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The Manuscripts Library of Qoma Fasilädäs Monastery

Anais Wion*

The monastery of Qoma Fasilädäs is located in South Gondär, in 'Iste *warada*, in the ancient region of Begämder, near the Abbay. Founded around 1630 A.D. by Queen Wäld Sä'ala, wife of Susneyos (1607-1632) and mother of Fasilädäs (1632-1667), it preserves its very rich collection of manuscripts¹.

The aim of this study is to paint the evolution of this monastic library, from the foundation until the present. We will try to apprehend as a whole (internal cohesion of this particular library) as in its components (history of some pieces or texts). First, the formation of this collection can be traced thanks to some donation's lists, from Wäld Sä'ala's time (mid-XVIIth c.) and from As'e Yohannes' time (end -XVIIth c.), and then two recent lists will offer some elements of comparison. We will examine the significance of this library in its context, by putting some codex in perspective with the cultural and religious background, and drawing special attention to contemporary literature as *Mäzgäbä Haymanot*, *Haymanotä 'Abaw*, *Fithä Nägäst*, *Fäws Mänfäsawi*, as well as focusing on the most ancient codex of this collection: *Sawiros* and *Gädlä Ewostatewos*.

This study is a step in a global approach to Ethiopian classical literature which considers manuscripts as objects as well texts.

1. Formation of Qoma Fasilädäs Collection of Manuscripts

We can find at least five lists of books in three codex of the monastery: two lists in *Miracles of Mary*, n° 714²; two lists in *Synaxary*, n° 665; one list in *Miracles of Mary*, n° 701.

They can be divided in three types:

- a first type reports a donation from Queen Wäld Sä'ala to Qoma Fasilädäs. This list has been copied three times, and comprises twenty-nine volumes.
- a second type of list adds twenty-four volumes, gathered by the *mämhir* of that time and other personalities, presumably during the reign of Yohannes. We have only one copy.
- a third list consists of only nine volumes, given by Wäld Sä'ala but to another church. It will be an element of comparison.

Their study may enlighten the process of the manuscripts' acquisition.

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¹ All the material used for this study was collected during two field-trips in Qoma Fasilädäs in April, and August-September 1999, for the sake of a Ph.D., University of Paris-I Sorbonne, History Department. I would like to address my acknowledgements to all the people who helped me, from Ethiopian Ministry of Culture, Information and Tourism, Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahdo Church, French Centre of Ethiopian Studies, and French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (bureau des boursiers français à l'étranger).

² We use here for more simplicity the inventory numbers of the Ministry of Culture's inventory.

Then some very recent lists can complete this study: one is from 1979-80 E. C. realized by the Ministry of Culture, and one from 1988 E. C., made out by the church of Qoma Fasilädäs³.

1.1 Three Lists of Donation from Queen Wäld Sä'ala (C.1635-C. 1660):

The manuscript 714 is a *Ta'amra Maryam*⁴, dedicated to Wäld Sä'ala and Fasilädäs (fol. 17, 90, 94, 179^v), and also Susneyos, but whose name has been erased for his memory might have been cursed after the coming back to the Orthodox faith (folios 17 and 94). This book contains most of the notes giving information about the time of the foundation. It is the master-book of the *'äqabet*.

Manuscript 701 is also a *Ta'amra Maryam*⁵ dedicated to Fasilädäs and Wäld Sä'ala (fol. 235^v), and it encloses the same list of twenty-nine volumes.

Manuscript 665 is the second part of *Synaxary*⁶ (*Magabit to Hamle*) given by Wäld Sä'ala whose name appears after each daily commemoration. The list has been written after the main text⁷, and is incomplete (twenty-four volumes).

According to manuscript 714, folio 182, this first list, containing twenty-nine volumes, is the following:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------|
| ፪ አርባዕቱ ወንጌል | 2 Gospels | 1 Four |
| ፪ ሃይማኖተ አበው | 2 Faith of the Fathers | |
| ፩ ሰንክሳር | 1 Synaxary | |
| ፩ ሲኖዶስ | 1 <i>sinodos</i> | 1 5 |
| ፩ አራት | 1 Octateuch | |
| ፩ ገድለ ቅዱስ ፋሲለደስ | 1 <i>Gäqdlä Fasilädäs</i> | 1 9 |
| ፩ ግብረ ሐማማት | 1 Lectionary for Passion Week | |
| ፩ ደቂቀ ነቢያት | 1 Minor Prophets | |
| ፩ ገድለ ሐዋርያት | 1 Lives of Apostles | |
| ፩ ገድለ ሰማዕታት | 1 Acts of Martyrs | |
| ፩ ክብረ ነገስት | 1 <i>Kibrä Nägäst</i> | |
| ፩ መጽሐፈ ነገስት | 1 Book of Kings | |
| ፩ መዝገብ ሃይማኖት | 1 <i>Mäzgbä Haymanot</i> | |
| ፩ ፍትሐ ነገስት | 1 <i>Fithä Nägäst</i> | |
| ፩ ጳውሎስ ግብር ሐዋርያ ቀለምሲስ በ፩ | 1 Pauline epistles – Acts of Apostles | |
| | –Apocalypse in one volume | |
| ፪ ተአምር | 2 Miracles (of Mary) | |
| ፩ ድጓ | 1 <i>Digwa</i> | |

፩ ጉባኤ
፩ ቅዱስ
፩ መጽሐፈ
፩ አርባዕ
፩ ዳዊት
፩ ሐዊ
፩ ፈላስፋ
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⁸ no 701 has

³ We have to notice that those lists are not only lists of books, but all of them are complete lists of the properties stored in the *'äqabet*: crosses, paintings, garments, liturgical clothes, and utensils.
24x22cm, 184 folios, 2 col., 16 lg (fol. 17, fol. 94).
33x29,5cm, 177 folios, 3 col., 37 lg.
37.5x32.5cm 177 folios, 3 col., 37 lg.

⁴ I was not able to take some photos of this codex, so all my information's has been copied by hand. It's why I can't give any paleographic evidences.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ገብጽ ነቢያት | 1 Major Prophets |
| ግዳሴ | 1 Missal |
| መጽሐፈ ግንዘት ፩ መጽሐፈ ክርስትና ⁸ | 1 Ritual for Death and Baptism |
| አርጋኖን | 1 'Arganon |
| ዳዊት | 1 Psalter |
| ሐዊ | 1 Hawi |
| ፊላሶፊ | 1 Book of Philosophers |
| ሲራክ | 1 Ecclesiasticus ^{???} |
| ግብረ ደመድሙ ፳፱ | which are twenty-nine books. |

The version of this list in the Synaxary, n° 665, is slightly different, as we will see later on.

The three manuscripts containing these lists are themselves included in this list, and all have dedications to queen Wäld Sä'ala inside the text. It proves only that the media on which they have been copied date from the foundation period. We will see that those three lists are not slavish copies. For the best understanding of how they have been copied, we have to observe the construction of the *marginalia*'s corpus, inside each manuscript.

2 Comparison between the Three Lists

How can we explain the presence of those three very similar lists? Have the copies been done at the same moment? Let's notice first that the process of multiple copies of a same text is usual, and even necessary because this is what gives legitimacy to an official act. *Liber axumae* is a famous example of it, although in this case this is the whole codex, composed of different types of texts, which has the validity of an official act (see Conti-Rossini, 1954).

Here we would like to give an example of how, inside a monastery, the "archives" are organized. The *gult* of Qoma Fasilädäs for instance has been copied at least five times, twice in 714 (fol. 180v^o-181), in 701 (fol. 254), in 685 (*Hawi* given by Wäld Sä'ala) and 678 (Octateuch also given by Wäld Sä'ala). But those copies do not seem to belong to the same period, as we will see further in the 714's case. In the same way, we can find an Arabian *waqf*, equivalent of *gult*, signed by *Abuna* Marqos, in three manuscripts of Qoma Fasilädäs: 714, (fol. 180), in a long version, then two shorter and similar versions in 701, fol. 253v^o and 666 (Minor Prophets). Again, they can be divided into two "generations".

Another kind of text is the commemoration of the life and death of Queen Wäld Sä'ala (1577-1661), copied in both volumes of the Synaxary, at the end of the first volume, and at the beginning of the other. As this text is a prayer, followed by two *malke* or *salam* to Wäld Sä'ala it finds its place in the Synaxary. It remembers

no 701 has : መጽሐፈ ግንዘት መስለ መጽሐፈ ክርስትና

how Wäld Sä'ala founded Qoma Fasilädäs, and as for the other official texts quoted below, functions of commemoration and legitimisation are closely linked.

1.2.1 The whole of the 714 list: first recording of the royal provision of the church's equipment at foundation

It is obvious in 714, fol.180-182v^o, that listing possessions of the *däbr* is essential: books are not the only possessions of the church to have been listed, but all properties (*regalia*) are listed⁹. After the text of the Miracles (fol. 179v^o), we have indeed a very interesting succession of texts. First, the *waqf*, an Arabic text signed by *Abuna Marqos* (1635-36/1647-48) (see *Coptic Encyclopædia*, vol. 4:1022-1025; Basset, 1881:287) and testifying to the foundation of the monastery (fol. 180), then a first "short version" of the *gult* (fol.180v^o-181), ending:

እምነኒ ጉልት ዘጽሑፍ በገጽ ዝንቱ መጽሐፍ። ወእምኩሉ ንዋያት
ዘተዘከሩ በዝንቱ ታሪክ። ዘወሀበት ወልድ ሰላላ ንግስት። ለቅዱስ
ፋሲለደስ ዘአንጸኪያ ከመ ይኩና ለመድኃኒተ ነፍስ ወሥጋ።

"Therefore, this *gult* has been written in the page of this codex, and all the objects (of the monastery) are inscribed in this document, which have been given by the queen Wäld Sä'ala to (the monastery of) saint Fasilädäs of 'Äns'okiya¹⁰ for helping the salvation of her soul and body¹¹."

→ registered / listed / mentioned

Then, after the whole list of objects and books (fol. 181-182), comes a second version of the *gult*, which can be considered as the "final version", enclosing all protection formulas (fol. 182v^o).

እምነኒ ጉልት ዘጽሑፍ በገጽ ዝንቱ መጽሐፍ ። ወእምኩሉ ንዋያት
ዘተዘከሩ በዝንቱ ታሪክ ከመኢንግሉ በተጋደሎ ወኢ በምንትኒ
ምክንያት ወለታሪክ ጽሕፈቶሂ ከመ ኢይፍሐቅ እመሂ ንጉሥ
ወመኮንን። አዉ መኑሂ እምሰብአ ዓለም እለ ይትነሥኡ በተዋልጦ

⁹ To be compared with the latter (and richer) list of donation to Qwesqwan by queen Mentewwab, in Guidi, 1910-12.28:95-99 and 29:102-108.

¹⁰ Qoma Fasilädäs monastery is very often called 'Äns'okiya, referencing to the city of Antioch, where Saint Fasilädäs is supposed to have been buried. And its *tabot* is said to have come from Antioch. As Lalibela represents the land of Jerusalem in Ethiopia. Qoma Fasilädäs participates to this re-creation of the Christian world, *imago mundi* of early Christianity in post-medieval Ethiopia. In the context of re-affirmation of Orthodox faith of the 1630s, this bridge with old oriental church was welcome and was may be participating to the credibility of the name of Fasilädäs. The homonymy between the Saint and the King is of course not casual.

¹¹ I would like to thank here Pr. Dr. M. Kropp for his precious help while translating most of the Ge'ez texts presented here.

አዝማን :: አጠቃላይ በሥልጣን ጳጳስና አን ሚካኤል ጳጳስ ኢትዮጵያ
ረድኦ አብ ክቡር አባ ማርቆስ ሊቀ ጳጳሳት ዘአስክንድርያ ::

"Therefore, this *gult* has been written in the page of this codex, and all the objects (of the monastery) are inscribed in this document, for them not to be taken by force nor in any way. It is why this text is written in this document, because it shall not be erased neither by a king nor a prince, nor any body of this world who will come in the forthcoming times. I excommunicate (them) by the power of my charge of patriarch, I Mikael, *pappas* of Ethiopia, servant of the glorious father Abba Markos, *liqā papasat* of Alexandria."

The list is enclosed between two texts, one signed by Abuna Marqos, the second by Abuna Mikael, Patriarch of Ethiopia (1648/49 or 1650-51/1663-64)¹², the subordinate of Marqos VI, Patriarch of Alexandria (1650-60). Our list has therefore a date *post quem*: 1635/36 AD and a date *ante quem*: 1660 AD¹³.
Headlines¹⁴ of this list are:

Fol.181:28 ቀሚስ =albs; 28 ሞጣሐት =stoles; and numerous additions: First hand-writing: from *abba Gälawdewos* (one *kapa*), *abba Sänä Siyon* (3 garments), *As'e Yohannes* (one *burnu*), *Abeto Wäldä Giyorgis* (clothes); later handwriting: from 'imeto 'Isade, mother of *dädjatch* 'Äbägaz, from *liq mäkwäs* Kidanä Maryam, *grazmatch* Wäldä Maryam, and *qoma gäze* Häylu, and in the upper margin, from *ras* Ali.

Fol.181v^o: 4 ዘታቦት ልብስ=altar veils; 24 መጋረጃ=curtains; 24 በፍታ¹⁵ ቀሚስ ዘጠሥጥ=white inside-alb; 2 ድባብ በአሐዱ ሀለወ ቦቱ ሰንደቅ¹⁶ = processional

¹² According to the Chronicles, which are quite abstruse about the investiture of Abuna Mikael, he arrived during the 16th year of Fasilädäs, 1648/49 AD. In Basset, 1881:288, n. 291; *Coptic Encyclopedia*, 4:1022-1025. But according to Ludolf: «circa annum 1651 Marcus, ob flagitia, ut quidem Tellezius scribit, deposits, successorem habuit Mikaelem» Ludolf, *Historia*, L.III, c.725, in Van Donzel, 1979:288. There is no mention of *abuna* Mikael's leaving or death, but *Abuna* Krestodolu arrived in 1663/64.

¹³ We might even think that all those folios (180v^o=182) were written before the ratification of Abuna Mikael, which eventually would give us 1650 AD *ante quem*.

¹⁴ They are not really headlines, but objects are listed by category, in the following way: ገልቁ followed by the type of object, then the list, then ወኩሉ ድመር and total number of items. A thin black line separates each list.

¹⁵ Kane 1990(1):953: calico; Guidi, 1940:108: cotonata bianca della qualità migliore (nota appunto sui mercati dell'Arabia meridionale e dell'Africa Orientale col nome di *bofta*, entrata anche nel gergo coloniale inglese, italiano e francese.)

¹⁶ Kane, 1990(1):552: stick with ferrule or hole. It could also have the meaning of "banner".

umbrellas; 7 አክሊል = crowns, and; 7 ጭራ ሳሽ = hats; 3 ጸሕል = chalices; 5 ጽዋዕ = patens and 1 አርፈ መስቀል = cross-spoon, and 20 crosses in metal (silver, gold, copper); with two additions: one from Bilä Kisos (one መጋረጃ), one anonymous (three pieces of cloth).

Fol.182:8 objects (ፍቅድፍ = ?, ሳውድ = paten for serving the host, እግራማ ብርት = basin with foot supports, መነሳንስት = fly whisk); 24 objects (ሰን = basin, ቅጭል = small bell, መረዋት = bell, መቅረዝ = candelabra, 4 አትሮንስ 1 ዘታቦት ወ3 ሳባሳይት ዘመጸሐፍት = lectern, መንበር = chairs); then our twenty-nine books; minor objects; with three additions: one silver መነሳንስት from As'e Yohannes, 6 objects anonymous, 9 objects from *balabaras*¹⁷.

The numerous additions on this list show that it is a "living list". But it is not an exhaustive count, and if some donations have been added later on this very first list, some have also been treated separately, in this manuscript (fol.183 to 185: from Tewoflos, Bakaffa and *Ras Mikael*¹⁸) and in some others.

1.2.2 The 701's copy: a second register of the 'äqabet collection

The 701, fol. 254r^o-v^o, is the second copy of this first whole list. It includes indeed some of those additions but only the most ancient ones, concerning As'e Yohannes' period (see above, underlined¹⁹). In the 714ms additions are clearly visible. A problem for the reader of this second version is that the marginal notes are now part of the list. Punctuation and demarcations should then be very strictly observed.

This means that this copy was done during or after the reign of As'e Yohannes (1667-1681), during or after the life of the following characters: *Abba Sänä Siyon*, *Abba Gälawdewos*, *Abeto Wäldä Giyorgis* and *Belä Krīstos*.

We have some information about the first two: *Abba Sänä Siyon*, like *Abba Gälawdewos*, seems to have been *māmhir* of Qoma, although it is quite strange that their title is not mentioned here. This office can be held by only one cleric at the same time, as *māmhir* is the head of the monastery, but a list of the 318 *liqawānt* who were settled by Wäld Sä'ala reveals that both of them were present at the early beginning.

Abba Gälawdewos is mentioned in at least four of Qoma Fasilädäs' manuscripts. In *Orit zäHenok* n°659, colophon reports that *Gälawdewos*²⁰ asked for this book to be copied in the third year of As'e Yohannes reign, and have it finished in the fourth year (1670-1671). Then *Haymanotä 'Äbäw*, n°667, has been purchased in Gonj by *Gälawdewos*, *māmhir* of Qoma, with amongst the witnesses, *Abba Lābawi* of

¹⁷ With no proper name.

¹⁸ Manuscript 714 seems to contain more royal donations than other volumes.

¹⁹ All of them seem clearly from the same handwriting, an at least have been written with the same ink, now brownish and dull.

²⁰ Without title, which might indicate that he was not yet *māmhir* at this time.

S'adda²¹. As S'adda was rebuilt in 1679-80 by As'e Yohannes (see Guidi, 1930:40)²², we can assume that the purchase of this codex is posterior to this date. Then Synaxary 665, as we will see, has a whole list of manuscripts given by Gälawdewos, ሃዳይ ማሕዘን ወልደ ጉምሁርታ ለአንጾኪያ, which could be either a periphrastic way of expressing *māmhīr* or that he received his education here in Qoma (see below).

We can notice that even if the 701 ms. offered more place to add the new gifts to the 'āqabet, until the XIXth century (*Ras Ali*), 714's pages have been chosen for accumulating those donations under a *marginalia* form, which means in its etymological sense: addition of text in the margin. There is no marginalia on the 701 copy, but the following blank pages have also received some later notes, land charters, donations, regulations, etc.

2.3 The 665's version: the third inventory

The third copy of this list is in the second part of the Synaxary, 665, fol174v°-175²³. It is different first in its order²⁴. Also it is shorter, only twenty-four of the twenty-nine books have been registered and five important codex are missing: ክብሩ ነገሥት, *Kibrā Nāgāst*; መጽሐፈ ነገሥት, Book of Kings; ፍትሐ ነገሥት, *Fīthā Nagast*; ብሔራዊ ነገሥት, Major Prophets; ሐዊ, *Hawi*. Those omissions are quite surprising, as all those volumes still exist in the library today, except maybe ጥቅም ነገሥት. May be they were out of the 'āqabet for being copied ... Or maybe just forgotten during inventory? ... At least, having seeing it, we are sure that the *Hawi* which is present now in the library is the one given by Wäld Sā'ala.

The last difference, is that the end of the list adds: ዘአርኬ ለግዚአብሔር ነግሠ:: ዘሀሌ ምስላ ዝንቱ ለንክሳር:: *Māshāfā Ārke* is a short hymn collection, usually located at the end of Saints' lives of Synaxary. The name comes from its author, 'Ārka Sīllus, a disciple of Giyorgis of Gasetcha²⁵ (see Kinefe-Rigb Zekele, 1977: 65; Leslau, 1987: 70). But the real title, as found in the *incipit*, is ለግዚአብሔር ነግሠ. This is the *Encomium* described by J. Ludolf (see d'Abbadie, 1859:149-50). It could even have been written during Zara Ya'iqob's time, but introduced in the Synaxary only during

²¹ fol. 172: colophon says that the owner is Gälawdewos, *māmhīr* of Qoma who obtained it from Wäldä Dinqusa of Mānfās Qiddus. Witnesses were *Abba Āgnatyos* from Gonj, *Abba Wäldä Haymanot* from Dongorso, *Abba Libaw* from S'adda, in front the *māmhīr* and all the people of Gonj.

²² «II [Yohannes I] passa la nuit à Sadda et y demeura 7 jours, donnant des ordres aux maçons et aux charpentiers et leur montrant de quelle façon jeter les fondements et préparant les dépenses (revenus) de l'église, que ce roi des rois A'laf Sagad avait élevée et transportée en haut, d'un endroit bas à un endroit élevé, la 13^e année de son règne.»

²³ I was not able to take some photos of this codex, so all my information has been copied by hand. It's why I cannot give any palaeographic evidences. Furthermore, I did not copy the whole list, but only the book's one.

²⁴ 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 8, 6, 11, 9, 22, 2, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 20.

²⁵ Manuscript B. N. Abaddie 133, in Paris, is very interesting because it is this collection of hymns, with at the beginning, folio 8, a picture of Ārkā Sīllus. See Conti Rossini, 1914:127-129. This manuscript might be from the late XVIth century or the early XVIIth century.

XVIth century (Ricci, 1969:842). It seems here that those hymns are the ones which exist in Synaxary, but in a special codex.

We may think that 714 is the first inventory, from one unique donation of Wäld Sä'ala. 701's version is a copy of this inventory, written during the periods of Assef Yohannes and *Mämhir Galawdewos*, and at this moment, some objects had already been added to Qoma Fasilädäs' *'äqabet*, but no books, at least not with the official recognition or "note of hand". Then comes 665's list, which is not a direct copy from 714 nor 701, but an inventory made out at a different moment (because of the different order and missing books). Moreover, just after this third version of the first list, follows a second list of new books, which may indicate that 665 presents a second recording of the library's collection.

1.3 The Second Donation of Books (after 1680):

ወእነሂ ገላውዴዎስ ነዳይ ወምስኪን ወልደ ትምህርታ ለአንጸኪያ። ወሀብኩ እሉንተ መጻሕፍተ። ለታዕተ ቅዱስ ፋሲለደስ። ዘውእተሙ።

And for me, Galawdewos, poor and miserable, son by education of 'Ans'okiya, I gave those books to the *tabot* of saint Fasilädäs. There are:

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| ፩ ፍትሐ ነገሥት | 1 <i>Fithä Nägäst</i> |
| ፩ ዜና አበው | 1 <i>Zena 'Abäw</i> (patristic) |
| ፩ ድርሳነ ቄርሎስ | 1 <i>Dersanä Qerlos</i> |
| ፩ ገጃዊ መቃርስ | 1 <i>Getsawi Mäqars</i> |
| ፩ ፈውስ መንፈሳዊ | 1 <i>Fäws Mänfasäwi</i> |
| ፩ ሥርዓተ ቤተ ክርስቲያን | 1 <i>Sir'atä Betä Kristyan</i> |
| ፩ መዝገብ። | 1 <i>Mäzgäb</i> |

addition

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ፩ ጴጥሮስ ዘምስር | 1 <i>Petros zäMisr</i> |
| ፩ ማር ይስሐቅ | 1 <i>Mar Yishaq</i> |
| ፩ ገድለ አበዉ | 1 <i>Gädlä 'Abäw</i> |
| ፩ ነገረ አበዉ | 1 <i>Nägära 'Abäw</i> |
| ፩ ገድለ ሲኖዳ ወባክስ? ²⁶⁾ | 1 <i>Gädlä Sinoda</i> (and Pakos?) |

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| ወዘወሀበ ወልደ ትንሣኤ | and Wäld Tinsa'e gave |
| ፩ ዮሐንስ አፈ ወርቅ | 1 Saint John Chrysostöm |
| ፩ ጳውሎስ ሓዋርያ ቀላምሲስ ግብር | 1 Pauline Epistles-Acts-Apocalypse |
| ፩ ቅዳሴ ዘአባ ላእክ ማርያም | 1 <i>Qidase</i> from <i>Abba La'ikä Maryam</i> |

²⁶ This word has been added by a latter hand, and I was not sure of the spelling while copying it.

I

ገደማኖተ አበጫ ዘአቤቶ ክሳዴ
አሌት መስለ ጊኖን ዘአትረይዎ

1 Faith of the Fathers from *Abeto Kısade*²⁷
1 Octateuch with *Henok* which he Purchased²⁸

ወዘመሀበ አባ ዮሐንስ

and *Abba Yohannes* gave

ጌታዬ ዘቦቱ ስብሐተ ፋቁር

1 *Qıdase*

ዳዊት መስለ መዝሙረ ድንግል

1 *Dawit* with *Mäzmurä Dıngıl*

አረጋዊ መንፈሳዊ

1 *Ärägäwi Mänfäsawi*

ምዕራፍ ዘመሀበ ትእምርተ ክርስቶስ

1 'Mi'ıraf given by *Ti'ämrtä Krıstos*

ገድለ ጳውሎስ ዘአባ ወልደ ትንሣኤ

1 *Gädlä S'aduqan* from *Wäldä Tınsa'e*
(again)

ሲኖዶስ ዘአቤቶ ጳትሮስ

1 *Sinodos* from *Abeto Petros*

መዝገቢ ዘቆን ጌታ ጳውሎስ

1 *Mäzgäbi* from *qan geta Pawlos*

ዝማሬ የመ ድን ዝመሬ ሳዊርስ ዘስሙናይ

1 *Zemare S'oma Dıgwa Zemare Sawiros*
zäSimunay

This second list is a new donation of books, coming from ten different persons, the most important being Gälawdewos, as he gave eleven volumes from the twenty-three. Moreover, the introductory sentence explains clearly his predominant role in this donation.

This second donation of books looks like a gift of the whole collection of Gälawdewos, presumably at the end of his life. We can imagine that he gave them to the monastery for own collection, with the names of the persons from whom he acquired those volumes throughout his life. As we have seen before, this list could also be a copy of his own list of purchase. We have no exact date, but as the *Orit zäHenoch* was copied in 1670-71, and *Haymanotä 'Äbaw* was purchased in Gonj presumably after 1680, this might give a date *post-quem* of 1680.

However, the preceding example of 701's copy must invite us to great circumspection while reading this document. All we can say is that it is an inventory of the library, but we should be very careful not to come to a conclusion about the exact time it was made.

²⁷ This is manuscript n° 667, which belong to Gälawdewos, who bought it after 1680. But *Abeto Kısade* is not amongst the witness of this exchange (see before).

²⁸ Manuscript n° 659, which belong also to Gälawdewos, and has been copied in 1670-71.

1.4. Two Recent Lists of the Collection

The Ministry of Culture conducted a large campaign of inventory of religious heritages at the end of the 70s' and the first part of the 80s'. In the region of Däbrä Tabor (Farta, Fogera, 'Īste and Därä'š *kebeles*), twenty-four churches were covered, including Qoma Fasilädäs. With seventy manuscripts, it is the third monastic library in this area after Tana Qirqos (91) and Madhärä Maryam (74). Coming after Mäkane Iyasus are 'Īste, with 62 volumes then 'Ätkäna Giyorgis (59). Manuscripts then received reference numbers, from H2 IV 657 to H2 IV 727, and those serial numbers are written on the wooden back-covers of the manuscripts. The inventory gives for each manuscript: serial-number, brief title, age, size, number of folios, brief explanation of what the text is for, and one photo (or more for some illustrated manuscripts).

Then, in 1988 E.C., the church itself made its own inventory, which listed 77 manuscripts, with the brief titles only.

All those inventories are summed up in the table below. For more simplicity, we will call them WS: list of donation from Queen Wäld Sä'ala; G: from Gäläwdewos; MC: from Ministry of Culture; A: from the *'aqabet*.

2. Content of Qoma Fasilädäs' Library

2.1 Evolution of the Book Collection

If we classify those volumes according to the traditional occidental way, we have, in list WS: 9 biblical codex, which enclosed 57 of the canonical books; 3 apocryphal books, which are 2 volumes of *Ta'amra Maryam* (701 and 714) and the Lives of Apostles; 5 liturgical books, amongst which is a Synaxary, and one *digwa*; only one theological book, but one of the most recent at this time: *Mäzgäbä Haymanot*; 2 ascetic writings (*Hawi*, from Lebna Dīngil time, and two volumes of *Haymanotä 'Äbaw*); 3 canons and law (*Sinodos*, *Fühä Nägäst*, and *Kibrä Nägäst*²⁹); 2 hagiographies (*Gädlä Fasilädäs* and Acts of the Martyrs, with Fasilädäs at the beginning of the volume, which is not common); 1 Secular work (*Fälasfa*, edited by Dillman, 1866:40-45 and Cornill, 1875).

Also in manuscript 714, fol. 90v°, we have a short donation of books from Wäld Sä'ala to the *tobot zaKidänä Mihrat*. We can guess it is also a first donation,

²⁹ Usually classified under «Profane literature». But as it is a text used for justifying the legitimacy of the Solomonic dynasty, it might also find its place here.

because of the quite large amount of objects which are present in this case, which seems to indicate that *Kidanä Mihrat* is a new church, or a rebuilding. This list of books is: 2 Four Gospels; Acts of the Apostles Epistles and Apocalypse; Psalter; Missal; 'Ärganon; Lives of the Apostles; Synaxary, *Sir'atä Betä Kristyan*.

Those two donations are quite different as this one offers only a minimum for church service, and must have been completed by other donators or by *Kidanä Mihrat*'s priests themselves, while Qoma Fasilädäs' one covers a good range texts. We would like here to point out the fact that a good collection of books, with a good pedigree, is used as a reference collection for the scribes. A copy would be made out of a good version, depending on the reputation of the monastery and its library. Furthermore, this area of south Begämder is still famous for its scribes (as well as for its production of hides): monasteries of Shime Giyorgis, Gäshänna Täkla Haymanot, Makane Iyasus and Qoma Fasilädäs, as well as numerous churches around, provided copies on *bramma* (parchment) for churches all over Ethiopia until recently. However people say, the production has been decreasing "since the end of Hayle Sellasie's reign"³⁰

List G added sixteen new books to this first inventory. For biblical literature, there is only one new book: *Henok*, copied by Gälawdewos in 1671. For liturgy: there is the Lectionary for the Year, and *Zemare S'oma Dägwa* and *Mi'iraf* for hymns. Then, there is *Sir'atä Betä Kristyan*. Theological and ascetic writings are the main type of books added at this time. We have indeed homilies: *Därsäna Qirlos*, *Yohannes 'Äfa Wäraq*, *Sawiros*. Then there is what was already, at the end of the XVIIth century, the traditional corpus for higher education: *Mar Yishaq* and 'Ärägawi Mänfäsawi, maybe bound with *Filksiyus*³¹. Then there are some Church Fathers writings: *Nägärä 'Äbaw*, *Gädlä 'Äbaw*, *Zena 'Äbaw*, *Petros zäMisr*³², and last but not least *Fäws Mänfäsawi*.

As far as hagiography is concerned, two rare books came to complete this collection: *Gädlä Sinoda* and *Gädlä S'aduqan*. *Gädlä Sinoda* could be the Life of Shenudi of Atrib (edited and translated by Colin, 1982) which is known only in three

³⁰ In 1997 and 1998, two field-trips in these areas were dedicated to the study of book-making, traditional painting and religious education.

³¹ In manuscript B.N. Abbadie 19, *Ärägawi Mänfäsawi*, is a genealogy of famous teachers of this text. (folio 3v"), see Conti-Rossini, 1914:147. See also, Ricci, 1969:839: "Di origine siriana, passato a costituire, con i suoi numerosi sermoni, epistole edificanti, apoftegmi, una della tre opere del "curriculum" di studi superiori delle scuole etiopiche tradizionali (...) Le altre due sono il *Filksiyos*. (...) e il terzo libro degli scritti ascetici di Isacco di Ninive (...) *Mar yishaq*."

³² In Guidi, 1912:107: list of Qwesqwan books contains *Mäshäfa Birhan*, from Petros the Egyptian, መጽሐፍ ብርሃን ጳጳሮስ ዘግዛር ዩረረሰጢ ያሉበት

manuscripts: B.N. Abbadie 126 (d'Abbadie, 1859:145-146 ; Conti-Rossini, 1914:185-86), EMMML 1834 from Hayq³³ (Getachew Haile and Macomber, 1981 :307-310) and Tanasee 44 from *Kebran* (Hammerschmidt, 1973:186). But he could be also *Abba Sinoda*, the founder of Däbrä Sämuna, whose *gädl*, stored in Dima, has been studied by Tadesse Tamrat (1972:202). This hypothesis is based on the influence of the *qebat* filiation of Qoma Fasilädäs' monastery upon the formation of its library. Däbrä Sämuna has been an important centre in the Ewostatian and *qebat* network, and we will see later on that Qoma and Sämuna were closely linked.

Then, eight copies have been added by this second donation: *Dawit*, *Pawlos*, two *Missals*, one *Haymanotä 'Abaw*, *Sinodos*, all of them being quite common books.

From the end of XVIIth century until the present, the library kept on growing with ten new books and a few more copies. There are no new biblical books to mention, but one apocryphal book: Miracles of Jesus, famous during the XVIIIth century. Then there were five liturgical books (see table). Also, there were added to the library: *Atnatewos*, Didascalia of the Apostles, *Mälk'ä Fasilädäs*, *Mäshäfä Faws*, and *Qal Temhert* (which is really surprising to find mentioned here, as this book is dedicated to children's education, and stayed usually in the house of the teachers. Even the *säwasiw* is not mentioned in those lists). Then comes another book which did not appear in list WS or G, *Gädlä Ewostatewos*, but we will see that the situation of this book is quite uncommon.

Some denominations are sometimes ambiguous, for instance *Atnatewos*. It comes certainly from the name of its author, presumably Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria. He composed some anaphoras, which are always found together with others anaphoras from the holy Fathers. He composed (or is said to have done a theological book answering questions in a dialogue with Antiochus. This book has a first *incipit*, for the first part: መጽሐፍ ዘእትናሲስ ወዘእንትዮኮስ, then a second *incipit*, for the second part: መጽሐፍ ዘእትናስዮስ, then the *explicit* gives a third title: ሐተታ ቅድስት (see Conti-Rossini, 1914:155). Also, Athanasius is the author of a panegyric of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, for 28 Tahsas, and this text is found in EMMML 5 under the title of *Atnatewos* (Macomber, 1975:8).

For the copies, we notice that the same books come again: for biblical books, only the most "used" or read: Four Gospels. *Dawit* (donated by King Bakaffa), *Orit*, *Pawlos*. We can say the same for one Miracles of Mary, even if the collections of miracles very often differ from each others. Then there are repeated *'Ärganonä Weddase*, *Digwa* (donated by King Iyasu I), *Zemare*, *Mi'iraf*, *Mäl'kä Guba'e*, *Sinodos*

³³ Shenudi's life is enclosed in a volume of *Gädlä 'Abaw Qiddusan*.

the third time, and one *Gädlä Fasilädäs*. This beautiful illuminated manuscript, from the XVIIIth century, was presented by O. Jäger (1960:380-81)

The Most Relevant Volumes in This Collection

The twelve homilies of Severius of Ashmunain:

Let us begin with the pleasure of sharing a discovery, as the library enclosed a XVth century copy of the *Sawiros* or *The twelve homilies of Severius of Ashmunain*. All manuscripts known until now are posterior to the XVIIth century, the most ancient could be: B.N. Abbadie 76, XVIIIth century; B.N. Abbadie 125 (Conti-Rossini, 1914:152-153), XVIIIth century; B.L. Or 738 (Wright, 1877:204-205), XVIIth century; Tanasee 65 = Däbrä Maryam 7, XVIIIth century? (Hammerschmidt, 1977:61). Therefore, scholars date the translation of this text from the XVIIth century (see Guidi, 1932:56, 77-78; Ricci, 1969:843). Nevertheless, the palaeography of our manuscript clearly indicates that this codex is much more ancient than the XVIIth century and the archaic features of the letters point out that this volume dates at least from the XVth century (photo-n^o1)†

This ancient codex of *Sawiros* was offered to Qoma Fasilädäs' library during the second donation of books, and at the end of list G, we have this quite strange title: ዝመራ ሳዊሮስ ዘስሙናይ. This *Sawiros* is the *Kibrä Haymanot* of list MH, n^o712³⁴

This discovery is not so astonishing, and we already have some indications that this text was translated earlier. First, manuscript EMMML 1195 (Getatchew Haile, 1979:152) indicates that it was translated in 1395-96 AD, even if the manuscript itself is from the XXth century. We have to notice that this dating could be more "mythical" than historical, as it is also the date attributed for the translation from Arabian of the *Synaxary* and *Gädlä Säma'etat*. Then manuscript Tanasee 65 has this addition: ደብረ ማርያም ሳዊሮስ በአዳ በዕደ ማርያም ዘመነኸ as Bā'edä Maryam was reigning from 1467 to 1478 AD, and that codex seems to be from the XVIIIth century, it might indicate that the translation was also attributed to this period.

Furthermore, another interesting point is that this manuscript is a compilation of three texts. Our manuscript contains, first, the twelve theological treatises of Severius of Ashmounain³⁵, then it finishes (fol. 115) with some prayers for Mary

³⁴ parchment, 37x27. 5 cm, 116 folios, 2 col., 29-31 lg

³⁵ Incipit: በስመ አብ ወወልደ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ፩ አምላክ። ንወጥን በረድኢተ እግዚአብሔር ሱቲ ስብሐት ንጽሕፍ 12ድርሳናተ በእንተ ክብረ ሃይማኖተ ክርስቲያን ርትዕት ወልዕልናሃ ወዕብያ ሳዕላ ባዕዳን ሃይማኖታት። ዘደረሰ አብ ቅዱስ አባ ሳዊሮስ ኢጲስ ቆጶስ ዘሀገረ እስሙነይን እምብሔረ ግብጽ በረከቱ ተሀሱ ምስሌን አሜን።

composed by the monk Yishaq, which must be read on 29 Magabit. And two volumes from d'Abbadie's collection, 76 and 125, are composed of the twelve homilies, then John Chrysostom's homily on the Annunciation, then this little text from monk Yishaq. Abbadie 76 contains only those three texts, and ends with the followings words (fol. 129 v^o), which have been added ተፈጸመ መጽሐፈ ሳዊሮስ ዘስመናይን፡፡ ተፈጸመ፡³⁶. It could indicate that this was the "canonical" composition of the *Sawiros*. We consider that our *Sawiros* is structured in the same way and that the copies from XVIIth century reproduce an already well-known compilation.

Severius is also the writer of *Mäshäfa Hedar*, a history of the council of Nicaea. The translation of this text is also attributed to the XVIIth century, for the same reasons. We may wonder why this "Severan literature" has been preserved only in late manuscripts. Those texts might have known a revival during the XVIIth century. L. Ricci notes that *Mäshäfa Hedar* has strong similarities with the first part of the *Mäzgäbä Haymanot*, or shall we say that the first part of the *Mäzgäbä Haymanot*, which is also a story about the four councils, which seems translated from Arabic, has some common points with *Mäshäfa Hedar*... Furthermore, he adds that the writings of Severus may have been translated during the theological controversies with Catholics (Ricci, 1969:843). We can suggest this intuition, just saying that the controversies with the Jesuits might have made up to date the old texts of Severus and that they influenced the new literary production.

Indeed, we have also in this collection two main texts of Orthodox theology, partly produced in Ethiopia.

Mäzgäbä Haymanot

List WS mentioned one *Mäzgäbä Haymanot*. This book is composed first as a history of the four synods (Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon), according to the church of Alexandria. Then comes a second part of five chapters, which is an answer from the Ethiopian Church to the Jesuit controversies. This text refers sometimes to As'e Gälawdewos time. According to E. Cerulli (1960), the first part might be a translation from Arabic, but the second part seems an Ethiopian text. None of the manuscripts we know³⁷ have a colophon which could indicate the date of creation of this text. The most ancient one (used by E. Cerulli in his edition) could be B.L. Or. 565, which seems to date from the end of the XVIth century (Wright,

³⁶ I have no idea what is the meaning of those three letters, which look like an abbreviation.

³⁷ The most ancient or complete ones are: B.L. Or 565, B.L. Or 745, B.L. Or 797, B.N. Eih 323, EMLL 1202, EMLL 2082, from Hayq's library, EMLL 4003, EMLL 4875.

(1077-111). Only this codex has *Mäzgäbä Haymanot* as its main text, and as in the case of others is bound with some other³⁸ material. This text was also very well known to the Jesuits, who attributed to *Ras Atnatewos*. They tried to fight against its ideas with another book, መቅሠፍ ሐተታት or «flagellum mendicorum» composed by father Antonio Fernandez. This book is said to have been written and printed in the Ethiopian language, which seems to be Amharic rather than Ge'ez, and printed in Goa. We don't know if this book ever reached Ethiopia as no volume is known of this text, or if it was destroyed at the end of Fasilädäs' reign. (see d'Almeida's *Historia Aethiopiae* in Beccari, 6:126, 7:476).

Here we can mention that list G includes two *Mäzgab(i)*. The hypothesis that it would be an abbreviation for *Mäzgäbä Haymanot* seems weak, as we can observe that the scribes of our lists took care to write entire titles. Moreover, the list of donation from Iyasus Moa to Hayq monastery contains one (or two) *Mäzgab መዝገበ ክልጲቱ* translated as 'register' (Sergew Hable-Selassie, 1992:253-54). It could be "registers" indeed, but as they are donated by private persons, it seems rather that they are "collections" or compilations of various texts. It might be very interesting to examine those volumes, but we notice that both recent lists are not mentioned by this title...

Haymanotä 'Abaw:

Two volumes are given in list WS, and one is added with list G. This text is fundamental for the Ethiopian Church. It is a compilation of quotations of the Fathers (Nicæan and post-Nicæan) and the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, concerning the "Monophysite" doctrine. It supports the non-Chalcedonian doctrine, i.e., the incarnat Christ has only one *hellawe*, or hypostasis (Cowley, 1988:285; Ayele TekieHaymanot, 1986:39). It was translated from the Jacobite Arabic *I'tiräf al-Abä*, but no manuscripts give internal evidences of the date of translation. The oldest ones seem to be B.N. Eth 111, from the end of the XVIth century or early XVIIth century (Zotenberg, 1877:106-125), B.L. Or 784, dated from 7187 AM, 1695 AD (Wright, 1877:232-234), or B.L. Ad 16, 219 (Dillman, 1847:13-19)³⁹. It is often said that the translator was Maba S'iyon, son of ras 'Ändu, during the reign of Gälawdewos (1540-59), but this assertion comes only from an oral information quoted in Isenberg's dictionary (Isenberg, 1841:198, in Cerulli, 1954:188). According to L. Ricci anyway,

³⁸ EMMML 4003, from the XIXth century contains also *A'emada Mestir* and "a täwaho comment on the Union of Christ", see Getatchew Haile, (1993:4); EMMML 4875, contains a letter from abuna Marqos (1796-1809?) against the *sagga* heresy, (idem:345).

³⁹ This volume has the peculiarity of having the *Mäshäfä Tomar* before the main text, as it is usual to have it at the end of it.

it was translated before 1577, because *Havmanotä Ābaw* is quoted in the *Māzmurā Krīstos* (Ricci, 1969:839).

As for the *Māzgābā Haymanto*, it had been an important text for the controversies with the Jesuits, and they refer to as the most important book for the Ethiopian creed at this time. In controversy the Jesuits did not attack directly the Fathers' writings, and P. Paez even used them for defending the Catholic doctrine (Beccari, 3:430, 11:328, 6:235), while Father Antonio Fernandez said that he made some corrections in it, erasing the "blasphemies" against Pope Leo and the Chalcedonian council, between 1622 and 1624 (Beccari, 11:510; 12:55).

Fīthā Nāgāst:

It is quite surprising to see a *Fīthā Nāgāst* in this list, as until now the most ancient manuscripts known are B.N. Abbadie 220 (Conti-Rossini, 1914:167; d'Abbadie, 1859:184-85), which is a copy of a text copied in 7159 of the era of the creation of the World, 1659 of the incarnation, (1666-67 AD), and EMMI 2955 (Getachew Haile and Macomber, 1983:268), which was copied in 7160 AM, or September 1667 AD. No colophon gives any date for translation, but we can now assume that it occurred during Fasilädäs' reign⁴⁰

It has been translated from the Arabic Nomocanon of Ibn al'Assal, which was known by the Coptic Church. The Ge'ez version has a preface which does not exist in the Arabic version, which says that this text was ordered by Emperor Constantine to the 318 Fathers of Nicaea, because he did not want to dispose of any human lives without the authorization of the Church (see the very documented catalogue's notices in Zotenberg, 1877:144 ; Conti-Rossini, 1914:167 ; d'Abbadie, 1859:184-185). This specific Ethiopian introduction strengthens the link with the first Fathers' orthodoxy, and also the submission of political power to religious authority.

Fīthā Nāgāst is offered together with *Sinodos*, which laws, attributed to the Apostles, were supposed to have been reinvested by the coming of the *Fīthā Nāgāst*, but those two written and canonical corpus of laws co-existed, and we have seen that Qoma Fasilädäs' library possesses three volumes of *Sinodos*. We can guess anyway that *Fīthā Nāgāst* appearance during the XVIIth century was answering to the need for establishing more strongly a common law to the whole country, and that the old

⁴⁰ The dating of *Fīthā Nāgāst* is controversial, if most occidental scholars consider that it was introduced in Ethiopia at the turn of the XIIth and XVIIIth centuries+, Ethiopian tradition dates its translation from Zara Ya'eqob's reign. See Ricci, 1969:835. See also Basset, 1881:373-374, for a rich example of those controversies!

Sinodos (translated by Abuna Salama), with all its different recensions and glosses, was not concrete enough to serve practical justice. A comparison between those two codices⁴¹ together with traditional and oral administration of justice would be very interesting, and might reveal some regional differences. In the mid XIXth century, A. d'Abbadie noticed that:

"J'ai fait de vains efforts pour acquérir un ancien exemplaire, mais j'en ai examiné un à Quarata. A force de questions, j'ai obtenu à cet égard le renseignement suivant sur lequel on peut compter. 'Aqab sa'a Kabte, mamhir célèbre, qui florissait au commencement de ce siècle, et qu'on regarde comme l'auteur du Mi-ilad (n°151), amenda le Fetha Nagast au moyen de la coutume traditionnelle: malgré ses soins, celle-ci ne s'accorde pas encore toujours avec la loi écrite, qui acquiert tous les jours plus d'importance en Ethiopie, à tel point qu'un professeur de droit est sûr aujourd'hui d'y gagner son pain, tandis que les manhiran de pure théologie sont souvent exposés au plus pressant besoin. (...) Cet ouvrage existe, m'a-t-on assuré, en langue arabe, chez les Coptes; on trouverait sans doute que c'est l'ancien Fetha Nagast qui, chose étrange, est tombé en désuétude même au Gojjam, où les leçons de 'Aqab sa'a Kabte ne sont guère en honneur, à cause du petit schisme qui divise les professeurs de ce pays de ceux de Gondar." (d'Abbadie, 1859:184-85).

We have to notice also that the *Fithā Nāgāst* is also present in list G, in the first position. This codex might be the same as the *Fithā Nāgāst* enclosed in the list WS, and which is not repeated in the previous copy of 665. Today, the library possesses only one *Fithā Nāgāst* (n° 697), which I was not able to see. How can we explain this gap, in manuscript 665, from list WS to list G? Maybe the copy was not finished during the first donation, and (Gälawdewos considered that he was the one who deserved honor of being in charge of this copy? This would be at least coherent with the dating from the late 1660's.

Then, another remark: *Fithā Nāgāst*, very often, is followed by *Fāws Mānfāsawi*. They are complementary, both of them treating canons and laws, but *Fāws Mānfāsawi*, dealing with the judgment of human behavior in a much more spiritual and theological way. This compilation is found, for instance, in the following manuscripts: B.N. Eth 122 from early XVIIIth century (1064 Era of Martyrs); (Zotenberg, 1877:145-147. This notice gives bibliography for the Maronite and Melkite versions of this text), B.L. Or. 808 from 1769 AD (Wright, 1877:282); EMLL 1935, XVIIIth century.

⁴¹ Some *Sinodos* have notes inside the text indicating which canons are also found in the *Fithā Nāgāst*. See EMLL 1189, copied in 1965 for the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Addis Abāba. See Getatchew Haile. 1979:136-138.

Fäws Mänfäsawi:

The oldest Manuscript seems to be EMMML 1941 copied on the 32th year of Fasilädäs', (1664AD) (Getachew Haile and Macomber, 1981:437). I. Guidi (1932:78) said that the translation was made in 1667, referring to C.Conti-Rossini (1900:§32 and 1914:149) and his observation on manuscript B.N. Abbadie 155. But this manuscript has no colophon, and no internal evidence which could lead us to give any date (Conti-Rossini, 1914:149-150; d' Abbadie, 1859:167-68. The relationship between *Fithä Nägäst* and *Fäws Mänfäsawi* could lead us anyway to the hypothesis that those two volumes were translated at the same period.

This text has been translated from Arabic to Ge'ez, and its translation is attributed to bishop Mikael of Atrib and Malig, as it is mentioned in the *incipit*. The complete version of *Fäws Mänfäsawi* is made up of thirty-four chapters, but as Getachew Hayle notices: "There are apparently different recensions of this work, which is an epitome of canons extracted from different sources that include the *Fäws Mänfäsawi* that is commonly ascribed to Bishop Michael of Atrib. According to EMMML 1601, there are two works known by this name, one ascribed to the Apostles and the other to the 318 Orthodox Fathers." (Getatchew Haile and Macomber, 1981:81-87, 138).

S. Wright, in his catalogue, made a difference between one "*Fäws Mänfäsawi* attributed to Michael of 'Atrib", which is the text usually following, *Fithä Nägäst* and one "Spiritual medicine, compendium of Canon Law", of shorter size⁴².

If we now have lot of evidence that during the reign of Fasilädäs, some important texts from the same origin (Arabic, XJIIth century known by the Coptic Church) and related to the early time of Orthodoxy, existed, we cannot however say that they were all translated at this time. We have seen that Severan literature existed in Ethiopia long before, that *Häymanotä Abaw* dated at least from 1577 and that *Mäzgäbä Häymanot* was known by the Jesuits. This process of renewal of the Ethiopian Orthodox literature (and faith) is commonly explained as a reaction to Catholic presence. Of course the strong affirmation of Orthodoxy, the coming back to Coptic and Arabic texts, are one expression of the affirmation of identity. But amongst this general movement, some divergences appeared, and we know that the XVIIth century saw the emergence of theological debates and schisms. Referring to old texts might also have been a way to express theological and political choices.

⁴² For new information about the origin of those two versions of *Fäws Mänfäsawi*, the reference is now PhD thesis of M. Kleiner, who shared his discoveries during this conference.

A Parallel between Ewostatewos and Qibat.

Qoma Fasilädäs was following the *qibat* doctrine, as I was told there. Due to the early date of its foundation, it may have been one of the first churches founded under this new theological school, even if most ancient churches, especially in Gojjam, found naturally their place in this network. This is actually the case of Däbrä Sämuna, from which Qoma Fasilädäs' depends according to the Arabic *waqf* enclosed in manuscripts 701 and 666: "She (Wäld Sä'ala) gave all her land (including Qoma) to monks and priest of Adramit which is Däbrä Sämuna". Oral tradition reports also that the confessor of Wäld Sä'ala, *Abuna* 'Ärsanyos, whose relics are preserved inside the church and celebrated once a year, on the 14th of Hamlé, came from Waramit Owesqwam, near Martula Maryam. It seems that 'Adramit/Waramit is or a monastery depending upon Sämuna, or another name of Sämuna itself.

It is commonly said that the *qibat* movement is Ewostatian's heir⁴³. Opposition to Däbrä Libanos being their main common point, it is very often the only justification given to this affirmation. This heritage was also transmitted by monasteries, which from Ewostatian became latter on *qibat*, especially in Enfraz and Gojjam areas. As far as Ewostatian Tigrean monasteries are concerned, their theological choices are not well known. We have in the *gult* of Qoma Fasilädäs' a second indication concerning the affiliation of the monastery, as early as the foundation time: ዘወሀብነ ዘንተ ኩሉ ለአቡነ ኢዎስጣኑዎስ ወለወልዱ ፍሬ መስቀል ወዳግመኒ ወሀብነ ለወልዱ አርሳንዮስ:: "And we (Wäld S'äala and Fasilädäs) gave all this (land and properties) to *Abuna* Ewostatewos, and his son Färe Mäsqäl, and also we gave [it] to his son 'Ärsanyos." 'Ärsanyos and Färe Mäsqäl are both historical characters, but if the memory of the first one is still vivid, the second one seems forgotten although the mural paintings inside the church depict him on the southern wall, together with *Abba* Sinoda, who might be *Abba* Sinoda from Däbrä Sämuna. We can therefore consider that *Abuna* Ewostatewos is the great saint from the XIVth century not a later person, and that he is the spiritual father of Qoma Fasilädäs monastery.

Some texts have already been identified as specific *qibat* literature, (see Cerulli, 1960; Getatchew Haile, 1980) and none of them seem to belong to our library, although we have only a general title for most of them, so we cannot identify some other texts which might be bound together. The most striking example of this relationship amongst Qoma Fasilädäs' manuscripts is *Gädlä Ewostalewos*, n° 674⁴⁴, bound together with *Därsäna Marvam*. This codex is not in the seventeenth century

⁴³ A priest even told me in Qoma that St. Ewostatewos was professing the *qibat* creed.
⁴⁴ parchment, 30x20.5 cm, 108 folios, 2 col., 23 lg

lists, so it may have been a later gift or purchase. Another possibility is that this codex was not listed to keep it secret. It is a very precious and ancient volume indeed, and I was not allowed to examine the text, but priests let me photograph the first pages, which are composed of three paintings and the first page of text (photo-n^o2). The palaeography indicates, as well as the paintings, that this codex is from the XVth century, maybe from the second part of the XIVth century, and could be one of the pieces of evidence to place this text.

On folio 1v° is a painting⁴⁵ of *Abuna* 'Absadi and *Abuna* Märqorewos, who were the first disciples of Ewastatewos (Tadesse Tamrat, 1972:207-210). They founded Däbrä Maiyam of Qohayin. The bottom of the page has this sentence written: ወኢያወጽእኞ እምደብር ወዘአውጽኦ ወጉዝ ውእቱ በአፈ እብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ አእበውዮ ወአኃዊዮ ዝክሩኒ በጽሎትኩ። "And must not be removed from the monastery (of Däbrä Maryam), and who does remove it will be cursed by the mouth of Son, Father and Holy Spirit, my fathers and brothers, remembered in your prayers". This warning may be one reason why this codex did not appear in our list. Scattered elements are known about Däbrä Maryam story, and it is for the moment difficult to explain how this codex came to Qoma Fasilädäs'.

In folio 3v° is a painting, without legend, of an angel and holy father, which is similar to the painting of Ewostatewos, on the next folio. On folio 4 v°, facing the beginning of the text, is depicted *Abuna* Ewostatewos, figured between two archangels. He has black hair and beard, holds a censer in his right hand and raises left hand to his chest, with index up. The legend is: ሥዕል አቡነ ኤዎስባቴዎስ ዘክመ ዐቀብዎ ሚካኤል ወገብርኤል ሲቃነ መላእክት። ወዘሠዐሎሙ ይስሐቅ ቀይሶ ገበዝ ዘደብረ ማርያም ተአሚኖ በጸሎቶሙ። "Image of *Abuna* Ewostatewos, guarded by the archangels Mikael and Gabriel. They have been painted by Yishaq, *Qäysä Gäbäz* of Däbrä Maryam, to rely on their prayers."

Then comes the text, which the *incipit* is: በስመ እገዚአብሔር አብ ቀዳማዊ። ዘእነበለ ወማእከላዊ ዘእነበለ ማእዜ። ዘደንራዊ ዘእነበለ እስከ ይእዜ። አብ እሱብሕ መልዕልተ ልዑላን ተሐድሮ በአርያም። ወልደ አክቡት።

According to G. Lusini (1994), the Gädl Absadi but also Gädl Ewostatewos could have been written in Däbrä Maryam, the late one maybe in reaction against the rise of Däbrä Bizan. As manuscript Vatican 46, from the XVth century the Qoma Fasilädäs' volume might represent one of the oldest versions of the Däbrä Maryam's version. For the story of Eustathian literature in Gondar and Gojjam areas, it might be interesting to compare the different manuscripts of the gädl stored in Gojjani and Gondar areas⁴⁶

⁴⁵ This opening illumination is damaged, the pink colour for flesh turned dark brown, which may indicate that lead enters in the composition of the painting.

⁴⁶ A project from the Ministry of Culture and UNESCO in 1969-70 EC revealed two *Giadla Ewostatewos* in Gojjam, one in Dima Giyorgis and one in Woyna Kidanä Mirhät Dima. Kinefe-Rigb

Conclusion

We have tried to depict the process of acquisition of manuscripts of one particular monastery, and to consider manuscripts in their cultural context. The specificity of 'Goma Fasilädäs' (its early date of foundation in regard to the so-called "Gondarine period", its *qibat* affiliation, its strategic location between Gojjam and Begamder) echoes throughout its library and the various texts and marginal notes that it contains. This research is very incomplete, and many roads still require further studies. The critical edition of Ethiopian texts is an endless task, which still reserves exciting discoveries. Also, a more global approach to religious libraries should be pursued.

Zeleke (1975:70) pointed out six *Gädlä Ewostatewos*: one in Däbrä Sära'e, Tigre, which is the monastery founded by Ewostatewos; one in Kābäsa 'iwa, in Hamasen; one in Ziwa Mikael, Sägäde, Wägäa, Begamdir; and three in London, B.L. Or. 702, 704 and 705. EMMML collection of microfilms reveals some others: EMMML 529, XVIIth century, (Macomber, 1976:262); EMMML 1636, XVIIth century with a genealogy of the spiritual sons of Ewostatewos (Getatchew Haile and Macomber, 1981:130-131).

Proceedings, XIVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. 1

English Titles	WS	G	MC	A	Ethiopian titles (with variations)
BIBLE	9	3	20	20	
Octateuch	1		2(664,678) ⁰	3	ኦሪት
Octateuch with Henok		1	1(659)	1	ኦሪት መከለ ኂናክ
Kings	1 ⁴⁷		1(663)	1	መ ነገሥት
Major prophets	1				ጉባኤ ነቢያት
Isaiah. Daniel ⁴⁸			1(690)	1	ኢሳያስና ዳንኤል
Minor Prophets	1		1(666)	1	ደቂቀ ነቢያት A: መ ነቢያት ሲራክ ፈለስፋ
Ecclesiasticus	1				ሲራክ
Psalter	1	1	4 (668, 669, 672, 689)	3	ዳዊት
Four Gospels	2		6 (670, 680, 707, 661, 677, 679)	6 ⁴⁹	ፀቲ፡ወገግል
Epistles, Acts, Apocalypse ⁵⁰	1	1	4 (675, 686, 708, 727)	2	ጳውሎስ ግብር ሐዋርያ ቀለምሲስ G: ጳውሎስ ሐዋርያ ቀለምሲስ ግብር
APOCRYPHA	3		4	4	
Lives of Apostles	1		1 (704)	1	ገድለ ሐዋርያት
Miracles of Mary	2		3 (691, 701, 714)	3	ታመረ ማርያም ws ታመረ
Miracles of Jesus			1 (709)	1	ታመረ ኢየሱስ
LITURGY, RITUALS, PRAYERS	5	4	10	13	
Syntaxary	1 ⁵¹		2 (657, 665)	2	ስንክሰር
Missal	1	2	1 (683)	2	ቅደሴ G: ቅደሴ ዘቦቱ ስብሐተ ፋቱር A: ቀዳሴ ባለምልክት, with musical signs
Lectionary for passion week	1		1 (676)	1	ግብረ ሕማማት
Funeral ritual, baptismal ritual	1		1 (682)	1	መ ግንዘት መ ክርስትና

⁴⁷ The volumes which were not mentioned in the 665 are in italics.

⁴⁸ We have here two different names, but as Isaiah and Daniel are part of the four books of the Major Prophets, it may be the same codex.

⁴⁹ With two ፀቲ፡ወገግል ባለምገጠረኻ: with concordances.

⁵⁰ It is the second part of New Testament: Acts of the Apostles, 14 epistles of St. Paul, 7 epistles from other apostles, Apocalypse of John. it is very frequent compilation.

⁵¹ One mention for the two volumes.

Proceedings, XIVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. 1

Weddase	1		2 (681, 684)	2	አርጋኖን
for the year ⁵²		1	1(717)	1	ግጸዌ G: ግጸዌ መቃርስ
				1	መ ሰኢታት
			1 (700)	1	ውዳሴ ኢምላክ ⁵³
				1	ጸሎተ ዕጣን
Prayer (litany)					ጸሎተ ሃይማኖት
					መ ቅጺር
					መ አርኪ ⁵⁵
	1				
HYMNS	1	2	13	14	
for the year	1		3(671,698,702)	3	ድጓ A: ድጓ የምሥክር and ድጓ አሳኸኸ
for the Fast			1(711)	2	የመ ድጓ A: የመ ድጓ የቀኝ and የመ ድጓ የግራ
		1	3(692,713,715)	2	ዝመራ WS, G: ዝመራ የመ ድጓ
			2(716,723)	4	ምዕራፍ
Common antiphony			3(705,718,720)	4	መልክላ ጉባዔ
Collection of hymns				3	መልክላ
	1	3	4	3	
THEOLOGY, HOMILIES	1				መዝገብ ሃይማኖት
Treasury of the Faith	1				ሳዊርስ G: ዝመራ ሳዊርስ ዝክሙናይ
Homilies of Sawiros of Ashmunaïn		1	1	1	MC: ክብረ ሃይማኖት
Book of Cyril		1	1(658)	1	ቅርሱስ G: ደርሰና ቅርሱስ
		1	1(687)		A: ቅርሱስና ማር ይስሐቅ
Commentary of Chrysostom			1(696)	1	የሐንስ አፈ ወርቅ
St. Athanasius			7	7	አትናጤዎስ
ASCETIC WRITINGS	3	8			
	1		1(685)	1	ሐዊ
Faith of the Fathers	2	1	3(667, 673,688)	3	የሐይማኖተ አበው A: ሃ አበው የሐንስ አፈ ወርቅ
		1			ማር ይስሐቅ
Isaac of Niniveh			1(695)		መካሳት
MNānākosta					

⁵² It might be *Gebsawi*, Egyptian Horologium, which is in Hayq's monastic library, in the donation of Iyasus Mo'a. See Sergew Hayle Selassie, 1992: 243-258.

⁵³ Or *Bdselyos*, as Ethiopian tradition says that it was written by Basil of Caesarea.

Proceedings, XIVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. 1

<i>Arägawi Mänfäsawi</i>		1	1(703)	1	አረጋዊ መንፈሳዊ
<i>Nägärä 'Abaw</i>		1			ነገረ አበው
<i>Gädla 'Abaw</i>		1	1(699)	1	ገድለ አበው
Patristic ⁵⁶		1			ዜና አበው
<i>Petros zä-Misir</i>		1			ጴጥሮስ ዘምስከር
Spiritual Medicine		1		1 ⁵⁷	ፈውስ መንፈሳዊ
CANONS, LAW	3	2	5	4	
<i>Fihä Nägäst</i>	1	1	1(697)	1	ፍትህ ነገሥት
<i>Kibrä Nägäst</i>	1				ክብረ ነገሥት
Synodicon	1	1	3(693, 706, 710)	2	ሲኖዶስ
Ordering of the Church		1			ስርአተ ቤተ ክርስቲያን
Didascalia of Apostles			1(724)	1	መ ቀኖና ዘዲደስቅልያ
HAGIOGRAPHY	2	2	5	6	
<i>Gädla Fasilädäs I</i>			2(662, 719)	4	ገድለ ፋሲለደስ
Acts of Martyris	1		1(660)	5 ⁵⁸	ገድለ ሰማዕታት
<i>Gädla S' aduqan</i>		1			ገድለ ጸዱቃን
<i>Gädla Sinoda</i>		1		1	ገድለ ሲኖዶስ
<i>Gädla Ewostatēwos</i>			1(674)	1	ገድለ ኤዎስታቲዮስ
<i>Mälk'ä Fasilädäs</i>			1(726)		መልክአ ፋሲለደስ
PROFANE	1	2		2	
Philosophers	1				ፈላስፋ
<i>Qal timhirt</i>				1	ቃለ ትምህርት
<i>M. Fäws</i>				1	መ ፈውስ
<i>Mäzgäb</i>		2			መዝገብ፣ መዝገቢ

⁵⁴ According to Ricci, 1969: 839, this book was written during the XVIth Century and offers a possibility of salvation or reconversion for the lost ships. It was supposed to relieve the Christian from all the anxious questions of that troubled time.

⁵⁵ እግዚአብሔር ነግሠ

⁵⁶ Also untitled: *Zena 'abāw qiddusan*, or *gännata mankosat*, according to Guidi. 1932:36.

⁵⁷ ጳውሎስ መንፈሳዊ (sic). Maybe a confusion for *Fäws Mänfäsawi* occurred during dictating!

⁵⁸ The acts of Martyrs may have been listed under the name *Gädla Fasilädäs*, as it is the first text in this volume.

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