥት፡*, *ta ʿgəst*, for *ተዕግሥት፡*, *tə ʿgəst* (fol. 1r, ll. 9–10); *ሚካኤል፡*, *Mika ʿel*, for *ሚካኤል፡*, *Mikā ʿel* (fol. 1r, l. 12); *መላእክት፡*, *malā ʿakat*, for *መላእክት፡*, *malā ʿəkt* (fol. 1r, ll. 15, 17, 19); *መሐረት፡*, *maḥrat*, for *ምሐረት፡*, *məḥrat* (fol. 1r, l. 18); *አሐዛብ፡*, *aḥazāb*, for *አሐዛብ፡*, *aḥzāb* (fol. 2v, l. 13); *አ(?)ተራኖስ፡*, *ʿatarānos*, for *አትራኖስ፡*, *ʿatrānos* (fol. 2v, ll. 16–17);⁸⁴⁷ *ኤ(?)ዳስ፡* *Φ(?)ጲ(?)ስ፡*, *ʿe(?)pos qa(?)pi(?)s*, for *ʿepis qoṗos* (fol. 2v, l. 17);
- there are a number of other unexpected vocalisations as well, although they are relatively few in number: ex. *ዮሐን፡*, *Yohannə* (?), for *ዮሐን፡*, *Yohanni* (fol. 1r, ll. 1, 6, 9);⁸⁴⁸ *አቦነ፡*, *ʿabona*, for *አቡነ፡*, *ʿabuna* (fol. 1r, l. 6);⁸⁴⁹ *ኢሐንጸ፡*, *ʿi-ḥanaṣa* (?), for *ኢሐንጸ፡*, *ʿi-ḥanaṣa* (fol. 1r, l. 11); *ሰባሐት፡*, *səbāḥat*, for *ሰባሐት፡*, *səbḥat* (fol. 1r, l. 16).

Taken together, these palaeographical, linguistic and orthographic features seem to indicate a pre-mid-fourteenth-century date, although it is difficult to make a more precise assessment at the present state of knowledge.

2.3.12.2 Contents

The preserved bifolio of MS DS-II contains antiphons for *ʿAbbā Yoḥanni*, Michael the Archangel (*Mikā ʿel*) and Peter of Alexandria (*Ṗetros*), in that order. Apart from that, the contents of MS DS-II pose major problems. Although the antiphons for *ʿAbbā Yoḥanni* were originally planned to be included in the textual corpus of this dissertation and therefore have been transcribed from some manuscripts (including *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015, which includes a large corpus of antiphons), none of the three antiphons present in MS DS-II is attested in the corpus. Similarly, Nosnitsin 2018 was able to identify a number of themes recurring in both these and other antiphons for *ʿAbbā Yoḥanni*, but not to identify these specific antiphons in other collections. Judging from the number of antiphons pertaining to each commemoration, it appears either to be a ‘small’

⁸⁴⁵ Nosnitsin 2018, p. 294.

⁸⁴⁶ Nosnitsin 2018 transcribes this word with a fourth-order <ṣ> (Nosnitsin 2018, p. 293).

⁸⁴⁷ Although, as a loan word with an unstable orthography also in the later tradition (both Dillmann 1865, col. 762 and Leslau 1991, p. 46b list *አትሮኖስ፡*, *አትሮኖስ፡*, *አትራኖስ፡*), this example may not be as significant as the others.

⁸⁴⁸ This spelling is also attested in MS EMM 7078, 2.3.2.1.

⁸⁴⁹ Nosnitsin 2018 suggests a comparison with Tigrinya *ʿabbo* (Nosnitsin 2018, p. 294).








collection or a part of a melodic-family-based collection. Given the lack of comparative materials, it is presently not possible to arrive at a more precise identification of the contents of MS DS-II.

2.3.13 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-III

MS 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl DS-III (below: MS DS-III), parchment manuscript, 17.5 × 13 cm, single leaf, one column, 21 lines, no boards. This fragmentary manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs kindly put at my disposal by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska. To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or described in the previous literature.



2.3.13.1 Dating

Palaeographically, MS DS-III is similar to several of the other fragments from 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, especially MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-II, and DS-VIII*/XIII. Based on this, it can also be dated to pre-mid-fourteenth-century times. The following palaeographical features can be noted:⁸⁵⁰

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| ሉ, ከ | — | [not attested?] ⁸⁵¹ |
| ረ, ም |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| ቶ |  | the vowel marker is semi-circular and is attached on the right side of the top line of the letter |
| ሐ, ቅ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| መ, ሠ |  | the right loop of <መ> is not closed; the two parts of <ሠ> are not connected |
| ሰ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter |
| እ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter and reaches outside the body of the letter |
| ወ |  | the distinction between <ወ> and <ዐ> appears to be of the later type |

⁸⁵⁰ Sources for palaeographical samples: ም: 1r, l. 13; ቶ: fol. 1r, l. 7; fol. 1v, l. 15; ሐ: fol. 1r, l. 13; ቅ: fol. 1r, l. 17; መ: 1r, l. 1; ሠ: 1r, l. 11; ሰ: 1r, l. 9; እ: 1r, l. 10; ወ: fol. 1r, l. 10; ረ: 1r, l. 16; ም: 1v, l. 11; ጥ: 1r, l. 9;

⁸⁵¹ On fol. 1v, l. 1, the work which in Standard Geez appears as ጸሎት is found; however, on the reproduction available to me, the word seems to have been written ጸሎቱ, although it is not to be excluded that a faint vowel marker is found on the right side of the ለ.

| | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter rests on the base line, which the vowel marker does not reach |
| ዳ | — | [not attested?] |
| ጥ |  | the lateral legs reach the base line |
| fourth order | — | [not attested?] |
| seventh order | — | [not attested?] |

Linguistic features:

- on one occasion, the nominal ending *-a* is not used when expected: በዕል፡ ስበሐተሁ፡, *ba 'l səbaḥatihu*, for ብዕል፡ ስበሐተሁ፡, *bə 'la səbḥatihu* (fol. 1r, ll. 3–4);
- the preposition *'əm-* appears in the form *'əma-*: ex. እ(?)መኸሉ፡, *'ə(?)ma-kʷəllu*, for እምኸሉ፡, *'əm-kʷəllu* (fol. 1r, l. 13); አመርሐቅ፡, *'əma-rəḥuq*, for እምርሐቅ፡, *'əm-rəḥuq* (fol. 1r, l. 15); እመኃጢአተ(?)፡, *'əma-ḥāṭi 'ata(?)*, for እምኃጢአት፡, *'əm-ḥatī 'at* (fol. 1v, l. 13). Cf. the description of MS EMMML 7078 (2.3.2.1). This form can be put in connection with the examples of use of the first order where other orders are expected (see below);
- on the only occasion that I notice, the shift from /a/ to /ā/ in closed syllables ending in a laryngeal (laryngeal rule 2a, according to the terminology of Diem 1988⁸⁵²) is operative: ለሰማዕት, *la-samā 't* (fol. 1v, l. 3).

Orthographic features:

- the word *'Ēgzi 'abəḥer* is written as two words (fol. 1r, l. 3);
- on a number of occasions, the first order is used where other orders would have been expected: ex. አመለክ፡, *'amalaka*, for እምለክ፡, *'amlāk* (fol. 1r, l. 1); በዕል፡ ስበሐተሁ፡, *ba 'l səbaḥatihu*, for ብዕል፡ ስበሐተሁ፡, *bə 'la səbḥatihu* (fol. 1r, ll. 3–4); በአረያም፡, *ba- 'arayām*, for በአርያም፡, *ba- 'aryām* (fol. 1r, l. 16); ወሰረራ፡, *wa-sararā*, for ወሳረራ፡, *wa-sārarā* (fol. 1r, l. 16; it is clear from the context that this word is intended); ለዓለመ፡, *la- 'ālama*, for ለዓለም፡, *la- 'ālam* (fol. 1r, l. 17); በሩክ(?)፡, *baruka(?)*, for ቡሩክ፡, *buruk* (fol. 1r, l. 19); ወሰረርከዋ(?)፡, *wa-sararkawwā(?)*, for ወሳረርከዋ፡, *wa-sārarkawwā* (fol. 1r, l. 18); ሐሬከዋ፡, *ḥarekawwā*, for ኀረይከዋ፡, *ḥaraykawwā* (fol. 1r, l. 18); ስመዕክ፡, *səma 'əka*, for ስምዕክ፡, *səm 'əka* (fol. 1r, l. 19); ተአዘዘክ፡, *ta 'azazaka*, for ተአዛዘክ፡, *tə 'zāzəka* (fol. 1r, l. 18); አምሙ፡, *'ammomu*, for እምሙ፡, *'əmmomu*

⁸⁵² Diem 1988, p. 240.

(fol. 1v, l. 2); በጸመ፣ *ba-ṣama*, for በጸም፣ *ba-ṣom* (fol. 1v, l. 6); ወንሴ(?)በሐ፣ *wa-nāse(?)bbaḥa*, for ወንሴ-በሐ፣ *wa-nāsebbəḥ* (fol. 1v, l. 10); ቀደመተ፣ *qadamata*, for ቀደምት፣ *qadamt* (fol. 1v, l. 12).

Taken together, these features seem to suggest a pre-mid-fourteenth-century dating. The arguments for this dating are primarily palaeographical. As for linguistic and orthographic features, MS DS-III displays a use of the language relatively close to Standard Geez, and it seems reasonable to conclude, as Nosnitsin 2018 does for MS DS-II, that this manuscript is closer to the mid-fourteenth-century limit than, for example, MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII and DS-VIII*/XIII.

2.3.13.2 Contents

Twelve antiphons are found on the single leaf that constitutes MS DS-III. There are no metatextual elements, which would have facilitated their identification. Thematically, fol. 1r contains at least one antiphon which seems to belong to the commemoration of Epiphany, whereas fol. 1v contains several antiphons with a Lenten theme and one clearly connected with the Resurrection. It turns out that five out of the six Lenten antiphons have close parallels among the *'aryām* antiphons included in the edition the first four weeks of *Ṣoma Dəggwā* by Velat 1966c, 1969. In the modern tradition, four of them belong to the melodic family *Yəgabbəru ba'āla* (nos 185 (= 280), 191, 199 (= 208), 207, and 293 in Velat 1966c, 1969), whereas the fifth (no. 293 in Velat 1966c, 1969) belongs to the melodic family *'Aklila samā't*. A diachronic study of the melodic families of *'aryām* antiphons, similar to what is presented for *'arbā't* antiphons in Chapter 5, would be necessary to evaluate this observation properly (does this collection contain mixed *'aryām* antiphons from different melodic families? or were these particular melodic families originally not distinguished?). In any case, the contents of MS DS-III can tentatively be identified as a single-type collection of *'aryām* antiphons.

2.3.14 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-VIII*/XIII

The manuscript which in this dissertation is referred to by the siglum 'MS DS-VIII*/XIII' consists of folios which, at the time of their digitisation, were thought to represent (parts of) two different manuscripts, given the shelfmarks 'DS-VIII' and 'DS-XIII'. While 'DS-XIII' only contains folios from MS DS-VIII*/XIII, 'DS-VIII' also contains folios originating from at least two other manuscripts⁸⁵³—

⁸⁵³ Firstly, photographs DS_VIII_003–6 and DS_VIII_024–034 stem from MS DS-VIII*/XIII (see below). Secondly, photographs DS_VIII_001–002 stem from a *Zəmmāre* collection, as suggested by the metatextual elements መንፈስ፣ ኅብስት፣ and ጽዋዕ፣ (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 110–116). Their relationship to the fragmentary *Zəmmāre* collections digitised under the sigla DS-V and DS-XI remains to be investigated. Noteworthy are the frequent in-text occurrences of the ቀዳም

for this reason, an asterisk has been added to the shelfmark, as a reminder that only a part of ‘DS-VIII’ is intended. Based on the available material, the following information can be provided:

MS ‘Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-VIII* + DS-XIII (= MS DS-VIII*/XIII), parchment codex, 20.5 × 14.5 cm (?),⁸⁵⁴ 7 + 88 fols, one column, 27–28 lines (fols 2*r, 22r, 87v), no boards. To my knowledge, this manuscript has not been catalogued or described in the previous literature.

The 88 folios digitised under the shelfmark ‘DS-XIII’ were consistently foliated with pencil in the bottom margin before the digitisation; these folio numbers have been adopted unmodified. For the seven folios digitised under the shelfmark ‘DS-VIII’, no systematic foliation was applied onto the parchment leaves themselves. For these, I have provided a ‘virtual’ foliation, marked with asterisks to distinguish it from the foliation of ‘DS-XIII’. In accordance with what was done for MS DS-I/XVII/XXII (see 2.3.11), two tables are provided below, in which the digital images available to me and the folios are unambiguously connected. The aim is, again, to ensure a clear identification of the folios by future scholars. Table 7 is structured according to the names of the digital files at the time when they were put at my disposal and contains information about whether they depict a recto or a verso, on folio numbers written on the physical leaves, as well as the new manuscript ID and ‘virtual’ folio numbers suggested by me.

Table 7. Correspondences between digital images of MS DS-VIII*/XIII and ‘virtual’ folio numbers.

| Image no. | Old MS ID | verso/recto | folio no. written on the folio | New MS ID + new folio no(s) |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| DS_VIII__003 | DS-VIII | r | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 6*r |
| DS_VIII__004 | DS-VIII | v | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 6*v |
| DS_VIII__005 | DS-VIII | r | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 7*r |
| DS_VIII__006 | DS-VIII | v | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 7*v |

ligature (cf. Uhlig 1988, pp. 91–92), unattested in the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections included in the Minor Corpus. Thirdly, photographs DS_VIII__007–023 stem from a manuscript containing the apocryphal text related to the Assumption of Mary published by Marius Chaîne under the title ‘Liber de transitu Virginis Mariae’ (Chaîne 1909a (edition), Chaîne 1909b (Latin translation); English translation, based on MS London, BL Or. 604, fols 53rb–65rb, in Budge 1922, pp. 168–201; an ‘anonymous homily on the Assumption for 18 *Nāḥase*’ according to Böll (‘*ʿErāfta lāmaryam*: Māṣḥafā ‘*erāfta lāmaryam*’, *EAE*, II (2005), 352a–353b, p. 532b (V. Böll)). The passage preserved in the fragment from ‘Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl corresponds to Chaîne 1909a, pp. 41–47. On the basis of its palaeographical and orthographical characteristics, the fragment is likely to be the earliest known witness to this text.

⁸⁵⁴ No metadata sheet with information about measurements is provided for the folios digitised under the shelfmark ‘DS-XIII’. For ‘DS-VIII’, there is a metadata sheet, providing the measurements 20.5 × 14.5 cm, but it is unclear to which of the three manuscripts collected under this shelfmark that they refer.

Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

| | | | | |
|--------------|---------|---|---|----------------------------|
| DS_VIII__024 | DS-VIII | r | 1 | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 2*r |
| DS_VIII__025 | DS-VIII | v | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 2*v |
| DS_VIII__026 | DS-VIII | r | 2 | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 3*r |
| DS_VIII__027 | DS-VIII | v | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 3*v |
| DS_VIII__028 | DS-VIII | r | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 5*r |
| DS_VIII__029 | DS-VIII | v | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 5*v |
| DS_VIII__030 | DS-VIII | r | 1 | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 1*r |
| DS_VIII__031 | DS-VIII | v | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 1*v |
| DS_VIII__032 | DS-VIII | r | 2 | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 4*r |
| DS_VIII__033 | DS-VIII | v | – | MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 4*v |

Table 8 is structured according to the new ‘virtual’ folio numbers and connects each folio with the file where it is depicted.














Table 8. Correspondences between the folios of MS DS-VIII/XIII and the digital images depicting them.*

| New folio no. | Image no. |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 1*r | DS_VIII__030 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 1*v | DS_VIII__031 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 2*r | DS_VIII__024 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 2*v | DS_VIII__025 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 3*r | DS_VIII__026 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 3*v | DS_VIII__027 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 4*r | DS_VIII__032 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 4*v | DS_VIII__033 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 5*r | DS_VIII__028 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 5*v | DS_VIII__029 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 6*r | DS_VIII__003 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 6*v | DS_VIII__004 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 7*r | DS_VIII__005 |
| MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 7*v | DS_VIII__006 |

2.3.14.1 Dating

Based mainly on palaeographical and orthographical considerations, MS DS-VIII*/XIII can be dated to pre-mid-fourteenth-century times. Palaeographically,

this manuscript is especially close to MS DS-II, suggesting that they are of a similar age. The following palaeographical features may be noted:⁸⁵⁵

| | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| ʾ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| ʿ, ʿ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| Ⲑ, Ⲑ |  | the circle is attached on the left side of the top of the letter |
| ⲁ, ⲁ, ⲁ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| ⲟ, ⲟ |  | different forms occur, where the right loop/part is sometimes connected to the left loop/part with a horizontal line at mid-height, and sometimes left unconnected |
| ⲏ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter |
| ⲗ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter and reaches the end of the body of the letter |
| ⲛ |  | the distinction between <ⲛ> and <ⲛ> appears to be of the earlier type |
| ⲑ |  | the body of the letter rests on the base line, which the vowel marker reaches |
| Ⲓ |  | there is an additional horizontal stroke |
| ⲓ |  | the lateral legs reach the base line |
| fourth order |  | two forms are attested: a) with a kink on the right leg, b) with an addition to the right leg |
| seventh order |  | two forms are attested: a) with an addition to the left leg, b) with shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

As for its linguistic and orthographic features, MS DS-VIII*/XIII also displays many similarities with MS DS-I/XVII/XXII (see 2.3.11.1). The three phenomena

⁸⁵⁵ Sources for palaeographical samples: ʾ: fol. 24v, l. 20; ʿ: fol. 22r, l. 17; ʿ: fol. 24v, l. 11; Ⲑ: fol. 26v, l. 5; Ⲑ: fol. 26v, l. 1; ⲁ: fol. 26v, l. 4; ⲁ: fol. 22r, l. 8; ⲁ: fol. 22r, l. 10; ⲟ: fol. 26v, l. 4; fol. 31r, l. 3; ⲟ: fol. 31r, l. 2; ⲏ: fol. 26v, l. 4; ⲗ: fol. 31r, l. 3; ⲛ: fol. 26v, l. 3; ⲑ: fol. 31r, l. 8; ⲑ: fol. 21v, l. 6; Ⲓ: fol. 21v, l. 5; ⲓ: fol. 26v, l. 4; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 26v, l. 6 (h); fol. 31r, l. 2 (A); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 22r, l. 2 (h); fol. 26v, l. 5 (h); fol. 31r, l. 17 (8).

discussed in the description of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII are observable in MS DS-VIII*/XIII as well:

- a) instability in the vocalisation, manifesting itself in that the same word is frequently spelled in different ways even on the same folio;⁸⁵⁶
- b) frequent use of the first order in the place of others (especially the sixth) and of the sixth order in the place of the first (for examples, see the list of orthographic features below);
- c) archaic linguistic and orthographic features known from elsewhere in the Ethiopic tradition.

Linguistic features:

- the shift from /a/ to /ā/ in closed syllables ending in a laryngeal (laryngeal rule 2a, according to the terminology of Diem 1988⁸⁵⁷) has often not been carried out: ex. ለዕለት, *la 'lena*, for ለዕለት, *lā 'lena* (fol. 39v, ll. 16–17); ለሰመዕት, *la-sama 't*, for ለሰማዕት, *la-samā 't* (fols 44r, l. 10; 46r, l. 2); ሠህሉ, *śahlu*, for ሠህሉ, *śāhlu* (fol. 46r, l. 8); ከዕቤ, *ka 'be*, for ከዕቤ, *kā 'ba* (fols 60v, l. 7; 70v, l. 8); ለአርደኢ(?)ሁ, *la- 'arda 'i(?)hu*, for ለአርደኢሁ, *la- 'ardā 'ihu* (fol. 72r, l. 8). This could also be connected to the general use of first-order letters where letters of other orders are expected;
- there are some cases where the laryngeal rule that turns an /a/ to an /ə/ before a root-final laryngeal followed by a vowel (the third rule listed by Gragg 1997⁸⁵⁸) appears not to have been operative: ex. አንሠኦ, *'ansa 'a*, for አንሥኦ, *'ansə 'a* (fol. 41, l. 5); ተንሠኦ, *tanša 'a*, for ተንሥኦ, *tanśə 'a* (fols 70r, ll. 3, 14; 70v, l. 21). This could also be connected to the general use of first-order letters where sixth-order letters are expected;

⁸⁵⁶ One example is the word *səbhat/səbhata*, which, on fol. 70rv, is encountered in the following forms: በሰብሐት, *ba-səbhat*, for በሰብሐት, *ba-səbhat* (fol. 70r, l. 13); በዓቢይ ሰባሕት, *ba- 'ābiy sabāht* (?), for በዐቢይ ሰብሐት, *ba- 'abiy səbhat* (fol. 70r, ll. 22–23); ሎቲ ዓደሊ: ሰብሐት, *lottu yədəllu səbhata*, for ሎቲ: ደደሊ: ሰብሐት, *lottu yədallu səbhat* (fol. 70v, ll. 4–5). Another example is found on fol. 8v, where two antiphons which appear to share the same text nevertheless display important differences in spelling. In Standard Geez, the antiphon may be reconstructed as follows: **ba- 'əda malā 'əkt yə 'qabakkəmu salāma zi 'ahu yəhabakkəmu* (*በእደ: መለአከት: ይዕቀበኩሙ: ሰላሙ: ዚአሁ: የሀበኩሙ: 'May he keep you through the angels, may he give you his peace.'). First, on fol. 8v, ll. 4–6, this antiphon is written as follows: በእደ: መለአከት: ይዕቀበኩሙ: ሰላም: ዚአሁ: ይሀበኩሙ: *ba- 'əd mala 'aka yə 'qəbakkumu salam zi 'ahu yəhabakkumu* (fol. 8v, 4–6). Then, directly following upon this, the same antiphon is repeated as follows: በ(?)እደ: መለአከት: ይዕቀበኩሙ: ሰላሙ: ዚአሁ: ይሀበኩሙ: *bo(?) 'ad mala 'aka yə 'qabakkumu salāma zi 'ahu yəhabakkumu* (fol. 8v, 6–8). Although the variation is minor, we encounter shifts between the first and the sixth order ('ə/ 'a, qə/qa) and the between the first and other orders (*la/lā*)—features which are also encountered on numerous other occasions.

⁸⁵⁷ Diem 1988, p. 240.

⁸⁵⁸ Gragg 1997, p. 180–182.

- there are a few spellings which could be interpreted as examples of ‘secondary opening’:⁸⁵⁹ ex. በዓዲ፡, *ba ādi*, for ባዕድ፡, *bā ‘d* (fol. 40r, ll. 7, 8); በሐቲትከ፡, *bahatitaka*, for ባሐቲትከ፡, *bāhititaka* (fol. 46v, l. 13); ወደሐና፡, *wa-dahanā*, for ወዳኅና፡/ወድኅና፡, *wa-dāhnā/wa-dəhnā* (fol. 46v, l. 18). However, some of these cases could also be connected to the general use of first-order letters where letters of other orders are expected;
- the vowel harmony of (etymologically) short vowels across laryngeals (laryngeal rules 1a–b, according to the terminology of Diem 1988⁸⁶⁰) often appear not to have been operative: ዘይአመን፡, *za-yə ‘amman* (?), for , *za-ya ‘ammən* (fol. 70r, l. 5); ይዓርግ፡, *yə ārrəg*, for የዐርግ፡, *ya ‘arrəg* (fol. 70r, l. 10); ወይሀብ፡, *wa-yəhaba*, for (?) ወየሀብ፡, *wa-yahab* (fol. 70r, ll. 23–24); ተለዕለ፡, *tala ‘(ə)la*, for (?) ተለዕለ፡, *talə ‘(ə)la* (fol. 70v, ll. 20, 23). This could, however, also be connected to the general use of sixth-order letters where first-order letters are expected, and vice versa;
- imperfect forms of the 0₂ stem sometimes have an /ə/ instead of the expected /a/ or /e/ between the first and the second radical:⁸⁶¹ ex. ጸሊ፡ ልነ፡, *ṣalli ləna*, for ጸሊ፡ ለነ፡, *ṣalli lana* (fol. 8r, l. 28); ንስፎ፡, *nəssəffo* (?), for ንሴፎ፡, *nəsseffo* (fol. 21, l. 25); ዘይሰብሐዎ፡, *za-yəsəbbəhəwwə*, for ዘይሴብሐዎ፡, *za-yəsəbbəhəwwə* (fol. 42v, l. 23); ይንጽርዎ፡, *yənəṣṣəṣəwwə*, for ይኔጽርዎ፡, *yənəṣṣəṣəwwə* (fol. 70r, l. 9); ዘይሀሉ፡, *za-yəhəllu*, for ዘይሂሉ፡, *za-yəhellu* (fol. 71v, l. 23); also አይንውሙ፡, *‘ay-yənəwwəmu*, for ኢይንውሙ፡, *‘i-yənəwwəmu* (fol. 8r, l. 19); ይድሉ፡, *yədəllu*, for ይደሉ፡, *yədallu* (fol. 70v, l. 5). This could be connected to the general use of sixth-order letters where first-order letters are expected, but cf. also the corresponding imperfective form in Tigrinya.⁸⁶² There are, also cases where a first-order letter has been used, or the Standard Geez form: ex. ነፌኑ፡, *naḥennu*, for ንፌኑ፡, *naḥennu* (fol. 69v, l. 10); ነፌኑ፡, *naḥenna* (?), for ንፌኑ፡, *naḥennu* (fol. 69v, ll. 11–12); ወአፌኑ፡, *wa- ‘aḥennu* (?), for ወእፌኑ፡, *wa- ‘aḥennu* (fol. 70v, l. 10); አፌኑ፡, *‘aḥennu* (fol. 72r, ll. 2–3); አሀሉ፡, *‘ahəllu*, for አሂሉ፡, *‘əhellu* (fol. 72r, l. 11);
- imperfect forms of verbs in the T_{1–3} stems are regularly spelled with a <ተ> in the first order, as opposed to the vowelless sixth-order <ት> found in Standard Geez: ex. ይተለእኩዎ፡, *yətala ‘əkəwwə*, for ይትለእኩዎ፡, *yətlə ‘əkəwwə* (fol. 8r, l. 16); ንተርከብ፡, *nətarəkaba* (?), for ንትርከብ፡, *nətrakkəb* (fol. 8r, l. 21); ይተፈሰሱ፡, *yətafassaḥa* (?), for (?) ይትፈሰሱ፡, *yətfasśāḥ* (fol. 70r, ll. 4–5); but there are also regular forms like እትናገሮሙ፡, *‘ətnāgaromu* (fol. 71v, l. 25). This phenomenon is probably connected to

⁸⁵⁹ Cf. fn. 822.

⁸⁶⁰ Diem 1988, p. 240.

⁸⁶¹ Similar forms are attested in MSS DS-XVI (2.3.15.1) and DS-XX (2.3.16.1).

⁸⁶² Cf. ‘Wazema’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 1166b–1167a (Habtemichael Kidane).

the general use of first-order letters where letters of other orders are expected, but could also be connected to palaeography;⁸⁶³

- on several occasions, A₁ verbs with a laryngeal as their first radical appear in the imperfect with their first radical in the sixth order, as opposed to the first in Standard Geez:⁸⁶⁴ ex. ያእተቲ፡, *yā 'akkwātu* (?), for ያእተቲ፡, *yā 'akkwātu* (fol. 8r, l. 8);⁸⁶⁵ ያዕርጉ፡, *yā 'arrāgu*, for ያዕርጉ፡, *yā 'arrāgu* (fol. 8r, l. 8; 8v, ll. 3–4); ወያዕርፈ፡, *wa-yā 'arrāfa* (?), for (?) ወያዕርፉ፡, *wa-yā 'arrāfu* (fol. 32r, l. 1). This could also be connected to the general use of sixth-order letters where first-order letters are expected;
- non-standard usage (or rather non-usage) of the nominal ending *-a*, both in its function as accusative marker and as marking the non-final constituent(s) of construct chains: ex. ገበር፡ ሰላም፡, *gabarə* (?) *salām*, for ገብረ፡ ሰላም፡, *gabra salāma* (fol. 70r, ll. 9, 14–15; 70v, ll. 18–19); ይዳርግ፡ ሰማይ፡, *yə 'arrəg samāy*, for የዕርግ፡ ሰማየ፡, *ya 'arrəg samāya* (fol. 70r, l. 10); ሰላም፡ አቡይ፡, *salām 'abuyə* (?), for ሰላም፡ አቡየ፡, *salāma 'abuya* (fol. 70r, l. 12); በየማን፡ አቡሁ፡, *ba-yamān 'abuhu*, for በየማነ፡ አቡሁ፡, *ba-yamāna 'abuhu* (fol. 70r, ll. 13–14); ከብር፡, *kabr*, for ከብረ፡, *kəbra* (fol. 70v, l. 19); ከበር፡, *kəbar*, for ከብረ፡, *kəbra* (fol. 70v, l. 23). This could be connected to the general use of sixth-order letters where first-order letters are expected;
- noteworthy are the first person possessive suffixes with final /ə ~ Ø/ instead of Standard Geez /a/: ex. ሰላምን፡, *salāmənə* (?), for ሰላምነ፡, *salāməna* (fol. 8r, l. 9); አኅዊን፡, *'ahawinə* (?), for አኅዊነ፡, *'ahawina* (fol. 8r, l. 20); ተልን፡, *k'əllənə* (?), for ተልነ፡, *k'əlləna* (fol. 8r, l. 21); አቡይ፡, *'abuyə* (?), for አቡየ፡, *'abuya* (fol. 70r, l. 12); ፈቀርይ፡, *faqarəyə* (?), for (?) ፍቁርየ፡, *fəqurəya* (fol. 70v, l. 1). This could, of course, be connected to the general use of sixth-order letters where first-order letters are expected;
- the second person plural suffix is regularly spelled *-kumu* as opposed to Standard Geez *-kəmu*: ex. ለከሙ፡, *lakumu*, for ለከሙ፡, *lakəmu* (fol. 70r, ll. 11, 19; 70v, ll. 7, 12); ኢይደንግጽኩሙ፡, *'i-yədangəṣkumu*, for ኢይደንግጽኩሙ፡, *'i-yədangəṣkəmu* (fol. 70r, l. 11); ተልከሙ፡, *k'əlləkumu*, for ተልከሙ፡, *k'əlləkəmu* (fol. 70r, ll. 12–13); አፈነወኩሙ፡, *'afannawakkumu* (?), for አፈነወኩሙ፡, *'əfennəwakkəmu* (fol. 70r, l. 20); ወአቡኩሙ፡, *wa- 'abukumu*, for ወአቡኩሙ፡, *wa- 'abukəmu* (fol. 70v, l. 8); ካቡኩሙ፡, *ḥabekumu*, for ካቡኩሙ፡, *ḥabəkəmu* (fol. 70v, l. 9); ወአንሠአኩሙ፡, *wa- 'ansā 'akumu* (?), for ወአንሠአኩሙ፡, *wa- 'ānaśśə 'akkəmu* (fol. 70v, l. 9); ምስሌኩሙ፡, *məslekumu*,

⁸⁶³ See fn. 824.

⁸⁶⁴ Parallel forms are attested in MS DS-XVI (2.3.15.1).

⁸⁶⁵ For this and the following example, a parallel antiphon in the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (fol. 111rb, ll. 1–10) indicate that the imperfect is intended, and not the subjunctive.

for ምስሌክሙ፣ *məslekəmu* (fol. 70v, l. 10). However, there are also examples of other forms, including the one occurring in Standard Geez: ለበክሙ፣ *labbakəmu* (?), for ልበክሙ፣ *ləbbəkəmu* (fol. 70r, l. 12); ጎበክሙ፣ *habəkəmu*, for ጎበክሙ፣ *habəkəmu* (fol. 70v, l. 10); ኩለኩሙ፣ *kʷəlləkəmu*, for ኩለኩሙ፣ *kʷəlləkəmu* (fol. 70v, l. 12);

- the preposition *'əm-* frequently appears in the form *'ama-*: ex. አመውታን፣ *'am-mawwəṭān*, for እምውታን፣ *'əm-məwwəṭān* (fol. 70r, l. 4); አመአይአዜሰ፣ *'ama- 'ayə 'əze-ssa* (?), for እምአይአዜሰ፣ *'əm-yə 'əze-ssa* (fol. 70r, l. 8); አመኃቤሆሙ፣ *'ama-hābehomu*, for እምኃቤሆሙ፣ *'əm-hābehomu* (fol. 70r, l. 18); አመኃቤሆሙ፣ *'ama-hābehomu*, for እምኃቤሆሙ፣ *'əm-hābehomu* (fol. 70v, l. 11); አመኃቤነ፣ *'ama-habena*, for እምኃቤነ፣ *'əm-habena* (fol. 70v, l. 19); አመድኅር፣ *'ama-dəḥar*, for እምድኅር፣ *'əm-dəḥra* (fol. 70v, l. 21). This could also be connected to the general use of first-order letters where sixth-order letters are expected;
- the particle *-(ə)ssa* occasionally appears with final /ə ~ Ø/ instead of Standard Geez /a/; ex. አ(?)ንስ፣ *'ā(?)n-s(ə)*, for አንስ፣ *'an-sa* (fol. 2r, l. 24); ወእለስ፣ *wa- 'əlla-s(sə)*, for ወእለስ፣ *wa- 'əlla-ssa* (fol. 5r, l. 11); ዘንቱስ፣ *zantu-s(sə)*, for ዘንቱስ፣ *zantu-ssa* (fol. 9r, l. 8); but also, for example, አመአይአዜሰ፣ *'ama- 'ayə 'əze-ssa* (?), for እምአይአዜሰ፣ *'əm-yə 'əze-ssa* (fol. 70r, l. 8). This could be connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected;
- there are occurrences of so-called e-forms, although the corresponding a-forms also appear: ex. ኃቤ፣ *habe*, for ኃቤ፣ *haba* (fol. 52v, l. 26); ከዕቤ፣ *ka 'be*, for ከዕቤ፣ *kā 'ba* (fol. 70v, l. 8);
- special forms of individual words with parallels in other early manuscripts: ex. በዓዲ፣ *ba 'ādi*, for ባዕድ፣ *bā 'd* (fol. 40r, ll. 7, 8) and ለበዕዲ፣ *la-ba 'di*, for ለባዕድ፣ *la-bā 'd* (fol. 52r, l. 18);⁸⁶⁶ ሌሌሁ፣ *lellehu* (?), for ለሌሁ፣ *lallihu* (fols 41r, l. 2; 46r, l. 25);⁸⁶⁷ ማኑ፣ *mānnu*, for ሙኑ፣ *mannu* (fol. 46r, ll. 8, 9).⁸⁶⁸

Orthographic features:

- the word *'Ēgzi 'abəḥer* is regularly written as two words (fols 39v, ll. 2–3; 40r, l. 23; 41v, ll. 21, 24; 70r, l. 17);
- use of the first order instead of sixth (the following examples have all been taken from fol. 70rv): ክርስቶስ፣ *Karstos*, for ክርስቶስ፣ *Krəstos* (fol. 70r, ll. 3–4); አመውታን፣ *'am-mawwəṭān*, for እምውታን፣ *'əm-məwwəṭān* (fol. 70r, l. 4); ዘይአመን፣ *za-yə 'amman*, for ዘየአመን፣ *za-yə 'ammən* (fol. 70r, l. 5);

⁸⁶⁶ Similar forms are attested in MS DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1).

⁸⁶⁷ This spelling is also attested in MSS EMML 7078 (2.3.2.1) and DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1).

⁸⁶⁸ This spelling is also attested in MSS EMML 7078 (2.3.2.1), DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1), and DS-XVI (2.3.15.1).

ወበተንሣኤሁ፡, *wa-ba-tansā`ehu*, for ወበተንሣኤሁ፡, *wa-ba-tənsā`ehu* (fol. 70r, l. 4); ይተፈሰሱ፡, *yətafasaha*, for (?) ይተፈሰሱ፡, *yətfasāsāh* (fol. 70r, ll. 4–5); ከበሮሙ፡, *kabaromu*, for ከበሮሙ፡, *kəbromu* (fol. 70r, l. 5); በፈሰሱ፡, *ba-fassəha*, for በፍሥሁ፡, *ba-fāsśəhā* (fol. 70r, l. 6; 70v, l. 2); አለቦ፡, *albo*, for አልቦ፡, *albo* (fol. 70r, l. 8); ገበር፡, *gabar*, for ገብረ፡, *gabra* (fol. 70r, ll. 9, 14); ለበከሙ፡, *labbakəmu*, for ለብከሙ፡, *ləbbəkəmu* (fol. 70r, l. 12); አመን፡, *amannə*, for እምነ፡, *əmənna* (fol. 70r, l. 14); መውታን፡, *mawwātān*, for ምውታን፡, *məwwātān* (fol. 70r, l. 14); መአከሌነ፡, *ma`akalena*, for ማእከሌነ፡, *mā`kalena* (fol. 70r, l. 15); አሐዛብ፡, *aḥazāb*, for አሕዛብ፡, *aḥzāb* (fol. 70r, l. 15); አፈነወኩሙ፡, *afannawakkumu*, for እፌንወከሙ፡, *əfannəwakkəmu* (fol. 70r, l. 20); ለአሐዛብ፡, *la-`aḥazāb*, for ለአሕዛብ፡, *la-`aḥzāb* (fol. 70r, l. 21); ተወደሶ፡, *tawaddaso*, for (?) ትዌድሶ፡, *təweddəso* (fol. 70r, l. 21); ወይሀበ፡, *wayəhaba*, for (?) ወየሀበ፡, *wa-yahab* (fol. 70r, ll. 23–24); ለነገሥት፡, *la-nagašta*, for ለነገሥት፡, *la-nagašt* (fol. 70r, l. 24); ተበል፡, *tabal*, for (?) ትበል፡, *təbəl* (fol. 70r, l. 25); ፈቀርዬ፡, *faqarəya*, for ፍቁርዮ፡, *fəqurəya* (fol. 70v, l. 1); አረያም፡, *arayām*, for አርያም፡, *aryām* (fol. 70v, ll. 3, 16, 24); መላእክት፡, *malā`akat*, for መላእክት፡, *malā`əkt* (fol. 70v, l. 4); አወፀኦሙ፡, *awaša`omu*, for አውፅኦሙ፡, *awša`omu* (fol. 70v, l. 6); አፈሐ፡, *afa`a*, for አፍሐ፡, *af`a* (fol. 70v, l. 6); አስከ፡, *aska*, for እስከ፡, *aska* (fol. 70v, l. 6); አዴሆ፡, *adeho*, for (?) እዴሆ፡, *ədehu* (fol. 70v, ll. 6–7); አመጽኦ፡, *amašša`a*, for አመጽኦ፡, *əmašša`* (fol. 70v, ll. 8–9); ወእፈኑ፡, *wa-`afannu*, for ወእፌኑ፡, *wa-`əfennu* (fol. 70v, l. 10); ሰላሙ፡, *salāma*, for (?) ሰላም፡, *salām* (fol. 70v, l. 11); ምስል፡, *məslə kʷəlləkəmu*, for ምስል፡, *məslə kʷəlləkəmu* (fol. 70v, l. 12); በእንተ፡, *ba-`anta*, for በእንተ፡, *ba-`ənta* (fol. 70v, ll. 13, 14); አደሙ፡, *Addama*, for አዳም፡, *Addām* (fol. 70v, ll. 13–14); አሞተ፡, *am-mota*, for እሞት፡, *əm-mot* (fol. 70v, l. 15); ተሰቀለ፡, *tasaqala*, for ተሰቅለ፡, *tasaqla* (fol. 70v, l. 16); ለሰንበተ፡, *la-sanbata*, for ለሰንበተ፡, *la-sanbat* (fol. 70v, l. 17); ዘበአንቲኦነ፡, *za-ba-`anti`ana*, for ዘበአንቲኦነ፡, *za-ba-`ənti`ana* (fol. 70v, l. 18); ነፈሱ፡, *nafasu*, for ነፍሱ፡, *nafsu* (fol. 70v, ll. 17, 18); ከብር፡, *kabar*, for ከብረ፡, *kəbra* (fol. 70v, l. 19); ክርስቶስኒ፡, *Karstosə-ni*, for ክርስቶስኒ፡, *Krəstosə-ni* (fol. 70v, l. 20); ለሞተ፡, *la-mota*, for ለሞት፡, *la-mot* (fol. 70v, l. 21); አመድኅር፡, *ama-dəḥar*, for እምድኅረ፡, *əm-dəḥra* (fol. 70v, l. 21); ለአደሙ፡, *la-`Addama*, for ለአዳም፡, *la-`Addām* (fol. 70v, l. 22); ወሰልጣን፡, *wa-saltān*, for ወሰልጣን፡, *wa-səltān* (fol. 70v, l. 22); ከበር፡, *kəbar*, for ከብረ፡, *kəbra* (fol. 70v, l. 23);

- use of the sixth order instead of first (the following examples have all been taken from fol. 70rv): ዘዕርገ፡, *za-`ərga*, for ዘዕርገ፡, *za-`arga* (fol. 70r, l. 7); በዕርገቱ፡, *ba-`ərgətu*, for በዕርገቱ፡, *ba-`ərgatu* (fol. 70r, ll. 8–9); ገበር፡, *gabarə* (?), for ገብረ፡, *gabra* (fol. 70r, ll. 9, 14); ኢይደንግጽኩሙ፡, *i-yədangəşkumu*, for ኢይደንግፀከሙ፡, *i-yədangəşkəmu* (fol. 70r, l. 11); ሰላም፡, *salām`abuyə* (?), for ሰላሙ፡, *salāma`abuya* (fol. 70r, l. 12); ምስል፡, *məslə* (?), for ምስል፡, *məslə* (fol. 70r, l. 12; 70v, l. 12); አመን፡, *amannə* (?), for እምነ፡,

ʾəmənnā (fol. 70r, l. 14); ለብሐውርት፣ *la-bəḥawərt*, for ለበሐውርት፣ *la-bəḥawərt* (fol. 70r, l. 16); ሳርግ፣ *ʾargə* (?), for ፀርገ፣ *ʾarga* (fol. 70r, l. 22; 70v, ll. 3, 5); ለነግሥት፣ *la-nagəšta*, for ለነግሥት፣ *la-nagašt* (fol. 70r, l. 24); ስብሐት፣ *səbhata*, for ስብሐት፣ *səbhat* (fol. 70v, l. 5); ድቂቁ፣ *daqiqu*, for ድቂቁ፣ *daqiqu* (fol. 70v, l. 14); አግዕዞም፣ *ʾag ʾəzomu*, for አግዕዞም፣ *ʾag ʾəzomu* (fol. 70v, l. 15); መጥወ፣ *maṭṭəwa* (?), for (?) መጠወ፣ *maṭṭawa* (fol. 70v, l. 17; but on the next line, we find the expected form);

- insertion of extra consonants and other special forms: አበወነ፣ ዘበ፣ ሰማያት፣ *ʾabawana za-ba samāyāt*, for አቡነ፣ ዘበ፣ ሰማያት፣ *ʾabuna za-ba samāyāt* (fol. 39v, l. 5);⁸⁶⁹ ኢየሩሳሌም፣ *Iyorusālem*, for ኢየሩሳሌም፣ *Iyarusālem* (fols 4v, l. 27; 47r, l. 16);⁸⁷⁰ መስሌሆ፣ *masleho*, for ምስሌሆ፣ *məslehu* (fol. 3r, l. 6); ቡቱ፣ *buttu*, for ቡቱ፣ *bottu* (fol. 5r, l. 8); ቡርጋሚሆ፣ *ba-dərgwāmeḥo*, for ቡርጋሚሆ፣ *ba-tərgwāmeḥu* (fol. 69v, l. 22); ዚያህ፣ *ziy(ə) ʾahu*, for ዚህ፣ *zi ʾahu* (fol. 70r, l. 3); አመአይአዜሰ፣ *ʾama-ʾay(ə) ʾaze-ssa* (?), for አምይአዜሰ፣ *ʾəm-yə ʾaze-ssa* (fol. 70r, l. 8); ፈናወን፣ *fannāwannə* (?), for ፈነወን፣ *fannawanni* (fol. 70r, l. 19); ወልድ፣ አካወየ፣ *wald ʾahawayā*, for ወልድ፣ አካየ፣ *wald ʾəḥuya* (fol. 70r, l. 25–70v, l. 1);⁸⁷¹ ቤዜነ፣ *bezēna*, for ቤዛነ፣ *bezāna* (fol. 70v, l. 2); አዴሆ፣ *ʾadeho*, for (?) አዴሆ፣ *ʾadehu* (fol. 70v, ll. 6–7); አከሌሌ፣ *ʾakalele* (?), for (?) አከሊሊ፣ *ʾaklila* (fol. 70v, l. 23); ጳርቅልጦስሃ፣ *Ṣarəqlətosə-hā* (?), for ጳራቅሊጦስሃ፣ *Ṣarāqlitosə-hā* (fol. 70v, ll. 10–11).

As in the case of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII, it should be underlined that these observations are not based on a systematic survey of the entire manuscript but are rather the impressions based on the study of a few sample pages. Taking these features together, although many of them are difficult to contextualise due to the limited number of studies of early non-Standard Geez, MS DS-VIII*/XIII can safely be dated to pre-mid-fourteenth-century times. However, as stated by Nosnitsin 2016 on account of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII, ‘it is hardly possible to establish the earliest possible dating in a more definitive way’.⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁹ The <w> in the first word, it appears, must be interpreted as a *mater lectionis*, virtually unattested in Geez manuscripts. Although such forms are only encountered on isolated occasions in MS DS-VIII*/XIII (but cf. fn. 871, and also the discussion of the variants of the antiphon Ṗantalewon *salām* 006 in Chapter 3, 3.2.3.30, esp. fn. 1194), this attests to the age of this manuscript and its importance, not only for the study of early *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, but also for the study of the history of Geez writing and Ethiopic manuscripts in general. On possible *matres lectionis* in Geez-language inscriptions, see Frantsouzoff 2005.

⁸⁷⁰ This spelling is also attested in MSS MGM-018i (2.3.10.1), DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1), DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1), and DS-XVI (2.3.15.1).

⁸⁷¹ Is this also to be interpreted as a *mater lectionis* (cf. fn. 869)? The phrase *wald ʾəḥuya* / *walda ʾəḥuya* (on the variation, cf. Euringer 1936, pp. 335–338), taken from the Song of Songs, occurs frequently in this form in antiphons, making a reading **wald(a) ʾahawiya* less probable, although it is, of course, not to be excluded.

⁸⁷² Nosnitsin 2016, p. 92.

2.3.14.2 Codicological reconstruction

MS DS-VIII*/XIII is relatively well preserved, and several quires are still intact. However, there is also a number of misplaced loose folios and bifolios—not least those digitised under the shelfmark DS-VIII*—which makes a codicological reconstruction useful for understanding the preserved material adequately. Like MS DS-I/XVII/XXII, MS DS-VIII*/XIII contains one single-type collection—a calendar-based *salām* collection—and our knowledge of the liturgical calendar is fundamental for the possibility to reconstruct this manuscript.

Fols 1*–4* constitute the two innermost bifolios of an otherwise lost quire, as indicated by the fact that the text connects over fols 2*v–3*r⁸⁷³ and between fols 3*v and 4*r.⁸⁷⁴ These folios contain antiphons for the first commemorations celebrated during the Season of Flowers (see 2.3.14.3). As for the following quire, containing the last commemorations for the Season of Flowers, it appears that the outermost bifolio has been lost, as indicated by the missing text between fols 6v and 7r—the textual lacuna between fols 4*v and 1r could also be explained by the missing folios at the end of the first quire.

These two partially preserved quires are followed by two regular quaternions (fols 7r–22v), and one quire consisting of seven folios (fols 23r–29v), which nevertheless appears to be complete. The beginning of the following quire on fol. 30r coincides with the beginning of the Season of the Great Fast (*Ṣom*). As there is no indication of a textual lacuna between fols 29v and 30r, this appears to indicate that the seven-folio quire (fols 23r–29v) was the last quire before a new section of the collection began, which explains its irregular structure.

The outer bifolio of the quire headed by fol. 30r has been dissolved into two loose folios and partly misplaced.⁸⁷⁵ The quire can be reconstructed as visualised schematically in Figure 18.⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁷³ The antiphon on fol. 2*v ends with the following words: [...] ወአውያን፡ ጸገ(?)ዩ፡ ቀለ፡ መ/, and the antiphon on fol. 3*r begins: /ዓንቅ፡ ተሰመዕ፡፡ [...]. A parallel antiphon is found in the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (fol. 104ra, ll. 17–22).

⁸⁷⁴ The antiphon on fol. 3*v ends with the following words: [...] ከሳክስ፡ ዘበኑረ፡ ጽ(?)ጌ፡ አስ/, and the antiphon on fol. 4*r begins: /ተርአየ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድርኒ(!)፡ [...]. A parallel antiphon is found in the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (fol. 105ra, ll. 17–22) and in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 (p. 63b, ll. 12–16). The other connection between the two bifolios, between fol. 1*v–2*r, carries less weight for the codicological reconstruction, as fol. 1*v ends with the end of the commemoration for Kings and fol. 2*r begins with the beginning of the commemoration of Pāntalewōn.

⁸⁷⁵ The text passes from fol. 30v to fol. 33r, and from fol. 38v to fol. 31r. The last antiphon on fol. 30v ends with the following words: ሰላም፡ ሃ/, and the antiphon on fol. 33r begins: /በነ፡ ኢተግድ፡፡ ጌሐን ጎበክ፡ ተመገድ፡፡ [...]. The last antiphon on fol. 38v ends on that folio and is followed by a blank space; a new commemoration begins on fol. 31r.

⁸⁷⁶ For an introduction to the way in which quires are visualised schematically in this dissertation, see fn. 702. The visualisations of quires from MS DS-VIII*/XIII do not have any column to the right of the one containing folio numbers.

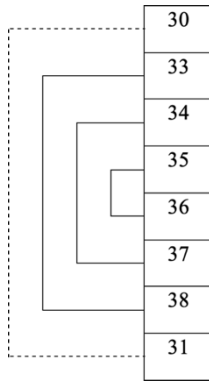


Figure 18. Schematic representation of a hypothetical quire consisting of fols 30, 33–38, 31 in MS DS-VIII*/XIII.

Fol. 31 is connected with the loose folio fol. 5*, but then there is a textual lacuna in the direction of the next part of the manuscript, represented by an incompletely preserved quire presently consisting of five folios and schematically visualised in Figure 19.⁸⁷⁷

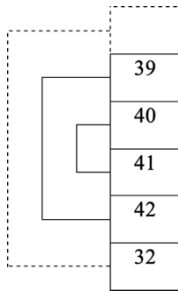


Figure 19. Schematic representation of a hypothetical quire consisting of fols 39–42, 312 in MS DS-VIII*/XIII.

After another textual lacuna, this is followed by one full quaternion (fols 43–51) and one ternion (fols 52–58). Again, the appearance of a quire that is not a quaternion can be explained from the contents of the collection, because the beginning of the next quire coincides with the beginning of the commemoration for Easter (*Tənsā'e*). Two full quaternions follow (fols 59–74). Then, there is again a ternion (75–80). This time, the beginning of the ternion coincides with the beginning of the commemoration of *Kəramt*, and thus the appearance of a non-quaternion quire is once more connected with a caesura in the content, although, this time, it appears that the *first* quire of a new section is irregular, rather than the last quire before a new section, as seen above. This ternion is followed by a full quaternion (fols 81–88), which connects textually to a loose bifolio (6*–7*),⁸⁷⁸ the latter thus apparently forming the outer bifolio of an otherwise lost quire.

⁸⁷⁷ The antiphon on fol. 42v ends with the following words: መርሐ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወሰላም፡ ወልድ፡ አመላክ፡ ውሉቱ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ከርስቶስ፡ ዘይስብሐዎ፡ ለዐላን፡/, and the antiphon on fol. 32r begins: /ወያዕርፈ፡ ዲብ፡ መድር፡ ቅዱሳን፡ [...]. For a parallel antiphon, see MS EMMML 7618, fol. 225va, ll. 13–18.

⁸⁷⁸ The antiphon on fol. 88v ends with the following words: [...] አግዚእየ፡ አመላክየ፡ ኢተኅ(?)ድጋ፡ ለነፍስ/, and the antiphon on fol. *6r begins: /የ፡ ወዘን(?)ት(?) [...]. The same antiphon is found in the *salām* collection in MS EMMML 7618 (fol. 240va, ll. 10–14), where it, however, is not clearly legible.

2.3.14.3 Contents

As mentioned briefly above, MS DS-VIII*/XIII contains a single-type collection of *salām* antiphons. Although no title of the collection has been preserved, this is indicated in numerous commemoration indications (cf. Chapter 4, 4.3.2) and confirmed by the comparison with later collections. As indicated in the codicological reconstruction above, the *salām* collection in MS DS-VIII*/XIII is acephalous and has some inner lacunas. Noticeable is the commemoration for 'Abbā 'Afṣe (አባ፡ አፈ፡፩፡, 'Abbā 'Afaṣa) on fol. 66v, and the occurrences of the formula *ba-za yaḅl* (fols 63v, l. 2; 75v, l. 14). The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations, of which the common commemoration for the Season of Flowers has been affected by textual loss:

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| fol. 1r* | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fol. 1r*-v* | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 1v* | Kings |
| fol. 2r*-v* | Ṣanṭalewon |
| fols 2v*-4v*[...], [...] | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 2r-v | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 3r | 'Abbā Yəṃ'attā |
| fols 3r-4r | 'Abbā Yoḥanni |

2.3.15 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-XVI












MS 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl, DS-XVI (= MS DS-XVI), parchment codex, 19.5 × 14 cm, six fols, 10 lines (fol. 1r), no boards. This fragment has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs kindly put at my disposal by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska. To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or previously mentioned in the literature.

The first five folios form part of the same quire, still kept together by threads. Between fol. 2v and fol. 3r, the mid-quire sewing is visible. It is not entirely clear whether the last folio—fol. 6—originally belonged to the same manuscript as the rest or not. It appears that a blank space has been left at the end of the last line of fol. 5v, perhaps indicating that the beginning of a new melodic family (see below) originally began on the following folio; however, fol. 6r begins in the middle of an antiphon. Thus, there is no textual connection between fols 1–5 and fol. 6. Furthermore, the ink on fol. 6 is browner in colour than on the previous folios. Fol. 6. contains parts written by two different hands, where fol. 6r and 6v, ll. 1–5 are written by a hand very similar to the one that wrote fols 1–5, whereas fol. 6v, ll. 6–24 are written with larger letters. The punctuation marks also differ between the



hands on fol. 6: both use crosses with red dots between the legs, but for the first hand, the crosses are x-shaped—this is also the case on fols 1–5—whereas for the second hand, they rather tend towards a +-shape.

2.3.15.1 Dating

Based on the palaeographical and orthographical features delineated below, I suggest a pre-mid-fourteenth-century dating for MS DS-XVI. MS DS-XVI shares many features with the other manuscripts from 'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, including MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII and DS-VIII*/XIII. The following palaeographical features can be noted:⁸⁷⁹

| | | |
|---------|---|--|
| ʾ, ʾ |  | the vowel marker is attached to the body of the letter with a connecting line |
| ʿ, ʿ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| ʔ, ʔ |  | the vowel marker is semi-circular and is attached on the right side of the top line of the letter |
| ḥ, ḥ, ʔ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on the top of the letter [= modern form] |
| ʍ, ʍ |  | the right loop/part is connected to the left loop/part with a horizontal line at mid-height |
| ḥ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on the top of the letter |
| ḥ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter, but does not reach the end of the body of the letter |
| ʍ |  | the distinction between <ʍ> and <ʍ> appears to be of the earlier type |
| ʔ |  | body of the letter rests on base line, which the vowel marker does not reach |
| ʔ |  | there is an additional horizontal stroke |
| ʔ |  | the lateral legs reach the base line |

⁸⁷⁹ Sources for palaeographical samples: ʾ: fol. 2r, l. 8; ʾ: fol. 2r, l. 14; ʿ: fol. 3r, l. 6; ʿ: fol. 3r, l. 17; ʔ: fol. 3r, l. 6; ʔ: fol. 2r, l. 8; ḥ: fol. 3v, l. 9; ḥ: fol. 2v, l. 1; ʔ: fol. 2v, l. 5; ʍ: fol. 2r, l. 2; ḥ: fol. 3r, l. 7; ḥ: fol. 4v, l. 16; ʍ: fol. 4v, l. 15; ʔ: fol. 2r, l. 13; ʔ: fol. 3r, l. 6; ʔ: fol. 3r, l. 12; ʔ: fol. 4v, l. 13; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 2r, l. 3 (ʔ); fol. 2r, l. 7 (ʔ); fol. 2r, l. 14 (ʔ); fol. 3r, l. 3 (h); fol. 3r, l. 9 (h); fol. 3v, l. 8 (ʔ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 3v, l. 21 (8).

| | | |
|------------------|---|--------------------------|
| fourth order |  | 'kink' on the right leg |
| seventh order |  | addition to the left leg |

As for its linguistic and orthographic features, MS DS-XVI displays many similarities with MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII and DS-VIII*/XIII. The three phenomena discussed in the description of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII (see 2.3.11.1) are observable in MS DS-XVI as well:

- instability in the vocalisation, manifesting itself in that the same word is frequently spelled in different ways even on the same folio;⁸⁸⁰
- frequent use of the first order in the place of others (especially the sixth) and of the sixth order in the place of the first (for examples, see the list of orthographic features below);
- archaic linguistic and orthographic features known from elsewhere in the Ethiopic tradition.

Linguistic features:

- the shift from /a/ to /ā/ in closed syllables ending in a laryngeal (laryngeal rule 2a, according to the terminology of Diem 1988⁸⁸¹) has sometimes been carried out, sometimes not: ex. ወስማዕት፣ *wa-səmət*, for ወስማዕት፣ *wa-samā* 't (fol. 1r, l. 11); መዕበል፣ *ma bal*, for መዕበል፣ *mā bal* (fol. 2r, l. 11); ዘሆሰዕና፣ *za-hosa nā*, for ዘሆሰዕና፣ *za-hosā nā* (fol. 4r, l. 16). This can be connected to the general use of first-order forms where other forms are expected. There is also a form ተግካ፣ *ta ākā*, for ተዕካ፣ *tā kā* (3r, l. 3), which has parallels in other early manuscripts;⁸⁸²
- there are a few examples of what appears to be vowel harmony of long vowels across laryngeals (in Standard Geez, this is only attested for (etymologically) short vowels): ex. ላዓለም፣ *lā-ālam*, for ላዓለም፣ *la-ālam* (fol. 2r, l. 7); ኢቲሱሩ፣ *i-tuḥuru*, for ኢትሱሩ፣ *i-təḥuru* (fol. 4r, l. 22); ወይላሴሰ፣ *wa-yə ize-ssa*, for ወይላሴሰ፣ *wa-yə aze-ssa* (fol. 4v, l. 15; cf. the general interchange /yə ~ əy ~ i/); but also ይሐወር፣ *yəḥawwər*, for የሐወር፣ *yaḥawwər* (fol. 2v, ll. 7–8), where there is no vowel harmony for short vowels;

⁸⁸⁰ For example, the word *səbḥat* is attested with the following spellings on fol. 1v: በስብሐት፣ *ba-səbḥat* (?), for በስብሐት፣ *ba-səbḥat* (l. 2); ሰባሐት፣ *sabāḥat* (?), for ሰባሐት፣ *səbḥat* (l. 13); በሰባሐት፣ *ba-sabāḥt*, for በስብሐት፣ *ba-səbḥat* (l. 15).

⁸⁸¹ Diem 1988, p. 240.

⁸⁸² Cf. the description of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1).

- on several occasions, A₁ verbs with a laryngeal as their first radical appear in the imperfect with an /ə/ after their first radical, as opposed to Standard Geez /a/.⁸⁸³ ex. ወያዕርጉ፡, *wa-yā 'ərrəgu* (?), for ወያዕርጉ፡, *wa-yā 'arrəgu* (fol. 2r, l. 11); ያዕርፉ፡, *yā 'ərrəfu*, for ያዕርፉ፡, *yā 'arrəfu* (fol. 2r, l. 14). These forms can be connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected;
- some forms which include laryngeals are difficult to analyse: ex. መጽእከ፡, *maṣə 'ka* (?), for መጽእከ፡, *maṣā 'ka* (fol. 3v, l. 4); ለእሐዙብ፡, *la- 'əhazab*, for ለእሐዙብ፡, *la- 'ahzāb* (fol. 4v, l. 4)⁸⁸⁴; የእምን፡, *ya 'əmmən* (?), for የእምን፡, *ya 'ammən* (fol. 4v, l. 21). These forms can be connected to the general use of first-order forms where sixth-order forms are expected, and vice versa;
- imperfect forms of verbs in the T₁₋₃ stems are regularly spelled with a <ተ> in the first order, as opposed to the vowelless sixth-order <ት> found in Standard Geez: ex. ነተፍሥከ፡, *natafaśśəḥ* (?), for ንትፈሣከ፡, *nətfasśāḥ* (fol. 1r, l. 20); ንተሐሠደ, *nətaḥasay* (?), for ንትሐሠደ፡, *nəthaśay* (fol. 1r, l. 20–1v, l. 1); ንተፈሥከ፡, *nətafaśśəḥ*, for ንትፈሣከ፡, *nətfasśāḥ* (fol. 4r, l. 10); አተወልድ፡, *'ətawalləd* (?), for እትወለድ፡, *'ətwallad* (fol. 4v, l. 7); አተንሥእ፡, *'atanəśśə*, for እትንሣእ፡, *'ətnaśśā* (fol. 4v, l. 19); ወንተፋቕር፡, *wa-nətafāqər*, for ወንትፋቕር፡, *wa-nətfāqar* (fol. 5v, l. 11). This can be connected with the general use of first-order forms where sixth-order forms are expected, but could also be connected to palaeography;⁸⁸⁵
- there are some attestations of what could be interpreted as imperfect forms of the 0₂ stem sometimes having an /ə/ instead of the expected /a/ or /e/ between the first and the second radical:⁸⁸⁶ ex. ነተፍሥከ፡, *natafaśśəḥ* (?), for ንትፈሣከ፡, *nətfasśāḥ* (fol. 1r, l. 20); ወጽሊዩ፡, *wa-ṣəlliyyu*, for ወጽሊዩ፡, *wa-ṣalləyyu* (fol. 1v, l. 19); እርሲ፡, *'ərəssi*, for እሬሲ፡, *'əressi* (fol. 4v, l. 19); also ይድሉ፡, *yədəllu*, for ይደሉ፡, *yədallu* (2r, l. 2); ወተዕቢ፡, *wa-tə'əbbi*, for , *wa-ta'əbbi* (fol. 2v, ll. 11–12). This could be connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected. Cf. also the form ዘይሃሎ፡, *za-yəhāllə*, for ዘይሄሎ፡, *za-yəhellu* (fol. 4v, l. 18), which appears to have been influenced by the perfect form;
- the following forms of verbal roots with /y/ as their third radical stand out: ይስተስር፡, *yəstasərrə* (?), for ያስተስረ፡, *yāstasarri* (fol. 2v, ll. 8–9); ኢይብል፡, *'i-yəbəllə* (?), for ኢይበለ፡, *'i-yəballi* (fol. 4r, l. 4);
- non-standard usage (or rather non-usage) of the nominal ending *-a*, both in its function as accusative marker and as marking the non-final

⁸⁸³ Parallel forms are attested in MS DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1).

⁸⁸⁴ Similar forms are attested in inscriptions; cf. Drewes 1991, p. 387.

⁸⁸⁵ See fn. 824.

⁸⁸⁶ Similar forms are attested in MSS DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1) and DS-XX (2.3.16.1).

constituent(s) of construct chains: ex. ደብር፡ ዘይተ፡, *Dabr Zayta*, for ደብረ፡ ዘይት፡, *Dabra Zayt* (fol. 1r, ll. 14–15); ዓውድ፡ ቅስት፡, *āwd qəst*, for ዐውድ፡ ቅስት፡, *āwda qəst* (fol. 2r, l. 8); በወልድ፡ እጉል፡ እመሐያው፡, *ba-wald 'əgul 'amma-ḥayāw*, for በወልድ፡ እጎለ፡ እመሐያው፡, *ba-walda 'əg'āla 'amma-ḥayāw* (fol. 3v, ll. 12–13); ኩብር፡ ቀዳሳን፡, *kəbr qaddusān*, for ኩብረ፡ ቅዱሳን፡, *kəbra qəddusān* (fols 3v, l. 19; 5v, l. 8); ለኩብር፡ ቀዳሳን፡, *la-kəbr qaddusān*, for ለኩብረ፡ ቅዱሳን፡, *la-kəbra qəddusān* (fol. 4r, ll. 12–13); መንግሥት፡ ሰማያት፡, *mangəśat samāyāt*, for መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡, *mangəśta samāyāt* (fol. 4r, l. 6); እመዘርአ፡ ደውተ፡, *'əma-zar' Dawəta*, for እመዘርአ፡ ዳዊት፡, *'əma-zar'a Dāwit* (fol. 4r, ll. 11–12); በድብር፡ መቀድስይ፡, *ba-dəbr maqadəsəyā (?)*, for በደብረ፡ መቅደስየ፡, *ba-dabra maqdasəya* (fol. 4r, l. 20); ፍኖት፡ አሐዘብ፡, *fənot 'ahazab*, for ፍኖተ፡ አሕዛብ፡, *ba-fənota 'ahzāb* (fol. 4r, ll. 21–22); ዘእመንነድ፡ ሌዊ፡, *za-'əma-nəgad (?) Lewi*, for ዘእመንነድ፡ ሌዊ፡, *za-'əma-nagada Lewi* (fol. 4v, l. 2); ብሔር፡ ግብጽ፡, *bəḥer Gəbš*, for ብሔረ፡ ግብጽ፡, *bəḥera Gəbš* (fol. 5r, l. 8); በማኅበር፡ ቀዳሳን፡, *ba-māḥabər qaddusān*, for በማኅበረ፡ ቅዱሳን፡, *ba-māḥbara qəddusān* (fol. 5r, ll. 15–16). This could be connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected;

- the second person plural masculine ending, both as a possessive suffix and as a verbal ending, frequently appears in the form *-k(k)umu (?)*, instead of Standard Geez *-k(k)əmu*: ex. መሰሌኩሙ፡, *masalekumu*, for , *məslekəmu* (4v, ll. 18–19); አፈንወኩሙ፡, *'əfannəwakkumu (?)*, for , *'əfennəwakkəmu* (fol. 3r, l. 19); ለኩሙ፡, *lakumu*, for ለኩሙ፡, *lakəmu* (fol. 4v, l. 18); እሁብኩሙ፡, *'əhubkumu (?)*, for እሁብኩሙ፡, *'əhubakkəmu* (fol. 4v, l. 19). Perhaps related to this is the form አነቱሙ፡, *'anatumu*, for the independent second person plural masculine pronoun አንትሙ፡, *'antəmu* (fol. 5v, l. 21). There are, however, also examples of other spellings: ex. ለኩሙ፡, *lakama (?)*, for ለኩሙ፡, *lakəmu* (fol. 4r, l. 3);
- the third person plural masculine ending, both as a possessive suffix and as a verbal ending, frequently appears in the form *-umu (?)*, instead of Standard Geez *-omu*; ex. እሙሙ፡, *'əmmumu*, for እሞሙ፡, *'əmmomu* (fol. 1v, l. 8); አመንከሁሙ፡, *'əma-ḥabehumu*, for አመንከሁሙ፡, *'əma-ḥabehomu* (fol. 3r, l. 18); ወይቤሉሙ፡, *wa-yəbelumu*, for ወይቤሉሙ፡, *wa-yəbelomu* (fol. 3r, l. 18), ሉሙ፡, *lumu*, for ሉሙ፡, *lomu* (fol. 5r, l. 7); መኸራቡሙ፡, *mak'wābumu*, for ምኸራቡሙ፡, *mək'wābomu* (fol. 3v, l. 9). There are, however, also occurrences of the standard form; ex. ጸሐፍቶሙ፡, *ṣəḥaftomu*, for ጸሐፍቲሆሙ፡, *ṣəḥaftihomu* (fol. 3v, l. 12); ይመህሮሙ፡, *yəmahəromu*, for ይምህሮሙ፡, *yəməhəromu* (fol. 3v, l. 11);
- there are some occurrences of prepositions with /ə ~ Ø/ instead of Standard Geez /a/: ውበናዜሬት፡, *wa-bə-Nāzeret (?)*, for ወበናዜሬት፡, *wa-ba-Nāzret* (fol. 5r, l. 16), ዲብ፡, *dibə (?)*, for ዲብ፡, *diba* (fol. 5r, l. 20).

ወብሃይማኖት፣ *wa-bə-hāymānota*, for ወብሃይማኖት፣ *wa-ba-hāymānot* (fol. 4r, ll. 5–6); ወብተንሥሁ፣ *wa-bə-tānsā'ehu*, for ወብተንሥሁ፣ *wa-ba-tānsā'ehu* (fol. 5r, l. 18). These forms can be connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected. Note, however, forms with /a/ also occur;

- the preposition 'əmə- is often spelled 'əma-: ex. እመእሪያመ፣ 'əma- 'əriyāma, for እምእርያም፣ 'əmə- 'aryām (fol. 2r, ll. 3–4); እመትዕንት፣ 'əma-tə 'ənt, for እምትዕንት፣ 'əmə-tə 'yānt (fol. 2r, l. 9); እመእንስተ፣ 'əma- 'ənəsta, for እምእንስተ፣ 'əmə- 'anəst (fol. 2v, l. 12); እመዘርእ፣ ደውተ፣ 'əma-zar 'Dawəta, for እምዘርእ፣ ዳዊት፣ 'əmə-zar 'a Dāwit (fol. 4r, ll. 11–12); ዘእመንገድ፣ ሌዊ፣ za- 'əma-nəgad Lewi, for ዘእምንገድ፣ ሌዊ፣ za- 'əmə-nagada Lewi (fol. 4v, l. 2); እመወልተከ፣ 'əma-waləttaka (?), for እምወልተከ፣ 'əmə-waləttaka (fol. 4v, l. 7); እመስማይ፣ 'əma-səməy, for እምስማይ፣ 'əmə-səməy (fol. 4v, ll. 9–10); ዘእመብርሃን፣ za- 'əma-bərḥān, for ዘእምብርሃን፣ za- 'əmə-bərḥān (fol. 5r, l. 9); እመእብ፣ 'əma- 'əb, for እምእብ፣ 'əmə- 'ab (fol. 5v, l. 2). This can be connected to the general use of first-order forms where sixth-order forms are expected;
- there are numerous occurrences of first person (especially plural) possessive suffixes with /ə ~ Ø/ instead of a Standard Geez /a/:
ለ(?)እመላክን፣ la(?)- 'əmalākanə (?), for ለእምላክን፣ la- 'amlākəna (fol. 2r, l. 3); በዓልን፣ ba 'ālənə (?), for በዓልን፣ ba 'ālənə (fol. 2v, l. 6); ቤዛን፣ bezānə (?), for ቤዛን፣ bezāna (fol. 3r, l. 9); ለን፣ lanə (?), for ለን፣ lana (fol. 4v, l. 9); በተንሥሁይ፣ ba-tānsā 'eyə (?), for በተንሥሁይ፣ ba-tānsā 'eya (fol. 4v, l. 22); በእንቲእን፣ ba- 'ənti 'ənə (?), for በእንቲእን፣ ba- 'ənti 'ana (fol. 5r, l. 1); ጎቤን፣ ḥabenə (?), for ጎቤን፣ ḥabena (fol. 5r, l. 10); ቢጽን፣ biṣənə (?), for ቢጽን፣ biṣana (fol. 5v, l. 10); በበይናተን፣ ba-baynātanə (?), for በበይናተን፣ ba-baynātina (fol. 5v, l. 11); ይቤዝውን፣ yəbezəwənnə (?), for ይቤዝውን፣ yəbezəwanna (fol. 5v, l. 15). This can be connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected;
- the word መኑ፣ *mannu*, appears in a special form also attested in other early manuscripts: ማኑ፣ *mānnu* (fol. 5r, l. 18).⁸⁸⁷

Orthographic features:

- the word 'Ēgzi 'abəḥer is spelled as two words (fol. 1r, ll. 19–20; 1v, l. 11);
- use of first order instead of the sixth order (the examples have been taken only from fol. 1r): ex. በሰንበተ፣ ba-sanbəta, for በሰንበት፣ ba-sanbat (l. 2); በመኰራበተ፣ ba-mak^wrābəta, for በምኰራባት፣ ba-mək^wrābāt (ll. 4–5); ይተፍሥሐ፣ yətafəśśəḥu, for ይትፍሥሐ፣ yətfəśśəḥu (l. 7); ወእስተርእይ፣ wa-

⁸⁸⁷ This spelling is also attested in MSS EMMI 7078 (2.3.2.1), DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1), and DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1).

- '*asatar* 'əyə (?), for ወአስተርአየ፣ *wa- 'astar 'aya* (l. 9); ከረመተ፣ *karamata*, for ከረምት፣ *kəramt* (l. 10); በአሪያመ፣ *ba- 'ariyāma*, for በአርያም፣ *ba- 'aryām* (l. 13); ደብር፣ ዘይተ፣ *Dabr Zayta*, for ደብረ፣ ዘይት፣ *Dabra Zayt* (l. 14–15); ለሐዋሪያተ፣ *la-ḥawāriyāta*, for ለሐዋርያት፣ *la-ḥawārəyāt* (l. 15); እመብለስ፣ '*ama-bəlas*, for እምበለስ፣ '*əm-balas* (ll. 15–16); ሰብሐተ፣ *sabḥata*, for ሰብሐት፣ *səbḥat* (l. 18); ለሰንበት፣ *la-sənabət*, for ለሰንበት፣ *la-sanbat* (l. 18–19); ግበር፣ *gəbarə* (?), for ገብረ፣ *gabra* (l. 19); ነተፍሥሕ፣ *natafəśśəḥ* (?), for ንትፈሣሕ፣ *nətfəśśəḥ* (l. 20);
- use of first order instead of the fourth order (examples from fol. 1r): ex. በረከ፣ *baraka*, for ባረከ፣ *bāraka* (l. 2); 'əmsalihu, for አምሳሊሁ፣ '*amsālihu* (l. 16);
 - use of the sixth order instead of the first order (examples from fol. 1r): ex. እፍቂሩ፣ '*əfqiru*, for (?) አፍቂሮ፣ '*afqiro* (l. 1); ኪያን፣ *kiyānə*, for ኪያነ፣ *kiyāna* (l. 1); ወሰርዕ፣ *wa-sər 'ə* (?), for ወሰርዐ፣ *wa-sar 'a* (l. 1); ሰንበተ፣ *sanbətā*, for ሰንበት፣ *sanbata* (l. 1); እውድ፣ '*əwd*, for አውድ፣ '*awd* (l. 2); እውድ፣ ዓመት፣ '*əwd 'āmat*, for አውድ፣ ዓመት፣ '*awda 'āmat* (l. 2); በሰንበተ፣ *ba-sanbətā*, for በሰንበት፣ *ba-sanbat* (l. 2); አስርገዋ፣ '*əsərgawā*, for አስርገዋ፣ '*asərgawā* (l. 3); በሰንበት፣ *ba-sanbət*, for በሰንበት፣ *ba-sanbat* (l. 4); ወእስመር፣ *wa- 'əsmarə*, for ወእስመረ፣ *wa- 'asmara* (l. 5); ለሰንበት፣ *la-sanbət*, for ለሰንበት፣ *la-sanbat* (l. 6); በሰማያት፣ *ba-səməyāt*, for በሰማያት፣ *ba-samāyāt* (ll. 6–7); ወእስተርእይ፣ *wa- 'əsatar 'əyə* (?), for ወአስተርአየ፣ *wa- 'astar 'aya* (l. 9); ትጥመቀ፣ *təṭəmmaqa*, for (?) ተጠመቀ፣ *taṭəmmaqa* (l. 10); ወሰማዕት፣ *wa-səmə 't*, for ወሰማዕት፣ *wa-samā 't* (l. 11); እልህምት፣ '*əlhəmt*, for አልሕምት፣ '*alḥəmt* (ll. 12–13); በአሪያመ፣ *ba- 'ariyāma*, for በአርያም፣ *ba- 'aryām* (l. 13); ይንብር፣ *yənabbər* (?), for ይነብር፣ *yənabbər* (l. 14; from the context it is clear that the imperfect is intended); ደብር፣ ዘይተ፣ *Dabr Zayta*, for ደብረ፣ ዘይት፣ *Dabra Zayt* (ll. 14–15); እመብለስ፣ '*ama-bəlas*, for እምበለስ፣ '*əm-balas* (ll. 15–16); እመሳሊሁ፣ '*əmsalihu*, for አምሳሊሁ፣ '*amsālihu* (l. 16); ቦእ፣ *bo 'ə* (?), for ቦእ፣ *bo 'a* (l. 16); እእሩግ፣ '*ə 'rug*, for አእሩግ፣ '*a 'rug* (l. 17); *qaddəsā*, for ቀደሳ፣ *qaddasā* (l. 18); ለሰንበት፣ *la-sənabət*, for ለሰንበት፣ *la-sanbat* (ll. 18–19); ግበር፣ *gəbarə* (?), for ገብረ፣ *gabra* (l. 19); እግዚእ፣ ብሔር፣ '*Əgzi ' bəḥer*, for እግዚአብሔር፣ '*Əgzia 'bəḥer* (ll. 19–20); ነተፍሥሕ፣ *natafəśśəḥ* (?), for ንትፈሣሕ፣ *nətfəśśəḥ* (l. 20). One feature which should be pointed out is the very frequent use of an apparent sixth-order <እ> where a first-order <አ> is expected. One wonders of this could be a palaeographical, rather than an orthographical peculiarity, but there are also occurrences of an unambiguously written <አ> (fol. 2r, ll. 6, 11; 2v, l. 10);
 - use of the sixth order instead of the fourth order (especially ድ for ዳ, it appears): ተሥሀለነ፣ *taśəhalanna*, for (?) ተሣሀለነ፣ *taśāhalanna* (fol. 1r, l. 6); በዮርድኖስ፣ *ba-Yordənos*, for በዮርዳኖስ፣ *ba-Yordānos* (fol. 1r, l. 10); ለዘከሪያስ፣

la-Zakkəriyās (?), for ለዘካርያስ፣ *la-Zakkārəyās* (fol. 2r, l. 5); ቢቃን፣ *ba-Qānə* (?), for ቢቃና፣ *ba-Qānā* (fol. 3r, l. 1; but as the next word, the standard form is found); መርዓዊህ፣ *mar ‘āwihə*, for መርዓዊሃ፣ *mar ‘āwihā* (fol. 3r, l. 17); ገድማዊ፣ *gadāmāwi* (?), for ገዳማዊ፣ *gadāmāwi* (fol. 4v, l. 1); ለእድም፣ *la-’Eddəm* (?), for ለአዳም፣ *la-’Addām* (fol. 4v, ll. 6–7); ጳርቀልጦስ፣ *Ḥarəqalətos*, for ጳራቅሊጦስ፣ *Ḥarāqlitos* (fol. 4v, ll. 17–18); ዘይሁድ፣ *za-Yəhudə* (?), for ዘይሁዳ፣ *za-Yəhudā* (fol. 5r, ll. 11–12; 5v, ll. 2–3); ጋድ፣ *gādə* (?), for ጋዳ፣ *gādā* (fol. 5r, l. 12);

- other peculiarly vocalised forms also occur: ex. አብሳ፣ *’abbəsā* (?), for አንበሳ፣ *’anbasā* (fol. 3v, l. 8);⁸⁸⁸ ለቶሙ፣ *lattomu* (?), for ሎቶሙ፣ *lottomu* (fol. 3v, l. 1);⁸⁸⁹ ቡቲ፣ *buttu*, for ቡቱ፣ *bottu* (fol. 3v, l. 2);⁸⁹⁰ ሲኦል፣ *Si’ul*, for ሲኦል፣ *Si’ol* (fol. 5r, l. 3);
- a large number of personal names display non-standard vocalisation: ex. ኢየሩሳሌም፣ *’Iyorusālem*, for ኢየሩሳሌም፣ *’Iyarusālem* (fol. 1r, l. 17),⁸⁹¹ and also ኢየሩሳሌም፣ *’Iyuru(?)[...]lemi*, for ኢየሩሳሌም፣ *’Iyarusālem* (fol. 5v, ll. 17–18); ለእስጥፍኖስ፣ *la-’Eṣṭāfəno s* [sic], for ለእስጢፋኖስ፣ *la-’Eṣṭifānos* (fol. 2r, ll. 7–8); ወማረያም፣ *wa-Mārayām*, for ወማርያም፣ *wa-Māryām* (fol. 2v, l. 11); ንቆድሞስ፣ *Nəqodəmos*, for ኒቆዲሞስ፣ *Niqodimos* (fol. 3v, l. 3); ማሪቆስ፣ *Māriqos*, for ማርቆስ፣ *Mārəqos* (fol. 5r, ll. 6–7);⁸⁹² ቤተ፣ ለሕም፣ *Beta Laḥəm*, for ቤተ፣ ለሐም፣ *Beta Ləḥem* (fol. 5r, l. 11); ቤተ፣ ለሕም፣ *Beta Ləḥəm*, for ቤተ፣ ለሐም፣ *Beta Ləḥem* (fol. 5v, l. 2).

Much of what has been said about the difficulty of dating other manuscripts and fragments from ’Agwazā Dabra Šāhl also applies to MS DS-XVI. However, it should be pointed out that this manuscript has some features which are not attested in the other manuscripts, such as the relatively widespread use of the sixth order instead of the fourth, and the widespread use of a third person plural ending *-umu* for Standard Geez *-omu*. At the present state of our knowledge, these features may be noted, but it is difficult to put them in a meaningful context. The oft-repeated mid-fourteenth-century *terminus ante quem* and the diffuse *terminus post quem* are applicable also to MS DS-XVI.

2.3.15.2 Contents

Thanks to the presence of three antiphons for the commemoration for the Season of Flowers on fol. 1r, it was possible to identify the contents of fols 1r–5v of MS

⁸⁸⁸ On the assimilation of /n/ to a following consonant, cf. Bausi 2005, p. 153, esp. fn. 12.

⁸⁸⁹ This spelling is also attested in MS MGM-018i (2.3.10.1).

⁸⁹⁰ This spelling is also attested in MS DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1).

⁸⁹¹ This spelling is also attested in MSS MGM-018i (2.3.10.1), DS-I/XVII/XXII (2.3.11.1), and DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1).

⁸⁹² This spelling is also attested in MSS EMM 7078 (2.3.2.1) and DS-XX (2.3.16.1). See fn. 661 for further references.

DS-XVI as a section of *'arbā't* antiphons belonging to the melodic family *'Atmaqqa* [1] (see Chapter 5). Based on what is known about early collections of this type, one could thus presume that MS DS-XVI represents the remains of a melodic-family-based *'arbā't* collection. By comparing with other early *'arbā't* collections, it could be established that fol. 6rv also contains antiphons of this type—thus presumably deriving from the same collection—but belonging to different melodic families: Fol. 6r and the upper part of fol. 6v contain what appears to be the end of a section with *'arbā't* antiphons belonging to the melodic family *Habu səbhata / Tafaśśəhi Šəyon* [11].⁸⁹³ On fol. 6v, it seems that we have the beginning of a section with *'arbā't* antiphons belonging to the melodic family *Niqodimos 'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtarā* [13].⁸⁹⁴

Contrary to what is known from other single-type collections of *'arbā't* antiphons, the antiphons in MS DS-XVI are not arranged according to the liturgical calendar within the respective melodic-family section. Rather, they appear to be given in a random order. For example, on fols 3v, l. 15–4r, l. 9, antiphons for the following commemorations are placed in consecutive order: the Cross in the Great Fast (*za-masqal za-Šom*), Christmas (*za-Gennā*), the Great Fast (*za-Šom*), the virgins (*danāgəl*), and the Season of Flowers. In light of our knowledge about the standard Ethiopic liturgical calendar, the *Wirrwar* is obvious. Possibly, the rationale behind the arrangement is to be sought in musicological characteristics; however, at present, I am not in a position to offer an explanation. No antiphons from MS DS-XVI have been included in the textual corpus in Chapter 3, but for a discussion of the collection in MS DS-XVI in the context of other *'arbā't* collections, see Chapter 5 (specifically, fn. 1747).

2.3.16 *'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl*, DS-XX

MS *'Agwazā Dabra Šāhl*, DS-XX (= MS DS-XX), parchment codex, c. 13 × 11 cm,⁸⁹⁵ 41 fols, one column, 14–20 lines (fols 1r, 14r, 31r, 40r), no boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs kindly put at my disposal by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska. To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or mentioned previously in the literature.

⁸⁹³ Several of the antiphons in MS DS-XVI, only one of which is marked for commemoration, have parallels in other early *'arbā't* collections. For an antiphon explicitly marked as belonging to the commemoration of Ascension (*'Ergat*), there is a parallel in MS SSB-002, fol. 40rb, ll. 9–13. Parallels to several unmarked antiphons for the Season of *Kəramt* and the Season of Fruits are found in MS EMMML 7078, fol. 65v.








⁸⁹⁴ Several of the antiphons in MS DS-XVI—all unmarked for commemoration—have parallels in other early *'arbā't* collections. For an antiphon for Sundays in the Season of *Kəramt*, there is a parallel in MS SSB-002, fol. 45va, ll. 29–33; for an antiphon for the commemoration of the Cross, there is a parallel in MS EMMML 7078, fol. 29r, ll. 24–27; and for one for the commemoration of Helena (MS DS-XVI only preserves the beginning), there is a parallel in MS EMMML 7078, fol. 29v, ll. 10–12.

⁸⁹⁵ No measures are provided on the metadata sheet included amongst the photographs, but thanks to the inclusion of a ruler on the photographs, its size can tentatively be said to be c. 13 × 11 cm.







Parts of MS DS-XX are fragmentarily preserved. Although it is clear, based on calendrical considerations, that the quires are not in the correct sequence (the commemorations for the Season of Flowers occur in the manuscripts later parts, after, for example, the commemoration for Easter), the available materials do not allow for a thorough quire analysis. Nonetheless, the presence of quire numbers on fol. 33v (ḡ) and on fol. 41v (ṛ) should be pointed out. The preserved quire numbers are both found on the last folio of a quire, but it is probable that quire numbers were also found on the first folio of the respective quire, although no examples of this has been preserved.

2.3.16.1 Dating

As in the case of the other fragments from 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl, MS DS-XX is not dated, but the evidence seems to point towards an undefinable pre-mid-fourteenth-century dating. The following features palaeographical features can be noticed:⁸⁹⁶

| | | |
|---------|---|---|
| ʾ |  | two forms are attested: a) with the vowel marker attached directly to the body of the letter, b) with a connecting line between the vowel marker and the body of the letter |
| ḥ, ʿ |  | the vowel marker is attached directly to the body of the letter without any connecting line |
| ṛ, ṛ |  | the vowel marker is semi-circular or somewhat angular and is attached on the right side of the top line of the letter |
| ḥ, ṛ, ṛ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter [= modern form] |
| ḥ, ṛ |  | <ḥ> has a peculiar form, often leaving both the left loop and the right loop open; the right part of <ṛ> is attached to the left part at mid-height |
| ḥ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter |
| ḥ |  | the vowel marker is attached horizontally on top of the letter and reaches outside the |

⁸⁹⁶ Sources for palaeographical samples: ʾ: fol. 1r, l. 15; fol. 5v, l. 5; ḥ: fol. 1r, l. 4; ʿ: fol. 23r, l. 9; ṛ: fol. 7ra, l. 16; ṛ: fol. 1r, l. 14; ḥ: fol. 10ra, l. 5; ṛ: fol. 5r, l. 3; ṛ: fol. 15v, l. 10; ḥ: fol. 1r, l. 12; ṛ: fol. 6r, l. 8; ḥ: fol. 10ra, l. 5; ḥ: fol. 23r, l. 14; ḥ: fol. 1r, l. 9; ṛ: fol. 1r, l. 4; ṛ: fol. 19v, l. 7; ḥ: fol. 1r, l. 15; ṛ: fol. 12r, l. 11; fourth-order vowel marker: fol. 1r, l. 4 (ṛ); fol. 10ra, l. 5 (ṛ); fol. 18ra, l. 5 (ṛ); fol. 23r, l. 4 (ṛ); fol. 18ra, l. 13 (ṛ); seventh-order vowel marker: fol. 7ra, l. 3 (ṛ); fol. 18ra, l. 4 (ṛ); fol. 38r, l. 6 (ṛ).

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| | | body of the letter |
| ወ |  | the distinction between <ወ> and <ወ> appears to be of the earlier type |
| ዓ |  | the body of the letter rests on the base line, which the vowel marker does not reach |
| ዒ |  | there is an additional horizontal stroke |
| ፕ |  | the lateral legs reach the base line |
| fourth order |  | two forms are attested: a) with a 'kink' on the right leg, b) with an addition to the right leg |
| seventh order |  | two forms are attested: a) with an addition to the left leg, b) with shortening of the right leg(s) [= modern form] |

As several other of the manuscripts and fragments from 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl previously discussed (see especially the discussion in the description of MS DS-I/XVII/XXII, 2.3.11.1), MS DS-XX appears to be characterised by three phenomena:

- instability in the vocalisation, manifesting itself in that the same word is frequently spelled in different ways even on the same folio;⁸⁹⁷
- frequent use of the first order in the place of other orders (especially the sixth) and of the sixth order in the place of the first;
- archaic linguistic and orthographic features known from elsewhere in the Ethiopic tradition.

Linguistic features:

- the shift from /a/ to /ā/ in closed syllables ending in a laryngeal (laryngeal rule 2a, according to the terminology of Diem 1988⁸⁹⁸) has often not been carried out: ex. ሆሰዕና፣ *hosa 'nā*, for ሆሰዕና፣ *hosā 'nā* (fol. 1v, ll. 10, 11); ለዕሌሁ፣ *la 'lehu*, for ላዕሌሁ፣ *lā 'lehu* (fol. 21v, l. 4); ለሰመዕት፣ *la-sama 't*, for ለሰማዕት፣ *la-samā 't* (fol. 32v, ll. 6–7); but also ሠራዕኩ፣ *šarā 'ku* (fol. 14r, l. 12);

⁸⁹⁷ For example, the word *sabbuḥa-ni*, frequently repeated in this collection, is attested in, at least, the following spellings: ሰቡሐኒ፣ *sabbuḥa-ni* (fol. 12r, l. 4); ሰቡሐኒ፣ *sabbuḥo-ni* (fol. 12v, ll. 9, 14–15; 13v, l. 14); ሰቡሐኒ፣ *sabbuḥo-ni* (fols 14r, l. 7; 15r, l. 6); ሰቡሐኒ፣ *sabbaha-ni* (fol. 38r, l. 5); ሰቡሐኒ፣ *sabbaho-ni* (fol. 39r, l. 10); ሰቡሐኒ፣ *sabbaha-ni* (fol. 41, l. 3); ሰቡሐኒ፣ *sabbho-ni* (fol. 41r, ll. 12–13).

⁸⁹⁸ Diem 1988, p. 240.

- there are examples of assimilation across laryngeals which does not only concern (etymologically) short vowels, as in Standard Geez, but also other vowels:⁸⁹⁹ ex. አነሰኦ፡, 'anaso 'o, for አንሥኦ፡, 'ansā 'o (fol. 5r, l. 10); ቢ(?)ሐር፡ ገበጽ፡, bi(?)her Gabas, for ብሐር፡ ግበጽ፡, bəhera Gabṣ (fol. 35v, l. 9); ሰቦሐኒ፡, sabboho-ni, for ሰቡሐኒ፡, sabbuḥə-ni (fol. 41r, ll. 12–13). In one case, assimilation of short vowels is missing: ይዓቅቡ፡, yə 'āqqəbu, for የዐቅቡ፡, ya 'aqqəbu (fol. 10v, l. 11);
- there is at least one attestation of the pattern tentatively vocalised as *yətaqəttal* for the imperfect form of the T₁ stem: ይተዕወቅ፡, yəta 'əwwaq (?), for ይትዐወቅ፡, yəta 'awwaq (fol. 33r, ll. 6–7); but also ወነተሐሠዖ፡, wa-nataḥasayā, for ወንተሐሠዖ፡, wa-nəṯasay (fol. 9r, l. 6); ይትቀበላ፡, yətaqabbalā (?) (fol. 18r, l. 10);
- imperfect forms of verbs in the T₁₋₃ stems are regularly spelled with a <ተ> in the first order, as opposed to the vowelless sixth-order <ት> found in Standard Geez: ex. አተነሰኦ፡, 'atanassa 'a, for እትነሥኦ፡, 'ətnāsā (fol. 4r, l. 13); ይተፈሣሐ፡, yətafaśśāḥa, for ይትፈሣሐ፡, yətfəśśāḥ (fol. 6r, l. 9); ነተኤመነ፡, nata 'emmana (?), for ንትአመን፡, nət 'amman (fol. 9v, l. 2). This can be connected to the general use of first-order forms where sixth-order forms are expected, but could also be connected to palaeography;⁹⁰⁰
- some imperfect forms of the 0₂ stem possibly have an /ə/ instead of the expected /e/ between the first and the second radical:⁹⁰¹ ex. (ወ)ይስበሐዎ፡, (wa-)yəṣəbbəḥəwwə (?), for (ወ)ይሴብሐዎ፡, (wa-)yəsebbəḥəwwə (fols 10r, l. 5; 11r, l. 2); but ንሴፎ፡, nəseffo (fol. 9v, l. 4); ነሴብሐ፡, nasebbəḥ, for ንሴብሐ፡, nəsebbəḥ (fol. 11v, l. 5); ወነዜመር፡, wa-nazemmar, for ወነዜምር፡, wa-nəzemmar (fol. 11v, l. 5);
- non-standard usage (or rather non-usage) of the nominal ending -a, both in its function as accusative marker and as marking the non-final constituent(s) of construct chains: ex. ደብር፡ ዘይት፡, Dəbr Zayt, for ደብረ፡ ዘይት፡, Dabra Zayt (fol. 1v, l. 7); ነጉሥ፡ አይሁድ፡, nagus 'āyhud, for ንጉሠ፡ አይሁድ፡, nəguśa 'ayhud (fol. 4r, l. 10); ቤት፡ ክርስቲያን፡, bet krəstiyān, for ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡, beta krəstiyān (fol. 5v, ll. 9–10); አይስቲ፡ ወይን፡ ወአሜስ፡, 'ay-yəsətti wəyn wa- 'a-mes (?), for አይሰቲ፡ ወይን፡ ወአሜስ፡, 'i-yəsatti wayna wa- 'i-mesa (fol. 21v, ll. 3–4); አነ፡ ሄርድ(?)ስ፡ ዘመተርኩ፡ ርአሱ፡, 'ana Herədo(?)s za-matarku rə 'asu, for አነ፡ ሄርድስ፡ ዘመተርኩ፡ ርእሱ፡, 'ana Herodəs za-matarku rə 'so (fol. 21v, ll. 13–14); መንግሥት፡ ሰማይት፡, mangəšt sāmāyət (?), for መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡, mangəšta sāmāyāt (fol. 22r, l. 10); ቤት፡ ለሐመ፡, Bet Laḥama, for ቤተ፡ ለሐም፡, Beta Ləḥem (fol. 37r, l. 10). This can be

⁸⁹⁹ For a similar phenomenon, see the description of MS DS-XVI (2.3.15.1).

⁹⁰⁰ See fn. 824.

⁹⁰¹ Similar forms are attested in MSS DS-VIII*/XIII (2.3.14.1) and DS-XVI (2.3.15.1).

connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected;

- the preposition *'am-* frequently appears in the form *'ama-*: ex. አመውታን፣ *'am-mawwātān*, for እምውታን፣ *'am-məwwātān* (fols 2v, l. 17; 5r, l. 11); አመኩሉ፣ *'ama-kʷəllu*, for እምኩሉ፣ *'am-kʷəllu* (fol. 3r, l. 10); አመጽልመት፣ *'ama-ṣəlmāt*, for እምጽልመት፣ *'am-ṣəlmāt* (fol. 5r, l. 17); አመይአዜሰ፣ *'ama-yə'aze-ssə* (?), for እምይአዜሰ፣ *'am-yə'əze-ssa* (fol. 18v, l. 13). This can be connected to the general use of first-order forms where sixth-order forms are expected;
- there are some occurrences of first person singular possessive suffixes with /ə ~ Ø/ instead of Standard Geez /a/: ለሕዝባይ፣ *la-ḥəzabayə* (?), for ለሕዝብየ፣ *la-ḥəzbəyā* (fol. 37r, l. 15); ኩሉ፣ ዘግቀበ፣ ቃለይ፣ *kullu za- 'āqaba qālayə* (?), for ኩሉ፣ ዘዐቀበ፣ ቃለየ፣ *kʷəllu za- 'aqaba qālayə* (fol. 20r, ll. 12–13); አሰ(?)ም፣ ዘዚአይ፣ አነቲ፣ *'asa(?)mə za-zi 'āyā 'anati* (?), for እስመ፣ ዘዚአየ፣ አንቲ፣ *'asma za-zi 'āyā 'anti* (fol. 29v, ll. 11–12); but also አግዚአየ፣ *'agzi 'āyā*, for እግዚአየ፣ *'agzi 'āyā* (fol. 19v, l. 7). This can be connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected;
- the second person plural masculine ending, both as a possessive suffix and as an object suffix, frequently appears in the form *-k(k)umu* (?), instead of Standard Geez *-k(k)əmu*: ex. ዘይመርሐኩሙ፣ *za-yəmarraḥakkumu* (?), for ዘይመርሐኩሙ፣ *za-yəmarraḥakkəmu* (fol. 10r, l. 8); ዘኪያኩሙ፣ *za-kiyākumu*, for ዘኪያኩሙ፣ *za-kiyākəmu* (fol. 12r, l. 15); ዘኪያኩም፣ *za-kiyākum*, for ዘኪያኩሙ፣ *za-kiyākəmu* (fol. 12r, l. 17); አይበለኩሙ፣ *'ay-yəbalakkumu* (?), for አይበለኩሙ፣ *'i-yəblakkəmu* (fol. 12v, ll. 16–17); ወዘኪያኩሙ፣ *wa-za-kiyākumu*, for ወዘኪያኩሙ፣ *wa--za-kiyākəmu* (fol. 13r, ll. 3, 4). The form *-(k)kamu* is also attested: ex. ለበጸኩሙ፣ *la-baṣakamu*, for ለበጸኩሙ፣ *la-biṣəkəmu* (fol. 2r, ll. 8–9); ምሰሊኩሙ፣ *məsalikamu*, for ምሰሊኩሙ፣ *məslekəmu* (fol. 6r, l. 7); also ለኩሙ፣ *lakama*, for ለኩሙ፣ *lakəmu* (fol. 10r, l. 8);
- the spellings *'ay-* and *'a-* for the negative particle which in Standard Geez has the form *'i-* are noteworthy: ex. አተፍርሂ፣ *'a-təfrəhi* (?), for ኢትፍርሂ፣ *'i-təfrəhi* (fol. 17r, l. 10); አይትጠፈ(?)አ፣ *'ay-təṭaffa(?) 'a*, for ኢትጠፍአ፣ *'i-təṭaffə* (fol. 21r, l. 14); አይትገበርኬ(?)፣ *'ay-təgabar-ke(?)*, for ኢትግበርኬ፣ *'i-təgbaru-ke* (fol. 40r, l. 8);⁹⁰² ወአየርአየ፣ *wa- 'ay-yarə 'ayā* (?), for ወአይርአየ፣ *wa- 'i-yarə 'ayā* (fol. 40v, l. 4); ወአይርአየ፣ *wa- 'ay-yarə 'ayā* (?), for ወአይርአየ፣ *wa- 'i-yarə 'ayā* (fol. 40v, ll. 6–7). The standard form *'i-*, however, also occurs;

⁹⁰² This is the form encountered in the same antiphon in the *yətbārak* collection in MS EMMML 7618 (fol. 189ra, ll. 37–38).

- the particle *-(ə)ssa* regularly appears with a final /ə ~ Ø/ instead of the Standard Geez /a/; ex. ውኡቱስ፡, *wə 'atu-s(sə)*, for ውኡቱስ፡, *wə 'ətu-ssa* (fol. 2r, l. 11); አነተሙስ፡, *'anatamu-s(sə)* (?), for አንትሙስ፡, *'antəmu-ssa* (fol. 12r, ll. 10–11); ዘስ፡, *za-s(sə)* (?), for ዝስ፡, *zə-ssa* (fol. 13r, l. 8); አመይአዜስ፡, *'amayə 'aze-s(sə)* (?), for አምይአዜስ፡, *'əm-yə 'əze-ssa* (fol. 18v, l. 13). This can be connected to the general use of sixth-order forms where first-order forms are expected;
- occasional use of so-called e-forms and, parallelly, 'i-forms': ex. ወካቢ፡, *wa-ka 'ābi*, for ወካዕቢ፡, *wa-kā 'ba* (fol. 6r, l. 3); ዲቤ፡ *dibe*, for ዲቢ፡, *diba* (fol. 40r, l. 4); also የሚ፡, *yomi*, for የም፡, *yom* (fol. 34r, l. 16).

Orthographical features:

- the word 'Ēgzi 'abəher is regularly spelled as two words (fols 4r, l. 14; 10v, l. 7; 11v, ll. 9–10; 12r, l. 6);
- use of first order instead of the other orders (examples from fols 1v–2r): ex. አሙኅበ(?), *'ama-ḥaba(?)*, for አምኅበ፡, *'əm-ḥaba* (fol. 1v, ll. 1–2); መጽአክ፡, *maṣə 'aka* (?), for መጽአክ፡, *maṣā 'ka* (fol. 1v, l. 2); ተኩነ፡, *takuna*, for ትኩን፡, *təkun* (fol. 1v, l. 2); መመሀረ፡, *mamahəra*, for መምሀረ፡, *mamhəra* (fol. 1v, l. 3); ዘይገበር፡, *za-yəgabbər*, for ዘይገብር፡, *za-yəgabbər* (fol. 1v, ll. 3–4); ተአመር፡, *ta 'ammar*, for ተአምር፡, *ta 'āmməra* (fol. 1v, l. 4); ዘአነተ(?):, *za- 'anata*, for ዘአንተ፡, *za- 'anta* (fol. 1v, l. 4); በጸሐሙ፡, *baṣəhomu*, for በጸሐሙ፡, *baṣihomu* (fol. 1v, l. 6); አዕፀቀ፡, *'a 'ṣaqa*, for አዕጹቀ፡, *'a 'ṣuqa* (fol. 1v, l. 8); ይድኅነ፡, *yədəḥəna* (?), for (?) ይድኅነ፡, *yədəḥənu* (fol. 1v, l. 10); ሆሰዕና፡, *hosa 'nā*, for ሆሳዕና፡, *hosā 'nā* (fol. 1v, ll. 10, 11); በአረያም፡, *ba- 'arayām*, for በአርያም፡, *ba- 'aryām* (fols 1v, l. 11–12; 2r, l. 5); ዶ(?)ወተ፡, *Do(?)wata* (?), for ዳዊት፡, *Dāwit* (fol. 1v, l. 12); ነጉሠ፡, *naguśa*, for ንጉሠ፡, *nəguśa* (fol. 1v, l. 13); ይሀብ፡, *yəhab*, for (?) ይሀብ፡, *yəhub* (fol. 1v, l. 13); ተኮት፡, *takot*, for ትካት፡, *təkāt* (fol. 1v, ll. 14–15); አ(?)ከለ፡, *'a(?)kala*, for አከለ፡, *'akl* (fol. 1v, ll. 15–16); ሐዘበኒ፡, *ḥazaba-ni*, for ሕዝብኒ፡, *ḥəzbə-ni* (fol. 2r, l. 3); ይሴበሐ፡, *yəsebbəhu*, for ይሴብሐ፡, *yəsebbəhu* (fol. 2r, l. 3); ወይዘመር፡, *wa-yəzammar*, for (?) ወይዘምሩ፡, *wa-yəzemmaru* (fol. 2r, l. 4); አስተፋጠነ፡, *'astafāṭana*, for አስተፋጥነ፡, *'astafāṭənu* (fol. 2r, l. 6); መስለ፡, *masla*, for ምስለ፡, *məsla* (fol. 2r, l. 7); ለበጸክሙ፡, *la-baṣakamu*, for ለበጸክሙ፡, *la-biṣəkəmu* (fol. 2r, ll. 8–9); በዕለት፡ ተነሳኢ፡, *ba- 'əlat tanasā 'i*, for በዕለተ፡ ትንሣኤ፡, *ba- 'əlata tənśā 'e* (fol. 2r, ll. 9–10); ውኡቱስ፡, *wə 'atu-s(sə)*, for ውኡቱስ፡, *wə 'ətu-ssa* (fol. 2r, l. 11); ነደይ፡, *naday*, for ነዳይ፡, *nadāy* (fol. 2r, l. 14); ም(?)ሰክነ፡, *mə(?)sakana*, for ምስክነ፡, *məskin* (fol. 2r, l. 15); ርእሱ፡, *rə 'asu*, for ርእሶ፡, *rə 'əso* (fol. 2r, ll. 15–16); ሰማየዊ፡, *samāyawi*, for ሰማያዊ፡, *samāyāwi* (fol. 2r, l. 17);
- use of the sixth order instead of other orders (examples from fols 1v–2r): መጽአክ፡, *maṣə 'aka* (?), for መጽአክ፡, *maṣā 'ka* (fol. 1v, l. 2); ድብር፡ ዘይት፡, *Dəbr Zayt*, for ድብር፡ ዘይት፡, *Dabra Zayt* (fol. 1v, l. 7); ውኡቱስ፡, *wə 'atu-s(sə)*, for ውኡቱስ፡, *wə 'ətu-ssa* (fol. 2r, l. 11); ወኅደር፡, *wa-ḥadarə* (?), for ወኅደረ፡, *wa-ḥadara* (fol. 2r, l. 14);

- unexpected use of other orders: ex. ናሴተብቆዓከ፡, *nāsetabaqqo* ‘ākka (?), for ናሴተብቆዓከ፡, *nāstabaqq*፡፡ ‘akka (fol. 39v, l. 11—was, perhaps, *ናሴተብቆዓከ፡, **nāsatabeqqo* ‘ākka, intended, but the scribe placed the vowel marker on the wrong consonant?); አመኔሆ፡, ‘*amanneho* (?), for አመኔሆ፡, ‘*amannehu* (fol. 33r, ll. 5–6);
- some personal names also display non-standard vocalisation: ex. ዶ(?)ወተ፡, *Do(?)wata*, for ዳዊት፡, *Dāwit* (fol. 1v, l. 12); በደወት፡, *ba-Dawət*, for በዳዊት፡, *ba-Dāwit* (fol. 9r, l. 4); በደዉ(?)ት፡, *ba-Dawu(?)t*, for በዳዊት፡, *ba-Dāwit* (fol. 13r, l. 13); ዶ(?)ዊት(?)፡, *Do(?)wit(?)*, for ዳዊት፡, *Dāwit* (fol. 33v, l. 12); በጊርጊዮስ፡, *ba-Girgiyos*, for በጊዮርጊስ፡, *ba-Giyorgis* (fol. 5v, l. 3); ጊርጊዮስ፡, *Girgiyos*, for ጊዮርጊስ፡, *Giyorgis* (fol. 5v, l. 6); ማሪቆስ፡, *Māriqos*, for ማርቆስ፡, *Mārəqos* (fol. 5v, l. 8);⁹⁰³ በቃነ፡ ዘጌሊላ፡, *ba-Qāna za-Gelilā*, for በቃነ፡ ዘጌሊላ፡, *ba-Qānā za-Galilā* (fol. 38r, l. 10); ማሪያም፡, *Māriyām*, for ማርያም፡, *Māryām* (fol. 39v, l. 9).⁹⁰⁴

Taken together, the palaeographic, linguistic, orthographic data seem to suggest the mid-fourteenth century as a *terminus ante quem*, but as in the case of other manuscripts and fragments from ‘Agwazā Dabra Šāhl, the earliest possible date is difficult to determine.

2.3.16.2 Contents

MS DS-XX contains a single-type collection of *yətbārak* antiphons. The manuscript is calendar-based, but there are complicating factors. In the present state of the manuscript, it begins with antiphons for the commemoration of the Cross during the Great Fast (*Masqal za-Šom*) and the Sixth Sunday of the Great Fast. The expected sequence of the calendar is adhered to until fol. 21v, where an antiphon for the Beheading of John the Baptist (*mətrata rə’su la-Yohannəs*) is followed, without any caesura, by an antiphon for John the Baptist (*Yohannəs*), followed by an antiphon for Elisabeth (‘*Elsābet*’), etc. This seamless passing from the end of the liturgical year to its beginning raises questions about how the collection in MS DS-XX was originally organised: Is it possible that the beginning of the liturgical year was placed at another point than 1 Maskaram? The collection continues until fol. 25v, after which a number of fragmentarily preserved folios follow. After these, it appears that some of the same antiphons are repeated once more. It is unclear what the fragmentarily preserved folios represent. Importantly, the text passes seamlessly from fol. 44v to fol. 1r. This means that the last quire originally belonged earlier in the manuscript (as indicated also by the quire numbers mentioned above). In the end, the original breaking point in the calendar cannot be identified. It is lamentable that no codicological analysis of this manuscript was carried out at the time of its

⁹⁰³ This spelling is also attested in MSS EML 7078 (2.3.2.1) and DS-XVI (2.3.15.1). See fn. 661 for further references.

⁹⁰⁴ This spelling is also attested in MS EML 7078 (2.3.2.1).

digitisation. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| fol. 22v | 'Abbā 'Aragāwi |
| fol. 22v | common for the Righteous (<i>za-ṣā(d)qāna</i>) |
| fol. 23r | common for the Righteous (<i>za-ṣā(d)qāna</i>) |
| fols 23v–24v[...] | Season of Flowers |
| fol. [...]26r–v | Season of Flowers [partly repeating the previous] |
| fol. 27r | Ṕantalewon |
| fol. 27r–v | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 27v | 'Abbā Yəm'attā |
| fols 28r–29v | 'Abbā Yoḥanni [repeating antiphons for the Season of Flowers] |

2.3.17 Excursion: A short reflection on the orthography of the manuscripts and fragments from 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl

As has been shown in the descriptions above and by Denis Nosnitsin in several previous publications,⁹⁰⁵ the orthography of the manuscripts and fragments from 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl deviates in important ways from Standard Geez. While this is not the place for an extensive review of the orthographic features encountered in them, nor for an attempt to interpret it in the light of linguistic or comparative evidence, I would like to posit two questions, which may provide an impetus for future research into these and similar manuscripts and fragments:

- could it be that some instances of use of first-order letters where other letters would have been expected are not haphazard, but connected to certain frequently recurring grammatical morphemes (ex. the <ṭ> in the imperfect (and related) form of the T_{1–3} stems) and common words (ex. ḥ^ṣ- and ḥ^ṣ- for ḥ^ṣ-)? This is my preliminary impression, and I wonder: is it supported by a statistical analysis of the orthography and does it have parallels in the epigraphic evidence?⁹⁰⁶
- could it be that the use of non-standard and irregular vocalisation in the manuscripts and fragments from 'Ag^wazā Dabra Šāhl described above is connected to the social context of production and use of these manuscripts?

⁹⁰⁵ Cf. Nosnitsin 2016, 2018; Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014.

⁹⁰⁶ On the same note, Drewes 1991 notes that there 'seems to be a tendency to mark assimilation [of nasals in pre-consonantal position] especially in certain words [...]' (Drewes 1991, p. 387).

This idea has already been hinted at by Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014.⁹⁰⁷ For me, the idea arose as I was looking for palaeographical parallels to these manuscripts and fragments, and realised that although there are indeed parallels to most of the palaeographical features,⁹⁰⁸ I could not find other manuscripts with the same amount of forms displaying non-standard vocalisation. One wonders if different orthographical practices may have coexisted in the early period of the Geez written culture, distributed in such a way that manuscripts of greater prestige (Gospel books, Octateuchs, homiliaries) were vocalised with more meticulousness and care than manuscripts of more practical use (antiphon collections). This might be part of the explanation specifically for the frequent use of first-order letters where letters of other orders are expected. If this hypothesis is correct, this could to a certain degree be compared to the practice of vocalisation/non-vocalisation attested in the orthographic traditions of other Semitic languages, such as Hebrew and Arabic.

2.3.18 Other manuscripts: Saint Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, Dorn 615

I am aware of one further manuscript which, judging from the catalogue description, with the highest probability contains a single-type collection, namely MS Saint Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, Dorn 615. The most up-to-date catalogue description known to me is found in Turaev 1906a.⁹⁰⁹ Based on this catalogue description, the following information can be provided:

MS Saint Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, Dorn 615⁹¹⁰ (= MS RNB Dorn 615), parchment codex, 24 × 17.8 cm, 36 fols, two columns, 42 lines, European binding. This manuscript has not been available to me during the writing of this dissertation. As far as I am aware, it was catalogued most recently by Turaev 1906a,⁹¹¹ and previously by Kokovcov 1889 and Dorn 1852.⁹¹²

Turaev 1906a dates MS RNB Dorn 615 to the fifteenth century. It has cartonnage boards with a leather spine, on which, he reports, the following title is written: 'Liber benedictionum et precum'. Turaev 1906a appears to describe the presence of a *ḥarag* on fol. 1 ('[н]а ф. 1. вверху орнаментъ изъ красныхъ и черныхъ линий').⁹¹³ Dorn 1852, but not Turaev 1906a, informs us of the presence of an

⁹⁰⁷ Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, p. 72.

⁹⁰⁸ See, especially, the manuscripts listed in fn. 626.

⁹⁰⁹ Turaev 1906a, pp. 14–17, no. 7. Cf. Platonov 2017, p. 185.

⁹¹⁰ The shelfmark is the modern one cited by Platonov 2017. In Turaev 1906a, the repository and shelfmark are given as follows: 'Imperatorskaya Publichnaya Biblioteka, Vostočn. 615'.

⁹¹¹ See fn. 909.

⁹¹² Kokovcov 1889, p. 108 (no. VII); Dorn 1852, p. 558 (no. DCXV). The manuscript is also mentioned briefly in Dorn 1838, p. 151.

⁹¹³ Turaev 1906a, p. 14.

introductory formula, reproduced by Dorn 1852 as follows: ‘በስሙ: *Au nom* etc. ጸሐፍነ: በዘ: ንዜከር: ሰላም: ዘኸሎ[(!)]: መዋዕል: እምዮሐንስ: እስከ: ዮሐንስ:’.⁹¹⁴ The catalogue entry of Turaev 1906a contains a detailed description of the contents of the manuscript, whose only work appears to be a collection of *salām* antiphons. He lists the commemorations found in the manuscript, which seem to cover the period from the beginning of the liturgical year until Easter, suggesting that the end of the collection is probably missing. Eight antiphons are reproduced in their entirety, none of which belongs to the Season of Flowers.

2.3.19 Summary of single-type collections

To conclude this section, a synoptical summary of the single-type collections preserved in the manuscripts and fragments of the Minor Corpus is offered in Table 9. This table will allow the reader to quickly gain an overview of the preserved single-type collections of the respective antiphon types and will hopefully prove useful for future scholars working with these and related materials. The reader is directed to the descriptions above for detailed information about each individual collection.

⁹¹⁴ Dorn 1852, p. 558 (italics in the original).

Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

Table 9. Summary of single-type collections.

| | <i>ʿarbāʾi</i> | <i>ʿanyām</i> | <i>ʿġġ: naġṣā</i> | <i>ʿəzl</i> | <i>māġġet</i> | <i>mawā-šaʾi</i> | <i>mazmur-family</i> | <i>salām</i> | <i>šalast</i> | <i>sabḥata naġh</i> | <i>wāzemā</i> | <i>yabbarak</i> | <i>zaʾ-am-lākīya</i> | <i>za-nālu yaʾaze</i> | <i>za-lašā-halāmī</i> | unident. | multiple-type |
|----------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|---------------|
| EMML 7078 | X ¹ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2095 | X ² | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7618 | X ¹ | X ² | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ¹ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X + X | X |
| EMML 6944 | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 | X ² | | | | | | X | X | X ² | | | | | | | | (X) |
| GG-185 | X ¹ | X ¹ | | | | | X | | | X (?) | | | | | | X + X | X |
| GG-187 | X ¹ | | | | | | X | | X ¹ | | | | | | | | (X) |
| BnF Éth. 92 | X ¹ | X ¹ | X | | | | | X | X ¹ + X ² | X | | X | X | X | X | X | (X) |
| Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| DS-I/XVII/XXII | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| DS-II | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| DS-III | | X ¹ (?) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DS-VIII*/XIII | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |

Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|----------|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| DS-XVI | X ¹ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DS-XX | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| RNB Dorn 615 | | | | | | | | X (?) | | | | | | | | | |

¹ melodic-family-based collection

² calendar-based collection

2.4 Pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections

2.4.1 Introduction

As noted in the introduction (2.1), all thirteen manuscripts containing pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections known to me have been included in the Minor Corpus. They have been described in less detail than the manuscripts containing single-type collections. The palaeographical observations are generally restricted to remarks on how <Ḥ> and <ḥ> are formed, and a partial codicological analysis has only been carried out in the case of MS EMMML 4667 (see 2.4.7.2), where one of the quires containing antiphons for the Season of Flowers has been disarranged.

2.4.2 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. et. 28

MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. et. 28 (= MS BAV Vat. et. 28), parchment codex, 21.3 × 16.5 cm, 38 fols, two columns, 34 lines, European binding. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digital colour photographs made available online by the BAV,⁹¹⁵ as well as in its physical form during a visit to the library on 24–25 May 2019. It has been catalogued by Grébaut and Tisserant 1935.⁹¹⁶

This manuscript has been used and quoted by numerous scholar. It was included in the corpus used by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997,⁹¹⁷ who call it ‘the first manuscript that properly deserves to be considered a *Dəggʷa*,’ based on the fact that it is the earliest multiple-type antiphon collection known to them.⁹¹⁸ Habtemichael Kidane 1998 bases some of his translations of individual antiphons on the text found in MS BAV Vat. et. 28.⁹¹⁹ Getatchew Haile 2011b has published three antiphons from it: *mazmur* antiphons for the commemoration of the Cross.⁹²⁰ The same antiphons are reprinted in Getatchew Haile 2017, where it is said that they were ‘undoubtedly inserted by the Emperor Zär’a Ya’əqob’.⁹²¹

A couple of general updates can be made to the description of Grébaut and Tisserant 1935. The first one concerns the introductory formula. Grébaut and

⁹¹⁵ URL: <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.et.28> [2021-01-28].

⁹¹⁶ Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, pp. 134–135.

⁹¹⁷ Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁹¹⁸ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 11. This designation is taken up by Lee 2017b, who, however, refers to it as the first ‘complete’ *Dəggʷā* (Lee 2017b, p. 16), something which is rather unfortunate given its fragmentary state, stressed by Shelemay and Jeffery 1993.

⁹¹⁹ Cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 70–72, 89.

⁹²⁰ Getatchew Haile 2011b, pp. 52–53. Note that Getatchew Haile 2011b uses the older, pre-Grébaut and Tisserant 1935 folio numbers.

⁹²¹ Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 305.

Tisserant 1935 provide the following transcription (together with a Latin translation):

በስመ፡ አብ፡ ... ጸሐፍነ፡ በዘ፡ ንዜከር፡ መዝሙረ፡ እምዮሐንስ፡ [እስከ፡] ዮሐንስ፡
 ግዕዝ፡ ወ[...] ዋዜማ፡ ይ[...] ሠለስት፡ ወሰላም፡ ስብሐተ<፡> ነግህ፡ ወማኅሌት፡
 ወክሎ፡ በከመ፡ ይደሉ፡ ስ[ብሐት፡] ወክብር፡ ሎቱ፡ [...] እስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን።
 922

However, the transcription that I produced during the abovementioned visit to the Biblioteca (BAV) in 2019 differs from this in certain details and has the following form:

በስመ፡ አብ፡ [...] ወመንፈ(?)[...] አ(?)ሐዱ፡ አ(?)ምላክ(?)
 [...]ሐ(?)ፍ(?)ነ፡ በዘ፡ ንዜከር፡ መዝ(?)ሙረ፡ እምዮሐንስ፡ [...] ዮሐንስ፡
 ግዕዝ፡ ወዕዝል፡ ዋዜማ፡ ይት(?)ባ(?)ረክ(?) ሠለስት፡ ወሰላም፡
 ስብሐተ[!](?)ነግህ፡ ወማኅሌት፡ ወክሎ፡ በከመ፡ ይደሉ፡ ስ[...] ወክ(?)ብር፡
 ሎ(?)ቱ፡ ለአምላክ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን።

In the name of the Father [...] and of the Holy [...], one God.
 We have written, as we remember, the *mazmur* from John [...]
 John: *gə'z* and *'əzl*, *wāzemā*, *yətbāarak*, *śalast*, and *salām*,
səbhātanagh (!) and *māhlet*, and all, as it is due. [...] and glory
 be to God for ever. Amen.

The most important difference is the reading of the term *yətbāarak* (ይትባረክ፡), which was left out in Grébaut and Tisserant 1935. It should be pointed out that during the autopsy, it was possible to decipher some letters which are (almost) illegible in the digitised version available at the website of the BAV.

A second update concerns the use of different hands in the manuscript, not commented upon by Grébaut and Tisserant 1935. It appears that the manuscript was written by at least two different scribes, which seem to have been working shifts.⁹²³ The hands differ in a number of regards, including the thickness of the pen and the number of characters per line,⁹²⁴ and certain *mise en texte* practices, as discussed in Chapter 4, such as the use of different rubrication patterns (4.4.2.4.2)

⁹²² Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, p. 134.

⁹²³ The distribution of the hands, according to my interpretation, is as follows. Hand A: fols 1ra–13vb; 15va, l. 21–17va; 18va–b, l. 16; 20ra, l. 34–23ra, l. 8; 23va–24vb, 26vb–27vb, 28va–32rb, 34ra, l. 4–34va, l. 21; 35va–38vb. Hand B: fols 13va–15va, l. 20; 17vb–18rb; 18vb, l. 16–20ra, l. 33; 23ra, l. 8–23rb; 25ra–26va, 28ra–b (mixed use of punctuation marks), 32va (?)–34ra, l. 3; 34va, l. 21–35rb. It may be worth pointing out that the two hands of MS BAV Vat. et. 28 differ from the three hands in MS GG-187, because whereas in the former, the two hands are part of the same production process, in the latter, they represent different chronological stages.

⁹²⁴ Hand A is characterised by a thicker pen and larger characters (10–13 characters per line), whereas the opposite characteristics are typical for Hand B (13–15 characters per line). For Hand A, the following lines were checked: fols 3va, l. 1; 3vb, l. 1; 4ra, l. 1; 4rb, l. 1; 16va, l. 1; 16vb, l. 1; 17ra, l. 1; 17rb, l. 1. For Hand B, the following lines were checked: fols 13va, l. 2; 13vb, l. 1; 14ra, l. 2; 14rb, l. 1; 14va, l. 3; 17vb, l. 1; 18ra, l. 1; 18rb, l. 2.

and different punctuation marks (4.4.3.2.1). Interestingly, the rubricator (possibly identical with Hand A) appears to have been the same for both the sections written by Hand A and Hand B.

MS BAV Vat. et. 28 has two sets of foliation: one written in the upper right corner with pencil, and one stamped in the lower right corner with black ink. The latter follows the present order of the folios, which agrees with the reconstruction of the manuscript, and was presumably added by Grébaut and Tisserant.⁹²⁵

2.4.2.1 Dating

Grébaut and Tisserant 1935 date MS BAV Vat. et. 28 to the fifteenth century, presumably on palaeographical grounds. They list a number of archaic palaeographical features ('litt. Λ cum triangulo, partem superiorem litt. Φ , Ψ , Υ , Σ , Ξ angulatam, litt. σ , ω , θ mucronatas, hastam sinistram litt. Ω , Π incurvam').⁹²⁶ One can also notice the use of the $\eta\theta$ ligature (fols 18rb, l. 10; 33ra, l. 21). Tedros Abraha 2009 calls for a revaluation of this dating in the light of recent progress in Ethiopic palaeography,⁹²⁷ but does not suggest a new dating.

2.4.2.2 Contents

MS BAV Vat. et. 28 contains one fragmentarily preserved main work:

- I) a multiple-type collection of the *Dəggwā*-type antiphons (fols 1ra–38vb, incomplete; no *'Anqasa halletā*).

The set of commemorations present in MS BAV Vat. et. 28 stands out from the rest of the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections included in the Minor Corpus and, as far as I am aware, from all other preserved *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. In the first part of the collection, covering fols 1ra–38ra, it contains only antiphons for liturgical periods, i.e. not for the commemorations of individual saints or feasts. On fol. 38va, i.e. on the very last of the preserved pages, a commemoration for the Cross (*Masqal*) begins. It is possible that this marks the beginning of a second part, dedicated to commemorations for individual saints and feasts. However, in the absence of a study of the antiphons for the commemoration of the Cross (*Masqal*), this is difficult to say with certainty.⁹²⁸ Other explanations for what begins on fol. 38rb may also be possible, for example, that it contains antiphons that were first forgotten and later added, or that it contains antiphons for ferial days. It should be pointed out that a division of liturgical books into a Temporal, containing liturgical seasons, Sundays, fasts, and mobile feasts, and a

⁹²⁵ They write: 'Ordinem fasciculorum per bybliopegarum ignorantiam turbatum restituimus' (Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, p. 134).

⁹²⁶ Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, p. 134.

⁹²⁷ Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 342, fn. 36.

⁹²⁸ It would be necessary to compare the incompletely preserved commemoration of the Cross found on fol. 38va–b[...] with the commemoration of the Sundays in the Season of the Cross found on fols 5vb–6rb.

Sanctoral, containing commemorations occurring on fixed days, is not foreign to the Ethiopic liturgical tradition, but appears frequently in lectionaries.⁹²⁹ This speaks in favour of the hypothesis of a bipartite collection. In any case, it is safe to conclude that the organisation of the commemorations preserved in MS BAV Vat. et. 28 is unique. For the Season of Flowers, only the commemoration for Sundays in the Season of Flowers is partially preserved:

fols 6r–8v[...] Sundays in the Season of Flowers

2.4.3 Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, MS 679 (EAP286/1/1/422)

MS Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, MS 679 (EAP286/1/1/422; = MS IES 679), parchment codex, 21.2 × 16.4 × 4.3 cm, 78 fols, 26 lines (fol. 2r), no boards. This manuscript has been consulted in form of digital colour images made available online by the Endangered Archives Programme.⁹³⁰ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or described in the previous literature.

MS IES 679 is a complex manuscript, which appears to be the product of several different hands. A codicological analysis of the manuscript might be necessary to understand its composition; however, due to the fact that MS IES 679 does not, in its present state, contain any antiphon for the Season of Flowers, this has not been done in this dissertation.

2.4.3.1 Dating

In the metadata provided on the website of the Endangered Archives Programme, MS IES 679 is dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Ted Erho dates the manuscript to the early fifteenth century.⁹³¹ The loops of <σ> are connected or almost connected, and the vowel marker of <Λ> is attached to the body of the letter with a short connecting line or an elongation of the vowel marker.

2.4.3.2 Contents

MS IES 679 contains one fragmentarily preserved main work:

⁹²⁹ Fritsch 2001 discusses this division on a theoretical level, but provides little information about how this organisation is articulated of the manuscripts. For examples of manuscripts where the Temporal and the Sanctoral are separated, see MSS Addis Ababa, IES 695 = EMMML 1571 (beginning of the Temporal: fol. 1r; beginning of the Sanctoral: fol. 39r) and Ḥayq ʾĀstifānos, EMMML 1954 (beginning of the Temporal: fol. 3r; beginning of the Sanctoral: fol. 64r).

⁹³⁰ URL: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP286-1-1-422> [2021-01-28]. MS IES 679 was digitised as part of the project ‘Digitising and conserving Ethiopian manuscripts at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (EAP286)’, headed by Demeke Berhane Teffera and Stephen Delamarter. On this project, see: <https://doi.org/10.15130/EAP286> [2024-09-30].

⁹³¹ Personal communication, 12 March 2021.

- I) a multiple-type collection of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons (fols 1ra–78vb; no *ʿAnqaša halletā*).

The collection is acephalous, beginning in the middle of the commemoration *ʿAbbā Salāmā* (?), followed by the beginning of the commemoration of Gabriel the Archangel (*Gabrā ʿel*), and ends abruptly in the middle of the commemoration of Ascension (*ʿĪrgat*). No commemorations belonging to the Season of Flowers have been preserved and the manuscript has not been used for the textual study in Chapter 3. For Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the respective corpora have been assembled starting from the beginning of MS IES 679, the part of the manuscript which appears to be of the greatest age.

2.4.4 Dabra Bərḥān Šəllāse, EMMML 1894

MS Dabra Bərḥān Šəllāse, EMMML 1894 (= MS EMMML 1894), parchment codex, 24.5 × 19.5 cm, 207 fols,⁹³² two columns, 32–39 lines, wooden boards, broken and partly covered with stamped leather. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.⁹³³ It has been catalogued by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981.⁹³⁴

MS EMMML 1894 was included in the corpus used by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.⁹³⁵ It was also consulted by Habtemichael Kidane 1998,⁹³⁶ although he does not cite it explicitly in the body of the text. Nosnitsin 2018 briefly discusses the antiphons found in MS EMMML 1894 for the commemorations of *ʿAbbā ʿAbaydo* and *ʿAbbā Yoḥanni*.⁹³⁷

2.4.4.1 Dating

Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981 date MS EMMML 1894 to the sixteenth century, presumably based on palaeographical criteria.⁹³⁸ This dating is repeated in the other publications mentioned above.

2.4.4.2 Contents

MS EMMML 1894 contains one main work:

⁹³² According to Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, ‘numbered 1 to 205 with one small leaf after f. 4 and the leaf after f. 182 unnumbered’ (Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, p. 402).

⁹³³ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/203725> [2021-01-28].

⁹³⁴ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981.

⁹³⁵ Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁹³⁶ Cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 373.

⁹³⁷ Nosnitsin 2018, p. 308. The underlining of some words (fol. 45vb, ll. 20–22) mentioned by Nosnitsin 2018 is, according to my understanding, rather a fully drawn line marking the division between sections for different types of antiphons within the commemoration *ʿAbbā Yoḥanni*; cf. the discussion of the marking of subdivisions within commemorations in Chapter 4, 4.3.5.

⁹³⁸ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, pp. 402–403.

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (fols 6ra–203ra; no *ʿAnqaša halletā*).

In addition, MS EMMML 1894 contains collections of the model antiphons for the melodic families of *ʿarbā ʿt* antiphons (fol. 203rb–vb), *śalast* antiphons (fols 203vb–204vb), and *ʿaryām* antiphons (fols 204vb–205va). In the later tradition, such collections regularly form part of the so-called ‘school chants’ included in the *Mə ʿrāf*.⁹³⁹ The list of *ʿarbā ʿt* model antiphons is used in the diachronic study of the *ʿarbā ʿt* melodic families presented in Chapter 5 (see 5.3.2). The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations in MS EMMML 1894:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| fols 28vb–29ra | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 29ra–30rb | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 30rb–va | Kings |
| fols 30va–31rb | Ṕantalewon |
| fols 31rb–32ra | common for righteous in the Season of Flowers (<i>za-šādqān za-[šə]geyāt = kəbra qəddusān?</i>) |
| fol. 32ra–b | King Dāwit [of Ethiopia] (<i>Dāwit nəguś</i>) ⁹⁴⁰ |
| fols 32rb–36vb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 36vb–41ra | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 41ra | Matthew the Evangelist and Michael the Archangel |
| fol. 41ra–vb | <i>ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi</i> |
| fols 41vb–43va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 43va–44ra | Mary |
| fol. 44ra | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 44ra | <i>ʿAbbā Yəm ʿattā</i> |
| fol. 44ra–b | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fols 44rb–46ra | <i>ʿAbbā Yoḥanni</i> |

⁹³⁹ Cf. Velat 1966a, p. 218. Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997 write that MS EMMML 1894 contains a *Mə ʿrāf* next to the *Dəggʿā*-type antiphon collection; presumably, they are referring to these lists of melodic families (cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12).

⁹⁴⁰ This commemoration is not attested in any of the other collections included in the Minor Corpus. Noticeably, it appears to contain a number of antiphons composed specifically for the king, i.e. not only adaptations of common antiphons. The date of the commemoration is in accordance with other sources (cf. ‘Dawit II’, *EAE*, II (2005), 112a–113a (M.-L. Derat)).

2.4.5 Ṿ Ankobar Māryām, EML 2468*

Fragment in MS Ṿ Ankobar Māryām, EML 2468 (= MS EML 2468*),⁹⁴¹ parchment leaves, *c.* 30–? cm, four fols, two columns, 52 lines, no boards. Four leaves of an early *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection are preserved as fols 143ra–146vb in another manuscript, whose main text is an eighteenth-century *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection. These leaves have been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.⁹⁴² They have been catalogued, together with the host manuscript, by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982.⁹⁴³ The fragments were included in the corpus used by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.⁹⁴⁴

2.4.5.1 Dating

Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982 date the fragment to the fifteenth century on palaeographical grounds.⁹⁴⁵ I have not found any indications in the manuscript to corroborate or falsify this dating, except that the loops of <σ> are connected or almost connected, and the vowel marker of <Ḍ> is attached to the body of the letter with a short connecting line.

2.4.5.2 Contents

MS EML 2468* contains fragments of one work:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (fols 143ra–146vb).

As identified by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, antiphons pertaining to two different commemorations are preserved on the leaves constituting MS EML 2468*. Fols 143rv and 146rv seem to contain antiphons for a commemoration of Mary. Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982 refer to the commemorations of Mary within the Season of Flowers, of the Birth of Mary (*Ladatā*) and of the Ascension of Mary (*Falsatā*), remarking that the antiphons in MS EML 2468* are ‘similar to but not identical with’ these.⁹⁴⁶ It is not clear whether the two folios constitute a bifolio or not, but, as observed by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, the text does not proceed from the end of fol. 143vb to the beginning of fol. 146ra. Fols 144ra–145vb contain antiphons for the commemoration of the Resurrection (*Tānsāʿe*). The text proceeds from one leaf to the other, suggesting that they either represent two loose, consecutive leaves or

⁹⁴¹ I use the siglum ‘MS EML 2468*’ to remind the reader that the main text of MS EML 2468 has not been used, but only the fragment on fols 143ra–146vb.

⁹⁴² Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/204296> [2021-01-28].

⁹⁴³ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, pp. 516–518.

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12. Habtemichael Kidane 1998 uses the main text in MS EML 2468, but does not discuss the fragment on fols 143r–146v (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 311, 335, fnn. 13, 97).

⁹⁴⁵ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 516.

⁹⁴⁶ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 516.

the middle bifolio of a quire. In the absence of antiphons clearly attributable to the Season of Flowers, the fragmentary MS EML 2468* has not been included in the textual corpus in Chapter 3.

2.4.6 ᾿Ankobar Giyorgis, EML 2542

MS ᾿Ankobar Giyorgis, EML 2542 (= MS EML 2542), parchment codex, 23.2 × 18.5 cm, 132 fols, two columns, 41–42 lines, wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.⁹⁴⁷ It has been catalogued on the basis of the microfilm by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983.⁹⁴⁸

MS EML 2542 has been used and referred to in several previous publications. It was included in the corpus used by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.⁹⁴⁹ Furthermore, it was consulted by Habtemichael Kidane 1998,⁹⁵⁰ although it is, to my knowledge, not cited by him. Amsalu Tefera 2015 refers to it once.⁹⁵¹ Three commemorations from this manuscript were used by Lee 2017a as a source for sixth-century (!) Ethiopian theology.⁹⁵² The manuscript is also listed by Lee 2017b as an example of an early *Daggwā* manuscript.⁹⁵³

2.4.6.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the EML microfilm, MS EML 2542 is dated to the fifteenth century. According to Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, it dates to the late sixteenth century.⁹⁵⁴ This dating is taken up by Amsalu Tefera 2015⁹⁵⁵ and is supported by Denis Nosnitsin.⁹⁵⁶ Lee 2017a, perhaps influenced by the metadata sheet, suggests a fifteenth-century dating.⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁴⁷ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/204370> [2020-10-01].

⁹⁴⁸ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, pp. 23–24.

⁹⁴⁹ Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁹⁵⁰ Cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 373.

⁹⁵¹ Amsalu Tefera 2015, p. 63, fn. 98. See fn. 958.

⁹⁵² Cf. Lee 2017a, p. xi. For further discussion of Lee 2017a, see Chapter 1 (1.3.2 and 1.3.3).

⁹⁵³ In Lee 2017b, by a typographical error, the manuscript is given as ‘EML 2452’ (cf. Lee 2017b, p. 16).

⁹⁵⁴ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, 23.

⁹⁵⁵ Amsalu Tefera 2015, p. 63, fn. 98.

⁹⁵⁶ Personal communication, 13 November 2020.

⁹⁵⁷ Lee 2017a, pp. 29, 225, 237, 247. Lee 2017a furthermore adduces that ‘[a]ccording to the catalogue the musical notation was added to this manuscript later [...]’ (Lee 2017a, 225, 237, 247). This information is not found in Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, but indeed on the metadata sheet, strengthening the supposition that this was the source used by Lee 2017a. The conclusion that this ‘probably places it as written before the revisions of *Giyorgis of Gasāčča* [sic]’ (Lee 2017a, pp. 225, 237, 247) does not seem to be based on manuscript evidence.

2.4.6.2 Contents

As noted in the catalogue description by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, MS EMML 2542 contains the following main works:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (5ra–125rb; no *ʿAnqaša halletā*),
- II) material later found in the *Mə ʿrāf* and the *Mawāšə ʿt* (fols 125rb–127vb).

The material collected at the end of this manuscript—orders of services, etc.—should be taken into account in studies of the *Mə ʿrāf* and the *Mawāšə ʿt*; however, I am presently not in a position to describe and analyse it adequately. In the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection, the Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| fol. 17rb–vb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 17vb–18va | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 18va–b | Kings |
| fols 18vb–19va | Ṕantalewon |
| fols 19va–22vb ⁹⁵⁸ | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 22vb–25rb | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 25rb–vb | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 25vb–26ra | Matthew the Evangelist and Michael the Archangel |
| fol. 26ra–b | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fols 26rb–27rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 27rb–va | common for deacons (<i>ba-tazkāra diyāqonāt</i>) |
| fol. 27va | Elisha the Prophet |
| fol. 27va–b | Mary |
| fol. 27vb | Luke the Evangelist |
| fols 27vb–28ra | ʿAbbā Yəm ʿattā |
| fol. 28ra–b | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 28rb | ʿAbbā ʿAbaydo |

⁹⁵⁸ Amsalu Tefera 2015 seems to suggest that the commemoration for Zion in Ḥədār (*Ḥədār Šəyon*) covers fols 22r–42v (cf. Amsalu Tefera 2015, p. 63, fn. 98). This is incorrect, and possibly based on an incorrect note in the catalogue description by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1983, according to which antiphons for the month of Ḥədār are found on fols 22r–42v (in fact, the first commemoration belonging to the month of Ḥədār is found on fol. 28ra).

fols 28rb–29rb

'Abbā Yoḥanni

2.4.7 Quro Gadal Šəllāse, EMMML 4667

MS Quro Gadal Šəllāse, EMMML 4667 (= MS EMMML 4667), parchment codex, 25.5 × 19 cm, 164 fols, two columns, 38–50 lines, wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.⁹⁵⁹ It has been catalogued on the basis of the microfilm by Getatchew Haile 1993.⁹⁶⁰

MS EMMML 4667 is referred to by Getatchew Haile 1988 because of its ‘consistent’ use of the terms *sanbata* ‘ayhud (ሰንበተ: አይሁድ: ‘The Sabbath of the Jews’) and *sanbata krəstiyān* (ሰንበተ: ክርስቲያን: ‘The Sabbath of the Christians’).⁹⁶¹ It was also included in the corpus used by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.⁹⁶²

2.4.7.1 Dating

MS EMMML 4667 is dated by Getatchew Haile 1993 to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, presumably on the basis of palaeographical criteria.⁹⁶³ This dating is taken up by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997,⁹⁶⁴ and is supported by Ted Erho⁹⁶⁵ and Denis Nosnitsin.⁹⁶⁶

On fol. 96v, the following donation note and book curse has been added to an originally blank (?) folio: ‘This is the book of ‘Abbā [...], and his monastery is Dabra Libānos. I have given [it] to my son Takla Hāymānot. Whoever steals, erases, distorts, or takes it by force against his will, whether he be a governor (*šum*), or the spokesman of a governor (*‘afa šum*) or a *ṣahāfe lām*,⁹⁶⁷ I, [...], excommunicate [him] by the authority of [...].’⁹⁶⁸

2.4.7.2 Contents

MS EMMML 4667 contains the following main work:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (fols 1ra–164vb; no *Anqaša halletā*).

⁹⁵⁹ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/206437> [2021-02-15].

⁹⁶⁰ Getatchew Haile 1993, pp. 258–260.

⁹⁶¹ Getatchew Haile 1988, p. 242.

⁹⁶² Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁹⁶³ Getatchew Haile 1993, p. 258.

⁹⁶⁴ Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

⁹⁶⁵ Personal communication, 29 May 2018 and 12 March 2021.

⁹⁶⁶ Personal communication, 13 November 2020.

⁹⁶⁷ For general information about these administrative offices, see ‘Šum’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 761b–762b (D. Nosnitsin) and ‘Sāhāfe lām’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 459b–460a (D. Nosnitsin).

⁹⁶⁸ ማመጽከር፡ ዘአባ፡ [...] ወደብሩ(የ)ሂ፡ ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ወ(?)ሀ(?)ኩ(?)፡ ለወልድዮ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዘሰረቆ፡ ወዘፈሐቆ፡ ወዘተክላሎ፡ ወዘነሥሮ፡ በኃይል፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ እመሂ፡ ሹም፡ ወእመሂ፡ አፈ፡ ሹም፡ ወእመሂ፡ ጸሐፊ(!)፡ ላም፡ አነ፡ [...] አውገዘኩ፡ በሥልጣነ፡ [...], fol. 96v.

A list of the commemorations it contains is provided by Getatchew Haile 1993.⁹⁶⁹ The folios containing the Season of Flowers have been disarranged, as one could suspect already based on the information provided by Getatchew Haile 1993. The disarrangement must have taken place before Arabic numbers were added to the lower right corner of each recto, as these correspond to the present order of the folios. The correct order of the folios of the quire is: fols 9, 11, 12, 10, 14, 15, 13, 16. In Figure 20, two hypotheses regarding the quire's present composition (*II(a)) and its original composition (*II(b)) are visualised schematically.⁹⁷⁰ The quire contain the following commemorations: the end of a common for righteous in the Season of the Cross (?; 1), the commemoration for ferial days in the Season of the Cross (*za-watr*; 2), for Sundays in the Season of the Cross (*za-sanbat*; 3), for Helen ('*Elleni*'; 4), the Council at Nicaea (*Bəzuḥān*; 5), the Children of Zebedee (6), Peter and Paul (= End of *Kəramt*; 7), Kings (8), Pāntalewon (9), 'Abbā 'Aragāwi (10), a common for righteous in the Season of Flowers (11), and the beginning of the commemoration for ferial days in the Season of Flowers (12). The most economical way to explain the current situation appears to be to imagine the following development: a) the outermost bifolio has remained intact and in its place, b) the second and innermost bifolio have changed place, and c) the third bifolio has been divided into two single folios, of which the first has been inserted in the middle of the quire and the latter between the second-to-last and the last folio of the quire. In the end, an autopsy of the physical manuscript would be necessary to confirm these hypotheses.

⁹⁶⁹ A couple of remarks should be made to the list of commemorations in Getatchew Haile 1993: a) in the manuscript, the commemoration that begins on fol. 26ra has the designation ዘ፬: እንስሳ: ወዘት-ጉሃን: ('Of the Four [Living] Creatures and of the Watchers'), while Getatchew Haile 1993, p. 258, simply has '4 Ensesā (the Four Living Creatures)'; b) there is no separate commemoration for the Myriads [of Angels] ('*A'läf*') on fol. 30va, but the first *mazmur* antiphon for the commemoration of Michael the Archangel (*Mikā'el*) begins with the words 'əlf 'a 'läfāt wa-tə 'ləfita 'a 'läfāt wa-Mikā'el liqa malā'əkt [...] (አልፍ: አላላፋት: ወትአልፊተ: አላላፋት: ወሚካኤል: ሊቀ: መላእክት: ይዕ(ቀ)ቡት: [...], 'May the thousand of thousands, ten thousand of thousands, and Michael the Archangel, keep us [...]', perhaps causing this confusion; c) I have not been able to locate the words 'telos martyros' [sic] reportedly written in Greek letters on fol. 41v, in the connection with the commemoration of Peter of Alexandria; and d) there is no separate commemoration for the 'Saints [of 'Akwarē]' on fol. 137r, but one can speculate that the *wāzemā* antiphon for the commemoration of 'Abbā Garimā, starting with the words *ṣādqān, ṣādqān 'əlla 'Akwaren [...]* (ጻድቃን: ጻድቃን: አለ: አኩሬን: [...], 'O righteous ones, righteous ones of 'Akwaren [...]' was taken to represent the beginning of a new commemoration.

⁹⁷⁰ For an introduction to the way in which quires are visualised schematically in this dissertation, see fn. 702. In the visualisations of quires from MS EMMML 4667, the column to the right of the one containing folio numbers contains information about the placement of individual commemorations. Each commemoration has been provided with a number in the text; this number appears in the visualisation next to the folios which house the respective commemoration. Different parts of the same commemoration have been numbered with the addition of lower-case letters. In order to increase legibility, colours have additionally been used to highlight the single commemorations within the visualisations.

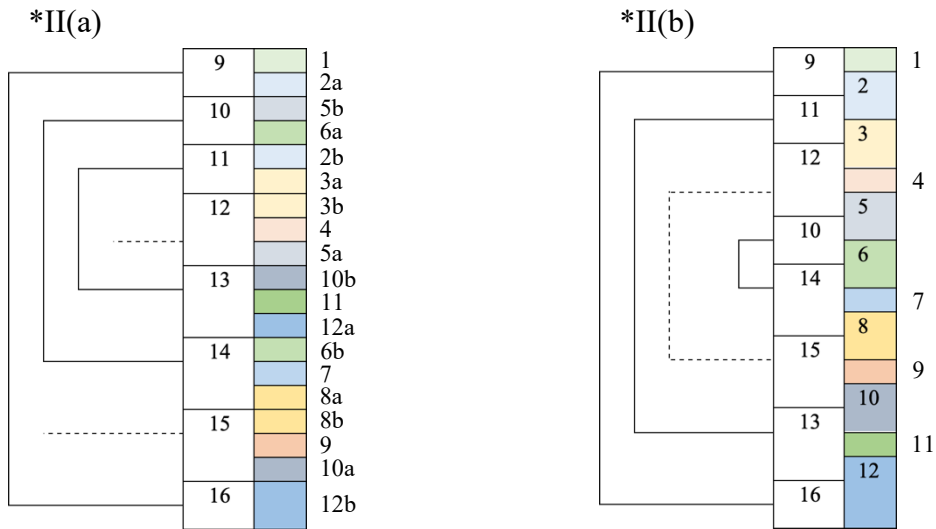


Figure 20. Two schematic representations of reconstructions of the second quire of MS EML 4667. In *II(a), a hypothesis regarding the present structure of the quire is presented; in *II(b), a hypothesis regarding the original structure.

The third quire is preserved in the right order and consists of fols 17ra–24vb, and the beginning of the fourth quire is also unproblematic. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| fols 10va, 14ra–14va | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 14va–b | Peter and Paul (= End of <i>Kəramt</i>) |
| fols 14vb, 15ra | Kings |
| fol. 15ra–va | Ṕantalewon |
| fols 15va–b, 13ra | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fol. 13ra–va | common for righteous in the Season of Flowers (<i>mazmur za-Ṣəge za-ṣādqān</i>) |
| fols 13va, 16ra–17vb | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 17vb–22rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 22rb–24rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 24rb | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 24rb–va | ʿAbbā Yəmʿattā |
| fols 24va–26ra | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |

Even in the reconstruction, the order of commemorations is unusual, insofar that commemorations for the Righteous in the Season of Flowers (perhaps an alternative term for what is generally called ‘for the honour of the saints’, *za-kəbra qəddusān*?) and for Ferial days in the Season of Flowers are placed before the commemoration for Sundays in the Season of Flowers. The placement of a

commemoration for the Righteous before the antiphons for Sundays and Ferial days was also found in the collection in MS EML 1894 (see 2.4.4.2).

2.4.8 Ġarr Šallāse, EML 7174

MS Ġarr Šallāse, EML 7174 (= MS EML 7174), parchment codex, 32.5 × 28.1 (?) cm, 162 fols, three columns, 29 lines (fol. 6r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised microfilm, presently not available online.⁹⁷¹ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or previously mentioned in the secondary literature. The folio number ‘155’ has been given to two consecutive folios, distinguished below by the addition of ‘bis’.

2.4.8.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the EML microfilm, MS EML 7174 is dated to the sixteenth century. This is confirmed by a prayer found on fol. 134va, where King Šarša Dəngəl (r. 1550–1597) is mentioned, suggesting that the manuscript was produced during his reign.

2.4.8.2 Contents

MS EML 7174 contains one main work:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (fols 5ra–134vc; ‘*Anqaša halletā*: fol. 134v).

At the beginning (fols 1va–4vc) and the end (fols 135ra–155bis.rb) of this manuscript, various minor texts, connected to the execution of the Divine Office, are found. The first folios contain *mastabqʿā ʿāt, liṭon*, as well as the *Kama yəṭqanay* (a description of the liturgical seasons), the latter added by a later hand. At the end, fols 135ra–154rc contains various material, partly later found in the *Mə ʿrāf*, whereas fols 155ra–155bis.rb house a liturgical calendar. On fol. 134v, MS EML 7174 contains an ‘*Anqaša halletā*. This can presumably be considered the oldest known example.⁹⁷² The Season of the Great Fast is included in the collection. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| fols 24va–25rb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 25rb–26va | Children of Zebedee |

⁹⁷¹ I have not found any note on the manuscript as to when it was microfilmed.

⁹⁷² Shelemay et al. 1993 mention that the earliest ‘*Anqaša halletā* known to them is found in MS Uppsala, UUB O Etiop. 38, dating from AD 1668 (cf. 2.5.2; Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 88, fn. 46). It may be noted that the ‘*Anqaša halletā* in MS EML 7174 differs from modern examples in only noting down the text of the hallelujahs, without the incipits of the *səray* antiphons. Instead, the melodic-house designations—i.e. the abbreviations of each *səray*—are given in the margin next to the corresponding hallelujah. The ‘*Anqaša halletā* appears to be unfinished, as the hallelujahs of the last melodic houses have not been furnished with *mələkkət*.

Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fols 26va–27ra | Kings |
| fol. 27ra–vc | Ṗanṭalewon |
| fols 27vc–32ra | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 32ra–34vb | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 34vb–35rc | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 35rc–vc | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fols 35vc–37rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 37rb | common for deacons (<i>za-tazkāra diyāqonāt</i>) |
| fol. 37rb–c | Elisha the Prophet |
| fol. 37rc–va | Mary |
| fol. 37va | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 37va–c | ʿAbbā Yəmʿattā |
| fol. 37vc | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fols 37vc–38ra | ʿAbbā ʿAbaydo |
| fols 38ra–39ra | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |

2.4.9 Game Giyorgis, EMLL 8070

MS Game Giyorgis, EMLL 8070 (= MS EMLL 8070), parchment codex, 30 × 20.2 cm, 92 fols, two columns, 39 lines (fol. 8r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of an imperfectly digitised greyscale microfilm (see below) made available online by the HMML.⁹⁷³ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or mentioned in the previous literature.

The available reproduction of the microfilm of MS EMLL 8070 requires a comment. This was one of the microfilms that were not copied and deposited at the HMML when the EMLL project was ongoing, but only kept in Ethiopia. In 2003, staff of the HMML made efforts to localise these uncopied microfilms, an endeavour which in 2005 resulted in a campaign to scan the remaining microfilms on-site at the then National Archives and Library of Ethiopia (NALE) in Addis Ababa.⁹⁷⁴ For the scanning, a customised scanner was brought to the site. This scanner was supposed to automatically detect the frames of the microfilms,

⁹⁷³ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/201374> [2021-01-28]. According to a note on a blank folio (?) at the end of the digitised microfilm, MS EMLL 8070 was microfilmed on 1 Maggābit 1975 EC (= 10 March AD 1983).

⁹⁷⁴ For an introduction to this part of the history of the EMLL collection, see Stewart 2017, esp. pp. 467–468.

resulting, under good circumstances, in an efficient work flow; however, as the microfilms of the EMMML project were often of poor quality due to various factors, the automatic frame detection did not always produce the desired results. In the case of EMMML 8070, parts of the pages—frequently on both the left and the right side of the page, but more often on the side closest to the spine—were not scanned. This has affected some pages more than others; for example, fols 1r (?)–7r, which contain the commemorations for the Season of Flowers (see below), were gravely affected, with about half of the text amount cut away. According to Wayne Torborg at the HMML, this is a problem caused by the scanning process, and there is nothing to suggest that the microfilm kept at the NALA should in any way be damaged.⁹⁷⁵ In addition to this, the microfilmed images are not in the correct sequence. For the folios which are more or less completely reproduced, the pages are given according to the following pattern: 8r, 7v, 9r, 8v, 10r, 9v, etc. However, it is not possible to count backwards from the more completely preserved folios applying this pattern, suggesting that some folios were completely missed by the scanner or, alternatively, that some folios are missing also from the original microfilm.⁹⁷⁶

2.4.9.1 Dating

According to the metadata sheet prefixed to the EMMML microfilm, MS EMMML 8070 dates to the fifteenth century. This dating is supported by Ted Erho.⁹⁷⁷ I have not been able to find any internal indications that suggest a dating of MS EMMML 8070, but based on palaeographical considerations—the loops of <σ> are either connected or attached to one another by means of a very short connecting line; the vowel marker of <Λ> generally has the form of a full circle touching the body of the letter without any connecting line—this dating seems reasonable.

2.4.9.2 Contents

As far as we can say based on the available material, MS EMMML 8070 contains one main work:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (1ra ?–92v ?).

The collection is acephalous, beginning in the middle of the commemoration of the Season of Flowers, and appears to lack its end. According to what may be

⁹⁷⁵ Personal communication, October–November 2019. Cf. also Stewart 2017, p. 467.

⁹⁷⁶ Counting backwards from 8r, which is the first (almost) completely preserved folio, one may presume to find first fol. 6v, then fol. 7r. On the folio expected to be fol. 7r, the folio number ‘7’ is indeed visible in the bottom right corner. Preceding this, one would expect to find first fol. 5v, then fol. 6r. However, it is clear from the available reproduction that fol. 7r is preceded by two versos. These are, in turn, preceded by a recto, on which the folio number ‘5’ is visible in the bottom right corner. From this state of affairs, I conclude that fol. 7r is preceded by fols 5v and 4v, and that fol. 6r is missing from the reproduction.

⁹⁷⁷ Personal communication, 29 May 2018 and 12 March 2021.

concluded based on the available material, the Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| fols [...] (?)–3ra (?) | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 3ra (?)–3va | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Aragāwi and (?) Gabra Krastos |
| fols 3va–5ra | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 5ra–[6r ?] ⁹⁷⁸ | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.4.10 Kotā Māryām, EMLL 8408

MS Kotā Māryām, EMLL 8408 (= MS EMLL 8408), parchment codex, 35 × 26 cm, 82 fols, two columns, 49 lines (fols 2rb, 38ra, 51rb), no information about boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of photographs of microfilm negatives as displayed on the microfilm reader at the NALA, taken by me in October 2018 and covering only fols 37rb–41rb. The text of the microfilm was often difficult to read, resulting in imperfect reproductions.

2.4.10.1 Dating

According to the metadata sheet prefixed to the EMLL microfilm, MS EMLL 8408 dates to the sixteenth century. It is possible that a slightly earlier date should be proposed, as the loops of <σ> are generally not separated,⁹⁷⁹ the vowel marker of <Λ> is attached directly to the body of the letter, and numerals appear without over- and underlining (ex. fol. 26va, l. 13).

2.4.10.2 Contents

MS EMLL 8408 contains one main work:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (1ra–82vb ?).

The collection is acephalous, and the end also appears to be missing. The first commemoration mentioned in my notes is a commemoration for 5 Maggābit (σσϩσσϩ: ϩΘϩ:ϩ: λσσ: ͥ: Λσσϩϩ.ϩ:) on fol. 5v, which gives an impression of the extent of the initial losses. The collection includes *mālakkāt* and melodic-house indications, but these appear to be later additions. No space has been left between the lines. The collection in MS EMLL 8408 has not been used for the textual corpus in Chapter 3.

⁹⁷⁸ See fn. 976.

⁹⁷⁹ Cf. Uhlig 1988, p. 339.

2.4.11 Ṭānā Qirqos, EMMML 8488

MS Ṭānā Qirqos,⁹⁸⁰ EMMML 8488 (= MS EMMML 8488), parchment codex, 20 × 15.5 cm, 170 fols, two columns, 27–28 lines (fols 17ra, 133ra, 168rb), no information about boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of photographs of microfilm negatives as displayed on the microfilm reader at the NALA. The photographs were taken by me in October 2018 and cover only fols 16ra–27v. Consequently, only these folios, as well as the notes I took while consulting the microfilm, will be taken into account in this dissertation.

2.4.11.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the EMMML microfilm, MS EMMML 8488 is dated to the fifteenth century. The text has been furnished secondarily with *mālakkāt* and musical-house indications. Palaeographically, the following features can be noticed: the loops of <σ> do not separate, and the vowel marker of <ʾ> is added without any connecting line.

One orthographical detail that occurs regularly in MS EMMML 8488 is that when a word ends at the end of one line, the word divider is placed on the following line. This occurs occasionally in other manuscripts as well, but in MS EMMML 8488 it is regular. On fols 25rv (but not elsewhere), the name *ʾĪstifānos* (እስጢፋኖስ) is regularly spelled *ʾĪstāfanos* (እስጥፋኖስ) in the text written in black, but not when rubricated.

2.4.11.2 Contents

Based on the available material, MS EMMML 8488 appears to contain one main work:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (fols 1ra–168rb (at least); no information about any *ʾAnqasha halletā*).

On fol. 1r, the beginning of the manuscript is preserved, although it was hardly decipherable under the circumstances described above. It is unclear whether the end of the manuscript has been preserved. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| fols 16ra–17ra | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 17ra–va | Kings |
| fols 17va–18ra | Ṭanṭalewon |
| fols 18ra–23va (?) | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 23va–24ra | <i>ʾAbbā</i> ʾAragāwi |
| fols 24ra–26ra | Stephen the Protomartyr |

⁹⁸⁰ For a general introduction to the site of Ṭānā Qirqos, see Bosc-Tiessé 2000, pp. 211–218.

2.4.12 Kəbrān Gabrəʾel, EMLL 8678

MS Kəbrān Gabrəʾel,⁹⁸¹ EMLL 8678 (= MS EMLL 8678), parchment codex, 22 × 17 cm, 114 fols, two columns, 33 lines (fol. 2r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of photographs of microfilm negatives as displayed on the microfilm reader at the NALA, taken by me in October 2018.⁹⁸² To my knowledge, this manuscript has not been catalogued or described in the previous literature.

2.4.12.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the EMLL microfilm, MS EMLL 8678 is dated to the fourteenth century. On fol. 3ra, in the antiphon Nagašt ʾĪgzi ʾabaḥer *nagśa* 001, the name of the king prayed for (together with his army) is given as Qwəstantīnos (ቅዋስታንቲኖስ), which could refer to King Zarʾa Yāʾqob (r. 1434–1468), who bore this as his throne name. Taken together with palaeographical features—the loops of <σ> do not separate, and the vowel marker of <Λ> is added without any connecting line—this would suggest a fifteenth-century dating.

In the lower margin of fol. 110v, the following donation note has been added secondarily: ‘This is the *Daggwā* of Takla Ḥaymānot (ተክለ፡ ጊዳማኖት), (spiritual) son of ʾAbbā Saraqa Bərḥān (አባ፡ ሰረቀ፡ ብርሃን), who gave it to the monastery of Kəbrān. If anyone removes [it] or sells it (fem.)—even if [it is] the *śayyūm* (i.e. abbot?) of the monastery—may he be forever excommunicated through the authority of Peter and Paul. Amen.’⁹⁸³ In the lower margin of fol. 111v, another possession note is found. Here, the name of the owner has been erased, but it appears that it originally read ʾEnqʷa Bāḥrəy (ድንቄ፡ ባሕርይ).

2.4.12.2 Contents

MS EMLL 8678 contains one main work:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (1ra–111va; no ʾAnqasha *halletā*).

The collection is acephalous, beginning in the middle of the commemoration for Council of Nicaea (*Bəzuḥān*). On fols 111vb–113vb (and in blank spaces in the previous pages), several additions have been inserted by different hands, many of which cannot at present be identified but which seem to be related to *zemā*

⁹⁸¹ For a general introduction to the site of Kəbrān Gabrəʾel, see Bosc-Tiessé 2000, pp. 240–244.

⁹⁸² According to a note on fol. 115v, the original microfilm was produced on the 24 (?) Ḥadār 1979 EC (= 3 December 1986). I am greatly indebted to ʾAto Yikunnoamlak Mezgebu Zerabiruk, Nafisa Valieva, and, indirectly, Hewan Semon Marye, for their help in providing access to this manuscript.

⁹⁸³ ዝድጓ፡ ለተክለ፡ ጊዳማኖት፡ ወልዱ፡ ለአባ፡ ሰረቀ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘወሐብኩ፡ ለደብረ፡ ኩብራን፡ እመቦ፡ ዘአውጽአ(?)፡ ወዘሴጣ፡ እመሂ፡ ወስደመ፡ ደብር፡ በሥልጣነ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጸውሎስ፡ ውጉዝ፡ ለይኩን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን[፡፡], fol. 110v.

instruction. On fol. 113v, a list of melodic families for *ʿarbāʿt* antiphons is found. This list may be of importance for the understanding of the development of these families, but its dating is not a trivial matter. Fol. 115rv appears to stem from another manuscript and contains a fragment of a theological text on the Trinity. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| fols 1ra–2vb | Children of Zebedee |
| fols 2vb–3ra | Peter and Paul (= End of <i>Kəramt</i>) |
| fol. 3ra–b | Kings |
| fols 3rb–4vb | Ṣanṭalewon |
| fols 4vb–11ra | Sundays in the Season of Flowers [and ferial days?] |
| fol. 11ra–b | Sergius and Bacchus and John (<i>Sa(?)rgəyos wa-Bākos wa-Yoḥannəs</i>) |
| fols 11rb–12rb | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fol. 12rb–va | Gabra Krəstos |
| fols 12va–15ra | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 15ra | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 15ra–b | ʿAbbā Yəmʿattā |
| fol. 15rb | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fols 15rb–16ra | common for prophets (<i>mazmur za-nabiyāt</i>) |
| fols 16ra–17vb | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |

2.4.13 Dabra Tābor Waratā Giyorgis, EMMML 8804

MS Dabra Tābor Waratā Giyorgis, EMMML 8804 (= MS EMMML 8804), parchment codex, 24 × 17.5 cm, 224 fols,⁹⁸⁴ two columns, 28 lines (fol. 2r), wooden boards covered with stamped leather. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.⁹⁸⁵ To my knowledge, it has not been thoroughly catalogued or described previously in the literature, although preliminary metadata is provided by Ted Erho at the HMML website.

⁹⁸⁴ This is the number of folios provided by Ted Erho in the initial metadata available at the HMML website; on the metadata sheet prefixed to the EMMML microfilm, the number is given as 222.

⁹⁸⁵ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/201554> [2021-01-29].

2.4.13.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the EMMML microfilm, MS EMMML 8804 is dated to the sixteenth century, which is tentatively supported by Ted Erho in the initial metadata provided on the HMML website. Denis Nosnitsin tentatively suggests a late-fifteenth-century/early-sixteenth-century dating.⁹⁸⁶ One can note that the vowel marker of <ʾ> generally is attached to the body of the letter without any connecting line, and that the loops of <σ> are separated. The use of ‘open’ vowel markers for the fifth order is pronounced.⁹⁸⁷

On fol. 222r (?), there is a later added possession note, in which the name of the original (?) owner has been erased and the name of the current repository added in its place. We can thus subsume that the manuscript was not always kept where it is now. It may be noted that on the metadata sheet prefixed to the microfilm, MS EMMML 8804 is identified as a ‘*Qəd Dəggwā (Sanbat ʾaməññe)*’ (ቅድ: ድጓ: (ሰንበት: አምኛ:)), i.e. as a ‘abridged *Dəggwā (Sanbat ʾaməññe)*’ (see Chapter 1, 1.4.2.1.6).

2.4.13.2 Contents

MS EMMML 8804 contains one main work:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (fols 1ra–220va?; no *ʾAnqasha halletā*).

On fols 220va–221va, the order for the *kəštata ʾaryām* service—later a section in the *Mə ʾrāf*—is found. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fol. 22ra–22va | Peter and Paul (= End of <i>Kəramt</i>) |
| fols 22va–23rb | Children of Zebedee |
| fols 23rb–24ra | Kings |
| fols 24ra–25ra | Ṣantalewon |
| fols 25ra–31rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 31rb–va | Matthew the Apostle and Michael the Archangel |
| fols 31va–32rb | ʾAbbā ʾAragāwi |
| fols 32rb–33ra | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 33ra–36va | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 36va–b | <i>məhəllā</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 36vb–39ra | Stephen the Protomartyr |

⁹⁸⁶ Personal communication, 13 November 2020.

⁹⁸⁷ Cf. Uhlig 1988, p. 306.

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fol. 39ra–b | common for deacons (<i>ba-tazkāra di[yāqonāt]</i>) |
| fol. 39rb–va | Mary |
| fol. 39va–b | Luke the Evangelist |
| fols 39vb–40ra | ' <i>Abbā Yəm</i> 'attā |
| fol. 40ra–b | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fols 40rb–42ra | ' <i>Abbā Yoḥanni</i> |

2.4.14 Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 61 (Ṭānāsee 172, EML 8384)

MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 61 (Ṭānāsee 172, EML 8384, = MS Ṭānāsee 172), parchment codex, 31.0 × 21.0 × 4.0 cm, 133 fols, two columns, 37 lines, no boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm. It has been catalogued by Six 1999.⁹⁸⁸ Apart from this, it has to my knowledge not been mentioned in the previous literature. The manuscript Ṭānāsee 172 has also been microfilmed by the EML under the identification number EML 8384. Only a limited number of folios (at least, fols 11v–21r, 23r–24r) of this reproduction, currently kept only at the NALA in Addis Ababa, were available to me during the writing of this dissertation.⁹⁸⁹

Before discussing the dating and contents of MS Ṭānāsee 172, another topic needs to be addressed, namely the fragment of an early multiple-type antiphon collection preserved as fol. 81rv in another manuscript in the collection of Dāgā 'Ēstifānos, in MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 14 (Ṭānāsee 125).⁹⁹⁰ There are several reasons to suspect that this fragment originally stems from MS Ṭānāsee 172. The number of columns and lines per page in the fragment, as well as characters per line, matches MS Ṭānāsee 172.⁹⁹¹ No measurements of the fragment are provided in the catalogue description, but an approximative optical estimation, taking the reduced margins of the fragment into consideration (see below), suggests that they are of about the same size. Furthermore, the form of the *crux ansata* is very similar. The fragment has been inserted into the host manuscript with the outer margin towards the spine,

⁹⁸⁸ Six 1999, pp. 223–226.

⁹⁸⁹ I am grateful to Dorothea Reule who, during a stay in Addis Ababa in the autumn of 2018, kindly photographed these folios from the EML microfilm for me, making it possible to identify MS EML 8384 with MS Ṭānāsee 172.

⁹⁹⁰ For a catalogue description of the host manuscript, see Six 1999, pp. 111–113. Her categorisation of the fragment as one of several '[n]achträglich von anderen Schreibern hinzugefügte Texte' (Six 1999, p. 111) seems unfitting in this case, as the fragment is rather clearly a folio stemming from another manuscript. This fragment has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm.

⁹⁹¹ The fragment is written in two columns, 37 lines per page (fol. 81vb). It has 15–16 characters per line (fol. 81ra, ll. 1–5), as compared to 14–16 characters per line in MS Ṭānāsee 172 (fol. 13va, ll. 1–5).

and as a result, the present verso represents the original recto, and vice versa.⁹⁹² On fol. 81va–b, the end of what appears to be the commemoration for Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (‘*Abrāhām*, *Yəṣḥaq*, *Yā ‘qob*) is found, and stretching from fol. 81vb to fol. 81rb, the beginning of the commemoration for the Andrew the Apostle (‘*Āndəryās*). These commemorations belong to the latter part of the liturgical year,⁹⁹³ which is missing from MS Ṭānāsee 172 (see 2.4.14.2).

2.4.14.1 Dating

Based on palaeographical characteristics, Six 1999 dates MS Ṭānāsee 172 to the period between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the sixteenth century. The following characteristics are mentioned explicitly: the loops of <σ> are never separate, the vowel marker of <Λ> is attached to the upper part of body of the letter without a connecting line, and the markers of the vowel /e/ are always closed. She furthermore rightly observes that the manuscript was not planned to contain *mələkkət*.⁹⁹⁴

2.4.14.2 Contents

MS Ṭānāsee 172, in its present, mutilated state, contains one main work:

- I) a multiple-type antiphon collection (fols 1ra–133vb ?).

The collection is acephalous, beginning in the middle of the commemoration of Zechariah (*Zakkāryās*).⁹⁹⁵ The first folio of the first quire appears to be missing—it presently consists of seven folios, with the mid-quire sewing visible between fols 3vb and 4ra—but on account of calendrical considerations, one may presume that another quire originally preceded it. Noticeably, MS Ṭānāsee 172 lacks antiphons for the Season of the Great Fast—whether it was taken out of the manuscript or never formed part of the collection is difficult to say. Between fols 79vb and 80ra, the Season of Easter originally began, but it appears that the outer bifolio of this quire has been lost. The last folio of the microfilm, missing in the reproduction available to me, is illegible according to Six 1999, making it difficult to know if the end of the collection has been preserved. The Season for Flowers is represented by the following commemorations.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹² One wonders if the reason that the folio was inserted with the outer margin towards the spine lies in the fact that the outer margin was wider than the inner margin.

⁹⁹³ In *Maṣḥafa Dəgg’ā* 1966, these commemorations are located on 28 Naḥase and 30 Naḥase (cf. Jeffery 1993, p. 233).

⁹⁹⁴ Six 1999, pp. 225–226.

⁹⁹⁵ Presently commemorated on 8 Maskaram (Jeffery 1993, pp. 215–216).

⁹⁹⁶ A fuller list of commemorations is provided in the catalogue description (Six 1999, pp. 223–225). To this list, two additions should be made. Firstly, the commemoration of [the Martyrs of] Nāgrān (*Nāgrān*; fol. 40va–40vb, Six’s no. 28) also contains antiphons for the commemoration of ‘Iyasus Mo’a (d. 1292). These antiphons, potentially quotations from another text about the saint, may contribute to our general knowledge of the development of the veneration of this indigenous saint. Secondly, the list in Six 1999 does not include the commemoration of Rhipsime (‘*Arsimā*),

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fol. 12ra–vb | Children of Zebedee |
| fols 12vb–13ra | Peter and Paul (= End of <i>Kəramt</i>) |
| fol. 13ra–va | Kings |
| fols 13va–14ra | Ṗantalewon |
| fol. 14ra–b | Sergius and Bacchus and John the Monk (<i>Sa(?)rgəyos wa-Bākos wa-Yoḥannəs manakos</i>) |
| fols 14rb–19rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 19rb–21vb | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 21vb–22ra | Mary |
| fols 22ra–23rb | <i>məḥələlā</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 23rb–24ra | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Aragāwi and Gabra Krəstos |
| fols 24ra–25vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 25vb–27va | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.5 Post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections of Group A

2.5.1 Introduction

Twelve manuscripts containing multiple-type antiphon collections of Group A have been included in the Minor Corpus. The descriptions follow what has been outlined in the introduction to this chapter (2.1). No quire analyses have been carried out, as this has not been necessary to establish the text of the commemorations of the Season of Flowers. Notes on palaeographical and orthographical features have not been included systematically. Instead, the dating of these manuscripts is often based on information provided in colophons and/or in the antiphon Nagašt 'Ġgzi 'abəḥer nagsā 001, whose text includes a commemoration of the king, presumably the one during whose reign the manuscript was written. Instead of referring to 'multiple-type collection', as I have done up to this point, I will in the coming sections (2.5–2.7) instead refer to the same type of collections simply as 'Dəgg^{wā}-type antiphon collections'. The reasons for this are, on the one hand, that from this point onwards, virtually all Dəgg^{wā}-type antiphon collections are of the multiple-type type.⁹⁹⁷ On the other

found on fol. 44va–b. As far as I know, this commemoration is not attested in other manuscripts of the Minor Corpus.

⁹⁹⁷ I know of one exception, the nineteenth-century MS Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 87, which contains a collection of single-type collections. For the most up-to-date description of the contents, see Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 85, fn. 43. A study of this manuscript is a desideratum. Is it possible that it is a late copy of an early manuscript, perhaps produced on the initiative of a European traveller?

hand, *Dəgg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections, from this point, sometimes occur in multiple-text manuscripts together with other types of antiphon collections, such as the *Zammāre* and the *Mawāsəʾt*.

2.5.2 Uppsala, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, O Etiop. 36

MS Uppsala, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, O Etiop. 36 (= MS UUB O Etiop. 36), parchment codex, 24.5 × 22 × 6.3 cm, iii + 191 fols, three columns, 33–34 lines, ‘restaurierter Holzlederband’, preserved in *māḥdar*. This manuscript has been consulted in person on numerous occasions during the years 2017–2019, and also in the form of digital colour photographs taken during these visits. It has been catalogued by Löfgren 1974a.⁹⁹⁸ A complementary description, at present lacking digital images, is available at Alvin, the Swedish national platform for long-term preservation of and ensuring access to digitised collections and digital cultural heritage.⁹⁹⁹

2.5.2.1 Dating and provenance

Löfgren 1974a dates MS UUB O Etiop. 36 to the seventeenth century on palaeographical grounds. He interprets a reference to King Yoḥannəs I—unambiguously identified by means of the regnal name ‘A’lāf Sagad—in the version of Colophon B that occurs on fol. 1r as an indication of when this version of the *Dəgg^{wā}* was composed, rather than as a reference to when the manuscript was written.¹⁰⁰⁰ However, as a comparison with other attestations of Colophon B shows (see Appendix 1), the part of the colophon where this reference is made regularly defines the time of the production of the manuscript. Thanks to this, we can date the manuscript precisely to 23 Sane 1660 EC (= AD 27 June 1668).¹⁰⁰¹ This dating is corroborated by the prayer for King Yoḥannəs (r. 1667–1682) in the antiphon Nagašt ‘*Ēgzi ‘abəḥer nagsa* 001 (fol. 25va, ll. 7–9).

As noted by Löfgren 1974a, there are several possession notes in the manuscript, all of which provide pieces of information regarding its provenance and history. First, in the version of Colophon B preserved on fol. 1r, the owner of the manuscript is identified as a Tasfā Giyorgis (ተስፋ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡). Later in the colophon, in a passage that is not entirely clear,¹⁰⁰² Tasfā Giyorgis is identified as the son of ‘*Ēḥəta Giyorgis* (እካተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡), daughter of Təyobəstəyā (ትዮብስትት(!)ያ፡) A

⁹⁹⁸ Löfgren 1974a, pp. 67–75.

⁹⁹⁹ Permanent URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-184013> [2020-11-27].

¹⁰⁰⁰ Cf. also Löfgren 1974b, p. 79.

¹⁰⁰¹ According to the information provided on fol. 1r, the manuscript was written in the ninth month of the reign of King Yoḥannəs (r. 1667–1682; l. 8; the day and the month are given on l. 13). Shelemay et al. 1993 already interpreted this as the date of the manuscript, rather than of the recension (Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 88).

¹⁰⁰² Löfgren 1974a does not translate the colophon.

secondary note on fol. 1r informs us that the owner of the manuscript was 'Awsəgnəyos (አውስግንዮስ) and that he donated it to [the church of] Michael the Archangel (ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡). Another note—on fol. 191v—makes clear that the manuscript at one point belonged to a monastery called Dabra Yoḥannəs (ደብረ፡ ዮሐንስ፡).¹⁰⁰³ A third note, clearly of later origin, consists of the shelfmark 'Asmara Stations Bibliotek No 305', i.e. 'Library of the Asmara [Missionary] Station, No. 305' in Swedish. This can be put in connection with the missionary station run by Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen in Asmara between 1891–1977, which with all probability was the last location of the manuscript before its transfer to Sweden.¹⁰⁰⁴

2.5.2.2 Contents

MS UUB O Etiop. 36 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 1ra–190r; 'Anqasha halletā: fols 189va–190r).

The Season of the Great Fast is not included. For an extensive list of commemorations, see Löfgren 1974a.¹⁰⁰⁵ However, as can be seen by comparing the list provided by Löfgren 1974a with the following, he has overlooked some of the less lavishly marked commemorations (on fols 24ra–40vb: three commemorations). In MS UUB O Etiop. 36, the Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| fol. 24ra–c | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 24rc–25rc | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 25rc–vb | Kings |
| fols 25vb–26va | Ṗantalewon |
| fols 26va–31ra | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 31ra–35rc | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 31va | (Peter in the Season of Flowers) |

¹⁰⁰³ Löfgren 1974a, p. 75.

¹⁰⁰⁴ MS UUB O Etiop. 36 is not described in the main text of Löfgren 1928, which contains descriptions of the Ethiopic manuscripts which at that time were in the possession of Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen in Sweden. However, in a postscript, he provides some basic information about the Ethiopic manuscripts at that time kept at the missionary station in Asmara (Löfgren 1928, p. 20). The information was supplied to him by Pastor J. Iwarson, head of said missionary station. There, as number 3, a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection covering the entire year except the Great Fast (like MS UUB O Etiop. 36) is briefly described. It seems reasonable to assume that this refers to MS UUB O Etiop. 36, at that time still in Eritrea. I am thankful to Denis Nonsitsin for turning my attention to this article.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Löfgren 1974a, pp. 68–74.

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fols 35rc–36ra | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 36ra–va | additional antiphons for Takkaze |
| fol. 36va–c | <i>məhallā</i> for the Season of Flowers |
| fols 36vc–37rc | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> ’ Aragāwi |
| fols 37va–39va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 39va–c | Mary |
| fols 39vc–40ra | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 40ra–b | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> ’ Yəm’attā |
| fol. 40rb–va | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 40va | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> ’ Abaydo |
| fols 40va–42vb | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> ’ Yoḥanni |

2.5.3 Dabra Koreb wa-Qarānəyo Madḥane ‘Ālam, EAP432/1/10 (EMDA 00159)

MS Dabra Koreb wa-Qarānəyo Madḥane ‘Ālam, EAP432/1/10 (EMDA 00159, = MS EAP432/1/10), parchment codex, 28.0 × 25.5 × 6.5 cm, 192 fols (?), three columns, 34 lines (fol. 7r), wooden boards with ‘two-thirds’ leather cover.¹⁰⁰⁶

This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a set of digital colour photographs made available online both by the Endangered Archives Programme and by the HMML.¹⁰⁰⁷ To my knowledge, it has not been extensively catalogued or mentioned in the previous literature, although initial metadata is provided by Ted Erho at the HMML website.

The manuscript was not foliated before it was digitised. As a consequence, lower folio numbers—in practice, those up to the end of the Season of Flowers—will be cited in this dissertation simply based on a count of the folios as they appear on the photographs, whereas high-number folios will be referred to by the name of the digital file depicting them (ex. ‘IMG_172’). Neither of the digital platforms provides a complete set of photographs. On the EAP website, only the first 112

¹⁰⁰⁶ Other shelfmarks: G₁-IV-319, AW0011, HE-VI-I (the first two are written on a white sticker on the inside of the front wooden board, the third is written with pen next to the sticker).

¹⁰⁰⁷ URL to the images at the Endangered Archives Programme website: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP432-1-10> [2021-01-26]; permanent URL to the images at the HMML website: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/500202> [2021-01-26]. MS EAP432/1/10 was digitised as part of the project ‘Documenting the written heritage of East Goḡḡam [sic]: a rich culture in jeopardy (EAP432)’, headed by Mersha Alehegne. On this project, see: <https://doi.org/10.15130/EAP432> [2024-09-30]. The digitisation on MS EAP432/1/10 was carried out on 20 June 2011.

photographs are available. On the HMML website, it appears that two openings are missing: one between the files entitled ‘IMG_113’ and ‘IMG_115’, and one between the files entitled ‘IMG_171’ and ‘IMG_172’. It is unclear whether these openings were not digitised or whether the files were simply not uploaded on the website.

2.5.3.1 Dating

According to the metadata provided on the website of the Endangered Archive Programme, MS EAP432/1/10 dates from the seventeenth century. In the metadata provided by Ted Erho, an eighteenth-century date is instead given. Erho’s dating is in agreement with the information provided in the prefaced colophon (Colophon D, fol. 5r), according to which it was begun on 1 Maskaram 1766 EC (= 9 September AD 1773).

In the colophon, the name of the compiler of the collection is given as the Ewostātewosean ‘Adarā Giyorgis (አደራ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወልደ፡ አቡነ፡ ኤዎስጣቲዎስ፡). On top of the name of the original owner, the name Takla Madhān (ተክለ፡ መድኅን፡) has been added. An autopsy of the manuscript would probably make it possible to read the original name. A similar treatment has been given to the name of the teacher, where the name Walda Giyorgis (ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡) is found on top of the original name, which, however, shared the latter constituent (‘Giyorgis’).

On ‘IMG_200’, the name of the original owner has been erased from a possession note.

2.5.3.2 Contents

MS EAP432/1/10 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 5ra–‘IMG_201’; ‘*Anqasha halletā*’: ‘IMG_144’).

At the beginning of the manuscript, a couple of auxiliary texts are found: first, a part of (?) *Malkā ‘a Yāred* (fol. 3ra–c), then the *Maqdāma Dəggwā* (fols 3va–4vc). At the end, a commemoration for the Goḡḡāmite saint ‘*Abbā Šarša Pētros* is found on a separate folio (‘IMG_200b’–‘IMG_201a’),¹⁰⁰⁸ followed by a folio containing, among other things, a short liturgical calendar (‘IMG_201b’). The Season of the Great Fast is included in the collection. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

fols 24va–25ra

Peter and Paul (= End of *Kəramt*)

¹⁰⁰⁸ For the most up-to-date study of the textual traditions concerning this saint, see Hummel 2020. Commemorations for ‘*Abbā Šarša Pētros* are also attested in MSS Dabra Koreb wa-Qarānəyo Madhane ‘Ālam, EAP432/1/41 (files: ‘IMG_031’–‘IMG_032’); Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00097 (files: ‘IMG_026’–‘IMG_027’); and Dabra Šahāy Qəddus Mārəqos, EMDA 00230 (files: ‘IMG_030’–‘IMG_031’), all stemming from Goḡḡām.

Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fol. 25ra–26ra | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 26ra–c | Kings |
| fol. 26rc–27ra | Ṗantalewon |
| fol. 27ra–31rc | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 31rc–35va | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 35va–b | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fol. 35rb–36va | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Aragāwi |
| fol. 36va–37rc | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 37rc–39rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 39rb–c | Mary |
| fol. 39rc–va | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 39va–b | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yəm'attā |
| fol. 39vb–40ra | <i>məhəllā</i> for the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 40ra–b | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 40va–42vb | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.5.4 Qalāqəl Māryām Şəyon, Ethio-SPaRe QS-006

MS Qalāqəl Māryām Şəyon,¹⁰⁰⁹ Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 (= MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006), parchment codex, 25.3 × 22.0 × 8.8 cm, 220 fols, three columns, 32 lines, wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital photographs produced within the framework of the Ethio-SPaRe project and made available online in the DOMLib.¹⁰¹⁰ It has been catalogued in the DOMLib by Veronika Roth, with the latest revisions made by Denis Nosnitsin.¹⁰¹¹

2.5.4.1 Dating

Roth dates MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 to AD 1664/1665, based on the information provided in the prefaced colophon (non-standard colophon, fol. 3r), i.e. that the manuscript was produced in the thirty-second year of the reign of King Fāsīladas (r. 1632–1667). Furthermore, King Fāsīladas is commemorated in the antiphon

¹⁰⁰⁹ For a general description of the site, see Nosnitsin 2013, pp. 318–322. On p. 322, a colour reproduction of MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, fol. 2r is found.

¹⁰¹⁰ On the Ethio-SPaRe project, see fn. 728.

¹⁰¹¹ URL: https://mycms-vs03.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/domlib/receive/domlib_document_00002634 [2021-01-28]. The digitisation of MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 were undertaken on 2 December 2012.

Nagašt 'Ēgzi 'abəḥer nagśa 001 (fol. 25va, ll. 25–27), where his name appears to have been added later in a space that was originally left blank.

2.5.4.2 Contents

MS EAP432/1/10 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəgg^{wā}*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 3ra–220rb; 'Anqaşa *halletā*: fol. 118ra–va).

The Season of the Great Fast is included in the collection. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| fol. 24ra–c | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 24rc–25va | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 25va–c | Kings |
| fols 25vc–26vb | Paṇṭalewon |
| fols 26vb–31rc | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 31rc–35vc | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 35vc–36va | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 36va–c | additional antiphons for Takkaze |
| fols. 36vc–37rb | <i>məhəllā</i> for the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 37rb–c | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fol. 37rc–vc | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Aragāwi |
| fols 37vc–40ra | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 40ra | common for deacons |
| fol. 40ra–c | Mary |
| fol. 40rc | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 40rc–vb | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yəm'attā |
| fols 40vb–41ra | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 41ra | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Abaydo |
| fols 41ra–43ra | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.5.5 Ḥayq 'Ēstifānos, EMMML 2053

MS Ḥayq 'Ēstifānos, EMMML 2053 (= MS EMMML 2053), parchment codex, 29 × 29.2 cm, 180 fols, three columns, 27 lines (fol. 3r), wooden boards covered with

stamped leather. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.¹⁰¹² It has been rudimentarily catalogued by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982.¹⁰¹³

2.5.5.1 Dating

Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982 date MS EMMML 2053 to 8 October 1697, based on their reading of the date provided in Colophon A (fol. 2r).¹⁰¹⁴

2.5.5.2 Contents

MS EMMML 2053 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 2ra–180ra; *ʿAnqaša halletā*: fol. 117ra–vc).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|--------------|--|
| fols 22v–23r | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fol. 23r–v | Children of Zebedee |
| fols 23v–24r | Kings |
| fols 24r–25r | Ṗantalewon |
| fols 25r–30r | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 30r–36r | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 36r | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fol. 36r | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fols 36v–37r | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 37r–39v | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 35vb–c | common for deacons |
| fol. 35vc | on the wedding day of a deacon |
| fol. 35vc | Elisha the Prophet |
| fol. 39v | Mary |
| fol. 39v | Luke the Evangelist |

¹⁰¹² Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/207727> [2021-01-27].

¹⁰¹³ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 66.

¹⁰¹⁴ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 66. I am uncertain about the reading of the numeral in the date; however, an alternative reading would only change the date marginally.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| fols 39v–40r | <i>’Abbā Yəm’attā</i> |
| fol. 40r | <i>məhəllā</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 40r–v | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fols 40v–42v | <i>’Abbā Yoḥanni</i> |
| fol. 42v | <i>’Abbā ’Abaydo</i> |

2.5.6 Dabra ‘Abbāy, EAP704/1/36

MS Dabra ‘Abbāy, EAP704/1/36 (= MS EAP704/1/36), parchment codex, — cm, 179 fols, two columns, 23 lines (fol. 6r), wooden boards covered with tooled leather.¹⁰¹⁵ This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digitised photographs, made available at the webpage of the Endangered Archives Programme.¹⁰¹⁶ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or mentioned previously in the literature.

2.5.6.1 Dating

According to metadata provided on the Endangered Archives Programme website, MS EAP704/1/36 dates from the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

On fol. 4r, the text of a non-standardised prefaced colophon is found, in which the collection is called a *’Daggwā* whose name is “The Guide to the Blind” (ድጋ፡ ዘስሙ፡ መርሐ፡ ዕጢራን፡). In the colophon, two words have been erased: the name of the owner, and also the name eulogised in what appears to be an explanation of the owner’s name: ‘[...] and the name of the owner of this book is [erased], because his mind was seized by love for [erased] and by love for this *Mazmur*.’¹⁰¹⁷ Perhaps, this indicates that the original owner belonged to a controversial groups within Ethiopic Christianity, e.g. the *’Ewostātewoseans*.

On fol. 179v, several metatextual notes are found. First, in the first column, it appears that a colophon has been erased. Although certain words can be reconstructed based on the remaining letters, it is not possible to extract any prosopographical information or information relating to its dating. Then follows, in the second column, two notes and an additional antiphon. The first note informs the reader that anyone who removed the book from the church must pay a fine of

¹⁰¹⁵ Other shelfmarks: C₁-IV-49 (fols 1r, 179v, and on the inside of the back wooden board), DA-036 (fol. 1r).

¹⁰¹⁶ URL: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP704-1-36> [2021-01-28]. The manuscript was digitised within the framework of the project ‘The Melvin Seiden Award: Digitisation of the monastic archives of Marawe Krestos and Däbrä Abbay (Shire region, Tigray Province, Ethiopia),’ headed by Michael Gervers. For more information about this project, see: <https://doi.org/10.15130/EAP704> [2021-01-28].

¹⁰¹⁷ ወለበአለዝ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ስሙ፡ [erased]፡ እስሙ፡ ተመሥጦ፡ ሕሊናሁ፡ በፍቅረ፡ [erased]፡ ወበፍቅረ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መዝሙር፡, fol. 4r.

two dinars.¹⁰¹⁸ In the second note, a certain 'Abbā Kəfla Giyorgis (አባ፡ ክፍለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡) writes that he bought this book for and donated it to the monastery of Dabra 'Abbāy.¹⁰¹⁹

2.5.6.2 Contents

MS EAP704/1/36 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 4ra–179va; 'Anqaša *halletā*: fols 177ra–179va).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fol. 18ra | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 18vb–19vb | Children of Zebedee |
| fols 19vb–20ra | Kings |
| fols 20ra–21ra | Pantalewon |
| fols 21ra–23rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 23rb–25ra | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 25ra | Matthew the Apostle |
| fols 25ra–26rb | 'Abbā 'Aragāwi |
| fols 26rb–27vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 27vb | common for deacons |
| fols 27vb–28rb | Mary |
| fol. 28rb–va | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 28va–b | 'Abbā Yəm'attā |
| fols 28vb–29rb | <i>məhəllā</i> for the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 29rb–va | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fols 29va–30vb | 'Abbā Yoḥanni |

¹⁰¹⁸ ዘአውፅአ፡ ዘንተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ እምቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዕዳሁ፡ ይኩን፡ ፪ዲናረ፡, fol. 179rb.

¹⁰¹⁹ ተሣዋጥኩ፡ አነ፡ አባ፡ ክፍለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ዘንተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ በ፲ወጀሽማ፡ ወወሀብኩ፡ ለመቅደሱ፡ አቡዮ፡ ሳሙኤል፡ ዘደብር(!)፡ ዓባይ፡ አ(?)አበወዮ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ሰላም፡ ለክሙ፡ ወሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስሌክሙ፡ ኢትርስዑኒ፡ በጊዜ፡ ጸሎትክሙ፡, fol. 179vb. For further examples of the use of *šammā* as a means of payment, see Dege-Müller 2020, pp. 73–74, fn. 76, and Wright 1877, p. 164.

2.5.7 Dabra Dāmmo 'Abuna 'Aragāwi, Ethio-SPaRe DD-019

MS Dabra Dāmmo 'Abuna 'Aragāwi,¹⁰²⁰ Ethio-SPaRe DD-019¹⁰²¹ (= MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019), parchment codex, 24.0 × 27.0 × 6.5 cm, 188 fols, three columns, 36 lines, two wooden boards covered with reddish-brown tooled leather and with textile inlays. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs produced within the framework of the Ethio-SPaRe project and made available online in the DOMLib.¹⁰²² It has been catalogued in the DOMLib by Magdalena Krzyżanowska, with the latest revisions made by Denis Nosnitsin.¹⁰²³

2.5.7.1 Dating

MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 is dated by Krzyżanowska to the eighteenth century, probably on palaeographical grounds. However, in the antiphon Nagaśt 'Ēgzi 'abəher nagsa 001 (fol. 19ra, l. 36–19rb, l. 2), King Fāsīladas (r. 1632–1667) is commemorated, which points to a seventeenth-century date.

The main colophon of the collection, preceding the beginning of the antiphon collection proper on fol. 2r, is Colophon A. However, on fol. 1v, a version of Colophon B has later been added, according to Krzyżanowska by the same hand as the addition on fol. 176ra–b. In this colophon, the book is called a 'large collection of *mazmur*, whose name is "The Wealth of the Soul"' (አስተጋብአተ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ብዕለ፡ ነፍስ፡). The manuscript is said to have been written 'in the year 1097 from when the Holy Spirit talked through the mouth of our father Yāred the Priest in the days of king Gabra Masqal';¹⁰²⁴ however, a review of the different traditions concerning the dating of this event is needed to say with certainty how this corresponds to other eras. According to the colophon, the collection was compiled by a Deacon 'Amda Hāymānot, associated with the monastic community of Dabra Libānos (ዲያቆን፡ ዓምደ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወልደ፡ ማኅበር፡ ዘደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡, fol. 1vb), on the command of King Śārša Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597). Interesting for the information that it supplies about the consciousness of different redactions of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection is the statement that '[t]his *Mazgab* has not been written as the *Mazgab* of Rāg^{wə} 'el (ራጉኤል፡) and Giyorgis (ጊዮርጊስ፡)] and 'Aṣqa Hāymānot (ዓጽቀ፡ ሃይማኖት፡[፡]), [i.e.] *wāzemā* with 'əzl, and *mazmur* with *śalast*, and *salām* like *dagg^{wə}* (!),¹⁰²⁵ after which follows a rather lengthy description of how the different antiphon types have been arranged instead.

¹⁰²⁰ For a recent description of the site, see Nosnitsin 2013, pp. 82–86.

¹⁰²¹ Other shelfmarks: C3-IV-232.

¹⁰²² On the Ethio-SPaRe project, see fn. 728.

¹⁰²³ URL: https://mycms-vs03.rz.uni-hamburg.de/domlib/receive/domlib_document_00001982 [2021-01-28]. The digitisation of MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 was carried out on 23 November 2010.

¹⁰²⁴ በ፲፱፻፲፯ ዓ.ም.፡ (!) እምስሙ፡ ተናገረ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውስተ፡ አፈ፡ አቡነ፡ ካህን፡ ያፌድ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡, fol. 1va.

¹⁰²⁵ ዝጉቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ አኮ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ ከመ፡ መዝገብ፡ ራጉኤል፡ ወጊዮርጊስ፡ ወዓጽቀ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዋዜማ፡ ምስለ፡ ዕዝል፤ ወመዝሙር፡ ምስለ፡ ሠለስት፡ ወሰላም፡ እምሳለ፡ ደጌ፡, fol. 1vb.

2.5.7.2 Contents

As described by Krzyżanowska, MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 contains the following three main works:

- I) *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 2ra–151vc; *ʿAnqaša halletā*: fols 168va–169ra [in the *Mə ʿrāf*]),
- II) *Mə ʿrāf* (fols 154ra–175vc),
- III) *Mawāšə ʿt* (fols 177ra–185vc, incomplete).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| fols 17vb–18rb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> , Peter and Paul and Solomon (አመ፡ ፳፻፳፻፬፡ ክረምት፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ ወሰሎሞን፡፡) |
| fol. 18rb | Thecla (ጤቅለ፡) |
| fols 18rb–19ra | Children of Zebedee (ያዕቆብ፡ ወዮሐንስ፡፡) |
| fol. 19ra | Severus (ሳዊሮስ፡) |
| fol. 19ra–c | Kings (አመ፡ * (!*) አብርሃ፡ ወአፅብሐ፡ ወአናንያ፡ ዲያቆን፡፡) |
| fol. 19rc | Cyriacus (?) and ʿAnorewos (?) (ኪራኮስ፡ ወአኖሮሶስ፡) |
| fols 19rc–20ra | Pantalewon the Martyr, Pantalewon of the Cell and Dorsəyos (?) the Martyr (ጳንጠሌዎን፡ ሰማዕት፡ ወጳንጠሌዎን፡ ዘጸማዕት፡ ዶ(?)ርስዮስ፡ ሰማዕት፡) |
| fols 20ra–26va (?) | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 26va–27ra | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 27ra–b | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fol. 27rb–vb | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi and Gabra Krəstos |
| fols 27vb–29ra | Stephen the Protomartyr and Phileas (ፊልያስ፡፡) |
| fol 29ra | Elisha the Prophet and John the Dwarf (ዮሐንስ፡ ሐጺር፡) |
| fol. 29ra–b | Mary |
| fol. 29rb | Luke the Evangelist |

| | |
|----------------|------------------------|
| fol. 29rb–va | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yəm’attā |
| fol. 29va–b | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 29vb | ’ <i>Abbā</i> ’Abaydo |
| fols 29vb–31ra | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

The large number of commemorations stands out, even within the context of Group A collections. However, the uncommon commemorations are without exception simple place holders, lacking a corpus of antiphons and instead consisting of a reference to another commemoration (ex. ‘On *_(!*). Thecla. Say [the antiphons] at [the common for] Women’, አመ፡ *_(!*)ወ*_(!*) ጤቅለ፡ ኀበ፡ አንስት፡ በል፡). Similarly, the unusual double commemorations (ex. Elisha the Prophet and John the Dwarf), in fact, do not contain any additional antiphons for the additional saints commemorated. If a larger study of liturgical calendars would be carried out, it does not seem improbable that the source for these additional commemorations could be identified.

2.5.8 Ḡamaddu Māryām, EMLL 6994

MS Ḡamaddu Māryām, EMLL 6994 (= MS EMLL 6994), parchment codex, 30 × 25 cm, three columns, 157 fols, 43 lines (fol. 6r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.¹⁰²⁶ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued. It is listed by Getatchew Haile 2013 among the manuscripts stemming from Dabra Ḡamaddu.¹⁰²⁷

2.5.8.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the EMLL microfilm, MS EMLL 6994 is dated to the eighteenth century. This dating is repeated by Getatchew Haile 2013.¹⁰²⁸ In the antiphon Nagaśt ’*Agzi’abəḥer nagśa* 001 (fol. 26vb), King ’Iyo’as is commemorated, but it is unclear whether ’Iyo’as I (r. 1755–1769) or ’Iyo’as II (r. 1801–1821) is intended.

On fol. 5r, versions of Colophon A and the textual unit mentioning King Śarṣa Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597) are found. The collection is ascribed to ’*Abbā* Gerā (አባ፡

¹⁰²⁶ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/200619> [2021-01-28].

¹⁰²⁷ Getatchew Haile 2013, p. 119. In a review of Getatchew Haile 2013, Weninger 2015 by a *lapsus calami* identifies MS EMLL 6994 as the *codex unicus* of the *malkā*’ of ’*Abbā* Yoḥannēs of Dabra Ḡamaddu (Weninger 2015, p. 408)—the correct manuscript for the *malkā*’ is MS EMLL 6993.

¹⁰²⁸ Getatchew Haile 2013, p. 119.

ጌራ፡) and Rāguʾel (ራጉኤል፡),¹⁰²⁹ and there is a blessing for a Kidāna Wald (ኪዳነ፡ ወልድ፡, fol. 5rc).

On fol. 156rc, a non-standardised colophon is found. The original name of the owner (and his or her relatives) has been erased, and instead the owner is given as Walda Šəllase (ወልድ፡ ሥላሴ፡). After a standard book curse, two different names of the book are provided: ‘Unshatterable ship’ (ሐምር፡ ዘኢይሰበር፡) and ‘Sun that enlightens all and is without diminution’ (ፀሐይ፡ ዘያበርህ፡ ለኩላ(?)፡ ወዘኣለቦት(!)፡ ሕፀፀ፡).

2.5.8.2 Contents

MS EML 6994 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 5ra–156vc; *ʾAnqaša halletā*: fols 155va–156rc).

On fol. 156va–c, a list of the melodic families of *ʾarbāʾt* antiphons, *šalast* antiphons, and *ʾaryām* antiphons is found, sorted according to the number of hallelujahs that they contain (see Chapter 5, 5.3.2). The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fol. 23rb–vb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 23vb–24va | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 24va–c | Kings |
| fols 24vc–25va | Ṗantalewon |
| fols 25va–29rc | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 29rc–32vb | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 32vb–33va | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 33va–b | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fols 33vb–34rc | <i>ʾAbbā ʾAragāwi</i> |
| fols 34rc–35vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 35vb–c | common for deacons |
| fol. 35vc | on the wedding day of a deacon |
| fol. 35vc | Elisha the Prophet |
| fols 35vc–36ra | Mary |
| fol. 36ra–b | Luke the Evangelist |

¹⁰²⁹ ለዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ አስተጋብዕዎ፤ አባ፡ ጌራ፡ ወራጉኤል፡ እምብዙኅ፡ መጻሕፍተ፡ ድጓ።, fol. 5rb.

| | |
|----------------|---|
| fol. 36rb–c | <i>’Abbā Yəm’attā</i> |
| fol. 36rc–va | <i>məhəllā</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 36va–c | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 36vc | <i>’Abbā ’Abaydo</i> |
| fols 36vc–38rc | <i>’Abbā Yoḥanni</i> |

2.5.9 *’Ankobār Madḥane ’Ālam*, EMLL 2431

MS *’Ankobār Madḥane ’Ālam*, EMLL 2431 (= MS EMLL 2431), parchment codex, 31.5 × 28 cm, 160 fols, three columns, 39 lines (fol. 7r),¹⁰³⁰ ‘wooden boards covered with stamped leather and over it a piece of cloth’. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMLL.¹⁰³¹ It has been rudimentarily catalogued by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982.¹⁰³²

2.5.9.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the EMLL microfilm, MS EMLL 2431 is tentatively dated to the eighteenth century. The catalogue description in Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982 provides instead a dating to the seventeenth-eighteenth century. These indications might be further specified by the mentioning of King *’Iyo’as* (አዮአስ) in the antiphon *Nagašt ’Ēgzi ’abəher nagša* 001 (fol. 26rb, l. 3); however, it is unclear whether *’Iyo’as* I (r. 1755–1769) or *’Iyo’as* II (r. 1801–1821) is intended. A seventeenth-century dating would thus seem precluded.

On fol. 6r, versions of Colophon A and the textual unit mentioning King *Šarš a Dəngəl* (r. 1563–1597) are found. The collection, which is called a ‘great and honoured Treasure, which is called “The Light”’ (መዝገብ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ወክሰር፡ ዘይት-በሃል፡ ስሙ፡ ብርሃን፡), is ascribed to *’Abbā Gerā* and *Rāgu’el*.

2.5.9.2 Contents

As described by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, MS EMLL 2431 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 6ra–159rc; *’Anqaša halletā*: fol. 99ra–vc).

¹⁰³⁰ The catalogue description by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982 does not include information about the number of lines, wherefore this information has been provided based on the manuscript reproduction itself.

¹⁰³¹ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/204260> [2021-01-28].

¹⁰³² Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 491.

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In addition, it contains one of the commonly occurring auxiliary texts, the *Šar'āta 'addarāras* ('The Order of the *'addarāras*', fols 1va–5ra). On fol. 100ra–va, a list of the melodic families for *'arbā 't*, *šalast*, and *'aryām* antiphons, together with the respective hallelujah number of each melodic family, is found (cf. the description of MS EMML 6994, 2.5.8.2). The melodic families are sorted in ascending order according to the number of hallelujahs attached to each. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fols 24vb–25rb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 25rb–26ra | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 26ra–c | Kings |
| fol. 26rc–vc | Ṕanṭalewon |
| fols 27ra–30va | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 30va–33va | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 33vb–34va | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 34va | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fols 34va–35rb | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Aragāwi |
| fols 35rb–36va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 36va | common for deacons |
| fol. 36va | on the wedding day of a deacon |
| fol. 36va–b | Elisha the Prophet |
| fol. 36vb–c | Mary |
| fol. 36vc | Luke the Evangelist |
| fols 36vc–37ra | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yəm'attā |
| fol. 37ra | <i>məhəllā</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 37rc–va | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 37va | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Abaydo |
| fols 37va–39ra | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.5.10 Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00111

MS Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00111¹⁰³³ (= MS EMDA 00111), parchment codex, 29 × 25 cm, three columns, 179 fols, 35 lines (fol. 4r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs made available online by the HMML.¹⁰³⁴ The quality of the photographs varies and sometimes they are barely legible. One opening appears to be missing from the online set of the digital photographs, between the files entitled ‘IMG_034’ and ‘IMG_036’. It is unclear whether this opening was not photographed or whether it was simply not uploaded on the website. To my knowledge, this manuscript has not been catalogued or mentioned previously in the literature, but initial metadata is provided by Ted Erho on the HMML website.

2.5.10.1 Dating

In the metadata provided by Ted Erho, MS EMDA 00111 is tentatively dated to the nineteenth century. This is corroborated by data provided by the manuscript itself.

On fol. 3r, a version of Colophon D is found. The collection is presented as a ‘great Treasure which is called “The Praise of God”’ (መዝገብ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ ስብሐተ፡ እምላክ፡; cf. the discussion in Appendix 1). After the organisation of the antiphon types is presented, this way of organising the material is ascribed to Māḥdara Krəstos of Qomā (ማሳደረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘቆማ፡). Its composition is said to have taken place in the seventh month of the reign of the Goḡḡāmite *nəguś* Takla Hāymānot, who was crowned in January 1881.¹⁰³⁵ According to the prefaced colophon, two scribes were involved in the writing of this manuscript: Gərāgetā Kās(?) and Qaṅgetā Nurəñ (ግራጌታ፡ ካስ(?): ቀኝጌታ፡ ኑርኝ፡), and by providing a wealth of nearly uncontradictory calendric data, including the epact and the *maṭqə* ‘of the current year, the manuscript is dated to 2 Ḥamle, 7373 Anno Mundi (= 8 July AD 1881).

2.5.10.2 Contents

MS EMDA 00111 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 3ra–176va; ‘*Anqasha halletā*: fols 175vc–176va).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

fol. 23ra–c

End of *Kəramt*

¹⁰³³ Other shelfmark: G1-IV-207.

¹⁰³⁴ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/500108> [2021-01-28]. According to the metadata provided at the HMML website, the digitisation was carried out by Mersha Alehegne on 19 June 2011.

¹⁰³⁵ Cf. ‘Täklä Haymanot’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 837a–839a (Bairu Tafla).

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| | |
|----------------|--|
| fols 23rc–24rc | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 24va–c | Kings |
| fols 24vc–25vb | Ṕaṇtalewon |
| fols 25vb–30vc | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 30vc–34vc | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 34vc–35ra | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fol. 35ra–vc | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fol. 36ra–vb | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 36vb–38vc | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 39ra–b | Mary |
| fol. 39rb–c | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 39rc–va | ʿAbbā Yəm ʿattā |
| fol. 39va–c | <i>məhəllā</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 39vc–40rb | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 40rb | ʿAbbā ʿAbaydo |
| fols 40rb–42rb | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |

2.5.11 ʿAšatan Māryām, EML 7285

MS ʿAšatan Māryām,¹⁰³⁶ EML 7285 (= MS EML 7285), parchment codex, 23.8 × 21 cm, 240 fols, two columns, 29 lines (fol. 7r), wooden boards (‘broken on one side, but repaired with a string’). This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.¹⁰³⁷ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or mentioned previously in the literature.

2.5.11.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the microfilm, MS EML 7285 is dated to the nineteenth century. I have not found any indications in the manuscript to corroborate or falsify this dating.

¹⁰³⁶ For a general introduction to the site of ʿAšatan Māryām, see ‘ʿĀšātān’, *EAE*, II (2005), 375a–376a (P. B. Henze).

¹⁰³⁷ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/200857> [2021-01-28].

The collection proper is preceded by a version of Colophon A (fol. 5r), which, however, does not provide any clues to the dating or provenance of the manuscript. On fol. 2r, on one of several disparate leaves perhaps serving as flyleaves, another first page of a *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection is found. This one begins with a short version of Colophon A, stretching from the beginning to the end of the rhymed portion (see Appendix 1), and here, the name of the collection is given as ‘The Anchor’ (መልህቅ፡, *Malhəq*).¹⁰³⁸ On fol. 144v, there is a possession note stating that the book belongs to an ‘Efu(?)da Dəngəl (ኤፋ(?)ደ፡ ድንግል፡).

2.5.11.2 Contents

MS EMMML 7285 contains one main work:

- I) a *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 5ra–239va; ‘*Anqaša halletā*: fols 143va–145r).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fols 30va–31ra | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 31ra–32rb | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 32rb–va | Kings |
| fols 32va–33vb | Pantalewon |
| fols 34ra–40rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 40rb–45va | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 45va–b | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fols 45vb–46rb | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> ‘Aragāwi |
| fols 46rb–47rb | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 47rb–49va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 49va–b | Mary |
| fols 49vb–50ra | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 50ra–b | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> Yəm’attā |
| fol. 50rb–c | <i>məhəllā</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 50va–vb | Habakkuk the Prophet |

¹⁰³⁸ See Appendix 1. For others example of this specific title, cf. Turaev 1906a, pp. 67–70 (no. 22), and also the version of Colophon A (see Appendix 1) incorporated in the text edited by Getatchew Haile 2017, pp. 282–293 (see, specifically, p. 286).

| | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| fols 50vb–51ra | <i>’Abbā ’Abaydo</i> |
| fols 51ra–53rb | <i>’Abbā Yoḥanni</i> |

2.5.12 Lālibalā Na’akk^{wəto} La’ab, EMMML 7529

MS Lālibalā Na’akk^{wəto} La’ab, EMMML 7529¹⁰³⁹ (= MS EMMML 7529), parchment codex, 31 × 26.6 cm, 154 fols, three columns, 39 lines (fol. 4r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.¹⁰⁴⁰ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or mentioned previously in the literature.

2.5.12.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the EMMML microfilm, MS EMMML 7529 is dated to the sixteenth century, presumably on palaeographical grounds. However, in the antiphon Nagašt *’Ēgzi ’abəher nagsā* 001 (fol. 24vb, l. 5), a King *’Iyo’as* is commemorated. It remains unclear whether *’Iyo’as* I (r. 1755–1769) or *’Iyo’as* II (r. 1801–1821) is intended, but this clearly points towards a dating in the second half of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century. A later dating also seems motivated on palaeographical grounds.

On fol. 7r, a version of the prefaced Colophon A is found. At its end, the name of the scribe was originally given, but this has been erased and the name of the church has been entered instead. The name of the collection is given as ‘My Key’ (? , ምፍታሕየ:). On fol. 152ra, another colophon is found. Again, the original name has been erased and substituted by the name of the present repository.

2.5.12.2 Contents

MS EMMML 7529 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəgg^{wā}*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 7ra–152ra; *’Anqasa halletā*: fols 102vc–103vc).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| fol. 25rb–vb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 25vb–26vb | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 26vb–vc | Kings |
| fols 26vc–27vb | Ṗantalewon |
| fols 27vb–31vb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |

¹⁰³⁹ Other shelfmark: B-VI-27 13 (fols 2ra, 134vc).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/201063> [2021-01-28].

| | |
|----------------|--|
| fols 31vb–35ra | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 35ra–vc | <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 35vc–36ra | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fol. 36ra–va | ’ <i>Abbā</i> ’Aragāwī |
| fols 36va–37vc | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 37vc–38ra | common for deacons |
| fol. 38ra | Elisha the Prophet |
| fol. 38ra–b | Mary |
| fol. 38rb–c | Luke the Evangelist |
| fol. 38rc–va | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yəm’attā |
| fol. 38va–vb | <i>məhəllā</i> in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 38vb–39ra | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 39ra | ’ <i>Abbā</i> ’Abaydo |
| fols 39ra–40va | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.5.13 Romānāt Qəddus Mikā’el, EAP254/1/5 (EMDL 153)

MS Romānāt Qəddus Mikā’el, EAP254/1/5 (EMDL 153, = MS EAP254/1/5), parchment codex, 28.0 × 24.0 cm, 192 fols,¹⁰⁴¹ three columns, 30–33 lines, two wooden boards covered with reddish-brown tooled leather and with textile inlays. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital colour photographs made available online by the Endangered Archives Programme.¹⁰⁴² It has been catalogued by Meley Mulugetta 2017, probably on the basis of another digital reproduction.¹⁰⁴³

¹⁰⁴¹ Meley Mulugetta 2017 counts i + 188 fols. In the reproduction to me, the 191 folios are numbered on stickers attached to the verso of each folio, but taking a number of irregularities into account (the first folio is not numbered, but instead the front wooden board is given the number 1; there is no folio 189, but instead two folios are left unnumbered between fol. 190 and fol. 191), the total number of folios appears to be 192.

¹⁰⁴² URL: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP254-1-5> [2021-01-26]. MS EAP254/1/5 was digitised within the framework of the project ‘Preservation of the historical literary heritage of Tigray, Ethiopia: the library of Romanat Qeddus Mika’el (EAP254)’, headed by Denis Nosnitsin. On this project, see: <https://doi.org/10.15130/EAP254> [2024-09-30].

¹⁰⁴³ Meley Mulugetta 2017, pp. 181–182. Meley Mulugetta 2017 mentions that the manuscript was ‘[o]riginally digitized as EMDL 788’. For the identification of MS EMDL 153 with MS EAP254/1/5, see Nosnitsin 2017, p. 295.

2.5.13.1 Dating

According to the metadata provided on the website of the Endangered Archive Programme, MS EAP254/1/5 dates from the first half of the twentieth century. Meley Mulugetta 2017 dates it to AD 1930/1931, without explaining how this date was reached.

On folio 3r, a version of Colophon B is found. The manuscript is called a ‘large collection of *mazmur* of the *Dəggwā*, whose name is “The Sea of Wisdom” (አስተጋብሮት መዝሙር፡ ዘድጓ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ባሕረ፡ ጥበብ፡, fol. 3ra). The composition of the collection is dated to the year 7253 from the Creation of the World, the year 1753 from the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and the year 1215 from the Conversion of Ethiopia, corresponding to AD 1760/1761 (fol. 3ra), but is not attributed to a named person. The writing of the manuscript is dated to the time of Zawditu (fol. 3rb), possibly 1917 EC (= 1924/1925; fol. 3rc), although the text passage is not entirely clear to me. However, in the antiphon Nagaśt ‘*Agzi ’abəher nagśa* 001 (fol. 25rb, ll. 14–16), there is a prayer for King Mənilək (presumably Mənilək II, b. 1844, d. 1913). It is hard to explain why this would not have been updated to the current ruler.

2.5.13.2 Contents

MS EAP254/1/5 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (fols 3ra–187va; ‘*Anqaša halletā*: fol. 188r).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| fols 23vc–24rb | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fols 24rb–25ra | Children of Zebedee |
| fol. 25ra–b | additional antiphons for the Cross |
| fol. 25rb–va | Kings |
| fols 25va–26rb | Ṗantalewon |
| fols 26rb–30rb | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fols 30rb–35va | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 35va–b | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| fols 35vb–36rc | ‘ <i>Abbā</i> ’ Aragāwi |
| fols 36rc–38va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 38va–c | Mary |

| | |
|----------------|------------------------|
| fols 38vc–39rc | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yəm’attā |
| fol. 39rc–va | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| fol. 39va–b | ’ <i>Abbā</i> ’Abaydo |
| fols 39vb–41va | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.6 Post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections of Group B

2.6.1 Introduction

Seven post-sixteenth-century *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections have been chosen as representatives of the Group B (see 2.2) based on the criteria laid out in 2.1. Below, the manuscripts that contain them are described according to the same scheme as for the manuscripts containing collections of Group A (see 2.5.1). Again, no palaeographical or codicological analyses have been carried out. Datings are primarily based on the mentioning of kings in various prayers and on palaeographical considerations by others.

2.6.2 Dabra Mankərāt Takla Hāymānot, EMMML 9110

MS Dabra Mankərāt Takla Hāymānot, EMMML 9110 (= MS EMMML 9110), parchment codex, 27 × 23.5 cm, 92 + 4 fols, three columns, 28 lines (fol. 11r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.¹⁰⁴⁴ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or mentioned previously in the literature.

2.6.2.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the microfilm, MS EMMML 9110 is dated to the eighteenth century. On fol. 10va, a King ’Iyo’as is commemorated, but it is unclear whether ’Iyo’as I (r. 1755–1769) or ’Iyo’as II (r. 1801–1821) is intended.

On fol. 68ra, there is colophon stating that the preceding part, i.e. the *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection (see 2.6.2.2), called *Mazmur* (መዝሙር፡), was finished on 14 Ṭəqəmt. The scribe is identified as Šəggəwo Qāl (ሥግዖ[፡] ቃል፡) and the name of the owner—rubricated and perhaps added later—as Qarna Wangel (ቀርኑ፡ ወንጌል፡). It may be noted that on the metadata sheet prefixed to the microfilm, MS EMMML 9110 is identified as a *Sanbat* ’aməññe (ሰንበት፡ አምኛ፡, see Chapter 1, 1.4.2.1.6).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/201793> [2020-10-01]. According to an Amharic note on fol. 92r, the manuscript was digitised on 23 Naḥase 1982 EC (= 29 August AD 1990).

2.6.2.2 Contents

MS EML 9110 contains the two following main works:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group B (fols 5ra–68ra; *ʿAnqaša hālletā*: fols 43va–44r),
- II) *Mə ʿrāf* (fols 69ra–92rb?).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| fols 10rb–11ra | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 11ra–c | ʿEwostāteḡos |
| fols 11rc–12ra | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fols 12ra–13va | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 13va–14rc | ʿAbbā Yoḡanni |

2.6.3 Māmā Mədr Qāla Ḥawāryāt, EML 7745

MS Māmā Mədr Qāla Ḥawāryāt, EML 7745 (= MS EML 7745), parchment codex, 24 × 21.3 cm, 96 fols,¹⁰⁴⁵ three columns, 24 lines (fol. 4r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.¹⁰⁴⁶ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or mentioned previously in the literature.

2.6.3.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the EML microfilm, MS EML 7745 is dated to the seventeenth century. I have not found any indications in the text to corroborate or falsify this dating. On fol. 54vc, there is a note saying that the manuscript belongs to Fəssəḥā Šəyon (ፍሥሐ: ጸዮን) and his father Bərhāna Masqal (ጠርጎን: መስቀል).

2.6.3.2 Contents

MS EML 7745 contains the following main works:

- I) *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group B (fols 2ra–85rc; *ʿAnqaša hālletā*: fols 54vc–55v),

¹⁰⁴⁵ Fols 20v–21r, 22r, and 84rv appear not to have been microfilmed. At least in the online version of the microfilm, numerous folios are disarranged in the same way as in MS EML 8070 (see 2.4.9). Before the manuscript was microfilmed, quire numbers were added with Arabic numbers in the upper left corner of the first folio of each new quire (cf., for example, fols 2r, 12r, 32r), which makes it possible to understand the quire structure of the manuscript.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/201233> [2021-01-27]. On fol. 95v, there is a note saying that the microfilming took place in Naḥase 1973 EC (= 7 August–5 September AD 1981).

II) *Mə 'rāf* (fols 86ra–95vb).¹⁰⁴⁷

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| fols 8ra–11rc | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 11rc–va | 'Ewostātewos |
| fols 11va–12rc | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Aragāwi |
| fols 12rc–14rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 14rb–vc | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.6.4 'Ankobar Ṭalāsā Giyorgis, EMMML 2253

MS 'Ankobar Ṭalāsā Giyorgis, EMMML 2253 (= MS EMMML 2253), 24.5 × 21 cm, 114 fols, two–three columns,¹⁰⁴⁸ 25 lines (fol. 4r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.¹⁰⁴⁹ It has been catalogued by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982.¹⁰⁵⁰

2.6.4.1 Dating

Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982 date MS EMMML 2253 to the reign of either 'Iyāsu I (r. 1682–1706) or 'Iyāsu II (r. 1730–1755), presumably based on the mentioning of one of these sovereigns in antiphons stretching over fols 106vb–107ra. This antiphon is found in the *Mə 'rāf*, and given the features that separate this part of the manuscript (*Mə 'rāf–Zəmmāre*) from the different parts of the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection found on fols 2r–82v (they appear on separate quires and there is a change in the number of columns), it cannot be concluded *a priori* that this dating is valid for the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection as well. However, this does seem probable.

2.6.4.2 Contents

As stated by Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, MS EMMML 2253 contains the following main works:

- I) *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group B (fols 2r–82v;
'*Anqasha halletā*: fols 48ra–49r),

¹⁰⁴⁷ The identification of possible further texts on the last folios is made difficult by the lack of rubrication from fol. 88rb and onwards.

¹⁰⁴⁸ The number of columns changes in the course of the manuscript, being three in Text I and two in Texts II–III (see 2.6.4.2).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/204082> [2021-01-26]. According to a note on fol. 114v, the manuscript was microfilmed in 1967 (EC? = AD 1974/1975).

¹⁰⁵⁰ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1982, p. 339.

II) *Mə'rāf* (fols 83r–108v),

III) *Zammāre* (109r–112v).

The Season of Flowers is represented in the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection by the following commemorations:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| fols 7rb–9va | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| fol. 9va–c | 'Ewostātewos |
| fols 9vc–10rc | ' <i>Abbā</i> 'Aragāwi |
| fols 10rc–11vc | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fols 11vc, 13ra–c ¹⁰⁵¹ | ' <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.6.5 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. orient. quart. 1001

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. orient. quart. 1001 (= MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001), parchment codex, 17.5 × 15.0 × 5.0 cm, 82 fols, two columns, 17–18 lines, wooden boards, partly damaged.¹⁰⁵² This manuscript was consulted in person on 8 June 2018 and later in the form of digital photographs taken during the visit. The photographs cover only fols 5ra–10ra and consequently, only these folios from the collection in MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001 have been taken into account in this dissertation. The manuscript has been catalogued summarily by Flemming 1906¹⁰⁵³ and Chaîne 1912a¹⁰⁵⁴ and later, more extensively, by Hammerschmidt and Six 1983.¹⁰⁵⁵

2.6.5.1 Dating and provenance

MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001 is dated by Flemming 1906 and Chaîne 1912a to the seventeenth century, by Hammerschmidt and Six 1983 to the seventeenth–eighteenth century. According to Flemming 1906, it is one of the manuscripts acquired by him 'in Adis Abeba und nächster Umgebung',¹⁰⁵⁶ but no further information about its provenance or the persons involved in its production is known.¹⁰⁵⁷

¹⁰⁵¹ Fol. 12 is a large stub (or a severely cut folio?) without text. The commemoration of '*Abbā* Yoḥanni' passes from fol. 11vc to fol. 13ra.

¹⁰⁵² These data have been taken from Hammerschmidt and Six 1983 and differ in details from those presented by Flemming 1906 and Chaîne 1912a.

¹⁰⁵³ Flemming 1906, p. 13 (no. 25).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Chaîne 1912a, p. 54 (no. 32).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Hammerschmidt and Six 1983, pp. 227–228 (no. 121).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Flemming 1906, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Hammerschmidt and Six 1983 note that the name of the owner has been scratched away in possession notes appearing on fols 49rb and 80vb.

2.6.5.2 Contents

MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001 contains two main works:

- I) *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group B (fols 3ra–49ra),
- II) *sawāsaw* text, in the form of a Geez–Amharic dictionary (fols 50ra–80vb).

For a more extensive description of its contents, see Hammerschmidt and Six 1983. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| fols 6ra–7ra | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 7ra–b | ʾEwostātewos |
| fols 7rb–8ra | ʾAbbā ʾAragāwi |
| fol. 8ra–vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |

2.6.6 Māy Rāzā Takla Hāymānot, Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008

MS Māy Rāzā Takla Hāymānot,¹⁰⁵⁸ Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008 (= MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008), parchment codex, 17.0 × 18.5 × 8.5 cm, 167 folios, two columns, 17 lines, wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of digital photographs produced within the framework of the Ethio-SPaRe project and made available in the DOMLib.¹⁰⁵⁹ It has been catalogued in the DOMLib by Magdalena Krzyżanowska, with the latest revisions made by Denis Nosnitsin.¹⁰⁶⁰

2.6.6.1 Dating and provenance

MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008 is dated by Krzyżanowska either to the reign of ʾIyāsu I (r. 1682–1706) or ʾIyāsu II (r. 1730–1755), based on the mentioning of a King ʾIyāsu on fols 17va, 27rb–va, and 28rb, i.e. within the *Mə ʾrāf* (see 2.6.6.2). It seems reasonable to assume that this dating is valid also for the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection, not least because of the unclear division between these two texts (see 2.6.6.2).

2.6.6.2 Contents

A general description of the contents of MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008 is provided by Krzyżanowska, who identifies the following main texts:

- I) *Mə ʾrāf* (fols 3r–49vb, l. 3),

¹⁰⁵⁸ For an introduction to the site, see also Nosnitsin 2013, pp. 303–310.

¹⁰⁵⁹ On the Ethio-SPaRe project, see fn. 728.

¹⁰⁶⁰ URL: https://mycms-vs03.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/domlib/receive/domlib_document_00000805 [2021-01-26]. The digitisation of MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008 was carried out on 1 December 2011.

- II) *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collection of Group B (fols 49vb, l. 14–138rb; *ʿAnqaša halletā*: fols 135va–138rb),
- III) *Mawāšāʿt* (fols 138va–156vb),
- IV) *ʿAnqaša bərḥān* (fols 157ra–160ra),
- V) *Malkə ʿa Māryām* (fols 160va–165vb),
- VI) *Malkə ʿa Mikā ʿel* (fols 166ra–167vb).

The identification of the end of the *Mə ʿrāf* and the beginning of the *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collection requires discussion. Krzyżanowska indicates that the *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collection begins on fol. 49vb, l. 14, where an indication for the beginning of the commemoration of the Cross (*Masqal*) is found. However, judging from the rubricated elements, it appears that the *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collection has begun already at an earlier point. But then, where? On fol. 49rb, l. 14, it appears that the commemoration for the Season of Fruits (*Fəre*) begins. The antiphons before this point seem to be thematically connected to John the Baptist, which one would expect to be the first commemoration of the *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collection, but no clear beginning of the commemoration can be identified. On fol. 48ra, l. 18, a liturgical indication that typically appears in the *Mə ʿrāf* is found (ዘኅብረት: ‘in unison’). A better knowledge of the *Mə ʿrāf* may be needed to ultimately settle this question.

In the *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008, the Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| fol. 52rb | End of the <i>Kəramt</i> |
| fol. 52rb–va | ʿEwostātewos |
| fols 52va–53vb | Season of Flowers |
| fols 53vb–54rb | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fols 54rb–55vb | Stephen the Protomartyr |

2.6.7 Gerā Mədr Dančāt Yoḥannəs, EMMML 8084

MS Gerā Mədr Dančāt Yoḥannəs, EMMML 8084 (= MS EMMML 8084), parchment codex, — cm, 141 + 2 fols, two–three columns,¹⁰⁶¹ 19 lines (fol. 3r), wooden boards (not visible on the microfilm). This manuscript has been consulted in the

¹⁰⁶¹ Two columns: fols 1ra–57vb (first part of the liturgical year); three columns: fols 58ra–141vc (Seasons of the Great Fast and Easter).

form of a digitised greyscale microfilm made available online by the HMML.¹⁰⁶² To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or mentioned previously in the literature.

2.6.7.1 Dating

On the metadata sheet prefixed to the microfilm, MS EMLL 8084 is tentatively dated to the nineteenth century. I have not found any indications in the manuscript to corroborate or falsify this dating.

2.6.7.2 Contents

MS EMLL 8084 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group B (fols 1ra–141vc, incomplete; *ʿAnqaša halletā*: fols 55vb–57va).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| fols 9ra–14va | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 14va–b | ʿEwostātewos |
| fols 14vb–15va | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| fols 15va–17rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |

2.6.8 Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, MS 2148 (EAP286/1/1/470)

MS Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, MS 2148 (EAP286/1/1/470; = MS IES 2148), parchment codex, 24.0 × 23.0 × 6.0 cm, three columns, 26 lines (fol. 6r), wooden boards. This manuscript has been consulted in the form of the digital colour photographs made available online by the Endangered Archives Programme.¹⁰⁶³ To my knowledge, it has not been catalogued or described previously in the literature.

The foliation followed in this dissertation is the one found written with pen in the upper right corner of the folios themselves, not the image numbering appearing in white in the upper right corner of the digital images. These numberings disagree in large parts of the manuscript.

¹⁰⁶² Permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/201382> [2021-01-26]. According to a note on fol. 142r (?), the manuscript was microfilmed on 6 Miyāzyā 1975 EC (= 14 April 1983).

¹⁰⁶³ URL: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP286-1-1-470> [2021-01-26]. MS IES 2148 was digitised within the framework of the project ‘Digitising and conserving Ethiopian manuscripts at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (EAP286)’, headed by Demeke Berhane Teffera and Stephen Delamarter. On this project, see: <https://doi.org/10.15130/EAP286> [2024-09-30].

2.6.8.1 Dating and provenance

According to metadata provided on the Endangered Archives Programme website, MS IES 2148 dates from the eighteenth century. I have not found any indications in the manuscript to corroborate or falsify this dating.

On fol. 47r, two unfinished (?) colophons are found, together with some additional antiphons and a short note in Amharic. In the second colophon, the owner of the manuscript is given as 'Amonewos (አሞኔዎስ), son of Zagiyor[...] (ዘጊዮር[...]). A possession note is found on what could be described either as a severely cut folio or an extensive stub, appearing between fols 72v and 73r. It is written with a modern, blue pen and contains the following prosopographical information: the owner of the manuscript was Tāddasa Sayfa (?) (ታደሰ፡ ሰይፈ፡ (?)) with the baptismal name Hāyila Giyorgis (ኃይለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ); his father was Sayfa (?) Mikā'el (ሰይፈ፡ (?)) ሚካኤል, his mother 'Ēsāta Yoḥannēs (እሳተ፡ ዮሐንስ), his wife 'Askāla Giyorgis (አስካለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ), and his children Nəwāye 'Iyasus (and?) 'Ēstifānos (ንዋዩ፡ አየሱስ፡ እስጢፋኖስ).

2.6.8.2 Contents

MS IES 2148 contains the following main works:

- I) *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group B (fols 5ra–72rc; *Anqaša hālletā*: fols 47va–48va),
- II) *Mə'rāf* (fols 73r ?–92va).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| fols 8rc–10rb | Season of Flowers |
| fol. 10rb–c | 'Ewostātewos |
| fol. 10rc–vc | 'Abbā 'Aragāwi |
| fols 10vc–12rb | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| fol. 12rb–va | 'Abbā Yoḥanni |

2.7 Printed editions

2.7.1 Introduction

Two of the at least six printed editions produced in Ethiopia during this and the last century have been included in the Minor Corpus: *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994 and *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015. The selection of these printed editions was motivated

mainly by the fact that they were the first editions that became available to me in full.¹⁰⁶⁴

When talking about ‘printed editions’ of the *Dəggwā*, one first has to underline that these are all facsimile editions, reproducing the text of specific manuscripts.¹⁰⁶⁵ Therefore, for each printed edition of the *Dəggwā* up to this point, it is possible to identify an ‘underlying manuscript’, which was written by hand by a scribe at some point in time. Thus, the printed editions are not substantially different in nature from the manuscripts; instead, the main reason for including printed editions in a study like this is the importance of the text versions that they contain. First of all, the printed editions represent texts chosen by editors, presumably because these texts were considered good representatives of their specific group of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. The possibility that the underlying manuscripts were produced with the printing in mind should also be considered. Secondly, thanks to the great diffusion made possible by mass reproduction, these versions of the text have exerted and are exerting a greater influence on the tradition itself than any of the versions preserved only in manuscripts can ever hope to do. This means that for the contemporary and future emic understanding of what constitutes a *Dəggwā*, these manuscripts exert a disproportionate influence.¹⁰⁶⁶

Below, the two printed editions included in the Minor Corpus are introduced, more or less following the same schema as for post-sixteenth-century manuscripts in general (see 2.5.1). These introductions are followed by short notes on the other printed editions known to me.

2.7.2 *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994

መጽሐፈ፡ ድጓ፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ያፌድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ (*Maṣḥafa Dəggwā za-darasa qəddus Yāred 'ityopyāwi*, ‘The Book of the *Dəggwā*, which St Yāred the Ethiopian composed, = *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994), printed on paper, 19.5 × 14.5 cm, iv + 343 pages, two columns, 26 lines (p. 25). This printed edition has been available to me in physical form.¹⁰⁶⁷ It has been used by Denis Nosnitsin in several articles on

¹⁰⁶⁴ I am grateful to Denis Nosnitsin for lending me his personal copy of *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994 early on in the work on this dissertation and to Hewan Semon Marye for giving a copy of *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 early in 2018.

¹⁰⁶⁵ There are minor exceptions to this within the editions; for example, the first sixteen pages of *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994 (corresponding to the first quire of the original manuscript?) have a four-line summary of the contents of each column printed in set types in the bottom margin.

¹⁰⁶⁶ In previous decades, using printed editions furthermore meant using a text that was more easily available to other scholars. This has, however, changed in the last decades to the point where a digitised manuscript available online is probably more easily accessible to most of the world’s scholars than a version uniquely sold at the book markets of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Cf. fn. 1064.

fragments of early antiphon collections,¹⁰⁶⁸ but its text has to my knowledge not been critically evaluated in the literature.

2.7.2.1 Dating and provenance

Maṣḥafa Dəggwā 1994 was printed at Tasfā Gabra Šəllāse’s printing house (ተስፋ ጉበረ ሥላሴ ማተሚያ ቤት, *Tasfā Gabra Šəllāse mättamiyā bet*) in Addis Ababa in 1987 EC (= AD 1994/1995).¹⁰⁶⁹ The underlying manuscript appears to be modern (twentieth century?), but I have not been able to date it with precision. The collection begins with a shortened version of Colophon B, where it is called a ‘large collection of *mazmur*, whose name is “The Offspring of the Sun”’ (አስተጋብሎት መዝሙር፡ ዐቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ዕጓለ፡ ፀሐይ፡, p. 1). On p. 336, a short note possibly identifies the copyist, but the ‘wordly’ name appears to be abbreviated, and the spaces left for a baptismal name, as well as for the names of the parents, have been left blank.¹⁰⁷⁰

2.7.2.2 Contents

Maṣḥafa Dəggwā 1994 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group C (pp. 1a–343b; ‘*Anqaša halletā*: pp. 336b–341b).

As noticed in 2.2, this collection is neither a representative of Group A nor of Group B. It contains several uncommon monthly commemorations, connecting it with a small number of collections preserved in manuscripts from the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries (see 2.2), but it does not fully agree with any of them. The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations (an ‘M’ in brackets indicates that a commemoration recurs every month):

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| pp. 25b–26b | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| pp. 26b–27b | Saviour of the World (M; <i>Madḥāne ‘Ālam</i>) |
| pp. 27b–28a | Feast of the Lord (M; <i>ba ‘āla ‘Ēgzi</i>) |
| pp. 28a–29a (?) | Entry of Mary into the Temple (M; <i>ba ‘ātā</i>) |
| pp. 29a–33a | Season of Flowers (?) |

¹⁰⁶⁸ Nosnitsin and Rabin 2014, Nosnitsin 2016, Nosnitsin 2018, cf. esp. p. 298, fn. 45 (the conversion 1987 EC = 1995/1996 must be a typographical error for 1994/1995).

¹⁰⁶⁹ On Tasfā Gabra Šəllāse and his printing house, cf. ‘Täsfa Gäbrä Šəllase’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 869b–870a (Mersha Alehegne).

¹⁰⁷⁰ The note goes as follows: ተፈጸመ፡ መዝሙር፡ በሰላም፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አሜን፡ ጸሐ። መሪ። ደም። ወስመ። ጥምቀቱ፡ *_(!*) ወስመ፡ አቡሁ፡ *_(!*) ወስመ፡ እሙ፡ *_(!*) ።።, ‘The *Mazmur* has been completed in the peace of the Lord. Amen. *Mari*[*getā*?] Dam[...] wrote [it] (?). His baptismal name is *_(!*)’, the name of his father is *_(!*)’, and the name of his mother is *_(!*)’.

Chapter 2. The Minor Corpus

| | |
|-------------|--|
| p. 33a–b | Kings |
| pp. 33b–34b | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| pp. 34b–35a | Gabra Manfas Qəddus (M; <i>Gabra Manfas Q[əddus]</i>) |
| p. 35a–b | Pantalewon |
| pp. 35b–36a | Trinity (M; <i>Šallāse</i>) |
| pp. 36a–37a | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| pp. 37a–38a | ʿAbbā ʿAragāwi |
| p. 38a–b | Cyricus (M; <i>Qirqos</i>) |
| pp. 38b–39a | Covenant of Mercy (M; <i>Kidāna Məḥrat</i>) |
| pp. 39a–43a | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| p. 43a–b | Gabriel the Archangel (M; <i>Gabrā ʿel</i>) |
| pp. 43b–44b | Mary |
| pp. 44b–45a | Luke the Evangelist |
| p. 45a–b | George (M; <i>Giyorgis</i>) |
| pp. 45b–46b | Takla Hāymānot (M; <i>Takla Hāymānot</i>) |
| p. 46b | Abib (ʿ <i>Abib</i>) |
| pp. 46b–47a | Saviour of the World (M; <i>Madḥāne ʿĀlam</i>) |
| p. 47a–b | Feast of the Lord (M; <i>ba ʿāla ʿĪgziʿ</i>) |
| pp. 47b–48a | Entry of Mary into the Temple (M; <i>bā(!) ʿātā</i>) |
| p. 48a–b | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| pp. 48b–52b | ʿAbbā Yoḥanni |

Additionally, on pp. 342a–343b, there is a series of antiphons with the title ‘[antiphons] for [the Season of] Flowers that were forgotten’ (ዘተረሰኦ: ዘጽጌ:).

2.7.3 *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015

መጽሐፈ ድጓ ዘቅዱስ ያሬድ (*Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā za-qəddus Yāred*, ‘The Book of the *Dəggʷā* by Saint Yāred’, = *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015), printed on paper, 33.5 × 24.2 cm, x + 344 + 4 pages, three columns, 43 lines (p. 3). This printed edition has

been available to me in physical form.¹⁰⁷¹ I am not aware of its use for any scholarly publications, but during my visit to Ethiopia in September–October 2018, this was the main version for sale in book markets in Addis Ababa, Dabra Tabor, as well as Mekelle.

2.7.3.1 Dating and provenance

Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā 2015 was printed at the Tənsāʼe printing house (የትንሣኤ ማሳተኒያ ድርጅት, *Ya-Tənsāʼe māsāttamiyā dərəḡḡət*) in Addis Ababa in 2008 EC (= AD 2015/2016). The underlying manuscript is introduced by a version of Colophon B (p. [x]), where the collection is called a ‘great collection of *Mazmur* whose name is “Ship of Wisdom” (አስተጋብሐተ: መዝሙር: ዓቢይ: ዘስሙ: ሐመረ: ጥበብ:). The manuscript was written in 1955 EC (= AD 1962/1963) by the scribe *Marigetā* Ṭəbabu with the baptismal name Takla Māryām, son of Maršā Walda Rufāʼel, in Dabra Tabor Madḥane ʼĀlam. It is stressed that this book stands in the tradition of the Beta Ləhem School (ወዝንቱ: መዝገብ: ተቀድኦ: በመዝገብ: ዘቤተ: ልሔም: በትጋሕ: ወበሰላም:). The same scribe is also identified in a playful note of thanksgiving at the end of the Season of Supplication (p. 220c).¹⁰⁷²

The book has a printed introduction by Patriarch Mātyās (in office, 2013–present), where it is stated that this is the third printing of this book. I lack information about the previous printings. On p. 345c, there is a note in Amharic providing important details about the choice of the underlying manuscript.¹⁰⁷³ The manuscript of *Liqā Məhurān* Ṭəbabu Mangəštu, it is said, was chosen because of the quality of its *mələkkət*, its parchment, and its *gʷəlḥ* script. It was brought by Ṭəbabu to the Patriarchate office in 1979 EC (= AD 1986/1987), but was not immediately published. After the passing of Ṭəbabu, the manuscript was stored at the Patriarchate, until its publication was brought about by ʼAbuna ʼElsāʼ, Archbishop of Gondar, and *Liqā Məhurān* Yəṭbārak, *Dəggʷā* certifier at the church school of Beta Ləhem (‘የቤተ ል/ምስክር’).

2.7.3.2 Contents

Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā 2015 contains one main work:

- I) a *Dəggʷā*-type antiphon collection of Group A (pp. 1a–344c; ʼ*Anqasha halletā*: pp. 337c–339c; list of corrections: pp. 342a–344c).

The Season of Flowers is represented by the following commemorations:

¹⁰⁷¹ Cf. fn. 1064.

¹⁰⁷² The note, in which the interplay between rubricated and non-rubricated letters is used in different ways, has the following form: ተፈ.። ጸመ። ዘመነ። ዝንቱ። ድጓ። ዘመሪ። ጌታ። ጥመበርቡሻ። ተወክልማደ። ርዱያም። ኤል። ስመ። ሀገሩ። ደብረ። ታቦር። መድኃኔ። ዓለም። ወይትባረክ። እግዚአብሔር። ዘአፈጸመኒ። በዳሕና። ወበሰላም። ዘመነ። አስተምሕር። ከማሁ። ያፈጽመኒ። በዳሕና። ዘመነ። ፋሲካ። አሜን። (fol. 220vc, ll. 10–17).

¹⁰⁷³ I am greatly indebted to Sisay Sahile Beyene for providing me with a tentative translation of this note.

| | |
|-------------|---|
| pp. 40c–41c | End of <i>Kəramt</i> |
| pp. 41c–43c | Children of Zebedee |
| pp. 43c–44b | Kings |
| pp. 44b–46a | Ṕanṭalewon |
| pp. 46a–54b | Sundays in the Season of Flowers |
| pp. 54b–63c | Ferial days in the Season of Flowers |
| p. 63c | Michael the Archangel and Matthew the Apostle |
| pp. 63c–65a | ’ <i>Abbā</i> ’Aragāwi |
| pp. 65a–67b | Stephen the Protomartyr |
| pp. 67b–68a | common for deacons |
| p. 68a–c | Mary |
| p. 68c | Luke the Evangelist |
| pp. 68c–69b | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yəm’attā |
| pp. 69b–70a | Habakkuk the Prophet |
| p. 70a | ’ <i>Abbā</i> ’Abaydo |
| pp. 70a–73a | ’ <i>Abbā</i> Yoḥanni |

2.7.4 Other printed editions

Four other printed editions are known to me, but are or were not completely available to me when the Minor Corpus was selected.¹⁰⁷⁴ For the sake of completeness, these will nevertheless be listed below.

- *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^{wā}* 1966 – In 1959 EC (= AD 1966/1967), a *Dəgg^{wā}*-type antiphon collection of Group A was printed at the Bərḥān-ənnā salām printing house in Addis Ababa.¹⁰⁷⁵ In layout and form, this edition forms a set together with the *’Amməstu ṣawātəwa zemāwočč* 1972, a multiple-text volume containing editions of the *Ṣoma Dəgg^{wā}*, the *Mə’rāf*, the *Ziq*, the

¹⁰⁷⁴ Amsalu Tefera 2015 refers to an edition printed by the Tənsā’ē printing house in 1988 (AD?) (Amsalu Tefera 2015, p. 229, fn. 288); however, this edition is not listed in his bibliography and I have not found any further information about it. Similarly, Habtemichael Kidane 2017 refers to an edition printed in 1968 EC (= AD 1975/1976) and later, according to him, repeatedly reprinted (Habtemichael Kidane 2017, p. 334); he likewise does not list it in his bibliography.

¹⁰⁷⁵ According to Tedros Abraha 2009, a second edition was issued in 1988 EC (Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 343, fn. 39).

Zammāre, and the *Mawāsāʾt*. The underlying manuscript of *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966 is introduced with a version of Colophon B, where the collection is called a ‘large collection of *mazmur*, whose name is “The Offspring of the Sun”’ (አስተጋብሮተ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ እጓለ፡ ፀሐይ፡, p. 1ra)¹⁰⁷⁶ and is dated to 1939 EC (= AD 1946/1947).¹⁰⁷⁷ *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966 was used by Getatchew Haile 1988,¹⁰⁷⁸ Getatchew Haile 1990,¹⁰⁷⁹ Habtemichael Kidane 1996 (?),¹⁰⁸⁰ and Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999,¹⁰⁸¹ and was included in the corpus used by Shelemay et al. 1993 and Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, 1994, 1997.¹⁰⁸² It was also the basis for Jeffery 1993’s study of the liturgical calendar of the *Dəggwā*.

- *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1995 – In 1988 EC (= AD 1995/1996), another *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of Group A was printed, this time by the Tənsāʾe printing house in Addis Ababa. The *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection begins with a version of Colophon B, in which the collection is introduced as ‘a large collection of *mazmur* whose name is “The Mirror of Wisdom”’ (አስተጋብሮተ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ መጽሐተ፡ ጥበብ፡, p. 4). According to the colophon, the underlying manuscript was written by Goḥa Səbāḥ (ጎሐ፡ ጽባሕ፡) for himself in AD 1961/1962. In the dating, it is mentioned that ʾAbbā Pētros was bishop of Səmen and Bagemdər;¹⁰⁸³ the inclusion of this information presumably indicates the region where the manuscript was written. This printed edition has, to my knowledge, not been used in the previous literature,¹⁰⁸⁴ but it is likely that this is the edition mentioned in a note in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015.¹⁰⁸⁵
- ʾAnqas za-*Dəggwā* 2002 – In 2002/2003 (1995 EC), a *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection of the ʾanqas type—i.e. containing almost exclusively abbreviated antiphons—was published by the Tənsāʾe printing house in

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cf. *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994, 2.7.2.1.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Cf. Jeffery 1993, p. 207, fn. 28. In the available reproduction, kindly put at my disposal by Steve Delamarter, it is difficult to read the numerals in the year. In any case, the manuscript was begun during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, when ʾAbbā Yoḥannēs was patriarch of Alexandria and ʾAbbā Yəshaq was bishop of Ethiopia, on 5 Sane, in the year of Luke. The numerals in the year appear to read 1939 [EC], which agrees with the Evangelist, but not with the Coptic patriarch. On p. 247c, there is a colophon for the Season of Supplication, dating its completion to 1942 EC. This seems to confirm the reading of the year in the prefaced colophon as well, although I cannot explain the reference to the Coptic patriarch.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cf. Getatchew Haile 1988, p. 241.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Cf. Getatchew Haile 1990, p. 31, fn. 8.

¹⁰⁸⁰ In the reference list, the date of publication is given as ‘1959 (ce)’—probably an error for ‘EC’.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. Abraham Habte-Sellassie 1999, p. 41, fn. 2, and *passim*.

¹⁰⁸² Cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 74; Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸³ On this bishop, see ‘Pētros’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 141a–141b (Mersha Alehegne).

¹⁰⁸⁴ It is possible that this is the *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā*, reportedly published in 1995, that is cited by Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, but according to him, it was printed by the ‘Commercial Printing Enterprise’ in Addis Ababa (Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, p. 289), whereas *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1995 was printed by the Tənsāʾe printing house.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Cf. *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 345c and the discussion in section 2.7.3.1.

Addis Ababa (= *'Anqas za-Dəggwā* 2002). According to the prefaced colophon (p. 1), the underlying manuscript was copied by *Marigetā Kənfā Mikā'el Mučā*¹⁰⁸⁶ during the time of *'Abuna Pāwəlos*, Patriarch of Ethiopia, and *'Abuna 'Elsā'*, Archbishop of South Gondar, i.e. at some point between 1992–2008/2009.¹⁰⁸⁷ On the unnumbered pages preceding the antiphon collection per se, it contains a two-and-a-half-page preface in Amharic by *Liqā Məhurān Mulu Galāw*, *Dəggwā* certifier at the church school of Beta Ləhem (የቤተልሔም[:]; ድጓ[:]; ምስክር[:]; see Chapter 1, 1.5.3), who is also mentioned in the prefaced colophon. *'Anqas za-Dəggwā* 2002, at least the exemplar in my possession, contains a fine example of the certification stamp of *Liqā Məhurān Mulu Galāw*.¹⁰⁸⁸

- *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2006 – In 2006/2007 (1999 EC), an edition of the *Dəggwā* was published by the Diocese of Eastern Goḡḡām (የምሥራቅ[:]; ጎጃም[:]; ሀገረ[:]; ስብከ[:]). This edition has been used by Lee 2017a and Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019.¹⁰⁸⁹ It is special insofar that according to the introduction, it represents the *'Ačābər* school of *zemā* (see Chapter 1, 1.5.3);¹⁰⁹⁰ for a study of the *mələkkət*, it may thus be of special interest.

It might be worth pointing out that Habtemichael Kidane 2016, although frequently referring to and quoting *Dəggwā*-type antiphons, in most cases does not use a *Dəggwā* proper as his immediate source, but rather a printed edition of the *Maṣḥafa Ziq*.¹⁰⁹¹ The same holds true for Habtemichael Kidane 2017, where another printed edition of the *Maṣḥafa Ziq* is used.¹⁰⁹²

2.8 Summary of the Minor Corpus

To conclude this chapter, a summary of the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus is provided in Table 10. The manuscripts have been listed according to their proposed dating and next to the siglum used in this dissertation, a basic

¹⁰⁸⁶ Baptismal name: Gabra Šādəq. On p. 236 (unnumbered), a photograph of *Marigetā Kənfā Mikā'el* is found, where his last name is given as Mučə.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *'Abuna Pāwəlos* was patriarch of Ethiopia between AD 1992 and 2012, whereas *'Abuna 'Elsā'* was archbishop of South Gondar from AD 1988/1989 to 2008/2009 (cf. Mersha Alehegne 2019, p. 434; I am thankful to Sisay Sahile Beyene for providing me with this reference).

¹⁰⁸⁸ *'Anqas za-Dəggwā* 2002, p. 234. A less clear example is found on p. 235.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cf. Lee 2017a, p. [xiv], Andualem Dagmawi Gobena 2019, p. 9, fn. 35. Tedros Abraha 2009 reports that he used an edition published in Addis Ababa in 1999 EC (= AD 2006/2007; Tedros Abraha 2009, p. 335, fn. 15). Either this refers to an edition unknown to me, or the place of publication was given erroneously.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2006, p. xviii.

¹⁰⁹¹ Cf. Habtemichael Kidane 2016, p. 91, fn. 57.

¹⁰⁹² Cf. Habtemichael Kidane 2017, p. 322, 2017, p. 330, fnn. 35, 37. However, the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscript EMLL 2045 is also employed (Habtemichael Kidane 2017, p. 326, fn. 23), as well as a printed edition of the *Ṣoma Dəggwā* (Habtemichael Kidane 2017, p. 330, fn. 35).

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characterisation of the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection(s) that they contain has also been included. For detailed information about each manuscript, the reader is directed to the descriptions in the body of the chapter.

Table 10. Summary of the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus.

| <i>Proposed dating</i> | <i>Siglum</i> | <i>Type of collection</i> |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| pre-mid-14th c. | DS-I/XVII/XXII | single-type coll. |
| pre-mid-14th c. | DS-II | single-type coll. |
| pre-mid-14th c. | DS-III | single-type coll. |
| pre-mid-14th c. | DS-VIII*/XIII | single-type coll. |
| pre-mid-14th c. | DS-XVI | single-type coll. |
| pre-mid-14th c. | DS-XX | single-type coll. |
| pre-mid-14th c. | EMML 7078 | single-type coll. |
| pre-mid-14th c. | MGM-018i | single-type coll. |
| 14th c. (AD 1308), 14th–15th c. | BnF Éth. 92 | single-type colls |
| 14th c. (?) | EMML 6944 | single-type coll. |
| 14th c. (AD 1343/1344) | EMML 7618 | single-type colls |
| 14th–15th c. | EMML 2095 | single-type coll. |
| 14th–15th c. | GG-187 | single-type colls |
| 15th c. | BAV Vat. et. 28 | multiple-type coll. |
| 15th c. | EMML 2468* | multiple-type coll. |
| 15th c. | EMML 8070 | multiple-type coll. |
| 15th c. | EMML 8488 | multiple-type coll. |
| 15th c. (Zar'a Yā'qob) | EMML 8678 | multiple-type coll. |
| 15th c. | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 | single-type colls |
| 15th c. | IES 679 | multiple-type coll. |
| 15th c. (late?) | GG-185 | single-type colls |
| 15th–16th c. | EMML 4667 | multiple-type coll. |
| 15th–16th c. | EMML 8804 | multiple-type coll. |
| 15th–16th c. | Ṭānāsee 172 | multiple-type coll. |
| 16th c. | EMML 1894 | multiple-type coll. |
| 16th c. | EMML 2542 | multiple-type coll. |
| 16th c. (Śarṣa Dəngəl) | EMML 7174 | multiple-type coll. |
| 16th c. | EMML 8408 | multiple-type coll. |

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| | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 17th c. (AD 1697) | EMML 2053 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 17th c. | EMML 7745 | multiple-type coll. (B) |
| 17th c. (Fāsīladas) | Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 17th c. (AD 1664/1665) | Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 17th c. (AD 1668) | UUB O Etiop. 36 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 17th–18th c. | EAP704/1/36 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 17th–18th c. | EMML 2253 | multiple-type coll. (B) |
| 17th–18th c. | Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008 | multiple-type coll. (B) |
| 17th–18th c. | SBPK Or. quart. 1001 | multiple-type coll. (B) |
| 18th c. (AD 1773) | EAP432/1/10 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 18th c. | EMML 9110 | multiple-type coll. (B) |
| 18th c. | IES 2148 | multiple-type coll. (B) |
| 18th–19th c. | EMML 2431 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 18th–19th c. | EMML 6994 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 18th–19th c. | EMML 7529 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 19th c. (AD 1881) | EMDA 00111 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 19th c. | EMML 7285 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 19th c. | EMML 8084 | multiple-type coll. (B) |
| 20th c. | EAP254/1/5 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 20th c. (AD 1962/1963) | <i>Mashāfa Dəgg^wā</i> 2015 | multiple-type coll. (A) |
| 20th c. | <i>Mashāfa Dəgg^wā</i> 1994 | multiple-type coll. (C) |

Chapter 3 The Diachronic Development of the Text

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of Chapter 3 is to describe diachronic developments on the textual level in a small set of *Daggwā*-type antiphons, based on the manuscripts in the Minor Corpus. Although the original intention was to discuss the entire Season of Flowers, this endeavour over time turned out to be impossible to realise within the framework of this dissertation. Instead, in the end only one commemoration has been treated in full: the commemoration of Pāṇṭalewon (ጸጌጠሌዎን). This medium-length commemoration, generally covering around one folio in a modern *Daggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts, will serve as a case study. It has been chosen due to its suitable length and its diachronically widespread attestation. Furthermore, the study of the commemoration of Pāṇṭalewon is facilitated by the access to modern critical editions of both the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) and the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), important source texts for the corpus of antiphons for this commemoration.

However, the commemoration of Pāṇṭalewon is only attested in Group A collections. Therefore, eighteen antiphons taken from the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwī (አባ፡ አረጋዊ፡) have also been included in the chapter. These have been selected from a larger corpus of antiphons intended for the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwī (and Gabra Krəstos, see 3.3.1) based on the criterion that they are attested *both* in collections belonging to Group A *and* in collections belonging to Group B. Their inclusion is meant to provide an example of which types of textual variation keep the Groups A and B together, and which occur within them. Like the commemoration of Pāṇṭalewon, the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwī is attested from the earliest preserved (single-type) sources and up to the modern printed editions.

In Chapter 3, the focus lies primarily on two aspects of the text: a) the sets of antiphons contained in each of the studied collections and b) the texts of the individual antiphons. With regard to the sets of antiphons, the aim has been to ascertain whether there are antiphons that have fallen out of use or antiphons that have entered the corpus in documented times. In other words: to gain an understanding of the ways in which the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons has fluctuated over time. With regard to the texts of individual antiphons, the aim has been to identify mechanisms behind textual change as well as to look for signs of conscious revisions of the text.

Importantly, the sequence in which the antiphons appear in an individual collection has *not* been taken into account. Given that the sequence of the contents

of manuscripts can often be a good indicator of a relationship,¹⁰⁹³ this is an unfortunate deficiency, strictly motivated by the restricted time at disposal. In future studies of the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons, considerable attention ought to be paid to the sequence of the individual antiphons.¹⁰⁹⁴

Chapter 3 is divided into two main sections, dealing, respectively, with the commemoration of Pāntalewon (3.2) and the aforementioned extract from the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi (3.3). Each of these sections begins with an introduction to the object of the commemoration and previous research into the tradition of the saint in Ethiopic literature. Thereupon follow an overview of the respective corpus of antiphons and a discussion of diachronic developments in the corpus. Subsequently, in the major part of the respective sections, the individual antiphons are presented. The text of each antiphon is given in Geez as attested in one of the manuscripts (chosen based on its legibility and—as far as possible—non-idiosyncratic text), as well as in an English translation of this text. Due to the current state of philological research into the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons, I have refrained from producing editions based on multiple witnesses; instead, textual variants are discussed in the running text and, in almost every case, displayed in an auxiliary table summarising the attestation of individual variants throughout the corpus of collections in which the antiphon is found (see 3.1.2). Transcriptions of all the discussed antiphons in all the collections of the Minor Corpus are provided in Data set 1. The survey of individual antiphons is followed by an overview of the sources of the *Daggwā*-type antiphons for the respective commemoration (although in the case of the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi, this is only of limited value, since only an extract of the attested corpus of antiphons has been discussed). Chapter 3 as a whole concludes with a number of general observations on the diachronic development of the studied corpus and on trends in the textual development of individual antiphons.

3.1.1 Methodological considerations

From the outset of this project, it was clear that the number of attested manuscripts, the complexity of the transmission, and the deficit of previous research would make it impossible—at the present stage—to produce a critical edition of *Daggwā*-type antiphons meeting modern standards.¹⁰⁹⁵ Indeed, the very nature of these antiphon collections calls into question the usefulness of applying the methods of 'classical' textual criticism, with its aim of reconstructing the

¹⁰⁹³ Cf. Macé 2015, p. 341.

¹⁰⁹⁴ As laid out in Chapter 5 (see fn. 1659), the sequence of melodic families has also not been taken into account for the study of the 'arbā 't melodic families. However, for an introduction to the methodology and a display of the usefulness of this line of research, see Karlsson forthcoming.

¹⁰⁹⁵ See Chapter 1 (1.2.2). For methodological reflections on the editing of works with a 'tradition manuscrite surabondante', see Mendieta 1987.

earliest attainable stage of a text, for the type of texts under discussion.¹⁰⁹⁶ Instead of focussing exclusively on the most primitive stage of the text—which, of course, needs not be the stage attested in the earliest witnesses—the aim in this chapter has been to reflect on the development that these texts have gone through over the centuries. This has been done by discussing the diverse variant readings attested in the studied corpus of collections.

A central feature of Ethiopic antiphons is their profound intertextuality, connecting them to a considerable portion of Geez literature—especially, but not exclusively,¹⁰⁹⁷ of biblical¹⁰⁹⁸ and hagiographical nature. In other words, the antiphons of the *Daggwā* type represent an indirect transmission of numerous texts, whether by quoting them directly or alluding to them. In the case of the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons, which, as we have seen, goes back to the very earliest stages of recorded Geez literature, its intertextuality is one of its most interesting features and one of the most promising avenues for future research. Indeed, editors of early Geez texts ought always to search the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons for references and quotations from their edenda, as this might represent an early indirect stream of transmission.

Conversely, the study of the texts of *Daggwā*-type antiphons is enriched by taking the textual history of the source texts into account. It has been pointed out that, when editing an anthology—and this seems to be applicable also to the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons—the source-texts should be considered as indirect witnesses.¹⁰⁹⁹ In this chapter, an effort has been made to include the various source texts into the discussion.

¹⁰⁹⁶ It may be noted that within the study of Western liturgical manuscripts, which have for a much longer time been in the interest of scholars, the same methodological considerations are raised. Cf. De Zan 1997.

¹⁰⁹⁷ The use also of early homilies as sources of antiphons has already been noticed by Getatchew Haile 2018 (Getatchew Haile 2018, p. 106). To the example which he cites can be added the following, found among the antiphons for *‘Abbā Yəm’attā*: The two antiphons *Yəm’attā mazmur* (*‘asma la-‘ālam*), EMMML 1894, fol. 44ra, ll. 17–21 and *Yəm’attā mazmur* (*‘asma la-‘ālam*), EMMML 1894, fol. 44ra, ll. 21–25 are clearly based on phrases taken from the homily for *‘Abbā Garimā* by Lulyānos of Aksum (cf., for example, MS EMMML 1763, fols 258ra–259rb).

¹⁰⁹⁸ When discussing quotations from biblical books, I have endeavoured to use the most up-to-date editions. For biblical books that lack a modern edition, I have consulted both an early European edition (easily available online) and a modern Ethiopic edition (easily purchasable on the book markets of Addis Ababa in 2018). If no other information is given, references are based on the following editions: Genesis: Dillmann 1853, Boyd 1909, and Edele 1995; Isaiah: Bachmann 1893; Book of Psalms: Ludolf 1701 (for arguments in favour of the use of this edition, cf. Bausi 2003b) and *Mamhər Lamāne* [n.d.]; Proverbs: Pilkington 1978; Song of Songs: Gleave 1951; Gospel of Matthew: Zuurmond 2001; Gospel of Mark: Zuurmond 1989; Gospel of Luke: Platt 1830 and *Haddis kidān* 2017; Gospel of John: Wechsler 2005; Romans: Tedros Abraha 2001; 1 Corinthians: Platt 1830 and *Haddis kidān* 2017 (Tedros Abraha 2014 has not been available to me while writing this dissertation); 1 Timothy: Platt 1830 and *Haddis kidān* 2017; 2 Timothy: Platt 1830 and *Haddis kidān* 2017; James: Hofmann and Uhlig 1993; Hebrews: Platt 1830 and *Haddis kidān* 2017.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Cf. Macé 2015, p. 341.

3.1.2 Tables of variant readings

As explained above, for most of the antiphons discussed in this chapter, a table showing synoptically the attestations of variant readings has been provided. As it were, these tables are meant to fulfil a function similar to the apparatus of variants in a critical edition. Within these table, each manuscript of the Minor Corpus in which the antiphon under discussion is attested is represented by one column. At the leftmost side of the table, the printed editions are found. Moving towards the right, one first finds (if applicable) the Group B collections (in chronological order, the more recent manuscripts appearing towards the left), then the Group A collections (also in chronological order), the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections (also in chronological order), and finally, on the rightmost side of the table, the single-type collections. In this way, the textual variation is displayed in a manner that highlights the diachronic perspective. The tables of variant readings are intended to serve as a basis for the discussion of textual developments.

The following types of variants have *not* been recorded in the tables:

- variation in the usage of the nominal ending *-a*, both in its function as accusative marker and as marking the non-final constituent(s) of construct chains (except in individual cases, where this distinction appeared to be of special importance),¹¹⁰⁰
- orthographic variation including the interchange of laryngeals (/ʾ/ ~ /ʿ/; /h/ ~ /ḥ/ ~ /ħ/) and sibilants (/s/ ~ /š/; /ṣ/ ~ /ṣ̣/), variation concerning monophthongisation versus diphthongisation (/i/ ~ /əy/ ~ /yə/; /u/ ~ /əw/ ~ /wə/; /e/ ~ /ay/; /o/ ~ /aw/), and so-called non-standard vocalisation,¹¹⁰¹
- variant forms of the same word (for example, *yəḥur* ~ *yəḥor* as third person masculine singular subjunctive forms of *ḥora*, ‘go’; *naʾammān* ~ *nāʾammān* as first person common plural imperfect forms of *ʾamna*, ‘believe’; *māʾman* ~ *māʾmān* ~ *məʾmān*, ‘faithful’¹¹⁰²),
- variant forms of the commonly occurring personal names Pāṇṭalewon and ʾErmelāwos,¹¹⁰³

¹¹⁰⁰ The disregard of this feature is motivated by the fact that it is sometimes *palaeographically* difficult or impossible—as noticed, for example, by Zuurmond 1989, p. 28 (II; cf. esp. fn. 8), and perhaps particularly in the typically small script of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts—to distinguish the first and sixth order of certain letters. Instead of devising a system for marking the different degrees of insecurity of readings, I have excluded these (possible) variants from the tables of variants. The interested reader may consult Data set 1 for my interpretation of relevant letters in the individual manuscripts.

¹¹⁰¹ For examples of non-standard vocalisation, see, primarily, the descriptions of MSS EMM 7078, Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i, DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-II, DS-III, DS-VIII*/XIII, DS-XVI, and DS-XX in Chapter 2.

¹¹⁰² For the latter word, cf. Leslau 1991, p. 24.

¹¹⁰³ For a general discussion of variants of the name Pāṇṭalewon, see 3.2.1.4.

- abbreviations (for example, when the name *Panṭalewon* is written *Pan*, ጸን፡), including the use of numerals instead of spelling out numbers with letters,
- obvious copying mistakes (e.g. when a copyist wrote ሠፈሙ፡, *za-fama*, for ሠፈረሙ፡, *za-faṣṣama*, ‘who accomplished’)
- variation in punctuation, rubrication, and the use of ligatures.¹¹⁰⁴

The aim has been to record, primarily, the first stage of the text attested in each collection. In cases where the text has been modified secondarily, for example by supralinear or marginal additions, by deletions, or by markings for deletion, this has been recorded in notes at the bottom of each table.

Each textual variant has been allotted one row, and variants which are mutually exclusive are kept together by the same background shading. In the tables, the variants are given in a normalised form according to Dillmann 1865. In cases where a variant is not applicable to a certain collection—for example, because the word or words in question are abbreviated or illegible—this has been marked in the table with an en dash (‘–’).

3.1.3 Antiphon identification numbers

The antiphon identification numbers used in this dissertation have already been briefly introduced in Chapter 1 (1.4.4). Below, a more detailed description is provided of how these identification numbers have been assigned.

To make a systematic study of the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons possible, it is crucial to be able to refer unambiguously to individual antiphons. Ideally, such a system of reference could fulfil a similar function for Ethiopic antiphons as Marius Chaîne’s ‘Répertoire des Salam et Malke’ e’ (= Chaîne 1913b, 1913c), with the adaptations that necessarily follow with the methodological developments of the last century. In order to be usable by future scholars dealing with the rich corpus of Ethiopic antiphons, a reference system ought to be:

- concise,
- well-adapted for use by both humans and computers,
- flexible, i.e. anticipating the incorporation of hitherto unknown antiphons into the system.

In the previous literature, no attempt has been made to systematise the reference to individual antiphons. Bernard Velat, in his edition of the four first weeks of the *Ṣoma Dəggwā*,¹¹⁰⁵ employed a simple numbering system, running from ‘1’ to

¹¹⁰⁴ For discussions of punctuation marks and rubrication in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, see Chapter 4.

¹¹⁰⁵ Velat 1966c (edition), Velat 1969 (French translation).

‘1150’. While serving the purpose of cross-referencing within the edition, this system does not allow for the incorporation of new antiphons in a logical way. Furthermore, Velat’s numbering system is connected to the structure of the *Šoma Dagg^{wā}* rather than to the texts of the antiphons themselves, so that, for example, different numbers are provided to the same antiphon if it appears in different services.¹¹⁰⁶

The system used in the present study is based on the classification of antiphons found in the manuscripts themselves, i.e. the classification into commemorations (see Chapter 1, 1.4.3.2) and types of antiphons (see Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.1). To this is added a unique number, which makes it possible to individuate antiphons within these categories. For commemorations and types of antiphons, standardised Geez names have been adopted. Whereas in the case of the commemorations of Pantaŵon and ‘Abbā ‘Aragāwi, these are relatively uncontroversial—I have adopted the names ‘Pantaŵon’ and ‘‘Aragāwi’—it is less self-evident how the names of other commemorations should be standardised,¹¹⁰⁷ and if this system of reference were to have a life beyond this dissertation, an authoritative list ought to be compiled and used.¹¹⁰⁸

For the names of the antiphon types, I have adopted what appeared to me to be one of the modern standard names (*wāzemā*, *ba-ḥammastu*, ‘*Ēgzi ‘abəḥer nagša*, *yətbārak*, *šalast*, *salām*, ‘*əzl*, *māḥlet*, *səbḥata nagh*, ‘*arbā ‘t*). In the case of the *mazmur*-family antiphons, for which, as discussed in Chapter 1 (1.4.4.1.37), a terminological development has taken place within the Ethiopic tradition, I have decided to treat them primarily as one single group (as in the single-type collections), which I have called *mazmur*, providing the designation(s) most commonly found in the later sources in parenthesis (‘*abun*, ‘*əsmā la- ‘ālam*, *məsbāk*).¹¹⁰⁹ I have not recorded systematically whether antiphons are classified as belonging to one of the subgroups *qənnəwāt* or *həllāwe*.

The third part of the identification number is made up of a unique number, which theoretically is given *ad hoc* to each antiphon. In the present edition—as far as possible, given the constraints in the material—these numbers have been assigned to the antiphons based on their earliest occurrence in the corpus. Consequently, the antiphon identification number ‘Pantaŵon ‘*arbā ‘t* 001’ is given to the earliest attested ‘*arbā ‘t* antiphon for Pantaŵon. Should future scholars choose to

¹¹⁰⁶ For example, the same *šalast* antiphon is referred to with the numbers 262, 698, and 770, depending on which service it appears in.

¹¹⁰⁷ For example, the commemoration of the apostles James and John on is referred to in the sources either as *Yā ‘qob wa-Yohānnəs* (‘James and John’) or as *Daqiqa Zabdwos* (‘Children of Zebedee’).

¹¹⁰⁸ The same consideration applies to the names of the antiphon types.

¹¹⁰⁹ In a few cases, the post-single-type collections disagree regarding the (re)classification of individual *mazmur*-family antiphons; such cases are mentioned in connection to the discussions of the individual antiphons.

accept this model of identification numbers of Ethiopian antiphons, this systematicity will have to be given up and ‘new’ antiphons will be assigned numbers based rather on the order in which they are edited.

3.2 Ġanṭalewon

3.2.1 Introduction

The Ethiopic tradition knows at least two saints with the name *Ġanṭalewon* (ጳንጠሌዎን):

- a) Ġanṭalewon of Nicomedia (in Greek: Παντολέον, Παντελεήμων; in the Ethiopic tradition: ጳንጠሌዎን ሰማዕት, *Ġanṭalewon samāʾt*, ‘Ġanṭalewon the Martyr’), an early fourth-century physician—one of the so-called ‘Holy Unmercenaries’—who was martyred during the persecution of the Roman emperor Galerius (d. 311);
- b) Ġanṭalewon of the Cell (ጳንጠሌዎን ዘጸማዕት, *Ġanṭalewon za-ṣomāʾt*, or ጳንጠሌዎን መነኩስ, *Ġanṭalewon manakos*, ‘Ġanṭalewon the Monk’), one of the so-called ‘Nine Saints’ traditionally said to have evangelised Northern Ethiopia in the fifth–sixth century AD.

Both saints are represented in the Ethiopic tradition with a life (ገጽፊ, *gädl*), commemorations in the *Sənkəssār* (ሰንክሳር; CAe 2375), and various kinds of liturgical poetry (see below). Below, the saints will be introduced individually, beginning with the chronological predecessor Ġanṭalewon the Martyr.

3.2.1.1 Ġanṭalewon the Martyr

Ġanṭalewon the Martyr is widely commemorated in the Orient as well as in the Occident. Versions of his life are extant at least in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, Greek, Latin, and Old English.¹¹¹⁰ The Ethiopic traditions have been studied by Vitagrazia Pisani, first in an unpublished MA thesis (= Pisani 2006), then in the article ‘Pantaleone da Nicomedia in Etiopia. Il *gädl* e la tradizione manoscritta’ (= Pisani 2015b).

The story of Ġanṭalewon the Martyr may be summarised as follows: Ġanṭalewon was a young physician at the court of Galerius (r. 305–311), Roman emperor of the East. He was converted to Christianity, the religion of his late mother, by the priest ʾErmelāwos (in Greek: Ἐρμόλαος; in Geez: ኤርሜላዎስ, *ʾErmelāwos*, etc.¹¹¹¹). After miraculously healing a blind man, Ġanṭalewon was denounced by jealous colleagues and brought in front of the emperor. Refusing to renounce his

¹¹¹⁰ Cf. Pisani 2015b, pp. 358–360; and, for the Old English version, Proud 1997.

¹¹¹¹ For a discussion of the different forms of this name attested in the *Life of Ġanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), cf. Pisani 2006, p. 141, fn. 15. In the English text of this dissertation, the form ‘ʾErmelāwos’ will be used.

faith, he was subjected to various kinds of torture, including being thrown into the sea with a stone around his neck and being immersed in melted lead, but the natural elements would not harm him. During this ordeal, Christ repeatedly appeared to Pāntalewon in the likeness of 'Ermelāwos, consoling and encouraging him. Finally, the saint was beheaded, after even his executioners had come to believe in Christ.

The main Ethiopic text concerning Pāntalewon the Martyr is the *Life of Pāntalewon the Martyr* (ገድለ፡ ጳንጠሌዎን፡ ሰማዕት፡, *Gadla Pāntalewon samā t*, 'The Struggle of Pāntalewon the Martyr'; CAe 3158). According to Pisani 2015b, the *Life* is attested in fourteen manuscripts dating from between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century.¹¹¹² The *Life of Pāntalewon the Martyr* is exclusively transmitted as part of the *Gadla samā tāt* (ገድለ፡ ሰማዕታት፡, 'The Live(s) of the Martyrs'; CAe 1493), the collection of primarily non-Ethiopian martyrs' lives that flourished up to the fifteenth century.¹¹¹³ In the *Gadla samā tāt*, Pāntalewon is celebrated on 6 Təqəmt (like Pāntalewon of the Cell, see below). A critical edition of the *Life* based on twelve manuscripts, together with an Italian translation and introduction, has been produced by Pisani in her MA thesis but is still awaiting publication.¹¹¹⁴ However, Pisani has kindly put her thesis at my disposal. As the manuscript tradition of the *Life of Pāntalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) offers an important point of departure for the discussions of source texts of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons, the *stemma codicum*, as proposed by Pisani 2006, is reproduced below:¹¹¹⁵

¹¹¹² Pisani 2015b, p. 361.

¹¹¹³ For an introduction to the *Gadla samā tāt*, see Bausi 2002, pp. 1–18.

¹¹¹⁴ Pisani 2006, pp. 87–136 (edition), 137–164 (Italian translation).

¹¹¹⁵ Cf. Pisani 2006, p. 79. For philological justifications of the reconstruction of the respective subarchetypes, see Pisani 2006, pp. 80–86. The sigla used by Pisani 2006 are the following: A = MS London, BL Or. 686, fols 39rb–43vb (AD 1755/1769); B = MS London, BL Or. 687–688, fols 55va–60vc (eighteenth century); C = MS London, BL Or. 689, fols 37vb–45rb (fifteenth century); E = MS Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 110, fols 109ra–115vc (eighteenth century); F = MS 'Abbā Sayfa Mikā'el, EMMML 1479, fols 72vb–81vb (AD 1459/1460); G = MS 'Astit Kidāna Məhrat, EMMML 2514, fols 18ra–24va (AD 1382–1388); H = MS Təgor Māryām, EMMML 6903, fols 37ra–44vb (fifteenth century); J = MS Lālibalā Beta Gabr'el, EMMML 6951, fols 31va–38vb (fifteenth century); K = MS Dabra Ġamaddu, EMMML 6965, fols 34ra–41vb (fourteenth century); L = MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 10 (Tānāsee 121), fols 40ra–48rb (fifteenth century); M = MS Ḥayq (private collection), EMMML 2796, fols 13vb–32ra (fourteenth century); N = MS Ḥayq 'Ēstifānos, EMMML 1766, fols 69va–80rb (fourteenth–fifteenth century).

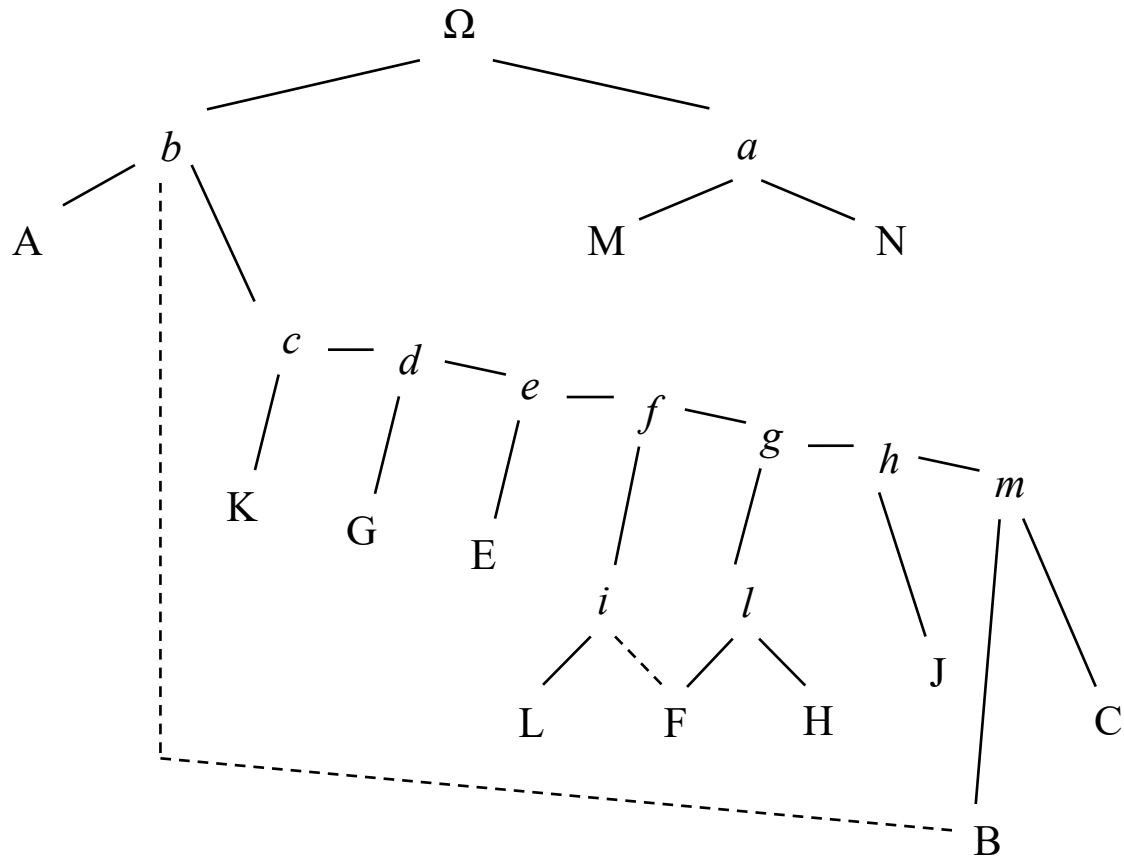


Figure 21. Stemma codicum of the Life of Pantaŕlewon the Martyr (CAe 3158; apud Pisani 2006, p. 79).

Pantaŕlewon the Martyr is also commemorated in the *Sankəssār* (CAe 2375). In fact, the *Sankəssār* contains several commemorations which may be put in connection with the saint. Pisani 2015b mentions a commemoration of a Bilā' imon / Bilāmon (ቢላኢሞን፡ / ቢላሞን፡) on 15 Ṭəqəmt and a commemoration of a Baṭalān / Baṭlān / Maṭlān (በጠላን፡ / በጥላን፡ / መጥላን፡) on 19 Ḥamle, which retell substantially the same story, although several personal names and place names appear in different forms. In one manuscript of the so-called 'first recension' of *Sankəssār*, there is a commemoration of Pantaŕlewon the Martyr on 6 Ṭəqəmt (as in the *Gadla samā 'tāt*).¹¹¹⁶ Next to the prose texts, there are also several different *salām* / 'arke hymns dedicated to Pantaŕlewon the Martyr.¹¹¹⁷ No *malkə* 'hymn for him is known.¹¹¹⁸

¹¹¹⁶ Cf. the fifteenth–sixteenth-century manuscript Addis Ababa (private collection), EMMML 6458, fol. 46ra. I am grateful to Dorothea Reule for providing me with this information.

¹¹¹⁷ Cf., for example, the fifteenth-century (?) manuscript Ġamaddu Māryām, EMMML 7061, fol. 146ra, ll. 9–16;

¹¹¹⁸ I am grateful to Augustine Dickinson for this information.

3.2.1.2 Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell

Contrary to Pāṇṭalewon the Martyr, Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell is intimately connected with the land of Ethiopia.¹¹¹⁹ To my knowledge, he is not commemorated in churches outside of the Ethiopic liturgical tradition.

The story of Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell, as known from the *Life*, may be summarised as follows: Originally from a noble Christian family in ‘Rome’ (i.e. Byzantium?), Pāṇṭalewon spent his childhood in a monastery. He travelled to Ethiopia as one of the so-called ‘Nine Saints’ (or, according to the reading in the *Sənkəssār: məsła 9 qəddusān*, ‘avec neuf saints’¹¹²⁰). When they dispersed after having spent some time together at the Beta Qattin (i.e. the royal precinct, including the treasury?), Pāṇṭalewon constructed a cell of five times two times three cubits, where he stood upright for forty-five years in constant prayer, without eating or drinking. King Kaleb of Ethiopia, before his retaliation campaign against the Jewish ruler Finḥas in South Arabia, instigator of the massacre on Christians in Nāgrān, came to visit Pāṇṭalewon and ask for his blessing. Later, during the campaign, Pāṇṭalewon appeared on the battlefield in decisive moments, ensuring the victory of the Ethiopians. Among the other miracles wrought by the saint, the following should be mentioned: Pāṇṭalewon once asked his disciple to plant a tree in the morning, and by the evening, the tree had matured and could be cut, burnt into charcoal, and used for the incense during the celebration of the liturgy in nearby Madarā. Pāṇṭalewon departed on 6 Ṭəqəmt and was buried by ‘Abbā Garimā, who had been informed by the Holy Spirit of his passing.

The main text concerning the saint is the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell* (ገጽለ: ጳጳጳጳጳጳ: ዘጳጳጳጳጳጳ, *Gadla Pāṇṭalewon za-šomā ‘t*, ‘The Struggle of Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell’; CAe 1532). This text was first edited and translated into Latin by Conti Rossini 1904c, 1904d based on the one manuscript witness known at that time, the eighteenth-century manuscript Paris, BnF Éth. d’Abb. 110. It was later re-edited by Antonella Brita as a part of her PhD dissertation (= Brita 2008). Brita’s edition, based on nine manuscripts, the oldest dating to the fourteenth–fifteenth century,¹¹²¹ has not yet been published, but has kindly been made available to me. Like the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon the Martyr*, the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell* is transmitted as part of the *Gadla samā ‘tāt* (CAe 1493), where he is also commemorated on 6 Ṭəqəmt. In order to facilitate the discussion later in this chapter, the *stemma codicum* proposed by Brita 2008 is reproduced below:¹¹²²

¹¹¹⁹ For an introduction, cf. ‘Pāṇṭalewon’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 111a–113a (A. Brita); Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke 1975, p. 86 (no. 124).

¹¹²⁰ Colin 1987, p. 23.

¹¹²¹ Brita 2008, pp. 271–273.

¹¹²² Cf. Brita 2008, p. 290. For philological justifications of the reconstruction of the respective subarchetypes, see Brita 2008, pp. 277–290. The sigla used by Brita 2008 are the following: A = MS Paris, BnF Éth. d’Abb. 110, fols 116ra–122va (eighteenth century); B = MS Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMM 7602, fols 83ra–89va (AD 1379/80–1413; regarding the localisation of this

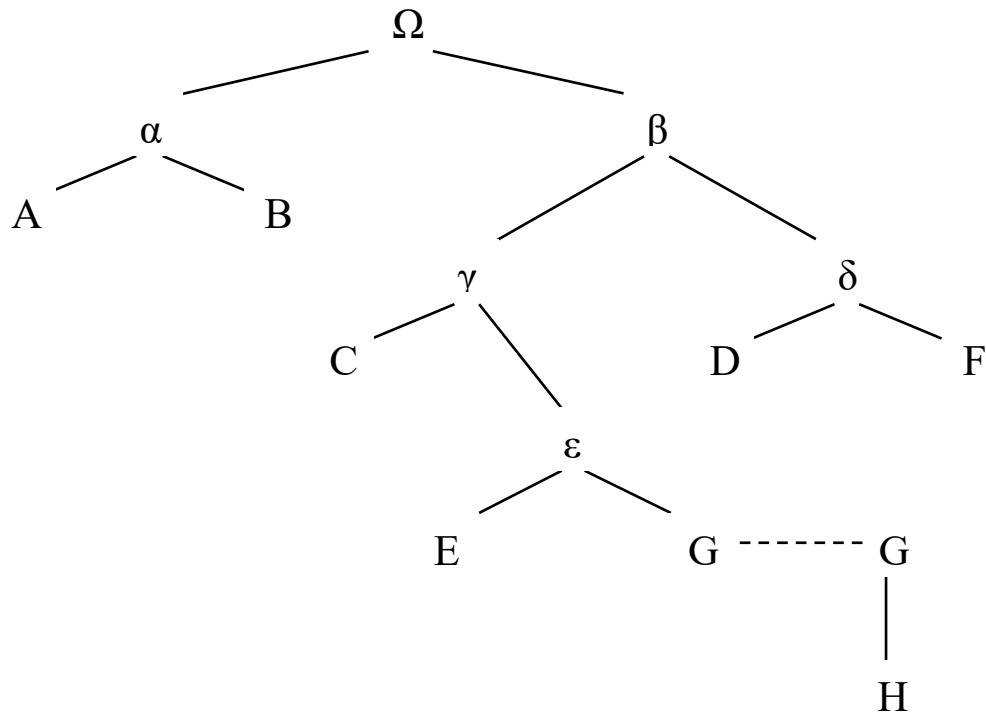


Figure 22. Stemma codicum of the Life of Pantaŕlewon of the Cell (CAe 1532; apud Brita 2008, p. 290).

In the *Sankəssār* (CAe 2375), Pantaŕlewon of the Cell is commemorated on 6 Təqəmt.¹¹²³ In the edition by Colin 1987, the commemoration of Pantaŕlewon of the Cell is marked as an addition of the so-called ‘second recension’. However, this commemoration is present already in the fifteenth–sixteenth-century first-recension manuscript Addis Ababa (private collection), EMLL 6458 (fol. 46ra),¹¹²⁴ albeit the reading there is much shorter than the one edited by Colin 1987. Next to the prose texts about Pantaŕlewon of the Cell, there are several liturgical texts intended for his commemoration: Brita 2010 lists two different *malkə* ‘hymns, as well as *salām* / ‘*arke* hymns and a set of *Zəmmāre*-type antiphons.¹¹²⁵

manuscript, see fn. 1371); C = MS ‘Abbā Sayfa Mikā’el, EMLL 1479, fols 64ra–72va (AD 1459/1460); D = MS Beta Pantaŕlewon, GP 9, fols 1ra–19va (fifteenth century); E = MS Beta Pantaŕlewon, C2 –IV–522, GP 8, fols 1ra–28va (sixteenth century); F = MS Dāgā ‘Ēstifānos 66 (Tānāsee 177), fols 81ra–97ra (fifteenth- or fourteenth–fifteenth century); G = MS Beta Pantaŕlewon, G10, fols 7ra–22va (nineteenth–twentieth century; the text has been revised, and Brita 2008 distinguishes a base layer G1 and a secondary layer G2); H = MS ‘Aksum Māryām Şəyon, GP 11, fols 58ra–67rb (twentieth century).

¹¹²³ Colin 1987, pp. 22, 24 (edition), 23, 25 (French translation).

¹¹²⁴ I am grateful to Dorothea Reule for providing me with this information.

¹¹²⁵ Brita 2010, pp. 148–149. *Malkə* ‘hymns for Pantaŕlewon of the Cell are also attested in the nineteenth-century manuscript Ġammadu Māryām, EMLL 6993 (fols 92va–95ra) and the twentieth-century manuscript Portland, Weiner Collection, EMIP 764 (fols 34ra–37ra, with a *tarafa malkə* ‘ on fol. 37rb). I am grateful to Augustine Dickinson for providing me with this information.

3.2.1.3 One or two commemorations?

As noticed above, the two Pāntalewons are in several sources commemorated on the same day: 6 Ṭəqəmt.¹¹²⁶ This is the case also in all *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections included in the Minor Corpus. In fact, only two of the collections in the Minor Corpus provide clearly separated commemorations for the two Pāntalewons—in the rest, antiphons that belong to Pāntalewon the Martyr, antiphons that belong to Pāntalewon of the Cell, and antiphons which cannot be unambiguously connected to either of the saints are mixed together in one single commemoration, often simply introduced as a commemoration ‘of Pāntalewon’ (ዘጳንጠሌዎን:).

The two collections that provide clearly separate sets of antiphons for each of the two Pāntalewons are the *wāzemā mazmur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92¹¹²⁷ and the related, second unidentified collection in MS EML 7618.¹¹²⁸ There are also two collections in which the situation is more complex. Firstly, in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, the first layer of text (written by Hand A) contains a set of mixed antiphons, belonging to both Pāntalewon the Martyr and Pāntalewon of the Cell. A later hand (Hand C) has added a set of antiphons exclusively and explicitly pertaining to Pāntalewon the Martyr (ዘጳንጠሌዎን: ሰማዕት:).¹¹²⁹ The same hand has also added—next to the original, ambiguous rubric of the original set of antiphons (i.e. ዘጳንጠሌዎን[:])—an erroneous claim that these belong (exclusively) to Pāntalewon of the Cell (add. ዘጳማዕት: ፮: ለጥቅምት[:]).¹¹³⁰ Thus, after the addition by Hand C, the situation is as follows: there is one set of mixed antiphons with a rubric claiming that they pertain to Pāntalewon of the Cell, and one set of antiphons pertaining exclusively to Pāntalewon the Martyr, which have a rubric in agreement with this.

¹¹²⁶ This is the case in the *Gadla samā' tāt* (CAe 1493) and in the fifteenth–sixteenth-century first-recension *Sənkəssār* manuscript Addis Ababa (private collection), EML 6458. Cf. also the 'Īgzi' *abəher nagśa* hymn collections in MSS Addis Ababa, Yakā Ba'atā EML 208 (fol. 98va–b) and Gunda Gunde, GG-090 (fol. 106rv); the *Gəssāwe* in MSS Addis Ababa, IES, MS 695 (fol. 52r) and London, BL Or 543 (fol. 20v); the poetic liturgical calendar in MS London, BL Or. 534 (fol. 156ra–b); and the liturgical calendar in MS Paris, BnF, Éth. d'Abb. 105 (fol. 1v). In the *Gəssāwe* in the fifteenth-century manuscript Ḥayq 'Īstifānos, EML 1954, none of the two Pāntalewons is commemorated on 6 Ṭəqəmt (cf. fols 75v–76r), but on 15 Ṭəqəmt, there is a commemoration for a *Badədlaymun samā' t* (በድድለይሙን: ሰማዕት:, fol. 78v, presumably reflecting a misreading of بندليمن, *bndlymwn*, as بندليمن, *bddlymwn*). This seems to reflect the same Coptic (?) tradition as the one found in the *Sənkəssār* (CAe 2375).

¹¹²⁷ Pāntalewon the Monk (ዘጳንጠሌዎን: መነኩስ:): fol. 112rb–va; Pāntalewon the Martyr (ዘጳንጠሌዎን: ሰማዕት:): fol. 112va.

¹¹²⁸ Both Pāntalewon the Monk (ዘጳንጠሌዎን: መነኩስ:) and Pāntalewon the Martyr (ዘጳንጠሌዎን: ሰማዕት:): fol. 199rb.

¹¹²⁹ The rest of the rubricated introduction—በል: ለተምወ: ተመዝ: (?)—is difficult to interpret. The month of Tammuz does not overlap with Ṭəqəmt.

¹¹³⁰ For example, the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun / məsbāk*) 004, which in the reading attested in MS GG-187 explicitly mentions Pāntalewon the Martyr (fol. 148ra, ll. 26–30), is found in the part written by Hand A.

Secondly, there is the multiple-type collection in the seventeenth-century manuscript Ethio-SPaRe DD-019. It provides only one commemoration (fols 19rc–20ra), which contains a mixed set of antiphons similar to the one found in other seventeenth-century *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. Uniquely, however, this is introduced as a commemoration of Pāṇṭalewon the Martyr, Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell and Dorsəyos (?) the Martyr (ጳṇṭሌዎን፡ ሰማዕት፡ ወጳṇṭሌዎን፡ ዘጳማዕት፡ ዶ(?)ርስዮስ፡ ሰማዕት፡). As indicated in Chapter 2 (2.5.7), it appears that the titles of the commemorations in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 were taken over from another, as of yet unidentified source.

Given that, in a vast majority of collections, from the earlier attestations and up to modern times, one single corpus of antiphons for Pāṇṭalewon is recognised, I have chosen to follow this practice: In the discussion of the individual antiphons, however, the question of whether individual antiphon may be attributed to one or the other saint are regularly addressed, and the topic is further discussed in the general comments to the antiphons (see 3.2.4.2). It should be noted that the traditions of Pāṇṭalewon the Martyr and Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell in some cases appear to have been conflated.¹¹³¹

3.2.1.4 Excursus: Different forms of the name Pāṇṭalewon

The name Pāṇṭalewon appears in a variety of different forms within the Ethiopic tradition, attributable to different layers of the tradition. To begin with, there are the relatively late Arabic-based forms attested in the *Sənkəssār* (CAe 2375): *Baṭālān* (በጠላን፡), *Baṭlān* (በጥላን፡), *Bilāʾimon* (ቢላኢሞን፡), *Bilāmon* (ቢላሞን፡),¹¹³² and *Maṭlān* (መጥላን፡). None of these is found in the studied *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections and thus, they need not concern us further. Then, there is the relatively frequent variation between the forms Pāṇṭalewon (ጳṇṭሌዎን፡) and Pāṇṭaləyon (ጳṇṭልዮን፡). Both of these forms are widely attested in the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. They appear to be chronologically correlated, so that only the form Pāṇṭalewon is attested in the post-sixteenth-century parts of the corpus, whereas both forms appear—sometimes apparently in free variation within one and the same antiphon¹¹³³—in the earlier parts of the corpus. This variation seems to be

¹¹³¹ Cf., for example, the discussions of the antiphons Pāṇṭalewon *salām* 004 and Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (ʾəsmā la-ʾālam) 020.

¹¹³² It seems that Pisani 2015b is reconstructing this form based on the transcription of the name provided by Budge 1928 (cf. Pisani 2015b, p. 360, fn. 41). The form appears in this form also in two of the manuscripts used by Colin 1987 for editing the *Sənkəssār* commemoration on 15 Təqəmt (Colin 1987, pp. 84, 86 (edition), 85, 87 (French translation)).

¹¹³³ Cf. the attestation of the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (ʾəsmā la-ʾālam) 006 in the collection in MS EMMML 6944, fol. 9ra, l. 34–9rb, l. 8, where both the forms Pāṇṭaləwon (ጳṇṭልዎን፡) and Pāṇṭaləyon (ጳṇṭልዮን፡) appear.

part of a more general variation between (Greek-based) names appearing either in forms ending in *-ewon* or in *-əyon*.¹¹³⁴

In the very earliest attested layer—pre-mid-fourteenth-century—there are also forms with an initial *ma-* (*ṁ*-). In the single-type collection in MS DS-VIII, we find *Maṇṭaləyon* (*ṁንጥልዮን*; fol. 1*r, l. 1) and *Maṇṭaləyon* (*ṁንጠልዮን*; fol. 1*r, ll. 11, 16), but also *Panṭaləyon* (*፳ንጠልዮን*; fol. 1*r, ll. 5, 7). Similarly, in the single-type collection in MS DS-XX we find *Manaṭaləyon* (*ṁንጥልዮን*; fol. 27r, l. 11), but on line 1, a form beginning with *pā-*. In the fifteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EMM 8678, the name of the saint is once spelled *Mapanṭaləyon* (*ṁ፳ንጠልዮን*; fol. 3rb, ll. 22–23). While one can be relatively certain that this represents a scribal mistake, it raises the question whether the Vorlage could have displayed a spelling with *ma-*, which was then partially transferred into the copy. Interestingly, forms beginning with *ma-* also appear in popular legends about the saint, as reported by Littmann 1904 (አባ፡ ምንጥሊት፡, ‘*Abbā Mənṭalit*, in a text in Təgre) and Conti Rossini 1912 (አውነ፡ ሙንጢሊዮስ፡, ‘*Awəna Mantaliyos*, also in a text in Təgre).¹¹³⁵

3.2.2 Corpus of antiphons

The commemoration of Pāntalewon is attested in thirty-two out of the forty-nine manuscripts and fragments included in the Minor Corpus. In ten of the manuscripts and fragments, the absence of Pāntalewon could possibly be the result of material loss, i.e. the section of the manuscript in which one would have expected to find a commemoration of Pāntalewon is missing.¹¹³⁶ Consequently, there are only seven manuscripts in which Pāntalewon would have been expected to appear but does not—these are the seven Group B collections. One can thus

¹¹³⁴ In the index to the complete edition of the *Šānkəssār* (= Colin 1999), this variation is recorded in one case: *ʿAskerewon/ʿAskirəyon*, and the variation *-ewos/-əyos* in ten cases: *ʿAmonewos/ʿAmonəyos*, *ʿAnorewos/ʿAnorəyos*, *ʿArqədewos/ʿArqədəyos*, *Hermenewos/Hermenəyos*, *ʿAtnātewos/ʿAtnātəyos*, *Dākewos/Dākiyos*, *Damātewos/Damātəyos*, *Galāwdewos/Gelāwdəyos*, *Marqorewos/Marqorəyos*, and *Qornolewos/Qornoləyos*. Dillmann 1853, in his edition of the Octateuch, notes that the name ‘Gideon’ is attested both as *Gidəyon* and as *Gedewon* (Dillmann 1853, p. 209 (pars posterior), comment to v. 11). Nosnitsin and Reule 2021 suggest that the form *Paṇṭaləyon* (and consequently also other parallel forms?) may ‘indicate Tigrinya as the probable mother tongue of the scribe’ (Nosnitsin and Reule 2021, p. 11). On this topic, cf. also Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 39, fn. 1.

¹¹³⁵ Littmann 1904, p. 4 (edition), 5 (English translation); Conti Rossini 1912, p. 603 (edition), 612 (Italian translation). In both of these sources, the name is implicitly put in connection with a phrase uttered by Pāntalewon before slaying a dragon: *nəmanāṭalā* (ἡμανῆταλᾶ; Littmann 1904, p. 4) / *nəmanāṭalo* (ἡμανῆταλῶ; Conti Rossini 1912, p. 603), both said to mean ‘let us seize him!’/‘prendiamolo’. Regarding the name, Conti Rossini 1912 further reports that he also heard the name altered into *māntalle* (‘hare’; Conti Rossini 1912, p. 612, fn. 1). For further discussion of these sources, see Brita 2010, pp. 26–29.

¹¹³⁶ This is the case for the single-type collections in MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-II, DS-III, DS-XVI, and Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i, and for the multiple-type collections in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28, EMMML 2468*, EMMML 8070, EMMML 8408, and IES 679.

draw the conclusion that the commemoration of Pāntalewon is an integral part of the liturgical calendar traditionally found in *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections.

As laid out in Chapter 2, several of the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus contain multiple single-type collections. Out of the fifty-two individual single-type collections included in the corpus, the commemoration of Pāntalewon is found in twenty-five.¹¹³⁷ There are twelve single-type collections in which the absence of a commemoration of Pāntalewon could be due to material loss.¹¹³⁸ However, in fifteen of the single-type collections, the absence of Pāntalewon cannot be explained by the result of material loss.¹¹³⁹

In the multiple-type collections, antiphons for a *wāzemā* service and a *səbhata nagh* service are generally provided. The only exception is the collection in *Maṣḥafa Dagg^{wā}* 1994, which presents only a restricted corpus of antiphons for Pāntalewon that does not seem to correspond to any one service. There are no attestations of a *mawaddəs* service or a *kəstata 'aryām* service for the saint, nor of a set of antiphons destined for use during the *məhəllā*.

In Table 11, the corpora of antiphons for Pāntalewon attested in the collections of the Minor Corpus are displayed synoptically. The antiphons have been listed according to the liturgical order, beginning with the antiphons pertaining to the *wāzemā* service (*məsbāk*, *wāzemā*, *ba-ḥamməstu*, 'Ēgzi 'abəḥer *nagśa*, *yətbārak*, *śalast*, *salām*) and continuing with the antiphons for the *səbhata nagh* service ('əzl, *māḥlet*, *səbhata nagh*, (*śalast*), (*salām*)). By and large, this follows the indigenous order of the multiple-type collections. However, all *śalast* antiphons and *salām* antiphons have been placed together at the end of the *wāzemā* service, not divided

¹¹³⁷ A commemoration of Pāntalewon is found in the following collections: the 'arbā't collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92, EMLL 2095, EMLL 7078, EMLL 7618, Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, GG-185, and GG-187; the 'Ēgzi 'abəḥer *nagśa* collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618; the 'əzl collection in MS EMLL 7618; the *māḥlet* collection in MS EMLL 7618; the *mazmur*-family collections in MSS EMLL 6944, EMLL 7618, GG-185, and GG-187; the *salām* collections in MSS DS-VIII*/XIII, EMLL 7618, and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002; the *śalast* collections in MSS GG-187 (more specifically, the *Maṣḥafa Rome*) and BnF Éth. 92 (second *śalast* collections); the *wāzemā* collection in MS EMLL 7618; the *yətbārak* collections in MSS DS-XX and EMLL 7618; and the 'wāzemā *mazmur*' collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618. Furthermore, according to the catalogue of Turaev 1906a, there is a commemoration of Pāntalewon in the probable *salām* collection in MS RNB Dorn 615 (cf. Turaev 1906a, p. 15).

¹¹³⁸ This is the case for the following collections: the 'arbā't collection in MS DS-XVI, the 'aryām (?) collection in MS DS-III and the 'aryām collection in MS GG-185; the *mazmur*-family collections in MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i, and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002; the *salām* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92; the *səbhata nagh* (?) collection in MS GG-185; the unidentified collection in DS-II; the first unidentified collection in MS EMLL 7618; and both unidentified collections in MS GG-185.

¹¹³⁹ This is the case for the following collections: the 'aryām collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and BnF Éth. 92, the *mawāśə't* collection in MS EMLL 7618; the *śalast* collections in MSS EMLL 7618, Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, and BnF Éth. 92 (first *śalast* collection); the *səbhata nagh* collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and BnF Éth. 92; the *yətbārak* collection in BnF Éth. 92 (which has a very limited corpus of commemorations); the *za-'amlākiya* collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and BnF Éth. 92; the *za-nāhu yə'əze* collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and BnF Éth. 92; and the *za-təśāhalanni* collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and BnF Éth. 92.

into two groups, one at the end of each service, as it is traditionally done.¹¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the *'arbā 't* antiphons, which in the studied manuscripts are generally placed at the very end of the commemoration, have been placed at the end of the *wāzemā* service, to which they—in the case of the commemoration of Pāntalewon, where no *mawaddās* service is envisioned—belong. Furthermore, the *mazmur*-family antiphons, making up a major part of the corpus, have been placed towards the end, in order to keep the balance of the exposition. In the studied manuscripts, these do in any case display different subdivisions based on the age of the collections—appearing in one mixed group in the single-type *mazmur*-family collections, while being distributed among the various other antiphon types belonging to this ‘family’ in the later, multiple-type collections (see Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.37)—and for this reason, this placement seemed most practical. They are followed only by the *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons, which, due to the fact that they are not a part of the modern tradition, have been placed at the very end.

A couple of explicatory notes to Table 11 are in order:

- attestation of an antiphon is marked with a capital letter ‘X’;
- attestation in abbreviated form is marked with an asterisk (‘*’) following the ‘X’;
- the presence of a *mālṭān* (cf. Chapter 1, 1.4.5.6.1) has been signalled with a superscript ‘m’;
- in manuscripts in which several hands are attested—primarily MS GG-187—the presence of an antiphon has been signalled by the letter assigned to that hand in Chapter 2 instead of ‘X’ (in the case of MS GG-187: ‘A’, ‘B’, and ‘C’);
- in cases where the same antiphon or antiphons with the same text are attested on multiple occasions within one manuscript, the corresponding number of ‘X’s has been written in the field;
- for the *māsbāk* antiphons, attestations of the same antiphon among the *mazmur*-family antiphons have been marked in brackets.

¹¹⁴⁰ This has been done in order to facilitate the study of the texts of the antiphons. Within the manuscripts, it is not always the same *śalast* antiphons and *salām* antiphons that are prescribed to the *wāzemā* service and the *sābhata nagh* service, respectively. While such variations are certainly important for the study of developments within the liturgical practices and may be useful in determining relationships between individual antiphon collections, it has not been possible to analyse them systematically within the framework of this dissertation.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

Table 11. The corpus of antiphons for *Pan̄alewon* attested in the collections of the Minor Corpus.

| | DS-VIII (pre-mid-14th) | DS-XX (pre-mid-14th) | EMML 7078 (pre-mid-14th) | EMML 6694 (14th?) | EMML 7618 (14th) | BnF Éth. 92 (14th, 14th–15th) | EMML 2095 (14th–15th) | GG-187 (14th–15th) | ES SSB-002 (15th) | GG-185 (15th) | EMML 8678 (15th) | EMML 8488 (15th) | Tānāsee 172 (15th–16th) | EMML 4667 (15th–16th) | EMML 8804 (15th–16th) | EMML 7174 (16th) | EMML 2542 (16th) | EMML 1894 (16th) | UUB O Et. 36 (17th) | ES QS-006 (17th) | ES DD-019 (17th) | EMML 2053 (17th) | EAP704/1/36 (17th–18th) | EAP432/1/10 (18th) | EMML 7529 (18th–19th) | EMML 6994 (18th–19th) | EMML 2431 (18th–19th) | EMDA 00111 (19th) | EMML 7285 (19th) | EAP254/1/5 (20th) | MD 1994 (20th) | MD 2015 (20th) | | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | | | | | X | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^m | X ^m | | | Ṗ. <i>wāzemā</i> 001 | |
| 2. | | | | | | | | | | | (X*) | X | | X* | X* | X* | X* | X | X | X* | X* | X | X* | X | X | X | X | X | X* | X* | X | | X | Ṗ. <i>ba-ḥam.</i> 001 | |
| 3. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X* | | | | X* | | | | | | | X* | X* | X* | | X* | Ṗ. <i>ba-ḥam.</i> 002 | |
| 4. | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | X | X | | | X | X | | | X* | X* | X* | | | | | | | | Ṗ. <i>ba-ḥam.</i> 003 | |
| 5. | | | | | | | | | | | (X*) | | | | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Ṗ. <i>ba-ḥam.</i> 004* | |
| 6. | | | | | X | X | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | Ṗ. <i>ʿĒgz. n.</i> 001 | |
| 7. | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Ṗ. <i>ʿĒgz. n.</i> 002 | |
| 8. | | X | | | X | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | Ṗ. <i>yətbāarak</i> 001 | |
| 9. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Ṗ. <i>yətbāarak</i> 002 |
| 10. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Ṗ. <i>yətbāarak</i> 003 |
| 11. | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 001 |

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| | DS-VIII (pre-mid-14th) | DS-XX (pre-mid-14th) | EMML 7078 (pre-mid-14th) | EMML 6694 (14th?) | EMML 7618 (14th) | Bnf Éth. 92 (14th, 14th–15th) | EMML 2095 (14th–15th) | GG-187 (14th–15th) | ES SSB-002 (15th) | GG-185 (15th) | EMML 8678 (15th) | EMML 8488 (15th) | Tānāsee 172 (15th–16th) | EMML 4667 (15th–16th) | EMML 8804 (15th–16th) | EMML 7174 (16th) | EMML 2542 (16th) | EMML 1894 (16th) | UUB O Et. 36 (17th) | ES QS-006 (17th) | ES DD-019 (17th) | EMML 2053 (17th) | EAP704/1/36 (17th–18th) | EAP432/1/10 (18th) | EMML 7529 (18th–19th) | EMML 6994 (18th–19th) | EMML 2431 (18th–19th) | EMDA 00111 (19th) | EMML 7285 (19th) | EAP254/1/5 (20th) | MD 1994 (20th) | MD 2015 (20th) | |
|-----|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| 12. | Ā. śalast 002 | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 13. | Ā. śalast 003 | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | (X) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14. | Ā. śalast 004 | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15. | Ā. śalast 005 | X | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 16. | Ā. śalast 006 | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17. | Ā. śalast 007 | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18. | Ā. śalast 008 | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19. | Ā. śalast 009 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 20. | Ā. śalast 010 | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21. | Ā. śalast 011 | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | X* | | X* | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22. | Ā. śalast 012 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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| | DS-VIII (pre-mid-14th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|--------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|
| | DS-XX (pre-mid-14th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 7078 (pre-mid-14th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 6694 (14th?) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 7618 (14th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Bnf Éth. 92 (14th, 14th–15th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 2095 (14th–15th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | GG-187 (14th–15th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | ES SSB-002 (15th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | GG-185 (15th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 8678 (15th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 8488 (15th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Tānāsee 172 (15th–16th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 4667 (15th–16th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 8804 (15th–16th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 7174 (16th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 2542 (16th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 1894 (16th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | UUB O Et. 36 (17th) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | ES QS-006 (17th) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | ES DD-019 (17th) | (X) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 2053 (17th) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EAP704/1/36 (17th–18th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EAP432/1/10 (18th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 7529 (18th–19th) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 6994 (18th–19th) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 2431 (18th–19th) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMDA 00111 (19th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EMML 7285 (19th) | X X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | EAP254/1/5 (20th) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | MD 1994 (20th) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | MD 2015 (20th) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23. | Ā. <i>śalast</i> 013 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 24. | Ā. <i>salām</i> 001 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| 25. | Ā. <i>salām</i> 002 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| 26. | Ā. <i>salām</i> 003 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| 27. | Ā. <i>salām</i> 004 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| 28. | Ā. <i>salām</i> 005 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| 29. | Ā. <i>salām</i> 006 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| 30. | Ā. <i>salām</i> 007* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 31. | Ā. <i>ʿarbāʿt</i> 001 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 32. | Ā. <i>ʿarbāʿt</i> 002 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| | DS-VIII (pre-mid-14th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | DS-VIII (pre-mid-14th) | DS-XX (pre-mid-14th) | EMML 7078 (pre-mid-14th) | EMML 6694 (14th?) | EMML 7618 (14th) | BnF éh. 92 (14th, 14th-15th) | EMML 2095 (14th-15th) | GG-187 (14th-15th) | ES SSB-002 (15th) | GG-185 (15th) | EMML 8678 (15th) | EMML 8488 (15th) | Tānāsee 172 (15th-16th) | EMML 4667 (15th-16th) | EMML 8804 (15th-16th) | EMML 7174 (16th) | EMML 2542 (16th) | EMML 1894 (16th) | UUB O Et. 36 (17th) | ES QS-006 (17th) | ES DD-019 (17th) | EMML 2053 (17th) | EAP704/1/36 (17th-18th) | EAP432/1/10 (18th) | EMML 7529 (18th-19th) | EMML 6994 (18th-19th) | EMML 2431 (18th-19th) | EMDA 00111 (19th) | EMML 7285 (19th) | EAP254/1/5 (20th) | MD 1994 (20th) | MD 2015 (20th) | |
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| 44. | Ṗ. <i>səbh. n.</i> 004* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X* | | | | | | | X* | | | | |
| 45. | Ṗ. <i>səbh. n.</i> 005* | | | | | | | | | | | | | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 46. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 001 | X | | | X | X | X | A | | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 47. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 002 | X | | | X | X | X | A | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 48. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 003 | X | | | X | X | X | A | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 49. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 004 | X | | | X | X | X | A | | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 50. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 005 | X | | | X | X | X | A | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 51. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 006 | X | | | X | X | X | A | | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 52. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 007 | X | X | | X | X | X | A | | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 53. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 008 | X | | | X | X | X | C | | | X | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 54. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 009 | X | | | X | X | X | C | | | X | | | | | | X | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| 55. | Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 010 | X | | | X | X | X | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | DS-VIII (pre-mid-14th) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | DS-VIII (pre-mid-14th) | DS-XX (pre-mid-14th) | EMML 7078 (pre-mid-14th) | EMML 6694 (14th?) | EMML 7618 (14th) | BnF éh. 92 (14th, 14th-15th) | EMML 2095 (14th-15th) | GG-187 (14th-15th) | ES SSB-002 (15th) | GG-185 (15th) | EMML 8678 (15th) | EMML 8488 (15th) | Tānāsee 172 (15th-16th) | EMML 4667 (15th-16th) | EMML 8804 (15th-16th) | EMML 7174 (16th) | EMML 2542 (16th) | EMML 1894 (16th) | UUB O Et. 36 (17th) | ES QS-006 (17th) | ES DD-019 (17th) | EMML 2053 (17th) | EAP704/1/36 (17th-18th) | EAP432/1/10 (18th) | EMML 7529 (18th-19th) | EMML 6994 (18th-19th) | EMML 2431 (18th-19th) | EMDA 00111 (19th) | EMML 7285 (19th) | EAP254/1/5 (20th) | MD 1994 (20th) | MD 2015 (20th) | |
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| 68. | Ṗ. mazmur 023 | | | | X | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 69. | Ṗ. mazmur 024 | | | | X | | | C | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 70. | Ṗ. mazmur 025 | | | | X | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 71. | Ṗ. mazmur 026 | | | | X | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 72. | Ṗ. mazmur 027 | | | | | | | A | | | X | X | (X) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 73. | Ṗ. mazmur 028 | | | | | | | B | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 74. | Ṗ. mazmur 029 | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 75. | Ṗ. mazmur 030 | | | | | | | | | | | | | (X) | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 76. | Ṗ. mazmur 031 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 77. | Ṗ. mazmur 032 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | (X) | | | | | | | | | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

[illegible]

3.2.2.1 Comments to Table 11

Within the data presented in Table 11, there are a number of noteworthy patterns. These will be discussed below according to the respective antiphon types.

Only one *wāzemā* antiphon is attested. It has a stable attestation throughout the diachronic corpus. As pointed out in Chapter 1 (1.4.4.1.6), no single-type collection containing *ba-ḥammastu* antiphons has been discovered so far. It is possible, but not certain, that this reflects a late emergence of this type of antiphons. While the antiphon Ġanṭalewon *ba-ḥammastu* 001 has a widespread attestation in the multiple-type collections, both the antiphons Ġanṭalewon *ba-ḥammastu* 002 and 003 (and 004) are more restricted in their attestation. Interestingly, their attestation seems to be mutually exclusive, at least based on the present corpus, so that any one collection only contains either Ġanṭalewon *ba-ḥammastu* 002, Ġanṭalewon *ba-ḥammastu* 003, or Ġanṭalewon *ba-ḥammastu* 004—never two of them at the same time. However, there seems to be no correlation between the groups that are defined by the inclusion of either one of them and the attestation patterns of other antiphons.

The *ʿĠgziʿ abəḥer nagśa* antiphons and the *yətbārak* antiphons for Ġanṭalewon display similar patterns of attestation, in which one of each type is ubiquitously attested in the multiple-type collections, whereas the single-type collections also contain other alternatives. This could be an indication that some antiphons fell out of use during the process in which the multiple-type collections were elaborated on the basis of single-type collections.

As for the *śalast* antiphons, there are, to start with, no overlaps in contents between the two single-type collections which contain antiphons for Ġanṭalewon. Both collections contain two antiphons, and in both cases, one of the antiphons—Ġanṭalewon *śalast* 002 and 003, respectively—has had an afterlife in certain multiple-type collections, whereas the others—Ġanṭalewon *śalast* 001 and 004—are not attested in the corpus beyond the single-type collections. For the antiphon Ġanṭalewon *śalast* 003, one could posit a geographically restricted usage, as it is only attested in manuscripts from Təgrāy and Eritrea (?).¹¹⁴¹ Numerous *śalast* antiphons are only attested in the multiple-type collections, perhaps reflecting an increased liturgical need for antiphons of this type from the fifteenth century onwards. Whereas some—the antiphons Ġanṭalewon *śalast* 006, 007, 008, 010, and 012—are restricted to the pre-seventeenth-century collections, others—the antiphons Ġanṭalewon *śalast* 005, 009, and 011—make their appearance in these collections but survive also into later times. For the antiphon Ġanṭalewon *śalast* 013, one could, based on the studied corpus of collections, hypothesise that it entered the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons as late as in the seventeenth century.

¹¹⁴¹ On the provenance of MS UUB O Etiop. 36, see Chapter 2 (2.5.2.1).

The *salām* antiphons for Pāntalewon display a rather stable attestation, in which all but one are attested from the single-type collections and into the multiple-type collections of the different centuries, all reaching the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015. The antiphon Pāntalewon *salām* 007*, however, is only attested in abbreviated form in one collection, and it seems likely that this antiphon is not explicitly connected to Pāntalewon.¹¹⁴²

The *ʾəzl* antiphons have an attestation similar to that of the *salām* antiphons: the two antiphons which are attested in the only known single-type collection of *ʾəzl* antiphons both have a widespread attestation also in the multiple-type collections, although one of them—the antiphon Pāntalewon *ʾəzl* 002—is missing from most of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. Two seventeenth-century collections—those in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36—have in addition an abbreviated *ʾəzl* antiphon. This is one of several cases in which these two collections display an especially close relationship.¹¹⁴³

One of the *māhlet* antiphons—Pāntalewon *māhlet* 002—is attested in the only known single-type collection of *māhlet* antiphons as well as in a selection of the multiple-type collections, but also lacking in many. Another—the antiphon Pāntalewon *māhlet* 001—is missing from the single-type collection, but ubiquitous in the post-fifteenth-century multiple-type collections. A third—the antiphon Pāntalewon *māhlet* 003—is attested only in two of the pre-seventeenth-century collections and only in abbreviated form.

The commemoration of Pāntalewon is not attested in any of the single-type collections of *səbhata nagh* antiphons. As for the corpus in the multiple-type collections, one antiphon—Pāntalewon *səbhata nagh* 001—is relatively well attested up to the eighteenth–nineteenth century, but not in the representatives of the last centuries. The attestation of the rest of the *səbhata nagh* antiphons is difficult to map due to the widespread occurrence of abbreviated forms. An antiphon Pāntalewon *səbhata nagh* 002 is attested in full in two of the twentieth-century collections, but not before. Another—the antiphon Pāntalewon *səbhata nagh* 003—with the same incipit as the antiphon Pāntalewon *səbhata nagh* 002, is only attested in one fifteenth-century collection. A third one—the antiphon Pāntalewon *səbhata nagh* 004—again has the same incipit, but only appears in abbreviated form, in a number of post-sixteenth-century collections. In a number of other collections, the incipit is given in so abbreviated a form that one cannot, based on the text, determine whether Pāntalewon *səbhata nagh* 002, 003, or 004 is intended. Finally, a fifth *səbhata nagh* antiphon, also appearing solely in abbreviated form, but clearly distinct from the antiphons Pāntalewon *səbhata*

¹¹⁴² The text of the antiphon Pāntalewon *salām* 007*, only attested in abbreviated form, goes as follows: ሆህል፡ ወርትዕ፡ [...], *śāhl wa-rət* ‘[...]’ (‘Mercy and uprightness [...]’; cf. *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994, p. 35b, ll. 19–20).

¹¹⁴³ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

nagh 002, 003, and 004, is only attested in one fifteenth–sixteenth-century collection.

The *’arbā’ t* antiphons display very varied patterns of attestation: One of them—the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *’arbā’ t* 001—is attested in a large number of single-type collections and throughout the corpus of multiple-type collections. A second—Pāṇṭalewon *’arbā’ t* 002—does not appear in the single-type collections, but is widely attested in the multiple-type collections. A third—Pāṇṭalewon *’arbā’ t* 003—is closely related to the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *’arbā’ t* 001 (see 3.2.3.31), and is only attested in two seventeenth-century collections, again MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 (see above).

The largest number of antiphons belong to the *mazmur*-family type, comprising antiphons which in the later tradition are classified as *’asma la-’ālam* antiphons (with the subgroup *qənnəwāt*), *’abun* antiphons and *mazmur* antiphons, and *masbāk* antiphons (see Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.37). The discussion of patterns among these antiphons will begin with the single-type collections.

To begin with, the single-type *mazmur*-family collection in MS EML 6944 contains a rather small set of antiphons, which is also attested, more or less completely, in the rest of the collections. Significantly, this set largely corresponds to the part of the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 written by Hand A. To this set, the *mazmur*-family collection in MS EML 7618 adds a large number of antiphons. The additional set of antiphons in MS EML 7618 corresponds perfectly to the later addition in MS GG-187 made by Hand C. There is also a single addition—the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (*’asma la-’ālam*) 028—in MS GG-187 made by Hand B.

From analysing the corpus of the *mazmur*-family antiphons, it is clear that there exists a special affinity between the eighteenth–nineteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EML 7529, the single-type collections in MS EML 7618, and the additions made by Hand C to the single-type collection in MS GG-187. Within the studied corpus, the antiphons Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* 013, 016, 022, 023, 025, 026 are *only* attested in these three collections. We will return to this topic at the end of this chapter, in 3.4.1.3.2.

Next to these two early sets of *mazmur*-family antiphons, there are also *mazmur*-family antiphons which appear to have entered the corpus at a later date. One *mazmur*-family antiphon—Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (*’asma la-’ālam*) 029—appears in multiple-type collections of all ages, but not in any of the single-type collections. Another few—the antiphons Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (*’abun*) 031 and 032, and Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (*’asma la-’ālam*) 030—are only attested in the post-seventeenth-century collections. One antiphon—Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (*’abun*) 010—is found in the single-type collections in MSS EML 7618 and GG-187

(Hand C), missing from the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, then again found widely in the post-sixteenth-century collections.

The *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons, finally, are only attested in two single-type collections. With the exception of the antiphon Pantañewon *wāzemā mazmur* 004, these two collections contain the same corpus of antiphons.

3.2.3 Individual antiphons

3.2.3.1 Introduction

Below, the antiphons that were listed in Table 11 (3.2.2) are discussed individually.¹¹⁴⁴ For each antiphon, the text, as attested in one of the collections included in the corpus, is reproduced and translated into English. Upon that follows a discussion of the textual sources of the antiphon and the textual variation found in the collections of the corpus.

The texts of the antiphons have been reproduced and translated based on different manuscripts. This is due to the simple fact that none of the studied collections contains the entire corpus of attested antiphons. The reproduced text should be taken as no more than a point of departure for the discussion of textual developments. Practically speaking, the choice of which manuscript to reproduce in each individual case has been based on the legibility of the manuscript and a practical desire, on my part, that it should contain as few textual idiosyncrasies as possible.

As in Table 11, the antiphons are presented in the liturgical order, i.e. beginning with the antiphons for the *wāzemā* service, followed by the antiphons for the *səbhata nagh* service. For further details concerning the order of presentation, see the introduction to Table 11 (3.2.2).

3.2.3.2 Pantañewon *wāzemā* 001

ተናገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለጳጳስ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ፍጹም፡ ምንክስናክ፡ ሠናየ፡
ገድለ፡ ተጋደልክ፡ እምብዙኝ፡ ንዋይ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘእብደርክ፡ ሐይወ፡ ዘእቁርክ፡
በምርዋይ፡ (MS EMMML 8804, fol. 24ra, ll. 14–19)

The Lord spoke to Pantañewon and said: ‘Your monastic life is perfect. You have fought the good fight. You who preferred

¹¹⁴⁴ Five out of the six antiphons which are *only* attested in abbreviated form have been left out of the discussion: Pantañewon *ba-hammastu* 004* (inc.: ሰማዕት፡ ረከቡ፡ ተስፋሆሙ፡ በል፡, etc.), Pantañewon *salām* 007* (inc.: ሣህል፡ ወርትዕ፡ በል፡), Pantañewon *ʿəzl* 003* (inc.: አባ፡ ጸሊ፡ በል፡, etc.), Pantañewon *māhlet* 003* (inc.: አባ፡ ጸሊ፡ በል፡, etc.), and Pantañewon *səbhata nagh* 005* (inc.: ጸድቃን፡ በእንቲእክ፡ ሐሙ፡ በል፡). The sixth, Pantañewon *səbhata nagh* 004*, has been included as part of the discussion of the antiphons Pantañewon *səbhata nagh* 002 and 003 (see 3.2.3.39).

righteousness to an abundance of possessions, you who
wrapped fire in a waterskin!’¹¹⁴⁵

The antiphon *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001 is clearly concerned with *Ġanṭalewon* of the Cell, containing both a close-to-direct quotation from the *Life of Ġanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532)—*’am-bazuḥ nāwāy šadqa za-’abdarka* (‘you who preferred righteousness to many possessions [...]’)¹¹⁴⁶—and an allusion to an episode in the same text. In this episode, *Ġanṭalewon*’s disciple plants a tree in the morning, and by the evening it has already matured. On *Ġanṭalewon*’s orders, the disciple cuts the tree, burns the wood to coal, wraps the live coal in a waterskin (? , see below) and miraculously carries it to the church in Madarā, without the coal burning a hole in the skin.¹¹⁴⁷ This episode also appears in the *Sankassār* commemoration,¹¹⁴⁸ but the wording there is further removed from what is found in the antiphon and the *Life*. The antiphon also contains an allusion to 2 Tim. 4:7 (*šannāya gadla tagādalku*, ‘I have fought the good fight’). Textually, this antiphon is related to the antiphons *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (*’asma la-’ālam*) 029a and 029b (see 3.2.3.68).

The antiphon *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001 is attested in all collections that contain *wāzemā* antiphons, from the single-type *wāzemā* collection in MS EMM 7618 (AD 1343/1344) to the modern printed *Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 2015. Despite the large number of attestations, the text varies only on a small number of points. Disregarding a couple of trivial variants attested only in isolated collections, there are five points of variation that merit discussion. Firstly, there is a variation between *Ġanṭalewon* and *’Abbā Ġanṭalewon*. This type of variation is of trivial nature, but nonetheless it might be worth pointing out that within the studied corpus, the variant which includes the title *’abbā* is only attested in pre-seventeenth-century collections.

A second point of variation concerns the verb within the quotation from the *Life*. It appears either as *’abdarka* (‘you preferred [righteousness to many possessions]’) or as *’afqarka* (‘you loved [righteousness more than many possessions]’), both in

¹¹⁴⁵ This translation interprets the word *ḥaywa* as the accusative of a word *ḥayw*, a variant of *ḥaw* (‘fire’) which—to my knowledge—has hitherto not been described in the lexicographical works. This interpretation of *ḥaywa* is motivated by two circumstances: a) the word alternates with *ḥawa* in the manuscript attestations of the antiphon (see the discussion in the main text), and b) it fits well as an allusion to the *Life of Ġanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532; see, again, the discussion in the main text). As pointed out to me by Denis Nosnitsin, an alternative interpretation—perhaps more likely synchronically—would be to read *ḥaywa* as an infinitive of the verb in the accusative, leading to the following translation: ‘You who preferred to live righteousness, you who wrapped in a waterskin!’. According to this interpretation, the verb *’aq’arka* (‘you wrapped’) lacks an explicit object.

¹¹⁴⁶ Cf. Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 59 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 55 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, p. 323 (edition), 349 (Italian translation), § 165.

¹¹⁴⁷ Cf. Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 52 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, pp. 47–48 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, pp. 309–310 (edition), 338–339 (Italian translation), §§ 92–96.

¹¹⁴⁸ Colin 1987, pp. 22, 24 (edition), 23, 25 (French translation).

some manuscripts preceded by a relative particle *za-*. While the variant with *'afqarka* appears in a clear majority of the cases, from the earliest attestation up to the modern ones, the distribution of *'abdarka* is noteworthy: it is found in two pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, then in the nineteenth-century collection in MS EML 7285. As noted above, the collection in MS EML 7285 also in other regards seems to reflect an older tradition.¹¹⁴⁹

A third point of variation, of mainly lexicographical interest, concerns the forms *haywa* versus *hawa*. Both Dillmann 1865 and Leslau 1991 include the word *haw*, glossed as ‘ignis (pruna)’ and ‘fire’, respectively.¹¹⁵⁰ Etymologically, Leslau 1991 connects it with the root *hawaya*, ‘become dark (due to sunset), become gloomy, become evening’. In the attestations of Pantañewon *wāzemā* 001, there is a clear diachronic aspect to the distribution of the two forms, *haywa* appearing in all collections up to the seventeenth century, whereas *hawa* dominates in the later collections. In several cases, an original *haywa* has been transformed into *hawa* by the erasure of the letter <ḥ>. Does this reflect a conscious process in which an original *haywa* was turned into *hawa*, perhaps in order to disambiguate it from the homograph verb *haywa* (‘to live, be healed’)? This does not seem impossible.

Fourthly, one pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collection—the one in MS Tānāsee 172—has the reading *'aq^wrarka* (‘you cooled down [fire in a waterskin]’) against *'aq^warka* (‘you wrapped [fire in a waterskin]’) in the rest of the attestations. The reading in MS Tānāsee 172 clearly appears to be an inferior reading, as it diminishes the miraculous nature of the event to which the antiphon refers.

Fifthly, the word which in the text cited above appears in the form *ba-mərwāy* is also attested in a number of other forms in the manuscripts: *ba-marway*, *ba-mārway*, *ba-marwāy*. According to Dillmann 1865, who cites this antiphon as the only attestation, the word *marway* is ‘dubiae significationis’, but could refer to an ‘*uter aquarius vel guttus? an humidi quid vel liquidi?*’.¹¹⁵¹ Leslau 1991, referring to Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955 and *'Alaqā* Tāyya 1965, translates it as ‘leather bottle, canteen, tumbler’.¹¹⁵² For further discussion, see Brita 2008.¹¹⁵³ In the translation above, I have followed Brita 2008 in translating it as ‘waterskin’. One of the attestations of the antiphon—that in the seventeenth-century manuscript EML 2053—has the form *ba-mərwāyaka* (‘in your waterskin (?)’). The emergence of this variant, which however does not seem to have become the standard, could be connected to the fact that the three clauses preceding the clause that ends in the word *ba-mərwāy* etc. all end in the syllable *-ka*.

¹¹⁴⁹ For a discussion of the relationships between the collection in MS EML 7285 and earlier collections, see 3.4.1.3.2.

¹¹⁵⁰ Dillmann 1865, col. 118; Leslau 1991, p. 248.

¹¹⁵¹ Dillmann 1865, col. 307; italics in the original.

¹¹⁵² Leslau 1991, p. 478.

¹¹⁵³ Brita 2008, p. 339, fn. 73. Brita translates the word with Italian ‘otre’.

In the two twentieth-century collections included in the corpus—in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 and in MS EAP254/1/5—the antiphon *Pāntalewon wāzemā* 001 is provided with a *məltān*, in both collections having the following form:

ሠናየ፡ ገድለ፡ ተጋደልከ፡ እምብዙኅ፡ ንዋይ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘእፍቀርከ፡ ሐው፡ ዘእቈርከ፡
በምርዋይ፡ ሐው፡ ዘእ፡ በም፡። (*Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 44b, ll. 35-37)

You have fought the good fight. You who loved righteousness
more than an abundance of possession, you who wrapped fire in
a waterskin, you who wrapped fire in a waterskin!

The *məltān* follows the main text of the antiphon as attested in the collections in question. To conclude the discussion of the text of the antiphon *Pāntalewon wāzemā* 001, it is appropriate to give a few remarks on the relationship between the antiphon and the *Life of Pāntalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532). As noticed above, there is one phrase that is shared between the two texts. In the *Life*, it has the following form: እስመ፡ እፍቀርከ፡ ጽድቅ፡ እምብዙኅ፡ ንዋይ፡ ([...] 'əsmā 'afqarka šədqa 'əmə-bəzūh nəwāy, '[...] for your loved righteousness more than many possessions').¹¹⁵⁴ Brita 2008 lists only one variant: the attestation, in one out of the nine manuscripts consulted by her, of a third person masculine singular 'afqara ('[for] he loved [righteousness]') in the place of the second person masculine singular 'afqarka. This variant has no parallel in the attestations of the antiphon. Conversely, the variants with 'abdarka ('[for] you preferred [righteousness]'), which appeared in three of the attestations of the antiphon, lack attested parallels in the *Life*. Most conspicuous is the difference in word order. One wonders if the clause-final verb of the antiphon may have been introduced in order to create a parallelism with the preceding clause (*šannāya gadla tagādalka*, 'you have fought the good fight').

As for the second parallel—the allusion to the miracle of the tree that matured in one day—there is no agreement between the two texts on the clausal level. However, one may notice several parallels in the vocabulary used: the non-fire-proof container that miraculously holds the fire is in both cases called a *marwāy* ('waterskin'?, see above) and the verb 'aqwara ('wrap') is in both cases used for the act of placing the live coal in the container. The manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Brita 2008 attest to variation between *marwāy*, *marway*, and *mərwāy*.¹¹⁵⁵ The unstable vocalisation of this word, both in the attestations of the antiphon and in the *Life*, is noticeable.

¹¹⁵⁴ Cf. fn. 1146.

¹¹⁵⁵ Cf. Brita 2008, p. 310, § 95. The form *mərwāy* is found in Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 52 (edition).

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsce 172 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | EMML 7618 |
|--------------|---------|------------|----------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| ለጳጳሳዊነት፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | |
| ለአባ፡ ጳጳሳዊነት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | X | | | X |
| ገደብ፡ ተጋደልክ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^a | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ገደብ፡ ዘተጋደልክ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| አምብዙሃ፡ | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X ^b | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| አምብዘሃ፡ | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጽድቅ፡ | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ጸድቅ፡ | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዘአፍቀርክ፡ | X | X | | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | | X |
| አፍቀርክ፡ | | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | |
| ዘአብደርክ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | |
| አብደርክ፡ | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሐው፡ | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሐይው፡ | | | X ^d | | | | | X ^d | | | X | X ^d | X ^d | X | X ^d | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘዐቁርክ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X ^e | X |
| ዐቁርክ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | |
|--------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| EMML 7618 | | | | | X |
| EMML 8678 | | | | X | |
| EMML 8488 | | | | X | |
| Ṭānāsee 172 | X | X | | | |
| EMML 4667 | | X | | | |
| EMML 8804 | | X | | | |
| EMML 7174 | | X | | | |
| EMML 2542 | | X | | | |
| EMML 1894 | | | X | | |
| UUB O Et. 36 | | X | | | |
| ES QS-006 | | X | | | |
| ES DD-019 | | X | | | |
| EMML 2053 | | | | | X |
| EAP704/1/36 | | | X | | |
| EAP432/1/10 | | X | | | |
| EMML 7529 | | X | | | |
| EMML 6994 | | X | | | |
| EMML 2431 | | X | | | |
| EMDA 001111 | | X | | | |
| EMML 7285 | | X | | | |
| EAP254/1/5 | | X | | | |
| MD 2015 | | X | | | |
| | አቀላረብ: | በምርዋይ: | በመርወይ: | በማርወይ: | በመርዋይ: |
| | | | | | በምርዋይከ: |

^a MS: *tʔɛ(!)ʌh:*

^b MS: እምብዙ፡

^c Before the word, *H* has been added supralineally.

^d The letter <e> has been deleted.

^e The first letter, which presumably was originally <H>, has been deleted.

3.2.3.3 Pantalewon *ba-hamməstu* 001

ጳጳሳዊነት: ጳጳሳዊነት: ጳጳሳዊነት: ጳጳሳዊነት: ጳጳሳዊነት: (MS
EAP704/1/36, fol. 20rb, ll. 19–21)

Pantalewon, pray for us. May your prayer(s) continually reach us!

The antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *ba-ḥammāstu* 001 is an instantiation of a common pattern for *ba-ḥammāstu* antiphons. Within the corpus of commemorations for the Season of Flowers, the same text, but with varying first addresses, is attested in *ba-ḥammāstu* antiphons at least for Peter and Paul, 'Abbā 'Aragāwī, Stephen the Protomartyr, and 'Abbā Yēm'attā.¹¹⁵⁶ Two variants of Pāṇṭalewon *ba-ḥammāstu* 001 may be discerned within the collections in the Minor Corpus: sometimes, the name of Pāṇṭalewon is explicitly mentioned and sometimes, a generic 'abbā appears in its place. The antiphon appears to consist of two rhymed lines, each ending in the syllable *-na* (-ṽ). It is frequently abbreviated, so that only the first words are written out. In the attestation in MS EML 8678, this antiphon is a later addition.

| | | |
|--------------|-------|-----------|
| EMML 8678 | (X) | |
| EMML 8488 | X | |
| EMML 4667 | X | |
| EMML 8804 | X | |
| EMML 7174 | | X |
| EMML 2542 | | X |
| EMML 1894 | X | |
| UUB O Et. 36 | X | |
| ES QS-006 | X | |
| ES DD-019 | | X |
| EMML 2053 | X | |
| EAP704/1/36 | | X |
| EAP432/1/10 | X | |
| EMML 7529 | | X |
| EMML 6994 | | X |
| EMML 2431 | | X |
| EMDA 00111 | X | |
| EMML 7285 | X | |
| EAP254/1/5 | X | |
| MD 2015 | X | |
| | አባ: 0 | 0 ጳጳሳዊዎች: |

3.2.3.4 Pāntalewon *ba-hammāstu* 002

ለማዕተ፡ ኩነ፡ በኅይማኖት፡ ወበጽንወ፡ ትዕግሥት፡ ወረሱ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት።
(MS EMML 4667, fol. 15ra, ll. 28–30)

They became martyrs through faith, and through strength of patience they inherited the kingdom of heaven!

Only in one of the eight manuscripts in which the antiphon Pāṇṭalewōn *ba-ḥammāstu* 002 is attested, it is written out in full. Pāṇṭalewōn is not mentioned explicitly and it seems possible that this is a generic antiphon (for martyrs?),

¹¹⁵⁶ Cf., for example, the antiphons Pētros wa-Pāwēlos *ba-ḥamməstu*, MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 17vb, ll. 26–27; ʿEṣṭifānos *ba-ḥamməstu*, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 65a, ll. 19–21; ʿAragāwi *ba-ḥamməstu*, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 64a, ll. 3–5; ʿEṣṭifānos *ba-ḥamməstu*, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 65a, ll. 19–21; and Yəmʾattā *ba-ḥamməstu*, MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 29rc, ll. 8–9.

although it is not attested elsewhere in the studied corpus. Based on the material taken into consideration, no textual variation is attested. It should not be excluded that there are textual variants of this antiphon, which are ‘hidden’ by its frequent abbreviation and would appear if a larger corpus of commemorations were taken into account. Like the antiphon *Pantalewon ba-ḥammāstu* 001, it appears to consist of two rhyming lines, in this case ending in *-t(ə)* (*-ት*).

3.2.3.5 *Pantalewon ba-ḥammāstu* 003

ሰማዕተ፡ ባልሐ፡ አሰቦሙ፡ አጽንሐ። (MS EMMML 2542, fol. 19ra, l. 7)

He rescued the martyrs. He prepared their reward!

The antiphon *Pantalewon ba-ḥammāstu* 003 is written out in full in five of the nine collections in which it is attested. As in the case of the antiphon *Pantalewon ba-ḥammāstu* 002, *Pantalewon* is not mentioned explicitly and it seems probable that also this is a generic antiphon (for martyrs?), although it is, again, not attested elsewhere in the studied corpus.

Like the *ba-ḥammāstu* discussed above, the antiphon *Pantalewon ba-ḥammāstu* 003 appears to consist of two rhymed lines, both ending in a syllable *-ḥa* (*-ሐ*). Within the completely written-out attestations of the antiphon, there is one point of textual variation, namely the final verb, which appears either as *ʿanṣəḥa* (‘he prepared’) or as *ʿabzəḥa* (‘he multiplied’). Both variants preserve the rhyme.

| | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP704/136 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8488 |
|-------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| አንጽሐ፡ | – | – | – | – | X | X | X | X | |
| አብዝኅ፡ | – | – | – | – | | | | | X |

3.2.3.6 *Pantalewon ʿĒgzi ʿabəḥer nagśa* 001

ጼና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳጳሳዊዎን፡ ከመ፡ ጼና፡ ስኂን፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ዘሜላት፡
ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ ከመ፡ ይርአይ፡ ሥነ፡ ጽገዖት። (MS EMMML 7618, fol. 193ra, ll. 12–16)

The scent of the garment of *ʿAbbā Pantalewon* is like the scent of frankincense, his fine linen garment which descended into Paradise—to see the beauty of the flowers!

The antiphon *Pantalewon ʿĒgzi ʿabəḥer nagśa* 001 is partly based on a biblical quotation from Song of Songs (Cant. 4:11) found in the *Life of Pantalewon of the*

Cell (CAe 1532).¹¹⁵⁷ For further discussion of this commonly occurring quotation, see 3.2.4.4. To this basic theme has been added a phrase possibly inspired by Cant. 6:11.¹¹⁵⁸

Albeit the antiphon *Ḥanṭalewon 'Ēgzi 'abəher nagśa* 001 is widely attested in the corpus, appearing in twenty-three collections, no textual variation is attested within the collections of the Minor Corpus. This is a remarkable example of textual stability.

3.2.3.7 *Ḥanṭalewon 'Ēgzi 'abəher nagśa* 002

ጸና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳጳሳዊዎን፡ ከመ፡ ጸና፡ ስኒን፡ ጳ(?)ድቅሰ፡ አሚኖ፡
አሚን፡ ብሂሎ፡ በእግዚአብሔር፡ ይድኅንን፡ (MS EMM 7618, fol. 193ra,
ll. 9–12)

The scent of the garment of *'Abbā Ḥanṭalewon* is like the scent of frankincense. The righteous one, believing (and) saying 'Amen!', is saved through the Lord!

The antiphon *Ḥanṭalewon 'Ēgzi 'abəher nagśa* 002 is only attested in the two single-type collections of *'Ēgzi 'abəher nagśa* antiphons, in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMM 7618. Like the antiphon *Ḥanṭalewon 'Ēgzi 'abəher nagśa* 001, it consists of the phrase about the garment of *Ḥanṭalewon*, to which has been added another phrase. In the two attestations, there are two points of textual variation. Firstly, the word *'amen* ('amen') appears once in the collection in MS EMM 7618, but is repeated twice in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. Secondly, the end of the antiphon differs in the two attestations, the collection in MS EMM 7618 having *ba-'Ēgzi 'abəher yədəḥən* ('[the righteous one] is saved through the Lord') against *ba-'Ēgzi 'abəher tawakkilo yaḥayyu* ('[the righteous one] lives, trusting in the Lord') in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. It is open for discussion whether the two attestations should be seen as variants of the same antiphon or as two different antiphons.

¹¹⁵⁷ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 51 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 47 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, p. 309 (edition), 338 (Italian translation), § 87.

¹¹⁵⁸ For parallels, see the discussions of the antiphons *Ḥanṭalewon salām* 003, *Ḥanṭalewon mazmur ('asma la-'ālam)* 007a, 007b; *Ḥanṭalewon mazmur ('abun)* 027a, 027b; and *Ḥanṭalewon mazmur ('asma la-'ālam)* 028.

| | BuF Éth. 92 | EMML 7618 |
|------------|-------------|-----------|
| አሜን፡ | | X |
| አሜን፡ አሜን፡ | X | |
| ይደኅን፡ | | X |
| ተወኪሎ፡ የሐዩ፡ | X | |

3.2.3.8 Pāntalewon *yātbāarak* 001

እስመ፡ ሀሎ፡ ይበርህ፡ ገጸሙ፡ እምፀሐይ፡ ወይበርህ፡ እምከዋክብት፡ ብርሃኖ//ሙ፡
 ፈጸሙ፡ ገድሎሙ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ፡ አቀቡ፡ አድምዑ፡ ተስፋ፡። (*Maṣḥafa*
Dəggʷā 2015, p. 44b, l. 42–44c, l. 2)

For their face(s) shine brighter than the sun, and their light
 shines brighter than the stars. They have completed their
 struggle, they have kept the faith, they have attained the hope!

The antiphon Pāntalewon *yātbāarak* 001 is the only *yātbāarak* antiphon with widespread diffusion, being attested from the single-type collections up to the modern *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015. Its contents are generic and do not refer specifically to either of the two Pāntalewons. I have not been able to identify any quotations from other texts in it (but compare, for the first clause, Matt. 17:2 and, for the end, 2 Tim. 4:7).

There are eight points of textual variation, primarily concentrated in the pre-seventeenth-century collections. To begin with, the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in other cases display similarities,¹¹⁵⁹ have an initial *ʾanza* (‘while’) against *ʾasma* (‘for’) in the other collections.¹¹⁶⁰ Secondly, three of the earliest collections—including the two single-type collections and the multiple-type collection in the fifteenth–sixteenth-century manuscript Ṭānāsee 172—have *kama ṣaḥay* (‘[their faces shine] like the sun’) against *ʾam-ṣaḥay* (‘[their faces shine] more than the sun’) in the rest of the collections. This is paralleled by the third point of textual variation: the two single-type collections, again, have different readings including the phrase *kama*

¹¹⁵⁹ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

¹¹⁶⁰ A note on antiphons beginning with *ʾasma*: It may at first seem surprising that an antiphon should begin with a subordinating conjunction *ʾasma* (‘for, because’). With regard to this, one must remember that several types of antiphons—including both *yātbāarak* antiphons and *ṣalast* antiphons—are inserted between the lines of psalms and canticles during their liturgical performance. Thus, there will always a clause preceding the antiphon. Cf. also the discussion of the antiphon Pāntalewon *ṣalast* 010.

kawākəbt (‘[their light shines] like the stars’) against *ʾəm-kawākəbt* (‘[their light shines brighter] than the stars’) in all other collections.

Fourthly, in the collection in MS EML 8678, the word *ʾaqibomu* (‘keeping’, as variant to *ʾaqabu*, see below) originally followed directly upon the word *bərḥānomu*, i.e. the words *faṣṣamu gadlomu ḥāymānotomu* (‘they have completed their struggle, [keeping] the faith’) were missing. However, these have been added supralineally. Fifthly, while most of the collections have either *ḥāymānotomu* (‘[they kept] their faith’) or *wa-ḥāymānotomu* (‘and [they kept] their faith’), the collection in MS Ṭānāsee 172 instead has a simple *ḥāymānota* (‘[they kept] the faith’), and the collection in MS EML 1894 instead has *ba-ḥāymānot* (‘[they completed their struggle] in faith’). Sixthly, three collection—all of them pre-fifteenth–sixteenth-century—have a gerund *ʾaqibomu* (‘keeping [their faith]’) instead of the otherwise ubiquitously attested perfect verb *ʾaqabu* (‘they kept [their faith]’), although in one of the collections with a gerund, it has been secondarily altered into a perfect form.

Seventhly, the collection in the fifteenth-century manuscript EML 8678 has a reading *ʾaṣnə ʾu* (‘they have strengthened [the hope]’) against *ʾadmə ʾu* (‘they have attained [the hope]’) in the rest of the collections. This is doubtlessly connected with the graphic similarity of the letters <ṣ> (*d*) and <ṣ> (*ṣ*). Lastly, two of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections have a noun with a third person masculine plural possessive suffix *tasfāhomu* (‘[they have attained] their hope’) against a simple noun *tasfā* (‘[they have attained] the hope’) in the rest of the collections.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | EMML 7618 | DS-XX |
|-------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-------|
| እስመ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| እንዘ: | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| እምፀሐይ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | |
| ከመ: ፀሐይ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X | X |
| ወይበርህ: እምከዋክብት: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^a | | | |
| ወእምከዋክብት: [...] | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | |
| ወይበርህ: ከመ: ከዋክብት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ይበርህ: ከመ: ከዋክብት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወሃይማኖቶም: | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | | X | | | | | | | | | (X) | | |
| ሃይማኖቶም: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X |
| ሃይማኖት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| በሃይማኖት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ዐቀቡ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | | X |
| ዐቂብመ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X ^c | X | |
| አድምዑ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |

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| | | | |
|---------|--------------|----------------|---|
| | DS-XX | | |
| | EMML 7618 | | |
| | EMML 8678 | X ^d | |
| | EMML 8488 | X | |
| | Tānāsee 172 | | |
| | EMML 4667 | X | |
| | EMML 8804 | X | |
| | EMML 7174 | X | |
| | EMML 2542 | X | |
| | EMML 1894 | | X |
| | UUB O Et. 36 | X | |
| | ES QS-006 | X | |
| | ES DD-019 | X | |
| | EMML 2053 | X | |
| | EAP704/1/36 | X | |
| | EAP432/1/10 | X | |
| | EMML 7529 | X | |
| | EMML 6994 | X | |
| | EMML 2431 | X | |
| | EMDA 00111 | X | |
| | EMML 7285 | X | |
| | EAP254/1/5 | X | |
| | MD 2015 | X | |
| አጽንዑ፡፡ | | | |
| ተስፋ፡ | X | | |
| ተስፋሆሙ፡፡ | | | |

^a MS: ወበርህ፡.

^b After the word ወእምክዋክብት፡, a space corresponding to about three letters (= ይበርህ፡?) has been erased.

^c The word ዐቂቦሙ፡ has been changed into ዐቀቡ፡.

^d Before the word አጽንዑ፡፡, the conjunction ው- ('and') has been added supralineally.

3.2.3.9 Ġantalewon *yātbāarak* 002

ይትላዕል፡ ቀርኖሙ፡ በከበር፡ ዘከር፡ ጽሎት፡ ጽድቅ፡ ለዓለም፡ ይህሉ። (MS DS-XX, fol. 27r, ll. 7–10)

May their horns be uplifted in honour. May the memory of the prayer of the righteous remain forever!

The antiphon Ġantalewon *yātbāarak* 002 is only attested in one manuscript in the corpus, the single-type collection in MS DS-XX. It lacks specific references to the story of either of the two Ġantalewons, and instead consists completely of (slightly modified?) quotations from Ps. 111:6, 9 [LXX]. The text given above is an example of non-standard vocalisation.

3.2.3.10 Ġantalewon *yātbāarak* 003

ኪያከ፡ መሰርተ፡ አነተ፡ በነ፡ አበ፡ መነጥልየን፡ በአነተአነ፡ እስመ፡ ጽሎተ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ተርድአ። (MS DS-XX, fol. 27r, ll. 10–13)

You are the foundation which we have.¹¹⁶¹ 'Abbā Ġantalewon, <pray> for us, for the prayer of the righteous one saves!

The antiphon Ġantalewon *yātbāarak* 003 is likewise only attested in one manuscript in the corpus, the single-type collection in MS DS-XX. It mentions Ġantalewon explicitly. The first phrase, which is difficult to interpret syntactically, also appears in a *yātbāarak* antiphon for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi.¹¹⁶² The second clause draws on James 5:16, which is also alluded to in the *Life of Ġantalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532).¹¹⁶³ The text of the unique attestation appears to be corrupt, missing a predicate in the second clause—I have conjecturally supplied the word 'pray' in the translation. The text given above is an example of non-standard vocalisation.

3.2.3.11 Ġantalewon *śalast* 001

ኅመልማለ፡ ኀነት፡ ወአስካለ፡ በረከት፡ ኀበ፡ ጽጌ፡ ወይን፡ ዘአስተደ(!)ለወ፡ ሎቱ፡ ማኅደረ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳጳሳ(?)ለ(!){ዩ>የ}{?}ን። (MS BnF Éth. 92, fol. 69vb, ll. 2–7)

The green of Paradise and the grapes of blessing among the flower(s) of the vine, which He has prepared as an abode for 'Abbā Ġantalewon!

¹¹⁶¹ For a discussion of the translation of this phrase, see the discussion of the antiphons 'Aragāwi *yātbāarak* 001a and 001b, esp. fn. 1393. There, the same phrase appears with standard vocalisation.

¹¹⁶² Cf. the discussion of the antiphons 'Aragāwi *yātbāarak* 001a and 001b.

¹¹⁶³ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 51 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 47 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, p. 308 (edition), 338 (Italian translation), § 86.

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon ṣalast* 001 is only attested once in the Minor Corpus, in the second single-type *ṣalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. I have not been able to identify a direct source of the text of the antiphon, although it builds on themes recurrent in the Song of Songs.

3.2.3.12 *Ṗanṭalewon ṣalast* 002a, 002b

ጸና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳጳሌዎን፡ ከመ፡ ጸና፡ ስኒን፡ ዘውስተ፡ ገነት፡ ጥዑም፡
ጸናሆመ፡ ለጳድቃን፡ (MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 19vc, ll. 15–17)

The scent of the garment of 'Abbā *Ṗanṭalewon* is like the scent of frankincense in Paradise, the sweet scent of the righteous!

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon ṣalast* 002 is widely attested within the collections included in the Minor Corpus, from single-type collections and up to the modern printed editions. The text is based on the phrase about *Ṗanṭalewon*'s garment, built on a quotation from Cant. 4:11, which appears in the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532)¹¹⁶⁴ and is frequently found in different antiphons (see 3.2.4.4).

In a number of collections, there are two antiphons with this text, here numbered 002a and 002b. They belong to (at least two) different melodic families, but in the absence of a survey of the historical development of melodic families for *ṣalast* antiphons, it has not been possible to use this as a criterium for distinguishing them. In the collection in MS EML 2053, the antiphon is introduced with the following metatextual elements: **፫ሐረ፡ ካህን፡**, i.e. with two melodic-family indications, the former written with red ink and the latter with black ink.

Apart from the trivial variation between *Ṗanṭalewon* and 'Abbā *Ṗanṭalewon*, and some omissions in isolated collections, the variation is concentrated in the latter part of the antiphon. The phrase which in most collections appears as *za-wəsta gannat* ('[like the scent of frankincense] (which is) in Paradise') displays also three other variants, all of which are unique within the studied corpus: *wa-kama-za wəsta gannat* ('[like the scent of frankincense] and like that which is in Paradise'), 'awyān *za-wəsta gannat* ('[like the scent of frankincense], the grapes (which are) in Paradise'), and 'awyān *wəsta gannat* ('[like the scent of frankincense], the grapes in Paradise'), respectively. The two last words of the antiphon—*ṣenāhomu la-ṣādqān* ('the scent of the righteous') in most collections—have two further variants: a) *ṣenāhomu la-qəddusān* ('the scent of the saints'), originally attested in the twentieth-century collection in MS EAP254/1/5, but later modified into the standard reading, and b) *ma 'āzāhomu la-qəddusān* ('the perfume of the saints'), attested in one of the two attestations of

¹¹⁶⁴ Cf. fn. 1157.

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this text in the collection in MS EMML 7529. It is possible that reading was introduced in order to differentiate between two antiphons which otherwise would have had the same text, but a more comprehensive study, taking more collections into account, would be needed to confirm this hypothesis.

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| | BnF Éth. 92 (2) | EMML 7174 | EMML 2542 | UUB O Et. 36, 002a | UUB O Et. 36, 002b | ES QS-006, 002a | ES QS-006, 002b | ES DD-019 | EMML 2053 | EAP704/1/36 | EAP432/1/10, 002a | EAP432/1/10, 002b | EMML 7529, 002a | EMML 7529, 002b | EMML 6994, 002a | EMML 6994, 002b | EMML 2431, 002a | EMML 2431, 002b | EMDA 00111, 002a | EMDA 00111, 002b | EMML 7285, 002a | EMML 7285, 002b | EAP254/1/5, 002a | EAP254/1/5, 002b | MD 2015, 002a | MD 2015, 002b |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| ለአባ: ጳጳጠሌዎን: | X | | X | | X | X ^a | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| ለጳጳጠሌዎን: | | X | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ጳጳጠሌዎን: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ከመ: ጸና: ስኂን: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ከመ: ጸና: ፀ | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ከመ: ፀ ስኂን: | | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዘውስተ: ገነት: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወከመዘ: ውስተ: ገነት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| አውያን: ዘውስተ: ገነት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| አውያን: ውስተ: ገነት: | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸናሆመ: ለጸድቃን: | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ጸናሆመ: ለቅዱሳን: | | | | X ^d | X ^d | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| መዓዛሆመ: ለቅዱሳን: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |

^a The word ለአባ: has been deleted.

^b The word ስሐ(?)ን: has been added in the margin.

^c The word ጸና: has been added supralineally.

^d The word ለቅዱሳን: has been changed into ለጸድቃን: by modifying individual letters or, occasionally, adding letters supralineally.

3.2.3.13 Ġantalewon *śalast* 003

ብፁዕ፡ ጳጳጠሌዎን፡ በትዕግስቱ፡ ዘፈጸመ፡ ገድሎ፡ ወአውረሶ፡ ምድረ፡ ገነተ፡
ትፍሥሕት፡፤ (MS GG-187, fol. 138va, ll. 13–16)

Blessed (is) Ġantalewon who completed his struggle in patience.
He (= God) made him inherit the land of the Paradise of Joy!

The antiphon Ġantalewon *śalast* 003 has a relatively limited attestation in the Minor Corpus, only appearing in five collections. Still, among the collections that contain it are both single- and multiple-type collections, dating from the fourteenth–fifteenth to the seventeenth century. It may be noted that the antiphon is only attested in manuscripts with a probable origin in Təgrāy or Eritrea.¹¹⁶⁵ One of the collections is the (according to its self-designation) *Maṣḥafa Rome* in MS GG-187, on which see Chapter 2 (2.3.8.3.3). In one of the others—the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019—the antiphon is a later addition. The text of Ġantalewon *śalast* 003, which contains a phrase that is recurrent in *Dəggwā*-type antiphons (*ba-tə ʿgəstu za-faṣṣama gadlo*, ‘who completed his life in patience’)¹¹⁶⁶ but does not appear to contain any quotations from other texts, mentions Ġantalewon explicitly.

The variant readings all appear in the last phrase and concern, on the one hand, the number of the object suffix attached to the verb *ʿawrasa* (singular vs. plural), on the other hand, the qualification of the land that the righteous are given as inheritance (*mədra gannata təfśəḥt*, ‘the land of the Paradise of Joy’, versus *mədra gannat*, ‘the land of the Paradise’, versus *mədra ba-təfśəḥt*, ‘the land in joy’). The meaning of the last phrase is somewhat unclear and one wonders whether this may have contributed to the emergence of variant readings. Is God the subject of the verb *ʿawrasa* and Ġantalewon the object (as in the translation above)? Or, if the object is in the plural, is Ġantalewon the subject and the Christian people the object? The meaning seems to shift with the variant readings. For the qualification of the land, the reading attested in MS GG-187, i.e. the earliest attestation of the antiphon, curiously gives the impression of being a conflation of the readings attested in later collections. This antiphon exemplifies how the text occasionally stabilises in the post-sixteenth-century collections.

¹¹⁶⁵ On the provenance of MS UUB O Etiop. 36, see Chapter 2 (2.5.2.1).

¹¹⁶⁶ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons Ġantalewon *salām* 004, Ġantalewon *salām* 005, Ġantalewon *mazmur* (*ʿabun*) 003, Ġantalewon *mazmur* (*ʿasma la-ʿālam*) 006, and ʿAragāwi *mazmur* (*ʿasma la-ʿālam*) 010.

| | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Ec. 36 | EMML 1894 | GG-187 (MR) |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| ወአውረሶ: | | | | | X |
| ወአውረሶሙ: | X | X | X | X | |
| ምድረ: ገነተ: ትፍሥሕት: | | | | | X |
| ምድረ: ገነት: | | | | X | |
| ምድረ: በትፍሥሕት: | X | X | X | | |

3.2.3.14 Ġantalewon *śalast* 004

እንጦንስሃ: ጳንጠሌዎንሃ: ኅረዮሙ: በየማኑ: አንበሮሙ: ቦሙ: መዝገበ: ዘበ:
ሰማያት::: (MS GG-187, fol. 138va, ll. 16–18)

He chose Anthony (and) Ġantalewon. He placed them on his right side. They have a treasure in the heavens!

The antiphon Ġantalewon *śalast* 004 is only attested in one collection in the Minor Corpus, the *Maṣḥafa Rome* in MS GG-187 (see Chapter 2, 2.3.8.3.3). It contains some common biblical allusions (sitting on the right side, cf. Ps. 109:1 [LXX]; ‘a treasure in the heavens’, cf. Matt. 19:21, Mark 10:21; Luke 12:33, 18:22), but most interesting is the establishing of a connection between Ġantalewon and an Anthony. Presumably, this is a reference to the Egyptian monastic father and may be seen in the context of other attempts to legitimise indigenous Ethiopian monastic saints by connecting them to the early Egyptian founders of monasticism.¹¹⁶⁷ Another possibility is that it refers to one of the two Anthonys commemorated on the same day as Ġantalewon (6 Ṭəqəmt) according to the *Sənkəssār*: Anthony, bishop of Bānā, and Anthony the Martyr (with the companion Rəwāq).¹¹⁶⁸ However, this seems less probable, taking into account that none of them is widely celebrated and given the lack of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection internal evidence for the commemoration of an Anthony on this day.

¹¹⁶⁷ Cf. ‘Zāmika’el Arāgawi’, *EAE*, V (2014), 130a–131b (A. Brita), esp. p. 131a. On the other hand, writing about the tradition represented by the *Life of Ġantalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532), Brita 2010 underlines the absence of connections in this text to Egyptian monasticism (Brita 2010, pp. 186–187).

¹¹⁶⁸ On Anthony, bishop of Bānā, cf. Colin 1987, p. 24 (edition), 25 (French translation); on Anthony the Martyr, cf. Colin 1987, p. 30 (edition), 31 (French translation).

3.2.3.15 Pantañewon *śalast* 005a, 005b

አዳም፡ መዓዛሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ከመ፡ ጽጌ፡ ወይን፡ ወከመ፡ ጽጌ፡ ደንጎላት፡
ዘቁላት፡። (MS EAP704/1/36, fol. 20va, ll. 4–6)

Pleasant is the perfume of the saints, like the flower(s) of the
vine and like the flower(s) of the lilies of the valleys!

The antiphon Pantañewon *śalast* 005 is widely attested in the multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, but absent from the single-type collections. It lacks direct references to either of the Pantañewons, but contains references to and quotations from the Song of Songs (*ṣəge dang^walāt za-q^walāt*, Cant. 2:1), suggesting an association with the Season of Flowers. Only in one collection—the one in the nineteenth-century manuscript EMDA 00111—is the text of this antiphon repeated twice, as Pantañewon *śalast* 005a and Pantañewon *śalast* 005b. Both belong to the same melodic family.

The text of the antiphons Pantañewon *śalast* 005a and Pantañewon *śalast* 005b has varied comparatively little over time, and most of the five points of textual variation concern only individual collections. To begin with, where the rest of the collections have *ma ‘azāhomu la-qəddusān* (‘the perfume of the saints’), the collection in MS EMLL 7529 has *tasfāhomu la-ṣādqān* (‘the hope of the righteous’). Secondly, where the rest of the collections have *ṣəge wayn* (‘the flower of the vine’), the collection in MS EMLL 1894 has *ṣəge gadām* (‘the flower of the wilderness’). The expression *ṣəge gadām* is also found in Cant. 2:1, a quotation from which appears in the antiphon, and the reading in MS EMLL 1894 could thus have been influenced by this.

Thirdly, within the attestation of Pantañewon *śalast* 005a in MS EMDA 00111, almost one entire line was originally left blank after the word *wayn* (‘vine’). This empty space was then filled in with the words *wa-kama fəre roman* (‘and like the flower of the pomegranate’). Fourthly, there is variation regarding whether the words *wa-kama* (‘and like’) appear or not before the last phrase. This is the only point of variation that includes more than one collection. Both the variant with *wa-kama* and the variant without it are attested in both early and late collections, although the variant without it seems to be predominant in the last centuries, based on the present corpus. Finally, where the rest of the collections have *za-q^walāt* (‘of the valleys’), the collection in MS EMLL 1894 has *za-wəsta q^walāt* (‘which is in the valleys’). It may be pointed out that this variation is also found in the manuscripts of the Song of Songs used by Gleave 1951 for his edition.¹¹⁶⁹

¹¹⁶⁹ Cf. Gleave 1951, p. 6.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111b | EMDA 00111a | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Ṭānāsee 172 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 |
|--------------------|---------|------------|-----------|-------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| መዓዛሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ተስፋሆሙ፡ ለጳጵቃን፡ | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጽኑ፡ ወይን፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ጽኑ፡ ገዳም፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| (ወከመ፡ ፍሬ፡ ሮማን፡) | | | | | (X) ^a | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወከመ፡ | | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | | | | | | X |
| Ø | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | | | | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ዘቁላት፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘውስተ፡ ቁላት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |

^a These words have been added supralineally.

3.2.3.16 Ṭānāsee *śalast* 006

በተአምኖ፡ ተጋደሉ፡ ፈጸሙ፡ ገድሎሙ፡ ዔሉ፡ ውስተ፡ ኢድባር፡ ወበዓታት፡
ቅዱሳን፡ በዙብድወ፡ ጠሊ፡ ወበሐ/13vb/ሜለት፡ ሰማዕት፡ ኮኑ፡ በሃይማኖት፡
(MS Ṭānāsee 172, fol. 13va, l. 34–13vb, l. 2)

Faithfully they struggled. They completed their struggle. They
roamed in the mountains and in the caves. The saints in cloak(s)
of goat skin and mantle(s), they became martyrs in faith!

The antiphon Ṭānāsee *śalast* 006 is attested only in two pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections.¹¹⁷⁰ It lacks explicit references to any of the two Ṭānāsees, but contains a quotation from Heb. 11:33a, 37b, 38b–39a, which also appears in the *Life of Ṭānāsee of the Cell* (CAe 1532).¹¹⁷¹ This quotation

¹¹⁷⁰ It should be reminded that only antiphons explicitly dedicated to Ṭānāsee have been included in the corpus. The text of the antiphon Ṭānāsee *śalast* 006 does, in fact, also appear, for example, in the *śalast* collections in MS EMML 7618 (fol. 166vb, ll. 16–20) and BnF Eth. 92 (fol. 58va, ll. 11–18), but there it is listed as an antiphon for martyrs (ዘሰማዕት, *za-samā 't*), not for Ṭānāsee.

¹¹⁷¹ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 43 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 39 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, pp. 293–294 (edition), 327 (Italian translation), § 5.

is also found in antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi, for 'Abbā Yoḥanni, and in different versions of the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891).¹¹⁷²

The only textual variation between the two attestations concerns the phrase which in MS Ṭānāsee 172 appears as *wəsta 'adbār wa-ba 'ātāt* ('in the mountains and caves') and in MS EMMML 8678 as *wəsta 'adbār ba 'ātāt wa-gəbaba mədr* ('in the mountains, caves and caverns of the earth'). The longer text corresponds more closely to what is found in the biblical source text.

| | Ṭānāsee 172 | EMML 8678 |
|------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| ኢድባር፡ ወበዓታት፡ | X | |
| ኢድባር፡ በዓታት፡ ወግበበ፡ ምድር፡ | | X |

3.2.3.17 Pāntalewon *śalast* 007

መድኃኒቶሙ፡ ለጳድቃን፡ እምነበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይረድኦሙ፡ ወያድኅኖሙ፡
እስመ፡ ተወከሉ፡ ቦቱ፡ የዐቅቦሙ፡ እስመ፡ ተወከሉ፡ ቦቱ፡ (MS Ṭānāsee 172,
fol. 14ra, ll. 7–11)

The salvation of the righteous (comes) from the Lord. He helps them and saves them, because they trusted in Him. He keeps them, because they trusted in Him!

The antiphon Pāntalewon *śalast* 007 is only attested in the same two pre-seventeenth-century collections as the antiphons Pāntalewon *śalast* 006 and 008, i.e. those in MSS EMMML 8678 and Ṭānāsee 172. It lacks explicit references to Pāntalewon and is identical with one of the *śalast* antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi.¹¹⁷³ This seems to suggest that we are dealing with a 'wandering antiphon' that is not explicitly connected to one commemoration.¹¹⁷⁴

¹¹⁷² See the discussions of the antiphons 'Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001 and 'Aragāwi *salām* 004. For the antiphons for 'Abbā Yoḥanni, cf. Nosnitsin 2018, *passim*. For the quotation in the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891), cf., for the Ethiopic version, Bausi 2006c, p. 152 (edition), 153 (Italian translation); for the second Arabic recension (according to the numbering of Binggeli 2007), Gori 2006, p. 42 (edition), 43 (Italian translation); and for the Greek version, Détoraki 2007, p. 204 (French translation), 205 (edition). The more extensive treatment of the Arabic traditions by La Spisa 2021 was not available to me while preparing this dissertation.

¹¹⁷³ Cf., for example, the antiphon 'Aragāwi *śalast*, MS EMMML 7285, fol. 36vc, ll. 26–29 = 'Aragāwi *śalast*, MS EMMML 1894, fol. 41va, ll. 30–32.

¹¹⁷⁴ By the term 'wandering antiphon', I refer to an antiphon that reappears in different commemorations, so that it is difficult to determine its origin. Sometimes, as in the case of the antiphon Pāntalewon *ba-ḥamməstu* 001 discussed above, the text is slightly modified according to the subject of the commemoration, whereas in other cases it is not.

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The text is almost completely based on phrases taken from Ps. 36:41a, 42a, c [LXX], although they have been partly rearranged: the word *ʿĒgzi ʿabəher* (‘the Lord’) in the second phrase of the psalm has been deleted, the word *ya ʿaqqəbomu* (‘he keeps them’) has been added, and the phrase *ʿasma tawakkalu bottu* (‘because they trusted in him’) has been repeated twice.

As for textual variants, there is only one point of variation between two collections, namely that in the attestation in MS EML 8678, the phrase *ya ʿaqqəbomu ʿasma tawakkalu bottu* has been added secondarily, supralineally. It is conceivable that it was first omitted by homoeoteleuton.

| | Tānāsec 172 | EML 8678 |
|-----------------------|-------------|----------------|
| የዐቅቦሙ፡ እስሙ፡ ተወከሉ፡ ቦቱ፡ | X | |
| Ø | | X ^a |

^a The following words, barely legible in the available reproduction, have been added supralineally:
 ያ(?)ዐ(?)ቅቦሙ፡ እስሙ፡ ተ[!](?)ከሉ፡ በ(?)ቱ(?)፡.

3.2.3.18 *Panṭalewon śalast* 008

ፈደፋደ፡ የዐቢ፡ ክብሮሙ፡ ወብዙጎ፡ ሞገሰ፡ ቦሙ፡ ለጳድቃን፡ በውስተ፡
ርስቶሙ፡ (MS Ṭānāsee 172, fol. 14ra, ll. 11–14)

Their honour is very great, and they have much grace—the
righteous in their inheritance!

Within the Minor Corpus, the antiphon *Panṭalewon śalast* 008 is only attested in the same two pre-seventeenth-century collections as the antiphons *Panṭalewon śalast* 006 and 007, i.e. those in MSS EMMML 8678 and Ṭānāsee 172. It appears that the manuscripts originally had the same reading, but in MS EMMML 8678, the phrase *la-ṣādqān ba-wəsta rəstomu* has been erased and replaced with *wa-yā(?)kabbəṣwwo wə[sta] həzb* (ወያ(?)ክ(?)ብርዎ፡ ው፡ ሕዝብ፡ ‘and He honours them among the people’). *Panṭalewon* is not mentioned explicitly, and it seems probable that we are dealing with a common antiphon (for the righteous?).

3.2.3.19 *Panṭalewon śalast* 009a, 009b

ዝንቱስ፡ ብእሲ፡ ጳድቅ፡ ወኔር፡ ዘባረኮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ክብረ፡ ነሥኦ፡ ዘበሰማያት፡
ብፁዕ፡ ውእቱ፡ አባ፡ ጳንጠሌዎን፡ (MS EAP432/1/10, fol. 27ra, ll. 1–3
[009b])

This is the righteous and good man, whom the Lord has blessed.
He received the honour which is in the heavens. Blessed is
ʿAbbā Panṭalewon!

There are two *śalast* antiphons with this text: *Panṭalewon śalast* 009a and 009b. In most collections that contain both of them, they are marked as belonging to different melodic families, but in the absence of a study of the development of the system of melodic families for *śalast* antiphons, it has not been possible to use this as a means to distinguish the two antiphons. Furthermore, I have not been able to identify any sources for this text.

Textual variation occurs both between the attestations in different manuscripts and between the double attestations in individual manuscripts. In two of the collections that contain two antiphons with this text—those in MSS EMDA 00111 and EAP432/1/10—the word *kabkāba* (‘wedding’) appears instead of the word *kəbra* (‘honour’) in one of the antiphons. However, in most collections that contain both antiphons, this textual differentiation is not made. It is possible that the variant reading was introduced to distinguish the two antiphons.

Within the phrase that appears as *kəbra nas’ a za-ba-samāyāt* (‘he received the honour which is in the heavens’) above, three variants involving the relative particle *za-* are discernible: either it is placed a) before the word *ba-samāyāt* (‘in

the heavens'), b) before the word *naś'a* ('he received'), or c) it is left out. The placement of the particle, of course, results in different meanings: a) 'he received the honour which (is) in the heavens', b) 'he who received honour in the heavens', or c) 'he received honour in the heavens', respectively. One can note that the second reading is attested only in the collections in MSS EMMML 1894, Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, and UUB O Etiop. 36—the latter two of these collections display similar readings also in other cases.¹¹⁷⁵

A third point of textual variation concerns the presence versus absence of the title *'abbā* in front of the name *Ṗanṭalewon* in the last phrase of the antiphon. In the pre-twentieth-century collections, the variant without the word *'abbā* only appears in collections which contain both *Ṗanṭalewon šalast* 009a and 009b, although it should be noted that there are also manuscripts which contain both antiphons with exactly the same text (ex. MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006). One wonders, again, if the word *'abbā* was left out in one of the antiphons in order to make them distinguishable on a textual level.

¹¹⁷⁵ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

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[illegible]

^a The word $\varpi_{\lambda\tau}$ has been added supralineally.

^b The word *ḥḳ:* has been added in the margin.

3.2.3.20 Pāṇṭalewon *śalast* 010

እስመ፡ ሀሎ፡ ይበርህ፡ ገጾሙ፡ እምፀሐይ፡ ለእለ፡ አጥረይዎ(?)፡ ለትዕግሥት፡ እለ፡
ሎሙ፡ አሰ(?)ፈወ፡ ዓለሙ፡ ከቡረ፡ ዘይመጽእ፡። (MS EMLL 4667, fol.
15va, ll. 17–19)

For their face(s) shine brighter than the sun, (the faces of) those
who have acquired patience, to whom the honourable coming
world has been promised!

The antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *śalast* 010 is only attested in one collection in the Minor Corpus, in the fifteenth–sixteenth-century collection in MS EMLL 4667. It shares the text with *śalast* antiphons for several other commemorations and may thus be classified as a ‘wandering antiphon’.¹¹⁷⁶ For a note on antiphons beginning with *’asma* (‘for, because’), see fn. 1160.

3.2.3.21 Pāṇṭalewon *śalast* 011

አክሊለ፡ ስምዕ፡ ይደልዎሙ፡ ምድረ፡ ኃዳ(?)ሰ(?)፡ አውረሱሙ፡ ለጳድቃን፡። (MS
EMML 8804, fol. 24vb, ll. 16–18)

The crown of martyrdom is due to them. He let the righteous
inherit the new earth!

The antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *śalast* 011 is attested in full in only one of the collections in the Minor Corpus, the pre-seventeenth collection in MS EMLL 8804. However, an antiphon which may possibly be identified with it appears in abbreviated form in eight further collections, signalled only by the incipit (*’aklila sām* ‘, ‘the crown of martyrdom’, or *’aklila samā ‘t*, ‘the crown of the martyrs’). As in the case of the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *śalast* 010, it seems probable that this is a ‘wandering antiphon’ which appears in different commemorations, presumably predominantly for martyrs.

The variation between *sām* ‘ and *samā ‘t* in the collections which only provide the incipit point to the occurrence of textual variants. However, they cannot be studied beyond this point of variation based on the present corpus.

¹¹⁷⁶ Cf., for example, the antiphons Nagaśt *śalast*, MS EMLL 1894, fol. 30rb, ll. 21–23 = MS EMLL 8488, fol. 17rb, l. 25–17va, l. 2, and *’Aragāwi śalast*, MS EMDA 00111, fol. 36vc, ll. 21–23 = Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, fol. 37vc, ll. 11–14. On the concept of ‘wandering antiphons’, see fn. 1174.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 8804 |
|-------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| ሰዎዕ: | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X |
| ሰማዕት: | | | | X | X | | | | |

3.2.3.22 *Pantalewon salast* 012

ብእሲ፡ መምህርነ፡ አክሊለ፡ ከብር፡ ጸገዎሙ፡ ምድረ፡ ሕዳስ፡ አወረሰሙ፡
ለጸድቃን፡፡ (MS EMML 1894, fol. 31rb, ll. 19–21)

(O) man, our teacher! He (= God) bestowed on them the crown
of honour. He let the righteous inherit the new earth!

The antiphon *Pantalewon salast* 012 is only attested in one of the collections in the Minor Corpus: the pre-seventeenth-century collection in MS EMML 1894. Unlike the surrounding antiphons in the collection, it has not been provided with *malakkāt*, perhaps because the antiphon was out of common use already at the time when the *malakkāt* were secondarily added to this manuscript. *Pantalewon* is not mentioned explicitly in the text and it is possible that this could also be a ‘wandering antiphon’.

3.2.3.23 *Pantalewon salast* 013

ጼና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለጳጳሮች፡ ከመ፡ ጽጌ፡ አውያን፡ ወከመ፡ ሮማን፡፡ (MS
EMML 7529, fol. 27va, ll. 10–12)

The scent of the garment of *Pantalewon* is like the flower(s) of
vines and like the pomegranate!

The antiphon *Pantalewon salast* 013 does not appear in any of the pre-seventeenth-century collections included in the corpus, but in the later collections it is widespread. The text elaborates on the phrase about the garment of *Pantalewon*, based on a quotation from Song of Songs, that appears in the *Life of Pantalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532)¹¹⁷⁷ and is frequently encountered in the corpus of antiphons for *Pantalewon*. For a general discussion, see 3.2.4.4. In the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, this antiphon is a later addition.

Besides a trivial addition of the title *abbā* before the name of the saint in one attestation, the textual variation within this antiphon is concentrated in the noun phrase which appear as *ṣage awyān* (‘the flower of vines’) in the text above. This

¹¹⁷⁷ Cf. fn. 1157.

is the most common reading, appearing in eight out of twelve collections. Two collections each have an idiosyncratic variant—*ṣəge wayn* (‘the flower of the vine’), *ṣenā səḥin* (‘the scent of frankincense’)—whereas the reading *ṣenā səḥin wa-’awyān* (‘the scent of frankincense and vines’) is found in the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in other cases display related readings.¹¹⁷⁸

[illegible]

^a The word *ᵎᵎᵎ* appears to have been modified into the word *ᵎᵎᵎ*.

¹¹⁷⁸ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

3.2.3.24 *Pantalewon salām* 001a, 001b

ብእሲ፡ ጌር፡ ውብእሲ፡ መምህር፡¹¹⁷⁹ ወፈራሄ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡
ተሰምዖ፡ ዜናክ፡ ውስተ፡ ኩሉ(?)፡ ምድር፡ ሰላመክ፡ ሀበኑ፡ (MS Ethio-SPaRe
SSB-002, fol. 109rb, ll. 18–23)

(O) good man, teacher, and God-fearer *Pantalewon*, your story
is heard on the entire earth. Give us your peace!

The antiphon *Pantalewon salām* 001 is widely attested in the collections included in the Minor Corpus. It is textually connected to the antiphons *Pantalewon salām* 002a and 002b (see 3.2.3.25). I have not been able to identify any biblical or other quotations in it.

In two out of the twenty collections in which the antiphon *Pantalewon salām* 001 is attested—in MSS EMDA 00111 and EAP432/1/10—it is repeated twice: first among the *salām* antiphons for the *wāzemā* service, then among the *salām* antiphons for the *səbhata nagh* service. Textual connections between these two collections occur also in other places.¹¹⁸⁰

Disregarding one case which only concerns the absence of a possessive suffix in two collections, there are four points of textual variation that merit discussion. The first concerns the second of the epithets with which the antiphon begins. This epithet appears as *wa-bə ʾəsi mamhər* (‘and teaching man (?)’) in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (see above), as *bə ʾəsi mamhər* (‘teaching man (?)’) in a number of pre-seventeenth-century collections (single- and multiple-type) as well as in the nineteenth-century collection in MS EMLL 7285, and simply as *mamhər* (‘teacher’) in the rest of the collections. The presence of the word *bə ʾəsi* exclusively in pre-seventeenth-century collections *and* in the collection in MS EMLL 7285 brings to mind the other occasions where the latter manuscript displays similarities with the early collections.¹¹⁸¹

A second point of variation concerns the position in the antiphon which in the version above is occupied by the vocative *Pantalewon*. The name of the saint appears in its bare form in the two single-type collections and in three out of eight pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. In the rest of the collections, it is always preceded by the title *ʾabbā* and sometimes followed by the designation *samā ʾt* (‘the martyr’). The two collections in which this antiphon is attested twice—in MSS EMDA 00111 and EAP432/1/10—both have, at this place, a different reading in one of the attestations, namely *ʾabbā šalli ba- ʾanti ʾana*

¹¹⁷⁹ A more literal translation might be ‘teaching man’.

¹¹⁸⁰ Cf. the discussion of the antiphon *Pantalewon māhlet* 002.

¹¹⁸¹ On the relationship between the collection in MS EMLL 7285 and single-type collections, see the discussion in 3.4.1.3.2.

(‘*abbā*, pray for us’). It seems reasonable to presume that this represents a change introduced in order to make two antiphons distinguishable on a textual level.

A third point of variation concerns the variation in word order between *tasam ‘a zenāka* (‘your story is heard’) and *zenāka tasam ‘a* (same meaning). It is distributed in such a way that the former appears in all pre-sixteenth-century collections as well as in a majority of the post-sixteenth-century collections, whereas the latter appears only in a minority of the post-sixteenth-century collections. Again, the two collections which have this antiphon twice display the former word order in one attestation and the latter in the other, and one wonders, again, if the choice of different variants in the two attestations may be deliberate.

Finally, the phrase *wəsta kʷəllu mədr* (‘in the entire world’)—ubiquitously present in the post-sixteenth-century collections—displays a noteworthy pattern of attestation in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collection, being present in most but absent in the collection in MS EMLL 1894, originally absent but later added in the collection in MS EMLL 8804, and originally present but later deleted in the collection in MS EMLL 8678.

The collections in the two manuscripts Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 have an antiphon which appears to be a combination of the antiphons Pāṇṭalewon *salām* 001 and Pāṇṭalewon *salām* 002. It is discussed separately below as Pāṇṭalewon *salām* 001/002 (0).

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111, 001b | EMDA 00111, 001a | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10, 001b | EAP432/1/10, 001a | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsec 172 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | ES SSB-002 | DS-VIII |
|-----------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|------------|---------|
| ወብእሲ: መምህር: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ብእሲ: መምህር: | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | X | | X |
| ወመምህር: | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | | | |
| ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X ^a | | X | | X | X |
| አባ: ጳጳሳዊ: ሰማዕት: | X | X | X | X | | | | | X | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| አባ: ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | X | X | X | | | X ^b | X | | X ^c | | X | | X | | X ^d | | |
| አባ: ጸሊ: በእንቲእነ: | | | | | X | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ተሰምዐ: ዜናክ: | | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^e | X | X |
| ዜናክ: ተሰምዐ: | X | | X | | X | | | | | X | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ወሰተ: ኩሉ: ምድር: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | X ^f | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X ^g | | | | | | |
| ሰላመክ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ሰላመ: | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | X ^h | | | | | | | |

^a The word አባ: has been added supralineally before the word ጳጳሳዊ:.

^b The word ሰማዕት: has been added supralineally.

^c The word ሰማ?? has been added supralineally.

^d The word that originally preceded the name ጳጳሳዊ: (i.e. አባ:?) has been deleted, and the word ሰማዕት: has been added supralineally after the name.

^e The word that originally preceded the word ዜናክ: (i.e. ተሰምዐ:?) has been deleted, and the word ተሰምዐ: has been added supralineally after it.

^f The words ወሰተ: ኩሉ: [...] have been deleted.

^g The words ወሰተ: ኩሉ: ምድር: have been added supralineally.

^h The letter <h> has been added supralineally.

3.2.3.25 Ġantaŀewon *salām* 002a, 002b

ብአሲ፡ ሕር፡ ወመምህር፡ ወፈራሄ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አባ፡ ጸ(?)ሊ፡ በእንቲአነ፡
ሰላም፡ ጸሊ፡ ለነገሥት፡ ወለበሐውርት፡፡ (MS EMMML 7618, fol. 210vb, ll.
10–13)

(O) good man, teacher, and God-fearer, *’abbā*, pray for us! Pray
for peace to the kings and to the countries!

The antiphon Ġantaŀewon *salām* 002 is widely attested from the earliest attested single-type collections to the modern printed editions. The name of the saint is not mentioned explicitly and the antiphon does not appear to be connected to the hagiographical dossiers of any of the two Ġantaŀewons. However, it is textually connected to the antiphon Ġantaŀewon *salām* 001.

In the later manuscripts, this antiphon is regularly attested two times: once among the *salām* antiphons for the *wāzemā* service, and once among the *salām* antiphons for the *səbhata nagh* service. Although the *salām* antiphon is said to be performed in different musical modes in these two services,¹¹⁸² both attestations have—at least in *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 2015—almost the same *mələkkət*, indicating that it is indeed the same antiphon repeated twice.

Diachronically, textual variation is minimal. In two of the single-type collections—MSS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 and DS-VIII—the initial word *bə’əsi* (‘a [good] man’) was initially missing, although it was later added to the former. The attestation in MS DS-VIII, moreover, has an imperative verb *ṣaggu* (‘bestow’) instead of *ṣalli* (‘pray’). Three later collections display an addition *la-’aḥzāb* (‘to the peoples’) between the two constituents of the phrase *la-nagašt wa-la-baḥāwərt* (‘[pray for peace] to the kings and to the countries’), but in two of these cases, the additional word has been marked for deletion.

The collections in the two manuscripts Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 have an antiphon which appears to be a combination of the antiphons Ġantaŀewon *salām* 001 and Ġantaŀewon *salām* 002. It is discussed separately below as Ġantaŀewon *salām* 001/002 (0).

¹¹⁸² See Chapter 1 (1.4.3.3.1 and 1.4.3.3.2).

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[illegible]

^a The word ᠠᠭᠤᠨ has been added above the line.

^b The word ለአሕዛብ: has been marked for deletion.

3.2.3.26 *Pantañewon salām* 001/002 (?)

As mentioned briefly in the discussions of the antiphons *Pantañewon salām* 001 and *Pantañewon salām* 002, the collections in the two seventeenth-century manuscripts Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 contain a *salām* antiphon which seems to be a conflation of the antiphons *Pantañewon salām* 001 and *Pantañewon salām* 002. Below, the text is given as it appears in MS UUB O Etiop. 36:

ብአሲ፡ ሕ(?)ር፡ መምህር፡ ወፈራሄ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አባ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ስማዕ፡ ዜናክ፡
ተሰምዓ፡ ውስተ፡ ክሉ፡ ምድር፡ ሰላመክ፡ ሀበክ፡ ሰላመ፡ ጸሊ፡ ለነገሥት፡
ወለበሐውርት፡ (MS UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 26rc, ll. 24–27)

(O) good man, teacher, and God-fearer, 'Abbā *Pantañewon*, hear!
Your story is heard on the entire earth. Give us your peace! Pray
for peace to the kings and to the countries!

As can be seen, this antiphon seems to consist primarily of a variant of the text of the antiphon *Pantañewon salām* 001, at whose end has been added the final phrase of the antiphon *Pantañewon salām* 002. Both the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and the one in MS UUB O Etiop. 36 appear to have a reading *samā* ' (ስማዕ፡, 'hear!'). However, taking the rest of the transmission of the *Pantañewon salām* 001/002 complex into account (cf. the variants of the antiphons *Pantañewon salām* 001a and 001b), it seems more likely that the text ought to read *samā* ' (ስማዕ፡), as an abbreviation of *samā* 't (ስማዕት፡, '[*Pantañewon*] the Martyr'). As we have seen above (0), a variant including the word *samā* 't appears in this place in six out of twelve post-sixteenth-century attestations of the antiphon *Pantañewon salām* 001. Notice also that the name *Pantañewon* is abbreviated in both MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, making the appearance of an abbreviated epithet all the more likely. Whether the reading with an initial *sə* in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 represents a development of the text or whether a user of the manuscripts would be tacitly guided by the context to reading *sa* is difficult to say.

In the attestation in MS UUB O Etiop. 36, the *mələkkət* only cover the part up to the word *habanna* ('give us [your peace]'), i.e. only the text of the antiphon *Pantañewon salām* 001. Does this indicate that the 'conflation' of the two antiphons in these manuscripts only represents an economical way of handling the written space? This does, indeed, seem likely, looking at the evidence from MS UUB O Etiop. 36. However, in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, the entire antiphons, from the beginning to its end, is notated with *mələkkət*. This does not, of course, per se indicate that what is written was perceived as one single antiphon. Probably, a study of the *mələkkət* of these two antiphons, comparing also the attestations in other collections, would be necessary to determine with

certainty whether the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 really contain a conflated antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon salām* 001/002 or simply an economical way of writing the two different antiphons *Ṗanṭalewon salām* 001 and *Ṗanṭalewon salām* 002.

3.2.3.27 *Ṗanṭalewon salām* 003

ጸና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለጳጳስ፡ ከመ፡ ጸና፡ ስኒን፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ዘመላት፡ ዘወረደ፡
ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ ጎበ፡ ጽጌት፡ በፍሥሐ፡ ወበሰላም፡ ወትረ፡ ይሴባሕ፡ በቅዱሳን፡፥
(MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 109rb, ll. 2–7)

The scent of the garment of 'Abbā *Ṗanṭalewon* is like the scent of frankincense, his fine linen garment which descended into Paradise, where (there are) flowers! In joy and peace, He is continually glorified through the saints!

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon salām* 003 is widely attested in the Minor Corpus. It is based on the phrase about the garment of *Ṗanṭalewon* taken from the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532), which frequently appears in the *Dagg'wā*-type antiphons for the saint (see 3.2.4.4).¹¹⁸³ This basic phrase has been enlarged at the end.¹¹⁸⁴

The textual variation is relatively minor. Apart from the trivial variation between 'Abbā *Ṗanṭalewon* and *Ṗanṭalewon*, and one collection's reading *nāhu warada* against *za-warada* in the nineteen others, the only point of variation appears within the phrase which in the text above appears as *ḥaba ṣageyāt* ('where (there are) flowers'). As a variant of this, the phrase *kama yār'ay ṣāna ṣageyāt* ('to see the beauty of the flowers') appears. Only the former variant appears in the single-type collection, but in later collections, both variants are commonly found up to the present time. The same variation is attested in the antiphons *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 027a and 027b, where, however, the form *ḥaba ṣageyāt* is only found in one single-type collection (see 3.2.3.66).

¹¹⁸³ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 51 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 47 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, p. 309 (edition), 338 (Italian translation), § 87.

¹¹⁸⁴ For parallels, see the discussions of the antiphons *Ṗanṭalewon 'Egzi'abəher nagśa* 001, *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*asma la-ālam*) 007a, 007b; *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 027a, 027b; and *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*asma la-ālam*) 028.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | ES SSB-002 | EMML 7618 | DS-VIII |
|---------------------|---------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| ለአባ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^a | | X | |
| ለጳጳሳዊ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X |
| ዘወረደ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| ናሁ፡ ወረደ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ኅብ፡ ጽጌያት፡ | X | | X | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| ከመ፡ ይርአይ፡ ስነ፡ ጽጌያት፡ | | X ^b | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | X | | | |

^a The word አባ፡ has been marked for deletion.

^b The words ከመ፡ ይርአይ፡ have been marked for deletion, a letter <ሃ> has been added supralineally before letter <ስ>, the letter <ስ> has been converted into the letter <ብ>, and the letter <ነ> has been marked for deletion, i.e. the reading has been modified into ኅብ፡ ጽጌያት፡.

3.2.3.28 *Ṗantalewon salām* 004

ብፁዕ፡ ምእመን፡ ወፈራሄ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በትዕግሥቱ፡ ዘፈጸመ፡ ገድሎ፤ ብፁዕ፡
 ዘኮነ፡ ኬንዖ፡ ለነፍሱ፤ ውስተ፡ አብያተ፡ ነገሥት፡ ሀሎ፤ ብፁዕ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡
 ጸ(?)ድቅ፡ ወየዋህ፤ አልባሲሁ፡ ዘሜላት፡ ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፤ ውእቱሰ፡ ኮነ፡
 ሰማዕተ፤ በፍሥሐ፡ ወበሰላም፤ ተቀበልዎ፡ አረጋዊ፡ ዝስኩ፡ አቡክሙ። (MS
 EMMML 2542, fol. 19va, ll. 4–8)

Blessed, faithful, and God-fearing is he who completed his struggle with patience. Blessed is he who became a craftsman of the soul. He was in the house of kings. Blessed is *Ṗantalewon*, righteous and meek! His fine linen garment which descended into Paradise. He became a martyr. In joy and in peace, receive him, the old man, this father of yours!

The antiphon *Ṗantalewon salām* 004 is widely attested in the Minor Corpus, from the earliest collections to one of the printed editions. The mention of the royal lineage would appear to be a reference to the story of *Ṗantalewon of the Cell*, and the description of his garment, mentioned in the *Life of Ṗantalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) has been encountered before on numerous occasions (see the discussion in 3.2.4.4). However, the statement that he became a martyr is confounding, if it is not to be taken metaphorically. Perhaps it indicates that the stories of the two *Ṗantalewons* were not strictly kept apart already at this earliest available stage. As for textual parallels, the antiphon contains one phrase that recurs frequently in the antiphons: *ba-tə gəštu za-faṣṣama gadlo*, ‘who completed his struggle with patience’.¹¹⁸⁵ It ends with a quotation from Gen. 43:27, found in one other antiphon for *Ṗantalewon*—*Ṗantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun* / *məsbāk*) 004 (see 3.2.3.43)—and frequently in the antiphons for ‘*Abbā*’ *Ṗantalewāwī*.¹¹⁸⁶

The textual variation attested for the antiphon *Ṗantalewon salām* 004 mostly concerns the inclusion/omission of conjunctions, relative particles, and semantically pale words, such as titles. Occasionally, as in the case of the inclusion/omission of the conjunction *wa-* (‘and’) in front of the word *farāhe* (‘[God-]fearing’) in the initial phrase, the variation seems to be connected to a diachronic development of the text: the *wa-* appears in all single-type collections and in two of the oldest multiple-type collections, then disappears. In other cases, such variants are found only in isolated manuscripts.

¹¹⁸⁵ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons *Ṗantalewon salast* 003, *Ṗantalewon salām* 005, *Ṗantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*) 003, *Ṗantalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*) 006, and ‘*Aragāwī mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*) 010.

¹¹⁸⁶ Cf., among the antiphons included in this chapter, the antiphons ‘*Aragāwī mazmur* (‘*abun* / *məsbāk*) 001, ‘*Aragāwī wāzemā* 001, and ‘*Aragāwī salast* 001.

While in most of the collections, the saint is said to have become a *kenyā la-naḥsu* ('a craftsman of his soul'), one of the early collections—the one in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002—instead calls him a *kenyā la-rə'su* ('a craftsman of himself', lit. 'his head'). This can be understood as a variation between synonyms. Only the collection in MS EML 2542, cited above, has a form without the possessive suffix: *kenyā la-naḥs* ('a craftsman of the soul').

In two of the earliest collections—those in MSS DS-VIII and EML 7618—the last word of the antiphon appears in the plural (*'abawikəmu*, 'your fathers') instead of the singular (*'abukəmu*, 'your father'), as in the rest of the collections. This plural form is confusing, but perhaps indicates that the phrase *'aragāwi zəsku 'abukəmu* ('the old man, this father of yours') was not understood as a semantic unit (as in the source text in Gen. 43:27) but divided so as to produce the following meaning: 'In joy and peace your fathers received the old man'. For another hypothesis, see the discussion of the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *salām* 006 (3.2.3.30).

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Fr. 36 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678 | ES SSB-002 | EMML 7618 | DS-VIII |
|-----------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------|
| ምእመን: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወምእመን: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወፊራሄ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | |
| ፊራሄ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘፊጸመ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ፊጸመ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ብፀ-ዕ: ዘኮነ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ብፀ-ዕ: ውእቱ: ዘኮነ: | | | | X | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ለነፍሱ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ለነፍስ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ለርእሱ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ውስተ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| በውስተ: | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ብፀ-ዕ: ጳጳሳዊ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678 | ES SSB-002 | EMML 7618 | DS-VIII |
|-------------------|---------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| ብፁዕ፡ አባ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | | |
| አባ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዘላለም፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ላላ፡ | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | | | | | | | |
| ውላዊ፡ | X | | | | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| ውላዊ፡ | | X ^c | X | | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወውላዊ፡ | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ውስተ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^e | | | |
| ኮነ፡ | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| ዘኮነ፡ | | | | | X | X | X | | | | | | X | | | | X | | | |
| ተቀበልዎ፡ | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | | | X | X ^f | | X | X | X | | |
| ወተቀበልዎ፡ | | | | | | | | | X | | X | X | | | X | | | | X | X |
| ዝስኩ፡ ወተቀበልዎ፡ | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዝስኩ፡ አረጋዊ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | X | | | | | |

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678 | ES SSB-002 | EMML 7618 | DS-VIII |
|-------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------|
| ዝስኩሳ: አረጋዊ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| አረጋዊ: ዝስኩ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X ^g | X | X | | X |
| አረጋዊ: ዘስሙ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| Ø አረጋዊ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^h | | | | | | |
| አቡካሙ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| አበዊክሙ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |

^a The word አባ: has been deleted.

^b The letter <ዘ> has been added supralineally before the word ሜላት:.

^c The letter <ሰ> has been added supralineally after the word ውእቱ:.

^d The letter <ሰ> has been deleted and the letter <አ> added supralineally.

^e The word ውእቱሰ: has been added supralineally.

^f The initial <ተ> has been deleted and <ወተ> has been written in its stead.

^g The word ዝስኩ: after the name አረጋዊ: has been deleted, and has instead been added supralineally before the name.

^h The word ለዝኩ: has been added supralineally before the name.

3.2.3.29 Ġantaŵon *salām* 005

የዓውዳ፡ ሀገር፡ ለማየ፡ ባሕር፤ አባ፡ ጳጳሳዊዎን፡ በትዕግሥቱ፡ ዘፈጸመ፡ ገድሎ፤
 ዘገለፈ፡ እምነን፡ ወተንሥኦ፡ እምላዕሌን፤ ከርቤ፡ ቱሱሐ፡ ጽጌያተ፡ አምኃ፡ በሰላም፡
 ከኖሙ፡ መርሐ፡ (MS EML 2542, fol. 19va, ll. 1–3)

The land surrounds the waters of the sea. 'Abbā Ġantaŵon,
 who completed his struggle with patience, who passed from us
 and rose above us. Myrrh mixed with flowers of greetings—he
 became a guide for them in peace!

The antiphon Ġantaŵon *salām* 005 has a widespread attestation, ranging from the single-type collections to the modern printed *Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 2015. The name of Ġantaŵon is explicitly mentioned in the antiphon, but I have not been able to identify any direct quotations from either of the *Lives* in it. However, the theme of flowers, typical for antiphons occurring within the Season of Flowers, appears in the text. The phrase *ba-tə'gəstu za-faṣṣama gadlo* ('who completed his struggle with patience') has parallels in other antiphons.¹¹⁸⁷

The textual variants attested in the Minor Corpus are mostly of rather trivial nature, consisting of isolated occurrences of addition, omission or interchange of prepositions, conjunctions, relative particles, etc. Below, four cases of variant readings are discussed.

Firstly, one of the single-type collections—the one in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002—has a perfect form *'oda* ('[the land] surrounded') instead of the imperfect *ya 'awwədā* ('[the land] surrounds [the waters of the sea]'). The absence of an object suffix in the reading of the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 is noticeable, as the object (?) *la-māya bāḥr* ('the water of the sea') is still introduced by a preposition *la-*.

Secondly, one eighteenth–nineteenth-century collection—the one in MS EML 6994—has *ḥaṣur* ('rampart') against *hagar* ('land') in the rest of the collections. The phrase *ya 'awwədā ḥaṣur* ('a rampart surrounds it') is also found in the antiphon Ġantaŵon *mazmur* ('*asma la- 'ālam / qənnəwāt*) 030, and it is possible that the text in MS EML 6994 has been contaminated by this reading.

Thirdly, two of the single-type collections and one of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections have *wa-tanašta / wa-naṣata* ('and was destroyed' / 'and destroyed') against *wa-tanśə 'a* ('and rose [above us]') in the remaining nineteen collections. In one of these nineteen collections, however—the fifteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EML 8678—the word *wa-tanśə 'a* has been

¹¹⁸⁷ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons Ġantaŵon *salast* 003, Ġantaŵon *salām* 004, Ġantaŵon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 003, Ġantaŵon *mazmur* ('*asma la- 'ālam*) 006, and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la- 'ālam*) 010.

written on top of a word which was erased and is presently illegible (at least based on the available materials): it is possible that this was originally also a variant based on the root *nšt*. The meaning of the word *tanašta* / *našata* in this context is obscure to me.

Fourthly, there is variation between the passive participle *tusuḥa* (‘mixed’) and the relative clause *za-tosaḥa* (‘which he mixed’). It appears to be connected to a diachronic development, so that the latter form appears in the single-type collections and in one of the earliest multiple-type collections—the one in MS EML 8678—whereas the former form appears in the later collections.

The antiphon *Pantaḥwōn salām* 005 is musicologically interesting, as it is occasionally—in six out of the twenty-two collections in which it is attested¹¹⁸⁸—marked as the *sərayu* of its melodic house. Undoubtedly, this is also the reason why the word *halleluyā* is occasionally written out in full (and provided with *mələkkət*) in some manuscripts from the seventeenth–eighteenth and onwards.¹¹⁸⁹

¹¹⁸⁸ This is the case in the collections in MSS EML 1894, UUB O Etiop. 36 (the note *rayu*, for *sərayu*, is a secondary addition), EAP432/1/10, EAP704/1/36, EAP254/1/5, and in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015.

¹¹⁸⁹ This is the case in the collections in MSS EAP704/1/36, EML 6994, EML 2431, EML 7285, EAP254/1/5, and in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Fr. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | Tanāsee 172 | EMML 8678 | ES SSB-002 | EMML 7618 | DS-VIII |
|---------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| የአውዳ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| አደ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ሀገር፡ | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ሐጼር፡ | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዘጎለፈ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| ጎለፈ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| እምኔነ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| እምኔየ፡ | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወተንሥኣ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X ^a | X | | |
| ተንሥኣ፡ | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወካሥተ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ወተካሥተ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| እምላዕሌነ፡ | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| እምላዕሌየ፡ | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በላዕሌነ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | Tanāsee 172 | EMML 8678 | ES SSB-002 | EMML 7618 | DS-VIII |
|-----------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------|
| እማእከሌነ፡ | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| ቱሱሐ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |
| ዘቶሰሐ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X |
| አምኃ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | |
| ለአምኃ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ከመ፡ አምኃ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| እምካ[...]: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | | | |
| በሰላም፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| ወበሰላም፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^e | | | | | | | | |
| ዘኮኖሙ፡ | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ኮኖሙ፡ | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| ኮኖ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |

^a The word ወተንሥ(አ)፡ has been rewritten.

^b The conjunction ወ- has been added supralineally before the word.

^c MS: እማዕሌነ፡

^d The manuscript has እምካ[...]:, where the last letter possibly has been deleted. Was the original reading እምካበ፡?

^e The word በሰላም፡ has been added supralineally.

3.2.3.30 *Ṗanṭalewon salām* 006

ዝስኩ፡ አቡኩሙ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ አባ፡ ጳጳሳዊዎን፡ በሃይማኖቱ፡ ዘጸንዓ፡
ተዘከረ፡ ዘይቤ፡ ዳዊት፡ ተነበየ፡ በመዝሙር፡ ትውልደ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ ይትባረኩ፡ ገነተ፡
አርኃው፡ ሎሙ፡ ሰላም፡ ይደልዎሙ፡ ፀርሐ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወይቤ፡ ዝከረ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡
ለዓለም፡ ይሄሉ፡ እንጦንስ፡ ወጳጳሳዊዎን፡ ወኸሎሙ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ኅቡረ፡ ይባርኩክ፡
ስብሐት፡ ይብሉ፡ ስብሐት፡ ለመንግሥትክ፡። (MS EMMML 6994, fol. 25va,
ll. 18–25)

This is your father, the blessed and holy *ʿAbbā* Ṗanṭalewon, who was strengthened through his faith, remembering what David said. He prophesied in the Book of Psalms (*Mazmur*): ‘Blessed is the generation of the righteous!’ He (= God) has opened Paradise for them. Peace is due to them. David cried out and said: ‘The memory of the righteous will remain forever.’ Anthony and Ṗanṭalewon and all the saints together bless you. ‘Glory!’ they say, ‘glory to your kingdom!’

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon salām* 006 is widely attested in the corpus. It contains two explicitly introduced quotations from Ps. 111 (verses 2 and 6). As far as I have been able to ascertain, it does not contain any direct quotations from or allusions to any of the lives of the two Ṗanṭalewons, but the mention of Anthony—possibly the early desert father—makes it plausible to connect it primarily to Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell. Within the corpus of antiphons attested in the Minor Corpus, the topic of Anthony and Ṗanṭalewon also appears in one other antiphon: *Ṗanṭalewon šalast* 004 (3.2.3.14), attested in a single manuscript. Another possibility is that this is a reference to one of the two Anthonies commemorated on the same day as Ṗanṭalewon according to the *Sənkəssār* (CAe 2375, second recension), i.e. 6 Ṭəqəmt.¹¹⁹⁰

In the single-type collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, there is an antiphon which appears to be a shorter version of *Ṗanṭalewon salām* 006, possibly arisen by homoeoteleuton (see below). After the words *tanabbaya ba-mazmur* (‘He prophesied in the Book of Psalms:’), it has: ትውልደ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ ኅቡረ፡ ይበ(!)ርኩክ፡ ስብሐት፡ ይብሉ፡ ስብሐት(?): ለመንግሥትክ፡። (‘“The generation of your righteous ones jointly bless you.” “Glory!” they say, “glory to your kingdom!”’).

The first point of textual variation concerns the initial word, which appears either as *zəsku* (‘this one’)¹¹⁹¹ or as *zəkkū* (same meaning). While, according to my

¹¹⁹⁰ Cf. the discussion of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon šalast* 004.

¹¹⁹¹ In their lexicons, both Dillmann 1865, cols 1056–1057 and Leslau 1991, p. 635b list the form *ዝስኩ*: (in Leslau’s transcription: *zəs(s)akku*), i.e. with a first-order <ሰ>. Dillmann 1865 analyses this as a variant of the demonstrative pronoun *zəkkū*, between whose constituents the focal particle

understanding, the semantical difference between these two forms is one of inclusion versus exclusion of a focal particle, it is noteworthy that in the collection in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, both forms are given as alternative readings.¹¹⁹²

-(ə)ssa has been infixed (Dillmann 1865, cols 1056–1057; alternatively, one could think of a metathesis of focal particle and the latter part of the demonstrative, as suggested to me by Alessandro Bausi (personal communication), to whom I extend my thanks). Dillmann’s analysis was criticised by Praetorius 1890, who argued that the manuscript evidence rather points to a form ሠሰኩ፡, i.e. with a sixth-order <ሰ> (Praetorius 1890, p. 26). According to the analysis suggested by Praetorius 1890, the word is derived from the demonstrative zə- plus ‘asku (‘behold!, at last!, please!’, etc.), implying a transcription zəsku. Praetorius 1890 provides no translation of the amalgamated form. While I agree with Dillmann 1865 regarding the etymology and meaning of the word—the word is listed as a demonstrative pronoun by Kidāna Wald Kəfle 1955, p. 78—I would like to suggest that Praetorius 1890 was more correct in deciphering the Ethiopic characters. This is, moreover, supported by a simple Google search, carried out on 13 September 2021, in which ‘ሠሰኩ’ yielded 1340 hits against one single hit for ‘ሠሰኩ’. My hypothesis is that -(ə)ssə (or -(ə)s?), as an early variant of -(ə)ssa—for examples in early *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, see Chapter 2 (2.3.2.1, esp. fn. 656, and 2.3.11.1)—survived in the phonetically protected environment in the middle of this demonstrative pronoun. This could, perhaps, suggest a pronunciation zəssəkku. However, according to the traditional pronunciation, at least as transmitted by Hiruie Ermias, qəne teacher and parish priest in the church of Hamburg Kidāna Məhrat, the word is pronounced zəsku, without gemination (personal communication). (The word is not discussed in published works on the traditional pronunciation such as Cohen 1921, Mittwoch 1926, and Makonnen Argaw 1984.) If the middle element in ሠሰኩ፡ is indeed to be identified with the particle -(ə)ssa, this origin, nonetheless, with time appears to have faded from the consciousness of the text transmitters, allowing for the emergence of forms like ሠሰኩሰ፡ (according to my analysis: zəsku-ssa; cf. the attestations of the antiphons Pāntalewon *salām* 004 and Pāntalewon *salām* 006 in the collection in MS EMM 2053), in which the same focal particle appears twice. In transcribing the word, I have chosen to follow the traditional pronunciation, conscious that all other hypotheses are based on theoretical speculation.

¹¹⁹² By ‘alternative reading’ I mean the presence, in one collection, of two (or more?) different alternative texts in one and the same antiphon. Normally, the alternative readings concern only one word and represent real textual variants, but occasionally they are rather what, from a linguistic perspective, would be seen as allomorphs (see the examples below). Normally, only one of the alternative readings is notated with *mələkkət*. According to my interpretation, this is a way of recording textual variants which all were regarded as acceptable in the contemporaneous liturgical practice (although there may, of course, have been a consciousness that different readings were used in or associated with specific monasteries or schools of chant). The use of variant readings is an example of a philological practice which, to my knowledge, has not previously been described for the Ethiopic manuscript culture, and represents a conscious strategy to cope with the consequences of the manuscript and/or oral transmission of texts. Alternative readings are attested in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections at least from the seventeenth century onwards: cf. an example in the antiphon Yā‘qob wa-Yohannəs *mazmur* (‘asma la-‘ālam), MS UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 25rb, ll. 2–7 (alternative readings አቡሆሙ፡ and ኣብሆሙ፡). However, it is possible that already the juxtaposition of the words በሰምየ፡ (*ba-səməya*, ‘in my name’) and በሰላም፡ (*ba-salām*, ‘in peace’) in the fifteenth–sixteenth-century attestation of the antiphon Yā‘qob wa-Yohannəs *salām*, MS Tānāsee 172, fol. 12vb, ll. 1–10, should be interpreted as an early attestation of the practice of variant readings (although no other manuscript that I have consulted attests to the reading በሰላም፡). Further examples of variant readings are found in the antiphons ሿጳጳ za-sanbat ‘arbā‘t, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 50a, ll. 33–35 (alternative readings በዘሊኡ፡ and በዘዘሊኡ፡); Yā‘qob wa-Yohannəs ‘asma la-‘ālam, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 42c, ll. 3–10 (alternative readings ከሙ፡ and ከሙ፡); and Yā‘qob wa-Yohannəs *mazmur* (‘abun), *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 43b, ll. 25–32 (alternative readings ተለውከሙ፡ and ተለከሙ፡). In *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, variants of this type are marked in the margin with the abbreviation ‘ዘሙ’ (perhaps ዘሙጽ፡, *za-maṣḥaf*, ‘of the manuscript [= the authoritative copy of the *Dəggwā* kept at Beta Ləhem]’; cf. fn. 597).

The second point of textual variation concerns the second word, which in the studied collections is found as *'abukəmu* ('your (plur.) father', fifteen collections), *'abawikəmu* ('your (plur.) fathers', one collection), and *'aragāwi 'abukəmu* ('the old man, your (plur.) father', one collection). Whereas the last variant can easily be explained by contamination from either the source text in Gen. 43:27 or, perhaps more likely, the numerous antiphons in which this phrase occurs,¹¹⁹³ the reading *'abawikəmu* (MS DS-VIII: አበዊኩሙ፣, *'abawikumu*) is interesting. Based on the context in which it appears, the plural form is difficult to explain semantically. If this is not to be seen as a 'simple' copying error, one hypothesis could be that it is based on an unvocalised or incompletely vocalised Vorlage, in which the letter <w> was used as a *mater lectionis*. Thus, for example, a hypothetical reading *አበዊኩሙ፣, **'abawakumu*, for Standard Geez *'abukəmu* ('your father'),¹¹⁹⁴ could have been erroneously vocalised as *'abawikəmu* ('your fathers'). This would be an addition to the similar cases already observed in the pre-mid-fourteenth-century manuscripts from Dabra Šāhl.¹¹⁹⁵

Thirdly, the title *'abbā* appears in front of the name Pāntalewon in all multiple-type collections but none of the three single-type collections. This adds to the examples where a dichotomy can be seen between the single-type collections and the multiple-type collections.

Fourthly, there is variation in the word which appears above as *Dāwit* ('[remembering what] David [said]'). This variant appears in one of the single-type collections—the one in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002—and in three eighteenth–nineteenth-century multiple-type collections. The more common reading in the early collections is *ba-Dāwit* ('[remembering what it says] in *Dāwit* (i.e. the Book of Psalms)'). This early use of this term, apparently in reference to the literary work, is noteworthy. In the most recent multiple-type collections, but also in some dating from the seventeenth century, the variant *ba-nabiy* ('[remembering what it says] in Prophet') appears instead. One collection has simply *nabiy* ('[remembering what] the Prophet [said]').

¹¹⁹³ See the antiphons Pāntalewon *salām* 004, 'Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001, 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001,

'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun / māsḃāk*) 001, and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006.

¹¹⁹⁴ Compare the spelling አበዊኩ፣, *'abawana* for *'abuna* ('our father') in MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 39v, l. 5. See Chapter 2, esp. fnn. 869 and 871. Another example where an unvocalised or incompletely vocalised Vorlage *አበዊኩ፣, **'abawana* could be suspected is found in one of the (*salām*) antiphons for 'Abbā Garimā in the same manuscript, which twice has a plural reading *'abawinə / 'abawina* in places where the context demands a singular *'abuna* (MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fol. 74r, ll. 13–19 (secondary hand): ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ አበዊኹ(!)፡ ዘኃረያ(!)ክ፡ ከ(?)ርስቶስ፡ አበዊኹ፡ ወመመ(!)ህርኹ፡ ከመ፡ ወርኻ(?)፡ ንጹ(!)ሐ፡ ወከመ፡ ከ(?)ከብ፡ ብሩህ፡ በጸሎተ(!)ክ፡ ሞአ(!)ኮ፡ ለሰይጣን፡ እ(?)ምክሉ፡ ዓለም፡ ተከበረ(!)፡ ነ(!)ፈ(!)ስየ፡ በቅድመ(!)ክ፡ የሜ(!)፡ አበ(?)፡ ገሪማ፡ በሰለ(?)ም፡ ነግህ(!)፡ ይዘርእ፡ ሰርክ፡ የእርር፡ ግ(!)ረ(!)ሀ(!)ቱ(!)፡፤, 'Blessed are you, our father, whom Christ chose! Our father and our teacher, like a pure moon and a bright star. Through your prayer, you conquered Satan. May my soul be honoured in front of you today more than the entire world. 'Abbā Garimā sows in peace in the morning, (and) in the evening he harvests his field!'). In the later tradition, the expected singular form is attested (cf. the attestation of the same (?) antiphon in *Maṣḥafa Dəgg'ā* 2015, p. 275c, ll. 37–42).

¹¹⁹⁵ For references, see fn. 1194.

Fifthly, the two single-type collections in which this word is attested have a simple *k^wəllomu* (‘all [the saints]’) against *wa-k^wəllomu* (‘and all [the saints]’) in the rest of the collections. Although this variation is trivial, it adds to the cases where the single-type collections share a reading against a reading found in the multiple-type collections.

Sixthly, the three single-type collections have *ṣādqānika* (‘your righteous ones’) where all the multiple-type collections have *qəddusān* (‘the saints’). The second repetition of the word *ṣādqān* within the antiphon (albeit now with a possessive suffix) was presumably the reason why the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 could omit part of the antiphon by homoeoteleuton.

Seventhly, the two twentieth-century collections—in *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 2015 and MS EAP254/1/5—share the variant *yəsebbəḥuka* (‘[all the saints] glorify you’) against *yəbārəkuka* (‘[all the saints / all your righteous ones] bless you’, fourteen collections) or *yəbārəku* (‘[all the saints] bless’) in the rest of the collections. One could imagine theological reasons for the shift from a verb ‘bless’ to a verb ‘glorify’ with God as the object.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | ES SSB-002 | EMML 7618 | DS-VIII |
|-------------|---------|------------|----------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------|
| ዝሰኩ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X ^a | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ዝኩ: | X | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | | | | X | | |
| ዝሰኩሰ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ፀ አቡክሙ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ፀ አባዊክሙ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| አረጋዊ: አቡክሙ: | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| አባ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| ፀ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X |
| በሃይማኖቱ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | | | X | X | X |
| በሃይማኖት: | | | | | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| ዘጸንዐ: | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ጸንዐ: | X | X | | X | | | | | | X | | | X | | | | |
| ተዘከሮ: | | | | | X | X | X | | | X | | | X | | | | |
| ሰሚዖ: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| በከቢይ: | X | X | | X | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | |
| ነቢይ: | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | ES SSB-002 | EMML 7618 | DS-VIII |
|-------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------|
| በዳዊት: | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ዳዊት: | | | | | X | X | X | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ገነተ: አርሳው: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | X |
| ገነተ: ተርሳው: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | - | | |
| ሰላም: | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | X |
| በሰላም: | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | | |
| ወይቤ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | - | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | - | | |
| ጸድቅ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | |
| ዳዊት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | | X |
| ወክሎም: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | | |
| ከክሎም: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | X | X |
| ቅዱሳን: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| ጸድቃኒክ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X |
| ይባርኩክ: | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ይባርኩ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ይሴብሉክ: | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ስብሐት: ለመንግሥት: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| ስብሐት: ለመንግሥት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ወስብሐት: ለመንግሥት: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø ለመንግሥት: | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | |

^a The letter <ሰ> has been added supralineally after the letter <ከ>. Possibly, it has then been erased.

^b The letter <ሰ> has been added supralineally between the letters <ዝ> and <ከ>.

^c The word has been rewritten and it is unclear what the original reading was.

^d The word ወይቤ: has been added supralineally.

3.2.3.31 Pāntalewon 'arbā 't 001

ብፁዕ፡ ውእቱ፡ ጳንጠልዮን፡ ከመ፡ ጽጌ፡ ስኚ(!)ን፡ መዐዛ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ጐ(!)ርዔሁ፡
መዐርዒር፡ አምሳል(!)፡ ወይጠል፡ ብፁዕ፡ ውእቱ፡ ጳንጠልዮን፡ (MS EMMML
7078, fols 12v, l. 30–13r, l. 4)

Blessed is Pāntalewon, like the flower of frankincense, the
perfume of the saints! His throat is honey-sweet, the likeness of
a gazelle. Blessed is Pāntalewon!

The antiphon Pāntalewon 'arbā 't 001 has a long attestation, ranging from the single-type collections of 'arbā 't antiphons to the modern printed *Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 2015. The text clearly draws on the Song of Songs, although I have only been able to identify one direct quotation: *gʷar'ehu ma 'ar'ir* ('his throat is honey-sweet', Cant. 5:16). The antiphon does not contain any unambiguous references to the lives of any of the two Pāntalewons.

A number of points of textual variations are attested within the studied corpus. One collection—in MS EMMML 1894—has a second-person *bəṣu' 'anta* ('blessed are you, [Pāntalewon]') instead of the third-person *bəṣu' wə 'ətu* ('blessed is [Pāntalewon]') at the head on the antiphon. In another of the collections—in MS EMMML 2095—the words *ṣenā 'albāsihu* ('the scent of his garment') appear before *kama ṣage (/ṣenā) səḥin* ('like the flower (/scent) of frankincense'), presumably by contamination from the many other antiphons in which these phrases go together (see 3.2.4.4). Potentially of more interest is the variation between *ṣage səḥin* ('the flower of frankincense') and *ṣenā səḥin* ('the scent of frankincense'). The former variant is attested only in two of the single-type collections—one of them in MS EMMML 7078, quoted above, the other in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002—and it appears that one can speak of an early variant reading which disappeared in the later tradition.

Most of the variation, however, appears within the phrase which in MS EMMML 7078 (see the text above) has the form *'amsāl wayṭal* (for *'amsāla wayṭal*, 'the likeness of a gazelle'). *'Amsāla wayṭal* is the most common form in the single-type collection, with an idiosyncratic variant *'əm- 'askāla wayṭal* ('[his throat is more honey-sweet] than the grapes of the gazelle') appearing in the *'arbā 't* collection in MS EMMML 7618. In the multiple-type collections, two main variants are discernible: either a) the phrase appears in a slightly different form as *'amsālu za-wayṭal* ('his likeness (is) of a gazelle'), or b) the phrase is omitted. Omissions appear in two of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. It is also attested in one stage of the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, where the phrase *'amsālu za-wayṭal* was originally written but then marked for deletion. The variant *'amsālu za-wayṭal* appears in all other multiple-type collections, with the grammatically smoothened form *'amsālihu za-wayṭal* ('his likeness [is] of a gazelle', with a plural ending added to the formal plural *'amsāl*) appearing in one

collection. The varying forms of this last phrase are interesting insofar that the dividing line between the readings—based on the corpus taken into consideration—coincides with the shift from single-type to multiple-type collections.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | GG-185 | ES SSB-002 | GG-187 | EMML 2095 | BnF Éth. 92 | EMML 7618 | EMML 7078 |
|----------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------|------------|--------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| ውእቱ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| እንተ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ፀ ከመ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| ጼና: አልባሲሁ: ከመ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| ጼና: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | |
| ጽኑ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | X |
| እምሳሉ: ዘወይጠል: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^a | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | |
| እምሳሊሁ: ዘወይጠል: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| እምሳሉ: ወይጠል: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| እምአስካለ: ወይጠል: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ፀ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | |

^a The words እምሳሉ: ዘወይጠል: have been marked for deletion.

3.2.3.32 *Ṗanṭalewon 'arbā 't 002*

ጸና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳጳስጳውሎስ፡ ከመ፡ ጸና፡ ስሐን፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ዘሜላት፡
ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፡(?) (MS EMMML 7174, fol. 28vc, ll. 24–26)

The scent of the garment of *'Abbā Ṗanṭalewon* is like the scent of frankincense, his fine linen garment which descended into Paradise!

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon 'arbā 't 002* consists of a phrase which has already been encountered on multiple occasions within the corpus of antiphons for *Ṗanṭalewon*, derived from the Song of Songs (Cant. 4:11b) and also found in the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532).¹¹⁹⁶ For further discussion, see 3.2.4.4. The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon 'arbā 't 002* is not attested in any of the single-type collections, and in multiple-type collections only from the sixteenth century onwards. A trivial textual variation between *Ṗanṭalewon* and *'Abbā Ṗanṭalewon* appears throughout the diachronic attestation; apart from this, the text has remained stable within the studied corpus.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | ES DD-019 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 |
|---------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| ለአባ፡ ጳጳስጳውሎስ፡ | X | X | X | | | | | | | X | | X |
| ለጳጳስጳውሎስ፡ | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | |

3.2.3.33 *Ṗanṭalewon 'arbā 't 003*

ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ከመ፡ ጸና፡ ስሕን፡ መዓዛ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ጉርዒሁ፡ መዓርኢር፡
ብፁዕ፡ ጳጳስ፡ (MS UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 26va, ll. 3–5)

Blessed are you, *Ṗanṭalewon*, like the scent of frankincense, the perfume of saints! His throat is honey-sweet! Blessed *Ṗanṭalewon*!

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon 'arbā 't 003* is only attested in two collections in the corpus: the seventeenth-century multiple-type collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in other cases display textual similarities.¹¹⁹⁷ As will be immediately clear, the text of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon 'arbā 't 003* is intimately related to that of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon 'arbā 't 001* (3.2.3.31). However, in the two collections in which the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon*

¹¹⁹⁶ Cf. fn. 1157.

¹¹⁹⁷ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

’arbā’ t 003 is found, the ‘canonical’ *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 001* also appears, thus justifying the analysis that they have historically and within the tradition—better said: the local tradition at some place and time—been perceived as two different antiphons.

The antiphon *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 003* combines two of the more rarely attested readings of *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 001*: a) the reading *’anta* instead of *wə’ətu* in the first phrase (attested for *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 001* in only one collection), and b) the omission of the phrase *’amsālu za-wayṭal* (and variants; the omission is attested in *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 001* in three collections). Importantly, these two textual features are not attested together in any of the attestations of *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 001*. In addition, the antiphon *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 003* lacks the copulative pronoun *wə’ətu* in the last phrase, although it might be worth pointing out that the last phrase is abbreviated in both attestations of *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 003* (MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 has *bəṣu Pa, ʾnθ: ḥ:*; MS UUB O Ethiop. 36 has *bəṣu Pa, ʾnθ-θ: ḥ:*) and it is not impossible that the inclusion of a *wə’ətu* was seen as a matter of course.

Especially seeing that the antiphons *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 001* and *003* both belong to the same melodic family (*Bəṣu’ ’anta Yoḥannəs* [15]), one might hypothesise that they originate as variants of a single antiphon, which were later—and only in one specific branch of the tradition—reanalysed as two different antiphons. There are no textual variants between the two attestations of the antiphon *Ḥantalewon ’arbā’ t 003* in the corpus.

3.2.3.34 *Ḥantalewon ’əzl 001*

ፈጽላደ፡ ጸናሆሙ፡ ለጸድቃን፡ ብፁዕ፡ ውእቱ፡ አባ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ጸናሆ፡ ጥዕም፡ ከመ፡
ጸና፡ ስኒን፡ ወከመ፡ መዓዛ፡ ገዳም፡። (MS UUB O Ethiop. 36, fol. 25vc, ll.
10–12)

Abundant is the scent of the righteous! Blessed is *’Abbā*
Ḥantalewon. His scent is sweet like the scent of frankincense
and like the perfume of the wilderness!

The antiphon *Ḥantalewon ’əzl 001* is attested from the single-type collections to the modern printed editions. It is one of the few antiphons that is included in all multiple-type collections in the corpus that contain a commemoration of *Ḥantalewon*. The scent of the saint is mentioned in the antiphon; this appears to be a reference to the oft-recurring phrase about the scent of his garment, but I have not been able to identify any direct quotations in this antiphon.

Different points of textual variation in the antiphon *Ḥantalewon ’əzl 001* display different patterns of diachronic attestation. To begin with, the conjunction *wa-* (‘and’) appears before the first word of the antiphon in the single-type collection

in MS EML 7618 and in two multiple-type collections dated to the fifteenth/fifteenth–sixteenth century—MSS EML 8678 and Ṭānāsee 172—but is missing from later collections.

The occurrence of the variant *la-qaddusān* (‘of the holy’) in the place of *la-ṣādaqān* (‘of the righteous’), in contrast, appears primarily in the later collections: it is dominant in the post-eighteenth-century collections included in the corpus, but appears also in some of the collections of the eighteenth and seventeenth century, and also in the fifteenth-century collection in MS EML 8678.

The variation between *ṣenāhu ṭa’um* (‘his scent is sweet’) and *ṣenā ’albāsihu* (‘the scent of his garment’) displays another pattern: the former appears in all pre-nineteenth-century collections included in the corpus (with only a change in word order in one collection), whereas the latter appears in the post-eighteenth-century collections. Based on the present corpus, one could thus hypothesise that this variant emerged relatively late.

Whereas some readings are only attested in individual collections, the variants *ma’azā gadām* (‘the perfume of the wilderness’) and *ma’azā ṣannāy* (‘beautiful perfume’) both show a widespread attestation from the pre-seventeenth-century to the nineteenth-century collections. The reading in MS EML 1894—*ma’āzā ṣannāy ṣage gadām* (‘beautiful perfume, flower of the wilderness’)—could possibly be a conflation of these two readings.

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| | MD 2015 | MD 1994 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | EMML 7618 |
|---------------|---------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| ፌዴራል: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | |
| ወፌዴራል: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | X |
| ለጸድቃን: | | | | | | X | X | | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| ለቅዱሳን: | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ብፁዕ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ወብፁዕ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወኣቱ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | X ^a | X |
| አባ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| ጸናሁ: ጥዕም: | | | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ጥዕም: ጸናሁ: | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸና: አልባሲሁ: | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| መዓዛ: ገዳም: | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | | X | | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| መዓዛ: በ(?)ገዳም: | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|--|--|---|---|--|--|--|---|--|---|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|---|
| መዓዛ፡ ሠናይ፡ | | | | X | X | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | X | | X |
| መዓዛ፡ ሠናይ፡ ጽጌ፡ ገዳም፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ጸና፡ ዕጣን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |

^a The word ውእቱ፡ has been added supralineally.

3.2.3.35 Pantañewon 'əzl 002a, 002b

ጸና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ከመ፡ ጸና፡ ስኒን፡ ንብረቱ፡ ጽሙና፡ ፈጸምከ፡
ገድለከ፡ ንሣእ፡ ዕሴተከ፡ ተከሥተ፡ ለከ፡ ፀሐየ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ብርሃን፡ (MS EMMML
7618, fol. 138va, ll. 21–25)

The scent of the garment of 'Abbā Pantañewon is like the scent of frankincense. His manner of life was (characterised by) hardship. You have completed your struggle. Receive your reward! The sun of righteousness, the light, was revealed to you!

The antiphon Pantañewon 'əzl 002 is based on two phrases which appear in the *Life of Pantañewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532): the common phrase about the garment of Pantañewon—*ṣenā 'albāsihu kama ṣenā səḥin* ('the scent of his garment is like the scent of frankincense')¹¹⁹⁸—and the phrase *faṣṣama gadlo wa-naś'a 'asseto* ('he completed his struggle and received his reward').¹¹⁹⁹ To these have been added two phrases, for which I have not been able to identify parallels (apart from the biblical 'sun of righteousness'; cf. Mal. 4:2¹²⁰⁰). The antiphon is attested from the single-type collection to one of the printed editions. The multiple-type collection in one manuscript—MS EMMML 2053—contains what appears to be two different forms of the antiphon Pantañewon 'əzl 002, differing textually in a number of details. Whereas the first is placed together with the antiphon Pantañewon 'əzl 001 at the beginning of the antiphons for the *səbhata nagh* service (i.e. where 'əzl antiphons are most commonly found), the second is placed at the very end of the commemoration. They appear to have different *mələkkət*.

Disregarding the trivial variation between 'Abbā Pantañewon and Pantañewon, the textual variation is concentrated to the earliest collections and the two attestations in the collection in MS EMMML 2053. Much of the variation concerns, in different ways, the variation between a second and a third person address to the saint.

The most consistent application of the second person is found in the first attestation in the collection in MS EMMML 2053, in which the first words of the antiphon appears as *ṣenā 'albāsika* ('the scent of your garment'). In the rest of the collections, as well as in the second attestation in MS EMMML 2053, this appears as *ṣenā 'albāsihu* ('the scent of the garment [of Pantañewon]'). It is noteworthy that even the first attestation in MS EMMML 2053, this noun phrase is followed by the word *la-Pantañewon*. In the collections with the reading *ṣenā 'albāsihu*, the word *la-Pantañewon* forms a periphrastic genitive together with the third person

¹¹⁹⁸ Cf. fn. 1157.

¹¹⁹⁹ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 59 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, pp. 54–55 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, pp. 322–323 (edition), 349 (Italian translation), § 162.

¹²⁰⁰ I am grateful to Alessandro Bausi for helping me identify this quotation.

possessive ending, but it is unclear how it connects grammatically to the version with a second person possessive ending.

The first attestation in the collection in MS EMLL 2053, as well as one other seventeenth-century attestation, have *nəbratəka* (‘your manner of life / dwelling place’) as opposed to *nəbratu* (‘his manner of life / dwelling place’) in most of the other collections. This could be seen as a further attempt to harmonise the grammatical reference of the antiphon.

Whereas the earliest collections have *nəbratu ʃəmmunā* (‘his manner of life was hardship’), all post-sixteenth-century collections display the variant *gadām* (‘[his place of living] was the wilderness’) instead of *ʃəmmunā*. One could speculate that this reflects a narrowing of the meaning of the term *nəbrat*, from a more broad ‘manner of life’, attested, for example, in Acts 26:4, to a more narrow ‘place of living’. However, to substantiate this hypothesis a broader study of the use of this lexeme would be needed.

The collection in MS EMLL 1894 has a perfect *naśā’ka* (‘you have received [your reward]’) where the rest of the collections, including the earlier single-type collection in MS EMLL 7618, have an imperative *naśā’* (‘receive [your reward]’). The perfect form, like the second person forms discussed above, can be seen as a way of harmonising the grammatical structure of the antiphon, as the imperative clause comes rather unexpectedly between two clauses with perfect verbs.

Corresponding to the variants *takašta laka* (‘was revealed to you’) or *laka takašta* (same meaning), both with a perfect verb, the second (!) attestation in MS EMLL 2053 has instead *kəśut laka* (‘(is) revealed to you’), with a predicative passive participle. The semantic difference is neglectable.

Within the last noun phrase, several variants are attested. The single-type collection in MS EMLL 7618 has *ʃaḥaya ʃədq bərhān* (‘the sun of righteousness, the light’). The other pre-seventeenth-century collection simply has *bərhān* (‘the light’). Within the post-sixteenth-century collections, the variant *ʃaḥaya ʃədq bəruh* (‘the bright sun of righteousness’) dominates, but both of the attestations in MS EMLL 2053 have different variants, the first turning the noun phrase into a full clause *ʃaḥaya ʃədq ʃaraqa* (‘the sun of righteousness has risen’), the second having simply *bəruh* (‘the bright’), although this was later modified into the standard variant by the supralinear addition of the words *ʃaḥaya ʃədq*.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMLL 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMLL 2431 | EMLL 6994 | EMLL 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMLL 2053, 002b | EMLL 2053, 002a | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMLL 1894 | EMLL 7618 |
|--|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| አልባሲሁ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| አልባሲከ: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ለአባ: ጳጳሳዊ: | X | X | X | | | | X | | | | | | | X | X |
| ለጳጳሳዊ: | | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ከመ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወከመ: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ንብረቱ: | X | | X | X | X | X | | | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| ንብረተ: | | X | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ንብረትከ: | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | | |
| ገዳም: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ጽመኛ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ንሣክ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| ኑሣክ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ተከሥተ: ለከ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X |
| ለከ: ተከሥተ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ክሥት: ለከ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ፀሐየ: ጽድቅ: ብሩህ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | | |
| ፀ ብሩህ: | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | | | | | |
| ፀሐየ: ጽድቅ: ብርሃን: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ፀ ብርሃን: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ፀሐየ: ጽድቅ: ሠረቀ: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |

^a The words ፀሐየ: ጽድቅ: have been added supralineally before the word ብሩህ:.

3.2.3.36 *Ṗanṭalewon māḥlet* 001

ጳንጠሌዎን፡ ሰማዕት፡ ወጳንጠሌዎን፡ ዘጸማዕት፡ ሰአሉ፡ ለነ፡ ጸሎትክሙ፡ ወትረ፡
ይብጽሐኑ፡ (MS EAP432/1/10, fol. 27va, ll. 8–10)

Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr and *Ṗanṭalewon* of the Cell, pray for us.
May your prayer(s) continually reach us!

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon māḥlet* 001 is textually close to the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon ba-ḥammāstu* 001 (3.2.3.3) and the *ba-ḥammāstu* antiphons for other commemorations mentioned there.¹²⁰¹ It contains a noteworthy explicit mention of both *Ṗanṭalewon* the Martyr and *Ṗanṭalewon* of the Cell, but lacks any references to their lives.

The antiphon is attested in this form throughout the corpus of multiple-type collections, with only a minor textual variation in one collection, consisting of the exclusion of the conjunction *wa-* ('and') before the mention of the second *Ṗanṭalewon*.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 |
|--------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| ወጳንጠሌዎን፡ ዘጸማዕት፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ጳንጠሌዎን፡ ዘጸማዕት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |

3.2.3.37 *Ṗanṭalewon māḥlet* 002

ጸና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለጳንጠሌዎን፡ ከሙ፡ ጸና፡ ስኂን፡ (MS Ṭānāsee 172, fol. 13vb, ll. 10–12)

The scent of the garment of *ʿAbbā Ṗanṭalewon* is like the scent of frankincense!

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon māḥlet* 002 is one of the shortest antiphons included in the textual corpus. It consists, simply, of the phrase about the garment of *Ṗanṭalewon*. As already noticed, this is a modified quotation from Cant. 4:11, which appears in the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532)¹²⁰² and also frequently in other antiphons (for a comprehensive discussion, see 3.2.4.4). Although the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon māḥlet* 002 is not attested in a large number of

¹²⁰¹ Cf. esp. fn. 1156.

¹²⁰² Cf. fn. 1157.

collections, it is transmitted from one of the earliest single-type collections up to the printed edition *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015.

Two of the post-seventeenth-century collections—those in MSS EAP432/1/10 and EMDA 00111—display similar readings: they lack the initial *ṣenā* (‘the scent [of the garment]’) and add a focal particle *-(ə)ssa* to *ʿalbāsihu* (‘the garment [of Pāntalewon]’). Part of this reading might be explained based on the copying practice: In MS EAP432/1/10, the antiphon-type designation *māḥ* (ማሕ, for *māḥlet*) is irregularly repeated before the antiphon Pāntalewon *māḥlet* 002, although it has already been provided before the preceding antiphon (Pāntalewon *māḥlet* 001).¹²⁰³ One could hypothesise that the copyist originally left a two-letter blank space with the intention of filling it in with the rubricated incipit *ṣenā*, but that he or she later, by inadvertence, instead repeated the antiphon-type designation. This could be an explanation for the emergence of this variant. It has the potentiality of being a polygenetic error and consequently, this shared variant between the collections in MSS EAP432/1/10 and EMDA 00111 does not necessarily mean that they are genetically related.

In two of the earliest collections, different phrases have been added at the end of the antiphon: *wa-kama ma ʿazā qəddusān* (‘and like the perfume of the saints’) in the collection in MS EMLL 8678, and *gize gamid baṣḥa* (‘the time of pruning has arrived’, taken from Cant. 2:12) in the *māḥlet* collection in MS EMLL 7618.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMLL 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EAP432/1/10 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | Tānāsee 172 | EMLL 8678 | EMLL 7618 |
|-----------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| ጼፍ: | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X |
| Ø | | | | X | X | | | | | |
| አልባሲሁ: | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X |
| አልባሲሁ-ሰ: | | | | X | X | | | | | |
| ለአባ: ጳጳሳዊ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | |
| ለጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Ø | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ወከመ: መዓዛ: ቅዱሳን: | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ጊዜ: ገማድ: በጽሐ: | | | | | | | | | | X |

¹²⁰³ For a discussion of scribal practices with regard to the use of antiphon-type designation, see Chapter 4 (4.4.2).

3.2.3.38 *Pāṇṭalewon sabbhata nagh* 001

ጸና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለጳጳሮች፡ ከመ፡ ቂና፡ ስኒን፡ ወከመ፡ መዓዛ፡ ዘገዳም፡
መዓዛሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ (MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 19va, ll. 13–
14)

The scent of the garment of Pāṇṭalewon is like the scent of frankincense and like the perfume of the wilderness, the perfume of the saints!

The text of the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *sabbhata nagh* 001 is based on the frequently recurring phrase about the garment of Pāṇṭalewon, based on a quotation from the Song of Songs (Cant. 4:11b) and also found in the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532).¹²⁰⁴ For a comprehensive discussion of this phrase, see 3.2.4.4. The antiphon is attested from the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections and up to the eighteenth–nineteenth century. It is not found in any of the printed editions included in the Minor Corpus.

Within the studied corpus, the text varies on some trivial points: the title *’abbā* is in some collections included before the name Pāṇṭalewon, and one collection—the one in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 (see the text above)—has a periphrastic genitive *ma ’azā za-gadām* (‘the perfume of the wilderness’) where the rest of the collections have the construction *ma ’azā gadām* (same meaning).¹²⁰⁵ Two out of the pre-seventeenth-century collections—in MSS EMMML 1894 and Tānāsee 172—display a different, abbreviated (?) ending of the antiphon: instead of the phrase *wa-kama ma ’azā gadām wa-ma ’azāhomu la-qaddusān* (‘and like the perfume of the wilderness, the perfume of the saints’), they have *wa-kama ma ’azā qaddusān* (‘and like the perfume of the saints’). This variant could have arisen by homoeoarcton.

| | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | Tānāsee 172 |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| ለጳጳሮች፡ | X | X | X | X | | X | | | | X | X | |
| ለአባ፡ ጳጳሮች፡ | | | | | X | | X | X | X | | | X |
| ወከመ፡ መዓዛ፡ ገዳም፡ ወመዓዛሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | |
| ወከመ፡ መዓዛ፡ ዘገዳም፡ ወመዓዛሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ወከመ፡ መዓዛ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ | | | | | | | | | X | | | X |

¹²⁰⁴ Cf. fn. 1157.

¹²⁰⁵ Compare the discussion of the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *’əzl* 001, where this collection also adds a letter—probably *ba-*, but reading *za-* is not impossible—in front of the word *gadām* in a parallel expression.

3.2.3.39 Ġantalewon *səbhata nagh* 002, 003, 004*

002 በገድሎሙ፡ ወበተዕግሥቶሙ፡ ሰማዕተ፡ ኮኑ፡ በሃይማኖት፡ ወረሱ፡ መንግሥተ፡
ሰማያት፡፤ (MS EAP254/1/5, fol. 25vb, ll. 2–3)

Through their struggle and through their patience they became
martyrs. Through faith they inherited the kingdom of heaven!

003 በገድሎሙ፡ ወበተዕግሥቶሙ፡ እምፀሐይ፡ ይበርህ፡ ገጽሙ፡ ከብር፡ ይደልዎሙ፡፤
(MS EMLL 8488, fol. 17vb, ll. 12–15)

Through their struggle and through their patience, their face(s)
shine brighter than the sun. Honour is due to them!

004* በገድሎሙ፡ ሰማዕት፡ በል፡፤ (MS EMLL 7285, fol. 32vb, ll. 20–21)

Say: ‘Through their struggle, the martyrs [...]’

The antiphons Ġantalewon *səbhata nagh* 002, 003, and 004* all begin with the same word: *ba-gadlomu* (‘through their struggle’).¹²⁰⁶ In the case of the two former, the similarity also extends to the second word, resulting in the incipit *ba-gadlomu wa-ba-tə ‘gəstomu* (‘through their struggle and through their patience’). Due to the fact that, in several collections, only a one- or two-word incipit is provided for what is—presumably—one of these three antiphons, they are discussed together.

The antiphon Ġantalewon *səbhata nagh* 002 is attested in full in two collections in the Minor Corpus, in the twentieth-century manuscript EAP254/1/5 and the printed edition *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 2015. There is no textual variation between the two attestations. The antiphon Ġantalewon *səbhata nagh* 003 is attested in full only in one manuscript, the fifteenth-century manuscript EMLL 8488. The antiphon Ġantalewon *səbhata nagh* 004* is not attested in full in any of the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus, but it is distinguished from the other two by the second word of the incipit, which is *samā ‘t* (‘the martyrs’), presumably the subject of an unattested verb. The antiphon Ġantalewon *səbhata nagh* 004* is attested in this abbreviated form in three post-seventeenth-century collections. In addition, there are three collections in which the incipit is only given as *ba-gadlomu* (‘through their struggle’) and for which it is impossible to say whether they represent Ġantalewon *səbhata nagh* 002, 003, or 004*.

As far as one can say based on the present corpus, none of the three antiphons makes direct reference to Ġantalewon, and it seems likely that they are all common antiphons for martyrs.

¹²⁰⁶ The asterisk indicates that this antiphon is only attested in abbreviated form within the studied corpus.

3.2.3.40 *Pāntalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 001

ጸድቀ፡ አፈቅር፡ በእንቲአከ፡ ይቤሎ፡ አጋውዮ፡ ንስአሎ፡ በሠናይ፡ ምግባር፡
ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ይበርህ፡ ገጸሙ፡ እምፀሐይ፡ ዘእምቀደምት፡ አበዊነ፡ ከመ፡
ከዋክብተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ብፁዕ፡ አባ፡ ጳጉ፡ ቀንሞስ፡ ጸገዮ፡ ዘበወልድ፡ እኅዮ፡ እስመ፡ አነ፡
በቤተ፡ አቡዮ፡ እከውኖ፡ ረዳኤ፡ ቀንሞስ፡ ፀገዮ፡ ዘወልድ፡ እኅዮ፡ ባርከ፡ ፍሬሃ፡
ለምድር፡ ዘፈጸመ፡ ገድሎ፡ ተአሚኖ፡ ጸድቅ፡ ይቤ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡። (MS UUB
O Etiop. 36, fol. 26rb, ll. 6–13)

‘I love the righteous one!’, he said to him with regard to you.¹²⁰⁷
My brothers, let us pray to the Lord with good deed(s)! Their
face(s) shine (brighter) than the sun, our fathers of old (are) like
the stars of the sky. Blessed (is) ‘*Abbā* Pāntalewon! The
cinnamon in the Son, my brother, has blossomed, because I will
be a helper for him in the house of my Father. The cinnamon of
the Son, my brother, has blossomed. Bless the fruit of the earth!
‘He who has completed his struggle faithfully is righteous’, said
the Lord!

The antiphon *Pāntalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 001 consists of a series of seemingly unconnected phrases. Many of them evoke biblical imagery (cf., for example, Matt. 17:2 and 2 Tim. 4:7), but I have only been able to identify direct quotation: the expression *za-wald* ‘*əḥuya*’ (‘of the Son, my brother’), which appears recurrently in the Song of Songs (see below). The antiphon has a long history of attestation, spanning the entirety of the studied corpus.

A long antiphon attested in a large number of collections, the antiphon *Pāntalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 001 displays a comparatively large amount of textual variation. Some variants concern the presence versus absence of entire phrases: In the collections in *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015 (in the first layer), MS EMDA 00111 and MS EMLL 1894, the phrase which appears above as ‘*asma* ‘*ana ba-beta* ‘*abuya* ‘*əkawwəno radā*’*e*’ (‘for I will be a helper for him in the house of my Father’) and the second repetition of the phrase *qanəmos ṣagaya za-wald* ‘*əḥuya*’ (‘the cinnamon of the Son, my brother, has blossomed’) are missing, perhaps by homoteleuton due to the double repetition of the latter phrase. Also in the collection in MS EMLL 8678, the second repetition of *qanəmos ṣagaya za-wald* ‘*əḥuya*’ is missing, this time together with the following two phrases, appearing above as *bārək fərehā la-mədr* (‘bless the fruit of the earth’) and *za-faṣṣama gadlo ta’amino* (‘he who has completed his struggle faithfully [...]’; however, the word *ṣādəq*, ‘righteous’, is present also in the collection in MS EMLL 8678).

¹²⁰⁷ Another possible translation would be: “‘I love the righteous one for your sake’, he said to him.’ I am grateful to Augustine Dickinson and to Denis Nosnitsin for their input regarding the translation of this antiphon.

Disregarding a number of variations which only concern the presence or absence of conjunctions and variations in number, restricted to individual attestations, there are ten point of textual variation in this antiphon. Firstly, the two collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 have a reading *ṣādāqa* ('[I love] the righteous one') where the rest of the collections have either *ṣādqa* ('[I (etc.; see below) love] righteousness') or a nominative *ṣādq* (difficult to make sense of). This adds to the cases in which the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 display a related reading.¹²⁰⁸

Secondly, there is much variation regarding the form of the verb *'afqara* in the first phrase, ranging from *'āfaqqār* ('I love', eleven collections), *'afqarka* ('you loved', six collections), and *za-'afqarka* ('you who loved', two collections) to *'afqara* ('he loved', one collection) and *'afqār* ('love!', one collection). The great variation seems to indicate that the meaning of the first sentence has not been clearly understood by many copyists throughout the transmission of this antiphon. The first two variants—*'āfaqqār* and *'afqarka* (with the subvariant *za-'afqarka*)—are dominant in the multiple-type collections, whereas the other two variants—*'afqara* and *'afqār*—appear only in single-type collections. Noteworthy is the occurrence in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 and MS EAP254/1/5 of two alternative readings: *'āfaqqār* ('I love') and *'afqarka* ('you loved'), testifying to the awareness and acceptance of both forms.¹²⁰⁹

The varying forms of the verb *'afqara* are, thirdly, coupled in various ways with different objects of the following preposition: *ba-'ənti'aka* ('for your sake', fifteen collections), *ba-'ənti'aya* ('for my sake', five collections), or *ba-'ənti'ahu* ('for his sake', one collection). Whereas the last variant is restricted to one seventeenth-century collection—the one in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, which, thus, in this regard untypically has another reading than from MS UUB O Etiop. 36—the two former variants are widely attested. They seem to coincide with the readings of the verb *'afqara* in such a way that the form *ba-'ənti'aya* only occurs with a second person verbal form *'afqarka*. Again, the collections in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 and MS EAP254/1/5 provide two variants, although, in the latter collection, the variant *ba-'ənti'aya* has only been added secondarily.

The fourth point of textual variation concerns the phrase *wald 'əḥuya* ('the Son, my brother'), which appears once or twice in the antiphon depending on the collection and, as noticed above, is taken from the Song of Songs, where it appears repeatedly.¹²¹⁰ In two of the single-type collections, it appears as *walda 'əḥuya* ('the son of my brother'), which corresponds more closely to the

¹²⁰⁸ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

¹²⁰⁹ On the concept of 'alternative readings', see fn. 1192.

¹²¹⁰ Cant. 1:13–14, 1:16, 2:8–10, 2:16–17, 4:16, 5:2, 5:5–6, 5:8, 5:16, 6:3, 7:10–12, 7:14, 8:1, 8:5, 8:14.

Septuagint's ἀδελφιδός μου ('my little brother', 'my nephew').¹²¹¹ The variation between *wald 'əḥuya* and *walda 'əḥuya* in manuscripts of the Song of Songs was noted already by Euringer 1936, who writes that '[s]oweit mein Material zu urteilen gestattet, hat die ursprüngliche, der LXX entsprechende L[esart, i.e. *walda 'əḥuya*] das 15. Jahrhundert nur in einzelnen Hss. überlebt'.¹²¹² In the antiphon Pantaŵon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 001, the reading *walda 'əḥuya* appears in manuscripts dating from the fourteenth and fourteenth–fifteenth century, thus agreeing with the observation by Euringer 1936.

Fifthly, the three single-type collections have *kama šaḥay* ('[their face(s) shine] like the sun') against *'əm-šaḥay* ('[their face(s) shine] (brighter) than the sun') in the rest of the collections. One could speculate that the latter reading might have arisen in order to avoid the repetition of phrases with *kama*. This adds to the number of textual variants which sets the readings of the single-type collections apart from those of the multiple-type collections. Sixthly, the single-type collections and most of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections have *bəšu' Pantaŵon* ('blessed Pantaŵon') against *bəšu' 'abbā Pantaŵon* ('blessed 'Abbā Pantaŵon') in the post-sixteenth-century collections. Seventhly, the single-type collections, against all the later collections, lack first occurrence of the phrase *za-wald 'əḥuya* / *za-ba-wald 'əḥuya* ('of the Son, my brother' / '(which is) in the Son, my brother'). Eighthly, the single-type collections, but also four of the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections, have *'əkawwənomu* ('I will be for them [a helper]') against *'əkawwəno* ('I will be for him') in the nine other multiple-type collections. This variation suggests, again, that the interpretations of the text was not always clear to the scribe. Ninthly, the single-type collections agree among each other in having an asyndetic genitive construction *fəre mād̄r* ('the fruits of the earth') against the periphrastic *fərehā la-mād̄r* (same meaning) which appears in the other collections.

Finally, in the last phrase, which appears above as *za-faššama gadlo ta'amino šād̄aq* ('He who has completed his struggle faithfully is righteous'), the single-type collections have *šād̄qa* ('righteousness' in the accusative). It is not clear to me how this connects syntactically to the rest of the clause ('he who completed his struggle believing in righteousness?'). Three out of the four pre-seventeenth-century collections have individual readings in this phrase, whereas the fourth agrees with all of the post-sixteenth-century collections in having the reading given in the text above.

¹²¹¹ Cf. Muraoka 2009, p. 9b.

¹²¹² Euringer 1936, p. 336 (cf. pp. 335–338 for the entire discussion about this textual variation).

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 4667 | Tanasec 172 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 | EMML 6944 |
|---------|---------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------|-----------|----------------|
| ጸድቀ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | ? ^a |
| ጸድቅ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | |
| ጸድቀ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | | | X | X | ? ^a |
| አፈቅር: | X | X | | | X | | X | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | |
| አፍቀርከ: | X | X | X | | | X | | | X | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ዘአፍቀርከ: | | | | X | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| አፍቀረ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| አፍቅር: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| በእንተአከ: | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| በእንተአየ: | X | X ^b | X | X | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| በእንተአሁ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ይቤሎ: | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X |
| ይቤሉ: | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወይቤሎ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | |
| አጎዊየ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X |

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|-------------------------------|----------------|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|
| እኑዮ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| እምፀሐይ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| ከመ: ፀሐይ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X |
| ዘእምቀደምት: አበዊነ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| እምቀደምት: አበው: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ከመ: ከዋክብተ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘእምከዋክብተ: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ብፀ-ዕ: አባ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | |
| ብፀ-ዕ: | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ብፀ-ዓን: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ጸገዩ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X ^d | X | |
| ጸገዩ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | X |
| ዘወልድ: እኑዮ: | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | | X | X | | | | |
| ዘበወልድ: እኑዮ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | X | | | | | | |
| ወልድ: እኑዮ: | | | X ^e | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X |
| እስመ: አነ: በቤተ: አቡዮ: እከውኖ: ረዳኤ: | — ^f | X | X | — | | | | X | X | | X | X | — | X | X | X | | | | |
| እስመ: አነ: በቤተ: አቡዮ: እከውኖመ: | — | | | — | X | X | X | | | X | | | — | | | | | X | X | X |

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|------------------------------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|----------------|---|---|
| ረዳኤ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ቀንናሞስ: ጸገየ: ዘወልድ: እኅየ: (2nd rep.) | — ^f | X | X | — | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | — | | X | — | | X | X |
| ቀንናሞስ: ጸገየ: ዘበወልድ: እኅየ: (2nd rep.) | — | | | — | | | | | | | | | — | X ^g | | — | | | |
| ቀንናሞስ: ጸገየ: ዘበወልድ: እኅየ: (2nd rep.) | — | | | — | | | | | | | | | — | | | — | X ^d | | |
| ባርክ: ፍሬሃ: ለምድር: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | — | | | |
| ባርክ: ፍሬ: ምድር: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | — | X | X | X |
| ዘፈጸመ: ገድሎ: ተአሚኖ: ጸድቅ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | | | | |
| ፈጸመ: ገድሎ: ተአሚኖ: ጸድቅ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ዘፈጸመ: ገድሎ: ተአሚኖ: ጸድቅ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X |
| ዘፈጸመ: ገድሎ: አላሚኖ: Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ጸድቅ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| ይቤ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ወይቤ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |

^a The first letter of the word is missing.

^b The letter <የ> has been added supralineally.

^c The word እባ: has been added supralineally after the word ብፁዕ:.

^d MS: ጸገ:

^e The letter <ዘ> has been added supralineally before the word ወልድ:.

^f In the upper margin, the following words have been added, signalled by a pointing sign in the text: እስመ: እነ: በቤተ: አቡየ: እከውኖ: ረዳኤ: ቀንሞስ: ጸገየ: ዘወልድ: እኅየ:.

^g The letter <በ> has been marked for deletion.

3.2.3.41 *Pāṇṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 002

ወለእመኒ፡ ትትፌሳሕ፡ መካን፡ ወለእመኒ፡ ይትፌሳሕ፡ ዓለም፡ ወለእመኒ፡
ይትፌሥሐ፡ ጸድቃን፡ በእግዚአብሔር፡ ወአስመረ፡ ጽገያተ፡ ገዳም፡ ጼና፡
አልባሲሁ፡ ለጳንጠሌዎን፡ ከመ፡ ጼና፡ ስኒን፡። (MS EML 7618, fol. 15va,
ll. 29–35)

And if the place is rejoicing, and if the world is rejoicing, and if
the righteous are rejoicing in the Lord, then He has made the
flowers of the wilderness to flourish. The scent of the garment
of ‘*Abbā* Pāṇṭalewon is like the scent of frankincense!

Whereas the beginning of the antiphon *Pāṇṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 002 does not appear to be a quotation (at least as not far as I have been able to confirm), its end consists of the oft-repeated phrase about the garment of Pāṇṭalewon, which is based on a quotation from the Song of Songs (Cant. 4:11b) and appears in the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532).¹²¹³ For a comprehensive discussion of this theme, see 3.2.4.4. The contents of this antiphon, which is attested throughout the studied corpus, clearly connect it to the Season of Flowers.

As usual, most of the textual variation concerns differences in prepositions, conjunctions, and titles. Nonetheless, four points merit discussion. Firstly, instead of the second repetition of the word *yəṭfeśśāḥ* / *təṭfeśśāḥ* (‘[and if the world] is rejoicing’), the synonym *təṭḥaśśay* / *yəṭḥaśśay* (same meaning) dominates in collections from the sixteenth century and onwards. Possibly, this variant was introduced in order to avoid the threefold repetition of (different forms of) the word *təṭḥaśśay*.

Secondly, all multiple-type collections included in the corpus leave out the third *wa-la- ‘amma-ni* (‘and if’) of the text presented above. This, presumably, means that the apodosis of the conditional sentence is moved one phrase to the left (> ‘then the righteous rejoice in the Lord and He has made [...]'). This is another example of when the single-type collections agree against the multiple-type collections. Thirdly, two of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections and the nineteenth-century collection in MS EMDA 00111 have *gadām* (‘the wilderness’) against *‘ālam* (‘the world’) in the rest of the collections. Fourthly, another of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections has *śāna šəgeyāt* (‘the beauty of flowers’) against *šəgeyāta gadām* (‘the flowers of the wilderness’) in all the other collections.

¹²¹³ Cf. fn. 1157.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | GG-185 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 | EMML 6944 |
|--------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| ወለአመኒ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | ? |
| ወለአለሂ: | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወለአመኒ: | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወአመኒ: | | | | | X ^a | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ይትፌሳላሕ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | X | X | | |
| ይትፌሳላሕ: ይትፌሳላሕ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ትትፌሳላሕ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | X | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ይትፌሥሐ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ትትሐሠይ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | | | | | |
| ይትሐሠይ: | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዓለም: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ገዳም: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ወለአመኒ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | |
| ወ- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| Ø | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |

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|--------------------|---|----------------|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ይትፌሥሐ: | X | X | X | X ^b | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ይትፌሣሕ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | |
| በእግዚአብሔር: | | X _d | | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| በቅድመ: እግዚአብሔር: | X | | X | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወክስመረ: Ø | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ወክስመረ: እግዚአብሔር: | | | | X ^e | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዘክስመረ: Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| ጽጌያተ: ገዳም: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ሥነ: ጽጌያት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ለጳንጠሊዎን: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X |
| ለአባ: ጳንጠሊዎን: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X | | X | X | | X ^f | | | | | | | |

^a The letter <ʌ> has been added supralineally between the letters <w> and <h>.

^b MS: ይቅፌሣሉ፡

^c The letter ḥ has been changed into a <ḥ> by the addition of a vowel marker.

^d The letters ϕ and σ have been added supralineally after the letter $\langle \eta \rangle$.

^c The word እግዚአብሔር: has been deleted.

^f A space corresponding to approximately three letters has been deleted.

3.2.3.42 *Pantañewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 003

ብፁዕ፡ ምእመን፡ ወፈራሄ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አባ፡ ጳጳስ፡ በትዕግሥቱ፡
 ዘፈጸመ፡ ገድሎ፡ ዘኢተሐለየ፡ ውስተ፡ ልቦ፡ ሰብእ፡ ዘአስተዳለወ፡ ለእለ፡ ያፈቅርዎ፡
 ዪና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለጳጳስ፡ ከመ፡ ዪና፡ ስኂን፡። (MS EMMML 7285, fol.
 33rb, ll. 7–10)

Blessed, faithful, and God-fearing (is) ‘*Abbā* Pantañewon, who completed his struggle with patience! That which cannot be conceived of in the heart of men, that which He has prepared for those who love him—the scent of the garment of Pantañewon is like the scent of frankincense!

The antiphon *Pantañewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 003 consists partly of original material, partly of a quotation from 1 Cor. 2:9 also found in the *Life of Pantañewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532),¹²¹⁴ and partly of the commonly occurring phrase about the garment of the saint (for a comprehensive discussion, see 3.2.4.4). The phrase *ba-tā ‘gāstu za-faṣṣama gadlo* (‘who completed his struggle with patience’) is found in antiphons both for Pantañewon and ‘*Abbā* ‘Aragāwi.¹²¹⁵ The antiphon *Pantañewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 003 is attested from the single-type collections and up to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015.

Despite the antiphon’s long attestation, the textual variants are minor. Among the three initial adjectives, there is variation as to whether they are coordination by a conjunction *wa-* (‘and’) or not. In the pre-sixteenth-century collections, the complete omission of *wa-* prevails, albeit it appears twice in the attestation in the single-type collection in MS EMMML 7618. In a majority of the post-fifteenth-century collections, the conjunction *wa-* is found only between the two latter constituents, *mā ‘man* (‘faithful’) and *farāhe ‘Ēgzi ‘abəḥer* (‘God-fearing’).

Other points of variation concern the inclusion versus omission of the title ‘*abbā* in front of each of the mentions of the name *Pantañewon*, and the unique inclusion of a subject ‘*Ēgzi ‘abəḥer* (‘the Lord’) to the verb ‘*astadālawā* (‘[the Lord] prepared’) in the collection in MS EMMML 7174, the rest of the collections just implying a divine subject.

Comparing the two phrases that appear above as *za- ‘i-taḥallaya wəsta ləbba sab*, *za- ‘astadālawā la- ‘əlla yāfaqqərəwwo* (‘that which cannot be conceived of in the heart(s) of men, that which He has prepared for those who love him’) with the

¹²¹⁴ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 46 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 42 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, p. 299 (edition), 332 (Italian translation), § 37.

¹²¹⁵ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons *Pantañewon šalast* 003, *Pantañewon salām* 004, *Pantañewon salām* 005, *Pantañewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*’) 006, and ‘*Aragāwi mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*’) 010.

parallel phrases both in 1 Cor. and in the *Life of Pantaŵewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532), the following observations can be made:

- to begin with, a general remark concerning the first phrase, *za- 'i-taḥallaya wəsta ləbba sab ':* While the *Life of Pantaŵewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) and the *Haddis kidān* 2017 edition of 1 Cor. have readings using the same lexemes as the text of the antiphon (but see below), the edition of Platt 1830 has another reading: *wa-wəsta 'əg'wāla 'əmma-ḥəyāw za- 'i-taḥallaya* ('and which has not been conceived of in a son of man'). Without access to a modern critical edition of 1 Cor.,¹²¹⁶ taking the entire manuscript evidence into account, it is difficult to assess the importance of this shared reading;
- whereas the attestations of the antiphon uniformly have the word order *za- 'i-taḥallaya wəsta ləbba sab '*, in both the *Life of Pantaŵewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) and in the *Haddis kidān* 2017 edition of 1 Cor, the verb is instead placed last. One could imagine that the word order was changed in the antiphon in order to highlight the parallelism between the two sentences that were quoted, each beginning with a relative verb (*za- 'i-taḥallaya* and *za- 'astadālawā*);
- as for the second sentence, *za- 'astadālawā la- 'əlla yāfaqqərəwwo*, the attestations of the antiphon display two variants: in the collection in MS EMM 7174, the word *'Əgzi 'abəḥer* ('the Lord') is found after the verb, whereas it is missing in the rest of the collections. The *Haddis kidān* 2017 edition of 1 Cor. also has the word *'Əgzi 'abəḥer*.¹²¹⁷ The same hold true for the edition by Platt 1830. In the manuscripts of the *Life of Pantaŵewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) consulted by Brita 2008, the word *'Əgzi 'abəḥer* appears in five out of the nine witnesses, but is missing in the rest. However, the manuscripts that have *'Əgzi 'abəḥer* do not belong to the same branch of the transmission according to the reconstruction by Brita 2008; thus, it is perhaps more likely to see this as an example of contamination from the biblical source text.¹²¹⁸ This contamination could have taken place both within the transmission of the *Life* and in the attestation of the antiphon in MS EMM 7174, and consequently it need not be an indication of a genetical relationship. However, the absence of the word both in most of the attestations of the antiphon and in many of the witnesses to the *Life* may indicate a direct relationship between these texts that goes beyond the fact that they are based on the same biblical text.

¹²¹⁶ As noted above, Tedros Abraha 2014 has not been available to me while writing this dissertation.

¹²¹⁷ *Haddis kidān* 2017, p. 316b.

¹²¹⁸ Brita 2008, on the other hand, includes the word *'Əgzi 'abəḥer* in her reconstructed text, thus implying that the word was secondarily and independently (?) omitted in several different branches of the transmission of the *Life*.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O. Fr. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 | EMML 6944 |
|----------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| ምእመን: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | | X |
| ወምእመን: | | | | X | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | |
| ወቅዱስ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ወፈራሄ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X | |
| ፈራሄ: | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | | | | | | X | X ^a | X | | X |
| አባ: ጳጳሳዊ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ውስተ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X ^b | | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘውስተ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ውስተ: ወስተ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | | | |
| ዘአስተዳለወ: Ø | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘአስተዳለወ: እግዚአብሔር: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | | | | |
| ለጳጳሳዊ: | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | | X | | |
| ለአባ: ጳጳሳዊ: | | X | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X ^e | | ? ^f | | X | |

^a The letter <ወ> has been added supralineally in front of the word ፈራሄ.

^b The letter <ቤ> has been added supralineally in front of the word ውስተ.

^c The second repetition of the word ውስተ: has been marked for deletion.

^d The word እግዚአብሔር: has been marked for deletion.

^e The word አባ: has been marked for deletion.

^f The manuscript originally had a word of about three letters (ለአባ:?), but this has been erased, and instead the letter <ለ> has been added in front of the word ጳጳሳዊ.

3.2.3.43 *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun* / *məsbāk*) 004

ጸድቅኑ፡ ጸድቅኑ፡ ጌር፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጸድቅኑ፡ አባ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ሰማዕት፡
ጸድቅኑ፡ ዝስኩ፡ አረጋዊ፡ አቡከሙዝ፡ (MS Ṭānāsee 172, fol. 13va, ll. 8–12)

Is he righteous, is he righteous, good Lord? Is he righteous,
‘*Abbā* Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr? Is this old man, your father,
righteous?

The first two phrases of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun* / *məsbāk*) 004 are loosely based on a quotation from Gen. 43:27 (which, however has *dāḥənə-nu*, ‘is he well / healthy?’, instead of *ṣādəqə-nu*, ‘is he righteous?’). This quotation appears frequently in antiphons for ‘*Abbā*’ Aragāwi.¹²¹⁹ The third phrase consists of a direct quotation of said biblical passage. This third phrase also appears in part in two other antiphons for Ṗanṭalewon: Ṗanṭalewon *salām* 004 (0) and Ṗanṭalewon *salām* 006 (3.2.3.30; especially in some attestations). The subject of the antiphon is explicitly identified as *Ṗanṭalewon samā’t* (‘Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr’) in most of the consulted collections (but see below). This could be seen as surprising in an antiphon which calls the saint an ‘old man’, given that Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr, according to the *Life*, died young.¹²²⁰

In two of the pre-seventeenth-century collections included in the Minor Corpus—those in MSS Ṭānāsee 172 and EML 8678—this antiphon is placed at the beginning of the commemoration, before the *wāzemā* antiphon, i.e. in the position of a *məsbāk* antiphon (although this term does not appear in any of the collections: in MS Ṭānāsee 172, it is introduced with the antiphon-type designation ‘*abuna*’ (አቡነ፡), and in MS EML 8678 it lacks an explicit antiphon-type designation). This ought to indicate that the liturgical use of this antiphon has varied and that it—at least in the region of the Lake Ṭānā (where both MSS Ṭānāsee 172 and EML 8678 are currently kept) and at least in the fifteenth–sixteenth century—was used as a *məsbāk* antiphon.

The textual variants attested within the studied corpus are minor. The phrase *her* ‘*Ḥgzi*’*abəher* (‘good Lord’) appears as *her wa-farāhe* ‘*Ḥgzi*’*abəher* (‘good and God-fearing’) in MS EML 7285: the reference of the phrase is thereby apparently changed from God to the saint. In MS GG-185, the saint is qualified as *Ṗanṭalewon za-šomā’t* against *Ṗanṭalewon samā’t* in the rest of the collections (except in the collection MS EML 7618, where the qualification is missing).

¹²¹⁹ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons ‘Aragāwi *mazmur* (‘*abun*) 001, ‘Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001, ‘Aragāwi *śalast* 001, and ‘Aragāwi *mazmur* (‘*abun*) 006.

¹²²⁰ Cf., e.g., Pisani 2006, p. 93 (edition), 141 (Italian translation), § 8, where he is called a *ḥəṣṣān* (‘infant, young child’), and Pisani 2006, p. 94 (edition), 142 (Italian translation), § 12, where he is called a *warezā* (‘young man, youth’).

This is a clear example of how the two commemorations have not always been strictly kept apart.

Again—see the discussion of the antiphon *Pan̄talewon salām* 006 (3.2.3.30)—the word *zasku* (‘this’) displays a lot of variation, especially in the earlier collections. It varies with several more common demonstrative pronouns (*zakku*, two collections; *zantu-ssa*, one collection). Especially noteworthy is the form *zə’asku* (?).¹²²¹

¹²²¹ Cf. fn. 1191, and specifically the etymology suggested by Praetorius 1890.

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| | MID 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Fr. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 8678 | GG-185 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 | EMML 6944 |
|-----------------------|----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| ጸድቅኑ: (2nd rep.) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ጸ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | |
| ጸድቅሰ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ኀር: እግዚአብሔር: | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ኀር: ወፈራሄ: እግዚአብሔር: | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸድቅኑ: (3rd rep.) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | ፯ ^a | ፯ ^a | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ጸድቅ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| አባ: | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ለአባ: | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሰማዕት: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X |
| ዘጸማዕት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ጸድቅኑ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | ፯ ^a | ፯ ^a | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ጸድቅ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|----------------|---|--|
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዝስኩ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | | X | X ^b | X ^b | | |
| ዝስኩሰ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዝኩ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ዝእ(!)ስኩ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ዝጉቱሰ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |

^a The word is abbreviated as ጸድ፣, presumably to be interpreted as ጸድቅ፣, which is how the word appears on its first attestation within the antiphon.

^b MS: ዝስኩ:

3.2.3.44 *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 005

ብፁዕ፡ ውእቱ፡ ጳንጠልዮን፡ ጸድቕ፡ ውኄር፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ዘሚላት፡ ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡
 ንነት፡ ወአስተርአየ፡ ከመ፡ ጼና፡ ስኂን፡ መዐዛ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ (EMML 6694, fol.
 9ra, ll. 27–34)

Blessed is *Ṗanṭalewon*, righteous and good—his fine linen
 garment which descended into Paradise and appeared like the
 scent of frankincense, the perfume of the saints!

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 005 is based on the oft-repeated phrase about the garment of *Ṗanṭalewon*, based on a quotation from the Song of Songs (Cant. 4:11b) present in the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532),¹²²² with extensions added both before and after. For a general discussion of the antiphons based on this phrase, see 3.2.4.4. The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 005 partly consists of incomplete phrases, which is reflected in the English translation.

Despite the antiphons long attestation, ranging from the single-type collections to one of the printed editions, textual variants are scant. One of the twenty-one manuscripts in which it is attested originally had ‘*Abbā Ṗanṭalewon*’ instead of *Ṗanṭalewon*, but the word ‘*abbā*’ has been secondarily deleted. Another originally had added the word ‘*am-samāyāt*’ (‘from the heavens’) after the word *za-warada* (‘which descended’), but again, the word has been marked for deletion. The main textual variant, albeit of trivial nature, concerns the form of the genitive in the last phrase: *ma ‘āzā qəddusān* (‘the perfume of the saints’) versus *ma ‘āzāhomu la-qəddusān* (same meaning). Based on the studied corpus, the former form appears to have prevailed in the earlier stage of textual transmission, whereas the second form prevails in the latter transmission, although the former form also appears.

¹²²² Cf. fn. 1157.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 | EMML 6944 |
|-------------------|---------|------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| ጳጳሳዊ፡ ዲድ፡ ወጌ፡ | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዲድ፡ ወጌ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| አባ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ ዲድ፡ ወጌ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | | | | |
| ዘወረደ፡ | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወረደ፡ | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዘወረደ፡ እምስማያት፡ | | | | X ^b | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወአስተርአየ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| አስተርአየ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| መዐዛ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ | | | | X | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X |
| መዐዛሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | | |
| ወከመ፡ መዐዛ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | X | | | | |

^a The word አባ፡ has been deleted.

^b The word እምስማያት፡ has been marked for deletion.

3.2.3.45 *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*) 006

ብፁዕ፡ ውእቱ፡ አባ፡ ጳንጠሌዎን፡ በትዕግሥቱ፡ ዘፈጸመ፡ ገድሉ(!)፡ ውሒዘ፡
እሳት፡ ወደዩ፡ ዲበ፡ ርእሱ፡ ወአልበ፡ ዘለከፎ፡ በሃይማኖቱ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳንጠሌዎን፡
መዓዛሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ በውስተ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ አባ፡ ጸሊ፡ በእንቲእነ፡
ብእሲ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ውኄር፡። (MS EMMML 1894, fol. 31ra, ll. 6–11)

Blessed is ‘*Abbā* Ṗanṭalewon, who completed his struggle with patience! They put a stream of fire on his head, but through the faith of ‘*Abbā* Ṗanṭalewon it did not touch him. The perfume of the saints in the churches! ‘*Abbā*, pray for us, righteous and good man!

Although it has not been possible to identify any direct quotations in the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*) 006, it appears to refer to Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr. Especially the appearance of a ‘stream of fire’ seems to refer to the tortures which the saint was subjected to according to the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²²³ The phrase *ba-tə ‘gəstu za-faṣṣama gadlo* (‘who completed his struggle with patience’) appears also in other antiphons.¹²²⁴ The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*) 006 has a long attestation, from the single-type collections to one of the printed editions.

Disregarding the variation between ‘*Abbā* Ṗanṭalewon and Ṗanṭalewon, and a couple of cases in which the use of prepositions and conjunctions varies in individual collections, there is only one point of textual variation that merits discussion, namely the variation between *wəḥiza ‘əsāt* (‘a stream of fire’) and ‘*afḥama ‘əsāt* (‘charcoals of fire’). The latter form appears in the fourteenth-century (?) single-type collections in MS EMMML 6944, then only in a few of the studied collections, until the nineteenth century, whereafter it is the only form attested in the studied corpus. The variant *wəḥiza ‘əsāt*, on the other hand, is also attested in the single-type collections and dominates—according to the studied corpus—up to the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth–nineteenth-century collection in MS EMMML 2431, an original reading *wəḥiza* has been changed into ‘*afḥama*. The reading ‘*afḥama ‘əsāt* might be seen as a trivialisation of the text, *wəḥiza ‘əsāt* clearly being the *lectio difficilior*. It is probable that the reading ‘*afḥama ‘əsāt* was influenced by Prov 25:22a = Rom 12:20b, where the expression appears.

¹²²³ Cf. Pisani 2006, pp. 117–119 (edition), 154–155 (Italian translation), §§ 65–68. It should be noted that in this case, the exact expression of the antiphon does not appear in the version of the *Life* edited by Pisani 2006, but merely an episode which could have formed the basis for the formulation in the antiphon.

¹²²⁴ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons Ṗanṭalewon *śalast* 003, Ṗanṭalewon *salām* 004, Ṗanṭalewon *salām* 005, Ṗanṭalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*) 003, and ‘*Aragāwi mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*) 010.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678 | GG-185 | GG-187 | EMML 6944 |
|----------------|----------------|------------|-----------|------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------|
| አባ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ጳጳሳዊ፡ | | | | | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ገደሎ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ገደሎ፡፡ | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| አፍሐመ፡ | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | | | | | | | X | | | | | X |
| ውኒዘ፡ | | | | | X ^a | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | |
| ወደደ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወወደደ፡ | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወአልቦ፡ | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X |
| አልቦ፡ | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | |
| ውስተ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | X | X | | X | X | | |
| በውስተ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ዘውስተ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | X | | | X | | | X | X |
| አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ | X ^b | | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | X | X | |
| አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ | X ^b | X | | | | | | X ^c | X ^c | | | | X | | | | | X | | | X |
| ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |

^a The word ውኒዘ፡ has been marked for deletion and the word አፍሐመ፡ has been added in the margin.

^b MS: አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ናት፡.

^c It appears that the copyist originally wrote <ን>, then changed it into <ና>.

3.2.3.46 *Ṣantaḥlewōn mazmur* (ʿasma la- ʿālam) 007a, 007b

ጸና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳጳስለዮን፡ ከመ፡ ጸና፡ ስኒን፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ዘሜላት፡
ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ አሰርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽገያት፡። (MS GG-187 (Hand
1), fol. 148rb, ll. 2–6)

The scent of the garment of *Ṣantaḥlewōn* is like the scent of frankincense, his fine linen garment which descended into Paradise, to the flowers in Paradise. He (= God) adorned the earth with flowers!

The text of the two antiphons *Ṣantaḥlewōn mazmur* (ʿasma la- ʿālam) 007a and 007b are identical, and they are separated (almost) only based on musicological criteria. The text is based on the oft-repeated phrase about the garment of *Ṣantaḥlewōn* (see 3.2.4.4), appearing in the *Life of Ṣantaḥlewōn of the Cell* (CAe 1532),¹²²⁵ at the end of which has been added one of the most frequently recurring phrases in the antiphons for the Season of Flowers.¹²²⁶

The textual variants are minor and trivial, consisting of a variation in gender and a word originally omitted then added supralineally attested in individual collections, next to the variation between *ʿAbbā Ṣantaḥlewōn* and *Ṣantaḥlewōn*. In the post-seventeenth-century collections, only the variant *ʿAbbā Ṣantaḥlewōn* is attested, whereas both forms appear in the earlier consulted collections. There are no examples of the textual changes sometimes introduced in order to differentiate between antiphons with the same text.

¹²²⁵ Cf. fn. 1157.

¹²²⁶ For parallels, which also consist of the phrase about the garment and additional phrases, see the antiphons *Ṣantaḥlewōn ʿEgzi ʿabəḥer nagśa* 001, *Ṣantaḥlewōn salām* 003, *Ṣantaḥlewōn mazmur* (ʿabun) 027a, 027b; and *Ṣantaḥlewōn mazmur* (ʿasma la- ʿālam) 028.

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| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|------|----------------|-------|--------|
| EMML 6944 | X | | X | | X | |
| GG-187 | X | | X | | X | |
| GG-185 | X | | | X | | |
| EMML 8678 | X ^b | | X | | X | |
| EMML 4667 | | X | X | | X | |
| EMML 8804 | X ^a | | X | | X | |
| EMML 7174 | X | | X | | X | |
| EMML 2542 | X | | X | | X | |
| UUB O Et. 36, 007a | X | | | X ^d | X | |
| UUB O Et. 36, 007b | X | | X | | X | |
| ES QS-006, 007a | X | | X | | X | |
| ES QS-006, 007b | X | | X | | X | |
| ES DD-019 | X | | X | | X | |
| EMML 2053 | X | | X | | X | |
| EAP704/1/36 | X | | X | | X | |
| EAP432/1/10 | | X ^c | X | | X | |
| EMML 7529, 997a | X | | X | | X | |
| EMML 7529, 007b | X | | X | | X | |
| EMML 6994, 007a | X | | X | | | X |
| EMML 6994, 007b | X | | X | | X | |
| EMML 2431 | X | | X | | X | |
| EMDA 00111 | X | | X | | X | |
| EMML 7285 | X | | X | | X | |
| EAP254/1/5 | X | | X | | X | |
| MD 1994 | X | | X | | X | |
| MD 2015 | X | | X | | X | |
| | ላላባ፡ ጳንጠሌዎን፡ | ለጳንጠሌዎን፡ | ሱኒን፡ | Ø | ዘወረደ፡ | ዘወረደት፡ |

^a The word *hŋ:* has been marked for deletion.

^b The word ለአባ: has been marked for deletion.

^c The word *ḥḳ:* has been added in the margin.

^d The word ḥʕʕ: has been added supralineally.

3.2.3.47 *Pan̄talewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 008

ዘለማየ፡ ሠዘርከ፡ ወምድረ፡ ሳራ(!)ርከ፡ ውስተ፡ መካን፡ ህላዌሃ፡ ግሩም፡
 ወሠረ(!)ዕከ፡ ከዋክብት፡ ለትርሲተ፡ ሰርጐ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወምድርኒ፡ በጽጌ፡ ወፍሬ፡
 ከለልከ፡ ሀቦ፡ እግዚእ፡ ይሰርገው፡ አክሊለ፡ ስምዕ፡ ዘእምኅቤከ፡ ዘኢይማስን፡
 ምስለ፡ ቅዱሳኒክ፡። (MS GG-187, fol. 147vb, ll. 27–34)

You who measured heaven and laid the foundation of the earth
 in a place, the nature (of which) is awesome, and (who)
 ordained the stars as ornament(s) decorating heaven,¹²²⁷ and
 (who) also crowned the earth with flowers and fruits—let him
 (= *Pan̄talewon*), O Lord, together with your saints, be adorned
 with the imperishable crown of martyrdom which is from you!

The antiphon *Pan̄talewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 008 is attested from the single-type collections up to one of the printed editions. As far as I have been able to ascertain, its text does not contain any direct quotations from other texts.

The text of the antiphon *Pan̄talewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 008 displays numerous variants over the course of its attestation, several of which are philologically interesting. Disregarding one case in which a word was originally omitted in one collection, then added supralineally, and a number of cases which only concern the presence, absence or placement, respectively, of the relative particle *za-* and the conjunction *wa-*, there are seven point of textual variation which merit discussion.

The first point of variation concerns the words, found in the first phrase, which appear as *za-samāya šazarka* ('you who measured heaven') in the text above. Three different verbs are attested in this phrase: *šazarka* ('you measured'), *gabarka* ('you made'), and *šārarka* ('you founded'). The first appears in all but one of the six pre-seventeenth-century collections. The last pre-seventeenth-century collection is the only witness to the reading *šārarka*. Among the post-sixteenth-century collections, the reading *šazarka* is found in nine out of thirteen collections. The reading *gabarka* originally appeared in the remaining four, although in one, this word has secondarily been changed into *šazarka*. The supplementation of the rare word *šazarka* with the common *gabarka* appears to be a case of trivialisation, *šazarka* clearly representing the *lectio difficilior*. It is noticeable that this antiphon is one of the three attestations of the verb *šazara* listed by Dillmann 1865.¹²²⁸

¹²²⁷ Literally, 'as an ornamentation of decoration of heaven'.

¹²²⁸ Dillmann 1865, col. 392.

Secondly, the manuscripts display variation between an absolute-state *makān* ('[you laid the foundation of the earth in] a place') and an accusative/construct-state *makāna* ('[you laid the foundation of the earth in] the place of [its awesome nature]'). The latter variant appears in four of the collections that date from the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries and later. In the collection in *Mashafa Dagg^{wā}* 2015, both variants noticeably appear side by side. The variation between *makān* and *makāna*, potentially, influences the way that the text is understood: a construct-state *makāna* would tie the following words—*həllāwehā gərum* ('its nature is awesome' or 'its awesome nature')—to the noun phrase. These words, then, would not be interpreted as an asyndetic relative clause, as in the translation above.¹²²⁹ However, as we will see promptly, the situation is more complex, as the possessive ending of the word *həllāwe* does not remain stable.

Thirdly, the possessive ending of the word *həllāwe* varies between second person masculine (*həllāweka*, 'your nature'), third person feminine (*həllāwehā*, 'her nature'), and third person masculine (*həllāwehu*, 'his nature'). The first variant is predominant and appears to make sense syntactically, as the phrase in which the word is the subject appears in a series of phrases with second person singular subjects. The second variant, represented in the text above, appears in the two single-type collections. As in the translation above, it may be interpreted as an asyndetic relative clause. The third variant appears in two eighteenth–nineteenth-century collections. This variation connects to the variation between *makān* and *makāna* discussed above. It is possible that the form *həllāwehu* emerged as a 'response' to the construct-state *makāna*.

Fourthly, the fifteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EML 8678 has *gərumāna* ('awesome'), in the plural accusative/construct state, against *gərum* (same meaning), in the singular absolute state, in the rest of the collections. The reading of MS EML 8678 appears to make little sense syntactically.

Fifthly, there is variation regarding the order of the words which appear above as *ba-ṣəge wa-fəre* ('[you crowned the earth] with flowers and fruits'). This is the reading found in the two single-type collections. In the multiple-type collections, the words vary between *ba-fəre wa-ba-ṣəge* ('with fruits and with fruits') and *ba-ṣəge wa-ba-fəre* ('with flowers and with fruits'). Although this variation is indeed trivial, the fact that the single-type collections share a unique reading against the multiple-type collections is noteworthy.

The sixth point of textual variation concerns the phrase which appears above as *habbo, 'Əgzi'-o, yəssargaw 'aklila səm* ('let him, O Lord, be adorned with the crown of martyrdom'). This is the reading attested in both the single-type collections. In later collections, this phrase varies on two different points: a) all

¹²²⁹ I am grateful to Alessandro Bausi for suggesting the interpretation of these words as an asyndetic relative clause.

multiple-type collections add the word *la-Ṣanṭalewon* (‘[let, O Lord,] Ṣanṭalewon [be adorned]’) after the invocation of the Lord, and b) in two out of four pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections as well as all post-sixteenth-century ones, the word *sām* ‘ is missing and the order of the words *yāssargaw* and ‘*aklila* has been inverted, resulting, in those manuscripts which display both variants a) and b), in the text: *habbo*, ‘*Ēgzi*’-o, *la-Ṣanṭalewon* ‘*aklila yāssargaw* (‘let, O Lord, Ṣanṭalewon be adorned with a crown’¹²³⁰). As an example of potential textual development, this phrase is interesting, both because of the uniformity of early versus the late text (there is no variation between the single-type collections nor among the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections) and because of the graduality of the change, consisting first in the clarifying addition of *la-Ṣanṭalewon*, shared by all multiple-type collections, then in the deletion of *sām* ‘ and the change in word order. However, given the small size of the corpus, it should be kept in mind that the discovery of further attestations of this antiphon could easily disprove this hypothetical line of textual development.

Lastly, two of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections—the same two that, in the phrase just discussed, combined the addition of the word *la-Ṣanṭalewon* with the ‘old’ reading—display the reading *māsla kʷəllomu qəddusānika* (‘with all your saints’) against *māsla qəddusānika* (‘with your saints’) in the rest of the collections, both single-type and later multiple-type. One could hypothesise that these two collections represent a first revision of the antiphon, which entailed the addition of the words *la-Ṣanṭalewon* and *kʷəllomu*, and that, in a later (or parallel) revision, only one of these additions was kept. It is noteworthy that in one of the collections with *kʷəllomu*, this word has been marked for deletion.

¹²³⁰ An argument in favour of this translation is provided by the syntactical punctuation marks in the pre-seventeenth-century collections and by the *mələkkət*, where a *dərs* is placed above the end of the word *Ṣanṭalewon* in several collections (ex. in MSS EMMML 2542, fol. 19rb, l. 11; EMMML 7174, fol. 27va, l. 9), marking it as the end of a musical phrase and preventing ‘*aklila* (‘crown’) from being understood as the object of *habbo* (‘give’).

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 |
|-------------|---------|------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| ዘሰማየ: ሠዘርክ: | X | X | | | | | | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | |
| ሰማየ: ዘሠዘርክ: | | | | X ^a | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሰማየ: ሠዘርክ: | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሰማየ: ገበርክ: | | | | | X ^b | X | X | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ሰማየ: ሣረርክ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | | | |
| ዘማየ: ሠዘርክ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ሣረርክ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘሣረርክ: | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዘሠራዕክ: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| መካን: | X | X | | X | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| መካነ: | X | | X | | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ህላዌክ: | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ህላዌሃ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ህላዌሀ: | | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ግሩም: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ግሩማነ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ወሠራዕክ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|----------------|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|
| ሠራዕክ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ሰርጐ: | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^e | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | X ^f | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በፍሬ: ወበጽጌ: | | | | | X | X | X | | | X | | | | X | X | X | | | |
| በጽጌ: ወበፍሬ: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | | | |
| በጽጌ: ወፍሬ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ከለልከ: | | X ^g | | | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘከለልከ: | X | | X | X | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሀቦ: ... ለጳጳስጤዎን: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ሀቦ: ... Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ይሰርገው: አከሊለ: ስምዕ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | X | X | X |
| አከሊለ: Ø ይሰርገው: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | |
| ምስለ: ቅዱሳንክ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | | X | X |
| ዘምስለ: ከሉሙ: ቅዱሳንክ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | X ^h | | |

^a In this collection, the antiphon begins with a blank space, followed by what appears to be a <የ> transformed into a <ሞ>, followed by a <የ>, upon which follows, without any word divider, the word ዘሰዘርክ:

^b The letter <ዘ> has been added supralineally before the word ሰማየ፡, and the letters <ገ> and <ቦ> have been modified into <ሰ> and <ዘ>, respectively.

^c MS: ሰረ(?)ርክ:

^d The letter <ዘ> has been marked for deletion.

^e Possibly, the word has been marked for deletion.

^f The word ሠርጐ: has been added in the margin.

^g The letter <ዘ> has been added supralineally before the word.

^h The word ከሉሙ: has been marked for deletion.

3.2.3.48 *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 009

ወከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ፍጹም፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ለጳጳሳዊ፡ ጸጋሁ፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡
ክርስቶስ፡ ወይጸንዕ፡ በሃይማኖት፡ ከመ፡ ይንሣዕ፡ ጸጋ፡ ሰማያዊት። (MS
EMML 7285, fol. 33ra, ll. 24–27)

And in that way, the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ is perfected upon Panṭalewon. He grows strong in faith, in order to receive the heavenly grace!

The antiphon *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 009 is attested from the single-type collections and up to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015. The text is based on three quotations from the *Life of Panṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), which in the source text appear close to each other, but in another sequence.¹²³¹ They are taken from a point early in the story at which Panṭalewon has just been told by the priest ‘Ermelāwos about the wonders wrought by Christ and is in the process of converting to Christianity. To illustrate the ‘patchwork’ technique, the passage from the *Life* in which the phrases occur is provided below according to the main text of the edition by Pisani 2006 (with one minor edit):¹²³²

ወይቤሎ፡ ቀሲስ፡ እመን፡ ቡቱ፡ ወዘንተ፡ ኩሎ፡ ትጉብር፡ ዲበ፡ ሰብእ፡ እስመ፡ አልቦ፡
አሜ፡ ይርሕቅ፡ እምነበ፡ አግብርቲሁ፡ እለ፡ የአምኑ፡ በክርስቶስ፡ ወንሣእ፡¹²³³
ጸጋ፡ ኅፅበት፡ ዘእምሰማይ፡ ወዕለተ፡ እምዕለት፡ የሐውር፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ ኅበ፡ ቀሲስ፡
ወይጸንዕ፡ በሃይማኖት፡ እስመ፡ ኢይገብእ፡ ቤቱ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ይቀድም፡ ርእዮቶ፡
ኪያሁ፡ ወከመዝ፡ ፍጹም፡ ውእቱ፡ ጸጋሁ፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡

And the priest [i.e. ‘Ermelāwos] said to him [to Panṭalewon]: ‘Believe in Him and you will do all this towards men, because never does He distance himself from His servants who believe in Him. Receive the grace of the bath that is from heaven [i.e. baptism]!’ Day after day Panṭalewon went to the priest and he grew strong in faith, because he would not go home before he

¹²³¹ Pisani 2006, p. 98 (edition), 144 (Italian translation), §§ 22–23. For another example of this ‘patchwork’ technique in the creation of antiphons, see the discussion of the antiphon ‘Aragāwi *mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*’) 027.

¹²³² Pisani 2006, p. 98 (edition), 144 (Italian translation), §§ 22–23.

¹²³³ Pisani 2006, in the main text of her edition, has ወይንሣእ፡ ጸጋ፡ ኅፅበት፡ ዘእምሰማይ፡, which she translates: ‘E giunga la grazia del lavacro che è dai cieli’. However, the reading *yənsā* (‘may he receive’) is only attested in one of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006: in the fourteenth-century MS Ḥayq (private collection), EMMML 2796 (= MS M, fol. 15rb, ll. 16–17, where the letter <ṣ> has furthermore been deleted, something which Pisani 2006 does not mention). The reading *nəsā* (‘receive!’) is found in the other manuscript which, next to MS Ḥayq (private collection), EMMML 2796, derives from the hypothetical subarchetype *a*, as well as in one of the manuscripts closest to subarchetype *b*. Based on its early attestation and the fact that a second person singular form seems to fit the grammatical context better, I have adopted this reading.

had seen him [’Ermelāwos]. In this way, the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ was perfected.

In an uncharacteristic manner, the quotations have been taken out of their narrative context and put together in a new sequence into a new whole. Especially noteworthy is the elimination of the explicit reference to Pāntalewon’s baptism, which was perhaps perceived as out of place in the new context of the antiphon. More on the relations between the attestations of the antiphon and the text of the *Life* is found below.

Within the attestations of this antiphon in the Minor Corpus, there are relatively many points of textual variation. First of all, the words which appear in the text above as *lā’lehu la-Pāntalewon* (‘over Pāntalewon’) display several variants. Nine out of seventeen attestations have the reading *lā’lehu la-Pāntalewon*. Four have instead *ṣenāhu la-Pāntalewon* (‘the scent of Pāntalewon’), evoking the theme of the garment recurrent in the antiphons for Pāntalewon of the Cell (see 3.2.4.4) and presumably influenced by it. One collection has *ba-hallāwehu la-Pāntalewon* (‘in the nature of Pāntalewon’). In the three earliest collections, two of which are single-type collections and one a multiple-type collection, the explicit mention of Pāntalewon is missing. One wonders if this could indicate that the mention is a later addition, perhaps meant to clarify the contents of the antiphon. The single-type collections both have *za-lā’lehu* (‘which was over him’), whereas the multiple-type collection in MS EMLL 8678 has *ṣaggāhu za-lā’lehu* (‘his grace, which was over him’).

There are, in fact, a number of variants restricted to the collection in MS EMLL 8678. Whereas most of the collections have *ṣaggāhu la-’Ēgzi’āna’ Iyasus Krastos* (‘the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ’) and one has *ṣaggāhu la-’Ēgzi’āka’ Iyasus Krastos* (‘the grace of your Lord Jesus Christ’), the collection in MS EMLL 8678 instead has *ṣaggāhu la-’Ēgzi’abāher* (‘the grace of the Lord’).¹²³⁴ Against the imperfect *wa-yāṣannā* (‘in this context, ‘and he grows strong [in faith]’) of the rest of the collections, the collection in MS EMLL 8678 has a perfect *wa-ṣan’a* (‘and [his faith] grew strong’),¹²³⁵ and against the phrase *ba-hāymānot* (‘in faith’) of the rest of the collections, it has *hāymānotu* (‘his faith [grew strong]’).

The final words of the antiphon are subject to much textual variation. All pre-seventeenth-century collections, and also several of the post-sixteenth-century collections, display unique readings. The form *ṣaggā samāyāwita* (‘the heavenly grace’) is the most frequent form, found in six out of seventeen collections, including the two twentieth-century collections included in the corpus. The form *ṣaggā ba-samāyāt* (‘grace in the heavens’) is found in four collections. Whereas

¹²³⁴ For a parallel variation between *’Ēgzi’āna’ Iyasus Krastos* (‘our Lord Jesus Christ’, etc.) and *’Ēgzi’abāher* (‘the Lord’), see the discussion of the antiphon Pāntalewon (‘*abun / māsūk*’) 012.

¹²³⁵ The collection in *Maṣḥafa Dagg’ā* 2015 in this place has two alternative readings: *wa-yāṣannā* and an otherwise unattested *wa-yāṣannāh* (‘and he waited [in faith]’).

most of the forms are variants of these, displaying different syntactical means of connecting the grace with the celestial realms, two forms stand out, namely *ṣaggā māhyawita* (‘the life-giving grace’) and *ṣaggā / ‘əśśeta za- ‘əm-lā ‘lu* (‘the grace / reward from on high’). The latter form—‘əśśeta za- ‘əm-lā ‘lu—is found in the collection in MS EML 8678, which also in other regards display a unique text, as seen above.

As the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 009 is clearly derived from the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), it is possible to compare the textual tradition of the antiphon with that of the corresponding passage in the source text. On a micro-level, this may allow us to identify more specifically which version of the *Life* served as a Vorlage for the antiphon. On a macro-level, it may provide us with an example of how source texts in general have been adapted for use as *Dəggwā*-type antiphons. In the particular case of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 009, a comparison is complicated by the fact that the antiphon consists of parts taken from various phrases in the source text. Nevertheless, the following observations can be made:

- regarding the first word of the antiphon, eight out of the eleven manuscripts used by Pisani 2006 for this passage (in one manuscript, the relevant words are illegible) add the particle ‘*ənka*’ (‘so, then’) after the word *wa-kama-zə* (‘and in this way’). These are the manuscripts that depend on subarchetype *d*. Thus, if one does not suppose that this particle was lost as the text was turned into an antiphon, the text of the antiphon appears to be related to one of the three manuscripts which lack this particle, i.e. to the textual tradition ‘preceding’ subarchetype *d*;
- in the text of the antiphon, the copula *wə ‘ətu* is uniformly placed in front of the participle *fəṣṣum* (‘perfected’). This, then, is followed by a phrase which appears in various forms: in a majority of the attestations as *lā ‘lehu la-Ṗanṭalewon* (‘upon Ṗanṭalewon’), but in the earliest attestations simply as *za-lā ‘lehu* (‘which is upon him’). In the manuscripts of the *Life*, the copula *wə ‘ətu* is never placed in front of *fəṣṣum*. Instead, the words *wə ‘ətu* and *lā ‘lehu* appear in complementary distribution directly after the word *fəṣṣum*. The word *lā ‘lehu* appears systematically in the manuscripts that depend on subarchetype *d* (with one exception, in which the word in question is omitted), whereas the word *wə ‘ətu* appears in the rest. One could hypothesise that the reading of the antiphon represents a conflation of the two readings attested in the different strands of the transmission of the *Life*. It is noteworthy that the form found in the earliest attestations of the antiphon—*za-lā ‘lehu*—is unattested in the manuscripts of the *Life*;
- in the antiphon, the name of Ṗanṭalewon is uniformly included in the post-fifteenth-century attestations, generally connected to a preceding word

(*lā 'lehu, šenāhu, həllāwehu*) by means of a preposition *la-*. As noticed above, however, this mention of the saint is missing from the three pre-sixteenth-century attestations of the antiphon. It is also missing from all witnesses of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006. Thus, one can hypothesise that the explicit mention was added to the text of the antiphon in order to clarify the meaning. It is noteworthy that this addition, according to the available evidence, appears to have taken place within the transmission of the text as an antiphon, rather than at the moment when the text was first adapted for this new, non-narrative use;

- whereas a majority of the attestations of the antiphon has *la- 'Ēgzi 'əna 'Iyasus Krəstos* ('our Lord Jesus Christ'), the collections in MS EMMML 8678—as noticed above—has *la- 'Ēgzi 'abəher* ('the Lord'). The majority of the witnesses to the *Life* agree with the majority of the attestations of the antiphon, but one manuscript consulted by Pisani 2006—the fifteenth-century manuscript 'Abbā Sayfa Šəllāse EMMML 1479 (= MS F)—has instead *la- 'Ēgzi 'abəher 'Iyasus Krəstos* ('the Lord, Jesus Christ'). It is possible that there is a relation between this reading and the one attested in MS EMMML 8678;
- the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006 uniformly have *wa-yəšannə 'ba-hāymānot* ('and he grows strong in faith'), like all attestations of the antiphon except the one in MS EMMML 8678;
- corresponding to the verb phrase which in the attestations of the antiphon uniformly appears as *kama yənsā'* ('in order that he may receive'), the manuscripts of the *Life* display a number of different readings, none of which matches the text of the antiphon perfectly. Two manuscripts (plus the second layer of a third) have the reading adopted in the quotation from the *Life* above (see fn. 1233), namely *wa-nəšā'* ('and receive!'). Seven out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006—those that depend on subarchetype *d*—have *wa-tənaššə'* ('and you will receive'). Other variant readings in the manuscripts of the *Life* include *wa-tənsə'u* ('and may you (plur.) receive', one manuscript), *wa-yənaššə'* ('and he will receive', one manuscript), and *wa-yənsā'* ('and may he receive', one manuscript, later transformed into *wa-nəšā'* by the deletion of the letter <ə>). The narrative context in the *Life* seems to demand a second-person form, which makes the appearance of third-person forms noteworthy. In fact, one might hypothesise that the reading of the antiphon, where the use of a third-person form fits perfectly in the new syntactical context of the phrase, may have influenced the text of the *Life*;
- as noticed above, the available manuscripts of the *Life* uniformly contain a reference to baptism in the object to the verb discussed in the previous

paragraph: simplifying the facts a little,¹²³⁶ either *ṣaggā ḥaṣbat za-ʿəm-samāy* (‘the grace of the bath from heaven’) or *ṣaggāhu wa-ḥaṣbata za-ʿəm-samāyāt* (‘his grace and the bath from the heavens’). In the text of the antiphon, the word *ḥaṣbat* (‘bath’) is uniformly missing. Perhaps, this could be seen as an adaptation to the new context of the passage, in which an explicit reference to the baptism of the saint may have seemed unnecessary.

- as for the Vorlage of the last word of the antiphon, the manuscript of the *Life* only know the variants *za-ʿəm-samāy* (‘which is from heaven’) and *za-ʿəm-samāyāt* (‘which is from the heavens’), i.e. neither the adjective form *samāyāwita* (‘heavenly’), found in the largest group of antiphon collections, nor any of the other attested variants: *māhyawita* (‘life-giving’) and *za-ʿəm-lāʿlu* (‘which is from on high’). It is difficult to determine the reason for the creativity in this place.

To summarise, the text of the antiphon displays certain agreements with the strand of the textual transmission of the *Life* preceding subarchetype *d*—lacking *ʿənka*, not having *wa-tənaṣṣəʿ*—but there are no features that unambiguously connect it to any one branch.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 2542 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 |
|-------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| ወከመዝ: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ከመዝ: | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ላዕሌሁ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | | | | |
| ላዕሌሁ: ላዕሌሁ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | | |
| ዘላዕሌሁ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ጼናሁ: | | | | X | | | | X | | | | X | X | | | | |
| በህላዌሁ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ጸጋሁ: ዘላዕሌሁ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ለጳጳሳዊዎን: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | | |
| ጳጳሳዊዎን: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X |
| ለእግዚእነ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | | X | X |
| ለእግዚእነ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |

¹²³⁶ For details, cf. Pisani 2006, p. 98 (with apparatus of variants on p. 97).

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|----------------|---|
| እግዚእነ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | | |
| ለእግዚአብሔር፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ወይጽንዕ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ወጽንዐ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ወይጽንሐ፡ | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በሃይማኖት፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ሃይማኖቱ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ጸጋ፡ ሰማያዊተ፡ | X | X | X | | | | | | | X | | X | X | | | | |
| ጸጋ፡ ሰማያት፡ | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ጸጋ፡ በሰማያት፡ | | | | | X | X | | | | | X | | | | X | | |
| ጸጋ፡ ዘበሰማያት፡ | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸጋ፡ ዘእምሰማያት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ጸጋ፡ ማሕየዊተ፡ | | | | X | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸጋ፡ ዘእምላዕሉ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | |
| ዕሤተ፡ ዘእምላዕሉ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |

^a The second repetition of the word ላዕሊሁ፡ has been deleted.

^b The letter <ለ> has been added supralineally in front of the word.

^c The letters <እምላዕሉ> have been rewritten.

3.2.3.49 *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 010

ቅዱስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ተወከ፡ ለቃል፡ ከመ፡ ምድር፡ ሠናይት፡ እንተ፡ ትትዌከ፡
 ዘርእ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ በወንጌል፡ በዘጂወቦ፡ ዘጂወቦ፡ ኅባ፡ ጀወከማሁ፡ ውእቱኒ፡
 ተወከ፡ ለቃል፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ለፍሬ፡ ብዙኃን። (MS
 EAP704/1/36, fol. 20va, ll. 17–22)

Holy *Pantalewon* accepted the Word like the good soil that accepts a seed. As He said in the Gospel: ‘Some a sixtyfold, some thirty, some a hundred.’ In that way, he accepted the Word upon him, that he may be salvation for the fruit of many!

The antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 010 is attested in two of the single-type collections, does not appear in any of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, but is then found in all later collections of Group A included in the Minor Corpus. It is based on a quotation from the *Life of Pantalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158),¹²³⁷ which in turn contains an explicitly marked quotation from either the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 13:8, 13:23) or the Gospel of Mark (Mark 4:8, 4:20).

The textual variants mostly consist of variation in the use of conjunctions, prepositions, and particles. One of these variants—the reading *wa-qəddus-əssa* (‘and holy [*Pantalewon*]’) against *wa-qəddus* (same meaning) and *qəddus* (‘holy [*Pantalewon*]’)—is significant, because it is attested in the two single-type collections, whereas all later collections have one of the other variants. One might thus suspect that a diachronic development in the text has taken place.

The only other variant concerns the adjective that describes the soil, which appears as either *šannāyt* (‘good’) or *šəmə’t* (‘thirsty’). Both variants are attested already in the single-type collections. Based on what the studied corpus can tell us, it appears that both variants were current up to the eighteenth–nineteenth century, after which the variant *šəmə’t* has been dominating. The texts of the Gospels consistently have *šannāyt*,¹²³⁸ and the reading *šəmə’t*—possibly contaminated by Is 53:2 or Enoch 42:3¹²³⁹—could thus be seen as the *lectio difficilior*.

On the basis of a comparison between the text of the antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 010—as attested in the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus—and the source text in the edition of Pisani 2006, the following observations can be made:

¹²³⁷ Pisani 2006, p. 97 (edition), 143–144 (Italian translation), § 21.

¹²³⁸ For the Gospel of Matthew, this reading is found at least in Texts A, B, D, and E (cf. Zuurmond 2001, pp. 136–137, 140–141, 343–344).

¹²³⁹ Knibb 1978a, p. 124 (edition); Knibb 1978b, p. 130 (English translation).

- in the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006, the words *tawakfo la-qāl* ('[Holy Pantaŕewon] accepted the Word') are missing. They may have been added as the text was turned into an antiphon in order to increase the clarity of the text;
- all manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have the reading *mādr šannāyt* ('the good soil'), which appears only in seven of the fifteen attestations of the antiphon. Thus, either the reading *šamə't* represents an innovation within the transmission of the antiphon, or it was found in a branch of the transmission of the *Life* unavailable to Pisani 2006;
- all manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 add the word *wa-təfarri* ('and bears fruit') after the word *zar'a* ('[accepts] a seed'). This reading is unattested in the attestations of the antiphon included in the corpus;
- three out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have an imperfect *yəbl* ('says') instead of the perfect *yəbe* ('said'). These three manuscripts all depend on the subarchetype *e*, but three other manuscripts which also depend on subarchetype *e* do not share this reading, having instead the perfect form *yəbe* like the rest of the manuscripts;
- the reading *ba-wangel* ('[as He said] in the Gospel'), which appears ubiquitously in the attestations of the antiphon, is not attested as such in any of the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006. Instead, these have either *wangel* ('[as] the Gospel [said]'; four out of twelve manuscripts) without a preposition or *ba-wangel qəddus* ('[as He said] in the holy Gospel'; eight out of twelve manuscripts). The latter form is found in all manuscripts that depend on subarchetype *d*;
- within the quotation from the synoptic Gospel, the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have the relative particle *za-* in front of every numeral. However, in six out of the fifteen attestations of the antiphon the preposition (?) *ħaba* appears in front of the numeral '100'. The variant with *ħaba* is also reflected in the transmission of the Gospels, occurring, for example, in text of Mark and in the C text of Matt. 13:23. Thus, one might suspect that the text of the antiphon has been contaminated by the text of the Gospel;
- corresponding to the words which appear above as *kama yəkun madħanita la-fəre bəzuħān* ('[he accepted the Word upon him] that he may be salvation for the fruit of many'), the manuscripts of the *Life* have *la-fəriy wa-la-madħanita bəzuħān* ('[he accepted the Word upon him] to bear fruit and to the salvation of many'). It is difficult to see a reason for this discrepancy—perhaps it reflects the use of a Vorlage with a text different from the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006.

To summarise the observations about the similarities and differences between the text of the antiphon and the source text in the *Life*, the antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 010 offers several examples of where all attestations of the antiphon agree against all consulted manuscripts of the *Life*. This is the case for the addition of the words *tawakfo la-qāl* in the beginning, for the deletion (?) of the word *wa-təfarri*, as well as for the reorganisation of the words *kama yəkun madhanita la-fəre bəzuḥān* at the end. Based on the available data, it seems that these differences between the antiphon and the source text originate in the earliest stage of the antiphon, i.e. when it was first extracted from a version of the *Life*. Other textual variants—*ṣəmə’t*, *wa-bo ḥaba 100*—have possibly emerged within the transmission of the antiphon by contamination from biblical texts.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 |
|-------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| ቅዱስ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | |
| ወቅዱስ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| ወቅዱስሰ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ጽዋዕት: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | | | X | X | X | |
| ሠናይት: | | | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | X |
| ዘትትዌከፍ: | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | X | X | | |
| እንተ: ትትዌከፍ: | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | X | | | X | X ^a |
| እንዘ: ትትዌከፍ: | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ትትዌከፍ: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ወቦ: ዘፂ: | X | X | | X | | X | | | | X | X | | | | |
| ወቦቱ: ዘፂ: | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | X | X | | |
| ወቦ: ኅቦ: ፂ: | | | X | | X | | X | | X | | | | | X | X |
| ወከማሁ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ከማሁ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወ-አቱኒ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ወ-አቱ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ላዕሌሁ: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ኅቤሁ: | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ቦኅቤሁ: | | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | |
| ይከን: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| መደሃኒት፡ | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| መደሃኒቱ፡ | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ለፍሬ፡ ብዙኃን፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | |
| ለፍሬ፡ ለብዙኃን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ለፍሬ፡ ብዙሃ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ለብዙኃን፡ | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |

^a MS: ትትወከፍ፡.

^b After the letter <ሶ>, one letter, most probably <ቱ>, has been erased.

^c The word ይኩን፡ has been added in the margin.

3.2.3.50 *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 011

ወዕምዝ፡ አንቀዓዲዎ፡ ሰማየ(?)፡ ብፁዕ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ጸለየ፡ ወይቤ፡ እግዚእየ፡
ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ጸውዓኒ፡ በፈቃድክ፡ ከመ፡ እኩን፡ ገብረ፡ ዚአክብረ፡ (MS
EMML 4667, fol. 15rb, ll. 17–19)

And then, looking up into heaven, Blessed Pantalewon prayed
and said: ‘My Lord Jesus Christ, call me according to your will
so that I may become your servant!’

The antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 011 is based on a quotation from the *Life of Pantalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²⁴⁰ It is widely attested in the Minor Corpus, from the single-type collections to the printed *Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 2015.

Disregarding one case in which a word was initially left out in one collection, then added supralineally, the text of the antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 011 varies on seven points.

Firstly, there is variation between a perfect ‘*anqā* ‘*dawa*’ ([Pantalewon] looked up’) and a gerund ‘*anqā* ‘*diwo*’ (‘looking up’). These two variants are distributed in the following way: the finite verb form ‘*anqā* ‘*dawa*’ appears in the two single-type collections as well as in a majority of the post-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, whereas the non-finite verb form ‘*anqā* ‘*diwo*’ appears in all of the five pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections included in the corpus, as well as in one of the seventeenth-century collections. For further discussion, see 3.2.4.5.

Secondly, whereas the multiple-type collections all have a reading ‘*anqā* ‘*dawa samāya* / ‘*anqā* ‘*diwo samāya*’ ([Pantalewon] looked up into heaven / looking up into heaven’), the two single-type collections add an adverb and use a prepositional phrase in this place: ‘*anqā* ‘*dawa lā* ‘*la wəsta samāy*’ (‘he looked upwards into heaven’). One could speculate that the use of the adverb *lā* ‘*la*¹²⁴¹ directly before a preposition caused confusion in the copyists, as it could be mistaken for the homophonous preposition *lā* ‘*la*.¹²⁴²

Thirdly, the two attestations in single-type collections also stand out because they—in their original state—completely lack an explicit reference to Pantalewon. All attestations in multiple-type collections include a mention of him after the word *samāya* (‘heaven’), however, with much variation as to the exact formulation of this mention. Statistically most common is a phrase *bəṣu* ‘ ‘*abbā* *Pantalewon*’ (‘blessed ‘*Abbā* Pantalewon’), but the exclusion of one or both of the titles, as well as the addition of a title *qəddus* (‘holy’) appear in various

¹²⁴⁰ Pisani 2006, p. 98 (edition), 144 (Italian translation), § 26.

¹²⁴¹ Cf. Dillmann 1865, col. 56 (s.v. ላዕለ፡, b)).

¹²⁴² Cf. Dillmann 1865, cols 56–58 (s.v. ላዕለ፡); Leslau 1991, p. 304.

collections, resulting in different combinations. One collection has a complete phrase *bəʃu* ‘*wə*’*ətu* ‘*abbā* *Ṗanṭalewon*’ (‘blessed is *’Abbā* *Ṗanṭalewon*’). However, as just mentioned, this mention of the name of *Ṗanṭalewon* is absent from the text attested in the two single-type collections, although, in one of them, a version—*qəddus* *Ṗanṭalewon* (‘Holy *Ṗanṭalewon*’)—has been added supralineally by a later hand.

Fourthly, the two single-type collections have a simple *wa-yəbe* (‘and he said’) against *ʃallaya wa-yəbe* (‘[*Ṗanṭalewon*] prayed and said’) in all of the multiple-type collections. Fifthly, one of the seventeenth-century multiple-type collections has a reading *’Əgzi*’ (‘[he said:] “Lord [Jesus Christ]...”’) against *’Əgzi*’*əya* (‘[he said:] “My Lord [Jesus Christ]...”’) in the rest of the collections. Sixthly, the variant *ʃawwā* *’kanni* (‘you have called me’) is attested in two pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, standing against *ʃawwə* *’anni* (‘call me!’) in the rest of the collections. Lastly, one of the single-type collections has a simple subjunctive *’əkun* (‘[call me...] (that) I may be’) against a construction with a conjunction *kama* *’əkun* (‘[call me...] that I may be’) in the rest of the collections.

Based on a comparison between the text of the antiphon and the source text as published by Pisani 2006, the following observations can be made:

- the gerund form of the verb, found in six out of nineteen attestations of the antiphon, is not found in any of the manuscripts of the *Life*. For a more comprehensive discussion of this, see 3.2.4.5;
- the adverbial *lā* *’la*, which is only found in the attestations of the antiphon in single-type collections, is attested in eight out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006, all of which depend on subarchetype *b*. There are, however, also manuscripts dependent of subarchetype *b* in which this word is missing. Uniform in all the consulted manuscripts of the *Life* is the use of a prepositional phrase *wəsta samāy* (‘into heaven’), rather than an accusative *samāya* (same meaning). This is further discussed in 3.2.4.5;
- the presence of an explicit subject (*bəʃu* ‘*’abbā* *Ṗanṭalewon*’, ‘blessed *’Abbā* *Ṗanṭalewon*’, or similar) and of the verb *ʃallaya* (‘[*Ṗanṭalewon*] prayed [and said:]’), both of which are found in all multiple-type collections but missing from the single-type collections, are missing also from the consulted manuscripts of the *Life*. Thus, they presumably represent changes that took place in the transmission of the text as an antiphon, perhaps intended to clarify the semantics;
- in the attestations of the antiphon, the vocative *’Əgzi*’*əya* (‘my Lord’) dominates, the variant *’Əgzi*’ (‘Lord’) only being found in one collection. The form *’Əgzi*’*əya* predominates also in the manuscripts of the *Life*, with only stray examples of variant forms;

- the main clause uttered by Pantaŕlewon in all attestations of the antiphon—*ṣawwā ‘anni ba-faqādaka kama ‘əkun gabra zi ‘aka* (‘call me according to your will so that I may become your servant’) in the text above—corresponds in the *Life* to the protasis of a conditional clause, which in its entirety has the following form in the main text of the edition of Pisani 2006: *‘amma yədalləwanni-hu ṣawwā ‘eka wa-təfaqqəd ‘əkun gabraka, ba-səma zi ‘aka yətnašā ‘ zəntu ḥəṣān* (‘if I am worthy of your calling and you want me to become your servant, in your name, may this boy be resurrected’). This shift, it appears, has brought about several changes in the text: the phrase *‘amma yədalləwanni-hu ṣawwā ‘eka* (‘if I am worthy of your calling’) of the *Life* has been transformed into an imperative verb *ṣawwā ‘anni* (‘call me’, or in some variants, a perfect verb *ṣawwā ‘kanni*, ‘you have called me’) in the antiphon, and the verb *təfaqqəd* (‘[and if] you want [that I shall become your servant]’) of the *Life* has been transformed into a prepositional phrase *ba-faqādaka* (‘[call me] according to your will [to become your servant]’) in the antiphon. Still, the use of words based on the same roots is conspicuous;
- whereas, in the phrase cited above, the manuscripts of the *Life* uniformly have either *gabraka* (‘your servant (acc.)’) or *gabrəka* (‘your servant (nom.)’), the attestations of the antiphon instead uniformly have *gabra zi ‘aka* (‘a servant of yours’). One wonders if this expression may have been influenced by the phrase *ba-səma zi ‘aka* following directly upon *gabraka / gabrəka* in the text of the *Life*;

To summarise, the earliest attestations of the antiphon display an affinity with the strand of the transmission of the *Life* dependent on subarchetype *b*. There are possible examples both of changes carried out in the process of adapting the text for use as an antiphon—the rewriting of the a protasis to a main clause, the use of a periphrastic possessive construction *gabra zi ‘aka*—and of changes carried out within the transmission of the text as an antiphon—viz. the addition of the verb *ṣallaya* and of an explicit subject.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|---------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|
| ወእምዝ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | |
| አንቃዕደወ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | | | X | X |
| አንቃዕዲዎ: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ላዕለ: ውስተ: ሰማይ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ሰማየ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ሰማዕየ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ብፁዕ: አባ: ጳጳሳዊ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X ^b | | | X | | |
| ብፁዕ: ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | X | | | | |
| ብፁዕ: አባ: ቅዱስ: ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| ቅዱስ: ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | X | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ብፁዕ: ውስተ: አባ: ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | X |

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|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|
| ጸላዮ፡ ወይቤ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ወይቤ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| እግዚአብሔር፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| እግዚአብሔር፡ | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸውዕኒ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X |
| ጸዋዕከኒ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X ^c | | |
| ዕ እኩን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ከመ፡ እኩን፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |

^a The word ወእምዝ፡ has been added supralineally.

^b These words have been rewritten.

^c The word አባ፡ has been added in the right margin next to the text with a pointing sign in the text.

^d The words ቅዱስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ have been added supralineally.

^e The letter <ዕ> has been changed into <ዐ>, and the letter <ከ> has been deleted.

3.2.3.51 *Pāṇṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun* / *māsbāk*) 012

ተፈሥሐ፡ ፌዴፋደ፡ ውእ {ቴ>ተ}፡ ጊዜ፡ ወባረኮ፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡
ወይቤሎ፡ አኣኩተከ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘወሀብከኒ፡ መክፈልተ፡
ወርስተ፡ ምስለ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ቅዱሳኒክ፡። (MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-19, fol.
19vb, ll. 28–31)

At that time he rejoiced abundantly, blessed our Lord Jesus Christ, and said to Him: ‘I thank you, my Lord Jesus Christ, who have given me a portion and an inheritance together with all your saints!’

The antiphon *Pāṇṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun* / *māsbāk*) 012 is based on a quotation from the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²⁴³ It has a widespread attestation in the corpus, stretching from the single-type collections to the printed *Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 2015. In the fifteenth-century collection in MS EMMML 8678, it is marked as a *māsbāk* antiphon by placement at the beginning of the commemoration. This is the only collection included in the corpus that signals this use for the antiphon *Pāṇṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun* / *māsbāk*) 012.

Disregarding a number of cases in which the variation only concerns particles, prepositions and neglectable object pronouns (e.g. *yābe* versus *yābelo*), there are six points of textual variation among the attestations in the studied corpus. Commencing with the beginning of the antiphon, two post-sixteenth-century collections—those in MSS EMMML 2053 and EMMML 7285—have *tafaśśəḥu* (‘they rejoiced’, ‘rejoice! (plur.)’) against *tafaśśəḥa* (‘he rejoiced’) in the rest of the collections. The plural seems to make little sense in this context, if it is not a subtle reference to the boy who, moments before in the *Life*, has been resurrected from the dead by Pāṇṭalewon.

Secondly, the words which in the text above appear as *wə’əta gize* (‘at that time’) display a number of different variants in the pre-seventeenth-century collections. In the two single-type collections and one of the early multiple-type collections, the word *gize* is taken as feminine, resulting in the form *yə’əta gize*. Whether this shift in gender is part of a systematic change in the grammar of written Geez remains to be studied. In three of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, the words *wə’əta gize* are missing and instead, one finds the words *bəṣu* ‘Pāṇṭalewon’ (‘blessed Pāṇṭalewon’). This means that the verb *tafaśśəḥa* (‘he rejoiced’) is provided with an explicit subject, which it otherwise lacks. In another pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collection—that in MS EMMML 1894—these two variants appear to have been conflated, resulting in the reading *bəṣu* ‘Pāṇṭalewon *yə’əta gize* (‘at that time, blessed Pāṇṭalewon [rejoiced abundantly]’).

¹²⁴³ Pisani 2006, p. 99 (edition), 144 (Italian translation), § 27.

Next to the variant *la- 'Ēgzi 'əna 'Iyasus Krastos* ('[he blessed] our Lord Jesus Christ'), attested from the single-type collection in MS EML 7618 and up to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, several other variants are attested parallelly. Most noticeable are *la- 'Ēgzi 'abəher* ('[he blessed] the Lord'), found in three of the pre-seventeenth-century collections,¹²⁴⁴ and the variants which lack the objective preposition *la-* before the divine designation. In the case of the latter, one must presume that this changes the grammatical roles of the sentence, from 'he [i.e. Pāntalewon] blessed our Lord Jesus Christ [etc.]' to 'our Lord Jesus Christ [etc.] blessed him [i.e. Pāntalewon]'. It does not seem improbable that this change could have been introduced on theological grounds.

At the beginning of Pāntalewon's prayer, the pre-seventeenth-century collections, again, attest to variant readings. In three of the early multiple-type collections, the word *'Ēgzi 'əya* ('my Lord') is missing, although it was added later in one of them. In one of the two single-type collections, the word *'ā 'akkwətakka* ('I thank you') is missing, leaving a syntactically incomplete sentence.

Two of the multiple-type collections—those in MSS EML 1894 and EML 2053—have *za-wahabanni* ('(he) who has given me') against *za-wahabkanni* ('(you) who have given me', nineteen collections) or *za-wahabka* ('(you) who have given', one collection) in the rest. Syntactically speaking, the third-person form seems improper in this context.

In the last phrase, there is variation between *məsla kʷəllomu qəddusānika* ('with all your saints') and *məsla qəddusānika* ('with your saints'). The variant without the word *kʷəllomu* is attested in the two single-type collections, as well as in the first layer of one of the post-seventeenth-century collections. In the latter, the word *kʷəllomu* was subsequently added supralineally and it is not improbable that its original absence should be understood as a scribal mistake. The absence of the word in the single-type collections provides a further example of variant readings distinguishing the single-type from the multiple-type collections.

Based on a comparison with the *Life of Pāntalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) edited by Pisani 2006, the following observations can be made regarding the relationship between the text of the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun / məsbāk*) 012 and the source text:

- the beginning of the text differs between the antiphon and in the *Life* in that the latter always places the temporal adverbial *before* the phrase about the rejoicing of Pāntalewon, whereas in all attestations of the antiphon, the order is the reversed. Eight out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006—all dependent on subarchetype *b*—agree with (most of) the attestations of the antiphon in having either *wa-wə 'əta gize* or *wa-yə 'əta*

¹²⁴⁴ For a parallel variation between *'Ēgzi 'əna 'Iyasus Krastos* ('our Lord Jesus Christ', etc.) and *'Ēgzi 'abəher* ('the Lord'), see the discussion of the antiphon Pāntalewon ('*abun*) 009.

gize, whereas three—the two manuscripts dependent on the subarchetype *a* as well as one manuscript dependent on subarchetype *c*—have constructions with *sobe* instead of *gize*, and another omits the word. None of the manuscripts of the *Life* includes an explicit mention of Pantaŕlewon, thus supporting the idea that this variant is an addition in one strand of the transmission of the antiphon;

- seven out of twelve of the witnesses consulted by Pisani 2006—all dependent on subarchetype *d*—have different variants of the words *tafaśśəḥa fadfāda* (‘he rejoiced abundantly’), just like the antiphon. Another of the manuscripts derived from subarchetype *d* instead has *tafaśśəḥa təqqa* (same meaning), whereas the four remaining manuscripts—independent from subarchetype *d*—have different forms of *ʾafadfada fəśśəḥā* (‘he exceeded (in) joy’). This clearly connects the text of the antiphon with subarchetype *d*;
- contrary to the attestations of the antiphon, all but two of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have a reference to *hāymānot* (‘faith’) within the phrase describing the rejoicing, either taking the form of a prepositional phrase *ba-hāymānot* or *ba-hāymānotu* (‘in faith’, ‘in his faith’), or of a simple noun *hāymānot* / *hāymānota*. The two manuscripts that lack it—MSS London, BL Or. 687–688 and London, BL Or. 689 (= MSS B and C), i.e. the two manuscripts which hypothetically derive from subarchetype *m*—are among those who have the reading *tafaśśəḥa fadfāda*, and thus it is possible that the textual source of the antiphon can be identified with even more precision as related to subarchetype *m*;
- as noticed above, a majority of the witnesses to the antiphon have Christ as the object of the verb *bārako* (‘he [= Pantaŕlewon] blessed him [= Christ]’), although some have turned the syntactical roles around by deleting the preposition *la-*. This variation is not attested in the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006, which all have Christ as the object. Noticeably, however, the readings *la-ʾƏgziʾəna* / *ʾƏgziʾəya ʾIyasus Krəstos* (‘our / my Lord Jesus Christ’) and *la-ʾƏgziʾabəḥer* (‘the Lord’) are both represented by witnesses of the *Life*. This might suggest a continuous contamination between the text of the antiphon and the text of the *Life*. The two manuscripts of the *Life* that depend on subarchetype *m*—i.e. MSS London, BL Or. 687–688 and London, BL Or. 689 (= MSS B and C)—both have *la-ʾƏgziʾabəḥer*, thus weakening the hypothesis that the antiphon is derived from a version of the *Life* related to subarchetype *m*;

- all manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006 have *za-wahabkanni* (‘(you) who have given me’), agreeing with the majority of the attestations of the antiphon;
- in four out of the twelve manuscript consulted by Pisani 2006—the four manuscripts which are *not* derived from the hypothetical subarchetype *d*—the word *wa-rəsta* (‘[a portion] and an inheritance’) is missing. Its ubiquitous presence in the attestations of the antiphon, again, strengthens the conclusion that the antiphon was based on a text dependent on subarchetype *d*;
- the word *kʷəllomu* ([with] ‘all’ [your saints]), which, as described above, is attested in all the multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus (except one, where it was later added), but not in the single-type collections, is only attested in three out of the twelve manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006: MSS Lālibalā Beta Gabrəʿel, EMM 6951; London, BL Or. 687–688; and London, BL Or. 689 (= MSS J, B, and C), which all, according to Pisani’s reconstruction, depend on the subarchetype *h*. This might suggest that the text of the antiphon has at some points in its transmission history been affected by a manuscript dependent on subarchetype *h*, although this influence appears not to have been there originally;
- according to the critical reconstruction of Pisani 2006, the reading with *qəddusānika* (‘your saints’) is only attested in the manuscripts derived from subarchetype *d*. This supports the supposition that the text of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun* / *məsbāk*) 012 was based on a manuscript belonging to this strand of the transmission of the *Life*.

To summarise the observations, it appears clearly that the textual source of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun* / *məsbāk*) 012 was a version of the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) that depended on subarchetype *d*. However, it seems that the text of the antiphon must have remained in exchange with the text as attested in the *Life*, as it is otherwise difficult to explain the variation between the readings *la-ʿƏgziʿəna* / *ʿƏgziʿəya ʿIyasus Krəstos* (‘our / my Lord Jesus Christ’) and *la-ʿƏgziʿabəher* (‘the Lord’)—if this variation did not emerge independently in the *Life* and in the antiphon?—and between the presence versus absence of *kʷəllomu* (‘all’), the latter of which suggests influence from a text dependent on subarchetype *h* (or perhaps rather, subarchetype *m*).

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | MD 2015 | MD 1994 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O E. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678, 012b | EMML 8678, 012a | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
| ተፈሥሖሐ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^a | X |
| ተፈሥሖሐ: | | | | X | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ውክተ: ጊዜ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^b | X | X | X ^c | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | | | |
| ይዘተ: ጊዜ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | X |
| ብፁዕ: ጳጳሳዊነት: ይዘተ: ጊዜ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ብፁዕ: ጳጳሳዊነት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | ጳ ^d | | |
| ወባረኮ: | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | X | X | | X | |
| ባረኮ: | | | | | X | | | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | | X | X | | X |
| ለእግዚእነ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: | X | | | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | | | X |
| ለእግዚእነ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ለእግዚእ[...]: ለኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| ለእግዚአብሔር: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: | | | X ^e | | | | | | | ጳ ^f | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ለእግዚአብሔር: Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X | | | | X | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

[illegible]^a MS: ተፈሣሕ:

^b MS: $\omega_{\lambda}\{t>t\}$.

^c MS: 𐰚𐰆𐰪𐰠.

^d The original reading has been erased and instead, the words *ወለተ ጊዜ* has been added by a different hand.

^c The word ለእግዚአብሔር: has been modified into either ለእግዚአነ: or ለእግዚአየ: but it is difficult to determine which based on the available reproduction.

^f It appears that the manuscript originally had $\Lambda\lambda\eta\mu\lambda\eta\eta\eta[\dots]$, and that the letter $\langle\eta\rangle$ was changed into $\langle\varphi\rangle$, and the letter $\langle\eta\rangle$ into $\langle\lambda\rangle$; however, this interpretation is uncertain.

^g From the original reading, only the word $\lambda\eta\mu\lambda$ and the blank space resulting from an erasure remain. To this has been added, in front of the word, the letter $\langle\lambda\rangle$ and, after the word, the letters $\langle\lambda\eta\alpha\alpha(?)\rangle$; $\eta\zeta\alpha\eta$:>. It is unclear what the original reading was.

^h The word *እግዚእየ* has been added supralineally before the word *ኢየሱስ*.

ⁱ The word **ጥላመ፡** has been added supralineally before the word **ቅዱሳንከ፡**.

3.2.3.52 *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 013

አንቃዕደወ፡ ሰማየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አርሜላዎስ፡ ወይቤ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡
 ስቡሕ፡ አንተ፡ በስብሐቲክ፡ ወስብሐት፡ ለምሕረትክ፡ ወለጸጋክ፡ ዘኢይትነገር፡
 እሰመ፡ አፍጠንክ፡ ጸግዎቶ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ምስጢራቲክ። (MS EML 7618, fol.
 15vb, ll. 24–30)

Holy ‘Ermelāwos looked up into heaven and said: ‘My Lord
 Jesus Christ, glorified are you in your glory! Glory to your
 compassion and to your ineffable grace, for you hastened to
 bestow your mysteries upon your servant!’

The antiphon *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 013 is based on a quotation from the *Life of Pantaŵewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²⁴⁵ It is one of the antiphons—all quotations from the *Life of Pantaŵewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158)—that are attested only in the single-type collections in MSS EML 7618 and GG-187 (Hand C), and the nineteenth-century collection in MS EML 7285.¹²⁴⁶ Part of the same quotation underlies the antiphons *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031 and *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032. For some thoughts on the possible relationship between these three antiphons, see 3.2.3.70.

Within the three attestations of the antiphon *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 013, there are two points of textual variation, in both of which the two single-type collections agree against the collection in MS EML 7285. Firstly, the former have a perfect verb ‘*anqā* ‘*dawa* (‘he looked up [into heaven]’) against a gerund ‘*anqā* ‘*diwo* (‘looking up [into heaven]’) in the latter. For further discussion of this variation, see 3.2.4.5. Secondly, the single-type collections have ‘*aftanka* ‘*šaggəwoto* (‘you hastened to bestow [upon your servant]’) against ‘*aftanka* ‘*dāgəmoto* (‘you hastened to double (?)’) in the collection in MS EML 7285. The word *dāgama*, which is clearly the reading represented by the collection in MS EML 7285, does not appear in this form (i.e. the 0₃ stem) in Dillmann 1865 or Leslau 1991.¹²⁴⁷

Comparing the text of the antiphon with the source text of the *Life of Pantaŵewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) as attested in the edition by Pisani 2006, the following observations can be made:

- the reading ‘*Agzi* ‘*əya* (‘my Lord’) appears in a majority of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006, but only in manuscripts hypothetically derived from subarchetype *b*. The manuscripts derived from subarchetype *a* have instead ‘*Agzi* ‘*-o* (‘O Lord’). The text of the antiphon thus appears to agree with (parts of) the textual transmission stemming from subarchetype *b*;

¹²⁴⁵ Pisani 2006, pp. 99–100 (edition), 145 (Italian translation), § 30.

¹²⁴⁶ For a general discussion of the relationship between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.2.

¹²⁴⁷ Cf. Dillmann 1865, cols 1131–1132; Leslau 1991, p. 126.

- six out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have different forms of the word *bāḥtitāka* (‘you alone’) instead of *ba-sābḥatika* (‘in your glory’). This is identified by her as a defining innovation of subarchetype *e*.¹²⁴⁸ These variants are not found in any of the attestations of the antiphon, suggesting that the text of the antiphon does not derive from this strand of the transmission of the *Life*;
- regarding the phrase which in the attestations of the antiphon appears as *wa-sābḥat la-māḥratāka* (‘and glory to your compassion’), it is missing in two of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006: MSS London, BL Or. 687–688 and London, BL Or. 689 (= MSS B and C), i.e. the two manuscripts which are derived from the hypothetical subarchetype *m*. Consequently, the source text of the text antiphon cannot derive from this strand of the transmission;
- in the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006, only the variants based on the verb *ṣaggawa* (‘bestow upon’) are found in the last clause. Thus, one might suspect that the variant with the verb *dāgama* (‘double (?)’), attested in the antiphon collection in MS EMMML 7285, for some reason, emerged within the transmission of the text as an antiphon;
- corresponding to the word *la-gabrāka* (‘[bestow] upon your servant’) in the attestations of the antiphon, the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have *la-gabrāka Ṗanṭalewon* (‘[bestow] upon your servant Ṗanṭalewon’) or, in one case, *la-Ṗanṭalewon gabrāka* (‘[bestow] upon Ṗanṭalewon, your servant’). Either the text of the antiphon goes back to a version of the *Life* which lacked this word or, perhaps more likely, it was deleted in the process of adapting the text for use as an antiphon.

To summarise, based on the available evidence, it appears that the text of the antiphon was derived from a Vorlage ‘located’ somewhere between subarchetype *b* and subarchetype *e* in the *stemma* of the *Life* proposed by Pisani 2006.

| | EMML 7285 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|---------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| አንቃዕደወ: | | X | X |
| አንቃዕዲዎ: | X | | |
| ጸግዎቶ: | | X | X |
| ዳግሞቶ: | X | | |

¹²⁴⁸ Pisani 2006, p. 83; cf. also p. 145, fn. 27.

3.2.3.53 *Pan̄talewon mazmur* (‘asma la- ‘ālam) 014

አዘዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ያምጽእዎ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ እንጠላዎን፡ እንዘ፡ ይወስድዎ፡ አኅዘ፡ ይዘምር፡
ወይቤ፡ አግዚአ፡ አምላኪየ፡ ኢትጽመመኒ፡ ስእለትየ፡ እስመ፡ አፈ፡ አማጽያን፡
ወአፈ፡ ኃጥአን፡ ተርኅወ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ ወተናገሩ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ በልሳነ፡ ዓመ፡ (MS
EAP432/1/10, fol. 27vb, ll. 1–6)

The king commanded that Holy Pan̄talewon should be brought, and while they were leading him (= Pan̄talewon), he began to sing and said: ‘O Lord, my God, do not ignore my prayer, for the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of sinners are opened against me. They have spoken against me with a tongue of wickedness!’

The antiphon *Pan̄talewon mazmur* (‘asma la- ‘ālam) 014 consists of a direct quotation from the *Life of Pan̄talewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158),¹²⁴⁹ which in turn contains a quotation from Ps. 108:1–2 [LXX]. It is attested from the single-type collections and up to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015. The attestation in MS EMLL 4667 is a later addition.

Disregarding a number of cases which only concern the presence versus absence of conjunctions and prepositions, and variants attested only in isolated collections, there are seven points of textual variation. To begin with, the object of the verb *yāmṣə ʾəwwə* (‘that they should bring [...]’) appears as *la-Pan̄talewon* (‘[that they should bring] Pan̄talewon’) in the single-type collection in MS EMLL 7618, but as *la-qəddus Pan̄talewon* (‘[that they should bring] Holy Pan̄talewon’) in the remaining twenty collections, including the single-type collection in MS GG-187 (Hand C).

Secondly, the verbal phrase which appears as *ʾahaza yəzammər* (‘he began to sing’) in the text above has two further variants, presumably with the same meaning: *ʾahaza yəzemmər* (i.e. with the first verb in the perfect and the second in the imperfect) in two collections and *ʾahaza zammara* (with two asyndetically coordinated verbs in the perfect) in one collection. Thirdly, in the beginning of Pan̄talewon’s prayer, there is variation between *ʾƏgzi ʾ-o ʾamlākiya* (‘O Lord my God’) and *ʾƏgzi ʾəya wa- ʾamlākiya* (‘my Lord and my God’). The former variant is attested throughout the corpus, whereas the latter only appears in one of the two single-type collections and three of the six pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, i.e. only in the earlier parts of the corpus.

Fourthly, there is variation throughout the corpus between singular forms *ʾamāṣi* and *ḥāṭə* (‘the wicked one’ and ‘the sinner’) and plural forms *ʾamāṣəyān* and *ḥāṭə ʾān* (‘the wicked (plur.)’ and ‘the sinners’). Both of the single-type collections have plural forms on both occasions. In the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type

¹²⁴⁹ Pisani 2006, p. 110 (edition), 150 (Italian translation), § 51.

collections, singular forms appear to prevail, although there are several cases in which a singular form has secondarily been modified into a plural form. One collection has *wa-’ada ḥāṭa’* (‘and the hand of the sinner’) in the place of *wa-’afa ḥāṭa’ / ḥāṭa’ān* (‘and the mouth of the sinner / sinners’). In the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections, eight out of thirteen collections have plural forms in both cases, whereas five out of thirteen collections have singular forms on both occasions.

Fifthly, the word which appears above as *tarəḥwa* (‘is opened’) has the variant *’abqawu* (‘has opened wide’). The former is found in both single-type collections, and also in a majority of the manuscripts from later centuries. The latter variant is found in four out of twenty-one collections, ranging from the one in the fifteenth-century manuscript EMMML 8678 to the one in MS EMDA 00111 (AD 1881). Sixthly, there is variation in the prepositional phrase following the verb *tanāgaru* (‘they have spoken’). It appears either as *lā’leya* (‘against me’, as in the text above) or as *ba-’anti’aya* (‘about me’). Both variants are attested already in the single-type collections, and throughout the corpus. Among the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections, there is a tendency for the collections that have singular *’amāṣi* and *ḥāṭa’* to have the preposition *ba-’anti’aya*, but this match is not perfect, as one of the collections with singular nouns has *lā’leya* and one of the collections with plural nouns has *ba-’anti’aya*.

Lastly, the phrase which appears above as *ba-ləssāna ’amaṣā* (‘with a tongue of wickedness’) has a variant *ba-ləssāna g^{wə}ḥlut* (‘with a tongue of deceit’). In the earlier parts of the corpus, including both the single-type collections and the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, only the variant *ba-ləssāna g^{wə}ḥlut* is attested. Among the post-sixteenth-century collections, the variant *ba-ləssāna g^{wə}ḥlut* is found in seven out of thirteen collections and the variant *ba-ləssāna ’amaṣā* in six out of thirteen, including all four nineteenth- and twentieth-century collections in the corpus.

A comparison with the edition of the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) published by Pisani 2006 and, when relevant, with the edited version of the Book of Psalms allows for the following observations:

- all twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have *la-Pantaŵon* (‘[that they should bring] Pantaŵon’), agreeing with the antiphon collection in MS EMMML 7618 against the rest of the antiphon collections included in the corpus, which have *la-qəddus Pantaŵon* (‘[that] Holy Pantaŵon [should be brought]’);
- the variation between a subjunctive *yəzammər* (‘[he began] to sing’) and an imperfect *yəzemmər* (same meaning?) after the auxiliary *’aḥaza* (‘he began [to sing]’) is attested also in the manuscripts of the *Life*, although

the latter form appears only in one of the witnesses consulted by Pisani 2006;

- in all the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006, Pāntalewon's prayer begins with a simple invocation 'Ēgzi 'o ('O Lord'). All attestations of the antiphon, on the other hand, have a double invocations: either 'Ēgzi 'o 'amlākiya ('O Lord my God', sixteen collections) or 'Ēgzi 'aya wa-'amlākiya ('O my Lord and my God', four collections). Perhaps, metrical considerations led to a modification of the text of the antiphon, or it represents a strand of the transmission of the *Life* not found among the manuscripts used by Pisani 2006;
- as the object of the verb 'i-təṣṣamamanni ('do not ignore'), ten of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have sə 'latəya ('my request')—those that depend on subarchetype *b*—agreeing with twenty out of twenty-one of the antiphon collections.¹²⁵⁰ The two manuscripts of the *Life* that depend on subarchetype *a* have instead ṣalotəya ('my prayer'), unattested in the antiphon. Thus, the text of this antiphon seems not to be connected to subarchetype *a*;
- among the attestations of the antiphon, there is one reading with singular nouns 'amāṣi ('the wicked one') and ḥātə ('the sinner'), and one with plural nouns 'amāṣəyān ('the wicked (plur.)') and ḥātə 'ān ('the sinners'). In the manuscripts of the *Life*, the situation is more complex, as at least five variants are attested: 'əsmā 'afa 'amāṣi wa-'afa ḥātə ('for the mouth of the wicked one and the mouth of the sinner [are opened]'), 'əsmā 'afa 'amāṣi wa-ḥātə ('for the mouth of the wicked one and of the sinner [are opened against me]'), 'əsmā 'afa ḥātə wa-'afa 'amāṣi ('for the mouth of the sinner and the mouth of the wicked one [are opened]'), 'əsmā 'afa ḥātə wa-'amāṣi ('for the mouth of the sinner and of the wicked one [are opened]'), and 'əsmā 'afa 'amāṣəyān wa-'afa ḥātə 'ān ('for the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of sinners [are opened]').¹²⁵¹ The variant with plural nouns is only attested in three of the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006: the two manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *a* and MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 10, which depends on subarchetype *c*. The presence of the variant with plural nouns in manuscripts dependent on

¹²⁵⁰ The deviant attestation of the antiphon, found in the collection in MS EMLL 4667, originally had the semantically obscure sə 'lata kiyāya (ሰለተ፡ ኪየሃ፡), later half-heartedly brought into agreement with the rest of the tradition by the deletion of the letters <ኪየ> (kiyā).

¹²⁵¹ In this particular case, the apparatus of variants provided by Pisani 2006 is not entirely clear (cf. Pisani 2006, p. 109). For example, the manuscripts Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 110 and 'Astit Kidāna Məḥrat, EMLL 2514 (= MSS E and G) both have the reading ሰለመ፡ ሐፈ፡ ዓማ፡ ወሐፈ፡ ኃጥሐ፡ ('əsmā 'afa 'amāṣi wa-ḥātə', 'for the mouth of the wicked one and of the sinner'), but it is notated in different ways in the apparatus. Cf. MSS Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 110, fol. 111vb, ll. 24–25 and 'Astit Kidāna Məḥrat, EMLL 2514, fol. 20vb, ll. 2–3.

both subarchetype *a* and subarchetype *b* may indicate that this is the reading of the archetype, as also reconstructed by Pisani 2006. The appearance of readings in which these words appear in the singular may have been triggered by the singular forms in the standard version of Ps. 108 [LXX] (cf. both the edition by Ludolf 1701 and the *Mamhər Laməne* [n.d.] edition);

- regarding the verb in the first causal clause, two out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have *’abqawu* (‘they have opened wide’), three have *’abqawa* (‘he has opened wide’), whereas seven have *tarəḥwa* (‘is opened’). As we have seen above, the first and the third variants appear also in the attestations of the antiphon, perhaps indicating that the text of the antiphon has been continuously contaminated by the text of the *Life*. In the edition of the Book of Psalms by Ludolf 1701, the corresponding word appears as *’abqawa* (‘he has opened wide’), in the singular. The *Mamhər Laməne* [n.d.] edition, however, has the plural *’abqawu*. It is thus also possible that the readings with *’abqawu* and *’abqawa*—both in the witnesses to the *Life* and in the attestations of the antiphon—have been influenced by the standard text of the Ps. 108 [LXX], although, in the absence of a critical edition of the Book of Psalms, it is difficult to contextualise these variants, especially *tarəḥwa*;
- the manuscripts of the *Life* uniformly have *tarəḥwa* / *’abqawa* / *’abqawu* *lā’leya wa-tanāgaru ba-’ənti’aya* (‘[the mouths of the wicked] are opened against me and they speak of me [with a tongue of deceit]’), i.e. different prepositions following each of the verbs. In the attestations of the antiphon, the prepositional phrase *lā’leya* always appears after the first verb, but after the second verb, there is variation between either repeating *lā’leya* once more or having *ba-’ənti’aya*. In what appears to be the standard text of Ps. 108 [LXX], attested in both the editions by Ludolf 1701 and *Mamhər Laməne* [n.d.], these words appear as *’abqawa* / *’abqawu* (see above) *lā’leya wa-nababu lā’leya*, i.e. with the prepositional phrase *lā’leya* twice. One can thus suspect that the attestations of the antiphon which also repeat the same prepositional phrase *lā’leya* twice have been influenced by the standard text of Ps. 108 [LXX], although the use of a different verb—*tanāgaru* instead of *nababu*—is conspicuous. Again, a critical edition of the Book of Psalms is a desideratum in order to clarify what might be identified as contamination from the Book of Psalms and what not;
- all manuscripts of the *Life* have *ba-ləssāna gʷəḥlut* (‘with a tongue of deceit’), against the variation between *ba-ləssāna gʷəḥlut* and *ba-ləssāna ’amaṣā* (‘with a tongue of wickedness’) found in the attestations of the antiphon. However, the standard version of Ps. 108 [LXX] appears to have

ba-ləssāna 'amaṣā. As we have seen above, the former variant appears in all attestations of the antiphon up to the seventeenth century. After that, both forms appear, with *ba-ləssāna* 'amaṣā dominating in the last centuries. Presumably, the text of the antiphon was contaminated by the established reading of the Ps. 108:2 [LXX].

To summarise, the text of the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('əsmā la- 'ālam) 014 shares the reading 'i-təṣṣamamanni sə 'latəya ('do not ignore my request') with that of the manuscripts of the *Life* dependent on subarchetype *b*, which indicates only that it does not depend on subarchetype *a*. Next to this, the textual variation of the antiphons Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('əsmā la- 'ālam) 014 displays several examples of probable contamination from the Book of Psalms.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|--------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| አዘዘ: | X | | X | X | | | | X | | | | X | X | X | | X | X | (X) | X | | X |
| ወአዘዘ: | | X | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | X | | | | | X | |
| ዐ ያምጽኦ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| ከመ: ያምጽኦ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | (X) ^a | | | |
| ለቅዱስ: ጳጳሳዊ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | |
| ለጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወእንዘ: | X | X | | | X | X | X | | X | | X | | | X | X | X | X | (X) ^b | | X | X |
| እንዘ: | | | X | X | | | | X | | | | X | X | | | | | | X ^c | | |
| አመ: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ይዘምር: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X |
| ይዘምር: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ዘመረ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | (X) | | | |
| እግዚአ: አምላኪ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | X |
| እግዚአ: ወአምላኪ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | (X) | X | X | |
| ስለላት: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| ስለላት: ኪየ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | (X) ^d | | | |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|----------------|-----|----------------|---|---|
| እስመ: አፈ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| እምአፈ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ዐማፅያን: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | | X | X | | | | | (X) | | X | X |
| ዐማሊ: | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | X | | | X | X ^e | X | X ^e | | X ^f | | |
| ወአፈ: ኃጥአን: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | | X | X | | | | | (X) | — | X | X |
| ወአፈ: ኃጥአ: | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | X | | | | X ^g | X | | | — ^h | | |
| ወአፈ: Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ⁱ | | — | | |
| ወአደ: ኃጥአ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | — | | |
| ተርኅወ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | (X) | | X | X |
| አብቀወ: | | | | X | | | | | | X | | | | | | X | | | X ^j | | |
| ላዕሌየ: | | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | | | X | |
| በእንቲአየ: | X | | | | X | X | X | | | | X | | | | X | X | X | | | | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | (X) | | | |
| በልሳነ: ዐመፃ: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በልንነ: ጉሕሉት: | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |

^a The word ከመ: has been deleted.

^b The letter <ወ> has been deleted.

^c It appears that the letter <ወ> has been added supralineally before the word እንዘ:

^d The letters <ኪያ> have been deleted.

^e The letters <ያን:> have been added supralineally to the end of the word አማጺ: (MS EMMML 2542; ዓማሊ: MS EMMML 8804).

^f Before the word ዓማሊ:, a word of approximately four letters has been erased, and after it, the words ወአፈ:ኃጥአ: have been added supralineally.

^g The letters <ን> have been added to the end of the word ኃጥአ:.

^h Cf. note f.

ⁱ The word ኃጥአን: has been added supralineally.

^j MS: አብቀወ:.

3.2.3.54 *Pāntalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 015

ወእምዝ፡ አንቃዕደወ፡ ሰማየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ወይቤ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ እግዚአ፡
 ጸሎትየ፡ ወይብጻሕ፡ ቅድሜከ፡ ገዢየ፡ ወኢትሚጥ፡ ገጸከ፡ እምነየ፡ አመ፡ ዕለተ፡
 እጼውዓከ፡ ፍጡነ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ ወአርእዮሙ፡ እግዚአ፡ ለእሱ፡ እኩያን፡ ከመ፡ አንተ፡
 ውእቱ፡ አምላክነ፡ ዘበአማን፡። (MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, fol. 26va, ll.
 2–7)

And then Holy Pāntalewon looked up into heaven and said:
 ‘Hear, O Lord, my prayer and let my cry come before you. Do
 not turn your face from me. Hear me quickly when I call to you,
 and show, O Lord, those evil ones that you are our true God!’

The antiphon *Pāntalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 015 is directly derived from a quotation from the *Life of Pāntalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158),¹²⁵² which, in turn, largely consists of a quotation from Ps. 101:1–2a, 3b [LXX]. It is attested from the single-type collections to the modern multiple-type collections, including the *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015.

In two of its attestations—those in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections in MSS EMML 1894 and EMML 8678—the antiphon *Pāntalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 015 appears in a shorter form, ending after the second *səmə 'anni* ('hear me'). Consequently, the line which appears above as *wa- 'ar 'ayomu, 'Ēgzi 'o, la- 'əllu 'əkkuyān kama 'anta wə 'ətu 'amlākəna za-ba- 'amān* ('and show, O Lord, those evil ones that you are our true God') is missing from these two collections. The attestation of the longer form both in the single-type collections and in the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections might indicate that the latter were revised on the basis of the former.¹²⁵³ Alternatively, the post-sixteenth-century collections simply represent a different strand of the transmission than the two pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections that contain the antiphon in question. In the attestation in MS GG-187, another line is missing, namely that which appears as *'ama 'əlata 'əṣəwwə 'akka fəṭuna səmə 'anni* ('hear me quickly when I call to you') in the text above.

Disregarding a couple of cases which concern only the presence versus absence of conjunctions and what could be interpreted as scribal mistakes in individual collections, there are eight points of textual variation in the attestations of the antiphon *Pāntalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 015.

¹²⁵² Pisani 2006, p. 113 (edition), 152 (Italian translation), § 58.

¹²⁵³ For another example where the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections seem to side with the single-type collections rather than with the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, see 3.2.4.5.

Firstly, as in other antiphons based on parallel quotations, there is variation between a perfect *'anqā 'dawa* ('looked up') and a gerund *'anqā 'diwo* ('looking up'). For a discussion of this variation, see 3.2.4.5. Secondly, whereas the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections all have *qəddus Pāṇṭalewon* ('holy Pāṇṭalewon'), there is variation in the earlier collections. The two single-type collections simply have *Pāṇṭalewon*, without any epithet, while one of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections has *bəṣu 'Pāṇṭalewon* ('blessed Pāṇṭalewon') and the other, in which the word is placed after the word *wa-yəbe* ('and said') instead of before it, lacks an epithet, like the single-type collections.

Thirdly, one of the single-type collections displays a unique reading *ḥabeka ṣərāḥəya* ('[let] my outcry [come] to you') against *qədmeka ga 'arəya* ('[let] my cry [come] before you') in the rest of the collections. Fourthly, the same collection has *ba- 'əlata* ('on the day [when I call you]') against *'ama 'əlata* (same meaning) in the rest of the collections. The two latter variants, which appear within the quotation from Ps. 101 [LXX], i.e. in a position extremely prone to textual contamination from the text as found in the Book of Psalms, are interesting because of the way they intersect with the source text (see below).

The same goes for the fifth point of textual variation, which concerns the semantically unexpected interchange between the words *fəṭuna* ('[hear me] quickly') and *'Əgzi 'o* ('[hear me] O Lord'). In the attestations of the antiphon, the former variant is found in one of the single-type collections, whereas the other lacks this word. This passage is missing from the variant of the antiphon which appears in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. In the post-sixteenth-century collections, both variants appear, the latter—*'Əgzi 'o*—perhaps primarily in the later collections. This is remarkable, as the standard text of the Ethiopic Book of Psalms appears to have *fəṭuna*.

Sixthly, instead of the form *'əkkuyān* ('[those] evil ones'), which appears throughout the corpus, the eighteenth–nineteenth-century collection in MS EMM 7285 has *giguyān* ('[those] erring ones'). While the word fits just as well semantically, it seems uncharacteristic for a such a late collection to display a unique reading which cannot be explained as a scribal mistake. Seventhly, there is again a textual variation which includes the word *'Əgzi 'o* ('[that you] O Lord [(are) the true God]'), on this occasion alternating with the copula *wə 'ətu* ('[that you] are [the true God]'). The latter variant only appears in two collections in the corpus, both post-sixteenth-century. The two collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Ethiop. 36, finally, share the reading *'amlākəna* ('our God') against *'amlāk* ('God') in the rest of the collections. This adds to the many cases where these two collections display related readings.¹²⁵⁴

¹²⁵⁴ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

Based on a comparison between the text as attested in the antiphon and the text attested in the *Life of Pan̄talewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) as edited by Pisani 2006, the following remarks can be made:

- eight out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006—those dependent on subarchetype *d*—have *qəddus Pan̄talewon*, whereas the remaining four have a simple *Pan̄talewon*. It thus appears that the post-sixteenth-century transmission of the antiphon was influenced by the tradition of the *Life* dependent on subarchetype *d*, whereas the earlier transmission of the antiphon was not;
- at the beginning of the quotation from Ps. 101:1–2a, 3b [LXX], the manuscripts of the *Life* display a two different word orders: *ʾĒgzi ʾ-o səmə ʾanni* (eleven manuscripts) versus *səmə ʾanni ʾĒgzi ʾ-o* (one manuscript). The only manuscript of the *Life* which agrees with the attestations of the antiphon—which all have *səmə ʾanni ʾĒgzi ʾ-o*—is the mid-eighteenth-century manuscript MS London, BL Or. 686 (= MS A). However, this correspondence must be seen in the context of the transmission of the Book of Psalms. The standard text of Ps. 101 [LXX], it appears, shares the same word order as antiphon and the *Life* in MS London, BL Or. 686. Thus, rather than interpreting this occasional correspondence between the text of the antiphon and an individual manuscripts of the *Life* as an indication of a genetic relationship, one could presume that the text was, in both cases, contaminated by the standard text of Ps. 101 [LXX];
- eleven out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 (the twelfth omits this word) have *ba- ʾalata* (‘on the day [when I call you]’). None of them has *ʾama ʾalata* (same meaning). This stands in stark contrast to the readings found in the attestations of the antiphons, which, with the exception of one of the single-type collections, have *ʾama ʾalata*. In the standard reading of Ps. 101 [LXX], both forms appear: *ba- ʾalata* in verse 2 and *ʾama ʾalata* in verse 3. It thus seems probable that the introduction of the form *ʾama ʾalata* into the text of the antiphon can be explained by contamination from the psalm;
- in the ten manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 in which the word appears and is legible, a perfect form *šawwā ʾkuka* (‘[on the day when] I called to you’) appears in seven—depending on both subarchetype *a* and *b*—and an imperfective *ʾəšewwə ʾakka* (‘[on the day when] I call to you’) only in two, both dependent on subarchetype *l*.¹²⁵⁵ The latter reading appears uniformly

¹²⁵⁵ The tenth manuscripts, MS London, BL Or. 686, has the reading *ʾašmə* (አጽምዕ, ‘hear’), not *አጽዎዕ, as listed in the apparatus by Pisani 2006. In MS London, BL Or. 686, the saint quotes Ps. 101:1–2a, 3a [LXX] instead of Ps. 101:1–2a, 3b [LXX].

in the attestations of the antiphon. This appears to agree with the standard reading of the Book of Psalms, and thus one can again presume that the text of the antiphon (and of two textually ‘late’ manuscripts of the *Life*) was contaminated by the psalm;

- the manuscripts of the *Life* uniformly have *fəṭuna* (‘[hear me] quickly’), compared with the variation between *fəṭuna* and *ʿĠgziʿ-o* (‘[hear me] O Lord’) found in the attestations of the antiphon. It appears that the standard text of the Ps. 101 [LXX] also has *fəṭuna*, which makes the appearance of the reading *ʿĠgziʿ-o* in later multiple-type collections difficult to explain. Perhaps, a better understanding of the textual history of the Book of Psalms would provide an explanation;
- the manuscripts of the *Life* uniformly have *ʿəkkuyāna ḥəllinā* (‘[and show those] evil of mind [that you are...]’) or *ʿəkkuyān ḥəllinā* (translated by Pisani 2006 as ‘[e mostra a questi] maligni il senno [che sei...]’¹²⁵⁶). The attestations of the antiphons, instead, uniformly have a simple *ʿəkkuyān* (‘[those] evil ones’, excepting the one late collection which has *giguyān*, ‘[those] erring ones’). I have not been able to identify these words as part of a biblical quotation, and it is difficult to account for the textual difference between, on the one hand, the manuscripts of the *Life* and, on the other hand, the attestations of the antiphon;
- corresponding to the words *ʿamlāk za-ba-ʿamān* (‘[that you are] the true God’) or *ʿamlākəna za-ba-ʿamān* (‘[that you are] our true God’) in the attestations of the antiphon, the *Life* has *za-təfewwəsomu la-ʿəlla ya ʿammənu bəka* (‘[that you are] the one who heals those who believe in you’, with variants). This, one may presume, represents a conscious change of the text in order to adapt it to its liturgical, non-narrative context, in which the theme of healing would have stood out in an unwished-for way.

To summarise, it is not possible to connect the text of the antiphon with a specific branch of the transmission of the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158). However, there are several examples—the word order in the expression *səmə ʿanni ʿĠgziʿ-o*, the reading *ʿama ʿəlata*, the reading *ʿəşewwə ʿakka*—where the text of the antiphon (occasionally together with late witnesses to the *Life*) appears to have been contaminated by the standard text of Ps. 101 [LXX]. On one occasion—the reading *ʿĠgziʿ-o* instead of *fəṭuna*—the standard text of Ps. 101 agrees with the *Life* against the text of the antiphon in some of its later attestations.

¹²⁵⁶ Pisani 2006, p. 152.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| አንቀጥደው: | X | X | X | | X ^a | | | X | | | | X | X | | | X | X |
| አንቀጥዲያ: | | | | ? | | X | X | | X | X | X | | | X | X | | |
| ቅዱስ: ጳጳሳዊ: | X | X | X | X | X ^b | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |
| ብፁዕ: ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| ፀ ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | X |
| ፀ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ወይቤ: ፀ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ወይቤሎ: ፀ | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ወይቤ: ጳጳሳዊ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ቅድሚኛ: ገፀርያ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ኅቤክ: ጽራኅያ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወኢትሚጥ: | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወኢትሚጥ: ወኢትሚጥ: | | | | | X ^d | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| እምኔያ: | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| እምኔክ: | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| አመ: ዕለተ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | |
| በዕለተ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | - | X |
| ወአርአዮሙ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | - | - | X | X |
| አርአዮሙ: | | | | | | | | X | | X | | | | - | - | | |
| እግዚአ: | X | | X | X | | | | | | X | | | | - | - | | |
| ፍጡነ: | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | - | - | | X |
| ፀ | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | X | |
| እኩያን: | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | - | - | X | X |
| ለእኩያን: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | - | - | | |
| ጊጉያን: | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | - | - | | |
| ከመ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | - | - | X | X |
| እስመ: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | - | - | | |
| ፀ | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | - | - | | |
| ውኦቲ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | - | - | | X |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|---|
| እግዚአ: | | | | X | | | | X | | | | | | | – | – | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | – | – | X | |
| አምላክ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | – | – | X | X |
| አምላክነ: | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | – | – | | |

^a The letters <ደ> and <ወ> have been modified into <ዲ> and <ዎ>, respectively.

^b The word ቅዱስ: has been rewritten.

^c The word ቅዱ(?)ስ: has been added supralineally.

^d The second repetition of the word ወኢትሚጥ: has been marked for deletion.

3.2.3.55 Pantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 016

አንቀ(!)ዕደወ: ሰማየ: ቅዱስ: ጳጳሳዊ: እንዘ: ይትግንስ: ሕማማተ: ሞት:
ወይቤ: እግዚአየ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: ሀሉ: ምስሌየ: በዛቲ: ሕማም: ወሀበኒ:
ፍጹመ: ከመ: እትጋደል: (MS GG-187, fol. 148rb, ll. 36–40)

Holy Pantaŵon looked up into heaven, enduring the sufferings of death, and said: ‘My Lord Jesus Christ, be with me in this suffering and let me struggle perfectly!’

The antiphon Pantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 016—together with the antiphons Pantaŵon *mazmur* 013, 022, 023, 025, 026—is attested only in three collections: the two single-type collections of *mazmur*-family antiphons in MSS EMML 7618 and GG-187 (Hand C), and the nineteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS 7285.¹²⁵⁷ Textually, it is based on a quotation from the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), which, however, appears to have been abbreviated (see below).¹²⁵⁸

Two minor textual variants are attested. In both cases, the single-type collections agree against the later multiple-type collection. Firstly, the initial verb is in the perfect (‘*anqā dawa*, ‘he looked up’) in the single-type collections, but in the gerund (‘*anqā diwo*, ‘looking up’) in the collection in MS EMML 7285. This variation also appears in other antiphons and is further discussed in 3.2.4.5. Secondly, the first word in the phrase which appears above as *ḥāmāmāta mot* (‘the sufferings of death’) appears in the singular in the collection in MS EMML 7285: *ḥāmāma mot* (‘the suffering of death’).

Whereas the textual tradition of the antiphon is relatively stable, a comparison with the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) as edited by Pisani 2006 reveals substantial differences:

¹²⁵⁷ For a general discussion of the relationship between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.2.

¹²⁵⁸ Pisani 2006, p. 116 (edition), 153 (Italian translation), § 62.

- whereas the attestations of the antiphon uniformly has *qəddus Pāṇṭalewon* (‘holy Pāṇṭalewon’), most of the manuscripts of the *Life* simply have *Pāṇṭalewon*. However, three of the manuscripts of the *Life*—all dependent on subarchetype *f*, but there are also manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *f* that do not share this feature—agree with the attestations of the antiphon in having the reading *qəddus Pāṇṭalewon*;
- in the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006, the text is always *’anza yət’eggas ḥəmāma*, i.e. the word *mot* (‘death’) is not attested as a qualification of *ḥəmām* (‘suffering’). In the antiphon, on the other hand, the word *mot* is found in all three attestations;
- between the invocation *’Əgzi’əya ’Iyasus Krəstos* (‘my Lord Jesus Christ’) and the imperative *hallu* (‘be!’), the manuscripts of the *Life* consistently include a phrase which appears as follows in the main text of the edition by Pisani 2006: ከመ፡ ዲበ፡ እሉኒ፡ ድውዳኑ፡ ሀለውኩ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ ወፈወሰኩ፡ በውስተ፡ ዝኒ፡ ሕማም፡ (‘as you have been with (?) these sick ones and healed (them), [be] also (with me) in this suffering’). As we have seen above, this phrase is missing from the antiphon;¹²⁵⁹
- the word order found in the antiphons—*wa-habanni fəṣṣuma kama ’ətgādəl* (‘and let me struggle perfectly’)—is not attested in any of the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006. These either lack the conjunction *kama* or include it before the word *fəṣṣuma* (‘perfectly’). In the text of the *Life*, the main verb *habanni* furthermore always governs two subordinate verbs, *’ətgādəl* (‘[that] I may struggle [perfectly]’) and *’əmə* (‘[and that] I may conquer’), the order of which varies. As the antiphon only includes the first one, one might presume that it derives from a Vorlage in which this verb was placed first.

| | EMML 7285 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| ኢንቃዕደወ፡ | | X | X |
| ኢንቃዕዲዎ፡ | X | | |
| ሕማማተ፡ ሞት፡ | | X | X |
| ሕማመ፡ ሞት፡ | X | | |

¹²⁵⁹ For another case of possible shortening, see the discussion of the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 022.

3.2.3.56 *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 017

አስተርአዮ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ኤርሜላዎስ፡ ቀሲስ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ኢትፍራህ፡ ጽናዕ፡
መስተጋድል፡ እስመ፡ አነ፡ ምስሌክ፡ ውስተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ምንዳቤክ፡ (MS EMMML
1894, fol. 31ra, ll. 30–33)

Christ appeared to him in the likeness of ‘Ermelāwos the Priest
and said to him: ‘Do not fear! Be strong, combatant, for I am
with you in all your affliction(s)!’

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 017 is directly derived from the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²⁶⁰ It has a long attestation, ranging from the single-type collection in MS EMMML 7618 to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 2015. The attestation in MS Ṫānāsee 172, which is a later addition to that collection, is only partially legible.

Disregarding a case which concerns only the use of different prepositions, there are five points of textual variation in the attestations of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 017. Firstly, the subject of the first clause appears in three different forms: either as *Krastos* (‘Christ’), as ‘*Iyasus*’ (‘Jesus’), or as a combination of both ‘*Iyasus Krastos*’ (‘Jesus Christ’). Whereas the single-type collections and the earliest multiple-type collections all have ‘*Iyasus*’, both ‘*Iyasus*’ and *Krastos* appear with about the same frequency in the later collections. The combination of the two terms is only attested in the first layer of the collection in MS EMMML 8804, later modified by marking *Krastos* for deletion.

Secondly, the single-type collection in MS GG-187, uniquely, has a secondary addition of the words *la-qəddus Ṗanṭalewon* (‘[Jesus appeared] to Holy Ṗanṭalewon’) between the words ‘*Iyasus*’ and *ba-’amsāla* (‘in the likeness of [‘Ermelāwos]’). This supralinear addition is interesting insofar that it is an example of the clarifying additions attested also in other antiphons;¹²⁶¹ in this case, however, the addition apparently did not gain widespread use.

Thirdly, the order of the imperatives uttered by Christ to *Ṗanṭalewon* differs in the various attestations, appearing either as ‘*i-təfrāh wa-ṣənā*’ (‘do not be afraid, but be strong’), as *ṣənā wa-’i-təfrāh* (‘be strong and do not be afraid’), or, lacking one constituent, simply as ‘*i-təfrāh*’ (‘do not be afraid’). The first variant is the most commonly attested, from the single-type collections and onwards. The second variant appears in a number of post-fifteenth-century collections, and, interestingly, only in conjunction with the reading *Krastos* in the beginning of the antiphon. On the microlevel of this antiphon, there thus seems to be a family of collections connected by these two readings. This pattern is especially clear in the

¹²⁶⁰ Pisani 2006, p. 116 (edition), 153 (Italian translation), §§ 62–63.

¹²⁶¹ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 015 and *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032.

post-sixteenth-century collections. The third variant, consisting simply of *'i-təfrāh*, is only attested in pre-seventeenth-century collections, and in the collection in MS EMML 8804—one of its two indisputable attestations—it has been secondarily brought into the mainstream by the supralinear addition of *ṣənā* '.

Fourthly, two of the pre-seventeenth-century collections add the word *'əhellu* ('[I] will be [with you]') after the word *'ana* ('I'). In the collection in MS EMML 8804, the text has once again been brought into the mainstream, as the word *'əhellu* has been marked for deletion.

Lastly, the final word of the antiphon appears either as *məndābeka* ('your affliction(s)') or as *məndābe* ('the affliction(s)'). The latter variant is attested in the three single-type collections, but not in any of the later collections included in the corpus, thus adding an example to the list of textual variants restricted to the single-type collections.¹²⁶²

Comparing the attestations of the antiphon *Ṣanṭalewon mazmur* (*'abun*) 017 with the source text as found in the *Life of Ṣanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) edited by Pisani 2006, the following observations can be made:

- whereas, in the attestations of the antiphon, there is variation in the first phrase between *'Iyasus* ('Jesus') and *Krəstos* ('Christ'), *'Iyasus* appearing in the oldest collections and in a majority of the later collections, only *Krəstos* appears in the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006;
- the variation in word order between *'i-təfrāh wa-ṣənā* ' ('do not be afraid, but be strong') and *ṣənā ' wa-'i-təfrāh* ('be strong and do not be afraid') is not attested as such in the *Life*. Instead, out of the eleven manuscripts which contain a variant of this phrase, three—both manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *a* and the only manuscript that depends on subarchetype *b* while not depending on subarchetype *d*—have an adjective *ṣənu* ' ('[do not be afraid, my] strong [combatant]'), placed between the verb *'i-təfrāh* ('do not be afraid') and the vocative *mastagādəl zi 'aya* ('my [strong] combatant'), instead of the imperative *ṣənā* '. The remaining eight manuscripts—all of the manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *d*—have a verb form *ṣənā* ', like the attestations of the antiphon, but this is uniformly placed after the vocative *mastagādəl zi 'aya*. The reading which, with inner variation, appears in the antiphon, thus lacks a direct correspondence in the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006, but seems to be closest to the text represented by subarchetype *d*;
- whereas the attestations of the antiphon have either *'ana məsleka* ('I (am) with you [in your affliction(s)]') or *'ana 'əhellu məsleka* ('I will be with you [in your affliction(s)]'), the twelve manuscripts of the *Life* have either

¹²⁶² For a summary of such cases, see the discussion in 3.4.1.2.

ʾana māsleka ('I (am) with you [in your affliction(s)]', six manuscripts), *ʾana halloku* ('I am [in your afflictions(s)]', four manuscripts), *ʾana māsleka halloku* ('I am with you [in your affliction(s)]', one manuscript), or *ʾana māsleya* (!) ('I am with me [in your affliction(s)]', one manuscript). Thus, the variant with the imperfective *ʾəhellu* lacks a correspondence in the manuscripts of the *Life*. Pisani 2006 considers the addition of the word *māsleka* ('with you'), uniformly attested in the attestations of the antiphon, to be an innovation of subarchetype *d*.¹²⁶³ If this is correct, would allow us to situate the Vorlage of this antiphon within that branch of the transmission of the *Life*;

- among the manuscripts of the *Life*, the reading *ʾana māsleka* ('I (am) with you [in your affliction(s)]', six manuscripts) is always coupled with the reading *ba-kʷəllu mändābeka* ('in all your afflictions'). In the attestations of the antiphon, however, the reading *ba-kʷəllu* is only attested once—in one of the single-type collections—the rest of the collections having *wəsta kʷəllu* (same meaning) or, in one late attestation, *ba-wəsta kʷəllu* (same meaning). The combination of *ʾana māsleka* and *wəsta kʷəllu* is unique to the antiphon;
- in the attestations of the antiphon, the last word appears as *mändābe* ('the suffering(s)') in the two single-type collections and one of the earliest multiple-type collection, and as *mändābeka* ('your suffering(s)') in all later collections. The former reading is unattested in the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006, whereas the latter reading appears in eight out of twelve manuscripts, all dependent on subarchetype *d*. The remaining four manuscripts have *ḥəmāməka* ('your pain'), a reading which is not found in the attestations of the antiphon.

To summarise, there are several textual indications—the reading *ʃənā* ' instead of *ʃənu* ', the presence of the word *māsleka*, the reading *mändābe* / *mändābeka* instead of *ḥəmāməka*—that the Vorlage of the antiphon Pantaŵon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 017 represented a text of the *Life* dependent on subarchetype *d*.

¹²⁶³ Pisani 2006, p. 82; cf. also p. 153, fn. 43.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|-----------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| ክርስቶስ: | | | | | X | X | X | | | X | | | X | X | X | | | - | | | |
| ኢየሱስ: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | | X | X | | | | | X | - | X | X | X |
| ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | - | | | |
| ፀ በአምሳሌ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | | X |
| (ለቅዱስ ጳጳስ ጳጳስ) በአምሳሌ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | |
| ኢትዮጵያ: ጽናዕ: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | X | X |
| ጽናዕ: ወኢትዮጵያ: | | | | | X | X | X | | | X | | | | X | | | | ? | | | |
| ኢትዮጵያ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X ^c | | ? | | | |
| እነ: ፀ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| እነ: እሄሉ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X ^d | | | | | |
| ውስተ: | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | | X |
| በውስተ: | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ቡ- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---|----------------|---|
| ምንዳቤከ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | | | |
| ምንዳቤ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X ^c | X |

^a The word ከርስቶስ: has been marked for deletion.

^b The words ለቅዱስ: ጳጳሳዊ: have been added supralineally.

^c The word ጽናዕ: has been added supralineally after the word ኢትዮጵያ:.

^d The word አሄሉ: has been marked for deletion.

^e The letter <h> has been added after the word.

3.2.3.57 *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘asma la-‘ālam) 018

አንቃዕደወ፡ ሰማየ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ ወይቤ፡ ስምዐኒ፡ እግዚአ፡ ቃልየ፡ ዘሰአልኩ፡
 ኅቤከ፡ ወእምግርማ፡ ጸላኢ፡ አድኅኛ፡ ለነፍሰየ፡ ወባልሐኒ፡ እምክሮሙ፡ ለገበርተ፡
 ዐማ(!)የ፡ እለ፡ አብልሐ፡ ልሳኖሙ፡ ከመ፡ ሰይፍ፡ (MS EMMML 7618, fol.
 16ra, ll. 7–12)

Panṭalewon looked up into heaven and said: ‘O Lord, hear my voice, who have supplicated to you. Save my soul from the fear of the Hater and rescue me from the conspiracy of the evil-doers, who sharpen their tongue like a sword!’

The antiphon *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘asma la-‘ālam) 018 consists of a quotation from the *Life of Panṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158),¹²⁶⁴ which itself largely consists of a quotation from Ps. 63:1, 2b–3a [LXX]. It is widely attested in the studied corpus of antiphon collections, from the single-type collections to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015.

Disregarding one case in which an individual word was omitted in one late attestation, there are seven points of textual variation within the attestation of the antiphon *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘asma la-‘ālam) 018 in the corpus. The first point of textual variation concerns the variation between a gerund ‘anqā‘diwo (‘looking up’) and a perfect ‘anqā‘dawa (‘he looked up’). This recurrent variation is discussed in 3.2.4.5. Secondly, there is variation between *qəddus Panṭalewon* (‘Holy Panṭalewon’) and a simple *Panṭalewon*. The latter variant is attested in the two single-type collections, whereas the former is found in the multiple-type collections. This variation thus offers a further example of where the multiple-type collections uniformly agree against the single-type collections.

At a third point of textual variation, the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 share a similar reading against the rest of the studied collections.¹²⁶⁵ Whereas the rest of the collections have *səmə‘anni* (‘hear [my voice]’), the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 has what appears to be *səmə‘ā* followed by a four-dot asterisk (ሰም፡፡፡፡, see Illustration 11) and the collections in MS UUB O Etiop. 36 has *səmə‘i* (‘hear! (fem.)’; see Illustration 12). The reading in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 is presumably a simple error for *səmə‘anni*, in which the last letter was omitted. The reading in MS UUB O Etiop. 36, on the other hand, is noteworthy, because it seems to derive from a misreading of MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006. This case offers us a rare opportunity to define more in detail the relationship between the two collection, as the reading in MS UUB O Etiop. 36 could be based on an erroneous reading of MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, but not the other way around. Now, of course, this does not mean that MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-

¹²⁶⁴ Pisani 2006, pp. 117–118 (edition), 154–155 (Italian translation), § 66.

¹²⁶⁵ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

006 was the antigraph of MS UUB O Etiop. 36, as an unknown number of collections may have occupied positions between them in the transmission. But it appears to suggest that, at least in the case of the antiphon *Pāntalewon mazmur* (*ʾasma la- ʾālam*) 018, MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 was part of the line of transmission which materialised in MS UUB O Etiop. 36.

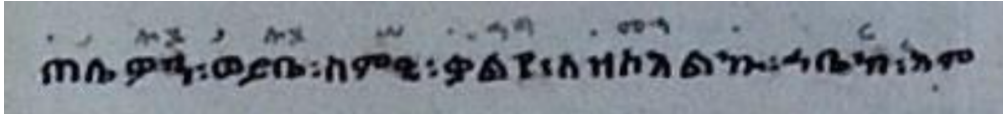


Illustration 11. Depiction of MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, fol. 26ra, l. 25, containing the word hypothetically transcribed as *səmə ʾā* (for *səmə ʾānni*, ‘hear me!’), followed by a four-dot asterisk.

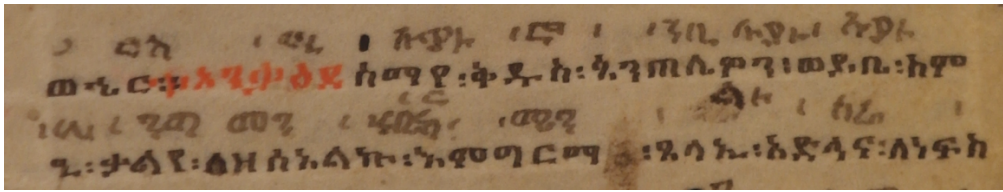


Illustration 12. Depiction of MS UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 25vc, ll. 29–30, containing the word *səmə ʾi* (‘hear! (fem.)’).

Fourthly, the two single-type collections, as well as one of the earliest multiple-type collections—the one in MS EMMML 8678—have a reading *ʾĒgzi ʾ-o qālāya* (‘[hear,] O Lord, my voice’), whereas the rest of the collections simply have *qālāya* (‘[hear] my voice’). In the collection in MS EMMML 8678, the word *ʾĒgzi ʾ-o* appears to have been secondarily marked for deletion, thus bringing it into the mainline multiple-type-collection reading. Additionally, one of the twentieth-century collections originally had *ṣalotāya* (‘[hear] my prayer’) instead of *qālāya*, but this has secondarily been changed in the direction of the mainstream reading.

Fifthly, the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-002 and UUB O Etiop. 36 agree in having a reading *la-za-sa ʾalku* (‘of [me] who have supplicated to you’) against *za-sa ʾalku* (‘(I) who have supplicated [to you]’) in the rest of the collections. Presumably, the function of the preposition *la-* is to create an unambiguous genitive relationship between the possessed word *qālāya* (‘my voice’) and the subject of the relative clause *za-sa ʾalku* (‘(I) who have supplicated [to you]’). The readings of the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-002 and UUB O Etiop. 36 are, however, not identical, as the latter lacks the word *ḥabeka* (‘to you’) following the word *za-sa ʾalku* (‘(I) who have supplicated’).

Sixthly—again, a minor detail—the two single-type collections agree against the rest of the collections in having *wa- ʾəm-gərmā* (‘and from the fear [of the Hater]’) instead of simply *ʾəm-gərmā* (‘from the fear [of the Hater]’). This is worthy of mention as it adds to the examples where the single-type collections agree against the multiple-type collections.

Lastly, there is variation regarding the words which in the text above appear as *ʾəm-məkromu la-gabarta* (‘[rescue me] from the conspiracy of the [evil-]doers’).

A relatively large number of manuscripts, ranging from the sixteenth-century collection in MS EML 1894 to all three nineteenth- and twentieth-century collections which attest to this antiphon, have *'əm-gəbromu la-gabarta* ('[rescue me] from the work of the [evil-]doers'). Individual collections have *'əm-məgbāromu la-gabarta* (similar meaning as *'əm-gəbromu la-gabarta*), *'əm-kəbromu la-gabarta* ('[rescue me] from the honour of the [evil-]doers'), and, simply, *'əm-gabarta* ('[rescue me] from the [evil-]doers'). In this case, one can, with relatively high confidence, conclude that *'əm-məkromu la-gabarta* was the original reading and that it was misunderstood and unnecessarily 'corrected' by scribes who failed to notice the geminated /m/.

Comparing the text of the antiphon *Ħanṭalewon mazmur* (*'əsma la- 'ālam*) 018 with the source text in the *Life of Ħanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) as edited by Pisani 2006, the following remarks can be made:

- whereas the attestations of the antiphon uniformly have either a form of the verb *'anqā 'dawa* ('look up'), be it a perfect or a gerund, this verb appears only in the manuscripts of the *Life*, which, according to the textual reconstruction by Pisani 2006 depend on the hypothetical subarchetype *d*. The rest of the manuscripts instead have the verb *naṣṣara* ('look'). This suggests that the text of the antiphon is based on a text which also depends on subarchetype *d*, although it should not be excluded that the same change from *naṣṣara* to *'anqā 'dawa* could have taken place independently both in the source of the antiphon and in subarchetype *d*, as *'anqā 'dawa* appears repeatedly in parallel clauses in the *Life* and in the corpus of antiphons for *Ħanṭalewon*;
- three out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006—all dependent of subarchetype *f*—have *qəddus Ħanṭalewon* ('Holy *Ħanṭalewon*'), whereas the rest simply have *Ħanṭalewon*. As noticed above, the attestations of the antiphon in single-type collections have a simple *Ħanṭalewon*, whereas the later attestations have *qəddus Ħanṭalewon*;
- the word *'Ġgzi -o* ('O Lord'), which in the attestations of the antiphon is only found in the single-type collections and in one of the earliest multiple-type collections, is present in all twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006;
- among the antiphons, the predominant variant is *qāləya* ('[hear] my voice'), the form *ṣalotəya* ('[hear] my prayer') only appearing in the first stage of one twentieth-century collection, later modified into *qāləya*. However, in the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006, the form *ṣalotəya* appears in eight manuscripts out of twelve, namely in those derived from the hypothetical subarchetype *d*. The standard text of the Book of Psalms also has the reading *ṣalotəya*. Thus, one wonders if the

text of the manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *d*—and the first layer in the antiphon-collection in MS EAP254/1/5—might have been influenced by the Book of Psalms, while the antiphon (and the rest of the transmission of the *Life*) kept a more original reading;

- the reading *bālāḥanni* (‘rescue me’) appears in a vast majority of the *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections included in the Minor Corpus, but is unattested in the manuscripts used by Pisani 2006. These have, instead, either *wa-kādānanni* (‘and protect me’) or, in the manuscripts hypothetically derived from subarchetype *d*, *wa-’adhānanni* (‘and save me’).¹²⁶⁶ Also the standard text of the psalm lacks a direct correspondence to this verb. One could imagine that the reading *bālāḥanni* of the antiphon was introduced as a means to avoid the repetition of forms of the verb *’adhāna* (‘save’), which appears in the manuscripts of the *Life* dependent on subarchetype *d*. In any case, the almost ubiquitous presence of this reading in the attestations of the antiphon is noticeable;
- the variation between *’am-mākromu* (‘[rescue me] from the conspiracy of [the evil-doers]’), *’am-gābromu* (‘[rescue me] from the work(s) of [the evil-doers]’), and *’am-māgbāromu* (‘rescue me] from the working(s) of [the evil-doers]’), found in the attestations of the antiphon, also appears in the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006, four of them having *’am-mākromu*, five *’am-gābromu*, two *’am-māgbāromu*, and one the unclear *ḥḥḥḥḥḥ* (!). The manuscripts closest to the archetype have *’am-mākromu*, whereas the rest of the variants are identified by Pisani 2006 as innovations pertaining to subarchetype *d*.¹²⁶⁷ As the (more) original reading *’am-mākromu* is also widely attested in the attestations of the antiphon, several possible lines of development are possible. One could imagine that the antiphon, on the earliest stage, had *’am-mākromu* and that it was, at some point, updated on the basis of a manuscript of the *Life* stemming from subarchetype *d*. Or the other way around: subarchetype *d* may have been influenced by an innovation that took place within the transmission of the antiphon. Alternatively, the same innovation may have taken place both in some attestations of the antiphon and in subarchetype *d*.

To summarise, the available evidence does not point in a clear direction regarding the Vorlage of the antiphon *Ḥantalewon mazmur* (‘asma la-’ālam) 018. On the one hand, the predominance of the variant *qālāya* connects the text of the antiphon with the line of transmission of the *Life* ‘preceding’ subarchetype *d*. On the other hand, the reading *bālāḥanni* might be explained as a way of avoiding the repetition of a word which characterises the text of subarchetype *d*—although,

¹²⁶⁶ This is mentioned by Pisani 2006 as one of the defining innovations of subarchetype *d* (Pisani 2006, p. 82; cf. also pp. 154–155, fn. 46).

¹²⁶⁷ Pisani 2006, p. 82; cf. also p. 155, fn. 47.

admittedly, this is not the only explanation for origin of the variant *bāləḥanni*—and the variants *ʾəm-gəbromu* and *ʾəm-məgbāromu* (possibly polygenetic) are shared only by some attestations of the antiphon and manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *d*.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|----------------|---------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| አንቃዕደወ: | | | | | X | X | | | | | | X | | | | | | X | X | X |
| አንቃዕዲዎ: | X | X | X | X | | | X ^a | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| ዐ ጳጳጠሌዎን: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ቅዱስ: ጳጳጠሌዎን: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ስምዐኒ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ስምዒ: | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | X | | | | | | | | |
| ቃልዮ: | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| እግዚአብሔር: ቃልዮ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | X | X |
| ጸሎትዮ: | | X ^d | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዘሰአልኩ: ጎቤክ: | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘሰአልኩ: ዐ | | X ^e | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ለዘሰአልኩ: ጎቤክ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ለዘሰአልኩ: ዐ | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| እምግርማ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^f | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ወእምግርማ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ወባልሐኒ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዐ | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| እምክሮም: ለገብርተ: | | | | | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | X | X |
| እምግብሮም: ለገብርተ: | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| እምግባሮም: ለገብርተ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| እምክብሮም: ለገብርተ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| እምገብርተ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |

^a The letter <ዎ> has been modified into <ወ>.

^b MS: ስምዒ: (?).

^c The word እግዚአብሔር appears to have been marked for deletion.

^d The manuscript originally had ጸሎትዮ. However, a letter <ቃ> has been added after the <ጸ>, and the letter <ት> has been marked for deletion, supposedly in a half-hearted attempt to turn the word into ቃልዮ.

^e The word ጎቤክ[:] has been added supralineally.

^f After the letter <ማ>, one letter has been deleted.

3.2.3.58 *Pāṇṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 019

ወወረወዎ፡ ውስተ፡ ባሕር፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ ዘበክማን፡ ሐራሁ፡ ለክርስቶስ፡
 ወአስተርአዮ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በውስተ፡ ባሕር፡ በአምሳለ፡ ኤርሜላዎስ፡ ቀሲስ፡ ውእተ፡
 ጊዜ፡ ገሣ፡ ለባሕር፡ ወዶረቶ፡ ባሕርኒ፡ ዲበ፡ ማዕበላ። (*Maṣḥafa Daggwā*
 2015, p. 45a, ll. 5–9)

They threw Holy Pāṇṭalewon, the true soldier of Christ, into the sea. Christ appeared to him in the sea in the likeness of
 ‘Ermelāwos the Priest. At that time he reproached the sea, and it carried him on its waves!¹²⁶⁸

The antiphon *Pāṇṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 019 is attested throughout the corpus. It is based on a quotation from the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158),¹²⁶⁹ to which has been added the designation of Pāṇṭalewon as ‘the true soldier of Christ’, taken from another episode in the same *Life*.¹²⁷⁰

The text varies on a number of points, variant readings being found primarily in the single-type collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and GG-187. The first point of variation concerns the initial verb. Whereas in the multiple-type collections, it appears either as *wa-warawəwwō* (‘and they threw him’) or as *warawəwwō* (‘they threw him’), the two single-type collections instead have the more-or-less synonym *wagarəwwō* (same meaning). This adds to the list of examples where the single-type collections agree against the entire corpus of multiple-type collections.

The second point of variation also draws the dividing line between the single- and the multiple-type collections: whereas the former have an anonymous *la-qəddus samā‘t* (‘[they threw] the holy martyr’), the latter consistently have *la-qəddus Pāṇṭalewon* (‘[they threw] holy Pāṇṭalewon’). This might be interpreted as an adaptation of the text to its use as an antiphon, where the narrative context is missing. If so, it is noteworthy that his change did not take place as this text was first adopted for use as an antiphon, but rather within the transmission of the text as an antiphon.

The rest of the points of textual variation are trivial or restricted to individual collections. One of the single-type collections has *ḥəruyu* (‘the [true] chosen one’) against *ḥarāhu* (‘the [true] soldier’) in the other collections. Two of the early collections—the single-type collection in MS GG-187 (Hand C) and the multiple-type collection in the fifteenth-century manuscript EMLL 8678—have *‘Iyasus* (‘Jesus’) against *Krəstos* (‘Christ’) in the rest of the collections, except for the one in MS Tānāsee 172, in which this word is missing completely. One of the single-type collections—the one in MS EMLL 7618—has *wa-ṣarḥat* (‘and it (= the sea?)

¹²⁶⁸ It is unclear if it is Christ or the saint who reproaches the sea.

¹²⁶⁹ Pisani 2006, p. 119 (edition), 156 (Italian translation), § 69.

¹²⁷⁰ Pisani 2006, p. 125 (edition), 159 (Italian translation), § 80.

cried out’) against *wa-ṣoratto* (‘and it (= the sea) carried him’) in the rest of the collections. The reading of MS EML 7618 seems not to make sense in this context.

Based on a comparison between the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) as edited by Pisani 2006 and the attestations of the antiphons, the following observations can be made:

- concerning the initial verb of the antiphon, the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006 attest to the readings *wa-warawəwwo* (‘and they threw him’, four manuscripts), *warawəwwo* (‘they threw him’, one manuscript), and *wa-wagarəwwo* (same meaning, seven manuscripts). The reading *wa-wagarəwwo* is restricted to manuscripts depending on subarchetype *d*, whereas the manuscripts closer to the archetype—of both subarchetype *a* and subarchetype *b*—have *wa-warawəwwo*. This stands in contrast to the situation found in the attestations of the antiphon, where the form *wagarəwwo* appears in the oldest attestations;
- the phrase which appears in the text above as *la-qəddus Pantaŵon za-ba-’amān ḥarāhu la-Krəstos* (‘holy Pantaŵon, the true soldier of Christ’) is missing from § 69 in all the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 (however, as noticed above, the phrase *za-ba-’amān ḥarāhu la-Krəstos* (‘the true soldier of Christ’) instead appears later in the *Life*, in § 80). One might hypothesise that this phrase was added to the quotation as it was adopted for use as an antiphon; alternatively, it could represent a recension of the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* not attested by any of the manuscripts used by Pisani 2006. As mentioned above, this phrase includes the variation between *la-qəddus Pantaŵon* (‘holy Pantaŵon’) in the multiple-type collections against *la-qəddus samā’ t* (‘the holy martyr’) in the single-type collections. As for the appearance of the text in § 80, one of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006—the eighteenth-century manuscript Paris, BnF Éth. d’Abb. 110 (= MS E)—has the reading *la-qəddus Pantaŵon za-ba-’amān ḥarāhu la-Krəstos*; in the rest, the name of the saint is missing. The reading *samā’ t* (‘martyr’) is, however, not attested in any of the manuscripts used by Pisani 2006, nor the variant with *ḥəryu* (‘the [true] chosen one’) in the place of *ḥarāhu* (‘the [true] soldier’), nor the variant with *’Iyasus* (‘Jesus’) instead of *Krəstos* (‘Christ’);
- after the words *gaśśaṣā la-bāḥr* (‘he reproached the sea’), the four manuscripts that do not depend on subarchetype *d* have a phrase *wa-’aḥazā fərhəṭ la-bāḥr* (‘and fear seized the sea’, four manuscripts, with variants). Among the eight manuscripts that do depend on subarchetype *d*, one has instead a phrase *wa-yə’əta gize ’awṣə’atto bāḥr* (‘and in that

moment the sea ejected him’, one manuscript¹²⁷¹), whereas the remaining seven omit this phrase, just like the antiphon in all its attestations;

- all of the eleven usable manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 (in the twelfth manuscript, the word is illegible) have *wa-ṣoratto* (‘and it [= the sea] carried him’), none having *wa-ṣarḥat* (‘and it [= the sea?] cried out’). This supports the hypothesis that the latter reading should be understood as a scribal mistake.

To summarise, the evidence seems to connect the text of the antiphon with the manuscripts of the *Life* dependent on subarchetype *d*. Shared features are the presence of readings including the verb *wagarəwwo* (in both the earliest attestations of the antiphon and in the relevant manuscripts of the *Life*) and the omission of the phrase *wa-’aḥazā fərhat la-bāḥr*. However, the predominance of variants including the verb *warawəwwo* in post-single-type antiphon collections calls for an explanation: could it be that the text of the antiphon was revised based on a manuscript of the *Life* representing the tradition ‘preceding’ subarchetype *d*?

¹²⁷¹ In the apparatus, Pisani 2006 erroneously gives the readings *ወይእቲ፡* (*wa-yə’əti*, ‘and that (nom./gen.)’) for *ወይእተ፡* (*wa-yə’əta*, ‘and that (acc.)’) and *አውፅእዩ፡* (‘*awṣə’ayu* (?), no meaning) for *አውፅእዮ፡* (‘*awṣə’atto*, ‘[the sea] ejected him’; cf. MS Dāgā ’Ēstifānos (Ṭānāsee 121), fol. 44va, ll. 19–20).

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------|------------|----------------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|--------|-----------|
| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | GG-185 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 |
| ወወረውቃ: | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | | | X | X | | X | | |
| ወረውቃ: | | | | | X | | | | | | | | X | X | | X | X | | | | | | |
| ወገርቃ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| ለቅዱስ፡ ጳጳሳዊነት: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^a | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ለቅዱስ፡ ሰማዕት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | |
| ዘበአማን: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በአማን: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሐራሁ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| ኅዳዩ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ክርስቶስ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | | X |
| ኢየሱስ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ውእተ: | X | X | X ^b | X | X | X | X ^b | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X ^c | | |
| ይእተ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | |
| ወይእተ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ወጽረቶ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ወጸርጎት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ባሕርኒ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ባሕር፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | | | | | |

^a MS: ለቅዱስንጳጳስጠሌጠዎን፡.

^b MS: ውእ{ቱ>ቱ}፡.

^c MS: ውእቱ፡.

^d The word ባሕርኒ፡ has been added supralineally.

3.2.3.59 *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*) 020

ወቅዱስስ፡ ጳንጠሌዎን፡ የሐውር፡ ዲበ፡ የብስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይመርሱ፡ ኢየሱስ፡
ክርስቶስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሴብሉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወይብል፡ እገኒ፡ ለከ፡ እግዚአ፡ በኩሉ፡
ልብየ፡ ወእዜኑ፡ ተአምረ፡ ዚአከ፡ እትፌሣሕ፡ ወእትሐሠየ(!)፡ በአድኅኖትከ፡፡
(MS GG-187, fol. 151rb, ll. 31–37)

And Holy Panṭalewon walks on the firm ground, guided by
Jesus Christ, glorifying the Lord and saying: ‘I thank you, O
Lord, with all my heart and I proclaim your wonders! I am glad
and rejoice in your salvation!’

The antiphon *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*) 020 is directly based on a quotation from the *Life of Panṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158),¹²⁷² which itself largely consists of a quotation from Ps. 9:1–2a. It has a long history of attestation, ranging from the single-type collections to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015. In the collection in MS Ṭānāsee 172, it is a later addition.

Disregarding a number of variants which only concern the interchange of prepositions and conjunctions, and variations in number etc. in isolated attestations, the text of the antiphon *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*) 020 varies on a four points.

To begin with, the first word appears in a number of different variants: *wa-qəddusə-ssa* (‘and holy [Panṭalewon]’, in one out of twenty-one collections), *qəddus* (‘holy [Panṭalewon]’, in sixteen out of twenty-one collections, covering the entire time span of attestation), *bəṣu* (‘blessed [Panṭalewon]’), and ‘*abbā* (‘*Abbā* [Panṭalewon]’). This wide range of variation is presumably due to the two factors: a) the semantically vague context, demanding a title fit for a saint, but not necessarily any one specific, and b) the placement of the word in a context where it would generally be rubricated, thus making it especially vulnerable to changes during the copying process.¹²⁷³ The agreement between the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Ethiop. 36, being the only collections with the reading ‘*abbā*, can be noted.¹²⁷⁴

Secondly, there is variation between *yaḥawwər diba yabs* (‘he walks on the firm ground’) and *yaḥawwər diba bāhr* (‘he walks on the sea’). The distribution of these two variants is clearly connected to a diachronic development, in which *yabs* appears in most of the pre-seventeenth-century sources and *bāhr* prevails from the sixteenth century onwards. In one of the fifteenth-century multiple-type collections—the one in MS EMMML 8678—a longer reading is attested, which

¹²⁷² Pisani 2006, pp. 119–120 (edition), 156 (Italian translation), § 70.

¹²⁷³ Especially in earlier manuscripts, where initial rubrication more often concerns the entire first word (see Chapter 4, for example, 4.4.2.4.4).

¹²⁷⁴ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

appears to conflate the two alternatives: *yaḥawwār diba bāḥr kama za-yaḥawwār diba yabs* ('he walks on the sea like one who walks on the firm ground'). More on this variant below.

Thirdly, the word which appears as *ta'āmmāra* ('miracles') in the text above also has a variant *ḥiruta* ('goodness'). Only the former variant is attested in the single-type collections included in the Minor Corpus. In the multiple-type collections between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century, both variants are attested, whereas in the post-seventeenth-century collections, only the variant *ḥiruta* is found.

Fourthly, three of the post-sixteenth-century collections have, as the last word of the antiphon, *ba-hāymānotāka* ('in your faith') against *ba-'adhənotāka* ('in your salvation') in the rest of the collections.

A comparison between the antiphon and the textual passage in the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) which served as its sources allows for the following observations:

- Pisani 2006, in her edition of the *Life*, adopts in the main text the reading *wa-yaḥawwār qəddus Pantaŵon* ('and Holy Pantaŵon walked'), but eight out of twelve manuscripts that she consulted—all those depending on subarchetype *d*—have the same word order as the antiphon: *wa-qəddus Pantaŵon yaḥawwār* (same meaning). None of the manuscripts used by Pisani 2006 have the emphatic particle *-(ə)ssa* attached to the word *qəddus* ('holy') and none of them contain any of the other variants found in the attestations of the antiphon;
- all attestations of the antiphon place the adverbial phrase *diba yabs / bāḥr* ('on the firm ground / the sea') after the verb *yaḥawwār* ('[Holy Pantaŵon] walks'). In the *Life*, however, the corresponding phrase is instead located within the following circumstantial clause, after the words *'ənza yəmarraḥo Krəstos* ('while Christ guided him'). The variant *bāḥr* is not attested in any of the manuscripts of the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) consulted by Pisani 2006. However, in the *Life of Pantaŵon of the Cell* (CAe 1532), there is an episode in which the saint is seen walking on the sea.¹²⁷⁵ It thus seems likely that the reading *bāḥr* derives from contamination from the story of Pantaŵon of the Cell. If this hypothesis is correct, it is a rare example of the conflation of the two saints in the written tradition;
- where the attestations of the antiphon have either *ta'āmmāra zi'aka* ('your wonders') or *ḥiruta zi'aka* ('your goodness'), the manuscripts of the *Life*

¹²⁷⁵ Conti Rossini 1904c, pp. 55–56 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 51 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, p. 315 (edition), 343 (Italian translation), § 122.

consulted by Pisani 2006 have instead *kʷallo ta ʾāmmərika* ('[I proclaim] all your wonders', with different plural forms of *tə ʾmərt*, 'wonder'), *lottu ta ʾāmmərihu* ('[I proclaim] for him his wonders'), or, simply, *ta ʾāmmərihu* ('[I proclaim] his wonders'). None of these readings correspond to the standard text of the Book of Psalms, where this phrase appears as *ʾənaggər kʷallo səbhatika* ('I speak of all your glory'). It is noteworthy that no contamination appears to have taken place, and the origin of the reading with *hiruta* remains obscure;

- corresponding to the variants *ba-ʾadhənotəka* ('[I am glad and rejoice] in your salvation') and *ba-hāymānotəka* ('[I am glad and rejoice] in your faith') in the attestations of the antiphon, the manuscripts of the *Life* uniformly have *bəka* ('[I am glad and rejoice] in you'). This is also the reading found in the standard text of the Book of Psalms. Again, the origins of the readings attested in the antiphon remain arcane.

To summarise, the text of the antiphon *Ānṭalewon mazmur* (*ʾəsmā la-ʾālam*) 020 does not appear to display special affinity with any particular branch of the transmission of the *Life of Ānṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158). On the contrary, the text appears to have been contaminated by a tradition concerning *Ānṭalewon of the Cell*, and several readings within the quotation from Ps. 9:1–2a—the variant *hiruta*, found in a majority of the later attestations of the antiphon; the two variants *ba-ʾadhənotəka* and *ba-hāymānotəka*—lack correspondences both in the documented textual tradition of the *Life of Ānṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) and in the standard version of the biblical text.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|---------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| ወቅዱስስ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ቅዱስ: | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | | X |
| ብፁዕ: | | X | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| አባ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | |
| የሐውር: | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| የሐውሩ: | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ባሕር: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | X | | |
| የብስ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X | ፯ ^a | (X) | | X | X |
| Ø | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | | X | X |
| ከመ: ዘየሐውር: ዲቦ: የብስ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | |
| ይመርሐ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| ይመርሕ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ይሴብሐ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| ይመርሐ: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወይብል: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | | X | X |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|-----|---|---|---|
| እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| እግዚአ፡ | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| Ø | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በኩሉ፡ | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| ወበኩሉ፡ | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ተአምረ፡ | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | | X | | X | | | | X | X |
| ኀሩተ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | | X | (X) | X | | |
| እትፌሳሕ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| ወእትፌሳሕ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | | | | |
| ወእትሐሠይ፡ | X ^c | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በአድኅኖትከ፡ | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X |
| በሃይማኖትከ፡ | | | | | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

^a The original word (የብስ፡?) has been erased and instead, the letters <ብስ> have been written on the line and the letter <C> supralineally.

^b The words ከመ፡ ዘየሐውር፡ ዲቦ፡ የብስ፡ have been marked for deletion.

^c The word እግዚአ፡ has been added supralineally.

^d The letter <ወ> has been deleted.

^e MS: ወ[!]ትሐሠይ፡.

3.2.3.60 *Pantañewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 021

አስተርአዮ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ በአምሳለ፡ እርሜላዎስ፡ ቀሲስ፡ ወይቤሎ፡
 ለጳጳሳዊ፡ ጌር፡ ገብር፡ መእመን፡ ዘበ፡ ሕዳጥ፡ ኮንከ፡ ማእመን፡ ዲበ፡ ብዙኅ፡
 እሠይመክ፡። (MS EMLL 7618, fol. 16ra, ll. 24–28)

He (= Christ) appeared to Holy Pantañewon in the likeness of
 'Ermelāwos the Priest and said to Pantañewon: 'Good (and)
 faithful servant, who has been faithful in a few things, I will put
 you in charge of many things!'

The antiphon *Pantañewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 021 consists of a quotation from the *Life of Pantañewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158),¹²⁷⁶ which in turn largely consists of a quotation from Matt. 25:21 or 25:23. It is attested from the single-type collections to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015.

In the collection in MS EAP432/1/10, a version of this antiphon has been added secondarily in the upper margin. However, the marginal addition only contains the latter part of the antiphon, from the word *wa-yābelo* ('and [he] said to [Pantañewon]') and onwards. This addition has been connected to the beginning of the antiphon *Pantañewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 031 (see 3.2.3.70) by a pointing symbol (⌵)¹²⁷⁷ in the interlinear space after the word *qasis* ('[Ermelāwos] the Priest') in that antiphon. This ingenious way of writing the additional antiphon was possible due to the fact that the antiphons *Pantañewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 021 and *Pantañewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 031 share the same beginning up to (and, in fact, beyond) the word *qasis*.

There are six points of textual variation within the antiphon *Pantañewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 021 which merit discussion. Firstly, three out of the nineteen collections in which the antiphon is attested add an explicit subject to the verb '*astar'ayo* ('he appeared [to Pantañewon]'): in one case, '*Iyasus* ('Jesus'), in two cases *Krastos* ('Christ'). These could be interpreted as attempts to clarify the meaning of the antiphon, but see the comparison of the source text below.

Secondly, there is variation between *la-qəddus Pantañewon* ('[he appeared] to Holy Pantañewon') and *la-'abbā Pantañewon* ('[he appeared] to 'abbā Pantañewon'). Although variation between titles for the saint are frequently encountered in other antiphons, the specific variation between *qəddus* ('holy') and '*abbā* is not attested elsewhere in the studied corpus. Thirdly, the word *wa-yābelo* ('and he said to [Pantañewon]') is missing in the collection in MSS Ethio-SPaRe

¹²⁷⁶ Pisani 2006, p. 122 (edition), 157 (Italian translation), §§ 73–74.

¹²⁷⁷ This symbol is sometimes referred to as a *tamallas* sign. According to Mersha Alehegne 2011a, it is known within the Ethiopic manuscript culture as a *mələkkət* (Mersha Alehegne 2011a, p. 155), which use of the term should not be confused with its use in connection to the interlinear musical notation (see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.5).

QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in other cases display related readings.¹²⁷⁸ The absence of a verb of saying—which, also in these two collections, has a parallel in the antiphon *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032 (3.2.3.71)—results in a text that feels mutilated.

Fourthly, a majority of the attestations, including those in the single-type collections and in the manuscripts of the last centuries, have a reading *la-Panṭalewon* (‘[and he said] to Panṭalewon’), designating him as the object of the verb *wa-yabelo* (‘and he said’). However, in five attestations—including those in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36—the word lacks the preposition *la-* and, consequently, must be interpreted rather as an initial vocative within the direct speech: ‘and he said: “Panṭalewon [...]”’.

Fifthly, there is relatively much variation in the exact formulation of the words which appear above as *her gabr maʾman* (‘good (and) faithful servant’). The dominant variant, which is the only one attested in the post-seventeenth-century collections, is *gabr her wa-məʾman* (‘good and faithful servant’, thirteen out of nineteen collections). In the earlier collections, the variants *her gabr məʾman* (same meaning, one collection), *her gabr wa-məʾman* (same meaning, one collection), *gabr her wa-gabr məʾman* (‘good servant and faithful servant’, three collections), and *her wa-məʾman* (‘good and faithful one’, one collection, later changed into *gabr her wa-məʾman*) are also attested.

Lastly, within the quotation from the Gospel of Matthew, two variants are attested: either the good servant is said to have been faithful *ba-ḥədāṭ* (‘in little’) or *ba-wəḥud* (same meaning). The reading with *ḥədāṭ* is attested in one of the single-type collections and in the first layer of one of the fifteenth-century multiple-type collections (later modified into *wəḥud*). The rest of the collections have the reading with *wəḥud*.

Based on a comparison between the attestations of the antiphon *Panṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 021 and the corresponding phrase in the *Life of Panṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), the following observations can be made:

- the twelve manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006 all have *Krastos* (‘Christ’) as the explicit subject of the verb *ʾastarʾayo* (‘[Christ] appeared to him’). This reading is only attested in two of the attestations of the antiphon. Perhaps, one thus has to presume that the subject was deleted as part of the adaptation of this text into an antiphon. This is diametrically opposed to the kind of clarifying additions that have been observed in other cases;¹²⁷⁹

¹²⁷⁸ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

¹²⁷⁹ Cf. the discussions in 3.4.1.2.

- on the other hand, the verb *ʿastar* *ʿayo* lacks an explicit object in all the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006. All attestations of the antiphon, in contrast, have either *la-qəddus Paṇṭalewon* (‘[he appeared] to Holy Paṇṭalewon’) or *la-ʿabbā Paṇṭalewon* (‘[he appeared] to ʿabbā Paṇṭalewon’) as the object of this verb. Perhaps, metrical considerations coupled with the well-attested need to clarify grammatical roles led—in the most commonly attested text of the antiphon—to the exclusion of the subject (*Krəstos*) and the inclusion of an object (*la-qəddus* / *la-ʿabbā Paṇṭalewon*);
- whereas the attestations of the antiphon have either *la-Paṇṭalewon* (‘[and he said] to Paṇṭalewon’) as the object of the verb of saying or *Paṇṭalewon* (‘[and he said:] “Paṇṭalewon [...]”’) as a vocative within the direct speech, the archetype of the edited version of the *Life*, it appears, had two repetitions of the name, either first as object to the verb of saying and then as a vocative (this is the case in two of the manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *b*), or twice as a vocative (this is the case in the two manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *a*). The double repetition of the name is not found in any of the attestations of the antiphon. Seven of the eight manuscripts dependent on the subarchetype *d*—which, in turn, depends on subarchetype *b*—lack the vocative, having only a single *la-Paṇṭalewon*. The eighth has only a single *Paṇṭalewon*. Thus, it appears that the text of the antiphon is closest to the manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *d*. However, it should not be excluded that the simplification from a double to a single repetition of the name Paṇṭalewon could have taken place independently in the text of the antiphon and in one strand of the transmission of the *Life*;
- the readings of the antiphon attested in the single-type collections—*her gabr məʿman* (‘good (and) faithful servant’) and *her gabr wa-məʿman* (‘good and faithful servant’)—are not found in any of the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006. In three out of the twelve manuscripts—those which, according to the reconstruction by Pisani 2006, depend on subarchetype *b*, but excluding those that depend on subarchetype *f* and onwards, and, curiously, also MS Dabra Ğammadu EMMML 6965 (= MS K), which according to the reconstruction branched off from subarchetype *c*—the word *gabr* is found, but placed before the adjective *her*. The rest of the manuscripts—i.e. the two manuscripts that depend on subarchetype *a*, the six manuscripts that depend on subarchetype *f*, and the manuscript MS Dabra Ğammadu EMMML 6965 (= MS K)—lack the word *gabr* altogether. It is not difficult to imagine that it was added to the antiphon based on the text which appears in the Gospel;

- the variation within the quotation from the Gospel of Matthew between *ḥədāṭ* and *wəḥud* is attested also in the *Life of Pantalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158): nine out of the twelve manuscripts used by Pisani 2006—including both manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *a*—have a reading with *ḥədāṭ*, whereas the remaining three have a reading with *wəḥud*. These variants are further, according to the classification of the text suggested by Zuurmond 2001, one of the isoglosses that distinguish between the different strands of the Gospel text: Texts B and D have *ḥədāṭ*, Texts A and E have *wəḥud*, whereas Text C has one variant on each occasion.¹²⁸⁰

To summarise, there are two changes—the deletion of *Krastos* (‘Christ’) as the explicit subject of the verb *’astar’ayo* (‘[Christ] appeared to him’) and the addition of an object to the same verb—which concern all of the attestations of the antiphon, and none of the witnesses to the *Life*. The rest of the variation takes place within the quotation from the Gospel of Matthew, and it appears that both certain readings in the attestations of the antiphon and in the attestations of the *Life* have been contaminated by the text of the Gospel.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|----------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| አስተርአዮ፡ ፀ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | – | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X |
| አስተርአዮ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ | | | | | | | | – | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| አስተርአዮ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ | | | | | | | | – | | | | | X | | | | | X | |
| ለቅዱስ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | – | X | | X | X | | | | | X | X | X |
| ለአባ፡ | | | | | | | | – | | X | | | X | X | X | X | | | |
| ወይቤሎ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ፀ | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | |
| ለጳጳሱ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | | | | | | X | X | | X | X |
| ለአባ፡ ጳጳሱ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ጳጳሱ፡ | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | | X ^a | | | X ^b | | |
| ኃር፡ ገብር፡ ምእመን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ኃር፡ ገብር፡ ወምእመን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ገብር፡ ኃር፡ ወምእመን፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (?) ^c | | X ^d | X | | X | | X | | X | | |
| ገብር፡ ኃር፡ ወገብር፡ ምእመን፡ | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | X | | X ^e | | | |
| ፀ ኃር፡ ወምእመን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^f | | | | | | | |

¹²⁸⁰ Cf. Zuurmond 2001, pp. 256–257 (Texts A and B), 390–391 (Texts D and E), 419 (Text C).

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|
| ዘበሐዳጥ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| በሐዳጥ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | ግፍ | | |
| ዘበውሐዳጥ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | |

^a Possibly, the letter <ሐ> has been added supralineally before the word.

^b The letter <ሐ> has been added supralineally before the word.

^c The reading of the manuscript is barely legible.

^d The word ግበር፡ has been added supralineally after the initial <ወ> in the word ወግግሐዳጥ፡.

^e The word ወግግሐዳጥ፡ has been marked for deletion.

^f The word ግበር፡ has been added supralineally before the word ኃር፡.

^g The word has been rewritten. It appears that it originally read በሐዳጥ፡. Secondly, the letter <በ> has been erased and the letters <ወ> have been written above it, the letter <ሐ> has been modified into <ዳ>, and the letter <ጥ> has been erased.

3.2.3.61 *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 022

ይእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ተባህሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡ በበይናቲሆሙ፡ ሀቡ፡ ንሰግድ፡ ሎቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡
ብእሲ፡ ከመ፡ ይጸሊ፡ በእንቲእነ፡ ወያስተስሪ፡ ኃጣውኢነ፡ ንሕነኒ፡ ንእመን፡
በኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ (MS EMMML 7618, fol. 16ra, ll. 28–32)

At that time, the people said among themselves: ‘Let us fall
down before this man, so that he may pray for us and intercede
that our sins may be forgiven. Let us too believe in Jesus Christ!’

The text of the antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 022 is directly derived from the *Life of Pantalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²⁸¹ It is attested in three collections in the Minor Corpus: the two single-type collections of *mazmur*-family antiphons in MSS EMMML 7618 and GG-187, and the multiple-type collection in the nineteenth-century manuscript EMMML 7285.¹²⁸²

The text varies in details between the three attestations. The collections in MSS EMMML 7618 and EMMML 7285 agree in having, as the first word, *yə’əta* (‘at that [time]’), against *wa-yə’əta* (‘and at that [time]’) in the collection in MS GG-187. Corresponding to the word which appears as *ḥatāwə’ina* (‘[intercede that] our sins [may be forgiven]’) in the text above (taken from MS EMMML 7618), both the collections in MSS EMMML 7285 and GG-187 have unique readings: *ḥaṭi’atana* (‘our sin’, in the singular) and *ba-’ənta ḥatāwə’ina* (‘for the sake of our sins’), respectively. At the beginning of the last phrase of the antiphon, the collections in MSS EMMML 7618 and EMMML 7285 once more agree in having an asyndetic *nəḥna-ni* (‘we, too [believe / let us believe]’), against *wa-nəḥna-ni* (‘and we, too [let us believe]’) in the collection in MS GG-187. However, in the next word, the collections in MSS EMMML 7285 and GG-187 agree against the collection in MS EMMML 7618 in having a subjunctive *nə’mān* (‘let us believe’) rather than an imperfective *na’ammān* (‘we believe’). Finally, at the end of the clause, the two single-type collections agree in having *ba-’Iyasus Krəstos* (‘in Jesus Christ’) against a simpler *ba-Krəstos* (‘in Christ’) in the collection in MS EMMML 7285. Ultimately, there are exclusive points of agreement and disagreement between each pair of collections.

Comparing the text of the antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 022 with the source text in the *Life of Pantalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), the following features can be observed:

- the words *yə’əta gize* (‘at that time’) are not attested in any of the manuscripts used by Pisani 2006. It is possible that it reflects a contextualisation of the quotation. The same goes for the word *ḥəzb* (‘the

¹²⁸¹ Pisani 2006, p. 133 (edition), 162 (Italian translation), § 93.

¹²⁸² For a general discussion of the relationship between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.2.

people’), which does not appear in any of the manuscripts used by Pisani 2006;

- while most of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 (nine out of eleven, in which the words are legible) have *la-zə bə’əsi*, rather than *la-zəntu bə’əsi* as in the antiphon, two have the same form as the antiphon. The reading *la-zəntu bə’əsi* is found in two of the manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *b*, but the majority of the manuscripts belonging to this strand of the transmission have *la-zə bə’əsi*;
- in what follows, the text of the antiphon displays a special affinity with one of the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006: the fifteenth-century manuscript Ṭəgor Māryām, EMML 6903 (= MS H). In the rest of the manuscripts of the *Life*, there is a phrase between the first *kama yəṣalli ba-’ənti’ana* (‘so that he may pray for us’) and the word which in the antiphon appears as *wa-yāstasri* (‘and intercede that [our sins] may be forgiven’). This additional phrase—which in the main text on Pisani’s edition appears as follows: ወሰገዱ፡ ሎቱ፡ ወይቤልዎ፡ ናስተበቅዕኩ፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጸሊ፡ በእንቲእነ፡ (‘and they fell down before him and said to him: “We entreat you, servant of the Lord: pray for us [...]”’)—is missing both in the text preserved in MS Ṭəgor Māryām, EMML 6903 and in the antiphon. However, there is a possible text-critical explanation for this, as the copyist seems to have jumped from one occurrence of the word *ba-’ənti’ana* to the next, skipping what was between them, thus omitting the phrase by homoteleuton. Potentially, the omission can thus be classified as polygenetic. It is also possible that the text of the antiphon was consciously shortened;¹²⁸³
- after the second *ba-’ənti’ana* and corresponding to *wa-yāstasri* (‘and intercede that [our sins] may be forgiven’) in the antiphon, nine out of the eleven manuscripts of the *Life* have *kama yəsray* (‘that he may forgive’), one has *wa-kama yəsray* (‘and that he may forgive’), and one has *kama tāstasri* (‘that you may intercede that [our sins] may be forgiven’). The last—attested in MS London, BL Or. 689 (= MS C)—would seem to be closest to the text of the antiphon, as it uses the same verb, but there is no perfect correspondence;
- corresponding to the simple *ḥaṭāwə’ina* / *ḥaṭi’atana* (‘our sins’ / ‘our sin’) of the attestations of the antiphon, the text of the *Life*, in all witnesses where the text is legible, adds a qualifier *kʷəllo* (‘all’) and a relative clause *za-gabarna lā’leka* (‘which we have committed against you’, with

¹²⁸³ For another case of possible shortening, see the discussion of the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 016.

variants). Perhaps, these extra elements were deleted in the process of turning the text into an antiphon;

- both the subjunctive *nə'man* ('let us believe') and the imperfective *na'ammən* ('we believe') are attested in the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 with about the same frequency. They are not unequivocally ascribable to a specific branch of the transmission, although the imperfective seems to be restricted to manuscripts derived from the subarchetype *d*. The word *nəhna-ni* ('we too'), appearing in a majority of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 but missing from MS Ṭəgor Māryām, EMMML 6903 (= MS H), is in the *Life* always placed after the verb;
- the reading *ba-'Iyasus Krastos* ('in Jesus Christ'), found in both the single-type collections, is unattested in the legible manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006, which have *ba-Krastos* ('in Christ') or, in one case, *'amlākəka* ('your God').

Summarising the results of the comparison, it appears that none of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 could have been the direct source of the text of the antiphon. Presumably, the direct Vorlage shared the homoteleutonic omission with MS Ṭəgor Māryām, EMMML 6903 (= MS H), while also having the word *nəhna-ni* ('we too').

| | EMML 7285 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 |
|---------------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| ይእተ: | X | | X |
| ወይእተ: | | X | |
| ኅጣውኢነ: | | | X |
| በእነተ: ኅጣውኢነ: | | X | |
| ኅጢአተነ: | X | | |
| ንሕነኒ: | X | | X |
| ወንሕነኒ: | | X | |
| ንእመን: | | | X |
| ነእምን: | X | X | |
| በኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: | | X | X |
| በክርስቶስ: | X | | |

3.2.3.62 *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 023

አንቀ(!)ዕደወ፡ ሰማየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጳጳሳ፡ ወይቤ፡ እግዚእየ፡ //ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡
ፈጽሞ፡ ሊተ፡ ፍትወትየ፡ በዝየ፡ (MS GG-187 (Hand C), fol. 151rb, l.
46– 151va, l. 2)

Holy Pantaŵewon looked up into heaven and said: ‘My Lord
Jesus Christ, fulfil my desire here!’

Like the antiphon *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 022, the antiphon *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 023 is only attested in three manuscripts in the Minor Corpus: two of the single-type collections and the multiple-type collection in the nineteenth-century manuscript EMM 7285.¹²⁸⁴ Again, it consists of a direct quotation from the *Life of Pantaŵewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²⁸⁵ Within the three attestations of the antiphon *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 023 in the Minor Corpus, there are no points of textual variation. Comparing the text of the antiphon with the source text in the *Life of Pantaŵewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), however, a number of observations can be made:

- the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 all have *wəsta samāy* (‘into heaven’) instead of the simple accusative *samaya* (‘heaven’) in the attestations of the antiphon. For a discussion of this variation in various antiphons based on quotations from the *Life of Pantaŵewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), see 3.2.4.5;
- the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 display two variants of the beginning of Pantaŵewon’s prayer: *’Ēgzi ’āya wa- ’amlākiya* (‘my Lord and my God’, nine manuscripts) and *’Ēgzi ’āya wa- ’amlākiya ’Iyasus Krastos* (‘my Lord and my God Jesus Christ’, three manuscripts, all of which depend on subarchetype *e*, although other manuscript depending on this subarchetype have the other reading). None of them corresponds exactly to the reading uniformly found in the attestations of the antiphon, i.e. *’Ēgzi ’āya ’Iyasus Krastos* (‘my Lord Jesus Christ’);
- the reading *fətwatəya* (‘my desire’), uniformly found in the attestations of the antiphon, is found in nine out of the twelve manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006. The remaining three, which all depend on subarchetype *g* (although other manuscripts depending on this subarchetype do not share this reading) instead have *təkkāzəya* (‘my sorrow, need’).

To summarise, the text of the antiphon *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 022 does not contain any features which connect it to any particular branch of the textual transmission of the *Life of Pantaŵewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).

¹²⁸⁴ For a general discussion of the relationship between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.2.

¹²⁸⁵ Pisani 2006, p. 133 (edition), 162 (Italian translation), §§ 93–94.

3.2.3.63 *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 024

መጽሐፍ ቃል፡ እምስማይ፡ ዘይብል፡ ጳ[!]ጠሌዎን፡ ገብርየ፡ ዘኣፈቅር፡ ተፈጸመ፡
ለክ፡ ፍትወትክ፡ ናሁ፡ ተርኅወ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወይፀንሐክ፡ ሰራዊተ፡ መላእክት፡
ወድልው፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ መንበርክ፡ ወጸጋ፡ ረድኤት፡ ተውህበ፡ ለክ፡ እምላዕሉ፡።
(MS EMMML 7618, fol. 16ra, ll. 35–41)

A voice came from heaven that said: 'Pantalewon, my servant, whom I love, your wish has been fulfilled for you. Behold, the heavens have been opened, and the hosts of angels await you. Your throne is prepared in heaven, and the grace of help has been given to you from on high!'

The antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 024 is based on a quotation from the *Life of Pantalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²⁸⁶ It is attested during the entirety of the studied time period. In seventeen out of the twenty multiple-type collections in which the antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 024 is found, it is marked as a *məsbāk* antiphon, either a) only by the placement at the beginning of the commemoration, or b) by both its placement and an antiphon-type indication. Only in the earliest multiple-type collections, alternative *məsbāk* antiphons are found.¹²⁸⁷

Several of the points of textual variation concern only the presence versus absence of conjunctions, differences in number, or omissions restricted to individual collections. Apart from these, there are six points of textual variation that merit discussion.

Firstly, next to the reading which appears in the text above as *samāyāt* ('the heavens [have been opened]'), there are three other variants: *samāy* ('heaven [has been opened]'), *hawāhəwa samāyāt* ('the gates of the heavens [have been opened]'), and *hawāhəwa samāy* ('the gates of heaven [have been opened]'). The simple plural—*samāyāt*—is found in the two single-type collections and in the first layer of one sixteenth-century multiple-type collection, although, in the latter, the word *hawāhəwa* was later added in front of it. The simple singular—*samāy*—is found in three pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, although in one of these, the reading was secondarily changed into *hawāhəwa samāyāt*. Two other pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections have, in their present state, a singular *samāy*, but in both cases, a word has been erased before it, presumably *hawāhəwa*. As a contrast to this, all post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections have the reading *hawāhəwa samāyāt*. This is a clear example of how the text appears to have stabilised at some point between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

¹²⁸⁶ Pisani 2006, pp. 133–134 (edition), 162 (Italian translation), § 94.

¹²⁸⁷ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 004 and *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 012.

In almost all other points of variation, there is a dichotomy between, on the one hand, the single-type collections and, on the other hand, the multiple-type collections. As a second point of textual variation, the single-type collections place the verb *yāṣannəḥuka* (‘await you’) before its subject *sarāwita malā’əkt* (‘the hosts of angels’), whereas the later collections have the opposite word order. Thirdly, the single-type collections have *wa-dəlləw* (‘and [your throne] is prepared’) against a variant without *wa-* (‘and’) in the later collections.

A fourth point of textual variation, restricted to one of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, is the variant *māḥdarəka* (‘your abode’) against *manbarəka* (‘your throne’) in the rest of the collections. Fifthly, the single-type collections again contrast with the multiple-type collections. They include the words *wəsta samāy* (‘[your throne is prepared] in heaven’), which are missing from all attestations in multiple-type collections. Lastly, once more, only the two single-type collections have the word *’əm-lā’lu* (‘from on high’).

The text of the antiphon differs on a number of points from the source text found in the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) as edited by Pisani 2006:

- the manuscripts of the *Life* systematically have *wa-maṣ’a* (‘and [a voice] came’) against *maṣ’a* (‘[a voice] came’) in the collections included in the Minor Corpus. This may be seen as an adaptation of the text to its new, free-standing nature as an antiphon, although there are also numerous cases in which an initial *wa-* (‘and’) has been retained;
- among the manuscripts of the *Life*, the word *laka* after the word *tafaṣṣama* (‘[your wish has been fulfilled] for you’)—ubiquitous in the attestations of the antiphon—is only attested in the manuscripts hypothetically derived from the subarchetype *d*;
- a reading with *nāhu* (‘behold’) or *wa-nāhu* (‘and behold’)—found in all attestations of the antiphon—is only attested in two of the twelve witnesses consulted by Pisani 2006: MSS ’Astit Kidāna Məḥrat, EMMML 2514 (AD 1382/1388; = MS G) and Paris, BnF Éth. d’Abb. 110 (eighteenth century; = E). Both of these—according to the reconstruction of the textual transmission by Pisani 2006—are derived from subarchetype *d*, but are distinct from the manuscripts derived from subarchetype *f*;
- similarly, the word *ḥawāḥəwa* is only attested in MSS ’Astit Kidāna Məḥrat, EMMML 2514 and Paris, BnF Éth. d’Abb. 110 (= MSS G and E). However, as described above, this reading is restricted to some of the antiphon collections in the corpus;
- in the textual transmission of the *Life*, the reading with a plural *samāyāt* (‘the heavens [have been opened]’) dominates, the singular *samāy* (‘heaven [has been opened]’) only being attested in one of the consulted

manuscripts (the fifteenth-century manuscript Ṭəgor Māryām, EMMML 6903 = MS H);

- the placement of the word *wa-yəṣannəḥuka* (‘await you’) before its subject *sarāwita malā’əkt* (‘the hosts of angels’), found in the single-type-collection attestations of the antiphon, is only found in one of the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006: the eighteenth-century manuscript London, BL Or. 687–688 (= MS B). The rest of the manuscripts of the *Life* have the same word order as the multiple-type collections;
- the readings *wəsta samāy* (‘[your throne is prepared] in heaven’) and *’əm-lā’lu* (‘from on high’), both of which are only attested in the single-type collections, are missing from all manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006. This is confounding, and one wonders if they may have been added as the text was adapted for use as an antiphon. Alternatively, the earliest attestations of the antiphon may be based on a branch of the textual transmission of the *Life* that is not attested in the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006. If so, does the disappearance of these readings in the transmission of the antiphon in multiple-type collections indicate that the text was revised based on a later manuscript of the *Life*?

To summarise the observations made above, it appears that the text of the antiphon is derived from a Vorlage placed between subarchetype *d* and subarchetype *f*. Characteristics of this position in the *stemma* of the *Life* include the inclusion of an interjection *nāhu* / *wa-nāhu* in front of the word *tarəḥwa* and the widespread attestation of readings that include the word *ḥawāḥəwa* (although this word is missing from the attestations in single-type collections). At the same time, it is possible that the earliest attestations of the antiphon display connections to a strand of the transmission of the *Life* not consulted by Pisani 2006—as exemplified by the (admittedly rather generic) readings *wəsta samāy* and *’əm-lā’lu* in the single-type collections—and that the characteristics of this text type were later deleted.

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| | MD 2015 | MD 1994 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 |
|----------------------|---------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| ዘይብል: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ተፈጸመ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| ተፈጸመ፡፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ናሁ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወናሁ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ተርጎሞ: Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ተርጎሞ: ለከ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ሰማያት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | | X | X |
| ሰማይ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | X ^c | | | | |
| ኅዋሃወ: ሰማያት: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | |
| ኅዋሃወ: ሰማይ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | X ^d | | |
| ወይጸንሑክ: ሰራዊተ: መላእክት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ይጸንሑክ: ሰራዊተ: መላእክት: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ሰራዊተ: መላእክት: ይጸንሑክ: | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^c | X | X | X | | |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| ሰራዊተ፡ መላእክት፡ ይጸንሱ፡ | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወድልው፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | |
| ድልው፡ | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | X ^f | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | |
| Ø | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |
| መንበርክ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ማኅደርክ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ወጸጋ፡ ረድኤት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ጸጋ፡ ወረድኤት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| ጸጋ፡ ረድኤት፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | |
| ጸጋ፡ ረዳ(?)ኢ(?)ት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| እምላሰሉ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | |
| Ø | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |

^a The word ዘይብል፡ has been added supralineally.

^b The word ኃዋኃ(!)ው፡ has been added supralineally before the word ሰማይ፡.

^c The word ሐዋኅው፡ has been added supralineally before the word ሰማይ፡, and the letter <ት> has been added after it.

^d One word, presumably ኅዋኅው፡, has been erased before the word ሰማይ፡.

^e MS: ሰራዊተ፡ መላእክት፤ ይጸንሱ፡ ከ፡

^f The word ድልው፡ has been added supralineally.

3.2.3.64 *Pantaŕlewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 025

ወጳንጠሌዎንስ፡ ብእሲ፡ ፍጹም፡ ውእቱ፡ በስብሐቲሁ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡
ምሉእ፡ ውእቱ፡ ወዝጉብ፡ ሃይማኖተ፡ (MS GG-187 (Hand C), fol.
148rb, ll. 20–23)

And Pantaŕlewon was a perfect man in the glory of Jesus Christ.
He was full and replete with faith!

The antiphon *Pantaŕlewon mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 025 is one of the *mazmur*-family antiphons only attested in the single-type collections in MSS EMMML 7618 and GG-187, and in the multiple-type collection in the nineteenth-century manuscript EMMML 7285.¹²⁸⁸ It is based on a quotation from the *Life of Pantaŕlewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²⁸⁹

Within the attestations of the antiphon, there is only one point of textual variation: the nineteenth-century collection in MS EMMML 7285 has *məlu’ wə’ətu mazgaba hāymānot* (‘he is full of the treasure of faith’) against *məlu’ wə’ətu wa-zəgub hāymānota* (‘he was full and replete of faith’) in the single-type collections.

A comparison between the text of the antiphon and the parallel text in the *Life of Pantaŕlewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) allows for the following observations:

- the word *bə’əsi* (‘man’) is not found in any of the twelve manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006. One wonders if it might have been added to the text as it was adapted for use as an antiphon. Alternatively, it might represent a strand of the transmission of the *Life* unknown to Pisani 2006;
- all twelve manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006 have *la-Krəstos* (‘[the glory] of Christ’) against *la-’Iyasus Krəstos* (‘[the glory] of Jesus Christ’) in the attestations of the antiphon. There is no immediate explanation for this discrepancy;
- all but one of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have a conjunction *wa-* (‘and’) in front of the word *məlu’* (‘full’). This helps clarifying the boundaries between the two clauses, which in the text of the antiphon is less clear;¹²⁹⁰

¹²⁸⁸ For a general discussion of the relationship between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.2.

¹²⁸⁹ Pisani 2006, p. 101 (edition), 146 (Italian translation), § 34.

¹²⁹⁰ However, in the collection in MS EMMML 7285—the only attestation of this antiphon which is notated with *mələkkət*—the last letter of the word *Krəstos* (‘Christ’) is notated with the conventional sign *’anbər*, whose function is to ‘mark [musical] phrase endings’ (cf. Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, pp. 104–105). This supports the hypothesis that the clauses should be divided in this way also in the antiphon (cf. the translation above).

- the variation between *mazgaba hāymānot* (‘[he is full of] the treasure of faith’) and *wa-zəgub hāymānota* (‘[he was full] and replete of faith’) is reflected also in the manuscripts of the *Life*. Six out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006—those dependent on subarchetype *d*, but excluding those dependent on subarchetype *m*—display readings with *zəgub*, whereas the remaining six, including both the manuscripts dependent of subarchetype *a* as well as the manuscripts closest to subarchetype *b*, have readings with *mazgaba*. Thus, the readings with *zəgub* are restricted to a relatively ‘late’ branch of the transmission. This stands in contrast to the attestations in the antiphon, where it is the reading attested in both of the single-type collections.

To summarise, the text of the antiphon does not display features connecting it with any particular branch of the manuscript transmission of the *Life of Pantaŕlewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158); rather, different attestations of the antiphon agree with different strands of the transmission of the *Life*. In addition, some of the features common to all three attestations of the antiphon are unattested in the manuscripts of the *Life*.

3.2.3.65 Pantaŕlewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*) 026

ቅዱስ፡ ጳንጥሌዎን፡ መልክ፡ ለ(!)ዕሌሁ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ወወሀበ፡ ስብሐተ፡
ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ኅቡ(?)ረ፡ በኣሐዱ፡ ቃል። (MS GG-187 (Hand C), fol.
148rb, ll. 23–25)

Holy Pantaŕlewon was filled with joy. He gave glory to the Lord
with one voice!

Like the preceding one, the antiphon Pantaŕlewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*) 026 is only attested in the single-type collections in MSS EML 7618 and GG-187, and in the multiple-type collection in the nineteenth-century manuscript EML 7285.¹²⁹¹ Again, it consists of a quotation from the *Life of Pantaŕlewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹²⁹²

There is one single point of variation in the attestations of the antiphon: whereas the collection in MS GG-187 has a singular *wa-wahaba* (‘and he gave [glory]’), the collections in MSS EML 7285 and EML 7618 have a plural *wa-wahabu* (‘and they gave [glory]’), apparently referring to Pantaŕlewon and his father (see below).

A comparison with the text of *Life of Pantaŕlewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) edited by Pisani 2006 allows for the following observations:

¹²⁹¹ For a general discussion of the relationship between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.2.

¹²⁹² Pisani 2006, pp. 101-102 (edition), 147 (Italian translation), § 36.

- all twelve manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006 have either *fəśśəḥā* ‘*abiy*’ or ‘*abiy fəśśəḥā*’ (‘great joy’) against *fəśśəḥā* (‘joy’) without any attribute in all three attestations of the antiphon;
- in all the manuscripts of the *Life*, the sentence which constitutes the second part of the antiphon appears in a substantially different form. The verb *wa-wahaba* (‘and he gave’) is always in the singular, clearly with Pāntalewon as its subject, and instead of the adverb *ḥəbura* (‘together’), the *Life* has a causal clause ‘*əśma ba-’aḥadu nagar meṭo la-’abuhu*’ (‘for through one single utterance he had converted his father’, and similar). The reading *ba-’aḥadu qāl* (‘through one single word’) appears as a variant to *ba-’aḥadu nagar* in the *Life*, but only in two out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006: MSS London, BL Or. 687–688 and London, BL Or. 689 (= MSS B and C), which both, according to the reconstruction by Pisani 2006, depend on subarchetype *m*. It is noteworthy that the characteristic features of the text of the antiphon—the third person plural subject of *wa-wahabu* (in two out of three attestations), the addition of the adverb *ḥəbura*, and the deletion of the major part of the causal clause—results in a change of meaning of the words *ba-’aḥadu qāl*: instead of referring to the manner in which Pāntalewon managed to convert his father to Christianity, in the antiphon it refers to the way in which they jointly glorified God. This seems to point towards a conscious redaction of the text attested in the *Life*. As for the Vorlage, the presence of the expression *ba-’aḥadu qāl* clearly connects the text of the antiphon with the manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *m*. However, it is difficult to determine the direction of the influence.

| | EMML 7285 | GG-187 | EMML 7618 |
|-------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| ወወሃቡ: | X | | X |
| ወወሃቡ: | | X | |

3.2.3.66 Pāntalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 027a, 027b

ጼና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለጳንጠሌዮን፡ ከመ፡ ጼና፡ ስኒን፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ዘመኔላት፡ ዘወረደ፡
ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ ከመ፡ ይርአይ፡ ስነ፡ ጽጌዖት፡ ውስተ፡ አብዮተ፡ አፈው፡ ኀበ፡ ከርቤ፡
ወአልው፡ (MS EMML 4667, fol. 15rb, ll. 11–14)

The scent of the garment of Pāntalewon is like the scent of frankincense, his fine linen garment which descended into

Paradise, so that he may see the beauty of the flowers, in the houses of spices, where there is myrrh and aloe!

The antiphons *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*) 027a and 027b primarily consist of the frequently recurring phrase about the garment of *Ġanṭalewon*, which appears in the *Life of Ġanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532).¹²⁹³ To this have been added two (further) quotations from the Song of Songs: *wəsta ’abyāta ’afaw* (‘into the houses of spices’; Cant. 6:2) and *karbe wa-’alwa* (‘myrrh and aloe’; Cant. 4:14).¹²⁹⁴ In the collection in MS *Ṭānāsee* 172, this antiphon is a later addition.

Disregarding the variation between *Ġanṭalewon* and *’Abbā Ġanṭalewon*, and a number of cases in which isolated manuscripts repeat or leave out a word, there are only two points of textual variation. Firstly, the single-type collection in MS GG-187 has *ḥaba ṣageyāt* (‘where [there are] flowers’) where the rest of the collections have *kama yər’ay śəna ṣageyāt* (‘so that he may see the beauty of the flowers’). The phrase *kama yər’ay śəna ṣageyāt* also appears in two other antiphons included in the corpus: in the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon ’Ġgzi’abəher nagśa* 001, where the phrase appears without any textual variation, and in the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon salām* 003, where it appears in variation with the phrase *ḥaba ṣageyāt*, exactly as in the antiphons *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*) 027a and 027b. Whereas, in the attestations of the antiphons *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*) 027a and 027b, the variant *ḥaba ṣageyāt* is restricted to one early attestation—the only attestation in a single-type collection—the variant *ḥaba ṣageyāt* is well represented in the attestations of the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon salām* 003, even up to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 (see 3.2.3.27).

Secondly, two collections—those in MSS EAP432/1/10 and EMML 2542—have *wəsta ’afaw* (‘in the spices’) against *wəsta ’abyāta ’afaw* (‘in the houses of spices’) in the rest of the collections. Given that these two collections do not display textual similarities in other cases, one wonders if this could be a case of simple omission which was accidentally occurred twice in the history of transmission of this antiphon.

¹²⁹³ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 51 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 47 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, p. 309 (edition), 338 (Italian translation), § 87.

¹²⁹⁴ For parallels, where the text of an antiphon also begins with the phrase about the garment, then concludes with another (biblical) quotation, see the discussions of the antiphons *Ġanṭalewon ’Ġgzi’abəher nagśa* 001, *Ġanṭalewon salām* 003, *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la-’ālam*) 007a, 007b; *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la-’ālam*) 028.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| GG-187 (A) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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^a The word አባ፡ has been added supralineally after the letter <ለ>.

^b The word ለአባ፡ has been added supralineally.

^c The word አባ፡ has been marked for deletion.

^d An illegible word corresponding to about three letters (ለአባ፡?) has been deleted and the letter <ለ> has been added in front of the word ጳጳሳዊ፡.

^e The word ስ፡ has been added supralineally.

^f MS: [...].

3.2.3.67 *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘asma la- ‘ālam) 028

ጼና፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ከመ፡ ጼና፡ ስኒን፡ አልባሲሁ፡ ዘሚላት፡
ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ በመስቀሉ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ገብረ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ (MS Ṭānāsee
172, fol. 13vb, ll. 27–32)

The scent of the garment of ‘*Abbā* Pantalewon is like the scent of frankincense, his fine linen garment which descended into Paradise. Through his cross, Christ effected salvation!

The antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘asma la- ‘ālam) 028 is based on the frequently recurring phrase about the garment of Pantalewon, which appears in the *Life of Pantalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532).¹²⁹⁵ For further discussion of this topos, see 3.2.4.4. To this quotation, a new ending has been added.¹²⁹⁶

The textual variants are minor. In the earliest attestation, found in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, the initial word *ṣenā* (‘the scent’) is missing, presumably by mistake. There is the common variation between ‘*Abbā Pantalewon* and *Pantalewon*, with both variants appearing both as the first textual layer and as the second. In the attestation in *Mashafa Dəggwā* 2015, the phrase *zawarada wəsta gannat* (‘which descended into Paradise’) is repeated twice, but only on the occasion it has been furnished with *mələkkət*.

Unsurprisingly, the majority of the textual variants are found in the last phrase, which appears in the text above as *ba-masqalu Krastos gabra madhanita* (‘through his cross, Christ effected salvation’). Regarding the first word, the seventeenth-century collection in MS EAP432/1/10 has *ba-masqaləka* (‘through your cross’, with the preposition *ba-* secondarily marked for deletion) in place of *ba-masqalu* (‘through his cross’). However, the second person possessive does not congrue with the verb *gabra* (‘he effected’), which appears in the third person singular also in the collection in MS EAP432/1/10 (i.e. the first layer of the text translates ‘through your Cross, Christ effected salvation’, the second layer ‘your Cross, Christ, effected salvation’). The second word appears in two variants: *Krastos* (‘Christ’, as the subject of the verb *gabra*) or *la-Krastos* (‘of Christ’, as the possessor of the word ‘cross’, leading to the translation ‘through the Cross of Christ, he effected salvation’). The former is attested in a majority of the studied collections, and in two of the collections which have *la-Krastos*, the preposition *la-* has been secondarily deleted or marked for deletion. In the collection in MS EMM 8678, on the other hand, the preposition *la-* has been secondarily added to

¹²⁹⁵ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 51 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 47 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, p. 309 (edition), 338 (Italian translation), § 87.

¹²⁹⁶ For parallels, where the text of an antiphon also begins with the phrase about the garment, then concludes with another (biblical) quotation, see the discussions of the antiphons *Pantalewon ‘Egzi’abəher nagša* 001, *Pantalewon salām* 003, *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘asma la- ‘ālam) 007a, 007b; and *Pantalewon mazmur* (‘abun) 027a, 027b.

the original reading *Krastos*. The final word, finally, appears as *ḥəywata* (‘life’) in one of the attestations—the single-type collection in MS GG-187 (Hand B)—against *madḥanita* (‘salvation’) in the remaining twenty.

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| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Ec. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānasee 172 | EMML 8678 | GG-185 | GG-187 (B) |
|---------------------------------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|--------|------------|
| ጼፍ፡ አልባሲሁ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| Ø አልባሲሁ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ለአባ፡ ጳጳጠሌዎን፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X ^a | | X ^b | | X | X ^c | | |
| ለጳጳጠሌዎን፡ | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | | | X | | X | | | X | X |
| ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በመስቀሉ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| በመስቀልከ፡ | | | | | | | | X ^e | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ለክርስቶስ፡ | X | X | | | | | X ^f | | | | | | | | X ^g | | | | | | |
| ክርስቶስ፡ | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X ^h | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | X ⁱ | | | X | X | | | | | | | |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| መደኅኒት፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| አይወት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |

- ^a The word አባ፡ has been rewritten.
- ^b The word አባ፡ has been marked for deletion.
- ^c The letters <ለአ> (!) have been deleted.
- ^d The word አባ፡ has been added supralineally after the letter <ለ>.
- ^e The letter <ባ> has been marked for deletion.
- ^f The letter <ለ> has been deleted.
- ^g The letter <ለ> has been marked for deletion.
- ^h The letter <ለ> has been added supralineally.
- ⁱ The word ከርስቶስ፡ has been added supralineally.

3.2.3.68 Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029a, 029b

አባ፡ ጳንጠሌዎን፡ ጸሊ፡ በእንቲአነ፡ ያክኩቱክ፡ ርኅባን፡ እለ፡ ጸግቡ፡
//እምበረከትክ፡ እምብዝኅ፡ ንዋይ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘአፍቀርክ፡ ሓይወ፡ ዘዐቁርክ፡
በመርወይ፡፡ (EMML 1894, fols 30vb, l. 38–31ra, l. 2)

‘*Abbā* Ġantalewon, pray for us! The hungry, who were saturated
by your blessing, thank you, you who loved righteousness more
than an abundance of possessions, you who wrapped fire in a
waterskin!

The text of the antiphons Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029a and 029b is widely attested in the corpus of multiple-type collections, but does not appear in any of the single-type collections. It partly consists of a phrase derived from the *Life of Ġantalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532)—‘*am-bəzḥa nəwāy šədqa za- ‘afqarka* (‘you who loved righteousness more than an abundance of possessions’)¹²⁹⁷—and contains an allusion to an episode in the same *Life*—*ḥaywa za- ‘aqʷarka ba-marway* (‘you who wrapped fire in a waterskin’)¹²⁹⁸—connecting it textually to the antiphon Ġantalewon *wāzemā* 001, which contains the same phrases.

The text of the antiphons Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029a and 029b is attested for two antiphons in four collections, for three antiphons in the collections in the twentieth-century manuscript EAP254/1/5 (twice with the same or almost the same *mələkkət*), and for four antiphons in the *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015 (three times with the same or almost the same *mələkkət*). Given that the only two versions with clearly distinct *mələkkət* are attested in the corpus, I have only recognised two versions: Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029a and 029b.

Apart from the trivial attestation of *bəṣu* (‘blessed’) instead of ‘*abbā* in one of the collections and the partial rewriting of the word ‘*am-barakatəka* (‘by your blessing’) in another, there are three points of textual variation in the attestations of the antiphons Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029a and 029b. Two of these have parallels in the textual variation of the antiphon Ġantalewon *wāzemā* 001 (3.2.3.2).

The beginning of the antiphon displays little variation, and the first noteworthy point of variation concerns the word which appears above as ‘*am-bəzḥa* (‘[more] than an abundance [of possessions]’). In all collections except the one in MS EMML 1894, this word appears as ‘*am-bəzuḥ* (‘[more] than many [possessions]’). This variation is also attested in the antiphon Ġantalewon *wāzemā* 001 in an

¹²⁹⁷ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 59 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 55 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, p. 323 (edition), 349 (Italian translation), § 165.

¹²⁹⁸ Cf. Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 52 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, pp. 47–48 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, pp. 309–310 (edition), 338–339 (Italian translation), §§ 92–96.

isolated collection; however, not in the same collection as in the case of the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029.

Secondly, the word which appears as *za- ‘afqarka* (‘you who loved’) in the text above has a variant *za- ‘abdarka* (‘you who preferred’), as well as a variant *‘afqarka* (‘you loved’) in which the relative particle is missing. Curiously, whereas in the attestations of the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001, the form *za- ‘afqarka* (‘you who loved’) dominates in the post-sixteenth-century collections, appearing in twelve out of thirteen post-sixteenth-century attestations, the variant *za- ‘abdarka* (‘you who preferred’) is much more widespread in the attestations of the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029, appearing in eight out of twenty-one post-sixteenth-century attestations (four of which, however, are found in the *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 2015).

Thirdly, there is variation between *ḥawa* and *ḥaywa* (both ‘fire’?). In this case, the distribution of the variants follows the same pattern as in the attestations of the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001: the form *ḥaywa* predominates in the pre-eighteenth-century collections, whereas the form *ḥawa* is most commonly found in the later collections. As in the attestations of the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001, the letter <ḥ> has been secondarily deleted in several manuscripts. This operation has taken place in the same manuscripts for both the antiphons *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029 and *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001, suggesting a conscious effort to change the reading. See the discussion of the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001 (3.2.3.2).

Comparing the text of the antiphons *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029a and 029b with the parallels in the *Life of Ġanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532), largely the same conclusions can be drawn as for the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001 (3.2.3.2). The first parallel, i.e. the phrase that appears above as *‘am-bəzḥa nəwāy šədqə za- ‘afqarka* (‘you who loved righteousness more than an abundance of possessions’), has the same structure in the antiphons *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029a and 029b as in the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001, with a word order that differs from that attested in the *Life*. This suggests that the antiphons are more closely related to each other than to the *Life*. As for the second parallel, i.e. the allusion to the miracle of the tree that matured in one day, the phrase in the antiphons *Ġanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 029a and 029b again has the same form as in the antiphon *Ġanṭalewon wāzemā* 001. As noticed in the discussion of this antiphon (see 3.2.3.2), the parallels do not go beyond certain correspondences in the vocabulary used.

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[illegible]

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| በምርዋይ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| በመርወይ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |

- ^a The manuscript has እግዚአብሔር፡, where the letters <ግዚ> have secondarily been marked for deletion.
- ^b The manuscript has ዘአብደርከ፡, in which letters <ብደ> have been rewritten; presumably, the manuscript originally had ዘአፍቀርከ፡.
- ^c The manuscript originally had an additional letter before the letter <ፍ> and another after it, both of which have been deleted; it is difficult to reconstruct the original reading.
- ^d The letter <ዘ> has been added supralineally before the word አፍቀርከ፡.
- ^e The letter <ይ> has been deleted.
- ^f One letter, presumably <ዘ>, has been erased at the beginning of the word.
- ^g The letter <ዘ> has been added supralineally at the beginning of the word.

3.2.3.69 *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘asma la- ‘ālam) 030

ደብሩሰ፡ ለአባ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ደብሩ፡ ሲኖ፡ ዘጋደረ፡ ቃል፡ ላዕሌሃ፡ ሐፀር፡
የአወዳ፡ ወጽኑ፡ ረዳ፡ በትዕምርተ፡ መስቀል፡ (Mashafa Daggwā 2015, p.
46a, ll. 2–5)

The mountain of ‘Abbā Pantaŵewon resembles Mount Sinai,
upon which the Word dwelt. A rampart surrounds it, and (also)
roses in the shape of the Cross!

The antiphon *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘asma la- ‘ālam) 030 is not attested in the first layer of any of the pre-seventeenth-century collections,¹²⁹⁹ but has a wide attestation in the later collections. Although the text of the antiphon does not appear to be a direct quotation, it is clearly inspired by a section in the *Life of Pantaŵewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532), in which the mountain on which Pantaŵewon built his cell is praised and, among other things, compared to *dabra Sinā bamawā* ‘əla Muse ‘ənta warada lā ‘lehā qāla ‘Ab ḥəyāw (‘Mount Sinai, upon which the Living Word of the Father descended in the days of Moses’).¹³⁰⁰ The second part of the antiphon gives the impression of being a quotation, but I have not been able to identify it.

Within the attestations in the Minor Corpus, the text varies on a couple of points. Most importantly, three out of the twelve manuscripts which attest to this antiphon have *hagaru-ssa* (‘his city’) instead of *dabru-ssa* (‘his mountain’). This variation could be understood as an attempt to avoid the repetition of the word *dabr*, but another explanation, which I consider more likely, is that one of the variants is the result of a mistake on the side of the rubricator. As we will see (Chapter 4, esp. 4.4.2.4), the first two letters of a new antiphon are frequently rubricated in post-sixteenth-century *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections, i.e. left out during the first time that text is applied to the manuscript. It does not seem unlikely that the empty space left before *ru-ssa* was erroneously filled in by a rubricator, resulting in one of the readings. It is difficult to say which reading is the original one, but based on the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus, *dabru-ssa* is the majority reading. This reading also corresponds closer to what is found in the parallel passage in the *Life of Pantaŵewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532).

As for other points of textual variation, the readings *za-warada* (‘where [the Word] descended’) in the place of *za-ḥadara* (‘where [the Word] abode’), and *rad’a* (‘disciple’) in the place of *radā* (‘rose’) appear in isolated manuscripts within the

¹²⁹⁹ In the collection in MS EMMML 4667, it appears that a version of the antiphon *Pantaŵewon mazmur* (‘asma la- ‘ālam) 030 has been added at the upper margin on fol. 15v, only later to be deleted. It is not possible to decipher more than some words, which, however, makes the identification of the antiphon plausible.

¹³⁰⁰ Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 47 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 43 (Latin translation); Brita 2008, pp. 300–301 (edition), 333 (Italian translation), § 46.

corpus. Regarding the first, one can note that the verb *warada* (‘descended’) appears in the section of the *Life of Pantaŵewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) quoted above, whereas the *hadara* of the majority of the attestations of the antiphon does not. The variant *rad’a* as opposed to *radā* possibly arose by hypercorrection, trying to avoid a scribal mistakes of the type *C’a > Cā*.¹³⁰¹

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 |
|-------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| ደብሩስ: | X | X | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ሀገሩስ: | | | X | X | | | | X | | | | |
| ዘኅደረ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ዘወረደ: | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| ረዳ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ረድክ: | | | | X | | | | | | | | |

3.2.3.70 Pantaŵewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031

እስተርአየ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ጳጳሳዊዎን፡ በአምሳሉ፡ ኤርሜላዎስ፡ ቀሲስ፡ ወይቤ፡
 እግዚእየ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ስቡሕ፡ አንተ፡ በስብሐቲክ፡ ወስብሐት፡
 ለምሕረትክ፡ (MS EAP432/1/10, fol. 27vc, ll. 13–16)

He (= Christ) appeared to Holy Pantaŵewon in the likeness of
 ‘Ermelāwos the Priest and said: ‘My Lord Jesus Christ, glorified
 are you in your glory. Glory to your compassion!’

The antiphon Pantaŵewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031 is based on a quotation from the *Life of Pantaŵewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).¹³⁰² It displays an unusual pattern of attestation, appearing exclusively in post-sixteenth-century collections. As a matter of fact, within the entire corpus of *mazmur*-family antiphons for Pantaŵewon studied in this chapter, the antiphons Pantaŵewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031 and Pantaŵewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032 are the only ones whose attestation is restricted to the post-sixteenth-century collections. In four out of the eight attestations of the antiphon Pantaŵewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031, it appears in collections which also contain the antiphon Pantaŵewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032.

¹³⁰¹ An examples of this kind of phonetically motivated scribal mistakes is found in the eighteenth–nineteenth-century manuscript EMML 7529, fol. 25vc, l. 15, where the copyist wrote በእንግዳህ፡ (*ba-’əngədāhu*, lit. ‘on his guest’) for በእንግድኡ፡ (*ba-’əngəd’āhu*, ‘against his chest’). Cf. Zuurmond 1989, p. 29 (II).

¹³⁰² Pisani 2006, p. 99 (edition), 145 (Italian translation), § 30.

The text of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 031 is clearly related to the antiphons *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 013 (3.2.3.52) and *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 032 (3.2.3.71), which are based on the same quotation from the *Life*. For further discussion of the textual relationships between these antiphons, see 3.2.3.70. In the text of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 031, a prayer which in the *Life* is pronounced by 'Ermelāwos the Priest is instead put in the mouth of (an implied) Christ. This appears to be illogical, but apparently the implied subject of the verb *wa-yābe* ('and he said') was unclear enough to make it acceptable in the ears of the participants in the liturgy.

Among the attestations of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 031 in the Minor Corpus, only minor textual variation appears. Two of the eight collections in which it is found have '*Agzi 'ana* ('our Lord') instead of '*Agzi 'aya* ('my Lord'). Another two of them—those in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in other cases display textual similarities¹³⁰³—have *la-mangəštaka* ('[glory] to your kingdom') against *la-məḥratəka* ('[glory] to your mercy') in the rest of the collections. One wonders if one reason for its appearance may have been a will to differentiate the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 031 from the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 032, which also appears in both MSS UUB O Etiop. 36 and Ethio-SPaRe QS-006.

Comparing the text of the antiphon with the text of the *Life* as encountered in the edition of Pisani 2006, the following remarks can be made:

- the reading '*Agzi 'aya* ('my Lord') appears in a majority of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006, but only in manuscripts hypothetically derived from subarchetype *b*. The manuscripts derived from subarchetype *a* have instead '*Agzi -o* ('O Lord'). In the manuscripts of the *Life*, the variant '*Agzi 'ana* ('our Lord') is only attested once, and then in conjunction with '*Agzi 'aya*. This seems to connect the text of the antiphon with the text of subarchetype *b*;
- six out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have different forms of the word *bāḥtitəka* ('you alone') instead of *ba-səbḥatika* ('in your glory'). This is identified by Pisani 2006 as a defining innovation of subarchetype *e*.¹³⁰⁴ These variants are not attested in any of the attestations of the antiphon, suggesting that the text of the antiphon does not derive from this strand of the transmission of the *Life*;
- the variant with *la-mangəštaka* ('[glory] to your kingdom') instead of *la-məḥratəka* ('[glory] to your mercy') is not attested in any of the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006.

¹³⁰³ For a summary of the similarities between the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etop. 36, see 3.4.1.3.1.

¹³⁰⁴ Pisani 2006, p. 83; cf. also 145, fn. 27.

To summarise, the text of the antiphon seems to derive from a source text that depended on subarchetype *b*, but not on subarchetype *e*.

| | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 |
|-----------|---------|------------|----------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| እግዚእየ: | | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| እግዚእነ: | X | | | | | | | X |
| ስቡሕ: አንተ: | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| ስቡሕ: Ø | | | X ^a | | | | | |
| ለምሕረትክ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ለመንግሥትክ: | | | | | | | X | X |

^a The word አንተ: has been added supralineally after the word ስቡሕ:.

3.2.3.71 *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 032

አንቃዕደወ፡ ሰማየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ወይቤ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡
ስቡሕ፡ አንተ፡ በስብሐቲክ፡ ወስብሐት፡ ለምሕረትክ፡ (MS Ethio-SPaRe
DD-019, fol. 19vb, ll. 8–9)

Holy *Pantalewon* looked up into heaven and said: 'My Lord
Jesus Christ, glorified are you in your glory. Glory to your
compassion!'

The antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 032, similar to the antiphon
Pantalewon mazmur ('*abun*) 031, is only attested in post-sixteenth-century
collections. The attestation in the collection in MS EAP432/1/10 is a later addition.

On a textual level, the antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 032 is closely related
to the antiphons *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 013 (3.2.3.52) and *Pantalewon
mazmur* ('*abun*) 031 (3.2.3.70). They are all based on the same quotation from the
Life of Pantalewon the Martyr (CAe 3158).¹³⁰⁵ However, in the case of the
antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 032, the prayer, which in the *Life* and in the
antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 013 is put in the mouth of 'Ermelāwos the
Priest, and in the antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 031 in the mouth of Christ
himself (albeit only implicitly), is pronounced by *Pantalewon*.

As for textual variation, there are only minor differences between the five
attestations of the antiphon *Pantalewon mazmur* ('*abun*) 032. The commonly
attested variation between a gerund '*anqā* '*diwo* ('[he] looking up') and a perfect
'*anqā* '*dawa* ('he looked up')—further discussed in 3.2.4.5—is found also here.
Whereas one collection (see the text above) introduces the direct speech with *wa-
yābe* ('[Holy *Pantalewon* looked up into heaven] and said') and another with
ṣallaya wa-yābe ('[looking up into heaven, Holy *Pantalewon*] prayed and said'),
the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 lack a word
that fulfils this function. This absence of a word introducing the direct speech is
uncharacteristic and leaves the reader with the impression that something is
missing;¹³⁰⁶ it adds to the list of textual features which connect these
collections.¹³⁰⁷ In four of the five attestations of this antiphon, the direct speech
begins with the words '*əṣewwə* '*akka*, '*Ǿgzi* '*əya* ('I call to you, my Lord'),
whereas in the fifth (see the text above), the word '*əṣewwə* '*akka* is missing. One
of the attestations has an asyndetic *səbḥat* ('glory [to your compassion]'), where
the rest have *wa-səbḥat* ('and glory [to your compassion]').

¹³⁰⁵ Pisani 2006, p. 99 (edition), 145 (Italian translation), § 30.

¹³⁰⁶ For a parallel, in which these two collections also omit a verb of saying, see the discussion of
Pantalewon mazmur ('*abun*) 021.

¹³⁰⁷ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

Comparing the attestations of the antiphon Pantaŕewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032 with the source text as found in the edition of the *Life of Pantaŕewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), the following observations can be made:

- the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006 uniformly introduce the direct speech with the word *wa-yəbe* (‘and he said’), i.e. neither the word *šallaya* nor the absence of an introductory word is attested;
- the word *‘əšewwə ‘akka* (‘I call upon you’), which appears in all attestations of the antiphon except the one in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, is not attested in any of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006. Its origin in this text remains obscure;
- the reading *‘Īgzi ‘əya* (‘my Lord’) appears in a majority of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006, but only in manuscripts hypothetically derived from subarchetype *b*. The manuscripts derived from subarchetype *a* have instead *‘Īgzi ‘-o* (‘O Lord’). This connects the text of the antiphon Pantaŕewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032 with subarchetype *b*;
- six out of the twelve manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006 have different forms of the word *bāḥtitāka* (‘you alone’) instead of *ba-səbḥatika* (‘in your glory’). This is identified by her as a defining innovation of subarchetype *e*.¹³⁰⁸ These variants are not attested in any of the attestations of the antiphon, suggesting that the text of the antiphon does not derive from strand of the transmission of the *Life*;
- the variation between *wa-səbḥat* (‘and glory [to your compassion]’) and *səbḥat* (‘glory [to your compassion]’), found in the attestations of the antiphon, also appears in the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Pisani 2006. The former appears in six out of the ten manuscripts which contain these words, the latter in the remaining four. The six manuscript which have the reading *wa-səbḥat* are those which are derived from the hypothetical subarchetype *d*.

To summarise, the text of the antiphon Pantaŕewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032 seems to derive from a source text that depended on subarchetype *b*, but not on subarchetype *e*.

¹³⁰⁸ Pisani 2006, p. 83; cf. also p. 145, fn. 27.

| | EMDA 00111 | EAP432/1/10 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 |
|---------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| አንቃዕደወ: | | | X | | |
| አንቃዕዲዎ: | X | (X) | | X | X |
| ጸላዮ: ወይቤ: | X | | | | |
| Ø ወይቤ: | | | X | | |
| Ø | | (X) | | X | X |
| እጼውዐክ: እግዚእየ: | X | (X) | | X | X ^a |
| Ø እግዚእየ: | | | X | | |
| ወሱብሐት: | | (X) | X | X | X |

^a The word እግዚእየ: has been marked for deletion.

3.2.3.72 The relationships between Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 013, 031, and 032

It is difficult to determine the exact relationship between the antiphons Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 013, Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031, and Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032. First, one can observe that antiphon Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 013 is attested earlier than the other two and quotes a longer passage from the *Life*. Based on this, one might ask if the other two could be derived from it. This does, in fact, not seem impossible: The only textual variants which are shared between the *Life* and the antiphons Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031 and Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032 *against* the attestations of the antiphon Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 013 are of trivial nature—the isolated appearance of the reading ‘*Agzi’əna* (‘our Lord’) in Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031, the variant *səbḥat* (‘glory [to your compassion]’) without a preceding *wa-* (‘and’) in one attestation of the antiphon Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032—and could have arisen independently. On the other hand, the more substantial differences between, on the one hand, the antiphon Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 013 and, on the other hand, the antiphons Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031 and Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032—the variant *la-mangəštəka* (‘[glory] to your kingdom’) in Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031, the additions of *šallaya* (‘he prayed [and said]’, one attestation) and ‘*əṣewwə’akka* (‘I call upon you’, four out of five attestations) in Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032—lack correspondences in the studied manuscripts of the *Life*, and could thus be innovations within the transmission of the text as an antiphon. If the antiphons Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 031 and Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 032 are derived from the antiphon Ġantalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 013, this could also explain their unique patterns of attestation, appearing only in post-sixteenth-century collections.

Regarding the relationship between the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*) 031 and *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*) 032, one could imagine that the latter arose as an attempt to make sense of the mangled text of the former, as an improvement. However, the fact that the attestations of the two antiphons largely overlap speaks against the hypothesis. In order to determine with more certainty the relationship between the antiphons *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*) 013, *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*) 031, and *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (‘*abun*) 032, it would be useful to take a larger portion of the attested transmission of these antiphons into account, i.e. to consult more *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections.

3.2.3.73 *Ṗanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur* 001

ይቤሉ፡ ንጉሥ፡ አቡነ፡ ጸሊ፡ በእንቲአነ፡ ከመ፡ ያድኅነነ፡ //እግዚአብሔር፡
ወይርድአነ፡ በዛቲ፡ ፍኖት፡ (MS BnF Éth. 92, fol. 112rb, l. 38–112va,
l. 2)

The king said to him: ‘*Abuna*, pray for us that the Lord may save us and help us on this path!’

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur* 001, like most of the *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons (see 3.2.3.74–3.2.3.77), is attested in two single-type collections, in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMMML 7618. In both, it is explicitly attributed to *Ṗanṭalewon* of the Cell, called *Ṗanṭalewon manakos* (ጳንጠሌዎን፡ መካከስ፡, ‘*Ṗanṭalewon the Monk*’). Except for orthographical differences, the text of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur* 001 is identical in both attestations.

The text is clearly based on an episode in the account of the life of *Ṗanṭalewon* of the Cell, namely when King Kāleb comes to *Ṗanṭalewon* to ask for his blessing before embarking on a retaliatory campaign against the Jewish ruler of Ḥimyar. However, the text of the antiphon does not appear to be a direct quotation from the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) edited by Brita 2008 (see below). For this reason, I consulted also other Ethiopic sources known to contain descriptions of the same event: a) the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891), most recently edited by Bausi 2006c,¹³⁰⁹ and b) the so-called *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), known from a single fifteenth-century manuscript and of which Alessandro Bausi is presently preparing an edition.¹³¹⁰ In Table 12, the phrase on which the text of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur* 001 appears to be based is reproduced according to the editions of these three texts.

¹³⁰⁹ Bausi 2006c, pp. 105–304 (edition and Italian translation). The Ethiopic *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891) has previously been published by Pereira 1899, pp. 79–122 (edition), 123–165 (Portuguese translation).

¹³¹⁰ On the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), see the Addendum to Bausi 2010, pp. 249–251. Alessandro Bausi has kindly provided me with the relevant excerpts from his forthcoming edition. Unaware of the location and specifics of the manuscript, I refer to it as ‘MS *Gadla Kāleb*’.

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Table 12. Potential source texts for the antiphon *Ṣanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur 001*.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <i>Life of Ṣanṭalewon of the Cell</i> (CAe 1532) ¹³¹¹ | ወካዕበ፡ ይቤሎ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ጸሊ፡ ላዕሌነ፡ ኣኣባ፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቀበነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በፍኖትነ፡ ወይርድኣነ፡ ከሎ፡ ዘኅለይነ፡ | And again, the king said to him: ‘Pray for us, O <i>’abbā</i> , that the Lord may keep us on our path and help us (in) all that we have planned!’ |
| <i>Martyrdom of Arethas</i> (CAe 1891) ¹³¹² | ወተናገሮ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ስቀረት፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ጸሊ፡ ላዕሌነ፡ ኣኣባነ፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቀበነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በፍኖትነ፡ ወይርድኣነ፡ ከሎ፡ ዘኅለይነ፡ | And the king spoke to him through that opening and said to him: ‘Pray for us, O <i>’abuna</i> , that the Lord may keep us on our path and help us (in) all that we have planned!’ |
| <i>Life of Kāleb</i> (CAe 6507) ¹³¹³ | ወይቤሎ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ስቀረተ፡ ኣብን፡ ጸሊ፡ በእንቲኣነ፡ ከመ፡ ያድኅነነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በዛቲ፡ //ፍኖትነ፡ | And the king said through that opening in the stone: ‘Pray for us that the Lord may save us on this our path!’ |

As is clear from a comparison of the texts above, the text of the antiphon *Ṣanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur 001* is not matched perfectly by any of the edited sources. It shares with the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507) the following features: a) the use of the preposition *ba-’anti’ana* (‘for our sake’) against *lā’lena* (‘on us’, ‘upon us’) in both the other sources, b) the verb *yādhānanna* (‘[that] he may save us’), missing in the other sources, and c) the demonstrative pronoun *zātti* (‘this’) determining the path. They also agree in missing the verb *yə’qabanna* (‘[that] he may keep us’) and in omitting the phrase *kʷallo za-ḥallayna* (‘all that we have planned’), which appear in both the *Life of Ṣanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) and the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891). However, the verb *yərdə’anna* (‘[and that] he may help us’) is shared by the text of the antiphon and the texts of the *Life of Ṣanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) and of the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891). Additionally, these three texts all have a vocative—*’abuna* in the antiphon, *’o-’abuna* in the *Martyrdom of Arethas*, *’o-’abbā* in the *Life of Ṣanṭalewon of the Cell*—which is missing in the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507). The three narrative texts, finally, agree in having the reading *fənotəna* (‘our path’) against *fənot* (‘the path’) in the antiphon.

¹³¹¹ Brita 2008, p. 313 (edition), 341 (Italian translation), § 111; cf. also Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 54 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 49 (Latin translation).

¹³¹² Cf. Bausi 2006c, p. 266 (edition), 267 (Italian translation).

¹³¹³ MS *Gadla Kāleb*, fols 28vb–29ra; § 31d in the forthcoming edition of the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507) by Alessandro Bausi. See. fn. 1310.

In the end, the text of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur* 001 shares elements both with, on the one hand, the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) and the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891) and, on the other hand, the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507). Based on the available evidence, it is not possible to identify one of them unequivocally as the source text.

3.2.3.74 *Ṗanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur* 002

መሥዋዕተ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ዐርገ፡ ኅቡረ፡ ላዕለ፡ ምሥዋዕ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጸለዩ፡
ላዕሌሁ፡ ውእቱ፡ መካከኑ፡ (MS EMMML 7618, fol. 199rb, ll. 30–33)

‘The sacrifice of the holy martyrs ascended together on the altar of the Lord’, prayed that monk for him.

The antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur* 002 is attested in both of the known *wāzemā mazmur* collections, where it is explicitly connected with *Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell*. Again, it is clearly based on a discourse found in the account of the life of *Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell*, viz. the blessing pronounced by *Ṗanṭalewon* over King *Kāleb* before the latter begins his campaign against the *Ḥimyarites*. For a discussion of the textual source, see below.

There is only one minor textual difference between the two attestations: against the phrase *lā ‘la māsṡwā ‘a ‘Ēgziabəḥer* (‘on the altar of the Lord’) in the attestation in MS EMMML 7618, the attestation in MS BnF Éth. 92 has *lā ‘la māsṡwā ‘t(!) ‘Ēgzi ‘abəḥer* (‘on the sacrifice of (?) the Lord’). The former reading seems to make more sense semantically.

Following the pattern established in the discussion of the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur* 001 (3.2.3.73), the relevant passage in the three narrative sources which transmit the story about the life of *Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell* are presented in Table 13:

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Table 13. Potential source texts for the antiphon *Ṗanṭalewon wāzemā mazmur 002*.

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| <i>Life of Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell</i> (CAe 1532) ¹³¹⁴ | ወይቤሎ፡ ቅዱስ፡ [...] ወመሥዋዕቶሙ፡ ለሰማዕት፡ እለ፡ ኮኑ፡ ስምዐ፡ በእንተ፡ ስመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በሀገረ፡ ናግራን፡ ወዐርገ፡ መዐዛ፡ ጥዑም፡ ጼና፡ መሥዋዕቶሙ፡ ዲበ፡ ምሥዋዒሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማያት፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስሌከ፡ | The holy man said: ‘May [...] and the sacrifice of the martyr(s) who became martyrs for the name of Christ in the city of Nāgrān and the sweet perfume of the scent of whose sacrifice has ascended on the altar of the Lord into the heavens, be with you.’ |
| <i>Martyrdom of Arethas</i> (CAe 1891) ¹³¹⁵ | ወይቤሎ፡ መነኮስ፡ [...] ወመሥዋዕቶሙ፡ ለሰማዕት፡ እለ፡ ኮኑ፡ ስምዐ፡ በእንተ፡ ስመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በሀገረ፡ ናግራን፡ ወዐርገ፡ ጥዑም፡ ጼና፡ መዐዛ፡ መሥዋዕቶሙ፡ ዲበ፡ ምሥዋዒሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማያት፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስሌከ፡ | The monk said: ‘May [...] and the sacrifice of the martyr(s) who became martyrs for the name of Christ in the city of Nāgrān and the sweet scent of the perfume of whose sacrifice has ascended on the altar of the Lord into the heavens, be with you.’ |
| <i>Life of Kāleb</i> (CAe 6507) ¹³¹⁶ | ወመሥዋዕተ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ዓርገ፡ ኅቡረ፡ ላዕለ፡ መሥዋተ፡ (!) እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘበ፡ ሰማያት፡ ያርትዕ፡ ፍኖተከ፡ ወጸለየ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ውእቱ፡ መነኮስ፡ | ‘[...] and the sacrifice of the holy martyrs ascended together on the sacrifice (!) of the Lord which is in the heavens. May He make your path straight!’ And that monk prayed for him. |

In this case, it is clear from the comparison that the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507) offers the closest textual parallel. The text which appears with minimal variation in both the *Life of Ṗanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) and of the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891) contains several elaborations which are missing in the antiphon as well as in the text of the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), including the relative clause ‘*alla konu sām’a* [...]’ and the specification that it is ‘the sweet scent of the perfume of the martyrs’ sacrifice’ that ascends on the altar of the Lord rather than the sacrifice itself.

¹³¹⁴ Brita 2008, p. 314 (edition), 342 (Italian translation), § 117; cf. also Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 54 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 50 (Latin translation).

¹³¹⁵ Bausi 2006c, p. 268 (edition), 269 (Italian translation).

¹³¹⁶ MS *Gadla Kāleb*, fol. 29rb; § 31f in the forthcoming edition of the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507) by Alessandro Bausi. See fn. 1310.

Nonetheless, there are also certain differences between the text of the antiphon and the text preserved in the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507). Unlike the antiphon, the *Life* includes a qualification of the sacrifice (or, in one of the attestations of the antiphon: the altar) of the Lord as *za-ba-samāyāt* (‘[the sacrifice / altar] which is in the heavens’) and adds an additional phrase at the end of the prayer: *yārtā ‘fənotaka* (‘may He make your path straight’). One could imagine that these elements were deleted as the text excerpt was adapted for use as an antiphon. It is noteworthy that the attestation of the antiphon in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 and the text of the *codex unicus* of the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507) agree in having the reading *maśwā ‘ta* (‘[on] the sacrifice [of the Lord]’) against *māśwā ‘a* (‘[on] the altar [of the Lord]’) in the latter part of the antiphon. As noticed above, the reading of the collection in MS EML 7618 seems to make more sense in this context. However, based on the available source material, it is difficult to say whether this is the result of a secondary ‘improvement’ of the text in MS EML 7618 or if it preserves the original reading of the passage.

3.2.3.75 Pantaŕewon *wāzemā mazmur* 003

እስተብቅዑ፡ ኅቤሁ፡ ወመጽእ፡ ቃል፡ እምሰማይ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ከሉሙ፡ ወይቤ፡ ገሃደ፡
ገብርኤል፡ ገብርኤል፡ ገብርኤል፡፤ (MS BnF Éth. 92, fol. 112va, ll. 7–11)

They beseeched him, and from heaven came a voice (which)
they all heard, openly saying: ‘Gabriel, Gabriel, Gabriel!’

The antiphon Pantaŕewon *wāzemā mazmur* 003 is preserved in both collections of *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons. Like the *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons discussed above (3.2.3.73–3.2.3.74), it clearly draws on an episode in the life of Pantaŕewon of the Cell, namely when, on the battlefield in Ḥimyar, the Aksumite soldiers are in a state of confusion and pray, whereupon the likeness of a monk (Pantaŕewon) comes to their rescue. For a discussion of the textual sources, see below.

The text of the antiphon is almost identical in the two attestations, the only differences being that the attestation in the collection in MS EML 7618 has a variant *‘astabaqʷə ‘u* (‘they beseeched’) against *‘astabqʷə ‘u* (same meaning) in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, and that the name Gabriel, in its threefold repetition, appears with a fourth-order <ረ> in the collection in MS EML 7618: *Gabrā ‘el* (ገብረኤል፡), against the standard form of the name found in MS BnF Éth. 92 (see the text above).

The passage in question is missing from the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891), but appears in the *Life of Pantaŕewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532). This has led previous scholars working on the latter text to the conclusion that its author—next to the known *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891)—must have used another source,

which follows closer the Greek text of the *Martyrdom of Arethas*.¹³¹⁷ It is possible that this ‘other text’ can be identified with the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), where the episode under discussion also appears.

Table 14 presents the episode as it appears in the edited versions of the *Life of Panṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) and in the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507):

Table 14. Potential source texts for the antiphon *Panṭalewon wāzemā mazmur 003*.

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p><i>Life of Panṭalewon of the Cell</i> (CAe 1532)¹³¹⁸</p> | <p>ወኢያእመሩ፡ አግብርተ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘገብረ፡ እግዚአሙ፡ አላ፡ ሐዘኑ፡ ወርኅቡ፡ ወጸርኑ፡ ወጸለዩ፡ ኅብ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወቦ፡ እለ፡ ጸርኑ፡ በጸሎተ፡ ጳጳሳዊ፡ ዘጸማዕት፡ ወእግዚአብሔር፡ ሰምዐ፡ ጸሎቶሙ፡ ወተሰምዐ፡ ዝነገር፡ ከመ፡ መነኮስ፡ መጽአ፡ ፍጽመ፡ ወአኅዘ፡ ዘነበ፡ ፈረሰ፡ ወወግኦ፡ በማዕተብ፡ ወይቤሉ፡ ገብርኤል፡ እስመ፡ ከማሁ፡ ስሙ፡</p> | <p>The servants of the king did not know what their lord had done, but they were saddened and hungry. They cried out and prayed to the Lord, and some (of them) cried out with the prayer of Panṭalewon of the Cell. The Lord heard their prayer and it was heard that a monk had come to the front and grabbed the tail of the horse and pierced it with a hand cross (?).¹³¹⁹ And they said: ‘Gabriel!’, because that was his name.</p> |
|--|---|--|

¹³¹⁷ Nosnitsin 2004, p. 104; Bausi 2006c, p. 109 (fn. 45), 292 (fn. 191); Brita 2010, pp. 151–152; Bausi 2010, pp. 247–248; cf. also ‘Pāntālewōn’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 111a–113a (A. Brita), esp. 112b.

¹³¹⁸ Brita 2008, p. 316 (edition), 343–344 (Italian translation), §§ 125–126; cf. also Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 55 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 51 (Latin translation).

¹³¹⁹ Leslau 1991 defines *mā ‘tab* as ‘seal, sign of the cross, cord worn by Christians around the neck, bracelet’ (Leslau 1991, p. 76a; see also Dillmann 1865, col. 989). However, the inventory list in the manuscript MS Saint Petersburg, RNB Dorn 612, fol. 161v (AD 1426) includes items called *mā ‘taba ‘əd*, which undoubtedly must refer to hand crosses (see Turaev 1906a, p. 12). I am grateful to Michael Hensley for bringing this usage of the word to my attention, which seems to be closer to what we find in the *Life of Panṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532).

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <i>Martyrdom of Arethas</i> (CAe 1891) | — | — |
| <i>Life of Kāleb</i> (CAe 6507) ¹³²⁰ | ወበከዩ፡ ወጸርኑ፡ ወሰኣሉ፡ ጎበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላኩሙ፡ ወአስተብቀዑ፡ [...ወ]ተማሕ፡ ጎቤሁ፡። ወመጽአ፡ ቃል፡ እምሰማይ፡ ገሃደ፡ ወሰምዕዎ፡ ከሎሙ፡ ወይቤ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ገብርኤል፡ ገብርኤል፡ | And they lamented, cried out, and prayed to the Lord their God, and they beseeched (Him) and took refuge in Him. And from heaven came a voice openly, and they all heard it, and it said: ‘Gabriel, Gabriel, Gabriel!’ |

From even a cursory comparison, it appears beyond doubt that the text of the antiphon derives from the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507). All elements of the antiphon are found in the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), although it seems that some elements—viz. the word *wa-tamāḥṣanu* (‘and took refuge [in Him]’)—have been omitted from the antiphon. Especially the threefold repetition of the name Gabriel is an important isogloss shared by the antiphon and the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507) against the *Life of Panṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532).

Comparing the attestations of the antiphon with the text of the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507) as attested in the *codex unicus*, it is striking that the antiphon, in both its attestations, appears to have an asyndetic relative clause—*sam ‘u kʷəllomu* (‘(which) they all heard’)—where the *Life* has a syndetic clause *wa-sam ‘əwwo kʷəllomu* (‘and they all heard it’). Although asyndetic relative clauses are not unknown in Geez,¹³²¹ they are uncommon and the fact that the clause appears with an indefinite correlate (*qāl*, ‘a voice’)—i.e. precisely in the context where standard Arabic would require a relative clause to be constructed asyndetically—might point to an Arabic Vorlage of the text on which this antiphon was based.¹³²² If so, in this case the attestations of the antiphon preserve an older reading than the one attested in the *codex unicus*.

¹³²⁰ MS *Gadla Kāleb*, fol. 33vb; § 37c–d in the forthcoming edition of the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507) by Alessandro Bausi. See fn. 1310.

¹³²¹ Cf. Dillmann 1907, pp. 527–528, § 201.

¹³²² For further notes on the language of the Vorlage of the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), see the discussion in Bausi 2010, pp. 249–251. It may be noted that version of this episode preserved in the first Arabic recension (according to the numbering of Binggeli 2007 and as attested in the manuscript Sinai, Saint Catherine’s Monastery, Ar. 443, fol. 295r, ll. 11–13) does indeed preserve such a reading, having: فجاهم صوت من السما سمعوه باسهم (*fā-ḡā’ahum ṣawt min al-samā’ sami’ūhu bi-’asrihim* [...]), ‘and there came to them from heaven a voice that all of them heard [...]’. However, the first Arabic recension lacks the information that the voice spoke openly, instead specifying that it was heard by all the troops (الفریقین, *al-farīqīn*), before the utterance of the voice is given: a twofold ‘Gabriel, Gabriel!’ (غفريل غفريل, *ḡfryyl, ḡfryyl*). On the Arabic traditions, see now La Spisa 2021, which was not available to me while preparing this dissertation.

3.2.3.76 *Pantaŵewon wāzemā mazmur 004*

ዕቀብ፡ ሃይማኖቶም፡ ለክርስቲያን፡ ወእጽንዕ፡ መንግሥቶም፡ አግብኦ፡ ለዝንቱ፡
ንጉሥ፡ አይሁዳዊ፡ በእደ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ክርስቲያናዊ፡ (MS EMMML 7618, fol.
199rb, ll. 36–40)

Keep the faith of the Christians and strengthen their kingdom!
Deliver this Jewish king into the hand of the Christian king!

The antiphon *Pantaŵewon wāzemā mazmur 004* is only attested in one of the two *wāzemā mazmur* antiphon collections, namely the one in MS EMMML 7618. Along with the antiphons *Pantaŵewon wāzemā mazmur 001–003* (3.2.3.73–3.2.3.75), it is explicitly dedicated to *Pantaŵewon of the Cell*. The text, it appears, is based on a prayer pronounced by the Christian people of *Ḥimyar* in an episode which is missing from the *Life of Pantaŵewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532), but appears in the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891) and in the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507). In Table 15, the passage in question is reproduced according to the potential source texts:

Table 15. Potential source texts for the antiphon *Pantaŵewon wāzemā mazmur 004*.

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| <i>Life of Pantaŵewon of the Cell</i> (CAe 1532) | — | — |
| <i>Martyrdom of Arethas</i> (CAe 1891) ¹³²³ | ኣኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዕቀብ፡ ሥርዐተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወእጽንዕ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሮም፡ ወመንግሥተ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ኣኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ መሐሮም፡ ወዕቀብም፡ ወእጽንዖም፡ ለኸሎም፡ ሕዝብ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኣኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ረስየን፡ ንኩን፡ ድልዋን፡ ከመ፡ ንርእይ፡ ዕበየ፡ ስብሐቲክ፡ ኣኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ደምረን፡ ምስለ፡ ቅዱሳኒክ፡ እለ፡ ኣሥመሩክ፡ በሥነ፡ ሕይወቶም፡ ኣኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ መጥዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ከሓዲ፡ ውስተ፡ እዴሆም፡ ለክርስቲያን፡ | O Jesus Christ, keep the order of the Christians and strengthen the kingdom of Rome and the kingdom of the King of Ethiopia! O Jesus Christ, have mercy on, keep, and strengthen the entire Christian people! O Jesus Christ, make us worthy to see the greatness of your glory! O Jesus Christ, unite us with your saints who have pleased you with the beauty of their lives! O Jesus Christ, deliver this unbelieving king into the hands of the Christians! |

¹³²³ Bausi 2006c, pp. 204, 206 (edition), 205, 207 (Italian translation).

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| <i>Life of Kāleb</i> (CAe 6507) ¹³²⁴ | ዕቀብ፡ ሀይማኖቶም፡ ለክርስቲያን፡ ወአጽንዕ፡ መንግሥቶም፡ ወአግብኡ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ አይሁዳዊ፡ በእደ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ክርስቲያናዊ፡ | Keep the faith of the Christians and strengthen their kingdom! And deliver this Jew into the hand of the Christian king [...] |
|--|--|---|

Even from a cursory comparison, it is clear that, as in the case of the antiphon Pāntalewon *wāzemā mazmur* 004, the text of the antiphon is close to what is found in the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507). The *Martyrdom of Arethas* (CAe 1891) has a more elaborate version, adding a recurrent invocation 'o- 'Iyasus [...].

Comparing the text of the antiphon with that of the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), the only divergences are the missing conjunction *wa-* ('and') in front of the imperative 'agbā 'o ('deliver him!') in the text of the antiphon, and the reading *la-zāntu nāguś 'ayhudāwi* ('this Jewish king') again *la-zāntu 'ayhudāwi* ('this Jew') in the *Life*. In the latter case, one might suspect that the reading of the antiphon is more original, being ideologically *difficilior*, although it is not impossible that the word was added for metrical (?) reasons or under the influence of the words *nāguś krəstiyānāwi* ('Christian king').

3.2.3.77 Pāntalewon *wāzemā mazmur* 005

ወረቀ፡ ምድረ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ወገብረ፡ ፅቡረ፡ ወቀብኡ፡ አዕይንቲሁ፡ ለዘ፡
ዕው(?)ኡ፡ ተወልደ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ በስሙ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ዘአብርሆ፡ ለጽልሙት፡ ርኢ፡
ብርሃኑ፡ (MS BnF Éth. 92, fol. 112va, ll. 11–18)

Holy Pāntalewon spat on the ground, made mud, spread it on the eyes of him who was born blind,¹³²⁵ and said to him: 'In the name of Jesus, who illuminated the darkness, see the light!'

The antiphon Pāntalewon *wāzemā mazmur* 005 is attested in both collections which contain antiphon of this type: the collection in MS EMMML 7618 and the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. Contrary to the *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons discussed above (3.2.3.73–3.2.3.76), it is, in both collections, explicitly attributed to Pāntalewon the Martyr (ጳጳስ፡ ሰማዕት፡, *Pāntalewon samā 't*). Disregarding orthographical differences and variant forms of the last imperative—*rə 'i* ('see!') in MS BnF Éth. 92 versus *ra 'ay* (same meaning) in MS EMMML 7618—the text of the antiphon is identical in both attestations.

The contents of the antiphon Pāntalewon *wāzemā mazmur* 005 refer to the healing of a blind man, closely modelled on Jesus's miracle in John 9:1–7 (see below). It seems feasible to identify the event referred to in the antiphon with a similar

¹³²⁴ MS *Gadla Kāleb*, fol. 17vb; § 20d in the forthcoming edition of the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507) by Alessandro Bausi. See fn. 1310.

¹³²⁵ On this grammatical construction, see Kapeliuk 1998.

miracle found in the *Life of Pantaŵewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158),¹³²⁶ central to the storyline because it results in the conversion of the saint's father. However, the details of the event differ in important aspects between the antiphon and the Ethiopic version of *Life* as edited by Pisani 2006, in which the episode appears as follows:¹³²⁷

ወእምዝ፡ አኅዞ፡ እደሁ፡ ለዕዉር፡ ወለከፎ፡ አዕይንቲሁ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ በስመ፡ ኢየሱስ፡
ክርስቶስ፡ ዘአብርሃ፡ ለጽልመት፡ ወዘፈወሰ፡ ቅጥቁጣነ፡ ወዘእስተጋብአ፡ ዝርወ፡
በፈቃድ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ነጽር፡ ብርሃነ፡ በኩሉ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ሕይወትኩ፡ ወዘይዐቢኒ፡ እምዝ፡
ሀለወኩ፡ ትሬኢ፡ ለእመ፡ ተአምን፡ ቦቱ።

Then he took the hand of the blind (man) and touched his eyes and said: 'In the name of Jesus Christ, who enlightened the darkness and healed the afflicted and gathered the dispersed according to his will, see the light all the days of your life! And if you believe in him, you will see also (things) greater than this.

As can be seen, there is no mention of the spit and the mud, Pantaŵewon instead simply taking the hand of the blind man and touching his eyes. The prayer which the saint then utters, however, begins in a similar fashion as the prayer in the antiphon, characterising Jesus as the illuminator of darkness, a detail which strengthens the supposition that the text of the antiphon refers to the same episode.

As in the case of some of the *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons for Pantaŵewon of the Cell, it seems unlikely that the edited Ethiopic *Life* was the direct source for the text of the antiphon. Looking for alternative sources, we turn first to the *Sankassār* (CAe 2375), where, as noticed above (3.2.1.1), the story of Pantaŵewon the Martyr is attested on two different dates.¹³²⁸ In the reading for 15 Ṭəqəmt, the blind man is healed when Pantaŵewon makes the sign of the cross over his eyes and says: 'In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'.¹³²⁹ In the reading for 19 Ḥamle, the saint instead lays his hand on the blind man's eyes and says: 'In the name of Our Lord Christ, may you see!'.¹³³⁰ The method of mud-making is absent from both, and in the absence of further texts or recensions—as far as I know—that describe this event, a briefly look beyond the Ethiopian border may be motivated.

¹³²⁶ Cf. Pisani 2006, p. 104 (edition), 147–148 (Italian translation), § 40.

¹³²⁷ Pisani 2006, p. 104 (edition), 148 (Italian translation).

¹³²⁸ Although the *Sankassār* (CAe 2375) was translated from the Arabic in the late fourteenth century, it is known to have incorporated traditions present in the Ethiopic literary culture before this time. See, e.g., Bausi 2010, p. 250, fn. 41.

¹³²⁹ Colin 1987, p. 86 (edition), 87 (French translation).

¹³³⁰ Guidi 1909, p. 358/[342] (edition and French translation).

The Arabic traditions concerning Pantaŕalewon the Martyr appear not yet to have been adequately studied,¹³³¹ and thus it has not been possible to carry out an adequate comparison with potential Vorlagen. In the only version which I have been able to check easily, the healing is performed by simply touching the blind man's eyes, as in the Ethiopic version edited by Pisani 2006.¹³³² This is also the case in the Greek versions published by Migne 1899 and Latyšev 1914, and in the Coptic (Sahidic) version published by Rossi 1893.¹³³³ To summarise, at the present state of affairs, the origin of motif of the mud healing the blind man's sight, as it appears in the antiphon Pantaŕalewon *wāzemā mazmur* 005, remains obscure (except for the biblical parallel quoted above).

However, it should be noted that wording of the antiphon is very close to what is found in the Gospel of John. Indeed, it appears that the antiphon extracts one element from John 9:1—*za- 'əwwuru tawalda* ('who was born blind')—and incorporates it into verse 6—*waraqa mādra wa-gabra šəbura ba-mārāqu wa-qab'a 'a 'yāntihu [...]* ('he spat on the ground and made mud with his spit and spread [it] on his eyes')¹³³⁴—and thus arrives at the version found in the antiphon collections. The ensuing prayer, however, does not display any similarities with the words uttered thereafter by Jesus. Given that the wording of the antiphon follows that of the Gospel almost verbatim, it is perhaps not impossible that the text of the antiphon was based exclusively on this source. However, in general, such an inventive approach—exchanging the original description of the events for a new one, based on extracts from the Gospel—does not seem characteristic of the genre of Ethiopic antiphons, and the possibility of the existence of a yet-to-be-identified Vorlage remains, in my opinion, the most likely.

¹³³¹ Graf 1944, p. 521 lists three Arabic versions of the text, attested in nine manuscripts. I have been able to consult only the first and second versions. The first Arabic version was consulted based on the sixteenth-century manuscript Vatican City, BAV Sbath. 542 (catalogued in Sbath 1928, pp. 4–6). For the second Arabic life listed by Graf 1944, I have consulted the seventeenth-century manuscript Paris, BnF Ar. 153 (catalogued in Slane 1883–1895, pp. 36a–37a), but due to its state of preservation, I have not been able to locate the relevant passage (if it is indeed to be found in that version).

¹³³² In the first Arabic life listed by Graf 1944, as least as attested in the manuscript Vatican City, BAV Sbath. 542, fol. 48r, the event appears as follows: حينئذ مسك مسك بندبلايمون بيد الاعما ومسح عيناه وقال له بسم السيد المسيح الذي ينير المظلمين ويجبر المنكسرين ويجمع المبددين ويعطف المظلّمين بمشيئته الان وقدرته ورافته فلتنك تبصر الضو ايام حياتك كلها. واكثر من هذا تبصر ان انت امنت به (*hīna 'iq masaka mask(an) Bandalāymūn bi-yad al-'a mā' wa-masaḥa 'aynāhu (!) wa-qāla lahu: bi-sm al-sayyid al-Masīḥ allaḍī yunīr al-muḥlimīn wa-yaḡbur al-munkasirīn wa-yaḡma 'al-mubaddadīn wa-ya 'īf al-muḥlimīn bi-maṣī'atihi al-'ān wa-quḍratihi wa-ra 'āfatihi, fa-la-takun tubṣir al-ḍaw' 'ayyām ḥayātika kullihā, wa-'aḡtar min hādā tubṣir 'in 'anta 'āmanta bihi*, 'Then Panteleimon took the hand of the blind one and touched his eyes and said: "In the name of the Lord Christ who enlightens the dark, restores the broken, gathers the scattered, and has compassion with the dark by His will now, and by His power and by His mercy, see the light all the days of your life! And you will see greater (things) than this, if you believe in Him"').

¹³³³ Migne 1899, col. 455 (Latin translation), col. 456 (edition); Latyšev 1914, p. 44 (edition); Rossi 1893, p. 50 (edition), 114 (Italian translation).

¹³³⁴ The variant *wa-qab'o* ('and spread it'), found in both attestations of the antiphon, is also attested in some manuscripts of the Gospel.

3.2.4 Comments

3.2.4.1 Introduction

After having gone through the entire corpus of antiphons for the commemoration of Pantaŭlewon as attested in the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus, there are several topics which need to be discussed from a more zoomed-out perspective. These include both topics of general nature, such as the distribution of quotations from different sources over the corpus, and the study of isolated topoi attested in more than one antiphon.

3.2.4.2 The distribution of the two Pantaŭlewons

In the above survey, many of the individual antiphons could be attributed either to Pantaŭlewon the Martyr or to Pantaŭlewon of the Cell. Such attributions have been identified either by explicit mention of the epithet of one or the other Pantaŭlewon, or by the presence of quotations from or allusions to either the *Life of Pantaŭlewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) or the *Life of Pantaŭlewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158). In Table 16, the distribution of such attributions is summarised. Based on this data, one can observe that:

- whereas attributions to Pantaŭlewon of the Cell appear in antiphons of most types, attributions to Pantaŭlewon the Martyr appear exclusively in *mazmur*-family antiphons and in one *wāzemā mazmur* antiphon;
- within the entire corpus, there is only one antiphon in which the two Pantaŭlewons are both mentioned;
- variable attribution—i.e. the attestation, in different collections, of both the epithet *samā 't*, ‘the martyr’, and *za-šomā 't*, ‘of the cell’, in the same antiphon—also appears only in one case.

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Table 16. The distribution of attributions to *Paṇṭalewon the Martyr* and *Paṇṭalewon of the Cell* in the individual antiphons.

| | none | unclear | both | Ṗ. of the Cell | Ṗ. the Martyr |
|-------------------------|------|---------|------|----------------|---------------|
| Ṗ. <i>wāzemā</i> 001 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>ba-ḥam.</i> 001 | | X | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>ba-ḥam.</i> 002 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>ba-ḥam.</i> 003 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>ba-ḥam.</i> 004* | ? | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>ʿAgz. n.</i> 001 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>ʿAgz. n.</i> 002 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>yətbāarak</i> 001 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>yətbāarak</i> 002 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>yətbāarak</i> 003 | | X | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 001 | | X | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 002 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 003 | | X | | | |

| | none | unclear | both | Ṗ. of the Cell | Ṗ. the Martyr |
|----------------------|------|---------|------|----------------|---------------|
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 004 | | | | ? | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 005 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 006 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 007 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 008 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 009 | | X | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 010 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 011 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 012 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>śalast</i> 013 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>salām</i> 001 | | X | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>salām</i> 002 | | X | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>salām</i> 003 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>salām</i> 004 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>salām</i> 005 | | X | | | |

| | none | unclear | both | Ṗ. of the Cell | Ṗ. the Martyr |
|-------------------------|------|---------|------|----------------|---------------|
| Ṗ. <i>salām</i> 006 | | | | ? | |
| Ṗ. <i>salām</i> 007* | ? | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>ʿarbā ʿt</i> 001 | | | | ? | |
| Ṗ. <i>ʿarbā ʿt</i> 002 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>ʿarbā ʿt</i> 003 | | | | ? | |
| Ṗ. <i>ʿəzl</i> 001 | | | | ? | |
| Ṗ. <i>ʿəzl</i> 002 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>ʿəzl</i> 003* | ? | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>māḥlet</i> 001 | | | X | | |
| Ṗ. <i>māḥlet</i> 002 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>māḥlet</i> 003* | ? | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>səbh. n.</i> 001 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>səbh. n.</i> 002 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>səbh. n.</i> 003 | X | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>səbh. n.</i> 004* | ? | | | | |

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| | none | unclear | both | Ṗ. of the Cell | Ṗ. the Martyr |
|-------------------------|------|---------|------|----------------|---------------|
| Ṗ. <i>səbh. n.</i> 005* | ? | | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 001 | | X | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 002 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 003 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 004 | | | | (X) | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 005 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 006 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 007 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 008 | | X | | | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 009 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 010 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 011 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 012 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 013 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 014 | | | | | X |

| | none | unclear | both | Ṗ. of the Cell | Ṗ. the Martyr |
|----------------------|------|---------|------|----------------|---------------|
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 015 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 016 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 017 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 018 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 019 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 020 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 021 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 022 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 023 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 024 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 025 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 026 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 027 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 028 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 029 | | | | X | |

| | none | unclear | both | Ṗ. of the Cell | Ṗ. the Martyr |
|------------------------|------|---------|------|----------------|---------------|
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 030 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 031 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 032 | | | | | X |
| Ṗ. <i>wā. maz.</i> 001 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>wā. maz.</i> 002 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>wā. maz.</i> 003 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>wā. maz.</i> 004 | | | | X | |
| Ṗ. <i>wā. maz.</i> 005 | | | | | X |

In Table 17, the corpora of antiphons attested in the individual collections have been reproduced, and this data has been combined with information about which *Ṣantaḡewon* each antiphon refers to. A letter ‘C’ indicates the presence of an antiphon attributed to *Ṣantaḡewon* of the Cell, and a letter ‘M’ the presence of an antiphon attributed to *Ṣantaḡewon* the Martyr. Antiphons which are not clearly attributable to either of the saints have retained the ‘X’ from Table 11.¹³³⁵ In this way, it is possible, for example, to see if any individual collection contains antiphons exclusively for one or the other of the two *Ṣantaḡewons*.

Analysing the data, we can first of all observe that the multiple-type collections, without exception, contain a mix of antiphons connected to *Ṣantaḡewon* the Martyr and to *Ṣantaḡewon* of the Cell. Turning to the single-type collections, we can observe first—based on what has been seen above regarding the distribution of the two *Ṣantaḡewons* among the different antiphon types—that the single-type collections of all antiphon types other than the *mazmur* family contain only antiphons which are either unattributable or pertain to *Ṣantaḡewon* of the Cell.

Looking at the *mazmur*-family collections, an interesting pattern appears. It turns out that the small set of *mazmur*-family antiphons shared between the collection in MS EMLL 6944 and the other single-type *mazmur*-family antiphon collections (see 3.2.2.1) contains a mix of antiphons for both *Ṣantaḡewon* of the Cell and *Ṣantaḡewon* the Martyr. However—and this is an important observation—none of the two antiphons which are explicitly or implicitly dedicated to *Ṣantaḡewon* the Martyr—i.e. the antiphons *Ṣantaḡewon mazmur* (‘*abun / məsbāk*’) 004 and *Ṣantaḡewon mazmur* (‘*əasma la-‘ālam*’) 006—contain direct quotations from the *Life of Ṣantaḡewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158). Instead, one of them contains (at least in the earliest attestation, in MS EMLL 6944; cf. the discussion in 3.2.3.43) the explicit epithet *samā‘t* (‘the Martyr’), and the other seems to contain a reference to the tortures which the martyr saint endured, although this identification is not completely certain.

As has already been observed (3.2.2.1), a large set of additional *mazmur*-family antiphons is shared between MS EMLL 7618 and the addition by Hand C in MS GG-187 (and shared in its entirety with the multiple-type collection in the nineteenth-century manuscript EMLL 7285, and in large parts also with the other multiple-type collections). The antiphons in this addition, in stark contrast to the preceding ones, concerns *only* *Ṣantaḡewon* the Martyr. With only a few exceptions, they consist of direct quotations from the *Life of Ṣantaḡewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158).

¹³³⁵ In the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, where three hands have contributed to the collection in different stages, the names of the hands (‘A’, ‘B’, and ‘C’) have been written in subscript after the abbreviation for the respective *Ṣantaḡewon*.

How can this situation be interpreted? It appears that several different strata can be discerned in the material. The oldest one is found in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS EML 6944. In the antiphons found here, there is no evidence of the direct use of the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) as a source. Nonetheless, both Pantaŵons are represented. In the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, the different stages in the successive development of the manuscript correspond to different strata in the development of the corpus: The part written by Hand A corresponds, as we have seen, to the antiphons found in the collections in MS EML 6944, i.e. lacks direct quotations from the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158). The additions by Hand C, however, add the corpus of antiphons which derive primarily from this source.¹³³⁶ In the collection in MS EML 7618, this additional corpus has already been incorporated into the main body of the commemoration. Parts of these newly created antiphons have survived into the mainstream multiple-type collection, as testified by the great majority of such collections.¹³³⁷ Consequently, it appears that we can identify, in the fourteenth century, an enlargement of the corpus of *mazmur*-family antiphons for Pantaŵon by the creation of a series of antiphons derived from a hitherto untapped source: the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158). The saint Pantaŵon the Martyr was evidently commemorated already before, but for whatever reason, his life had not been used as a source for *Daggwā*-type antiphons.¹³³⁸ Further studies of the corpora of antiphons for individual commemorations are necessary to determine whether this is an isolated occurrence or whether the fourteenth(–fifteenth) century was, in general, a period in which the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons was expanded.

It should be underlined that the new antiphons all entered the category of *mazmur*-family antiphons. The reason why this specific antiphon type was prone to receiving additions should probably be sought in its liturgical use and cannot be further pursued in this context. Perhaps, the metrical requirements for this antiphon type were (or are) less strict than for others. At the current state of knowledge, we can simply observe that within the ‘grammar’ of the ‘cathedral’ Divine Office in the Ethiopic tradition, the *mazmur*-family antiphons acted as an open word class, keen to absorb new elements, unlike other antiphon types, for

¹³³⁶ Before the addition of Hand C, Hand B has added one antiphon for Pantaŵon of the Cell: Pantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*əsmā la-‘ālam*) 028.

¹³³⁷ The collection in MS EML 7285, further discussed in 3.4.1.3.2, is a glaring exception to this, as it preserved all of the antiphons pertaining to this addition.

¹³³⁸ Of course, other explanations are also possible: it may be that the additional set of antiphons present in MS EML 7618 and added by Hand C in MS GG-187 represents another school within the Ethiopic tradition, and that what we are witnessing is rather the merging of different local traditions. However, based on the available evidence, where the first set is attested on its own in two manuscripts—MS EML 6944 and the first layer of MS GG-187—whereas the second is only attested in conjunction with the first, it seems more likely that we are observing the addition of a set of new antiphons.

which there tends to exist a smaller corpus of antiphons and to which quotations from other texts are not as easily incorporated.¹³³⁹

¹³³⁹ For a counterexample, see, however, the discussion of the antiphon 'Aragāwi 'Igzi' *abəher nagša* 001.

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Table 17. The distribution of antiphons attributed to *Pan̄talewon the Martyr* and *Pan̄talewon of the Cell* in the individual collections.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|------|------|--|--|--|--|---|---|--|--|--|--|---|
| DS-VIII | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DS-XX | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7078 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 6694 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7618 | [x] | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BnF Éth. 92 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2095 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GG-187 | [3] | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES SSB-002 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GG-185 | | [x] | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8678 | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8488 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ĵanäsee 172 | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 4667 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8804 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7174 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2542 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 1894 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| UUB O Et. 36 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES QS-006 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES DD-019 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2053 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP704/1/36 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP432/1/10 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7529 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 6994 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2431 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMDA 00111 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7285 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP254/1/5 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MD 1994 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MD 2015 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṗ. məsbāk 001 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṗ. məsbāk 002 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṗ. məsbāk 003 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṗ. wāzemā 001 | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | | | | | | C | | | | | |
| Ṗ. ba-ḥam. 001 | X | | X | X* | X* | X | X | X | X | X* | X | X* | X* | X | X* | X* | X* | X* | | X | (X*) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṗ. ba-ḥam. 002 | X* | | X* | X* | X* | | | | X* | X* | | | | X* | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṗ. ba-ḥam. 003 | | | | | | X* | X* | X* | | X* | | X | X | | X | X | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṗ. ba-ḥam. 004* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X* | | | (X*) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṗ. 'Ėgz. n. 001 | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | | | | | C | C | | | | | |
| Ṗ. 'Ėgz. n. 002 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | C | | | | | |
| Ṗ. yətbāarak 001 | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | X |

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|----------------|--------|----|--------|--------|--------|---|---|---|--------|---|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|--|--|---|
| DS-VIII | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DS-XX | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7078 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 6694 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7618 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BnF Éth. 92 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2095 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GG-187 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES SSB-002 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GG-185 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8678 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8488 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ĵanāsee 172 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 4667 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8804 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7174 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2542 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 1894 | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| UUB O Et. 36 | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES QS-006 | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES DD-019 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2053 | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP704/1/36 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP432/1/10 | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7529 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 6994 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2431 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMDA 00111 | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7285 | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP254/1/5 | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MD 1994 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MD 2015 | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ĥ. śalast 011 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ĥ. śalast 012 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ĥ. śalast 013 | C | C | C | C | | C | C | C | | | C | (C) | C | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ĥ. salām 001 | X | | X | X | X X | X | X | X | X X | | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | | | | | | | | X |
| Ĥ. salām 002 | X X | | X X | X X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | (X) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | | X | | | | X | | | | | X |
| Ĥ. salām 003 | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | | | | C | | | | C | | | | | | C |
| Ĥ. salām 004 | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | C | C | C | | C | C | C | C | | C | | | C | | | C | | | | | | C |
| Ĥ. salām 005 | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | | X | | | X | | | | | | X |
| Ĥ. salām 006 | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | | | | | | X | | | X | | | | | | X |
| Ĥ. salām 007* | | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ĥ. 'arbā't 001 | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | | |
| Ĥ. 'arbā't 002 | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | | | | C | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

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| DS-VIII | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DS-XX | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7078 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 6694 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7618 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BnF Éth. 92 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2095 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GG-187 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES SSB-002 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GG-185 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8678 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8488 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṭānāsee 172 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 4667 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8804 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7174 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2542 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 1894 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| UUB O Et. 36 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES QS-006 | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES DD-019 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2053 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP704/1/36 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP432/1/10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7529 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 6994 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2431 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMDA 00111 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7285 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP254/1/5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MID 1994 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MID 2015 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. 'arbā'ṭ 003 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. 'əzl 001 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. 'əzl 002 | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | C | C | C | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. 'əzl 003* | | | | | | | | | | | | X* | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. māḥlet 001 | C M | | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | C M | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. māḥlet 002 | C | | C | C | C | | | | C | | | C | C | | | | | | C | | C | | | | | | C | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. māḥlet 003* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X* | | | | | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. səbh. n. 001 | | | | | C | C | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. səbh. n. 002 | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. səbh. 002/003/004* | | | | | | | | X* | | | | | | | X* | | | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. səbh. n. 003 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Ṗ. səbh. n. 004* | | | | X* | X* | | | | | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | MD 2015 | MD 1994 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Ĵanäsee 172 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | GG-185 | ES SSB-002 | GG-187 | EMML 2095 | BnF Éth. 92 | EMML 7618 | EMML 6694 | EMML 7078 | DS-XX | DS-VIII |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|---------|
| Ė. <i>səbh. n.</i> 005* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X* | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 001 | ? | | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | | | | ? | ? | | ? | | | ? | | | ? | ? | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 002 | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C _A | | | C | C | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 003 | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | | | C _A | | | C | C | | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 004 | M | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M | M | | M | M | M | | M _A | | M | M | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 005 | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | | | C _A | | | C | C | | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 006 | M | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M | M | M | | M _A | | | | M | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 007 | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | C | | C | C | C | C | | C | C | C | | C _A | | | | C | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 008 | ? | | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | | | | ? | | | | ? | | | ? | | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 009 | M | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M | | | | | | M | | | M _C | | | M | | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 010 | M | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | | | | | | | | | | M _C | | | M | | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 011 | M | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M | M | M | M | | M | M | | M | | M | M | | | M _C | | | M | | | | |
| Ė. <i>mazmur</i> 012 | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | | M | | | M _C | | | M | | | | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | DS-VIII | DS-XX | EMML 7078 | EMML 6694 | EMML 7618 | BnF Éth. 92 | EMML 2095 | GG-187 | ES SSB-002 | GG-185 | EMML 8678 | EMML 8488 | Ţanăşee 172 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8804 | EMML 7174 | EMML 2542 | EMML 1894 | UUB O Et. 36 | ES QS-006 | ES DD-019 | EMML 2053 | EAP704/1/36 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 7529 | EMML 6994 | EMML 2431 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 7285 | EAP254/1/5 | MD 1994 | MD 2015 | |
|---------------|---------|-------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------|------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|---------|---------|---|
| Þ. mazmur 013 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | M | | | | |
| Þ. mazmur 014 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | M | | | (M) | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M |
| Þ. mazmur 015 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | M | | | | | | | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | | M |
| Þ. mazmur 016 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | M | | | | |
| Þ. mazmur 017 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | M | | (M) | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M |
| Þ. mazmur 018 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | M | | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M |
| Þ. mazmur 019 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M |
| Þ. mazmur 020 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | M | | (M) | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | | M | M | M | M | M | M | | M |
| Þ. mazmur 021 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | M | | | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | | | (M) | | M | M | M | M | M | | M |
| Þ. mazmur 022 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | M | | | | |
| Þ. mazmur 023 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | M | | | | |
| Þ. mazmur 024 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | M | | | | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Þ. mazmur 025 | | | | | M | | | Mc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | M | | | | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

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| DS-VIII | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DS-XX | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7078 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 6694 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7618 | M | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BnF Éth. 92 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2095 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GG-187 | Mc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | (C) | C | C | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES SSB-002 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GG-185 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8678 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8488 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tānāsee 172 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | (C) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 4667 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8804 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7174 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2542 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 1894 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| UUB O Et. 36 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES QS-006 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ES DD-019 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2053 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP704/1/36 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP432/1/10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7529 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 6994 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2431 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMDA 00111 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EMML 7285 | M | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAP254/1/5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MD 1994 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MD 2015 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Þ. mazmur 026 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Þ. mazmur 027 | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | (C) | C | C | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Þ. mazmur 028 | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Þ. mazmur 029 | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Þ. mazmur 030 | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | (C) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Þ. mazmur 031 | M | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Þ. mazmur 032 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Þ. wā. maz. 001 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | C | | | | | |
| | Þ. wā. maz. 002 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | C | | | | | |
| | Þ. wā. maz. 003 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | C | | | | | |
| | Þ. wā. maz. 004 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | C | | | | | |
| | Þ. wā. maz. 005 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | M | M | | | | | |

3.2.4.3 The use of source texts

As we have seen in the discussions of the individual antiphons for Ġanṭalewon, two main source texts have been used in the antiphons for Ġanṭalewon: the *Life of Ġanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) and the *Life of Ġanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532). To these can also be added the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), which was used as a source text for at least some of the *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons for Ġanṭalewon of the Cell.

These three *Lives* have been used in very different ways. Whereas the *Life of Ġanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158), and to some extent the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), have served as sources for direct quotations, in many cases consisting of direct speech and only in isolated cases rewritten, a majority of the references to *Life of Ġanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) consist instead of individual phrases—primarily, but not exclusively,¹³⁴⁰ the phrase about the garment of Ġanṭalewon—to which have been added, before or after, phrases of other origin.

It appears that the corpora of antiphons for the two Ġanṭalewons exemplify two distinct intertextual approaches: whereas the *Life of Ġanṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) has been used as a direct source for a large majority of the antiphons connected to this saint, and thus clearly predates them, the *Life of Ġanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) displays much more restricted overlaps with the texts of the antiphons: a few isolated phrases and references to narrative episodes. Because of the more restricted textual overlaps, it is less obvious in which direction the influence has been going: from the *Life* to the antiphons, or from the antiphons to the *Life*. One might hypothesise that the corpus of antiphons for Ġanṭalewon of the Cell could stem from a time before the *Life* was written. Perhaps, traditions concerning the saint were already largely established and circulating orally. Such oral traditions, perhaps combined with an already extant corpus of antiphons, could then later have been used as sources for the composition of a longer text: the *Life*. See further below, 3.2.4.4, 3.3.4.3, and 3.3.4.4.

The sources of the *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons require a special comment. In the case of Ġanṭalewon of the Cell, most of the four antiphons—if not all—appear to be based on the *Life of Kāleb* (CAe 6507), a text of extreme rarity. In the case of Ġanṭalewon the Martyr, no source for the tradition attested in the antiphon could be identified. The use of unusual sources, coupled with the apparently discontinued transmission of this antiphon type, makes a more thorough analysis of the sources used in the creation of the *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons, also for

¹³⁴⁰ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons Ġanṭalewon *wāzemā* 001 and Ġanṭalewon *mazmur* (‘asma la-‘ālam) 029, and of the antiphon Ġanṭalewon *yātbārak* 003. Looser allusions to episodes and phrases in the *Life of Ġanṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) are furthermore found both in these three antiphons and in the antiphon Ġanṭalewon *mazmur* (‘asma la-‘ālam) 030.

other commemorations, a desideratum as the study of Ethiopic antiphon collections continues in the future.

3.2.4.4 The phrase *šenā 'albāsihu la-('abbā) Pāṇṭalewon kama šenā səḥin* One of the most common theme in the antiphons for Pāṇṭalewon (of the Cell) analysed above is expressed in the phrase *šenā 'albāsihu la-('abbā) Pāṇṭalewon kama šenā səḥin* ('the scent of the garment of ('Abbā) Pāṇṭalewon is like the scent of frankincense'), sometimes followed by the phrase *'albāsihu za-melāt za-warada wəsta gannat* ('his fine linen garment which descended into Paradise').¹³⁴¹ The first appears, in more or less complete form, in seventeen out of the eighty-one antiphons found in the corpus (in two of these, however, only in some attestations).¹³⁴² The second is found in six of these seventeen, and on its own in one additional antiphon.¹³⁴³ Due to their commonness, it seems appropriate to devote a special discussion to these phrases.

In spite of the widespread attestation of these phrases in the corpus of antiphons, the main variations in the different attestations—across antiphons and collections—consist either of the inclusion or exclusion of the title *'abbā* in front of the name Pāṇṭalewon, or of occasional cases of omission or dittography of individual words. For these kinds of variation, see the discussions of the individual antiphons. Next to these, there is a small number of more substantial variants. These are summarised below, beginning with the first of the two phrases: In the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon 'əzl 002, the first attestation in MS EMMML 2053 has *'albāsika* ('[the scent of] your garment') in the place of *'albāsihu* ('[the scent of] the garment of [Pāṇṭalewon]'). This is part of a larger harmonisation of third person forms to second person forms found in that particular attestation of the antiphon. In the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *māḥlet* 002, two collections—those in MSS EMDA 00111 and EAP432/1/10—have *'albāsihu-ssa* ('[the scent of] the garment of [Pāṇṭalewon]', with a focal particle) against the common *'albāsihu*

¹³⁴¹ Although not directly relevant for the topic under discussion, it may be noted that the same text—with the only modification that the words *la-('abbā) Pāṇṭalewon* are exchanged for *la-Gabra Manfas Qəddus*—is presently used in a *mazmur* hymn for St Gabra Manfas Qəddus. For a well-argued alternative explanation of the evidence discussed in this section, see now Brita 2024, pp. 391–402.

¹³⁴² The antiphons that contain the phrase *šenā 'albāsihu la-('abbā) Pāṇṭalewon kama šenā səḥin* are Pāṇṭalewon 'Əgzi 'abəher nagśa 001, Pāṇṭalewon 'Əgzi 'abəher nagśa 002, Pāṇṭalewon *śalast* 002a, 002b; Pāṇṭalewon *śalast* 013 (in some attestations), Pāṇṭalewon *salām* 003, Pāṇṭalewon *'arbā 't* 001 (in one attestation, otherwise the phrase is only partially found), Pāṇṭalewon *'arbā 't* 002, Pāṇṭalewon *'arbā 't* 003, Pāṇṭalewon 'əzl 001 (in some attestations), Pāṇṭalewon 'əzl 002a, 002b; Pāṇṭalewon *māḥlet* 002, Pāṇṭalewon *səbhata nagh* 001, Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* ('əśma la- 'ālam) 002, Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* ('abun) 003, Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* ('əśma la- 'ālam) 007a, 007b; Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* ('abun) 027a, 027b; Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* ('əśma la- 'ālam) 028.

¹³⁴³ In the following antiphons, the phrase *šenā 'albāsihu la-('abbā) Pāṇṭalewon kama šenā səḥin* is followed by the phrase *'albāsihu za-melāt za-warada wəsta gannat*: Pāṇṭalewon 'Əgzi 'abəher nagśa 001, Pāṇṭalewon *salām* 003, Pāṇṭalewon *'arbā 't* 002, Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* ('əśma la- 'ālam) 007a, 007b; Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* ('abun) 027a, 027b; Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* ('əśma la- 'ālam) 028. In the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* ('abun) 005, only the latter phrase is found.

(same meaning, without focal particle). Within the second phrase, the following more substantial points of variations are found: The attestation of the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *salām* 003 in the single-type collection in MS EMML 7618 has the words *nāhu warada* (‘behold, [his fine linen garment] has descended’) against the common *za-warada* (‘[his fine linen garment] which has descended’). The attestation of the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 005 in the collection in MS EMML 2053, in the corresponding place, has *warada* (‘[his fine linen garment] descended’) without a relative pronouns, while the attestation of the same antiphon in MS EMDA 00111 originally had *za-warada ’am-samāyāt* (‘[his fine linen garment] descended from the heavens’), albeit the word *’am-samāyāt* has secondarily been marked for deletion. The first attestation of the antiphon Pāṇṭalewon *mazmur* (‘*asma la-’ālam*’) 007 in MS EMML 6994 has a feminine *za-waradat* (‘[his fine linen garment] which has descended’) against the more common masculine form *za-warada* (same meaning). All in all, there is a remarkable stability in the way these phrases are transmitted in various antiphons. Presumably, this reflects the central role played by this theme in the cult of Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell.

As for its textual origin, the first phrase is clearly a reworking of Cant. 4:11b, which in the edition by Gleave 1951 appears as follows:¹³⁴⁴

ወጼና፡ አልባሰኪ፡ ከመ፡ ጼና፡ ስኒን፡

And the scent of your (fem.) garment is like the scent of frankincense.

This quotation has been adapted by adding Pāṇṭalewon as the explicit possessor of the garment. In the apparatus, Gleave 1951 lists the variant *’anfəki* (‘thy nose’) appearing in the place of *’albāsəki* (‘thy garments’)¹³⁴⁵—this variant has not had any afterlife in the transmission of the antiphon. For the second phrase, I have not been able to identify any biblical source text.

However, as noticed in the discussions of the individual antiphons, parallels to both the first and the second phrase are found in the *Life of Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell* (CAe 1532). There, they appear in the following form (in the edition of Brita 2008):¹³⁴⁶

ጼና፡ አልባሰኪ፡ ከመ፡ ጼና፡ ስኒን፡ ወጸግዕትከኒ፡ ከመ፡ ጼና፡ ገነት፡ ወአልባሰሁ፡
ዘሜላት፡ ዘወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ገነት፡ አውረደ፡ ቃሎ፡ ኅቤክ፡ [...]

This could tentatively be translated as follows:

¹³⁴⁴ Gleave 1951, p. 20 (edition), 21 (English translation).

¹³⁴⁵ Cf. Gleave 1951, p. 20.

¹³⁴⁶ Brita 2008, p. 309 (edition), 338 (Italian translation), § 87; cf. also Conti Rossini 1904c, p. 51 (edition); Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 47 (Latin translation).

The scent of your garment is like the scent of frankincense and
(the scent of) your cell is like the scent of Paradise and (like the
scent of) His fine linen garment. He who descended into
Paradise has sent down His voice to you [...].

However, the translation of this passage—especially regarding the way in which the words *wa-’albāsihu za-melāt* (‘and (like the scent of) His fine linen garment’, in the translation above) connect to the surrounding phrases—is by no means trivial. Brita 2008 connects these words to the following phrase, translating: ‘Colui che è disceso con le sue vesti di porpora nel Paradiso ha portato la sua voce presso di te [...]’. The same analysis is offered by Conti Rossini 1904d: ‘Ille qui purpureis vestibus in Eden descenderat vocem suam ad te misit [...]’.¹³⁴⁷ However, the rendering of *’albāsihu za-melāt* as an adverbial phrase within the subsequent relative clause is not unproblematic. If this is the intended meaning, one would have expected, at least in some witnesses, a reading **ba-’albāsihu za-melāt* or the like. It may further be noticed that at least four out of the nine manuscripts used by Brita 2008 have the reading *wa-’albāsika-ni* instead of the *wa-’albāsihu* adopted by Brita 2008 in the main text.¹³⁴⁸ These four manuscripts all descend from subarchetype γ, and the reading with a second person singular possessive suffix is listed by Brita 2008 as a shared innovation of this family.¹³⁴⁹ The second person singular possessive suffix continues the preceding second person singular suffixes and could have arisen by influence from these, as suggested by Brita 2008. Simultaneously, it could also represent a conscious modification of the text, intended to ascribe clearly the ‘fine linen garment’ to the saint rather than to Christ–God. This is as it appears in the antiphon. Conversely, it should not be included that the version with a third person singular possessive suffix, reconstructible to the archetype of the edited *Life of Pantaŵon of the Cell* (CAe 1532), could have been influenced by the text of the antiphons, in which the entire expression is (most commonly) in the third person.¹³⁵⁰

What, then, is the relationship between the recurrent phrases of the antiphons and the passage in the *Life of Pantaŵon of the Cell* (CAe 1532)? On a textual level, one immediately notices that some parts of the text in the *Life* lack a correspondence into the antiphons. The characterisation of the cell are missing from the antiphons, and the second clause ends after the word *gannat* (‘Paradise’),

¹³⁴⁷ Conti Rossini 1904d, p. 47 (Latin translation).

¹³⁴⁸ According to the apparatus in the edition by Brita 2008, MS Tānāsee 177 (= MS F) also shares this reading; however, this manuscript has *ⲱⲕⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲓ*: (cf. MS Tānāsee 177, fol. 89va, l. 29–89vb, l. 1).

¹³⁴⁹ Brita 2008, p. 283.

¹³⁵⁰ I am grateful to Dorothea Reule and Nafisa Valieva for discussing this difficult passage with me. Valieva points to the fact that the text, as it appears in the *Life*, has a parallelistic structure, in which the garment of the saint is first praised, then his cell; then the garment of ‘Him who descended’ appears, and finally (in the sentence following what was quoted above), it is said that ‘the Holy Spirit comforted itself with you in your abode’.

missing the finite verb *'awrada* ('he sent down') and the words that follow it. In connection to this, it should be noted that at least three out of the nine manuscripts consulted by Brita 2008 have a punctuation mark after the word *gannat*.¹³⁵¹

How are the phrases found in the antiphons and the parallels in *Life of Pantaŵon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) related? Several hypotheses can be posited. It could be that: a) the antiphons are quoting from the *Life*. This may seem as the most natural presumption, given the frequent quotations from the other sources identified in this chapter. However, if this is the case, it must be underlined that the quotations from the *Life of Pantaŵon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) behave completely differently from the quotations from the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158). In the latter case, the entire antiphons are, as a rule, quoted from the source text. Occasionally, certain adaptations have been carried out, such as rearranging the order of constituents or making grammatical roles more explicit, but the quotations are not combined with other materials. The antiphons which contain the phrase about the garment of Pantaŵon, on the other hand, more often than not add additional phrases, either taken from a biblical source or unidentified.

Another possibility concerning the relationship between these phrases in the *Life of Pantaŵon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) and in the antiphons is that: b) the antiphons represent an earlier stage, and that rather the *Life* was inspired by the antiphons. Too little is still known about the processes which led to the compilation of lives for indigenous Ethiopic saints, but it is not inconceivable that they were based on traditions already existent in the communities.¹³⁵² A corpus of antiphons, used in the local liturgical veneration of the saints, could have been one of the forms in which these traditions materialised before the lives were written down. Although the *salām* collection in the pre-mid-fourteenth-century MS DS-VIII is at present difficult to fixate chronologically, it is doubtlessly an indication of the venerable age of the use of the phrase about the garment of Pantaŵon in *Daggwā*-type antiphons, possibly predating the *Life*.¹³⁵³

3.2.4.5 The phrase *'anqā 'dawa samāya*, etc.

Several of the antiphons that consist of quotations from the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) have a similar form: the saint looks up into heaven and pronounces a prayer, often taken from the Book of Psalms. As these antiphons

¹³⁵¹ Brita 2008 notes this in the apparatus for the two manuscripts Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 110 (= A) and Dabra Šayon Māryām, EMMML 7602 (= B). A punctuation mark is also found in MS Dāgā 'Eṣṭifānos 66 (Tānāsee 177; = F); cf. fol. 89vb, l. 2.

¹³⁵² Brita 2010 writes about the *Life of Liqānos* (CAe 1474) that it 'appare come il prodotto di rimasticature di tradizioni locali' (Brita 2010, p. ix).

¹³⁵³ As noted by Brita 2010, the earliest attestation of the *Life of Pantaŵon of the Cell* (CAe 1532) is found in the manuscript Dabra Šayon Māryām, EMMML 7602, dated to 1379/1380–1413 (Brita 2010, p. 145).

frequently display the same textual variants, it is opportune to look at the variation on a higher level than the individual antiphon. Only the single isogloss *'anqā 'dawa* ('looked up [into heaven]') versus *'anqā 'diwo* ('looking up [into heaven]') has been taken into account, as this is the main point of variation. Additionally, the original text from the *Life of Pantaŵon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) has been included in the table. On all seven occasions, the manuscripts of the *Life* have a simple perfect form *'anqā 'dawa*. In one case—in the source text for the antiphon *Pantaŵon mazmur ('asma la- 'ālam)* 018—some manuscripts of the *Life* have instead a perfect form of the verb *naṣṣara* ('look'), but as we have seen in the discussion of the antiphon *Pantaŵon mazmur ('asma la- 'ālam)* 018, this variant is not reflected in the text of the antiphon.

As can be seen in Table 18, the single-type collections consistently agree with the *Life* in having a perfect form *'anqā 'dawa*. This stands in stark contrast to the attestations in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, where instead the gerund *'anqā 'diwo* is found in twelve out of thirteen cases, appearing in a majority of attestations in each of the collections of this category. Moving on to the post-sixteenth-century collections, there is much less uniformity. Here the preference between the gerund and the perfect appears to be dependent upon the individual antiphon, so that, for example, the perfect form *'anqā 'dawa* dominates in the antiphon *Pantaŵon mazmur ('abun)* 011, the gerund *'anqā 'diwo* in the antiphon *Pantaŵon mazmur ('asma la- 'ālam)* 018, and both forms appear with about the same frequency in the antiphon *Pantaŵon mazmur ('abun)* 015.

Based on this study on the micro-level, one could hypothesise that the text of the *Life* was originally taken over into the antiphons without any adaptation. This is the state of affairs that we encounter in the single-type collections. Then, perhaps in connection with the shift from single- to multiple-type collections, the texts of the antiphons went through a textual revision, which, in the case of the antiphons currently under discussion, entailed the introduction of the gerund form of verb for looking up. Perhaps, this was perceived as a way of smoothening the Geez and making it more idiomatic. This would be the stage encountered in the early, pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. In the more modern stage of the tradition, after the sixteenth century, it appears that the transmission of the antiphons worked in a different way. It is possible that these collections were compiled out of different earlier sources, some of which had been more refined whereas others represented an earlier, more unpolished stage of textual development, and in the end, the transmission history of the individual antiphon came to decide which form became current. This considerations are, of course, based only on a textual detail in a limited number of antiphons and collections. It remains to be seen if similar patterns can be discerned in other parts of the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons.

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Table 18. Distribution of the variants 'anqā' dawa and 'anqā' diwo.

| | | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 | Pisani 2006 |
|---------------|---------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------------|
| Ṗ. mazmur 011 | አንቃዕደው: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | – | X | | X | X | – | | | – | | | | X | X | 12/12 |
| | አንቃዕዲዎ: | | | | | | | | | – | | X | | | – | X | X | – | X | X | X | | | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. mazmur 013 | አንቃዕደው: | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | X | X | 12/12 |
| | አንቃዕዲዎ: | – | – | X | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. mazmur 015 | አንቃዕደው: | X | X | X | | X ^a | | | X | | | | X | X | | – | – | – | – | – | – | X | X | 12/12 |
| | አንቃዕዲዎ: | | | | ? | | X | X | | X | X | X | | | X | – | – | – | – | – | X | | | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. mazmur 016 | አንቃዕደው: | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | X | X | 12/12 |
| | አንቃዕዲዎ: | – | – | X | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. mazmur 018 | አንቃዕደው: | | | | | X | X | | | – | | | | X | | | | | | – | X | X | X | 8/12 ^b |
| | አንቃዕዲዎ: | X | X | X | X | | | X ^c | X | – | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | – | | | | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. mazmur 023 | አንቃዕደው: | – | – | X | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | X | X | 11/11 ^d |
| | አንቃዕዲዎ: | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. mazmur 032 | አንቃዕደው: | – | – | – | | – | – | – | | – | – | X | | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 12/12 |
| | አንቃዕዲዎ: | – | – | – | X | – | – | – | (X) | – | – | | X | X | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 0/12 |

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^a The word አንቃዕደው has been changed into አንቃዕዲዎ፡.

^b The remaining manuscripts have instead the verb *naṣṣara* ('looked').

^c The word አንቃዕዲዎ፡ has been changed into አንቃዕደው.

^d In one of the manuscripts consulted by Pisani 2006, the word is reportedly illegible.

In Table 19, the isogloss *wəsta samāy* (‘[looked up] into heaven’) versus *samāya* (same meaning) versus other variants is displayed in the same way as in Table 18. With regard to this formulaic expression, the manuscripts of the *Life of Pantañewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) are in less agreement.

Generally speaking, the antiphon collections show a preponderance for the use of an accusative object *samāya*. Out of the seventy attestations of this expression in the studied corpus, there are only five attestations of expressions that include the prepositional phrase *wəsta samāy*. Four of these are found in single-type collections, whereas the last is found in MS EMMML 7285, in an antiphon only attested in this manuscript and in single-type collections (see 3.2.2.1). However, it should be noted that in other antiphons, the same single-type collections also display the variant with an accusative object. This situation stands in stark contrast with the situation found in the respective phrases in the source text, the *Life of Pantañewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158). Out of eighty-four attestations of this expression in parallel phrases, there are only seven cases in which the verb takes an accusative object *samāya*. All of these appear within one specific phrase and only in one branch of the transmission, i.e. in some of the manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *d*. In all the rest, a prepositional phrase *wəsta samāy* appears, sometimes preceded by an adverbial *lā ‘la*. In the entry about the word *’anqā ‘dawa* in Dillmann 1865, both the constructions with an accusative object and with a prepositional phrase with *wəsta* are mentioned.¹³⁵⁴ As in the case of the dichotomy between *’anqā ‘dawa* and *’anqā ‘diwo*, I believe that the explanation of this distribution of the different forms ought to be sought in a conscious effort to improve the Geez.

¹³⁵⁴ Dillmann 1865, cols 456–457.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

Table 19. The distribution of the variants *lā‘la wəsta samāy*, *wəsta samāy*, and *samāya*.

| | | MD 2015 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | GG-187 (C) | EMML 7618 | Pisani 2006 |
|----------------------|----------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 011 | ላዕለ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | | | | | | | | | – | | | | | – | | | – | | | | X | X | 8/12 ^a |
| | ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | | | | | | | | | – | | | | | – | | | – | | | | | | 4/12 |
| | ሰማየ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | – | X | X | X ^b | X | – | X | X | – | X | X | X | | | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 013 | ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | – | – | X | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | X | X | 12/12 |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 015 | ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | – | – | – | – | – | | | | 12/12 |
| | ሰማየ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | – | – | – | – | – | X | X | X | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 016 | ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | | 5/12 ^c |
| | ሰማየ፡ | – | – | X | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | X | X | 7/12 ^d |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 018 | ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | | | | | | | | | – | | | | | | | | | – | | | | | 12/12 |
| | ሰማየ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | – | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | – | X | X | X | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 023 | ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | – | – | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | | 12/12 |
| | ሰማየ፡ | – | – | X | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | X | X | 0/12 |
| Ṗ. <i>mazmur</i> 032 | ላዕለ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | – | – | – | | – | – | – | | – | – | | | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 8/12 ^a |
| | ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ | – | – | – | | – | – | – | | – | – | | | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 4/12 |
| | ሰማየ፡ | – | – | – | X | – | – | – | (X) | – | – | X | X | X | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 0/12 |

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^a All of these manuscripts depend on subarchetype *b*; however, there are also two manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *b* which do not share this reading.

^b MS: ḏ^σḡḏḡ:

^c This reading is shared by the manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *a*, by the textually ‘earliest’ manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *b*, as well as by one of the manuscripts dependent on subarchetype *i*.

^d All of these manuscripts depend on subarchetype *d*; however, there is also one manuscript dependent on subarchetype *d* which does not share this reading.

3.3 'Abbā 'Aragāwi (antiphons shared between Group A and Group B)

3.3.1 Introduction

Within the modern *Daggwā*, the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi on 14 Ṭəqəmt gives a unitary impression. However, upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that this commemoration—like the commemoration of Pāntalewon discussed above—includes antiphons for two different saints:

- a) 'Abbā 'Aragāwi (አባ፡ አረጋዊ፡), who, like Pāntalewon of the Cell, is one of the so-called 'Nine Saints,' traditionally said to have evangelised Northern Ethiopia in the fifth–sixth century AD;
- b) the semi-legendary common Christian saint Gabra Krəstos (ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡, lit. 'Servant of Christ'), known in other church traditions as St Alexius or Alexis, or as the 'Man of God', who was born rich but became a beggar and lived anonymously at the door of his father.

Below, these two saints and their veneration in the Ethiopic Christian tradition are introduced. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, only a restricted number of antiphons from the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi (and Gabra Krəstos) will be discussed: eighteen, to be precise. The reason for this is that the antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi have been included with a clearly defined purpose: to study the relationship, on a textual level, between the Group A collections and the Group B collections, as described in Chapter 2 (2.2). As the commemoration of Pāntalewon is not attested in Group B collections, the selected antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi are intended to complement the corpus of antiphons discussed above and to offer a glimpse into the Group A–Group B relations. The choice of antiphons has also been based on this aim, so that only those antiphons, attested in the Minor Corpus, which appear in *at least two Group A collection* and in *at least two Group B collections* have been included. The numbering of the antiphons is, however, based on the complete survey of antiphons for the commemoration, which, nonetheless, for the moment must remain unpublished.

3.3.1.1 'Abbā 'Aragāwi

As mentioned above, 'Abbā 'Aragāwi is another of the so-called 'Nine Saints', which according to the tradition came from the Mediterranean world in the fifth–sixth century AD and played an important role in the consolidation of Christianity in Northern Ethiopia.¹³⁵⁵ The sources for his life are similar to those for Pāntalewon of the Cell: there is a *Life* (ገድል፡, *gādī*), a commemoration in the

¹³⁵⁵ For an introduction, cf. 'Zāmika'el Arāgawi', *EAE*, V (2014), 130a–131b (A. Brita); Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke 1975, pp. 64–65 (no. 19).

Sənkəssār (ሰንክሳር፣ CAe 2375), as well as various kinds of liturgical poetry (see below). *ʿAbbā* ʿAragāwi is uniformly commemorated on 14 Ṭəqəmt.

The story of *ʿAbbā* ʿAragāwi can be summarised as follows. *ʿAbbā* ʿAragāwi’s original name, given to him by his parents, was Gabra ʿAmlāk (ገብረ፡ አምላክ፣ ‘Servant of God’), in addition to which his mother also gave him the name Gabra Krəstos (ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፣ ‘Servant of Christ’). Fleeing a marriage into the royal family arranged by his parents, the saint took up ascetic life together with Pachomius in the Egyptian desert. At the age of fourteen, he received the monastic habit and was given the new name Zamikāʿel (ዘሚካኤል፣ ‘Belonging to Michael’). Later, he took up his abode in Ethiopia together with some of the other ‘Nine Saints’. There, being the spiritually most mature of them, he received the name ʿAragāwi (አረጋዊ፣ ‘the Old Man’). *ʿAbbā* ʿAragāwi is renowned for having founded the monastery of Dabra Dāmmo¹³⁵⁶ in Ṭəgrāy and is often depicted climbing the tail of a snake, which, according to the legend, is how he first ascended the *ʿambā* on which the monastery is located.¹³⁵⁷

As mentioned in Chapter 1 (1.5.2), the *Life of ʿAragāwi* (ገድለ፡ አረጋዊ፣ *Gadla ʿAragāwi*, ‘The Struggle of ʿAragāwi’; CAe 1526) has been edited by Guidi 1895 and translated into French by van den Oudenrijn 1939.¹³⁵⁸ This edition is based on four manuscripts, one of which now ‘pare sia andato perso’.¹³⁵⁹ Guidi 1895 classifies the four manuscripts into two families—one represented by three manuscripts, the other by one—and primarily edits the text of the former family on account of the availability of multiple witnesses.¹³⁶⁰ As noted by van den Oudenrijn 1939 in his introduction, one additional manuscript was known at the time of the edition by Guidi 1895, adding a fourth manuscript to the first family.¹³⁶¹ Later, the number of known witnesses has increased drastically, and Brita 2010 estimates that it is the life of one of the Nine Saints ‘con la più ampia tradizione manoscritta’, attested in approximately 90 % of the churches visited by Brita during her field missions.¹³⁶²

¹³⁵⁶ On the varying opinions regarding whether the /m/ in the latter part of the name should be geminated (‘Dāmmo’) or not (‘Dāmo’), see Bausi 2020b.

¹³⁵⁷ For an example of this artistic motif, cf. ‘Zāmikaʿel Arāgawi’, *E Ae*, V (2014), 130a–131b (A. Brita), esp. 130b.

¹³⁵⁸ Guidi 1896b; introduction and French translation in van den Oudenrijn 1939; see Chapter 1, 1.5.2, esp. fn. 564.

¹³⁵⁹ Brita 2010, p. 231; cf. also van den Oudenrijn 1939, p. 34; Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, p. 828. The manuscripts, together with the sigla used by Guidi 1895, are: L1 = MS London, BL Add. 16228, fols 1–34 (?); L2 = MS London, BL Or. 709, fols 74r–180r? (first half of the eighteenth century); R1 = Rome, Mus. Borg. L. V. 12 (now lost); R2 = MS Rome, BAV Borg. et. 22, fols 17–68v (AD 1559).

¹³⁶⁰ Guidi 1895, p. 55.

¹³⁶¹ Cf. van den Oudenrijn 1939, p. 34.

¹³⁶² Brita 2010, pp. 231–232, esp. fn. 8.

The story of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi is also found in the *Sənkəssār* (CAe 2375).¹³⁶³ Apart from the *Dəggwā*-type antiphons discussed below, the liturgical texts destined for the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi include *salāms*/ 'arkes, several different (?) *malkə* ' hymns, and a set of *Zəmmāre*-type antiphons.¹³⁶⁴

3.3.1.2 Gabra Krəstos

On the same day—14 Ṭəqəmt—is commemorated Gabra Krəstos, i.e. the semi-legendary saint generally known in Western and Eastern Orthodox Christianity as St Alexius or Alexis, or the 'Man of God'.¹³⁶⁵

According to the Ethiopic version of the legend,¹³⁶⁶ his life can be summarised as follows: Gabra Krəstos was the son of Emperor Theodosius II. Fleeing from marriage by abandoning his wife on the wedding night, the saint took up an ascetic life. After spending some time in Armenia and avoiding detection by the servants of his father, who were looking for him, he returned to his home town and became a beggar at the door of his father. He remained in this position for his entire life, only being recognised as the Emperor's son after his death.

The Ethiopic text of the *Life of Gabra Krəstos* (ገድለ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡, *Gadla Gabra Krəstos*, 'The Struggle of Gabra Krəstos'; CAe 1450) has been published by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a on the basis of fifteen manuscripts, the oldest dating from the sixteenth century.¹³⁶⁷ Cerulli 1969b, 1969a refrains from providing a hypothetical *stemma* of the consulted witnesses, arguing that the manuscripts of the *Life of Gabra Krəstos* (CAe 1450) 'se prétent peu à l'établissement d'un

¹³⁶³ Colin 1987, p. 84 (edition), 85 (French translation).

¹³⁶⁴ Cf. Brita 2010, pp. 231–234.

¹³⁶⁵ For an introduction, cf. 'Gäbrä Krəstos', *EAE*, II (2005), 615a–616b (A. Bausi).

¹³⁶⁶ Cerulli 1969a, p. i; cf. also 'Gäbrä Krəstos', *EAE*, II (2005), 615a–616b (A. Bausi).

¹³⁶⁷ Cf. Cerulli 1969b, pp. ii–iii; Cerulli 1969a, pp. vii–viii. One of the witnesses consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a is a single leaf found in MS Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Conti Rossini 5 (= MS F); judging from the attestation of variants in the critical apparatus, this fragment covers approximately §§ 7–10 in the critical edition, and thus has not been relevant for the discussion of textual parallels in this dissertation. The sigla used by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a are the following: A = MS Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 33, fols 66r–108v (nineteenth century); B = MS Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 59, fols 45r–72v (twentieth century); C = MS Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 96, fols 43r–70v (nineteenth century); D = MS Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 282, fols 37r–57v (eighteenth century); E = MS Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 298, fols 3r–52r (nineteenth century); F = single leaf, inserted in MS Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Conti Rossini 5 (no date; Strelcyn 1976, p. 18 notes that the manuscript also includes another bifolio of the *Life* and, furthermore, signals the presence of two further fragments from the *Life* in the Conti Rossini collection); G = MS London, BL Or. 709, fols 2ra–72ra (first half of the eighteenth century); H = MS London, BL Add. 16198, fols 96–118 (eighteenth century); I = MS Paris, BnF Éth. 132, fols 25ra–38vb (nineteenth century); L = MS Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 46, fols 45ra–73rb (eighteenth century); M = MS Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 103, fols 11ra–27vb (eighteenth century); N = MS Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 110, fols 131ra–138ra (eighteenth century); O = MS Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 123, fols 17ra–35vb (eighteenth–nineteenth century); P = MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28, fols 71–110 (sixteenth century); Z = MS Meux 1 (eighteenth century, cf. Cerulli 1969b, p. iii; presumed lost, consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a on the basis of Budge 1898).

stemma codicum rigide'.¹³⁶⁸ However, he classifies the manuscripts into three groups based on the textual characteristics. One manuscript—MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 (= MS P)¹³⁶⁹—stands out as the oldest witness, according to Cerulli 1969b, 1969a representing a text type unaffected by a period in the mid-seventeenth century in which 'un renouveau d'influence de l'Église copte d'Égypte a entraîné la revision et l'adaptation des textes religieux' in Ethiopia, including the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450). A list of additional manuscripts has been provided by Alessandro Bausi in the article about the saint in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*,¹³⁷⁰ and four of these—the fourteenth-century manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 and Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796; the fifteenth–sixteenth-century manuscript Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170), and MS Dabra Ṣeyon Māryām, EMLL 7602,¹³⁷¹ dated to AD 1382–1413—have systematically been taken into account below. An earlier edition, based on two manuscripts and provided with an English translation, was published by Budge 1898.¹³⁷²

Gabra Krastos is also commemorated in the *Sānkāssār* (CAe 2375),¹³⁷³ and in the *Miracles of Mary* (CAe 2384), there are several miracles which draw on the story.¹³⁷⁴ There are at least one *salām*/ 'arke for him,¹³⁷⁵ one *malkā*,¹³⁷⁶ one so-

¹³⁶⁸ Cerulli 1969a, p. xv.

¹³⁶⁹ According to Cerulli 1969a, 1969b, the manuscript Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 was kept in Tübingen when he consulted it (cf. Cerulli 1969a, p. vii; Cerulli 1969b, p. iii).

¹³⁷⁰ 'Gābrā Krastos', *EAE*, II (2005), 615a–616b (A. Bausi), esp. 615b.

¹³⁷¹ The provenance and current repository of the manuscript that was microfilmed by EMLL in 1980 (? the stamp on the verso of the parchment slip between fols 158 and 159 seems to read '28–1–1973ḡ-ḡḡ') under the call number 'EMML 7602' is not entirely clear. According to the metadata sheet attached to the digitised EMLL microfilm, the manuscript was the property of [the church of] 'Asebot' in the province of Harar. This localisation has been questioned by Fiaccadori 1989, who, quoting a communication in which Getatchew Haile claims that the manuscript was microfilmed in Addis Ababa in connection to 'a certain art expo', argues that the manuscript originates from 'la chiesa di Ṣeyon Māryām a Tul(l)u Gud(d)o, celebre isola del lago Z(e)wāy' (Fiaccadori 1989, p. 150). On this manuscript, cf. also Zanetti 2015, pp. 99–102. Most recently, the manuscript has been catalogued by Ted Erho for the vHMLL (permanent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/201129> [2021-10-15]), who follows Fiaccadori 1989 in giving the 'repository' of the manuscript as 'Dabra Ṣeyon Māryām Monastery' in the Arsi Province. I have adopted this localisation.

¹³⁷² Budge 1898, pp. 98–144 (English translation, part I), 35–63 (edition, II); critically reviewed by Charles 1899.

¹³⁷³ In fact, as a result of the recension history of the *Sānkāssār* and a confusion of names, the *Sānkāssār* contains two commemorations for saints with similar stories on 14 Ṭəqəmt. In the so-called 'first recension', the saint appears with the name Muse: Colin 1987, pp. 72, 74, 76, 78, 80 (edition), 73, 75, 77, 79, 81 (French translation). In the so-called 'second recension', he appears also under the name Gabra Krastos: Colin 1987, pp. 82, 84 (edition), 83, 85 (French translation). Both commemorations have also been published and translated into French by Cerulli 1969b, pp. 136–147 (edition), Cerulli 1969a, pp. 92–101 (French translation), based on a single manuscript (cf. Cerulli 1969b, p. iii).

¹³⁷⁴ The miracles have been published and translated into French by Cerulli 1969b, pp. 148–159 (edition), Cerulli 1969a, pp. 102–110 (French translation), this time based on a printed edition of AD 1931/1932, with variants from four manuscripts (cf. Cerulli 1969b, p. iii).

¹³⁷⁵ Cf., for example, MS 'Ankobar Mikā'el, EMLL 3128 (fol. 85va–b).

called *salāmtā* poem consisting of rhymed three-line stanzas,¹³⁷⁷ as well as a set of *Mawāšəʾt* antiphons.¹³⁷⁸

3.3.1.3 One or two commemorations?

As mentioned above, both 'Abbā 'Aragāwi and Gabra Krəstos are celebrated on 14 Ṭəqəmt. Only two of the studied collections provide separate commemorations for the two saints: the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-185¹³⁷⁹ and the multiple-type collection in MS EML 8678.¹³⁸⁰ In the rest of the collections, only one set of (mixed) antiphons is provided, normally ascribed in the metatext to 'Abbā 'Aragāwi. However, in a number of collections, both saints are mentioned in the introduction to the commemoration, although only one set of antiphons is provided: the multiple-type collection in MSS EML 8070 (fol. 3ra (?)–3va), Ṭanāsee 172 (fols 23rb–24ra), Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 (fol. 27rb–vb), and EML 2053 (fols 36rb–37rb).

The circumstance that both saints go under the name of Gabra Krəstos is doubtlessly connected to the fact that they are celebrated on the same day. It is also possible that the similarities in their stories contributed to this.¹³⁸¹ As in the case of the two Pāntəlewons (see 3.2.1.3), it is unclear to which extent the two saints have been distinguished in the liturgical practice, although there are indications that they have not always been kept apart.¹³⁸² Again, I have chosen not to separate the two commemorations, but rather to follow the most widespread tradition and to treat them as a single commemoration, while discussing the precise attribution when relevant.

3.3.2 Corpus of antiphons

The commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi is attested in thirty-eight out of the forty-nine manuscripts and fragments included in the Minor Corpus. In nine out of the manuscripts and fragments, the absence of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi could possibly be the result of material loss, i.e. the section of the manuscript in which a

¹³⁷⁶ The *Malkəʾa Gabra Krəstos* (CAe 2844) is attested, for example, in the seventeenth-century manuscripts London, BL Or. 573, fols 206va–208ra, with a *tarafa malkəʾ* on fol. 208rb–va. I am grateful to Augustine Dickinson for providing me with this information.

¹³⁷⁷ This poem is listed in Chaîne 1913b, pp. 195–196, no. 81.

¹³⁷⁸ The *Mawāšəʾt* antiphons have been published on the basis of two manuscripts by Budge 1898, pp. 64–65 (part II).

¹³⁷⁹ 'Abbā 'Aragāwi: fols 21v–22r; Gabra Krəstos: fol. 22r–v.

¹³⁸⁰ 'Abbā 'Aragāwi: fols 11rb–12rb; Gabra Krəstos: fol. 12rb–va.

¹³⁸¹ Cf. Brita and Gnisci 2019, p. 62, where it is further pointed out that the *Lives* of the saints 'Abbā 'Aragāwi and Gabra Krəstos are frequently found in the same manuscripts. Cf., for example, from the first volumes of the EML catalogues, MSS Šawā (private library of Kəfla Yoħannəs), EML 612; 'Əntotto Manbara Šəllāse, EML 863; Addis Ababa (private library), EML 912; 'Asofe Madħane 'Ālam, EML 2039; and Miṭāq 'Amānu'el, EML 2504, as well as MS Gunda Gunde, GG-020.

¹³⁸² See, for example, the discussion of the antiphon 'Aragāwi 'Əgzi'abəher nagša 001.

commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi would have been expected on calendrical grounds has not been preserved. Thus, there are two manuscripts in which commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi is absent, although this is not the result of material loss. These are MS EMLL 6944, which only contains a collection of *mazmur*-family antiphons, and MS DS-VIII*/XIII, which only contains a collection of *salām* antiphons.

Turning to the individual single-type collections contained in several of the manuscripts in the Minor Corpus, the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi is found in sixteen out of fifty-two individual single-type collections.¹³⁸³ There are thirteen single-type collections in which one may suspect that the absence of a commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi is due to material loss.¹³⁸⁴ In twenty-three single-type collections, a commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi is missing although there are no indications of material loss.¹³⁸⁵

As underlined earlier, the entire corpus of attested antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi (and Gabra Krastos) is not discussed in this chapter, but only the eighteen antiphons which fit to the criteria laid out above (3.3.1). This means that no discussion of the diachronic development of the corpus of antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi parallel to the discussion of the corpus of antiphons for Pāntalewon can be carried out. Nonetheless, it seems appropriate to provide a table parallel to Table 11, in order that the reader may quickly get an overview of the attestation of the selected antiphons within the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus.

¹³⁸³ Antiphons of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi are found in the following collections: the 'arbā 't collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92, EMLL 2095, EMLL 7078, EMLL 7618, and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002; the 'aryām collection in MS BnF Éth. 92; the 'əzl collection in MS EMLL 7618; the *mazmur*-family collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and GG-185; the *śalast* collections in MSS EMLL 7618, Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, GG-187, and BnF Éth. 92 (first *śalast* collections); the *wāzemā* collection in MS EMLL 7618; and the *yātbāarak* collections in MSS DS-XX and EMLL 7618.

¹³⁸⁴ This is the case for the following collections: the 'arbā 't collection in MS DS-XVI, the 'aryām (?) collection in MS DS-III and the 'aryām collection in MS GG-185; the *mazmur*-family collections in MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i, GG-187, and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002; the *salām* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92; the *śabhata nagh* (?) collection in MS GG-185; the unidentified collection in MS DS-II; the first unidentified collection in MS EMLL 7618; and both unidentified collections in MS GG-185.

¹³⁸⁵ This is the case for the following collections: the 'arbā 't collections in MSS GG-185 and GG-187; the 'aryām collection in MS EMLL 7618; the 'Ēgzi 'abəher nagh collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and BnF Éth. 92; the *māhlet* collection in MS EMLL 7618; the *mawāšə 't* collection in MS EMLL 7618; the *mazmur*-family collection in MS EMLL 6944; the *salām* collections in MSS DS-VIII*/XIII, EMLL 7618, and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002; the *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 (second *śalast* collection); the *śabhata nagh* collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618; the *yātbāarak* collection in BnF Éth. 92 (which has a very limited corpus of commemorations); the *za- 'amlākiya* collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618; the *za-nāhu yə 'əze* collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618; the *za-taśāhalanni* collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618; and the 'wāzemā mazmur' collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618 (= the second unidentified collection). Furthermore, according to the catalogue of Turaev 1906a, there is no commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi in the probable *salām* collection in MS RNB Dorn 615 (cf. Turaev 1906a, p. 15).

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Table 20 follows the same principles as Table 11. In the two collections which provide separate commemorations for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi and Gabra Krəstos, the letter 'A' represents the former commemoration and the letter 'G' the latter.

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Table 20. The corpus of studied antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwī, selected based on the attestation in at least two Group A collections as well as in at least two Group B collections.

| | DS-XX | EMML 7618 | BnF Éth. 92 | GG-187 | ES SSB-002 | GG-185 | EMML 8678 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8070 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8804 | EMML 7174 | EMML 2542 | EMML 1894 | UUB O Et. 36 | ES QS-006 | ES DD-019 | EMML 2053 | EAP704/1/36 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 7529 | EMML 6994 | EMML 2431 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 7285 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7745 | EMML 2253 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | ES THMR-008 | EMML 9110 | IES 2148 | EMML 8084 | MD 1994 | MD 2015 | | | |
|-----|-------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------|---------|---|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. | | X | | | | A | A | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | A. məsbāk 002 | |
| 2. | | X | | | | | A | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X _m | X _m | X _m | X _m | X _m | X _m | X _m | X _m | X _m | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | A. wāzemā 001 | |
| 3. | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | A. 'Ēgz. n. 001 | |
| 4. | X | | | | | | A | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X* | X* | X | X* | X | X | X | X | A. yətbārak 001 | |
| 5. | | X | X | | X | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | A. śalast 001 | |
| 6. | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X | X | X | | | X | | X | | | | | | | X | X | | | | | | X | X | A. śalast 006 | |
| 7. | | | | | | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | | | | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | (X) | X | X | | | X | X | A. salām 002 | |
| 8. | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | A. salām 004 |
| 9. | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | A. salām 005 |
| 10. | | | | | | | A | | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | | | X | | X | | | | | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | A. māḥlet 002 |

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| | DS-XX | EMML 7618 | BnF Éth. 92 | GG-187 | ES SSB-002 | GG-185 | EMML 8678 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8070 | Tânăsée 172 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8804 | EMML 7174 | EMML 2542 | EMML 1894 | UUB O Et. 36 | ES QS-006 | ES DD-019 | EMML 2053 | EAP704/1/36 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 7529 | EMML 6994 | EMML 2431 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 7285 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7745 | EMML 2253 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | ES THMR-008 | EMML 9110 | IES 2148 | EMML 8084 | MD 1994 | MD 2015 | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------|------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------|---------|---|--|--|
| 11. | A. səbh. n. 001 | | | | | | A A | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | | | | | |
| 12. | A. mazmur 003 | X | | | | A | A | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |
| 13. | A. mazmur 006 | | X | | | | A | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | X | X | | |
| 14. | A. mazmur 010 | X | X* | | | G | G | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X* | X | | |
| 15. | A. mazmur 013 | X | | | | A | A | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |
| 16. | A. mazmur 017 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |
| 17. | A. mazmur 018 | X | | | | | G | | | | | (X) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | |
| 18. | A. mazmur 027 | X | | | | | G | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | |

3.3.3 Individual antiphons

3.3.3.1 Introduction

Below, the eighteen antiphon listed in Table 20 (3.3.2) are discussed individually. The discussions follow the pattern established for the antiphons for Pāṇṭalewon in the first part of this chapter (see 3.2.3).

3.3.3.2 'Aragāwi wāzemā 001

ዳኅንኩ፡ ዝስኩ፡ አቡኩሙ፡ አረጋዊ፡ ጸድቅ፡ ውእቱ፡ በተአምኖ፡ ዔለ፡ በተአምኖ፡
ተጋደለ፡ ዔለ፡ ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ድኑኃን፡ (MS EMLL 7618, fol. 156vb,
ll. 10–14)

Is this father of yours, the old man, well? He is righteous.
Faithfully he roamed, faithfully he struggled. He roamed the
hollow mountains!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi wāzemā 001 is partly based on Gen. 43:27—a biblical quotation which also appears in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526)¹³⁸⁶—and partly on Heb. 11:38, with contamination from the Song of Songs in certain attestations (see below). It is widely attested, being one of the few antiphons which is attested in *all* twenty-one post-sixteenth-century collections of the Minor Corpus, be they Group A collections, Group B collections, or printed editions. The attestation in MS EMLL 8070 is only partially consultable in the available reproduction (see Chapter 2, 2.4.9).

Disregarding a couple of idiosyncratic variants and omissions restricted to individual collections, the main text of the antiphon 'Aragāwi wāzemā 001 displays variation on three points. Firstly, there is variation in word order between 'aragāwi 'abukāmu ('the old man, your father') and 'abukāmu 'aragāwi ('your father, the old man'). The same variation is attested also in other antiphons which contain this quotation from Gen. 43:27 and is further discussed in 3.3.4.4. In the attestations of the antiphon 'Aragāwi wāzemā 001, the word order 'abukāmu 'aragāwi predominates in the pre-seventeenth-century collections, whereas 'aragāwi 'abukāmu appears in a majority of the post-sixteenth-century collections.

Secondly, the words which appear as *ṣādāq wə 'ətu* ('he is righteous') in the text above display two further variants: *ṣādāq wa-her* ('righteous and good') and *ṣādāq wa-yawāh* ('righteous and meek'). The variant *ṣādāq wə 'ətu* is found in the

¹³⁸⁶ Guidi 1895, p. 77 (edition); cf. also van den Oudenrijn 1939, p. 58 (French translation). The biblical source has been identified by van den Oudenrijn 1939, p. 79, fn. 152. It should be noted that the parallel between the text of the antiphon 'Aragāwi wāzemā 001 and *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526) goes slightly beyond the quotation from Genesis and includes also the words *ṣādāq wə 'ətu* (in some attestations of the antiphon; see below). For further discussion of this, see 3.3.4.4.

single-type collection—in MS EMMML 7618—and in four out of eight pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. The reading *ṣādāq wa-her*, on the other hand, is found in two of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections and in a majority of all later multiple-type collections, including all Group B collections and most of the Group A collections. The reading *ṣādāq wa-yawāh* is likewise found in two of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, and additionally in four of the Group A collections. For a parallel case, where, however, only the variants *ṣādāq wa-her* and *ṣādāq wa-yawāh* are attested, see the discussion of the antiphon 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001 (3.3.3.5). The same phrase appears also in the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 001 (3.3.3.12), but there, only the variant *ṣādāq wa-her* is found.

Thirdly, there is variation regarding the last word of the antiphon. In this case, the variation seems to be connected to the dichotomy between Group A and Group B, because in six out of the seven Group B collections included in the corpus, the final words appears as '*adbār wa-ba 'atāt* ('[he roamed] the mountains and caves') as opposed to '*adbār dəḥuḥān* ('[he roamed] the hollow mountains') in nineteen out of twenty-three of the other collections. Whereas the reading with *wa-ba 'atāt* is based on Heb. 11:38, the reading with *dəḥuḥān* derives from the Song of Songs (Cant. 2:17, 8:14). However, the Group B collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008 displays the reading with '*adbār dəḥuḥān*. The antiphon 'Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001 as attested in this manuscript differs from the rest of the Group B collections also in other details, for example displaying the variant '*abukəmu 'aragāwi* ('your father, the old man') instead of the more common '*aragāwi 'abukəmu* ('the old man, your father'). Perhaps, this collection has been contaminated by readings of Group A. Furthermore, the Group A collection in MS EMDA 00111 displays a unique ending *ba-gadām wa-ba 'atāt* ('[he roamed] in the wilderness and caves'), which seems to be related to the reading found in the Group B collections, also being based on Heb. 11:38. However, the apparent dichotomy between the reading of the Group B collections and the rest is blurred when looking at the *məltān*.

In five out of the thirty collections, of all which belong to Group A, the antiphon 'Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001 is provided with a *məltān*.¹³⁸⁷ The *məltān* appears in two different forms, mirroring the textual variation between '*adbār wa-ba 'atāt* ('the mountains and caves') and '*adbār dəḥuḥān* ('the hollow mountains'):

- a) በተአምኖ፡ ዔለ፡ በተአምኖ፡ ተጋደለ፡ ዔለ፡ ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ወበኢታት፡ ዔ፡ ው፡
አ፡ ወበ፡ (MS EMMML 2431, fol. 34vb, ll. 5–6)

¹³⁸⁷ On the concept of *məltān*, see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.6.1.

Faithfully he roamed, faithfully he struggled. He roamed the mountains and caves, h[e] r[oamed] t[he] m[ountains] a[nd] c[aves]!

- b) በተአምኖ፡ ዔለ፡ በተአምኖ፡ ተጋደለ፡ ዔለ፡ ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ድኅኃን፡ ዔለ፡
ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ድኅኃን፡ (MS EAP704/1/36, fol. 25rb, ll. 3–5)

Faithfully he roamed, faithfully he struggled. He roamed the hollow mountains, he roamed the hollow mountains!

As the reading *'adbār wa-ba 'atāt*, within the main text of the antiphon, is only attested in Group B collections, its appearance in the *məḥṭān* in three Group A collections is striking. This means, on the one hand, that the three collections with *'adbār wa-ba 'atāt* in the *məḥṭān* have different readings in the main text and the *məḥṭān*. It also suggests that the variation *'adbār wa-ba 'atāt* versus *'adbār dəḥuḥān* cannot be seen an isogloss characterising Group B as opposed to Group A. Alternatively, the intrusion of a variant, which in the Group A collection is restricted to the *məḥṭān*, into the main text of the antiphon could be classified as a Group B characteristic. Perhaps, the consultation of more manuscripts could clarify the status of this reading.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| EMML 7618 | X |
| EMML 8678 | |
| EMML 8070 | - |
| Tănăsce 172 | |
| EMML 4667 | X |
| EMML 8804 | X |
| EMML 7174 | X |
| EMML 2542 | X |
| EMML 1894 | X |
| UUB O Et. 36 | X |
| ES QS-006 | X |
| ES DD-019 | X |
| EMML 2053 | X |
| EAP704/I/36 | X |
| EAP432/I/10 | X |
| EMML 7529 | X |
| EMML 6994 | X |
| EMML 2431 | X |
| EMDA 00111 | X |
| EMML 7285 | X |
| EAP254/I/5 | X |
| EMML 7745 | X |
| EMML 2253 | X |
| SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | X |
| ES THMR-008 | X |
| EMML 9110 | X |
| IES 2148 | X |
| EMML 8084 | X |
| MD 1994 | X |
| MD 2015 | X |
| | |
| ዳኅንት: | X |
| ዳኅንት: ዳኅንት: | X ^a |
| አረጋዊ: አቡክመ:: | X |
| አቡክመ:: አረጋዊ: | X |
| አቡክመ:: ፀ | |
| ጻድቅ: ወእቱ: | X |
| ጻድቅ: ወኄር: | |
| ጻድቅ: መየዋህ: | |
| በተለምኖ: ንል: | X |
| በተለምኖ: ንሉ: | |
| ፀ | X ^d |
| ተጋደለ: | X |
| ተጋደሉ: | |
| ንል: | X ^f |
| ፀ | |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ድኅኑኃን፡ | X | X | | | | X | | | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X ^g | | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ውስተ፡ አድባረ፡ ድኅኑኃን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X ^h | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ወበዐታት፡ | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በገዳም፡ ወበዐታት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| አድባር፡ ድኅኑኃን፡ (<i>məliṭān</i>) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | | X | – | X | | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| አድባር፡ ወበዐታት፡ (<i>məliṭān</i>) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | X | X | | – | | X | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |

^a The first repetition of the word ዳጎንኑ: has been erased.

^b MS: ለ(!)ተአምኖ:.

^c The letter <ሉ> has been transformed into <ለ>.

^d But cf. note f.

^e MS: ተጋድ(!)ለ:.

^f The word በተአምኖ: has been added supralineally before the word. Additionally, a second repetition of the word ዔለ: has been added after the word ዔለ:.

^g It appears that the letter <C> at the end of the word አድባር: has been transformed into <ረ>, and it is possible that the word ድኅታን: has been rewritten (no traces of an earlier reading is visible in the available reproduction).

^h Except the initial <ወ> in the word ወሰተ:, these words have been rewritten.

3.3.3.3 'Aragāwi 'Īgzi 'abəher nagśa 001

ወረደ፡ ብርሃን፡ ጎበ፡ መቃብሩ፡ ለብእሴ፡] እግዚአብሔር፡ ወኮነ፡ መቃብሩ፡
ዘያሐዩ፡ ዱያነ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ለጎብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ የሐሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡። (MS EMDA
00111, fol. 36ra, ll. 10–13)

A light descended upon the grave of the Man of God, and his
grave became life-giving for the sick. May the prayer of Gabra
Krastos be with us!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi 'Īgzi 'abəher nagśa 001 is based on a direct quotation from the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450).¹³⁸⁸ It is attested from the earliest multiple-type collections and onwards. In many collections,¹³⁸⁹ this is the only 'Īgzi 'abəher nagśa antiphon for the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi, which would seem to indicate that the commemorations for Gabra Krastos and 'Abbā 'Aragāwi are conflated in at least part of the tradition.

Disregarding one case in which a variation in verb form is restricted to one collection, there are five points of textual variation in the attestations of the antiphon 'Aragāwi 'Īgzi 'abəher nagśa 001. The first point of variation concerns the two first words, appearing as *warada bərhān* ('a light descended') in the text above. Except for one unique reading in a pre-seventeenth-century collection, the variation is concentrated in the Group B collections. These, however, do not display a unified reading, but whereas three agree with the Group A collections in having the reading *warada bərhān*, four have instead a reading with inverted word order and a gerund instead of the perfect verb: *bərhān warido* ('a light having descended [...]').

Secondly, three of the attestations have a simple reading *kona* ('[his grave] became [life-giving]') against a *wa-kona* ('and [his grave] became [life-giving]') in the rest. The reading *kona* is found in the collections in MS EMMML 1894 and in the two seventeenth-century MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in other cases display similarities.¹³⁹⁰

Thirdly, one of the Group B collections—the one in MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008—has a reading *za-yəfewwəs* ('[his grave became] healing') against *za-yāhayyu* ('[his grave became] life-giving') in all other collections. This variant is noteworthy, as it connects with a strand of the transmission of the source text (see below).

¹³⁸⁸ Cerulli 1969b, p. 99 (edition), § 36; Cerulli 1969a, p. 68 (French translation), § 38.

¹³⁸⁹ This is the case for the collections in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994, MSS EAP254/1/5, EMMML 7285, EAP704/1/36, EMMML 2053, EMMML 1894, EMMML 8084, EMMML 4667, as well as in all seven Group B collections.

¹³⁹⁰ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

Fourthly, there is variation between *dəwuyāna* (‘the sick’) and *məwutāna* (‘the dead’). The former variant appears in all Group B collections as well as in a majority of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections and the post-sixteenth-century Group A collections. The latter appears in one of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections and in three of the eighteenth–nineteenth/nineteenth-century Group A collections.

Lastly, within the final eulogy, several variants are attested. Two of the earliest multiple-type collections have the reading *şalotu wa-barakatu* (‘[may] his prayer and blessing [be with us]’) without an explicit mention of Gabra Krəstos. The rest of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, as well as a majority of the Group A collections and all Group B collections included in the Minor Corpus, have instead *şalotu la-Gabra Krəstos* (‘[may] the prayers of Gabra Krəstos [be with us]’). In one of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, the word *wa-barakatu* (‘and blessing’) has been added after the word *şalotu*, resulting in a ‘conflated’ reading *şalotu wa-barakatu la-Gabra Krəstos* (‘[may] the prayer and blessing of Gabra Krəstos [be with us]’). This is also the reading found in the seventeenth-century collection in MS EML 2053. The three twentieth-century collections—two of which are printed—also have the combined reading, but with a different word order: *şalotu la-Gabra Krəstos wa-barakatu* (‘[may] the prayer of Gabra Krəstos, and his blessing [be with us]’).

Based on a comparison between the text of the antiphon and the *Life of Gabra Krəstos* (CAe 1450) as published by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a, taking the additional manuscripts mentioned above into account (see 3.3.1.2), the following observations can be made:

- in all fourteen manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b for this passage, as well as in the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 24va); Ҳайқ (private collection), EML 2796 (fol. 74va); and Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EML 7602 (fol. 95va),¹³⁹¹ the phrase begins with the words *wa-warada bərhān* (‘and a light descended’). The subject-initial word order, found in four out of seven Group B collections, thus lacks parallels in the *Life*;
- the words *la-bə’ase ’Ēgzi’abəher* (‘[the grave] of the Man of God’), present in all of the attestations of the antiphon, do not appear in any of the manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, nor in the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270; Ҳайқ (private collection), EML 2796; and Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EML 7602. This would thus appear to be an addition to the antiphon, perhaps introduced in order to clarify the

¹³⁹¹ In MS Dāgā ’Ēstifānos 59 (Tānāsee 170), this passage is missing due to material loss. In fact, it appears that the entire outer bifolio of the quire that comprises fols 11r–16v is missing.

meaning as the text was extracted from its narrative context for use as an antiphon;

- the word *wa-kona / kona* (‘and it became [life-giving]’ / ‘it became [life-giving]’) appears only in one of the manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Cerulli 1969b: the nineteenth-century manuscript Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 298 (= MS E). It is missing also in the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 and Dabra Šəyon Māryām, EMMML 7602, but in MS Ḥayq (private collection), EMMML 2796, the original reading has been deleted, from the words *wa-warada bərḥān ḥaba maqābərū* (‘and a light descended upon his grave’) and onwards, and instead, the words ወኮነ፡ ጎበ፡ መቃብሩ፡ ዘያሐዩ፡ ከሉ፡ ድ፡ (*wa-kona ḥaba maqābərū za-yāḥayyu kʷallo də...*, ‘and (the place) were his grave (was) became life-giving (for) all the si[ck]...’), connecting to ወያነ፡ ወሐመማነ፡ (...*wəyāna wa-ḥəməmāna*, ‘...[the si]ck and the suffering’) in the original hand. The reading is troublesome and one wonders if the repetition of the words *ḥaba maqābərū* is dittographical. The ubiquitous presence of the word *wa-kona / kona* in the attestations of the antiphon suggests that the Vorlage of the antiphon also had this reading—or could it be that the word was added as part of the adaptation of the phrase into an antiphon, and then contaminated the version of the *Life* preserved in MSS Ḥayq (private collection), EMMML 2796 and BAV Cerulli et. 298? Consultation of more manuscripts, both of the *Life* and of the antiphon, may contribute to clarifying the attestation of this reading;
- the phrase which appears above as *za-yāḥayyu dəwuyāna* (‘which gives life to the sick’) also appears in two other forms in the antiphon collections: as *za-yāḥayyu məwutāna* (‘which gives life to the dead’) in four out of the twenty-six collections, and as *za-yəfewwəs dəwuyāna* (‘which heals the sick’) in one. None of these corresponds fully to what is found in the manuscripts of the *Life* (neither those consulted by Cerulli 1969b nor the earlier manuscripts consulted by me), in which, instead, the verb *za-yāḥayyu* systematically has two objects: *dəwuyāna* and *ḥəməmāna* (‘the sick’ and ‘the suffering’; or, in one manuscript, *məwutāna* and *ḥəməmāna*, ‘the dead’ and ‘the suffering’). However, one may note that this phrase is also found in the second-recension *Sənkəssār* reading for Gabra Krəstos, where it appears in the form *za-yəfewwəs dəwuyāna* (‘which heals the sick’),¹³⁹² i.e. the same as in the Group B collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008;
- after the word *za-yāḥayyu* (‘which gives life’), six out of the fourteen manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a for this passage add the

¹³⁹² Colin 1987, p. 84 (edition), 85 (French translation).

word *kʷallo* ('all') and one the word *la-kʷallu* (same meaning). The word *kʷallo* is present in all the earliest witnesses, including also the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 24va); Ҳayq (private collection), EMMML 2796 (fol. 74va); and Dabra Ҷəyon Māryām, EMMML 7602 (fol. 95va). Thus, it seems plausible to connect the reading of the antiphon with the seven eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a that lack the word *kʷallo*;

- in the manuscripts of the *Life*, the final eulogy appears with characteristically large variation. The manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 24va) and Ҳayq (private collection), EMMML 2796 (fol. 74va) have *ṣalotu wa-barakatu tahallu məslena* ('may his prayer and blessing be with us'), whereas MS Dabra Ҷəyon Māryām, EMMML 7602 (fol. 95va) instead has a masculine verb form *yaḥallu* (same meaning). Readings which begin with *ṣalotu wa-barakatu yaḥallu / tahallu məsla...* ('may his prayer and blessing be with...') are found in a further seven out of the fourteen manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a.

Based on the comparisons above, no definite conclusions about the source text of the antiphon 'Aragāwi 'Ėgzi 'abəher nagśa 001 can be drawn. The ubiquitous presence of the word *wa-kona / kona* in the attestations of the antiphon coupled with the absence of the word *kʷallo / la-kʷallu* means that the nineteenth-century manuscript Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 298 (= MS E, in the edition by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a) presents the closest match. However, the classificatory value of the variants that connect the text of the antiphon with the text of this manuscript is rather low.

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| | MD 2015 | MD 1994 | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | ES THMR-008 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|----------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| ወረደ፡ ብርሃን፡ | X | X | X | | | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X |
| ብርሃን፡ ወሪዶ፡ | | | | X | X | | | X | ? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሠረቀ፡ ብርሃን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| ወኮነ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X |
| ኮነ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | | | | |
| ዘያሐዩ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ዘይፌውስ፡ | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ድወያነ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X ^a |
| ምወታነ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | X | | X | X | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| ጸሎቱ፡ ለጉብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X ^b | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X ^c | X | | |
| ጸሎቱ፡ ለጉብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ | X | X | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸሎቱ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ ለጉብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ጸሎቱ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X |
| የሀሉ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X | |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|---|
| ተሀሉ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | | | X |
| ሀሉ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |

^a The word ዱዖን፡ has been rewritten.

^b It appears that one letter has been erased before the word ጸሎቱ፡.

^c The word ወበረከቱ፡ has been added supralineally after the word ጸሎቱ፡.

3.3.3.4 'Aragāwi *yətbārak* 001a, 001b

ኪያክ: መሰረት: እንተ: ብነ: አባ: ጸሊ: በእንቲአነ: እስመ: ጸሎተ: ጸድቅ:
ይሰምዕ: እግዚአብሔር። (MS EMMML 8084, fol. 14vb, ll. 14–17)

You are the foundation which we have.¹³⁹³ 'Abbā, pray for us,
for the Lord hears the prayer of the righteous one!

The antiphons 'Aragāwi *yətbārak* 001a and 001b are attested from the earliest, pre-mid-fourteenth-century single-type collection of *yətbārak* antiphons and up to the printed editions. The first phrase also appears in one of the *yətbārak* antiphons for Pāntalewon.¹³⁹⁴ Apart from this, I have not been able to identify any connections with other texts for the version of the antiphon presented above. One textual variant, however, introduces a quotation from James 5:16, which is also found in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526; see below). The text of the antiphons 'Aragāwi *yətbārak* 001a and 001b frequently appears twice in the studied collections: once notated in the mode *gə'z* and once in the mode 'əzl. At times, the text is only given once, but with two lines of *mələkkət*.¹³⁹⁵

Textual variation, mostly concentrated in the pre-seventeenth-century collections, appears at three points. Firstly, the two initial words—*kiyāka maśarat* ('you are the foundation'?) in the text above—are uniquely repeated twice in the attestation in the single-type collection in MS EMMML 7618. Secondly, what appears as a relative clause 'ənta bəna ('which we have') in the text above, appears as 'ənza bəna ('while we have [it]') in a majority of the pre-eighteenth-century collections, including the two single-type collections of *yətbārak* antiphons. Among the post-sixteenth-century collections, this reading appears in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, in one out of two attestations of this text in MS UUB O Etiop. 36, and in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019. The collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 display similar readings also in other cases.¹³⁹⁶ Furthermore, one pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collection has 'abbā bəna ('Abbā, we have'), whereas another simply has bəna ('we have'), and another lacks the two words

¹³⁹³ The phrase *kiyāka maśarat 'ənta bəna* is syntactically noteworthy. Possibly, the reason for the use of objective form *kiyāka* instead of the subjective 'ənta is a kind of reversed case attraction, in which the antecedent pronoun ('you') takes on the accusative of its (implied) correspondence in the subsequent relative clause ('ənta bəna, 'which we have'). As noticed already by Dillmann 1907, the stem *kiyā-* does have more varied functions than just marking objects (Dillmann 1907, pp. 341–342, § 150a), although no cases perfectly paralleling the phrase in the antiphon are cited.

¹³⁹⁴ Cf. the discussion of the antiphon Pāntalewon *yətbārak* 003.

¹³⁹⁵ This is the case, at least, for the attestations in the collections in the following manuscripts: MSS EAP254/1/5, EMMML 7285, EMDA 00111, EMMML 2431, EAP432/1/10, EAP704/1/36, and Ethio-SPaRe DD-019. Consequently, there is only one among the post-sixteenth-century Group A collections where the text is notated only once: the collection in EMMML 2053. On the other hand, it is not notated twice in any of the Group B collections, nor in any of the pre-seventeenth-century collections.

¹³⁹⁶ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

altogether. It seems conceivable that the semantic unclarity of this phrase has contributed to the emergence of textual variants.

Thirdly, the phrase which appears as *'asma šalota šādāq yāsammā* ' *'Igzi 'abəher* ('for the Lord hears the prayer of the righteous') in the post-seventeenth-century collections (except in one of two attestations in the collections in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, where it is missing) appears in a number of different forms in the earlier collections: as *'asma šalota šādāq təkl wa-tāsalləṭ* ('for the prayer of the righteous prevails and accomplishes') in two of the early multiple-type collections, as *'asma šalota šādāq təraddə' wa-tāsalləṭ* ('for the prayer of the righteous helps and accomplishes') in another, and as *'asma šalota šādāq yāsammā* ('for He hears the prayer of the righteous') in the two single-type collections of *yətbārak* antiphons (although in the collection in MS DS-XX, this reading is uncertain due to non-standard vocalisation). The readings *'asma šalota šādāq təkl wa-tāsalləṭ* ('for the prayer of the righteous prevails and accomplishes') and *'asma šalota šādāq təraddə' wa-tāsalləṭ* ('for the prayer of the righteous helps and accomplishes') are both based on James 5:16. As pointed out by Brita 2008, this biblical verse is quoted in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526).¹³⁹⁷

¹³⁹⁷ Brita 2008, p. 338, fn. 66; for the text, cf. Guidi 1895, p. 70b (edition); van den Oudenrijn 1939, p. 51 (French translation).

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

[illegible]

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

[illegible]

- ^a A word (?) of about two letters has been deleted and several letters—illegible in the available reproduction—have been added supralineally.
^b The words ይሰምዕ: እግ: appear to have been rewritten.
^c The words ትክል: ወታሰልጥ: have been marked for deletion, and the words ይሰምዕ: እግዚ: have been added supralineally.
^d MS: እስመ: ጸለጦተ: ጸለጦተ: ጻድቅ: ይሰምዕ:.

3.3.3.5 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001

ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዮሴፍ፡ ዳጎንኑ፡ ዝሰከ፡ አረጋዊ፡ አቡከሙ፡ ጸድቅ፡ ውኒር። (MS
Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 50rb, ll. 2–5)

And Joseph said to them: ‘Is this old man, your father, well, the
righteous and good one?’

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001 is a direct quotation from Gen. 43:27—also referred to in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526)¹³⁹⁸—to which have been added two qualifying adjectives: *śādəq wa-her*, ‘righteous and good’, in the text above. This addition to the biblical quotation also appears in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526). For a general discussion of antiphons whose texts are based on this quotation, see 3.3.4.4. The antiphon 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001 is widely attested in the corpus, ranging from the single-type collections to both of the consulted printed editions.

There are four points of textual variation, the first of which concerns the initial word. In the single-type collections, all post-eighteenth-century Group A collections, and in all Group B collections, this word appears as *wa-yəbelomu* (‘and he said to them’), introduced with a conjunction *wa-* (‘and’). However, in a majority of the multiple-type collections from pre-seventeenth-century times and up to the nineteenth century (twelve out of fifteen¹³⁹⁹), the conjunction is missing. One of the single-type collections, further, has a unique reading *wa-yəbe* (‘and he said’). The concordance between the single-type collections and the post-eighteenth-century collections is noteworthy.

Secondly, whereas an overwhelming majority of the collections have the rare demonstrative pronoun *zəsku* (‘this [father of yours / old man]’),¹⁴⁰⁰ two early collections display variants. The fifteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EMM 8488 has the more common demonstrative *zəkku* (same meaning), whereas the single-type collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 has a completely different reading, the sense of which is not immediately clear: either *za-sabaku* (‘[is your father] whom they have proclaimed [well]’) or *za-sabakku* (‘[is your father] whom I have proclaimed [well]’).

Thirdly, there is variation in the order of the terms 'aragāwi (‘the old man’) and 'abukəmu (‘your father’), appearing either as 'aragāwi 'abukəmu or as 'abukəmu 'aragāwi. This variation appears to be connected to diachrony in such a way that whereas both forms are attested in the pre-seventeenth-century collections—both single- and multiple-type—only the form 'aragāwi 'abukəmu is attested in the post-sixteenth-century collections. For further discussion, see 3.3.4.4.

¹³⁹⁸ Cf. fn. 1386.

¹³⁹⁹ In one, the final *-mu* was initially left out, then added supralineally.

¹⁴⁰⁰ For a discussion of the word *zəsku*, see fn. 1191.

Lastly, the final words, which are not taken from Gen. 43:27 but seem to be original to the antiphon, appear in two variants: either as *ṣādāq wa-her* ('righteous and good') or as *ṣādāq wa-yawāh* ('righteous and meek'). While the former variant is found in all single-type collections and most of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, both variants appear frequently in the post-sixteenth-century collections.

Compared to the biblical source text, as attested in the editions by Dillmann 1853, Boyd 1909, and Edele 1995, the quotation from Gen. 43:27 appears to have been adapted in two ways:

- the initial word of the antiphon, which displays much variation in the attestations of the antiphon, uniformly appears as *wa-yābelomu* ('and he said to them') in the source text. This means that the 'reappearance' of the conjunction in the standard text of the post-eighteenth-century collections could be seen as a consequence of contamination from the biblical text;
- the explicit subject *Yosef* ('Joseph'), ubiquitously found in the attestations of the antiphons, is not present in the source text. Perhaps, one may presume that it was added in order to clarify the meaning of the antiphon in its non-narrative context;
- the word which appears as *zəsku* ('this') in an overwhelming majority of the attestations of the antiphon regularly has the form *zəkku* (same meaning?) in the biblical source text. As seen above, this reading is also found in one of the early multiple-type collections in the corpus. For further discussion, see 3.3.4.4.

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|-------------|---------|---------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|--------|-------------|-----------|---|--|
| | MD 2015 | MD 1994 | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | ES THMR-008 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8488 | ES SSB-002 | GG-187 | BnF Éth. 92 | EMML 7618 | | |
| ወይቤሎም፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | X | | X | | X | | | | |
| ይቤሎም፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ይቤሎ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወይቤ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| ዝስኩ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | | X | | |
| ዝኩ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ዘሰበኩ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| አረጋዊ፡ አቡካም፡ | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X | | | | |
| አቡካም፡ አረጋዊ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | | | X | X | X | | |
| አረጋዊ፡ Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø አቡካም፡ | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጻድቅ፡ ወኅረ፡ | | | | X | X | | | | X | X ^d | X | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ጻድቅ፡ ወየዋህ፡ | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | |

^a The letter <ሙ> has been added supralineally.

^b The word አቡካም፡ has been added supralineally.

^c The word አረጋዊ፡ has been added supralineally.

^d The word ወኄር[፡] has been changed into ወየዋህ፡ by modifying the letters <ኄ> and <ር> to <የ> and <ዋ>, respectively. It appears that this change was made during, as the letter <ህ> has not been added afterwards but is written by the original hand on the line.

3.3.3.6 'Aragāwi *śalast* 006

ብፁዓን፡ እሙንቱ፡ አበዊን፡ እለ፡ ረሰዩ፡ ሕማመ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ዕረፍተ፡ እስመ፡
 ቦሙ፡ ይጸንሑ፡ ኅብ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይረስዑ፡ ሕማመ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ኃላፊ፡
 ጽድቅ፡ ወሰላም፡ ማእከሌሆሙ። (MS EMMML 1894, fol. 41va, ll. 25–
 29)

Blessed are our fathers who turned the suffering of this world
 into rest, for in them (= the sufferings), they waited with the
 Lord.¹⁴⁰¹ They forget the suffering of this passing world.
 Righteousness and peace is among them!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *śalast* 006 is not attested as such in any of the single-type collections,¹⁴⁰² and it is missing from many of the multiple-type collections as well. It may be based on a biblical quotation, but if so, I have not been able to identify it.

Within the attestations of the antiphon 'Aragāwi *śalast* 006, the textual variation is concentrated in the two pre-seventeenth-century collections and in the two collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in many other cases display similarities.¹⁴⁰³ There are eight points of textual variation.

Firstly, the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 agree in adding an additional relative clause to the word 'abawina ('our fathers') in the initial phrase, having 'abawina 'əlla mannanu ('our fathers who rejected') where the other collections have a simple 'abawina ('our fathers'). Secondly, the two pre-seventeenth-century collections—in MSS EMMML 1894 and EMMML 8804—have the long form of the demonstrative pronoun in the phrase *ḥəmāma zəntu 'ālam* ('the suffering of this world'), where the later collections, with one exceptions, have *ḥəmāma-zə 'ālam* (same meaning). The exception among the later collections—found in MS EMMML 7285—has a form with a periphrastic genitive: *ḥəmāmo la-zəntu 'ālam* (same meaning).

Thirdly, the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 agree with the two pre-seventeenth-century collections in having the reading 'ərafta ('[turned the suffering of this world into] rest'), where the remaining eleven

¹⁴⁰¹ The grammatical interpretation of the word *bomu* ('in/through them' or, alternatively, 'they have') is uncertain. Here, it is understood as referring back to the noun phrase *ḥəmāma zəntu 'ālam* ('the suffering of this world'); however, it is unexpected that it appears in the plural. Another possibility would be to interpret *bomu yəṣannəhu* as a verbal construction ('*bo yəqattal*'), although no such construction is mentioned by Leslau 1991 (cf. Leslau 1991, p. 82a), nor, as far as I have been able to ascertain, by Dillmann 1907 (cf., for example, Dillmann 1907, pp. 453–457). I am grateful to Michael Hensley for discussing the translation of this antiphon with me.

¹⁴⁰² The same text does, however, occur in a common, unmarked antiphon in the *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 (fol. 60rb, l. 36–43).

¹⁴⁰³ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

collections have *taṣṣāḥta* (‘[turned the suffering of this world into] joy’). Fourthly, the prepositional phrase *ḥaba ʿĪgziʿabəher* (‘[they waited] with the Lord’) found in the collection in MS EML 1894 (see the text above) corresponds to the expression *ṣaggā ʿĪgziʿabəher* (‘[they waited for] the grace of the Lord’) in the rest of the collections.

Fifthly, two of the five Group B collections have *yərassəyu* (‘may they make [the sufferings of this world into grace]’) instead of *yərassə ʿu* (‘they forget [the sufferings of this passing world]’). As the verb *yərassəyu* requires two objects, it appears that the boundary between the clauses was reanalysed and the word *ṣaggā* later in the antiphon was taken as the second object of *yərassəyu*, which, semantically, is unproblematic. The collection in MS EML 8804, uniquely, has a conjunction *wa-* (‘and’) before the word *yərassə ʿu*.

Sixthly, on the second repetition of the expression *ḥəmāma zəntu ʿālam* / *ḥəmāma-zə ʿālam*, the collection in MS EML 1894 adds an adjective *ḥalāfi* (‘[this] passing [world]’), which is missing in the rest of the collections. The two pre-seventeenth-century collections, again, have *ḥəmāma zəntu ʿālam*, whereas the rest of the collections—including the one in MS EML 7285 (!)—have *ḥəmāma-zə ʿālam*. Seventhly, corresponding to *ṣədq wa-salām* (‘righteousness and peace’) in the collection in MS EML 1894 (see text above), a majority of the rest of the collections have *ṣaggā wa-ṣədq wa-śāhl* (‘grace and righteousness and mercy’), with or without a conjunction *wa-* (‘and’) between the two first terms. The collection in Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, in its original layer, had a unique reading *ṣaggā wa-ṣədq wa-ḥayl wa-śāhl* (‘grace and righteousness and power and mercy’), later brought into concordance with the standard reading by the partial marking for deletion of the word *wa-ḥayl*.

Finally, the pre-seventeenth-century collections both have unique readings in the end of the antiphon, the collection in MS EML 1894 having *mā ʿkalehomu* (‘[righteousness and peace] is among them’) and the collection in MS EML 8804 having *maggabomu* (‘[grace and righteousness and mercy] steer them (?)’), against *məslehomu* (‘[grace and righteousness and mercy] is with them’) in the later collections.

| | MD 2015 | EML 8084 | IES 2148 | EML 9110 | EML 2253 | EML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EAP432/1/10 | EML 2053 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EML 1894 | EML 8804 |
|----------------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|----------|------------|-------------|----------|-----------|--------------|----------|----------------|
| አበዊነ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X |
| አበዊነ: አለ: መነኩ: | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | |
| ሐማመ: ዝንቱ: ዓለም: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X ^a |
| ሐማመዝ: ዓለም: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | |

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|----------------|
| ሕማሞ: ለዝንቱ: ዓለም: | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ዕረፍተ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X |
| ትፍሥት: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | |
| ኀበ: እግዚአብሔር: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ጸጋ: እግዚአብሔር: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| ይረስዑ: | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ወይረስዑ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ይረስዩ: | | | | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሕማም: ዝንቱ: ዓለም: ኀላፊ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ሕማም: ዝንቱ: ዓለም: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a |
| ሕማምዝ: ዓለም: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | |
| ጽድቅ: ወሰላም: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ጸጋ: ወጽድቅ: ወሳህል: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | X |
| ጸጋ: ጽድቅ: ወሳህል: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ጸጋ: ወጽድቅ: ወኀይል: ወሳህል: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | |
| ምስሌሆም: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | |
| ማእከሌሆም: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| መገባዎም: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |

^a The letters <ንቱ> in the word ዝንቱ: have been deleted.

^b The letters <ኃይ> in the word ወኀይል: have been marked for deletion.

3.3.3.7 'Aragāwi *salām* 002

ብፁዓን፡ እሙንቱ፡ አባዊን፡ የዋሃን፡ ክቡራን፡ በሰማያት፡ በፍሥሐ፡ ወበሰላም፡
ፈረየ፡ ሎሙ፡ ዕፁ፡ ሕይወት፡ (MS EMMML 4667, fol. 15vb, ll. 22–25)

Blessed are our fathers, meek (and) honoured in the heavens! In
joy and in peace, the Tree of Life bears fruit for them!

Within the studied corpus, the antiphon 'Aragāwi *salām* 002 appears only in multiple-type collections.¹⁴⁰⁴ It is found in two out of the seven consulted Group B collections, once—in MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008—as a secondary addition. I have not been able to identify any quotations from other texts in it.

The textual variation is restricted to minor points. In two collections, the word 'abawina ('our fathers') was initially left out, then added supralineally. Where most collections have *kəburān* ('honoured'), two collections have instead *wa-kəburān* ('and honoured'), and one has *burukān* ('blessed'). The inclusion of the *wa-* before *kəburān* appears in the original text layer of one of the two Group B collections which contain this antiphon, and as an supralinear addition in the other; it may thus be that this reading is typical for Group B, although it is also attested in one of the Group A collections. There is variation between a singular *ba-samāy* ('in heaven') and a plural *ba-samāyāt* ('in the heavens'), but this does not appear to be connected with the dichotomy between the Groups A and B. One isolated collection, finally, 'əṣa *gannat* ('the tree of paradise') again 'əṣa *həywat* ('the tree of life') in the rest of the collections.

| | MD 1994 | EMML 9110 | ES THMR-008 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8488 |
|--------|---------|----------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| አባዊን፡ | X | X | (X) | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | X ^a | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | |
| ክቡራን፡ | X | X ^c | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወክቡራን፡ | | | (X) | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ቡሩካን፡ | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| በሰማያት፡ | X | X | (X) | X | X | | | | X | X | X ^d | | X ^e | X | X | |

¹⁴⁰⁴ Apart from the collections listed below, the multiple-type collection in MS EMMML 1894 (fol. 41vb, ll. 2–4) contains a *salām* antiphon—'Aragāwi *salām* 017—otherwise unattested in the studied corpus, which displays significant similarities with the antiphon 'Aragāwi *salām* 002, although it is longer. At the present stage of our knowledge, it is difficult to say whether this represents another antiphon or a divergent version of 'Aragāwi *salām* 002, especially as the antiphon in MS EMMML 1894 lacks *mələkkət*.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| በሰማይ: | | | | | | X | X | X | | | | | X | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ዕፀ: ሕይወት: | X | X | (X) | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

^a The word አበዊን: has been added in the margin.

^b The word አበዊን: has been added supralineally.

^c The letter <ወ> has been added supralineally before the word ከቡራን:.

^d After the letters <በሰ>, one letter has been erased.

^e MS: በሰማይ: ት፤.

3.3.3.8 ᾿Aragāwi *salām* 004

አበው: ቅዱሳን: ዔሉ: ውስተ: አድባር: ወበዐታት: ኣዕረፉ: በክብር: ወበ: ብዙኅ:
ሰላም: (MS EMMML 8488, fol. 24ra, ll. 13–15)

The holy fathers roamed the mountains and the caves. They
departed in honour and in great peace!

The antiphon ᾿Aragāwi *salām* 004 has a rather restricted attestation, only appearing in multiple-type collections in the studied corpus. It contains the motif of roaming the mountains and caves, based on Heb. 11:38, which frequently recurs in antiphons for monastic saints.¹⁴⁰⁵

Textual variation only appears in the pre-seventeenth-century collections, meaning that all later included in the Minor Corpus—Group A and Group B collections alike—display exactly the same text. There are four points of textual variation. Firstly, the pre-seventeenth-century collection in MS EMMML 7174 has *ṣādqān* (‘the righteous [fathers]’) in the place of *qaddusān* (‘the holy [fathers]’) in the rest of the collections. Secondly, the collection in MS EMMML 1894 has a relative clause ᾿*ella* ᾿*elu* (‘who roamed’) against the simple ᾿*elu* (‘they roamed’) in the rest of the collections. Thirdly, two of the pre-seventeenth-century collections originally lacked the word *wa-ba* ᾿*atāt* (‘and the caves’), although it has been added supralineally in one of them. Lastly, two collections display variants of the phrase which appears in the text above as *wa-ba bəzuḥ salām* (‘and in great peace’): the collection in MS EMMML 1894 has *wa-ba-səbḥat wa-ba bəzuḥ salām* (‘and in glory and in great peace’), whereas the collection in MS EMMML 7174 has *wa-ba-salām* (‘and in peace’). The textual transmission of the antiphon ᾿Aragāwi *salām* 004 exemplifies the tendency towards greater textual stability among the post-sixteenth-century collections in the corpus.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Cf. the antiphons Ṗantalewon *śalast* 006 and ᾿Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001. For further examples of sources where this biblical verse is quoted, see discussion of the antiphon Ṗantalewon *śalast* 006, esp. fn. 1172.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

[illegible]

^a The word ወበኢታት፡ has been added supralineally.

3.3.3.9 'Aragāwi *salām* 005

አበው፡ ቅዱሳን፤ እለ፡ ደብር፡ ወገዳም፡ አስተምህሩ፡ ለነ፡ ነሃሉ፡ በሰላም። (MS
EMML 8804, fol. 32ra, ll. 20–22)

Holy fathers of the desert and the wilderness, intercede for us
that we may be in peace!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *salām* 005 is attested in all but one—*Maṣḥafa Dagg^{wā}* 1994—of the post-sixteenth-century collections included in the corpus and in several of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, but in none of the single-type collections. Its text appears to have remained relatively stable over the centuries. All textual variants are minor and restricted to isolated collections.

In the collection in MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001, the scribe seems to have been mixing this antiphon with the antiphon 'Aragāwi *salām* 004 (0), but this mistake was noticed already during the writing process, as evidenced by the reading አእረስተምህሩ፡ (!) ('*a 'rastamḥəru*)—the letters <እረ> later marked for deletion—where the scribe shifted from '*a 'rafa* to '*astamḥəru* in the middle of the word.

In the seventeenth-century collection in MS EAP432/1/10, the word *watra* ('continually') has been added before the word *ba-salām* ('[that we may be] in peace') at the end of the antiphon.

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[illegible]

^a The word *ፊት* has been marked for deletion.

^b The letters <h> and <ŋ> have been modified into <ħ> and <ŋ̣>, respectively.

^c The letters <λλ> have been marked for deletion.

3.3.3.10 'Aragāwi *māhlet* 002

ኪያክ: ተወከሉ: አበዊነ: ወንሕነኒ: ኪያክ: ተወከልነ: አድኅነነ: እምፀርነ: (MS EAP432/1/10, fol. 37rc, ll. 16–18)

Our fathers trusted in you, and we have also trusted in you. Save us from our enemy!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *māhlet* 002 is widely attested in the multiple-type collections from their earliest appearance, but is not found in the only known single-type collection of *māhlet* antiphons (in MS EMMML 7618). The initial part of the antiphon—*kiyāka tawakkalu 'abawina* ('our fathers trusted in you')—is a quotation from Ps. 21:4 [LXX], which frequently appears in the antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi.¹⁴⁰⁶ I have not been able to identify any further quotations from other texts. The attestation of this antiphon in MS EMMML 8070 is only partly consultable due to the state of the available material (see Chapter 2, 2.4.9).

Most of the textual variation within the attestations of the antiphon 'Aragāwi *māhlet* 002 can be explained by the omission or transposition of individual letters in isolated collections. In the last part of the antiphon, however, there is one more substantial variant. Whereas the rest of the collections have 'ām-*ṣarəna* ('from our enemy', seventeen collections) or 'ām-*ṣar* ('from the enemy', one collection), the reading in the multiple-type collection in the fifteenth–sixteenth-century manuscript EMMML 4667 appears to have developed in three stages. The original reading of the manuscript cannot be reconstructed with certainty, but it consisted of the reading 'ām- 'ə *da ṣarəna*, in which one letter has later been erased between the 'ə (<አ>) and the *da* (<ደ>). The first modification of the text consisted in the erasure of the presently unknown letter, resulting in the reading 'ām- 'ə *da ṣarəna* ('[save us] from the hand of our enemy'). Lastly, in a third stage, the letters 'ə (<አ>) and the *da* (<ደ>) were marked for deletion, with the result that the text is brought into conformity with the rest of the attestations. There are no cases in which the Group B collections share a reading against the Group A collections.

| | MD 2015 | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 8804 | EMML 4667 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 8070 | EMML 8678 |
|-------|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| ተወከሉ: | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | – | X |
| ተከሉ: | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | – | |

¹⁴⁰⁶ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons 'Aragāwi *səbhata nagh* 001 and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 013.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|----------------|----------------|---|---|
| ወንሕነኒ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X ^a | X | X |
| ወንሕነ: | | | | | | | X | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ንሕነኒ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | | | | |
| ተወከልነ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | – | X |
| ወተከልነ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | – | |
| ኢድኅነ: | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X |
| ኢድኅነ: | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| ወኢድኅነ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| እምፀርነ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | – | X |
| እምፀር: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | – | |
| እምእ* [!] (del.*)ድ: ፀርነ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | |

^a MS: ወንሕ{ኒ>ነ}ነ:

^b The letter <ወ> has been added supralineally in front of the word ንሕነኒ:

^c Between the letters <እ> and <ድ>, one letter has been erased. Furthermore, the letters <እ>, <ድ>, and the erased letter between them have been marked for deletion.

3.3.3.11 'Aragāwi *səbhata nagh* 001

ኪያክ: ተወከሉ: አበዊነ: እለ: በእንቲአክ: መጠዉ: ነፍሶሙ: ክብር:
ይደልዎሙ: (MS EMMML 2542, fol. 25ra, ll. 22–23)

Our fathers trusted in you, those who delivered their souls for
your sake. Honour is due to them!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *səbhata nagh* 001 is only attested in multiple-type collections.¹⁴⁰⁷ The first part of the antiphon—*kiyāka tawakkalu 'abawina* ('our fathers trusted in you')—is a quotation from Ps. 21:4 [LXX], which appears also in other antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi.¹⁴⁰⁸

The text is attested twice in the collection in MS EMMML 8678. On the first occasion, the text has been rewritten from the word 'əlla and onwards, and it is clear that the collection originally had a *səbhata nagh* antiphon with a different ending. The second appearance, which follows directly upon the first, has the entire text of the antiphon 'Aragāwi *səbhata nagh* 001 written in the original hand.

Next to a small number of trivial variants attested in isolated manuscripts, there are two point of textual variation. Firstly, two collections—one belonging to Group A, the other to Group B—have a reading *ba- 'ənti 'ana* ('[who delivered

¹⁴⁰⁷ However, almost the same text appears in the *səbhata nagh* collection in MS EMMML 7618 (fol. 181rb, ll. 2–5) as a common antiphon for Fathers (*za- 'abaw*).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons 'Aragāwi *māhlet* 002 and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 013.

their souls] for our sake’) against *ba-’anti’aka* (‘[who delivered their souls] for your sake’) in the rest of the collections. These two collections do not display any special textual affinity on other occasions.

Secondly, there is one variant which appears in three out of the five Group B collections attesting to this antiphon, namely the addition of *la-mot* (‘to death’) at the end of the phrase *’alla ba-’anti’aka / ba-’anti’ana maṭṭawu naḥsomu* (‘those who delivered their souls for your/our sake’). Although this variant is not attested in all Group B collections included in the corpus, it is completely unattested outside of Group B and can thus be seen as a Group B isogloss.

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[illegible]

3.3.3.12 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 001

ዳኅንኩ፡ ዝሰኩ፡ አረጋዊ፡ አቡኩሙ፡ ጸድቕ፡ ውኒር፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘይንዕድዎ፡
 በምግባ(?)ረ፡ ሠናይ፡ አቡኩ፡ ጸሊ፡ በእንቲአኑ፡ ከመ፡ በኅዱዕ፡ ወበጽምው፡ ይኩን፡
 ንብረትኑ፡ (MS EMMML 9110, fol. 11rc, ll. 19–24)

Is this old man, your father, well, the righteous and good one?
 The man who is extolled with good deeds, '*abuna*, pray for us
 that our lives may be in stillness and quiet!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 001 appears in a large majority of the collections included in the Minor Corpus: twenty-nine out of the thirty-two collections that contain *mazmur*-family antiphons for the saint. In twenty-two out of these, this antiphon is marked—either only by placement at the front of the commemoration, or by both such a placement and an antiphon-type indication—as a *məsbāk* antiphon. In three out of these twenty-two, the antiphon is given in abbreviated form in the position of the *məsbāk* antiphon, then in full among the '*abun* antiphons. In five out of the twenty-nine collections (including the two single-type collections that contain it), it is only found among the '*abun* (or *mazmur*-family) antiphons. It should be noted that for the attestation in MS EMMML 8070, the available version of the microfilm does not preserve this antiphon in its entirety (see Chapter 2, 2.4.9).

The text of the antiphon contains quotations from Gen. 43:27—expanded by adding two epithets to the 'father' mentioned in the text, epithets which also appear in the antiphon 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001 (3.3.3.5)—and from 1 Tim. 2:2. As noticed above, Gen. 43:27 is quoted also in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526),¹⁴⁰⁹ where the additional epithets are also found. Between the expanded quotation from Gen. 43:27 and the quotation from 1 Tim. 2:2, a relative clause and an exhortation have been added, which do not appear to be direct parallels in other texts.

Most of the textual variants attested in the studied corpus are trivial or attested only in individual collections. Three of them, however, are worthy of discussion, as their distribution appears to correlate with other features of the collections. Firstly, the variation in word order between '*aragāwi* '*abukəmu* ('[this] old man, your father') and '*abukəmu* '*aragāwi* ('[this] your father, the old man') is distributed in such a way that the latter variant appears in eight (?) out of nine pre-seventeenth-century collections, whereas the former variant appears in fifteen out of nineteen of the post-sixteenth-century collections included in the corpus. For further discussion of this phrase, see 3.3.4.4.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Cf. fn. 1386.

Secondly, the phrase *bə'asi za-yənə'ədəwwo* ('the man who is extolled') appears without the head noun, i.e. simply as *za-yənə'ədəwwo* ('he who is extolled'), in (the original layer of) all except one—the sixteenth-century collection in MS EMMML 1894—of the pre-seventeenth-century collections. In two of the sixteenth-century collections, the word *bə'asi* has been added supralineally. In the post-sixteenth-century collections, on the other hand, the phrase always appears as *bə'asi za-yənə'ədəwwo*. Based on the consulted materials, it consequently seems that the reading including the word *bə'asi* was introduced around the sixteenth–seventeenth century, then experienced a rapid spread and became ubiquitous. One could hypothesise that the addition of a head noun helped clarify the syntactical structure of the sentence, or metrical considerations could have been involved.

Thirdly, there is variation between the words *wa-ba-šəmmunā* ('and in quietness') and *wa-ba-šəmməw* ('and quietly'). The second variant appears in all Group B collection, and also in two of the post-sixteenth-century Group A collections—those in MSS EMMML 7529 and EAP704/1/36—whereas the former variant appears in the rest of the collections. These variants appear within the quotation from 1 Tim, where, in both the edition of Platt 1830 and in the *Haddis kidān* 2017, the word *šəmməw* is found in this verse.¹⁴¹⁰ One could thus speculate that the reading *wa-ba-šəmməw* is an innovation in the antiphon, intended to bring the biblical quotation into agreement with the current version of the biblical text, but in the absence of a modern critical edition of 1 Tim, this remains hypothetical.

¹⁴¹⁰ Platt 1830; *Haddis kidān* 2017, p. 399b.

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| | EMML 7618 | GG-185 | EMML 8678 | EMML 8070 | Tānāsee 172 | EMML 4667 | EMML 8804 | EMML 7174 | EMML 2542 | EMML 1894 | UUB O Et. 36 | ES QS-006 | ES DD-019 | EMML 2053 | EAP704/1/36 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 7529 | EMML 6994 | EMML 2431 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 7285 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7745 | EMML 2253 | EMML 9110 | IES 2148 | EMML 8084 | MD 1994 | MD 2015 | |
|--------------|-----------|--------|----------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------|---------|--|
| ዳግንት: | X | X | | – | | X | X | X* | X* | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ዳግንት: ዳግንት: | | | X ^a | – | X | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዳግት: | | | | – | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዝስኩ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ዝኩ: | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| አረጋዊ: አቡክሙ: | | | X | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | | X | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| አቡክሙ: አረጋዊ: | X | X | | ? | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | X | | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| አረጋዊ: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸድቅ: | X | X | X | – | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ጽድቅ: | | | | – | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ብእሲ: ዘይንእድዎ: | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| Ø ዘይንእድዎ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^c | X | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸሊ: በእንቲአነ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| Ø በእንቲአነ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በህዱአ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| በቅዱስ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| ወበፅሙኛ: | X | X | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | ? | X | X | X |
| ወበፅምው: | | | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | ? | | | |
| ይኩን: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X |
| ይኩን: ይኩን: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | | | |

^a The first repetition of the word ላላንኑ፡ has been deleted.

^b MS: አቡክሙ: [...].

^c The word ብእሲ፡ has been added supralineally.

^d The second repetition of the word 𐎧𐎡𐎴 has been marked for deletion.

3.3.3.13 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la-* '*ālam*) 003

አባ፡ አባ፡ ጌር፡ ወመምህር፡ ወፈራሄ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጸሊ፡ በእንቲአነ፡ እስመ፡
ጸሎተ፡ ጸድቅ፡ ይሰምዕ፡ ቅሩብ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለየዋሃነ፡ ልብ፡ (MS EMLL
1894, fol. 41rb, ll. 5–8)

'*Abbā*, '*abbā*, good one, teacher and God-fearer! Pray for us, for
He hears the prayer of the righteous one! The Lord is close to
the meek of heart!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la-* '*ālam*) 003 is attested from the single-type collections to the printed *Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 2015. It is one of the antiphons that appear in all post-seventeenth-century Group A and Group B collections included in the corpus.

Textual variation is minor. In fact, except for the variation in the number of initial repetitions of the word '*abbā*, ranging between one and three, none of the textual variants is attested in more than one collection.¹⁴¹¹ The words that appear as *her wa-mamhār* ('good and a teacher') in the text above, appear as *her ṣādāq ṣādāq wa-yawāh* ('good, righteous, righteous and meek') in the single-type collection in MS GG-185, and in all the remaining collections as *her wa-yawāh* ('good and meek'). There are isolated cases of variation regarding the inclusion of conjunctions and prepositions, and in word order. At the end of the antiphon, the seventeenth-century collection in MS EMLL 2053 has an abstract *la-yawhānnā lābb* ('[the Lord is close] to the meekness of heart') against *la-yawhāna lābb* or *la-yawāhāna lābb* (both, '[the Lord is close] to the meek of heart'). The variant with an abstract noun appears to make less sense in this context.

¹⁴¹¹ In the attestation in the collection in MS EMDA 00111, the single repetition of the word '*abbā* can be explained by a irregularity in the rubrication: instead of providing an antiphon-type indication (አስ, '*as*, for '*asma la-* '*ālam*) only in connection with the *first* antiphon of this type—this is the general pattern; see Chapter 4, 4.4.2—also the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la-* '*ālam*) 003 (the second '*asma la-* '*ālam* antiphon in the sequence) is preceded by an antiphon-type indication. Presumably, the space now filled with the irregular antiphon-type indication was initially intended to be fill with another repetition of the word '*abbā*.

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

- ^a The word ḥḳ: has been added supralineally after the original ḥḳ:.
- ^b MS: *ወየዋሃ(!)*:.
- ^c The word ጸድቅ: has been added supralineally.
- ^d The letter <ḥ> has been erased.
- ^e One word of approximately eight–nine letters, presumably ለግዚአብሔር:, has been deleted before the word ቅሩብ: . After the word ቅሩብ:, the letters <እግዚ> have been added supralineally.

3.3.3.14 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006

ዳጎንኑ፡ //ዝስኩ፡ አቡኩሙ፡ ዝስኩ፡ አቡኩሙ፡ ዳ፡ ዘኮኖሙ፡ መርሃ፡ በፍኖት፡
 ለአግብርተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዳ፡ እስመ፡ እምንእሱ፡ ነሥኦ፡ አርዑተ፡ ወተጸምዶ፡
 ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዳ፡ ወበእደዊሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ካህናት፡ እለ፡ የአምሩ፡ ትእምርተ፡
 መስቀሉ፡ ዳ፡ ሰርዓ፡ (ሎሙ[:]) ሰርዓተ፡ ቅድሳተ፡ ወኖሎት(!)፡ ውስተ፡ ዝንቱ፡
 ደብር፡ ዳ፡ ከመ፡ ይእድዉ፡ ምግባረ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ወይሕሱ፡ ሕገ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
 ዳሕንኑ፡ ዝስኩ፡ አቡኩሙ፡ ዳጎንኑ፡ ዝስኩ፡ አቡኩሙ፡፤ (MS EMMML 8084,
 fol. 15ra, l. 22–15rb, l. 10)

Is this father of yours, this father of yours, well? *I[s this father of yours, this father of yours, well]*? He who became a guide on the path for the servants of the Lord, *i[s this father of yours, this father of yours, well]*? Because from his youth he carried the yoke and devoted himself to the Lord,¹⁴¹² *i[s this father of yours, this father of yours, well]*? And by the hands of the holy priests, who make the sign of the cross, *i[s this father of yours, this father of yours, well]*? He ordained for them a decree, a sanctuary, and shepherds on this mountain, *i[s this father of yours, this father of yours, well]*? That they may sweep away the work of sin and seek the law of the Lord. Is this father of yours well? Is this father of yours well?

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006 is attested from one of the earliest single-type collections and up to the modern printed editions. As a refrain, it uses a variant of the regularly recurring quotation from Gen. 43:27—a biblical verse also quoted in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526)¹⁴¹³—on which see 3.3.4.4.¹⁴¹⁴ Next to this biblical quotation, one can note that the phrase *konomu marḥa ba-fānot la-'agbarta 'Egzi'abəher* ('he became a guide on the path for the servants of the Lord') is also found in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526),¹⁴¹⁵ as well as in second-recension *Sənkəssār* reading for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi on 14 Ṭəqəmt.¹⁴¹⁶ The attestation in the *Sənkəssār* is, with high probability, secondary, but it is difficult to determine whether its source was the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006 (or another antiphon in which this phrase occurs) or the *Life*.

¹⁴¹² The word *wa-tašāmdo* could also be interpreted as an infinitive, resulting in the following translation: 'Because from his youth he carried the yoke and the devotion to the Lord'. See the discussion below.

¹⁴¹³ Cf. fn. 1386.

¹⁴¹⁴ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons Ṗantalewon *salām* 004, Ṗantalewon *mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 004, 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 001, 'Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001, and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006.

¹⁴¹⁵ Guidi 1895, p. 77 (edition); cf. also van den Oudenrijn 1939, p. 58 (French translation).

¹⁴¹⁶ Colin 1987, p. 84 (edition), 85 (French translation).

The text of the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006 displays some variation regarding the order of the lines. In the collection in MS EML 7745, the lines that begin with *za-konomu* ('he who became for them [...]') and '*asma* ('because [from his youth...])' have changed places. In the collections in MS EML 2053, the line that begins with '*asma* ('because [from his youth])' was originally left out, then added supralineally. In the collection in MS EML 8678, the line which begins with '*šar'a* ('He ordained [...]') is missing. This variation is summarised in Table 21, in which the refrain, generally repeated in abbreviated form between each line, has not been included.

Table 21. The order of lines in the antiphon 'Aragāwi mazmur ('abun) 006.

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|-----|---|---|---|---|
| EMML 7618 | | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| EMML 8678 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | — | 4 | 5 |
| EMML 1894 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| UUB O Et. 36 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| ES QS-006 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| ES DD-019 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMML 2053 | R | 1 | (x) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| EAP704/136 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EAP432/110 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMML 7529 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMML 6994 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMML 2431 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMDA 00111 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMML 7285 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EAP254/15 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMML 7745 | R | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMML 2253 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMML 9110 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| IES 2148 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| EMML 8084 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| MD 1994 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| MD 2015 | R | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| ዳኅንነት፡ [...] | | | | | | | |
| ዘኮኖሙ፡ [...] | 1 | | | | | | |
| እስመ፡ [...] | 2 | | | | | | |
| ወበአደቂሆሙ፡ [...] | 3 | | | | | | |
| ሠርዐ፡ [...] | 4 | | | | | | |
| ከመ፡ [...] | 5 | | | | | | |

A long antiphon with a long history of attestation, the antiphon 'Aragāwī *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006 displays much variation. Disregarding a number of cases in which the textual variation only consists in variation in the use of conjunctions and prepositions, and in possessive and objective endings, there are ten points of textual variation.

First of all, there seems to be variation in the realisation of the refrain. All attestations agree that the refrain begins with one repetition of the phrase *dāḥəṇə-nu zəsku 'abukəmu* ('is this father of yours well?').¹⁴¹⁷ However, the refrain also has a second part, the realisation of which seems to vary. In one of the Group B collections, as well as in the sixteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EMMML 1894, the latter part of the refrain has exactly the same form as the first part: *dāḥəṇə-nu zəsku 'abukəmu* ('is this father of yours well?'). This contrasts to the form attested in the majority of the studied collections—including the only

¹⁴¹⁷ In the attestation in the Group B collection in MS EMLL 2253, the word *dāḥənə-nu* (‘is [this father of yours] well?’) is spelled ዳዘንኑ: (*dāḥənənə-nu?*) on all four occasions that it occurs. In the attestation in the Group A collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, the word *zəsku* (‘this’) is, on all three occasions that it occurs, written as ዘንክ: (*zəzku*).

single-type collection that contains this antiphon, the remaining four Group B collections, and both printed editions—where the latter part simply has the form *zasku* 'abukamu ('this father of yours'), leaving out the first word. One collection—the one in MS EMLL 7285—has, in the second part of the refrain, the variant *zasku-ssa* 'abukamu ('this father of yours', with a focal particle absent from the first part of the refrain). In another collection, it is impossible to say whether *zasku* or *zasku-ssa* was intended, as the word has been abbreviated.

Secondly, there appears to be variation within the second repetition of the refrain, i.e. when the refrain is indicated between the initial repetition of the refrain and the first other line. In most attestations—fifteen out of twenty-two—this repetition of the refrain is signalled by an abbreviated form, most often *dā* (𐤁, for *dāḥanā-nu* [...]). In one attestations, it is left out completely. However, out of the six attestations where it is written out in full, five have *dāḥanā-nu zasku* 'abukamu, whereas one lacks the demonstrative and has *dāḥanā-nu* 'abukamu. It should be noted that this concerns only the first half of the refrain—the second, if indeed there is a second one, is not written out in any of the collections.

Thirdly, leaving the refrain and turning to the first proper line (according to the text above)—beginning with *za-konomu* ('he who became for them [...]')—there is variation between the word *ba-fānot* ('[he became a guide] on the path [for the servants of the Lord]') and *ba-fānotomu* ('[he became a guide] on the path of [the servants of the Lord]'). The latter variant only appears in Group B collections (in four out of five), and can thus, on the basis of the studied corpus, be classified as a reading restricted to this group of collections.

Fourthly, in the second line (according to the text above)—beginning with 'asma ('because [from his youth...])—there is variation in the word which appears above as *wa-tašamdo* ('[he carried the yoke] and the devotion [to the Lord]' / '[he carried the yoke] and devoted himself [to the Lord]'). Next to this form, which is ambiguous as to its part of speech—it could be either a perfect verb or an infinitive—there are a) forms which are unambiguously verbal (*wa-tašamado* ('[he carried the yoke] and he devoted himself [to the Lord]'), *wa-tašamda* ('[he carried the yoke] and devoted himself [to the Lord]')), b) forms which are unambiguously nominal (*ba-tašamdo* ('[he carried the yoke] in devotion [to the Lord]')), and c) forms which include a word for 'fasting' (*šoma wa-tašamdo* ('[he carried the yoke,] the fasting and the devotion [to the Lord]' / '[he carried the yoke,] fasted and devoted himself [to the Lord]'), *wa-šoma wa-tašamdo* ('[he carried the yoke] and the fasting and the devotion [to the Lord]' / '[he carried the yoke] and fasted and devoted himself [to the Lord]')). The variants which include the idea of fasting are found once each in the corpus: *šoma wa-tašamdo* appears in the sixteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EMLL 1894, and *wa-šoma wa-tašamdo* appears in the single-type collection in MS EMLL 7618. The unambiguously verbal form *wa-tašamda* appears in the fifteenth-century multiple-

type collection in MS EML 8678. The unambiguously nominal form *ba-taṣamdo* is found in two collections: the seventeenth-century multiple-type collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in other cases display related readings.¹⁴¹⁸ In all later collections, Group A collections and Group B collections alike, the form *wa-taṣamdo* (or in one attestation: *wa-taṣamado*) appears.

Fifthly, within the third line (according to the text above)—in the text above beginning with *wa-ba-’ədawihomu* (‘and by the hands [of the holy priests]’)—there is variation within this very word, the other attested forms being *ba-’ədawihomu* (‘by the hands [of the holy priests]’) and, idiosyncratically in one collection, *’abawihomu* (‘the fathers [of the holy priests]’). The form *wa-ba-’ədawihomu* dominates in the Group B collections and the form *ba-’ədawihomu* in the Group A collections, but there are exceptions going both ways. Sixthly, the relative pronoun *’alla* (‘who’), attested in all multiple-type collections, corresponds to a conjunction *wa-* (‘and’) in the single-type collection in MS EML 7618.

Seventhly, the word which appears as *ya ’amməru* (‘[who] make [the sign of the Cross]’) in the text above appears also in several other forms in the corpus. The reading *ya ’amməru* is found in four out of the five Group B collection. The fifth appears, instead, to have *ya ’ammənu* (‘[who] believe in [the sign of the Cross]’), although it may also be possible to interpret the letter found in the manuscript in other ways. A clear majority of the earlier collections and the Group A collections have the reading *’aqabu* (‘[who] kept [the sign of the Cross]’), albeit the variants *ya ’aqqəbu* (‘[who] keep [the sign of the Cross]’) and—if I have read the manuscripts correctly—*’atabu* (‘[who] marked (with) [the sign of the Cross]’) are also found. As the readings *ya ’amməru* and *ya ’ammənu* are clearly (graphically) related, as are the readings *’aqabu*, *ya ’aqqəbu*, and *’atabu*, this provides a further example within this antiphon of how the Group B collections share a unique reading against the rest of the collections.

In the fourth line (according to the text above)—beginning with *śar ’a* (‘he ordained’)—there is, eighthly, variation in the word which appears above as *qəddəsāta* (‘sanctuary, holy things, divine service’). It appears also in the forms *qəddəsta* (‘[he ordained for them] a holy decree’) and, in one eighteenth–nineteenth-century attestation, *qəddusān* (‘[he ordained for them] a decree for the holy ones’). While the graphic differentiation between *qəddəsāta* (ቅድሳተ) and *qəddəsta* (ቅድስተ) is not always straightforward, it appears that the former form dominates in the pre-eighteenth-century Group A collections, whereas both forms appear in later collection.

¹⁴¹⁸ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

Turning to the fifth line (according to the text above)—beginning with *kama* ('that [they may]')—there is, ninthly, the word which appears above as *məgbāra* ('[that they may cleanse] the work [of sin]'). It has the two variants *'əm-məgbāra* ('[that they may cleanse] from the work [of sin]') and *'əm-gəbra* ('[that they may cleanse] from the doing [of sin]'). The first reading—*məgbāra*—is unique to the Group B collections. The second reading—*'əm-məgbāra*—appears in the pre-seventeenth-century collections—single- and multiple-type—and in one of the seventeenth-century Group A collections.¹⁴¹⁹ The rest of the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections have the third reading: *'əm-gəbra*.

Lastly—still within the fifth line—for the word which appears above as *wa-yəḥśu* ('and [that] they may seek?'), a variety of forms are attested in the manuscripts: *wa-yəḥśəśu* ('and [that] they may seek', two collections), *wa-yəḥśəs* ('and [that] he may seek', one collection), *wa-yəḥessu* ('and he covers', two collections¹⁴²⁰), and *wa-yəḥassu* ('and may he cover'). It seems that this variation was encouraged by the phonologic nature of this word, which contains both a [h] (derivable from either /h/, /ḥ/, or /ḫ/ in an earlier stage of the language) and a [s] (derivable from either /s/ or /ś/), and additionally has an irregular root structure. The form which I read as *wa-yəḥśu* ('and [that] they may seek'), i.e. the third person masculine plural subjunctive form of the verb *ḥaśaśa*, 'to seek',¹⁴²¹ could also be read as *wa-yəḥsu* ('and [that] he may cover', etc.), i.e. the third person masculine singular subjunctive form of the verb *ḥasawa*, 'to cover', 'to hide', but also 'to intertwine', 'to put something around the neck'.¹⁴²² This interpretation seems less likely, as the syntactical context demands a third person masculine plural subjunctive and as the object of the verb is invariably a variant of *ḥəgga 'Əgzi 'abəher* ('the law of the Lord'), leading us to expect the verb to have a positive meaning. The variants *wa-yəḥśəśu* and *wa-yəḥśəs* are unambiguously derived from the verb *ḥaśaśa*, whereas the variants *wa-yəḥessu* and *wa-yəḥassu* appear to be unambiguously derived from the verb *ḥasawa*. As for the distribution of the variants, the variation is concentrated in the earlier collections, all post-seventeenth-century collections uniformly having *wa-yəḥśu*. The single-type collection has *wa-yəḥśəs*, one of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections has *wa-yəḥassu*, and the

¹⁴¹⁹ The collection with this reading is the one in MS UUB O Etiop. 36. It is noteworthy that the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, which generally has readings close to those in the collection in MS UUB O Etiop. 36, appears to have the reading *'əm-gəbra* in this case.

¹⁴²⁰ This form is attested in the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36. For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

¹⁴²¹ In fact, according to most Geez grammars, the expected third person masculine plural subjunctive form of the verb *ḥaśaśa* is *yəḥśəśu* (cf. Dillmann 1907, p. 180, § 93, with no mention of the loss of a syllable; Tropper 2002, p. 109, § 44.51 mentions only the optional loss of a syllable in imperfect forms with a vocalic suffix). However, Makonnen Argaw 1984 records as an alternative form of the subjunctive the pattern attested here (Makonnen Argaw 1984, p. 148). The vocalisation *yəḥśu*, with simplification of the geminated second radical, is based on the information that he provides.

¹⁴²² Leslau 1991, p. 245.

collections in the two manuscripts Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in other cases display related readings,¹⁴²³ have *wa-yəḥessu*.

¹⁴²³ For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

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| | MD 2015 | MD 1994 | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 8678 | EMML 7618 |
|------------------------|---------|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| ዝስኩ: አቡክሙ: (2nd) | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | X | X |
| ዝስኩ: አ: (2nd) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | |
| ዝ: አ: (2nd) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ዝስኩ-ሰ: አቡክሙ: (2nd) | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዳጎንኑ: ዝስኩ: አቡክሙ: (2nd) | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ዳ: | X | | X | | | | X | X | X | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ዳጎንኑ: | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዳጎንኑ: ዝስኩ: አቡክሙ: | | X | | | | X | | | | X | | X | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ዳጎንኑ: Ø አቡክሙ: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| በፍኖት: | X | X | X | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| በፍኖቶሙ: | | | | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| እምንእሱ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| እምንእስ: | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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|-------------|---|---|---|----------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|
| ወተፀምድ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | |
| ወተፀመድ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወተፀምደ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | |
| በተፀምድ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | | |
| ጸመ: ወተፀምድ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ወጸመ: ወተፀምድ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወበእደዊሆሙ: | | | X | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | (X) | | | | | | | |
| በእደዊሆሙ: | X | X | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወእደዊሆሙ: | | | | | X ^b | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| አበዊሆሙ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ካህናት: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | |
| እለ: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | |
| ወ- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| Ø | | | | X ^d | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| የአምሩ: | | | X | X | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| የአምኑ: | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዐቀቡ: | X | X | | | | | | X | X | | | | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| የዐቅቡ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ዐተቡ: | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | |

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|-----------|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|
| መስቀሉ: | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| መስቀል: | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ሠርዐ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | — | |
| ሠርፆመ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | — | X |
| ለመ: | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | — | |
| Ø | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | — | X |
| ቅድሳተ: | X | | X | | | | | X | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | — | X |
| ቅድስተ: | | X | | X | X | X | ? | | X | X | | X | | | | | | | | | | — | |
| ቅዱሳን: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | — | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | — | |
| ወኖለዐተ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | — | X |
| ኖለዐተ: | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | — | |
| ወስተ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | — | X | |
| Ø | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^f | | | | | — | |
| ከመ: ይዕድዉ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | X |
| Ø ይዕድዉ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^g | | |
| ተዐደዉ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| ከመ: ይእትዉ: | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ምግባረ: | | | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| እምግብረ: | X | X | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | ? | | | | | |

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|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|----------------|---|
| እምግባረ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | ? ^h | X |
| ወይኅሁ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | | | | | X | |
| ወይኅሥሁ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | | | |
| ወይኅሥሥ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወይሐሱ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | X ⁱ | | | |
| ወየሐሱ: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ሕገ: እግዚአብሔር: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ሕገ: ለእግዚአብሔር: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Ø እግዚአብሔር: | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^j | | | | | | | | | |

^a This verb is still followed by the phrase *la- 'Ēgzi 'abəher*, but perhaps this is to be understood rather as an indirect object than as a periphrastically marked direct object.

^b The letter <ጠ> has been added after the letter <ወ>.

^c The word ካህናት: has been added supralineally.

^d The word እለ: has been added supralineally.

^e The word ሎሙ: has been added supralineally.

^f Approximately one letter has been deleted, and instead, the word ውስተ: has been added supralineally.

^g The word ከሙ[:] has been added supralineally before the word ይዕድዉ:.

^h It is difficult to say whether the manuscript has a <ግ> or a <ጠ>.

ⁱ MS: ወይሄ(?)ቡ(?):.

^j The word ሕገ: has been added supralineally before the word እግዚአብሔር:.

3.3.3.15 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la-* '*ālam*) 010

ዝገቱስ፡ ብእሲ፡ በትዕግሥቱ፡ ዘፈጸመ፡ ገድሎ፡ ብእሴ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ብፁዕ፡
ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ ቴዎድሶስ፡ ንጉሥ። ዝ። (MS EMMML 1894, fol.
41rb, ll. 8–11)

This is the man who completed his struggle with patience. The
Man of God, blessed is Gabra Krastos, son of King Tewodosyos!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la-* '*ālam*) 010 is attested from the one of the single-type collections and up to the printed editions. It is explicitly connected with Gabra Krastos through the mention of his name and epithets, although it is not a quotation from the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450). In the collection in MS EMMML 8678, where separate commemorations are provided for Gabra Krastos and 'Abbā 'Aragāwi, it is, as expected, found in the commemoration of the former. In *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994, it is only given in abbreviated form. As for textual parallels, the phrase *ba-tə 'gəstu za-faṣṣama gadlo* ('who completed his struggle with patience') is found also in several antiphons for Pantaḥewon.¹⁴²⁴

Textually, the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 010 has remained relatively stable over the course of its attestation, at least as far as one can say based on the study of the Minor Corpus. Next to a couple of variants attested in individual collections and some variation in the spelling of the name of the saint's father, the main variant concerns the presence versus absence of the words *bə 'ase 'Əgzi 'abəher* ('the Man of God'). This epithet is not found in the attestation in the single-type collection in MS EMMML 7618. However, it is found in four out of five attestations in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. In the later collections, it is only attested in isolated cases. Overall, this distribution of a variant is uncommon.

¹⁴²⁴ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons Pantaḥewon *śalast* 003, Pantaḥewon *salām* 004, Pantaḥewon *salām* 005, Pantaḥewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 003, and Pantaḥewon *mazmur* ('*asma la-* '*ālam*) 006.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | MD 2015 | MD 1994 | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | ES THMR-008 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | GG-185 |
|---------------------|---------|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|--------|
| ብእሲ: | X | – | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ብእሲ: ጸድቅ: * __ (!*) | | – | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | |
| ብእሲ: እግዚአብሔር: | | – | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | X | X ^b | X | X | | |
| Ø | X | – | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | | | | X | X |
| ቱዎዶስዮስ: | X | – | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ቱዮዶስዮስ: | | – | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ቱዎስሎስ: | | – | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | | | | |
| ንጉሥ: | X | – | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Ø | | – | | | | | X ^d | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

^a After the word ብእሲ:, a space of approximately six letters has been erased. A first word can possibly be read as ጸድቅ:, whereas the rest is illegible. At the end of the antiphon, the entire first phrase is repeated (ዝንቱስ: ... ገድሎ:) same erasure has taken place. Here, the erased letters can be read as ጸድቅ: ወኔር:.

^b The words ብእሲ: እግዚአብሔር: have been marked for deletion.

^c MS: ቱዎ(ዶ)ስሎ(ዮ)ስ:.

^d The word ንጉሥ: has been added in the margin.

3.3.3.16 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la-* '*ālam*) 013

ኪያክ፡ ተወከሉ፡ አበዊ፡ ተወከሉከኒ፡ ወአድኅንኩሙ፡ ተወ/24ra/ከሉከኒ፡
ወኢይትጋፈሩ፡ (MS EMMML 8488, fols 23vb, l. 26–24ra, l. 1)

Our fathers trusted in you. They trusted in you and you saved
them. They trusted in you and are not put to shame!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 013 is attested in one of the single-type collections, then widely in the multiple-type collections throughout the centuries. It is based on Ps. 21:4–5 [LXX]. Perhaps partly because of this, the antiphon displays only very minor textual variance over the course of its textual history, at least as far as one can say based on the Minor Corpus.

Next to some trivial variants attributable to scribal mistakes (the omission of single letters, the erroneously placement of vowel markers), particularly in the repeated word *tawakkaluka-ni* ('they trusted in you'), there is one point of textual variation. It concerns the last word, which in the collection in MS EMMML 8488 (see the text above) appears as *wa-'i-yəṭḥaffaru* ('and they are not put to shame'). This word displays two further variants, namely *wa-'i-taḥafṛu* / *wa-'i-taḥaffəru* ('and they were not put to shame' / 'and you [plur.] are not put to shame') and *wa-'i-təḥaffəru* ('and you [plur.] are not put to shame'). The former is found in a majority of the attestations, ranging from the single-type collection up to the printed edition, while the latter is only found in one attestation, in the Group B collection in MS EMMML 8084. Whereas the first form—*wa-'i-taḥafṛu* / *wa-'i-taḥaffəru*—is ambiguous and could be interpreted either as a second person masculine plural imperfective or as a third person masculine plural perfective, the latter—*wa-'i-təḥaffəru*—in which the regular assimilation of short vowels across a laryngeal has not been carried out, can only be interpreted as a second person masculine plural imperfective. The interpretation as a third person form appears to make more sense in this context.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | MD 2015 | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 8488 | EMML 8678 | GG-185 |
|--------------------|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| ተወከሉከኒ፡ ወአድጎንኮሙ፡ | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ተወከሉኒ፡ ወአድጎንኮሙ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| ተወከሉከኒ፡ ወአድጎንኮሙ፡ | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ø | | | | | X ^a | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ተወከሉከኒ፡ (2nd time) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | ? ^b | X | X | X |
| ተወከሉኒ፡ (2nd time) | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወኢተጎፍሩ፡ | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X |
| ወኢትጎፍሩ፡ | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ወኢይትጎፍሩ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | X | | |

^a The words ተወከሉከኒ(?)፡ ወአድጎንኮሙ፡ have been added supralineally.

^b In the attestation in the collection in MS EMML 8804, the second repetition of this word has been abbreviated ተ፡, presumably indicating that it has the same form as on the first occasion, i.e. ተወከሉከኒ፡.

3.3.3.17 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 017

ደምፀ፡ ወተሰብከ፡ (ውስተ[፡]) ዓለም፡ ዜና፡ ምግባሩ(?)፡ ትሩፍ፡ ለአረጋዊ፡ ኮከበ፡
 ገዳም፡ ደ፡ እንዘ፡ የዓርግ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ጸሎተ(?)፡ ወጸም(?)፡ ደ፡ ጽጉያን፡
 እሙኅቱ፡ እምጽጌ፡ ሮማን፡ ወቅድሐን፡ እምኮለ፡ ገዳም፡ ደ፡ ደቂቁ፡ ኄራን፡ ልዑላን፡
 ዝከር፡ ወስም፡ ደምፀ፡ ወተሰብከ፡ ውስተ[፡] ዓለም፡ ደምፀ፡ ወተሰብከ፡ ውስተ፡
 ዓለም፡፡ (MS EMMML 7745, fol. 12ra, ll. 6–17)

It resounded and was preached in the world, the story of the excellent deeds of 'Aragāwi, the star of the wilderness! *I[t resounded and was preached in the world,]* while he sent up the sacrifice of prayer and fasting! *I[t resounded and was preached in the world,]* they are more flourishing than the flower of the pomegranate and more red than the apple of the wilderness! *I[t resounded and was preached in the world,]* his good children, of exalted memory and name! *It resounded and was preached in the world. It resounded and was preached in the world!*

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 017 is structurally complex: it has a refrain (see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.6.4), which is repeated on regular intervals—*damša wa-tasabka wasta 'ālam* ('it resounded and was preached in the world')—and it is rhymed, each line ending in *-m(ə)* (*-ም*). Within the Minor Corpus, the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 017 is only attested in post-seventeenth-century collections. It is missing from a majority of the Group A collections, but is attested in all but one of the seven Group B collections. In the collection in MS EAP432/1/10, this antiphon is a later addition.

The order of the lines differs between some of the collections, as laid out in Table 22 below. The refrain, which is repeated in abbreviated form between each line, has not been included. Two orders of the lines are attested, according to which the order of the lines beginning with *ṣəguyān 'əmntu* ('they are (more) flourishing [...]') and *daqiqu herān* ('his good children [...]') vary. Based on the studied corpus, their distributions appears to agree with the two Groups A and B. A further variation appears in the collection in MS EAP432/1/10, where the refrain is only repeated once at the end of the antiphon, as opposed to two in the rest of the collections.

Table 22. The order of lines in the attestations of the antiphon 'Aragāwi mazmur ('abun) 017.

| | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 |
|-------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| ደምወ፡ [...] | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R |
| ዜና፡ ምግባሩ፡ [...] | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| እነዚ፡ የዐርግ፡ [...] | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| ጽጉንያ፡ እመኅጉ፡ [...] | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| ደቂቁ፡ ኅረን፡ [...] | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

As for textual variants, they will be discussed according to the line in which they appear. To begin with, there is one point of textual variation in the first, fully written-out repetition of the refrain, as one of the eleven collections—the Group A collection in MS EAP704/1/36—has *wa-tasam 'a* ('[it resounded] and was heard') against *wa-tasabka* ('[it resounded] and was preached') in the rest of the collections. Another collection—the Group B collection in MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001—has *wāsta za- 'ālam* ('in the one of the world?') instead of *wāsta 'ālam* ('in the world') in the rest; presumably, *wāsta za- 'ālam* ('in this world') was intended.

Within the first proper line, there is only one point of textual variation. One collection—once more the Group A collection in MS EAP704/1/36—has *kokab gərum* ('the awesome star') against *kokaba gadām* ('the star of the wilderness') in the rest. It is noteworthy that also this variant reading keeps the rhyme in *-m(ə)*.

More variation is found within the second line. A majority of the collections have a plural verb *ya 'arrəgu* ('they send up') instead of the singular *ya 'arrəg* ('he sends up'). The singular form is only attested in Group B collections, but two of these have the plural form of the verb, like the Group A collections. In addition, the earlier collections have an adverb modifying this verb: either *darga* ('jointly') or *zalfa* ('forever'). This is missing in one of the Group A collections as well as in all Group B collections. The sacrifice which is sent up is qualified in a variety of different ways: three collections have *maśwā 'ta ṣalot wa-ṣom* ('the sacrifice of prayer and fasting'), three other have *maśwā 'ta salām* ('the sacrifice of peace'), three other have *maśwā 'ta səbḥat za- 'ənbala dam* ('the unbloody sacrifice of glory'), while isolated collections have *maśwā 'ta ṣalot za- 'ənbala dam* ('the unbloody sacrifice of prayer') and *maśwā 'ta sagid (wa-ṣom)* ('the sacrifice of adoration and fasting'). The two first variants, i.e. *maśwā 'ta ṣalot wa-ṣom* ('the sacrifice of prayer and fasting') and *maśwā 'ta salām* ('the sacrifice of peace'), are only attested in the Group B collections, which do not attest to any of the other

variants. Thus, it is possible that they are both isoglosses of Group B, although a larger corpus would be preferable to confirm this. All variants keep the rhyme.

In the third line (according to the text given above)—beginning with *ṣəguyān* ‘*amuntu*’ (‘they are (more) flourishing [...]’)—only one point of variation is found: one of the Group A collections has ‘*am-ṣəge gadām*’ (‘[more flourishing] than the flower of the wilderness’) against ‘*am-ṣəge romān*’ (‘[more flourishing] than the flower of the pomegranate’) in the rest of the collections. One might suspect that the copyist was influenced by the fact that the word *gadām* (‘wilderness’) appears at the end of the same line.

The fourth line (according to the text given above)—beginning with *daqiqu herān* (‘his good children [...]’)—lacks textual variation, except for some trivial cases in which a letter was first forgotten, then added supralineally. In the two final repetitions of the refrain, textual variation is also unattested, possibly because of the frequent abbreviations which obscure the readings. The collection in MS EAP704/1/36, twice repeats its reading *wa-tasam* ‘*a*’ (‘and was heard’) against *wa-tasabka* (‘and was preached’) in the rest of the collections.

| | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 |
|------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| ወተሰብከ: | X | X | X | X | X ^a | X | X | X | X | (X) | |
| ወተሰምዐ: | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወሰተ: | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | (X) | X |
| Ø | | | | | | X ^b | | | | | |
| ዓለም: | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X |
| ዘ(!)ዓለም: | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ኮከበ: ገዳም: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | |
| ኮከብ: ግሩም: | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| እንዘ: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ከመ: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| የዐርግ: Ø | | X | X | | X | X | | | | | |
| የዐርጉ: Ø | X | | | X | | | X ^c | | | | |
| የዐርጉ: ደርገ: | | | | | | | | X | X ^d | (X) | X |
| መሥዋዕተ: ጸሎት: ወጾም: | | | X | | X | X | | | | | |
| መሥዋዕተ: ጸሎት: ዘእንበለ: ደም: | | | | | | | X | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---|
| መሥዋዕተ: ሰጊድ: (ወጸም:) | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| መሥዋዕተ: ስብሐት: ዘእንበለ: ደም: | | | | | | | | X | | (X) | X |
| መሥዋዕተ: ሰላም: | X | X | | X | | | | | | | |
| እምጽጌ: ሮማን: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | (X) | X |
| እምጽጌ: ገዳም: | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ወተሰብከ: (twice) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | |

^a Between the words ደምፀ[:] and ወተሰብከ:, a word of apparently three letters appears to have been erased.

^b The word ወተሰብከ: has been added supralineally.

^c The word ዘልፈ: has been added supralineally.

^d The word ደርገ: has been rewritten.

3.3.3.18 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 018

እስተምህር: ለነ: ሰአልናከ: አ: ለነ: ሰአ: ብፁዕ: አንተ: ገብረ: ክርስቶስ: አ:
ወተሰተ: ደዴ: አቡከ: ከመ: ነዳይ: ነበርከ: አ: ኅበ: ተገብረ: ተዝካርከ: ወኅበ:
ተነበ[:] መጽሐፈ: ገድልከ: አ: ህየ: ይኩን: ሣህል: ወምሕረት: እስከ: ለዓለመ:
ዓለም። (MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001, fol. 7vb, ll. 8–15)

Intercede for us, we have asked you! *I[intercede] for us, we ha[ve asked you]!* Blessed are you, Gabra Krāstos, *i[intercede for us, we have asked you]!* You lived as a poor man at the threshold of your father, *i[intercede for us, we have asked you]!* Where your commemoration (*tazkār*) is celebrated and where the book of your life is read, *i[intercede for us, we have asked you]!* In that place may there be mercy and compassion forever and ever!

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 018 is attested from the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections and up to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dagg^{wā}* 2015, but unattested in the single-type collections. It is explicitly dedicated to Gabra Krāstos through the mention of his name. In the collection in MS EMMML 8678, which distinguishes between a commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi and one of Gabra Krāstos, it belongs to the latter, as expected. Like the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 017 (see 3.2.3.56), the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 018 has a refrain: 'astamḥər lana sa 'alnāka ('intercede for us, we have asked you!'). The text of the antiphon is partly based on quotations from the *Life of Gabra Krāstos* (CAe 1450; see below).¹⁴²⁵ In the collection in the pre-seventeenth-century manuscript EMMML 8804, this antiphon is a later addition.

¹⁴²⁵ Cf. Cerulli 1969b, p. 66 (edition); Cerulli 1969a, p. 46 (French translation), § 24; and also Cerulli 1969b, p. 135 (edition); Cerulli 1969a, p. 91 (French translation). The textual passage in question is edited by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a in a somewhat complicated manner: Within the main text (Cerulli 1969b, p. 66 (edition); Cerulli 1969a, p. 46 (French translation), § 24), the text is

As in the case of the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 017, different orders of the lines are attested within the corpus. They are summarised below in Table 23. This time, there is no dividing line between Group A and Group B. Instead, deviant orders are attested only in isolated manuscripts. The seventeenth-century multiple-type collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 agrees with the sixteenth-collection multiple-type in MS EMLL 2542 in placing the line that begins with the words *wasta dede* ('at the threshold [...]') *before* the line that begins with the words *baṣu* 'anta ('blessed are you [...]'), as opposed to the rest of the collections. However, in the collection in MS EMLL 2542, the same line has been added a second time in the margin before the line beginning with *wasta dede*, i.e. in the place where it most commonly occurs. This addition has been done without deleting the original repetition of this line after the line beginning with *wasta dede*. The collection in MS EMLL 7529 repeats line that begins with the words *baṣu* 'anta ('blessed are you [...]') twice.

edited, but uncharacteristically, no variants are listed in the apparatus. The reason for this, it appears, is that this textual passage—from the words *ḥaba hallo ṣəgāka* ('where your body (flesh) is') and up to the end of § 24—has been edited on the basis of one single manuscript: MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 (= MS P). This is not stated clearly by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a, but becomes evident upon consultation of other manuscripts, e.g., MS Paris, BnF Éth. 132 (fol. 33vb; = MS J). In all manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a except MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 (= MS P), this text passage is *replaced* by the interpolation that Cerulli 1969b, 1969a refers to as 'Le pacte que le Seigneur accorde au saint' and edits separately, as 'Appendice 3' (cf. Cerulli 1969b, pp. 120–135 (edition); Cerulli 1969a, pp. 81–91 (French translation)). Cerulli's statement that this interpolation has been 'inséré[e] à la fin du § 24' (Cerulli 1969b, p. 120) is imprecise, and it should have been specified that the interpolation replaces the end of § 24 from the words *ḥaba hallo ṣəgāka* ('where your body (flesh) is') and onwards. However, the complexity increases... At the end of the interpolation 'Le pacte que le Seigneur accorde au saint', nine out of the fourteen non-fragmentary manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a do in fact contain the very same text passage that was edited in the main text based exclusively on MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 (= MS P). This is noted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a only in the apparatus to the appendix (Cerulli 1969b, p. 135 (edition); Cerulli 1969a, p. 91 (French translation); furthermore, in the text of the French translation, only eight out of the nine manuscripts are listed). In the apparatus, the text passage which served as a source for the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 018 is edited again, based on the remaining nine witnesses consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a. Because this is done only in the apparatus, the editor provides variants in parentheses according to principles which are not always unambiguous. To sum up, it would have been editorially preferable to edit the text passage based on all available witnesses in the main text. The interpolation which Cerulli 1969b, 1969a refers to as 'Le pacte que le Seigneur accorde au saint' is not—as he claims—'inséré[e] à la fin du § 24', but rather, in nine out of the fourteen non-fragmentary manuscripts consulted, it is inserted *within* § 24, between the words *wa-yətfewwasu* ('and they shall be healed') and *ḥaba hallo ṣəgāka* ('where your body (flesh) is'). In the remaining four manuscripts that contain 'Le pacte que le Seigneur accorde au saint', the interpolation is also not inserted 'à la fin du § 24', but rather replaces the end of § 24 from the words *ḥaba hallo ṣəgāka* ('where your body (flesh) is') and onwards. Next to MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28, the text passage in question (without the interpolation) is also found in the earlier manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 15rb); Dabra Ṣəyon Māryām, EMLL 7602 (fol. 93va); and Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796 (fol. 70ra). In MS Dāgā 'Əstifānos 59 (Tānāsee 170), the end of this paragraph is missing and instead, the beginning of what Cerulli 1969b, 1969a refers to as 'Le pacte que le Seigneur accorde au saint' and edits as 'Appendice 3' is found (MS Dāgā 'Əstifānos 59 (Tānāsee 170), fol. 10vb–[...]–11ra; the lion's share of this part is missing due to material loss; cf. fn. 1391).

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Table 23. The order of lines in the attestations of the antiphon 'Aragāwi mazmur ('abun) 018.

| | MD 2015 | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | ES THMR-008 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 8678 |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| አስተዋኝከር: [...] | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R |
| ብፁዕ: አንተ: [...] (1) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| ብፁዕ: አንተ: [...] (2) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 2 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | (0) | – | – | – |
| ወስተ: ዴዴ: [...] | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| ኅበ: ተገብረ: [...] | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| ህየ: ይኩን: [...] | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |

Disregarding a couple of trivial omissions in individual collections, the following three points of textual variation can be noted. Firstly, in the first line (according to the text above)—beginning with the words *bəṣu* ‘*’anta* (‘blessed are you [...]’)—the collections in MSS EMLL 2542 and Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 both originally had the reading *Gabra Krastos walda Tewodosyos nəguś* (‘Gabra Krastos, son of King Tewodosyos’) against the simpler *Gabra Krastos* in the rest of the collections.¹⁴²⁶ However, in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, the words *walda Tewodosyos nəguś* have secondarily been marked for deletion. The presence of a reading shared between these two collections is significant, as they also agree in having a deviant order of the lines (see above). Curiously, these collections have not stood out as especially close in the analyses of other antiphons.

Secondly, in the collection in MS EMLL 7174, the second line (according to the text above), which in the rest of the collections begins with the words *wəsta dede ’abuka* (‘at the threshold of your father’), begins instead with the words *Gabra Krastos, wəsta dede ’abuka* (‘Gabra Krastos, at the threshold of your father’). One could imagine that this reading was influenced by fact that the preceding line ends in *Gabra Krastos*. A similar kind of antiphon-internal contamination could be suspected in the case of the third point of textual variation, appearing in the third line of the antiphon (according to the text above). The attestation in the collection in MS EAP254/1/5 has *wa-ḥaba tagabra [...] wa-ḥaba tanabba* (‘and where [your memory] is celebrated [...] and where [your life] is read’) against *ḥaba tagabra [...] wa-ḥaba tanabba* (‘where [your memory] is celebrated [...] and where [your life] is read’) in the rest of the collections. There are no noteworthy points of textual variation in the last line.

As mentioned above, the text of the antiphon is partly based on quotations from the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450). Whereas the refrain and the lines that begin with *bəṣu* ‘*’anta* (‘blessed are you’) and *wəsta dede ’abuka* (‘at the threshold of your father’) do not appear to have a clear Vorlage in the *Life*, the last two lines—beginning with *ḥaba tagabra* (‘where [your commemoration] is celebrated’) and *ḥayya yəkun* (‘in that place may there be’)—derive from the end of § 24 (in the edition by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a).¹⁴²⁷ Comparing the text of the antiphon with the passage preserved in the manuscripts of the *Life*, the following observations can be made:

- the first phrase in the first of these two lines appears as *wa-ḥaba tagabra tazkāraka* (‘and where commemoration is celebrated’) in all ten manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a, as well as in MSS Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796, and Dabra Ṣəyon Māryām, EMLL

¹⁴²⁶ In the version of this line added in the margin in the collection in MS EMLL 2542 (see above), the words in question appear simply as *Gabra Krastos*.

¹⁴²⁷ See fn. 1425.

7602. However, in the manuscript Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270, the conjunction *wa-* is missing. In all manuscripts of the *Life*, this phrase is preceded and followed by other phrases beginning with (*wa-*)*ḥaba* (‘(and) where’), making the appearance of a coordinating conjunction natural. In the attestations of the antiphon, on the other hand, the reading with a conjunction *wa-* (‘and’) is only found once, in the twentieth-century antiphon collection in MS EAP254/1/5. It is possible that the deletion of the conjunction in the most widespread version of the antiphon represents an adaptation to the phrase to its new, clause-initial position;

- the second phrase in the first of these lines, which in the attestations of the antiphon uniformly appears as *wa-ḥaba tanabba maṣḥafa gadlaka* (‘and where the book of your life has been read’), displays some variation in the manuscripts of the *Life*. MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 (= MS P), as well as the early manuscripts not consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a in which this passage is preserved, share the reading: *wa-ḥaba-hi tanabba maṣḥafa zenāka* (‘and also where the book of your story has been read’).¹⁴²⁸ Seven out of nine of the later manuscripts of the *Life* have a similar reading, but without the particle *-hi*: *wa-ḥaba tanabba* (or in one manuscript: *tanababa*) *maṣḥafa zenāka* (‘and where the book of your story has been read’). The two remaining, however display variation in the word *zenāka*, one of them—the lost eighteenth-century manuscript Meux 1 (= MS Z), as edited by Budge 1898—exchanging it for *gadlaka* (‘[the book of] your life’), the other—the nineteenth-century manuscript Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 96 (= MS C)—combining the two readings into *gadlaka wa-zenāka* (‘[the book of] your life and your story’). Especially the readings including *gadlaka* are interesting, as they connect the uniformly attested reading of the antiphon with manuscripts of the *Life*. The absence of the particle *-hi* in the attestations of the antiphons also seems to connect the text of the antiphon with the later tradition of the *Life*;
- in the last line, the attestations of the antiphon again display a uniform reading: *ḥayya yākun sāhl wa-maḥrat ’aska la-’ālama ’ālam* (‘in that place may there be mercy and compassion forever and ever’). Again, this corresponds to a variety of different text forms in the manuscripts of the *Life*. Corresponding to *ḥayya yākun* in the antiphon, we find either *ḥayya yākun* (‘in that place may there be’), *yākun ḥayya* (same meaning), *yākun zāya* (‘in this place may there be’), or simply *yākun* (‘may there be’). The reading *ḥayya yākun*, which corresponds to the reading of the antiphon, is found in two of the manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a—the nineteenth-century manuscript Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 33 (= A) and the

¹⁴²⁸ A variant *wa-ḥabe-hi* (ወሃቤሃ) is found in MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28, and MS Dabra Ṣəyon Märyām, EMM 7602 has a defective spelling *maṣḥa[!]* (መጻሐ!).

lost eighteenth-century manuscript Meux 1 (= MS Z)—as well as in two of the early manuscripts not consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a: MSS Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMMML 7602 (fol. 93va), and Həyq (private collection), EMMML 2796 (fol. 70ra). Corresponding to the two coordinated nouns *śāhl wa-məḥrat* (‘mercy and compassion’), the older manuscripts of the *Life*—i.e. MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 (= MS P) and the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270; Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMMML 7602; and Həyq (private collection), EMMML 2796—have a longer, quadripartite series of nouns: *śāhl wa-məḥrat (wa-)ḥəywat wa-madḥanit* (‘mercy and compassion, (and) life and salvation’). Most of the later manuscripts have instead *śāhl wa-məḥrat wa-madḥanit* (‘mercy and compassion and salvation’), but two—the nineteenth-century manuscript Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 33 (= MS A) and the eighteenth-century manuscript Paris, BnF Éth. d’Abb. 110 (= MS N)—display precisely the same reading as the attestations of the antiphon: *śāhl wa-məḥrat* (‘mercy and compassion’). It is possible that the reduction of the list of nouns could have taken place independently in the antiphon—perhaps as part of the adaptation of the text—and in some manuscripts of the *Life*. Alternatively, the text of the antiphon could be based on the post-sixteenth-century transmission of the *Life*, or the *Life* could have been influenced by the text of the antiphon.

To summarise, the text of the antiphon ‘Aragāwi *mazmur* (‘*abun*) 018 displays affinities primarily with the later, post-seventeenth-century transmission of the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450). This is exemplified by the readings *gādłəka*—found ubiquitously in the attestations of the antiphon, but only in isolated late manuscripts of the *Life*—and *śāhl wa-məḥrat*, also restricted to late manuscripts of the *Life*, but, noticeably, not the same ones that have the reading *gādłəka*.

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| | MD 2015 | EMML 8084 | IES 2148 | EMML 9110 | ES THMR-008 | SBPK Or. qu. 1001 | EMML 2253 | EMML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EMML 7285 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | EAP432/1/10 | EAP704/1/36 | EMML 2053 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et. 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 2542 | EMML 7174 | EMML 8804 | EMML 8678 |
|---------------------------------|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| አስተምሕር፡ ለኑ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | – | X |
| አስተምሕር፡ ዐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^a | | | | | – | |
| ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X |
| ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^b | | | | X ^c | | | |
| ዐ ውስተ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X |
| ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ውስተ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| ዴዴ፡ አቡከ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X |
| ዴዴ፡ ዐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^d | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ነዳይ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X |
| ነዳይ፡ ነዳይ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ኅብ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X |
| ውኅብ፡ | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ገድልከ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X |
| ገድል፡ | | | | | | | | | X ^f | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---|
| ለዓለም: ዓለም: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | (X) | X |
| ለዓለም: | | | | | | | | X ^g | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

^a A word which appear to be ለነ: has been added supralineally.

^b The words ወልደ: ቴዎድሰኛ: ንጉሥ: have been marked for deletion.

^c As noticed above in the discussion, the line in which these words appear is found twice in the collection in MS EMM 2542: in the attestation in the main text, the reading is ንብረ: ክርስቶስ: ወልደ: ቴዎድሰኛ: ንጉሥ[:], but in the attestation in the margin, the reading is ንብረ: ክ(?)ር[!]ቶስ:.

^d The word አቡክ: has been added supralineally.

^e The second repetition of the word ነዳይ: has been marked for deletion.

^f The letter <ከ> has been added supralineally after the word ገድል:.

^g The word ዓለም: has been added supralineally after the word ለዓለም:.

3.3.3.19 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la-* '*ālam*) 027

መጽአ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እምስማይ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ሰማዕኩ፡ ጸሎተኩ፡ ውበዙኃ፡
ትእግሥተኩ፡ ወወሀብኩክ፡ ሥልጣነ፡ ትፈውስ፡ ዱያነ፡ ወታሕዩ፡ ኩሎ፡ ሕሙማነ፡
እለ፡ ለምጽ፡ በቃልክ፡ ይነጽሑ፡ እስመ፡ መነንክ፡ ዘበምድር፡ ትፍሥሕተ(?)፡
ወናሁ፡ አእርፈክ፡ እምዘንቱ፡ ፃማ፡ ወተሐውር፡ ውስተ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ትፍሥሕት፡
(*Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015, p. 64b, ll. 11–18)

The Holy Spirit came from heaven and said to him: 'I have heard your prayer and (of) your great patience. I have given you power to heal the sick and revive all the suffering. The lepers will be cleansed through your word, for you rejected the joy on earth. Behold, I will give you rest from this hardship, and you will go into the joy eternal!'

The antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la-* '*ālam*) 027 is not attested in any of the single-type collections, but in multiple-type collections from the fifteenth-century collection in MS EMLL 8678 and up to the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggʷā* 2015. It is only found in two of the seven Group B collections included in the corpus. The text is based on a quotation from the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450),¹⁴²⁹ whose constituents, however, have been extensively rearranged (see below).¹⁴³⁰ In the collection in MS EMDA 00111, this antiphon is placed within the commemoration for Stephen the Protomartyr (fol. 38vc, ll. 18–25). However, as it clearly belongs to the commemoration for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi, quoting the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450), I have included also that attestation in the discussion.

In the attestations in the Minor Corpus, there are twelve points of textual variation that merit discussion. Firstly, the initial word of the antiphon appears in two variants: either *maṣ'a* ('[the Holy Spirit] came') or *mal'a* ('[the Holy Spirit] filled'). The former variant appears in ten out of thirteen cases, dating from entire period of attestation. The latter variant, which is difficult to make sense of, is found in one of the pre-seventeenth-century collections as well as in the nineteenth–eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collections in MSS EMLL 2431 and EMDA 00111. Secondly, there is variation between the *samā'ku* ('I have heard') and *tasam'a* ('it has been heard'). This variation is especially noteworthy as the latter variant appears in both of the Group B collections, and only there. Based on this small corpus of attestations, this thus appears to be a Group B isogloss.

Thirdly, the sixteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EMLL 1894 has a simple *bəzuḥa tə'gəštaka* ('[I have heard (of)] your great patience') against

¹⁴²⁹ Cf. Cerulli 1969b, pp. 66–68 (edition); Cerulli 1969a, pp. 46–47 (French translation), § 24.

¹⁴³⁰ For a similar manner of dealing with the source text, see the discussion of the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 009.

ṣalotaka wa-bəzuḥa tə 'gəstaka ('[I have heard] your prayer and (of) your great patience') in the rest of the collections, except for the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, which has the opaque *ṣalotaka wa-bəzḥa tə 'gəsta(!)ka* ('[I have heard] your prayer and (of) the greatness of your patience'). This is one of several occasions in which the collection in MS EMLL 1894 shows unique readings in this antiphon (see below). Fourthly, there is variation between *wa-wahabkuka* ('and I have given to you'), *wa-nāhu wahabkuka* ('and behold, I have given to you'), and a simple *wahabkuka* ('I have given to you'). The variant *wahabkuka* appears in five collections (although in one, it has secondarily been changed into *wa-wahabkuka*), including the two Group B collections. The variant *wa-nāhu wahabkuka* is also found in five collections including most of the pre-eighteenth-century collections, whereas the variant *wa-wahabkuka* is found in three collections (and secondarily in one).

Fifthly, again, the collection in MS EMLL 1894 displays a unique reading—*wa-tānsə* ('[I have given you power to heal the sick] and to raise up [the dead]')—against *wa-tāhyu* ('[I have given you power to heal the sick] and to revive [all the suffering]') or *wa-tāhayyu* ('[I have given you power to heal the sick] and you will revive [all the suffering]') in the rest of the collections. In connection to this word, the collection in the *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 displays an interesting marginal note: preceded by the abbreviation *Ḥṣṣṣ*: (*za-ma*), written with black ink with black overlines, the alternative reading *wa-tāhayyu* is signalled by the letters *ወተሐ*: (*wa-taḥa*). According to Berhanu Makonnen apud Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, the abbreviation *za-ma* stands for *za-maṣḥaf* ('according to the book') and indicates a reading derived from the authoritative *Dəggwā* manuscript of Beta Ləhem.¹⁴³¹

Sixthly, the two Group B collections display a shared reading *kʷəllomu* ('all', with a third person masculine plural suffix) against *kʷəllo* ('all', with a third person masculine singular suffix) in the rest of the collections, except, again, the collection in MS EMLL 1894, where this word is missing. Seventhly, there is variation in the word which appears above as *ḥəmmāna* ('the suffering'). The collection in MS EMLL 7529 in its stead has *dəwuyāna* ('the sick'), and the collection in MS EMLL 1894, again, has a unique reading *məwutān* ('the dead').

Eighthly, the words which appear as *ba-qālaka yənaṣṣəḥu* ('[the lepers] will be cleansed through your word') in the text above appears in a number of variants. While several of the studied collections have the same lexemes but in a different word order, two of the collections have instead *ba-ṣalotaka yənaṣṣəḥu* ('[the lepers] will be cleansed through your prayer'), and two others have *ba-ṣalotaka yəḥyawu* ('may [the lepers] be revived through your prayer'). The reading *ba-ṣalotaka yənaṣṣəḥu* is found in the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and

¹⁴³¹ Cf. Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, p. 99.

UUB O Etiop. 36, which also in other cases display related readings.¹⁴³²

Regarding, ninthly, the words which appear above as *za-ba-mədr təfšəhta* ('the joy (which is) on earth'), the two pre-seventeenth-century collections both display unique readings: in one case *za-ba-mədr mangəsta* ('the kingdom (which is) on earth'), and in the other *za-ba-mədr təfgə'ta* ('the luxury (which is) on earth').

Tenthly, there is variation between an imperfective verb *wa-nāhu 'ā'arrəfakka* ('and behold, I will give you rest'), and a perfect verb *wa-nāhu 'a'rafka* ('and behold, you have found rest'; one collection lacks the word *nāhu*, 'behold', and has *wa-'a'rafka*, 'and you have found rest'). The variant with a perfect verb is found in the two Group B collections, in several of the Group A collections, and in both of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. The variant with an imperfect verb is attested in about half of the post-sixteenth-century collections. Presumably, this variation is connected to the ambiguous transitivity of the verb *'a'rafa*, appearing both as intransitive ('rest, find relief', etc.) and transitive ('give rest, give relief', etc.).¹⁴³³ Eleventhly, the two Group B collections have a unique reading *'əm-zəntu 'ālam šāmāka* ('from this world, (which is?) your hardship') against *'əm-zəntu šāmā* ('from this hardship') in the rest of the collections (except one, which has *za-ba-mədr šāmā*, 'the hardship (which is) on earth'). The reading in the Group B collections is opaque, as two nouns appear to stand in an unexpected apposition—it could be an example of *səm-ənnā warq*—and gives the impression of being monogenetic.

Lastly, there is much variation regarding the last words of the antiphon. In a majority of the Group A collections and one of the pre-seventeenth-century collections, these words appear as *wəsta za-la-'ālam fəššəhā* ('into the eternal joy'). One of the Group B collections has the variant *wəsta 'ālam fəššəhā* ('into the world, (which is?) the joy'). A smaller group of the Group A collections, including the printed edition *Maṣḥafa Dəgg'ā* 2015, have a reading with a synonym *wəsta za-la-'ālam təfšəht* (also 'into the eternal joy'). The other Group B collection has the variant *wəsta 'ālam təfšəht* ('into the world, (which is?) the joy'). The two Group B collections are thus connected by having the reading *'ālam* in place of *za-la-'ālam*, thus, again, having two nouns in apposition, paralleling the reading *'əm-zəntu 'ālam šāmāka* seen above. The other of the pre-seventeenth-century collections, finally, has *wəsta za-la-'ālam həywat* ('into the eternal life').

As mentioned above, the antiphon is based on quotations from the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450). However, presuming that the Vorlage of the antiphon was similar to the version of the *Life* that is known to us, it appears that different quotations have been extracted from the text of the *Life* and rearranged, forming, thus, a new text. In order to illustrate this, the source text, as it appears in one of

¹⁴³² For a summary of the similarities between these collections, see 3.4.1.3.1.

¹⁴³³ Cf. Dillmann 1865, cols 970–971; Leslau 1991, pp. 69–70.

the manuscripts closest to the presumed Vorlage of the antiphon, has been reproduced below. The phrases which are reused in the text of the antiphon have been highlighted.

ወመጽአ፡ ጎቤሁ፡ እምሰማይ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወነገሮ፡ ኩሎ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ሰማዕኩ፡
 ጸሎተኩ፡ ወብዙኃ፡ ትዕግስተኩ፡ ወስእለተኩ፡ ኦብእሴ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወኖሁ፡
 አዓርፈኩ፡ እምዝንቱ፡ ጻማኩ፡ ወተሐውር፡ ውስተ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ፍሥሐ፡ እስመ፡
 መነንክ፡ ዘበምድር፡ መንግሥተ፡ ወተድላ፡ ወይእዜኒ፡ ወሀብኩክ፡ ስልጣን፡
 ታውፅእ፡ አጋንንተ፡ ወትፈውስ፡ ድውያን፡ ወሕመማን፡ ወዕውራኅ፡ ወ//ሐንካሳን፡
 ወበሃማን፡ (ይቡሳን፡) ወመፃገላን፡ ወእለ፡ ለምጽኒ፡ በጸሎትክ፡ ይሕየው፡ ኩሎሙ፡
 ወይትፈውሱ፡ (MS Ḥayq (private collection), EMMML 2796, fols 69vb, l. 2–70ra, l. 6)

And the Holy Spirit came to him from heaven and it told him everything and said to him: ‘I have heard your prayer and (of) your great patience and your supplication, O Man of God. And behold, I will give you rest from this your hardship, and you will go into the eternal joy. For you rejected the kingdom and delight on earth, and now I have given you power to cast out demons and heal the sick, the suffering, the blind, the lame, the mute (, the withered), and the paralysed, and may all the lepers live through your prayer and be healed!’

As can be seen, although the same phrases appear in both the antiphon and the *Life*, their order has been changed. It appears, furthermore, that some parts of phrases, especially elements in chains of coordinated nouns or verbs, have been excluded.

A comparison with the text of the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450) as edited by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a, taking also the readings from the additional manuscripts mentioned above into account (see 3.3.1.2), allows for the following observations:

- at the beginning of the text passage which was adopted as an antiphon, only one of the fifteen manuscripts of the *Life* consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a—the sixteenth-century manuscript Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 (= MS P)—has a reading similar to what we find uniformly in the attestations of the antiphon. This manuscript has the following text: ወመጽአ፡ ጎቤሁ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ወነገሮ፡ ኩሎ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ሰማዕኩ፡ (‘And the Holy Spirit came to him and told him everything and said: “I have heard [...]”’). In all the remaining manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a that contain this passage (thirteen post-sixteenth-century manuscripts), the utterance which follows is instead placed in the mouth of Jesus Christ, as also in MS Dāgā ’Ēṣṭifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170; fol. 10va). However, in the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270; Ḥayq

(private collection), EMLL 2796; and Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMLL 7602, the Holy Spirit is also mentioned in this context;¹⁴³⁴

- the variant *tasam* ‘a (‘it has been heard’), which is found instead of *samā* ‘ku (‘I have heard’) in the two Group B collections, does not have any correspondences neither in the manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a, nor in the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270; Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796; Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMLL 7602; and MS Dāgā ’Ēstifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170). However, most of the manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a—ten out of fourteen—add at least one further verb into this sentence: *wa-rə* ‘iku (‘and I have seen’), *wa-tawakafku* (‘and I have received’), etc. This is also the case in MS Dāgā ’Ēstifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170; fol. 10va). On the other hand, MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28, in this context, has a single verb *samā* ‘ku (‘I have heard’), as do also the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270; Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796; and Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMLL 7602, thus agreeing with attestations of the antiphon in non-Group B collections;
- in ten out of the fourteen manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a—including MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28, but excluding the eighteenth-century manuscripts Paris, BnF Éth. d’Abb. 103; Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 282, and the nineteenth-century manuscript Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 298—a vocative ‘o-bə’əse ‘Ēgzi’abəher (‘O Man of God’, with variants) appears within the first clause of the utterance by the Holy Spirit / Christ. This vocative is also found in the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 14vb); Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796 (fol. 69vb); Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMLL 7602 (fol. 93rc); and Dāgā ’Ēstifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170; fol. 10va). It is absent from attestations of the antiphon, and it seems reasonable to conclude that it was excluded as part of the process in which this text passage was adapted for use as an antiphon;
- all of the consulted manuscripts of the *Life*, including the fourteen used by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a as well as Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 15ra); Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796 (fol. 69vb); Dabra Şəyon Māryām,

¹⁴³⁴ MS Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796 (fol. 69vb) has a reading which is identical to the one found in MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28. The manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 14vb) and Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMLL 7602 (fol. 93rc), on the other hand, display the following, clearly related readings: መጽሐፍ: ኅቢሁ: እምስማይ: መንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ወነገሮ: ስሉ።: ወይቤሉ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: ሰማዕኩ: [...] (‘And the Holy Spirit came to him from heaven and told him everything, and Jesus Christ said: “I have heard [...]”’), and መጽሐፍ: ኅቢሁ: መንፈስ: ቅዱስ: እምስማይ: ወነገሮ: ስሉ: ወይቤሉ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: ሰማዕኩ: [...] (same meaning), respectively. These could represent either a conflation of or an intermediary step between the version that attributes the utterance to the Holy Spirit and the one that attributes it to Christ.

- EMML 7602 (fol. 93va); and Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170; fol. 10va), include an adverb *yə'əze* ('now') or *yə'əze-ni* (same meaning) in the phrase whose main verb is *wahabkuka* ('I have given to you'). This is not found in any of the attestations of the antiphon, which, on the contrary, in all but one case have a particle *nāhu* ('behold!'), present only in three eighteenth–nineteenth-century manuscripts of the *Life*—MSS London, BL Or. 706; Paris, BnF Éth. 132; and Paris, BnF Éth. d'Abb. 123 (= MSS G, J, O)—always in conjunction with *yə'əze* or *yə'əze-ni*;
- in the list of the powers granted to Gabra Krəstos, all but four of the consulted manuscripts of the *Life*—including the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 15ra); Ḥayq (private collection), EMML 2796 (fol. 69vb); and Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMML 7602 (fol. 93va)—begin with *tāwaššə' agānənta* ('[I have given you the power] to expel demons'). The four manuscripts that, like all attestations of the antiphon, lack this phrase are the fifteenth–sixteenth-century manuscript Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170) and the eighteenth–nineteenth-century manuscripts Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 282; Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 298; and London, BL Add. 16198 (= MSS D, E, and H);
 - instead of the phrase *wa-tāhyu k^wallo həmumāna* ('[I have given you power to...] revive all the suffering'), which is the reading found in all attestations of the antiphon, all the consulted manuscripts of the *Life* have a list of objects following the verb *təfawwəs* ('[I have given you power to...] heal'), which includes the word *həmumāna* ('the suffering'), but never as its first constituent. It seems reasonable to conclude that this list was abbreviated as part of the process of turning the text of the *Life* into an antiphon. Alternatively, it could be that the text of the antiphon depends on an unknown version of the *Life*;
 - regarding the healing of lepers, where the attestations of the antiphon have different variants of *ba-qāləka yənaššəhu* ('they will be cleansed through your word'), *ba-şalotəka yənaššəhu* ('they will be cleansed through your prayer'), or *ba-şalotəka yəhyawu* ('may they be revived through your prayer'), the consulted manuscripts of the *Life*—including the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 15ra–b); Ḥayq (private collection), EMML 2796 (fol. 70ra); Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMML 7602 (fol. 93va); and MS Dāgā 'Ēstifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170; fol. 10vb)—only have variants of the latter form. Hypothetically, the antiphons could transmit readings that were lost in the transmission of the *Life*;
 - as the object of the verb *mannanka* ('you rejected'), a majority of the attestations of the antiphon have *za-ba-mədr təfšəhta* ('the joy (which is) on earth'), but the two pre-seventeenth-century collections have *za-ba-*

mādr mangāšta ('the kingdom (which is) in earth') and *za-ba-mādr taḡgə ta* ('the luxury (which is) on earth'), respectively. The manuscripts of the *Life* display a variety of different forms, none of which corresponds perfectly to what is found in the antiphon. The three early manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 15ra); Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796 (fol. 69vb); and Dabra Ṣəyon Māryām, EMLL 7602 (fol. 93va), not used by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a, all have *za-ba-mādr mangāšta wa-tadlā* ('the kingdom and delight which is on earth'). The manuscript Dāgā 'Ēṣṭifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170; fol. 10va) has *k^wallo za-ba-mādr ḥalāfe mangāšta wa-tadlā* ('the entire passing kingdom and delight which is on earth'). The manuscript Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 has simply *taḡṣəḥt wa-tadlā* ('joy and delight'), lacking *za-ba-mādr*, but being the only manuscript which includes the word *taḡṣəḥt* in this place. It is unclear what was the source of the reading of the antiphon;

- none of the manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a, nor any of the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270; Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796; Dabra Ṣəyon Māryām, EMLL 7602; and Dāgā 'Ēṣṭifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170), display a variant including a second person masculine singular perfect form 'a *rafka* ('you have rested'), although one eighteenth-century manuscript—MS London, BL Or. 709—has the form 'a *rafakka* ('he has given you rest', if an error is not to be presumed). Instead, they agree with the attestations of the antiphon that have an imperfect 'ā *arrafakka* ('I will give you rest'). Perhaps, this textual variant arose within the transmission of the text as an antiphon;
- in twelve out of the fourteen manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a—all except MSS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 and Rome, BAV Cerulli et. 282—the word *məndābe* ('affliction') has been added to (or, in one case, substitutes) the word *ṣāmā* ('hardship'). In the corresponding place, MS Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796 (fol. 69vb) has *ṣāmāka* ('your hardship'), whereas the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 15ra) and Dabra Ṣəyon Māryām, EMLL 7602 (fol. 93va) follow MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 in simply having *ṣāmā*. The manuscript Dāgā 'Ēṣṭifānos 59 (Ṭānāsee 170) adds *məndābe*, like the later manuscripts. Generally speaking, the reading of the antiphon thus agrees with the pre-seventeenth-century witnesses to the *Life*. The reading 'əm-zəntu 'ālam *ṣāmāka* ('from this world, (which is?) your hardship'), found exclusively in the two Group B collections, lacks a correspondence in the manuscripts of the *Life*, although it is noteworthy that the second person possessive on *ṣāmāka* is shared with the fourteenth-century manuscript Ḥayq (private collection), EMLL 2796;

- the reading *za-la- ‘ālam fəśśəḥā* (‘the eternal joy’), which is found in a majority of the consulted Group A collections, is also found in the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270 (fol. 15ra); Ḥayq (private collection), EMMML 2796 (fol. 69vb); Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMMML 7602 (fol. 93va); MS Dāgā ’Ēstifānos 59 (Tānāsee 170; fol. 10va), as well as in MS Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28 and one further of the manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a. Most of the manuscripts used by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a, however, have more elaborate readings, including several nouns and occasionally relative clauses. Variants that, next to the word *fəśśəḥā*, also include the word *ḥəywat*—as attested in the fifteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EMMML 8678—are found in three of the manuscripts consulted by Cerulli 1969b, 1969a.

To summarise, this comparison clearly suggests that the text of the antiphon ‘Aragāwi *mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 027 was based on a version of the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450) similar to the one attested in the manuscripts Berlin, SBPK Ms. or. oct. 1270; Berlin, SBPK Petermann II Nachtrag 28; Ḥayq (private collection), EMMML 2796; and Dabra Şəyon Māryām, EMMML 7602, i.e. the version ‘antérieur à la revision du XVIe siècle’, as identified by Cerulli 1969a.¹⁴³⁵ Still, after having accounted for possible redactional changes connected to the adaptation of the text for use as an antiphon, some readings of the antiphon, such as the prevalent *ba-qālaka yənaşşəḥu* (‘they will be cleansed through your word’) and *za-ba-mədr təfşəḥta* (‘the joy (which is) on earth’), give the impression of originating in another version of the *Life* than those which have come down to us.

| | MD 2015 | EMML 9110 | EMML 7745 | EAP254/1/5 | EMDA 00111 | EMML 2431 | EMML 6994 | EMML 7529 | ES DD-019 | ES QS-006 | UUB O Et 36 | EMML 1894 | EMML 8678 |
|------------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| መጽሐፍ: | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| መልአክ: | | | | | X | X | | | | | | X | |
| ወይቢሎ: | X | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ወይቢሎም: | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ዘይቢሎ: | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ሰማዕክ: | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| ተሰምዖ: | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ጸሎተክ: ውብዙኅ: ትዕግሥተክ: | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | | X |
| ጸሎተክ: ውብዝኅ: ትዕግሥተ(!)ክ: | | | | | | | | | X | | | | |

¹⁴³⁵ Cerulli 1969a, p. viii.

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|----------------|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|----------------|----------------|---|---|----------------|---|
| ፀ ብዙነ፡ ትዕግሥተክ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ወወሀብኩክ፡ | X | | | X | | | X | | | | | | | |
| ወሀብኩክ፡ | | X | X | | | X ^a | | X | | | | | X | |
| ወናሁ፡ ወሀብኩክ፡ | | | | | X | | | | X | X | X | | | X |
| ወታሕዩ፡ | X | | | X | X | X | | | X | | | | | X |
| ወታሐዩ፡ | (X) ^b | X | X | | | | X | X | | X | X | | | |
| ወታንሥእ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X ^c | |
| ኩሎ፡ | X | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X |
| ኩሎሙ፡ | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ፀ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ሕሙማነ፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | | X |
| ድዉያነ፡ | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| ምወታን፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| እለ፡ ለምጽ፡ | X | X | | X | | X | X | X | | | | | X | |
| እለ፡ ለምጽኒ፡ | | | X | | X | | | | X | X | X | | | X |
| ቢቃልክ፡ ይነጽሑ፡ | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | | | | | X | |
| ይነጽሑ፡ ቢቃልክ፡ | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ይነጽሑ፡ ቢቃልክ፡ ይነጽሑ፡ | | X ^d | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| በጸሎትክ፡ ይነጽሑ፡ | | | | | | | | | | X | X | | | |
| በጸሎትክ፡ ይሕየዉ፡ | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | X |
| ዘበምድር፡ ትፍሥሕት፡ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X ^e | X | | | |
| ዘበምድር፡ መንግሥተ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| ዘበምድር፡ ትፍግዕተ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| ወናሁ፡ አፀርፈክ፡ | X | | | X | | X | X | | | X | X | | | |
| ወናሁ፡ አዕረፍክ፡ | | X | X | | X | | | X | X ^f | | | | | X |
| ወአዕረፍክ፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| እምዝንቱ፡ ፃማ፡ | X | | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| እምዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ፃማክ፡ | | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ዘበምድር፡ ፃማ፡ | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| ውስተ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ትፍሥሕት፡ | X | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡ ትፍሥሕት፡ | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ውስተ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ፍሥሐ፡ | | | | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X | | |
| ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡ ፍሥሐ፡ | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ውስተ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ሕይወት፡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|----------------|--|--|--|--|
| Ø | | | | | | | | | X ^g | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|----------------|--|--|--|--|

- ^a The letter <w> has been added between the letters <w> and <v> in the word ወህብኩከ፡.
- ^b This reading is found in the margin, preceded by the abbreviation ዘመ፡.
- ^c MS: ወታንእ፡.
- ^d The first repetition of the word ይነጽሕ፡ has been marked for deletion.
- ^e One letter has been deleted before the word ዘበምድር፡.
- ^f The letters <ረ> and <ፍ> have been changed into <ር> and <ፈ>, respectively, turning a perfect form into an imperfect form.
- ^g The words ውሰተ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ፍሥሐ፡ have been added supralineally.

3.3.4 Comments

3.3.4.1 Introduction

Given that only a limited part of the corpus of antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi (and Gabra Krastos) has been discussed above, the following comments are necessarily of a preliminary nature. While we *are* in a position to draw certain conclusions based on what we have observed, as such a large part of the available corpus has been left out of the discussion, we can *not* draw any conclusions based on what is *not* there.

3.3.4.2 Preliminary remarks on the distribution of the two saints

In view of the deliberately limited corpus, an analysis of the distribution of sources would offer us an incomplete—and possibly misleading—view of the facts. Keeping this in mind, the information in Table 24 should be taken only as a summary of the identifications made in the discussions of individual antiphons above, intended to give the reader an overview of the discussed material. It may be observed that, unlike the case of Pāntalewon the Martyr—a foreign saint who was identified unequivocally only in *mazmur*-type antiphons—Gabra Krastos appears also in an 'Ēgzi 'abəher nagša antiphon.

Table 24. The distribution of attributions to 'Abbā 'Aragāwi and Gabra Krastos in the individual antiphons.

| | none | unclear | both | Gabra Krastos | 'Abbā 'Aragāwi |
|---------------------------|------|---------|------|---------------|----------------|
| A. wāzemā 001 | | | | | X |
| A. 'Ēgz. n. 001 | | | | X | |
| A. yətbārak 001 | X | | | | |
| A. šalast 001 | | | | | X |
| A. šalast 006 | X | | | | |
| A. salām 002 | X | | | | |
| A. salām 004 | | | | | ? |
| A. salām 005 | | | | | ? |
| A. māḥlet 002 | X | | | | |
| A. səbh. n. 001 | X | | | | |
| A. mazmur 001 (məsb. 002) | | | | | X |

| | none | unclear | both | Gabra Krastos | 'Abbā 'Aragāwi |
|----------------------|------|---------|------|---------------|----------------|
| A. <i>mazmur</i> 003 | X | | | | |
| A. <i>mazmur</i> 006 | | | | | X |
| A. <i>mazmur</i> 010 | | | | X | |
| A. <i>mazmur</i> 013 | X | | | | |
| A. <i>mazmur</i> 017 | | | | | X |
| A. <i>mazmur</i> 018 | | | | X | |
| A. <i>mazmur</i> 027 | | | | X | |

3.3.4.3 Preliminary remarks on the use of source texts

Also for the analysis of the source texts, it should be underlined that the limited corpus makes it impossible to assess the validity of the following observations for the entire commemoration under discussion. Nonetheless, based on the studied materials, the following can be said: Whereas three out of four of the antiphons that clearly refer to Gabra Krastos are based on direct quotations from the *Life of Gabra Krastos* (CAe 1450),¹⁴³⁶ the antiphons which refer to 'Abbā 'Aragāwi are identified as such by the inclusion of either the commonly recurring quotation from Gen. 43:27 (see the discussion in 3.3.4.4),¹⁴³⁷ by the explicit mention of the saint's name,¹⁴³⁸ or, with less certainty, by what appears to be references to the Ethiopian monastic life.¹⁴³⁹ There are antiphons that consist of more substantial quotations from the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526).

This pattern offers a striking parallel to what could be observed regarding the use of the lives for the two Pāntalewons. In both cases we have, on the one hand, a non-Ethiopian saint whose *Life* was translated from a foreign source and which is received into the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon tradition largely in the form of quotations. This is true for both Gabra Krastos and Pāntalewon the Martyr, although the latter offers a more clear-cut case. On the other hand, we have a saint who is said to have lived and worked on Ethiopian soil, and which is represented in *Dəggwā*-type

¹⁴³⁶ The following antiphons are direct quotations: 'Aragāwi 'Ēgzi 'abəḥer nagśa 001 and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('asma la- 'ālam) 027. The following consists partly of quotations, but coupled with other clauses and furnished with a refrain: 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('abun) 018. The fourth antiphon—'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('asma la- 'ālam) 010—mentions Gabra Krastos explicitly, but does not appear to be based on the *Life*.

¹⁴³⁷ This is the case for the antiphons 'Aragāwi wāzemā 001, 'Aragāwi śalast 001, 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('abun / məsbāk) 001, and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('abun) 006.

¹⁴³⁸ This is the case for the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('abun) 017.

¹⁴³⁹ This is the case for the antiphons 'Aragāwi salām 004 and 'Aragāwi salām 005.

antiphons primarily by a single phrase, which is widely repeated throughout the antiphon corpus. This is the case for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi, with the recurrent phrase *dāḥənə-nu zəsku 'abukəmu 'aragāwi* ('is this father of yours, the old man, well?'; see 3.3.4.4), and for Pāntalewon of the Cell, with the recurrent phrase *šenā 'albāsihu la-('abbā) Pāntalewon kama šenā səḥin* ('the scent of the garment of ('Abbā) Pāntalewon is like the scent of frankincense'; see 3.2.4.4).

It is tempting to conclude that we have here, again (see 3.2.4.3 and 3.2.4.4), a reflection of the way in which the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphon came into being. For foreign saints, who were received into the Ethiopic Christian tradition from outside by means of the translation of texts, these texts provided the sources for antiphons. For indigenous saints and saints celebrated primarily on Ethiopian soil, the composition of antiphons probably preceded the writing of a full-fledged *Life* and provided, together with a stock of orally transmitted stories and anecdotes, the material on which in the composition of a *Life* was based. Further studies on the relationships between *Daggwā*-type antiphons and their sources are necessary to assess the general validity of this hypothesis.

3.3.4.4 The phrase *dāḥənə-nu zəsku 'abukəmu 'aragāwi*

One of the main themes in the antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi is variations of the phrase *dāḥənə-nu zəsku 'abukəmu 'aragāwi* ('is this father of yours, the old man, well?'), sometimes followed by *šādəq wə 'ətu* ('he is righteous') *šādəq wa-yawāh* ('righteous and meek'), or *šādəq wa-her* ('righteous and good'). The first phrase appears in four out of the eighteen studied antiphons, and in three out of these is followed by a variant of second phrase.¹⁴⁴⁰ Given the relatively widespread attestation of this phrase, it seems opportune to devote a special discussion to it.

Compared cross-antiphonally, the textual variation in the first phrase concerns primarily word order: *'aragāwi 'abukəmu* ('[this] old man, your father') and *'abukəmu 'aragāwi* ('[this] father of yours, the old man'). This variation is found in three out of the four antiphons that contain this phrase.¹⁴⁴¹ The distribution of the different word orders is summarised below in Table 25. The most clear pattern is the preponderance within the pre-seventeenth-century collections—both single- and multiple-type—of the word order *'abukəmu 'aragāwi*.

As for its source, the phrase *dāḥənə-nu zəsku 'abukəmu 'aragāwi* is clearly drawn from Gen. 43:27, where Joseph enquires his brothers about the health of their

¹⁴⁴⁰ The phrase *dāḥənə-nu zəsku 'abukəmu 'aragāwi* is found in the antiphons 'Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001, 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001, 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 001, and, with the exception of the last word, 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006. The theme thus appears in four out of the eighteen antiphons discussed in this chapter, i.e. in c. 22 % of the studied corpus of antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi. The phrase *šādəq wə 'ətu*, or one of its variants, follow it in the three first. It should be noted that (parts of) this quotation is also found in the following antiphons for Pāntalewon: Pāntalewon *salām* 004 and Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 004.

¹⁴⁴¹ In the fourth—'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006—the word *'aragāwi* is left out.

father Abraham. Indeed, in the antiphon 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001, even an introduction of the line of speech—*wa-yābelomu Yosef* ('and Joseph said to them: [...]')—referring to the source text, is to be found. One can presume that this phrase became associated with 'Abbā 'Aragāwi due to the 'mention' of the saint's name in the form of the word 'aragāwi ('old man'). In the edition of Genesis by Dillmann 1853, the complete phrase appears as *dāḥənə-nu 'abukəmu zəkku 'aragāwi* ('is your father, this old man, well?'), with no variants listed in the apparatus.¹⁴⁴² In the edition by Boyd 1909, the main text lacks the demonstrative *zəkku* and has a different word order: *dāḥənə-nu 'aragāwi 'abukəmu*.¹⁴⁴³ However, this appears to be the reading of only the base manuscript used by Boyd 1909—i.e. fourteenth–fifteenth-century manuscript Paris, BnF Éth. 3 (= MS Y, in his edition)¹⁴⁴⁴—the remaining manuscripts having the same reading as the main text of Dillmann 1853. The most recent edition, Edele 1995, has the same reading as Dillmann 1853 in the main text, and the apparatus lists variants in word order, as well as the omission, in some manuscripts, of the demonstrative.¹⁴⁴⁵ This is also the text on which the 'andəmtā commentary published by Mersha Alehegne 2011b is based.¹⁴⁴⁶ None of the editions records the variant *zəsku*, which appears almost ubiquitously in the attestations of the antiphons.¹⁴⁴⁷ Compared with the published editions of Genesis, the reading of the antiphons—with the demonstrative (in the rare form *zəsku*) placed in front of 'abukəmu 'aragāwi or, especially in the later collections, 'aragāwi 'abukəmu—stands out as noteworthy.

However, as noticed above in the discussions of the individual antiphons, the phrase *dāḥənə-nu zəsku 'abukəmu 'aragāwi* also appears in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526) published by Guidi 1895.¹⁴⁴⁸ There, the phrase has been embedded into a narrative episode, in which St Yāred (!) goes to visit 'Abbā 'Aragāwi at his monastery.¹⁴⁴⁹ When he is almost there, the following happens:¹⁴⁵⁰

ወእንዘ፡ የሐውሩ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ያሥግሩ፡ ዓሣ፡ ማትያስ፡ ወየሴፍ፡ መጽአ፡ ያፌድ፡
ቀሲስ፡ ወተራከበሙ፡ በማዕድተ፡ ፈለግ፡ በእግረ፡ ዐቀብ፡ ወተአምኖሙ፡፡
ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዳጎንኑ፡ ዝአቡከሙ፡ አረጋዊ፡ ወይቤልዎ፡ ዳጎን፤ ወይቤሎሙ፡

¹⁴⁴² Dillmann 1853, p. 81 (pars anterior); cf. Dillmann 1853, p. 54 (pars posterior).

¹⁴⁴³ Boyd 1909, p. 135.

¹⁴⁴⁴ On the dating of this manuscript, see Uhlig 1988, p. 41.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Edele 1995, p. 218.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Mersha Alehegne 2011b, p. 337 (edition), 621 (English translation).

¹⁴⁴⁷ For a discussion of the word *zəsku*, see fn. 1191. As noticed there, Praetorius 1890 challenges the connection between the words *zəsku* and *zəkku*, but the fact that they appear as variant readings support the hypothesis of a connection (Praetorius 1890, p. 26).

¹⁴⁴⁸ This parallel between the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526) and *Dəggwā*-type antiphons was already noted by Guidi 1895, p. 54, fn. 2.

¹⁴⁴⁹ On the relationship between the saints, see Chapter 1 (1.5.2).

¹⁴⁵⁰ Guidi 1895, p. 77 (edition); cf. also van den Oudenrijn 1939, pp. 57–58 (French translation). In a note, van den Oudenrijn 1939 has already identified the source of the biblical text (van den Oudenrijn 1939, p. 79, fn. 152).

ዳግመ፡ ዝስኩ፡ አቡኩሙ፡ አረጋዊ፡ ጸድቅ፡ ውሓቱ፡ ዘኮኖሙ፡ መርሐ፡ በፍኖት፡
ለአግብርተ፡ እግዚአብሔር።

And when his (= 'Abbā 'Aragāwi's) disciples Mātyās and Yosef went to catch fish, Yāred the Priest came and encountered them on the opposite bank of the river, at the foot of the ascent, and he greeted them, saying: 'Is this father of yours, 'Aragāwi (= the old man), well?' They said to him: '(He is) well.' And further he said to them: 'This father of yours, 'Aragāwi, is a righteous one, who has become a guide on the path for the servants of God.'

As can be seen, this text does not only contain a parallel to the phrase *dāḥənə-nu zəsku* 'abukəmu 'aragāwi, but also to the phrase *ṣādəq wə'ətu* ('he is righteous') and, further, to the phrase *konomu marḥa ba-fənnot la-'agbarta 'Əgzi'abəher* ('he has become a guide on the path for the servants of God'), found in the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('abun) 006. The textual variants that Guidi 1895 records concern a) the presence versus absence of a *dāḥənə-nu* ('is [this father of yours] well?') at the beginning of St Yāred's second line of speech and, if I read his apparatus correctly, b) the conflation of the two lines of speech in one manuscript and, c) the placement of the antiphon in the mouth of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi's disciples in another.¹⁴⁵¹ Compared to the text form attested in Genesis, the text of the *Life* displays noticeable similarities with the text most commonly attested in the antiphons: a) in the second line of speech, the demonstrative has the form *zəsku*, common in the antiphons but unattested in Genesis, b) the demonstrative is placed in front of both the nouns 'abukəmu and 'aragāwi, as in the antiphons, and c) the word order of the two nouns is 'abukəmu 'aragāwi, as is most commonly the case in the earlier attestations of the antiphons.

As for *ṣādəq wə'ətu*, one of the manuscripts consulted by Guidi 1895 display variation in this additional phrase, having *ṣādəq wa-yawāh wə'ətu* ('he is righteous and meek'). Within the antiphons, on the other hand, this phrase is subject to substantial variation, as hinted at above. In the attestations of 'Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001, the three variants *ṣādəq wə'ətu*, *ṣādəq wa-yawāh* ('righteous and meek'), and *ṣādəq wa-her* ('righteous and good') are found, distributed in such a way that *ṣādəq wə'ətu* is attested only in single-type and pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, *ṣādəq wa-yawāh* in pre-seventeenth-century collections and a minority of the post-sixteenth-century Group A collections, and *ṣādəq wa-her* in pre-seventeenth-century collections and a majority of the post-sixteenth-century collections, including all Group B collections and all post-nineteenth-

¹⁴⁵¹ Cf. Guidi 1895, p. 77, esp. fn. q. However, it should be remembered that Guidi 1895 does not record all variants, instead adverting the reader that the full set of variants 'saranno da me [i.e. by Guidi] trascritte sopra un esemplare di quest'edizione, che depositerò nella Biblioteca della nostra Accademia' (Guidi 1895, p. 56).

century collections. In the attestations of 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001, only the variants *śādāq wa-yawāh* and *śādāq wa-her* are found. The latter appears ubiquitously in the single-type collections, but in later collections, both forms appear, no pattern discernible as to their distribution. In the attestations of 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun* / *māsbāk*) 001, finally, only the variant *śādāq wa-her* is attested. This seems to connect the published text of the *Life* especially with the antiphon 'Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001.

The third phrase—*konomu marḥa ba-fānot la-'agbarta 'Ēgzi'abāher*—is only found in one antiphon included in the corpus, 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006. As mentioned in the discussion of this antiphon (see 3.3.3.14), it also appears in the second-recension *Sānkāssār* reading for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi.¹⁴⁵² Guidi 1895 records only one textual variant in this phrase: the omission, in one manuscript, of the word *ba-fānot* ('on the path'). No variants are recorded by Colin 1987 for the *Sānkāssār* reading, based, like the edition of other second-recension commemorations, on a single manuscript.

Having established the close connection between this episode in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526) and the readings of the antiphons, the question again poses itself: which text was influenced by which? In this case, the sheer chronology of the texts offers an argument: whereas both the phrase *dāḥanā-nu zāsku 'abukāmu 'aragāwi* and the phrase *śādāq wā'ātu* are found in the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006, attested in the *mazmur*-family collection in the mid-fourteenth-century manuscript EML 7618, the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526) has been dated to the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁵³ Furthermore, it is conspicuous that the words in the narrative are put in the mouth of St Yāred. The saint, it seems, speaks only in the words of antiphons. One wonders if this episode in the *Life of 'Aragāwi* (CAe 1526) might have arisen as an explanation for these recurring phrases in the *Daggwā*-type antiphons. This is a conclusion congruent with the one suggested for the antiphons for Pāntalewon (see 3.2.4.4): that the phrases recurrent in the *Daggwā*-type antiphons antedate and influenced the *Lives*.

¹⁴⁵² Cf. fn. 1416.

¹⁴⁵³ Brita suggests a sixteenth-century dating ('Zāmika'el Arāgawi', *EAE*, V (2014), 130a–131b (A. Brita), esp. 130a; Brita 2020, p. 273), whereas van den Oudenrijn 1939 suggests a fifteenth-century dating (van den Oudenrijn 1939, p. 30).

Chapter 3. The Diachronic Development of the Text

Table 25. The distribution of the variants 'aragāwi 'abukəmu, 'abukəmu 'aragāwi, 'abukəmu, and 'aragāwi.

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^a The word አረጋዊ: has been added secondarily.

^b The word አቡከሙ: has been added secondarily.

^c MS: አቡከሙ: [...].

3.3.4.5 The relationship between Group A and Group B

The specific purpose of including a number of antiphons from the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi in this study was to investigate whether the two groups of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons discussed in the introduction of Chapter 2 (2.2)—Group A and Group B—are reflected also on the textual level. Weighing together the evidence from the eighteen antiphons analysed above, the following conclusions can be drawn.

There are a few cases in which the Group B collections have a uniform reading which does not appear outside of this group.¹⁴⁵⁴ This is what could be expected if the Group B collections constituted a line of transmission separate from the Group A collections. However, even taking into account the small size of the corpus, the number of variants following this pattern of attestation is low. There are also cases in which a reading does not appear in all of the Group B collections, but is also not attested outside this group.¹⁴⁵⁵ Such situations can either be interpreted as the result of contamination from Group A collections on some of the Group B collections, or as an indication that there are subgroups within the family of Group B collections, characterised by their own readings. Sometimes, the Group B collections have a uniform reading which is also attested marginally in the Group A collections.¹⁴⁵⁶ This could suggest, simply, that some of the readings transmitted within the Group B collections have a history even before the emergence of Group B in relatively recent times (see Chapter 2, 2.2). It might also point to contamination from the Group B collections to certain Group A collections.

In many cases, however—at least ten out of the eighteen studied antiphons—the Group B collections do not stand out systematically from coeval Group A collections.¹⁴⁵⁷ There is at least one case where the dividing line between readings

¹⁴⁵⁴ Examples of this are found in the antiphons 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006 (the reading *māgbāra*) and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la- 'ālam*) 027 (the readings *tasam 'a, k^wallomu*, and '*am-zāntu 'ālam šāmāka*), although, in the latter case, the data are less certain, as the antiphon is only attested in two Group B collections.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Examples are found in the antiphons 'Aragāwi '*Ēgzi 'abəher naḡša* 001 (the reading *bərḥān warido*), 'Aragāwi *šalast* 006 (the reading *yərassəyu*), 'Aragāwi *səbhata nagh* 001 (the addition of the word *la-mot*), 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006 (the reading *ba-fənotomu*), and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 017 (the singular verb form *ya 'arrəg*). In the following antiphons, there are two different variants which are only attested in Group B collections: 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006 (the readings *ya 'amməru* and *ya 'ammənu*) and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 017 (the *mašwā 'ta šalot wa-šom* readings and *mašwā 'ta salām*). In the antiphon 'Aragāwi *wāzemā* 001, the reading *wa-ba 'atāt* is only attested in the main text in Group B collections, but it appears in the *məltān* also in Group A collections.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Examples of such a distribution of readings are found in the antiphons 'Aragāwi *salām* 002 (the reading *wa-kəburān*; although in one of the two Group B collections, this reading is the result of a later addition) and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun / məsbāk*) 001 (the reading *ba-šəmməw*).

¹⁴⁵⁷ Cf. the antiphons 'Aragāwi *yətbārak* 001a, 001b; 'Aragāwi *šalast* 001, 'Aragāwi *salām* 002, 'Aragāwi *salām* 004, 'Aragāwi *salām* 005, 'Aragāwi *māḡlet* 002, 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*asma la-*

cuts right through the Group A collections and the Group B collections,¹⁴⁵⁸ a situation best explained by presupposing a continuous communication between the Group B and the Group A collections.

To summarise, the Group B collections—although having certain textual characteristics in common—do not, based on the studied materials, appear to represent a specific overall text type among the post-sixteenth-century *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections. This means that the similarities that unite the Group B collections on the level of sets of commemorations do not appear to find a correspondence on the level of the text of the individual antiphons. However, it should be stressed that the small size of the corpus makes this conclusion tentative.

3.4 Concluding discussion

3.4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the complete corpus of antiphons for Pāṇṭalewon attested in the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus has been studied, together with a selection of antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi, consisting of the eighteen antiphons that are attested in at least two Group B collections as well as in at least two Group A collections. It must be emphasised, also on this occasion, that an extremely limited corpus has been analysed, comprising only two commemorations, which, furthermore, are similar in many regards, as both are concerned with Aksumite holy men, members of the so-called 'Nine Saints' (Pāṇṭalewon of the Cell and 'Abbā 'Aragāwi), which both, to various degrees, have been conflated with early saints common to Christian Ecumene (Pāṇṭalewon the Martyr and Gabra Krəstos, respectively). In concluding this chapter, let us return to the question of what the discussed features tell us about the general diachronic development of the texts of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons.

3.4.1.1 Developments in the corpus

When trying to draw general conclusions about the diachronic development of the corpus of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphons, only the commemoration of Pāṇṭalewon can be taken into account. The reason for this is, of course, that the eighteen antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi were chosen precisely on account of their diachronic attestation and, consequently, are not statistically representative.

'ālam) 003, 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('əsmā la-'ālam) 010, 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('abun) 013, and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('abun) 018.

¹⁴⁵⁸ This is the case for the readings *ṣādəq wa-her* versus *ṣādəq wa-yawāh* in the antiphon 'Aragāwi *śalast* 001.

The corpus of antiphon for Pāṇṭalewon in the studied collections consists of eighty-one individual antiphons.¹⁴⁵⁹ Based on their attestation in the Minor Corpus, they can be categorised as follows:

- a) antiphon attested only in *single-type collections*: 10 out of 81 (c. 12.3 %)¹⁴⁶⁰—these include the five *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons, which entire antiphon type has not been identified in post-single-type sources;
- b) antiphons attested only in *pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections*: 9 out of 81 (c. 11.1 %);¹⁴⁶¹
- c) antiphons attested only in *post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections*: 8 out of 81 (c. 10.0 %);¹⁴⁶²
- d) antiphons attested in *single-type collections* and *pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections*: 0 out of 81 (0 %);
- e) antiphons attested in *single-type collections* and *post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections*: 7 out of 81 (c. 8.6 %)¹⁴⁶³—six of these are *mazmur*-family antiphons only attested in the single-type collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and GG-187 (Hand C), and in the nineteenth-century collection in MS EMLL 7285. For further discussion of these collections, see 3.4.1.3.2;
- f) antiphons attested in *pre-seventeenth-century* and *post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections*: 11 out of 81 (c. 13.6 %)¹⁴⁶⁴—these include three *ba-ḥammāstu* antiphons, for which antiphon type no single-type collection is known;

¹⁴⁵⁹ For the purpose of statistics, the three *māsbāk* antiphons have been treated simply as attestations of the respective *mazmur*-family antiphons. Additionally, the three attestations of a *sābhata nagh* antiphon which, due to its abbreviated state, cannot be securely identified as Pāṇṭalewon *sābhata nagh* 002, 003, or 004, have been left out of the discussion.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Pāṇṭalewon 'Ēgzi 'abāher nagh 002, Pāṇṭalewon yātbārak 002, Pāṇṭalewon yātbārak 003, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 001, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 004, Pāṇṭalewon wāzemā mazmur 001, Pāṇṭalewon wāzemā mazmur 002, Pāṇṭalewon wāzemā mazmur 003, Pāṇṭalewon wāzemā mazmur 004, Pāṇṭalewon wāzemā mazmur 005.

¹⁴⁶¹ Pāṇṭalewon ba-ḥammāsu 004*, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 006, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 007, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 008, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 010, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 012, Pāṇṭalewon māḥlet 003*, Pāṇṭalewon sābhata nagh 003, Pāṇṭalewon sābhata nagh 005*.

¹⁴⁶² Pāṇṭalewon śalast 012, Pāṇṭalewon salām 007*, Pāṇṭalewon 'arbā 't 003, Pāṇṭalewon 'əzl 003*, Pāṇṭalewon sābhata nagh 002, Pāṇṭalewon sābhata nagh 004*, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 031, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 032.

¹⁴⁶³ Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 010, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 013, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 016, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 022, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 023, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 025, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 026. Out of these seven antiphons, it is only Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('abun) 010 that has a widespread attestation in the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Pāṇṭalewon ba-ḥammāstu 001, Pāṇṭalewon ba-ḥammāstu 002, Pāṇṭalewon ba-ḥammāstu 003, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 005, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 009, Pāṇṭalewon śalast 011, Pāṇṭalewon 'arbā 't 002, Pāṇṭalewon māḥlet 001, Pāṇṭalewon sābhata nagh 003, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('asma la- 'ālam) 031, Pāṇṭalewon mazmur ('asma la- 'ālam) 030.

- g) antiphons attested in all three groups of collections, i.e. single-type collections, pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, and post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections: 36 out of 81 (c. 44.4 %).¹⁴⁶⁵

For the largest group of antiphons (category g), comprising almost half of the corpus, a continuous transmission from the single-type collections up to the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections—in many cases including the printed editions—can be observed. It should be remarked that this does not exclude the identification of developments *within* these three broad categories of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections; for example, there seems to have been an enrichment of the corpus of *mazmur*-family antiphons for Pantaŵon already within the single-type-collection phase (see 3.2.4.2). Next to this corpus of diachronically stable antiphons, smaller groups of antiphons exhibit almost all imaginable patterns of attestation: there are antiphons which with time appear to have fallen out of use (categories a and b), antiphons which at a certain point appear to have been added to the corpus (categories b, c and, at least potentially, f), and antiphons which appear to have disappeared for a while, only to make a reappearance later (category e).¹⁴⁶⁶

The latter category serves as a useful reminder of the weak statistical basis for these observations, as the presence within the Minor Corpus of one particular source—the collection in the nineteenth-century manuscript EMM 7285, chosen more or less randomly, as laid out in Chapter 2 (2.1)—has had a great impact on the percentages, transferring six antiphons (c. 7.4 % of the corpus) from the category of antiphons attested only in single-type collections (category a) to the antiphons attested in both single-type collections and post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections (category e). One should not rule out the possibility that more of the antiphons which, in the present study, were only encountered in the very earliest layer of the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon tradition, may have had an afterlife in a strand of the later tradition not included in the Minor Corpus, nor that some of the antiphons which, based on the present study, are only attested in later collections, may have appeared also in earlier collections now lost (or not yet found—this is especially true for the *ba-ḥammastu* antiphons). Shortly, the

¹⁴⁶⁵ Pantaŵon *wāzemā* 001, Pantaŵon *ʿĒgzi ʿabəher nagsā* 001, Pantaŵon *yətbārak* 001, Pantaŵon *šalast* 002, Pantaŵon *šalast* 003, Pantaŵon *salām* 001–006, Pantaŵon *ʿarbā ʿt* 001, Pantaŵon *ʿəzl* 001, Pantaŵon *ʿəzl* 002, Pantaŵon *māhlet* 002, Pantaŵon *mazmur* 001–009, Pantaŵon *mazmur* (ʿabun) 011, Pantaŵon *mazmur* (ʿabun / məsbāk) 012, Pantaŵon *mazmur* (ʿasma la-ʿālam) 014, Pantaŵon *mazmur* (ʿabun) 015, Pantaŵon *mazmur* 017–021, Pantaŵon *mazmur* (ʿabun / məsbāk) 024, Pantaŵon *mazmur* (ʿabun) 027, Pantaŵon *mazmur* (ʿasma la-ʿālam) 028.

¹⁴⁶⁶ The same pattern—attestation in the single-type collection, disappearance in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, and reappearance in the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections—is also attested for certain readings, such as the perfect *ʿanqā ʿdawa* (‘he looked up [into heaven]’; see the discussion in 3.2.4.5) and the longer ending of the antiphon Pantaŵon *mazmur* (ʿabun) 015.

statistics must unnegotiablely be taken *cum grano salis*, based, as they are, on the diachronic study of one single commemoration.

Figure 23 displays what percentages of the entire corpus of antiphons for Pāṇṭalewon are attested in the three categories of single-type collections, pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, and post-sixteenth-century (Group A) collections, respectively. The diagram displays aggregated data and thus goes beyond the level of the individual collections. For example, there are certainly individual cases among the post-sixteenth-century collection that contain a small corpus of antiphons—viz. the collections in *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 1994 and MS EAP704/1/36—but on a general level, the corpus of antiphons *en vogue* during that period appears—based on the studied corpus—to have comprised *c.* 76.6 % of the entire corpus of antiphons for Pāṇṭalewon attested in the diachronic corpus. As repeatedly stated above, this study has been based on a limited corpus and further studies will be needed to confirm the general conclusion suggested by the data analysed here, which is that the corpus of *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphons has continuously been changing—by the addition of new antiphons and the disuse of old antiphons—while at the same time keeping a large portion of the corpus unchanged over the entire attested time period.

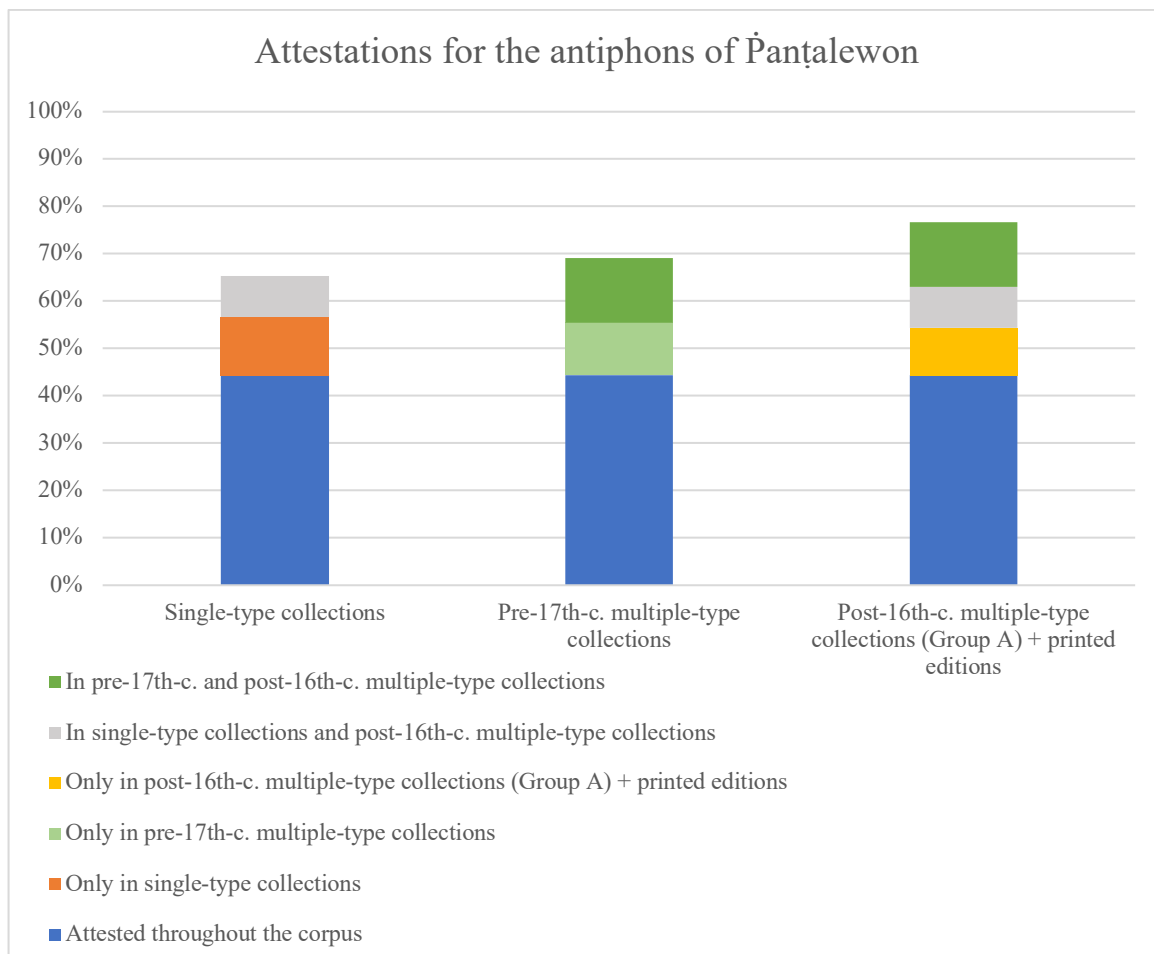


Figure 23. Summary of what percentages of the entire corpus of antiphons for Ĥantaŵon are attested in the respective categories of collections: single-type collections, pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, and post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections (incl. printed editions).

3.4.1.2 Developments in the text

The textual changes that appear within the transmission of the studied *Daggwā*-type antiphons are in many regards similar to the changes that characterise the manuscript transmission of texts in general. As in the transmission of other texts, certain points in the texts are especially prone to variation, either because they are difficult to understand¹⁴⁶⁷ or because they are semantically vague.¹⁴⁶⁸ Similarly, in

¹⁴⁶⁷ See the discussions of the antiphons Ĥantaŵon *śalast* 003 (the variation in number of the object suffix), Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 001 (especially the first sentence), and ‘*Aragāwi yātbāarak*’ 001a, 001b (the variation in the words that appear ‘*anta bāna*’ etc.).

¹⁴⁶⁸ This is exemplified by the frequent interchange of between epithets (or the absence of an epithet) preceding the name Ĥantaŵon. See the discussions of the antiphons Ĥantaŵon *wāzemā* 001, Ĥantaŵon *śalast* 002a, 002b; Ĥantaŵon *śalast* 009a, 009b; Ĥantaŵon *śalast* 013, Ĥantaŵon *salām* 003, Ĥantaŵon *salām* 004, Ĥantaŵon *salām* 006, Ĥantaŵon ‘*arbā*’ 002, Ĥantaŵon ‘*əzl*’ 001, Ĥantaŵon ‘*əzl*’ 002a, 002; Ĥantaŵon *māḥlet* 002, Ĥantaŵon *səbhata nagh* 001, Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 001, Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*’) 002, Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 003, Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 005, Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*’) 006, Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*’) 007a, 007b; Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 011, Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*asma la-‘ālam*’) 020, Ĥantaŵon *mazmur* (‘*abun*’) 021, Ĥantaŵon *mazmur*

the studied corpus there are possible examples of theologically motivated changes¹⁴⁶⁹ and of extratextual contamination, either from biblical texts¹⁴⁷⁰ or from other strands of source texts.¹⁴⁷¹ While this is not the place for a general discussion of the emergence and development of textual variants, in a few cases, one may suspect that variant readings in *Daggwā*-type antiphons were introduced for reasons specifically connected to this literary genre. These cases are summarised below:

- a) changes may have been introduced in order to make texts drawn from narrative sources, such as saints' lives, comprehensible in their new, non-narrative context. In the studied antiphons, this is typically done by additions of explicit subjects, of explicit objects, or of other words needed to clarify sentences which, in their original setting, were easily understood based on the (now missing) context.¹⁴⁷² One might expect this type of changes to have taken place primarily during the process in which an antiphon was 'created' by extraction from a narrative source, but it should not be excluded that such a reasoning may be behind later textual adaptations as well, within the transmission of the text as an antiphon.¹⁴⁷³ Other forms of adaptation, each attested on a couple of occasions in the studied corpus, include the simplification of lists of items,¹⁴⁷⁴ the deletion

(*'abun*) 027a, 027b; *Ġantañewon mazmur ('asma la- 'ālam)* 028, and *Ġantañewon mazmur ('asma la- 'ālam)* 029a, 029b.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Possible examples of theologically motivated changes are found in the discussions of the antiphons *Ġantañewon salām* 006 (the change from *yəbārəkuka* to *yəsebbəħuka* in two late collections) *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun / məsbāk)* 012 (the change, in some collections, of the subject of the verb *bārako*).

¹⁴⁷⁰ Cf., for example, the discussions of the antiphons *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 010, *Ġantañewon mazmur ('asma la- 'ālam)* 014, and *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 015.

¹⁴⁷¹ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 018 (the different developments of *'əm-məkrumu*) and *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun / məsbāk)* 024.

¹⁴⁷² Examples of such clarifying additions are found in the antiphons *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 010 (the addition of *tawakfo la-qāl*), *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 011 (the addition of an explicit subject and of the verb *šallaya*), *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 021 (the addition of an explicit object), *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 022 (the addition of the words (*wa-*)*yə 'əta gize* and *ħəzb*), *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 025 (the addition of *bə 'əsi?*), *'Aragāwi 'Əgzi 'abəher nagša* 001 (the addition of *la-bə 'əse 'Əgzi 'abəher*), and *'Aragāwi šalast* 001 (the addition of *Yosef*). Example of where such an addition appears not to have 'made it' into the 'standard' text of the antiphon, but only appears in an isolated early witness, are found in the discussion of the antiphons *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 003 (the addition of an explicit subject in the collection in MS EMM 7174) and *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 017 (the addition of the words *la-qəddus Ġantañewon* in the collection in MS GG-187). For a possible case of the opposite, i.e. where a clarifying subject has been deleted (but in conjunction with the addition of a clarifying object), see the discussion of the antiphon *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 021.

¹⁴⁷³ For a possible example of this, see the discussions of the antiphons *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 009 (the addition of the word *la-Ġantañewon*), *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun / məsbāk)* 012 (the addition of a subject to the verb *tafaśśəħa*), and *'Aragāwi mazmur ('abun / məsbāk)* 001 (the addition of *bə 'əsi*).

¹⁴⁷⁴ Cf., for example, the discussions of the antiphons *Ġantañewon šalast* 001, *Ġantañewon mazmur ('abun)* 025, *'Aragāwi mazmur ('abun)* 018, and *'Aragāwi mazmur ('asma la- 'ālam)* 027.

of unnecessary conjunctions,¹⁴⁷⁵ and the ‘trivialisation’ of semantically marked phrases;¹⁴⁷⁶

- b) changes may have been introduced to smoothen the Geez of previous, especially translated sources. The variation between a perfect *ʾanqā ʿdawa* (‘he looked up [into heaven]’) and a gerund *ʾanqā ʿdiwo* (‘looking up [into heaven]’), attested repeatedly among the antiphons for Pantaḥlewōn based on quotations from the *Life of Pantaḥlewōn the Martyr* (CAe 3158) and discussed at length above (3.2.4.5), could be understood in this light. The same goes for the variation between *wāsta samāy* (‘[he looked up] into heaven’) and *samāya* (same meaning), discussed at the same place. Similar type of changes, although in these cases one can rather suspect inner-Geez diachronic variation, concern the preference of construct-state constructions (typical for early collections) over periphrastic genitives (more frequent in later collections),¹⁴⁷⁷ and one case of a chronologically correlated change in grammatical gender;¹⁴⁷⁸
- c) changes may have been introduced in order to differentiate between similar antiphons. This hypothetical strategy, for which a number of potential examples were detected during the course of the chapter,¹⁴⁷⁹ is closely connected to the nature of the *Daggwā*-type antiphons, where the identity of an antiphon lies as much in its melodic characteristics as in the text.

These types of changes may be part of the specific profile of textual development that characterises *Daggwā*-type antiphons. As for the second point—the topic of linguistic updating—it is clear that this is a phenomenon that appears in various literary genres. However, it does not seem improbable that *Daggwā*-type antiphons have had a more ‘active’ transmission than other texts: As we have seen, a

¹⁴⁷⁵ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun / māsḃāk) 024 and ʾAragāwi *mazmur* (ʾabun) 018. Variation in the occurrence of conjunctions also appears in antiphons which are not based on other sources; cf., for example, the discussions of the antiphons Pantaḥlewōn *salām* 004, Pantaḥlewōn *māḥlet* 001, and Pantaḥlewōn ʾəzl 001.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Examples of this are found in the discussions of the antiphons Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun) 009 (the deletion of the reference to the baptism of Pantaḥlewōn the Martyr) and Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun) 015 (the change from *za-təfewwəsomu la-ʾəlla ya ʾammənu bəka* to *ʾamlāk za-ba-ʾamān* or *ʾamlākəna za-ba-ʾamān*). Sometimes, a phrase has been deleted without an obvious semantic reason; cf. the discussions of the antiphons Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun) 016 and Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun) 022.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Examples of this type of diachronic change are found in the discussions of the antiphons Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun) 001 (*fəre mədr* versus *fərehā la-mədr*) and Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun) 005 (*ma ʾāzā qəddusān* versus *ma ʾāzāhomu la-qəddusān*).

¹⁴⁷⁸ Cf. the discussion of the antiphon Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun / māsḃāk) 012.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Possible examples of this phenomenon are found in the discussions of the antiphons Pantaḥlewōn *salast* 002a and 002b (variation between *ṣenāhomu la-qəddusān* and *ma ʾāzāhomu la-qəddusān*) and Pantaḥlewōn *salast* 009a and 009b (variation between *kabkāba* and *kəbra*). Cf. also the variant *la-mangəstəka* instead of *la-məḥratəka* in the antiphon Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun) 031 (as compared to the reading in Pantaḥlewōn *mazmur* (ʾabun) 032).

comparably large number of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections have come down to us. This mirrors, of course, the fact that such collections were copied with a correspondingly high frequency. And with each copying, new opportunities were provided for individuals to improve the texts based on their understanding of how ‘proper’ Geez ought to look.

Another approach to textual variation within the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons is to take the amount of variants as an indication of the stability of the texts in different time periods. The identification of dividing lines between the attestations of different textual variants could potentially allow us to identify transformative moments in the history of the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections: moments in which the corpus was consciously revised. The hypothesis is that if the text was consciously revised, this will have resulted in systematic changes in the attestation of series of variants.¹⁴⁸⁰

Scrutinising the studied corpus, one particular dividing line can be located: between the single-type collections and the multiple-type collections. Already on a theoretical level, it might indeed be expected that the shift from single-type to multiple-type collections would entail certain revisions in the text as well, either as a conscious effort or simply because the change in organisation of the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections created a bottleneck for the transmission of variants, in which some were sieved out. As the study above shows, this is discernible both on the level of the corpus of antiphons¹⁴⁸¹ and on the level of individual readings.¹⁴⁸² Still, despite this shift, it is clear that the structure of the *Dəggwā* remained transparent enough to allow for certain incorporation of material from older sources also in later collections, as suggested by the relationship between the

¹⁴⁸⁰ Hypothetically, and if a larger corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons is taken into consideration, it may be possible to connect the attestation of specific series of variants with the revisions known from the prefaced colophons (see Appendix 1).

¹⁴⁸¹ See the discussion in 3.4.1.1. The fact that there is no set of antiphons which is shared exclusively between the single-type collections and the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections—as opposed to almost all other possible sets of antiphons shared between specific categories of collections—could suggest that the shift from single- to multiple-type collections entailed a more abrupt change in the corpus of antiphons than the changes taking place continuously over the centuries.

¹⁴⁸² Examples of such dichotomies are found in the antiphons *Ṗantaṭewon salām* 006 (*Ṗantaṭewon* versus *ʾAbbā Ṗantaṭewon*, *ṣādqānika* versus *qəddusān*); *Ṗantaṭewon ʾarbāʾt* 001 (*ʾamsāla wayṭal* versus *ʾamsālu za-wayṭal*, although there are also attestations with other readings); *Ṗantaṭewon mazmur* (*ʾabun*) 001 (*fəre mādr* versus *fərehā la-mādr*, *kama ṣaḥay* versus *ʾəm-ṣaḥay*, the absence of the first *za-wald ʾəḥuya* / *za-ba-wald ʾəḥuya*, *taʾamino ṣədqa* versus *taʾamino ṣādəqa* etc.); *Ṗantaṭewon mazmur* (*ʾasma la-ʾālam*) 002 (the presence versus absence of a third *wa-la-ʾamma-ni*); *Ṗantaṭewon mazmur* (*ʾabun*) 008 (the readings *həllāwehā* and *ba-ṣəge wa-fəre*, and the absence of the word *la-Ṗantaṭewon*); *Ṗantaṭewon mazmur* (*ʾabun*) 010 (*wa-qəddusə-ssa* versus *wa-qəddus / qəddus*); *Ṗantaṭewon mazmur* (*ʾabun*) 011 (the reading *lāʾla wəsta samāy*, the absence of the mentioning of the saint’s name and of the verb *ṣallaya*); *Ṗantaṭewon mazmur* (*ʾabun / məsbāk*) 012 (the absence of the word *kʷəllomu*); *Ṗantaṭewon mazmur* (*ʾasma la-ʾālam*) 018 (*Ṗantaṭewon* versus *qəddus Ṗantaṭewon*, *wa-ʾəm-gərmā* versus *ʾəm-gərmā*); and *Ṗantaṭewon mazmur* (*ʾabun / məsbāk*) 024 (*wa-dəlləw* versus *dəlləw*, the presence of the words *wəsta samāy* and *ʾəm-lāʾlu*); *ʾAragāwi yətbārak* 001a, 001b (the reading *ʾasma ṣalota ṣādəq yəsamə* without the word *ʾƏgzi ʾabəḥer*).

single-type collections in MSS EMML 7618 and GG-187 (Hand C), and the multiple-type collection in MS EMML 7285 (see 3.4.1.3.2).

Additionally, there are certain indications of a shift in readings between, on the one hand, the single-type collections and the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century multiple-type collections and, on the other hand, the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections. On a number of occasions, the post-sixteenth-century collections display a unified reading against a more varied pictured in the earlier collections.¹⁴⁸³ Hypothetically, this distribution of readings could be the result of a standardisation of the texts taking place at some point in the sixteenth–seventeenth century (i.e. in Gondarine times), which would not be without parallels in the general development of the Ethiopic literature.¹⁴⁸⁴ However, compared to the shift from single-type collections to multiple-type collections, there is less ample evidence for a revision in this time. One must keep in mind that the conclusions might, to a certain extent, be affected by the methodology, in which post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections were always treated as a category separate from their pre-seventeenth-century counterparts. How many dichotomous readings would appear, if one, for example, were to compare a representative corpus of seventeenth-century multiple-type collections with a comparative corpus of eighteenth-century multiple-type collections?

3.4.1.3 Relationships between individual collections

Although the Minor Corpus comprises only a fraction of the known *Daggwā*-type antiphons collections,¹⁴⁸⁵ which, in turn, most certainly represent only a tiny fraction of the entire number of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection produced over the centuries, some of the studied collections have serendipitously turned out to display noticeable affinities, which are likely to be indicative of genetic relationships. While in this dissertation no systematic attempt to classify the manuscripts beyond a very superficial level has been made (see Chapter 2, 2.2), it seems useful to summarise here the similarities which have been observed throughout the chapter. Next to a number of collections where the similarities are more restricted,¹⁴⁸⁶ two special cases stand out.

¹⁴⁸³ For examples, cf. the discussions of the antiphons *Ṗanṭalewon yətbārak* 001 (several cases), *Ṗanṭalewon šalast* 003 (two cases), *Ṗanṭalewon ʾəzl* 002 (*gadām* versus *šəmmunā*), *Ṗanṭalewon māḥlet* 002 (the version that ends after the word *səḥin*), *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (ʾabun) 008 (the reading *habbo*, ʾEgziʾ-o, *la-Ṗanṭalewon ʾaklila yəssargaw*), *Ṗanṭalewon mazmur* (ʾabun / *məsbāk*) 024 (the reading *ḥawāḥəwa samāyāt*), and ʾAragāwi *salām* 004 (several cases), and ʾAragāwi *mazmur* (ʾabun / *məsbāk*) 001 (the presence of the word *bə ʾəsi*).

¹⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Bausi 2016, p. 48, citing Mersha Alehegne 2011b, p. 8 ff. on the standardisation of the ʾandamtā commentary tradition; cf. also Cerulli 1969a, p. viii.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Cf. Chapter 1 (1.2.2, esp. fn. 21).

¹⁴⁸⁶ For example, the early multiple-type collections in MSS EMML 8678 and Tānāsee 172 display similarities in their corpora of antiphons for *Ṗanṭalewon*, having the same *məsbāk* antiphon (*Ṗanṭalewon məsbāk* 002), lacking—in their first layer—*ba-ḥamməstu* antiphons for the saint, and sharing three *šalast* antiphons (*Ṗanṭalewon šalast* 006, 007, 008) which are only attested in them.

3.4.1.3.1 MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36

The most conspicuous relationship is that between the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36. The similarities start with the identical corpora of antiphons for Pāntalewon and—as far as has been studied in this chapter—'Abbā 'Aragāwi, including the presence of several antiphons unique to these two collections.¹⁴⁸⁷ They continue with numerous cases of shared readings in antiphons, in many cases, again, unique to these collections.¹⁴⁸⁸ Differences, on the other hand, are rare and minor.¹⁴⁸⁹

Circumstantial evidence strengthens the connection. The manuscripts Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 are close in age, being dated to AD 1664/1665 and AD 1668, respectively. Whereas MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 is currently kept at the church of Qalāqəl Māryām Šəyon in Təgrāy, MS UUB O Etiop. 36 can with high probability be geographically located at the Swedish missionary station in Asmara in Eritrea in 1928.¹⁴⁹⁰ We cannot trace its previous history in detail, but the closeness in time and space supports the hypothesis that these two collections are genetically related.

Within the studied corpus, there is one detail that potentially indicates the direction in which the influence may have gone: the variation between *səmə 'a[nni]* (MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006) and *səmə 'i* (MS UUB O Etiop. 36) in the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('asma la- 'ālam) 018. As discussed above (see 3.2.3.57), this could be interpreted as an indication that a misreading of the text of MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 resulted in the text of MS UUB O Etiop. 36, placing the former in the line of transmission that preceded the latter.

The serendipitous inclusion of two closely related collections in the Minor Corpus offers us an interesting insight into the *possible* relationships between *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. They provide us with proof that the great variation in corpora and readings is not a necessity—on the contrary, there are also closely

In the collections in MSS EMMML 2542 and Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, the attestations of the antiphon 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('abun) 018 agree on several details against the mainstream reading; however, these two collections do not display any special similarities in other regards.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Cf. the discussion in 3.2.2.1. The following antiphons are only attested in these two collections: Pāntalewon 'arbā 't 003, Pāntalewon 'əzl 003, and the possible conflation of the antiphons Pāntalewon *salām* 001 and 002 (see 3.2.3.26).

¹⁴⁸⁸ Cf. the discussions of the antiphons Pāntalewon *yətbārak* 001 (the reading 'ənza), Pāntalewon *šalast* 013 (the reading *šenā səhin wa- 'awyān*), Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('abun) 001 (the reading *šādəqa*), Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('abun) 015 (the reading *'amlākəna*), Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('asma la- 'ālam) 020 (the reading 'abbā), Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('abun) 021 (the absence of the word *wa-yəbelo*), Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('abun) 031 (the reading *la-mangəštəka*), and 'Aragāwi *šalast* 006 (the reading 'abawina 'əlla mannānu); cf. also the discussion about the antiphon(s?) Pāntalewon *salām* 001/002.

¹⁴⁸⁹ One example is found in the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('abun) 001 (*ba- 'ənti 'aka* versus *ba- 'ənti 'ahu*). In the antiphon Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('asma la- 'ālam) 018, it appears that the word *ḥabeka* has been accidentally omitted in MS UUB O Etiop. 36.

¹⁴⁹⁰ For further discussion of its provenance, see Chapter 2 (2.5.2.1).

related *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collections, which could easily be approached using the traditional methods for textual criticism.

3.4.1.3.2 *The corpus of mazmur-family antiphons in MSS EMLL 7285, EMLL 7618, and GG-187 (Hand C)*

Another noteworthy relationship concerns the corpora of *mazmur*-family antiphons found in, on the one hand, the single-type collections in MSS EMLL 7618 and GG-187 (Hand C), and, on the other hand, the eighteenth–nineteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EMLL 7285. While the corpora are not identical, the collection in MS EMLL 7285 containing several antiphons which are unattested in the single-type collections, there is a noticeable number of *mazmur*-family antiphons found *only* in these three collections.¹⁴⁹¹ Furthermore, there are several textual similarities between the collection in MS EMLL 7285 and single-type collections, not only among the *mazmur*-family collections.¹⁴⁹² These special characteristics of the collections in MS EMLL 7285, however, might be restricted to the commemoration of Pāntalewon, as no similar correspondences could be detected within the limited corpus of antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi studied above.

How best to explain the current state of affairs? One possibility is that the collection in MS EMLL 7285 in some way textually depends on single-type collections. Pointing in this direction is the fact that it contains antiphons which, on the basis of the studied corpus, appear to have fallen out of use in connection with the shift from single-type to multiple-type collections. However, another possibility is that the collection in MS EMLL 7285 simply represents a strand of the transmission of *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphons in which these antiphons never disappeared. The small size of the Minor Corpus makes it difficult to determine the likelihood of the latter hypothesis. After all, one out of twelve post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections included in the corpus does display these texts. Only when a larger corpus of collections is taken into account can it be determined with certainty how unique the corpus of *mazmur*-antiphons in the collection in MS EMLL 7285 really is.

¹⁴⁹¹ This is the case for the antiphons Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 013, Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 016, Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 022, Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 023, Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 025, and Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 026.

¹⁴⁹² See the discussions of the antiphons Pāntalewon *wāzemā* 001 (the variant '*abdarka*) and Pāntalewon *salām* 001 (the variant *bə'asi mamhər*). On a few occasions, the collection in MS EMLL 7285 furthermore has unique readings; cf. the discussions of the antiphons Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun* / *məsbāk*) 004 (the variant *her wa-fārāhe 'Egzi 'abəher*), Pāntalewon *mazmur* ('*abun*) 015 (the variant *giguyān*), 'Aragāwi *śalast* 006 (the variant *həməmo la-zəntu 'ālam*), and 'Aragāwi *mazmur* ('*abun*) 006 (the variant *zəsku-ssa 'abukəmu*).

Chapter 4 The Diachronic Development of *mise en texte* Features

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presents systematic comparisons of a number of selected *mise en texte* features in the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus. The aim is to describe the most salient tendencies in the diachronic development of the *mise en texte* of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections, with a special focus on features that are typical for this genre of manuscripts and that complement other factors in the classification of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections.

As pointed out by Andrist et al. 2013, the concept of *mise en texte* has often not been adequately defined in earlier research, and the terms *mise en page* and *mise en texte* have been used interchangeably.¹⁴⁹³ Inspired by the definition proposed by Andrist et al. 2013,¹⁴⁹⁴ I understand the concept of *mise en texte* as the way in which text (and other features) is applied to the space of a manuscript prepared for the purpose: the use of decorations of various kinds, of inks of different colours, of marginal signs, and of punctuation marks. Features connected primarily to the physical preparation of the page (size of the folio, the written area and the relations between these; size and number of columns and lines, etc.) are not treated in this chapter. As seen in Chapter 1 (1.4.3), *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections are characterised by a rigid structure which enables the user to access the large amount of material that they contain. This structure has its visual realisation in the *mise en texte* of the manuscripts. Maniaci 2002 describes one of the purposes of layout—a related concept, variously defined—as to ‘garantire al lettore un approccio comodo e immediato alla pagina scritta, facilitandogli il percorso di lettura, cioè l’aggancio sequenziale fra le diverse unità e i diversi segmenti di ciascuna, nonché una rapida ed inequivocabile accessibilità ad ognuno di essi’.¹⁴⁹⁵ This description succinctly captures the function of the *mise en texte* that characterises *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections.

This chapter is divided into three parts, each discussing one level of textual division, defined on a functional basis. The subdivision must not be taken as a pattern that fits all manuscripts taken into consideration—after all, ‘uniqueness’ is one of the aspects highlighted in a commonly cited definition of the term

¹⁴⁹³ Andrist et al. 2013, pp. 57–58.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Andrist et al. 2013, pp. 57–58. *Mise en texte* is defined as ‘l’ensemble des stratégies que le copiste (éventuellement en collaboration avec d’autres artisans) met en œuvre pour distribuer un contenu sur l’ensemble des pages destinées à l’accueillir, de façon à le rendre correctement (et aisément) accessible à ses lecteurs’ (Andrist et al. 2013, p. 58).

¹⁴⁹⁵ Maniaci 2002, p. 101.

‘manuscript’¹⁴⁹⁶—but it provides us with a framework within which the phenomena under consideration can be treated in a systematic way. The order of presentation moves from the top and downwards in the hierarchy of marking. First, in 4.2, the marking of the beginning of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections is treated. The second section, i.e. 4.3, deals with the marking of individual commemorations or melodic families. Thirdly, in 4.4, the development of the marking of individual antiphons is described. Two further levels, which potentially could have been distinguished and discussed, have been excluded from the discussion: the marking of Seasons (see Chapter 1, 1.4.3.1) and the different forms in inner-antiphonal marking (refrains,¹⁴⁹⁷ markers of rhyme,¹⁴⁹⁸ antiphon-specific textual features,¹⁴⁹⁹ alternative readings,¹⁵⁰⁰ see, however, 4.4.4 for a

¹⁴⁹⁶ Lorusso 2015, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹⁷ On refrains in general, see Chapter 1 (1.4.5.6.4). Refrain markers, naturally, appear in the types of antiphons that exhibit refrains. Based on the corpus of antiphons used in this dissertation, refrains seem to appear in *salām* antiphons (ex. ‘Aragāwī *salām* 003) and in the types of antiphons belonging to the ‘*mazmur* family’ (see Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.37): ‘*abun* (ex. Nagaśt ‘*abun* 001), ‘*asma la-‘ālam* (ex. Yəm’attā ‘*asma la-‘ālam* 002), ‘*əzl* (ex. Nagaśt ‘*əzl* 001), *wāzēmā* (ex. *Maṣṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 46b, ll. 4–14), etc. Two types of marking can be distinguished: a) the marking of the first occurrence of the refrain, and b) the marking indicating a repetition of the refrain. Although no systematic study has been carried out, a couple of impressions can be summarised: The first occurrence can be rubricated (ex. the *salām* collection in MS EML 7618, fols 209va, ll. 9–17; 210ra, ll. 35–40; 216va, l. 47–216vb, l. 6; the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, fol. 4vb, ll. 37–39) or preceded and followed by special punctuation mark (ex. the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 102vb, ll. 4–5; BAV Vat. et. 28, fol. 8ra, ll. 14–23), but is sometimes not marked explicitly (ex. *Maṣṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 46b, ll. 4–14). Later repetitions are normally marked by repetitions of the first word of the refrain, normally just the first letter (see examples below), but sometimes in its entirety (ex. the *salām* collection in MS EML 7618, fols 209va, ll. 9–17; 227vb, l. 2). This repetition marker is generally either rubricated (ex. MS DS-VIII*/XIII, fols 9r, l. 5; 13r, l. 15; BAV Vat. et. 28, fols 22ra, ll. 7–20 (Hand A); 36vb, l. 33–37ra, l. 9 (Hand A); Ṭānāsee 172, fol. 121va, l. 5) or surrounded by punctuation marks (ex. MSS BAV Vat. et. 28, fol. 26va, l. 2–7 (Hand B); DS-I/XVII/XXII, fols 2ra, l. 11; 2rb, l. 8; EML 6944, fols 37va, l. 8; 50vb, l. 18; *Maṣṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 46b, l. 22; p. 53b, l. 11), which are generally distinct from those marking the end of an antiphon (see 4.4.3). Sometimes, the occurrence of single letter between word dividers is in itself enough to mark the refrain repetitions (ex. MS BAV Vat. et. 28, fol. 8ra, ll. 14–23, Hand A). The marking of refrains occurs also in other types of texts (cf. Dege-Müller 2015, p. 69, fn. 61 for refrains in the *Waddāse Māryām* and the ‘*Anqasha bārḥān*).

¹⁴⁹⁸ Although no systematic survey has been carried out, it appears that the explicit marking of rhyme is relatively rare. Examples appear in ‘*aryām* antiphons of the melodic family *La-za-Gabrā’el* in MSS EML 1894 (fol. 29va, ll. 3–7) and EML 8488 (fol. 24va, l. 23–24vb, l. 2; another example is found on fol. 26va, l. 23–26vb, l. 2, where, however, only one occasion is marked), the *za-baṣu* ‘*za-yəlebbu* antiphons in MS Ṭānāsee 172 (ex. fol. 16rb, ll. 24–36), and the *mi-bazḥu* antiphons in MS EML 8070 (ex. fol. 8rb, ll. 14–18).

¹⁴⁹⁹ Various types of antiphon-specific antiphon-internal markings appear in the corpus. Most importantly, a substantial percentage of the *yətbārak* antiphons in the corpus display the insertion of a refrain beginning with the words *səbbuḥə-ni wə’ətu* (ሰብሕኑና ውድድኑ, ‘praised is He’) taken from the Canticle of the Three Children with which the antiphons are performed. As with other markings (see fn. 1497), there is variation regarding how much of this phrase is reproduced at each repetition and how these repetitions are marked (rubrication, special punctuation marks, etc.). Dege-Müller 2015 notes that this refrain is often also abbreviated in Psalter manuscripts (Dege-Müller 2015, p. 69), an observation that invites to a comparison of the abbreviation practices for this refrain in its different contexts. Other antiphon-specific antiphon-internal markings, restricted to specific collections and sometimes of unclear signification, appear, for example, in the *za-‘amlākiya* collection, the ‘*aryām* collection and the *za-yə’əze* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92.

short excursion on syntactical inner-antiphonal punctuation). The reason for not including the first is primarily limitations in time, whereas the reason for not including the latter is the relatively low frequency of such markings in the corpus, effectively making a meaningful statistical analysis impossible on the basis of the present corpus.

Within each section, three main groups of manuscripts, broadly mirroring three diachronically consecutive stages, have been distinguished: a) single-type collections,¹⁵⁰¹ b) pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, and c) post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections. The third one encompasses *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections of Group A, Group B, as well as the two printed editions. While it is sometimes possible to distinguish finer subgroups within these three groups, this division, again, serves the purpose of offering a basic structure to the chapter.

The data on which this chapter builds is available in the form of an Excel sheet entitled Data set 2(A–D), to which reference is regularly made. In the text, individual collections are referred to by the titles used in the descriptions in Chapter 2—the reader is directed there for information about their contents. It stands to reason that the features of *mise en texte* that are used in *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections with the functions described below also occur in other genres of manuscripts in the Ethiopic manuscript culture, sometimes with similar functions, sometimes with other functions. In the conclusions to each subsection, attempts will be made to contextualise the observations made, as far as comparative materials are of relevance and available in the previous literature.

4.2 The beginning of a collection

4.2.1 Introduction

One of the most prominent points in the layout of a *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collection is its beginning. In manuscripts containing several collections—this holds true both for early manuscripts containing several single-type collections and for later manuscripts containing, for example, several different chant books—the layout of the beginning of a collection serves the purpose of highlighting a central subdivision of the manuscript. In manuscripts containing only one collection, the beginning is generally nevertheless richly marked, which may seem

¹⁵⁰⁰ On the concept of ‘alternative readings’, see fn. 1192.

¹⁵⁰¹ For the sake of clarity, it should be noted that two collections that technically speaking are ‘multiple-type’ collections have been included among the single-type collections, because they are found in collections of single-type collections. This is the case for the multiple-type collection in MS EML 7618 (see Chapter 2, 2.3.4.3.16) and the *sabḥata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185 (see Chapter 2, 2.3.7.2.5).

unnecessary from a strictly economical point of view, but points to the other functions that the marking of the beginning fulfils, not least aesthetical.

Apart from being one of the most lavishly marked points in the layout of a collection, the beginning is also one of the most vulnerable points, prone to being affected by dirt and damage and to disappearing. In addition, a collection, naturally, contains only one beginning. As a result of the interplay of these factors, the number of manuscripts from the Minor Corpus in which the layout of the beginning can be studied is more limited than in subsequent parts of this chapter, especially in the corpus of earlier collections.

Before embarking on a diachronic survey of the *mise en texte* of beginnings in *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections, a few words should be said about the major features of marking that will be relevant in this section. This serves to introduce the reader to the concepts in use and should make it easier to follow the subsequent discussion.

- *crux ansata* – the term *crux ansata* is commonly been applied for the ‘handled cross’ appearing in multifarious forms in the margins of Ethiopic manuscripts.¹⁵⁰² As pointed out by Uhlig 1988,¹⁵⁰³ the use of the term *crux ansata* is not to be understood as a historical identification of the Ethiopic sign with the Coptic ‘nh (ⲡ) derivate—rather, the reused hieroglyph, the staurogram, and the *chi-rho* monogram may all have played a role in its development.¹⁵⁰⁴ The *crux ansata* is generally placed in the right margin next to a juncture in the text, which it thereby emphasises, although other placements and uses are not unknown.¹⁵⁰⁵ The diachronic development of this sign is discussed in Uhlig 1988.¹⁵⁰⁶ Examples of *cruces ansatae* from

¹⁵⁰² D’Abbadie reports that an unnamed Ethiopian *dabtarā* ‘translated’ the sign for him as “‘fait attention” ተጠንቅቅ’ (Abbadie 1859, p. 54). For a possible mentioning of (a predecessor of) this sign in the Ethiopic version of the *Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus* (CAe 1349), see Bausi 2015, p. 135 (cf. also McKenzie and Watson 2016, pp. 221–227). It should be noted that I use the term *crux ansata* for the signs described in the paragraph in the main text regardless if their form is more reminiscent of other symbols of early Christianity—for example, b) in Illustration 13 is clearly related to the *chi-rho* monogram. At least in the corpus studied in this chapter, no functional differences between the different forms could be detected.

¹⁵⁰³ Uhlig 1988, p. 89.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Sergew Hable-Selassie 1991, in his discussion of MS Tānā Qirqos, EML 8509, distinguishes two different forms of the *crux ansata*, suggesting that one stems from a fossilised Copto-Byzantine initial ligature ‘T R’ and the other from the *chi-rho* monogram (Sergew Hable-Selassie 1991, pp. 70–71). Cf. also the discussion in Zuurmond 1989, pp. 32–36 (I).

¹⁵⁰⁵ For example, a series of *cruces ansatae* placed next to each other horizontally appears occasionally underneath the end of texts or sections to mark the end (ex. the end of the *mazmur*-family collection in MS EML 7618, fol. 68vb; the end of one section of the *Mā’rāf* in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 161rc). Cf. Uhlig 1988, p. 205.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Uhlig 1988, pp. 89–91, 204–205, 327–330, 450, also *passim* in the discussions of individual manuscripts. For the first period (up to the mid-fourteenth century), Uhlig remarks that ‘es scheint kaum Kodizes ohne Crux ansata gegeben zu haben’ (Uhlig 1988, p. 89). A comparable statement about its frequency is missing in the discussion concerning the sign in the second period (late fourteenth–mid-fifteenth century), but Uhlig now mentions the weakening of the relationship between the text of the manuscript and the *crux ansata*, occasionally resulting in its loss of

some manuscripts of the Minor Corpus are found in Illustration 13.

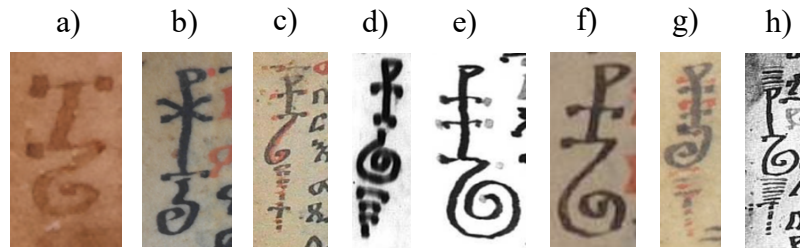


Illustration 13. Examples of cruces ansatae.

Sources: a) MS DS-XIII, fol. 54r, l. 16; b) MS BnF Éth. 92, fol. 20va, l. 1 (za-’amlākiya collection); c) MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 172va, l. 1 (mazmur-family collection); d) MS EMMML 7618, fol. 39va, l. 14 (mazmur-family collection); e) MS EMMML 6944, fol. 37rb, l. 23; f) MS GG-187, fol. 28rb, l. 10 (mazmur-family collection); g) MS GG-185, fol. 143v, l. 1 (’aryām collection); h) MS EMMML 2095, fol. 27v, l. 5.

- *ḥarag* – the word *ḥarag* (ሐረግ, ‘vine shoot, twig, creeper’¹⁵⁰⁷ or ‘tendrils of a climbing plant’¹⁵⁰⁸), in the Ethiopic tradition, refers to a type of ‘ribbon-shaped ornaments applied to the frontispiece and incipit pages of manuscripts’,¹⁵⁰⁹ with the function of highlighting major (and minor) breaks in the text.¹⁵¹⁰ A horizontal design at the top of the page forms an indispensable central part of the ornament, with perpendicular bands often framing the text on the sides. In multiple-column layouts, (an) additional perpendicular band(s) may decorate the intercolumnar space(s). Occasionally, the design is closed at the bottom, creating a structure that completely embraces the text. A horizontal band in the middle of the page, furthermore, sometimes creates a four(-or-more)-compartment structure for the text. According to Balicka-Witakowska, the oldest known examples of *ḥarags* date from the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁵¹¹

function, except as an ornament. He remarks that a further ‘Beweis für diese „inflationäre“ Tendenz ist auch darin zu sehen, daß Crux ansata und Spirale – vor allem in späterer Zeit – zur Gestaltung von Abschlußleisten eingesetzt werden’ (Uhlig 1988, p. 205). For the third period (mid-fifteenth–mid-sixteenth century), Uhlig observes a demise in the use of the *crux ansata*, which now only occurs in about fifty percent of the manuscripts (Uhlig 1988, p. 327). Again, the increased use of the sign for purely ornamental reasons is put in connection with this. Only in a third or fourth of the manuscripts, the sign still retains its function as a ‘Makrozäsurzeichen’. For this period, Uhlig also describes a variant of the sign which loses its central characteristics, rather taking the form of an ornamented spiral, and concludes that ‘diese Entwicklung in Richtung einer Verwilderung ist ein nicht unwichtiges paläographisches Merkmal dieser Zeit’ (Uhlig 1988, p. 330). In the fourth period (mid-sixteenth century–second half of the seventeenth century), the *crux ansata*—also in its ornamental function—is ‘als Regellerscheinung von dieser Zeit an verschwunden’, although it still appears occasionally (Uhlig 1988, p. 450). When the function as ‘Makrozäsurzeichen’ is retained, this is exceptional, and perhaps to be interpreted as a copyist overtly faithful to his or her Vorlage.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Leslau 1991, p. 242.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Heldman et al. 1993, p. 63.

¹⁵⁰⁹ ‘Haräg’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 1009a–1010b, p. 1009a (E. Balicka-Witakowska); cf. also Balicka-Witakowska et al. 2015, pp. 165–166.

¹⁵¹⁰ Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, pp. 63–65.

¹⁵¹¹ ‘Haräg’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 1009a–1010b (E. Balicka-Witakowska); cf. also Heldman et al. 1993, p. 63.

An art historian's perspective has been prevalent in most studies on *ḥarag* published so far,¹⁵¹² but in a rare genre-specific observation, Zanotti Eman 1992 notes that 'canti ecclesiastici' are among the textual genres whose manuscripts are occasionally furnished with *ḥarags*.¹⁵¹³ For examples taken from some of the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus, see Illustration 14.

- *symmetrical rubrication* – the term 'symmetrical rubrication' is used here to refer to the widespread practice of using rubricated lines, often alternating with lines written in black ink, as a means of marking the beginning of a text or a new section.¹⁵¹⁴ Depending on the scope of the symmetrical rubrication, distinctions are made between 'one-column symmetrical rubrication', 'full-page symmetrical rubrication', etc. In the case of one-column one-line symmetrical rubrication, especially relevant for the discussion of the marking of commemorations and melodic families (see 4.3), it is at times impossible to distinguish a rubricated formula from a rubricated line, as the formula may occupy exactly one line—such cases are discussed in the text. For examples taken from some of the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus, see, again, Illustration 14.
- *initial formulas and prefaced colophons* – a feature which, strictly speaking, does not belong to the realm of *mise en texte*, but nevertheless frequently combines with the features described in this chapter to mark the different hierarchical levels in the structure of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, are initial formulas and prefaced colophons. For this reason, it has seemed suitable to include also them in the discussion. I use these terms with reference to the formulas and colophons occurring at the beginning of collections (*Ba-səma 'ab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus*, *Ba-'akk'ateta 'ab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus*, etc.; see below) and to the formulas that mark the beginning of individual commemorations (*wāzemā za-X*, *ba-maḥātəwa X*, etc.; see 4.3). For an introduction to the prefaced colophons, see Appendix 1.

¹⁵¹² Cf. Heldman et al. 1993; Perczel Czilla 1989; Zanotti Eman 1992, 1998.

¹⁵¹³ Zanotti Eman 1992, p. 475. Balicka-Witakowska, on the other hand, notes that '[a]ny type of book could be adorned by H[arag].' ('Haräg', *EAE*, II (2005), 1009a–1010b, p. 1009a (E. Balicka-Witakowska)).

¹⁵¹⁴ This practice is discussed in Balicka-Witakowska et al. 2015, p. 165 and Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 52. On one case of symmetrical rubrication in the early manuscript Ethio-SpaRe UM-039 (*codex unicus* of the so-called *Aksumite Collection*), see Bausi et al. 2020, p. 146. Cf. also Powne 1968, p. 88.



Illustration 14. Examples of *harags* and symmetrical rubrication.

Upper left: Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 79r, upper part of the folio (*arbā't* collection); upper right: EMML 2542, fol. 5r; lower left: EMML 9110, fol. 5r; lower right: *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 1.

4.2.2 Single-type collections

Out of the fifteen manuscripts containing single-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, only six can be included in a discussion of the layout of beginnings: MSS BnF Éth. 92, EMML 7078, EMML 7618, Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, GG-185, and GG-187. Except for MS EMML 7078, they all contain multiple single-type collections and in total, the beginnings of thirty-eight collections have been preserved. Eight manuscripts—all, at least in their present state, each containing only one single-type collection—have been excluded, as their beginnings are missing due to material loss. This is the case for MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-II, DS-III, DS-VIII*/XIII, DS-XVI, DS-XX, EMML 2095, and Ethio-SPaRe MGM-

018i. In the case of MS EMMML 6944, the digitised microfilm of the first folio (fol. 1r) is too dark to support an analysis. Whether this is a result of the state of preservation of the manuscript or due to the quality of the microfilm is unclear.

For most single-type collections included in the corpus (25 out of 38 collections; *c.* 65.8 %), the beginning coincides with some kind of break (caesura) in the codicological or layout structure of the manuscript: a new quire, a new folio, a new page, or a new column. Exceptions are mainly found in MS EMMML 7618, where a substantial number of ‘smaller’ collections begin in the middle of a column.¹⁵¹⁵

All collections in the corpus include a decorative element preceding the text as part of the marking of the beginning. Most commonly, a dotted and/or drawn line appears. In this study, I have distinguished three types of such lines: a) dotted lines, consisting exclusively of alternatingly black and red dots, b) drawn lines, and c) a combination thereof (‘dot–dash lines’), consisting of (series of) dots alternating with short dashes. It should be underlined that this division is somewhat arbitrary, as especially the third category comprises a lot of variation in the length of the dashes and the pattern of dots. As part of the marking of the beginning in single-type collections, the dot–dash line is most common, occurring in 27 out of 38 collections (*c.* 71.1 %). In the studied corpus, the two other types are more rarely attested, fully dotted lines in six out of 38 collections (*c.* 15.8 %) and a fully drawn line occurring in one out of 38 collections (*c.* 2.6 %).¹⁵¹⁶ The only single-type collections that completely lack a dotted and/or drawn line are three out of the four collections whose beginning is marked with a *ḥarag*: the ‘*arbā`t*’ collection and the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, and the first *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92.¹⁵¹⁷ The *ḥarags* in the single-type collections included in the corpus consist only of a horizontal top band and are mono- (the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002: only red) or dichromatic (the ‘*arbā`t*’ collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002: red and yellow; the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 and the first *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92: red and black, plus areas left unpainted).¹⁵¹⁸

As for rubrication, the most common practice is to rubricate the initial formula (see below). This practice occurs in 29 out of 36 analysable collections

¹⁵¹⁵ For details, see Data set 2(A).

¹⁵¹⁶ In the *mazmur* collection in MS GG-185, one cannot, based on the available reproduction, be certain of which kind of line has been used, although it appears to consist exclusively of dots. On the use of dotted lines and lines consisting of dots and dashes, cf. Bausi et al. 2020, p. 146.

¹⁵¹⁷ In the fourth collection whose beginning is marked with a *ḥarag*—the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 (presently, fol. 1v in MS Gunda Gunde, GG-121)—a dotted line is included below the *ḥarag*.

¹⁵¹⁸ Cf. ‘*Haräg*’, *EAE*, II (2005), 1009a–1010b, p. 1009 (E. Balicka-Witakowska) and Perczel Czilla 1989, p. 59.

(80.6 %).¹⁵¹⁹ Examples of symmetrical rubrication—mostly one-column—are found in six out of 36 analysable collections (*c.* 16.7 %). This practice appears in MSS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, GG-185, and GG-187, but is missing from the larger manuscripts EMMML 7618 and BnF Éth. 92, with one exception: the *mazmur*-family collection in MS EMMML 7618. One collection—the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185—appears to lack an initial formula (see below), but the formula for the first commemoration has been rubricated.

Cruces ansatae appear as part of the marking of the beginning of individual collections in all six manuscripts, and in 24 out of 36 analysable cases (*c.* 66.7 %).¹⁵²⁰ Their relatively high frequency is consonant with what has been observed by Uhlig 1988.¹⁵²¹

As for initial formulas, one common variant consists of the trinitarian formula *Ba-səma 'ab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus* (በስሙ: አብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ:, ‘In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit’) and a standardised introduction *ṣahafna ba-za nəzzekkar* (ጸሐፍነ: በዘ: ንዜከር:, ‘we have written as we remember’),¹⁵²² followed by a name of the collection of antiphons and, often, an indication that it covers the entire year. Examples of the latter part include *mazmur za-kʷəllu mawā 'əl 'əm-Yohānnəs 'aska Yohānnəs* (መዝሙር: ዘኸሉ: መዋዕል: እምዮሐንስ: እስከ: ዮሐንስ:, ‘mazmur for every day from John to John’)¹⁵²³ and *hāllelāt za-kʷəllo(!) mawā 'əl 'əm-Yohānnəs 'aska Yohānnəs* (ሃሌላት: ዘኸሉ(!) መዋዕል: እምዮሐንስ: እስከ: ዮሐንስ:, ‘hāllelāt for every day from John to John’).¹⁵²⁴ This type of formulas is attested in all six manuscripts and appears as part of the marking of the beginning of fifteen out of 38 collections (*c.* 39.5 %). It seems to be especially common in connection with ‘larger’ collections, such as collections

¹⁵¹⁹ In the case of the collection in MS EMMML 7078, the available reproduction does not allow for a clear distinction between rubricated and non-rubricated words, and in the *'Agzi 'abəher nagša* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, it is ambiguous whether the initial formula or the initial line has been rubricated.

¹⁵²⁰ In the *mazmur* collection in MS EMMML 7618 and the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, it is difficult to ascertain the presence or absence of *cruces ansatae* based on the available reproductions.

¹⁵²¹ See fn. 1506.

¹⁵²² I am not aware of any study of initial formulas in Ethiopic manuscripts, but a simple search in the database of Beta Maṣāḥəft [2020-01-29] reveals that this formula is also attested in other genres of manuscripts, for example, in the beginning of a list of magical names against the deeds of the Antichrist (= CAe 4527) in MS Vatican, BAV Vat. et. 55 (fol. 81v) and in the beginning of a calendar of the feasts of the Apostles in MS Vatican, BAV Vat. et. 61 (fol. 1r). I am grateful to Dorothea Reule for helping me with this search. One can also notice that this formula appears in the early *Zəmmāre* manuscripts Gunda Gunde, GG-206 (fol. 3r) and Gunda Gunde, GG-208 (fol. 1r), as well as—as pointed out to me by Alessandro Bausi—at the beginning of two inventory lists in the Gospel book of Dabra Māryām (Qohayn; cf. Bausi 1994, p. 43 (document VI), 44 (document IX)). As for its meaning, Grébaut and Tisserant 1935 translate ‘[s]cripsimus, ut recordemur’, which, according to my understanding, does not take the imperfective form of the Geez into account (Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, p. 134).

¹⁵²³ The beginning of the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 (= MS GG-121, fol. 1v).

¹⁵²⁴ The beginning of the *'arbā 't* collection in MS EMMML 7618 (fol. 107ra).

of *mazmur*-family antiphons, *’arbā ’t* antiphons, or *salām* antiphons; however, there are also examples where this formula occurs in connection with ‘smaller’ collections¹⁵²⁵ and one example where a ‘larger’ collection lacks it.¹⁵²⁶ One variant, occurring in three collections in the corpus, instead has the trinitarian formula *Ba-’akk’ateta ’ab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus* (በአኩቲተ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡, ‘In thanksgiving to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit’) as its first part (three out of 38; *c.* 7.9 %). Two of these are *’aryām* collections (in MSS EMMML 7618 and GG-185),¹⁵²⁷ and for the third *’aryām* collection (the one in MS BnF Éth. 92), the beginning is missing; this suggests that there might be a connection between collections of this particular type of antiphons and this formula. Only the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185 appears to completely lack an initial formula connected to the collection as such.

In the rest of the collections, the formulas are less elaborate, and often similar to only the third part of the formulas described above or to the formulas that introduce commemorations in the respective collection (see 4.3.2). One case that is worthy of special mentioning is the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, which is introduced with the following formula: *nəqdəm nəṣḥaf ba-radi(!) ’eta ’Əgzi ’əna ’Iyasus Krəstos wāzemā mas(!)mur za-Yohannəs* (ንቅድሞ፡ ንጽሐፍ፡ በረዲ(!)ኤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ከርስቶስ፡ ዋዜማ፡ መስ(!)ሙር፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡, ‘With the help of Our Lord Jesus Christ, let us begin to write the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* of John’). This formula has parallels in other genres of manuscripts,¹⁵²⁸ but is unique in the Minor Corpus. In the single-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, there are no examples of the prefaced colophons that later become a standard occurrence in *Dəgg’wā*-type antiphon collections (see 4.2.3 and 4.2.4).

Marginal titles indicating the beginning of a new collection—i.e. titles of new collections written in the margin—are attested in four out of 34 analysable cases (*c.* 11.8 %),¹⁵²⁹ three occurring in connection to ‘smaller’ collection in MS BnF Éth. 92—the *za-’amlākiya* collection, *za-tasāhalanni* collection, the *’Əgzi ’abəḥer nagša* collection—and one in the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185, which, however, is illegible in the available reproduction. In two of the cases—the *za-tasāhalanni* collection and the *’Əgzi ’abəḥer nagša* collection—the marginal note has the form of a formula normally encountered in connection with melodic-

¹⁵²⁵ The *mawāṣə ’t* collection, the *səbhata nagh* collection, the *yətbāarak* collection and the *’Əgzi ’abəḥer nagša* collection in MS EMMML 7618, and the *səbhata nagh* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92.

¹⁵²⁶ The *mazmur*-family collection in MS EMMML 7618.

¹⁵²⁷ The third is the second *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92.

¹⁵²⁸ Cf., for example, the introductory formulas to the Book of the Nativity of Mary (= CAe 1941) in MS Paris, BnF Éth. 53 (fol. 3ra) and MS Paris, BnF Éth. 131 (fols 129vb–130ra), or to the Life of Elijah the Prophet (= CAe 4054) in MS Paris, BnF Éth. 133 (fol. 1r). These examples have been retrieved by using the database of Beta Maṣāḥəft [2021-01-18].

¹⁵²⁹ In the collection in MS EMMML 7078, and the *mazmur* collections in MSS EMMML 7618, GG-185, and GG-187, material loss or the quality of the available reproductions makes it impossible to ascertain the presence or absence of marginal notes of this type.

family indications in the single-type collections: *X ba-za yəbl* (X በዘ፡ ይብል፡, ‘X, in which one says:’; cf. 4.3.2).¹⁵³⁰ The meaning of the formula in this context is unclear, but it is certainly not a coincidence that the *za-tasāhalanni* collection is placed after the first *śalast* collection and the *’Ēgzi’abəher nagśa* collection after the second *śalast* collection (see the codicological reconstruction in Chapter 2, 2.3.9.1), i.e. after collections with antiphons categorised into melodic families. The connection between these types of antiphons and *śalast* antiphons, however, remains difficult to pinpoint.¹⁵³¹ In MS EML 7618, where collections of *za-tasāhalanni* antiphons and *’Ēgzi’abəher nagśa* antiphons also appear, they are clearly marked in the *mise en texte* as separate antiphon types.

4.2.3 Pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections

Out of the thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections in the Minor Corpus, the beginning of the collection is preserved in seven cases, in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28, EML 1894, EML 2542, EML 4667, EML 7174, EML 8488, and EML 8804. For MS EML 8488, however, as described in Chapter 2 (2.4.11), I have not had access to the entire manuscript during the writing of this dissertation, and as a consequence of this, reference will be made to it only occasionally. The beginning is missing from the following five manuscripts: EML 8070, EML 8408, EML 8678, IES 679, Ṭānāsee 172, as well as from the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection fragment preserved in MS EML 2468.

In the preserved pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, a collection always begins either on a new quire or on a new folio. Full-page *harags* appear in MSS EML 2542, EML 4667, and EML 8804. I have no information regarding the presence or absence of a *harag* in MS EML 8488. MSS EML 1894 and EML 7174 lack *harags*, as does MS BAV Vat. et. 28, which, however, has another type of decoration, namely two separate drawn boxes enclosing the two text columns. It is possible that these represent a stage in the production of a *harag*, which, however, remains unfinished. As for the *harags* in MSS EML

¹⁵³⁰ For a previous discussion of this formula, see Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 81–84.

¹⁵³¹ Habtemichael Kidane 1998, from the perspective of performance practices, connects *’Ēgzi’abəher nagśa* antiphons to *ba-ḥamməstu* antiphons rather than to *śalast* antiphons; both these types of antiphons, he writes, are inserted into a psalm from the Psalter ‘dopo ogni quinto stico’ (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 197–198). On the other hand, one can note that the *’Ēgzi’abəher nagśa* collection in BnF Éth. 92 is introduced, in the text, with the words: ዝሂ፡ በዘ፡ ማህ፡ በ፤ (zə-hi ba-zemāhu, ba-3, ‘this one in its own zemā, in three’), similar to *śalast* melodic families. The *za-tasāhalanni* collection, on the other hand, is introduced with the words: በ፯፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡ (ba-6, za-Yohannəs, ‘in six, for John [the Baptist, referring to the commemoration to which the first antiphon belongs]’). As *za-tasāhalanni* antiphons are not one of types of antiphons recognised by the modern tradition (see Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.34), Habtemichael Kidane 1998 does not discuss them specifically. However, Ps. 50 (with the incipit *tasāhalanni*) is performed both in the ferial *wāzēmā* service, in the ferial *səbhata nagh* service, and in the ferial *mawaddəs* service, always, according to Habtemichael Kidane 1998, with an *’arbā’i* antiphon (Habtemichael Kidane 1998, p. 333).

2542, EMMML 4667, and EMMML 8804, they are of the all-embracing type, including perpendicular bands on both sides of and in between the text columns, as well as a bottom band closing off two text boxes. In contrast to what can be observed for later collections (see 4.2.4), there are no separations between prefaced colophons and antiphon collections proper.

Dotted and/or drawn lines are not attested in the marking of the beginning of the preserved pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections: either the text is preceded by a *harag*, or it begins without any preceding decoration. By contrast, full-page symmetrical rubrication appears to figure in all collections, although for MS EMMML 4667, the quality of the digitised microfilm makes it difficult to decide with certainty whether symmetrical rubrication is present or not, and for MS EMMML 8488, I lack data. Interesting is the complete absence of rubricated formulas, which, as we have seen, appear in most of the single-type collections (see 4.2.2). *Cruces ansatae* also appear to be completely missing in the marking of the beginning of collections, although they appear sometimes in the marking of commemorations (see below, 4.3.3).

As for introductory formulas, two different practices can be discerned. On the one hand, two collections—those in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EMMML 8488—have introductions that continue the formula commonly found in the single-type collections. They begin with a trinitarian formula *Ba-səma ʾab [...]* (በሰሙ: አብ: [...], ‘In the name of the Father [...]’), followed by *ṣaḥafna ba-za nəzzekkar* (ጸሐፍነ: በዘ: ንዜክር: ‘we have written as we remember’) and declarations of the contents, referring to multiple antiphon types in the case of MS BAV Vat. et. 28, but apparently only to *mazmur*(-family) antiphons in MS EMMML 8488, although the collection that follows contains multiple antiphon types. Below, the introductory formulas of MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EMMML 8488 are reproduced:

| | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|--|
| MS BAV | በሰሙ: አብ: [...] | In the name of the Father [...] |
| Vat. et. 28 | ኣ(?)ሐዱ: ኣ(?)ምላክ(?) | and of the Holy [...], one God. |
| | [...]ሐ(?)ፍ(?)ነ: በዘ: ንዜክር: | We have written, as we |
| | መዝ(?)መረ: እምዮሐንስ: [...] | remember, the <i>mazmur</i> from |
| | ግዕዝ: ወዕዝል: ዋዜማ: | John [...] John: <i>gəʾz</i> and <i>ʾəzl</i> , |
| | ይት(?)ባ(?)ረክ(?) ሠለስት: ወሰላም: | <i>wāzemā</i> , <i>yətbāarak</i> , <i>śalast</i> , and |
| | ስብሐተ[!](?)ነግህ: ወማላሌት: ወኸሎ: | <i>salām</i> , <i>səbḥatanagh</i> (!) and |
| | በሰሙ: ይደሉ: ስ[...] ወክ(?)ብር: | <i>māḥlet</i> , and all, as it is due. [...] |
| | ሎ(?)ቱ: ለእምላክ: እስክ: ለዓለም: | and glory be to God for ever. |
| | አሜን: ¹⁵³² | Amen. |

¹⁵³² MS BAV Vat. et. 28, fol. 1ra. This transcription, based on an autopsy of the manuscript on 24–25 May 2019, is more accurate than what is given by Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, where, importantly, the mentioning of *yətbāarak* antiphons is missing (cf. Grébaut and Tisserant 1935, p. 134).

| | | |
|------|--|--------------------------------------|
| MS | [...]መ፡ አብ፡ [...]ወልድ፡ ወ | In the name of the Father [...] |
| EMML | [...]ንፈስ፡ [...]ዱስ፡ አሐዱ፡ አምላክ፡ | the Son and of the Holy Spirit, |
| 8488 | ጸሐፍነ፡ በዘ፡ ንዜ[...] [...] ኩሎ፡ | one God. We have written, as |
| | መዋዕ[...] [...]ምዮሐንስ፡ እስከ፡ | we re[...] [...] all days from |
| | ዮሐንስ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡ [...] ¹⁵³³ | John to John. <i>Mazmur</i> for John |
| | | [...] |

On the other hand, there are four collections—those in MSS EMML 1894, EMML 2542, EMML 7174, and EMML 8804—that begin with Colophon A, one of the standardised prefaced colophons that later become prevalent in *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections (see 4.2.4 and, on the prefaced colophons in general, Appendix 1). It is uniformly laid out, starting in the first column and proceeding to the next column only in case the first is filled (see Figure 24). This layout of the prefaced colophon appears to be a characteristic of pre-seventeenth-century collections as compared to later collections (see 4.2.4).¹⁵³⁴ For MS EMML 4667, the quality of the digitised microfilm greatly restricts the possibilities of a meaningful analysis—the text appears to begin with a prefaced colophon, but it is not possible to identify it with certainty.¹⁵³⁵ As noted in Chapter 1 (1.5.2), the emergence of prefaced colophons also marks the first references to St Yāred within *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection.

a)

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| COLOPHON.01 | ANT. COLL.04 |
| COLOPHON.02 | ANT. COLL.05 |
| COLOPHON.03 | ANT. COLL.06 |
| COLOPHON.04 | ANT. COLL.07 |
| COLOPHON.05 | ANT. COLL.08 |
| COLOPHON.06 | ANT. COLL.09 |
| COLOPHON.07 | ANT. COLL.10 |
| COLOPHON.08 | ANT. COLL.11 |
| COLOPHON.09 | ANT. COLL.12 |
| ANT. COLL.01 | ANT. COLL.13 |
| ANT. COLL.02 | ANT. COLL.14 |
| ANT. COLL.03 | ANT. COLL.15 |

b)

| | |
|-------------|--------------|
| COLOPHON.01 | COLOPHON.13 |
| COLOPHON.02 | COLOPHON.14 |
| COLOPHON.03 | COLOPHON.15 |
| COLOPHON.04 | COLOPHON.16 |
| COLOPHON.05 | COLOPHON.17 |
| COLOPHON.06 | ANT. COLL.01 |
| COLOPHON.07 | ANT. COLL.02 |
| COLOPHON.08 | ANT. COLL.03 |
| COLOPHON.09 | ANT. COLL.04 |
| COLOPHON.10 | ANT. COLL.05 |
| COLOPHON.11 | ANT. COLL.06 |
| COLOPHON.12 | ANT. COLL.07 |

Figure 24. Schematic representation of two variants of the relationship between prefaced colophon and antiphon collection proper in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections.

Legend: ‘ant. coll.’ = antiphon collection proper.

¹⁵³³ MS EMML EMML 8488, fol. 1r.

¹⁵³⁴ Interestingly, this feature of the *mise en texte* places MS EMML 7174 among the earlier manuscripts, although its three-column layout (see Chapter 2, 2.4.8) stands out among the pre-seventeenth-century collections.

¹⁵³⁵ The following words can be identified with more or less certainty: [ḏ]ዝል, [ፆ]ትባረ[h], and እምዮ[ሐንስ], but they do not allow us to draw any firm conclusions about the identification of the preface.

4.2.4 Post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections

The beginning of the collection is presumably preserved in all twenty-one post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus. However, for one of them, the collection in MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001 (Group B), I have not had access to a reproduction of its beginning during the writing of this dissertation (see Chapter 2, 2.6.5) and consequently, the following observations will be based only on a corpus consisting of twenty collections, including twelve collections of Group A, six collections of Group B, and two printed editions.¹⁵³⁶

In general, the layout of the beginning of a post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collection follows a standardised pattern, always beginning on a new quire or a new folio, with full-page symmetrical rubrication on the first page, and (at least) one standardised prefaced colophon appearing in connection with the beginning.¹⁵³⁷ Dotted and/or drawn lines are absent, as well as *cruces ansatae*. This pattern is found in all manuscripts of Group A, in five out of six manuscripts of Group B included in the corpus,¹⁵³⁸ and also, however with more deviant features, in the two printed editions. Within this standardised way of marking the beginning of a collection, there are, however, two main points of variation: a) the presence versus absence of a full-page *ḥarag*, and b) the layout of the prefaced colophon either in one column or in the same number of columns as the following antiphon collection. These two variables will be discussed below.

In three out of twelve Group A collections (25.0 %), the beginning is furnished with a full-page *ḥarag*: in MSS EMMML 2431, EMMML 6994, and EMMML 7529. The *ḥarags* always include perpendicular bands, and in the two first collections, are furthermore closed at the bottom. In all three collections, a crossbeam separates the prefaced colophon from the antiphon collection itself. A *ḥarag* is also found in one out of the six analysable Group B collections (c. 16.7 %)—the one in MS EMMML 9110—and in both printed editions, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994 and *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015. In *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, the *ḥarag* is of the all-embracing type. However, seemingly breaking with the *mise en texte* tradition, this printed edition does not have a prefaced colophon on the same page as the beginning of the antiphon collection, but on the preceding page,¹⁵³⁹ and consequently, it lacks a crossbeam. The *ḥarags* in MS EMMML 9110 and *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994 only include an upper horizontal band.

¹⁵³⁶ For details, see Data set 2(A).

¹⁵³⁷ On the prefaced colophons, see Appendix 1.

¹⁵³⁸ The sixth Group B collection is found in MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008. The beginning of the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection in this manuscript almost completely lacks explicit marking: it does not begin on a new quire, folio, page or column; there is no symmetrical rubrication, and no prefaced colophon. In fact, the transition from the preceding *Məṣṣāf* to the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection is so vaguely marked that, in the absence of a study of the textual tradition of the commemorations that begin the collection, it is unclear where exactly the antiphon collection begins. See the discussion in Chapter 2 (2.6.6).

¹⁵³⁹ *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. [x].

As for the layout of the prefaced colophon, one pattern is that the prefaced colophon is laid out in *one column* stretching over the entire breadth of the page, under which the antiphon collection proper starts, laid out in either two or three columns (see Examples (a) and (b) in Figure 25).¹⁵⁴⁰ This pattern is found in four out of the twelve Group A collections (30.0 %), in MSS EAP704/1/36, EMML 2053, Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, and UUB O Etiop. 36. Apart from the change from a single-column layout to a multiple-column ditto, the shift from the prefaced colophon to the antiphon collection proper is also—in all collections except the one in MS EAP704/1/36—marked by a crossbeam of sort. In the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, and UUB O Etiop. 36, it takes the form of a dotted line (in the last example decorated with some nine-dot asterisks), whereas in MS EMML 2053, a blank line marks the transition.

The layout of a one-column colophon coupled with a multiple-column antiphon collection is also found in five out of the six analysable Group B manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus (*c.* 83.3 %), in MSS EMML 2253, EMML 7745, EMML 8084, EMML 9110, and IES 2148.¹⁵⁴¹ In these collections, it is always Colophon C that appears on the top of the page (see Appendix 1). Although based on a very small corpus, it seems that this *mise en texte* feature is a potential characteristic of collections of Group B. Apart from the change in the number of columns, three of the Group B manuscripts separate the prefaced colophon from the antiphon collection proper by a number of blank lines (MSS EMML 2253, EMML 7745, IES 2148). In the remaining two, no blank line occurs, although in MS EMML 8084, the blank space in last line of the colophon is filled with nine-dot asterisks.

In another group of manuscripts, the prefaced colophon is laid out in the same number of columns as the antiphon collection proper (see Examples (c) and (d) in Figure 25). This is the case in seven out of the twelve Group A collections (*c.* 58.3 %), in MSS EAP254/1/5, EAP432/1/10, EMDA 0111, EMML 2431, EMML 6994, EMML 7529, and Ethio-SPaRe DD-019. One may notice that all three Group A collections furnished with *harags* fall into this category. Although such an observation must be taken *cum grano salis* due to the limited corpus, the data seems to suggest that this way of laying out the relation between prefaced

¹⁵⁴⁰ The varying number of columns occurring at the same page in these manuscripts might raise the question as to which ruling pattern has been applied. Was the varying number planned for in such a way, that the ruling of the upper part of the page differs from that of the lower part? In seven out of the nine manuscripts with this feature, the available reproductions allow for this analysis: MSS EAP704/1/36, EMML 2253, EMML 7745, EMML 8084, Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, IES 2148, and UUB O Etiop. 36. The result from this small survey shows that in none of the cases does the ruling pattern reflect the one-column layout of the upper part of the page. Vertical lines, marking the beginning and end of the respective columns of the lower part of the page, extend over the upper part of the page in all the manuscripts in question.

¹⁵⁴¹ For the sixth analysable manuscript of Group B in the Minor Corpus, MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008, see fn. 1538.

colophon and antiphon collection proper is prevalent in most post-seventeenth-century Group A collections.

Two collections do not fall neatly into the categories described above, those in MS EMMML 7285 and *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 2015. In MS EMMML 7285, a couple of irregularities in the layout of the colophon arouse the suspicion that it may be the result of an imperfectly realised plan.¹⁵⁴² In *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 2015, the prefaced colophon is placed on a separate page¹⁵⁴³ and does thus not interact with the beginning of the antiphon collection proper.

a)

| | |
|--|--------------|
| COLOPHON COLOPHON.01 COLOPHON COLOPHON.02 COLOPHON COLOPHON.03 COLOPHON COLOPHON.04 | |
| ANT. COLL.01 | ANT. COLL.09 |
| ANT. COLL.02 | ANT. COLL.10 |
| ANT. COLL.03 | ANT. COLL.11 |
| ANT. COLL.04 | ANT. COLL.12 |
| ANT. COLL.05 | ANT. COLL.13 |
| ANT. COLL.06 | ANT. COLL.14 |
| ANT. COLL.07 | ANT. COLL.15 |
| ANT. COLL.08 | ANT. COLL.16 |

b)

| | | |
|--|--------|--------|
| COLOPHON COLOPHON.01 COLOPHON COLOPHON.02 COLOPHON COLOPHON.03 COLOPHON COLOPHON.04 | | |
| A.C.01 | A.C.09 | A.C.17 |
| A.C.02 | A.C.10 | A.C.18 |
| A.C.03 | A.C.11 | A.C.19 |
| A.C.04 | A.C.12 | A.C.20 |
| A.C.05 | A.C.13 | A.C.21 |
| A.C.06 | A.C.14 | A.C.22 |
| A.C.07 | A.C.15 | A.C.23 |
| A.C.08 | A.C.16 | A.C.24 |

c)

| | |
|--|--|
| COLOPHON.01 COLOPHON.02 COLOPHON.03 COLOPHON.04 | COLOPHON.05 COLOPHON.06 COLOPHON.07 COLOPHON.08 |
| ANT. COLL.01 | ANT. COLL.09 |
| ANT. COLL.02 | ANT. COLL.10 |
| ANT. COLL.03 | ANT. COLL.11 |
| ANT. COLL.04 | ANT. COLL.12 |
| ANT. COLL.05 | ANT. COLL.13 |
| ANT. COLL.06 | ANT. COLL.14 |
| ANT. COLL.07 | ANT. COLL.15 |
| ANT. COLL.08 | ANT. COLL.16 |

d)

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| CLPN.01 CLPN.02 CLPN.03 CLPN.04 | CLPN.05 CLPN.06 CLPN.07 CLPN.08 | CLPN.09 CLPN.10 CLPN.11 CLPN.12 |
| A.C.01 | A.C.09 | A.C.17 |
| A.C.02 | A.C.10 | A.C.18 |
| A.C.03 | A.C.11 | A.C.19 |
| A.C.04 | A.C.12 | A.C.20 |
| A.C.05 | A.C.13 | A.C.21 |
| A.C.06 | A.C.14 | A.C.22 |
| A.C.07 | A.C.15 | A.C.23 |
| A.C.08 | A.C.16 | A.C.24 |

Figure 25. Schematic representations of the relationships between prefaced colophons and antiphon collections proper in post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections.

Legends: ‘clpn.’ = prefaced colophon; ‘ant. coll.’ / ‘a.c.’ = antiphon collection proper.

¹⁵⁴² In the collection in MS EMMML 7285, a shift in layout occurs in the middle of the prefaced colophon. The first two lines, rubricated, stretch over the entire breadth of the page, but the following eight lines of the colophon—alternating in pairs of black and red lines—are written in the same two-column layout as the antiphon collection proper. The colophon in MS EMMML 7285 also stands out because of the arrangement of the text. After the two rubricated lines stretching over the entire page, the text continues in the two black lines of Column A. Thereafter, the text continues in the two parallel black lines in Column B, after that moves back to the two rubricated lines in Column A, then once more to the two parallel rubricated lines in Column B, and so on. Based on this unusual arrangement of the text and on the change in the number of columns in the middle of the colophon, it is tempting to suspect that the original intention of the scribe was to write the entire preface according to the one-column layout and that the shift to a two-column layout accidentally occurred too early. The situation that we are encountered with would then represent the result of an attempt to ‘save’ the situation.

¹⁵⁴³ *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 2015, p. [x].

4.2.5 Conclusions

This survey of the marking of the beginning of *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collections, including in total an analysis of the beginnings of 65 collections in 33 manuscripts, despite its shortcomings, allows us to paint an approximate picture of the diachronic development.

In the earliest phase, the beginning of a new collection is generally marked with a dotted and/or drawn line (in rarer cases, with a primitive *ḥarag*), a rubricated initial formula (consisting of a trinitarian formula, the phrase ‘we have written as we remember’ (ጸሐፍነ፡ በዘ፡ ንዚከር፡, *ṣaḥafna ba-za nəzzekkar*), and a more or less clear identification of the collection, of which the two first elements are often missing in smaller collections) and a *crux ansata*. There is variation between manuscripts and between the collections within them, but these features are represented in all analysable early manuscripts. Larger single-type collections, containing *mazmur*-family antiphons or antiphons of the types *salām*, *’arbā’t* or *’aryām*, are more likely to have a long initial formula. In discussing the early material, it should be pointed out that a disproportionately large number of the analysed single-type collections stem from manuscripts containing multiple single-type collections. This is, of course, caused by the circumstances of preservation¹⁵⁴⁴—yet, it is possible that it had a certain skewing effect on the data, making features typically occurring *within* manuscripts, rather than at their beginning (e.g. dotted and/or drawn lines, rubricated formulas) appear more prominent.

More or less synchronously with the shift from single-type to multiple-type collections, the marking of the beginning of a collection changes: dotted and/or drawn lines disappear, either being replaced by *ḥarags* or by nothing; rubricated formulas give way to full-page symmetrical rubrication, and *cruces ansatae* do no longer play a part of the marking. Prefaced colophons begin to appear. Before the seventeenth century, these are laid out in the same way as the antiphon collection proper, preceding this but appear within the same column(s). From the seventeenth century onwards, although the way of marking the beginning of a collection in most regards remains the same, a main change is that the prefaced colophon is now placed *above* the antiphon collection proper, either in one column or in the same number of columns as the antiphon collection proper. While both the one-column layout and the multiple-column layout for the

¹⁵⁴⁴ Although it is obvious, it may be worthwhile pointing out explicitly that in a manuscript that only contains one single-type collection, there is only one beginning (of a collection) that potentially could be added to the corpus. By contrast, in a manuscript containing multiple single-type collections, even if one or several of the beginnings of individual collections are lost, there may be other beginnings to add to the corpus. Furthermore, in a manuscript that only contains one single collection, its beginning will by necessity be located at one of the first pages of the manuscript, i.e. in a position which is known to be especially vulnerable and prone to damage and loss.

colophon appear with collections of Group A, the collections of Group B, when they have a prefaced colophon, appear always to have it laid out in one column, at least as far as can be said on the basis of the present corpus.

It does not seem improbable that the diachronic development described above reflects more general trends in development of the *mise en texte* of beginnings in the Ethiopic manuscript culture. For the development of the use of *cruces ansatae*, one of the few features systematically studied before, the development in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections follows the general trend.¹⁵⁴⁵ However, due to the dearth of comparable studies, it is difficult to have a more fruitful discussion comparing other features. The occurrences of *ḥarags* in MSS BnF Éth. 92, Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, and GG-187 should be noted as early attestations of this type of decoration, keeping Balicka-Witakowska's dating in mind.

4.3 Commemorations and Melodic families

4.3.1 Introduction

A second level of textual division in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections is represented by commemorations (in calendrical collections) and melodic families (in melodic-family-based single-type collections). These units are found within the major sections of the liturgical year or within individual single-type collections, and they themselves contain individual antiphons. This section of Chapter 4 discusses—based on the evidence from a small excerpt of the Minor Corpus (see below)—how the marking of the beginning of new commemorations has developed diachronically.

A *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection, as a matter of course, generally contains a large number of commemorations. No statistical studies regarding the average number of commemorations in a collection have, to my knowledge, been carried out, but to quote one example, according to Jeffery 1993, the printed edition of 1966/1967 (*Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966) contains one hundred sixty-three commemorations. This section of the chapter is based on a corpus consisting of—as far as the available material allows—five commemorations from each collection included in the Minor Corpus. When possible, the commemorations of the Children of Zebedee (*Daqiqa Zabdewos*), Sundays in the Season of Flowers (*Sanābət za-Ṣəge*, etc.), 'Abbā 'Aragāwī, Stephen the Protomartyr ('*Ṭṣifānos*), and 'Abbā Yəm'attā have been selected. In collections of Group B, the commemorations for Children of Zebedee and 'Abbā Yəm'attā have been substituted by the commemorations of the Cross (*Masqal*) and, depending on the individual collection, either the commemoration of 'Abbā Yoḥanni or of Qwəsqwām. For collections or fragments of collections in which these

¹⁵⁴⁵ Cf. fn. 1506.

commemorations are not present, five other commemorations have been chosen, when possible. In total, the corpus consists of 392 commemorations and 73 melodic families.¹⁵⁴⁶

The *mise en texte* features used in marking the beginning of a new commemoration largely overlap with those used for the marking of the beginning of a collection, although symmetrical rubrication here generally does not go beyond one column. See 4.2.1 for definitions of *crux ansata*, symmetrical rubrication, and initial formulas. In addition, the following feature should be introduced:

- ornamental bands – by the term ‘ornamental bands’, I refer to the small ornamented bands or boxes, sometimes incorporating patterns similar to those of *harags*, which are used in certain manuscripts as part of the marking of new commemorations and which Uhlig calls ‘Zäsurleisten’¹⁵⁴⁷ and ‘Zäsurbalken’.¹⁵⁴⁸ Occasionally, ornamental bands take up an entire line, whereas in other cases they fill only a smaller space, often what was left on the line preceding the beginning of a new commemoration. Sometimes, when occurring on the top of a column, the border between a one-column *harag* and an ornamental band is blurred.¹⁵⁴⁹ Examples of ornamental bands taken from the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus are provided in Illustration 15.

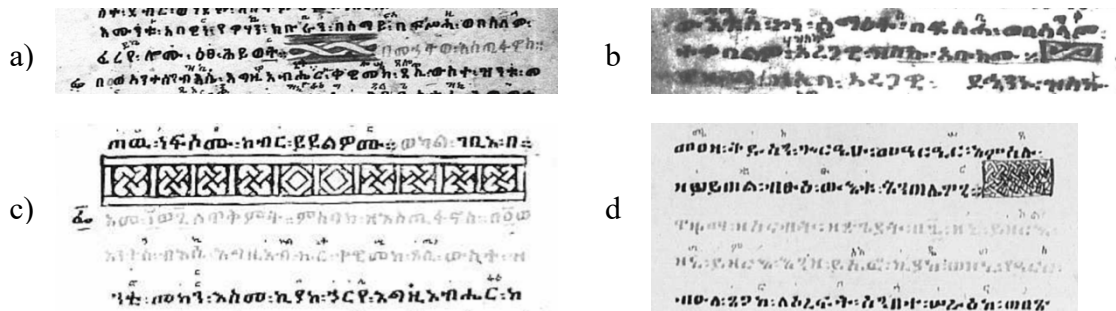


Illustration 15. Examples of ornamental bands.

Sources: a) MS EMMML 2542, fol. 26rb, ll. 18–20; b) MS EMMML 4667, fol. 15va, ll. 32–34; c) MS EMMML 2431, fol. 35rb, ll. 15–19; d) MS EMMML 6994, fol. 25va, ll. 29–33.

4.3.2 Single-type collections

The marking of commemorations is attested in twelve out of the fifteen manuscripts containing single-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, and in 47 out of 53 individual collections. It has been possible to extract five samples

¹⁵⁴⁶ For information about which commemorations have been included from which collection, see Data set 2(B).

¹⁵⁴⁷ Uhlig 1984, pp. 325–326, 1988, pp. 325–326, 450, 785.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Uhlig 1984, p. 335.

¹⁵⁴⁹ See, for example, the marking of the commemoration of Sundays in the Season of Flowers in MS EMMML 2341 (fol. 27ra, l. 1).

from all of these except two—the collection in DS-XVI and the *’aryām* collection in MS GG-185—resulting in a corpus consisting of, in total, the beginnings of 228 commemorations. The following six collections have been excluded because of material loss: the collections in MSS DS-II, DS-III, and Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i, the second unidentified collection and the *māhlet za-sabbāḥawwo* collection in MS GG-185, and the first unidentified collection in MS EMLL 7618. Furthermore, the *yātbārak* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 has been excluded, as it only contains antiphons for the Easter week (see Chapter 2, 2.3.9.2.8) and consequently lacks commemorations *stricto sensu*.

Based on the *mise en texte* features used for marking the beginning of a new commemoration, two groups can be distinguished among the single-type collections: a) collections where a new commemoration is marked minimalistically by one single element, namely a rubricated formula *za-X* (HX, ‘(commemoration) of X’), and b) collections where a new commemoration is more elaborately marked. These two groups will be treated separately below.

The minimalistic marking is found in 75 out of 228 cases (*c.* 32.9 %), in 15 out of the 47 analysable collections (*c.* 31.9 %). It is attested only in three manuscripts—MSS BnF Éth. 92, EMLL 7618, and GG-185—and, importantly, seems to be connected to collections of certain antiphon types. Marked minimalistically are the two *sābhata nagh* collections in the corpus (in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618), the two *za-nāhu yā’aze* collections (in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618), the two *za-tasāhalanni* collections (in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618), the two *za-’amlākiya* collections (in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618), the two *’Ēgzi’abāher nagsā* collections (in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMLL 7618), as well as the second unidentified collection in MS EMLL 7618 and the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92,¹⁵⁵⁰ which contain antiphons of the same type. Further collections with this type of marking are the *māhlet* collection in MS EMLL 7618, the second *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, and first unidentified collection in MS GG-185, all three of which are unique in the Minor Corpus. Common to all these fifteen collections is their small size: they contain a small number of antiphons, often just one for each commemoration, and consequently occupy few folios in the manuscripts. In addition, there are no systems of musical categorisation connected to these types of antiphons. These two features are shared between all the collections that exhibit the minimalistic marking and in part explains why collections of specifically these antiphon types mark new commemorations in this way.

A more elaborate marking is found in the remaining 32 out of 47 analysable collections (*c.* 68.1 %), from which 153 examples of the marking of the beginning

¹⁵⁵⁰ The *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 has a more elaborate marking for the beginning of the commemoration for Sundays in the Season of Flowers, but otherwise follows the minimalistic pattern.

of a new commemoration originate. In 52 out of 153 cases of more elaborate marking (*c.* 34.0 %), one or several empty lines precede the beginning of a new commemoration. As it seems, this feature is concentrated to collections in six manuscripts: ‘larger’ collections in MS EML 7618 (the *mazmur*-family collection, the *salām* collection, the ‘*arbā*’t collection, the ‘*aryām*’ collection, the *śalast* collection, as well as the *mawāṣṣa*’t collection), the collections in MS GG-187, the collection in MS EML 7078, as well as those in MSS DS-VIII*/XIII and DS-XVI, although the data is very fragmentary for the latter two.

A more common feature is that new commemorations begin on a new line, regardless if any empty lines are left between the end of one commemoration and the beginning of the next or not. This *mise en texte* feature occurs in 96 out of 153 cases (*c.* 62.7 %), and appears, apart from the collections displaying empty lines listed above, in the ‘larger’ collections in MS BnF Éth. 92 (the *salām* collection, the ‘*aryām*’ collection, and the first *śalast* collection), in the *wāzemā* collection in MS EML 7618, and in the collections in MSS DS-I/XVII/XX and EML 6944. Isolated occurrences in other collections are most probably due to chance. The *salām* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 represents a special case, as new commemorations often begin on a new column.

Ornamental bands are not attested as part of the marking of individual commemorations in the single-type collections. There are, also, no clear-cut examples of symmetrical rubrication, although at times—especially in the *salām* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92—it is ambiguous whether the initial formula or the first line has been rubricated, as these coincide. Dotted and/or drawn lines, on the other hand, generally form part of the marking of commemorations in single-type collections, occurring in 123 out of 153 cases (*c.* 80.4 %). They are missing or rare in specific collections, such as the collection in MS DS-XX, the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, the *sabḥata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185, and some ‘smaller’ collections in MS EML 7618 (the multiple-type collection, the *yātbārak* collection, the ‘*azl*’ collection). Using the same subcategorisation as in 4.2.2, we can note that dot–dash lines are most common also in the marking of commemorations, appearing in 88 out of 123 cases (*c.* 71.5 %). Fully dotted lines occur in 29 out of 123 cases (*c.* 23.6 %), whereas only six attestations of fully drawn lines are found in the corpus (*c.* 4.9 %). One may notice a preference for lines consisting exclusively of dots especially in some of the earliest single-type collections: MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-VIII*/XIII, and EML 7078. Drawn lines are attested regularly only in MS EML 6944. *Cruces ansatae* are part of the marking of new commemorations in 83 out of 153 cases (*c.* 54.2 %).

As for initial formulas, names of services and dates are never included in the corpus of commemorations studied in this section.¹⁵⁵¹ Most commonly, a commemoration indication of the type we have seen in the minimalistic marking forms part of the initial formula: *za-X* (HX, ‘(commemoration) of X’). Such indications appear in 118 out of 153 cases (c. 77.1 %) and are only missing, at times, in the marking of melodic families (see below). Apart from these, antiphon-type indications are also a relatively common part in the initial formulas of commemoration markings, occurring in 101 out of 153 cases (c. 66.0 %). They are especially common in the marking of the antiphon types categorised into melodic families, but also occur in some ‘larger’ single-type collections (the *salām* collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92, DS-VIII*/XIII, EMML 7618, and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (two cases); the *mazmur*-family collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (one case) and GG-185; but also in the *yətbārak* collection in MS DS-XX (two cases), and the *wāzemā* collection, the ‘*əzl*’ collection, and the *mawāšə*’*t* collection in MS EMML 7618) and, naturally, in the two collections gathering antiphons for services (the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185 and the multiple-type collection in MS EMML 7618).

¹⁵⁵¹ There are, however, rare cases where a date is included outside of the corpus, for example in the second unidentified collection in MS EMML 7618, which contains commemoration indications including the name of a month (ዘሚካኤል: ዘታኅሳስ: fol. 201ra, l. 4; ዘእንድርያስ: ዘተሕሳስ: fol. 201ra, ll. 18–19) and indications specifying the day (ዘተፍጻሚ: ሕግ: አመ: ፳: ዘየካትቲ: ዘስምዖን: fol. 202ra, ll. 18–19); in the *salām* collection in MS DS-VIII*/XIII (አመ: ፲፱: ለወርኅ: ተሕሣስ: fol. 14r, ll. 10–11); and in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, where the Hand B has added a date in the margin in connection to the commemoration of Pantaŵewon (of the Cell, fol. 148ra).

A special discussion should be devoted to the marking of melodic families and commemorations in single-type collections containing antiphons categorised into melodic families, i.e. *'arbā' t* antiphons, *śalast* antiphons, and *'aryām* antiphons. In most regards, these follow the general practice of marking commemorations in 'larger' antiphon collections, but there are some peculiar characteristics, especially connected to the formulas used. In the marking of melodic families, the name of the commemoration that the first antiphon belongs to is only occasionally marked, as noted above. In the cases included in the corpus for this section, it occurs in 38 out of 73 cases (c. 52.1 %), which is clearly less frequently than in the case of single-type collections in general. On the other side, antiphon-type indications are included more frequently, in 55 out of 73 cases (c. 75.3 %). This is especially true for *'arbā' t* and *śalast* collections, where antiphon-type indications are typically given in the form of numeric phrases, as *ba-4* (በ፩: 'in four') and *ba-3* (በ፫: 'in three'), respectively.¹⁵⁵² Furthermore, there are a couple of formulas that are (more or less) proper to the marking of melodic families: *zā-hi-ma ba-zemāhu* (ዝሂመ: በዚህም: 'this one in its [own] *zemā*'), *ba-kālā' zemā* (በካልእ: ዜማ: 'in another *zemā*'),¹⁵⁵³ and [*melodic-family indication*] *ba-za yəbl* ([*melodic-family indication*] በዘ: ይ-በል: ' [*melodic-family indication*] in which one says:').¹⁵⁵⁴ The use of these more elaborate formulas would seem to be connected to the fact that more musical metadata is appended to these types of antiphons. Also connected to this is the use of marginal titles, i.e. melodic-family indications written in the upper margin in connection with the beginning of a new melodic family. As noted in Chapter 5



Illustration 16. Example of the marking of new commemorations and melodic families in the *'aryām* collection in MS EMLL 7618 (fol. 78r).

¹⁵⁵² Apart from the *'aryām* collections, none of which includes antiphon-type indications in the marking of new commemorations, only the early *'arbā' t* collection in MS DS-XVI, and the second *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 lack antiphon-type indications.

¹⁵⁵³ On this term, see the discussion in Chapter 1 (1.4.5.2.1). This term also appears in connection to other types of antiphons, for example within parts of the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 (see, e.g., fols 2ra–7vb) and in the Season of Lent (*Ṣom*) in the *salām* collection in MS DS-VIII*/XIII (see the beginnings of new sections on fols 31r–42v).

¹⁵⁵⁴ As noted above (4.2.2), this formula also appears in the marginal indications of the *zā-taśāhalanni* collection and the *'Agzi' abəher nagśa* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. Another, singular occurrence is found in a later addition in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 (fol. 8vb). On this formula in general, see Chapter 1 (1.4.5.3.1).

(5.3.3.1, and elsewhere), such marginal titles may sometimes be later additions. Within the corpus studied in this section, variants of *zə-hi-ma ba-zemāhu* occur in 32 out of 73 cases (c. 43.8 %), *ba-kālā' zemā* in ten out of 73 cases (c. 13.7 %), [*melodic-family indication*] *ba-za yəbl* within the text block in 24 out of 73 cases (c. 32.9 %), and also always within the 19 out of 73 (26.0 %) occurrences of marginal titles.

Furthermore, collections of antiphons categorised according to melodic family naturally display a further level of organisation, because either a) within each melodic-family group, the individual antiphons are grouped according to commemorations, or b) within each commemoration, they are grouped according to melodic family. A statistical study of the markings of these levels has not been included in Data set 2(B), but a pattern is clear: in eleven out of the twelve melodic-family-based collections,¹⁵⁵⁵ the commemorations are marked minimalistically, i.e. only with a commemoration indication consisting of a rubricated *za-X* (HX, '(commemoration) of X'). In the calendar-based collections,¹⁵⁵⁶ the 'main' marking—the marking corresponding to the marking of commemorations in collections of other types of antiphons—remains with the melodic families, and commemorations are marked with the addition of a rubricated *za-X* (HX, '(commemoration) of X') to the first melodic-family indication of the commemoration, and occasionally also with the addition of a *crux ansata*.¹⁵⁵⁷ The fact that the main marking, sometimes including empty lines, dotted and/or drawn lines, etc., is placed on a lower level in the organisational hierarchy of the collections can result in a quite extraordinary *mise en texte*, as can be seen in Illustration 16. For a further discussion of calendar-based collections, where the melodic-family indications are attached to the level of individual antiphons, see 4.4.2.2.1.

4.3.3 Pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections

Out of the thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, examples of the marking of commemorations are found in twelve, the only exception being the fragment in MS EMLL 2468. It has been

¹⁵⁵⁵ The 'arbā't collections in MSS DS-XVI and EMLL 7078, the 'arbā't collection and the *śalast* collection in MS EMLL 7618, the 'arbā't collection and the 'aryām collection in MS GG-185, the 'arbā't collection and the *śalast* collection in MS GG-187, and the 'arbā't collection, the 'aryām collection and the first *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. As noted in Chapter 2 (2.3.15.2), the 'arbā't collection in DS-XVI appears to lack the organisational level of commemorations.

¹⁵⁵⁶ The 'arbā't collection in MS EMLL 2095, the 'aryām collection in MS EMLL 7618, and the *śalast* collection and the 'aryām collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.

¹⁵⁵⁷ The collections in MSS EMLL 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 have *cruces ansatae* in this function, whereas the 'aryām collection in MS EMLL 7618 initially has *cruces ansatae* with every melodic-family indication, but from fol. 78va and onwards shift to only including them in connection with new commemorations, as the other two collections.

possible to extract five samples from each of the remaining collections and, consequently, the following observations are based on the analysis of sixty cases.

Judging from the limited corpus taken into account, the practice of leaving empty lines before the beginning of a new commemoration—well attested in the single-type collections—appears to disappear in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. The practice of beginning a new commemoration on a new line is, however, still common, occurring in 29 out of 60 cases (c. 48.3 %). It is a regular feature in MSS EMML 1894, EMML 7174, and EMML 8804, but also appears irregularly in most of the other manuscripts.

An innovation as compared to the single-type collections is the emergence of ornamental bands as part of the marking of new commemorations. This feature occurs in 20 out of 60 cases (c. 33.3 %) and in six out of the twelve analysable pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, in MSS EMML 2542, EMML 4667, EMML 7174, EMML 8408, EMML 8804, and Ṭānāsee 172. In the collections in MSS EMML 8408 and Ṭānāsee 172, an ornamental band appears only in one out of five cases, for the commemorations of Stephen the Protomartyr and Sundays in the Season of Flowers, respectively. Both of these commemorations can be considered ‘major’ commemorations, containing comparatively large numbers of antiphons (see 4.3.5), which may explain that they are more exquisitely marked than other commemorations.¹⁵⁵⁸ In the other four collections, the use of ornamental bands is the norm. It should be pointed out that in three of these manuscripts—MSS EMML 2542, EMML 4667, and EMML 8804—full-page *ḥarags* are used in the marking of the beginning of the collections (see 4.2.3). In MSS EMML 8408 and Ṭānāsee 172, the beginnings have not been preserved, whereas in MS EMML 7174, no *ḥarag* is found as part of the marking of the beginning. In most cases, it thus appears that a connection can be made between the use of *ḥarag*-type ornamental designs in the marking of the beginning of a collection and in the marking of individual commemorations.

As in the case of the single-type collections, rubricated formulas are almost ubiquitous, occurring in 58 out of 60 cases (c. 96.7 %). Among the sixty commemorations included in the limited corpus, there is one single case of symmetrical rubrication: as part of the somewhat ambiguous marking of the commemoration of ‘*Abbā Yām’attā*’ in MS EMML 7174.¹⁵⁵⁹ There is also one

¹⁵⁵⁸ From a functional perspective, the more exquisite marking of ‘major’ commemorations may help the user to navigate through a (calendar-based) antiphon collection, especially in cases where dates are not written regularly (see below in the main text).

¹⁵⁵⁹ This case is somewhat difficult to interpret: after an ornamental band filling what was left empty on the preceding line after the end of the last antiphon of the preceding commemoration, one fully rubricated line is found, containing the initial formula *ዋዜማ: ዘአባ: ይምአታ:* and the incipit of the *wāzemā* antiphon for this commemoration *ዘይዌልጦ: ለሰማይ:* (see MS EMML 7174, fol. 37va, l. 34). On all other occasions that this antiphon is found in the Minor Corpus (see, for example, MS EMML 2542, fol. 27vb, l. 27), this incipit is followed by the metatextual ‘say’ (በል: *bal*; see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.7, esp. fn. 557), but not in MS EMML 7174. After this one rubricated line in MS

case—the commemoration of 'Abbā Yəm'attā in MS EMMML 8804—where the formula is marked by over- and underlining instead of rubrication (cf. Example (d) in Illustration 17).

Lines form part of the marking of new commemorations in 38 out of 60 cases (c. 63.3 %). In an overwhelming majority of the cases (31 cases), they consist of dashes alternating with series of dots. Although the importance of this observation is difficult to evaluate based on the small size of the corpus, one may notice that this contrasts with the more variegated picture emerging from the analysis of the single-type collections, especially in the lower number of lines consisting exclusively of dots. Perhaps, the later single-type collections and the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections could be seen as forming a group with a preference for dot–dash lines.

Within the limited corpus, *cruces ansatae* are attested as part of the marking of commemorations in 11 out of 60 cases (c. 18.3 %). The occurrences are concentrated to three manuscripts: MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 (one example), EMMML 8070, and Tānāsee 172. The general demise of *cruces ansatae* is in accordance with what is described by Uhlig 1988.¹⁵⁶⁰

As for the textual formulas that introduce new commemorations, two variants are attested: either the antiphon type of the first antiphon of the commemoration is given together with a formula *za-X* (ዘX, '(commemoration) of X'), continuing the tradition of the single-type collections, or the commemoration is initiated by the formula *ba-mahātəwa X* (በመኃትወ፡ X, 'in the *mahātəwa* service of [the commemoration of] X').¹⁵⁶¹ If, as Habtemichael Kidane 1998 interprets it,¹⁵⁶² *mahātəwa* (literally, 'lamps') is to be taken as a name of the evening service, it is quite natural that this designation was not encountered in the single-type collections, as they, with rare exceptions, are not organised according to services. As for the introductory formulas indicating the antiphon type of the first antiphon of the commemoration, the placement of the antiphons in the sequence of the *ordo* means that only a few different types of antiphons can occupy this position, mainly *wāzemā* or *māsbāk* (for the *wāzemā* service), or 'əzl *za-nagh* (for the *səbhata nagh* service). Introductory formulas of the type *ba-mahātəwa X* are

EMML 7174, one line has been left blank. Was the copyist who wrote the text in black ink—whether identical with the rubricator or not—planning for a complete *wāzemā* antiphon for 'Abbā Yəm'attā, but then changed his or her mind to adhere, instead, to the tradition? The evidence is open for interpretation. Clear is, however, that line 34 is filled with a rubrication that goes further than the initial formula, into the first antiphon, and thus it is a case of symmetrical rubrication.

¹⁵⁶⁰ See fn. 1506.

¹⁵⁶¹ Alternatively, *(ba-)mahātəwa za-X* ((በ)መኃትወ፡ ዘX, '(in the) *mahātəwa* service of [the commemoration of] X').

¹⁵⁶² Habtemichael Kidane 1998, pp. 311–314.

found in 24 out of 60 cases (40.0 %), whereas formulas for the type [*antiphon type*] *za-X* are found in 35 cases (c. 58.3 %).¹⁵⁶³

Among the sixty commemorations in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections included in this study, there is only one example of a date, in MS EMMML 8804.¹⁵⁶⁴ With the emergence of the multiple-type collection, the metatextual elements connected with the melodic families is relegated to the level of individual antiphons. However, one does find residues of the formulas characteristic of the single-type collections in the marking of individual antiphons in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections (see 4.4.2.2.2).

Marginal indications—a characteristic of melodic-family marking in the single-type collections—appear in connection to commemorations in two of the pre-seventeenth-century collections—MSS EMMML 1894 and EMMML 2542. In the corpus taken into account in this section, they appear in 9 out of 60 cases (15.0 %). In addition, there is one manuscript—MS EMMML 7174—where only dates appear in the margin. The marginal indications in the collections in MSS EMMML 1894 and EMMML 2542 regularly contain both a date and a characterisation of the commemoration, generally in the form of a full sentence (ex. አመ[:] ፲፱፡ ለመስከረም፡ ታረፍሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለያዕቆብ፡ ወለዮሐንስ፡, ‘On 30 Maskaram, Our Lord Jesus Christ selected James and John’, MS EMMML 2542, fol. 17vb). It seems probable that these marginal indications are later additions, possibly taken from an already existing liturgical calendar.

4.3.4 Post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections

All twenty-one post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, including twelve Group A collections, seven Group B collections, and two printed editions, contain attestations of the marking of commemorations. For one collection, the one in MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001 (Group B), only four examples were found in the material available to me (see Chapter 2, 2.6.5), but for the rest, five examples have been extracted from each collection, resulting in a corpus consisting of 60 examples from Group A collections, 34 examples from Group B collections, and 10 examples from printed editions.

Continuing the practice of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, empty lines do not appear as part of the marking of new commemorations. A new commemoration regularly begins on a new line in about half of the collection of Group A, in 27 out of 60 cases (45.0 %). The practice is more or less regular in four collections—MSS EAP432/1/10, EMMML 2431, EMMML 6994, EMMML

¹⁵⁶³ In one case, the marking of the commemoration of ‘*Abbā Yām’attā*’ in MS EMMML 8804 (fol. 39vb, l. 9), no formula is used, but the name (together with a date) is simply given: አመ፡ ፳፯፡ አባ፡ ይምፀታ፡.

¹⁵⁶⁴ However, it may be noted that dates are found unsystematically also in other collections; cf. MS Ṭānāsee 172, fol. 75ra.

7529—occurs irregularly in others, and is completely missing in some. The practice appears to be less frequent in the Group B collections, occurring in 11 out of 34 cases (c. 32.4 %), and regularly only in MS EMLL 2253. It does not occur in either of the studied printed editions.

Ornamental bands appear in 10 out of 60 cases (c. 16.7 %), in three out of the twelve Group A collections included in the Minor Corpus. It is more or less regular in MSS EMLL 2431 and EMLL 6994, with a single occurrence in MS EMLL 7529 (in connection with the commemoration for the Children of Zebedee).¹⁵⁶⁵ As can be seen, the use of ornamental bands is connected to the practice of beginning a commemoration on a new line. As noticed above (4.2.4), these three collections are also furnished with full-page *ḥarags* as part of the marking of their beginning—the connection between *ḥarags* in the marking of the beginning and ornamental bands in the marking of commemorations, already noticed in the pre-seventeenth-century collections (see above, 4.3.3) is thus confirmed, at least for the manuscripts on which this study is based. This connects well with the notion of *deluxe* manuscripts, characterised by special decorations and fine handicraft, discussed by Delamarter and Vulgan 2014.¹⁵⁶⁶ Ornamental bands could not be observed in the Group B collections or in the printed editions.

An important innovation compared to the earlier stages—based, of course, on what can be concluded on account of the limited number of samples taken into account—is the appearance of symmetrical rubrication as a widespread alternative to the rubrication of introductory formulas. Symmetrical rubrication dominates in the collections of Group A, occurring in 35 out of 60 cases (c. 58.3 %), and is also well represented among the collections of Group B, where it occurs in 12 out of 34 cases (c. 35.3 %). It appears regularly in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, but not in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994, naturally, as it is printed entirely in black. Variations in the number of rubricated lines is frequently used to signal the importance of individual commemorations (see 4.3.5).

As in previous periods, lines separate a new commemoration from the preceding text in about half of the cases (28 out of 60 (c. 46.7 %) for Group A collections, 18 out of 34 (c. 52.9 %) for Group B collections). Some manuscript of both Group A and Group B use lines regularly, whereas they are unattested in others. A marked difference compared with the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections is that the lines now, almost without exception, consist exclusively of dots. Although, of course, only a very limited corpus has been taken into account, this development appears to be clearly manifest. Thus, the dotted lines that were

¹⁵⁶⁵ The Group A collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 displays a unique use of blank spaces. Presumably, there was an unrealised plan to fill the spaces with ornamental bands, as it happened on fol. 1r–v, and occasionally elsewhere in the manuscript. However, sometimes they occupy areas that seem too large to be filled with ornamental bands (ex. fols 18rc, 19rb, 19c, 20ra, 20vc).

¹⁵⁶⁶ Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, *passim*.

encountered in some of the earliest single-type collections, including the fragments from Dabra Šāhl, now reappear. It seems doubtful that this development can be connected to anything else than shifting aesthetical ideals, which, of course, does not diminish the importance of the observation.

Similar to the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, initial formulas in the post-sixteenth-century collections in the Minor Corpus consist either of *[antiphon type] za-X* ([antiphon type] ሄX, ‘[antiphon type] of (the commemoration of) X’) or *ba-mahātəw X* (በመኃትወ፡ X, ‘in the *maḥātəw* service of X’).¹⁵⁶⁷ In the Group A collections, these two variants appear in approximately the same proportions as in the pre-seventeenth-century collections: 40 out of 60 (c. 66.7 %) versus 20 out of 60 (c. 33.3 %). The same holds true for the Group B collections: 23 out of 34 (c. 67.6 %) versus 9 out of 34 (c. 26.5 %). Indications of dates are regularly included in five out of the twelve collections of Group A (20 out of 60 cases; c. 33.3 %). However, in the case of the commemoration for Sundays in the Season of Flowers, such indications are naturally missing, as these belong to a liturgical season and not to a specific date. Both printed editions included in the corpus also indicate dates, but none of the Group B manuscripts. As in the case of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, the metatextual elements related to melodic families are not attested in the marking of commemorations in the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections. Likewise, marginal notes were not observed in the corpus.

4.3.5 Excursion: Hierarchies among and subdivisions within commemorations

Two aspects connected to the marking of commemorations have not been treated in this section, namely hierarchies among commemorations and subdivisions—above the level of individual antiphons—within commemorations. For both of these features, it would have been necessary to take a larger corpus than five commemorations per collection into account to be able to make meaningful observations. Nonetheless, these two aspects will be briefly introduced below, as to form a basis for further research into the topics.

Under ‘hierarchies among commemorations’, I understand the result of differences in marking that occur between individual commemorations within one collection. Commemorations which are deemed more important will thereby be marked more lavishly, with more, or more elaborate, features. For an illustration to this phenomenon, compare the marking of the commemorations for Sundays in the Season of Flowers, Pāntəlewōn, ‘*Abbā* Yoḥānni and Habakkuk the Prophet

¹⁵⁶⁷ Or *(ba-)maḥātəw za-X* ((በ)መኃትወ፡ ሄX, ‘(in the) *maḥātəw* service of [the commemoration of] X’); cf. fn. 1561. There are also a number of cases where only the antiphon type of the first antiphon is given and the proper indication of the commemoration is missing.

(አንበቆም፣ *ʾEnbaqom*) in MS EMMML 8804, displayed in Illustration 17. The differences concern the presence versus absence of ornamental bands, their elaborateness, as well as differences in rubrication practice. It should be pointed out that hierarchies among commemorations are not only visible in the marking of their beginnings, but also appear to be reflected in the number of antiphons that they contain and in the number of services envisioned for them (see Chapter 1, 1.4.3.3). To study hierarchies among commemorations would, logically, require a corpus that is at the same time synchronic, taking a large number of commemorations from the same collection into account in order to define the different levels of solemnity which it expresses, and diachronic, so that these varying infrastructures of levels of solemnity can be compared to each other over time. This lies beyond the scope of this section.

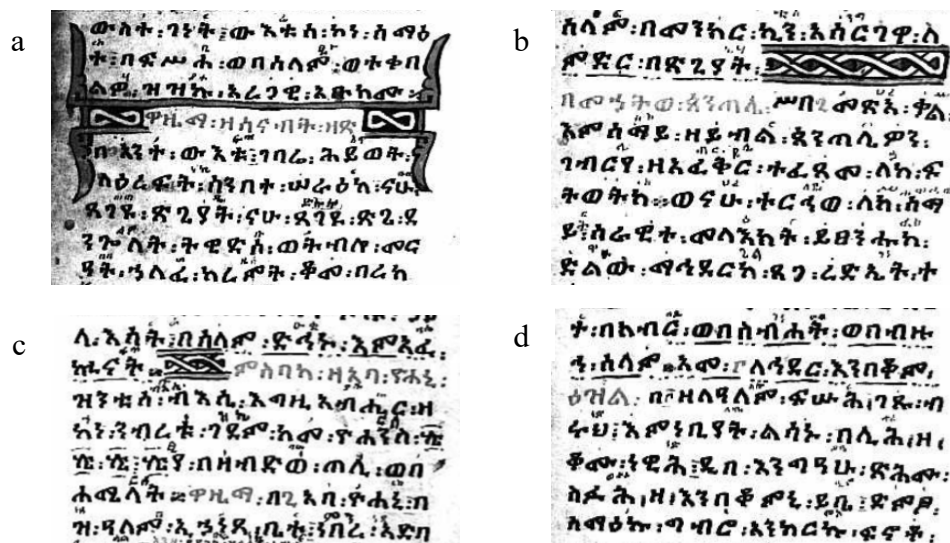


Illustration 17. Examples of different levels of marking of commemorations in MS EMMML 8804.

Sources: a) the marking of the commemoration of Sundays the Season of Flowers (fol. 25ra, l. 13); b) the marking of the commemoration of Pantalewon (fol. 24ra, l. 8); c) the marking of the commemoration of Abbā Yohanni (fol. 40rb, l. 27); d) the marking of the commemoration of the prophet Habakkuk (fol. 40ra, l. 22).

A second topic left out of the discussion in this section is the marking of subdivisions—above the level of individual antiphons—within commemorations. These divisions often have the function of marking off antiphons pertaining to one service from those pertaining to another, or simply of marking off different antiphon-type sections, especially within larger commemorations. Another example, occurring in several collections, is that a *māsbāk* antiphon that precedes a *wāzemā* antiphon at the beginning of the *wāzemā* service may be separated from this by a demarcation.¹⁵⁶⁸ Some examples of such markings, taken from the commemoration of ferial days in the Season of Flowers in MS EMMML 2431, are

¹⁵⁶⁸ For examples, see MSS EMMML 7745 (fols 17ra–b, 48vb), EMMML 9110 (fols 34vb, 35vb, 48vc, 57rb), and Ṭānāsee 172 (fol. 12ra).

provided in Illustration 18; however, due to their relative rareness in combination with the limited corpus, it has not been possible to carry out a systematic analysis of this phenomenon.

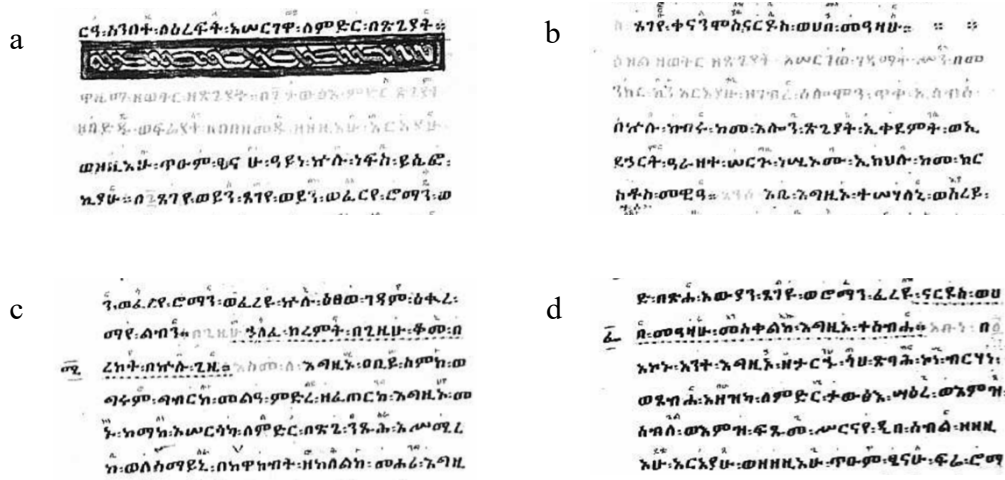


Illustration 18. Examples of the marking of sections within a commemoration.

The examples have been taken from the commemoration of Ferial days in the Season of Flowers in MS EMMI 2431 and depict: a) the beginning of the commemorations: fol. 30va, l. 17; b) the marking of the first 'əzl antiphon, signalling the beginning of the səbhata nagh service: fol. 30vc, l. 30; c) the beginning of the section of 'asma la- 'alam antiphons: fol. 31rb, l. 20; d) the beginning of the section of 'abun antiphons: fol. 31vc, l. 7.

4.3.6 Conclusions

Based on the corpus of commemorations studied in this section, including in total 392 samples from 80 collections found in 45 manuscripts, a number of the main lines in the development of the marking of commemorations can be postulated.

In the single-type collections, the way that new commemorations are marked depends to a certain degree on the type of antiphon that a collection contains: In 'smaller' collections, containing few antiphons and often covering few pages in a manuscript, a new commemoration is often marked simply by a rubricated formula *za-X* (HX, '[commemoration] of X'). In 'larger' collections, a series of different features occur in various combinations, including blank lines, the beginning on a new line, dotted and/or drawn lines, and *cruces ansatae*. The introductory formula in 'larger' collection may include, next to the almost ubiquitous *za-X*, an antiphon-type indication. Collections of antiphon types categorised into melodic families stand out, in particular in their use of more elaborate formulas (including melodic-family indications in the form of incipits of melodic models) and marginal annotations, which are sometimes of later origin.¹⁵⁶⁹

¹⁵⁶⁹ See Chapter 5 (5.3.3.1).

The pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections witness a number of changes. Blank lines appear to disappear, as do the lines consisting solely of dots, although the corpus is too small to draw firm conclusions in this regard. The practice of rubricating formulas continues, in contrast with the development seen in the marking of the beginning in these collections (see 4.2.3). Innovations include the introduction of ornamental bands—often occurring in collections that also mark the beginning with a *ḥarag*—and, as expected, of formulas including the name of a service, i.e. *ba-mahātəwa X*.

The post-sixteenth-century collections largely continue the practices attested in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, however, with some important developments. The use of symmetrical rubrication in the marking of commemorations becomes widespread, appearing instead of rubricated formulas in about half of the cases (more commonly in collections of Group A than in collections of Group B). Lines consisting exclusively of dots, attested in some single-type collections, but rare in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections in the corpus, make a reappearance. In the formulas, indications of dates begin to appear.

Due to the lack of previous studies, it is not easy to situate the results from this section within the broader development of marking of medium-level textual units in the Ethiopic manuscript culture. The general demise of *cruces ansatae* agrees with what has been noticed by Uhlig 1988.¹⁵⁷⁰ On the other hand, Uhlig 1984 described a development according to which ‘[v]om 17. Jahrhundert an [...] zunehmend Strichpunktleisten an die Stelle einspaltiger Zäsurbalken [treten]’;¹⁵⁷¹ this could not be confirmed based on the present study, where, on the opposite, dotted and/or drawn lines appear to be the standard form in the earliest stages of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, and until modern times continue to appear side by side with the ornamental bands (= Zäsurbalken) that make their first appearance only, perhaps, in the sixteenth century.

4.4 Individual antiphons

4.4.1 Introduction

A third main level of textual division in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections is represented by the individual antiphons. This level occurs indiscriminately in all types of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, regardless if they are melodic-family-based single-type collections, calendar-based single-type collections, or multiple-type collections. The discussion of the marking of individual antiphons has been

¹⁵⁷⁰ Cf. fn. 1506.

¹⁵⁷¹ Uhlig 1984, p. 335.

divided into two sections, one treating the marking of their beginning and one treating the marking of their end.

Due to the large number of antiphons present in each collection in the Minor Corpus,¹⁵⁷² it has not been possible to evaluate individually the marking of the beginning and end of each single antiphon. Instead, as in the case of the marking of commemorations, this aspect of the *mise en texte* has been studied on the basis of a restricted corpus. As the exact corpus used varies slightly for the different sections of this part of the chapter, they have been introduced at the appropriate places below. In spite of the limitations which by necessity characterise a study of this type,¹⁵⁷³ it is hoped that a general picture of the diachronic development of the marking of individual antiphons in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections will emerge.

4.4.2 Marking the beginning

Before discussing the manuscript evidence, a general introduction will be provided to the way in which the beginning of an antiphon is marked in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections.¹⁵⁷⁴ The basic rule is that the beginning of an individual antiphon is signalled by a *rubricated element*. This rule remains in place over the course of the centuries with only occasional exceptions (see below), while developments take place in the details. Four different types of elements commonly fulfill this function:¹⁵⁷⁵

- 1) if an individual antiphon is directly preceded by an indication as to which antiphon type it belongs to, be it abbreviated or written out in full, the antiphon-type indication will generally be rubricated, while the beginning of the antiphon is left unmarked,

¹⁵⁷² As in the case of the commemorations, I am not aware of any large-scale statistical studies of the number of antiphons in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, who counted the antiphons in MS EML 7618 ‘one by one’, says that this manuscript contains in total 9,792 antiphons, whereas the ‘Maṣṣeta Təbab of Beta Ləhem’ is said to contain 12,563 antiphons, although it lacks the Season of Lent (Belay Mekonnen Seyoum 2014, pp. 43–44). In the edition of Velat 1966c, the four first weeks of Lent contain 1,150 antiphons.

¹⁵⁷³ For example, Marrassini 1992, in one of the rare previous studies of Ethiopic punctuation, based his conclusions on the collation of text passages in seven manuscript of the *Chronicle of ‘Amda Šəyon* corresponding to about four folios in a base manuscript (cf. Marrassini 1992, pp. 518–519, fnn. 69, 79).

¹⁵⁷⁴ For a previous attempt, see Velat 1969, p. ix. In Velat’s description, the differences connected to the respective types of antiphons are not clearly specified, and what is called the ‘default’ marking below (4.4.2.4) is not mentioned.

¹⁵⁷⁵ There are also cases in the manuscripts in which metatext of another type precedes an individual antiphon and then assumes the same role, for example, the two subgroups within the antiphon type ‘*asma la-‘ālam* (*qənnəwāt*, and, in earlier collections, *hallāwe*; see Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.37), the mode markers (*gə‘z*, ‘*əzl*) sometimes preceding *yətbārak* antiphons (cf., for example, the *yətbārak* collection in MS EML 7618), and the term *ba-kālā‘ zemā* (e.g. in the *salām* collections in MS BnF Éth. 92 and DS-VIII*/XIII; on this term, see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.2.1).

- 2) for antiphons of the types *'arbā 't*, *śalast*, and *'aryām*: If an individual antiphon is directly preceded by a melodic-family indication, this will generally be rubricated, while the beginning of the antiphon is left unmarked,
- 3) for antiphons of the types *'abun*, *mazmur*, *'əzl*, *salām*, and *wāzemā*: If an individual antiphon is directly preceded by an indication of the number of hallelujahs that should be performed at its beginning, the hallelujah number will generally be rubricated, while the beginning of the antiphon is left unmarked,
- 4) if none of the abovementioned cases applied, i.e. if an individual antiphon is directly preceded neither by an antiphon-type indication, nor a melodic-family indication, nor a hallelujah number, the first word of the individual antiphon will generally be rubricated, either partly or in its entirety. I refer to this as 'default' marking.

Antiphon-type indications and melodic-family indications are as a rule repeated only once in a section. Antiphons that follow within the same section are presumed to belong to the same antiphon type / melodic family until a new indication of the respective type (or alternatively, in the case of melodic-family indications, a new antiphon-type indication) appears. Thus, in Example (a) in Illustration 19, where the four *'arbā 't* antiphons for the commemoration of the Children of Zebedee in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 are reproduced (i–iv), the beginning of the first antiphon (i) is marked by a rubricated antiphon-type indication (ḡ, 4, i.e. *'arbā 't*) together with a rubricated melodic-family indication (ሰንባ: ኣ:, *sanba 'a*, for *Sanbat 'ame-hā*).¹⁵⁷⁶ Antiphons (ii) and (iii) are unmarked for antiphon type, i.e. they belong to the same antiphon type as the preceding antiphon (i), and their beginnings are marked exclusively with melodic-family indications (ዘመ: *za-ma*, for *Za-marāḥkomu*, and ብፁ: *bəṣu*, for *Bəṣu 'anta Yoḥannəs*, respectively). The beginning of antiphon (iv), which is of the same type as the three preceding antiphons and furthermore belongs to the same melodic family as antiphon (iii), is marked 'defaultly' by rubrication of the first two letters of the first word of the antiphon (አወግደ: *'a 'māda*).

¹⁵⁷⁶ For a discussion of the names of the melodic families of *'arbā 't* antiphons, see Chapter 5.

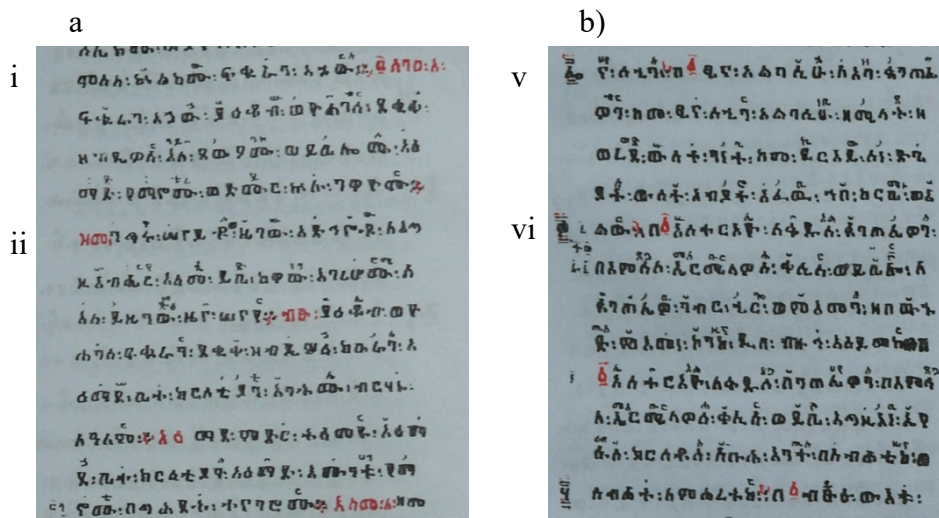


Illustration 19. Examples of the marking of the beginning of antiphons.

Sources: a) *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 43c, ll. 5-16; b) *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 45b, ll. 19-30.

By contrast, a hallelujah number is, as a rule, repeated before every individual antiphon, even if a new antiphon has the same hallelujah number as the previous antiphon and/or belongs to the same melodic house. An example can be seen in Example (b) in Illustration 19, where four *'abun* antiphons for the commemoration of *'Abbā Panṭalewon*, as found in *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, are reproduced (v–viii). All four belong to melodic houses characterised by one repetition of the word *hālleluyā*, but still, the indication of this (በ፩, *ba-1*, ‘in 1 [hallelujah]’) is repeated before each antiphon. However, antiphons (vi) and (vii) additionally belong to the same melodic house (compare the *mālakkāt*): this causes the marginal melodic-house indication (in this case, *፬*) to be left out in the case of (vii), but the in-text melodic-house indication (በ፩) is nevertheless provided in both cases.

While, on the one hand being a very practical system, resulting in minimum of redundancy, this way of marking the beginning of new antiphons requires, on the other hand, a full mastery of the different categories and the possible values each of them might take, especially to be able to decode the various abbreviations.

In the following sections, the diachronic development of the system for marking the beginning of individual antiphons is discussed on the basis of the evidence from the Minor Corpus. For the sake of convenience, this part of the chapter is structured primarily according to the different main rubricated elements. Within each such sections, the three stages distinguished in this chapter—single-type collections, pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, and post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections—are discussed in turn. As for the corpus that underlies this part of the chapter, it has been put together in the following manner: From each of the four categories of rubricated elements, twenty samples have, as

far as possible, been collected from each relevant collection. In some cases, the fragmentary state of the collection or limited accessibility has resulted in a smaller number of samples being chosen. As far as possible, the samples have been taken from the beginning of the Season of Flowers, i.e. from the commemoration of the End of *Kəramt* (ፀሐተ፡ ከረግሞት፡, *Ṣa'ata Kəramt*) and onwards, or, in the case of Group B collections, from the commemoration of Sundays in the Season of Flowers and onwards. In collections where these commemorations are not present or have not been preserved, other sections have been chosen based on legibility.¹⁵⁷⁷

4.4.2.1 Antiphon-type indications

As described above (4.4.2), antiphon-type indications represent one of the common ways in which the beginning of a new antiphon is marked. In general, the first antiphon of a certain type will be preceded by an antiphon-type indication, while the rest of the antiphons in the same section have the ‘default’ marking (see 4.4.2.4).

Early on in the investigation of the development of antiphon-type indications (and melodic-family indications; see 4.4.2.2), it became clear that the main changes concern the presence and scope of *abbreviated forms*. Although the concept in itself, arguably, is relatively straightforward, numerous cases which deny an unambiguous interpretation appear when studying the manuscript evidence in detail. In order to obtain data that is sufficiently precise to faithfully mirror the diachronic development, yet avoids a situation where every observation forms its own category, the following definitions of the categories in Data set 2(C) have been applied:

- an antiphon-type designation (or a melodic-family designation) is understood as consisting of ‘more than one word’ in cases where the first word is given in full and some portion of the following word is given, even if it is abbreviated,
- an antiphon-type designation (or a melodic-family designation) is understood as consisting of ‘one word’ in all cases where the first word is given in its entirety, regardless of its length, i.e. even if this only consists of two letters,
- in counting the number of letters that make up an abbreviation, the total number of letters in the abbreviation have been counted, even if they are divided into multiple words (ex. if the *'arbā't* melodic family *'Īsma 'anta bāḥitāka* is abbreviated ለስ፡ አን፡, this is classified as a four-letter abbreviation).

¹⁵⁷⁷ For information about the folios and lines from which the examples have been taken, see Data set 2(C).

This clearly leads to a certain arbitrariness, as when the writing እስመ፡ ተሐ፡ (‘*asma taḥa*, for the *śalast* melodic family beginning with the words ‘*Āsma taḥawwār*) is taken as ‘more than one word’, whereas, when abbreviated as እስ፡ ተሐ፡ (‘*as taḥa*)—i.e. with only one letter’s difference—it is taken as a four-letter abbreviation. These methodological difficulties and to-a-certain-extent arbitrariness should be kept in mind as the reader evaluates the conclusions presented in this and the following section.¹⁵⁷⁸

4.4.2.1.1 *Single-type collections*

Given that all antiphons in a single-type collection are per definition of the same antiphon type, there would seem to be little need for antiphon-type indications to appear in the marking of individual antiphons in single-type collections. Indeed, such indications are absent from the proper single-type collections included in the Minor Corpus.¹⁵⁷⁹

There are, however, two collections that—although physically appearing in manuscripts containing single-type collections and agreeing with these in many aspects—are formally of a different structure: the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185 and the multiple-type collection in MS EMMML 7618. To these can also be added three smaller entities containing antiphon-type indications that appear within larger single-type collections: the multiple-type commemorations for Mount Tabor (ደብረ፡ ታቦር፡, *Dabra Tābor*) at the end of the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 and in the final parts of the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, and the antiphons for the morning of the End of Easter (በጥልቀቱ፡ ፋሲካ፡ ነግህ፡, *ba-ṭalqata Fāsikā nagh*) within the *yətbārak* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. For introductions to these collections and smaller entities, see the respective sections in Chapter 2. From the first four, twenty samples each could be extracted, while the fifth—the *yətbārak* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92—only contains three, resulting in a corpus of 83 cases.

As for the *mise en texte* of antiphon-type indications in these collections, the prevailing practice is to write out the complete name of the antiphon type with red ink, whether it consists of one or several words. This practice occurs in 78 out of the 83 occasions included in the corpus (c. 94.0 %). In the multiple-type collection in MS EMMML 7618, there are numerous *śalast* antiphons, which are regularly

¹⁵⁷⁸ It should be pointed out that these methodological choices—as much as they may contribute to creating patterns—may also contribute to obscuring patterns. For example, in the part of the collection in MS EMDA 00111 that has been analysed, ‘default’ marking always uniformly is realised as rubrication of the two first letters of the first word. But according to the manner of presenting the statistics explained above, this surfaces as 17 cases of rubricating the first two letters of a word, and three cases of full-word rubrication (in the three cases in the studied section where an antiphon begins with a two-letter word).

¹⁵⁷⁹ See, however, 4.3.2 for a discussion of antiphon-type indications occurring as part of the marking of commemorations and melodic-family sections.

designated with the alternative name *səmə* ‘*anni*’,¹⁵⁸⁰ i.e. not by means of a numeral. In the multiple-type commemorations in the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 and in the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187, *śalast* antiphons are referred to with the name *səmə* ‘*anni*’ on some occasions and with the term *ba-3* (ባ፫, ባ፫, ‘in three’) on others (in four out of 83 cases; *c.* 4.8 %). This might be perhaps taken as an indication that numeric abbreviations were less widespread in these manuscripts than in later collections, but keeping in mind that we could observe numeric abbreviations in the marking of commemorations in single-type collections in 4.3.2, it is rather the use of alternative, non-numeric designations that stands out.

One letter-based abbreviation occurs in the corpus, in the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185, where ሰብ (*sab*), rubricated, is once used as an abbreviation for *sabbəḥəwwə* (an alternative designation for *səbhata nagh* antiphons; see Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.26). However, it is unclear if this mirrors the original plan of the scribe or if it should be taken as an *ad hoc* solution.¹⁵⁸¹

4.4.2.1.2 Pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections

Antiphon-type indications are used to mark the beginning of individual antiphons in all thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus. From twelve of the collection—all except the fragmentary collection in MS EMMML 2468—it has been possible to extract twenty samples each. In the fragment found in MS EMMML 2468, only seven are found. Consequently, the conclusions presented below build on the analysis of 247 cases.

Based on this corpus, the prevalent way of indicating antiphon type in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections appears to be by writing out in the main text the entire name of the antiphon type, or the entire first word of the name. Thus, for example, a section containing *səbhata nagh* antiphons will generally be introduced by a rubricated element ሰብሐተ: ነግሠ: (*səbhata nagh*) or ሰብሐተ: (*səbhata*). For the many antiphon-type names that consist of only one word, no variation is observable. This practice could be observed in 151 out of the 247 cases (*c.* 61.1 %).¹⁵⁸²

¹⁵⁸⁰ For a discussion of this antiphon-type designation, as also whether the designation *qālāya*, occurring in this collection, might refer to ‘*arbā*’ antiphons, see Chapter 2 (2.3.4.3.16).

¹⁵⁸¹ The abbreviation appears in connection with a *səbhata nagh* antiphon that occurs directly after another antiphon of the same type, i.e. in a context where one would have expected ‘default’ marking. In the *səbhata nagh*-service collection in MS GG-185, ‘default’ marking is normally realised by means of the introductory word *wa-’ādi* (ወኅዲ:; ‘and further’; see below, 4.4.2.4.1). One can imagine that the space now filled with *sab* was intended by the scribe who wrote with black ink to be filled with the formula *wa-’ādi*, and that—if the space where *sab* is now written had really been intended for an antiphon-type indication—a larger space would have been left, thus not forcing the rubricator to abbreviate.

¹⁵⁸² In the study of antiphon-type indications, the difference between writing out the entire name of the antiphon type and only its first word has not been considered in the statistics, given that most antiphon-type designations consist of one word and would thus be ambiguous. For the study of

Similarly belonging to the ‘standard’ *mise en texte* practice of these collections is the use of numeric abbreviation, for example ᠔ (4), instead of the word አርባዕቱ፡ (‘*arbā tu*, meaning ‘four’). As it appears, this type of abbreviations occurred already at an early stage; we have observed above that in single-type collections that indicate antiphon type in connection to the marking of commemorations or melodic-family sections, this practice was already in place (see 4.3.2). Among the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, numeric abbreviations appear in 52 out of the 247 cases (21.1 %). Only in MSS EMMML 8070, EMMML 8848, and Ṭānāsee 172, a frequent use of the names spelled out with letters can be observed. However, the antiphon type *ba-ḥammastu* is, in this corpus, exclusively attested in its numeric-abbreviation form (በ፩፡, *ba-5*).

There are also occurrences of letter-based abbreviations, i.e. when the (first word of the) name of the antiphon type is presented in an abbreviated form. When such abbreviations occur in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, they generally consist of three or more letters. This is the case in fifteen cases out of 247 (c. 6.1 %). Only in one out of the thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, examples of two-letter abbreviations could be observed (MS EMMML 8408; two examples, c. 0.8 %). While it is, of course, impossible to draw firm conclusions based on such small a corpus, these figures stand in stark contrast to what can be observed for the post-sixteenth-century collections, where two-letter abbreviations are common (see below, 4.4.2.1.3).

In contrast, one-letter abbreviations could be observed in five out of the thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, in total in twelve cases out of 247 (c. 4.9 %). In most of these cases,¹⁵⁸³ it is the abbreviation አ (‘*a*’) that serves as an abbreviation for the antiphon-type designation ‘*Agzi abəher nagśa*. Possibly, the length of this designation triggered this term to be abbreviated, even though abbreviating was not a general practice. It should however be noted that the abbreviation አ (‘*a*’) is not common in the post-sixteenth-century manuscripts, where longer abbreviations such as አግዚ (‘*agzi*’) or አግዚአ (‘*agzi a*’) are prevalent (see below, 4.4.2.1.3). Also, the alternative name በ፫፡ (*ba-3*, ‘in three’) should be noticed. It occurs instead of ‘*Agzi abəher nagśa* (or an abbreviation thereof) in at least three out of the twelve pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28, EMMML 2542 and EMMML 7174.¹⁵⁸⁴

In 15 out of 247 cases (c. 6.1 %), antiphons were not marked at all for antiphon-type. This concerns mostly *məsbāk* antiphons occurring at the beginning of a

melodic-family indications, however, this difference has systematically been taken into account (see 4.4.2.2).

¹⁵⁸³ In addition, MS EMMML 8408 has one occurrence of the abbreviation ሙ፡ ዘሰን፡, *ma za-san*, for *mazmur za-sanbat* (ሙዝሙር፡ ዘሰንበት፡) and MS EMMML 8804 regularly uses the abbreviations ማ, *mā*, for *māhlet* and ስ, *sə*, for *səbhata nagh*.

¹⁵⁸⁴ The use of this abbreviation is another factor that connects ‘*Agzi abəher nagśa* antiphons to *śalast* antiphons. Cf. fn. 1531 and, especially, the discussion in Chapter 1 (1.4.4.1.8).

commemoration, where the position nonetheless unambiguously indicates to which type of antiphons they belong. Additionally, MS EMLL 8678, on the two occasions included in the studied section, does not indicate antiphon type at the beginning of sections containing *śalast* antiphons. While the antiphon type is nonetheless unambiguously signalled by the melodic-family indications, this practice stands out as idiosyncratic in the context of the present corpus.

4.4.2.1.3 *Post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections*

Examples of the use of rubricated antiphon-type indications to mark the beginning of individual antiphons are found in all twenty-one post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, and consequently, the corpus consists of 240 observations from Group A manuscripts, 140 observations from Group B manuscripts, and 40 observations from printed editions.

Among the Group A manuscripts, the main change as compared to the pre-seventeenth-century collection consists in an increased use of short, letter-based abbreviations. Unabbreviated forms are attested in 79 out of 240 observations (32.9 %), i.e. considerably less than for the pre-seventeenth-century collection. Abbreviations consisting of three or more letters occur in 37 out of 240 observations (c. 15.4 %), whereas two- and one-letter abbreviations appear in 55 out of 240 observations (c. 22.9 %). This marks an increase in the overall use of abbreviated forms, and especially of two-letter abbreviations. Based on the limited corpus used in this section, it is not possible to observe any development within the corpus of post-sixteenth-century Group A collections. Rather, a couple of them, stemming from different centuries, testify to a use of abbreviations similar to that of the pre-seventeenth-century collections (ex. MSS EMLL 2053, EMLL 2431, EMLL 7285, and Ethio-SPaRe DD-019),¹⁵⁸⁵ whereas others, likewise stemming from the seventeenth century and onwards, display a high number of abbreviations (ex. MSS EAP432/1/10, EMDA 0111, and UUB O Etiop. 36). As for the proportion of numeric abbreviations and of missing antiphon-type indications, it remains similar to the previous period.

The Group B manuscripts are comparable to the more progressive strand among the Group A manuscripts: 27 out of 140 observations are unabbreviated (c. 19.3 %), 22 consist of abbreviations of three or more letters (c. 15.7 %), and 54 consist of abbreviations of two or one letters (c. 38.6 %). While the percentage of numeric abbreviations remains approximately the same, the proportion of missing antiphon-type indications is higher: 14 out of 140 observations (10.0 %). This might be interpreted as a result of the manuscripts containing Group B collections'

¹⁵⁸⁵ In connection to this, the practice followed in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 should be mentioned especially, as it stands out both having a proportion of unabbreviated forms similar to the pre-seventeenth-century collections and in using the one-letter abbreviation አ (ʾə) for 'Āgzi' *abəher nagśa* antiphons.

being less carefully produced. As for the printed editions, *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 2015 has figures comparable to a ‘progressive’ Group A manuscript, whereas *Maṣḥafa Dəgg^wā* 1994 displays abbreviations comparable to what is found in the most ‘progressive’ collections of Group B.

4.4.2.1.4 Conclusions

Based on the limited corpus, including in total 750 observations from 39 collections found in 39 manuscripts, the following can be concluded regarding the form of antiphon-type indications in the marking of individual antiphons.

A general development from unabbreviated forms (of the antiphon-type indications) to more and more abbreviated forms appears to have taken place. This seems to be a gradual development, in which longer abbreviations, consisting of three or more letters, are first introduced, while abbreviations consisting of two or one letters are increasingly used in later manuscripts. As discussed below (4.4.3.4), this can presumably be connected to an increasing specialisation of the producers and users of antiphon collections. In post-sixteenth-century times, the use of abbreviations seems to mirror the carefulness with which a manuscript was produced, reflected by the high degree of abbreviations in some of the manuscripts containing post-sixteenth-century Group A collections and in those containing Group B collections.

There are, however, also trends on a more detailed level. For example, the use of a one-letter abbreviation for ‘*Ēgzi*’ *abəher nagśa* antiphons is prevalent in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, whereas most later manuscripts use longer abbreviations of this antiphon-type designation.

In Diagram 1, the data concerning the form of antiphon-type indications as markers for the beginning of individual antiphons provided in Data set 2(C) is summarised.¹⁵⁸⁶ While the number of observed cases in the single-type collections (or rather, in the exceptional cases where collections included among the single-type collections contain sections where multiple antiphon types are listed) is extremely low, and no firm conclusions can be drawn based on them, for the rest of the material, the trends described above are illustrated. The reader should be reminded that, as indicated above, the collections of Group A are not a homogenous group, but rather some collections are similar to the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections in their abbreviation practice, whereas others are similar to the collections of Group B.

¹⁵⁸⁶ To simplify the diagram, the categories ‘Two-letter abbreviation’ and ‘One-letter abbreviation’, which are distinguished in Data set 2(C), have been merged in this visualisation. Furthermore, the printed editions have not been included.

Chapter 4. The Diachronic Development of *mise en texte* Features

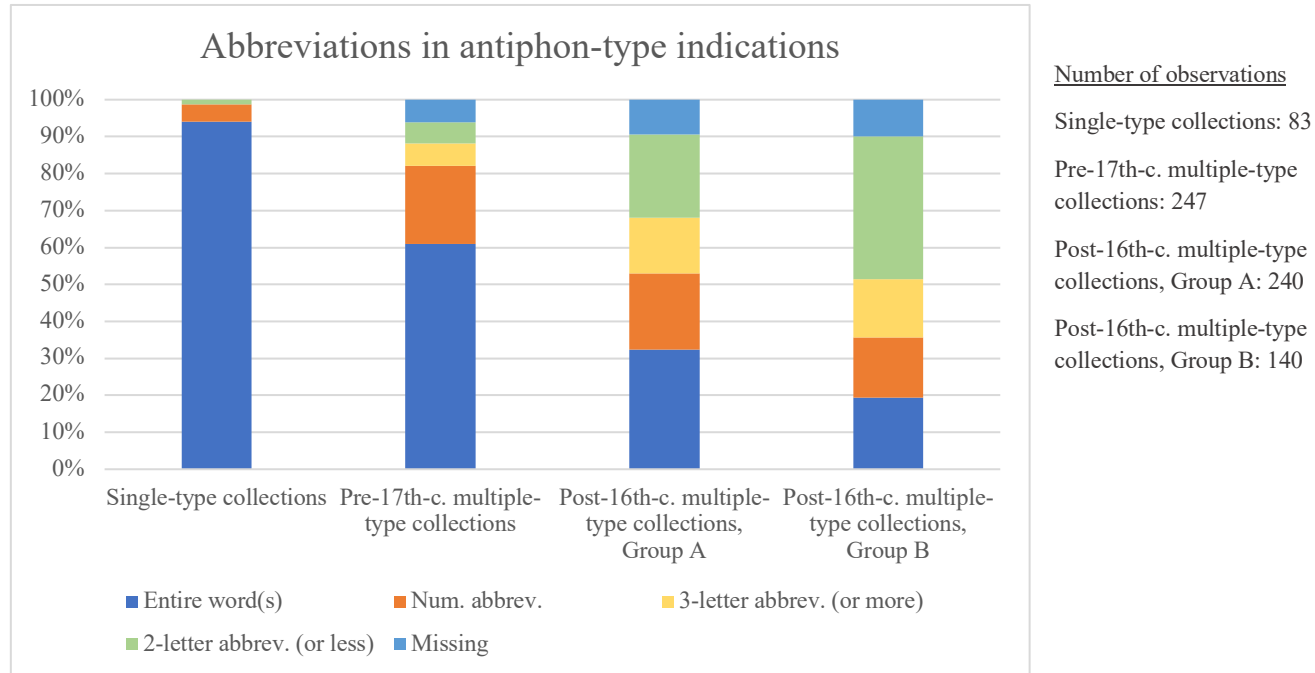


Diagram 1. Summary of the development of abbreviations in antiphon-type indications in the collections of the Minor Corpus (excluding the printed editions).

4.4.2.2 Melodic-family indications

As indicated above (4.4.2), melodic-family indications occur as a way of marking the beginning of a new antiphon in connection with the following types of antiphons: *'arbā 't*, *'aryām*, and *śalast*. In general, only the first antiphon of a certain melodic family will be preceded by a melodic-family indication, while the rest of the antiphons belonging to the same family have the 'default' marking (see 4.4.2.4).

Based on preliminary observations, the main focus of this section has been on tracing the use and scope of abbreviations. In doing this, the same analysis of abbreviations has been applied as for the antiphon-type indications (see 4.4.2.1).

4.4.2.2.1 Single-type collections

As described further in Chapter 5 (5.3.3.1), single-type collections of types of antiphons classified according to melodic families can be organised in two ways: either primarily according to melodic families (with a categorisation according to the liturgical calendar within each melodic family) or primarily according to the liturgical calendar (with a categorisation into melodic families within each commemoration). In melodic-family-based single-type collections, the organisational level of commemorations occurs between the level of melodic families and individual antiphons, thus making them irrelevant for the discussion of the marking of the beginning of individual antiphons. Such collections were discussed above in section 4.3.2. In the present section, only calendar-based single-type collections of *'arbā 't*, *śalast*, and *'aryām* antiphons will be treated. Four such collections are found in the Minor Corpus: the *'arbā 't* collection and the *śalast* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, the *'arbā 't* collection in MS EMMML 2095, and the *'aryām* collection in MS EMMML 7618. From each of these collections, it has been possible to collect twenty samples, resulting in a corpus for this section consisting of, in total, 80 cases.

As noticed in section 4.3.2, melodic-family indications—also in the primarily calendar-based collection—are lavishly marked, in a way that rather corresponds to the way that commemorations are marked in other calendar-based collections and melodic families in melodic-family based collections. Thus, in the *'arbā 't* collection and the *śalast* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, and in the *'arbā 't* collection in MS EMMML 2095, the marking of a new melodic family within a commemoration generally includes a dotted and/or drawn line, an antiphon-type indication (ጸ፬፥, *ba-4*, 'in four', in the *'arbā 't* collections and ጸ፫፥, *ba-3*, 'in three', in the *śalast* collection), and textual formulas, on which see below. In the *'aryām* collection in MS EMMML 7618, they are regularly marked by (most often) two blank lines, a drawn/dotted line (consisting primarily of dots), and a

textual formula, with a *crux ansata* in the left margin—antiphon-type indications are missing.¹⁵⁸⁷

As for the textual formulas, their principal part is an incipit of a model antiphon (see Chapter 5). There is variation as to how many words of the incipit are written out. In 65 out of 80 cases (c. 81.3 %), more than one entire word of the melodic-family designation has been written. In the remaining 15 out of 80 cases, one word has been written (c. 18.8 %). There seems to be a connection between certain melodic families and the use of one word. For example, both occurrence of a one-word incipit in the *'aryām* collection in MS EML 7618 included in the corpus concern the melodic family with the incipit *Ba-madālāw*. Probably, this word—and the same goes for parallel cases—was considered sufficiently unambiguous and syntactically self-contained to be used on its own.

The incipit of a model antiphon is generally presented within the formula [*incipit of model antiphon*] *ba-za yābl* ([incipit of model antiphon] በዘ፡ ይብል፡, '[incipit of model antiphon], in which one says:'), which has already been described above in section 4.3.2 in the marking of melodic families in melodic-family-based collections. The entire formula is regularly rubricated. The formula [*incipit of model antiphon*] *ba-za yābl* occurs in 69 out of the 80 cases (c. 86.3 %).

Importantly, the cases where this formula is absent are not randomly distributed but occur systematically—at least as far as can be observed based on the limited corpus—in connection with specific melodic families, leading to the tentative conclusion that its absence is melodic-family dependent. For the *'arbā 't* antiphons, the formula does not occur in connection to the melodic family *Qəne dābtarā*, neither in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 nor in MS EML 2095.¹⁵⁸⁸ For the *'aryām* collection in MS EML 7618, it does not occur in connection to the melodic families *Ba-qadāmi zemā*, *Ba-'abiy zemā* and *Ba-9*. For the *śalast* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, no such cases could be observed within the limited corpus that was studied, but it is possible that a more thorough study of the melodic families of *śalast* antiphons would reveal similar cases. A tentative explanation of the lack of the formula *ba-za yābl* may be sought in the nature of these melodic-family designations: in all four cases, they appear to have a potentially music-related meaning, i.e. they can be read as technical terms in their own right, not only as abbreviations of the incipits of model antiphons, as the rest of the melodic-family designations. If this is indeed their origin, it would explain the absence of the formula in question.

¹⁵⁸⁷ From fol. 78va and onwards, the *cruces ansatae* in connection to melodic families are dropped and only retained in connection with new commemorations. Cf. fn. 1557.

¹⁵⁸⁸ In this case, the observation is supported by the more extensive study on the melodic families of *'arbā 't* antiphons presented in Chapter 5 (see, especially, 5.3.3.3.8).

4.4.2.2.2 *Pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections*

In the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, the melodic-family indications have been incorporated into a larger calendrical system. As evident from the descriptions of the individual services in Chapter 1 (see 1.4.3.3.1–1.4.3.3.7), sections of *'arbā 't*, *śalast*, and *'aryām* antiphons may be found in different commemorations, depending on which services are envisioned for a particular feast, and within these sections, melodic-family indications play the role of marking the beginning of individual antiphons described in 4.4.2. As for the corpus, it has been possible to extract twenty examples from each of the thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, except from the fragment preserved in MS EMLL 2468, in which only eighteen examples are found, resulting in a corpus for this section consisting of, in total, 258 cases.

In a great majority of cases, a melodic-family indication either consists of the entire first word of the melodic-family designation or of more than one word. In 99 out of 258 cases (c. 38.4 %), more than one word is included. In 125 out of 258 cases (c. 48.4 %), one word is included. As noticed above (4.4.2.2.1), there appears to be a connection between specific melodic families and the use of one or several words. Still, an increase in the number of single-word melodic-family indications can be observed when comparing the data from the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections with that of single-type collections. Among the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, especially the collections in MSS EMLL 8408 and Tānāsee 172 stand out because of their predilection for only giving the first word of the melodic-family designation.

Abbreviations consisting of more than three letters are found in 22 out of the 258 cases (c. 8.5 %), three-letter abbreviations in eight cases (c. 3.1 %), and a one two-letter abbreviation only in one case (c. 0.4 %). Additionally, there are three cases in MS EMLL 4667 where no melodic-family indication is found, although expected, and where the beginning of the antiphon is instead marked only by the antiphon-type indication.¹⁵⁸⁹

In general, the formula [*incipit of model antiphon*] *ba-za yəbl* ([*incipit of model antiphon*] 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰, '[*incipit of model antiphon*], in which one says:') is not used in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. There are, however, two

¹⁵⁸⁹ [When I, upon request, was asked if it would be possible to specify the location of these three cases where no melodic-family indication was found, I went through the portion of MS EMLL 4667 where—according to the information noted down by myself in Data set 2—the samples from this manuscript were gathered, but without being able to identify these three places unambiguously. It is possible that the observation of this feature was based on an interpretation of the photographic reproduction that I do no longer share. As the available reproduction of MS EMLL 4667 is not always well readable, I am unsure if a renewed data extraction would lead to better data, and for this reason I have chosen not to redo the data gathering. However, for the sake of scholarly honesty, this failed search for the cases in which no melodic-family indication was present—according to my first analysis of the manuscript—needed to be reported.]

collections—MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EMLL 8678, both dated to the fifteenth century—which show traces of it: in MS BAV Vat. et. 28, it occurs in one out of the twenty cases,¹⁵⁹⁰ in MS EMLL 8678, in four cases.¹⁵⁹¹ This points to a continuity between the single-type collections and the multiple-type collections, which however appears to have disappeared relatively quickly, as it has not been observed in any of the later *Dagg^wā*-type collections included in the Minor Corpus.

4.4.2.2.3 *Post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections*

Examples of the use of melodic-family indications to mark the beginning of antiphons are found in all twenty-two post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections in the Minor Corpus. Twenty samples could be extracted from each collection except the Group B collection in MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001, the available portion of which only offers ten samples (see Chapter 2, 2.6.5). The resulting corpus consists of 240 examples from Group A collections, 130 examples from Group B collections, and 40 examples from printed editions.

Among the collections belonging to Group A, melodic-family indications only rarely—in twelve out of 240 cases (5.0 %)—consist of more than one word. It is still relatively common that the first word is given: 93 out of 240 cases (c. 38.8 %). However, it should be remembered that the first word sometimes consists of only two or three letters (see 4.4.2.1). The use of abbreviated forms, especially consisting of two or three letters, has increased substantially in comparison to the pre-seventeenth-century collections. In 25 out of the 240 cases (c. 10.4 %), an abbreviation consisting of more than three letters is used; in 44 cases (c. 18.3 %), a three-letter abbreviation; in 59 cases (c. 24.6 %), a two-letter abbreviation; and in five cases (c. 2.1 %), a one-letter abbreviation. There are two cases in which no melodic-family indication was provided for the first antiphon of its type. It is, however, not possible to establish a gradual development towards shorter forms *within* the post-sixteenth-century collections included in the Minor Corpus. Three collections—in MSS EAP254/1/5, EAP432/1/10, and EMDA 0111—show a clear prevalence for two-letter abbreviations, but they stem from different centuries. A similar picture appears for collections with a preference for giving the entire first word.

The collections of Group B do not differ substantially from the collections of Group A, except that they perhaps go even further in the tendency towards abbreviation. The number of cases where a full word is given is lower—29 out of 130 cases (c. 22.3 %)—and the number of two-letter abbreviations is higher: 65

¹⁵⁹⁰ This holds true for the section included in the corpus, written by Hand A; cf. MS BAV Vat. et. 28, fol. 3va, l. 23. However, out of the twenty examples gathered from portions written by Hand B (see Data set 2(C)), traces of the formula occur in three cases: MS BAV Vat. et. 28, fols 13vb, ll. 2–3; 14va, ll. 7–8, 29.

¹⁵⁹¹ Three of these cases are found on the following folios: MS EMLL 8678, fols 3ra, l. 5; 3va, l. 11; 7ra, l. 14.

out of 130 cases (50.0 %). There was only one case where more than one word was written out. However, the limitations of the corpus need to be stressed. Both of the printed editions display a clear predilection towards two-letter abbreviations.

4.4.2.2.4 *Conclusions*

The general conclusion, based on the study of 748 cases where the beginning of an antiphon is marked by a melodic-family indication, stemming from 38 collections in 37 manuscripts, is that there is a clear tendency towards abbreviation: from writing out full incipits, often consisting of more than one word, to a predilection of writing out one word, and then an increase of ever shorter abbreviations. This is parallel to what was observed above for antiphon-type indications (see 4.4.2.1.4).

In Diagram 2, a synoptic view of the development of melodic-family indications is offered. A couple of categories distinguished in Data set 2(C) have been merged here, so as to offer a better overview of the development.¹⁵⁹² The data clearly illustrate the tendency towards increased abbreviation. Again, the reader should be reminded of the heterogeneity displayed especially by the Group A collections, where some are close to the pre-seventeenth-century collections and others to the Group B collections.

In addition, one may notice the decreased use and final disappearance of the formula [*incipit of model antiphon*] *ba-za yəbl* ([*incipit of model antiphon*] $\Omega\mathbb{H}$: $\beta\cdot\Omega\mathbb{A}$), ‘[*incipit of model antiphon*], in which one says:’. Based on the corpus used in this section, it goes from being ubiquitous in the single-type collections to only isolated cases appearing in the earliest multiple-type collections, after which it is not attested.

¹⁵⁹² The categories ‘Abbreviation consisting of four or more letters’ and ‘Three-letter abbreviation’ have been merged. The printed editions have not been included.

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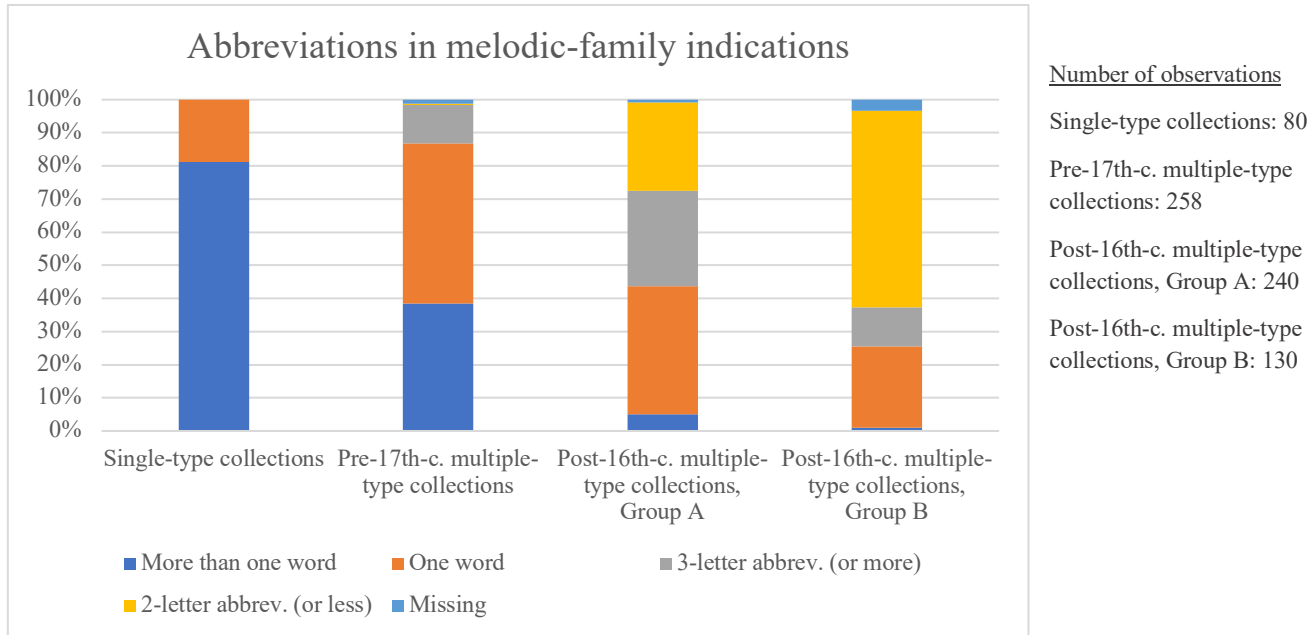


Diagram 2. Summary of the development of abbreviations in melodic-family indications in the collections of the Minor Corpus (excluding the printed editions).

4.4.2.3 Hallelujah-number indications

As indicated above (4.4.2), hallelujah-number indications occur in connection with the following types of antiphons: *'abun*, *'əzl*, *mazmur*, *salām*, and *wāzemā*. The attested variation in the *mise en texte* of hallelujah numbers is minimal. Two variables are discernible: a) if one repetition of the word is prescribed, this can be either written with a number (ⲛⲉ:) or with letters (ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲓⲛⲓ),¹⁵⁹³ and b) either the entire indication is rubricated (ⲛⲉ:), only the numeral (ⲛⲉ:), or no part of the expression (ⲛⲉ:). In the present dissertation, only the second variable will be considered, due to the fact that the number of attestations of the indication for one repetition (ⲛⲉ:/ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲓⲛⲓ) in the present corpus is too low to allow for firm conclusions.

4.4.2.3.1 Single-type collections

Among the manuscripts containing single-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, there are twenty-two collections of antiphon types that appear to be furnished with hallelujah numbers. There are seven *mazmur*-family collections¹⁵⁹⁴ in the corpus, in MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, EMML 6944, EMML 7618, Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i, Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, GG-185, and GG-187; four *salām* collections, in MSS BnF Éth. 92, DS-VIII*/XIII, EMML 7618, and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002; and one each of *'əzl* collections and *wāzemā* collections, both in MS 7618. Furthermore, apart from the antiphon types described above, hallelujah numbers (or what appears to be hallelujah numbers) are also present in the following nine single-type collections: the *yətbārak* collections in MSS DS-XX and EMML 7618, the *nāhu yə'əze* collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMML 7618, the *za-amlākiya* collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and EMML 7618, the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 and the parallel second unidentified collection in MS EMML 7618, and the *mawāšə't* collection in MS EMML 7618. Twenty examples could be extracted from each of the abovementioned collections, except the *yətbārak* collections in MSS DS-XX and EMML 7618 and (with fourteen and five examples, respectively) and the *mazmur*-family collection in Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i (with two examples), resulting in a corpus for this section consisting of 401 examples from twenty-two collections.

The practice of rubricating both the preposition *ba-* and the numeral (ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉ, etc.) occurs in 109 out of 401 cases (c. 27.2 %). It is prevalent in four out of the twenty-two collections, in the collections in MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-VIII*/XIII,

¹⁵⁹³ More rarely, the word *hāllehuyā* (ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲓ) is written out also after other numerals, e.g. *ba-2 hāllehuyā* (ⲛⲉ: ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲓ). For examples, see the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 (ex. fol. 161rb, l. 26).

¹⁵⁹⁴ As indicated in Chapter 1 (1.4.4.1.37), the antiphon types that belong to the '*mazmur* family' (*'abun*, *'əsmā la-ālam*, *'əzl*, *mazmur*, *wāzemā*), are not distinguished in the single-type collection, and '*mazmur*-family antiphons' is used as an umbrella term in accordance with the practice in the manuscripts, which use the term *mazmur*.

DS-XX, and the *salām* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. Furthermore, it appears in fourteen out of twenty cases in the *za-ʾamlākiya* collection in MS EML 7618.

The practice of writing the preposition *ba-* with black ink and only rubricating the numeral (ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉ, etc.) occurs in 292 out of 401 cases (c. 72.8 %). It is prevalent in fifteen out of the twenty-two collections: the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i and EML 6944; the *mazmur*-family collection, the *ʾəzl* collection, the *wāzemā* collection, the *mawāšāʾt* collection, *za-nāhu yəʾəze* collection, *yətbārak* collection, and second unidentified collection in EML 7618; the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-185; the *mazmur*-family collection and the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002; and the *za-ʾamlākiya* collection, *za-nāhu yəʾəze* collection and the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. For the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i and the *yətbārak* collection in MS EML 7618, however, the number of observations is very limited. Furthermore, the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 and the *salām* collection in MS EML 7618 attest to a mixed usage, with about the same number of observations of rubrication of both preposition and numeral, and of only numeral.

Based on this limited corpus, a first conclusion is that both rubrication patterns are commonly attested among the single-type collection. In a few cases, both rubrication patterns are well represented within one collection, but in most, one is prevalent. Do the collections that use the same rubrication pattern share other characteristics? Perhaps. It seems that the four collections in which the rubrication of both preposition and numeral (ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉ, etc.) prevails are all among the very earliest single-type collections preserved. All relevant fragments from Dabra Šāhl belong to this group (see Chapter 2, 2.3.11–2.3.16), as well as the *salām* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, which is the earliest dated single-type collection, probably dating from AD 1307/1308 (see Chapter 2, 2.3.6.1). Admittedly, there are also isolated occurrences of the practice of rubricating only the numeral in these collections, and the rubrication of both preposition and numeral occurs on isolated occasions also in the other collections—yet, the prevalence of the rubrication of both elements seems, possibly, to be a feature typical of the very earliest stage of the development attested by the manuscript sources.

4.4.2.3.2 Pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections

Twenty examples of the use of hallelujah-numbers to mark the beginning of an antiphon could be extracted from each of the thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, resulting in a corpus for this section consisting of 260 cases.

Based on this corpus, one can conclude that the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections display a relatively uniform pattern of rubricating the hallelujah-number indications. In 243 out of 260 cases (93.5 %), the numeral is rubricated,

while the preposition *ba-* is written with black ink (ⲛⲅ, ⲛⲈ, ⲛⲿ, etc.). This pattern is prevalent in twelve out of thirteen collections included in the Minor Corpus, the only noteworthy exception being found in MS EMLL 8488, where, instead, in sixteen out of the twenty cases included in the corpus, both the preposition and the numeral are rubricated (ⲛⲅ, ⲛⲈ, ⲛⲿ, etc.; *c.* 6.2 % of the total corpus). MS EMLL 8488 thus follows the rubrication practice attested in four of the earliest single-type collections (see 4.4.2.3.1). This shows that although there is a general practice in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, other practices continue beside it.

4.4.2.3.3 *Post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections*

Twenty samples could be extracted from each of the twenty-one post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, except for MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001 (Group B), for which the available portion (see Chapter 2, 2.6.5) only offers fifteen samples. Consequently, this section is based on a corpus consisting of 240 examples from Group A manuscripts, 135 examples from Group B manuscripts, and 40 examples from printed editions.

In the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections of Group A, the pattern of rubricating the numeral while writing the preposition *ba-* in black ink (ⲛⲅ, ⲛⲈ, ⲛⲿ, etc.) is clearly prevalent, appearing in 212 out of 240 cases (*c.* 88.3 %).

Nonetheless, the data also offers a relatively large number of cases where both the preposition *ba-* and the numeral are rubricated (ⲛⲅ, ⲛⲈ, ⲛⲿ, etc.): 28 out of 240 cases (*c.* 11.7 %). The main reason for this is the increased use of symmetrical rubrication in the marking of new commemorations noticed above (4.3.4). As a result of this practice, the entire hallelujah-number indication that belongs to the first *wāzemā* antiphon of a commemoration, is rubricated, including the preposition. The connection with commemoration indications, in fact, explains all twenty-eight cases of rubrication of both the preposition and the numeral among post-sixteenth-century collections attested in the corpus.¹⁵⁹⁵

The collections of Group B generally follow the pattern of the manuscripts of Group A. One deviant feature, however, occurs in two of the seven Group B manuscripts included in the corpus—in MSS SBPK Or. quart. 1001 and Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008—namely the practice of writing the entire expression, including the numeral, with black ink (although occasionally with rubricated details). In MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001, this pattern appears in seven out of twenty cases, contrasting with six cases where only the numeral is rubricated and two cases where both the preposition and the numeral are rubricated (in connection with symmetrical rubrication). In MS Ethio-SPaRe THMR-008, it appears quite

¹⁵⁹⁵ The collection in MS EAP704/1/36 does not use symmetrical rubrication for marking the beginning of a new commemoration (see 4.3.4), but nevertheless hallelujah-number indications that appear in connection with the first antiphon of a new commemoration are written entirely in red.

regularly, in fifteen out of twenty cases. Interestingly, there are also other occasions where collections of Group B use rubrication more sparingly than collections of Group A (see 4.4.3.3.1). Perhaps this can be seen as an indication that they are to a lesser degree *deluxe* manuscripts (see 4.4.2.1.3).¹⁵⁹⁶

As for the printed editions, *Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 2015 follows the majority of the post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections, rubricating the numerals but not the preposition, whereas *Maṣḥafa Daggwā* 1994 lacks rubrication altogether, and consequently writes hallelujah-number indications completely in black.

4.4.2.3.4 Conclusions

Based on a limited corpus, in total taking 1076 samples from 56 collections contained in 44 manuscripts into account, the diachronic development of rubrication patterns for hallelujah numbers can be summarised as follows.

Among the single-type collections, there is variation between two different rubrication patterns, where, according to one, the preposition *ba-* as well as the numeral are rubricated (በ፩, በ፪, በ፫, etc.) and according to the other, only the numeral is rubricated (በ፩, በ፪, በ፫, etc.). Although the corpus of early manuscripts is small and dates are uncertain, it appears that the practice of rubricating both preposition and numeral is typical for the earliest preserved stage, giving way to the practice of rubricating only the numeral already before the transition to multiple-type collections. In the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, the practice of writing the preposition in black and rubricating only the numeral is prevalent. In post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections, this continues, although the increased use of symmetrical rubrication for marking the beginning of a new commemoration (see 4.3.4) leads to a resurgence of the practice of rubricating both the preposition and the numeral. However, in contrast to the rubrication pattern described for the earliest single-type collections, this now only occurs when they stand on symmetrically rubricated lines. In a few late manuscripts of Group B, the practice of writing also the numeral in black appears. The distribution of the different rubrication patterns among the categories of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections distinguished in this section is summarised in Diagram 3.¹⁵⁹⁷

¹⁵⁹⁶ On this concept in the study of the Ethiopic manuscript culture, see Delamarter et al. 2014.

¹⁵⁹⁷ The printed editions have not been included.

Chapter 4. The Diachronic Development of *mise en texte* Features

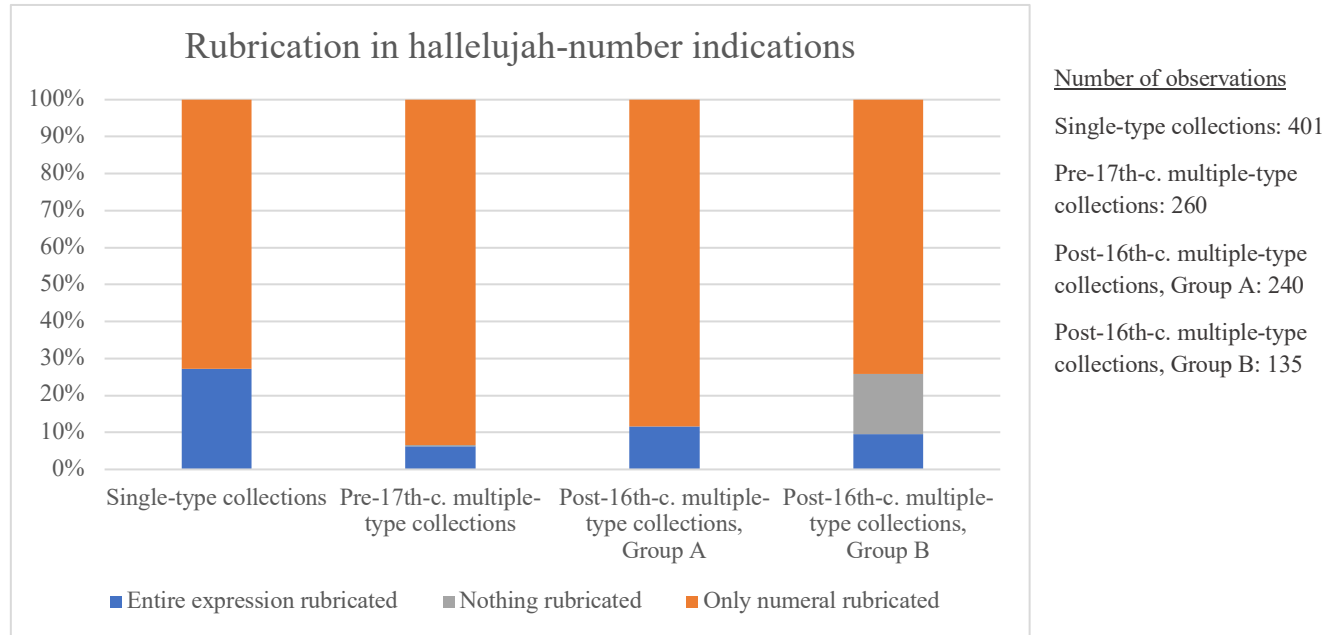


Diagram 3. Summary of the development of rubrication patterns in hallelujah-number indications in the collections of the Minor Corpus (excluding the printed editions).

4.4.2.4 ‘Default’ marking

This section concerns the marking of the beginning of an individual antiphon in cases where none of the rubricated elements discussed above (4.4.2.1–4.4.2.3) is present.¹⁵⁹⁸ As noticed above (4.4.2), in such cases, a part of the first word of the antiphon will, in most cases, be rubricated. The extent of the rubrication varies and will be the main topic of the following discussion. Other, more marginal ways of realising ‘default’ marking will also be treated.

4.4.2.4.1 *Single-type collections*

Among the collections included in the Minor Corpus, examples of ‘default’ marking are found in 48 out of 54 collections, in fourteen out of the fifteen manuscripts.¹⁵⁹⁹ Twenty examples could be extracted from thirty-four of these, but there is a number of collections which only display examples of ‘default’ marking on a limited number of instances. In total, the corpus consists of 803 cases.¹⁶⁰⁰

Among the manuscripts where ‘default’ marking is attested, two main practices are discernible: a) either the entire first word (or, occasionally, the first words) are rubricated, or b) no part of the first word is rubricated (i.e. the beginning of the antiphon is not marked by rubrication at all). In 34 out of the 48 collections (c. 70.8 %)—corresponding to 597 out of 803 cases (c. 74.3 %)—the prevailing practice is to rubricate the entire first word.¹⁶⁰¹ In eleven out of the 48 collections (c. 22.9 %)—corresponding to 176 out of 803 cases (c. 21.9 %)—the prevailing practice is not to rubricate any part of the first word.¹⁶⁰² In two collections—the collection in MS EMLL 6944 and the first unidentified collection in MS EMLL

¹⁵⁹⁸ Due to a combination of different factors, this kind of marking appears most frequently in combination with the following antiphon types: ‘*asma la- ‘ālam* antiphons, ‘*əzl* antiphons and *wāzemā* antiphons (when these are not preceded by a hallelujah-number indication), and ‘*arbā ‘t* antiphons, *šalast* antiphons, and ‘*aryām* antiphons which belong to the same melodic family as the preceding antiphon of the same type.

¹⁵⁹⁹ The ‘*arbā ‘t* collection in MS EMLL 7078 has been excluded, due to the fact that it is often impossible to distinguish rubricated letters from non-rubricated ones in the available reproduction.

¹⁶⁰⁰ For a detailed exposition of the sources, see Data set 2(C).

¹⁶⁰¹ This is the case in the following collections: the collections in MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-II, DS-III, DS-VIII*/XIII, DS-XVI, DS-XX, EMLL 2095; the ‘*aryām* collection, the *šalast* collection, the ‘*arbā ‘t* collection, the *māḥlet* collection, the ‘*əzl* collection, the *mawāšə ‘t* collection (one example), the *səbhata nagh* collection, the *za-tasāhalanni* collection, the *yətbārak* collection (three samples), the ‘*Ēgzi ‘abəher nagša* collection, and the multiple-type collection (three samples) in MS EMLL 7618; the ‘*aryām* collection in MS GG-185; all three collections in MS GG-187; the *šalast* collection, the ‘*arbā ‘t* collection, and the *mazmur*-family collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002; and the ‘*arbā ‘t* collection, the first *šalast* collection, the *za-tasāhalanni* collection, the second *šalast* collection, the ‘*aryām* collection, the ‘*Ēgzi ‘abəher nagša* collection, the *yətbārak* collection (two samples), the *səbhata nagh* collection, and the *salām* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92.

¹⁶⁰² This is the case in the following collections: the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i; the *mazmur*-family collection, the *wāzemā* collection, the second unidentified collection (two examples), and the *salām* collection in MS EMLL 7618; the *mazmur*-family collection, the ‘*arbā ‘t* collection, the first unidentified collection, the second unidentified collection, and the *māḥlet za-sabbəḥawwo* collection (one sample) in MS GG-185; and the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.

7618 (four examples)—both practices are attested approximately the same number of times.

One collection stands out when it comes to the way that ‘default’ marking is realised: the *sābhata nagh*-service collections in MS GG-185. Here, on seventeen out of seventeen occasions, antiphons of the same type as the one preceding them, in cases where one would expect ‘default’ marking, are introduced with the word *wa-‘ādi* (ⲱⲁⲓⲁⲓ, ‘and further’). On the first folios (fols 120v–122r), it is rubricated, but from the last lines of fol. 122r and to the end of the collection, it is instead (with one exception) written with under- and overlining.¹⁶⁰³

4.4.2.4.2 Pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections

Twenty samples of ‘default’ marking could be extracted from each of the thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, resulting in a corpus consisting of 260 cases. Based on this limited corpus, three different methods of ‘default’ marking can be observed.

In a vast majority of cases, the entire first word was rubricated. This practice was observed in 214 out of 260 cases (c. 82.3 %) and was the main method of ‘default’ marking in eleven out of thirteen collections, in MSS EMLL 1894, EMLL 2468 (fragment), EMLL 2542, EMLL 4667, EMLL 7174, EMLL 8070, EMLL 8408, EMLL 8678, EMLL 8804, IES 679, and Tānāsee 172. Exceptions are MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EMLL 8488. In these manuscripts, the ‘default’ marking does sometimes not entail any rubrication of the first word. However, both cases call for discussion.

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (2.4.2), MS BAV Vat. et. 28 contains parts written by at least two different hands. These hands differ in the way they realise ‘default’ marking. Hand A is consistent in not rubricating any part of the first word (twenty out of twenty cases), whereas Hand B displays a more variegated picture. From the twenty samples from Hand B that were collected (see Data set 2(C)), in seven cases, it follows Hand A. These cases were found together on fol. 15rb–va. However, the next time that Hand B made its appearance, on fols 17vb–20ra (esp. 18vb–19va), it instead rubricates the first letter of the first word of antiphons with ‘default’ marking. This marking is only encountered on isolated occasions elsewhere in the corpus. This fluctuation within one hand is indicative of the at least potentially fluid nature of this *mise en texte* feature.

In MS EMLL 8488, similarly, two different methods for ‘default’ marking coexist, although it has not been possible to connect them to different hands. On the first folios included in the corpus, the scribe does not rubricate any part of the first word; however, from fol. 20ra–b and onwards, the first word of the antiphon is rubricated. The practice of rubricating the first word begins with the section of

¹⁶⁰³ For another example of this way of marking the text, functionally equivalent to rubrication, see Example (d) in Illustration 17.

ʾasma la-ʾālam antiphons for Sundays in the Season of Flowers—one could speculate that the scribe began to rubricate the initial word of a new antiphon when he or she reached a point in the collection where this was of greater use, i.e. at the beginning of a larger section of antiphons of a type that requires ‘default’ marking.¹⁶⁰⁴ As indicated in Chapter 2 (2.4.11), only twelve folios of this manuscript have been available to me. It is possible that a larger-scale study of MS EML 8488 would reveal a clearer pattern.

Cases in which only part of the first word was rubricated could also be observed, noticeably in the fragment in MS EML 2468 and in the collection in MS EML 8070, but even in these collections, this was observed only in a minority of the cases.

4.4.2.4.3 *Post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections*

Examples of ‘default’ marking were found in all twenty-one post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus. Twenty samples could be extracted from each collection, and consequently, this section is based on a corpus consisting of 240 examples from Group A manuscripts, 140 examples from Group B manuscripts, and 40 examples from printed editions.

As in the other categories of manuscripts, the most common pattern for ‘default’ marking in the Group A collections is by rubricating the entire first word. This occurs in 144 out of 240 cases (60.0 %) and is the main method in seven out of twelve collections, in MSS EAP704/1/36, EML 2053, EML 2431, EML 7285, Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, and UUB O Etiop. 36. One may notice that among the twenty cases taken from MS UUB O Etiop. 36, there are three in which the initial word of an individual word is abbreviated. Thus, for example, the beginning of the antiphon *Ṗetros wa-Ṗāwēlos ʾəzl 002*, normally consisting of the words *በአፍክኒ: አንትሙ: (ba-ʾafʾa-ni ʾantəmu, ‘You are outside’)* is laid out as *በአፍክኒ: (ba-ʾafʾantəmu)* in MS UUB O Etiop. 36 (fol. 24ra, ll. 22–24). The abbreviation of the first word and the missing word divider after it both indicate that we are witnessing the result of a failed calculation—the scribe who wrote with black ink left too little space for the rubricator or, alternatively, the rubricator did not manage to adapt the size of his or her letters to the available space. Similar and other strategies for coping with limited space can be seen in the other manuscripts containing Group A collections.

The second most common rubrication pattern signalling the ‘default’ marking is an innovation in comparison to what could be observed for earlier stages. In 70 out of 240 cases (c. 29.2 %), only the first two letters of the first word have been

¹⁶⁰⁴ Cf. fn. 1598.

rubricated.¹⁶⁰⁵ This is the main pattern in four out of twelve collections, in MSS EAP254/1/5, EAP432/1/10, EMDA 00111, and EMLL 7529. There are also examples where the first three letters of the first word have been rubricated. This occurs in 25 out of 240 cases (c. 10.4 %) and is the main pattern in one out of the twelve manuscripts, in MS EMLL 6994.

The collections of Group B display a more varied situation, where, in fact, the most common pattern is an innovation, not attested in the other groups of collections. In 63 out of 140 cases (45.0 %), an antiphon-type indication or melodic-family indication is repeated where ‘default’ marking would have been expected in other collections. Thus, for example, a rubricated antiphon-type indication $\lambda\lambda$ (‘*as*, for ‘*asma la-‘alam*) is repeated before every ‘*asma la-‘alam* antiphon in a section, instead of only appearing before the first one (cf. the general pattern described in 4.4.2). In MS EMLL 9110, the pattern of repeating other indications occurs regularly in the studied portion, but in most of the other Group B collections in the Minor Corpus, it is paired with other patterns, seen also in other types of collections. Rubrication of the entire first word occurs in 46 out of 140 cases (c. 32.9 %) and is the prevailing pattern in MS EMLL 8084. Rubrication of the two first letters of the first word in 21 out of 140 cases (15.0 %) but is not the prevailing pattern in any of the collections.

As for the printed editions, *Maṣḥafa Dagg^{wā}* 2015 is similar to the Group A collections in MSS EAP254/1/5, EAP432/1/10, EMDA 00111, and EMLL 7529 in predominantly rubricating the two first letters of the first word. *Maṣḥafa Dagg^{wā}* 1994, as noted before, lacks rubrication.

4.4.2.4.4 Conclusions

Based on a limited corpus, consisting of 1483 samples of ‘default’ marking taken from 82 collections contained in 48 manuscripts, the diachronic development of the ‘default’ marking of the beginning of antiphons, i.e. the marking attested in cases where no other element prone to rubrication is found before the beginning of the antiphon, can be described as follows.

In a first stage, comprising both single-type collections and pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, the entire first word is rubricated in a large majority of cases. Among the single-type collections, there are also cases, mostly concentrated to certain collections, where the first word is left completely without rubrication, meaning that the beginning is not explicitly marked at all in the *mise en texte* (except for the fact that it appears after the marking of the end of the previous antiphon). One small single-type collection uses a metatextual term *wa-*

¹⁶⁰⁵ A methodological remark: In accordance with the principles described in 4.4.2.1, cases where the first word of an antiphon consists of two letters (or three) have been counted as entire-word rubrication.

‘*ādi* (ወግዲ፣, ‘and further’) in contexts corresponding to ‘default’ marking in other collections.

From the seventeenth-century multiple-type collections and onwards, the practice of rubricating only a part of the first word occurs with increasing frequency, although it never ousts the practice of rubricating the entire first word. While some variation occurs, the most common practice, from the seventeenth century onwards, is to rubricate the two first letters of the first word.

The manuscripts of Group B stand out insofar that they, in most cases, attest to more irregularity regarding the ‘default’ marking. They have ample examples of an otherwise unattested practice of repeating the antiphon-type indication or the melodic-family indication in contexts where ‘default’ marking would have been expected. The data is summarised in Diagram 4.¹⁶⁰⁶

¹⁶⁰⁶ To simplify the diagram, the categories ‘Rubricate first letter’ and ‘Rubricate first two letters’, distinguished in Data set 2(C), have been merged here. The unclear cases have been excluded. The printed editions have not been included.

Chapter 4. The Diachronic Development of *mise en texte* Features

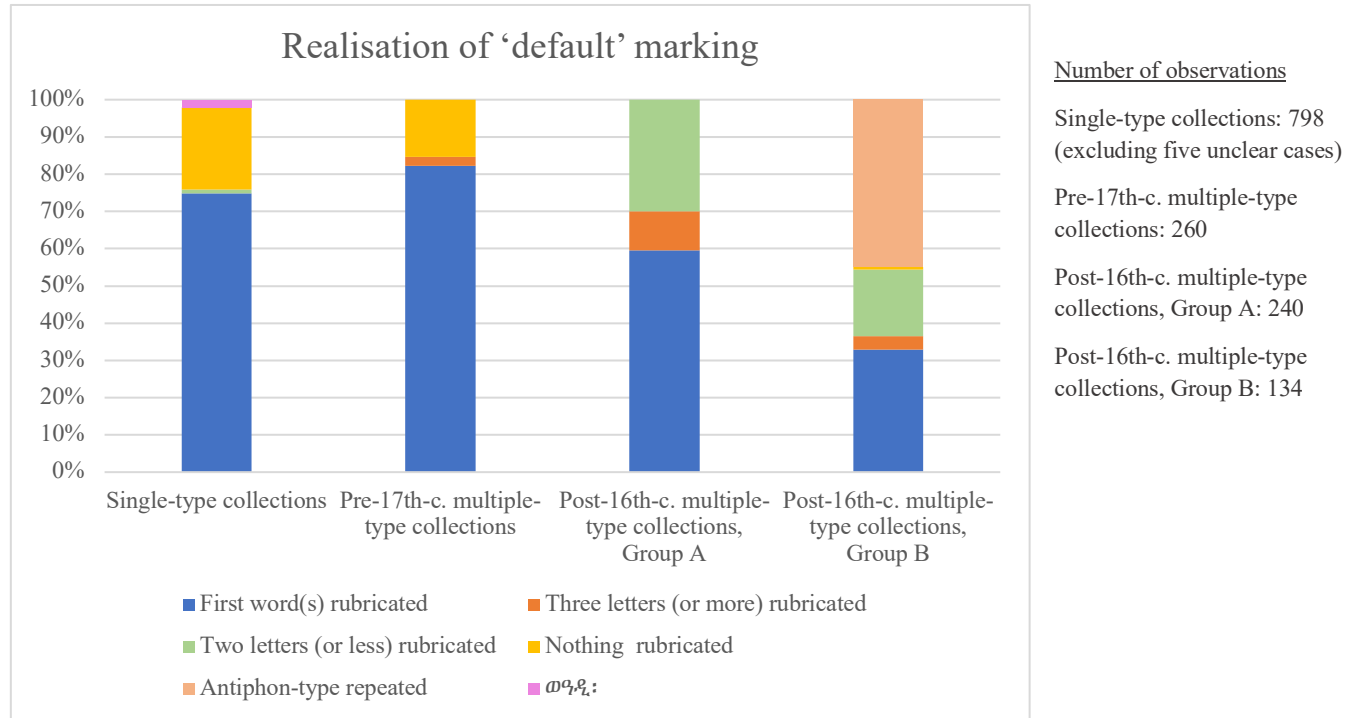


Diagram 4. Summary of the developments in the realisation of ‘default’ marking in the collections of the Minor Corpus (excluding the printed editions).

4.4.2.5 Conclusions

With the important caveat that this part of the chapter is based on a corpus consisting of small parts of a relatively small number of manuscripts, a preliminary general picture of the development of elements marking the beginning of a new antiphon can be drawn based on the smaller studied presented above (4.4.2.1–4.4.2.4).

First of all, there is a tendency towards an increased use of abbreviations, observable both in the development of the use of antiphon-type indications and melodic-family indications for marking the beginning of antiphons. While the single-type collections represent special cases for both of these categories—for the antiphon-type indications, because of the extremely low number of cases included in the corpus, and for the melodic-family indications, because they generally occur within larger formulas—from the pre-seventeenth-century collections, through the post-sixteenth-century collections of Group A, to the post-sixteenth-century collections of Group B, a decrease in the use of complete words and an increase in the use of especially two-letter abbreviations is discernible. It seems reasonable to connect this development to a change in the scribal practices surrounding the production and use of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections, perhaps reflecting an increased specialisation of the producers–users of the manuscripts containing such texts. As has been noticed in other parts of this dissertation,¹⁶⁰⁷ the increased use of abbreviations brings about an increased risk of confusion, making the liturgical context of the antiphons more important. Although polysemy is indeed a characteristic of the Ethiopian-Eritrean liturgical tradition (see Chapter 1, 1.4.1), it is made even more pronounced by the extensive use of abbreviations.

In the diachronic development of ‘default’ marking, we can observe a phenomenon that possibly is related to the increased use of abbreviations, namely a decline in the number of letters that are rubricated. Here, the single-type collections and the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections both show a predilection for rubricating the entire first word (or, occasionally, the first couple of words), whereas in the post-sixteenth-century collections, there is a practice of rubricating only a part—most commonly, the first two letters—of the first word. This new practice occurs side by side with the older practice, without ousting it. Perhaps, the two-letter rubrication can be connected to a greater wish of uniformity in the visual impression of the manuscripts, as most rubricated elements thereby tend to contain two letters. The fact that a part of the first word is written with black ink may also be a scribal device to ensure that the

¹⁶⁰⁷ See, for example, fn. 485, for a couple of examples.

rubricator—whether or not he or she is the same person as the scribe who writes with black ink—writes the right first word of each antiphon.¹⁶⁰⁸

To a certain extent, one could indeed speak of ‘collections with a predilection for two-letter rubrication’, where two-letter rubricated elements determine the visual impression of the page. The most clear representatives of this tendency, judging from the limited corpus taken into account, are the Group A collections in MSS EAP254/1/5, EAP432/1/10, and EMDA 0111 (although there are no perfect examples). In some collections, the tendency towards rubricated elements consisting of two letters is restricted to one category of rubricated elements, for example in MS EMMML 7529, where ‘default’ marking normally entails rubrication of two letters, but where there is much variation as to the number of letters in each antiphon-type indication and melodic-family indication.

Next to these general trends, there are also developments of a more restricted application. For the development of hallelujah-number indications, the rubrication of both preposition and numeral (ጠ፩, ጠ፪, ጠ፫, etc.) remains the norm throughout the documented history, with deviations occurring only in the very earliest single-type collections (rubrication of both preposition and numeral: ጠ፩, ጠ፪, ጠ፫, etc.) and in some of the post-sixteenth-century collections of Group B (no rubrication in hallelujah-number indications: ጠ፩, ጠ፪, ጠ፫, etc.).

A general discussion of abbreviations in Ethiopic manuscripts may be called for, based on what has been observed above for antiphon-type indications and melodic-family indications, given that abbreviations are generally considered an uncommon feature in this manuscript culture.¹⁶⁰⁹ As we have seen in this section, this does not hold true for *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, which on the contrary display a rich and well developed set of abbreviations in their later stages. These abbreviations seem to differ from the abbreviations of frequently repeated phrases, described, for example, by Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, Valieva 2023,

¹⁶⁰⁸ In the corpus, there are examples where the rubricator seems to have chosen the wrong word (see Chapter 3, specifically the discussions of the antiphons *Pāntalewon māhlet* 002 (3.2.3.37), *Pāntalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 020 (3.2.3.59), *Pāntalewon mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 030 (3.2.3.69), and ‘*Aragāwī mazmur* (‘*asma la- ‘ālam*) 003 (3.3.3.13, esp. fn. 1411)). The following could also be interpreted as an indication that one of the reasons for the practice of rubricating only a part of the first word was to ensure that the rubricator should write the right word: In the studied portion of the collection in MS EAP254/1/5, there is one single case where only one letter of the first word has been rubricated. This appears in a two-letter word. Normally in this collection, the two first letters of a word are rubricated—thus, it is conceivable that the scribe wrote the last letter of the word in black, despite the fact that this introduced an irregular rubrication pattern, in order to help the rubricator (himself at a later moment?) write the right word.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Bausi and Nosnitsin 2015, writing about the Ethiopic manuscript culture in general, speak of an ‘extreme rarity of [...] abbreviations [...] and tachygraphic forms [...]’ (Bausi and Nosnitsin 2015, p. 290), but it is unclear if they took chant collections into account in making this statement. The abbreviations in liturgical manuscripts that they mention are metatextual elements typical to *Qəddāse* manuscripts and to the *Mə‘rāf*.

and (with a more substantial list of examples) Ludolf 1702,¹⁶¹⁰ not least through the use of special punctuation marks to signal the latter.¹⁶¹¹ Dege-Müller 2015 notes that the psalmic refrain *’asma la-’ālam mähṛatu* (አስሙ ለዓለም ምስረቱ፣, ‘for His mercy endures forever’) is often abbreviated in Psalter manuscripts;¹⁶¹² it would be interesting to know if there is an increased use of abbreviations in Psalter manuscripts that coincides in time with the increased use observable in *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections.

4.4.3 Marking the end

Two features regularly interact in marking the end of an individual antiphon: a) a ‘major’ punctuation mark, appearing in a variety of forms delineated below, and—additionally and only in the earlier stages of the development—b) a *paragraphus* sign,¹⁶¹³ placed in the left-hand margin of the line where the punctuation mark appears. Below, these two features, as well as the limited corpus on which this section in the chapter is based, are briefly introduced, before the diachronic study is presented.

In general, punctuation in Ethiopic manuscripts is an understudied topic.¹⁶¹⁴ I am not aware of any substantial diachronic studies on the forms and uses of different punctuation marks,¹⁶¹⁵ let alone specifically in antiphon collections.¹⁶¹⁶ The

¹⁶¹⁰ Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 50; Valieva 2023; Ludolf 1702, pp. 3–4.

¹⁶¹¹ These abbreviation can perhaps be compared to the abbreviation of refrains in *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections. Cf. fnn. 1497 and 1499.

¹⁶¹² Dege-Müller 2015, p. 69.

¹⁶¹³ I follow Zuurmond 1989 in using the term ‘paragraphus’, which seems to correspond to the historical origin of the sign (cf. Gardthausen 1913, pp. 402–403; within the Ethiopicist context, this term is also used by Edele 1995, ex. p. 10). Uhlig 1988 uses the term ‘Obelos’ for the same sign. Bausi et al. 2020 use ‘paragraph mark’.

¹⁶¹⁴ Marrassini 1992, in an article on punctuation and related phenomena in Semitic languages, includes a section on Ethiopic. For unclear reasons, he distinguishes only two punctuation marks: the *saraz* (‘:’; corresponding to the *’abiy saraz* of Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 46) and the *naqwet* (‘::’; corresponding to the *’abiy naṭab* of Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 46). Delamarter and Vulgan 2014 briefly discuss punctuation based on their observation of the manuscripts in the collection of the Mekane Yesus Seminary in Addis Ababa. They notice that whereas the use of the two dots (‘:’) as a word divider and the nine-dot asterisk (‘✳’ or ‘::’) as a ‘full-stop symbol’ is rather stable, the use of signs for divisions between these two extremes vary considerably between manuscripts, although a consistent usage is often found within a single manuscript (Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, pp. 46–49; cf. also Marrassini 1992, p. 517). Zuurmond 1989 makes some observations on punctuation marks in Gospel books from different centuries (Zuurmond 1989, pp. 32–33 (I)). For Amharic terms for different punctuation marks, see Guidi 1901, p. 404. General observations are also found in Ludolf 1702 and Bausi and Nosnitsin 2015 (Ludolf 1702, p. 16; Bausi and Nosnitsin 2015, pp. 289–290). The use of punctuation marks within antiphons is briefly touched upon below, 4.4.4.

¹⁶¹⁵ Marrassini 1992 includes a short note on the diachronic development on the four-dot asterisk as a punctuation marks (Marrassini 1992, pp. 514–515). Apparently based on a proposed Arabic etymology of the term *naqwet*, he suggests that the four-dot asterisk was introduced into the Ethiopic in ‘un periodo relativamente tardo’, i.e. the twelfth or thirteenth century. It is attested, he notes, in MSS Vatican, BAV Vat. et. 1 and the so-called Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos in Ḥam, but ‘sembra assente da alcuni dei codici più antichi, come l’evangelario EMMML 6907 [...] o quelli

punctuation marks described in this section primarily serve to mark the end of an antiphon. In principle, they are *not* used to separate phrases, clauses, or sentences—although, naturally, the end of an antiphon generally coincides with the ends of such syntactically defined units—but rather, they function as navigational aids, helping the user to distinguish one antiphon from another.¹⁶¹⁷ On the limited use of other, ‘antiphon-internal’ punctuation marks in *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections, see 4.4.4 (for punctuation marks with syntactical functions) and footnote 1499 (for other ‘antiphon-internal’ punctuation marks).

Functionally connected to the ‘major’ punctuation marks are *paraphi*,¹⁶¹⁸ for which Uhlig 1988 describes the use as ‘Mikrozäsurzeichen’ from pre-mid-fourteenth-century times until the middle of the sixteenth century,¹⁶¹⁹ however without elaborating on their function specifically in antiphon collections.¹⁶²⁰ The *paraphus* typically consists a horizontal line, with a colon and a single dot in the middle of the line placed at its left (see examples in Illustration 20).¹⁶²¹ The number of single dots at the leftmost part of the sign varies. In certain manuscripts, the *paraphi* are sometimes rubricated, either partly or in full. They are placed in the margin to the left of where the ‘major’ punctuation mark appears, either at the height of the middle of the body of the letters or at the bottom line.

denominati *Abbā Garimā* I e III [...]’ (Marrassini 1992, pp. 514–515; italics in the original). It is unclear which photographic reproduction of MS EML 6907 was used by Marrassini (perhaps only the reproduction in Uhlig 1988, p. 102, to which he refers?), but a check of some pages (fols 19ra–22vb, 204ra–206vb) in the digitised microfilm made available online by the HMML shows regular use of a five-dot asterisk (four black dots with one red dot in the middle) with (rubricated or not) over- and underlining, as well as of nine-dot asterisks (especially on fols 19ra–22vb).

¹⁶¹⁶ In a rare note on genre-specific usages, still of limited value, Delamarter and Vulgan 2014 state that ‘[m]anuscripts with musical notation appear to bear more similarities to one another than to other types of manuscripts’ (Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 48).

¹⁶¹⁷ Cf. the line-marking punctuation marks frequently used in manuscripts containing *malkā`āt* and described by Delamarter and Vulgan 2014 (Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 48).

¹⁶¹⁸ Wright 1877, p. x, Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 51.

¹⁶¹⁹ Uhlig 1988, pp. 92, 205, 330–331, 451; cf. also Zuurmond 1989, p. 33 (I).

¹⁶²⁰ The only genre-specific note is that while the use of the *paraphi* in general diminishes during Period III (mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century), it still characterises ‘die Folia biblischer und apokrypher Schriften’ (Uhlig 1988, p. 330).

¹⁶²¹ For more examples, see Uhlig 1988, pp. 205, 330–331.

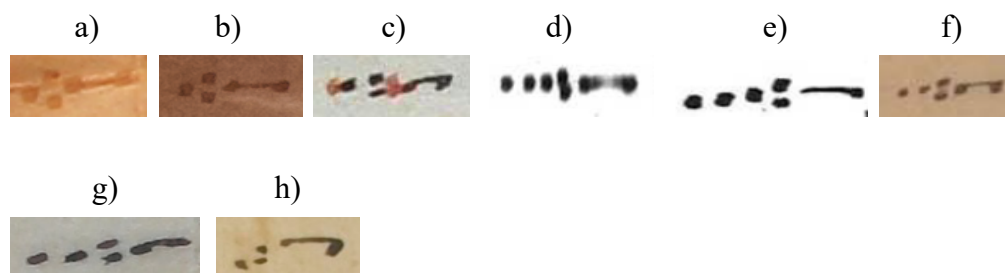


Illustration 20. Examples of paragraphi.

Sources: a) MS DS-I, fol. 1vb, l. 13; b) MS DS-XIII, fol. 23, l. 5; c) MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 67rb, l. 20 (šalast collection); d) MS EMMML 7618, fol. 164va, l. 12 (šalast collection); e) MS EMMML 6944, fol. 19vb, l. 10; f) MS GG-187, fol. 70rb, l. 3 (mazmur-family collection); g) MS BnF Éth. 92, fol. 19rb, l. 40 (arbā't collection); h) MS IES 679, fol. 17rb, l. 4.

The marking of the end of individual antiphons has been studied based on a limited corpus assembled in the following way. From each collection in the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus twenty samples have, as far as possible, been gathered. As in the case of the marking of the beginning, these have, when possible, been collected starting from the beginning of the Season of Flowers.¹⁶²² Contrary to what could be observed for the marking of the beginning, the marking of the end of an individual antiphon does not appear to be influenced by the type of the preceding or following antiphon, and consequently this factor has not been taken into account. As in the study of the marking of the beginning, it should be stressed that the corpus only encompasses a small portion of each collection, often covering around one page. In some cases, differences between the portion included in the corpus and other parts of a collection were haphazardly noticed; such cases have been mentioned in the discussion below. Although the small corpus—including, in total, the end of 1710 individual antiphons in 88 collections found in 49 different manuscripts—calls for caution when drawing conclusions about the general development of these methods of marking, the observation of diachronic patterns lends a certain support to the validity of the study.

4.4.3.1 Single-type collections

Examples of punctuation marks are found in all 54 single-type collections included in the fifteen manuscripts of the Minor Corpus. With the exceptions of five fragmentarily preserved collections—the collections in MSS DS-II, DS-III, Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i, the first unidentified collection in MS EMMML 7618, and the *māḥlet za-sabbāḥawwo* collection in MS GG-185—twenty samples have been extracted from each collection, resulting in a corpus consisting of, in total, 1030 cases.¹⁶²³

¹⁶²² For folio and line number of the first and last punctuation mark collected from each collection, see Data set 2(C).

¹⁶²³ For details, see Data set 2(C).

There are methodological difficulties with producing balanced statistics on the basis of the corpus of single-type collections. If the single *collections* are taken as the point of reference, the manuscripts containing multiple collections will have a disproportionately large influence on the statistics. If, on the other hand, the *manuscripts* are taken as the point of reference, observations regarding the occasional differences in use of punctuation marks between collections in the same manuscript, will be obscured. One could theoretically elaborate a mathematical model for compensating these factors; however, for the sake of simplicity, I have chosen instead to present, in each case, three percentages, which will provide the reader with an approximate impression of the state of affairs: the percentage of the total number of cases (X / 1030 cases), the percentage of collections in which the phenomenon is predominant (X / 54 collections), and the percentage of the manuscripts in which it is predominant (X / 15 manuscripts).

4.4.3.1.1 Punctuation marks

Judging from the limited corpus taken into account, the most common form of the antiphon-final punctuation mark in single-type collections is a black x-shaped cross with red dots between its arms (✠).¹⁶²⁴ Including variants (see below), it occurs in 808 out of 1030 cases (c. 78.4 %), as the main form in 44 out of 54 collection (c. 81.5 %), and as the main form in the following twelve out of fifteen manuscripts (80.0 %): MSS DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-II, DS-III, DS-VIII*/XIII, DS-XVI, DS-XX, EMMML 6944, EMMML 7078, EMMML 7618, Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i, GG-185, and GG-187. In some collections, the punctuation mark is regularly preceded by a word divider (: ✠).¹⁶²⁵

Two variants of the basic shape are discernible: a) a form furnished with overlining (✠̄), and b) a form furnished with over- and underlining (✠̄̄). The first variant appears in 417 out of 1030 cases (c. 40.5 %). It is the main form in 23 out of 54 collections (c. 42.6 %) and in four out of fifteen manuscripts (25 %): MSS DS-III, EMMML 7078, EMMML 7618 (all eighteen collections), and GG-187 (the 'arbā't collection and in the *śalast* collection).¹⁶²⁶ The second variant occurs in 93 out of 1030 cases (c. 9.0 %) and is prevalent in four out of 54 collections (c. 7.4 %). It is only attested in one out of fifteen manuscripts (c. 6.7 %)—MS GG-185—where it, however, is predominant in a majority of the collections.

¹⁶²⁴ Cf. Nosnitsin 2016, p. 100, esp. fn. 52.

¹⁶²⁵ This is the case in the 'arbā't collection and the *śalast* collection in MS GG-187, the *za-amlākiya* collection and the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92.

¹⁶²⁶ One may notice that the high percentage of this variant in the total number of examples and of collections is largely due to its presence in all eighteen collections in MS EMMML 7618. In the part of the *mazmur*-family collection in MS GG-187 included in the corpus (the beginning of the commemoration of the Children of Zebedee; see Data set 2(C)), the variant without an overline is prevalent, but a check of a later part of the *mazmur*-family collection (the beginning of 'Astamhəro; see Data set 2(C)) reveals that it later follows the 'arbā't collection and in the *śalast* collection in using the form with an overline.

Examples of the different variants of punctuation marks based on x-shaped crosses are found in Illustration 21.

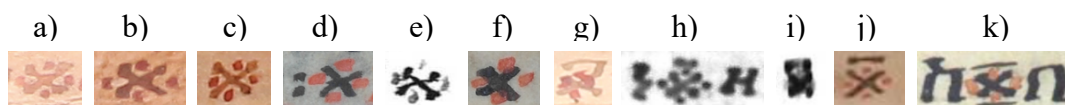


Illustration 21. Examples of x-based punctuation marks.

Sources: a) DS-II, fol. 1r, l. 16; b) DS-XX, 28r, l. 5; c) DS-XXII, 2ra, l. 17; d) BnF Éth. 92, 21rb, l. 5 (*za-`amlākiya* collection); e) EMMML 6944, fol. 61ra, l. 11; f) BnF Éth. 92, fol. 12rb, l. 5 (*`arbā`i* collection); g) DS-III, fol. 1v, l. 11; h) EMMML 7078, fol. 13r, l. 12; i) EMMML 7618, fol. 75va, l. 2 (*`aryām* collection); j) GG-187, fol. 98vb, l. 3 (*`arbā`i* collection); k) GG-185, fol. 75r, l. 4 (*mazmur-family* collection).

A variety of other punctuation marks is, however, also attested in the single-type collections, especially in three out of the fifteen manuscripts, in MSS BnF Éth. 92, EMMML 2095, and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.¹⁶²⁷ A punctuation mark in the form of a ‘percentage sign’ (✳) occurs in 79 out of 1030 cases (c. 7.7 %), as the main punctuation mark in four out of 54 collections (c. 7.4 %) and in two out of fifteen manuscripts (c. 13.3 %): MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.¹⁶²⁸ It has a variant with overlining, prevalent in the former manuscript. For examples, see Illustration 22.

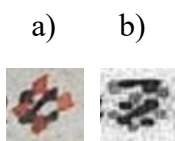


Illustration 22. Examples of percentage-sign-based punctuation marks in single-type collections.

Sources: a) Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 4rb, l. 20; b) EMMML 2095, fol. 16v, l. 16.

A five-dot asterisk with a rubricated middle dot (✳), including its non-rubricated variant, i.e. a four-dot asterisk (:), occurs in 50 out of 1030 cases (c. 4.9 %) and as the main punctuation mark in two out of 54 collections (c. 3.7 %): the *za-nāhu ya`aze* collection and the *səbhata nagh* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. Furthermore, the *yaṭbārak* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 exhibits about the same number of attestations of this punctuation mark and an x-cross-based punctuation mark. For examples, see Illustration 23.

¹⁶²⁷ The use of different punctuation marks in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 relates to the different codicological units described in Chapter 2 (2.3.9.1 and 2.3.6.2).

¹⁶²⁸ The use of the term ‘percentage-sign-based punctuation mark’ is, of course, meant purely descriptively and does not suggest any historical relationship between the Ethiopic punctuation mark and the modern percentage sign (%). The similarity—admittedly imperfect—lies in the fact that it consists of a diagonal line flanked by two dots.

a) b)



Illustration 23. Examples of five-dot asterisks in single-type collections.

Sources: a) BnF Éth. 92, fol. 21vb, l. 12 (za-nāhu yə'əze collection); b) BnF Éth. 92, fol. 91vb, l. 9 (səbhata nagh collection).

Nine-dot asterisks (✱) are rare in this function in the single-type collection, especially compared to later collections (see 4.4.3.2.1 and 4.4.3.3.1), attested only in 45 out of 1030 cases (c. 4.4 %). It is the main punctuation marks in two out of 54 collections (c. 3.7 %): the 'Ēgzi'abəḥer nagśa collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 and the *salām* collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002. In the latter collection, it has a special form, consisting of the extension of the rightmost black dots towards the right (✱, ✱, see Example (b) in Illustration 24).¹⁶²⁹ This form of the punctuation mark is not attested elsewhere in the corpus.¹⁶³⁰

a) b)



Illustration 24. Examples of nine-dot asterisks in single-type collections.

Sources: a) MS BnF Éth. 92, 82rb, l. 24 ('Ēgzi'abəḥer nagśa collection); b) MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 105ra, l. 28 (*salām* collection).

A peculiar punctuation mark appears in 37 out of 1030 cases (c. 3.6 %) and as the main punctuation mark in another two out of 54 collections (c. 3.7 %): the first *śalast* collection and the *za-taśāhalanni* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. It should be noticed that the latter collection follows upon the first and, to a certain extent, is integrated into it (see Chapter 2, 2.3.9.2.5). The punctuation mark in these two collections has the form of a black + -shaped cross whose vertical line is slanted towards the left, with four red dots between the arms (✚). In the first part of the first *śalast* collection, it is preceded by a five-dot asterisk (✱✚, see Example (a) in Illustration 25), which is dropped in the middle of the collection and does not occur in the *za-taśāhalanni* collection. The five-dot asterisk and the + -shaped cross can be placed on separate lines (e.g. on fol. 38va, ll. 17–18), in which case the *paragraphus* sign (see 4.4.3.1.2) goes with the five-dot asterisk.

¹⁶²⁹ Elsewhere in this collection, a form consisting of the extended nine-dot asterisk displayed in Example (b) in Illustration 24 followed by another nine-dot asterisk, extended or not, appears (ex. fols 99va–100rb).

¹⁶³⁰ The dichotomy between, on the one hand, the *salām* collection and, on the other hand, the *mazmur*-family collection, the 'arbā't collection, and the *śalast* collection agrees with the codicological reconstruction presented in Chapter 2 (2.3.6.2).

a) b)



Illustration 25. Examples of +-based punctuation marks with a left-slanted vertical line in single-type collections.

Sources: a) MS BnF Éth. 92, fol. 38rb, l. 27 (first *śalast* collection); b) MS BnF Éth. 92, fol. 67va, l. 1 (*za-taśāhalanni* collection).

4.4.3.1.2 *Paragraphi*

On the basis of the limited corpus used for this section of the chapter, it can be concluded that the use of *paragraphi* is frequent in single-type collections. It occurs in 888 out of the 1030 cases included in the corpus (c. 86.2 %), in a majority of the cases in 47 out of 54 collections (c. 87.0 %), and regularly in thirteen out of fifteen manuscripts containing single-type collections (c. 86.7 %).

However, four collections stand out. Firstly, in the *yātbāarak* collection and the second *śalast* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, the use of *paragraphi* is less regular, occurring in ten out of twenty cases and six out of twenty cases, respectively. These two collections do not use the same punctuation marks (see 4.4.3.1.1), and thus the wavering use of *paragraphi* does not seem to be connected to a specific scribe. In other collections in MS BnF Éth. 92, *paragraphi* are used more regularly. Secondly, in the collections in MSS DS-III and DS-XX, and in the *māḥlet za-sabbāḥawwo* collection in MS GG-185, *paragraphi* seem to be completely missing (although the former is only a single folio and there are a number of unclear cases). Their absence from these collections enables us to conclude, simply, that although the use of *paragraphi* was prevalent in single-type antiphon collections, it was not ubiquitous (alternatively, there might have been a plan to add *paragraphi* that was never realised).

A comment should be made concerning the shape of the *paragraphi* in MS GG-185. Unlike the standard form described above (4.4.3; cf. Illustration 20), the *paragraphi* in MS GG-185 consist of two parallel lines, similar to an equals sign (=), with red lines above, below, and between them (see Illustration 26). This form occurs in all collections in MS GG-185, except in the very fragmentary *māḥlet za-sabbāḥawwo* collection, in which no *paragraphi* are attested. Perhaps, this is connected to the fact that MS GG-185 is the most recent manuscript containing single-type collection, possibly from the late fifteenth century.

a) b)



Illustration 26. Examples of the *paragraphi* in MS GG-185.

Sources: a) fol. 67v, l. 12; b) fol. 121v, l. 11.

4.4.3.2 Pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections

Examples of the marking of the end of individual antiphons are found in all thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus. From each collection, it has been possible to extract twenty examples, resulting in a corpus consisting of, in total, 260 observations.

4.4.3.2.1 Punctuation marks

The most common punctuation mark in the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections is the nine-dot asterisk (✱), appearing, including variants (see below), in 128 out of 260 cases (*c.* 49.2 %) and as the main punctuation mark in six out of the thirteen collections: in MSS EMML 1894, EMML 2468 (fragment), EMML 2542, EMML 7174, EMML 8678, and Tānāsee 172. In MS EMML 8070, the available material does often not allow us to distinguish between nine-dot asterisks (with over- and underlining) and x-based punctuation marks (with over- and underlining). In MS EMML 8804, the studied passage in the available material does not allow us to distinguish unequivocally between nine-dot asterisks and percentage-sign-based punctuation marks, but a check of another part of the collection suggests that it regularly uses a percentage-sign-based punctuation mark. There is one variant of the nine-dot asterisk, namely a form furnished with over- and underlining. This variant prevails in the collection in MS EMML 1894 and coexists with the form without over- and underlines in the collection in MS EMML 8678.

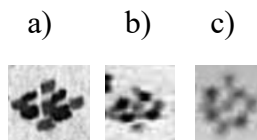


Illustration 27. Examples of nine-dot asterisks in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections.

Sources: a) MS EMML 2468 (fragment), fol. 145rb, l. 5; b) MS EMML 2542, 17ra, l. 12; c) MS EMML 7174, fol. 59rb, l. 1.

The second most common punctuation mark is a form based on a black x-shaped cross. Including variants, it occurs in 61 out of 260 cases (*c.* 23.5 %) and is the main punctuation mark in three out of thirteen collections, those in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28, EMML 8408, and EMML 8488. In MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EMML 8488, it regularly has four red dots between its arms (✱), whereas in MS EMML 8408, the rubrication is (most often?) missing (×). In MS EMML 8408, the punctuation mark is regularly furnished with over- and underlining (✱), whereas in MS EMML 8488, both the forms with and without underlining are well represented. As remarked above, in MS EMML 8070, the available material does often not allow us to distinguish between nine-dot asterisks (with over- and underlining) and x-based punctuation marks (with over- and underlining).

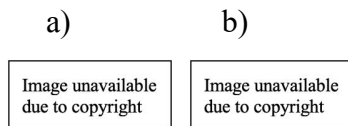


Illustration 28. Examples of x-based punctuation marks in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections.

Sources: a) MS EMLL 8408, fol. 37rb, l. 47; b) MS EMLL 8488, fol. 17va, l. 13.

The manuscript BAV Vat. et. 28 represents an interesting case with regard to its use of punctuation marks. As noted in the description of this manuscript in Chapter 2 (2.4.2), it is possible to discern two hands, which appear to have been working shifts. One of the factors that distinguish the hands is their use of different punctuation marks for marking the end of individual antiphons. Hand A, which has written the part containing the commemoration for the Season of Flowers and thus the part that was included in the limited corpus (see Data set 2(C)), uses black x-shaped cross with red dots between its arms without over- or underlines (✠). Hand B, on the other hand, regularly uses a percentage-sign-shaped with both over- and underlining (⌘). On some folios (e.g. fol. 15rb), it has rubrication, while on others (e.g. fol. 13va), it lacks it. On fols 1ra–35rb, the hands are readily distinguishable based on the punctuation marks, but from fol. 36ra onwards, it appears that Hand B was adopting the punctuation sign of Hand A (although still applying over- and underlining). One can speculate about the reason for this: perhaps the copyists noticed the discrepancy between their individual writing practices and decided to make the appearance of the manuscript more uniform.

MSS EMLL 4667 and EMLL 8804 appear to use percentage-sign-based punctuation marks as their main punctuation mark (⌘, ⌘, see Illustration 29), although for the latter, it is sometimes difficult to tell it apart from a nine-dot asterisk, which also seems to appear in it. Out of the total corpus of 260 cases, percentage-sign-based punctuation marks occur in 33 (c. 12.7 %), all stemming from these two collections. In both, they occur both with and without over- and underlining. As noticed above, this form of the punctuation mark also occurs in Hand B in MS BAV Vat. et. 28.

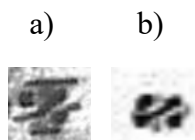


Illustration 29. Examples of percentage-sign-based punctuation marks in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections.

Sources: a) MS EMLL 4667, fol. 14va, l. 21; b) MS EMLL 8804, fol. 8rb, l. 7.

4.4.3.2.2 *Paragraphi*

Based on the limited corpus used in this section of the chapter, *paragraphi* were noticed in 90 out of 260 cases (c. 34.6 %) and in five out of thirteen pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 (both hands), EMLL 8070, EMLL 8408, EMLL 8678 (irregularly, in ten out of twenty cases), and Tānāsee 172. Although only one of them is dated—MS EMLL 8678, to the time of Zar’a Yā’qob (r. 1434–1468)—they all seem to belong to an earlier layer within this category, based on paleographical grounds (see the respective descriptions in Chapter 2).

It might be noteworthy that two of the manuscripts that use a cross-based punctuation mark—MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EMLL 8408—also use *paragraphi*. *Paragraphi* also occur in some of the other manuscripts with cross-based punctuation marks, although not on the folios included in this survey.¹⁶³¹ Thus, both *paragraphi* and cross-based punctuation marks may be considered archaic features when it comes to marking the end of individual antiphons in *Dagg’ā*-type antiphon collections.

4.4.3.3 Post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections

Examples of the marking of the end of individual antiphons are found in all twenty-one post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus. From each collection, it has been possible to extract twenty samples, resulting in a corpus consisting of 240 samples taken from Group A collections, 140 samples taken from Group B collections, and 40 samples taken from printed editions.

4.4.3.3.1 *Punctuation marks*

In all post-sixteenth-century collections of Group A, the prevalent punctuation mark is the nine-dot asterisk without over- or underlining (✱). It occurs in 217 out of 240 cases (c. 90.4 %) and is the main punctuation mark in all twelve collections included in the Minor Corpus. The most common alternative, based on the limited corpus used in this section, is the simple two-dot word divider (:) or the word divider with over- and underlining (⸒), appearing in, in total, 16 out of 240 cases (c. 6.7 %) in eight collections. Its occurrence is frequently connected to when an antiphon ends at the end of a line. There are also a few cases where the end of an antiphon is marked by a four-dot asterisk (:), possibly to be interpreted as an unrubricated nine-dot asterisk.¹⁶³²

¹⁶³¹ In the parts of MS EMLL 8488 available to me (see Chapter 2, 2.4.11), *paragraphi* are attested on fols 21ra–21vb, 22va–b, 25ra–25va. They also occur in MSS EMLL 4667 (from fol. 80ra, where the Season of Lent (?) begins, and onwards) and IES 679 (e.g. on fols 17rb, 20va–b, 21rb).

¹⁶³² Cf. Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 47.

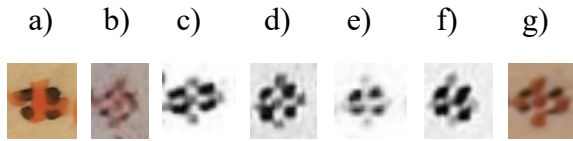


Illustration 30. Examples of nine-dot asterisks in post-sixteenth-century collections of Group A.

Sources: a) MS UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 36va, l. 8; b) MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 9vc, l. 27; c) MS EMMML 7529, fol. 67vc, l. 8; d) MS EMMML 6994, fol. 36ra, l. 4; e) MS EMMML 2431, fol. 29ra, l. 1; f) MS EMMML 7285, fol. 35rb, l. 1; g) MS EAP254/1/5, fol. 33vc, l. 10.

In the seven collections of Group B, a similar pattern emerges. The nine-dot asterisk (✠) is used in 93 out of 140 cases (c. 66.4 %) and is the standard punctuation mark in five collections: MSS SBPK Or. quart. 1001, EMMML 2253, EMMML 7745, EMMML 9110, and Ethio-SPaRe THRM-008. Additionally, they all contain isolated occurrences of black four-dot asterisks (:), which, as mentioned, could be interpreted as unfinished nine-dot asterisks. In the two other manuscripts—MSS EMMML 8084 and IES 2148—black four-dot asterisks (:) instead prevail, and there are instead isolated cases of nine-dot asterisks. As for the Group A collections, there are cases where a simple word divider or a word divider with over- and underlining is used—in total, 8 out of 140 cases (c. 5.7 %)—often in connection with line breaks. However, the high number of all-black four-dot asterisks on pages that in other regards are rubricated suggests that this form of the punctuation mark is consciously used.¹⁶³³

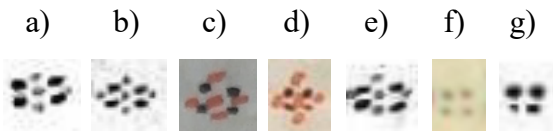


Illustration 31. Examples of nine-dot asterisks and four-dot asterisks in post-sixteenth-century collections of Group B.

Sources: a) MS EMMML 7745, fol. 12vc, l. 8; b) MS EMMML 2253, fol. 9rb, l. 2; c) MS SBPK Or. quart. 1001, fol. 8ra, l. 8; d) MS Ethio-SPaRe THRM-008, fol. 59vb, l. 8; e) MS EMMML 9110, fol. 7rc, l. 2; f) MS IES 2148, fol. 26vb, l. 4; g) MS EMMML 8084, fol. 12ra, l. 8.

Regarding the punctuation in the printed editions, *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 follows the practice of the manuscripts of Group A, primarily using the nine-dot asterisk without over- or underlining (✠), whereas *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994 appears to use nine-dot asterisks written completely with black ink (:). This punctuation mark is not attested elsewhere in the corpus and it seems plausible to assume that it represents a normal dichromatic nine-dot asterisk (✠) distorted through the reproduction process.

¹⁶³³ Cf. Delamarter and Vulgan 2014's observations regarding the system of punctuation marks in MS Addis Ababa, Mekane Yesus Seminary, MYS 10 (= EMIP 610; Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, pp. 47–48).

a) b)

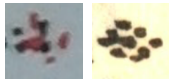


Illustration 32. Examples of nine-dot asterisks in printed editions.

Sources: a) *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, p. 43b, l. 3; b) *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1994, p. 25b, l. 6.

4.4.3.3.2 *Paragraphi*

In the limited corpus used for this section of the chapter, no occurrences of *paragraphi* could be noticed, neither in Group A collections, Group B collections, or in the printed editions. This is in accordance with the disuse of the sign in manuscripts from the seventeenth century onwards described by Uhlig 1988.¹⁶³⁴

4.4.3.4 Conclusions

Based on the analysis of the limited corpus used in this section of the chapter, in total taking 1710 cases from 88 collections contained in 49 manuscripts into account, the diachronic development of the marking of the end of individual antiphons may be summarised as follows.

In an early phase, represented by a majority of the single-type collections, but also a number of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, the main form of the antiphon-final punctuation mark is an x-shaped cross with red dots between its arms (✠). This form has variants with overlining or with both over- and underlining, which occur sometimes as the main variants, sometimes in variation with the variants without over- or underlining. Next to these forms, however, there are also occurrences of the nine-dot asterisk (✠), a five-dot asterisk (✠), a percentage-sign-shaped punctuation mark (✠), and a black +-shaped cross whose vertical line is slanted towards the left (✠), all of which occur as the main punctuation sign in individual collections. There appears to have been considerable variation in the form of the punctuation marks, even among coeval or almost coeval copyists, as exemplified by the observations on MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and BnF Éth. 92, where different parts of the manuscripts show the use of different punctuation marks. In other cases, different forms appear to be in free variation even within one hand. *Paragraphi* are an almost ubiquitous part of the marking of the end of individual antiphons in these collections, but there are exceptions.

In a second stage, the nine-dot asterisk (✠) takes over as the most frequent antiphon-final punctuation mark. It is difficult to pinpoint the time of this transition, but it appears, based on the limited corpus taken into consideration here, to have taken place within the *floruit* of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type

¹⁶³⁴ Uhlig 1988, p. 451.

collections, perhaps towards the later part of this phase, i.e. in the sixteenth century. In the early phases of this stage, variants with overlining or over- and underlining are attested, but in the post-sixteenth-century collections included in the corpus, these seem to disappear. Instead, two new types of frequent variations are attested: a) the use of black four-dot asterisks (::), which might be interpreted as unfinished nine-dot asterisks, and b) the dropping of the ‘major’ punctuation mark altogether in favour of a simple word divider (:), especially at the end of a line. Two manuscripts of Group B (eighteenth and nineteenth century) seem to be using the black four-dot asterisk as their regular antiphon-final punctuation mark—this could represent a further development, if so, probably connected to the non-*deluxe* character of these manuscripts (see 4.4.2.1.3 and 4.4.2.3.3). In accordance with what was observed by Uhlig 1988,¹⁶³⁵ *paragraphi* seem to be disappearing at about the same time as the shift to the uniform use of nine-dot asterisks takes place.

Although, as noticed above (4.4.3), the use of punctuation marks is an understudied topic, both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, a cursory comparison of the results reached above—especially what concerns the earliest collections—with what has been observed for other early manuscripts is worthwhile. In a recent publication, the punctuation mark in the manuscript ‘Urā Masqal, Ethio-SPaRe UM-039 (*codex unicus* of the so-called *Aksumite Collection*)—‘not precisely dated, but datable to the thirteenth century or earlier’—has been discussed in some detail.¹⁶³⁶ In this manuscript, the predominant punctuation marks are ‘the four dots (::) and the four dots followed by two strokes with serifs (::=)’.¹⁶³⁷ Similar observations have been made by Sergew Hable-Selassie 1991 on account of the homiliary manuscript EMMML 8509 (usage of :: and = (?), with isolated occurrences of ::=: and :::),¹⁶³⁸ by Nosnitsin and Bulakh 2014 on account on the Gospel fragment in MS Dabra Mā‘šo Yoḥannēs, Ethio-SPaRe MY-002 (usage of :: and ::=:),¹⁶³⁹ and is confirmed by cursory checks of isolated folios in the Gospel manuscripts ‘*Abbā* Garimā I (usage of : :, sometimes compressed to :: at the end of a line),¹⁶⁴⁰ ‘*Abbā* Garimā II (usage

¹⁶³⁵ Cf. Uhlig 1988, p. 451. Delamarter and Vulgan 2014 note that in the fifteenth-century (?) manuscript Addis Ababa, Mekane Yesus Seminary, MYS 54 (= EMIP 654), the *paragraphus* is only found in connection with certain nine-dot asterisks (Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 51); no such differentiated usage could be observed in this small study.

¹⁶³⁶ Bausi et al. 2020, pp. 145–147. For the dating, see p. 127.

¹⁶³⁷ Bausi et al. 2020, p. 145. A sign similar to the x-cross-based punctuation mark appears to be used as a marginal sign in MS Ethio-SPaRe UM-039 (Bausi et al. 2020, p. 147).

¹⁶³⁸ Sergew Hable-Selassie 1991, pp. 70–71.

¹⁶³⁹ Nosnitsin and Bulakh 2014, p. 561.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Checked range: fols AG_00001_074.jpg–AG_00001_077.jpg (in the absence of visible folio numbers on the photographs and for the sake of clarity, I refer to the checked images by the file names visible in the ‘Gallery View’ in vHMML). On a Greek parallel to this form of the punctuation mark, cf. Gardthausen 1913, pp. 402–403. See also Marrassini 1992, who suggests that the space between the punctuation marks was intended to be filled with horizontal lines written with red ink (Marrassini 1992, p. 515, fn. 58).

of :=),¹⁶⁴¹ 'Abbā Garimā III (usage of =),¹⁶⁴² the fragmentary Pentateuch MS Lālibalā Beta Madḥane 'Ālam, EMMML 6913 (usage of :),¹⁶⁴³ the Books of Kings manuscript Lālibalā Beta 'Amānu'el, EMMML 6940 (usage of :),¹⁶⁴⁴ the two fragments (homily by John Chrysostom and Genesis) in MS 'Urā Masqal, Ethio-SPaRe UM-040 (no usage of punctuation marks other than the word divider noticed in the first, :: and := in the second),¹⁶⁴⁵ as well as the Octateuch manuscript 'Urā Masqal, Ethio-SPaRe UM-040 itself (usage of :),¹⁶⁴⁶ the Books of Kings manuscript 'Urā Masqal, Ethio-SPaRe UM-058 (use of the dichromatic nine-dot asterisk),¹⁶⁴⁷ and the homiliary fragments in MS Gunda Gunde, GG-148 (usage of :: in the first fragment, as well as in the second, albeit rarely).¹⁶⁴⁸ Importantly, these early manuscripts seem not to attest to a use of the x-based punctuation mark as a main punctuation mark, something which is remarkable, given its widespread usage in the manuscripts under discussion in this dissertation.¹⁶⁴⁹ On the contrary, there is a common use of the four dots (::), which, as we have seen above, is only attested in late *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections of Group B. Is this an indication that the early datings suggested in Chapter 2, both for the fragments from Dabra Šāhl and other manuscripts, are exaggerated? Or could it be that the punctuation system in antiphon collections and other genres of manuscripts differed markedly in the earliest attested periods? Given the numerous arguments for an early dating (mainly paleographical and orthographical), I tend towards the latter explanation. Alternatively, one could ascribe the difference to the geographical origin of the manuscripts, but this seems less likely, keeping in mind that the x-based punctuation mark is prevalent in a large majority of the early *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections, currently kept in different parts of the Ethiopic world. This observation is a call for further studies on the *mises en texte* characterising specific genres of Ethiopic manuscripts.

4.4.4 Excursion: Antiphon-internal punctuation marks

Although antiphon-internal divisions in general are not treated in this dissertation (see 4.1), one phenomenon that is of special interest for the development of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections deserves to be introduced, if only briefly and

¹⁶⁴¹ Checked range: fols AG_00002_029–AG_00002_032 (in the absence of visible folio numbers on the photographs and for the sake of clarity, I refer to the checked images by the file names visible in the 'Gallert View' in vHMML).

¹⁶⁴² Checked range: photo 5, Macomber Abbā Garimā Reel 2.

¹⁶⁴³ Checked range: fols 19ra–20vb.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Checked range: fols 18ra–19va.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Checked range: fols 1ra–2vb.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Checked range: fols 16ra–17vb.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Checked range: fols 1ra–2vb.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Checked range: fols 1ra–2vb, 4ra–5vb.

¹⁶⁴⁹ The x-based punctuation mark is, however, not unknown in other genres. Pisani 2019 describes its use 'especially after work titles [and] sections headings' in seventeenth-/eighteenth-century *Gabra Ḥāmāmāt* manuscripts (Pisani 2019, pp. 134, 140).

unsystematically: the occurrence of antiphon-internal punctuation marks marking clauses and sentences within antiphons. In the text portions included in the textual corpus (see Chapter 3), such punctuation marks are found primarily in a limited number of pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, in MSS EMLL 2542, EMLL 4667, EMLL 7174, EMLL 8804, and EMLL 8678.¹⁶⁵⁰ Although not included in the textual corpus, MS IES 679 also attests to a regular use of such punctuation marks. As we have seen above, these collections—with the exceptions of MS IES 679 and EMLL 8678—also share several other characteristics, such as the use of Colophon A (see 4.2.3) and of ornamental bands in the marking of commemorations (see 4.3.3).

The punctuation mark most commonly used is the so-called *saraz*, consisting of the two-dot word divider furnished with black strokes above and under it (፤).¹⁶⁵¹ As diachronic studies of Ethiopic punctuation marks are practically missing, it remains uncertain when this sign made its first appearance and when its use became widespread.¹⁶⁵² Example of its use in the abovementioned pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections are given in Illustration 33. In MS EMLL 7174, a differentiation appears to be made between a two-dot word divider furnished with *black* strokes above and under it (፤), and a two-dot word divider furnished with *red* strokes above and under it (፤̄)—I have not looked into possible differences in the use of these two variants.

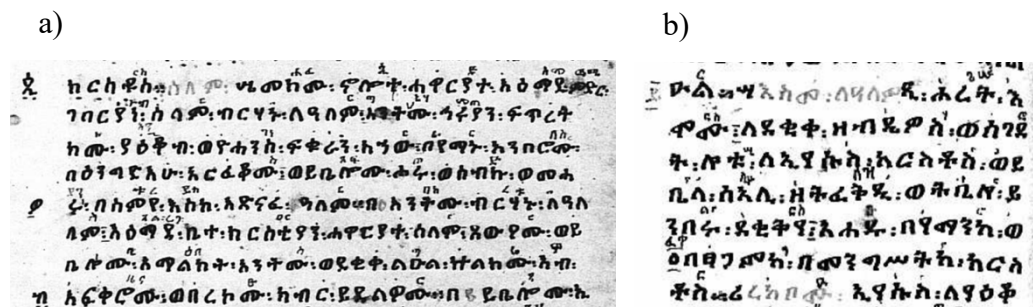


Illustration 33. Examples of the use of syntactical punctuation marks.

Sources: a) MS EMLL 2542, fol. 17vb, ll. 29–36 (punctuation marks appear on ll. 30–32, 34); b) MS EMLL 8804, fol. 22vb, ll. 5–11 (punctuation marks appear on ll. 6, 9).

Noteworthy about these punctuation marks—the only punctuation marks in *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections with a primarily syntactical function that I have noticed—is their short lifespan. In the corpus included in this dissertation, a

¹⁶⁵⁰ Isolated examples also appear in MSS EMLL 1894 and Tānāsee 172, in both of which a four-dot asterisk (፤፤፤፤) is also used in this function.

¹⁶⁵¹ This punctuation mark is also used in post-sixteenth-century *Daggwā*-type collection but with a different function, namely to mark abbreviated words and refrains. Cf. fn. 1497.

¹⁶⁵² Delamarter and Vulgan 2014 notice that it appears ‘very rarely’ in MS Addis Ababa, Mekane Yesus Seminary, MYS 54 (= EMIP 654), datable to the fifteenth century (Delamarter and Vulgan 2014, p. 51). ‘[V]ery rare’ occurrences are also found in MS ‘Urā Masqal, Ethio-SPaRe UM-039 (Bausi et al. 2020, pp. 145–146).

comparable usage is found neither in earlier nor in later collections. How can this sudden appearance and disappearance of the syntactical antiphon-internal punctuation mark be explained? One hypothesis is the following: Perhaps, the interlinear musical notation (*mālakkāt*) and the punctuation marks fulfilled functions that were partially overlapping, so that the flourishing of the one rendered the other unnecessary. In the examples in Illustration 33, the occurrence of punctuation marks often coincide with occurrences of the two of the so-called ‘conventional signs’ (see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.5): (a) *ʿanbār*, taking the form of a superscript *Ċ* (*r*), and (b) *dārs*, taking the form of a superscript *ḥ* (*s*) or *Ċḥ* (*rs*). *ʿAnbār*, according to Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, ‘marks [musical] phrase endings’.¹⁶⁵³ In the antiphons included as samples in their study, it ‘consistently designates phrase endings in all three modes and almost always centres on and reiterates the returning tone.’¹⁶⁵⁴ *Dārs*, for its part, represents a cadential formula and, according to Tito Lapisā 1970, signifies that the ‘the singer must soften his voice and let it die away’.¹⁶⁵⁵ From these descriptions, it seems natural that these signs would frequently coincide with the end of a syntactical phrase.¹⁶⁵⁶ The hypothesis is that the invention of the *mālakkāt*, perhaps occurring more or less at the same time as the introduction of syntactical punctuation in *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections, meant that the practical information provided by the syntactical punctuation (i.e. where to finish one clause and start the next) became doubly marked, both by means of punctuation and *mālakkāt*, leading to the subsequent drop of the former, less intricate system.

To test this hypothesis, a small corpus consisting of five cases taken from each of the six abovementioned collections (MSS EMLL 2542, EMLL 4667, EMLL 7174, EMLL 8804, EMLL 8678, IES 679) has been put together (see Data set 2(D)), where, for each case, it noted whether it is preceded by an *ʿanbār*, a *dārs*, or by none of them. The results of this miniature study suggests that the connection between, on the one hand, *ʿanbār* and a *dārs*, and, on the other hand, syntactical punctuation marks, appears strongly only in two of the studied collections, in MSS EMLL 2542 and EMLL 8804. In the rest of the collections, there were only isolated cooccurrences of the punctuation marks and the two ‘conventional signs’. To test the hypothesis of a connection between the increased use of *mālakkāt* and the demise of such punctuation marks, a more extensive study would be necessary. This, however, falls outside the scope of the present dissertation.¹⁶⁵⁷

¹⁶⁵³ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 104.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, pp. 104–105.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 105, citing Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 169.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Speculations about similar correlations between the musical notation and punctuation marks were expressed already by Wellesz (Wellesz 1920, pp. 105–106).

¹⁶⁵⁷ A similar observation was made by Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, who note that ‘sixteenth-century sources generally have more complete punctuation than more recent manuscript’ (Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, p. 93). They tentatively connect the occurrence of a punctuation mark

4.5 Discussion

This chapter presents an attempt to sketch the development of the *mise en texte* of a specific genre of Ethiopic manuscripts—*Daggwā*-type antiphon collections—from their earliest attestations in pre-mid-fourteenth-century times to the modern, twenty-first-century printed editions. Developments have been observed in almost all regards: in the way that the beginning of individual collections is marked, in the way that commemorations and other medium-level entities are laid out, as well as in the way that individual antiphons are signalled. For summaries of the most salient developments on these three organisational levels, the reader is directed to sections 4.2.5 (on marking the beginning of a collection), 4.3.6 (on marking the beginning of a commemoration), 4.4.2 (on marking the beginning of an antiphon), and 4.4.3.4 (on marking the end of an antiphon). It is difficult to observe any overarching patterns in these developments, spanning—as they do—over a variety of features, ranging from the use of *harags* to the employment of different punctuation marks. Perhaps, a general tendency is detectable in the patterns of rubrication: a development from a situation where rubrication is primarily applied to *semantically defined entities* (ex. initial formulas, the first word of an antiphon) towards a situation where rubrication is primarily applied to *formally defined entities* (ex. lines of text as part of symmetrical rubrication, a specific number of letters in the first word of an antiphon). Although this is nothing more than a tendency, and plenty of examples of both patterns of rubrication are available for all centuries, the data analysed in this chapter suggests, at least, that this is the direction of the development.

Unsurprisingly, the study of the *mise en texte* has introduced new categorisations for *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections. Not only are there textual recensions, but manuscripts can also be categorised based on their more or less *deluxe* features, partly overlapping with textual and recensional classifications (cf., for example, the dichotomy between Group A manuscripts and Group B manuscripts with regard to the regularity of rubrication patterns), partly not (cf. the presence/absence of *harags* and ornamental bands within the group of post-sixteenth-century Group A manuscripts). It is feasible to assume that this kind of variation in ‘luxuriousness’ (or, in general, quality) is not found among all genres of manuscripts in the Ethiopic manuscript culture, but that some genres belong primarily to the higher end of the spectrum (homiletic collections, royal chronicles), others to the lower (‘magical’ texts), whereas yet others appear both in *deluxe* variants and in versions of poorer execution (Psalters, and, perhaps, *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections), possibly due to, on the one hand, their high standing as important religious texts, on the other hand, their important role in the traditional system of education.

in an antiphon in MS EMM 1894 (fol. 80ra, ll. 26–29) to the placement of the *malṭān*, another possible function of the punctuation marks that deserved to be followed up.

The present chapter has contributed by identifying previously undescribed features in the diachronic development of the *mise en texte* of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections. Some of these features may prove to be restricted to this genre of manuscripts, such as the development in the layout of prefaced colophons (see 4.2.3 and 4.2.4), the increased use of abbreviations (of general scarcity in the Ethiopic manuscript culture), and the developments in the form of the punctuation marks that signals the end of an antiphon. Others—for example, the increased use of symmetrical rubrication (especially on a medium level in the hierarchy of marking) and the increased freedom in dropping major punctuation marks at the end of a line—might possibly reflect more common trends. It largely remains a task for future scholars to compare the results of the present study with the results of similar studies for other genres of Ethiopic manuscripts, and thereby to identify what belongs to the common strands of development and what does not.

Chapter 5 The Diachronic Development of a System for Musical Categorisation: The Melodic Families for 'arbā't Antiphons

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5, one of the systems for musical categorisation—the melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons—is described and discussed from a diachronic perspective.¹⁶⁵⁸ The purpose of the chapter is to analyse how the set of *melodic models* for 'arbā't antiphons has developed, based on the information retrievable from the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus (see Chapter 2) and the indigenous systematisations represented by lists of melodic families.¹⁶⁵⁹ It should be stressed that the topic is approached from a manuscriptological perspective, focussing on features concerning musical performance recorded in manuscripts. Any musicological interpretation of the realisation of these falls outside the scope of the present dissertation. Furthermore, this chapter is not concerned with the way musical markers are laid out in the manuscripts.¹⁶⁶⁰

There are several circumstances that make the system of melodic families for specifically 'arbā't antiphons a suitable object for an initial diachronic study. To begin with, among the three types of antiphons that are grouped into melodic families, 'arbā't is the one for which most single-type collections are known (eight, as opposed to three for 'aryām antiphons and four for šalast antiphons). Among these, there are two manuscripts whose content is taken up entirely by an 'arbā't collection. Furthermore, for what it may be worth, there is no manuscript containing a collection of 'aryām or šalast antiphons that does not also simultaneously contain an 'arbā't collection. Thus, choosing the system of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons as the focus of an initial diachronic study entails including as many of the early manuscripts as possible.

Secondly, 'arbā't antiphons, during the Season of Flowers, are performed almost exclusively as part of the *mawaddās* service (see Chapter 1, 1.4.3.3.3). This

¹⁶⁵⁸ As outlined in Chapter 1, systems of melodic families are attested for three types of antiphons: 'arbā't, 'aryām, and šalast. For a general introduction to the systems of melodic families, see Chapter 1 (1.4.5.3).

¹⁶⁵⁹ The sequence in which the melodic families (or their representatives) are ordered has not been studied systematically in this chapter. This is paralleled by the lack of focus of the sequence of the individual antiphons in Chapter 5. However, I consider this a potentially fruitful direction to pursue in the further study of 'arbā't antiphons. For a first attempt in this direction, see Karlsson forthcoming. The lack of consideration for this aspect in the present study is strictly motivated by constraints in time.

¹⁶⁶⁰ For a discussion of this, see Chapter 4 (4.3.2, discussion of the *mise en texte* of the beginning of melodic-family sections in single-type collections; and 4.4.2.2, discussion of melodic-family indications as part of the marking of the beginning of individual antiphons.)

means, in practice, that they are reasonably well attested in the manuscripts in the corpus, while still mostly being kept together in one place within each commemoration. In contrast, *śalast* antiphons are performed in every *wāzemā* service and in every *sābhata nagh* service, which makes them more common in the corpus, and more spread out within each commemoration. A study of the melodic families for *śalast* antiphons would thus (ideally) also need to include a further dimension: the position of the melodic families and/or individual antiphon within the single commemoration. 'Aryām antiphons, on the other hand, are performed only in the *kāstata 'aryām* service, which is attested more rarely in the manuscript corpus, and—it seems to me—more irregularly, in the sense that there is more variation between individual collections as to whether they include a *kāstata 'aryām* service for a specific commemoration or not. The 'arbā't antiphons offer a corpus of a suitable size, while still being attested in all the studied manuscripts.

Thirdly, the number of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons is the lowest of the three systems, at least in the present usage as attested by the church editions of the *Mā'rāf*—*Mā'rāf* 2015 and *Mā'rāf* 2016—and by Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969. There are thirty-three melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons, as opposed to fifty-seven for *śalast* antiphons and fifty-six for 'aryām antiphons.¹⁶⁶¹ This, one might presume, makes the system of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons easier to get a grip on and may allow us to develop methods that can later be applied to the systems of melodic families for *śalast* and 'aryām antiphons, where the number of melodic families is greater and the sources scarcer. Taking these three factors together, we can conclude that the melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons provides the most suitable basis for an introductory study.¹⁶⁶²

¹⁶⁶¹ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 63, 66. As one might expect, slightly different numbers appear in other sources: for example, at the end of the *'anqasa halletā* in MS EML 6994 (fol. 156ra–b), it is noted that there are thirty-four melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons, fifty-six for *śalast* antiphons, and fifty-three for 'aryām antiphons.

¹⁶⁶² As the systems of melodic families for 'aryām and *śalast* antiphons will not be treated below, it seems appropriate to summarise here the information about them that has been aggregated during the course of this project in one place, in order to facilitate further research. For information about the individual collections, see the respective sections in Chapter 4. Four single-type collections of *śalast* antiphons are known to me at present. They are all found within manuscripts containing multiple single-type collections, namely in MSS BnF Éth. 92, EML 7618, GG-187, and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002. For descriptions of these manuscripts, including references to the folios containing the collections in question, see Chapter 4. Three of these collections—those found in MSS BnF Éth. 92, EML 7618 and GG-187—are arranged primarily according to melodic families, and secondarily according to the liturgical calendar, whereas the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 is arranged primarily according to the liturgical calendar and secondarily according to melodic families. As for the single-type collections of 'aryām antiphons, three are known to me at present, found within the manuscripts BnF Éth. 92, EML 7618 and GG-185 (incomplete). Again, for descriptions of the manuscripts, see Chapter 4. The collections found in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and GG-185 are arranged primarily according to melodic families, and secondarily according to the liturgical calendar, while the collection found in MS EML 7618 is

In the course of this chapter, melodic families are referred to using the incipit of the model antiphon followed by the number of the melodic family as attested in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015. For example, 'Aṭmaqqa [1]' refers to the melodic family that occurs first in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 and whose model antiphon, as attested in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015, begins with the word አጥመቀ፡ [...] ('aṭmaqqa, 'you baptised'). Consequently, the system of melodic families attested in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 is taken as a point of departure for the discussion of changes in the melodic families and model antiphons.¹⁶⁶³

Designations for melodic families are referred to in Latin script, within angle bracket, e.g. <'Aṭmaqqa>. Ethiopic script (*fidal*) is used for quoting words and designations as they appear in a specific instantiation in a manuscript. Incipits, whether referring to the text of an antiphon seen as a work (set in Latin script) or referring to a specific instantiation in a manuscript (set in Ethiopic script), are followed by three dots within square brackets ([...]).

5.2 Sources

For the study of the diachronic development of the system of melodic families for 'arbā 't antiphons, three types of sources have been used. These are briefly introduced below.

a) Lists of melodic families / model antiphons

There are two types of lists, containing either the entire model antiphons or only their incipits. A list of the first type is generally found in the *Mə 'rāf*, of which I have used two church editions (*Mə 'rāf* 2015 and *Mə 'rāf* 2016), as well as Bernard Velat's edition (Velat 1966b, edition; Velat 1966a, French translation). In addition, a list of this type is found in the sixteenth-century *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscript EML 1894. Two lists of the second type have also been used: the one included in Habta Māryām Warqənāh 1969 and the one found in the fifteenth-century *Dəggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscript EML 8678.

arranged primarily according to the liturgical calendar, and secondarily according to melodic families.

¹⁶⁶³ In order to familiarise the reader with this list of melodic families, it is given here in full: 'Aṭmaqqa [1], Kokab marhomu [2], Za-rassayo [3], 'Ēsma 'anta bāhtitəka / Ba-masqaləka [4], 'Aḥqər biṣaka [5], 'Arga ḥamara [6], 'Amlāka 'Addām [7], 'Antəmu wə 'ətu [8], Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs I / 'Arārāta [9], Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs II / Ḥaṣabomu [10], Habu səbhata / Tafaśśəhi Şəyon [11], Tanśə 'u nəhor [12], Niqodimos 'amşə 'a / Qəne dābtarā [13], Za-maṣ 'a 'əm-dəhira nabiyāt [14], Bəşu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs [15], Za-marāḥkomu [16], Ḥayālān sab' [17], Zātti 'əlat [18], Sanbat 'amehā I [19], Wa-yəşu 'u lottu / Sanbat 'amehā II [20], Nəlbəs waltā [21], Za-yəgalabbəbo [22], Nāhu šannāy [23], 'Abrəh lana [24], Ba-kama yəbe [25], Laka səbhāt [26], Za-ba-Dāwit [27], Nāhu bərhānāta samāy [28], Bərhān za-yəwaśśə [29], Šar 'a sanbata / Šarḥa 'Isāyāyās [30], 'Aşābə 'ihu [31], Za-geśa [32], La-beta krəstiyān [33]. The occasional double designations, separated by a slash (/), are presented in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 as alternative designations for the same melodic family. Roman numbers have been added by me to differentiate homonymous designations.

b) Single-type collections of *'arbā 't* antiphons

As mentioned above (5.1), eight single-type collections of *'arbā 't* antiphons are known at present. One of these—the fragmentary collection preserved as MS DS-XVI—has been excluded from the main discussion in this chapter due to its state of preservation.¹⁶⁶⁴ MSS EMMML 2095 and EMMML 7078 are taken up entirely by *'arbā 't* collections, while they are found together with single-type collections of other types of antiphons in the manuscripts BnF Éth. 92, EMMML 7618, Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, GG-185, and GG-187. Two of these collections, those found in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, are calendrical, i.e. the antiphons are ordered primarily in commemorations placed in the sequence of the liturgical calendar. Secondly, within each commemoration, the antiphons are grouped according to melodic families. The collections in the remaining five manuscripts are melodic-family-based, i.e. the antiphons are grouped primarily according to melodic families, and within each melodic-family group presented in the sequence of the liturgical calendar.

c) Sections in multiple-type collections containing *'arbā 't* antiphons

Sections of thirty-three out of thirty-four multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, as laid out in Chapter 2, have been used.¹⁶⁶⁵ Out of the commemorations found within the Season of Flowers, the following five have been chosen as corpus for the study of the melodic families: the commemorations of James and John, of Pantaŵon, of *'Abbā 'Aragāwi*, of Stephen the Protomartyr, and of Sundays in the Season of Flowers. Three out of these—the commemorations of Pantaŵon, of Stephen the Protomartyr, and of Sundays in the Season of flowers—regularly contain sections with *'arbā 't* antiphons. In the others, sections with *'arbā 't* antiphons are more rarely attested: Three multiple-type collections (as well as several of the single-type collections) include *'arbā 't* antiphons for the commemoration of James and John. Four multiple-type collections (as well as several of the single-type collections) include *'arbā 't* antiphons for the commemoration of *'Abbā 'Aragāwi*.

Nonetheless, there are still four multiple-type collections from which, almost certainly due to material loss, this entire corpus of antiphons is missing, namely those in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28, EMMML 8070, EMMML 8408, and IES 679. The evidence from them is discussed in an excursion (5.3.5), using a different methodology (see 5.3.5.1).

¹⁶⁶⁴ In its fragmentary state, the collection in MS DS-XVI almost completely lacks information about melodic families. For an appraisal of the information extractable from it, see fn. 1747.

¹⁶⁶⁵ The fragments of an early multiple-type collection preserved in MS EMMML 2468 do not contain sections with *'arbā 't* antiphons, and thus have not been included.

5.3 Model antiphons

5.3.1 Introduction

The model antiphons play a central role in the systems of melodic families. As mentioned in Chapter 1 (1.4.5.3), they are antiphons that were chosen as 'representatives' of their respective melodic families and whose incipits, with time more and more excessively abbreviated (see Chapter 4, 4.4.2.2.4), are used to refer to the individual melodic families. To track changes regarding which model antiphon is used to refer to each melodic family is the main objective of this chapter.

5.3.2 Model antiphons in lists

5.3.2.1 Introduction

As the melodic families represent a way of systematising antiphons based on their musical characteristics, it is not surprising that we should find lists of the melodic families, represented by their respective model antiphons. As mentioned above, these lists can be categorised into two groups: lists including the entire model antiphons and lists including only the incipits of the model antiphons.

One list of the melodic families (or, at least, what could be described in this way¹⁶⁶⁶) is often found in the liturgical book known as the *Mə 'rāf*.¹⁶⁶⁷ There, among the materials used in the instruction of church singers, the model antiphons of the melodic families for 'arbā 't (as well as 'aryām and śalast) antiphons are presented in full, furnished with *məlakkaṭ* and preceded by the four first lines of the psalm (or one of the psalms), together with which they are performed. In the church editions, *Mə 'rāf* 2015 and *Mə 'rāf* 2016, the model antiphons are divided into groups according to the days of the week. This is not the case in Velat 1966b, and the absence of a historical study of the *Mə 'rāf* makes it difficult to say whether this is a recent practice or not. For the comparison below, the lists found in the church edition *Mə 'rāf* 2015 and in Velat 1966b have been used. The list of

¹⁶⁶⁶ Its direct purpose, at least in the present-day practice, is not to list the melodic families for 'arbā 't antiphons, but it is part of a compilation of materials that students of liturgical chant are required to master (cf. Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 79). The historical function of these antiphons as representatives of their respective melodic family has not always been clear to scholars. For example, in the introduction to his edition of the *Mə 'rāf*, Velat writes that the model antiphons are included there 'pour une seule et unique raison: ces textes sont porteurs de nombreux *Serayou* dont les mélodies particulièrement appréciées [...]' (Velat 1966a, p. 232, italics in the original). He thus seems to presume that the model antiphons were chosen because of the *səray* for *məlakkaṭ* that they include, something which does not correspond to the sequence of development of the different systems of musical categorisation.

¹⁶⁶⁷ *Mə 'rāf* 2015, pp. 36–42; *Mə 'rāf* 2016, pp. 45–54; Velat 1966b, pp. 47–51 (edition) and Velat 1966a, pp. 244–249 (French translation). The edition of the *Mə 'rāf* found in *Amməstu şawātəwa zemāwočč* 1972, pp. 103–246, does not contain a list of melodic families for 'arbā 't antiphons.

the church edition *Mə 'rāf* 2016 completely agrees with what is found in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015, and has thus been excluded.

A second list is found in Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969.¹⁶⁶⁸ Habta Māryām first lists the incipits of thirty-three model antiphons, grouped according to the days of the week, then adds the incipits of seven extra model antiphons, labelled *ya-'arbā 't tərḥ* (የአርባዕት ትርፍ, 'remainder of the 'arbā 't', 'extra 'arbā 't'), which in most cases correspond to alternative model antiphons in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015.¹⁶⁶⁹

A third list is found on fol. 203rb–vb in the sixteenth-century collection in MS EMMML 1894. For a description of this manuscript, see Chapter 2 (2.4.4). This list seems to have been written by the same hand as the main text of the manuscript and thus could be ascribed the same date. Here, the model antiphons are given in full and preceded by what appears to be a hallelujah number (see 5.3.2.4). Similar to the rest of the manuscript, the text of the list has not been spaced for *mələkkət*, and no *mələkkət* have been added.

A fourth list is found on fol. 113vb in MS EMMML 8678, possibly dated to the time of Zar'a Yā'qob (r. 1434–1468). For a description of this manuscript, see Chapter 2 (2.4.12). The list contains only the incipits of the model antiphons, again together with what appears to be a hallelujah number (see 5.3.2.4). The list seems to be a later addition to the manuscript. It is encircled and preceded by the trinitarian formula *Ba-səma 'ab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus I 'amlāk* (በስሙ: አብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ፩አምላክ:, 'In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God'), apparently written by another hand than the list itself (or using another writing utensil?). A later addition, it is difficult to date the list. There are several palaeographical features that point in the direction of a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century dating: The numeral <፲> always occurs in the form 'with a circle.'¹⁶⁷⁰ The body of the letters <፬> and <፭> and the numeral <፱> is triangular. The letter <ወ> has a rounded form. On the other hand, numerals are written with dashes above and below. In the additions occurring before the list (on fols 111va–113ra), the letters <መ> and <ወ> are formed on an upward slant towards the right, but in the list, their upper line is rather horizontal. Based on these palaeographical features, I propose to date the list to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.¹⁶⁷¹

5.3.2.2 Table 26

In Table 26, the contents of the abovementioned lists are summarised. For lists that include the full text of the model antiphons, only the incipit is given, followed by '[...]'. As the standardised model antiphons used as a point of reference in this study are taken from the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 (see 5.1), which itself forms part of this

¹⁶⁶⁸ Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969, pp. 59–61.

¹⁶⁶⁹ See fn. 1672.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Cf. Uhlig 1988, p. 212, also p. 361.

¹⁶⁷¹ I am thankful to Sophia Dege-Müller and Denis Nosnitsin for discussing this matter with me.

table, only the number of each melodic family has been reproduced in the first column. One melodic family, which does not appear in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, has been designated with a minuscule Latin <a>. The melodic families are presented in the order of the *Mə'rāf* 2015.

Table 26. Contents of lists of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons.

This table summarises the contents of the lists of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons found in two editions of the *Mə'rāf* (*Mə'rāf* 2015 and *Velat* 1966b), in *Habta Māryām Warqənah* 1969, and in the manuscripts EMMML 1894 and EMMML 8678. Editorial note: As normally, three dots within square brackets ([...]) within the text signal that the text of the manuscript is illegible. The same three dots following the last word of the text with a space between indicates that only the incipit of a complete antiphon has been reproduced.

| | <i>Mə'rāf</i> 2015 | <i>Habta Māryām Warqənah</i> 1969 ¹⁶⁷² | <i>Velat</i> 1966b | EMML 1894, fol. 203rb–vb | EMML 8678, fol. 113vb ¹⁶⁷³ |
|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | አጥመቀ: [...] | አጥመቀ | አጥመቀ: [...] | አጥመቀ: [...] | አጥመቀ: |
| 2 | ኮከብ: መርሐመ: [...] | ኮከብ መርሐመ | ኮከብ: መርሐመ: [...] | ኮከብ: መርሐመ: [...] | ኮከብ: መር: |
| 3 | ዘረሰዮ: [...] | ዘረሰዮ | ዘረሰዮ: [...] | ዘረሰዮ: [...] | ዘረሰዮ: |
| 4 | a) እስመ: አንተ: ባሕተትክ: [...] b) በመስቀልክ: [...] | a) እስመ አንተ ባሕተትክ ንጉሥ | a) እስመ: አንተ: ባሕተትክ: [...] b) በመስቀልክ: [...] | a) እስመ: አንተ: ባሕተትክ: [...] | a) (እስመ: አንተ:) |
| 5 | አፍቅር: ቢጸክ: [...] | አፍቅር ቢጸክ | አፍቅር: ቢጸክ: [...] | አፍቅር: ቢጸክ: [...] | ወአፍቅር: |
| 6 | ዐርገ: ሐመረ: [...] | ዓርገ ሐመረ | ዐርገ: ሐመረ: [...] | ዐርገ: ሐመረ: [...] | ዐርገ: ሐመር(!): |
| 7 | አምላክ: አዳም: [...] | አምላክ አዳም | አምላክ: አዳም: [...] | አምላክ: አዳም: [...] | አምላክ: አዳም: |
| 8 | አንትመ: ውእቱ: [...] | አንትመ ውእቱ | አንትመ: ውእቱ: [...] | አንትመ: ውእቱ: [...] | አንትመ: ውእቱ: |
| 9 | a) ወይበሎመ: ዮሐንስ: ለሕዝብ: እመኑ: [...] | a) ወይበሎመ ዮሐንስ ለሕዝብ | a) ወይበሎመ: ዮሐንስ: ለሕዝብ: እመኑ: [...] | a) ወይበሎመ: ዮሐንስ: ለሕዝብ: እመኑ: [...] | ወይበሎመ: |

¹⁶⁷² In addition to this list, *Habta Māryām Warqənah* 1969 includes seven extra 'arbā't families, labelled *ya-'arbā't tərḥ* (የአርባዕት ትርፍ, 'remainder of the 'arbā't', 'extra 'arbā't'): ሐጸበሙ እገሪሆመ, ተፈሥሐ ጽዮን, ቅኔ ደብተራ, አእትት እከየ, ጸርጎ ኢሳይያስ, ዓራራተ ነበረት ታቦት, and በመስቀልክ አብራካስ ለኅ. With the exception of አእትት እከየ, all of these are known as alternative names from the *Mə'rāf* 2015. One might wonder whether አእትት እከየ is connected to the alternative model antiphons beginning with ሰንበት: አሜሃ: አምኔን: አዕትት: ኃዘነ: [...] in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, as it is the only alternative model antiphon not found in *Habta Māryām Warqənah* 1969 and as they have one word in common. However, a philological study of the textual history of this model antiphon would be necessary to say anything certain about the matter.

¹⁶⁷³ In the list found in MS EMMML 8678, the incipits of the model antiphons are regularly followed by the particle *-hi* (-ሂ). This addition, interesting from a syntactical perspective, has been disregarded in the table.

| | | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------|--|--|-----------------|
| | b) አራራተ፡ ነበረት፡ ታቦት፡ [...] | | | | |
| 10 | a) ወይበሎም፡ የሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ አንሰ፡ [...] b) ሐፀበም፡ እገሪሆም፡ [...] | b) ሐጸበም፡ እገሪሆም፡ | a) ወይበሎም፡ የሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ አንሰ፡ [...] | a) ወይበሎም፡ የሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ አንሰ፡ [...] | ወድ(?)ኸ(?)ሎ[...] |
| 11 | a) ሀቡ፡ ስብሐተ፡ [...] b) ተፈሥሐ፡ ጽዮን፡ [...] | ሀቡ፡ ስብሐተ | ሀቡ፡ ስብሐተ፡ [...] | ሀቡ፡ ስብሐተ፡ [...] | ሀቡ፡ |
| 12 | ተንሥኡ፡ ንሑር፡ [...] | ተንሥኡ ንሑር | ተንሥኡ፡ ንሑር፡ [...] | ተንሥኡ፡ ንሑር፡ [...] | ተንሥኡ፡ |
| 13 | a) ኒቆዲሞስ፡ አምጽአ፡ [...] b) ቅኔ፡ ደብተራ፡ [...] | a) ኒቆዲሞስ አምጽአ | a) ኒቆዲሞስ፡ አምጽአ፡ [...] | a) ኒቆዲሞስ፡ አምጽአ፡ [...] | ኒቆ[...] |
| 14 | ዘመጽአ፡ እምድሳረ፡ ነቢያት፡ [...] | ዘመጽአ እምድሳረ | ዘመጽአ፡ እምድሳረ፡ ነቢያት፡ [...] | ዘመጽአ፡ እምድሳረ፡ ነቢያት፡ [...] | ዘመጽአ፡ |
| 15 | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ የሐንስ፡ [...] | ብፁዕ አንተ የሐንስ | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ የሐንስ፡ [...] | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ የሐንስ፡ [...] | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ |
| 16 | ዘመራሕኮም፡ ለሕዝብከ፡ [...] | ዘመራሕኮም፡ ለሕዝብከ | ዘመራሕኮም፡ ለሕዝብከ፡ [...] | ዘመራሕኮም፡ ለሕዝብካ(!)፡ [...] | ዘመራሕኮም፡ |
| 17 | ኅያላን፡ ሰብአ፡ [...] | ኃያላን ሰብአ | ኅያላን፡ ሰብአ፡ [...] | ኃያላን፡ ሰብአ፡ [...] | ኅያላን፡ |
| 18 | ዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ [...] | ዛቲ ዕለት | ዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ [...] | ዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ [...] | ዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ |
| 19 | ሰንበት፡ አሜሃ፡ አመ፡ ይበሎ፡ ለመግጥዕ፡ [...] | ሰንበት አሜሃ | ሰንበት፡ አሜሃ፡ አመ፡ ይበሎ፡ ለመግጥዕ፡ [...] | ሰንበት፡ አሜሃ፡ አመ፡ ይበሎ፡ ለመግጥዕ፡ [...] | ሰንበት፡ አሚ(!)ሃ፡ |
| 20 | a) ወይሠዑ፡ ሎቱ፡ [...] b) ሰንበት፡ አሜሃ፡ እምኔነ፡ አዕትት፡ ኃዘነ፡ [...] | a) ወይሠዑ ሎቱ መሥዋዕተ ስብሐት | a) ወይሠዑ፡ ሎቱ፡ [...] | a) ወይሠዑ፡ ሎቱ፡ [...] | ወይሠዑ፡ ሎቱ፡ |
| 21 | ንልበስ፡ ወልታ፡ [...] | ንልበስ ወልታ ዘብርሃን | ንልበስ፡ ወልታ፡ [...] | ንልበስ፡ ወልታ፡ [...] | ንልበስ፡ ወልታ፡ |
| 22 | ዘይገለብቦ፡ [...] | ዘይገለብቦ ለስማይ በደመና | ዘይገለብቦ፡ [...] | ዘይገለብቦ፡ [...] | ዘይገለብቦ፡ |
| 23 | ናሁ፡ ሠናይ፡ [...] | ናሁ ሠናይ | ናሁ፡ ሠናይ፡ [...] | ናሁ፡ ሠናይ፡ [...] | ናሁ፡ ሠናይ፡ |
| 24 | ኦብርህ፡ ለነ፡ [...] | ኦብርህ ለነ | ኦብርህ፡ ለነ፡ [...] | ኦብርህ፡ ለነ፡ [...] | ኦብርህ፡ ለነ፡ |
| 25 | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ [...] | በከመ ይቤ | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ [...] | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ [...] | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ |
| 26 | ለከ፡ ስብሐት፡ [...] | ለከ፡ ስብሐት | ለከ፡ ስብሐት፡ [...] | ለከ፡ ስብሐት፡ [...] | ለከ፡ ስብሐት፡ |

| | | | | | |
|----|---|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 27 | ዘበዳዊት: [...] | ዘበዳዊት ተነበየ | ዘበዳዊት: [...] | ዘበዳዊት: [...] | ዘበዳዊት: |
| 28 | ናሁ: ብርሃኖት: ሰማይ: [...] | ናሁ: ብርሃኖት | ናሁ: ብርሃኖት: ሰማይ: [...] | ናሁ: ብርሃኖት: ሰማይ: [...] | ናሁ: ብራ(!)ሃኖት: ሰማይ: |
| 29 | ብርሃን: ዘይወፅእ: [...] | ብርሃን ዘይወፅእ | ብርሃን: ዘይወፅእ: [...] | ብርሃን: ዘይወፅእ: [...] | ብርሃ(?)ን: ዘይወፅእ: |
| 30 | a) ሠርዐ: ሰንበተ: [...] b) ጸርኅ: ኢሳይያስ: [...] | a) ሠርዓ ሰንበተ | a) ሠርዐ: ሰንበተ: [...] | a) ሠርዐ: ሰንበተ: [...] | ሰርዐ: ሰንበተ: |
| 31 | አፃብዒሁ: ፍሑቃት: [...] | አፃብኢሁ: ፍሑቃት | አፃብዒሁ: ፍሑቃት: [...] | አፃብዒሁ: ፍሑቃት: [...] | አፃብኢሁ: (ፍኑቃት) |
| 32 | ዘጌሠ: ኅቤሃ: [...] | ዘጌሠ ኃቤሃ | ዘጌሠ: ኅቤሃ: [...] | ዘጌሠ: ኅቤሃ: [...] | ዘጌሰ: ኅቤሃ: |
| 33 | ለቤተ: ክርስቲያን: [...] | ለቤተ ክርስቲያን | ለቤተ: ክርስቲያን: [...] | | |
| a | | | | | ዕዝል: ዘጌሠ: ኅቤሃ: |

5.3.2.3 Comments to Table 26

As can be seen in Table 26, the corpora of melodic families attested in the studied lists show little variation. The major differences are that the melodic family *La-beta krastiyān* [33] is lacking in the two pre-modern lists, and that the list found in MS EMMML 8678 includes a melodic family, or a variant of one, not attested in the rest of the lists (nor anywhere else in the corpus): 'Ezl Za-geśa [a].

Where the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 provides alternative model antiphons for the same melodic family, the other lists generally only have one alternative. In the following cases, they unanimously have the same alternative (the alternative represented in the lists has been underlined): *Wa-yābelomu I* / 'Arārāta [9], *Habu sabbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Šəyon* [11], *Niqodimos 'amsə 'a* / *Qəne dabtarā* [13], *Wa-yəśu 'u lottu* / *Sanbat 'amehā II* [20], and *Šar 'a sanbata* / *Šarha 'Isāyayās* [30]. In the case of 'Eśma 'anta bāhtitəka / *Ba-masqaləka* [4], the list in Velat 1966b also includes both alternatives, whereas the rest of the lists have only the designation <'Eśma 'anta bāhtitəka>. Only in the case of *Wa-yābelomu II* / *Hašabomu* [10] do the other lists disagree, the list in Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969 having <Hašabomu> and the rest of the lists <Wa-yābelomu> II (although the reading of MS EMMML 8678 is uncertain).

Based on these four sources, of different character, one can draw the conclusion that in the lists, there is a relatively stable set of melodic families, with corresponding model antiphons. This holds true in spite of the fact that the studied lists are of different age and are found in different manuscript contexts, occurring

both in the *Mə'rāf* and as additions to calendrical multiple-type antiphon collections.

5.3.2.4 Excursion: Hallelujah numbers in lists

As mentioned above (5.3.2.1), the lists found in MSS EML 1894 and EML 8678 include what appears to be hallelujah numbers. By this I mean, in the present context, the number of repetitions of the word *halleluyā* (sometimes shortened *halle*) inserted among the first four lines of the accompanying psalm and the 'arbā't antiphons during its performance in the church service. Although the word *halleluyā* is present in the text of the antiphons plus accompanying psalm as found in the church editions of the *Mə'rāf* (*Mə'rāf* 2015 and *Mə'rāf* 2016), the number of repetitions of the word *halleluyā* per melodic family is nowhere given as a number. Velat 1966b, in his edition, mentions the repetitions of the word *halleluyā*,¹⁶⁷⁴ but does not reproduce them. In Table 27, the numbers attached to each melodic family in the lists in MSS EML 1894 and EML 8678 is compared with the number of *halleluyā* found in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 (as reached by simply counting them).

¹⁶⁷⁴ Velat 1966b, p. 47, fn. 1.

Chapter 5. The Diachr. Development of Melodic Families for 'arbā 't Antiphons

Table 27. Hallelujahs connected to the melodic families of 'arbā 't antiphons

| | <i>Mə'rāf</i> 2015 | EMML 1894, fol. 203rb–vb | EMML 8678, fol. 113vb |
|--|--------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 'Aṭmaḡḡa [1] | 5 | ⲑ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |
| Kokab marḡomu [2] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| Za-rassayo [3] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| 'Īsma 'anta bāḡtitəka / Ba-masqaləka [4] | 6 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲭ̅(?) |
| 'Aḡḡor biṣaka [5] | 5 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |
| 'Arga ḡamara [6] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] | 6 | Ⲭ̅(?) | Ⲭ̅ |
| 'Antəmu wə'ətu [8] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | [...] |
| Wa-yəbelomu I / 'Arārāta [9] | 5 | ⲑ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |
| Wa-yəbelomu II / Ḥaṣabomu [10] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| Habu səbhata / Tafaśśəḡi Ṣəyon [11] | 6 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲭ̅(?) |
| Tanṣə'u nəḡor [12] | 4 | Ⲓ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| Niqodimos 'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtarā [13] | 2 | Ⲓ̅ | Ⲓ̅ |
| Za-maṣ'a 'əm-dəḡra nabiyaṭ [14] | 7 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |
| Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḡannəs [15] | 10 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲓ̅ |
| Za-marāḡkomu [16] | 9 | Ⲓ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| Ḥayālān sab' [17] | 8 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |
| Zātti 'əlat [18] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| Sanbat 'amehā I [19] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| Wa-yəṣu'u lottu / Sanbat 'amehā II [20] | 11 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲓ̅Ⲭ̅ |
| Nəlbəs waltā [21] | 8 | ⲑ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |
| Za-yəḡalabbəbo [22] | 6 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲭ̅(?) |
| Nāhu śannāy [23] | 9 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |
| 'Abrəḡ lana [24] | 3 | Ⲓ̅ | Ⲓ̅ |
| Ba-kama yəbe [25] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| Laka səbhāt [26] | 5 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |
| Za-ba-Dāwit [27] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | ⲑ̅ |
| Nāhu bərhānāta samāy [28] | 7 | Ⲭ̅ | *_(!*) |
| Bərhān za-yəwaṣṣə' [29] | 8 | Ⲭ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |
| Šar'a sanbata / Šarḡa 'Isāyayās [30] | 4 | ⲑ̅ | Ⲭ̅ |

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| | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|
| 'Aṣābā 'ihu [31] | 3 | ḡ | ḡ |
| Za-geśa [32] | 5 | ḡ | ḡ |
| La-beta krəstiyān [33] | 8 | | |
| 'Ēzl Za-geśa [a] | | | ḡ |

Table 27: In this table, the numbers attached to each model antiphon / melodic-family designation in the lists in MSS EML 1894 and EML 8678 are compared with the number of repetitions of the word halleluyā associated with each melodic family in the Mā'rāf 2015. Editorial note: An underscore preceded by an asterisk and followed by an exclamation mark and an asterisk within brackets ('*_(!*)') indicates that a space has been left blank in the manuscript (presumably, with the intention that it be filled by a rubricated character, which then did not happen).

A first conclusion from the data in Table 27 is that the numbers attached to the melodic families in the lists in MSS EMML 1894 and EMML 8678 with high probability represent hallelujah numbers. Although the number of deviations is not insignificant, the number of perfect parallels is also not.

In a number of cases, the list in MS EMML 1894 displays a number one less than the number given in the list in MS EMML 8678 and deducible from the *Məʿrāf* 2015. This applies to the following melodic families: *ʿAṭmaqqa* [1], *ʿĪsma ʿanta bāḥtitəka* / *Ba-masqaləka* [4], *Wa-yəbelomu* I / *ʿArārāta* [9], *Tanšəʿu nəḥor* [12], *Za-yəgalabbəbo* [22], and *ʿAšābə ʿihu* [31]. Upon reviewing the *halleluyā* insertions in these melodic families, it turns out that they all share a feature: one of the repetitions of the word *halleluyā* is placed at the beginning of the antiphon, after the fourth line of the psalm.¹⁶⁷⁵ A possible conclusion is that this specific difference between the lists is not caused by different practices, but rather by differing ways of counting. However, the pattern is not perfect: The melodic families *Za-maṣʿa ʿəm-dəḥra nabiyyāt* [14], *Wa-yəṣu ʿu lottu* / *Sanbat ʿamehā* II [20], *Laka səbḥat* [26], *Bərḥān za-yəwaššəʿ* [29], and *Za-geša* [32], as attested in the *Məʿrāf* 2015, also include a repetition of *halleluyā* at the beginning of the antiphon. In the case of *Laka səbḥat* [26], however, the three lists all have the same number, and in the other cases, no pattern is discernible.

Hallelujah numbers do not appear as a general feature in other collections of melodic families for *ʿarbāʿt* antiphons. Their occurrence may thus be noted as a characteristic of early lists of melodic families, and if more similar material is found, it may be a significant feature in establishing relationships between them. In the rest of this chapter, however, they will not play a significant role.

5.3.2.5 Discussion

What does the evidence provided by the lists tell us about the general development of the system of melodic families for *ʿarbāʿt* antiphons? First and

¹⁶⁷⁵ For example, the model antiphon of the melodic family *ʿAṭmaqqa* [1] is given in the following manner in the *Məʿrāf* 2015: [^]ቃልየ[^] አጽምዕ እግዚአሃሌ ሉያ ሃሌ ሉያ ወለቡ ጽራሕየ ሃሌ ሉያ ሃሌ ሉያ ወአጽምዐኒ ቃለ ስእለትየ። ንጉሥየኒ ወአምላኪየኒ [^]ሃሌ ሉያ[^] አጥመቀ ወተጠመቀ ለሊከ ቃለ ፈነወከ ነቢየ ልዑል ተሰመደከ። (‘Hearken to my voice, O Lord. Hallelujah, hallelujah! And be attentive to my cry. Hallelujah, hallelujah! And hearken to the sound of my request, my King and my God. Hallelujah! He baptised and was himself baptised. The Word sent you. You are called the Prophet of the Most-High!’; *Məʿrāf* 2015, p. 36a). This means that five repetitions of the word are included in the performance structure associated with this melodic family, one of which is placed between the end of the fourth line of the psalm and the beginning of the antiphon. Compare this to the model antiphon for the melodic family , which is given as follows: [^]ቃልየ[^] አጽምዕ እግዚአሃሌ ሉያ ወለቡ ጽራሕየ ሃሌ ሃሌ ሉያ ሃሌ ሉያ ሃሌ ሉያ ወአ.ቃ.ስ ንጉሥየኒ ወአምላኪየኒ። [^]አፍቅር ቢጸከ[^] ከመ ነፍሰከ ወአከብር ሰንበቶ ለእግዚአብሔር አምላክከ እስመ ከማሁ ይቤ ቅዱሳነ ኩኑ እስመ አነሂ ቅዱስ አነ። (‘Hearken to my voice, O Lord. Hallelujah! And be attentive to my cry. Halle, hallelujah, hallelujah, hallelujah! And he[arken to the] so[und of my] re[quest], my King and my God. Love your neighbour as yourself as yourself, and honour the Sabbath of the Lord, your God! For He said like this: “Be holy, for I am holy!”’; *Məʿrāf* 2015, p. 36b). Here, five repetitions of the word *halleluyā* are also included, but now they are all placed between lines of the psalm.

foremost, it must be underlined that the lists found in the different editions of the *Mə'rāf*, in Habta Māryām Warqənah 1969 and in the manuscripts EML 1894 and EML 8678 display a high degree of concordance. With few exceptions, the same set of melodic families is attested in all of them, connected with the same set of model antiphons. While this is not surprising in the case of the modern sources, especially as their potential interdependencies have not been clarified, it is noteworthy in the case of the pre-modern lists. Especially in comparison with contemporaneous sources for the system of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons of other types—single- and multiple-type collections (see below)—their closeness to the system attested in the *Mə'rāf* is remarkable.

5.3.3 Model antiphons in single-type collections

5.3.3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter (5.1), we know of eight single-type collections of 'arbā't antiphons, seven of which have been included in the main discussion in this chapter. The system of melodic families and model antiphons is present in all of these, although these features are marked by different means. Two of the collections—those in MSS EML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002—are calendrical. There, the 'arbā't antiphons are organised in commemorations, which are arranged in the sequence of the liturgical calendar. Within each commemoration, the antiphons are grouped according to their melodic family. For a schematic representation, see Figure 26. Generally, the melodic-family sections within a commemoration are introduced with the formula *X ba-za yəbl*, 'X, in which one says...', where X stands for the incipit of a model antiphon. For an example, see Illustration 34.

Figure 26. Schematic depiction of the structure of a calendrical 'arbā't collection.

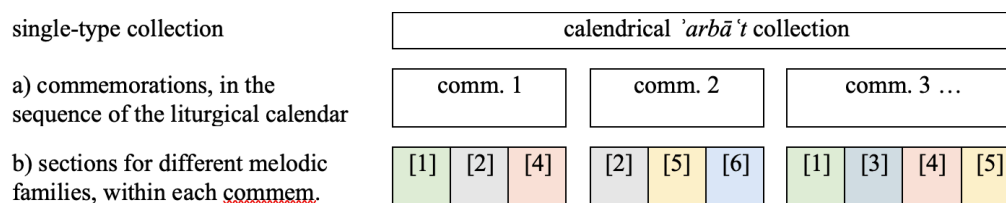


Illustration 34. Example of the marking of melodic families in a calendrical collection.

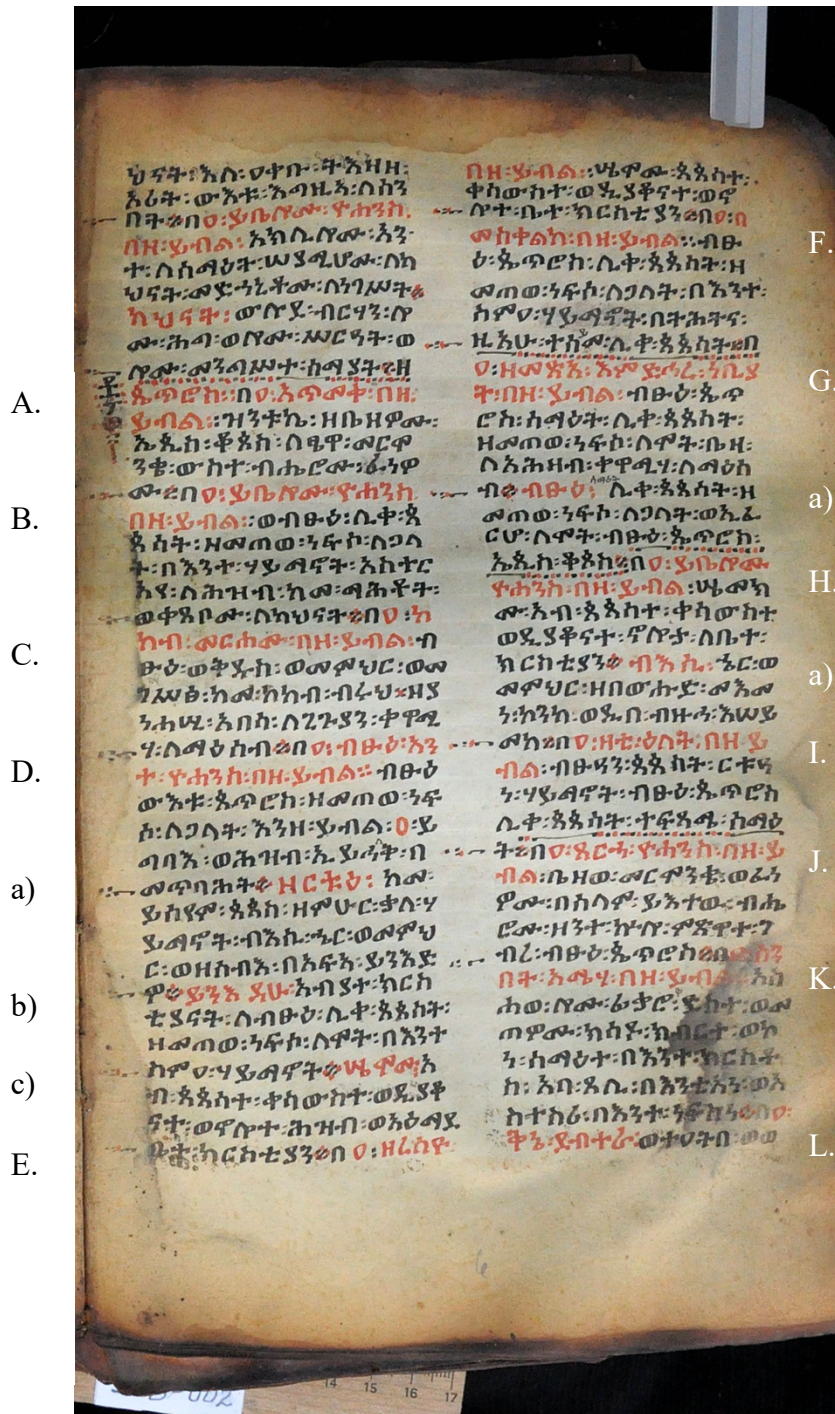


Illustration 34: Reproduction of MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, fol. 6r. On this folio, the beginning of the commemoration of Peter of Alexandria (Petros) is marked with a crux ansata (A). The 'arbā 't antiphons belonging to this commemoration are divided into groups, based on their melodic family (B-L), each one introduced with the formula X ba-za yəbl, 'X, in which one says...', where X stands for the incipit of a model antiphon. When several 'arbā 't antiphons belong to the same melodic family, they have been grouped together and the first word of each antiphon is rubricated (cf. the subgrouping under D, G, and H).

In the five remaining collections of 'arbā't antiphons, found in MSS BnF Éth. 92, EMLL 7078, EMLL 7618, GG-185, and GG-187, the antiphons are arranged primarily according to their melodic family. Within each melodic-family group, they are ordered according to the liturgical calendar. For a schematic representation, see Figure 27.

In these collections, different methods are used for marking model antiphons:

- 1) just as in the calendrical single-type collections, the incipit of the model antiphon may be given at the beginning of the family. This is, however, rather rare;
- 2) more commonly, the incipit, often embedded in the same formula as in the calendrical collections (*X ba-za yəbl*), has been added in the margin, sometimes, it seems, by the original scribe, but in other cases by a later hand;
- 3) a third way of marking the model antiphon is by a method that I call *fronting*. This refers to the practice of placing the model antiphon at the beginning of the group of antiphons belonging to the same melodic family. After the model antiphon, the rest of the antiphons follow in the sequence of the liturgical year, and the antiphons that calendrically precede the model antiphon and that ought to have appeared before it, are placed at the end of the melodic-family group.

The three methods for marking model antiphons are not equally common in the five melodic-family-based collections. While the collection in MS EMLL 7078 almost exclusively uses fronting (with the exception of a couple of clearly secondary additions), marginal additions prevail in the collections found in MSS BnF Éth. 92, EMLL 7618 and GG-187, although fronting also plays an important role. In the collection in MS GG-185, incipits, both in the main text and in the upper margin, are common. For an example including both a marginal melodic-family designation and fronting, see Illustration 35.

Figure 27. Schematic depiction of the structure of a melodic-family-based 'arbā't collection.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|--------------------------|---|---|---------------------------|---|---|---|
| single-type collection | melodic-family-based 'arbā' t collection | | | | | | | | | |
| a) sections for different melodic families | <u>'Atmaqqa</u> [1] | | | <u>Kokab marhomu</u> [2] | | | <u>Za-rassayo</u> [3] ... | | | |
| b) commemorations / antiphons, in the sequence of the liturgical calendar, within each melodic-family section | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 5 |

Illustration 35. Example of the marking of melodic families in a melodic-family-based collection.

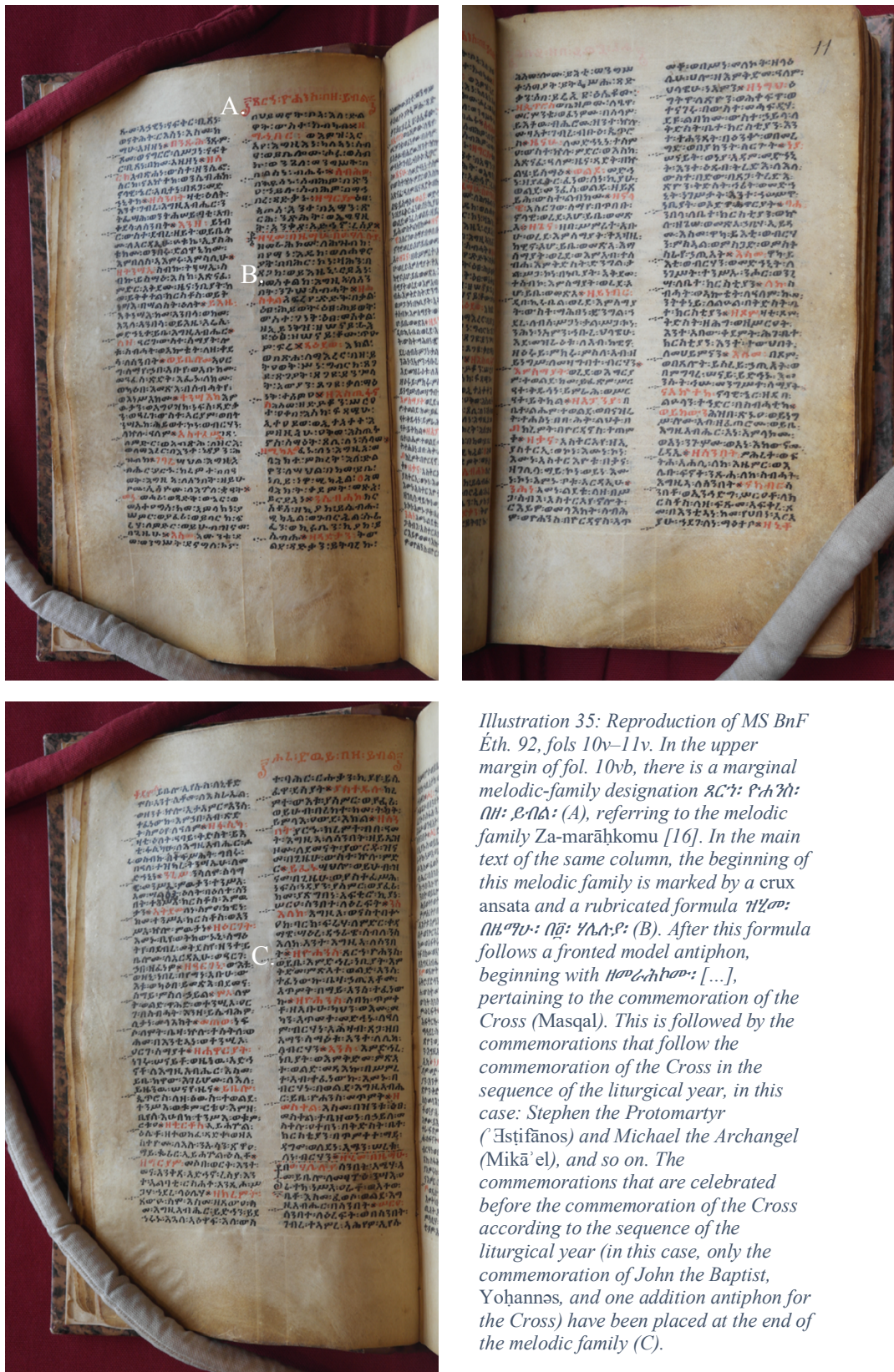


Illustration 35: Reproduction of MS BnF Éth. 92, fols 10v–11v. In the upper margin of fol. 10vb, there is a marginal melodic-family designation *ḌCʿ: ʿṯāḥn: nḥ: ʿṯāḥn:* (A), referring to the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16]. In the main text of the same column, the beginning of this melodic family is marked by a crux ansata and a rubricated formula *ḥḥḥḥ: nḥḥḥ: nḥḥḥ: nḥḥḥ:* (B). After this formula follows a fronted model antiphon, beginning with *ḥḥḥḥ: nḥḥḥ: nḥḥḥ: nḥḥḥ:* [...], pertaining to the commemoration of the Cross (Masqal). This is followed by the commemorations that follow the commemoration of the Cross in the sequence of the liturgical year, in this case: Stephen the Protomartyr (*ʿṯṯīṯānos*) and Michael the Archangel (*Mikāʿel*), and so on. The commemorations that are celebrated before the commemoration of the Cross according to the sequence of the liturgical year (in this case, only the commemoration of John the Baptist, *Yohannās*, and one addition antiphon for the Cross) have been placed at the end of the melodic family (C).

Before proceeding, it should be noted that three of the single-type collections of 'arbā't antiphons are incompletely preserved/available. According to the codicological reconstruction of MS BnF Éth. 92 (see Chapter 2, 2.3.9.1), parts of three melodic families are missing from it: 'Aṭmaqqa [1], *Kokab marḥomu* [2], and *Wa-yābelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9]. Thanks to identifiable residues, however, the presence of these melodic families in the collection in its original state can be confirmed. Based on similarities between the sequence of melodic families in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 and the rest of the corpus of single-type 'arbā't collections based on melodic families,¹⁶⁷⁶ one may suppose that no other melodic families have been affected by this material loss.

Parts of the manuscript EMML 2095, whose entire content is taken up by a collection of 'arbā't antiphons, are also missing. A calendrical single-type collection, the first preserved folios begin with the end of the commemoration for the Season of Flowers. Based on the order of the melodic families within other commemorations in the same manuscript and a comparison with the 'arbā't collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (which is generally close to the one in MS EMML 2095), one can presume that a substantial number of antiphons has been lost.

Furthermore, one opening of the manuscript EMML 7078 appears to be missing from the digitised microfilm.¹⁶⁷⁷ This conclusion is based on the fact that the physical shape of the folio numbered 64r does not correspond to that of the presumed fol. 64v. However, as antiphons belonging to the same melodic family (*Habu sabbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [11]) are found both before and after the potentially missing opening, it seems safe to conclude that the missing antiphons also belonged to this family. This error must have occurred when the manuscript was originally microfilmed, as the foliation does not indicate that something has been.

5.3.3.2 Data set 3

Data set 3 presents the results of an attempt to connect the melodic families attested in the single-type collections with the melodic families as attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015. The method has consisted in comparing, first of all, the melodic-family designations marked as such in the single-type collections with the designations of the *Mə'rāf* 2015. Then, I have compared the corpus of antiphons within each melodic family in the individual single-type collections, aiming to find correspondences. In many cases, straightforward correspondences could be established. Some of these identifications have later been solidified by the study of individual 'arbā't antiphons (see 5.3.4). In other cases, the single-type collections provide conflicting information and a discussion is needed.

¹⁶⁷⁶ For details, see Karlsson forthcoming.

¹⁶⁷⁷ See Chapter 2 (2.3.2, esp. fn. 632).

In Data set 3, the results are presented family by family, following the order attested in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015. For each single-type collection where a correspondence to a melodic family could be identified, any markers of a model antiphon (explicit mention in the text, in the margin or by means of fronting) have been noted. A full transcription of the first antiphon has also been given. This facilitates the discussion below and, I believe, will enhance the potential use of the table for future scholars.

5.3.3.3 Comments to Data set 3

5.3.3.3.1 General comments

For a number of melodic families, no further discussion is needed, as they are unanimously designated with the same model antiphon in the single-type collections, and this model antiphon is also attested in the modern-day sources. This is the case for the following melodic families: 'Arga ḥamara [6], *Za-yəgalabbəbo* [22], *Laka səbḥat* [26], and *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27].

There are two cases, where the single-type collections unanimously attest to one of two alternative model antiphons found in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015. This applies to the following melodic families (the alternative attested in the single-type collections has been underlined): 'Īsma 'anta bāḥtitəka / Ba-masqaləka [4], and Wa-yəbelomu II / *Ḥaṣabomu* [10].

For a number of melodic families, the only deviations from the model antiphon(s) attested in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 consist in the absence of any explicit marker of the model antiphon, be it by mentioning of this in the margin, in the main text or by fronting, in some of the single-type collections. The first antiphon of the family, belonging to the commemoration of John the Baptist or another of the commemorations occurring at the beginning of the year, could in these cases theoretically be interpreted as a model antiphon. This does indeed sometimes appear to be the case.¹⁶⁷⁸ But on the other hand, this situation could also indicate the absence of a model antiphon for the melodic family in question. Such ambiguity characterises the following melodic families: 'Aṭmaqqa [1], *Kokab marḥomu* [2], 'Antəmu wə 'ātu [8], *Za-maṣ'a 'əm-dəḥra nabiyaṭ* [14], *Zātti 'əlat* [18], *Nəlbəs waltā* [21], and *Nāhu bərhānāta samāy* [28]. In the case of the melodic family *Šar'a sanbata* / *Šarḥa 'Isāyayās* [30], the single type collections unanimously attest to the designation <Šarḥa 'Isāyayās>, except for an absence of explicit model-antiphon marking in one manuscript.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Cf., for example, the melodic families 'Īsma 'anta bāḥtitəka / *Ba-masqaləka* [4], 'Arga ḥamara [6], *Wa-yəbelomu I* / 'Arārāta [9], and *Wa-yəbelomu II* / *Ḥaṣabomu* [10], as attested in MS EMM 7078.

For the rest of the melodic families, the evidence from the single-type collections requires some comments and discussion. This is provided, family by family, in the following.

5.3.3.3.2 Za-rassayo [3]

In the 'arbā't collection in MS EMMML 7618, this melodic family is introduced by a fronted antiphon, which judging from its contents perhaps belongs to the commemoration of Epiphany (*Təmqat*). Its incipit is ወይሴ(?)ሎ፡ ኣብ፡ ለወልዱ፡ [...] (*Wa-yəbe(?)lo 'ab la-waldu [...]*). The same antiphon begins this family in the collection in MS GG-185, but due to the small number of antiphons contained in the melodic family in that collection, it is not possible to say whether it is fronted or not. In the collection in MS GG-185, in any case, it (also) has a marginal designation ዘረሰዮ፡ ለማይ፡ ወይነ፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ (*Za-rassayo la-māy wayna ba-za yəbl*).

5.3.3.3.3 'Afqər biṣaka [5]

Among the single-type collections, there is no trace of the melodic-family designation <'Afqər biṣaka>, i.e. neither is this designation found in melodic-family indications in the main text or in the margin, nor is an antiphon with this incipit found in a fronted position. However, in five collections, there is a melodic family with the designation <*Tazkāra gabra*>. In the calendrical single-type collections in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, this designation is attested in the main text. In the collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92, EMMML 7078, and GG-187, an antiphon with this incipit is fronted. Based on the occurrence among the antiphons belonging to this melodic family of an antiphon with *the same text* as the model antiphon beginning with 'Afqər biṣaka [...], as attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, I propose to identify the family which in the single-type collections has the designation <*Tazkāra gabra*> with the modern melodic family 'Afqər biṣaka [5]. As no antiphons designated with either of these model antiphons occurs in the corpus of antiphons for the Season of Flowers (see below), it has not been possible to consolidate this hypothesis with evidence from the analysis of individual antiphons. However, see also the evidence from the excursion in 5.3.5.

5.3.3.3.4 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] and Bərḥān za-yəwaššə' [29]

The situation concerning the melodic families 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] and Bərḥān za-yəwaššə' [29] is complicated. The collection in MS GG-187 contains a melodic family that has the designation አምላክ፡ አዳም፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ ('Amlāka 'Addām ba-za yəbl) in the margin, but it originally began (before an addition was made to the melodic family) with a fronted antiphon corresponding to the model antiphon for the melodic family Bərḥān za-yəwaššə' [29], as attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015. Additional antiphons have been added both in front of and after this melodic family.

The collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 contains a melodic family, whose first antiphon is the model antiphon for 'Amlāka 'Addām [7], as attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, but

the designation ብርሃን፡ ዘይወፅእ፡ እምጽርሕክ፡ (*Bərḥān za-yəwaššə ' 'əm-ṣərḥəka*; sic, without *ba-za yəbl*) has been added in the margin. The collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 also contains another melodic family, added to what was originally, according to the codicological reconstructions (see Chapter 2, 2.3.9.1), the end of the 'arbā 't collection. In the text, this addition is introduced with the words ተረፍ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘይወፅእ፡ እምጽርሕክ፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ (*taraf Bərḥān za-yəwaššə ' 'əm-ṣərḥəka ba-za yəbl*), indicating that what follows is an addition to a melodic family designated *Bərḥān za-yəwaššə ' 'əm-ṣərḥəka*. However, in the margin, the addition has been marked with the designation እምላክ፡ አዳም፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ (*'Amlāka 'Addām ba-za yəbl*). Noticeably, the antiphons of this added family correspond to the antiphons added in front of and after the family in the collection in MS GG-187 (see above).

The collection in MS EMMML 7618 contains two families, which according to their contents belong to this complex. They both lack explicit melodic-family designations, beginning with non-fronted antiphons, in one case an antiphon for the Season of Flowers (*Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't* 054, according to the numbering used in this dissertation), in the other the model antiphon for *Bərḥān za-yəwaššə ' 'əm-ṣərḥəka* [29], as attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 (but, *nota bene*, non-fronted). Noticeably, the set of antiphons in the melodic family beginning with the antiphon for the Season of Flowers, with only one exception, corresponds to those found in the later additions in the collections in MSS GG-187 and BnF Éth. 92.

In the calendrical single-type collections, found in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, two melodic families pertaining to this complex are attested: one designated as *'Amlāka 'Addām*, the other as *'Amlāk mā 'mər*. While they are congruent among themselves as to which specific antiphons are ascribed to which of these two families, the division does not correspond to the one occurring in the collection in MS EMMML 7618 (and, in the form of original family versus additions, in the collections in MSS GG-187 and BnF Éth. 92).

The collection in MS EMMML 7078, finally, has one single melodic family, which contentwise corresponds to the two melodic families found in the other single-type collections. It begins with a fronted antiphon for Stephen with the incipit *'Ḥṣṭifānos kəbur [...]* (*'Ḥṣṭifānos 'arbā 't* 003), widely attested in the corpus, but nowhere else marked as a model antiphon.

What is one to make of this? It appears that for some reason, the antiphons belonging to this complex have sometimes been considered as one melodic family, sometimes as two. When they are considered as two, there is disagreement as to exactly which antiphons belong to which melodic family. Among the four melodic-family-based single-type collections that contain this complex, one treats them as a single family (MS EMMML 7078), one treats them as two (MS EMMML 7618), and two originally had only one of the two groups, but later added the

other one. The calendrical single-type collections form a separate cluster, having the same grouping and using the same designations.

5.3.3.3.5 Wa-yəbelomu I / 'Arārāta [9]

The melodic family *Wa-yəbelomu I* / 'Arārāta [9] would have belonged to the category of melodic families where the single-type collections attest to one of the different alternative model antiphons found in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 (in this case, to *Wa-yəbelomu I* against 'Arārāta), had it not been for the occurrence in the collection in MS GG-187 of an explicit designation in the margin: ለክርስቶስ፡ ይደሉ፡ ስብሐት፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ (*La-Krastos yədallu səbhāt ba-za yəbl*). An antiphon with this incipit, possibly the *səray*, is attested in the corpus (Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 029). For further discussion of this matter, see 5.3.4.3.5.

5.3.3.3.6 Habu səbhata / Tafaśśəhi Şəyon [11]

The melodic family *Habu səbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [11] belongs to the category where the single-type collections attest to one of the different alternative model antiphons found in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 (in this case, to *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* against *Habu səbhata*). However, there are a couple of complications. In the collection in MS EMMML 7078, this family begins with a non-fronted antiphon for John the Baptist. In the collection in MS EMMML 7618, this family has been divided into two groups: one beginning with the model antiphon beginning with *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [...], fronted, the second beginning with the same antiphon for John the Baptist as *Habu səbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [11] in the collection in MS EMMML 7078. This second group in the collection in MS EMMML 7618 is characterised by several peculiarities: It lacks the initial formula normally accompanying the beginning of a new melodic family in this manuscript (ዝሂመ፡ በዜማሁ፡ በ፬፡ ሃሌሉዮ፡, *zə-hi-ma ba-zemāhu ba-4 hālleluyā*), and the antiphons contained in it almost all begin with what appears to be a hallelujah number, in some cases ፮ (6) in others ፯ (7). As the collection in MS EMMML 7618 does not normally mark hallelujah number for the melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons,¹⁶⁷⁹ this is remarkable. The numbers (six or seven) correspond to what is attested for this melodic family in the lists and to what is deducible from the *Mə'rāf* 2015 (see 5.3.2.4). Whether the numbers are connected to the reason why these antiphons have been set apart is possible, but it is difficult to say at present.

5.3.3.3.7 Tanśə'u nəḥor [12]

The melodic family *Tanśə'u nəḥor* [12] is unanimously attested with the same model antiphon, except in the case of the collection in MS GG-185, where two different model antiphon incipits precede it in the main text: ተንሥኡ፡ ንሐር፡ በዘ፡

¹⁶⁷⁹ In MS EMMML 7618, the formula introducing a new melodic family does in fact often contain the words በ፬፡ ሃሌሉዮ፡, but as it does not correlate with what is found in the church editions *Mə'rāf* 2015 and *Mə'rāf* 2016 (see above, 5.3.2.4), this rather seems to be an indication of the type of antiphon, 'arbā't meaning 'four.' The same formula occurs in the rest of the single-type collections. See Chapter 4 (4.3.2). For an example, see Illustration 34.

ደብል። (*Tanśə 'u nəḥor ba-za yəbl*) and ናህ፡ ብርሃን፡ በዘ፡ ደብል። (*Nāhu bərḥānā ba-za yəbl*), the latter seemingly referring to the melodic family *Nāhu bərḥānāta samāy* [28]. It is difficult to understand the reason for this. On the verso side of the folio that contains the beginning of the melodic family *Tanśə 'u nəḥor* [12] in MS GG-185, we find the melodic family *Nāhu bərḥānāta samāy* [28], with an empty space left at the beginning, presumably intended for a rubricated melodic-family designation. Thus, it might be that the double designation of MS GG-185 represents an error in the rubrication.

5.3.3.3.8 Niqodimos 'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtarā [13]

Several complicating factors surround the melodic family *Niqodimos 'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtarā* [13] in the single-type collections. Both of the alternative model antiphons present in the modern sources are attested. The two calendrical collections, in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, have *Qəne dabtarā*. However, it is not inserted in the same formula as other melodic-family designations (*X ba-za yəbl*), but simply precedes the antiphons (cf. Illustration 34, L). The reason for this is obscure. Two of the melodic-family-based collections, those in MSS EMMML 7618 and GG-187, have the designation <*Niqodimos 'amṣə'a*> in the main text. In both of these collections, this is the only occurrence of a melodic-family designation in the main text. The collection in MS EMMML 7618 furthermore begins this melodic family with another, *fronted* antiphon, with the incipit ወተዐትበ፡ ወወፅአ፡ ኀበ፡ ጋላት፡ [...] (*Wa-ta 'atba wa-waṣ' a ḥaba gālāt [...]*). There is a conflict between these pieces of information in MS EMMML 7618—it appears to provide two different model antiphons for this melodic family, both on the same textual level (i.e. in the main text). The situation in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 is also complicated. There, the antiphon beginning with *Niqodimos 'amṣə'a [...]* is *fronted*, and at the same time, there is a melodic-family designation in the margin: ወተመዶጠ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ገሊላ፡ በዘ፡ ደብል፡ (*Wa-tamayṭa 'Iyasus Galilā ba-za yəbl*). Although the antiphon with this incipit is attested in the melodic family *Niqodimos 'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtarā* [13] in other collections as well, it is nowhere else marked as a model antiphon. Thus, the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 also provides two conflicting model antiphons for this melodic family. In the collection in MS EMMML 7078, this melodic family begins with a non-fronted antiphon for the Cross (*Masqal*), which could either be interpreted as a conflicting model antiphon or not.

5.3.3.3.9 Bəṣu' 'anta Yoḥannəs [15]

The only exception to the ubiquitous attestation of the designation <*Bəṣu' 'anta Yoḥannəs*> for this melodic family is found in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, where the designation አንጦላዐ፡ ደመና፡ በዘ፡ ደብል፡ (*'Anṭolā 'a dammanā ba-za yəbl*) has been added in the margin. At the same time, the model antiphon with the incipit *Bəṣu' 'anta Yoḥannəs [...]* occurs as a first, non-fronted antiphon in the

family. The designation <'Anṭolā'a dammanā> is without parallels elsewhere in the corpus.

5.3.3.3.10 *Za-marāḥkomu* [16]

For the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16], two different designations are attested among the single-type collections, although only one is found in the *Mə'rāf* 2015. The two calendrical collections, found in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, have the designation <Šarḥa Yoḥannəs>. An antiphon with this incipit, non-fronted, is also found in initial position in the collections in MSS EMMML 7078, GG-185 and GG-187. In the collection in MS GG-187, the designation ዘመራሕኩሙ፡ ለእዝብኩ፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ (*Za-marāḥkomu la-ḥəzbəka ba-za yəbl*) has additionally been added in the margin. In two collections, those in MSS EMMML 7618 and BnF Éth. 92, this melodic family opens with the antiphon beginning with *Za-marāḥkomu* [...], fronted. In the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, the designation ጸርኝ፡ የሐንሰ፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ (*Šarḥa Yoḥannəs ba-za yəbl*) has also been added in the margin. Thus, the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 provides two different designations for this melodic family.

5.3.3.3.11 *Ḥayālān sab'* [17]

In the collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and GG-187, there is a melodic family with the melodic-family designation <*Ḥayālān sab'*> in the margin. A melodic family with the same contents is attested in four other single-type collections: In the two calendrical collections, found in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, antiphons from this melodic family are designated with <'Īsma wākā yə'əti> (sometimes abbreviated). In the collection in MS EMMML 7618, the same family begins with a fronted antiphon with the incipit ዘይስዕሎሙ፡ ለእዛናት፡ [...] (*Za-yəsə'əlomū la-ḥəṣānāt* [...]), not attested as a model antiphon elsewhere in the corpus. In the collection in MS EMMML 7078, the family begins with a fragmentarily attested antiphon, which appears not to be fronted, although this is difficult to say, given that the family contains very few antiphons.

5.3.3.3.12 *Sanbat 'amehā I* [19] and *Wa-yəśu'u lottu / Sanbat 'amehā II* [20]

One melodic family, attested in all seven single-type collections, is designated with the melodic-family designation <*Sanbat 'amehā*> in five out of them. In the calendrical collections in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, this designation occurs in the main text. In the collection in MS GG-187, it appears in the margin. In the collections in MSS EMMML 7618 and BnF Éth. 92, an antiphon with this incipit is fronted. In the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, there is an additional, conflicting designation in the margin: ሐረ፡ ድዉይ፡ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ (*Hora dəwuy ba-za yəbl*), unparalleled in the rest of the corpus. The collections in MSS EMMML 7078 and GG-185 also contain this melodic family, but beginning with a non-fronted antiphon for John the Baptist and lacking other melodic-family markers. Given that there are two model antiphons with the incipit *Sanbat 'amehā*

[...] in the *Mə ʿrāf* 2015—*Sanbat ʿamehā* I [19] as well as the second alternative for *Wa-yəṣu ʿu lottu* / *Sanbat ʿamehā* II [20]—one can wonder which one corresponds to the melodic family found in the single-type collections. The evidence is contradictory: On the one hand, if we compare the complete text of the model antiphons found in the *Mə ʿrāf* 2015 with the text of the fronted antiphon in the collections in MSS EMMML 7618 and BnF Éth. 92, it is clear that the melodic family of the single-type collections corresponds to *Sanbat ʿamehā* I [19]. On the other hand, comparing the individual antiphons attested in the corpus of later multiple-type collections (see Data set 4 and the discussion in 5.3.4.3.13), representatives of this family appear to belong to *Wa-yəṣu ʿu lottu* / *Sanbat ʿamehā* II [20]—among them is, for example, the *səray* antiphon with the incipit *Wa-yəṣu ʿu lottu* [...], *Ṣəge za-sanbat ʿarbā ʿt* 012. To solve this problem, a more large-scale comparison of individual antiphons would be necessary.

5.3.3.3.13 *Nāhu šannāy* [23]

One melodic family, attested in six out of seven single-type collections, is unanimously designated with the melodic-family designation *<Rə ʿyu za-gabra>*. In the two calendrical collections, in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, it is attested in this way in the main text. The collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 has this designation in the margin. In the collection in MS GG-187, an antiphon with this incipit is fronted. In the collections in MSS EMMML 7078, EMMML 7618, and BnF Éth. 92, this melodic family likewise begins with the same antiphon, but due to the small number of antiphons, it is not possible to say whether it is fronted or not. Among the model antiphons listed in the *Mə ʿrāf* 2015, two are found among the antiphons of the melodic family designated with *<Rə ʿyu za-gabra>*: those for *ʿAḡqər biṣaka* [5] and *Nāhu šannāy* [23]. Based only on the internal evidence from the single-type collections and the *Mə ʿrāf* 2015, it is not possible to ascertain to which one it corresponds, but taking the corpus of antiphons in the Season of Flowers into account (see Data set 4, especially *Ṣəge za-sanbat ʿarbā ʿt* 011), it appears that the melodic family designated with *<Rə ʿyu za-gabra>* corresponds to *Nāhu šannāy* [23].

5.3.3.3.14 *ʿAbrəh lana* [24] and *Ba-kama yəbe* [25]

Another complex case concerns the melodic families *ʿAbrəh lana* [24] and *Ba-kama yəbe* [25]. The collections in MSS EMMML 7078 and EMMML 7618 each have a melodic family that begins with the model antiphon for the melodic family *ʿAbrəh lana* [24], as attested in the *Mə ʿrāf* 2015, non-fronted. In both collections, this melodic family contains a stable set of six antiphons, all pertaining, as it seems, to the Great Fast (*Ṣom*). The collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 has one family marked with a marginal designation ላከ: እግዚአብሔር: በዘ: ይብሉ። (*ʿAbrəh lana ʿĒgzi ʿo ba-za yəbl*) and containing the same set of six antiphons, and also another with the marginal designation ብርሃኑ: ብርሃኖች: በዘ: (*Bərhāna bərhānāt ba-za*; sic, without *yəbl*). In MS GG-187, there were originally two melodic families,

beginning, respectively, with the model antiphons with the incipits 'Abrəh lana [...] and Ba-kama yəbe [...], placed one after the other. However, to this an addition was made, in which antiphons belonging to the melodic family designated with ብርሃነ፡ ብርሃኖት፡ በዘ፡ (*Bərḥāna bərḥānāt ba-za*) in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 were added, first, it seems, in the blank space between the families, then at the beginning of the melodic family beginning with 'Abrəh lana [...]. Thus, the two families were merged into one. It appears that they then received a common marginal title, አምላኪያ፡ ('*Amlākiya*), taken from another of the family's antiphons. The collections in MSS EML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 have only one family, in both cases designated with <'Abrəh lana>, and in both of them, this family contains the core six antiphons plus a couple of the antiphons belonging to the melodic family designated with ብርሃነ፡ ብርሃኖት፡ በዘ፡ (*Bərḥāna bərḥānāt ba-za*) in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92. See the discussion in 5.3.4.3.15.

5.3.3.3.15 Additional melodic families?

The collection in MS EML 7618 contains two melodic families, which lack correspondences among the rest of the single-type collections, as well as in the modern sources. They begin with antiphons with the incipits ለዘዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማያት፡ [...] (*La-za- 'arga wəsta samāyāt [...]*) and ሰርክ፡ ነክተተክ፡ [...] (*Sarka na 'akkwətakka [...]*), respectively, and are listed as melodic families <A> and at the end of the Data set 3. It is unclear whether these antiphons are fronted or not, although, especially in the latter case, it does not appear so. The antiphons in the melodic family beginning with ሰርክ፡ ነክተተክ፡ [...] (*Sarka na 'akkwətakka [...]*) seem to have been furnished with hallelujah numbers, which in the collection in MS EML 7618 otherwise occurs only in the melodic family *Habu səbhata / Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [11] (see 5.3.3.3.6). Whether there is a connection to this case—could it, for example, be that the antiphons collected in the melodic family beginning with ሰርክ፡ ነክተተክ፡ [...] (*Sarka na 'akkwətakka [...]*) also represent a group of antiphons taken from another family?—cannot be established at present.

The collection in MS EML 2095, one of the two calendrical single-type collections, contains four antiphons categorised as belonging to a melodic family with the model-antiphon incipit አዘዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለሙሴ፡ [...] ('*Azzaza 'Əgzi 'abəher la-Muse [...]*). This melodic family, listed as <C> in Data set 3, also lacks parallels elsewhere in the material, noticeably also from the 'arbā't collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, which otherwise shares many features with the collection in MS EML 2095.

5.3.3.3.16 Discussion

The stage of development of the system of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons reflected by the single-type collections is the earliest available to us at present. These collections clearly do not display a single, unified tradition of melodic families and corresponding model antiphons, but rather provide us with a

Mischmasch of partly contradictory evidence. Due to the different ways of marking model antiphons, often occurring simultaneously in the same manuscript, even the evidence from one single collection is occasionally contradictory, pointing us in the direction of different model antiphons (see, for example, the melodic families 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] and *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and GG-187, respectively).

Is it possible to discern different diachronic stages among the single-type collections? Maybe, but in the absence of more precise methods for dating the manuscripts, it is difficult to give a clear answer. If we posit a development in which model antiphons other than the first antiphon for the first commemoration according to the sequence of the liturgical year were introduced only gradually, the collection in MS EMMML 7078 could be seen as a representative of a stage of development earlier than that of the other manuscripts. Out of a total of twenty-six melodic families (excluding one, which has clearly been added by a later hand), only four have an undoubtedly fronted model antiphon. In six cases, it is hard to determine if the initial antiphon is fronted or not, partly due to issues of legibility. This means that in sixteen out of twenty-six cases, one of the first antiphons of the liturgical year is placed first, and whether it is to be interpreted as a model antiphon or as an indication of the absence of one is open for discussion. In seven out of these sixteen cases, this first antiphon is attested as a model antiphon for the respective melodic family in other manuscripts. In nine cases, it is not. The high number of non-marked model antiphons is obviously a characteristic of the collection in MS EMMML 7078, and combined with other features indicating an early date of this manuscript (see Chapter 2, 2.3.2), it seems plausible to conclude that it really represents an earlier stage in the development of melodic families. This is a conclusion similar—but not identical—to the one reached by Peter Jeffery in Shelemay et al. 1993.¹⁶⁸⁰ There, MS EMMML 7078 is described as a manuscript stemming from a time before the system of model antiphons had yet been developed. While this conclusion is unfounded, as it does not take the practice of fronting into account, a modified version of it might be suggested: The collection in MS EMMML 7078 represents a stage in which only a few melodic families had been provided with a model antiphon different than one of those occurring first according to the sequence of the liturgical calendar.

Continuing the same line of thought, it is clear that the calendrical organisation of collections of 'arbā 't antiphons—the organisation of the collections in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002—presupposes a fully developed system of model antiphons. Does this indicate that the collections arranged according to this principle reflect a later stage in the development of model antiphons, regardless of whether the manuscripts in question are later or not? As we will see below (5.3.4.3.9), there are certain features that connect the calendrical single-

¹⁶⁸⁰ Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 81.

type collections to the later tradition of multiple-type collections, for example the use of the designation <*Qəne dabtarā*> for the melodic family *Niqodimos 'amṣə'a* / *Qəne dabtarā* [13].

5.3.4 Model antiphons in the Season of Flowers

5.3.4.1 Introduction

The best way, it seems to me, to approach the system of melodic families in multiple-type collections is to focus on a limited portion of the liturgical year—in practice, a limited number of commemorations—and study the development of the use of model antiphons and melodic-family designations on the level of single antiphons. By using this method, a corpus of antiphons is created, whose melodic-family designation(s) can be tracked through time. As mentioned above (5.2), the study on which this section is based includes five commemorations from the Season of Flowers: those James and John (*Yā 'qob wa-Yoḥannəs / Daqiqa Zabdewos*), Pantaleon (*Panṭalewon*), 'Abbā 'Aragāwī, Stephen the Protomartyr (*'Ṭṣṭifānos*), and Sundays in the Season of Flowers (*Ṣəgeyāt za-sanbat*, etc.).

As mentioned above (5.2), 'arbā't antiphons for at least some of these commemorations are found in twenty-nine out of the thirty-five multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus.¹⁶⁸¹ For general descriptions of these manuscripts, see Chapter 2. For a description of how melodic-family designations are laid out in these manuscripts, see Chapter 4 (4.4.2.3.2 and 4.4.2.3.3). The single-type collections discussed in the previous section have also been included in this section, making the total number of collections taken into consideration in this section thirty-six. The reason for the inclusion of the single-type collections also here is that the object of study is now another: individual antiphons and the melodic-family designations attached to them, rather than the entire system of melodic families as laid out in a certain manuscript. The comparison between designations for individual antiphons in the single-type collections and in the later multiple-type collections, in several cases, makes it possible to verify the conclusions reached in 5.3.3.

A difference from the section on single-type collections above is that in a large majority of the multiple-type collections, the 'arbā't antiphons are furnished with *mələkkət*. Although these are generally not taken into account in this dissertation—a decision motivated by the magnitude of the topic and the poor state of diachronic research on the *mələkkət*—the *mələkkət* in some cases provide

¹⁶⁸¹ As mentioned above (5.2), in four of the other multiple-type collections in the Minor Corpus—those in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28, EMML 8070, EMML 8408 and IES 679—no 'arbā't antiphons for the selected commemorations have been preserved, in all cases probably due to material loss. The evidence concerning the system of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons attested in other commemorations is discussed in an excursion in 5.3.5. In one of the most fragmentary multiple-type collections in the Minor Corpus—in MS EMML 2468—no 'arbā't antiphons are attested.

us with a chance to double-check whether designations found in the manuscripts might be scribal mistakes. This is possible due to the fact that the system of melodic families and the *mālakkāt*, of course, aim to depict the same melodic reality. As a consequence of this, antiphons belonging to the same melodic family will also be furnished with a similar set of *mālakkāt*.¹⁶⁸² Especially when trying to establish relations between otherwise unattested model antiphons—marked with one of the words *sarayū* or *ba-zemāhu* in the manuscripts, abbreviated or not; see 5.3.4.3.18—and the melodic melodies found in the *Mā 'rāf* 2015, this is a useful method.

5.3.4.2 Data set 4

Data set 4 presents the melodic-family designations attached to each of the 'arbā 't antiphons for the commemorations of Peter and Paul, James and John, Pāntalewon, 'Abbā 'Aragāwi, Stephen the Protomartyr, and Sundays in the Season of Flowers in twenty-nine of the multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, plus the seven known single-type collections of 'arbā 't antiphons, in total, thirty-six collections.¹⁶⁸³ The antiphons have been grouped according to melodic family.

5.3.4.3 Comments to Data set 4

5.3.4.3.1 General comments

In commenting on the melodic-family designations attached to the individual antiphons, I have tried to avoid repeating the discussion of features already mentioned in the section concerning melodic families in single-type collections (5.3.3), instead referring to that section.

For ten out of the thirty-three melodic families attested in the *Mā 'rāf* 2015, the present corpus suggests a diachronically stable tradition. The same model antiphons are attested from the earliest witnesses until the present-day manuscripts, and there is a number of antiphons within the corpus that have continuously been classified in that way. In principle,¹⁶⁸⁴ this is the case for the

¹⁶⁸² For a practical test of this theoretical matter of course, see Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 95–98 (esp. Table 7).

¹⁶⁸³ As mentioned above (5.3.3.1), there are three single-type collections for which portions have not been preserved/available. Slots for antiphons that could have been expected to appear on the missing folios have been signalled by shading. For the collection in MS EMML 2095, this concerns the entire commemorations of Peter and Paul, James and John, and large parts of the commemoration of Sundays in the Season of Flowers. For the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, it concerns, for antiphons belonging to the melodic family *Kokab marhomu* [2], the entire corpus of commemorations, and for antiphons belonging the melodic family *Wa-yābelomu I / 'Arārāta* [9], parts of the commemoration of Sundays in the Season of Flowers. For the collection in MS EMML 7078, this does probably not concern any part of the corpus in Data set 4.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Occurrences in the single-type collections of non-fronted initial antiphons, which either could be interpreted as model antiphons or not, have been disregarded. For a list of such cases, see 5.3.3.3.1.

following melodic families: *Kokab marḥomu* [2],¹⁶⁸⁵ *Za-rassayo* [3],¹⁶⁸⁶ 'Arga ḥamara [6],¹⁶⁸⁷ 'Antəmu wə'ətu [8],¹⁶⁸⁸ *Zātti 'əlat* [18],¹⁶⁸⁹ *Za-yəgalabbəbo* [22],¹⁶⁹⁰ and *Nāhu bərhānāta samāy* [28].¹⁶⁹¹

For the following nine out of thirty-three melodic families attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, no antiphons are found in the corpus: 'Afqər biṣaka [5], *Ḥayālān sab*' [17], *Sanbat 'amehā* I [19], *Nəlbəs waltā* [21], *Bərhān za-yəwaššə*' [29], *Šar'a sanbata* / *Šarḥa 'Isāyāyās* [30], 'Ašābə'ihu [31], *Za-geša* [32], and *La-beta krəstiyān* [33]. Whereas some of them were discussed in the previous section, thus still making it possible to make certain suggestions regarding the diachronic variation in the model antiphons attached to them, a larger corpus would be necessary to study them on the level of individual antiphons.

In the corpus in Data set 4, there are a number of antiphons which are marked as *səray* antiphons, but do not correspond to any of the melodic families attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015. These additional families, if correctly identified as such, have been marked with the Greek minuscule letters <α>, <β>, <γ>, and <δ>, and are discussed below (5.3.4.3.18).

Below, the cases in which there are conflicting melodic-family designations associated with the same antiphon text are discussed. While in some cases a philological explanation can be found to account for the differences, in other cases, there appears to be a real variation in the model antiphons connected to individual melodic families.

¹⁶⁸⁵ The following antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Kokab marḥomu* [2]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 033, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 034, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 035, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 036, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 037, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 055, and 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā't 001.

¹⁶⁸⁶ The following four (4) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Za-rassayo* [3]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 022, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 068, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 069, and Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 074.

¹⁶⁸⁷ The following antiphon in Data set 4 belongs to the melodic family 'Arga ḥamara [6]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 023.

¹⁶⁸⁸ The following antiphon (1) in Data set 4 belongs to the melodic family 'Antəmu wə'ətu [8]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 010.

¹⁶⁸⁹ The following two (2) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Zātti 'əlat* [18]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 046 and 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā't 015.

¹⁶⁹⁰ The following antiphon in Data set 4 belongs to the melodic family *Za-yəgalabbəbo* [22]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 019.

¹⁶⁹¹ The following three (3) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Nāhu bərhānāta samāy* [28]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 024, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 071, and Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 072.

5.3.4.3.2 'Aṭmaqqa [1]¹⁶⁹²

This melodic family is uniformly attested with the model antiphon beginning with 'Aṭmaqqa [...] across the entire corpus in Data set 4. The only exception concerns the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 006 in MS EML 8676, which is categorised as a *səray* antiphon. It has the incipit ṢḤḤ: Ḥ.Ḥ.Ḥ.¹⁶⁹³ ወይቤ: ጽግዬ: [...] (*Ṣarḥa 'Isāyāyās wa-yəbe: Ṣəgayi [...]*). Presumably, this can be put in connection with the second alternative model antiphon for Ṣar'a sanbata / Ṣarḥa 'Isāyāyās [30]—attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 and as the ubiquitous choice in the single-type collections (see above)—whose incipit begins in the same way as that of Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 006, although the rest of the text differs (the model antiphon for Ṣar'a sanbata / Ṣarḥa 'Isāyāyās [30] goes *Ṣarḥa 'Isāyāyās 'ənza yəbl: Ḥəṣān [...]*). MS EML 8676 has not been furnished with *mələkkət*, which otherwise could have helped solving the matter. One could imagine that the copyist—erroneously—recognised the incipit of the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 006 as that of a model antiphon, and consequently marked it accordingly. If so, the designation as a *səray* antiphon could be understood as a scribal mistake.

5.3.4.3.3 'Ēsma 'anta bāḥtitəka / Ba-masqaləka [4]¹⁶⁹⁴

For the melodic family 'Ēsma 'anta bāḥtitəka / Ba-masqaləka [4], two model antiphons are given both in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 and in Velat 1966b. Both are attested in the corpus in Data set 4, and their usage appears to correlate with a diachronic development. <Ba-masqaləka> is clearly the older designation, occurring in single-type collections and in pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. From the seventeenth century, the alternative designation <'Ēsma 'anta bāḥtitəka> is attested. However, the later designation does not appear to oust the older one, but rather, they coexist until modern times. Four out of thirteen post-sixteenth-century collections that contain antiphons belonging to this melodic family have attestations of both designations, generally in different commemorations. Six have only the designation <Ba-masqaləka>. One has only <'Ēsma 'anta bāḥtitəka>. In the collection in MS EAP254/1/5, it appears that one occurrence of the designation በመ (ba-ma) was later changed into አመ (!) ('əma (!)), which could perhaps be taken as an attempt to use <'Ēsma 'anta bāḥtitəka> instead of <Ba-masqaləka>.

¹⁶⁹² The following fifteen (15) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family 'Aṭmaqqa [1]: Daqiqa Zabdwos 'arbā 't 005, Pāntalewon 'arbā 't 002, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 002, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 003, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 004, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 005, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 006, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 007, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 008, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 051, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 052, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 053, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 100, 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 009, 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 010.

¹⁶⁹³ It appears that the scribe originally wrote Ḥ.Ḥ.Ḥ., then realised the mistake, changed the <ḥ> into a <ṣ>, and added a new <ḥ>.

¹⁶⁹⁴ The following four (4) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family 'Ēsma 'anta bāḥtitəka / Ba-masqaləka [4]: Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 001, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 056, 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 006, and 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 023.

In the collection in MS EAP432/1/10, the antiphon 'Ḥṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 006 originally had the designation በመ (ba-ma) clearly referring to <Ba-masqalaka>. However, between these letters, a later hand has added the letters ዜግህ (zemāhu), apparently turning this antiphon as a səray antiphon. Its incipit is እስመ: ትካትኒ: ዲያቆናት: [...] ('Ḥsma təkātə-ni diyāqonāt [...]). This antiphon is not attested as a səray antiphon anywhere else in the corpus, if one is not to think that the first word ('asma) was enough to associate it with the other alternative designation for 'Ḥsma 'anta bāḥtitəka / Ba-masqalaka [4], i.e. <'Ḥsma 'anta bāḥtitəka>.

It might also be worth pointing out that a variant form <Ba-masqalu>—i.e. a form with a third person masculine singular possessive suffix instead of a second person masculine singular possessive suffix, in translation: 'His Cross' instead of 'your Cross'—is explicitly attested in two manuscripts: MSS EMMML 7529 and Ethio-SPaRe DD-19. When the abbreviated forms occur in other collections, it is difficult to know which possessive suffix was intended.

5.3.4.3.4 'Amlāka 'Addām [7]¹⁶⁹⁵

As seen above (5.3.3.4), the melodic family 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] has a complicated attestation in the single-type collections, being divided, in several manuscripts, into two different families, although there is disagreement regarding the exact set of antiphons ascribed to each of these two melodic families. In the two calendrical single-type collections, found in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, the two families are designated with the model-antiphon incipits <'Amlāka 'Addām> and <'Amlāk mā'mər>, respectively. One can wonder whether this distinction is also found, underlyingly, in some of the later manuscripts attesting various abbreviated forms of the word 'amlāk. This, however, can hardly be substantiated. Among the antiphons categorised as belonging to 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] in the multiple-type collections, four are attested in the calendrical single-type collections: 'Ḥṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 003 in both of them, and Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 009, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 054 and Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 094 only in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002. The absence of the latter three from the collection in EMMML 2095 is probably due to material loss (see 5.3.3.1). While the antiphon 'Ḥṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 003 (and, in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 094) is designated with <'Amlāka 'Addām> also in the calendrical single-type collections, two of those for Sundays in the Season of Flowers—Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 009 and Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 054—are designated with <'Amlāk mā'mər> in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002. In the multiple-type collections, this division appears not to have remained anywhere.

¹⁶⁹⁵ The following five (5) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family 'Amlāka 'Addām [7]: Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 009, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 054, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 079, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 094, and 'Ḥṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 003.

Based on the evidence of the melodic-family-based single-type collections (see 5.3.3.3.4), the relationship between the 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] and Bərḥān za-yəwaššə' [29] would be a pertinent topic of discussion. However, on the basis of the present corpus we cannot say anything about it, as no examples of antiphons designated as <Bərḥān za-yəwaššə'> are attested in it (although the antiphon 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 003 in the collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 belongs to a family with both designations).

In MS EMMML 1894, the antiphon 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 003 has the designation ሰአሰ(!)ለ፡ ሕፃን[፡] (Sa 'asa(!)la ḥəṣān; presumably to be corrected to *ሰአሰ፡ ሕፃን፡, Sa 'ala ḥəṣān). This model antiphon (from the commemoration of Cyricus?) is not attested elsewhere in the corpus. It would be interesting to see if there is a correlation between the two melodic families designated with *<Sa 'ala ḥəṣān> and <'Amlāka 'Addām> in MS EMMML 1894¹⁶⁹⁶ and the different divisions of 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] among the single-type collections. However, more data would be needed to say anything about this.

5.3.4.3.5 Wa-yəbelomu I / 'Arārāta [9]¹⁶⁹⁷

Both the designations attested in the Mə'rāf 2015, <Wa-yəbelomu> [I] and <'Arārāta>, are attested in the corpus in Data set 4, as well as a third alternative: <'Arārāy>. Regarding their distribution, there appears to be a diachronic pattern: <Wa-yəbelomu> [I] occurs in all the single-type collections (albeit in the melodic-family-based collections simply as an antiphon for John the Baptist placed in initial position, making its diagnostic value rather small) and in the fifteenth-century manuscript EMMML 8488. Both the designations <Wa-yəbelomu> [I] and <'Arārāta> (/'Arārāy>) are attested in two collections—those in MSS EMMML 4667 and Ethio-SPaRe QS-006—as well as in the curious case of the collection in MS IES 2148 (see below). In the rest of the manuscripts, only variants of <'Arārāta>/'Arārāy> occur.

The situation in MS IES 2148, tentatively dated to the eighteenth century, merits some discussion. It contains a total of four antiphons belonging to the melodic family Wa-yəbelomu I / 'Arārāta [9], all pertaining to the commemoration of Sundays in the Season of Flowers. The first of these, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 027, is designated with the abbreviation ወዶ (wa-yə), which could refer to the model-

¹⁶⁹⁶ The latter—<'Amlāka 'Addām>—is attested, for example, in the antiphons Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 009 and 079.

¹⁶⁹⁷ The following twenty-seven (27) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family Wa-yəbelomu I / 'Arārāta [9]: Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 025, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 026, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 027, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 028, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 030, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 031, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 032, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 077, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 080, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 081, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 082, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 083, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 084, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 085, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 086, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 097, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 099, 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 004, 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 005, 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 011, 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 018, 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 019, 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 020, 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 021, 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 025, and 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 028.

antiphon incipit *Wa-yābelomu* [...] (see Illustration 36, A). There are, however, a number of complicating factors. In MS IES 2148, as well as in one other manuscript,¹⁶⁹⁸ the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 012—i.e. the model antiphon for the melodic family *Wa-yāsu 'u lottu* / *Sanbat 'amehā* II [20] with the incipit *Wa-yāsu 'u lottu* [...]—is placed in the midst of the antiphons belonging to the family *Wa-yābelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9]. In MS IES 2148, it is placed directly after the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 027 (see Illustration 36, B). As the model antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 012 also begins with the letters *wa-yə*, the abbreviation before Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 027 could possibly be a misplaced reference to the family *Wa-yāsu 'u lottu* / *Sanbat 'amehā* II [20]. It must be kept in mind that although the model antiphon beginning with *Wa-yābelomu* [...] is clearly transmitted continuously, as attested by the *Mə'rāf* 2015 and other modern sources, its attestation in the post-fifteenth-century manuscripts in the corpus in Data set 4 is exceedingly rare. On the other hand, MS IES 2148 displays singular features also when it comes to the melodic family *Wa-yābelomu* II / *Haṣabomu* [10] (see 5.3.4.3.6). Perhaps, the use of a larger corpus would shed light on this matter. While the melodic-family designation of the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029 in MS IES 2148 is also a complicated matter (see below), the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 030 is marked with an abbreviation *ħḥ* ('arā, see Illustration 36, D; this designation applies implicitly also to Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 031), meaning that in any case, the use of a designation <*Wa-yābelomu*> [I] for *Wa-yābelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9] is not systematic.

There is another antiphon in the melodic family *Wa-yābelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9] that also merits discussion, namely Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029, specifically in the collections in MSS IES 2148 (again) and EMMML 8084. In both of them, it is marked as a *səray* antiphon. Philological explanations are available in both cases. As mentioned above, in MS IES 2148, the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 012—the model antiphon for the melodic family *Wa-yāsu 'u lottu* / *Sanbat 'amehā* II [20] with the incipit *Wa-yāsu 'u lottu* [...]—is placed in the midst of the antiphons belonging to the melodic family *Wa-yābelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9] (see, again, Illustration 36, B). It is placed directly before the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029 (see Illustration 36, C). One could hypothesise that the designation as a *səray* antiphon was meant to be attached to the preceding antiphon, but because of the lack of a blank space, the rubricator inadvertently connected it with Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029 instead. In the collection in MS EMMML 8084, the two antiphons Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 012—again—and Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 011—

¹⁶⁹⁸ The placement of the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 012 in the midst of the antiphons belonging to the melodic family *Wa-yābelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9] is also attested in MS EMMML 2253, where, however, less complications have arisen: The antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 012 is simply left without an indication of its melodic family, while the antiphons both before and after it are explicitly marked with the abbreviation *ħḥ* and *ħḥḥ*. One wonders if the similarity between the model antiphons *Wa-yābelomu* I and *Wa-yāsu 'u lottu*, both starting with the same two letters, might have contributed to this placement of antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 012.

i.e. model antiphon for the melodic family *Nāhu šannāy* [23]—are placed before the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029, which in this collection is the first antiphon belonging to the melodic family *Wa-yəbelomu I / 'Arārāta* [9] in this commemoration (see Illustration 36, α, β, and γ). While one could expect both Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 012 and Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 011 to be preceded by markers that they are *səray* antiphons, this is only the case for the Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 012. Admittedly, there are cases where only the first of several *səray* antiphons placed one after another is marked as such.¹⁶⁹⁹ Another possible interpretation of the situation is that the designation now attached to the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029 originally, perhaps even in the Vorlage of MS EMMML 8084, pertained to the previous antiphon. In addition to all this, there is, however, a curious circumstance: In the single-type collection preserved in MS GG-187, the designation ለክርስቶስ ይደሉ ስብሐት በዘ ይብል (La-Krastos yədallu səbhat ba-za yəbl), which matches the incipit of Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029, has been added in the upper margin, next to the beginning of the melodic family *Wa-yəbelomu I / 'Arārāta* [9] (see 5.3.3.3.5). This could signify that the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029 was indeed at some point, at some place, used as a model antiphon for the family *Wa-yəbelomu I / 'Arārāta* [9]. Was, then, the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029 intentionally designated as a *səray* antiphon in MSS IES 2148 and EMMML 8084? It is difficult to say. Clearly, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 029 is not used as the only model antiphon for this family in these manuscripts, as they also testify to the designations አራ ('arā) and አራራ ('arārā), respectively (cf. Illustration 36, D and δ).

¹⁶⁹⁹ See, for example, the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 064 in the collections in MSS EMMML 6994 (fol. 27rc, ll. 8–10) and EMMML 7529 (fol. 29va, ll. 32–33), where it is preceded by the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 011.

Illustration 36. Reproduction of excerpts from MSS IES 2148 and EML 8084.

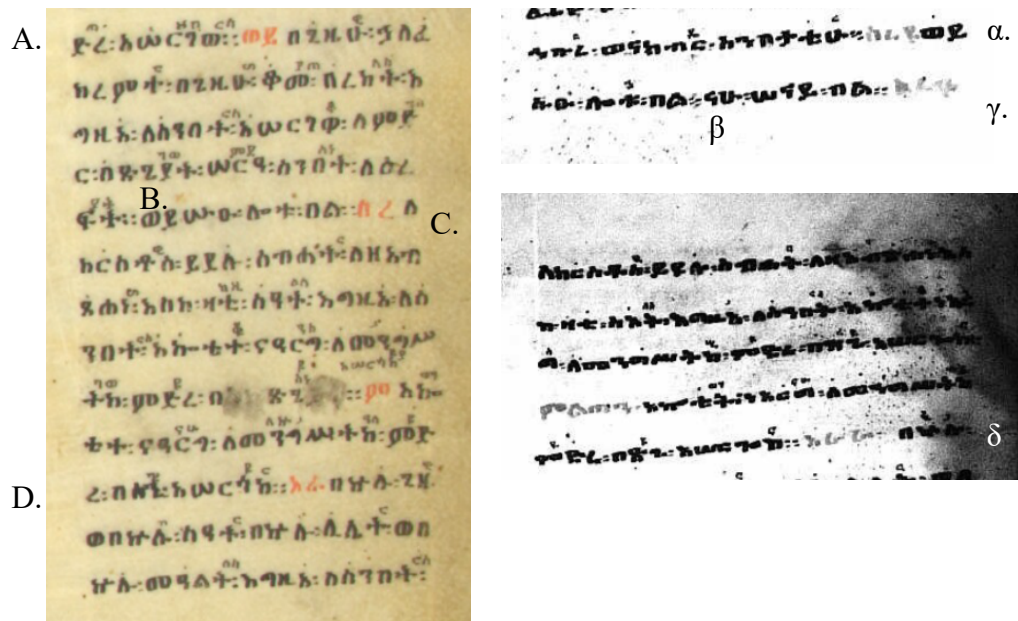


Illustration 36: Reproduction of excerpts from MSS IES 2148 (fol. 10rc, ll. 14–26; to the right) and EML 8084 (fol. 10va–b, ll. 21–22 and 1–5, respectively; to the left).

A: The beginning of the antiphon *Ṣəge za-sanbat* 'arbā't 027, marked with the melodic-family designation *wa-yə*. B: The beginning of the antiphon *Ṣəge za-sanbat* 'arbā't 012, without melodic-family designation. C: The beginning of the antiphon *Ṣəge za-sanbat* 'arbā't 029, marked with the designation *śəra*, signalling that it is a *səray* antiphon. D: The beginning of the antiphon *Ṣəge za-sanbat* 'arbā't 030, marked with the melodic-family designation *arā* ('arā).

α: The beginning of the antiphon *Ṣəge za-sanbat* 'arbā't 012, marked with the designation *śəra*, signalling that it is a *səray* antiphon. β: The beginning of the antiphon *Ṣəge za-sanbat* 'arbā't 011, without melodic-family designation. γ: The beginning of the antiphon *Ṣəge za-sanbat* 'arbā't 029, marked with the designation *śərayu*, signalling that it is a *səray* antiphon. δ: The beginning of the antiphon *Ṣəge za-sanbat* 'arbā't 030, marked with the melodic-family designation *arā* ('arā).

A third topic related to the melodic family *Wa-yəbelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9] concerns the relationship between two of the designations: <'Arārāta> and <'Arārāy>. Given their graphic similarity, one can suppose that there is a historical connection between the two. First, it can be surmised that the designation <'Arārāy> is connected to the fact that the melodic family *Wa-yəbelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9] is sung in the 'arārāy mode.¹⁷⁰⁰ Two possible paths of development can then be posited: Either the designation was originally based on the mode and was later connected to a model antiphon with the same beginning to match the rest of the system. In fact, only a few melodic families for antiphons are sung in the 'arārāy mode, and the family in question is clearly a principle representative of them, as indicated by the large number of antiphons attested in the corpus (cf. fn. 1697). Alternatively, the development may have gone in the other direction, and

¹⁷⁰⁰ Cf. Velat 1966b, p. 48.

what was originally the incipit of a melodic family was reinterpreted as a reference to the musical mode of the family. The evidence from Data set 4 points in the direction of the first alternative. The explicit form 'Arārāy is attested in five pre-seventeenth-century manuscripts (MSS EMMML 1894, EMMML 4667, EMMML 7174, EMMML 8678, and Ṭānāsee 172), as well as in a couple of later manuscripts, but the explicit form 'Arārāta is only attested in three manuscripts (MSS EMMML 2431, EMMML 6994 and EMMML 7529), all dated to the eighteenth/nineteenth century. One can speculate that the reason for the introduction of an unorthodox designation—not based, as in other cases, on a model antiphon—was the early use of the model-antiphon incipit *Wa-yābelomu* to refer to two different melodic families (*Wa-yābelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9] and *Wa-yābelomu* II / Ḥaṣābomu [10]). The new designation could then be interpreted as referring to the 'Wa-yābelomu in 'arārāy,' as opposed to the 'Wa-yābelomu in gə 'z' (i.e. *Wa-yābelomu* II / Ḥaṣābomu [10]). Note, in connection to this, that the alternative designation for *Wa-yābelomu* II / Ḥaṣābomu [10] appears later in the corpus than <'Arārāy>. However, the corpus is too small to draw any definite conclusions about this.

5.3.4.3.6 *Wa-yābelomu* II / Ḥaṣābomu [10]¹⁷⁰¹

The melodic family *Wa-yābelomu* II / Ḥaṣābomu [10] has two model antiphons in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, both of which occur in the corpus of Data set 4. Their distribution appears to be connected to diachrony. The model antiphon starting with *Wa-yābelomu* [...] occurs in the single-type collections—albeit, in the collections arranged according to melodic families, simply as an antiphon for John the Baptist placed in initial position, making its diagnostic value small—as well as in four of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections: in MSS EMMML 4667, EMMML 8488, EMMML 8678, and Ṭānāsee 172. In one of them, the collection in MS EMMML 8488, one of two antiphons belonging to this family has been designated with 𐌵𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌹𐌺𐌰: (*wa-yābelomu*, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 043), while the other has the designation 𐌵𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌹𐌺𐌰: (*ba-zemāhu*, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 044). This antiphon, with the incipit 𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌹𐌺𐌰: 𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌹𐌺𐌰: 𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌹𐌺𐌰: [...] ('*Asargawa samāya ba-dədu* [...]), is not attested as a *səray* antiphon elsewhere in the corpus. Both of these designations are written above the line, suggesting that they might be later additions. MS EMMML 8488 has not been furnished with *mələkkət*, which otherwise could have helped solve the matter.

With two exceptions, the rest of the manuscripts included in Data set 4, twenty-three collections, use the designation <Ḥaṣābomu> for this melodic family. It is attested from the sixteenth century to modern times. The only later example of use of the designation <*Wa-yābelomu*> [II] is found in the collection in MS IES 2148,

¹⁷⁰¹ The following eight (8) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Wa-yābelomu* II / Ḥaṣābomu [10]: Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 042, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 043, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 044, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 045, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 075, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 103, 'Aragāwi 'arbā 't 002, and 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 013.

where, again, the antiphons Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 043 and Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 044 are attested. The first is designated with the abbreviation *ω* (*wa*), occurring at the end of a line,¹⁷⁰² the second with *ωϑ* (*wa-yə*). As noted above, MS IES 2148 possibly contains an unexpected attestation also of the designation <*Wa-yəbelomu*> [I] (see 5.3.4.3.5). Unlike that case, however, there are no attestations of the melodic-family designation <*Haşabomu*> in MS IES 2148 in the corpus.

5.3.4.3.7 Habu səbhata / Tafaśśəhi Şəyon [11]¹⁷⁰³

Both of the model antiphons attested for the melodic family *Habu səbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [11] in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 are attested in the corpus in Data set 4. The distribution is partly connected to diachrony. The antiphon beginning with *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [...] is used as a model antiphon in all single-type collections, in six out of eight pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, and also in five post-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections. Three of the latter, i.e. the collections in MSS EMLL 2431, EMLL 6994 and EMLL 7529, are also connected by other features,¹⁷⁰⁴ allowing us to hypothesise that they form a group among the manuscripts included in the corpus. And, thus, it appears that the choice of model antiphon for the melodic family *Habu səbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [11], at least at a certain diachronic stage, may be connected to this grouping. This is the only melodic family for which this can be said based on the present corpus. The two remaining post-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections with the designation <*Tafaśśəhi Şəyon*> contain attestations of <*Habu səbhata*> as well. The designation <*Habu səbhata*> is attested from the sixteenth century onwards, and is the only one attested in the last centuries.

As seen above (5.3.3.3.6), a special problem is connected to this melodic family in the 'arbā 't collection in MS EMLL 7618—it is divided into two parts, in the second of which the antiphons are supplied with hallelujah numbers, otherwise missing (except in one case; see 5.3.3.3.15) from that collection. Out of four antiphons in the corpus in Data set 4 that are categorised as belonging to *Habu səbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [11] in MS EMLL 7618, all are found in the first group, and one—Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 090—is repeated in the second.

¹⁷⁰² Another possible interpretation of the evidence, which to me seems less likely, is that the rubricated *ω* (*wa*) represents the conjunction *wa-* ('and') and should be understood as a textual variant. If the *ω* (*wa*) should be interpreted as a textual variant, then the antiphon Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 044 in the collection in MS IES 2148 is implicitly marked as belonging to the melodic family *Wa-yəbelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9].

¹⁷⁰³ The following five (5) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Habu səbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [11]: Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 038, Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 061, Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 067, Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 090, and 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 012 (same text as 'Eṣṭifānos 'arbā 't 027).

¹⁷⁰⁴ They all date to the eighteenth–nineteenth century and two of them—MSS EMLL 6994 and EMLL 7529—were digitised in Lāstā, the third—MS EMLL 2431—in 'Ankobar.

In MS EML 1894, the antiphon 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 012 is designated with the incipit ማና ክብር: (*Minās kəbur*), unattested elsewhere in the corpus.¹⁷⁰⁵ It can be surmised that the *səray* antiphon referred to belongs to the commemoration of Minas. Within the commemoration for Sundays in the Season of Flowers, the collection in MS EML 1894, however, uses the standard designation <*Tafaśśəhi Šəyon*>. In MS EMDA 0111, the antiphon 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 012 is implicitly marked as belonging to the melodic family *Wa-yəbelomu I* / 'Arārāta [9], but this can probably be written off as a scribal mistake.

5.3.4.3.8 Tanśə 'u nəḥor [12]¹⁷⁰⁶

Among the antiphons belonging to the melodic family *Tanśə 'u nəḥor* [12], there is only one complication: in the collection in MS EMDA 00111, the two antiphons Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 048 and Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 049 are implicitly marked as belonging to the melodic family *Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a / Qəne dabtārā* [13]. None of the other antiphons belonging to *Tanśə 'u nəḥor* [12] included in Data set 4 is attested in the collection in MS EMDA 00111, meaning that it is difficult to say whether this can be written off as a simple mistake or whether there is more behind it.

5.3.4.3.9 Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a / Qəne dabtārā [13]¹⁷⁰⁷

As for this melodic family, which has two model antiphons in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015, the designation based on the second, <*Qəne dabtārā*>, is found in all the collections in the corpus, with the exception of the melodic-family-based single-type collections (see 5.3.3.3.8).

5.3.4.3.10 Za-maṣ 'a 'əm-dəḥra nabiyāt [14]¹⁷⁰⁸

Among the manuscripts in the corpus, there is almost complete unanimity regarding this family. The only exception concerns the antiphon 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 024 in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, where it is classified as belonging to the melodic family 'Ēsma 'anta bāḥtitəka / Ba-maṣqaləka [4], with a reference to the

¹⁷⁰⁵ The antiphon 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 027, belonging to the melodic family *Tanśə 'u nəḥor* [12], has the same text as 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 012. Theoretically, it is possible the antiphon in MS EML 1894 that is designated with <*Minās kəbur*> is 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 027 rather than 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 012, and that <*Minās kəbur*> thus is an alternative designation of *Tanśə 'u nəḥor* [12] rather than of *Habu səbhata / Tafaśśəhi Šəyon* [11]. However, this seems improbable, given that the antiphon 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 027 has a very restricted attestation in the corpus, appearing only in the seventeenth-century collection in MS EML 2053 and in the eighteenth-century collection in MS EAP432/1/10. 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 012, on the other hand, is widely attested from the single-type collections and up to the nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁰⁶ The following five (5) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Tanśə 'u nəḥor* [12]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 048, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 049, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 065, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 066, and 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 027 (same text as 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 012).

¹⁷⁰⁷ The following two (2) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a / Qəne dabtārā* [13]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 047 and 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 008.

¹⁷⁰⁸ The following ten (10) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Za-maṣ 'a 'əm-dəḥra nabiyāt* [14]: Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 014, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 015, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 016, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 040, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 059, Šəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 070, 'Aragāwi 'arbā 't 001, 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 007, 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 024, and 'Ēstifānos 'arbā 't 026.

designation <'Īsma 'anta bāḥtitāka>. Might one suspect that somewhere in the chain of transmission an abbreviation *Hσ (za-ma) was misread as **Hσ (ba-ma), which was interpreted as referring to the model antiphon *Ba-masqalāka* and then 'updated' to 'Īsma 'anta bāḥtitāka? A comparison between the *mālakkāt* of this antiphon in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and the model antiphons for 'Īsma 'anta bāḥtitāka / *Ba-masqalāka* [4] and *Za-maṣ'a 'ām-dəḥra nabiyyāt* [14] in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 suggest that it has been notated as belonging to the latter.

5.3.4.3.11 Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs [15]¹⁷⁰⁹

In the corpus in Data set 4, the melodic family *Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs* [15] is ubiquitously attested with the designation <*Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs*>, except in the case of the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 018 in the collection in MS EMLL 2053. There, it has the designation ኮክብ (*kokab*), clearly marking it as belonging to the melodic family *Kokab marḥomu* [2]. Provided that the designation <*Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs*> is attested elsewhere in MS EMLL 2053 and that this categorisation is not attested anywhere else for the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 018, it is tempting to see this as a scribal mistake. The *mālakkāt* strengthen this conclusion. For a deviant designation in the single-type collection in MS BnF Éth. 92, see the discussion in 5.3.3.3.9.

5.3.4.3.12 Za-marāḥkomu [16]¹⁷¹⁰

Among the three antiphons in the corpus categorised as belonging to this family, two—Yā'qob wa-Yoḥannəs 'arbā 't 004 and 'Īstifānos 'arbā 't 014—are unproblematic. As for the third—Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 041—among the twenty-six manuscripts that contain it, it is designated with <*Za-marāḥkomu*> in thirteen cases. In one collection—the one in MS EMLL 7529—it is designated with HσⲄ (za-maṣ), presumably referring to the melodic family *Za-maṣ'a 'ām-dəḥra nabiyyāt* [14]. In three manuscripts, the abbreviation Hσ (za-ma) is used, making it impossible to say whether the antiphon is attributed to *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] or *Za-maṣ'a 'ām-dəḥra nabiyyāt* [14]. Three manuscripts attribute the antiphon to the melodic family *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27], in two cases abbreviating the model antiphon as HⲒⲁ (za-ba-Dā) and in one as HⲒ(?): (za-ba(?)).

While the ascription to the melodic family *Za-maṣ'a 'ām-dəḥra nabiyyāt* [14] can probably be written off as a scribal error, caused by the misinterpretation of an abbreviated melodic-family designation, the classification of the antiphon as belonging to the melodic family *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27] merits some discussion. A comparison between the *mālakkāt* of these two (see Illustration 37) displays clear

¹⁷⁰⁹ The following thirteen (13) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs* [15]: Daqiqa Zabdwos 'arbā 't 003, Daqiqa Zabdwos 'arbā 't 004, Pāntalewon 'arbā 't 001, Pāntalewon 'arbā 't 003, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 017, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 018, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 057, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 058, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 060, 'Īstifānos 'arbā 't 002, 'Īstifānos 'arbā 't 016, 'Īstifānos 'arbā 't 017, and 'Īstifānos 'arbā 't 022.

¹⁷¹⁰ The following three (3) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16]: Daqiqa Zabdwos 'arbā 't 002, Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 041, and 'Īstifānos 'arbā 't 014.

similarities between these melodic families as attested in the *Mə' rāf* 2015. In both these melodic families, the melody passes from the *gə 'z* mode to the 'arārāy mode.¹⁷¹¹ The similarities occur primarily in the second, 'arārāy part, as can be seen in Illustration 37, where the 'arārāy *mələkkət* that are identical in the two model antiphons have been marked.¹⁷¹² One can wonder if the discordant classification of the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 041 may be connected to this musical similarity between the two melodic families.

Illustration 37. Comparison between the model antiphons for Za-marāḥkomu [16] and Za-ba-Dāwit [27].

*In Illustration 37, a comparison between the model antiphons for the melodic families Za-marāḥkomu [16] and Za-ba-Dāwit [27], as attested in the *Mə' rāf* 2016, is presented. Direct correspondences between the *mələkkət* have been signalled. A: *Mə' rāf* 2016, p. 49a–b. B: *Mə' rāf* 2016, p. 52a.*

Furthermore, another observation can be made concerning the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] based on the corpus in Data set 4. It seems to confirm the conclusion reached above (see 5.3.3.3.10) that the model antiphon beginning with *Ṣarḥa Yohannəs* [...] in the single-type collections refers to this melodic family, as there are systematic correspondences between these designations on the level of individual antiphons.

¹⁷¹¹ Cf. Velat 1966b, pp. 49–50.

¹⁷¹² According to the reference system of Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, the marked *mələkkət* are A19, A90, A91, A49 (?) and A92 (?). The *mələkkət* A90 has the abbreviation ፈደ (fapi) in Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 74, but ፈ (pi) is given in Tito Lapisā 1970, p. 185. The *mələkkət* A49 has the abbreviation ነገ ስመ (naga səma) in Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 69, and it is not certain that I have identified it correctly. The *mələkkət* A92 has the abbreviation ወአ ዕድ (wa- 'i 'əda) in Shelemay and Jeffery 1993, p. 74, but it can hardly be doubted that the abbreviations found in the two model antiphons under consideration in the *Mə' rāf* 2015 refer to the same *səray* (ወአይሁብ፡ ለባዕድ፡ ከብረኪ፡, wa- 'i-yəhub la-bā 'd kəbraki).

5.3.4.3.13 *Wa-yəśu ‘u lottu / Sanbat ʿamehā II [20]*¹⁷¹³

Two model antiphons are attested for this melodic family in the *Mə ʿrāf* 2015, and both are widespread in the corpus. Contrary to what we have seen above, there does not appear to be a diachronic shift from one model antiphon to another in this case. We are in a special position to observe this in the case of this melodic family, as one of the model antiphons, the one beginning with *Wa-yəśu ‘u lottu [...]*, is present in the corpus in Data set 4 as Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 012. In the single-type collections and some of the pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections, it does not enjoy any special treatment. From the fifteenth/sixteenth century onwards, however, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 012 is always marked as a *səray* antiphon. This does not preclude that collections use the melodic-family designation <*Sanbat ʿamehā*> [II] when this family occurs at other places (for example, in other commemorations). This mixed usage occurs in the collections in the *Maşḥafa Dəggwā* 2015 and in MSS EAP432/1/10, EMMML 7285, EMMML 2431, and Ethio-SPaRe QS-006. For many of the other multiple-type collections, no antiphons categorised as belonging to this melodic family are attested except for Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 012 and those occurring next to it, and consequently we do not know if they would have used a designation based on <*Wa-yəśu ‘u lottu*> or <*Sanbat ʿamehā*> [II] in other cases.

As noted above (5.3.3.3.12), there appears to be a connection between this melodic family and *Sanbat ʿamehā I [19]* in the single-type collections. The evidence from Data set 4 strengthens the connection between the melodic family attested in the single-type collections and *Wa-yəśu ‘u lottu / Sanbat ʿamehā II [20]*, but does not allow us to draw any conclusions about the relationship between *Sanbat ʿamehā I [19]* and *Wa-yəśu ‘u lottu / Sanbat ʿamehā II [20]* in the multiple-type collections, as *Sanbat ʿamehā I [19]* appears not to be attested in the corpus.

5.3.4.3.14 *Nāhu śannāy [23]*¹⁷¹⁴

This melodic family is only represented by one model antiphon in Data set 4. As was argued above (5.3.3.3.13), another model antiphon, beginning with *Rə ʿyu za-gabra [...]*, is attested in the single-type collections. The identification of the melodic families designated by these model antiphons is confirmed by the corpus in Data set 4. Only one antiphon is classified as belonging to this melodic family in the corpus (Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 011), which happens to be the modern *səray* antiphon, beginning with the words *Nāhu śannāy [...]*. In eighteen out of twenty-

¹⁷¹³ The following thirteen (13) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Wa-yəśu ‘u lottu / Sanbat ʿamehā II [20]*: Daqiqa Zabdwos *ʿarbā* ‘t 001, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 012, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 013, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 062, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 073, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 076, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 087, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 088, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 089, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 096, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 098, Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 101, and Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 104.

¹⁷¹⁴ The following antiphon (1) in Data set 4 belongs to the melodic family *Nāhu śannāy [23]*: Şəge za-sanbat *ʿarbā* ‘t 011.

eight manuscripts that contain it, this antiphon is designated as a *səray* antiphon. In four out of twenty-eight manuscripts, it is designated with <*Rə 'yu za-gabra*> or an abbreviation thereof. One of these manuscripts is MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, one of the calendrical single-type 'arbā 't collections, while the other three are among what has been dated as the earliest calendrical multiple-type collections (MSS EML 8488, EML 8678, and Tānāsee 172). The collection that makes up MS EML 2095, the second calendrical single-type 'arbā 't collections, also contains Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 011, but the melodic-family designation is illegible (however, it contains the melodic-family designation <*Rə 'yu za-gabra*> in other commemorations). Thus, judging from the present corpus, the two model antiphons beginning with *Nāhu šannāy [...]* and *Rə 'yu za-gabra [...]*, seem to refer to the same melodic family, and there appears to be a diachronic aspect to their distribution.

5.3.4.3.15 'Abrəh lana [24] and Ba-kama yəbe [25]¹⁷¹⁵

In the corpus in Data set 4, one antiphon is categorised as belonging to the melodic families 'Abrəh lana [24] and/or Ba-kama yəbe [25]. The problem touches upon the question of how to differentiate between what is a) one antiphon with textual variants, and b) two different antiphons.¹⁷¹⁶ To clarify the matter, I provide in Table 28 the variant readings of the antiphon(s) Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 020 as attested in the manuscripts together with the designation for each variant preserved in each manuscript.

¹⁷¹⁵ The following antiphon (1) in Data set 4 belongs either to the melodic family 'Abrəh lana [24] or to the melodic family Ba-kama yəbe [25]: Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 020.

¹⁷¹⁶ See Chapter 1 (1.4.4).

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Table 28. Readings of the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 020.

| | a | b | c | d | e | f | g | h |
|-------------------------------|---|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| | በፍሬኑ፡ ወበጽኑኑ፡ አሰርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽኑኑ፡ ሠርዐ፡ ሰንበተ፡ ለዕረፍት፡ | በፍሬኑ፡ ወበጽኑኑ፡ አሰርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽኑኑ፡ ወሠርዐ፡ ሰንበተ፡ ለዕረፍት፡ | በፍሬኑ፡ ወበጽኑኑ፡ አሰርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽኑኑ፡ ወ-አቱ፡ እግዚአ፡ ለሰንበት፡ | በጽኑኑ፡ ወበፍሬኑ፡ አሰርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽኑኑ፡ ሠርዐ፡ ሰንበተ፡ ለዕረፍት፡ | በጽኑኑ፡ ወበፍሬኑ፡ አሰርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽኑኑ፡ ወ-አቱ፡ እግዚአ፡ ለሰንበት፡ | በፍሬ፡ ወበጽኑ፡ አሰርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽኑኑ፡ ወሠርዐ፡ ሰንበተ፡ ለዕረፍት፡ | በፍሬ፡ ወበጽኑ፡ አሰርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽኑኑ፡ ወ-አቱ፡ እግዚአ፡ ለሰንበት፡ | በጽኑ፡ ወበፍሬ፡ አሰርገዋ፡ ለምድር፡ በጽኑኑ፡ ወሠርዐ፡ ሰንበተ፡ ለዕረፍት፡ |
| GG-187 (14th–15th c.) | | | | | | | [24/25] | |
| BnF Éth. 92 (14th–15th c.) | | | | | | | [24/25b] | |
| EMML 2095 (14th–15th c.) | | | | | | አብርሃ፡ ለ[...] | | |
| Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 (15th c.) | | | | | | አብርሃ፡ ለነ፡ | | |
| Ṭānāsee 172 (15th–16th c.) | | | | | | | | አብርሃ፡ ለነ፡ |
| EMML 4667 (15th–16th c.) | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ | | | | | | | |
| EMML 8804 (15th–16th c.) | | | | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ^a | | | | |
| EMML 7174 (16th c.) | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2542 (16th c.) | | | | | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ^b | | | |
| EMML 1894 (16th c.) | | | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ | | | | | |
| UUB O Etiop. 36 (17th c.) | | | በከመ፡ | [በከመ፡] | | | | |
| Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 (17th c.) | | | በከመ፡ | [በከመ፡] | | | | |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|------|--|--|----------|--|--|--|
| EMML 2053 (17th c.) | | | | | ዛቲ፡ ዕለ፡ | | | |
| Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 (17th c.) | በከመ፡ | | | | | | | |
| EAP432/1/10 (18th c.) | በከ፡ ይ፡ | | | | በከ፡ | | | |
| EMML 7529 (18th–19th c.) | | በከ፡ | | | | | | |
| EMML 6994 (18th–19th c.) | በከመ[!]ይ፡ | | | | | | | |
| EMML 2431 (18th–19th c.) | በከመ፡ ይ፡ | | | | | | | |
| EMDA 0111 (19th c.) | | [በከ] | | | በከ፡ | | | |
| EMML 7285 (19th c.) | | | | | በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ | | | |
| EMML 8084 (19th c.) | | | | | በከመ፡ | | | |
| EAP254/1/5 (20th c.) | አብር፡ፍ | | | | [አብር፡ፍ] | | | |
| <i>Maṣḥafa Dəggwā</i> 2015 (20th c.) | በከ፡ | | | | [በከ፡] | | | |

*This table presents the different readings of the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 020, their distribution within the collections included in Data set 4, and the melodic-family designation attached to each of their occurrence (following the rules laid out for Data set 4; see). Notes: (a) In the collection in MS EMML 8804, the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 020 was originally written with an otherwise unattested combination, including a ው (wa-) before the ሥርዐ፡ (sar'a), but this was later deleted; (b) In the collection in MS EMML 2542, it appears that the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā't 020 was originally written in the form d, but by deleting the word *ሥርዐ (sar'a), adding the words ውእቲ፡ እግዚአብሔር (wə'ətu 'Ēgzi'a) in its place, and marking the word ለዕረፍት (la-'əraft) for deletion by encircling it, it was changed to form e; (c) In the collection in MS EAP/254/1/5, the melodic-family designation አብር፡ ('Abr) has been written by a secondary hand on top of the now illegible original designation.*

As can be seen in Table 28, the text of the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 020 displays variation at several points. The two initial words (በፍሬ: and በጽጌ:, *ba-färe* and *ba-ṣäge*, 'with fruit(s)' and 'with flower(s)', respectively) sometimes change order and occur either with or without the particle -ኒ (-*ni*). At the end of the antiphon, two different readings are found: either ወላቱ፡ እግዚአ፡ ለሰንበት፡ (*wə 'ətu 'Ēgzi 'ā la-sanbat*, 'He is the Lord of the Sabbath') or ሠርዐ፡ ሰንበተ፡ ለዕረፍት፡ (*śar 'a sanbata la- 'əraft*, 'He ordained the Sabbath for rest'), the latter occurring either with or without a preceding ወ- (*wa-*, 'and'). As a general rule (see Chapter 1, 1.4.4), I have considered the occurrence of two related (or identical) texts with different musicological markers in a single manuscript as an indication that they are different antiphons. In this case, however, this approach seems inappropriate, given the diachronic aspect of the variation between a single versus a double occurrence.

In the case of Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 020, two different textual variants occur simultaneously in six manuscripts, none of which is dated to before the seventeenth century. In all of the ten pre-seventeenth-century collections (the ten uppermost rows in Table 28), only one variant is attested. This situation is also found in seven of the thirteen post-sixteenth-century collections. Based on this diachronic distribution, one wonders if these texts were not *originally* variants of the same antiphon (they always have the same musical characteristics, as far as can be ascertained), and only later, and in some traditions, ended up being regarded as different texts. One may notice that in the cases where two variants are differentiated, they tend to deviate as much as possible from each other, i.e. both regarding the order of the two initial nouns and the ending.¹⁷¹⁷ One indication that this was considered as one antiphon in the earlier collections is provided by two collections—those in MSS EMLL 8804 and EMLL 2542—where the original text has been rewritten, changing it from one of the variants to another (the final result is reflected in the table). Whether this conclusion—that the question whether Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 020 is seen as one antiphon with textual variants or as two separate antiphons depends on the individual manuscript—is accepted or not,¹⁷¹⁸ the melodic-family designations attached to the antiphon(s) merit a discussion.

Regarding the melodic-family designations, one can conclude that the designation <'Abrəh lana> is primarily attested among the earlier calendrical collections, both single-type—in MSS EMLL 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002—and, in one case, multiple-type. However, there is also the collection in MS EAP254/1/5, dated to the time of Mənelik II (r. 1889–1913), which has the designation አብር ('*abr*) for these antiphons, possibly, though, added on top of an original designation by a later hand. The designation <Ba-kama yəbe> is attested almost everywhere, the

¹⁷¹⁷ Cf. the discussion about patterns in textual development in Chapter 3 (3.4.1.2).

¹⁷¹⁸ Cf. the discussion in Chapter 3 (3.4.1.2, esp. fn. 1479).

only exception being the collection in MS EMMML 2053, where this antiphon is classified as belonging to the melodic family *Zātti* 'əlat [18]. A cursory comparison of the *mələkkət* for the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 020 in MS EAP254/1/5 and the two melodic families as attested in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 is of no help in determining whether this might be an erroneous classification or not.

In this context it might be worth bringing to mind the similar difficulty in drawing a line between the melodic families 'Abrəh lana [24] and Ba-kama yəbe [25] encountered when looking at the single-type collections (see 5.3.3.3.14). To conclude, when a larger corpus of antiphons, based on a larger number of collections, is available, the question should be raised whether 'Abrəh lana [24] and Ba-kama yəbe [25] really are different melodic families diachronically. Or could it be that they are different model antiphons referring to the same melodic family, and that the differentiation between them in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 and other lists is innovative? This would, in that case, be the first occasion so far, in which the information provided by the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 and other lists proved to be incorrect.¹⁷¹⁹ One may notice, finally, as a further complication factor, that the psalm verses performed together with the melodic families 'Abrəh lana [24] and Ba-kama yəbe [25] are sung at the same melody, although, according to the *Mə 'rāf* 2015, there are differences in the *halleluyā* repetitions inserted between them.

5.3.4.3.16 Laka səbḥat [26]¹⁷²⁰

In the corpus in Data set 4, one antiphon is categorised as belonging to the melodic family *Laka səbḥat* [26]: Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 039. This designation is attested in all collections except two—those in MSS UUB O Etiop. 36 and Ethio-SPaRe QS-006—where this antiphon is implicitly categorised as belonging to Ba-kama yəbe [25]. As noted elsewhere (cf. 3.4.1.3.1 and 5.3.4.3.18), these two manuscripts display similarities also in other regards. A cursory comparison between the *mələkkət* attached to the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 039 in MSS UUB O Etiop. 36 and Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and to the model antiphons for the two melodic families Ba-kama yəbe [25] and *Laka səbḥat* [26] in the *Mə 'rāf* 2016¹⁷²¹ indicate that Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 039, even in the two manuscripts in question, appears to be closer to *Laka səbḥat* [26] than to Ba-kama yəbe [25]. Those antiphons which are categorised as belonging to the melodic family Ba-

¹⁷¹⁹ Next to the problem in separating 'Abrəh lana [24] from Ba-kama yəbe [25], the apparent confusion between the melodic families 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] and Bərhān za-yəwaššə [29], and between Sanbat 'amehā I [19] and Wa-yəšu'u lottu / Sanbat 'amehā II [20] in the single-type collections could indicate that these are also not diachronically separate melodic families. However, the absence of antiphons belonging to the latter four melodic families from the corpus in Data set 4 makes it difficult to say anything about this.

¹⁷²⁰ The following antiphon (1) in Data set 4 belongs to the melodic family *Laka səbḥat* [26]: Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 039.

¹⁷²¹ In this context, I use the *Mə 'rāf* 2016 rather than the *Mə 'rāf* 2015, because the *mələkkət* are better visible in it.

kama yābe [25] both in MSS UUB O Etiop. 36 and Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and in other manuscripts, however, have *mələkkət* closer to those of *Ba-kama yābe* [25] in the *Mə 'rāf* 2016. This indicates that the categorisation of Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 039 in MSS UUB O Etiop. 36 and Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 might be erroneous.

5.3.4.3.17 *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27]¹⁷²²

Two antiphons in the corpus, attested in only one manuscript each, are without complications categorised as belonging to the melodic family *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27]. Furthermore, the antiphon Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 041, in a majority of the manuscripts classified as belonging to the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16], is categorised as belonging to *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27] in two collections. For a discussion of this, see 5.3.4.3.12.

5.3.4.3.18 *Additional melodic families?*

In the corpus in Data set 4, there is a number of antiphons that are marked as *səray* antiphons, but cannot be connected to melodic families in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015. As noted above, they have been marked with Greek minuscules. They are discussed below.

An antiphon with the incipit 'Flat 'astanfasa [...] [α]—Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063—is attested in nine manuscripts. In six of these, it is classified as a *səray* antiphon. In one collection—the one in MS EMMML 7529—it is classified with the abbreviation ቁ፲ (zātti), clearly referring to the melodic family *Zātti 'əlat* [18]. In another collection—in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006—the same antiphon is implicitly classified as belonging to the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16]. In the collection in MS UUB O Etiop. 36, this antiphon was originally added, without its initial word, at the end of the antiphon Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 041 (belonging to *Za-marāḥkomu* [16]). However, this was noted, the word divider was rubricated (to mark the end of the previous antiphon) and the first word of the antiphon was added above the line. One could speculate that the antiphon Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063 was placed after the antiphon Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 041 in the Vorlage of MS UUB O Etiop. 36. This is the case in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, which also in other regards displays many similarities with MS UUB O Etiop. 36 (see above, 3.4.1.3.1 and 5.3.3.3.14).¹⁷²³ Possibly, the initial word of the antiphon in the Vorlage was meant to be rubricated, but this was forgotten, and when the Vorlage was copied, the copyist deleted the blank space, only later noticing the mistake and adding the initial word. In any case, given the situation described above, the antiphon Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063 could be considered categorised as

¹⁷²² The following two (2) antiphons in Data set 4 belong to the melodic family *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27]: Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 091 and Şəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 093.

¹⁷²³ For a summary of similarities between these two collections on the textual level, see Chapter 3 (3.4.1.3.1).

belonging to the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] in both MSS UUB O Etiop. 36 and Ethio-SPaRe QS-006.

A comparison of the *mələkkət* furnishing the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063 displays a partial overlap with antiphons of the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16]. Compare the examples in Illustration 38, where the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063, as attested in the manuscripts Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, UUB O Etiop. 36, and, for the sake of comparison, EMMML 7285 and Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, is compared with the model antiphon for the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16], as attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2016.

Illustration 38. Comparison of *mələkkət* in the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063.

A

B

C

D

E

Illustration 38: The antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063 with *mələkkət* as attested in four manuscripts, compared with the model antiphon for the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16], as attested in *Mangəštu Gabra 'Ab* 2016. A: MS UUB O Etiop. 36, fol. 28vb, ll. 15–17. B: MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, fol. 29ra, ll. 5–8. C: MS EMMML 7285, fol. 36vb, ll. 24–26. D: MS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 21va, ll. 7–9. E: *Mangəštu Gabra 'Ab* 2016, 49a–b.

Clearly, there are certain correspondences between the *mələkkət* of the model antiphon for the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] in the *Mə'rāf* 2016 and the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063 in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 (B).¹⁷²⁴

However, as can be seen in the case of MSS EMMML 7285 (C) and Ethio-SPaRe DD-019 (D), the same degree of similarity appears in manuscripts where the

¹⁷²⁴ The two antiphons share two series of *mələkkət*: first G27 (ሌሊ, *leli*), G234 (ዘበ, *za-ba*), and the conventional sign *dərs* (ሰርሰ, *sə/rəs*), then A90 (ጸ, *pi*; see fn. 1712), A91 (ድ, *də*), and A49 (? , *ገገ*, *naga*; see fn. 1712), as well as the occurrence, in approximately the same places, of the *mələkkət* G119 (ው, *wə*) and A19 (፬, *30*).

antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063 is marked as a *səray* antiphon.¹⁷²⁵ Curiously, it is in the manuscript UUB O Etiop. 36 (A) that the *mələkkət* for Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063 diverge the most from the model antiphon for the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] in the *Mə'rāf* 2016.¹⁷²⁶ In the absence of a thorough historical study of the *mələkkət*, we should not overestimate the conclusions based on such observations.¹⁷²⁷ In any case, it seems safe to conclude that the fact that the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 063 is implicitly categorised as belonging to the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] in the manuscripts UUB O Etiop. 36 and Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 with a high probability is not an error or a coincidence.

An antiphon with the incipit *'Amlāka 'amāləkt [...]* [β] (Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 064) is attested in seven collections, and in all of these, it is classified as a *səray* antiphon. Only in one of them, however, it is fully furnished with *mələkkət*. This is the case in MS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006, but due to the quality of the photograph, it is not possible to identify the *mələkkət* with certainty to be able to compare them to those of the melodic families attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2016. In MS EMMML 7529, only the incipit of the antiphon is given, and one *mələkkət* is found in connection to it. In the rest of the manuscripts,¹⁷²⁸ it lacks *mələkkət*, although—with the exception of MS EMMML 2542—*mələkkət* regularly occur in these manuscripts. Similarly, an antiphon with the incipit *Qo 'a təsennu [...]* [γ] (Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 078) is attested in two manuscripts, both dating from before the seventeenth century. In both, it is classified as a *səray* antiphon and lacks *mələkkət*, making an identification with other melodic families impossible based on the current corpus.

An antiphon with the incipit *'Amlākiya 'A [...]* [δ] (Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 092) is attested in one manuscript—MS EMMML 1894, fol. 34rb—where it is classified as a *səray* antiphon. The second word in the antiphon is abbreviated and presumably indicates a repetition of the first word. In one of the single-type collections, MS GG-187, the melodic family *'Abrəh lana* [24] has the designation <'Amlākiya> added in the upper margin (see 5.3.3.3.14). However, the second antiphon of this family, not identical to Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 092, also begins with this word, and presumably the marginal addition refers to this. In MS EMMML 1894, the antiphon Ṣəge za-sanbat 'arbā 't 092 is not furnished with *mələkkət*—with one

¹⁷²⁵ In the attestations of the antiphon in the collections in MSS EMMML 7285 and Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, there is even one further similarity, namely the occurrence of the *mələkkət* A35 (ላክ, *meka*), which has its *səray* in the model antiphon for the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] (cf. Mogas Šəyyum 2016, p. 89).

¹⁷²⁶ In the attestation of the antiphon in the collection in MS UUB O Etiop. 36, the similarities are restricted to the first series—ሊሊ (*leli*), ዘበ (*za-ba*), and ስ/ርስ (*sə/rəs*)—the *mələkkət* ው (*wə*), and, possibly, the *mələkkət* ባ (*qā*) (30), if ው (*śa*) stands for *śalāsā* ('thirty'; but cf. the *mələkkət* G45 in Shelemay and Jeffery 1993).

¹⁷²⁷ For example, we lack a list of synonymous letter-based *mələkkət*, i.e. of different signs referring to the same melodic realisation.

¹⁷²⁸ MSS Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, EMMML 2542, EMMML 6994, EMMML 7174, and UUB O Etiop. 36.

possible exception, although this could also be dirt—making the identification with families in other manuscripts difficult.

5.3.4.4 Discussion

Data set 4 summarises data about melodic-family designations for a total of one hundred thirty-eight 'arbā 't antiphons in five commemorations as attested in twenty-nine multiple-type collections and seven single-type collections. Leaving aside the melodic families with a stable model antiphons, which were summarised above (5.3.4.3.1), what does this data tell us about the diachronic development of the designations of the melodic families for 'arbā 't antiphons?

In several cases, the data suggests that there is a diachronic aspect to the use of the alternative model antiphons listed in the *Mə'rāf* 2015. For the following melodic families, a 'later' melodic-family designation appears to oust an 'older' alternative. For melodic family [9], there is a shift from <Wa-yəbelomu> [I] to <'Arārāta>. For melodic family [10], there is a shift from <Wa-yəbelomu> [II] to <Ḥaṣabomu>. For melodic family [11], there is a shift from <Tafaśśəḥi Şəyon> to <Habu səbhata>. In the case of melodic family [4], only <Ba-masqaləka> is attested in the early sources, whereas both <Ba-masqaləka> and <'Īsma 'anta bāḥtitəka> occur in later sources. In the case of melodic family [20], only <Sanbat 'amehā> [II] (and <Sanbat 'amehā> [I]) is attested in the early sources, whereas both <Sanbat 'amehā> [II] and <Wa-yəsu 'u lottu> occur in later sources.

Based on the study of single-type collections (see 5.3.3), a number of alternative melodic-family designations that are not attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 were suggested. In the case of the melodic family *Nāhu śannāy* [23], the corpus in Data set 4 strengthens the conclusion reached before regarding the occurrence of the alternative designation <Rə 'yu za-gabra>. In the case of the melodic family 'Afqər bişaka [5], for which the alternative designation <Tazkāra gabra> was suggested, no conclusion can be drawn based on the corpus in Data set 4.

In the case of the melodic family 'Amlāka 'Addām [7], the confusion found in the single-type collections is not continued by the multiple-type collections. As seen above (5.3.3.3.4), the single-type collections connect this melodic family with the melodic family *Bərḥān za-yəwaşşə* [29]. In the multiple-type collections, on the other hand, based on the corpus in Data set 4, only the designation <'Amlāka 'Addām> is attested.

In the discussion above, we have seen two occasions, where the use of certain melodic-family designations seems to agree with genetically related families among the antiphon collections. The first concerns the occurrence the melodic-family designation <Tafaśśəḥi Şəyon> (for the melodic family *Habu səbhata* / *Tafaśśəḥi Şəyon* [11]) in the three eighteenth–nineteenth-century manuscripts EML 2431, EML 6994 and EML 7529 (see 5.3.4.3.7). At least

synchronously in the seventeenth century, the use of this melodic-family designation in the corpus in Data set 4 is restricted to these manuscripts, which also display similarities when it comes to their sets of antiphons (see, in general, the sets of antiphons discussed in Chapter 3). Presuming that they form a family among the manuscripts of antiphon collections, it is not surprising that they should be connected to a particular geographical area. In this case, two of the manuscripts are kept in repositories in Lāstā—MSS EMMML 6994 and EMMML 7529—and the third in Šawā: MS EMMML 2431. The second case concerns the similarities in melodic-family designations (at least on the level of individual antiphons) between the collections in MSS Ethio-SPaRe QS-006 and UUB O Etiop. 36 (see 5.3.4.3.16 and 5.3.4.3.18). As we have seen in Chapter 3 (for a summary, see 3.4.1.3.1), these manuscripts also display many similarities on the textual level. Both manuscripts stem from repositories in the northern parts of the Ethiopian and Eritrean cultural sphere (Təgrāy and Eritrea, respectively). Clearly, it is not surprising that the systems of melodic families, both on a general level and on the level of individual antiphons, should also be part of what varies between families among the manuscripts. Nevertheless, the observation of such connections in the corpus in Data set 4 deserves to be pointed out.

Even in cases where an overwhelming majority of the collections in Data set 4 display the same melodic-family designation for a certain antiphon, there are exceptions. Especially two collections stand out in showing unusual idiosyncrasies. To begin with, the collection in MS EMMML 1894 has two melodic-family designations that are not attested elsewhere in the corpus (see 5.3.4.3.4 and 5.3.4.3.7). In both cases, the antiphons with these designations belong to the commemoration of Stephen, and they are the only antiphons belonging to their respective melodic family in this commemoration. In other commemorations, the collections in MS EMMML 1894 displays more usual designations for these melodic families (although in the case of the melodic family 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] it is difficult to say with certainty). MS EMMML 1894 has not been furnished with *mələkkət*, which otherwise could have contributed to this discussion. Secondly, the collection in MS IES 2148 stands out among the post-sixteenth-century manuscripts, displaying what could be interpreted as attestations of the melodic-family designations <Wa-yəbelomu I> and <Wa-yəbelomu II> (see 5.3.4.3.5 and 5.3.4.3.6). Although the attestation in the first case is discussible, in the second case it appears to be a matter of fact. This serves as a reminder of the limitations of our corpus for painting the full picture of the diachronic development of the system of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons.

5.3.5 Excursion: The evidence from other early multiple-type collections

5.3.5.1 Introduction

In this excursion, the evidence from four early multiple-type collections (fourteenth–sixteenth centuries?), in which the commemorations included in Data set 4 are missing, will be examined. The collections under discussion are those in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28, EMMML 8070, EMMML 8408, and IES 679. In the absence of the selected commemorations (or at least of the parts of these containing 'arbā 't antiphons), these collections have been surveyed for 'arbā 't antiphons in their entirety. This has been possible due to the small number of collections and their partly fragmentary state of preservation, and it is motivated by their early date.

Consequently, it has not been possible to systematically identify counterparts of the individual antiphons in the rest of the collections. Only on some occasions, when the interest in establishing connections between melodic-family designations was deemed especially great, attempts have been made to find counterparts to individual antiphons in the collection in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, which was suitable for this purpose due to its completeness and calendrical organisation. Nonetheless, this means that the observations concerning the system of melodic families for 'arbā 't antiphons in these collections rest on a less firm ground than what has been presented above in 5.3.2, 5.3.3, and 5.3.4. However, keeping the methodological caveats in mind, a number of observations can still be made.

5.3.5.2 MS BAV Vat. et. 28

As mentioned in the description in Chapter 2 (2.4.2), MS BAV Vat. et. 28 contains a very limited number of commemorations. Out of the commemorations included in Data set 4, only the commemoration for Sundays in the Season of Flowers is attested. However, no section with 'arbā 't antiphons for this commemoration has been preserved. With high probability, this is due to the fact that the original second quire, where one would have expected to find this section, has been lost.¹⁷²⁹

Based on the rest of the manuscript, the following conclusions regarding the system of melodic families for 'arbā 't antiphons can be drawn. For the following melodic families, the designations attested in MS BAV Vat. et. 28 agree with what it attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015: 'Aṭmaqqa [1], *Kokab marḥomu* [2], *Za-rassayo* [3], 'Arga ḥamara [6], 'Amlāka 'Addām [7], *Tanśə'u nəḥor* [12], *Za-maṣ'a 'əm-dəḥra nabiyaṭ* [14], *Zātti 'alat* [18], *Nəlbəs waltā* [21], *Laka səbḥat*

¹⁷²⁹ The end of the first quire (fols 1r–8v) contains 'asma la- 'ālam antiphons for Sundays in the Season of Flowers. In several other commemorations in this manuscript, for example those of Sundays in the Season of Fruits (*za-sanbat za-Fəre*) and in the Season of Ascension (*za- 'Ergat za-sanbat*), the antiphons for the *mawaddəs* service, including 'arbā 't antiphons, are placed after the section with 'asma la- 'ālam antiphons.

[26], *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27], and *Nāhu bərḥānāta samāy* [28]. MS BAV Vat. et. 28 also contains antiphons with the melodic-family designation <*Sanbat 'amehā*>, but without a systematic comparison of the individual antiphons thus designated with their counterparts in other collections, it is not possible to say whether it refers to *Sanbat 'amehā* I [19] or to *Wa-yəśu'u lottu / Sanbat 'amehā* II [20].

The following melodic families, for which alternative model antiphons are attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, are found in MS BAV Vat. et. 28 (the alternative attested in MS BAV Vat. et. 28 has been underlined): '*Īsma 'anta bāḥtitəka / Ba-masqaləka* [4], *Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs II / Haṣabomu* [10], *Habu səbḥata / Tafasšəhi Səyon* [11], *Niqodimos 'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtarā* [13], and *Šar'a sanbata / Sarḥa 'Isāyayās* [30]. In the cases of melodic families [4], [11], and [30], this is in accordance with all other pre-seventeenth-century collections. In the case of *Niqodimos 'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtarā* [13], it agrees with all other calendrical collections. The attestation solely of the designation <*Haṣabomu*> for the melodic family *Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs II / Haṣabomu* [10] is noticeable. In the case of the melodic family *Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs I / 'Arārāta* [9], MS BAV Vat. et. 28 has different versions of the alternative designation <'Arārāy>, widely attested throughout the corpus of multiple-type collections. The complete absence of the designations <*Wa-yəbelomu* I> and <*Wa-yəbelomu* II> for the melodic families [9] and [10], respectively, is remarkable, although one should keep the manuscript's fragmentary state of preservation in mind.

The melodic-family designation <'Afqər biṣaka> is not attested in the corpus, but based on the evidence from the single-type collections, an alternative model antiphon beginning with *Tazkāra gabra* [...] was suggested for the melodic family '*Afqər biṣaka* [5] (see 5.3.3.3.3). Presuming that this identification is correct, MS BAV Vat. et. 28 follows the single-type collections, as it has several occurrences of the melodic-family designation <*Tazkāra gabra*>.

In the case of the melodic families *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] and *Ḥayālān sab'* [17], MS BAV Vat. et. 28 does contain references to the model antiphons attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015. However, the study of single-type collections suggested two alternative model antiphons for these melodic families—with the incipits *Šarḥa Yoḥannəs* [...] and '*Īsma wākā yə'əti* [...], respectively—and these are also attested in MS BAV Vat. et. 28. Whether this is due to a fluctuating usage within the milieu where MS BAV Vat. et. 28 was produced, to the usage of different Vorlagen for different parts of the manuscript, or to complications in these particular cases—keep in mind that only one example of the former melodic family was attested among the antiphons included in Data set 4, and none of the latter—is difficult to say on the basis of the present material.

MS BAV Vat. et. 28 includes a melodic-family designation <*Samāya gabarka*>, which is otherwise only known from MS EML 8408 (see below, 5.3.5.4). It

occurs twice, categorising one antiphon in the commemoration of Sundays in the Season of Fruits (*za-sanbat za-Fāre*) and two in the commemoration of Sundays of Season of Ascension (*za-ʿIrgat ba-sanbat*). A cursory search for parallels in other manuscripts yields close—but only in one case a perfect—parallels in two antiphons in the melodic family *Bəṣu ʿanta Yoḥannəs* [15] in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002. However, the melodic-family designation <*Bəṣu ʿanta Yoḥannəs*> is also attested in MS BAV Vat. et. 28. It is possible that both designations refer to the same melodic family, as was suggested above, for example, in the case of the melodic families *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] and *Ḥayālān sabʿ* [17]. However, a more comprehensive study of the 'arbā't antiphons in the commemorations under discussion would be needed to say anything definite on this matter.

References to the following melodic families are lacking from the preserved portions of MS BAV Vat. et. 28: *ʿAntəmu wə ʿətu* [8], *Za-yəgalabbəbo* [22], *Nāhu šannāy* [23], *ʿAbrəh lana* [24], *Ba-kama yəbe* [25], *Bərḥān za-yəwaššə* [29], *ʿAṣābə ihu* [31], *Za-geša* [32], and *La-beta krəstiyān* [33].

5.3.5.3 MS EMLL 8070

As outlined in the description in Chapter 2 (2.4.9), MS EMLL 8070 has only been available to me in the form of an imperfectly digitised microfilm, where the folios are in an incorrect order and in most cases partly cut. These limitations mean that the following discussion must be taken *cum grano salis*. In the available reproduction, I have not been able to identify any 'arbā't antiphons for the commemorations included in this study. Other antiphons for these commemorations are, however, present on the first available folios (see Chapter 2, 2.4.9.2), and in later commemorations, 'arbā't antiphons do occur. It thus seems plausible to conclude that there might be 'arbā't antiphons for the commemorations in question also in MS EMLL 8070.

From the available parts of the manuscript, the following information can be retrieved regarding the system of melodic families for 'arbā't antiphons. For the following melodic families, MS EMLL 8070 agrees with the *Mə rāf* 2015: *Kokab marḥomu* [2], *Za-rassayo* [3], *ʿArga ḥamara* [6], *ʿAmlāka ʿAddām* [7], *Tansə ʿu nəḥor* [12], *Bəṣu ʿanta Yoḥannəs* [15], *Zātti ʿəlat* [18], *Nəlbəs waltā* [21], *Za-yəgalabbəbo* [22], *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27], and *Nāhu bərḥānāta samāy* [28]. A melodic-family designation <*Sanbat ʿamehā*> occurs on several occasions, but in the absence of comparative material, it is difficult to ascribe it to either *Sanbat ʿamehā* I [19] or *Wa-yəṣu ʿu lottu / Sanbat ʿamehā* II [20]. One may notice that the model antiphon for the melodic family *Sanbat ʿamehā* I [19], as attested in the *Mə rāf* 2015, appears, marked as a *səray* antiphon, on the folio that in vHMLL appears on the image reproduced in under the file name 'IMG_163a'.¹⁷³⁰

¹⁷³⁰ As of now [2022-02-22], file names are visible when using the 'Gallery View' in vHMLL.

The following melodic families, where alternative model antiphons are attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, are attested in MS EMMML 8070 (the alternative attested in MS EMMML 8070 is underlined): 'Īsma 'anta bāḥtitāka / Ba-masqalāka [4], Habu sabbhata / Tafaśśahi Səyon [11], Niqodimos 'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtārā [13], and Šar'a sanbata / Sarha 'Isāyayās [30]. In the cases of melodic families [4], [11] and [30], this is in accordance with all the other pre-seventeenth-century collections. In the case of *Niqodimos 'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtārā* [13], it agrees with all other calendrical collections.

Regarding the two families *Wa-yabelomu Yoḥannəs I / 'Arārāta* [9] and *Wa-yabelomu Yoḥannəs II / Haṣābomu* [10], the designations <'Arārāy> (systematically spelled አራረይ, 'arāray) and <Haṣābomu> are attested in MS EMMML 8070, on nine and two occasions, respectively. In addition, there are five occurrences of the designation <Wa-yabelomu Yoḥannəs>, sometimes abbreviated or partially preserved. It thus appears that one or both of these melodic families have two model antiphons. Without a systematic study of the history of these specific antiphons, it is difficult to move beyond this simple observation.

The melodic family 'Afqər biṣaka [5] is not attested in the available parts of MS EMMML 8070, but based on the evidence from the single-type collections, an alternative model antiphon beginning with *Tazkāra gabra* [...] was identified (see 5.3.3.3.3). This model antiphon is attested three times. The same is true for the melodic families *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] and *Hayālān sab'* [17]: The model antiphons attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015 are lacking from the available portions of MS EMMML 8070, but what were previously identified as alternative designations in the section on single-type collections, <Šarha Yoḥannəs> and <'Īsma wākā yə'əti>, respectively, are attested. As for the melodic-family complex consisting of 'Abrəh lana [24] and *Ba-kama yəbe* [25], two associated melodic-family designations are attested in the available portions of MS EMMML 8070. <'Abrəh lana> occurs as a designation once, and an antiphon with the incipit [...]na bərhānāt [...] is marked as a səray antiphon. The latter can presumably be connected to the melodic-family designation <Bərhāna bərhānāt>, attested in the single-type collections in MSS BnF Éth. 92 and GG-187 and connected to the 'Abrəh lana [24] / Ba-kama yəbe [25] complex (see 5.3.3.3.14).

In addition to this, MS EMMML 8070 contains a previously unattested səray antiphon. On fol. 69va, an 'arbā't antiphon with the incipit ወእምዝ: ኅለፉ: እለ: ጳውሎስ: እምነ: ጳፋ: [...] (*Wa-'əmzə ḥaladu 'əlla Pāwəlos 'əmənna Pāfā* [...]) has the designation በዜማህ: (*ba-zemāhu*). This lacks parallels in material discussed so far, but see the discussion of MS IES 679 below (5.3.5.5).

The following melodic families are not attested in the available parts of MS EMMML 8070: 'Aṭmaqqa [1], 'Antəmu wə'ətu [8], *Za-maṣ'a 'əm-dəḥra nabiyyāt* [14], *Nāhu śannāy* [23], *Laka sabbhat* [26], and *Bərhān za-yəwaśśə'* [29].

5.3.5.4 MS EMMML 8408

As outlined in the description of MS EMMML 8408 in Chapter 2 (2.4.10), only fols 36va–42rb have been available to me during the work on this dissertation. These folios contain the following commemorations: 'Abbā Garimā (17 Sane), Peter and Paul (*Ṗetros wa-Ṗāwēlos*, 25 Sane), the Apostles (*za-ḥawāryāt*, 5 Ḥamle), Cyricus (*Qirqos*, 19 Ḥamle), and 'Abbā Salāmā (26 Ḥamle).¹⁷³¹ Sections containing 'arbā 't antiphons are found in all of these, except in the commemoration of 'Abbā Garimā. In total, the number of 'arbā 't antiphons is eighteen. As the following observations consequently are based on a very small corpus, I have given the number of attestations in each single case.

The following melodic-family designations are in accordance with the *Mə 'rāf* 2015: 'Aṭmaqqa [1] (one attestation), *Kokab marḥomu* [2] (two attestations), 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] (one attestation), 'Antəmu wə 'ətu [8] (one attestation, the *səray* antiphon), *Tanśə 'u nəḥor* [12] (one attestation), and *Za-maṣ 'a 'əm-dəḥra nabiyyāt* [14] (one attestation).

In the following cases, where alternative model antiphons are attested in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015, MS EMMML 8408 seems to follow the rest of the early collections (the designation attested in MS EMMML 8408 has been underlined): 'Isma 'anta bāḥtitəka / Ba-maṣqaləka [4] (one attestation, fol. 41rb), and *Habu səbhata* / Tafaśśəhi Səyon [11] (one attestation, fol. 39ra).

There are two cases, where the evidence from the available folios of MS EMMML 8408 is inconclusive. The melodic families *Wa-yəbelomu* I / 'Arārāta [9] and *Wa-yəbelomu* II / *Ḥaṣabomu* [10] are both attested several times: Two antiphons have abbreviations referring to the common designation <'Arārāy> (ḥḫ-ḫḫ, 'arārāy, and ḥḫ-ḫḫ(!), 'arārārā(!)). Two antiphons have the designation <Ḥaṣabomu>. One antiphon, however, has the designation ወይቤሎ[:] (*wa-yəbelo*), which could refer to either of these melodic families. This situation is reminiscent of what we saw in MS EMMML 8070 (see 5.3.5.3). However, the designation ወይቤሎ[:] (*wa-yəbelo*) in MS EMMML 8408 appears to have been rewritten, and perhaps it was not part of the tradition to which the original scribe belonged. In the case of the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16], the evidence is also contradictory. On the one hand, the model antiphon beginning with the word *Za-marāḥkomu* [...] is attested, marked as a *səray* antiphon. On the other hand, there is an antiphon with the designation ጸርኃ: ሃ[:] (*Ṣarḥa Yo*), which—it has been argued above (see 5.3.3.3.10 and 5.3.4.3.12)—is an alternative model antiphon for this melodic family. MS EMMML 8408 is the only multiple-type collection in the Minor Corpus that contains attestations of both these melodic-family designations.

On one occasion, MS EMMML 8408 has the melodic-family designation ተገካር(!): ገ[:] (*tazkār(!) ga*), referring to the model antiphon incipit *Tazkāra gabra* [...]. As

¹⁷³¹ The dates have been taken over from Jeffery 1993 and are not found in MS EMMML 8408.

outlined above (5.3.3.3.3), this melodic family is probably to be identified as an alternative model antiphon for the melodic family 'Afqər biṣaka [5].

As mentioned in the discussion of MS BAV Vat. et. 28 (see above, 5.3.5.2), MS EML 8408 also includes references to a model-antiphon designation <Samāya gabarka>. The first 'arbā 't antiphon thus characterised belongs to the commemoration of Apostles, the second to the commemoration of 'Abbā Salāmā. A cursory search for corresponding antiphons in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 yields results similar to those for the same melodic family in MS BAV Vat. et. 28: Almost perfect matches for both antiphons are found in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, where they are classified as belonging to the melodic family Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs [15].¹⁷³² Combining the evidence from MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EML 8408, it thus seems relatively safe to conclude that melodic family Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs [15] had, at least around the fifteenth century, an alternative model antiphon beginning with *Samāya gabarka* [...]. For what it is worth, one may notice that no attestations to the melodic-family designation <Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs> are attested on the available folios of MS EML 8408.

The following melodic families are not attested on the available folios of MS EML 8408: *Za-rassayo* [3], 'Arga ḥamara [6], Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a / Qəne dabtārā [13], Ḥayālān sab' [17], Zātti 'əlat [18], Sanbat 'amehā I [19], Wa-yəṣu 'u lottu / Sanbat 'amehā II [20], Nəlbəs waltā [21], Za-yəgalabbəbo [22], Nāhu śannāy [23], 'Abrəḥ lana [24], Ba-kama yəbe [25], Laka səbḥat [26], Za-ba-Dāwit [27], Nāhu bərhānāta samāy [28], Bərhān za-yəwaṣṣə' [29], Śar 'a sanbata / Śarḥa 'Isāyāyās [30], 'Aṣābə 'ihu [31], Za-geśa [32], and La-beta krəstiyān [33].

5.3.5.5 MS IES 679

As outlined in the description in Chapter 2 (2.4.3), the preserved part of MS IES 679 begins with the end of the commemoration for 'Abbā Salāmā (?) and the commemoration of the Archangel Gabriel (*Gabrə 'el*, 19 Tāḥśās), and ends abruptly in the middle of the commemoration of Ascension ('Ergat). Due to the poor state of preservation, making especially the rubricated words in the later parts of the manuscript difficult to read, it is not unlikely that a certain number of melodic-family designations for 'arbā 't antiphons have been missed. Based on the available material, nevertheless, the following preliminary observations can be made.

The following melodic-family designations are attested in MS IES 679 in the same form as in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015: 'Aṭmaqqa [1], Kokab marḥomu [2], Za-rassayo [3], 'Afqər biṣaka [5], 'Arga ḥamara [6], 'Amlāka 'Addām [7], Tanṣə 'u nəḥor [12], Za-maṣ 'a 'əm-dəḥra nabiyaṭ [14], Bəṣu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs [15], Za-marāḥkomu

¹⁷³² Cf. the relevant antiphons on fols 39ra and 42rb in MS EML 8408 with the corresponding antiphons on fols 40va and 41rb, respectively, in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.

[16], *Hayālān sab* ' [17], *Nəlbəs waltā* [21], *'Abrəh lana* [24], *Ba-kama yəbe* [25], *Laka səbḥat* [26], *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27], *Nāhu bərhānāta samāy* [28], and *Bərhān za-yəwaššə* ' [29]. A melodic-family designation <*Sanbat*> is attested once, but due to the absence of comparative material, it is not possible to determine if this refers to *Sanbat 'amehā* I [19] or *Wa-yəśu 'u lottu / Sanbat 'amehā* II [20].

Noteworthy are the occurrences of the melodic families *'Afqər biṣaka* [5] and *Bərhān za-yəwaššə* ' [29], designated with the model antiphons found in the *Mə 'rāf* 2015. As we have seen above, neither of these melodic families is attested among the antiphons for the commemorations included in Data set 4, reducing the number of manuscripts where we might have expected to find them.

Notwithstanding, it must be pointed out that the model antiphon with the incipit *'Afqər biṣaka* [...] is not attested in this function in any of the single-type collections, nor in any of the other early multiple-type collections discussed in this excursion. Above, it has been argued that the designation <*Tazkāra gabra*>, attested in several single-type collections and in the other manuscripts in this excursion, refers to the same melodic family (see 5.3.3.3.3). For what it is worth, one of the two antiphons with the designation <*'Afqər biṣaka*> in MS IES 679 has a perfect parallel among the antiphons in the melodic family designated <*Tazkāra gabra*> in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.¹⁷³³ As for the model antiphon with the incipit *Bərhān za-yəwaššə* ' [...], it is not attested in this function in any of the other multiple-type collections included in the Minor Corpus, but, as we have seen above (5.3.3.3.4), it occurs in several of the single-type collections, where it is sometimes confused with the melodic family *'Amlāka 'Addām* [7]. The only attestation of the model antiphon *Bərhān za-yəwaššə* ' in MS IES 679 is the *səray* antiphon, marked with ሰረዩ: (*sərayu*).

In the following cases, where the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 contains alternative model antiphons, one is systematically attested in MS IES 679 (the form attested in MS IES 679 has been underlined): *'Īsma 'anta bāḥtitəka / Ba-masqaləka* [4], *Habu səbḥata / Tafəššəhi Səyon* [11], and *Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a / Qəne dabtārā* [13]. All these cases are in accordance with what could be observed among other pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections.

As for the melodic families *Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs* I / *'Arārāta* [9] and *Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs* II / *Ḥaṣabomu* [10], a melodic-family designation <*Wa-yəbelomu*> is attested eighteen times, against one attestation of the designation ሐራራ ('*arārā*). The absence of the designation <*Ḥaṣabomu*> and almost complete absence of the designations <*'Arārāta*> (or <*'Arārāy*>) in the preserved parts of MS IES 679 is noteworthy.

¹⁷³³ Cf. the relevant antiphon on fol. 75vb in MS IES 679 with the corresponding antiphon on fol. 94vb in MS Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.

As mentioned above, MS IES 679 also contains a reference to a model antiphon previously attested only in MS EMMML 8070: on fol. 41va, an 'arbā't antiphon with the incipit ወእ(?)ምዝ: ጎለፉ: እለ: ጳውሎስ: እምነ: ጳፋ: [...] (*Wa- 'ə(?)mzə ḥalafu 'alla Pāwəlos 'əmənnā Pāfā [...]*) is marked as a *səray* antiphon. On fol. 52vb, MS IES 679 contains another such case, where a *səray* antiphon with the incipit እንዘ ይነብር እግዚአ(!)ነ ውስተ ደብረ ዘይት [...] ('*Enza yənnabbər 'Egzi 'a(!)na wəsta Dabra Zayt [...]*) is found. On fol. 78rb, a third case possibly is found: there, an antiphon with the incipit ዐርገ: እም[...] ('*Arga 'əm- [...]*) is marked as a *səray* antiphon, but due to the fragmentary state of preservation, it is not entirely clear from the context if it is an 'arbā't antiphon.

The following melodic families appear not to be attested in the preserved parts of MS IES 679: '*Antəmu wə 'ətu* [8], *Zātti 'əlat* [18], *Za-yəgalabbəbo* [22], *Nāhu šannāy* [23], *Šar'a sanbata* / *Šarḥa 'Isāyayās* [30], *Ašābə 'ihu* [31], *Za-geša* [32], and *La-beta krəstiyān* [33].

5.3.5.6 Summary and Discussion

While discussing the evidence from the multiple-type collections included in this excursion and comparing it with other types of materials, one has to keep in mind that they have been studied using a different method than the multiple-type collections included in Data set 4, taking different corpora of antiphons into account. This was, of course, motivated by their being affected by material loss, whose impact in itself it is furthermore hard to assess.

In the following cases, all four collections included in this excursion agree with the *Mə 'rāf* 2015: '*Aṭmaqqa* [1] (not attested in MS EMMML 8070), *Kokab marḥomu* [2], *Za-rassayo* [3] (not attested in MS EMMML 8408), '*Arga ḥamara* [6] (not attested in MS EMMML 8408), '*Antəmu wə 'ətu* [8] (only attested MS EMMML 8408, once), *Tanśə 'u nəḥor* [12], *Za-maš'a 'əm-dəḥra nabiyyāt* [14] (not attested in MS EMMML 8070), *Bəšu' 'anta Yoḥannəs* [15] (not attested in MS EMMML 8408), *Zātti 'əlat* [18] (only attested in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EMMML 8070), *Nəlbəs waltā* [21] (not attested in MS EMMML 8408), *Za-yəgalabbəbo* [22] (only attested in MS EMMML 8070), *Laka səbhāt* [26] (only attested in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and IES 679), *Za-ba-Dāwit* [27] (not attested in MS EMMML 8408), and *Nāhu bərhānāta samāy* [28] (not attested in MS EMMML 8408).

For the following melodic families, for which the *Mə 'rāf* 2015 provides alternative model antiphons, the collections discussed in this excursion agree on one alternative (the attested designation has been underlined): '*Īsma 'anta bāḥtitəka* / *Ba-masqaləka* [4], *Habu səbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Səyon* [11], *Niqodimos 'amṣə'a* / *Qəne dabtārā* [13] (not attested in MS EMMML 8408), and *Šar'a sanbata* / *Šarḥa 'Isāyayās* [30] (only attested in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EMMML 8070). In the case of melodic families [4], [11], and [30], this is in accordance with the single-type collections and the majority of other pre-seventeenth-century multiple-

type collections, as attested in Data set 4. In the case of the melodic family *Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a / Qəne dabtarā* [13], it is in accordance with the calendrical single-type collections and the rest of the multiple-type collections, and disagrees only with the melodic-family-based single-type collections.

As for the melodic families *Wa-yābelomu Yoḥannəs I / 'Arārāta* [9] and *Wa-yābelomu Yoḥannəs II / Ḥaṣābomu* [10], they are difficult to keep apart when a form of the designation <*Wa-yābelomu*> is used. In MSS EML 8070 and EML 8408, the designations <'Arārāy>, <*Wa-yābelomu*> and <*Ḥaṣābomu*> occur. In MS IES 679, the use of <*Wa-yābelomu*> is prevalent, with only one attestation of ܠܐܪܪܐ ('arārā) and none of <*Ḥaṣābomu*>. In MS BAV Vat. et. 28, only the designations <'Arārāy> and <*Ḥaṣābomu*> occur. This variation is in accordance with other pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections.

For the melodic family *'Aḡḡar biṣaka* [5], we have seen that the single-type collections unanimously attest to an alternative model antiphon with the incipit *Tazkāra gabra [...]* (see 5.3.3.3.3). This alternative is attested in three of the collections included in this excursion, but in the collection in MS IES 679, the designation <'Aḡḡar biṣaka> occurs. Keeping in mind that this melodic family is not attested in the corpus in Data set 4, one can note that this is the earliest known attestation of this designation in an antiphon collection.

In the case of the melodic families *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] and *Ḥayālān sab'* [17], alternative model antiphons have been established through the study of single-type collections above (see 5.3.3.3.10 and 5.3.3.3.11), although they are not attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015. For the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16], the preserved portions of MS IES 679 has only the designation <*Za-marāḥkomu*>, while the preserved/available parts of MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EML 8408 attest to both <*Za-marāḥkomu*> and <*Ṣarḥa Yoḥannəs*>, and the preserved/available parts of MS EML 8070 only have <*Ṣarḥa Yoḥannəs*>. For the melodic family *Ḥayālān sab'* [17], both MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and IES 679 contain the model antiphon beginning with *Ḥayālān sab' [...]* marked as a *səray* antiphon. The collections in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EML 8070, however, also have references to the melodic-family designation <'Isma wākā yə 'əti>, otherwise attested only in the calendrical single-type collections.

There are three pairs of melodic families, which are not always clearly kept apart in the single-type collections and based on the data in Data set 4: a) *'Amlāka 'Addām* [7] and *Bərḥān za-yəwaṣṣə* [29], b) *Sanbat 'amehā I* [19] and *Wa-yəṣu 'u lottu / Sanbat 'amehā II* [20], and c) *'Abrəḥ lana* [24] and *Ba-kama yəbe* [25]. As for *'Amlāka 'Addām* [7] and *Bərḥān za-yəwaṣṣə* [29], the designation <'Amlāka 'Addām> is attested in all four collections included in this excursion, while the collection in MS IES 679 also includes a reference to <*Bərḥān za-yəwaṣṣə*>, namely an antiphon with the incipit *Bərḥān za-yəwaṣṣə [...]* marked as a *səray*

antiphon. In the case of *Sanbat 'amehā* I [19] and *Wa-yəśu 'u lottu / Sanbat 'amehā* II [20], variants of the designation <*Sanbat 'amehā*> occur in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28, EMMML 8070, and IES 679, but in the absence of comparative material, it is difficult to ascertain if they represent one or two melodic families, and, in the former case, which one. As for the melodic families *'Abrəh lana* [24] and *Ba-kama yəbe* [25], the designation <*'Abrəh lana*> is attested in MSS EMMML 8070 and IES 679. The former collection also includes an antiphon with the incipit *Ba-kama yəbe [...]* marked as a *səray* antiphon, while the latter includes an antiphon with the incipit [...]ጵ፡ ብርሃናት፡ [...] (*[...]na bərhānāt [...]*), likewise marked as a *səray* antiphon. See the discussions of these families in 5.3.3.3.14 and 5.3.4.3.15.

The following melodic families are not attested in any of the four multiple-type collections included in the excursion: *Nāhu šannāy* [23], *'Aṣābə 'ihu* [31], *Za-geśa* [32], *La-beta krəstiyān* [33]. The absence of the melodic family *Nāhu šannāy* [23] is interesting, as it occurs in most of the single-type collections and the multiple-type collections included in Data set 4. Perhaps, it is restricted to a limited number of commemorations, one of which happens to be Sundays in the Season of Flowers. Admittedly, it is only attested in one antiphon in the corpus in Data set 4.

The evidence from the four multiple-type collections included in this excursion has yielded four previously unattested model antiphons/melodic-family designations. To begin with, a melodic-family designation <*Samāya gabarka*> is attested in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EMMML 8408. A comparison between the individual attestations in both manuscripts and the manuscript Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 yielded perfect and close-to-perfect matches with antiphons belonging to the melodic family *Bəṣu 'anta Yoḥannəs* [15]. This identification is complicated by the fact that MS BAV Vat. et. 28 also contains attestations of the melodic-family designation <*Bəṣu 'anta*>, but as there probably are other occasions where MS BAV Vat. et. 28 uses different designations for the same melodic family (see 5.3.5.2), it might still be possible to identify <*Samāya gabarka*> as an alternative designation for the melodic family *Bəṣu 'anta Yoḥannəs* [15]. Secondly, an antiphon with the incipit *Wa- 'əməzə ḥalafu 'əlla Pāwəlos 'əmənnā Pāfā [...]* is marked as a *səray* antiphon in MSS EMMML 8070 and IES 679. No occurrences of this model antiphon as a melodic-family designation for other antiphons have been found, making it difficult to propose any identification with melodic families attested elsewhere, especially given the absence of *mələkkət* from both of these manuscripts. It has been marked with the Greek minuscule letter <ε>. Furthermore, two more antiphons, with the incipits *'Enza yənabbər 'Əgzi 'əna wəsta Dabra Zayt [...]* and *'Arga 'əm-[...]*, respectively, are marked as *səray* antiphons in MS IES 679. They are likewise not attested as designations for other antiphons, and have been numbered with the Greek minuscule letters <ζ> and <η>, respectively.

As for the question of the diachronic development of the system of melodic families for *ʿarbāʿt* antiphons, the evidence from the four multiple-type collections included in this excursion mainly confirms what has been noted above, based on Data set 4. It also offers an example of what might be expected if a larger number of pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections are studied in their entirety. The otherwise unattested model antiphons, for example, suggest that there probably is a number of historically attested alternative designations that have been missed, due to the restricted number of commemorations included in Data set 4. On a number of occasions, the evidence from these manuscripts broadens our understanding of the development of the system of melodic families for *ʿarbāʿt* antiphons. For example, Data set 4 did not include any occurrences of the alternative designations <Šarḥa Yoḥannās> and <ʿĪsma wākā yā ʿatī> for the melodic families *Za-marāḥkomu* [16] and *Ḥayālān sabʿ* [17], respectively. It would not come as a surprise, if a more full-scale study of other pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections could yield more attestations of these. The survival of these attestations beyond the stage of single-type collections would thus have gone unnoticed in this study, had it not been for the evidence from the four collections in this excursion.

5.3.6 Discussion

As a conclusion to this chapter, let us summarise what we have learnt so far about the diachronic development of the melodic models for *ʿarbāʿt* antiphons. For the following melodic families, the sources taken into consideration point towards a tradition that, in all essential aspects,¹⁷³⁴ has remained diachronically stable: *ʿAṭmaqqa* [1], *Kokab marḥomu* [2], *Za-rassayo* [3], *ʿArga ḥamara* [6], *Tanśāʿu nāḥor* [12], *Za-maṣʿa ʿam-dāḥra nabiyyāt* [14], *Zātti ʿalat* [18], *Za-yəgalabbābo* [22], *Laka sabbḥat* [26] (but with an irregularity in two seventeenth-century multiple-type collections; see 5.3.4.3.16), and *Nāhu bārḥānāta samāy* [28]. The same holds true for the three following melodic families, although their absence from, or poor attestation among, the commemorations included in Data set 4 means that in their cases a smaller corpus of manuscripts strengthens this presupposition: *ʿAntamu wā ʿatu* [8], *Nābas waltā* [21], and *Za-ba-Dāwīt* [27].

For the following melodic families, there appears to be a diachronic change in their model antiphons. Below, the general direction of the development is pointed out, and the earliest attestation of the ‘later’ melodic-family designation among the collections taken into consideration is provided in a footnote. For melodic family [4], there is a shift from the designation <Ba-masqalāka> to <ʿĪsma ʿanta

¹⁷³⁴ Occurrences in the single-type collections of non-fronted antiphons, which either could be interpreted as model antiphons or not, have been disregarded. For a list of such cases, see 5.3.3.3.1.

bāhtitaka>.¹⁷³⁵ For melodic family [5], if correctly identified, there is a shift from <*Tazkāra gabra*> to <'Afqār bişaka>.¹⁷³⁶ For melodic family [9], there is a shift from <*Wa-yābelomu* I> to <'Arārāta> and <'Arārāy>.¹⁷³⁷ For melodic family [10], there is a shift from <*Wa-yābelomu* II> to <*Haşabomu*>.¹⁷³⁸ For melodic family [11], there is a shift from <*Tafaşşāhi Şayon*> to <*Habu sabbhata*>.¹⁷³⁹ For melodic family [23], if correctly identified, there is a shift from <*Rə'yu za-gabra*> to <*Nāhu şannāy*>.¹⁷⁴⁰ For melodic family [30], there appears to be a shift from <*Şarha 'Isāyayās*> to <*Şar'a sanbata*>, but the absence of antiphons classified as belonging to this melodic family in the commemorations included in Data set 4 makes this conclusion less firm than in the other cases.¹⁷⁴¹

In the case of the following melodic families, there is variation between two different alternatives in the early sources, with one predominating in the later sources. For melodic family [15], there is a shift from <*Bəşu' 'anta Yoḥannəs*> / <*Samāya gabarka*> (attested in two sources, if correctly identified) to only <*Bəşu' 'anta Yoḥannəs*>. For melodic family [16], there is a shift from <*Za-marāḥkomu*> / <*Şarha Yoḥannəs*> to only <*Za-marāḥkomu*>. For melodic family [17], there is a shift from <*Hayālān sab*> / <'İsma wākā yə'əti> to only <*Hayālān sab*>.

In the case of the following melodic families, there is one designation in the early sources, whereas variation between two different alternatives occur in later sources. For melodic family [4], there is a shift from only <*Ba-masqaləka*> to both <*Ba-masqaləka*> and <'İsma 'anta bāhtitəka> in later sources. For melodic family [20], there is a shift from only <*Sanbat 'amehā*> [II] (and, in single-type collections, <*Sanbat 'amehā*> [I]) to both <*Sanbat 'amehā*> [II] and <*Wa-yəşu'u lottu*>.

¹⁷³⁵ Earliest attestation of the designation <'İsma 'anta bāhtitəka> in the corpus: the list in MS EML 8678 (fifteenth century?) and seventeenth-century multiple-type collections in MSS EAP432/1/10 and EML 2053.

¹⁷³⁶ Earliest attestation of the designation <'Afqār bişaka> in the corpus: the list in MS EML 8678 (fifteenth century?) and the fifteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS IES 679.

¹⁷³⁷ The earliest (explicit) attestations of the designation <'Arārāta> in the corpus is found in the eighteenth–nineteenth-century multiple-type collections in MSS EML 2431, EML 6994, and EML 7529. The earliest attestations of the designation <'Arārāy> in the corpus is found in the fifteenth-century (?) multiple-type collections in MS EML 8678.

¹⁷³⁸ The earliest attestations of the designation <*Haşabomu*> in the corpus is found in the fifteenth-century multiple-type collections in MSS BAV Vat. et. 28 and EML 8070.

¹⁷³⁹ The earliest attestations of the designation <*Habu sabbhata*> in the corpus is found in the list in MS EML 8678 (fifteenth century?) and the sixteenth-century multiple-type collection in MS EML 2542.

¹⁷⁴⁰ The earliest attestations of the designation <*Nāhu şannāy*> in the corpus is found in the list in MS EML 8678 (fifteenth century?) and the sixteenth-century (?) multiple-type collections in MSS EML 1894, EML 2542, EML 4667, EML 7174, and EML 8804.

¹⁷⁴¹ The earliest attestations of the designation <*Şar'a sanbata*> in the corpus is found in the list in MS EML 8678 (fifteenth century?). This melodic family is absent from the corpus of antiphons in Data set 4, making it difficult to ascertain when it appeared in antiphon collections. The designation <*Şar'a sanbata*> is not attested in any of the single-type collections nor any of the multiple-type collections included in the excursion in 5.3.5.

For the melodic family *Niqodimos* 'amṣə'a / *Qəne dābtarā* [13], the distribution of the two variants—both attested in the *Mə rāf* 2015—follows a unique pattern. Among the single-type collections, a majority of the melodic-family-based collections attest to the use of the designation <*Niqodimos* 'amṣə'a>, while the calendrical collections use <*Qəne dābtarā*>. Without exception, the multiple-type collections taken into account use the designation <*Qəne dābtarā*>. In a majority of the lists (see 5.3.2.2), even until modern times, <*Niqodimos* 'amṣə'a> is the only model antiphon provided for the melodic family in question. The choice of model antiphon for this melodic family thus appears not to depend (only) on diachrony, but (also) on the textual context. This is an important observation, which raises questions as to the function of the different genres of chant manuscripts. At least based on the present-day practice, one would expect the lists of melodic families and the antiphon collections themselves to be used in the same instructional context. One could speculate that the complexity of the system and the focus on memorisation as method for learning have contributed to conserving certain features, also when they changed in another part of the system (i.e. the list of model antiphons memorised in the traditional education may have remained the same, although another model antiphon became *en vogue* in antiphon collections).¹⁷⁴²

There are three pairs of melodic families, the distinction between which appears not always to be upheld in the sources. First, the two melodic families 'Abrəh lana [24] and *Ba-kama yəbe* [25] are kept apart in all the studied lists. However, in the single-type collections, there is confusion between them. This is continued in the multiple-type collections, both those included in Data set 4 and in the excursion in 5.3.5 (in two manuscripts, possibly). A larger corpus, tracing the history of a greater number of individual 'arbā 't antiphons, would perhaps clarify the historical relationship between these melodic families. The two melodic families 'Amlāka 'Addām [7] and *Bərhan za-yəwaššə* [29] are likewise kept apart in all lists. In the single-type collections, both designations sometimes refer to the same melodic family. In the corpus in Data set 4, only the former is attested, meaning that we cannot say anything about their relation there. In the collections discussed in the excursion in 5.3.5, while the melodic-family designation <'Amlāka 'Addām> appears ubiquitously, the only attestation of the melodic-family designation <*Bərhan za-yəwaššə*> is the *səray* antiphon itself (in one manuscript). Thirdly, the two melodic families *Sanbat* 'amehā I [19] and *Wa-yəšu'u lottu* / *Sanbat* 'amehā II [20] are clearly treated as separate melodic families in the lists. However, this does not apply to any of the other types of

¹⁷⁴² It would be interesting to know how modern students of liturgical chant cope with the seemingly contradictory use of two different model antiphons for the same melodic family. Are they taught that the melody that they learn to associate with the model antiphon beginning with *Niqodimos* 'amṣə'a [...] corresponds to an abbreviation of the incipit *Qəne dābtarā* [...] in the actual chant books?

sources, where they are nowhere systematically kept apart. The evidence both from the single-type collections and in Data set 4 suggests that they are related, perhaps even identical. Again, a larger corpus, including both more manuscripts and more commemorations, might shed light on these unclarities.

The three last melodic families in the list in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, 'Aṣābā'ihu [31], *Zageśa* [32], and *La-beta krəstiyān* [33], are attested neither in the single-type collections, nor among the antiphons included in Data set 4, nor in the collections discussed in the excursion in 5.3.5. The last of these three is also not attested in the pre-modern lists.

Generally speaking, it can be concluded that the change from one model antiphon to another appears to be a process that took place gradually over time. There are no traces of a radical reworking of the set of model antiphons. Rather, different melodic-family designations often occur side by side in one manuscript. Furthermore, as suggested by the dates of the first attestations of 'later' melodic-family designations above (see fnn. 1735–1741), there are indications that different changes have taken place at different times. In connection to this, one might ask: Can the changes from one model antiphon to another be connected with the development of the way collections of 'arbā't antiphons are organised? As we have seen, sources of three different types have been studied in this part of the chapter: lists, single-type collections and multiple-type collections. The single-type collections can further be divided into two groups, based on the way they organise their contents: melodic-family-based single-type collections and calendrical single-type collections. While the dichotomy between single-type collections to multiple-type collections is clearly connected to diachrony, the lists, in certain ways, stand on the side of this development. Below, possible connections between the changes in designation for individual melodic families and these major organisational types of collections of 'arbā't antiphons are explored.

The first dichotomy in the historical development of collections of 'arbā't antiphons is the difference between melodic-family-based single-type collections and calendrical single-type collections. Whether this reflects a diachronic development, meaning that the melodic-family-based single-type collection as a type precedes the calendrical single-type collection, is difficult to say with certainty. In any case, it is not true that all melodic-family-based single-type collections are older than the calendrical single-type collections.¹⁷⁴³ One variation in melodic-family designation may be connected to this dichotomy:

¹⁷⁴³ In connection to this, a brief survey of the manuscripts that contain collections of more than one of the types of antiphons arranged into systems of melodic families—'arbā't, 'aryām, and śalast antiphons—might be called for. In most of these manuscripts, the collections are organised in the same way. This is true for MSS BnF Éth. 92 ('arbā't, 'aryām and śalast collections: all melodic-family-based), Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002 ('arbā't and śalast collections: both calendrical),

- the variation between the model antiphon beginning with *Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a* [...] and the model antiphon beginning with *Qəne dābtarā* [...] for the melodic family *Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a* / *Qəne dābtarā* [13]. As we have already seen, the use of the designation <*Qəne dābtarā*> is continued by all the multiple-type collections included in this study, while on the other hand, the designation <*Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a*> is the one occurring most frequently in the lists, and exclusively in the pre-modern ones. Leaving the lists aside for now, one could imagine a diachronic shift from <*Niqodimos 'amṣə 'a*> to <*Qəne dābtarā*>. It is difficult to see a reason for this change. In connection to this, it might be worth remembering the various special features characterising this melodic family in the single-type collections, being a) the only melodic family whose designation occurs in the main text in the melodic-family-based collections in MSS EMMML 7618 and GG-187, and b) the only melodic family whose designation occurs without the formula *X ba-za yəbl* in the calendrical collections in MSS EMMML 2095 and Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002.

The probably most dramatic development in the history of collections of 'arbā 't antiphons is the shift from single-type collections to the incorporation into calendrical multiple-type collections. Interestingly, this change does not coincide with a large number of changes in the melodic-family designations. Only the following, rather minor innovation can be directly connected to it, based on the studied sources:

- the appearance of alternatives—<'Arārāta> / <'Arārāy> and <Haṣabomu>, respectively—to the family designations <*Wa-yəbelomu*> [I] and <*Wa-yəbelomu*> [II] for the melodic families *Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs I* / 'Arārāta [9] and *Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs II* / *Haṣabomu* [10]. These alternatives are not attested in any of the single-type collections taken into consideration, whether melodic-family-based or calendrical, but appear in all the multiple-type collections included in the study. However, as we have seen above, the appearance of alternatives does not always bring about the disappearance of the designations <*Wa-yəbelomu* I> and <*Wa-yəbelomu* II>, which seem to occur in isolated cases even in the eighteenth century (see 5.3.4.3.5 and 5.3.4.3.6). In this case, the homonymy of the designations <*Wa-yəbelomu* I> and <*Wa-yəbelomu* II> could have been

GG-185 ('arbā 't and 'aryām collections: both melodic-family-based), and GG-187 ('arbā 't and ṣalast collections: both melodic-family-based). However, in case of MS EMMML 7618, different types of organisation are found within one manuscript ('arbā 't and ṣalast collections: melodic-family-based; 'aryām collection: calendrical). While the prevalence of one type of organisation per manuscript is interesting, it does not contribute much to the discussion of the relative age of the organisation types.

the motivation for the change.¹⁷⁴⁴ As was suggested above (see 5.3.4.3.5), the melodic-family designation <'Arārāy> might follow a different principle than the rest of the melodic families, not being based on a model antiphon.

Judging from the corpus of collections included in this study, the majority of the changes have taken place within the tradition of multiple-type collections. The organisation of the manuscripts remains the same, but over time, there is a shift from one melodic-family designation to another. As we have seen above, there are three types of changes: either consisting of a) the gradual change from one melodic-family designation to another, b) the introduction of an alternative, which does, however, not oust the older alternative, or c) the disappearance of one of several alternatives, leaving the other as the sole designation. Changes of all three types take place within the multiple-type collections:

- the shift from the designation <*Tazkāra gabra*> to <'Afqər bişaka> for the melodic family 'Afqər bişaka [5],
- the shift from the designation <*Tafaśśəhi Şəyon*> to <*Habu səbhata*> for the melodic family *Habu səbhata* / *Tafaśśəhi Şəyon* [11],
- the shift from the designation <*Rə'yu za-gabra*> to <*Nāhu šannāy*> for the melodic family *Nāhu šannāy* [23],
- the shift from only the designation <*Ba-masqaləka*> to its occurring side by side with the designation <'Ēsma 'anta bāhtitəka> for the melodic family 'Ēsma 'anta bāhtitəka / *Ba-masqaləka* [4],
- the shift from only the designation <*Sanbat 'amehā* II> (and/or <*Sanbat 'amehā* I>) to its occurring side by side with the designation <*Wa-yəšu 'u lottu*> for the melodic family *Wa-yəšu 'u lottu* / *Sanbat 'amehā* II [20],
- the shift from variation between the designations <*Bəşu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs*> and <*Samāya gabarka*> (attested only in two early multiple-type collections, if correctly identified) to only <*Bəşu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs*> for the melodic family *Bəşu ' 'anta Yoḥannəs* [16],
- the shift from variation between the designations <*Za-marāḥkomu*> and <*Şarḥa Yoḥannəs*> to only <*Za-marāḥkomu*> for the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16], and
- the shift from variation between the designations <*Ḥayālān sab* ' > and <'Ēsma wākā yə'əti> to only <*Ḥayālān sab* ' > for the melodic family *Ḥayālān sab* ' [17].

¹⁷⁴⁴ Cf. Chapter 3 (3.4.1.2), where it was suggested that the texts of antiphons have sometimes been changed in order to differentiate them from other antiphons which originally had the same text but a different melody.

As mentioned above, the lists form a special category. On the one hand, they display certain characteristics that appear to be conservative. For example, the usage of the designation <*Niqodimos* 'amṣā 'a> for the melodic family *Niqodimos* 'amṣā 'a / *Qəne dābtarā* [13] is only attested in lists and in melodic-family-based single-type collections, the latest dated to the late (?) fifteenth century. Another conservative trait could be seen in the fact that there are certain alternative model antiphons that are attested in multiple-type collections even from the sixteenth century, and still do not appear in the lists. On the other hand, the list in MS EML 8678 in many cases provides the earliest attestations of melodic-family designations that later become the most widespread in the multiple-type collections. This is the case for the melodic families 'Īsma 'anta bāḥtitāka / *Ba-masqalāka* [4], 'Aḥqār biṣaka [5], *Habu sabbhata* / *Tafaśśəḥi Ṣəyon* [11], *Nāhu śannāy* [23], and *Šar'a sanbata* / *Šarḥa 'Isāyāyās* [30], as we have seen above (cf. fnn. 1735–1741).

Noticeably, the list in the modern church editions of the *Mə 'rāf* (*Mə 'rāf* 2015 and *Mə 'rāf* 2016) displays more conservative features than the lists in MSS EML 1894 and EML 8678. This is a curious fact, and now that the evidence from the single-type collections and multiple-type collections has been discussed, we are in a position to return to this list.

- In some cases, the list in the church editions of the *Mə 'rāf* could be seen as more progressive than the other lists. It includes alternative model antiphons that superseded earlier model antiphons, while still also keeping the older alternatives. This is a type of change that could have been expected from a list in use, a kind of update of the system. The melodic families for which this is the case are *Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs I* / 'Arārāta [9], *Wa-yəbelomu Yoḥannəs II* / *Ḥaṣabomu* [10], and *Niqodimos* 'amṣā 'a / *Qəne dābtarā* [13].
- In other cases, the list in the church editions of the *Mə 'rāf* is more conservative than the other lists. In contrast to them, it includes alternative model antiphons that appear primarily (in some cases, exclusively) in pre-seventeenth-century antiphon collections. This is the case for the following melodic families: *Habu sabbhata* / *Tafaśśəḥi Ṣəyon* [11], *Wa-yəṣu 'u lottu* / *Sanbat 'amehā II* [20], and *Šar'a sanbata* / *Šarḥa 'Isāyāyās* [30].
- However, there are also cases where an earlier model antiphon was not recorded in the church editions of the *Mə 'rāf* (nor in any of the other lists). This applies to the following melodic families (the non-attested alternative designation has been put into parentheses): 'Aḥqār biṣaka (<*Tazkāra gabra*>) [5], *Za-marāḥkomu* (<*Šarḥa Yoḥannəs*>) [16], *Ḥayālān sab'* (<'Īsma wākā yə 'əti>) [17], and *Nāhu śannāy* (<*Rə 'yu za-gabra*>) [23].

It is difficult to speculate as to which processes have led to the formation of the list in the church editions of the *Mə 'rāf*. Much of the uncertainty is, of course, founded in our lack of knowledge about the textual history of the *Mə 'rāf* itself. We do not know whether this list reflects an ancient tradition of lists or whether it is a recent compilation, perhaps based on a survey of earlier antiphon collections. The fact that the list in Velat 1966b includes only one alternative model antiphon, whereas the modern church editions include six, might point in the direction of a historicising development, where more and more diachronically attested variants were added over time. However, the reasons for such a development of the list remain obscure, except, of course, for the obviously practical point of adding the model antiphons in use in the modern antiphon collections. It is also possible that some model antiphons had a continued use regionally, and that this has not been reflected by the limited corpus of manuscripts on which this study is based.¹⁷⁴⁵ Representing, as it does, the codified systematisation of the systems of melodic families within the Ethiopic liturgical tradition itself, it is likely that a study of the textual history of the *Mə 'rāf* would provide many insights into the matters that have been discussed in this chapter.

The most important previous publication touching upon the diachronic development of the systems of melodic families is, without any doubt, Peter Jeffery's part of Shelemay et al. 1993.¹⁷⁴⁶ Jeffery posits three stages of development for the types of antiphons arranged into melodic families. In his 'Stage I', the antiphons are grouped into families, but no model antiphons have been chosen. Jeffery suggests that the collection in MS EMMML 7078 is a representative of this stage, which—as we have seen above—is a conclusion that does not take the practice of fronting into account. It is possible that the diachronic development of *'arbā 't* collections included such a state, but it is not—*pace* Jeffery—attested in any collections that we know of.¹⁷⁴⁷ Jeffery's 'Stage II'

¹⁷⁴⁵ Although a larger and more well-balanced corpus of post-seventeenth-century manuscript would be necessary to reveal correlations between the geographical origin of manuscripts and their use of specific melodic-family designations, we have seen possible examples of this in 5.3.4.4.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Shelemay et al. 1993, pp. 73–98.

¹⁷⁴⁷ At this point, some words should be said about the fragmentarily preserved collection in MS DS-XVI. As noticed in Chapter 2 (2.3.15.2), this appears to be a melodic-family-based collection of *'arbā 't* antiphons, containing fragments from sections for three melodic families: *'Atmaqqa* [1], *Habu səbhata / Tafasśəhi Şəyon* [11], and *Niqodimos 'amşə 'a / Qəne dabtārā* [13]. Remarkable is the fact that the antiphons—as noticed in Chapter 2 (2.3.15.2)—within each melodic-family section are not ordered in the sequence of the liturgical year, but rather—as it seems—randomly, or following a logic that I am unable to see. Only for one of the three melodic-family sections—the one for *Niqodimos 'amşə 'a / Qəne dabtārā* [13] on fol. 6v—the beginning has been preserved (for further discussion of its *mise en texte*, see Chapter 4): the new section is introduced with a formula በካለ(!)ኢ: ዜማ: በ፬: (*ba-kāla(!) ' zemā ba-4*). The first antiphon that follows this formula belongs to the commemoration of Mary and has the following text: ማሪያም: እመቤት: እመኃ: ድንግልኒ: ሰማይኒ: ይእተ: ጸረሕ: ነጸሕተ: ወአግዓዘይተ: አንቀጽ: አድነኛ: ዘጸድቀ: ረሰዖ:። ('Mary is both His maidservant and His mother, both virgin and heaven. A pure chamber and a free woman! He made Her the gate of salvation of the righteous one!'). Parallels, in which, however, two lines have changed places, are found, for example, in the *'arbā 't* collections in MSS EMMML 7078 (fol. 32v, ll. 21–23) and

consists of the selection of model antiphons as representatives of the melodic families. This is—to a higher or lower degree—the stage represented by all known collections of *'arbā't* antiphons. Jeffery's 'Stage III' consists of the assembling of the model antiphons into written lists. The more in-depth study of the contents of such lists, as compared with the systems of melodic families attested by antiphon collections, has suggested that the relationship between what is found in the lists and what is found in the antiphon collections is complex. The study is complicated by difficulties in dating the lists transmitted as additions to other manuscripts, but whether they represent later stage of the development, or rather a parallel codification of the same system, prompted by the difference in genre, is a matter that cannot be firmly settled based on this study. Nevertheless, the lines of development posited by Jeffery could, in general terms, be said to have been confirmed by the present study. Above, not only the broad lines of development, but also the specifics have in part been explored, considering a varied, but limited material. For example, Jeffery at one point had to content himself with concluding that '[i]t is interesting that the [...] model, "John cried out", does not occur in more recent sources; its group has either disappeared or adopted a different portion [i.e., in the terminology of the present dissertation, a different antiphon] for its model'.¹⁷⁴⁸ After this study, we are in a position to say that 'John cried out', <*Ṣarḥa Yoḥannās*>, is an alternative designation for the melodic family *Za-marāḥkomu* [16], which is attested, in conjunction with <*Za-marāḥkomu*>, in the single-type collections, and occasionally in multiple-type collections up to at least the fifteenth century.

To conclude this chapter, a list of the designations used for melodic families for *'arbā't* antiphons, with their variants as attested in the material discussed in this section, is presented (Table 29).¹⁷⁴⁹ This will provide quick access to the information discussed above and could thus serve as a practical tool for future scholars working with collections of *'arbā't* antiphons.

GG-187 (fol. 110rb, ll. 25–29). This antiphon has not been encountered before in the discussion of model antiphons in this chapter, prompting the question if it should be interpreted as an—up to this point unattested—alternative model antiphon for the melodic family for *Niqodimos 'amṣā'a / Qəne dābtarā* [13], or, alternatively, if the collection in MS DS-XVI could represent a stage in the development of collections of *'arbā't* antiphons prior to the introduction of melodic models (= Jeffery's 'Stage I'). While the latter does not seem impossible, the evidence is too meagre for us to say anything with certainty.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Shelemay et al. 1993, p. 83.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Occurrences in the single-type collections of non-fronted antiphons, which either could be interpreted as model antiphons or not, have been disregarded. For a list of such cases, see 5.3.3.3.1.

Chapter 5. The Diachr. Development of Melodic Families for 'arbā't Antiphons

Table 29. Summary of melodic-family designations for 'arbā't antiphons with variants.

| | <i>Mə'rāf</i> 2015 | Alternative designation in the <i>Mə'rāf</i> 2015 | Variants attested in several sources | Variants attested in one source | |
|----|------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>'Aṭmaqqa</i> | | | | |
| 2 | <i>Kokab marḥomu</i> | | | | |
| 3 | <i>Za-rassayo</i> | | | <i>Wa-yəbelo 'ab la-waldu</i> | |
| 4 | <i>'Ēsma 'anta bāḥtitəka</i> | <i>Ba-masqaləka</i> | | | |
| 5 | <i>'Afqər bişaka</i> | | <i>Tazkāra gabra</i> | | |
| 6 | <i>'Arga ḥamara</i> | | | | |
| 7 | <i>'Amlāka 'Addām</i> | | <i>'Amlāk mā'mər</i> | <i>'Ēstifānos kəbur, Sa'ala ḥəṣān</i> | <i>Cf. 29</i> |
| 8 | <i>'Antəmu wə'ətu</i> | | | | |
| 9 | <i>Wa-yəbelomu I</i> | <i>'Arārāta</i> | <i>'Arārāy</i> | <i>Laka yədallu səbḥat</i> | |
| 10 | <i>Wa-yəbelomu II</i> | <i>Ḥaṣabomu</i> | | | |
| 11 | <i>Habu səbḥata</i> | <i>Tafaśśəḥi Şəyon</i> | | <i>Minās kəbur</i> | |
| 12 | <i>Tanśə'u nəḥor</i> | | | | |
| 13 | <i>Niqodimos 'amşə'a</i> | <i>Qəne dabtarā</i> | | <i>Wa-tamayṭa 'Iyasus Galilā</i> | |
| 14 | <i>Za-maş'a 'əm-dəḥra nabiya't</i> | | | | |
| 15 | <i>Bəşu 'anta Yoḥannəs</i> | | <i>Samāya gabarka</i> | <i>'Anṭolā'a dammanā</i> | |
| 16 | <i>Za-marāḥkomu</i> | | <i>Şarḥa Yoḥannəs</i> | | |
| 17 | <i>Ḥayālān sab'</i> | | <i>'Ēsma wākā yə'əti</i> | <i>Za-yəsə'əlomu la-ḥəṣānāt</i> | |
| 18 | <i>Zātti 'əlat</i> | | | | |
| 19 | <i>Sanbat 'amehā I</i> | | | | <i>Cf. 20</i> |
| 20 | <i>Wa-yəsə'u lottu</i> | <i>Sanbat 'amehā II</i> | | <i>Ḥora dəwwuy</i> | <i>Cf. 19</i> |
| 21 | <i>Nəlbəs waltā</i> | | | | |
| 22 | <i>Za-yəgalabbəbo</i> | | | | |
| 23 | <i>Nāhu śannāy</i> | | <i>Rə'yu za-gabra</i> | | |
| 24 | <i>'Abrəh lana</i> | | <i>Bərḥāna</i> | <i>'Amlākiya</i> | <i>Cf. 25</i> |

Chapter 5. The Diachr. Development of Melodic Families for 'arbā 't Antiphons

| | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|--|---------------|
| 25 | <i>Ba-kama yəbe</i> | | <i>bərhānāt</i> | | <i>Cf. 24</i> |
| 26 | <i>Laka səbḥat</i> | | | | |
| 27 | <i>Za-ba-Dāwit</i> | | | | |
| 28 | <i>Nāhu bərhānāta samāy</i> | | | | |
| 29 | <i>Bərhān za-yəwaššə'</i> | | | | <i>Cf. 7</i> |
| 30 | <i>Šar'a sanbata</i> | <i>Šarḥa 'Isāyayās</i> | | | |
| 31 | <i>'Ašābə 'ihu</i> | | | | |
| 32 | <i>Za-geša</i> | | | | |
| 33 | <i>La-beta krəstiyān</i> | | | | |
| a | | | | <i>'Əzl Za-geša</i> | |
| A | | | | <i>La-za- 'arga wəsta samāyāt [...]</i> | |
| B | | | | <i>Sarka na 'akk^wətakka [...]</i> | |
| C | | | | <i>'Azzaza 'Əgzi 'abəḥer la- Muse</i> | |
| α | | | <i>'Əlat 'astanfasa [...]</i> | | |
| β | | | <i>'Amlāka 'amāləkt [...]</i> | | |
| γ | | | <i>Qo 'a təşennu [...]</i> | | |
| δ | | | | <i>'Amlākiya 'A [...]</i> | |
| ε | | | <i>Wa- 'əmzə ḥalaḥfu [...]</i> | | |
| ζ | | | | <i>'Ənza yənabbər [...]</i> | |
| η | | | | <i>'Arga 'əm-[...]</i> | |

Chapter 6 Concluding Discussion

6.1 Introduction

At the end of an enterprise of this character, it is appropriate to take a moment to look back at the results and to look forward towards avenues of potential future research related to what has been done here. As underlined in the beginning of the dissertation, it was clear from the outset that no definite conclusions concerning the diachronic development of the corpus of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphons and the collections of such antiphons could be reached within the framework of this study. Rather, the aim has been to begin to make sense of the material that has come down to us—in other words: to begin to write the history of the diachronic development of the *Dagg^wā*—and to try methods for its exploration. These final pages are dedicated to two tasks: a) to summarise briefly what has been done, attempting to present in a succinct manner the most central conclusions, and b) to define, based on our present state of knowledge, some of the tasks that still lie ahead in the study of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections and the manuscripts that contain them.

6.2 What has been done

In the five main chapters that constitute this dissertation, different aspects of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections have been explored, based primarily on a corpus consisting of forty-nine manuscripts and fragments—the Minor Corpus—dating from pre-mid-fourteenth-century times to the twentieth century.

Chapter 1 provided an introduction to the topic of the dissertation, an overview of previous research, a survey of the central terminology related to *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon collections, as well as a brief account of the (primarily) indigenously Ethiopian-Eritrean traditions about the history of the work, including both an overview of the sources about St Yāred—traditionally placed in the sixth century AD and seen as author of the *Dagg^wā*—and of the major developments in post-Yāredian times. While much in this chapter is based on what has been written previously about these topics—albeit with contributions based on the present study as well—a novel contribution is the survey of *Dagg^wā*-type antiphon-collection-related titles in inventory lists (see 1.4.2).

In Chapter 2, the manuscripts included in the Minor Corpus were introduced. Sections were dedicated to single-type collections (all but one of the known specimens were discussed), to pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collections (all known examples were discussed), as well as to a selection of post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collections (twelve belonging to Group A, seven belonging

to Group B, as well as two printed editions). The depth of the descriptions varied according to the nature of the manuscript or printed edition in such a way that earlier manuscripts received a more thorough treatment.

Several points of interest in Chapter 2 may be noted. To begin with, the identification of Group A and Group B among the post-sixteenth-century *Dagg^{wā}*-type collections—next to a late and minor Group C, and a number of irregular collections—is a novel contribution, at least in the way that this grouping was reached: by comparison of the sets of commemorations contained within the Season of Flowers between the different collections included in the Major Corpus (see 2.2). Albeit this classification of post-sixteenth-century *Dagg^{wā}*-type collections could undoubtedly be refined through the study of a larger corpus of collections and by taking a larger portion of each collection into account, it lays an empirically based foundation for future attempts to classify the large corpus of post-sixteenth-century *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections.

Another—I believe—important contribution of Chapter 2 are the descriptions of (almost the entire preserved corpus of) pre-seventeenth-century *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts, single-type as well as multiple-type. For some of these, an at times tedious effort has been made to provide a hypothetical reconstruction of the original state of the manuscript, with the aim of determining which parts of individual antiphon collections have been misplaced and what has been lost. For the earliest preserved stage of the *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon tradition—i.e. the single-type collections—Table 9 should provide a useful gateway for future researchers—also those interested in surveying the early corpus of antiphons for the commemoration of a specific saint or feast—as it summarises the available material. One point that deserves to be underlined is the undeniably archaic character of several of the early manuscripts containing *Dagg^{wā}*-type collections, especially the eight pre-mid-fourteenth-century manuscripts DS-I/XVII/XXII, DS-II, DS-III, DS-VIII*/XIII, DS-XVI, DS-XX, EML 7078, and Ethio-SPaRe MGM-018i. The descriptions of these manuscripts, including remarks on palaeographic and orthographic features,¹⁷⁵⁰ should be of general interest for those working with the earliest preserved traces of the Ethiopic manuscript culture.

Chapters 3–5 all took their point of departure in the Minor Corpus, described in Chapter 2, and—based on varying portions of these manuscripts—investigated specific aspects of the *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections preserved in them.

In Chapter 3, the textual development stood in focus. The entire corpus of antiphons for the commemoration of Pāntalewon, as attested in the manuscripts of

¹⁷⁵⁰ Although perhaps controversial in nature, I would like to point specifically to what I interpret as traces of the use of *matres lectionis* in the collection in MS DS-VIII*/XIII. See Chapter 2 (2.3.14.1, esp fnn. 869 and 871), and also the discussion of the antiphon Pāntalewon *salām* 006 in Chapter 3 (3.2.3.30, esp fn. 1194).

the Minor Corpus, was analysed, as well as a selection of antiphons for the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi. Two aspects stood in focus: a) the sets of antiphons preserved in the different collections, and b) the texts of individual antiphons. Regarding the set of antiphons (studied exclusively based on the antiphons for Panṭalewon), a certain diachronic fluctuation within the corpus could be observed (3.4.1.1), although a substantial portion of the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons have remained in place from the earliest single-type collections and up to modern times. The most extensive expansion of the corpus of antiphons for Panṭalewon appears to have taken place in the fourteenth / fourteenth–fifteenth century—when *Daggwā*-type antiphons were still transmitted in single-type collections—when a large set of antiphons derived from the *Life of Panṭalewon the Martyr* (CAe 3158) was added to the corpus. This textual source, it appears, had not been used for creating antiphons up to this point.

Next to numerous observations relating to the textual history of individual antiphons, a couple of more general remarks on the way in which the text of *Daggwā*-type antiphons have changed over time were made. Most interesting, perhaps, was the observation about the different ways in which the antiphons were formed for, on the one hand, non-Ethiopian saints, represented in the Ethiopic tradition by *Lives* translated from other languages (in the present study: Panṭalewon the Martyr and Gabra Krəstos, as well as, in the case of the *wāzemā mazmur* antiphons, Panṭalewon of the Cell) and, on the other hand, saints which are not venerated outside Ethiopia (in the present study: Panṭalewon of the Cell and 'Abbā 'Aragāwi). Based on the studied corpus, it was concluded that the antiphons for the former type of saints are regularly based on the translated textual sources. Antiphon for the latter type of saints, however, appear to be based on traditions that may also have entered the *Lives*, but the antiphons are not direct quotations from the *Lives*. One possible interpretation of this situation—as always, the limited corpus calls for caution—is that the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons for such saints antedates the composition of *Lives*.

In Chapter 4, the way in which information is structured in the *mise en texte* of *Daggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts was studied. Three main structural levels were distinguished: the marking of a) the beginning of an antiphon collection (single- or multiple-type), b) the beginning of a commemoration/melodic-family section, and c) the beginning and the end of individual antiphons.

In many regards, the observations made by previous researchers on the basis of other corpora of manuscripts were confirmed, for example, the decreasing use of *cruces ansatae* and of *paragraphi*. In other areas, developments were observed that—to my knowledge—had hitherto not been described: an tendency to go from semantically defined rubrication to symmetrical rubrication, an increase in the use of abbreviations for marking the beginning of individual antiphons, a gradual shift

from a variegated situation where punctuation marks of different shapes were used to signal the end of an antiphon, to situation in which one punctuation mark—the dichromatic nine-dot asterisk (✱)—dominates the picture completely. In many cases, it is difficult to go beyond the simple description of diachronic changes and to find explanations for them. However, the increasing use of abbreviations could suggest that the producers and users of *Daggwā*-type antiphon-collection manuscripts became increasingly specialised during the course of the centuries. On the other hand, it appears that the early *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections use different punctuation marks than early manuscripts of other text genres (see 4.4.3.4), which may suggest that also in this time, the producers and users of (*Daggwā*-type) antiphon collections constituted a subgroup—presumably specialised in some way—within the larger Ethiopic manuscript culture.

In Chapter 5, the developments in one of the systems for musical categorisation—the system of melodic families for *’arbā ’t* antiphons—was studied based, on the one hand, on the single-type collections containing *’arbā ’t* antiphons and, on the other hand, on the *’arbā ’t* antiphons for five of the commemorations within the Season of Flowers—the commemorations of the Children of Zebedee, Pāntalewon, *’Abbā ’Aragāwi*, Stephen the Protomartyr, and Sundays in the Season of Flowers—as attested in the Minor Corpus. In the first part of the chapter, the evidence from the single-type collections of *’arbā ’t* antiphons was analysed, and observations were made about where the model antiphons (antiphons used as representative of their respective melodic family) have remained stable, where they have shifted with time, and where the development appears to be more complicated. In a second part, the metatextual elements connected to the corpus of *’arbā ’t* antiphons for the five commemorations in the Season of Flowers were tracked through their diachronic transmission—including both single- and multiple-type collections, ranging from the earliest manuscript evidence (pre-mid-fourteenth century) to the modern printed editions—and observations were made concerning the stability of some parts of the system, contrasted with the instability of others, over this long time frame. Shorter sections were dedicated to the known lists of melodic families for *’arbā ’t* antiphons and to some incompletely preserved early multiple-type manuscripts.

Of central importance is the discovery of ‘fronting’ as a means of marking melodic models in melodic-family-based single-type collections. This method, which consists in the placement of the melodic model at the beginning of the melodic-family section, thus beginning the calendrical sequence of antiphons at another point than at the (usual) beginning of the liturgical year, is attested with various systematicity in the melodic-based single-type collections. Its discovery—to my knowledge, a novel contribution of this dissertation—brings the evidence

for the use of melodic models back to the earliest preserved sources, contrary to what had previously been supposed.

Regarding the search for a typology of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections, the present dissertation has made contributions in several ways. The dichotomy between single- and multiple-type collections had been described previously, but our knowledge about what characterises these two main stages in the diachronic development of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections has been deepened, with contributions to their characteristics in terms of the texts they contain, their *mise en texte*, as well as to the way that *‘arbā’* antiphons are organised into melodic families in them. The identification of two main groups—Group A and Group B—among the post-sixteenth-century *Daggwā*-type collections is likewise a contribution towards the development of a typology.

6.3 What remains to be done

Although this dissertation, in the end, has grown rather voluminous, it has only scratched the surface of the centuries-long—if not millennia-long—tradition of *Daggwā*-type antiphons and of transmitting these antiphons in written collections. With words more fitting to the context,¹⁷⁵¹ only a handful of water has been savoured from the ‘torrent of praise’ that the tradition of the *Daggwā* constitutes. Every step that has been taken on this journey has steered the project in a specific direction, while numerous other directions would have been equally feasible, equally interesting, and, presumably, equally—or perhaps even more—rewarding. Below, some of the possible directions that have not been pursued in this dissertation are delineated.

The terminological overview in Chapter 1 would have benefited from a direct input from the living tradition of Ethiopic liturgy. Of course, the secondary literature that has been used stems from scholars who, in many ways, were in much closer contact with the living tradition of Ethiopic liturgy than myself. In this regard, it is especially important that portions of the Amharic-language literature have been available to me. Still, a closer cooperation with indigenous liturgical experts—both those involved in teaching the tradition of the *Daggwā* and those praying it—would undoubtedly have led to new insights concerning the liturgical terms discussed in Chapter 1, which in turn could have helped in the interpretation of the historical sources. It can be hoped that such cooperation will be more active in the future.

In Chapter 2, the most obvious lacuna is, perhaps, the failure to include in the corpus the single-type (*salām*) collection in MS Saint Petersburg, RNB Dorn 615. A study of this collection would have added another example to the small corpus

¹⁷⁵¹ Cf. the text of Colophon A as given in Appendix 1.

of early, single-type collections and—as always, when unstudied materials are brought into the discussion—one cannot say in which manner that would have altered the final conclusions.

On a more general level, in producing the description of manuscripts, one always tries to find a balance between what is useful for the specific purposes at hand and what is feasible in terms of time invested. Other ways of organising the manuscript descriptions would undoubtedly have been possible, and equally or more fruitful. What stands beyond any doubt is that the descriptions of individual manuscripts and collections in Chapter 2 are not the last word on any of the matters discussed—the manuscripts of the Minor Corpus still have many things to reveal, both in terms of their intellectual contents, and their codicological and palaeographical features.

Chapter 3 treated a calendrically restricted portion of the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons: the commemoration of Pāntalewon and a part of the commemoration for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi. Keeping in mind how small a portion of the complete corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons this makes up—just to mention an example: it corresponds to one-and-a-half to two pages in the printed *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 2015, in which the complete antiphon collection covers 337 pages—it is clear that the diachronic study of the texts of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons remains in its infancy also after this dissertation has been completed. The study of sources and of the textual development of the antiphons for Pāntalewon presented in Chapter 3 could be repeated for any of the more than one hundred commemorations present in a standard *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collection.¹⁷⁵² With regard to this, it would be highly interesting to see whether the growth of the corpus of antiphons for Pāntalewon in the fourteenth / fourteenth–fifteenth century is paralleled in the case of other commemorations.

As for the question of editing the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon, this has only been touched upon briefly in this dissertation (see Chapter 3, 3.1.1). If anything, the present work has made clear that such an enterprise still lies far off in the future and that first, we need a better understanding of the transmission of these texts, especially in the later stages of the tradition. For the pre-seventeenth-century period, however—including both single- and multiple-type collections—the production of a critical edition may not be an impossible task, given that the available material is limited. Starting with single commemorations and elaborating a functional methodology, this may be a way forward, as it would enable us to fulfil at least one of the most pressing desiderata connected to the corpus of *Dəggwā*-type antiphons, i.e. to make the early texts available.

¹⁷⁵² As mentioned in Chapter 4 (4.3.1), statistical studies of the number of commemorations in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections are missing, but Jeffery 1993 counts one hundred sixty-three commemorations in the *Maṣḥafa Dəggwā* 1966.

Chapter 4 was intended to provide an introduction to one of the (more) material features of the manuscripts containing *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon collections. Methodologically, the study was restricted by the fact that most of the collections are only available in digitised form. Consequently, as it is now, a full-scale diachronic study of the codicology of *Dəgg^wā*-type antiphon-collections still remains to be carried out. Basic aspects such as the development of the size of the manuscripts, the written area of the page, and the number of columns and lines remain to be studied systematically.

For the aspects that were touched upon in Chapter 4—the use of rubrication, abbreviations, punctuation marks—it remains a task for the future to study parallel phenomena in other genres of manuscripts. Only so will it be possible to differentiate between, on the one hand, developments that are specific for the category of (*Dəgg^wā*-type) antiphon-collection manuscripts and, on the other hand, features that belong to more general developments of practices within the Ethiopic manuscript culture.

In the realm of systems for musical categorisation, a great number of aspects remain to be addressed. Although the study in Chapter 5 has shown that even working with a limited textual corpus, interesting results may be reached, widening the scope of this investigation, taking a larger portion or, ideally, the entirety of at least the preserved pre-seventeenth-century collections into account, would doubtlessly provide us with a more nuanced and true picture of the development of the melodic families for *ʿarbā ʿt* antiphons.

The work done for *ʿarbā ʿt* melodic families in Chapter 5 could be done for the systems of melodic families for *śalast* antiphons and *ʿaryām* antiphons as well. The survey of collections presented in Chapter 2—especially in Table 9—could form the basis for such an investigation. Moving from the systems of melodic families, there is also the system of melodic houses (see Chapter 1, 1.4.5.4). Albeit it appears to be later than the systems of melodic families, its emergence and diachronic development should also be studied. Related to this is, of course, the *ʿAnqaša halletā* (see 1.4.5.4.1), which likewise was only mentioned briefly in this dissertation. The discrepancies between the melodic-house designations and the *səray* antiphons listed in the *ʿAnqaša halletā* (see 1.4.5.4.1, and especially fn. 507) would seem to promise that interesting discoveries await anyone who approaches this topic systematically.

The interlinear musical notation, the *mələkkət*, is, finally, a vast topic that was largely left out of the discussion in this dissertation and which previous research has only begun to explore. Multiple questions concerning the emergence and later development of the *mələkkət* remain to be answered, including the question of regional schools and the manner in which the corpus of letter-based symbols has

changed.¹⁷⁵³ The study of *mālakkāt* is complicated by a number of factors, not least the need for high-resolution digitisations in order to study them properly.

In general, one aspect of the written collections has not been given the attention that it deserves in this dissertation: the sequence of the collected items. This deficit is especially palpable in Chapter 3—where the sequence of the antiphons could have been used as a further means of establishing connections between individual collection—and Chapter 5, where the sequence both of the antiphons within the respective melodic-family sections / commemorations and the sequence of the melodic families themselves could be the topic of study.¹⁷⁵⁴ Although I have not approached this aspect of the intellectual material systematically, my impression is that it offers a fruitful path forward for the study of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections.

Many other aspects, more generally connected to the tradition of *Daggwā*-type antiphons and the collections of these texts, also deserve to be mentioned as an inspiration for future scholars. To name just a few, it should be underlined that a study of the history of the *Mā' rāf* is a desideratum in order to contextualise the information gathered here about *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections. To gain a more complete picture of the Ethiopic 'cathedral' Divine Office, it would also be ideal to study the development of lectionaries, insofar that these contain readings for the services in which *Daggwā*-type antiphons are used. A systematic cross-checking of the readings and antiphons prescribed by coeval texts for the same commemoration may reveal points of connections that are not obvious to those of us who are not impregnated on a daily basis with the Ethiopic liturgical tradition. In addition, comparisons with other traditions have yet to be carried out. A few connections have already been noticed in previous research,¹⁷⁵⁵ but systematic comparisons with ecclesiastical traditions which are historically close—particularly the Coptic tradition, the Armenian tradition, the Syriac tradition, and the different Arabic traditions—have still to be carried out.

It is my hope that this dissertation may help making the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections more widely known and more available to other researchers, not least by demystifying the complex organisation of such collections. Conscious of the great limitations of this work, I hope thereby to have contributed towards a better understanding of the transmission of the vast corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons, of such a central importance for the liturgical traditions in which people use the Geez language in their communication with God.

¹⁷⁵³ Surveying the source texts (*saray*) for the *mālakkāt* in early notated collections, is it possible to determine whether the use of different source texts has varied diachronically?

¹⁷⁵⁴ For a study of the sequence in which the melodic families of 'arbā' antiphons are presented in single-type collections, see Karlsson forthcoming.

¹⁷⁵⁵ For an intriguing example of a shared text, see Shelemay and Jeffery 1994, p. 95.

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Appendix 1. Introduction to the Prefaced Colophons

Appendix 1 takes the form of a series of tables (Table 30–Table 34) in which examples of the standardised ‘prefaced colophons’ of frequent attestation in *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections are presented, based on a selection of manuscripts.¹⁷⁵⁶ Like the texts of the antiphons in Chapter 3, the texts of the standardised prefaces are not intended as scholarly editions, but are meant to offer the reader an easy access to the material without having to resort to manuscript sources. For each text, three examples have been provided in order to convey an impression of the degree of textual fluidity and variation that characterises these texts.

The question of how to refer to this group of texts is not trivial. I have chosen to adopt the term ‘prefaced colophons’, in which two features, which seem to me to be determinative to the nature of these texts, are mentioned. Beginning from the end, the texts display many of the typical characteristics of *colophons*, generally providing a title of the work and often serving as a place for noting down information about the specific circumstances that surrounded the creation of the manuscript in which they are found: a date of production of the manuscript, the name of the scribe, owner(s), etc., i.e. information typically found in a colophon. Information of this kind is not always found—especially, it is systematically lacking in some of the earlier collections—but as this appears to be a function that this genre of texts gradually assumes, I have considered it motivated to refer to them in this way. Secondly, moving backwards, these texts are qualified as ‘prefaced’, because they are generally found at the beginning of a collection (for a discussion of different *mise en texte* patterns, see Chapter 4, 4.2.3 and 4.2.4). This is untypical for colophons in the Ethiopic manuscript culture, which are more often placed at the end of the text to which they refer. These texts, it may further be noted, can be considered ‘standardised’, because although part of the information recorded in these texts is often adapted to fit the circumstances of the specific manuscript in which they are found, substantial portions of the texts remain the same in numerous attestations. Sometimes, one gets the impression that the scribe has copied the prefaced colophon from another manuscript—perhaps the one used as *Vorlage*—simply updating the relevant figures and names of potentates.

Below, a short characterisation of each of the standardised prefaced colophon that I have identified is given. This offers the opportunity to comment on noteworthy features of the individual texts and to refer to previous literature in which the standardised prefaced colophon in question has been published or discussed.

¹⁷⁵⁶ As noticed implicitly by Getatchew Haile 2017, these standardised colophons are not confined to the ‘full’ *Dəggwā* manuscripts but occur also in manuscripts of the *Šoma Dəggwā* (cf. Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 282).

It should be underlined that this preliminary survey of the prefaced colophons is only meant to fill a practical purpose in this dissertation, and that a more systematic study of them is a desideratum. The standardised prefaced colophons contain an indigenously Ethiopian ‘history’ of *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections, and, as such, a more systematic survey of the information that they contain could provide important pieces of evidence for the history of this type of collections. A systematic comparison of the information provided in the standardised prefaced colophons with the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections found in the same manuscripts could also yield important results.

Next to the untitled prefaced colophon, there is the *Maqdāma Dəggwā* (መቅደም፡ ድጃ፡), the ‘Preface of the *Dəggwā*’. This longer text is clearly related to the standardised prefaced colophons in content and function, also providing information about the history of the *Dəggwā*. Furthermore, prefaced colophons are occasionally incorporated into the *Maqdāma Dəggwā*, resulting in cases where one collection may be preceded by several standardised prefaced colophons. A study of the *Maqdāma Dəggwā* is a desideratum, but it has not been included in this appendix, as it is of limited relevance for this dissertation.¹⁷⁵⁷

Colophon A¹⁷⁵⁸

Colophon A is the earliest attested standardised prefaced colophon. As delineated in Chapter 4 (4.2.3), it is attested from the fifteenth–sixteenth century and onwards. This text is noteworthy as it appears to contain the first mention of St Yāred in direct connection with *Dəggwā*-type antiphons. The colophon can be divided into several parts, one of which rhymes in the letter -d (-ድ). It contains a list of antiphon types. The text which I refer to as Colophon A is also found in another context, namely incorporated into a narrative about the life of St Yāred attested in a number of post-seventeenth-century antiphon-collection manuscripts. This text has been published, based on five witnesses, by Getatchew Haile 2017 (see this publication for references to the manuscripts that contain the text).¹⁷⁵⁹

¹⁷⁵⁷ It may be noted that a portion of the *Maqdāma Dəggwā*, based on an unidentified *Dəggwā* manuscript in the Ethiopian Orthodox Patriarchate in Addis Ababa, has been reproduced in Sergew Hable Selassie 1972, pp. 174–175, fn. 65.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Versions of Colophon A are attested, for example, in the following *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections included in the Major Corpus: BL Or. 584, EMMML 1894, EMMML 2045, EMMML 2053, EMMML 2431, EMMML 2468, EMMML 2542, EMMML 3004, EMMML 3054, EMMML 4234, EMMML 6932, EMMML 6994, EMMML 7035, EMMML 7285, EMMML 7369, EMMML 7497, EMMML 7508, EMMML 7529, EMMML 8804, EMMML 8855 (fol. 3va–b, preceded by Colophon B), Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, Ethio-SPaRe QSM-016.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Getatchew Haile 2017, pp. 282–293. The text published by Getatchew Haile 2017 displays a number of divergences from what the version of Colophon A that I know from *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections: a) in the rhymed introduction, the name of the collection is given as *Malḥəq* (መልከቅ፡, ‘The Anchor’), a name also found in variants of other prefaced colophons (see fn. 1038)—this was identified as ‘out of place’ already by Getatchew, based on how it disrespects the

Versions of Colophon A have been published by Wright 1877 (the text found in MS London, BL Or. 584)¹⁷⁶⁰ and Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981 (the text found in MS EML 1894, in transcription).¹⁷⁶¹

Colophon B¹⁷⁶²

Colophon B is attested at least from the seventeenth century (ex. MS UUB O Etiop. 36). It prototypically lacks a list of the antiphon types, but includes more elements of dating than Colophon A. Colophon B is characterised by the regular presence of what I have called ‘poetic titles’. These are normally introduced within the formula *nəwəṭṭən* ‘astagābā’ota *mazmur* ‘*abiy za-səmu...*’ (ገጭጥን፡ አስተጋብሎት፡ መዝሙር፡ ዐቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡..., ‘we begin the great collection of chant [*mazmur*], whose name is...’), and a multitude of different titles are attested. It remains to determine to which degree—if any—these titles correspond to textual recensions or other groupings among the *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections.¹⁷⁶³

One version of Colophon B has been published by Löfgren 1974a (the text found in MS Uppsala, UUB O Etiop. 36).¹⁷⁶⁴ Furthermore, parts of this colophon have been published by Getatchew Haile 1985 (based on the manuscript ‘Ankobar Mikā’el, EML 3116, in transcription)¹⁷⁶⁵ and Melaku Terefe et al. 2011 (based on the manuscript Addis Ababa, Mekane Yesus Seminary 21, = EMIP 621).¹⁷⁶⁶

rhyme (Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 286, fn. 144); b) two glosses have been added to the antiphon-type name *mazmur*, apparently interpreting the word in its more general sense (መዝሙር፡ ዘውድ፡ ዜማ፡ ዘውድ፡ ድምፅ፡, ‘*mazmur*, that is *zemā*, that is *dəms*’; Getatchew Haile 2017, p. 287); c) the antiphon-type name ‘*əzl*’ has been interpreted as a mode and a symbolic explanation of it together with ‘*arārāy*’ and *gə’z* has been added.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Wright 1877, p. 114.

¹⁷⁶¹ Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, p. 402.

¹⁷⁶² Versions of Colophon B are attested, for example, in the following *Dəggwā*-type antiphon collections included in the Major Corpus: EAP254/1/5, EML 286, EML 2061, EML 3189 (contains list of antiphon types), EML 3400, EML 7227, EML 7228, EML 8855 (as part of the *Maqdāma Dəggwā*, fol. 3rb–c; the version of Colophon B also contains portions of Colophon D, and it is followed by Colophon A), EML 8876 (as part of the *Maqdāma Dəggwā*, fol. 1vb–c), UUB O Etiop. 36.

¹⁷⁶³ A selection of ‘poetic titles’ found in the attestations of Colophon B in the manuscripts of the Major Corpus includes: *Bāhira ṭəbab* (ባሕረ፡ ጥበብ፡, ‘The Ocean of Wisdom’, EAP254/1/5), *Bərḥāna ‘ālam* (ብርሃን፡ ዓለም፡, ‘The Light of the World’, EML 7228), *B[...]* *nadāyān* (ብ[...]) *ነዳያን*, ‘The [...] of the Poor’, EML 2061), *Fənota ṭəbab* (ፍኖተ፡ ጥበብ፡, ‘The Path of Wisdom’, EML 8855, EML 8876), *Ḥamara ṣədq* (ሐመረ፡ ጽድቅ፡, ‘The Vessel of Righteousness’, EML 3400), *Haṣet* (ሐሄት፡, ‘The Joy’, UUB O Etiop. 36), *Kokaba ṣəbāḥ* (ኮከብ፡ ጽባሕ፡, ‘The Morning Star’, EML 286), and *Maṣḥeta ‘a mero* (መጽሐተ፡ አእምሮ፡, ‘The Mirror of Knowing’, EML 7227). Out of these, only *Fənota ṭəbab* (ፍኖተ፡ ጥበብ፡, ‘The Path of Wisdom’) is attested in more than one manuscript. These two share some specific features, such as the placement of the colophon within the *Maqdāma Dəggwā* rather than at the beginning of the antiphon collection.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Löfgren 1974a, pp. 67–68 (edition in transcription), 74–75 (discussion).

¹⁷⁶⁵ Getatchew Haile 1985, p. 102.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Melaku Terefe et al. 2011, p. 93.

Colophon C¹⁷⁶⁷

Among the manuscripts included in the Major Corpus (see Chapter 2, 2.2), Colophon C is exclusively attested in Group B collections, although not all Group B collections contain this prefaced colophon. It appears from the earliest examples of Group B collections in the seventeenth century (ex. MS EMLL 7745). This short colophon calls the collection simply a ‘*Daggwā*’, and it contains a list of antiphon types. Part of the colophon, based on its occurrence in the manuscript Addis Ababa, Mekane Yesus Seminary, MS 22 (= EMIP 622) is quoted by Lee 2011a, who calls it ‘a common introductory inscription’.¹⁷⁶⁸

Versions of Colophon C have been published by Dillmann 1847 (the text found in MS London, BL Add. 16195);¹⁷⁶⁹ Getatchew Haile et al. 2009 (the text found in MS Weiner Codex 6 = EMIP 89);¹⁷⁷⁰ and Melaku Terefe et al. 2011 (the text found in MS Addis Ababa, Mekane Yesus Seminar 22 = EMIP 622).¹⁷⁷¹

Colophon D¹⁷⁷²

Colophon D is attested from the seventeenth, or perhaps rather the eighteenth, century (the earliest attestation in my corpus is found in MS Dabra Koreb wa-Qarānəyo Madhane ‘Ālam, EAP432/1/41). This colophon is lengthy and contains a wealth of information related to the way in which the antiphon collection has been structured. Antiphon types are mentioned individually, with specific notes on how they have been organised. This colophon is noteworthy because it explicitly portrays the collection as an improvement as compared to earlier collections, claiming to be structured in a new and better way. The innovative structure, however, is ascribed to different persons in different attestations. In many of the attestations, but not in all, the antiphon collection is given the ‘poetic title’ *Səbhata* ‘*Amlāk*’ (ሰብሐተ፡ አምላክ፡, ‘The Glory of God’).

One version of Colophon D have been published by Wright 1877 (the text found in MS London, BL Or. 585).¹⁷⁷³

¹⁷⁶⁷ Versions of Colophon C are attested, for example, in the following *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections included in the Major Corpus: EMLL 231, EMLL 2184, EMLL 2253, EMLL 3586, EMLL 7744, EMLL 7745, EMLL 7746, EMLL 7758 (the colophon is acephalous), EMLL 7826, EMLL 7881, EMLL 7882, EMLL 8016, EMLL 8084, EMLL 9105, EMLL 9110.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Lee 2011a, p. lvii.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Dillmann 1847, p. 36b.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Getatchew Haile et al. 2009, p. 231.

¹⁷⁷¹ Melaku Terefe et al. 2011, p. 97.

¹⁷⁷² Versions of Colophon D are attested, for example, in the following *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections included in the Major Corpus: BL Or. 585, EAP432/1/10, EAP432/1/41, EMDA 00097, EMDA 00111, EMDA 00230, Ethio-SPaRe AMQ-006.

¹⁷⁷³ Wright 1877, pp. 115–116. This version of the colophon is interesting insofar as it attests to an attempt to ‘yāredify’ the text: St Yāred is indicated as the one who rearranged this version and improved its structure compared to earlier collections.

The textual unit mentioning King Śarṣa Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597)¹⁷⁷⁴

Incorporated into either Colophon A or Colophon B, or, in some cases,¹⁷⁷⁵ preceded by a couple of lines of text related to Colophon D, one sometimes finds a textual unit that gives a motivation for the composition of the type of *Dəgg^{wā}*-type collection in question, ascribing it to a royal decree issued by King Śarṣa Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597).

A prefaced colophon containing this textual unit has been published and translated into Russian by Turaev 1906a (the text found in MS Saint Petersburg, RNB Orlov 33) and subsequently used by Conti Rossini 1923, through whom it came to play a noticeable role in the standard narrative of the historical development of the *Dəgg^{wā}* in the Western secondary literature of the twentieth century.¹⁷⁷⁶

A reference to this textual unit in the prefaced colophon in MS Ḥayq ʾĤstifānos, EML 2045, is found in Heldman and Shelemay 2017.¹⁷⁷⁷ Similarly, a reference to the same textual unit in the prefaced colophon in MS Māy Wayni, EAP526/1/40 is found in Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020.¹⁷⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷⁴ Versions of the textual unit mentioning the royal decree issued by King Śarṣa Dəngəl (r. 1563–1597) are attested, for example, in the following *Dəgg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections included in the Major Corpus: EML 2045, EML 2431, EML 6994, EML 7369, EML 8855 (fol. 3va–b), Ethio-SPaRe DD-019.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Cf. the manuscripts Saint Petersburg, RNB Orlov 33 (Turaev 1906a, pp. 67–68) and ‘Addigrāt, Seminario Maggiore 15 (Zarieczny 2014, p. 213).

¹⁷⁷⁶ Turaev 1906a, pp. 67–68; Conti Rossini 1923, pp. 515–516 (§ 45). For further discussion, see Chapter 1 (1.3.5).

¹⁷⁷⁷ Heldman and Shelemay 2017, pp. 78–79.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Fritsch and Habtemichael Kidane 2020, p. 185, fn. 68.

Appendix 1. Introduction to the Prefaced Colophons

Table 30. Transcriptions and translation of Colophon A.

| [Translation based on MS EMMML 2542.] | EMML 2542, fol. 5ra | EMML 8804, fol. 1ra–b | Ethio-SPaRe DD-019, fol. 2r |
|--|--|---|--|
| In the name of the Holy Trinity, which is united in its threeness and does not change or mutate, | /5ra/^በስመ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በሥላሴሁ፡ ዘይትወሐድ፡ ዘኢይትዌለጥ፡ ወኢይትበዓድ፡ | /1ra/[...]^ስመ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘበትሥ(?)ልስቱ፡ ዘይትወሐድ፡ ወ^ኢይትዌ(?)ለጥ፡ ወኢይትበዓድ፡ | /2ra/^በስመ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘበትስልሥቱ፡ ዘይትዋሃድ፡ ዘኢይትዌለጥ፡ ወኢይትበዓድ፡ ዘአሐደ(?)፡ ይጸለይ፡^ ወአሐ{ዱ>ደ}፡ ይሰገድ፡ |
| we have written the <i>Māhlet</i> of Yāred. The power of his word is extolled, and the taste of his <i>zemā</i> is rich. A torrent of praise, drawn from the sea of assembled books! An adornment of Ethiopia, an entertainment of priests in a spiritual tower! A rejoicer of the hearts of the honoured people, who in the morning come to the courtyard of divinity, of honoured lineage, whom a single trunk | ^ጸሐፍነ፡ እንከ፡ ማኅሌተ፡ ያፌድ፡^ ዘይደምፅ፡ ከመ፡ ነጐድጓድ፡ ዘቃለ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ንዑድ፡ ወጣዕመ፡ ዜማሁ፡ ፍድፉድ፡ አስራበ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዘተቀድሐ፡ እምባ^ህ(?)ረ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ዕሉድ፡ ሰርጐ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ መስተዛውዓ፡ ካህናት፡ በመንፈሳዊት፡ ማኅፈድ፡ መስተፍሥሐ፡ አልባቢ^ሆመ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ ክቡድ፡ እለ(?)፡ ይገይሱ፡ ኀበ፡ ዘመለኮት፡ ዐጸድ፡ ክቡራነ፡ ዘመድ፡ እለ(?)፡ ሐፀኖመ፡ አሐዱ፡ ጉንድ፡ | ጸሐፍነ፡ እንከ፡ መኃልያ^ተ፡ ያፌድ፡ ወኃይለ፡ ቃሉ፡ ንዑድ፡ ወጣዕመ፡ ዚ(?)ማሁ፡ ፍ^ድፉድ፡ አስራበ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዘተቀድሐ፡ እምባሕረ፡ መ^ጸሕፍት፡ እሉድ፡ ሰርጐ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ መስተዘ(?)ውዑ፡ ካ^ህ(?)ናት፡ በመንፈሳዊት፡ ማኅፈድ፡ መስተፈ(!)^ሥሐ(?)፡ አልባቢሆመ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ ክ(?)ቡድ፡ እለ፡ ይገይሱ፡ ኀበ፡ መለኮት፡ ዓፀድ፡ ክቡራነ፡ ዘመድ፡ እለ፡ ሐፀኖመ፡ ፩ጉንድ፡ | ጸሐፍነ፡ ማኅሌተ፡ ያፌድ፡ ዘይደ^ምፅ፡ ከመ፡ ነጐድጓድ፡ ወኃይለ፡ ቃሉ፡ ንዑድ፡ ወጣ^ዕመ፡ ዜማሁ፡ ፍድፉድ፡ አስራበ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዘተቀድሐ፡ እ^ምባሕረ፡ መጻሕፍት፡ እሉድ፡ ሰርጐ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ መ[!]ተዛውዓ፡ ካህናት፡^ በመንፈሳዊት፡ ዓጸድ፡ መስተፍሥሐ፡ አልባቢሆመ፡ ለ/2rb/^ሕዝብ፡ ክቡድ፡ እለ፡ ይገይሱ፡ ኀበ፡ ዘመለኮት፡ ማኅ^ፈድ፡ ክቡራነ፡ ዘመድ፡ እለ፡ ሠረፁ፡ እምአሐዱ፡ ጉንድ፡ |

Appendix 1. Introduction to the Prefaced Colophons

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|--|--|--|--|
| nourishes! | | | |
| These are the types of his <i>māhlets</i> (<i>ṣawātəwa</i> [<i>ma</i>] <i>hāləyihu</i>): <i>wāzemā</i> and <i>mawāsə't</i> , <i>za-ʿĒgziʿabəher mədr ba-məl ʿā</i> and <i>za-ʿĒgziʿabəher nagsa</i> , <i>za-ʿĒgzi-ʿo ṣarāhku</i> and <i>za-yətbārak</i> , <i>ʾaryām</i> and <i>mazmur</i> , <i>za-ʾamlākiya</i> and <i>ʾarbā't</i> , <i>ʾəzl</i> and <i>za-yə ʾəze</i> , <i>māhlet za-yəbārəkəwwə</i> and <i>səbhata nagh za-sabbəhəwwə</i> , <i>śalast</i> and <i>salām</i> , for ferial days and feast days and Sundays. | ዝውእቱ፡ ፀዋትው፡ ሐመ(?)ኃልዱ፡ ዋዜማ፡ ወመዋሥዕት። ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ምድር፡ [...] (?) ምልዓ። ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ነግሠ። ዘእግዚአ፡ ጸራኅኩ። ዘይት(ባ)ረባ(!)ክ። አርያም፡ መዝሙር። ዘአምላኪየ። አርባዕት። ዕዝል። [...] (?) ይእዜ። ማኅሌት፡ ዘይባርክዎ። ስብሐተ፡ ነግህ። ዘስብሐዎ። ሠለስት። ሰላም። ዘወትር፡ ወዘበዓላት፡ ወዘሰናብት። | ዝውእቱ፡ ጸዋትው፡ ወመኃልይ፡ ዋዜ(?)ማ፡ ወመዋሥዕት። ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ምድር። ወዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ነግሠ። ወዘእግዚአ፡ ጸራኅ/1rb/ኩ። ወዘይትባረክ። አርያም፡ ወመዝሙር። ዘአምላኪየ፡ ወዘአርባዕት። ዕዝል፡ ወዘይእዜ። ማኅሌት። ወዘይባርክዎ። ወስብሐተ፡ ነግህ[!/] (?) ወሠለስት፡ ወሰላም። ዘወትር፡ ወዘበዓል። | ሐመዝውእቱ፡ *ጸዋት፡ ወ(!*)ማኅልዱ፡ ዋዜማ፡ ወሐመዋስዕት፡ ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ምድር፡ ምልዓ። ወዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ነግሠ። አርያም። ወይ(ት)ባረክ።^ ። ወመዝሙር። ዘአምላኪየ። ወ፬። ዕዝል፡ ወዘይእዜ።/2rc/ ሐማኅሌት፡ ወስብሐተ፡ ነግህ። ፫ወሰላም፡ ዘወትር፡ ወዘበዓላት^ |
| These <i>māhlets</i> , then, are the fruit of the New [Testament] and the Old [Testament], the praise of God with thanksgiving, for [the seasons of] <i>maṣaw</i> and <i>ṣaday</i> , for [the seasons of] <i>kəramt</i> and <i>ḥagāy</i> , which perfectly | እሉ፡ እንከ፡ መ(?)ኃልይ። እቕማ፡ ሐዲስ፡ ወብሉይ። ውዳሴ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ግናይ። ዘመፀው፡ ወዘጸዳይ። ዘክረምት፡ ወዘሓጋይ። ዘይፌጽም፡ ዓ(?)መ(?)ተ፡ ጥንቁቅ፡ ለለ፡ ወርኑ፡ ዘለለ፡ ዕለቱ፡ ዘለለ፡ ሰንበቱ፡ ወለለ፡ በ(?)ዓላቱ፡ ዘተሠርዐ፡ በምድርነ፡ ለወልደ፡ አብ፡ በሥምረቱ። | እሉ፡ እንከ፡ መኃልየ፡ አቕማኅ(!)፡ ኃዲስ፡ ሐብሉይ። ውዳሴያተ፡ አምላክ(?)፡ ዘምስለ፡ ግናይ። ዘመፀው፡ ወዘፀደይ፡ ዘክረምት፡ ወዘሓጋይ። ዘይፌጽም፡ ጥንቁቅ፡ ለለ፡ አውራኑ፡ ወለለዕለቱ፡ ዘተሠርዐ፡ ለወልደ፡ አብ፡ በሥምረቱ። | ሐመእሉ፡ እንከ፡ ማኅልይ፡ ዘዓቕማሐ፡ ሐዲስ፡ ወብሉይ፡ ውዳሴያተ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ግናይ፡ ዘመፀው፡ ወዘጸዳይ፡ ዘክረምት፡ ወዘሓጋይ፡ ዘይፌጽም፡ [!] ጥንቁቅ፡ ዘለለወርኑ፡^ ወለለዕለቱ፡ ወለለሰናብቱ፡ ለለበዓላ(?)ቱ፡ ዘተሠርዐ፡ በምድርነ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በሥምረቱ፡ እስመ፡ |

Appendix 1. Introduction to the Prefaced Colophons

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| complete the year according to its months and days, which have been ordained for our land by the Son of the Father by His delight. | | | ተለዓለ: ስሙ: ^ ለባሕቲቱ: |
| On the fifth of Pāg ^w əmen: 'Abbā Magdār, that is: The <i>mahātəw</i> of John the Baptist (Yohānnəs). | አመ:: ፩: ለጳ(?)[...]ን: አባ: መግድር: ዝውእቱ: መኃትው: ዮሐንስ:: | | ወዘዓጥረየ: ዘንተ: መዝገበ: ጸጋ: ነፍስ: ው/2ra/^እቱ: አካለ: ክርስቶስ: ከመ: ይኩኖ: መድኃኒተ: ሎቱ: ሠናይ: በኂ(?)ረ(?)ቱ: ^ እግዚአብሔር: ይዕቀቦ: በበዓቱ: ወበፀዓቱ: ለዓለመ: ዓለም: አሜን:: |

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Table 31. Transcriptions and translation of Colophon B.

| [Translation based on MS EAP254/1/5.] | EAP254/1/5, fol. 3r | UUB O Ethiop. 36, fol. 1r | EMML 3400, fol. 1ra–c |
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| In the delight of the Lord God, whose hypostases are three and whose divinity is one, being helped by Him and guided on the path of perfection, | /3r/^በስምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ ዘአካላቲሁ፡ ፫። ወጀመለኩ፡ እንዘ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ንትራዳ፡ ክሂለ፡ ወንትመራህ፡ ፍ*ጸ(cancell.*)ኖተ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ | /1r/^በሥምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ ዘአካላቲሁ፡ ፫ወጀመለኩ(?)፡ እንዘ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ንትራዳ፡ ክሂለ፡ ወ[...]ትመራህ፡ ፍኖተ፡ ፍጻሜ፡^ | /1ra/^በስምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ ዘአካላቲሁ፡ ፫[!/]^ወጀመለኩ፡ እንዘ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ንትራዳ፡ ክሂለ፡ ወንት^መራሕ፡ ፍኖተ፡ ፍጻሜ፡^ |
| we begin the great collection of chant [<i>mazmur</i>] of <i>Dəggwā</i> , whose name is <i>Bāhira ṭəbab</i> (‘The Ocean of Wisdom’), (compiled) from many Treasures [<i>mazāgəbt</i>], | ንጭጥን፡ አስተጋብዖተ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዘድጓ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ባሕረ፡ ጥብብ፡ እምብዙኅ፡ መዛግብት፡^ | ^ንጭጥን፡ አስተጋብሐተ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዐቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ሐሜት፡ እ(?)ምብዙኅን፡ መዛግብት፡^ | ^ንጭጥን፡ አስተጋብሐተ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዐቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ሐመረ፡ ጽድቅ፡ እምብዙኅን፡ መዛግብት፡^ |
| in the year 7253 from the Creation of the World, | ^በ፫፻ወ፪፻፶ወ፫ዓመት፡ እምፍ(ጥ)ረተ፡ ዓለም፡^ | ^በ፫፻፹ወ፪፻፳እምፍጥረተ፡ ዓለም፡ | ^በ፫፻ወ[...]፪፻፺ዓመት፡ እምፍጥረተ፡ ዓለም፡^ |
| in the year 1653 from the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, | በ፲፫ወ፮፻፶ወ፫ዓመት፡ እምልደተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡። | በ፲፫ወ፮፻፶ወ፫ዓመት፡ እምልደተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ | በ፲፫ወ፮፻፶ወ፫ዓመት፡ እምልደተ፡ እግዚእነ፡። |
| in the year 1215 from the Conversion of Ethiopia | በ፲፫ወ፪፻፲ወ፭ዓመት፡ እም*ነተ(cancell.*)እምነተ፡ | በ፲፫ወ፪፻፳ወ፭ዓመት፡ እምእምነተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ | በ፲፫ወ፪፻፲ወ፭ዓመት፡ እምእምነተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡። |

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| | ኢትዮጵያ፡ | | |
| 935 years from when the Holy Spirit spoke through the mouth of our father Yāred, | እምአመ፡ ተናገረ፡ ሐንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በአፈ፡ አቡነ፡ ያሬድ፡ ካህን፡ በ፱፻፴፱ ወ፳፻መት፡^ | ወእምአመ፡ ተናገረ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውስተ፡ አቡነ፡ ካህን፡ ያሬድ፡ በ፱፻፶፱ ወረብዑ፡ ዓመት፡ | ወእምአመ፡ ተናገረ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውስተ፡ አፈ፡ አቡነ፡ ካህን፡ ያሬድ፡ በ፱፻፴፱ ወ፳፻መት፡፤ |
| [The time] in which this our father Yāred spoke, say the knowledgeable of the time, was in the year 6214 from the Creation of the World, | ^ዘነበበ፡ ውእቱ፡ አቡነ፡ ያሬድ[!/] ይቤሉ፡ ማዕምራነ፡ ዘመን፡ በ፳፻፱ ወ፱፻፱ ወ፳፻መት፡ እምፍጥረተ፡ ዓለም፡^ | ዘመንሰ፡ ዘነበበ፡ ቦቱ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ያሬድ፡ ይቤሉ፡ ማእምራነ፡ ዘመን፡ በ፳፻፱ ወ፱፻፱ ወ፳፻መት፡ እምፍጥረተ፡ ዓለም፡^ | ዘመንሰ፡ ዘነበበ፡ ቦቱ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ያሬድ፡፤ ይቤሉ፡ ማእምራነ፡ ዘመን፡ በ፳፻፱ ወ፱፻፱ ወ፳፻መት፡ እምፍጥረተ፡ ዓለም፡፤ |
| in the year 613 from the Birth of Our Lord, in the year 280 from the Conversion of Ethiopia, when Gabra Masqal was king, in his fourteenth year of reign. | ^በ፯፻፲ ወ፫፻፱ ዓመት፡ እምልደተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ በ፪፻፱ ወ፹፻፱ ዓመት[!/] እምእምነተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ እንዘ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ፲፱ ወ፱[!/]^ | ^በ፯፻፲ ወ፱፻፱ ዓመት፡ እምልደተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ በ፪፻፲፱ ወ፫፻፱ ዓመት፡ እምእምነተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ እንዘ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘዓመት(!)፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ፲፱ ወ፱፡^ | ^በ፯፻፲ ወ፱፻፱ ዓመት፡ እምልደተ፡ እግዚእነ፡፤ በ፪፻፱ ወ፹፻፱ ዓመት፡ እምእምነተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡፤ እንዘ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ /1rb/^ንጉሥ፡ ዘ(?)ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ፲፱ ወ፱፡^ |
| The writing of this book, whose name is <i>Bāhira Ṭābab</i> ('The Ocean of Wisdom') (took place) in the days of the reign of our queen 'Askāla Māryām, the queen of queens, head of the lord, rulers and judges, and master | ^ወጽሕፈቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ባሕረ፡ ጥበብ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ መንግሥታ፡ ለንግሥትነ፡ ሐስካለ፡ ማርያም፡^ ንግሥተ፡ ነገሥታት፡ ርዕሰተ፡ አጋዕዝት፡ ወሥልጣናት፡ ወመኳንን፡ ሊቆሙ፡ ለ፱ አናስረ፡ ምድር፡ ዘፅንዕት፡ በኃይላ፡ ወኢትትመዋዕ፡ ለፀር፡ | ^ወጽሕፈቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ኮነ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ንጉሡ፡ ነገሥት፡ ወእግዚእ፡ አጋእዝት፡ ዘጽኑዕ፡ በኃይሉ፡ ወፍጹም፡ በምግባሩ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሠርዌ፡ ሃይማኖትነ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ንጉሥነ፡ * __ (del.*) ^ዮሐንስ፡^ ዘተስ(!)ምዮ፡ ዓለም፡ አእላፍ፡ ሰገድ፡ | ^ወጽሕፈቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ኮነ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ሕጉሡ፡ ነገሥት፡ ወእግዚእ፡ አጋእዝት፡ ርእሰ፡ ሥልጣናት፡ ወመኰንኖሙ፡ ለ፱ አናስረ፡ ምድር፡ ዘጽኑዕ፡ በኃይሉ፡ ወ* __ (!*) ፍጹም፡ በምግባሩ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሠርዌ(?)፡ ሃይማኖትነ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሐሲሰረ፡ |

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| of the four ends of the Earth, who is firm in her might and is not conquered by the enemy, and in the days of our prince Hāyla Śəllāse of Ethiopia, | ወለመዋዕለ[!/]መስፍንነ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ፡ | እምአመ፡ ነግሠ፡ በ፱አውራጎ፡ ባሕቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይባርክ፡ መንግሥቶ፡ ወያቅም፡ ሎቱ፡ ስመ፡ ሠናየ፡ በዝ፡ ^ዓለም፡ ወበዘይመጽእ፡^ | ዘተሰምየ፡ ዓለም፡ ሰገድ፡ እምአመ፡^ ነግሠ፡ በ፳ወ፳(?)ዓመት፡ ባሕቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይባርክ፡ መንግሥቶ፡ ወያቅም፡ ሎቱ፡ ስመ፡ ሠናየ፡ በዝዓለም፡ ወበዘይመጽእ፡። |
| when 'Abbā Qerəllōs was patriarch of Alexandria, and our bishop [pāppās] was 'Abbā Mātewos of Ethiopia, | ^እንዘ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ዘእስክንድርያ፡ አባ፡ ቄ^ርሎስ፡ ወጳጳስነ፡ አባ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ፡ | | |
| and the <i>mamhər</i> of Beta Ləhem was <i>Liqa Kāhnāt</i> Maršā, that is Gabra Madhən, | ወመምህር፡ ዘቤተ፡ ልሔም፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ መ^ርሻ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ገብረ፡ መድኅን፡^ | | |
| in the year 1917 'Āmata Məhrat, after his (i.e. <i>Rās</i> Gugśā's, see below) return from the Land of Šawā, having taken the city of his father, the King of Kings 'Āmda Hāymānot, Yoḥannəs, the prince of Təgrāy [<i>Təgre</i>] and the instituter of law and order <i>Rās</i> Gugśā, that is | ^በ፲፪ወ፱፻፲ወ፳ዓመት፡ ዓመተ፡ ምሕረት፡ እምድ^ኅረ፡ ሚጠቱ፡ እምድረ፡ ሸዋ፡ ነሢኦ፡ ሃገረ፡ አ[!]ሁ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዓምደ፡ ሃይማኖት፡። ^ዮሐንስ፡^ መስፍነ፡ ትግሬ፡ ሠራዴ፡ ሕግ፡ ^ወሥርዓት፡ ራስ፡ ጉግሣ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ እንዘ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ ማቴዎስ[!/]^ | | |

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| Walda Giyorgis, when Matthew was the Evangelist (of the year). | | | |
| And the scribe of this accurate Treasure [<i>Mazgab</i>] was a humble and despised one, whose abode is in the church compound: the sinner and transgressor Kənfə Rəgb, that is Gabra 'Ēgzi' abəher. For Our Lord said in the Gospel: 'The birds of the sky have their nests, and the foxes have their caves. But the Son of Man does not have a place to rest' (Matt. 8:20, Luke 9:58). | /3ra/ወጸሐፌ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ጥንቁቅ፡ ትሑት፡/3rb/ ወምኑን፡ ዘንብረቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓፀደ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስ/3rc/ቲያን፡ ጎጥእ፡ ወዓባሲ፡ ክነፈ፡ ርግብ፡ ዘውእቱ[!]/3ra/ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ይቤ፡ እግዚእን፡ በ/3rb/ወንጌል፡ ለአዕዋፈ፡ ሰማይኒ፡ ምፅላል፡ በሙ፡/3rc/ ለቁናፅልኒ፡ ግበብ፡ በሙ፡ ወልደ፡ እጓለ፡ እመሕ/3ra/ያውሰ፡ አልቦቱ፡ ኀበ፡ ያሠምክ፡ | | |
| | | ^ወበዐለዝ፡ መዝገብ፡ ተስፋ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ነዳይ፡ ወምስኪን፡ እምብዕለ፡ ልባዌ(?)፡ ዘተምህረ፡ ከሎ፡ ጸዋ(ት)ወ፡ ዜማ፡ ዘተቀድሐ፡ እምባሕረ፡ ቅዳሴሆሙ፡ ለመላእክት፡ ዘይቄ(?)ድስዎ፡ ዘልፈ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ጸባዖት፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡ እስከ፡ | ወበዐለዝ፡ መዝገብ *__(del.*)ይ፡ እምብዕለ፡ ልባዌ(?)፡ ዘተምህረ፡ ከሎ፡ ጸዋትወ፡ ዜማ፡ ዘተቀድሐ፡ እምባሕረ፡ ቅዳሴሆሙ፡ ለመላ(?)እክት፡ ዘይቄ(?)ድስዎ፡ ዘልፈ፡ ለእግዚ/1rc/^አብሔር፡ ጸባኣት፡ ሎቱ፡ |

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| | | ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡፤ | ሰብሐት፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ አሜን፡፤^ |
| | | | ትምህርቱስ፡ ኮነ፡ በሥምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡፤ |
| | | ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ መምሕረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ አባ፡ ዘክርስቶስ፡ ተላዊሆሙ፡ ለጁወጄሥዮማን፡ ዘነበሩ፡ በመንበረ፡ አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡፤ ወመምሕሩሂ፡ ወትምህርቱሂ፡ ኮነ፡ በሥምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወመምሕሩሂ፡ ^ደመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡^ ላዕሌሁ፡ እንዘ፡ አበቅቴ፡ ፲ወጄወመጥቅዕሂ፡ ፲ወጄወወንጌላዊ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ^አመ፡ ጁወሠሉሱ፡ ለስነ(?)፡ ወዕለቱሂ፡ ረቡዕ፡ በጊዜ፡ ፯ሰዓት፡ ወሌሊቱሂ፡ ፲ወ፫ባሕቱስ፡ እዜኑ፡ ሕገ፡ ተክህለኒ፡ ሐራ፡ ደንግል፡ ወ^ትዮብስት(!/)^ትያ፡ ወለደሙ፡ ለጊዮርጊስ፡ ወተርቢኖስ፡ እኅተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወእኅተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወለደቶ፡ ተስፋ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ዘወሀበኒ፡ ተንሥአ፡ ክርስቶስ፡^ | አሜ[...](?) ^ኮነ፡ መምህረ፡ ኢትዮጵያሂ፡ አባ፡ የማነ፡ አብ፡ [...] ^ ተላዊሆሙ፡ ለጁወጄ(?)ስዮማን፡ እለ፡ ነበሩ፡ በመ^ንበረ፡ አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወወልዱ(?)ሂ፡ መም^ህረ፡ ደብረ፡ ^ማርያም፡^ ዘተወልደ፡ በጸጋ፡ አማኅፀነ፡ ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ አባ፡ ማኅተመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ተላዊሆሙ፡ ለ፲ወጄስዮማን፡ እለ፡ ነበሩ፡ በመንበረ፡ አቡነ፡ ጢሞ(?)ቴዎስ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ሰላም፡፤ |
| | | (ዝመጽሐፍ፡ ዘአውሰግንዮስ፡ ዘአጥረዮ፡ በንዋዩ፡ ዘወሀቦ፡ በእንተ፡ ነፍሱ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ዘሠረቆ፡ | እንዘ፡ አበቅቴ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ፲ወጄ(?)ወመጥቅዕሂ፡ ፲ወ፱ወወንጌላዊ፡ ማርቆስ፡ አመ፡ ጁወ፯፡ ለመጋቢት፡ ጊዜ፡ ፱ሰዓት፡፤ |

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| | | ወዘፈቆ[!]ላውጉዝ[!]ይኩን[!]) | |
| | | | ^ጸሐፍነ፡ በዘንዜከ^ር፡ ማጎሌተ፡ ያፊድ፡ እምዮሐንስ፡ እስከ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ፡ |

Appendix 1. Introduction to the Prefaced Colophons

Table 32. Transcriptions and translation of Colophon C.

| [Translation based on MS EMMML 9110.] | EMML 9110, fol. 5r | EMML 2253, fol. 2r | EMML 3586, fol. 2r |
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| In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, | /5r/^በስመ: ሥሉስ: ቅዱስ: አብ[!]ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ^ | /2r/^በስመ: ሥሉስ: ቅዱስ: አብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ^ | /2r/[...] ^ብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ^ |
| we have written the <i>Dəggwā</i> , | ^ጸሐፍነ: ድጓ: ^ | ^ጸሐፍነ: ድጓ: ^ | ^ጸሐፍነ: ድጓ: ዝውእቱ: ዘአቡነ: ያፌድ: ^ |
| which is <i>mašwāʾt</i> [presumably, a corruption of <i>mawāšəʾt</i>], <i>la-ʾĪgziʾabəher mədr ba-məlʾā</i> and <i>ʾĪgziʾabəher nagśa, yətbāarak</i> and <i>ʾaryām, mazmur</i> and <i>ʾarbāʾt, ʾarbāʾt, ʾəzl</i> , and <i>za-yəʾəze, māḥlet</i> and <i>səbhata nagh, śalast</i> and <i>salām</i> , | ^ዝውእቱ: መሥዋዕቱ(?): ለእ{ግዚ}አብሔር[!/]ምድር: በምልዓ: ወእግዚአብሔር: ነግሠ: ወይትባረክ: አርያም: ወመዝሙር: ዘአምላኪየ:(?)^ ወኣርባዕት: ዕዝል: ወዘይእዜ: ማኅሌት: ወስብሐተ: ነግህ: ኼወሰላም: | ^ዝውእቱ: መሥዋዕቱ: ለእግዚአብሔር: ምድር: በምልዓ: ወእግዚአብሔር: ነግሠ: ወይትባረክ: አርያም: ወመዝሙር: ዘአምላኪየ::^ [!/]እዜ: ማኅሌት: ወስብሐተ: ነግህ: ኼወሰላም: | ^ዘ(?)ውእቱ: [...]ሥዕት: ለእግዚአብሔር: ምድር: በምልዓ: ወእግዚአብሔር: ነግሠ: ወይትባረክ: (አርያ[!])^ [...]ም(?)ላኪየ: ወኣርባዕት: ዕዝል: ወዘይእዜ: ማኅሌት: ወስብሐተ: ነግህ: ኼወሰላም: |
| for feast days and Sundays, for [the seasons of] <i>mašaw</i> and <i>šaday</i> , for [the seasons of] <i>kəramt</i> and <i>ḥagāy</i> , which perfectly complete all months and Sundays and all feasts, | ዘበዓላት: ወዘሰናብት: ዘመጸው: ወዘጸደይ: ዘክረምት: ወዘሐጋይ: ዘይፌጽም: ጥንቀ(?)ቀ: *ለለወርአውራት:(*) ወለሰናብቱ: ^ወለለኩሉ: በዓላት: ዘተሠርዓ: በምድርነ: ለወልደ: አብ: በሥምረቱ: | ዘበዓላት: ወዘሰናብት: ዘመፀው: ወዘፀደይ: ዘክረምት: ወዘሐጋይ: ዘይፌ[!]ም: ጥንቁቀ: ለለአውራት: ወለሰንበቱ: ወዘለለኩሉ: በዓላት: ዘተሠርዓ: በምድር[!/] | ዘበዓላት: ወዘሰናብት: ዘመፀው: ወዘጸደይ: ዘክረምት: ወዘሐጋይ: ዘይፌጽም: ጥንቁቀ: ለለ: አ[!]ራት: ወለለ: ሰናብቱ: ወለለኩሉ: |

Appendix 1. Introduction to the Prefaced Colophons

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| which have been ordained for our land by the Son of the Father by His delight. | ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡^ | | |
| | ^ዝመጽሐፍ፡ ዘቀርነ፡ (ወንጌል፡)^ | ^ዝመጽሐፍ፡ ዘጸሐየ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወለእሁኑ፡ ፊ(?)ልጾስ፡ ወለእሙ፡ አውይ(?)፡ ወለአቡሁ፡ [...]^ | ^ዝመጽሐፍ፡ ዘወልደ ኢየሱስ ወጸሐፊሁ፡ ወመምህሩ አምደ[!]፡ ሚካኤል፤^ |

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Table 33. Transcriptions and translation of Colophon D.

| [Translation based on MS EMDA 00111.] | EMDA 00111, fol. 3ra–c | BL Or. 585, fol. 2ra–c | EAP432/1/10, fol. 6ra–c |
|--|--|--|--|
| In the name of the Lord, who is three in hypostases and one in divinity, this great Treasure [<i>Mazgab</i>] has been written, which is called <i>Səbhata</i> 'Amlāk ('The Glory of God'), | /3ra/^በስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘይሴለስ፡ በአካላት፡ ወይትወሀድ፡ በመለኮት፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ ስብሐተ፡ አምላክ፡ | /2ra/^በስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘይሴለስ፡ በአካላት፡ ወይትወሐድ፡ በመለኮት፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘይሰመይ[!/]ሰይቀለ፡ ልብ፡ ዘቆማ፡ | /6ra/^በስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘይሴለስ፡ በአካላት፡ ወይትወሐድ፡ በመለኮት፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ^ ዓቢይ፤ ዘይስ(!)መይ፤ ስብሐተ፤ አምላክ፤ |
| the beauty of whose appearance is marvelous, and the kind of whose structure is astounding, which was extracted from many books. Its structure is not like the structure of previous Treasures [<i>mazāgəbt</i>], but [instead it is] structured according to the classes [<i>ṣotā</i>]. | ዘንኩር፡ ስነ፡ ራዕዩ፡ ሰመድምም፡ ፆታ፡ ሥርዓቱ፡ ዘተጋብአ፡ እምብዙኃት፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ወአኩ፡ ሥርዓቱ፡ ከመ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ መዛግብት፡ ቀደምት፡ አ(?)ላ(?)፡ ሥሩዕ፡ በበፆታሁ፡ | ዘንኩር፡ ስነ፡ ራእዩ፡ ሰመድምም፡ ፆታ፡ ሥርዓቱ፡ ዘተጋብአ፡ እምብዙኃት፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ወሥርዓቱ፡ አኩ፡ ከመ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ መዛግብት፡ ቀዳማውያን፡ አላ፡ ኮነ፡ ኩሉ፡ በበፆታሁ፡ | ዘንኩር፡ ስነ፡ ራእዩ፤ ሰመድምም፤ ፆታ፤ ሥርዓቱ፤ ዘተጋብአ፤ እምብዙኃት፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ወሥርዓቱሂ፡ አኩ፡ ከመ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ መዛግብት፡ ቀዳማውያን፡ አላ፡ ኮነ፡ ኩሉ፡ በበፆታሁ፡ |
| The classes [<i>ṣotā</i>] of its <i>zemā</i> are three, that is <i>gəʿz</i> , <i>ʿəzl</i> , and <i>ʿarārāy</i> . The structure of | ፆታ፡ ዜማሁ፡ ኾዘውእቶሙ፡ ግዕዝ፡ ወዕዝል፡ ወዓራራይ፡ ወሥርዓተ፡ ዋዜማ፡ በጀወጀወ፤ ወጌይትባረከኒ፡ | ወፆታ፡ ዜማሁኒ፡ ኾዘውእቶሙ፡ ግዕዝ፤ ወዕዝል፤ ወአራራይ፤ ዋዜማ፤ በጀወጀወ፤ እስከ፡ ጌይትባረከኒ፡ | ወፆታ፡ ዜማሁኒ፡ ኾቱ፡ ዘውእቶሙ፤ ግዕዝ፤ ወዕዝል፤ ወዓራራይ፡ ዋዜማ፤ በጀወጀወ፤ ወጌ፡ ይትባረከኒ፡ |

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| <p><i>wāzemā</i> [antiphons] is in 1, 2, 3, and 7. [The structure of] <i>yātbārak</i> [antiphons] is according to their <i>ṣotā</i>, <i>gəʿz</i> coming first and <i>ʿəzl</i> and <i>ʿarārāy</i> following. [The structure of] <i>śalast</i> [antiphons] is according to the structure of the <i>qāl tāmhart</i>. [The structure of] <i>salām</i> [antiphons], which have <i>halletā</i>, is like [that of] <i>wāzemā</i> [antiphons], from 1 and 2 and 3 up to 7. [The structure of] <i>ʿəzl</i> [antiphons] of feasts and Sundays and ferial days and for <i>kəbra qəddusān</i> is in 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, and 5. [The structure of] <i>za-ʿamlākiya</i> [antiphons], <i>za-yəʿəze</i> [antiphons], <i>yātbārak</i> [antiphons], <i>māhlet</i> [antiphons], and <i>səbhata nagh</i> [antiphons], we have</p> | <p>በበዖታሁ፡ እንዘ፡ ይቀድም፡ ግዕዝ፡ ወይተሉ፡ ዕዝል፡ ወአራራይ፡ ሠለስትሂ፡ ከመ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቃል፡ ትምህርት፡፤ ሰላምኒ፡ ዘቡቱ፡ ሃሌታ፡ ከመ፡ ዋዜማ፡ እም፩ወ፪ወ፫እስከ፡ ፯ዕዝልኒ፡ ዘበዓላት፡ ወዘሰናብት፡ ወዘዘወትር፡ ወክብረ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ በ፩ወ፪ወ፫ወ፬ወ፭ወ፮፡ ዘአምላኪየኒ፡ ወዘይእዜ፡ ወይትባረከ፡ ማኅሌት፡ ወስብሐተ፡ ነግህ፡ ሠራዕነ፡ በበዖታሁ፡ በዘፊብልኒ፡ ዘእርያም፡ ወ፬ከመ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቃል፡ ትምህርት፡ ወሥርዓተ፡ አቡን፡ ከመ፡ ዋዜማ፡ እም፩ወ፪ወእስከ፡ ፲[!]</p> | <p>በበዖታሁ፡ ዘይቀድም፡ ግዕዝ፡ ወይተሉ፡ ዕዝል፡ ወሥርዓተ፡ ፫ሂ፡ ከመ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቃለ፡ ትምህርት፡ ሰላምኒ፡ ዘሀለወ፡ ቡቱ፡ ሃሌታ፡ ከመ፡ ዋዜማ፡ እም፩ወ፪ወ፫እስከ፡ ፮፤ ዕዝልኒ፡ ዘበዓላት፡ ወዘሰናብት፡ ወዘክብረ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወዘወትር፡ በ፩ወ፪ወ፫ወ፬ወ፭እስከ፡ ፱ ዘአምላኪየ፡ ወዘይእዜ፡ ወይትባረከ፡ ወማኅሌት፡ ወስብሐተ፡ ነግህ፡ ገበርነ፡ ወሠራዕነ፡ በበዖታሁ፡ በዘይብልኒ፡ ዘእርያም፡ ወዘእርባዕት፡ ከመ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቃል፡ ትምህርት፡ ወሥርዓተ፡ አቡን፡ ከመ፡ አቅደምነ፡ ነጊረ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ዋዜማ፡ እም፩ወ፪ወ፫ወ፬ወ፭ወ፮ወ፯ወ፺ወ፻ወ፺ወ፻ወ፺</p> | <p>፻በበዖታሁ፡ እንዘ፡ ይቀድም፡ ግዕዝ፡ ወይተሉ፡ ዕዝል፡ ወሥርዓተ፡ ፫ሂ፡ ከመ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቃል፡ ትምህርት፡ ሰላምኒ፡ ዘሀለወ፡ ቡቱ፡ ሃሌታ፡ ከመ፡ ዋዜማ፡ እም፩ወ፪ወ፫ወ፫ወ፮፡ ዕዝልኒ፡ ዘበዓላት፡ ወሰናብት፡ ወክብረ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወዘወትር፡ እም፩ወ፪እም፩ወ፱፡ ዘአምላኪየ፡ ወዘይእዜ፡ ወይትባረከ፡ ወማኅሌት፡ ወስብሐተ፡ ነግህ፡ ገበርነ፡ ወሠራዕነ፡ በበዖታሁ፡ ወዘይብልኒ፡ ዘእርያም፡ ወዘ፬ከመ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቃል፡ ትምህርት፡ ወሥርዓተ፡ አቡን፡ ከመ፡ አቅደምነ፡ ነጊረ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ዋዜማ፡ እም፩ወ፪ወእም፳ወ፱ወ፲፡፡</p> |
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| <p>ordered them according to their class [<i>ṣotā</i>]. The <i>ba-za-yəbl</i> [i.e. melodic-family groups?] of <i>ʾaryām</i> [antiphons] and <i>ʾarbāʿt</i> [antiphons] is like the structure of the <i>qāl təmhərt</i>. And the structure of <i>ʾabun</i> [antiphons] is like [that of] <i>wāzemā</i> [antiphons]: from 1 and 2 to 10.</p> | | | |
| <p>[The structure of] <i>ʾəsmā lā-ʾālam</i> [antiphons] is according to their class [<i>ṣotā</i>]: [there follows a list of musical categories which, in the absence of a study, cannot be properly understood]</p> | <p>እስመ፡ ለዓለምኒ፡ በበፆታሁ፡ ቁም፡ ቁሪ፡ ጸረ(?)፡ አንገርጋሪ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘገብራ፡ አግዳ(?)ሚ፡ ትጉሃን፡ አስተርአየ፡ አስተጋብአ(?)ተነ፡ ስማዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ዘኢያንቀለቅል፡ ንስግድ፡ ተስ(?)አልዎ፡ /3rb/፡ ሰፊ፡ ንዜኑ፡ ውድቅ፡ ጸመ፡ ሙሴ፡ መርሆሙ፡ አንተ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዓቢ፡ ዘየሐፅብ፡ አክሊለ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ገብርኤል፡ ዘሎቱ፡ ነገርሙ፡ ይትፌሣሕ፡ ለአንቀጥቅጥ፡ እስመ፡ ተሐውር፡ ይቤላ፡ ልዑል፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዓራራይ፡ ቁላም፡ ዓራራይ፡ አርዋጺ፡ ዓራራይ፡ ንሴብሐ፡ ናሁ፡ ህላዌ፡ ዘይገለብቦ፡ በትረ፡ አሮን፡</p> | <p>እስመ፡ ለዓለምኒ፡ በበፆታሁ፡ ተሠርዓ፡ ቁም፡ ቁሪ፡ ጸረ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘገብራ፡ አግዳ(?)ሚ፡ አንገርጋሪ፡ ትጉሃን፡ አስተርእየ፡ አስተጋብአ(?)ተነ፡ ስማዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ዘኢያንቀለቅል፡ ድዳ፡ ንስግድ፡ ተስአልዎ፡ ፀፁብኒ፡ ንዜኑ፡ ውድቅ፡ ጸመ፡ ሙሴ፡ መርሆሙ፡ አንተ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘየሐፅብ፡ አክሊለ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ገብርኤል፡ ይቤሎ፡ /2rb/፡ ነገርሙ፡ ይትፌሣሕ፡ አንቀጥቅጥ፡ እስመ፡ ተሐውር፡ ይቤላ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዓራራይ፡ ቁራ፡ ጸረ፡ ንሴብሐ፡ ናሁ፡ ህላዌ፡ ዘይገለብቦ፡ በትረ፡ አሮን፡</p> | <p>እስመ፡ ለዓለምኒ፡ በበፆታሁ፡ ተሠርዓ፡ ቁም፡ ቁሪ፡ ጸረ(?)፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘገብራ፡ አግዳ(?)ሚ፡ አንገርጋሪ፡ ትጉሃን፡ አስተር/6rb/፡ እየ፡ አስተጋብአት(?)ነ፡ ስማዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ዘኢያንቀለቅል፡ ንስግድ፡ ተስ(?)አልዎ፡ ፀፁብኒ፡ ንዜኑ፡ ውድቅ፡ ጸመ፡(?) ሙሴ፡ አንተ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘየሐፅብ፡ አክሊለ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ገብርኤል፡ ይቤሎ፡ ነገርሙ፡ ይትፌሣሕ፡ አንቀጥቅጥ፡ እስመ፡ ተሐውር፡ ይቤላ፡ ዓባ(?)ይ፡ ዓራራይ፡ ቁሪ(?)፡ ጸረ(?)፡ ንሴብሐ፡ ናሁ፡ ህላዌ፡ ዘይገለብቦ፡ በትረ፡ አሮን፡</p> |

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| | ነሥኣ፡ | ነሥኣ፤ | ነሥኣ፡^ |
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| All this has been written according to its class [<i>ṣotā</i>] without confusion, like other Treasures [<i>mazāgabt</i>]. There is none which has been written like it, neither in the structure nor in the classes of number (?). | ወዘኸኸሉ፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ በበጾታሁ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ትድምርት፡ ከመ፡ ካልዓን፡ መዛግብት፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ ከማሁ፡ እመሂ፡ በሥርዓት፡ ወእመሂ፡ በጾታ፡ ፍቅድ፡ | ወኸኸሉ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ ^በበጾታሁ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ትድምርት፡ ከመ፡ መዛግብት፡ ካልአን፡ አልቦ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡^ ዘከመዝ፡ መዝገብ፡ እምእለ፡ ቀደመ፡ መዛግብት፡ እመሂ፡ በሥርዓት፡ ወእመሂ፡ በጾታ፡ ፍቅድ፡ | ወኸኸሉ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፤ በበጾታሁ፤ ዘእንበለ፡ ትድምርት፡ ከመ፡ መዛግብት፤ ካልአት፤ አልቦ፤ ዘተጽሕፈ፤ ዘከመዝ፤ መዝ፡^ዝገብ፡ እምእለ፡ ቀደመ፡ መዛግብት፡ እመሂ፡ በሥርዓት፡ ወእመሂ፡ በጾታ፡ ፍቅድ፡^ |
| The compiler [of the collection] was Māḥdara Krəstos of Qomā. | ሠራኢሁኒ፡ ማኅደ^ረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘቆማ፡^ | ዘሠርዖስ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ በበጾታሁ፡ አቡነ፡ ያፌድ፡ ካህን፡፤ | ^ዘሠርዓ(?)ስ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ በበጾታሁ፡ ^አደራ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡^ ወልደ፡ አቡነ፡ ^ኤዎስጣቴዎስ፡^ |
| and the writing of the Treasure [<i>Mazgab</i>] (took place) in the reign of the good Takla Hāymānot, when he had reigned in seven months. | ^ወተጽሕፎቱ[!/]ለዝመዝገብ፡ በመግሥቱ፡ ለተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ኄር፡ እምአመ፡ ነግሠ[!/]በሳ(?)ብዕ፡ ወርኅ፡ | ወተጽሕፎቱሂ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ዘደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ኮነ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ^ኢዮአስ፡^ እምአመ፡ ነግሠ፡ በ፲ወ፫ዓመት፡፤ | ወተጽሕፎቱሂ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ኮነ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለንጉሥነ፡ ^ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡^ እምአመ፡ ነግሠ፡ በ፬ዓመት፡ |
| | | ወእምአመ፡ ነግሠት፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሞገሳ፡ ዘተስምዖት፡ በጸጋ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ^ወለተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡^ በ፱ወ፯ዓመት፡ | |
| May God bless his reign and raise up for him a good name in this and in the coming | እግዚአብሔር፡ ይባርክ፡ መንግሥቶ፡ ወያቅም፡ ሎቱ፡ *ስመ፡ ስመ፡(!*) | ባሕቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይባርክ፡ መንግሥቶሙ፡ ወያንሕ፡ መዋዕሊሆሙ፡ ወያቅም፡ ሎሙ፡ ስመ፡ ሠናዩ፡ በዝ፡ | ባሕቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይባርክ፡ መንግሥቶ፡ ወያቅም፡ ሎቱ፡ ስመ፡ |

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| world! | ሠናየ፡ በዝዓለም፡ ወለዘይመጽእ፡ | ዓለም፡ ወበዘይመጽእ፡ | ሠናየ፤ በዝ፤ ዓለም፤ ወበዘይመጽእ፤ |
| | | ወያዕርፍ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በመንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ነፍሰ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ^ኢያሱ፡^ አሜን ወአሜን፡ | |
| And this Treasure [Mazgab] (belongs to) *__(!*) and the ones who wrote it were <i>Gərāgetā</i> Kāsā and <i>Qañgetā</i> Nurəñ, despised and immersed in the water of sin. | ወዝኒ፡ መ^ዝገብ፡ *__(!*) ወጸሐፍቲሁ፡ ግራጌታ፡ ካሳ፡ ቀኝጌታ፡ ኑር^ኝ፡ ምኑና(?)፡ ወጥሙቃን፡ በማየ፡ ኃጢአት፡ | | ወበዓለዝ፤ መዝገብ፡ *ተክለ፡ መድኅ(?)[_!](del.*)ነዳይ፤ ወምስኪን፤ ዘተምህረ፤ ኩሎ፤ ጸዋትወ፤ ዜማ፤ እምነበ፡==*ወልደ፡(corr.*) ^ጊዮርጊስ፡^ ው(!)ልደ፤ አቡነ፡ ^ኤዎስጣቴዎስ፡^ መሐራ፡ ጥበብ፤ ወመፍቀሬ፤ ሃይማኖት፤ ለሕዝብ፤ ወአሕዛብ፤ |
| This is the book that was drawn from the sea of the sanctifications of the angels, who praise the Lord according to their classes. To Him is due glory forever and ever. | ወዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘተቀድኃ፡ እምባሕረ፡ ቅዳሴሆሙ፡ ለመላእክት፡ ዘይዌድስዎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ *ጸ(cancell.*)በበፆታሆሙ፡ ወሎቱ፡ ይደሉ፡ ስብሐት፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለ(!/)/3rc/ | | ዘተቀድሐ፤ እምባሕ/6rc/^ረ፡ ቅዳሴሆሙ፡ ለመላእክት፡ ዘይቄድስዎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ፀባኦ(?)ት፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለ^ም፡ አሜን፡ |
| From the creation of the world to the writing of this Treasure [Mazgab] it is 7373 years. Its beginning took | ^ወእምፍጥረተ፡ ዓለምኒ፡ እስከ፡ ተጽሕፎቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ፸፻^ወ፫(?)፻፡ ፸ወ፫ዓመት፡ ወተወጥኖቱ፡ ኮነ፡ አመ፪ለሐምሌ፡ | | እምፍጥረተ፡ ዓለምኒ፤ እስከ፡ ተጽሕፎቱ፤ ለዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ፸፻ወ፪[_!] ፲፻ወ፯፻፳ወ^፯ዘመነ፡ ልደት፡ ወተወጥኖቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ኮነ፡ |

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| place on 2 Ḥamle, and the night was 8, when there was no 'abaqte and no matqə', and the Evangelist was Matthew. Its day was Friday. Its time was the third hour. From when this <i>Mazmur</i> was ordained in our land it was 1[0?]53 (years?). | ወሌሊቱሂ፡ ጽእንዘ፡ አ^ልቦ፡ አበቅቴ፡ ወአልቦ፡ መጥቅዕ፡ ወወንጌላዊሂ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ዕለቱ፡ ዓ^ርብ፡ ጊዜሁ፡ ጊዜ፡ *ሰ(cancell.*)፡፫ሰዓት፡ ወእምአመ፡ ተሠርዓ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መ*ጽሐፍ(cancell.*)ዝመር፡ በምድርነ፡ ኮነ፡ ፻ወ፶ወ፫ዘመን፡ | | አመ፡ አሚሩ፡ ለመስከረም፡ ዕለቱሂ፡ ሐሙስ፡ ጊ^ዜ፡ ፫ሰዓት፡ እንዘ፡ ሌሊትነ፡ ፲ወ፱አበቅቴሂ፡ ፲ወ፯መጥቅዕሂ፡ ፲ወ፫ወወንጌላዊ፡ ማርቆስ፤ ወእምአመ፡ ተሠ^ርዓ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መዝሙር፡ በምድርነ፡ ኮነ፡ ፲፻ወ፺ወ፯(?)ዓመተ፡^ |
| Its revelation happened in the time of King Gabra Masqal. Whether it was at the beginning or in the middle or at the end (of his reign), we do not know. Rather, we leave the knowing to the Lord, because he knows what was and what will be. | ወተከሥቶቱ፡ ኮነ፡ በዘመነ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል። እመስ፡ ኮነ፡ በቀዳሚ፡ አው፡ በማዕከል፡ አው፡ በደኃሪ፡ ኢነአምር፡ ባሕቱ፡ ንኅድግ፡ አእምሮ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ^ውእቱ፡ የአምር፡ ዘኮነ፡ ወዘይከውን፡ | | ^ወተከሥቶቱሂ፡ ኮነ፡ በዘመነ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ገብረ፡ መስ^ቀል፡ እመ፡ ኮነ፡ በቀዳሚ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ አው፡ በማእከል፡ አው፤ በደኃሪ፤ ኢነአምር፤ ባሕቱ፡ ንሕድግ፡ አእምሮ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፤ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ የአምር፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘኮነ፤ ወዘኢኮነ፤ |
| The <i>mamhər</i> of Qomā at this time is 'Abbā 'Absādi. He is the successor of the <i>mamhərān</i> who have sat on the throne of the Land of | ወመምህረ፡ ቆማሂ፡ በዝጊዜ፡ አባ፡^ አብሳዲ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ተላዊሆሙ፡ ለመምህራን፡ እለ፡ ነበሩ፡ በመንበር፡ በምድረ፡ ቆማ፡ | | ወመምህረ፤ ኢትዮጵያ፤ እንተ፤ ይእቲ፤ አንጾኪያ፤ ደብረ፡ ^ሩሲለደስ፡ አብሳዲ፡^ ዘውእቱ፡ ተላዊሆሙ፡ ለ፲ወ፫መምህራን፤ እለ፤ ነበሩ፤ በመንበር፤ አቡነ፡ ^ኤዎስጣቴዎስ፡^ ዘኬደ፡ ባሕረ፡ ከመ፡ የብስ፡ ወላዕሌሁ፡ |

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| Qomā. | | | ሰላም፡ ወምገስ፡ በቅድመ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ አሜን፡ አሜን፡ ለይኩን፡ ለይኩን። |
| (He who) commissioned (this book) has no possessions, no gold and no silver, no resting place and no abode, except for this book of <i>zemā</i> . As it is said in the Gospel: ‘The foxes have caves and the birds have nests, but the Son of Man has no resting place where he can rest his head.’ As for us, its (= the book’s) scribes, perfect us in health and peace for the sake of your Mother, *__(!*)_. Amen and amen. | ወለአጽሐፊ(?)፡ አልቡ(!)ቱ፡ ንዋይ፡ ኢወርቅ፡ ወኢብሩር፡ ወኢምጽላል፡ ወኢማኅደር፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ዜማ[!/]በከመ፡ ተብህለ፡ በወ?ንጌል፡ ለቁና፡ ግብብ፡ ቦሙ፡ ወለአዕዋፍ፡ ምጽላል[!/]ቦሙ፡ ለወልደ፡ እጓለ፡ እመሕያውሰ፡ አልቡቱ፡ ምጽላል፡ ኅብ፡ ያሰምክ፡ ርእሶ፡ ለነኒ፡ ለጸሐፍቲሁ፡ አፈጽመኝ፡ በዳህና፡ ወበሰላም፡ በእንተ፡ እምክ፡ *__(!*) አሜን፡ ወአሜን፡ | | |
| | | ወኑልቁ፡ ዘመንሂ፡ ፫፻፱፻፱፡ ፯፻፱፻፳፱፡ ዓለም፡ ወወንጌላ፡ ሉቃስ፡ እንዘ፡ አልቦ፡ መጥቅዕ፡ ወአበቅቴ፡ አመ፡ ፴ሁ፡ ለሐምሌ፡ በዕለተ፡ ሠሉስ፡ ጊዜ፡ ስድስቱ፡ ሰዓት፡ ወበ፳ሰዓት፡ ሌሊት፡ ወእምአመ፡ ተናገረ፡ መንፈስ፡ ሕይወት፡ አፈ፡ | |

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| | | አቡነ፡ ያሬድ፡ ካህን፡ በ፲፻፹፫ ወጀዓመት። ወዘአጽሐፊሂ፡ ለ^ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ መልአክ፡ ፀሐይ፡ አ^ርማስቆስ፡^ ሊቆሙ፡ ለ፪፻ካህናተ፡ መቅደስ። | |
| | | /2rc/ዘተሠርዓ፡ መዝሙር፡ እምዮሐንስ፡ እስከ፡ ዮሐንስ። | |

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Table 34. Transcriptions and translation of the textual unit mentioning King Śarṣa Dāngəl.

| [Translation based on MS EMMML 2045.] | EMML 2045, fol. 5ra–c | RNB Orlov 33 apud Turaev | EAP526/1/40, fol. 4r |
|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------|----------------------|
| | /5ra/^n(?)h(?)m(?):(?) [...] ቅዱስ፡ በሥላሴሁ፡ ዘይትወሐድ፡ ዘኢይትዌለጥ፡ ወኢይትበአድ፡ ዘ፩ይጼ^ለይ፡ ወዘ፩ይሰገድ፡ | | |
| | ጸሐፍነ፡ ማኅሌተ፡ ያፌድ፡ ዘይደምጽ፡ ከመ፡ ነጐድጓድ፡^ ወጋይለ፡ ቃሉ፡ ንዑድ፡ ወጣዕመ፡ ዜማሁ፡ ፍድፋድ፡ አስራበ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዘተቀድሐ፡ እምባሕረ፡^ መጻሕፍት፡ ዕሉድ፡ ሠርጐ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ መንፈሳዊት፡ ማኅፊድ፡ መስተፍሥሐ(?): ^አልባቢሆመ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ ክቡድ፡ እለ፡ ይገይሱ፡ ኀበ፡ ዘመለኮት፡ ዓፀድ፡ ክቡራነ፡ ዘመድ፡^ እለ፡ ሐፀኖመ፡ ፩ጉንድ፤ | | |
| | ዘውእቱ፡ ጸዋትው፡ ወማኅልይ፡ ዋዜማ፡ ወማ(!)ዋሥዕት፡ ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ምድር፡ በምልዓ፤ ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ነግሠ፤ እግዚአ፡ ጸራኅኩ፡ ዘይትባረክ፤ አርያም፤ መዝሙር፤ ዘአምላኪየ፡ አርባዕት፡ | | |

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| | <p>ዕዝል፡ ዘይእዜ፡ ማኅሌት፡ ዘይባርክዎ፡ ስብሐተ፡ ነግህ፡ ፫ዘወትር[!]/5rb/^ወዘበዓላት፡ ወዘሰናብት፤ ዘጻድቃን፡ ወሰማዕታት፡ ወመላእክት፤(?)</p> | | |
| | <p>^እሉ፡ እንከ፡ ማኅ(?)ልይ፡^ አቅማን፡ ሐዲስ፡ ወብሉይ፤ ወውዳሴያት፡ ዘምስለ፡ ግናይ፤ ዘመፀው፡ ወዘፀደይ፡ ዘ^ክረምት፡ ወዘሀጋይ፡ በሥምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አዶናይ፡ ዘይፌጽም፡ ዓ(?)መ[!]: ጥንቁቅ፡ ዘ^ለወርኑ፡ ወለለዕለቱ፤ ወለለበዓላቱ፡ ዘተሠርዓ፡ በምድርነ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በሥ^ምረቱ።^</p> | | |
| | <p>^እስመ፡ ተለዓለ፡ ስሙ፡ ለባሕቲቱ፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ዘይትበሀል፡ ስሙ፡^መ(!): በረድኤተ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ሞእ፡</p> | | |
| | <p>ዘአስተጋበእዎ፡ አባ፡ ጌራ፡ ወራጉኤል፡ እምበዙ፡ መጻሕፍተ፡ ድጓ።</p> | | |
| | | | <p>/4r/^በሥምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ ዘአካላቲሁ፡ ፫ቱ፡ ወ፩መለኮቱ፡ እንዘ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ንትራዳእ፡ ከሂለ፡ ወንትመራ^ሕ(?):</p> |

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| | | | ፍኖተ፡ ፍጻሜ፡፡ |
| | | | ንዌጥን፡ ጽሒፈ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ዕንቁ፡ ባሕርይ፡ |
| | | | በ፯፻፡ ወ፭፻፡ ፺ወ፯፡ ዓመት፡ እምአመ፡ ^ተናገረ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውስተ፡ አፈ፡ አቡነ፡ ካህን፡ ያፌድ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፤^ |
| | | ^በስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘይሤለስ፡ በአካላት፡ ወይትወሐድ፡ በመለኮት፡^ | |
| | | ^ተጽሕፈ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘስሙ፡ መልሕቅ፡^ | |
| | | ^ዘአስተጋብእዎ፡^ አባ፡ ጌራ፡ ወሐብለ፡ ስላሴ፡ እምብዙኅ፡ ድጌ(!)፡ | |
| And the reason for their compiling was through the command of our king Śarṣa Dəngəl, | ወምክንያተ፡ አስተጋብዖቶሙስ፡ ኮነ፡ በትእዛዘ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ሠርፀ፡ ድንግል፡ | ወምክንያተ፡ ጽሕፈቱስ፡ ኮነ፡ በትእዛዘ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ^ሠርፀ፡ ድንግል^፡ | ^ምክንያተ፡ ጽሕፈቱስ፡ ኮ^ነ፡ በትእዛዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ መለክ፡ ሰገድ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ እግዚአብሔር፤ ዘተሰምየ፡ ሠርፀ፡ ድንግል፡፡ |
| because he was seized with spiritual zeal when he saw that the teaching of the <i>Mazmur</i> of Yāred had disappeared, which his | እስመ፡ ቀንዓ፡ ቅንዓተ፡ መንፈሳዊተ፡፡ ሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ ከመ፡ ጠፍዓ፡ ትምህርተ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዘያፌድ፡፡ ዘሠርዕዎ፡ አበዊሁ፡ አ/5rc/^በዌ(?)ሁ፡ ኦርቶዶክሳውያን፡ በአስተሐቅሮቶሙ፡ | እስመ፡ ቀንዓ፡ ቅንዓተ፡ መንፈስ(!)ዊተ፡ ሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ ከመ፡ ጠፍአ፡ ^ትምሕርተ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዘሠርዕዎ፡ አበዊሁ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ(!)ውያን፡ | እስመ፡ ጠፍአ፡ ትምህርተ፡ መዝሙር፡ እምነ፡ ቀናዕያን፡ ሰብእ፡ ዘረሰይዎ፡ ተውኔተ፡ ወዘፈነ፡ ሶበ፡ ጸንዓ፡ በሙ፡ ግብረ፡ ዜማሁ፡^ |

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| orthodox fathers had instituted, through the insolence of jealous men and haters of instruction, who likened it to entertainment [<i>tawnet</i>] and secular singing [<i>zafan</i>]. | ለሰብእ፡ ቀናዕያን፡ ወጸላእያን፡ ትምህርት፡ እ^ለ፡ አስተማሰልዎ፡ በተውኔት፡ ወበዘፈን፡፤ | በአስተሐቅሮቶሙ፡ ለሰብእ፡^ ቆ(!)ራ(!)ዕያን፡ ዘአስተማሰልዎ፡ ለማኅሌተ፡ መዝሙር፡ በተውኔት፡ ወበዘፈን፡ | |
| The king, a lover of instruction, was angered and said: ‘We shall not pull down what our fathers have instituted!’ There was one who had written (it) in short (i.e. in abbreviated form) out of his laziness and wickedness. He (= the king) did not like this, lest they would say: ‘In his days the teaching of Yāred became shortened.’ And the king commanded that they should write and teach as it was formerly, and he adorned those who were teaching and | ተምዓ፡ ንጉሥ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ትምህርት፡ ወይ^ቤ፡ ዘሠርዑ፡ አበዊነ፡ ኢንንስት፡፤ ወቦ፡ ዘጸሐፈ፡ በውኑድ፡ በእንተ፡ ሐኬቱ፡ ወእከዩ፡ በዝነ፡ ^ኢሠምረ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይበልዎ፡ ኮነ፡ ሕፁረ፡ ትምሕርተ፡ ያሬድ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ወአዘዘ፡ ከመ፡ ^ይጽሐፉ፡ ወይትመሀሩ፡ ከመ፡ ኮነ፡ ቀዳሜ፡ ወዓሠነዩ፡ ለእለ፡ ይሜሀሩ፡ ወለእለ፡ ይትሜሀሩ፡^ እግዚአብሔር፡ ያሠኒ፡ ሕይወተ፡ ነፍሱ፡ አሜን፡፤ | ተምዓ፡ ንጉሥ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ትምሕርት፡ ወይቤ፡ ዘሠር፡ አበዊነ፡ ኢንንሥት፡፤ ወቦ፡ ዘጸሐፈ፡ በኅፁር፡ በእንተ፡ ሐኬት፡ በዝነ፡ ኢሠምረ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይበልዎ፡ ^ኮነ፡ ኅፁረ፡ ትምሕርተ፡ ያሬድ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ወአዘዘ፡ ከመ፡ ይጽሐፉ፡ ወይትም(!)ሐሩ፡ በከመ፡ ኮነ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ወአሠነዩ፡ ለእለ፡ ይሜሕሩ፡ ወለእለ^፡ ይትመሐሩ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ያሠኒ፡ ሕይወተ፡ ነፍሱ፡ በመንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡፤ | ^ተምዓ፡(?) ወ(?)አዘዘ፡ ይጽሐፉ፡ ወይትመሐ^ሩ፡ ከሎሙ፡ ደቂቀ፡ ደብተራ፡፤ ከመ፡ ኮነ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ አበዊሁ፡ ነገሥት፡ ያዕቆባውያን፡፤ ለእሙንቱኒ፡ ቢጽ፡ ሐሳውያን፡ ፈደዮሙ፡ ^ፍዳ፡ ምግባሮሙ፡ ወሰ(?)ደዶሙ፡ እምከተማሁ፤^ |

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| those who were being taught. May the Lord adorn the life of his soul! Amen. | | | |
| | ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ለማሳተም፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለዘጸሐፍ፡ በእደሁ፡ በኃይለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አኮ፡ በኃይለ፡ ርእሱ፡ ተወጥነ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ፊደሉ፡ እምድሃረ፡ ነግሠ፡ በ፲፱፻፱ዓመት፡ | | |
| | አመ፡ አሚሩ፡ ለመስከረም፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወበርተሎሜዎስ፡ ወኢዮብ፡ | | |
| | | | ፊደሉ፡ መዝገብ፡ ወልደ፡ ማሳበር፡ ለዘደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ነዳየ፡ አእምሮ፡ * (del.*) ወወልደ፡ አበው፡ ክቡራን፡ በሃይማኖቶች፡ ወውዱሳን፡ በስነ፡ ምግባር፡ እለ፡ ሠረ፡ እምጉንደ፡ ሥሙር፡ ወኅሩይ፡ ወምሉዓ፡ ፍሬ፡ ገነተ፡ መዓዛ፡ ክቡር፡ አብ፡ ለተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ለዘለስሙ፡ ይደሉ፡ ሰላም፡ እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ፊደሉ፡ ለዘነበረ፡ በብሕትውና፡ ፲፱፻፱፡ ዓመተ [!] * (del.?) ዘፈጸመ፡ ከሉ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ሕይወቱ፡ በሕማም፡ |

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| | | | <p>ተጽሕፈ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ወእግዚአ፡ ኢጋእዝት፡ ወርእሰ፡ ሥልጣናት፡ ዘጽኑዕ፡ (በ)ምግባሩ፡ ወርቱዕ፡ በሃይማኖቱ፡ ^ኢድያም፡ ሰገድ፡^ ዘተሰምየ፡ ^ኢያሱ፡ ^ ወመምሕረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ዘነበረ፡ በመንበረ፡ ክቡር፡ ^ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ብርሃነ፡ ዓለም፡ አባ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ዓምድ፡ ጽኑዕ፡ ዘኢያንቀለቅል፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ሰላም።^</p> |
| | | | <p>^ዝንቱ፡ መዝገብ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ አኮ፡ ከመ፡ ብዕለ፡ ነፍስ፡ ዳእሙ፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ ከመ፡ መዝገብ፡ ቃለ፡ ዓዋዲ፡ ክቡር፡ መምሕር፡ ዘደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ እምየ^ሐንስ፡ እስከ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በበሥርዓቱ፡ ዋዜማ፡ ወዕዝል፡ ኢርያም፡ ወመዝሙር፡ እስመ፡ ለዓለም፡ ዘግዕዝ፡ ወአራራይ፡ ወ^ሠለስት፡ ሰላም፡ ወአርባዕት፡። ሰብሐት፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘአርአየኒ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እንዘ፡ ኢይደልወኒ፡ በኒሩቱ፡ ወአብጽሐኒ፡ እስከ፡ ዛቲ፡ ሰዓት፡ ወይትአኩት፡ ስሙ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፤ ወአሜን፤ ለይኩን፤ ለይኩን፡።</p> |

Data set 1. Transcriptions of the textual corpus

Data set 1 contains transcriptions of all the antiphons included in the textual corpus in Chapter 5 as attested in the collections in manuscripts of the Minor Corpus. It has the form of an Excel file, consisting of one sheet.

Apart from the columns and rows containing metadata (see below), the table is organised in such a way that each column contains transcriptions based on one *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection, and each row contains transcriptions of the same antiphon (although often of several attestations of it).

The first column—column A—presents the antiphon identification number (see 3.1.3) corresponding to the antiphon found on the row. The four uppermost rows—rows 1–4—contain metadata pertaining to the individual collections: group affinity (row 1: single-type collection, pre-seventeenth-century multiple-type collection, post-sixteenth-century multiple-type collection of Group A or Group B, printed edition), antiphon type in the case of single-type collections (row 2), the siglum introduced in Chapter 2 to refer to the manuscript that contains each collection (row 3), and the short reference to the manuscript used within Data set 1 (row 4; see below).

Within each column, the transcriptions are presented in the order that they appear in each respective collection. Thus—in the case of the antiphons for the commemoration of Pāṇṭalewon, which is transcribed in full—tracking the antiphon transcriptions from the top to the bottom of one column corresponds to reading the antiphons as they are found in the collection. In the case of the antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi, for which only an excerpt is provided, one will in most cases also find further antiphons located in between those that are transcribed, if the manuscript is consulted. As the order of the antiphons varies substantially between the different collections, lines containing the same antiphon are found at different locations within the table. Only when the inner sequence of individual collections allowed for it, have attestations of the same antiphon been written on the same line. Thus, in order to display all attestations of a given antiphon, it is necessary to use the Search function in Excel and search for the antiphon identification number (ex. 'Pāṇṭalewon wāzemā 001') in the text of column A. This will display synoptically all lines that contain attestations of the antiphon that was searched for.

The transcriptions of individual antiphons are presented in the cells of the Excel sheet. Each transcription is accompanied by two levels of metadata: a) metadata added by me in order to facilitate the use of the data set, and b) metadata

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|-----------------|
| [Aa.01.003] 44b |
| ḡ^ḡ[!]^ |
| አባ፡ ጸሊ፡ በእንጉሉክ፡ |
| ጸሎትከ፡ ወትረ፡ |
| ደብዳቤ፡ አባ፡ ጸሊ፡ |
| በእ፡፡ |

Illustration 39. Example of a cell in Data set 1.

provided in the *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collection itself and transcribed by me together with the text of the antiphon.

The first line of text within a cell (see Illustration 39) contains metadata added by me which make the unique attestation of the antiphon identifiable. First, an identifier is given within square brackets. It contains three pieces of information, separated by full stops:

- a) a letter combination identifying the collection in question (these letters are given in row D),
- b) a two-digit number identifying the commemoration ('01' for the commemoration of Pantaŭewon, and '02' for the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi),¹⁷⁷⁹
- c) a three-digit number identifying the position of the individual antiphon within the sequence of antiphon in the commemoration in question.

It should be underlined that these lines of metadata do not have any function outside Data set 1; still, it was deemed appropriate to keep them in the version of the data made available, in order to increase its usefulness for future potential users. The identifier is followed by an indication of the folio and column where the attestation of the particular antiphon in the particular manuscript is to be found. This is separated from the identifier by a space.

The second line of text within a cells consists of information about the metatextual elements, connected to the attestation in question within the *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collection, that are *written in the main text* of the manuscript, i.e. not in the margin. (An exception is made up of the rare instances of melodic-house indications written in the main text, on which see below). These metatextual elements are typically: a) antiphon-type indications, b) melodic-family indications, and/or c), hallelujah numbers, but other metatextual elements also occur, such as indication of musical mode (especially in connection with *salām* antiphons and *yātbāarak* antiphons; cf. Chapter 1, 1.4.4.1.24 and 1.4.4.1.30). These elements have been transcribed according to the Editorial principles (see pp. xxvii–xxviii).

As explained in Chapter 4 (4.4.2), an antiphon-type designation is normally not repeated for antiphons that belong to the same antiphon type as the one that precedes them. This holds true also for melodic-family designation and melodic-

¹⁷⁷⁹ In the collections that contain separate commemorations either for Pantaŭewon of the Cell and Pantaŭewon the Martyr (i.e. the *wāzemā mas(!)mur* collection in MS BnF Éth. 92 and the related second unidentified collection in MS EML 7618), or for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi and Gabra Krastos (i.e. the multiple-type collection in MS EML 8678), these have been differentiated by adding 'a' and 'b' to the respective commemoration numbers: '01a' for the commemoration for Pantaŭewon of the Cell and '01b' for the commemoration for Pantaŭewon the Martyr, and '02a' for the commemoration of 'Abbā 'Aragāwi and '02b' for the commemoration for Gabra Krastos, respectively.

house indications (see below). Such ‘implied’ metatextual elements have been recorded by reproducing the metatextual element of the preceding antiphon within double square brackets (‘[[]]’). For example, if the first in a series of *’asma la-’ālam* antiphons is preceded by the antiphon-type indication $\lambda\eta\sigma\text{:}\ \Lambda\text{:}$ (*’asma la-*), the next *’asma la-’ālam* antiphon in the series—which in the manuscript lacks an explicit antiphon-type designation and whose beginning is signalled by ‘default’ marking—will have this metatextual element in double square brackets: $[[\lambda\eta\sigma\text{:}\ \Lambda\text{:}]]$. When metatextual elements are repeated within double square brackets, information about rubrication has been deleted.

The third line of text is dedicated to melodic-house indications, which, as delineated in Chapter 1 (1.4.5.4), most commonly appear in the left margin next to the antiphon that they are connected with. In cases where a melodic-house indication appears within the text column, this has been indicated in the following way: **[melodic-house indication](in text.*)*. Occasionally, one antiphon has different melodic-house indications placed at different locations in the layout; in such cases, for the sake of clarity, I have also indicated the (standard) placement in the marginal in the following way: **[melodic-house indication](in marg.*)*. The melodic-house indications are transcribed in the same manner as the other metatextual elements described above.

After a number of blank lines, added in order to separate visually the metadata and the metatextual elements from the text of the antiphon proper, the text of the antiphon follows. It has been transcribed according to the Editorial principles (see pp. xxvii–xxviii). Occasionally, further information has been added in plain text underneath the transcription, for example regarding the presence of double rows of *mālakkāt*.

For antiphons added secondarily in the margin, the entire text has been written within parentheses. In the identifier in the first line of the cell, an ‘x’ (and, occasionally, ‘y’, if one collection has several, clearly distinguishable layers of additions) has been placed in front of the three-digit number identifying the position of the antiphon within the sequence of the commemoration, and the enumeration has been restarted from ‘x001’. However, for the additions of the two extra hands of MS GG-187 (Hand B and Hand C; see fn. 756), which play an important role in the discussion in Chapter 3, separate columns have provided. (In terms of the number of antiphons added secondarily, these additions are incomparably larger than what is found in other collections.) Also in cases where separate commemorations have been provided for Pantaŵon the Martyr and Pantaŵon of the Cell, and for *’Abbā* Aragāwi and Gabra Krastos, respectively, these have been recorded in separate columns (e.g. columns AD and AG, both containing information extracted from MS EML 8678). This results in a clearer exposition, in which the antiphons for the two separate commemorations are not mixed, but rather presented side by side.

Data set 1

Data set 1 is available on the CD accompanying this dissertation and in the Research Data Repository of the Universität Hamburg (UHH-RDR) at the following link: <https://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.10040>.

Data set 2. Observations on *mise en texte* features

Data set 2 contains a detailed summary of the observations on which the discussion of *mise en texte* features in Chapter 4 is based. It has the form of an Excel file consists of four sheets: 2A (Collections), 2B (Commemorations—melodic families), 2C (Individual antiphons), and 2D (Syntactical punctuation). These correspond to the three hierarchical levels of marking discussed in Chapter 4 (4.2–4.4) plus the exploratory study of antiphon-internal punctuation marks presented in the excursion in 4.4.4.

In Data set 2 in general, each row presents information about one collection. Exceptions are rows that contain metadata about the collections below them (e.g. rows 4 and 60 in Sheet 2A) and rows that contain the summation of the information listed above them (e.g. rows 59 and 75 in Sheet 2A). These exceptions have been clearly signalled as such.

Each column presents a studied features. Exceptions are columns that provide various kinds of metadata—number of the folios or ranges of folios that have been checked (e.g. column AB in Sheet 2A), identifications of individual commemorations in Sheet 2B (e.g. columns E and Y), or summaries of the results (e.g. columns DA–DR in Sheet 2B). These exceptions have been clearly signalled as such.

At the crossroad between a column (= a feature) and a row (= a collection), information about that specific feature in the collection in question is provided. In sheets A–B, the following symbols have been used to record the presence or absence of the features listed in row 2:

- an ‘X’ indicates the presence of a feature in a given collection,
- an en dash (‘–’) indicates the absence of the feature in a given collection,
- a question mark (‘?’) indicates that the evidence is inconclusive or difficult to interpret,
- an ‘Ø’ indicates that data is lacking regarding the presence or absence of the feature,
- an ‘[X]’ indicates that the presence of a feature follows by logical necessity based on a feature described further to the right. For example, a collection that begins on a new folio will by necessity also begin on a new page.

Occasionally, it has been necessary to comment on the attestation of a certain feature in a certain collection. This has been done by using the Comment function in Excel.

Data set 2

In sheets C–D, on the other hand, the presence of a feature has been indicated by a numeral indicating the number of occasions on which the feature in question was observed within the defined portion of the collection. As a general rule, the goal has been to include twenty observations of each phenomenon from each collection. However, as described in the respective sections in Chapter 2, this has not always been possible.

Data set 2 is available on the CD accompanying this dissertation and in the Research Data Repository of the Universität Hamburg (UHH-RDR) at the following link: <https://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.10042>.

Data set 3. Melodic families and their designations in the single-type collections

Data set 3 contains information about the melodic families attested in the seven single-type collections of *'arbā't* antiphons discussed in the main text of Chapter 5. The families are presented in the order attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015. For each melodic family attested in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, information about its attestation in the respective single-type collection is given in the first column. For the two calendrical collections, no folio numbers have been provided, as the attestations of each melodic family are spread out in the different commemoration sections.

The subsequent columns contain information about melodic-family designations attested in the margin and melodic-family designations attested in the text. In these columns, the following symbols are used:

- an 'x' indicates that no melodic-family indication of the type in question is found in the collection,
- an em dash ('—') in the rows dedicated to calendrical antiphon collections indicate that marginal designations are, as a rule, not used in these,
- three dots within square brackets ('[...]') indicate that the consulted material does not allow to say whether a melodic-family designation of the type in question was originally found in the collection or not.

In the next column, the first antiphon of the melodic-family section in question is transcribed according to the usual editorial principles, followed by information whether this has been 'fronted' or not. (As described in Chapter 5 (5.3.3.1), the term 'fronting' refers to the practice of placing the model antiphon as the first of its family, thus starting the cycle of the liturgical celebrations at another point than at the beginning of the year.)

As it is possible to format the information gathered in Data set 3 in such a way that it can be printed with the rest of the dissertation, it is presented below in its entirety.

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--|---------|
| <i>ʾAṭmaqqa</i> [1] | EMML 7078, fols 1r–7r | [...] | [...] | የሐንስ: ሰ(?)[...] [...]ኩ: ለመርዳዊ: ዘኢ[...] | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 107ra–108va | x | x | አጥመቀ: ወተጠመቀ: ለሊከ: ቃል: ፈነወከ: ነቢየ: ልዑል: ተሰመይከ። | no |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 2ra–vb, [...], 29ra | አጥመቀ: ወተጠመቀ: | x | አጥመቀ: ወተጠመቀ: ለሊከ: ቃል: ፈነወከ: ነቢየ: ልዑል: ተሰመይከ። | no |
| | GG-185, fols 123r–125v | x | x | አጥመቀ: ወተጠመቀ: ለሊከ: ቃል: ፈነወከ: ነቢየ: ልዑል: ተሰመይከ። | no |
| | GG-187, fols 89ra–90vb | x | x | አጥመቀ: ወተጠመቀ: ለሊከ: ቃል: ፈነወከ: ነቢየ: ልዑል: ተሰመይከ። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | አጥመቀ: | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | አጥመቀ: | — | — |
| <i>Kokab marḥomu</i> [2] | EMML 7078, fols 7r–11v | x | x | የርዳን(!)ስ: ቀደስ: አግዚኦ: ዘአጥመቀ: ርእስ: አግዚኦ: ገሠሰ: ወተሞገሠ: ውእቱ(?): የሐንስ: አግዚኦ: ዘአጥመቀ: በየርዳን(!)ስ። | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 108va–110ra | x | x | ኮከብ: መርሐሙ: ቤተ: ልሔም: አብጽሐሙ: ወቆመ: መልዕልቲሆመ: ወዜነዎመ: ዐቢየ: ዜና: ዘይከውን: ኩሎ: ነገሮመ። | yes |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 29rb–vb, [...] | ኮከብ: መርሐሙ: | x | ኮከብ: መርሐሙ: ቤተ: ልሔም: አብጽሐሙ: ወቆመ: መልዕልቲ(!)ሆመ: ወዜነዎመ: ዓቢየ: ዜና: ዘይከውን: ሎመ: ነገሮመ። | yes (?) |
| | GG-185, fols 130v–131v | x | [left blank] | የሐንስ: ገዳማዊ: ዓርኩ: ለመርዳዊ: አዝማዳ: ውእቱ: በሥጋ: ቃል: አዋዲ: ዘይሰብከ: ጥምቀተ: ከመ: ይእመኑ: ሕዝብ: በብርሃን። | no |
| | GG-187, fols 94va–95vb | ኮከብ: መርሐሙ: | x | የሐንስ: ገዳማዊ: ዓርገ(!): ለመርዳዊ: አዝማዳ: ውእቱ: በሥጋ: ቃል: አዋዲ: ዘይሰብከ: ጥምቀተ: ከመ: ይእመኑ: ሕዝብ: በብርሃን። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ኮከብ: መርሐሙ: | — | — |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---|--------|
| <i>Za-rassayo</i> [3] | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ኮከብ፡ መርሐሙ፡ | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 32v–35r | x | x | የዐቢ፡ እምነቢ(?) / 33r / ያጎ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እምክርስ(!)፡ እሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ሰመ(!)ዕቱ፡ ለብርሃን፡፤ | no |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 124rb–va | x | x | ይቤ(?)ሎ፡ አብ፡ ለወልዱ፡ ወልድዮ፡ አንተ፡ ወአነ፡ ዮም፡ ወለድኩክ፡ ካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ አነ፡ እከውኖ፡ አቡሁ፡ ወውእቱኒ፡ ይከውነኒ፡ ወልድዮ፡ ንባር(!)፡ በየማንዮ፡፤ | yes |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 13rb–va | ዘረሰዮ፡ ለማይ፡ ወይነ፡ | x | የዐቢ፡ እምነቢያጎ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እምክርሠ፡ እሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ሰማዕቱ፡ ለብርሃን፡፤ | no |
| | GG-185, fol. 138r–v | ዘረሰዮ፡ ለማይ፡ ወይነ፡ | x | ወይቤሎ፡ አብ፡ ለወልዱ፡ ወልድዮ፡ አንተ፡ ወለድኩክ፡ ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ አነ፡ እከ፡(!) ውኖ፡ አባ(?)ሁ፡ ወውእቱኒ፡ ይከውነኒ፡ ወልድዮ፡ ወልድ፡ ንባር፡ በየመ(!)ንዮ፡፤ | ? |
| | GG-187, fol. 113ra–va | ዘ(ረ)ሰዮ፡ | x | የዐቢ፡ እምነቢያጎ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እምክርሠ፡ እሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ሰማዕቱ፡ ለብርሃን፡፤ | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ዘረሰዮ፡ | — | — |
| <i>’Īsma ’anta bāḥtītāka / Ba-masqalāka</i> [4] | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ዘረሰዮ፡ | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 47v–50v | x | x | በመስቀልክ፡ አብረ(!)ህክ፡ ለነ፡ ርኤ(!)ነ፡ ብርሃን(!)፡ በመስቀልክ፡ [...] ንሥኡ፡ ምውታን(!)፡ ብ(!)መስቀልክ፡ አብረ(!)ህክ፡ ለነ፡፤ | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 116rb–117rb | x | x | በመስቀልክ፡ አብረ(!)ህክ፡ ለነ፡ ርኤነ፡ ብርሃን፡ በመስቀልክ፡ ያነሥኡ፡ ምውታን፡ በመስቀልክ፡ አብር(!)ህክ፡ ለነ፡፤ | no |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 34rb–35va | በመስቀልክ፡ አብረ-ህክ፡ ለነ፡ | x | በመስቀልክ፡ አብረ-ህክ፡ ለነ፡ ወርኤነ፡ ብርሃን፡ መስቀልክ፡ ያነሥኡ፡ ምውታን፡ በመስቀልክ፡ አብረ-ህክ፡ ለነ፡፤ | no |
| | GG-185, fols 132v–133r | x | [left blank] | በመስቀልክ፡ አብረ-ህክ፡ ለነ፡ ርኤነ፡ ብርሃን፡ መስቀልክ፡ ያነሥኡ፡ እሙተ(?)ነ፡ በመስቀልክ፡ አብረ(!)ህክ፡ ለነ፡፤ | no |
| | GG-187, fols 99ra–100va | በመስቀልክ፡ | x | በመስቀልክ፡ አብረ-ህክ፡ ለነ፡ ርኤነ፡ ብርሃን፡ በመስቀልክ፡ አንሥኤክ፡ ምውታን፡ በመስቀልክ፡ አብረ-ህክ፡ ለነ፡፤ | no |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------|---|--|---------|
| ' <i>Afqər bişaka</i> [5] | EMML 2095, — | — | በመስቀልክ: | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | በመስቀልክ: (<i>passim</i>) / መስቀልክ: (fol. 12va) | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 66v–67v | — | — | ተዝካረ: [...] በስብሐቲሁ: ጸም: ቅድስት: ትምህርም: [...] ዘት: ጽምር:። | yes (?) |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 18rb–va | ተዝካረ: ገብረ: | — | ተዝካረ: ገብረ: ለስብሐቲሁ: ጸም: ቅድስት: ትምህርም: ለወራዘት: ጽምር:። | yes |
| | GG-187, fols 113vb–114rb | x | x | ተዝካረ: ገብረ: ለስብሐቲሁ: ጸም: ቅድስት: ትምህርም: ለወራዘት: ጽምር:። | yes (?) |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ተዝካረ: ገብረ: | — | — |
| ' <i>Arga ḥamara</i> [6] | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ተዝካረ: ገብረ: | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fol. 66r–v | x | x | ዐርገ: ሐመ: [...] [...] ሱስ: በሰንበት: ወገሥጸ: ነፋሳት: በሰ[...] [...] አርመመ: መ(!)ዕበለ: በ(!)ሕር: ወገሥጸ: [...] ሰና: ከመ: ኢትጎልፍ:። | yes |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 129va–b | x | x | ዐርገ: ኢየሱስ: ሐመረ: በሰንበት: ወገሥጸ: ነፋሳት: በሰንበት: ወአርመመት: መ(!)ዕበሰ(!)በ(!)ለ: ባሕር: ገሥጸ: ለባሕር: አምወሰና: ከመ: ኢትጎልፍ:። | yes |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 19ra–b | ዓርገ: ሐመረ: | x | ዓርገ: ሐመረ: ኢየሱስ: በሰንበት: ወገሥጸ: ነፋሳት: በሰንበት: ወአርመመት: ማዕበለ: ባሕር: ገሥጸ: ለባሕር: አምወሰና: ከመ: ኢትጎልፍ:። | yes |
| | GG-187, fol. 114va–b | ዓርገ: ሐመረ: | x | ይብሉ: ከሎም: አላላፍ(!): መላእክት: ወሊቃነ: መላእክት: ስብሐት: ለእግዚአብሔር: በሰማያት: ወሰላም: በምድር:። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ዓርገ: ሐመረ: | — | — |
| ' <i>Amlāka</i> ' <i>Addām</i> [7] and/or <i>Bərḥān</i> | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ዐርገ: ሐመረ: | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 59v–61r | x | x | እስጢ[...] ከቡር: ጽሑፍ: ብ(!)ወንጌል: ዝ(!)ኮነ: ሰማዕ[...] [...] ረብዎ: ጎበ: ዓውድ(!): ቅስት: (ወ)ሰ(?)እኑ: | yes (?) |

Data set 3

za-yəwaśśə'
[29]

| Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| | | | ተቃ[...] እስጢፋኖስ። | |
| EMML 7618, fol. 125ra–b | x | x | ^ጽጌ፡^ አስተርአየ፡ በውስተ፡ ምድርነ፡ ጊዜ፡ ገሚድ፡ በጽሐ፡ ቀናንሞስ፡ ጸገዩ፡ ወናርዶስ፡ ወሀበ፡ መወዛሁ። | no |
| —, fol. 128va–b | x | x | ብርሃን፡ ዘይመ(!)[ጽ?]እ፡ እምጽርሐ(?)፡ እመቅደስከ፡ ዘታሠርቅ፡ ፀሐየ፡ በትእዛዝከ፡ እኩት፡ ወስቡሕ፡ ስመ፡ ዚእከ። | no |
| BnF Éth. 92, fols 17vb–18ra | ብርሃን፡ ዘይወፅእ፡ እምጽርሐከ፡ | x | አምላክ፡ አዳም፡ ሠርዐ፡ ሰንበተ፡ በብዙኅ፡ አዝማን፡ ዕረፍት፡ ለእለ፡ ውስተ፡ ደይን፡ ትፍሥሕት፡ ወሐሄት፡ ለጻድቃን። | ? |
| —, fol. 20ra–b | አምላክ፡ አዳም፡ | ተረፍ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘይወፅእ፡ እምጽርሐከ፡ | ምስሌከ፡ ቀደ(!)ማዊ፡ በዕለተ፡ ኀይል፡ በብርሃና(!)ሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ወልድ፡ ፍጹም፡ ውእቱ፡ በዐቅሙ፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ ኮነ። | no (?) |
| GG-187, fols 112va–113ra | አምላክ፡ አዳም፡ | x | ብርሃን፡ ይወፅእ፡ እምጽርሐከ፡ ወእመቅደስከ፡ ዘታሰርቅ፡ ፀሐየ፡ በትእዛዝከ፡ እኩት፡ ወስቡሕ፡ ስመ፡ ዚእከ። | yes |
| EMML 2095, — | — | አምላክ፡ አዳም፡ | — | — |
| —, — | — | አምላክ፡ ማእምር፡ | — | — |
| Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | አምላክ፡ አዳም፡ | — | — |
| —, — | — | አምላክ፡ ማእምር፡ | — | — |
| 'Antāmu wə'ātu [8] | | | | |
| EMML 7078, fol. 62v | x | x | ብ(!)ዕፀ፡ መስቀሉ(?) [...]ብአሙ፡ ለብዙኃን፡ አበው፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ [...]ሀኑ፡ ዝ(!)ኪያክሙ፡ ሰምዐ፡ ኪያየ፡ ሰም[...] | no |
| EMML 7618, fol. 128vb | x | x | ^በዕፀ፡ መስቀሉ። ።^(!) አስተጋብአሙ፡ ለብዙኀን፡ አበው፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ሓኑ፡ ወመሀኑ፡ ዘኪያክሙ፡ ሰምዐ፡ ኪያየ፡ ሰምዐ። | no |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| <i>Wa-yābelomu I</i> / <i>ʿArārāta</i> [9] | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 17va | አንትሙ፡ ወኣቱ፡ ዘርእ፡ ከቡር፡ | x | በዕፀ፡ መስቀሉ፡ አስተጋብአሙ፡ ለብዙኃን፡ አበው፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ሐሩ፡ ወመሀሩ፡ ዘኪያክሙ፡ ሰምዐ፡ ኪየየ፡ ሰምዐ፡፤ | no |
| | GG-187, fol. 99ra [Additions have been made to this family.] | አንትሙ፡ ወኣቱ፡ | [erased?] | በዕፀ፡ መስቀሉ፡ አስተጋብአሙ፡ ለብዙኃን፡ አበው፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ሐሩ፡ ወመሀሩ፡ ዘኪያክሙ፡ ሰምዐ፡ ኪየየ፡ ሰምዐ፡፤ | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | አንትሙ፡ ወኣቱ፡ ዘርእ፡ ከቡር፡ | — | |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | አንትሙ፡ ወኣቱ፡ ዘርእ፡ ከቡር፡ (fols 82va, 5rb; cf. also the <i>səray</i> on fol. 40va) / አንትሙ፡ ወኣቱ፡ ዘርእ፡ ቡሩክ፡ (fol. 82ra) | — | |
| | EMML 7078, fols 17r–29r | x | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝቡ(!)፡ እመኑ፡ በብርሃን፡ በወልድ(!)፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አጥመቆሙ፡ ዝ(?)፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ግበሩ(?)፡ ፍ(?)፡ ዝ(!)ይደሉ፡፤ | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 112rb–116rb | x | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝቡ፡ እመኑ፡ በብርሃን፡ በወልድ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አጥመቆሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ግበሩ፡ ፍ፡ ዘይደሉ፡፤ | no |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols [...], 36ra–vb, [...], 5ra–vb, 3ra–vb, 30ra–31vb | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] |
| | GG-185, fols 125v–130v | x | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝቡ፡ እመኑ፡ በብርሃን፡ በወልድ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አጥመቆሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ግበሩ፡ ፍ፡ ዘይደሉ፡፤ | no |
| | GG-187, fols 90vb–94va | ለክርስቶስ፡ ይደሉ፡ ስብሐት፡ | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝቡ፡ እመኑ፡ በብርሃን፡ በወልድ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አጥመቆሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ግበሩ፡ ፍ፡ ዘይደሉ፡፤ | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ይቤሎሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ | — | — |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| <i>Wa-yābelomu II</i> / <i>Ḥaṣābomu</i> [10] | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ (<i>passim</i>) / ወይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ (fols 80ra, 6vb) | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 35r–40r | x | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ አንስ፡ መጸ(?)እኩ፡ ትእመኑ፡ ብዩ፡ ብ(!)አንተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተፈኖኩ፡፡ | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 119va–121ra | x | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ አንስ፡ መጸእኩ፡ ትእመኑ፡ ብዩ፡ በአንተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተፈኖኩ፡፡ | no |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 8va–10ra | ወይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ | x | ይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ አንስ፡ መጸእኩ፡ ትእመኑ፡ ብዩ፡ በአንተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተፈኖኩ፡፡ | no |
| | GG-185, fols 133v–134v | x | [left blank] | ወይ/134r/ቤሎ(!) ሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ አንስ፡ መጸ(?)እኩ፡ ትእመኑ፡ ብዩ፡ በአንተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተፈኖኩ፡፡ | no |
| | GG-187, fols 103rb–104vb | x | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ አንስ፡ መጸእኩ፡ ትእመኑ፡ ብዩ፡ በአንተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተፈኖኩ፡፡ | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ | — | — |
| <i>Habu sabbhata /</i> <i>Tafaśśəhi Šəyon</i> [11] | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ (<i>passim</i>) / ወይቤሎሙ፡፡ ዮሐንስ፡ (fol. 80rb) | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 63r–[...]–65v | x | x | ሐረት፡ ቤት(!)፡ ክርስ[...] [...]በ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወትቤሎ፡ አንተኑ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወ[...] [...]ኮንኩ፡ ኪያሁ፡ ናሁ፡ በግዑ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ብሔ[...] [...]ትት፡ ኅጢአት(!)፡ ዓለም፡፡ | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 126rb–127va | x | x | ተፈሥሐ፡ ጽዮን፡ ንጉሥኪ፡ በጽሐ፡ ዘበብርሃኑ፡ ሰደዶ፡ ለጽልመት፡ ተቀበልዎ፡ ደቂቁ፡ ጽዮን፡ በክብር፡ ወበስብሐት፡፡ | yes |
| | —, fols 128vb–129rb | x | x (በ፩) | ሐረት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኅበ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወትቤሎ፡ አንተኑ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወይቤላ፡ ኢኮንኩ፡ ኪያሁ፡ ናሁ፡ በግዑ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘያኣትት፡ ኅጢአተ፡ ዓለም፡፡ | no |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| <i>Tanśə'u nəḥor</i> [12] | BnF Éth. 92, fols 15ra–16vb | ተፈሥሒ፡ ጽዮን፡ | x | ተፈሥሒ፡ ጽዮን፡ ንጉሥኪ፡ በጽሐ፡ ዘበብርሃኑ፡ ሰደዶ፡ ለጽልመት፡ ተቀበልዎ፡ ደቂቀ፡ ጽዮን፡ በክብር፡ ወበስብሓት፡፤ | yes |
| | GG-185, fols 138v–140r | ተፈሥሒ፡ ጽዮን፡ | x | ሰማዶ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ሰበ(!)(?) ኬ፡ ወንጌል፡ ቃለ፡ አዋዲ፡ ዘይሰብከ(?)፡ በገደ(!)ም፡ ወይቤ፡ አንሰ፡ መጻ(!)እኩ፡ ለነስሐ፡፤ | no |
| | GG-187, fols 110vb–112va | ተፈሥሒ፡ ጽዮን፡ | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ አንትሙ፡ አኅዊየ፡ ለክሙ፡ ተፈነ[ወ]፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ሕይወት፡፤ | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ተፈሥሒ፡ ጽዮን፡ | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ተፈሥሒ፡ ጽዮን፡ | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 54v–55r | x | x | ተንሥ[...] ንኅር፡ ወንግ(!)ሣ፡ ባሕ፡ ንበላ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክር[...]ዎን፡፤ | yes |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 127va–b | x | x | ተንሥእነ፡ ንሐር፡ ወንጊሣ፡ ባሕ፡ ንበላ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡፤ | yes |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 7va–8ra | ተንሥኡ፡ ንሐር፡ | x | ተንሥኡ፡ ንሐር፡ ወንጊሣ፡ ባሕ፡ ንበላ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡፤ | yes |
| | GG-185, fol. 133r–v | — | ተንሥኡ፡ ንሐር፡፤ ናሁ፡ ብርሃን፡ | በመስቀልክ፡ ድኅነ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እለ፡ አመነ፡ ድኅነ፡ በደሙ፡ ቤዘወነ፡ በመስቀሉ፡፤ | no |
| | GG-187, fol. 102rb–va | ተንሥኡ፡ ንሐር፡ | x | በመስቀልክ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እለ፡ አመነ፡ ድኅነ፡ በመስቀሉ፡፤ | no |
| <i>Niqodimos</i> <i>'amṣə'a / Qəne dabtara</i> [13] | EMML 2095, — | — | ተንሥኡ፡ ንሐር፡ | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ተንሥኡ፡ ንሐር፡ | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 29r–32v | x | x | መስቆ(?)ልክ፡ እግዚአ(!)፡ ተሴ(!)በ[...]፡ መስቆ(?)ልክ፡ ሙቁሓን፡ ፈትሐ፡ እስመ፡ በዝንቱ፡ መስቆ(?)ል፡ በዘ፡ ቦቱ፡ ንመው[...] ለኸሉ፡ እኩየ(!)፡፤ | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 125rb–126rb | x | ኒቆዲሞስ፡ አምጽአ፡ የ፡ [pro ፻] ረትረ፡ | ወተዐትብ፡ ወወፅአ፡ ኀበ፡ ጋላት፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ይኔ(!)ሰኒ፡ አግብእ፡ ርእስየ፡ እምይሕለቅ፡ ሕዝብ፡ በማጥባኅት፡፤ | yes |

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| <i>Za-maṣ'a 'ām-dāhira nabiyyāt</i> [14] | BnF Éth. 92, fols 14ra–15ra | ወተመይጠ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ገሊላ፡ | x | ኒቆድ(!)ሞስ፡ አምጽአ፡ ምእተ፡ ልጥረ፡ ወአወፈየ፡ ከርቤ፡ ወዐልወ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ በወንጌል፡ ገነዝዎ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ በስንድናት። | yes |
| | GG-187, fols 109ra–110rb | x | ኒቆዲሞስ፡ አምጽአ፡ ምእተ፡ ረትረ፡ | መስቀልከ፡ እግዚአ፡ ብርሃን፡ መሰረተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እስመ፡ በዝንቱ፡ ዕፁ፡ መስቀል፡ በዘ፡ ቦቱ፡ ንመውአ፡ ለኩሉ፡ እኩይ። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ቅኔ፡ ደብተራ፡ | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ቅኔ፡ ደብተራ፡ | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 50v–54r | x | x | ዮሐንስ፡ ከ[...]ር፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ ገዳማዊ፡ ዐርኩ፡ ለመርዓዊ [...]ጽአቱ፡ ትዜኑ፡ ፈነወ፡(!) ከ፡ ቃል፡ ትጺሕ፡ ፍኖ[...] ለልዑል። | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 117va–118vb | x | x | ዘመጽአ፡ እምድሃረ፡ ነቢያት፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡ ሰበከ፡ ጥምቀቶ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ለልየ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ብርሃን፡ መጽአ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም። | no |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 35va–b, 4ra–vb, 7ra–va | ዘመጽአ፡ እምድሃረ፡ ነቢያት፡ | x | ዘመጽአ፡ እምድሃረ፡ ነቢያት፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡ ሰበከ፡ ጥምቀቶ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ለልየ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ብርሃን፡ መጽአ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም። | no |
| | GG-187, fols 100va–102rb | x | x | ዘመጽአ፡ እምድሃረ፡ ነቢያት፡ ዘዮሐንስ፡ ሰበከ፡ ጥምቀቶ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ለልየ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ብርሃን፡ መጽአ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ዘመጽአ፡ እምድሃረ፡ ነቢያት፡ | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ዘመጽአ፡ እምድሃረ፡ ነቢያት፡ | — | — |
| <i>Bāṣu 'anta Yoḥannās</i> [15] | EMML 7078, fols 11v–17r | x | x | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ ንብረትከ፡ ወኣዲም፡ ውስተ፡ ሕ(?)ቄ(!)ከ፡ ነቢይ፡ ል/12r/ዑል፡ ተሰመይከ። | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 110ra–112rb | x | x | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ ንብረትከ፡ ኣዲም፡ ውስተ፡ ሓቓከ፡ ነቢየ፡ ልዑል፡ ተሰመይከ። | no |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 31vb–34rb | አንጠላዕ፡ ደመና፡ | x | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ ንብረትከ፡ ኣዲም፡ ውስተ፡ ሓቓከ፡ ነቢየ፡ ልዑል፡ ተሰመይከ። | no |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|--|---|------------|
| Za-marāḥkomu [16] | GG-185, fols 131v–132v | x | [left blank] | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ ንብረትክ፡ አዲም፡ ውስተ፡ ሐቄክ፡ ነቢየ፡ ልዑል፡ ተሰመይክ። | no |
| | GG-187, fols 96ra–98ra | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ | x | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ ንብረትክ፡ ወአዲም፡ ውስተ፡ ሐቄክ፡ ነቢየ፡ ልዑላ፡ ተሰመይክ። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ብፁዕ፡ አንተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 44v–47v | x | x | ጸርኅ፡ ዮሐ[...] ወይቤ፡ ድኅረ፡ ነቢያት፡ እምቅድመ፡ ም[...] ት(!) ወልድ፡ አንስ(!) ተፈኖኩ፡ ቤዛ፡ ኀጢአቶ(?) አጥምቅ፡ በማይ፡ አንስ(!) ተፈኖኩ። | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 121vb–122vb | x | x | ዘመራሕመ፡ ለሕዝብክ፡ በየማነ፡ እዴክ፡ ወለሐዋርያት፡ በባሕር፡ ኮንክ፡ ዛሕን፡ በጸጋክ፡ ወይአዜኔ፡ ርድአን፡ በመስቀልክ፡ እግዚእ(?)፡ ለሰንበት፡ ንጉሠ፡ ሰላም። | yes (?) |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 10vb–11vb | ጸርኅ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ | x | ዘመራሕመ፡ ለሕዝብክ፡ በየማነ፡ እዴክ፡ ወለሐዋርያት፡ በባሕር፡ ኮን፡ ዛሕን፡ በጸጋክ፡ ወይአዜኔ፡ ርዶ(!)አን፡ በመስቀልክ፡ እግዚእ፡ ለሰንበት፡ ንጉሠ፡ ስብሐት። | yes |
| | GG-185, fols 136r–138r | x | [left blank] | ጸርኅ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወይቤ፡ ድኅረ፡ እምነቢያት፡ እምቅድመ፡ ምጽአተ፡ ወልድ፡ ቤዛ፡ ኀጢአቶ፡ አጥምቅ፡ በማይ፡ አንስ፡ ተፈነውኩ። | no |
| | GG-187, fols 105vb–107ra | ዘመራሕመ፡ ለሕዝብክ፡ | x | ጸርኅ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወይቤ፡ ድኅረ፡ ነቢያት፡ እምቅድመ፡ ምጽአተ፡ ወልድ፡ አንስ፡ ተፈኖኩ፡ ቤዛ፡ ኀጢአቶ፡ አጥምቅ፡ በማይ፡ አንስ፡ ተፈኖኩ። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ጸርኅ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ (<i>passim</i>) / ጸርኅ፡ [ዮሐንስ፡ ወይቤ፡ (fol. 17v)] | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ጸርኅ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ | — | — |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| <i>Ḥayālān sab'</i> [17] | EMML 7078, fols 67v–68r | x | x | እስ[...] ይእት፡ ወብርሃን፡ መድኃኒት፡ ቤት [...] ያን፡ እምሙ፡ ይእት፡ ለሰመ(!) ዕት፡ ደብ[...] /68r/ ኩሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ እን[...] [...] ራ፡ እደ፡ ሰብእ፡ | no (?) |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 129rb–va | x | x | ዘይስዕሎሙ፡ ለሕፃናት፡ በውስተ፡ ማሕፀን፡ ወረደ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ዘይዜንዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ቃለ፡ ትፍሥሕት፡ | yes |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 18va–19ra | ኃያላን፡ ሰብእ፡ | x | እስመ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ካህናት፡ እለ፡ ተውህበ፡ ሎሙ፡ ጸጋተ፡ አዕይንተ፡ ተከዜ፡ አቆምከ፡ ሎሙ፡ በጸሎቶሙ፡ | no |
| | GG-187, fol. 114rb–va | ኃያላን፡ ሰብእ፡ | x | እስመ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ካህናት፡ እለ፡ ተውህበ፡ ሎሙ፡ ጸጋተ፡ አዕይን፡ (!) ተ፡ ተከዜ፡ አቆምከ፡ ሎሙ፡ በጸሎቶሙ፡ | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | እስመ፡ ዋካ፡ ይእት፡ | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | እስመ፡ ዋካ፡ ይእት፡ (<i>passim</i>) / እስመ፡ ዋካ፡ (fols 80ra, 8vb) | — | — |
| <i>Zātti 'əlat</i> [18] | EMML 7078, fols 57v–59v | x | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡ [...] ሐንስ፡ አንስ(!) መጸ(!)አኩ፡ ትእመኑ፡ ብዩ፡ ጽድቅ[...] ስምዕዩ፡ ብ(!) እንተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተፈኖኩ፡ | no |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 121ra–vb | x | x | ዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ እንተ፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ንትፌሣሕ፡ ባቲ፡ አብ፡ ቀደሳ፡ ለሰንበት፡ | yes |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 10ra–vb | ዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ | x | ይቤሎሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አንስ፡ መጸአኩ፡ ትእመኑ፡ ብዩ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ስምዕዩ፡ በእንተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተፈኖኩ፡ | no |
| | GG-185, fols 134v–136r | x | [left blank] | [...](?) ቃል፡ ዕፀ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወለአይሁድስ፡ ኮነ፡ ስደት፡ መስቀል፡ ረድኤት፡ መድኃኒት፡ | no |
| | GG-187, fols 104vb–105vb | ዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ | x | ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አንስ፡ መጸአኩ፡ ትእመኑ፡ ብዩ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ስምዕ፡ በእንተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተፈኖኩ፡ | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ | — | — |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| <i>Sanbat 'amehā</i> I [19] and <i>Wa- yāśu 'u lottu /</i> <i>Sanbat 'amehā</i> II [20] | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 40r–44r | x | x | የ(?)ሐንስ፡ ስሙ(?)፡ [...]ዱስ፡ ውእቱ፡ እምክርስ(!)፡ እሙ፡ ቃል(!)፡ አ[...]ይ፡ ዝ(!)ይሰብክ፡ ጥምቀት(!)፡ ለንስሐ፡ ከ[...] ይእማ(!)ኑ፡ ወይጠ(?)መቀ(?)፡ (?) ሕዝብ፡ በ(?)ብርሃ[...] | no |
| | EMML 7618, fols 122vb–124rb | x | x | ሰንበት፡ አሜሃ፡ አመ፡ ይቤሎ፡ ለመፃገዎ፡ ንሣኦ፡ ዓራተክ፡ ወነሥ/123፡ ዓራቶ፡ ወአተወ፡ ቤቶ፡ እስመ፡ ፈወሶ፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በሰንበት፡ | yes |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 11vb–13rb | ሐረ፡ ድወይ፡ | x | ሰንበት፡ አሜሃ፡ አመ፡ ይቤሎ፡ ለመፃገዎ፡ ንሣኦ፡ ዓራተክ፡ ነሥኦ፡ ዓራቶ፡ ወአተወ፡ ቤቶ፡ እስመ፡ ፈወሶ፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በሰንበት፡ | yes |
| | GG-185, fol. 138r | x | x | የሐንስ፡ ስሙ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውእቱ፡ እምክርስ፡ እሙ፡ ቃለ፡ አዋዲ፡ ዘይሰብክ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ለንስሐ፡ ከመ፡ ይእመኑ፡ ወይጠመቁ፡ ሕዝብ፡ በብርሃኑ፡ | no |
| | GG-187, fols 107ra–108va | ሰንበት፡ አሜሃ፡ | x | የሐንስ፡ ስሙ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውእቱ፡ እምክርሠ፡ እሙ፡ ቃለ፡ አዋዲ፡ ዘይሰብክ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ለንስሐ፡ ከመ፡ ይእመኑ፡ ወይጠመቁ፡ ሕዝብ፡ በብርሃኑ፡ | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ሰንበት፡ አሜሃ፡ | — | — |
| <i>Nəlbās waltā</i> [21] | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ሰንበት፡ አሜሃ፡ | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fols 61v–62r | x | x | ተወል[...] መድኅን፡ ተወልደ፡ ለነ፡(?) ክብር(!)፡ ቅዱሳ[...] እምላክ ፍጹም ው[...] [...]ድኅኑ፡ [...] | ? |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 128rb–va | x | x | ንልበስ፡ ወልታ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወንትቁጸል፡ ጌራ፡ መድኅኒት፡ በአሚን፡ በትፍሥሕት፡ ንብጻሕ፡ ቅድመ፡ ምክርና፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ | ? |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 16vb–17ra | ንልበስ፡ ወልታ፡ ብርሃን፡ | x | ንልበስ፡ ወልታ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወንትቁጸል፡ ጌራ፡ መድኅኒት፡ በአሚን፡ በትፍሥሕት፡ ንብጻሕ፡ ቅድመ፡ ምክርና፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ | yes (?) |
| | GG-187, fols 108vb–109ra | ንልበስ፡ ወልታ፡ ብርሃን፡ | x | ተወልደ፡ ለነ፡ መድኅን፡ ተወልደ፡ ለነ፡ ክብር፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወልደ፡ እምላክ፡ ፍጹም፡ ውእቱ፡ መድኅኑ፡ ለዓለም፡ | no (?) |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| Za- yǝgalabbābo [22] | EMML 2095, — | — | ንልበስ: ወልታ: ብርሃን: (fol. 31v) / ንልበስ: ወልታ: ብርሃን: (fol. 51v) | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ንልበስ: ወልታ: ብርሃን: (fol. 10va; cf. the two (!) <i>səray</i> antiphons on fols 16ra–b and 93rb) / ወንልበስ: ወልታ: ብርሃን: (fol. 95vb) | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fol. 61r–v | x | x | ዘይግ(?) (ል)ብቦ: ለሰማ[...] [...]መና: ወያስተዴሉ: ክረምት(!): ለምድር: ወያ[...] ሠ(!)ዕረ: ውስተ: ኢድባር: ተሠሀለነ: ዘኅ[...] [...]ምድር: ብ(!)ዕለት(!): ሰንበት። | no |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 128ra–b | x | x | ዘይገለብቦ: ለሰማይ: በደመና: ወያስተዴሉ: ክረምት: ለምድር: ወያበቅል: ሣዕረ: ውስተ: ኢድባር: ተሠሀለነ: ዘኅወፅካ: ለምድር: በዕለተ: ሰንበት። | no |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 17ra–b | ዘይገለብቦ: ለሰማይ: | x | ዘይገለብቦ: ለሰማይ: በደመና: ወያስተዴሉ: ክረምት: ለምድር: ወያበቅል: ሣዕረ: ውስተ: ኢድባር: ተሠሀለነ: ዘኅወፅካ: ለምድር: በዕለተ: ሰንበት። | no |
| | GG-187, fol. 110va–b | x | x | ዘይገለብቦ: ለሰማይ: በደመና: ወያስተደ(!)ሉ: ክረምት(!): ለምድር: ወያበቅል: ሣዕረ: ውስተ: ኢድባር: ተሠሀለነ: ዘሐወፅካ: ለምድር: በዕለተ: ሰንበት። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ዘይገለብቦ: (<i>passim</i>) / ዘይገለብቦ: ለሰማይ[:] (fol. 24r) | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ዘይገለብቦ: (<i>passim</i>) / | — | — |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| <i>Nāhu śannāy</i> [23] | | | ዘይገለብቦ፡ ለሰማይ፡ በደመና፡ (fol. 12ra) | | |
| | EMML 7078, fols 62v–63r | x | x | ርእዩ፡ ዘገብረ፡ [...]እነ፡ በበ፡ ጊዜሁ፡ ወዘ(!)ከመ፡ ሰርዖመ፡ በ[...]ዕሊሁ፡ ሰርዖ፡ ሰንበት፡ በኒረቱ፡ ወበጸጋ[...] [...]ት፡ ወሐጋይ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ዝናማት፡ ዝ(!)ይ[...] ለምድር፡፤ | ? |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 128ra | x | x | ርእዩ፡ ዘገብረ፡ እግዚእነ፡ በበ፡ ጊዜሁ፡ ወዘከመ፡ ሠርዖ፡ በበ፡ መዋዕሊሁ፡ ሠርዖ፡ ሰንበት፡ በኒረቱ፡ ወበጸጋሁ፡ ከረምተ፡ ወሐጋይ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ዝናማት፡ ዘይሠቂያ፡ ለምድር፡፤ | ? |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 17rb–va | ርእዩ፡ ዘገብረ፡ እግዚእነ፡ | x | ርእዩ፡ ዘገብ/17v/ረ፡ እግዚእነ፡ በበ፡ ጊዜሁ፡ ወዘከመ፡ ሠርዖ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ሠርዖ፡ ሰንበት፡ በጸጋሁ፡ ወበኒረቱ፡ ከረምተ፡ ወሐጋይ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ዝናማት፡ ዘይሠቂያ፡ ለምድር፡፤ | ? |
| | GG-187, fols 98vb–99ra | x | x | ርእዩ፡ ዘገብረ፡ እግዚእነ፡ በጊዜሁ፡ ወዘከመ፡ ሠርዖ፡ በበ፡ መዋዕሊሁ፡ ሠርዖ፡ ሰንበት፡ በኒረቱ፡ ወበጸጋሁ፡ ክ/99r/ረምተ፡ ወሐጋይ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ዝናማት፡ ዘይሠቂያ፡ ለምድር፡፤ | yes |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ርእዩ፡ ዘገብረ፡ | — | — |
| <i>ʾAbrəh lana</i> [24] | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ርእዩ፡ ዘገብረ፡ እግዚእነ፡ (fols 1vb, 4ra, 41va) / ርእዩ፡ ዘገብረ፡ (fol. 5vb) | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fol. 62v | x | x | ኡበርህ፡ ለነ፡ [...] ለነ፡ (እግዚእ፡) እስመ፡ ብርሃን፡ ትእዛዝክ፡፤ | no |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 128vb | x | x | ኡበርህ፡ ለነ፡ ኡበርህ፡ ለነ፡ እግዚእ፡ እስመ፡ ብርሃን፡ ትእዛዝክ፡፤ | no |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 17va–b | ኡበርህ፡ ለነ፡ እግዚእ፡ | x | ኡበርህ፡ ለነ፡ እግዚእ፡ ኡበርህ፡ ለነ፡ እግዚእ፡ እስመ፡ ብርሃን፡ ትእዛዝክ፡፤ | no |
| | GG-187, fol. 113va [Cf. Family 25 and the | እምላኪየ፡ (?) | x | ኡበርህ፡ ለነ፡ ኡበርህ፡ ለነ፡ እግዚእ፡ እስመ፡ ብርሃን፡ ትእዛዝክ፡፤ | no |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
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| | discussion in 5.3.3.3.14.] | | | | |
| | EMML 2095, — [Cf. Family 25 and the discussion in 5.3.3.3.14.] | — | አብርሃ: ለነ: | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB- 002, — [Cf. Family 25 and the discussion in 5.3.3.3.14.] | — | አብርሃ: ለነ: | — | — |
| <i>Ba-kama yābe</i> [25] | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 19vb | ብርሃነ: ብርሃናት: | x | ብርሃነ: ብርሃናት: ወፈጠ(?)ፊ: አዝማን: እስከለከ: ትስማዕ: ጸሎትዮ: ወትትወከፍ: አሚኖትዮ። | yes (?) |
| | GG-187, fol. 113va–b [Cf. Family 24 and the discussion in 5.3.3.3.14.] | አምላኪዮ: (?) | x | ብርሃነ: ብርሃናት: ወፈጣፊ: አዝማን: እስከለከ: ትስማዕ: ስከለትዮ: ወትትወከ(!)ፍ: አሚኖትዮ። | yes (?) |
| | EMML 2095, — [Cf. Family 24 and the discussion in 5.3.3.3.14.] | — | አብርሃ: ለነ: | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB- 002, — [Cf. Family 24 and the discussion in 5.3.3.3.14.] | — | አብርሃ: ለነ: | — | — |
| <i>Laka səbḥat</i> [26] | EMML 7078, fols 56r–57v | x | x | ለከ: ስብሐት: መሐሪ: ለከ: ስብሐት: ወለከ: አኩቴት: ዘኣንቀ(!)ህከ: እምንዋም: ወጸገውከነ: ብርሃን(!)። | yes |
| | EMML 7618, fols 124va–125ra | x | x | ለከ: ስብሐት: መሐሪ: ለከ: ስብሐት: ወለከ: አኩቴት: ዘኣንቀ(!)ህከ: እምንዋም: ወጸገውከነ: ብርሃነ። | yes |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fols 13va–14ra | ለ(?)ከ: ስብሐት: መሐሪ: | x | ለከ: ስብሐት: መሐሪ: ለከ: ስብሐት: ወለከ: አኩቴት: ዘኣንቀህከ: እምንዋም: ወጸገውከነ: ብርሃነ። | yes |

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| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|--|--------|
| <i>Za-ba-Dāwit</i> [27] | GG-187, fol. 98rb–vb | ለክ: ስብሐት: | x | ሠርዐ: ሰንበተ: ለዕረፍት: ገባፊ: ሕይወት: አምላክ: ምሕረት: አሰርገዋ: ለምድር: በሥነ: ጽገያት: ሠርዐ: ሰንበተ: ለዕረፍት:፤ | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ለክ: ስብሐት: መሐረ: | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ለክ: ስብሐት: መሐረ: | — | — |
| | EMML 7078, fol. 67v | ዘበ: ዳዊት: | x | ርእዩኬ [...] አፍቀረን: እግዚአ: ብሔር: ኪያን: ት[...] ኢመነን: እምይእዜሰ: ናኢኹቶ: ለአ[...] [...]ለዝ(!): ዐቀበን: ወጸገወን: ዘይ(!)ዓቢ: ብር[...] | no (?) |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 19rb–va | ዘበ: ዳዊት: ተነበየ: | x | ዘበ: ዳዊት: ተነበየ: ወበዮሐንስ: ጥምቀተ: ጎረየ: በቃና: ዘገለላ: ማየ: ወይን: ረሰየ: መዐዛ: ቃልክ: ይትወከፍ: ጸሎትየ:፤ | no (?) |
| | GG-185, fol. 140r | x | ዘበ: ዳዊት: ተነበየ: | ዘበዳዊት: ተነበየ: ወበዮሐንስ: ጥምቀተ: ጎረየ: በቃና: ዘገለላ: ማየ: ወይን: ረሰየ: መዓዛ(?): ቃልክ: ይትወከፍ: ጸሎትየ:፤ | no (?) |
| | GG-187, fols 114vb–115ra [This family appears to be a later addition.] | ዘበ: ዳዊት: ተነበየ: | x | ርእይኬ: ዘከመ: አፍቀረን: እግዚአብሔር: ኪያን: ትሐታነ: ኢመነንና(!): እምይእዜሰ: ናኢኹቶ: ለአምላክነ: ለዘ: ዐቀበን: ወጸገወን: ዘየዐቢ: ብርሃን:፤ | no (?) |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ዘበዳዊት: | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ዘበዳዊት: / ዘበ: ዳዊት: / ዘበዳዊት: ተነበየ: (fol. 13vb) | — | — |
| <i>Nāhu bārhanāta samāy</i> [28] | EMML 7078, fols 55r–56r | x | x | ናሁ: ብርሃናት(!): [...]ይት: ይከድነኪ: ጽዮን: ተሐነጺ: በጽድቅ: [...]ቂ(?): እመዐመፃ: ኢእህ(!)ቦ: ለባዕድ: ክብርኪ: [...] | yes |
| | EMML 7618, fol. 119ra–b | x | x | ናሁ: ብርሃናተ: ሰማይ: ይከድነኪ: ጽዮን: ተሐነጺ: በጽድቅ: ወረሐቂ: እምዐመፃ: ኢይሁብ: ላ(!)ባዕድ: ክብርኪ:፤ | yes |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 8ra–va | ናሁ: ብርሃናተ: ሰማይ: | x | ናሁ: ብርሃናተ: ሰማይ: ይከድነኪ: ጽዮን: ተሐነጺ: በጽድቅ: ረሐቂ: እምዐመፃ: ወኢይሁብ: ለባዕድ: ክብርኪ:፤ | yes |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
|--|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|--------|
| <i>Bərḥān za-yəwaššə</i> [29] <i>Šar‘a sanbata / Šarḥa ‘Isāyayās</i> [30] | GG-185, fol. 133v | x | [left blank] | ገብረ: ብርሃናተ: በመስቀሉ: ገብረ: መድኃኒተ: ጸወንነ: ጽንዕነ: መስቀል: መሰረታ: ለቤተ: ክርስቲያን። | no |
| | GG-187, fols 102vb–103rb | ናሁ: ብርሃናተ: ሰማይ: | x | ገብረ: ብርሃናተ: በመስቀሉ: ገብረ: መድኃኒተ: ጸወንነ: ጽንዕነ: መስቀል: መሰረታ: ለቤተ: ክርስቲያን። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ናሁ: ብርሃናተ: ሰማይ: | — | — |
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ናሁ: ብርሃናተ: ሰማይ: | — | — |
| | See the melodic family ‘ <i>Amlāka</i> ‘ <i>Addām</i> [7] above. | | | | |
| | EMML 7078, fol. 68r [This family is a later addition to the manuscript.] | x | x | [...]ሳይያስ: ወይቤ:(!) ለመ: ሕፃን: ተወልዶ: [...]ሕይወነ: መጽእ: ኀቤነ: ወረደ: እምላ(?)[...] [...]ገወ: በማሕፃ(?)ነ: ድንግል: አንሰሰ[...] [...]በ: ምድር: ወአስተርአየ: እምላ(?)[...] [...]መ: ሰብዕ። | no (?) |
| | EMML 7618, fols 127vb–128ra | x | x | ወይቤልዎ: ለዮሐንስ: ክርስቶስነ: አንተ: ነቢይነ: አንተ: ዘታጠምቅ: ወይቤሎመ: አንሰ: መጻ(?)እኩ: ሰማዕተ: እኩን: በእንቲአሁ: ናሁ: ይመጽእ: እምድኅሬየ: ፀሐየ: ጽድቅ: ዘያበርህ: ለኩሉ: ሕዝብ: ክርስቶስ። | no (?) |
| | BnF Éth. 92, fol. 18ra–b | ጸርሐ: ኢሳይያስ: | x | ወይቤልዎ: ለዮሐንስ: ክርስቶስነ: አንተ: ነቢይነ: አንተ: ዘታጠምቅ: ወይቤሎመ: አንሰ: መጻእኩ: ሰማዕተ: እኩን: በእንቲአሁ: ናሁ: ይመጽእ: እምድኅሬየ: ፀሐየ: ጽድቅ: ያበርህ: ለኩሉ: ሕዝብ: ክርስቶስ። | no |
| | GG-187, fol. 113vb [Additions have been made to this family.] | ጸርኀ: ኢሳይያስ: | x | ወይቤልዎ: ለዮሐንስ: ክርስቶስነ: አንተ: ነቢይነ: አንተ: ዘታጠምቅ: ወይቤሎመ: አንሰ: መጻእኩ: ሰማዕተ: እኩን: በእንቲአሁ: ናሁ: ይመጽእ: እምድኅሬ(የ: ፀሐ)የ: ጽድቅ: ያበርህ: ለኩሉ: ሕዝብ: ክርስቶስ። | no |
| | EMML 2095, — | — | ጸርኀ: ኢሳይያስ: | — | — |

Data set 3

| | Correspondence in MSS | Design. in margin | Design. in text | First antiphon | Front. |
|-------------------------------|--|-------------------|--------------------------|---|--------|
| | Ethio-SPaRe SSB-002, — | — | ጸርጎ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ | — | — |
| <i>ʾAṣābə ʾihu</i> [31] | [I have not been able to identify this family in any of the early collection.] | | | | |
| <i>Za-geśa</i> [32] | [I have not been able to identify this family in any of the early collection.] | | | | |
| <i>La-beta krəstiyān</i> [33] | [I have not been able to identify this family in any of the early collection.] | | | | |
| A | EMML 7618, fol. 128ra | x | x | ለዘ፡ ዓርገ፡ ወሰተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ኪያሁ፡ ናኢኩት፡ ትብል፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ መዐዛሆሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ዘኣንተ፡ ወሀብካ(?)ኑ። | ? |
| B | EMML 7618, fol. 129rb | x | x (በ፩) | ሰርክ፡ ናኢኩተክ፡ ወንሴ[ብ]ሐክ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ሰብኢ ዘኣውዐልከነ፡ ኸሎ፡ ኑሐ፡ ዕለት። | no (?) |
| C | EMML 2095, — | — | ኣዘዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለሙሴ፡ | — | — |

Data set 4. Melodic-family designations in antiphons for selected commemorations within the Season of Flowers

Data set 4 contains information concerning the melodic-family designations connected to the antiphons for the selected commemorations within Season of Flowers discussed in Chapter 5 (5.3.4), as attested in the relevant manuscripts of the Minor Corpus. It has the form of an Excel file, consisting of one sheet.

In column A, the antiphon identification numbers (see 3.1.3) of the antiphons included in the corpus of antiphons analysed in Chapter 5 are listed. In column B, the number of the respective melodic family, according to sequence in the *Mə'rāf* 2015, is given. Column C contains a transcription of the antiphon in question, based on one manuscript witness, which is identified in column D. The reason for providing transcriptions of the antiphons is that for a majority of these antiphons—those pertaining to the commemoration of the Children of Zebedee, Stephen the Protomartyr, and Sundays in the Season of Flowers—the texts have not been presented previously in the dissertation. Thus, providing the transcription of each antiphon as attested in one manuscript witness ensures that the studied antiphons can be unambiguously identified by the reader.

Columns E–AN contain the data on melodic-family designations in the respective collection. Each column contains data for one manuscript. For each attestation of one of the antiphons, the designation has been provided, edited according to the principles laid out in the Editorial principles (see pp. xxx–xxxi) and applying the use of double square brackets ([[]]) for indicating implied metadata described in the introduction to Data set 1. In cases where the same antiphon occurs twice in one manuscript,¹⁷⁸⁰ both melodic-family designations are given, separated by a plus sign (+). If one antiphon has two melodic-family designations (for example, one in the main text and one added between the lines), both are reproduced, separated by a comma (.). For model antiphons, marked in the manuscripts with either *sərayu* or *ba-zemāhu* (or an abbreviation of one of them), this marker has been reproduced, and additionally, within angle brackets (< >), the first words of the antiphon.

Additionally, a reference to the folio and column where the antiphon is to be found is given. This, combined with the sample transcription of each antiphon provided in column C, ensures that the source of the information is traceable. In columns AI and AK, which contain attestations of antiphons in the single-type *'arbā't* collections in MSS EML 2095 and BnF Éth. 92, respectively, grey areas indicate that the presence versus absence of individual antiphons is uncertain due to material loss.

¹⁷⁸⁰ In this context, 'the same antiphon' means the same text accompanied with the same musical markers (melodic-family designation and *mələkkət*).

Data set 4

A special comment should be made about the notation of attestations in the melodic-family-based single-type collections (columns AJ–AN). In these collections, melodic-family designations do not appear in connection with individual antiphons, but rather with a group of antiphons (see 5.3.3.1). For this reason, the antiphons attested in them are simply provided with a reference to the corresponding melodic family. For information about how the melodic-family designation connected to a particular melodic family in an individual collection has been realised, see Data set 3.

Data set 4 is available on the CD accompanying this dissertation and in the Research Data Repository of the Universität Hamburg (UHH-RDR) at the following link: <https://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.10044>.

Abstract

The central aim of the present dissertation is to advance the knowledge about the diachronic development of the corpus of *Daggwā*-type antiphons as transmitted in manuscript and printed form within the Ethiopic written culture. The dissertation opens with an introduction to the topic, drawing on previous research (Chapter 1), and a detailed presentation of a corpus consisting of forty-seven manuscripts and two printed editions, dating from between pre-mid-fourteenth-century times and the twentieth century, and comprising all but one of the known pre-seventeenth-century manuscripts (Chapter 2). Then follow three studies in which different aspects of the development of *Daggwā*-type antiphon collections are addressed: developments on the textual level (Chapter 3), developments in the *mise en texte* (Chapter 4), and developments in one of the systems for musical categorisation used indigenously for classifying *Daggwā*-type antiphons (Chapter 5). The dissertation ends with a brief summary of the results and an outlook on related topics that remains to be studied (Chapter 6).

The study of developments related to features of the text (Chapter 3) focusses, more specifically, on a) developments in the set of antiphons for the liturgical commemoration of Pāntalewon, and b) developments in the texts of said antiphons for Pāntalewon, as well as in a selection of antiphons for 'Abbā 'Aragāwi. It is concluded—based on the studied corpus—that certain fluctuations in the corpus of antiphons (specifically for Pāntalewon) can be observed, although there is also a substantial number of antiphons that have remained in place throughout the documented time span. Concerning the manner in which source texts are used, the data suggests that *Daggwā*-type antiphons for non-Ethiopian-Eritrean saints (in this case, Pāntalewon the Martyr and Gabra Krastos) are commonly derived from their respective *Lives*. Conversely, antiphons for saints commemorated primarily in the Ethiopic liturgical tradition (in this case, Pāntalewon of the Cell and 'Abbā 'Aragāwi) stand in a freer relation to their respective *Lives*. This, perhaps, suggests that the *Lives* for the latter postdate the formation of the corpora of antiphons. The subsequent chapter (Chapter 4) focusses on the way in which three levels in the hierarchical structure of a *Daggwā*-type antiphon collection are marked in the *mise en texte*: a) the beginning of a collection, b) the beginning of a commemoration / 'melodic-family' section, and c) the beginning and end of an individual antiphon. On each of these levels, changes over time are observed, including an increased use of 'symmetrical rubrication' (as opposed to semantically defined rubrication), changes in the use of punctuation marks, and an increased use of abbreviations. The final chapter of novel research (Chapter 5) focusses specifically on the system of 'melodic families' for 'arbā 't antiphons. While some parts of the system have remained diachronically stable, others have not. Certain changes correlate with general

shifts in the way that *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections are organised: from melodic-family-based collections to calendrical collections, and from single-type collections to multiple-type collections.

In summation, this dissertation presents studies of a selection of textual, codicological, and musicological aspects of the diachronic development of *Dagg^{wā}*-type antiphon collections based on a corpus consisting of all but one of the known pre-seventeenth-century manuscripts containing such collections, as well as a selection of later manuscripts and printed editions.

Zusammenfassung

Das Hauptziel der vorliegenden Dissertation ist das Voranbringen des Wissens über die diachrone Entwicklung des Korpus von Antiphonen des *Daggwā*-Typs, in der äthiopischen Schriftkultur in Handschriften und in gedruckten Büchern überliefert. Die Dissertation beginnt mit einer Einführung in das Thema, basierend auf bisheriger Forschung (Kapitel 1), und einer detaillierten Darstellung des Korpus, das aus siebenundvierzig Handschriften und zwei gedruckten Editionen, datierend aus einem Zeitraum von vor Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts und bis in das 20. Jahrhundert, besteht, und alle außer einer der aus vor dem 17. Jahrhundert datierten Handschriften umfasst (Kapitel 2). Darauf folgen drei Untersuchungen, die die Entwicklung von Sammlungen von Antiphonen des *Daggwā*-Typs auf drei Ebenen untersuchen: Entwicklungen auf der Textebene (Kapitel 3), Entwicklungen in der *mise en texte* (Kapitel 4), und Entwicklungen in einem der Systeme musikalischer Kategorisierung, die innerhalb der äthiopisch-eritreischen Kultur zur Klassifizierung von Antiphonen des *Daggwā*-Typs dienen (Kapitel 5). Die Dissertation endet mit einer kurzen Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse und einem Ausblick auf verwandte Themen, die noch zu erforschen sind (Kapitel 6).

Der Schwerpunkt der Untersuchung von Entwicklungen auf der Textebene (Kapitel 3) liegt auf a) Veränderungen im Antiphonenkorpus für die liturgische Kommemoration des Hl. Pāntalewon, und b) Entwicklungen innerhalb der Texte der einzelnen Antiphonen für Pāntalewon sowie auch für den Hl. 'Abbā 'Aragāwi. Basierend auf dem untersuchten Korpus können gewisse Fluktuationen innerhalb des Antiphonenkorpus (spezifisch für Pāntalewon) festgestellt werden, wenngleich ein bedeutender Teil der Antiphonen über den gesamten dokumentierten Zeitraum belegt ist. Hinsichtlich der Verwendung von Quellen legen die Daten nahe, dass Antiphonen des *Daggwā*-Typs für nicht-äthiopisch-eritreischen Heilige (in diesem Fall: Pāntalewon der Märtyrer und Gabra Krəstos) häufig von den jeweiligen Viten abgeleitet sind, während Antiphonen für Heilige, die hauptsächlich innerhalb der äthiopischen liturgischen Tradition verehrt werden (hier: Pāntalewon von der Höhle und 'Abbā 'Aragāwi), eine freiere Stellung gegenüber den Viten einnehmen. Daraus lässt sich möglicherweise schließen, dass die Viten der Letzteren erst nach der Herausbildung des Antiphonenkorpus entstanden sind. Im folgenden Kapitel (Kapitel 4) wird untersucht, durch welche *mise-en-texte*-Eigenschaften drei Ebenen in der hierarchischen Struktur einer Sammlung von Antiphonen des *Daggwā*-Typs zum Ausdruck gebracht werden: a) der Anfang einer Sammlung, b) der Anfang einer Kommemoration bzw. eines Abschnitts mit Antiphonen derselben „melodischen Familie“, und c) der Anfang und das Ende einer einzelnen Antiphon. Auf jeder dieser Ebenen werden Veränderungen beobachtet, darunter eine zunehmende Verwendung „symmetrischer Rubrizierung“ (im Gegensatz zu semantisch definierter

Rubrizierung), Veränderungen in der Verwendung von Satzzeichen und eine zunehmende Verwendung von Abkürzungen. Im letzten der Hauptkapitel (Kapitel 5) liegt der Schwerpunkt auf dem System von „melodischen Familien“ für *'arbā 't*-Antiphonen. Während einige melodische Familien diachron stabil geblieben sind, lassen sich in Anderen Entwicklungen feststellen. Von diesen können einige mit Veränderungen in der Organisation der einzelnen Sammlungen in Zusammenhang gesetzt werden – von Sammlungen, die nach melodischer Familie sortiert sind, hin zu Sammlungen, in denen die Antiphonen in kalendarischer Reihenfolge stehen, bzw. von Sammlungen, die einen einzelnen Antiphonentyp beinhalten, hin zu Sammlungen, die mehreren Antiphonentypen umfassen.

Kurzgefasst präsentiert diese Dissertation Untersuchungen einer Auswahl an textuellen, kodikologischen sowie musikologischen Aspekten der diachronen Entwicklung von Sammlungen von Antiphonen des *Dəgg^{wā}*-Typs, basierend auf einem Korpus, das mit einer Ausnahme alle bekannten Exemplare solcher Sammlungen, die aus der Zeit vor dem 17. Jahrhundert stammen, sowie eine Auswahl an späteren Handschriften und gedruckten Editionen, umfasst.

List of publications

Karlsson, Jonas forthcoming. ‘Developments in the Melody-based Categorization of Ethiopian-Eritrean *’Arbā’*t Antiphons’, (forthcoming).