



# Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies

An Introduction

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Pier Giorgio Borbone  
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## 6. Ethiopic codicology (EBW–ABA–CBT–DN)

### 6.1. Materials and tools

#### 6.1.1. Papyrus

Whereas tropical Africa is the probable area of origin of papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*), which is also found around Lake Tānā in Ethiopia (Soldati 2014), we have no evidence for its use as a writing support in Ethiopic manuscripts. Interestingly, however, on the inside of the back cover of one of the three Abbā Garimā Four Gospels books (Abbā Garimā 1, see Ch. 1 § 6.2.3) there are the remains of a deteriorated papyrus board (discovered during a recent restoration: Capon 2008, 7; Mercier – Daniel Seifemichael 2009, 112; Bausi 2011a), a use comparable to that attested by Late Antique Egyptian codices, where papyrus was used to stiffen the leather cover.

#### 6.1.2. Parchment

Positive evidence testifies instead that Ethiopian Christian manuscripts were written on parchment: this is the case of the same Four Gospels books of Abbā Garimā (fig. 1.6.8) and of almost all extant Ethiopian books to the present. Recent archaeological evidence suggests that production of parchment in Ethiopia dates back to the pre-Aksumite period in the first millennium BCE (Phillipson 2013). Yet the Ethiopic term later attested for parchment (*berānnā*—from Latin *membrana*, through Greek *membranē*; Bausi 2008a, 522; Bausi 2014, 42—as literary and documentary texts clearly attest; see also Zaborski 1995, 540 and 542 on a possible connexion between Eth. *parqʷama* ‘to write’ and Lat. *pergamena*) hints at a probable Late Antique origin. Further evidence might restrict the meaning of *berānnā* to ‘parchment leaf’ (note on MS Ethio-SPaRe MY-004).

Among animal skins, goatskin is the most widely used, liked for its solidity and thickness, even if sheepskin is lighter in colour and weight. It is maintained by Ethiopian scholars, but not proved, that sometimes large books were written on the skin of cows—or even horses and antelopes, usually considered as unclean—in specific conditions (Assefa Liban 1958, 10; Godet 1980–1982, 203; Sergew Hable-Selassie 1981, 9; Bausi 2008a, 531–532). The most typical book-type of the *Mazmura Dāwit* ‘Psalter of David’ (hereafter: Psalter), requires twenty to thirty goatskins, a Gospel thirty to fifty. Wild types of animals (like hyena) are reported to be sometimes used for magical scrolls (see Mercier 1979, 15).

Goatskins of young and slim animals are deemed to be the best, because they are possibly without scars or marks of whiplash, the traces of which do not disappear. The skins were usually purchased on the market or were left over after the animal was consumed; there is evidence for skin storage in a suitable tent in royal camps in pre-modern times (Kropp 1988, 53, 79). At the end of the nineteenth century, the scribes of the imperial scriptorium newly established by Menilek II—a case-study that provides useful hints, yet an exception of limited importance for the understanding of the Ethiopian manuscript culture in its historical development—received the number of animals needed for the copy of a given book, sharing the meat with the neighbours who helped them to make the parchment, while after 1919 an imperial decree created a new specialized profession devoted to parchment making (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1989). Present-day ethnographical observation indicates that the scribes themselves prepare the parchment, but this need not always have been so, especially in the case of luxury scribal production: the colophon of the fifteenth-century manuscript Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 5, f. 195rb, demonstrates that the ‘parchment makers’ (*sarāhta berānnā*) were distinct from the copyists (Fiaccadori 1993, 162–163; Bausi 2014, 42–43; Getatchew Haile 2011, II, 14).

The preparation of parchment, a skill that students of traditional church schools might also practice and learn as a part of their education, is not a despised activity like tanning or other crafts (Bausi 2008a, 527). Parchment is prepared when required, but it could also be bought (for example, in exchange for bars of salt, see London, BL, Or. 622, f. 2v; Wright 1877, 41, no. Ixii). The main lines of the process for preparing the parchment, as they have been noted by ethnographical observation and described by the scribes themselves in the twentieth century (Assefa Liban 1958, 10; Godet 1980–1982, 230; Sergew Hable-Selassie 1981; Bausi 2008a, 532ff.; Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010), are as follows (the fifteenth-century *testimonium* provided in Getatchew Haile 2011, II, 29 also agrees). The skin should be worked as soon as it has been stripped from the animal’s carcase, usually after being washed and soaked to make it softer. The skin is stretched over a special wooden frame (*mawat̄aryā/mawwāt̄aryā*, or *qambar/qanbar*).



Fig. 1.6.1 Ethiopia, Tigray, Dabra Zayt, DZ-005, accordion book, fifteenth/sixteenth century, photograph Ethio-SPaRe.

First the flesh side is worked, alternately with a pumice stone (*marrāmamiyā*) and a large curved knife, to deflesh it and to scrape it clean. When the skin has been dried, the hairs are shaved with a short adze (*mafāqiyā* or *matrabiyyā*). The skin is then scraped again and washed on both sides. If the parchment develops a hole during the manufacturing process, the strings attaching the skin to the stretching frame are loosened and the hole is sewn together with sinews. The skin is stretched again to give it its final shape, wetted once more and finally dried. It is then squared off according to the size of the intended book, in so far as this can be foreseen without any folding being undertaken. Model sheets can be used too. To be stored, the parchment is folded up, hair side against hair side. Before writing, the scribe pounced it on both sides with a special type of clay (*madmas/madmat*; difficult to find nowadays; at present, pieces of china are used but considered to be inferior) to enable the ink to adhere to the parchment. The skin could also be whitened, following a recipe that differs for each scribe or parchment maker. Ethiopian parchments are always quite thick and light in colour, but rarely white. It should be noted that no chemical treatment was undertaken (for further technical terms related to the production of parchment, see Bausi 2008a, 532–541; Mersha Alehegne 2011).

The quality of parchment for use in making scrolls (henceforth always in the sense of ‘vertical scrolls’) differs—some pieces are well prepared, thin and whitened but most of them are very coarse, actually a by-product of the production of parchment for codices. The parchment pieces of good quality, sewn together and folded, are used to produce so-called ‘accordion-books’ (*sensul*, literally ‘chained [book]’; fig. 1.6.1).

An analysis of the parchment used for eleven scrolls from the collection of the Musée du quai Branly in Paris, executed with the X-ray fluorescence method (XRF), showed on the surface of the examined pieces significant quantities of calcium (Richardin et al. 2006, 2–3; see also Nosnitsin et al. 2014). The parchment of a scroll belonging to Warsaw University Library, MS 3649, analysed with SEM-EDS (Liszewska 2012), exhibited on both sides a large amount of kaolin. In both cases, the substances discovered confirm recorded observations of the procedure applied during the preparation of the parchment surface for writing and painting.

Palimpsest manuscripts exist, but they are rare. Texts were sometimes washed off or erased in case of either censorship or invalidation of legal acts, and then the cleaned parchment might be re-used (Bausi 2008a, 542–543).

### 6.1.3. Paper

With the exception of Islamic manuscripts (see Ch. 4 § 2.1.1.2), which are (almost) exclusively on paper (a confirmation of the culturally determined character of manuscript production), this material was not used to any extent in Ethiopia before the twentieth century. The usage of paper is limited to specific contexts, namely in manuscripts produced in Ethiopian communities abroad, especially in Egypt and Rome,

or in manuscripts copied by and for European scholars especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. More recently, it appears that paper is being used in monasteries for school manuscripts (traditional *andemtā*-commentaries are often written in exercise books).

#### 6.1.4. Inks

Inks, particularly the black ones, are still produced according to traditional methods, thus the whole procedure has been followed and recorded several times in ethnographical observations. The most extensive work dealing with the subject was written by Tournerie (1986). It contains testimonia excerpted from the accounts of travellers, recipes collected from Ethiopian scribes and detailed data on the plants and minerals used for the preparations of dyes and pigments. Smaller-scale research was undertaken by Sergew Hable-Selassie (1981) and Godet (1980–82).

For black ink Tournerie collected nineteen recipes and Sergew Hable-Selassie collected six. The composition of vegetal ingredients differs slightly (some fifty plant species can be listed) but the process of production is similar. The basic ingredient is always carbon in the form of powdered charcoal or soot, usually collected from cooking vessels or lamps. The choice of burning material is important and there are different opinions about what gives the best result. The carbonic powder is mixed with a binder, a fermented infusion containing roasted or boiled grains of maize or barley, leaves or bark cut into small pieces or ground to a powder, and insecticidal liquid, usually juice of the fruits of *Solanum* or *Ricinus*. The ingredients are stirred in a pot and left exposed to sunlight. This procedure is repeated everyday for a period of from three to six months. The film which forms on the top of the mixture is skimmed off and dried, formed into cakes or boles, and in this form can be stored for many years. In order to make the material fluid, a small amount of this product is mixed with water and left to stay at least two days for dispersing. The ingredients are not exactly measured and the right balance between them is the secret of the producer. It was thought that there was no evidence for the use of iron-gall inks in Ethiopia (Bausi 2008a, 523–524), but ongoing analyses seem to confirm the use of iron-gall ink along with soot ink in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Nosnitsin et al. 2014).

For the production of red ink a mixture based on vegetable ingredients, some roots, bark and petals of red flowers is recorded. The ingredients were pounded and soaked in water for about ten hours, mixed with a binder made of acacia gum or egg yolk and eventually sun dried. One recipe mentions red pepper and volcanic red earth grilled with sugar and the gum of juniper. The full procedure took about three months and often the result was unsatisfactory, mostly because the proportions between the ingredients were wrongly composed (Godet 1980–1982, 216). From the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries onward, scribes gradually started to use imported commercially produced pinkish dyes thickened by a binder.

Detailed recipes for coloured inks that were used only exceptionally are not available, but we do have some general information about the basic ingredients. Yellow ink was made from ground petals of yellow flowers, blue from ‘blue earth’ mixed with blue flowers and green from the juice of leaves—all mixed with a binder made of acacia gum or egg yolk (Mercier 1979, 16). Although several sources mention manuscripts written or decorated with gold, we may surmise that these are literary commonplaces rather than real descriptions. In fact, among the oldest manuscripts the use of gold ink has been noted only once, in the book of *Ta'āmmēra Māryām* ‘Miracles of Mary’ of Ambā Gešēn, produced for King Dāwīt (1382–1411; Spencer 1967, 103; Mercier 2004, 12, 35, 37; the Ethiopian tradition remembers not only the fame of this manuscript, but also the name of its scribe, Marqorēwos; Strelcyn 1976, 89). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, imported golden paints mixed with a binder were used as ink.

Rubrication and coloured inks can be used on the one hand to mark specific parts of texts and paratexts (*rubra* for *incipits*, marks for liturgical readings, pericopes, *nomina sacra*, saintly names, figures, and some elements of punctuation marks; Guidi 1901, 404), on the other for a decorative purpose. Sometimes the text of the Eusebian concordance may be written in red, the name of the owner or the book’s donor, captions on miniatures and the various numbers (of quires, listed chapters, canons, dates). There is no religious manuscript written entirely with red ink but in some rare cases coloured inks were used throughout the entire text.

In King Dāwīt’s ‘Miracles of Mary’, golden characters outlined in red are very sparingly applied to Mary’s name in the captions to the miniatures and on the opening pages. The scribe was most probably inspired by the stories recounted in the text but composed outside Ethiopia telling about a scribe who wrote

Mary's name in gold and about a painter who used gold to ornament her portrait (Budge 1923, 10–13; Cerulli 1943, 89–90).

It should be noted that in Ethiopia inks can be used as paints and colours as inks. For lack of appropriate analyses, it is difficult to establish if there is any difference in the components. Possibly the addition of gum in a certain quantity makes the colours more suitable for writing than for painting.

### 6.1.5. Pigments and dyes

There is no evidence that any particular symbolism was connected to the colours used for decorating codices and their consistent application was ruled only by tradition. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, only four basic colours appear in all Ethiopian paintings: yellow, dark blue (rarely a pale azure or celurean blue), green and red/brownish red. For white, the colour of the parchment itself had to serve; black, rarely applied on larger surfaces, was prepared in the same way as black inks. The miniatures of the old Four Gospels of Abbā Garimā display a much broader palette of colours (for example, light green, purple, pink, brick red). In the so-called Gunda Gundē school that flourished at the turn of the fifteenth century, the basic range of colours was enriched by a widely used intense light blue, possibly based on ultramarine. Gold has been observed in the nimbi and ornamentation of the clothes of Mary in the royal 'Miracles of Mary' and in the form of grainy powder in the fourteenth century Kebrān Four Gospels (Bosc-Tiessé 2008, 34, 37); in the Paris Psalter, BnF, Éthiopien d'Abbadie 105, produced in the second half of the fifteenth century (Balicka-Witakowska 1983) and in the 'Miracles of Mary' of King Fāsiladās, London, BL, Or. 641, from the middle of the seventeenth century.

In the seventeenth century, white, pink, orange and nuances of red were added to the Ethiopian colour palette. At the end of the nineteenth century, industrial products were introduced to Ethiopia; considered to be superior, they gradually replaced the local paints.

There are no old written recipes concerning the compositions of colours, pigments and their binders. In rare cases we find the enumeration of colours (for example, in a register of materials for a church construction: Bosc-Tiessé 2008, 140), but at present we are not able to relate them precisely to the orally transmitted recipes that have been collected by scholars. In addition to the data gathered by Tournerie (1986), some information about the old techniques was provided by Taye Wolde Medhin (1980–1982), who described methods for obtaining black, red, purple, pink and brown inks, which he learned in a traditional church school, attending the higher level of education (*qenē bēt*).

Raman spectrography, which makes it possible to identify the components of the paints, has been applied twice to Ethiopian paintings. The first analysis (I) was applied to the set of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century miniatures illustrating the 'Miracles of Mary' in MS Paris, BnF, Éthiopien d'Abbadie 114 (Wion 2004), while the second one (II) was carried out on a late fifteenth-century miniature that found its way into a manuscript of the 'Miracles of Mary' that is two hundred years younger, belonging to the Mikā'ēl Māywayni church (Teigrāy; Tomaszewski et al. forthcoming). The two analyses provided partially matching results: for red, cinnabar (I and II) or vermillion (I) was used, also applied (I) to rubricate the names and legends of the miniatures; for yellow, orpiment, natural or artificial (I) versus crocin (II); for blue, indigo (I, in both the seventeenth and eighteenth-century miniatures, and II), and calcium carbonate (II); for green, an organic, vegetable colourant impossible to identify with Raman (I), or indigo and orpiment (II); for black, only carbon (I) or soot and calcium carbonate (II); white was not applied, as the painter used the colour of the parchment as white, while to get pinkish flesh he shaded the natural parchment colour with red (II).

In terms of quality, inks and colours used for writing, drawing and painting magical scrolls are basically the same as for the other types of manuscripts. Since, however, such scrolls are treated as magical and healing remedies, their inks are mixed with several additional substances that are determined in the meeting between the customer and the talisman maker (Griaule 1930). In that context the mixture called 'the seven colours' (*sabāttu qalamāt*) is sometimes mentioned, a concoction containing the juices of medical plants and several other components which are believed to provide therapeutic and supernatural effects (for example, MS EMML no. 790, f. 1r, see Macomber 1978, 105). It is also common that red inks, much more extensively used in scrolls, are enriched with drops of blood from sacrificial animals, the same animals from which the parchment for the scroll is obtained. Scrolls entirely written with red ink, such as Paris, BnF, Éthiopien d'Abbadie 192, are considered to be particularly effective. Generally, however, only introductory formulas are written in red, *nomina sacra* (God, Mary, but also angels, saints etc.), 'power-

ful' words, sentences providing spells, special blessings, and obligatorily the name of the owner. While in the codices the alternation between black and red in the text is one of the means of decorating a page, in the scrolls it conveys the opposition of good and evil, benediction versus malediction etc. There are also strict prescriptions concerning use of colours in the magic pictures, but they are kept secret as are many other details related to the production of the scrolls—it is generally understood that white symbolizes light, black cursing and enchantment, yet in a positive sense also the water of Baptism; red symbolizes fire, flames, the Sun, the Trinity and also Christ's blood (Mercier 1992, 150).

Eleven scrolls with paintings kept in Paris, Musée du quai Branly, were examined by X-ray fluorescence (Richardin et al. 2006). The findings suggested the use of vermillion (cinnabar), chrome orange, iron-based pigment (haematite) for red, violet and orange; smalt and organic substances for blue; *terre verte*, copper-based pigments and occasionally orpiment and organics for green; organic components and in some cases orpiment, chrome yellow for yellow; haematite and organics for brown. An analysis done with Raman stereoscopy of the scrolls of Warsaw University Library revealed cinnabar for red and a mixture of carbon with iron particles for black (Liszewska 2012, 388–389).

### 6.1.6. Writing instruments

Ethnographic observations indicate that the scribe worked outside, during daylight. Sitting on the floor or on a stool, he did not use any table but he put the parchment quire or leaf on his knee, possibly using a board or a piece of hard parchment as a support. There is scarce evidence for the use of quills in the past, while he definitely used, and still uses, pens only made out of reeds, such as *maqā*, *šambeqo* and *qastančā* (cf. Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010, 168–169). Before writing, he prepared (as appears from ethnographical observation) several pens in advance. He cut them short, no more than a dozen centimetres long, scraped them on only one side and cut the nibs straight or a little bit slanted according to his preferences. He then split the nib and sharpened it again when needed. He used two pens, one for black and one for red ink. Ink-horns are made mainly from goat's horn, but also from those of cows or antelopes. The horns were buried in mud for several days in order to make them softer and easier to cut and shape. They are stuck directly into the ground or into an inkstand made of wood or clay (*ya-qalam qandoč*). The scribe could then begin writing, sometimes putting a cloth on the freshly written parchment on his knee, a place to let his hand rest while reading the text to be copied from the model, in order to prevent ink spotting.

## 6.2. Book forms

### 6.2.1. Miscellaneous forms

The accordion-book (traditionally called *sensul* ‘chained [book]’) is known in Ethiopia at least since the late fifteenth century. It is made of one or several strips of parchment folded together, often—but not always—put between wooden or leather covers. The manuscript typically contains a progressive series of devotional pictures, each fold usually reserved for one figure or scene, in some cases with a related text; accordion books are attested with well over ten pictures. Remarkably, most of the known examples represent high-quality production (for example Barbieri – Fiaccadori 2009, 58–59, 182; Balicka-Witakowska 2010a). Today, however, accordion books of small size (kept in a small leather box and carried on the body) appear to be used predominantly only for certain ‘protective’ texts, in particular in connexion with burial rituals.

Also a small number of bifolia, folded and held together in whatever way, without boards, as well as single unbound parchment leaves, have been used for transmitting texts. Even today, it is possible to find short texts (hagiographical compositions, hymns, non-literary texts) written in a single small quire being circulated and used in this way, and single large size parchment leaves are still occasionally used for writing texts, for instance a large leaf with a short version of the Vita of Yemrehanna Krestos and a hymn is attached at the main entrance to the church dedicated to the saint.

### 6.2.2. The roll (scroll) and the rotulus

There is no evidence in Ethiopia for a passage from roll (scroll) to codex, nor that the scroll existed prior to the codex, the two book forms being used for completely different types of texts. The presence and fairly widespread use of parchment scrolls as protecting and healing amulets (*ketāb*, *talsam*), containing the appropriate protective and curative texts and pictures, has been attested in Ethiopia for a few centuries (Chernetsov 2007). Two types of ‘magical scrolls’ exist: a small type, for private and personal use as a

portable amulet, only occasionally unrolled, is commonly made of three parchment strips, with an average width of approximately 80 mm, its length depending on how many texts and pictures it contains, and on the height of the owner; the second type is somewhat wider, up to 500 mm wide and c.1 m or more long, made for being displayed unrolled on the wall of a house, and thus usually designated as a ‘wall-amulet’ (Balicka-Witakowska 2006). With very rare exceptions, the scrolls are written and painted on the parchment’s flesh side, leaving the hair side empty. The oldest preserved examples of the scrolls can be dated to the eighteenth century but indirect evidence points to their use as early as the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries (Mercier 1979, 10), and the tradition may be much older.

### 6.2.3. The codex

The oldest surviving Ethiopian handwritten books suggest that the codex was the book form already in use before the eleventh/twelfth centuries. While it might still be maintained that it is impossible today to define the exact time when the codex was first introduced to Ethiopia, the two so-called Abbā Garimā Four Gospels codices, which appear to be the oldest of all surviving Ethiopian manuscripts, despite being somewhat problematic witnesses (cf. Bausi 2011a), have recently been dated by the radiocarbon method to the Late Antique period (around fourth/fifth to sixth/seventh centuries, Mercier 2000; further analyses carried out in 2012 have confirmed this dating). The earliest dated examples from the thirteenth century (Four Gospels book of Lālibalā Madḥanē ‘Ālam church, Four Gospels book from Dabra Ḥayq) provide information warranting the assumption that the codex was in use continuously in Ethiopia since the Christianization of the country in the mid-fourth century. The earliest surviving codices are fully developed, with the usual gatherings of folded parchment bifolia, which were sewn together and bound between two boards. Since Late Antiquity the codex (*mashaf*) has dominated the Ethiopian manuscript culture throughout its history until the present time.

The support for codices has always been parchment. ‘Mixed codices’ in parchment and paper do exist, but they are extremely rare (there is only one example in the Ethio-SPaRe database).

## 6.3. The making of the codex

### 6.3.1. The making of the quires

The required size of a new manuscript is estimated before the parchment is cut into sheets. A model manuscript might serve for that purpose, but templates are also widely used, as present-day observations indicate. The cut sheet is folded in the middle only once, thus making a bifolium (*naṭalā qetel*). Any single folia cut from the remaining pieces of parchment are adjusted to the required quire (*terāz*) size. Similar practices are also applied to the extremely rare cases of paper manuscripts.

### 6.3.2. The composition of the quires

An entire manuscript is seldom composed exclusively of bifolia, this arrangement most often appearing in the *de luxe* codices, as indicated by the examples of the collection of King Tēwodros II (d.1868), better known as the Magdala (Maqdalā) Collection, presently kept in the British Library (Wright 1877; Pankhurst [Rita] 1973, 1990). In most cases, bifolia alternate with singlets joined to form a bifolium (‘balanced quire’ in the terminology adopted by Delamarre – Demeke Berhane 2007; Getatchew Haile et al. 2009; Tomaszewski – Gervers 2015, 68–72). In order to make a quire stable, the first and last leaves, as well as the central ones, normally belong to a bifolium. Each assembled quire is stabilized by means of tackets (fig. 1.6.2). The leaves are usually arranged according to Gregory’s Rule. A preliminary codicological analysis conducted of the codex of the so-called ‘Aksumite Collection’ (Bausi – Camplani 2013; see Ch. 3 § 3.3.2), probably the most



Fig. 1.6.2 Ethiopia, Tegrāy, Al’āsā Mikā’ēl, AMMG-017, unfinished hymnary manuscript, nineteenth/twentieth century, photograph Ethio-SPaRe.

ancient non-biblical Ethiopian manuscript (*ante* thirteenth century), shows that even in this case Gregory's Rule was followed, not consistently, but in the majority of the quires.

A quire is usually composed of five or four bifolia (or single coupled folia), so as to have ten leaves (a quinion) and/or eight leaves (a quaternion), respectively. The quaternion occurs very often in the older manuscripts, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Smaller quires, with six leaves, and larger ones with twelve leaves also occur, as well as quires with an irregular number of leaves. The latter are typical of the manuscripts for which the layout seems not to have been carefully planned, and the scribe needed to add some extra leaves at the end of one or more quires, particularly at the end of the book.

A few statistical data are available from catalogues and recent research. In the collection of ninety-one manuscripts from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries preserved in the Mikā'ēl Māywayni church, 57% codices have divergent quires, and 33% have quires of a single type (British Library Endangered Archives Programme, Project 340). Delamarter – Demeke Berhane (2007), on the basis of 241 quires (out of a total of 277 quires in twenty-three codices), indicate that 104 (43%) are 'balanced' quaternions; 55 (23%) are 'balanced' quinions; 10 (4%) are 'balanced' senions; 12 (5%) are 'balanced' ternions; while 16 are '5/4 adjusted balanced' quires, 5 are 6/5, 4 are 6/4 or 4/3 or 5/3, for a total of 25 'adjusted balanced' quires; 22 quires are 'unbalanced'. Getatchew Haile et al. (2009, xxviii–xxx) state that quinions (49.7%) and quaternions (33%) are by far the most common quire types, and that they are not equally distributed across time, as quaternions seem to prevail in earlier manuscripts. Matching data can be obtained from the analysis of a historical collection of primary importance such as the collection of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with manuscripts uniformly distributed from the fourteenth/fifteenth to the nineteenth/twentieth centuries (see Grébaut – Tisserant 1935, 1936), plus data from other Italian libraries (Marrassini 1987–1988; Bozzacchi 2000; Proverbio 2000; Proverbio – Fiaccadori 2004; Lusini 2002, 2006): the prevailing quire type is definitely the quaternion until the sixteenth/seventeenth centuries. Note that the only prevailing quinon type in a very ancient manuscript, namely the famous *Psalterium pentaglottum*, Vatican City, BAV, Barb. or. 2, in Ethiopic, Syriac, Bohairic Coptic, Arabic and Armenian, which also happens to be a paper manuscript, was produced in Egypt (Proverbio 2012a).

Obviously the production plan for each manuscript also took its size into consideration. The most common item, namely the (usually portable) Psalter, consists of *c.* 180–240 leaves gathered in eighteen to twenty-four quires. In the Mikā'ēl Māywayni collection, 63% of the codices have between seven and fifteen quires. Larger or luxury volumes, generally made of fine and thin parchment, may have somewhere between thirty and sixty quires. Text blocks of more than 250 leaves gathered in thirty to thirty-five quires (Four Gospels, collections of the 'Acts of the Martyrs' (*Gadla samā' tāt*) or 'Miracles of Mary' of special types, and some other works) were far from rare, too. The largest manuscript known so far has 601 leaves and over 70 quires; noteworthy also are the monumental manuscripts from Dabra Bizan, Eritrea, with recorded evidence of a codex containing over 570 leaves.

### 6.3.3. Pricking and ruling

Pricks (*weg*) are clearly visible in most Ethiopian manuscripts (figs. 1.6.3, 1.6.4). Prick holes are mostly round, but other types also occur (note the slits in fig. 1.6.4); the typical tool for pricking is the locally produced awl (*wasfē*).

a) *Primary pricks* (or vertical pricks) are located in the upper and bottom margins of the folia and serve for making the vertical bounding lines which delimit the text columns, two pricks for one column of text. Primary pricks were pierced first.

b) *Text pricks* (or horizontal pricks) serving to guide the horizontal ruling are almost always located in the outer margins of the leaves, only very rarely at mid-page. Usually well preserved and easy to see, the text pricks are normally located at the distance of *c.* ten to thirty mm or more from the edge of the leaf, although in very old codices the worn leaves and crumbled edges make assessment difficult.

Pricking patterns of old manuscripts show some peculiarities. The Abbā Garimā Four Gospels book has the primary pricks located at the top and bottom ruled lines. The manuscript containing the 'Aksumite Collection' (fig. 1.6.4) has the text pricks placed at the outer vertical bounding lines. Even in a microfilm (EMML no. 6907) in which details are not easy to discern, one can see a similar pattern in the Four Gospels book of Lālibalā Madhanē 'Ālam datable to the thirteenth century: primary pricks located at the top and bottom ruled lines, text pricks located close to the outer vertical bounding line (for example ff. 177v–178r, 187v–188r, 193v–194r).

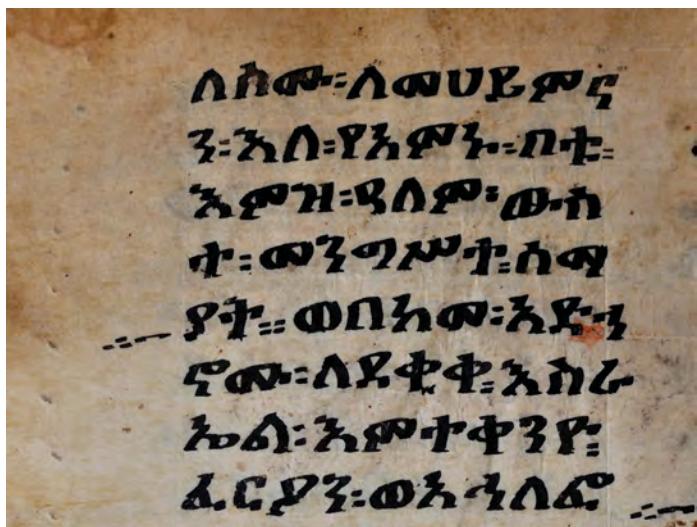


Fig. 1.6.3 Ethiopia, Tegrāy, Dabra Mā'so Yohannes, MY-002, Homiliary, time of King Dāwit II, c.1380–1412, f. 81v, detail, photograph Ethio-SPaRe.

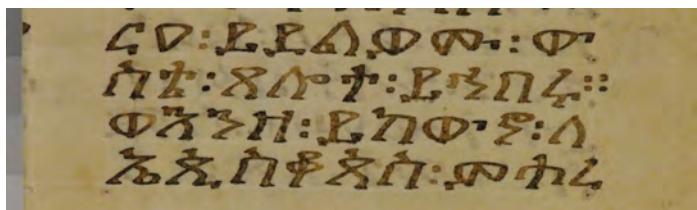


Fig. 1.6.4 Ethiopia, Tegrāy, 'Urā Qirqos, UM-39, 'Aksumite Collection', twelfth/thirteenth century, f. 76rb, detail, photograph Ethio-SPaRe.



Fig. 1.6.5 Ethiopia, Tegrāy, Mukā' Qeddus Mikā'ēl, BMQM-006, Four Gospels, eighteenth century, f. 15r, detail, photograph Ethio-SPaRe.

unruled) is used as a template (*malakkiyā*). This template is laid upon one or more further bifolia, which then receive pricks all at once through the pricks in the template, usually from the flesh side (Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010, 134). At this stage, in order to facilitate the pricking, the bifolia of the quires are tacketed with short threads made of twisted parchment strips (*sir*; fig. 1.6.2). Every experienced scribe is said to have templates prepared for different types of books, and, if necessary, is able easily to produce a new template from a model manuscript.

It is impossible to say how old the pricking method just described might be. Apparently, the Ethiopian manuscript makers (at least in Christian Ethiopia) did not use any sophisticated devices like pricking wheels, rakes or *mistara*. There are only a few cases in which pricking patterns might have required

In most Ethiopian manuscripts the pricking pattern appears as slightly zigzag vertical lines of small holes. In present-day practice, the use of a ruler to facilitate pricking is self-evident and well documented, and in many recent manuscripts the lines of pricks are nearly straight. Yet traditionally a different, elegant and effective, though time-consuming, method was applied. It has been described (Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010, 132–135) and it may be summarized as follows. First the manuscript maker takes a small rectangular piece of parchment and pierces two holes in it, the distance between them being the desired distance between two ruled lines delimiting one line of text. Next he takes a parchment bifolium, fixes the small piece of parchment in the margin on its flesh side with a first awl, and makes a prick through the second hole with the second awl. Then leaving the second awl in the hole that he has just made, he removes the first awl and rotates the piece of parchment 180 degrees. He then pierces another prick through the first hole. This operation is repeated until the desired number of pricks has been reached. The result is a vertical line of pricks, not perfectly straight, but with the distance between the pricks remarkably constant.

The use of two awls and a piece of parchment fixing the distance between the pricks recalls the so-called 'in-and-out' method of 'compass pricking' (Jones 1941, 392).

After one outer margin has been pricked, the bifolium is folded and pricks on the opposite outer margin are pierced through the pricks that have already been made, i.e. one half of the bifolium is used as a guide for pricking the other half, with all slight imperfections repeated. The neatly and carefully pricked bifolium (still

different techniques: for example, for outlining the decorative bands and frames that are visible in some Gunda Gundē manuscripts. In a few older manuscripts, small black dots can be seen which were possibly used to guide the ruling along with the pricks, for example to outline the Eusebian Canon Tables in the Four Gospels.

Nearly all Ethiopian codices are ruled; also in accordion-books the parts meant to receive text might be both pricked and ruled; in ‘magical scrolls’, pricking and ruling are very rare but they do appear in carefully designed pieces (see, for example, MS London, BL, Or. 12859, eighteenth century, produced for a nobleman; Strelcyn 1978, 124–127, no. 80). Ethiopian manuscript makers use only a dry-point technique for ruling, using an awl with a dull point. The ruled lines are usually very straight. It is not quite clear which auxiliary means were used in the past to facilitate ruling (Sergew Hable-Selassie 1981, 12, refers to a ‘reed ruler’); at least since the late nineteenth century ‘modern’ industrially produced devices (such as a metal ruler) have been in wide use. Usually, each bifolium is ruled separately (Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010, 136). After the bifolia have been pricked, apparently, there are two possibilities (if Gregory’s Rule is to be followed): (1) the template and the tackets are removed and each separate bifolium is ruled on the flesh side, after which the bifolia are reassembled in quires and tacketed again (this is what is reported in Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010, 136); (2) after the template has been removed, the quire is reassembled and tacketed again, at which point the flesh sides facing each other at every second opening are ruled. The results of both practices seem to be observable in the manuscripts. In the first case, the ruled text lines of the opposite flesh sides do not necessarily coincide at an opening, while they do necessarily coincide in the second case.

The ruled lines are invariably impressed on the flesh side; yet Bozzacchi (2000) noted that in 10.9% of their corpus ruling was done on both sides, a percentage that was represented only by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscripts. The following stages in the process of ruling can be discerned: (1) first, vertical bounding lines are ruled, joining the primary pricks; they can stop before the primary pricks or go beyond them towards the edges of the bifolium; (2) then, the text lines are ruled; they stop exactly at the bounding rules, or occasionally go a bit beyond them toward the text pricks. The inter-column and inner margins are usually ruled. The evidence of the ancient manuscript with the ‘Aksumite Collection’ (fig. 1.6.4) suggests that in the early practice the pricking and ruling could be done in alternating steps: a frame of horizontal and vertical bounding lines was impressed first; then one proceeded with the text pricks, locating them exactly at the vertical lines, and only then were the text lines ruled.

#### **6.3.4. Ordering systems**

In most Ethiopian manuscripts quire signatures appear as a guide-line for binding, but they are not consistently used. Catchwords are used occasionally (for example in the MS Uppsala, University Library, O. Etiop. 41, eighteenth century). The quire signature is usually placed on the first page of each quire, at the top of the inner margin, and sometimes it is written a second time in the middle of the top margin, and again at the top of the outer margin. It can also be repeated on the inner margin of the last page (Grébaut – Tisserant 1935, 778, on MS Vatican City, BAV, Borg. aeth. 2, ante 1441/1442 CE). The quire signatures are frequently decorated, with numbers encircled by black and red dots and strokes, often arranged in the form of a cross (fig. 1.6.5).

#### **6.3.5. The codex as a complex object**

In the traditional environment many codices did not remain unchanged, but were modified to accommodate additional texts or images. There is rich philological and codicological evidence that this process was not actually an exceptional one and was a powerful impetus for the development of Ethiopian written culture (in general, Bausi forthcoming a). A significant number of Ethiopian codices show a multi-layer structure. If necessary, the ‘core’ text block of a codex could easily be enlarged by one or more additional quires, constituting different ‘production units’, or by single leaves. For example, quires with poetic compositions were sometimes added to the ‘Acts’ of a saint (fig. 1.6.6); quires with the so-called ‘Rule of al-Mu’allaqah’ and poetic compositions were frequently added to the ‘Miracles of Mary’; as elsewhere in the Christian manuscript cultures, in some Gospel books, the quires with the Canon Tables and/or other prefatory materials and miniatures were produced separately and added to the already manufactured Four Gospels (see Ch. 1 § 6.5.1). In some cases, additions were meant to substitute for a portion of the original text which had been lost.

The additional elements could be newly manufactured, but could also originate from a different codex. This was frequently the case when a quire of the ‘core’ text block was enriched with a few additional leaves (fig. 1.6.7), or especially when images survived from an older (lost) book.

#### 6.4. The layout of the page

Regularities and changes in size of Ethiopic manuscripts (for both outer dimensions and dimensions of the written area), or relationship between size and types of texts, have not been studied yet. Some tendencies have been highlighted (Uhlig 1988, 86–87, 194–195, 316–317, 442–447, 558–562, 782–783; Uhlig 1989), but mostly in connexion with palaeographic features. We may tentatively assume the existence of three main manuscript sizes: (1) the most common mid-size, with height 170–380 mm; (2) small size, with a height less than 170 mm; and (3) large size, with height around or more than 380 mm (this characteristic can be complemented by layout-types, on which see below). For the moment, trends can be observed only for some texts, and the pre-sixteenth-century period is difficult to assess. For example, the full Octateuch is usually contained in large-size manuscripts. Such a common work as the Synaxarion is mostly found in codices 300–450 mm in height. The manuscripts containing the work *Haymānota abaw* ‘Faith of the Fathers’ usually range 250–400 mm in height. The Psalters show at least three patterns during the best-attested post-sixteenth-century period. The regular, most common Psalter manuscripts range in height 170–300 mm; smaller Psalters (less than 170 mm in height) might have started circulating from about the eighteenth century. A very few large Psalter manuscripts are also attested (more than 300 mm in height). Out of c.620 manuscripts surveyed by the project Ethio-SPaRe (mostly in small, rural collections), c.10% are of the small size, while the percentage of the large-size codices is insignificant.

It is possible to follow the evolution of the Four Gospels manuscripts in more detail (around 100 have been evaluated by the Ethio-SPaRe project, to which a number from other collections can be added). In the mid-thirteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries the preferred height of the Four Gospels manuscripts appears to have been c.250–350 mm, the width being at least c.150/160–250/260 mm, i.e. 90–100 mm less than the height. By the late fifteenth century, the height tends to remain within those limits, and the width increases a little bit, in all cases the gap between them mostly ranging 30–50 mm. In the nineteenth century, the preferred height of the Four Gospels codices remains 290–350 mm and surpasses the upper limit only in rare cases (cf. Uhlig 1989).

Ethiopian manuscripts have a limited variety of layout types. Layouts are not designed for hierarchical organization of the written space (like text/commentary or text/musical notation: for the latter case, in *Deggʷāñā* and similar manuscripts, the musical notation is simply accommodated in a larger space between the lines, with a smaller script for the text). However, types of layouts are interrelated with the typologies of the texts they have to accommodate. The basic layouts of texts in Ethiopian manuscripts are three: one-column; two-column; and three-column. Four-column layout does exist, but occurs very rarely.

Obviously, the shape of the written area is related also to the formats of the codices, which are mainly three: (1) rectangular (with the width being less than the height of the codex, but with the proportion width/height between 0.5 and 1.0); (2) square (the proportion width/height c.1.0); (3) tall (the proportion width/height less than 0.5). At the same time, this relationship is not always direct, since a rectangular codex can have a square written area, and vice versa. For the moment no statistical study on the relationship between size and layout has been carried out and all estimations are very approximate.

Books with one-column layout encompass a sizeable part of the Ethiopian manuscripts, at least 15%. The most frequent book of this category is the Psalter. Irrespective of the size and format of the Psalter codex, the Psalms of David, the Odes of Solomon and the Song of Songs have always been written in one column, each versicle starting at a new line (exceptions to this layout are found in some very rare comprehensive biblical manuscripts containing the entire canon). Two texts that follow the Song of Songs in the Psalter manuscripts (*Anqāṣa berhān*, *Weddāsē Māryām*) are always laid out in two columns.

Besides the Psalter, one-column layout tends to be used in small-size codices, or, less commonly, in mid-size codices. All of these are manuscripts for personal use, study, devotion, or else they are various multiple-text manuscripts of the so-called ‘service literature’, composed of collections of litanies or daily prayers. An important category, as yet insufficiently surveyed, is represented by older hymnody manuscripts, which sometimes also include portions of liturgy and Daily Office Prayers or poetic compositions. Also codices with ‘protective’ texts were frequently laid out in one column (in some of them, for example,

*Maftehē śerāy*, the writing is frequently interrupted by numerous talismanic pictures). Also the Gospel of John and the Revelation, if copied separately from the Four Gospels, were frequently laid out in one column.

The trend toward the wider use of one-column layout (in small-size, portable codices) started at least in the eighteenth century, and it became more conspicuous in the nineteenth century. Apparently, it emerged in the area of the Gondarine culture, with increasing number of certain types of (non-liturgical) books intended for private use, which were required by church teachers, high-ranking ecclesiastics, *dabtarā*, healers, monks, and zealous noble believers.

Two-column layout is the most common and dominant type used in mid-size codices, but also occasionally in small- and large-size codices. It is applied to the widest range of texts constituting the bulk of Ethiopic literature. Two-column layout was also used from time to time for most of the texts mentioned above under ‘one-column layout’. The most ancient Ethiopic manuscripts have exclusively a two-column layout (Four Gospels of Abbā Garimā, etc.; the manuscript of the ‘Aksumite collection’ has a few cases of one-column layout for sections with *tituli*, ‘tables of contents’).

Three-column layout was also regularly used, but applied for a more limited range of texts, mostly those of significant length, copied into mid- or large-size manuscripts. The texts most commonly laid out in three columns include the Synaxarion, the *Gebra hemāmāt* ‘Lectionary for Holy Week’, some theological treatises like *Haymānota abaw*, *Tergʷāmē Pāwlos* (‘Commentary of John Chrysostom on the Epistles of Paul’), and the like. Especially in the post seventeenth-century period, some texts appear to be laid out predominantly in three columns, such as the Octateuch, Minor Prophets, Proverbs and Kings, sometimes also the Four Gospels, big hymnody collections encompassing more than one of the five main hymnody works, some works of canon law like *Fetha nagasī* (‘Law of the Kings’), and others.

Different layout types in the same codex for single sections of the work are regularly applied for the Psalter and the Four Gospels. In general, it appears that the use of three-column layout expanded starting from the sixteenth century, and in particular in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, and that it partially replaced the two-column layout (Bausi 2008a, 538). Quite a number of text and manuscript types are attested in more than one layout. But a systematic study of a large number of manuscripts is necessary for defining more exactly when and why the change of layout took place, if there was any link between the history of the text and its use and the layout transformation, and if other factors (readability of the text, economic reasons, pictorial cycles etc.) exerted any influence.

It should be noted that there is clear evidence for the change over the course of time from a two-column to a prevailing three-column layout in the case of long works that are attested from early on (fourteenth century onwards). The biblical Octateuch, laid out in two columns in several pre-seventeenth-century codices of large size, some of them containing more than 230 leaves, was copied only rarely in later centuries, but then always in a three-column layout, with a larger written area than in two-column format and fewer than 200 leaves. Ethiopic Synaxarion manuscripts of the later recensions are written in three columns, practically without exception; but the older version of the Synaxarion attested in a very small number of pre-seventeenth-century manuscripts appears in two columns; the same is true for the big collection of ‘Acts of the Martyrs’, and for the canon-law collection of the *Sinodos*. Large late-eighteenth- or nineteenth-century copies of the collection of the ‘Miracles of Mary’, containing some three hundred narratives, are laid out in three columns. Starting from the late eighteenth century, hymnody manuscripts of large size could encompass several or even all five books of the set (*Soma deggʷā* and *Deggʷā*, *Me'erāf*, *Zemmārē*, *Mawāse'ī*) with a three-column layout, in small script, with musical notation of even smaller size inserted interlinearly.

The most complex change of layout took place over the centuries in the introductory texts to the Four Gospels (*Maqdema wangēl*). Originally characterized by a special layout intended for the richly ornamented Canon Tables and series of miniatures, they were later laid out like the regular text pages of the Four Gospels, although a smaller script was frequently used.

It might be said provisionally that in many older (pre-sixteenth-century?) manuscripts, the first written line of the regular text pages was placed below the uppermost ruled line (fig. 1.6.3) which was sometimes used to guide notes indicating the occasions and appointed readings (or the so-called *tituli* in the Four Gospels); in the post-fifteenth-century manuscripts the first written line was placed invariably above the uppermost ruled line. In the accordion books and in the narrow scrolls the text is always written in one column. In the wall-amulets and particularly elaborate larger scrolls the text may be divided into two or even three columns but the pictures always occupy the full width of the strip.



Fig. 1.6.6 Ethiopia, Tigray, 'Addiqahārsi Makāna Ḥeywat Parāqlītos, AP-046, *Vita and Miracles of the Martyrs of Parāqlītos*, 1523 CE, ff. 10v–11r, photograph Ethio-SPaRe.

cised flexibility in shaping the written area, basing their work on the unsophisticated layouts of the main types. If the scribe envisaged an ornamental headpiece for the *incipit* page, he left a few ruled upper lines blank (fig. 1.6.6 recto). In some texts, the written lines of a heading run across the entire page, exceeding the ruling for columns (hymnody manuscripts, Four Gospels, fig. 1.6.5). Additional texts could be written in the margins, on end-leaves, or on added leaves. Skilled scribes entered glosses and commentaries—usually not subject to written transmission, but written *ad hoc*—in the margins and between the written lines, or wherever there was some spare space. The upper ruled lines were used for accommodating quire signatures, headings, titles, and other elements placed around the written area (fig. 1.6.5).

## 6.5. Text structure and readability

### 6.5.1. Writing and decoration

The Ethiopian script does not oppose capital to non-capital letters (it has only one capital-like 'uncial' set), and therefore has no ornamented initials. The ends of the text units are not decorated but only marked by series of repeated diacritical signs or dashes and dots, sometimes drawn with red and black inks. The colophons are rarely presented in decorative frames. In comparison with, for instance, Syriac or Coptic manuscripts, pen-work decoration in Ethiopian books is rather poor (cf. Ch. 1 § 6.1.5; Ch. 2 § 5).

The miniatures are always put within the text frame, and margins are reserved for aniconic ornamentation (typically paragraph marks marking pericopes, *cruces ansatae*, etc.). Three main categories of decoration can be distinguished: (1) the decorative script, in two forms: (a) rubrication and (b) coloured script; (2) aniconic decoration, mostly used in the text headings; and (3) miniatures or drawings.

(1) If applied for the purpose of decoration, rubrication is not meant for hierarchically organizing the written page, but rather for making it aesthetically appealing. Such an effect may be created by lines of text alternately written in red and black, or sometimes even in several colours. The alteration of the colours is sometimes used to create figures, crosses, roundels or stars. The colouristic division is usually applied throughout all text columns, thus creating a horizontal visual entity. Such an arrangement is common in the introductory pages, but is also applied to poetic texts, litanies, repeated expressions or words, various kinds of tables and computational drawings (cf. Ch. 1 § 6.1.5).

(2) The aniconic decoration typically appears, starting from fourteenth-century manuscripts, in the form of bands filled with coloured interlace composed of various motifs. The composition is called in Ethiopic *harag* 'tendril, twig' (Balicka-Witakowska 2005b). Such a decoration is used to mark the headings, primarily the headings of the initial pages, either of a work, or of a chapter, or of a section etc., the importance of which might determine in turn its size and degree of elaboration (the introduction to a large text unit often turning into an ornamental frontispiece). A heading decoration is quite often not kept

It cannot be excluded that layout recipes were used in the past, but today their existence is difficult to ascertain. The contemporary scribes say that in their work they simply follow the layout of model manuscripts, and stress the usage of the templates.

The Ethiopian scribes adapted to what was needed and exer-

within the space reserved for the text, but extends to the margins. Ornamental bands may run along the whole width of the written area or through only one of the columns, or an unbroken border supplied with perpendicular bands may also descend vertically into the inter-columnar space. The vertical ornamental bands may be very short, or as long as the text columns. The heading decoration often extends into the upper margin; the lateral pendants may be short, but sometimes they descend towards the bottom margin. In some cases, the ornamental bands build a frame enclosing the whole written area, or only a part of it (figs. 1.6.6, 1.6.9). Figural elements added to the *harag* compositions (as in the *Gebra hemāmāt* MS London, BL, Or. 597, fifteenth century) are exceptional. The colours and composition of *harag* ornamentations often point to a particular epoch and even to a particular scriptorium.

In the old Four Gospels manuscripts, the Eusebian Canon Tables are laid out and also decorated according to rules developed in Late Antiquity outside Ethiopia (Palestine, and probably Egypt, for the tables at least, but definitely not in Syria; Bausi 2011a). The oldest Abbā Garimā Four Gospels display two distinct typologies, both going back to Byzantine models: three pages of Eusebian prologue plus seven pages of architectural frames with tables (fig. 1.6.8); or two pages of Eusebian prologue plus eight pages of architectural frames with tables (Heldman 2003; Bausi 2004b). In both cases the series is closed by the ‘Tempietto’ or the ‘Fountain of Life’. The later mediaeval Ethiopian Canon Tables tradition can be sufficiently explained on this basis. This ancient system was enriched with the large repertory of aniconic elements created by the Ethiopian pictorial tradition (Leroy [Jules] 1962; Bausi 2004b).

The figural decorations appear as miniatures or drawings, which may or may not be coloured. Their place, size and arrangement within the codex are determined by several factors, the most important being their illustrative or non-illustrative character.

The non-illustrative pictures, also called ‘iconic’, display the most venerated holy figures, such as St Mary, the archangel Michael, St George, and other important saints. Commonly, they occupy a full page, are portrait-like and seldom narrative. This kind of miniature is to be found from the fourteenth century on. In the more recent manuscripts, they are often not contemporary with the text but either added much later or transferred from older, damaged books. Since the presence of miniatures raises the price of a manuscript on the tourist market, the books presently circulating are supplied with recently added secondary pictures.

The miniatures are almost always presented within simple, rarely decorated frames. Drawings in the old manuscripts are exceptional, mostly sketches for unfinished miniatures. Up to the sixteenth century, the story told by a text was never directly illustrated. The miniatures, even the narrative ones, were either gathered at the beginning of the manuscript or inserted into it as a frontispiece for particular parts of the text. This rule concerns even the narrative texts *par excellence*, for instance the Four Gospels or the Lives of saints. Another general rule was that one subject deserves one full-page miniature, but in the old Four

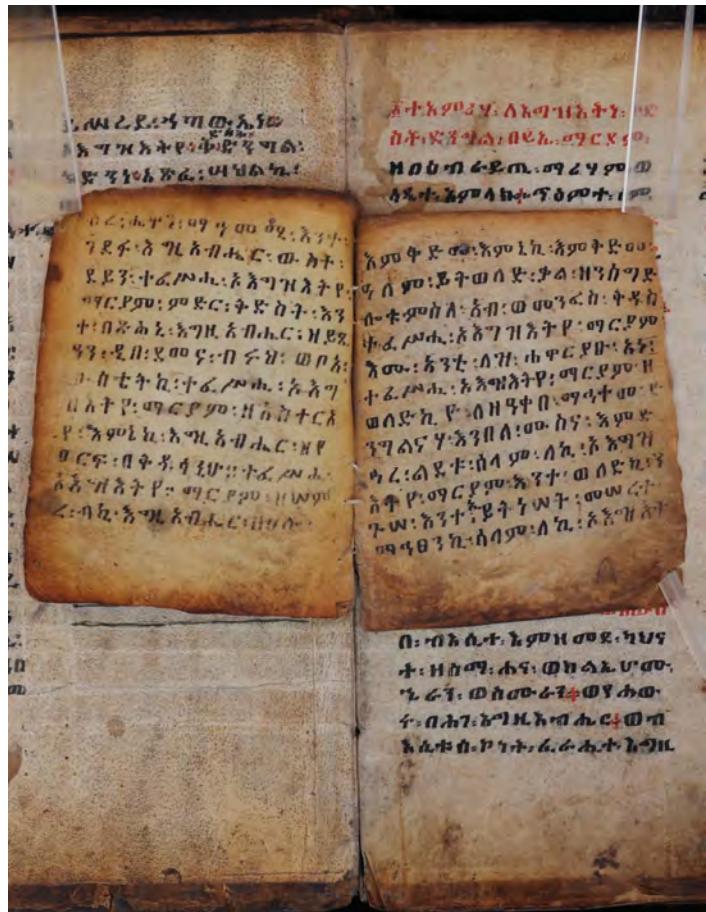


Fig. 1.6.7 Ethiopia, Tegrāy, Mengāś Māryām, MQMA-010, *Miracles of Mary*, nineteenth century, with infixes ff. 9v–10r of an earlier time, seventeenth century?, photograph Ethio-SPaRe.

Gospels, for instance, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Miracle at Cana are customarily displayed on two facing pages, while the Nativity is represented together with the Adoration of the Shepherds.

The illustration of the early Four Gospels books made use of two types, both originating from outside Ethiopia. The older one, called the Palestinian, introduced—directly after the decorated Eusebian Canon Tables—three miniatures illustrating Jesus' passion and resurrection (the Crucifixion, the Holy Women at the Tomb, and the Ascension). The second type, called the Byzantine, introduced at the same place a long Christological cycle, the most developed presently known containing nineteen miniatures (Lepage 1987; Balicka-Witakowska 1997; Lepage – Mercier 2011–2012). In these sets there are miniatures that have two subjects on one page, or one subject extending over two pages (cf. above). In both types, the text of each Gospel is preceded by a portrait of the evangelist (fig. 1.6.9). Placed on a verso, it faces the beginning of the Gospel text on the recto.

A hagiographical text was usually introduced by the full-page portrait of the saint placed on a verso, facing the *incipit* page on the recto. In the collections of the ‘Acts of the Martyrs’ only selected saints are depicted (the selection criteria are the subject of current research; in MS EMML no. 7602, fourteenth/fifteenth century, almost all saints are portrayed). In such collections, the portrait of the saint is painted on a verso, while the text begins on the facing recto. Sometimes an empty space left at the end of the text is also used for this purpose. In collections from the early fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, narrative miniatures are very rare (for example, the Beheading of John the Baptist in the ‘Acts of the Martyrs’ from Meslē, Tānā, fourteenth/fifteenth century). More common from the sixteenth century onward, they are always limited to one or two episodes.

The old Psalters are decorated with full-page miniatures serving as frontispieces for the sections of the book, representing the figures connected with these sections—a practice which derives from the Greek so-called ‘aristocratic Psalters’ (Weitzman 1960). Consequently, a miniature of David always appears before the Psalms, Solomon before the Song of Songs, Moses before his canticle and Mary before the ‘Prayers of Mary’ (Balicka-Witakowska 1983, 1984–1986). From the sixteenth century on, with few exceptions the Psalters keep only the frontispiece representing King David.

The texts listed above are practically the only ones that were decorated with miniatures in the period before the end of the sixteenth century. Exceptions are rare (for example, the fifteenth-century ‘Lectionary for Holy Week’, kept in the monastery of Mar‘āwi Krestos Endā Šellāse, Tegrāy) and concern mainly the first collections of the ‘Miracles of Mary’ and the books of the Old Testament (for example, Vatican City, BAV, Borg. aeth. 3, or the Old Testament copy from the Bētlehēm church near Dabra Tābor).

During the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, major changes occurred in the layout of the decorated and illustrated manuscripts. The painted pages are no longer gathered at the beginning of the codex or placed only as frontispieces before major text sections. Rather, the frontispieces are kept, but the miniatures are distributed all through the book, inserted within the written area in frames. The most ancient manuscript with this new kind of layout is a copy of the ‘Miracles of Mary’, adorned with pictures drawn with coloured ink in the Italianate style during King Lebna Dengel’s reign (1508–1540) kept in the church of Tadbāba Māryām (unfortunately, only partial documentation is available for study); in comparison with the seventeenth-century manuscripts following this tradition, this manuscript is quite innovative and must have been painted by a foreign artist. The collection itself evolved with the addition of new miracles, up to more than three hundred in some codices of the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century, the texts to be illustrated is fixed at thirty-three miracles, with a set of miniatures (filling an entire page or added separately in a column when there are blank spaces to fill in) placed at the beginning or at the end of the relevant text. In addition, at the beginning or at the end, we find full-page paintings that we can qualify as iconic (for example, a Virgin with Child). None of the manuscripts of the ‘Miracles of Mary’ from the seventeenth century resemble each other exactly. Even if they depict the same subject, the execution and the layout are always different (Annequin 1972; Balicka-Witakowska 2010a).

In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits must have brought to Ethiopia the *Evangelium arabicum*, an Arabic Gospels book printed in Rome in 1590–1591 for the evangelization missions in the Near East, with engravings by Antonio Tempesta modelled on the Small Passion woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer. Several Ethiopic Four Gospels books were illustrated in the 1660s–1680s, following this model. Each includes more than a hundred miniatures, although the distinct illustrations are actually fewer, as the illustrations to the Gospel of Matthew are repeated in the other Gospels (Leroy [Jules] 1961; Heldman 1993, 240–241; Bosc-Tiessé 2008, 103–105).



Fig. 1.6.8 Ethiopia, Tigray, Endā Abbā Garimā, Abbā Garimā 2, Four Gospels, c. fourth–sixth century, photograph by EBW.

as evidenced by a manuscript at Lake Tānā, Tānāsee 17 (= Kebrān Gabre’ēl 17; Hammerschmidt 1973), which contains 55 miniatures. Someone (the scribe and/or the painter, the scholar or the client who ordered the manuscript to be illustrated) must have thought very carefully about the project—selecting the episodes, the mode of representation, location—and acted as an innovative designer. Some episodes are represented twice: the first time at the end of the column where a text ends, and then on the following page with a full-page representation. The insertion of a painting into a column makes it possible to juxtapose immediately image and text and allows for numerous illustrations without the need for overly complex coordination among scribe, painter and binder (Bosc-Tiessé 2008, 145–169). Following the same process, other texts were illustrated, especially the *Dersāna Mikā’ēl* ‘Homiliary for the archangel Michael’. The illustrations of the *Tabiba tabibān* ‘Wisest amongst the Wise’, a hymnological composition, are laid out in a slightly different way: the paintings usually occupy the entire width of the page, between a few lines at the top and at the bottom of the page, divided into two columns (Heldman 1993; Mercier 2001, 174–177).

Whereas the paintings of the seventeenth century were painted in an unruled frame, in the course of the eighteenth century, later as a rule, they were accommodated within ruling lines, which were also utilized to apply coloured background. Moreover, during the eighteenth century, many new texts were illustrated: the Revelation of St John (McEwan 2006), the *Nagara Māryām* ‘Story of Mary’ (Balicka-Witakowska 2014), new lives and miracles of saints, and so on (Heldman 1993, 196). In each book, narrative miniatures were multiplied, but became also increasingly repetitive. Generally, the number of images was more concentrated in the initial part of the manuscript. Besides, iconic images depicting saints, the Virgin or the Crucifixion, tend often to be inserted into prayer books.

## 6.6. The scribe and the painter at work

### 6.6.1. Persons, places and methods

The scribal profession could be learnt in monastic centres and as an auxiliary ability during the traditional church education. For a good scribe, a certain level of education was necessary, but the scribal work in itself was not an intellectual preoccupation. Hagiographical texts depict monks or priests, praised for their ability in writing, who were also scribes and recognized as saints. In most cases, however, they are writers (authors) at the same time, and their calligraphic work was not distinctly separated from their literary achievements, but only added to their fame. The fact that training took place mostly within the framework of church education, however, does not mean that all scribes were necessarily monks or priests, especially in more recent periods.

Further changes occurred from the end of the seventeenth and especially during the first half of the eighteenth century. In general, the number of subjects represented increased, new iconographical cycles were created and the existing ones were expanded. After the Four Gospels and the ‘Miracles of Mary’, one of the first texts for which an iconographic cycle was invented is the ‘Life and Miracles of St George’,

During the twentieth century, training to become a scribe or a painter took place after finishing the elementary church school, when students were supposed to have acquired a good knowledge of Ge'ez. Yet most of the time they did it after completing another course, for example in church music, at the moment when they needed to copy out a book in order to become a qualified teacher. In this case, they were not necessarily going to become a professional scribe, but sometimes they made writing a second source of income. Some places are well known for the training of scribes, at least for the end of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century, such as Andabēt in South Bagēmder (Sergew Hable-Selassie 1981, 27–31), where the apprentices learnt calligraphy as well as how to prepare inks, make parchment, paint, bind and decorate leather covers (Mellors – Parsons 2002b).

At the end of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth, those who managed to join the newly established imperial scriptorium enjoyed benefits and a better social status than others, sometimes becoming a dignitary with the title of *alaqā*, and also with the distinguished title of *qum ṣahāfi* ('calligrapher'). Other scribes could perform scribal work for governors or noblemen, receiving similar benefits and privileges (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1989).

The so-called *dabtarās*, on the other hand, still represent a continuity with past tradition: self-employed, wandering from one church to another, and sometimes also ordained priests, they are copyists-on-demand (especially for 'magical scrolls') and earn a living from their traditional knowledge, selling the manuscripts they manufacture. These scribes are ambiguously regarded by society, as they are believed to be also sorcerers. A text of the sixteenth century that singled out ten social classes put the scribes (*ṣahāft*) in the class of the craftsmen (*ṭabibān*), together with very much despised blacksmiths, tailors and carpenters (Guidi 1907, 229–230 (text), 205–206 (translation)).

There is no special term for scriptorium until the end of the nineteenth century, and the questions of where Ethiopic manuscripts were copied, and how the work of copying and production was organized, are open ones. There are few monasteries in Ethiopia for which we can think that a scriptorium as an institutionalized workshop was settled with an administration organizing the work, wherever the work was really done. We have evidence that in these places, not only manufacture and/or copying was carried out, but also translators and authors of original works were active. Among such centres are monasteries and related networks founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the followers of the monks Ēwostātēwos (for example, Dabra Māryām, in Eritrea, following the old traditions of manuscript painting having their roots in Palaeo-Christian and Byzantine art; Heldman 1989; Lusini 2004) and Estifānos (Gunda Gundē, in eastern Tigray, characterized by the introduction of several technical and iconographical innovations: an enlarged range of colours, extensive use of *harag*, reduction of the narrative scenes and addition of purely iconic pictures to the decoration programme; Heldman 1989; Balicka-Witakowska 2005a), and also the monastery of Dabra Ḥayq (Bausi 2006a; Heldman 2007; Bosc-Tiessé 2010b).

An analysis of colophons written down in the 1660s–1760s in the Lāstā region, around Lālibalā, reveals the relationships between the different actors. It appears that different authorities, either political or religious, could hire a scribe, ordering manuscripts to be copied for different churches. Scribes worked independently, not being attached to the service of one patron, who in turn could have different scribes working for him. In this context, a scribe was not settled in a particular church (Bosc-Tiessé 2009).

Under the regency of Queen Mentewwāb (1730–1769) and during Menilek II's reign (1889–1913), we have evidence of a more developed hierarchy, with a chief organizing the work of the scribes. During the regency of Mentewwāb, a chief supervised the copyists working for the queen and her son. During the reigns of Menilek II and Ḥayla Šellasē, this function was put under the office of the *ṣahāfē te' ezāz*, that is the official chronicler and chancellor of the King (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1989; Bosc-Tiessé 2008; 2010a). Yet already in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, the kings are known to have organized the copying and distribution of manuscripts at home and abroad (Balicka-Witakowska 1997; Derat 2005; Bausi 2013b).

The scribe first writes the main text with black ink, and later adds the rubrics in red after changing the reed; but the rubricator might be another person. The twentieth century pictures of scribes show them working alone. However, there is enough evidence to indicate that the work could be divided among several scribes.

The scribe seems to have been theoretically trained to work also as a painter. In most cases it was the scribe who, if not painted the miniatures, at least sketched the ornamentation (*harag*). The name of the painter does not appear in the colophon, but sometimes the miniatures are signed and thus we can see that in some cases painter and scribe were the same (Bausi 2014, on Fiaccadori 1993, 162–168; Wright 1877,



Fig. 1.6.9 Ethiopia, Tigray, Dabra Madhinat, Abuna 'Abiya Egzi', Four Gospels, sixteenth century, ff. 161v–162r: St John and the *incipit* of the Gospel of John, photograph by Michael Gervers.



Fig. 1.6.10 Ethiopia, Lalibela, Beta Maryam, *Nagara Maryam* (Story of Mary), eighteenth century, ff. 10v–11r, photograph by Michael Gervers.

examples, Fiaccadori 2001, 280b–285b, on the manuscript Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3853 and further examples).

The scribe who makes the scrolls has to act in a relatively clandestine way because the Orthodox Church formally disapproves of such practices. The scroll-makers claim that their esoteric knowledge is a result of revelation and needs to be protected by deep secrecy. At least a part of this ‘hidden wisdom’, however, is written down and appears in books of divination and of the medical and/or magical-religious genre, with related pictures (Mercier 1992, 95–121). When ready, the scroll is given to the owner together with a prescription telling him or her how to carry it and when and how to use it in order to make it most effective. The texts in the scrolls mention neither the name of their scribes, nor the dates.

Books have been mostly written at someone’s request or on behalf of someone, and they have also been sold and bought (the book market of Aksum has been particularly important). The price is sometimes mentioned in the manuscript.

### 6.6.2. Colophons

Colophons were definitely an optional element, and there is no colophon, for example, in the most ancient Four Gospels books of Abbā Garimā. The most ancient Ethiopic colophon might be in the MS EMML no. 1832, a Four Gospels manuscript from Dabra Hayq Estifanos, written down by order of the abbot and saint

34, no. lii). Different scenarios might have occurred especially when the amount of work would make a division of labour necessary. For the period up to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the quires with pictures (with the exception of the frontispieces) and the quires with text were independently produced, while afterwards the painter worked on the same quires as did the copyist, and he had to wait until the scribe had finished before he could start his work.

In several manuscripts of the beginning of the eighteenth century, we have the name of the painter on the preparatory sketch (Pankhurst [Rich.] 1984), yet never in relation to finished paintings, suggesting that the name was intended to disappear under the painted layer and that the manuscript was circulating between different persons working on it. The signature was probably used to remind someone that the work on this specific page was done or had to be continued by a certain person. Painters could have worked to some extent with manuals and iconographic repertoires (for some

Iyasan Mo'a in 1280/1281 CE (f. 24v; Tadesse Tamrat 1970; but cf. also Bosc-Tiessé 2010b). An increasing number of colophons can be noted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (in particular in the age of Zar'a Yā'qob, 1434–1468, cf. also Bausi forthcoming b).

A peculiar phenomenon attested mostly for the communities of the followers of Ēwostātēwos (Dabra Māryām, Qohayn, and Dabra Bizan, Ḥamāsēn, now Eritrea) is the narrative expansion of the colophons, which in some fifteenth-century manuscripts tend to become small chronographical and hagiographical works in and of themselves (Bausi 1994, 1995a, 1997; Lusini 1996).

### 6.6.3. Dating systems

Chronological indications in colophons refer to the regnal year of the reigning king, but officers in charge and church dignitaries might also be mentioned, whether the book was written for them or not. Dating can also alternatively or additionally be given according to the common calendrical systems in use in written texts, which mostly derive from Christian Egypt, with all its apparatus (cycle of the evangelists, epact, *tentyon*, etc.). Several eras are used: Era of the World ('amata 'ālam 'year of the world'), also called 'year after the creation' ('āmat emfetrat) beginning in 5493 BCE; Era of Diocletian ('amata samā 'tāt 'year of martyrs'), beginning 5,776 years after creation, in 284/285 CE; Era of Grace ('amata meḥrat 'year of mercy'), beginning 5,852 years after the creation, in 359/360 CE; Era of the Incarnation (of Christ) ('amata šeggāwē), beginning 5,500 years after creation, in 7/8 CE. The Era of Grace and the Era of Diocletian are connected to the five-hundred-thirty-two-year cycle of the eastern computus that combines the nineteen-year lunar cycle with the biblical/Jewish seven-day week (and the four-year leap-year cycle) and often give rise to uncertainties that can be cleared up only by the context and cross-dating (Uhlig 2003).

### 6.6.4. Duration of copying

Apart from a regulation of the imperial scriptorium issued in June 1919, detailing how much time was needed for copying various books (for example, five months for a Psalter, eight months for the Four Gospels, etc.), only colophons and notes in the manuscripts provide any indications concerning duration of copying, and such indications have not yet been systematically collected. For example, the colophon of a large-size Octateuch manuscript in Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini 5, consisting of 195 folia, dating to 1437/1438 CE, indicates that the manuscript was copied by two scribes (one of them also acting as painter) from February to August of a single year, i.e. in the space of six to seven months circa, while the colophon states also that the parchment was produced by specialized craftsmen (Bausi 2014, on Fiaccadori 1993, 162–163).

Antoine d'Abbadie, an erudite individual well placed in the Ethiopian society of the first half of the nineteenth century, had manuscripts copied for him when he could not get possession of the original. In Gondar, capital city of the kingdom at that time, he paid the scribe per page or even per character, counting that an efficient copyist should write around 10,000 characters per day (MS Paris, BnF, Éthiopien d'Abbadie 172, f. 88; Bosc-Tiessé – Wion 2010, 87–88).

## 6.7. Bookbinding

Ethiopian tradition claims that the main shape of the Ethiopian codex has remained unchanged since many centuries, and the Ethiopian binding method is very old. Some modification, however, did take place, even though there was no complete transformation of the binding structure and techniques.

The main type of binding of the Ethiopian codex, on two boards, is simple (Szirmai 1999, 45–50). The left and right cover boards are commonly made of wood, *Cordia africana* (*wānzā*), *Olea africana* (*wayrā*), or cedar, though other kinds of wood are also used. The boards are cut roughly with an adze; usually they have the same size as the text block, or sometimes they exceed it by just a few mm.

Leather boards made of thick, stiff (ox) leather do occur, but even if cheaper, they are far less usual than the wooden ones. They were normally manufactured for codices of small size. If a codex contains only a small number of leaves (gathered in one quire), one single folded rectangular piece of leather (or even parchment) embracing the text block can be utilized ('limp-binding'). However, some inherent problems (greater vulnerability of the sewing, concave distortion of the spine) rendered leather bindings impractical, and their use remained limited.

Many Ethiopian codices bound on wooden boards are covered with leather. This practice is documented from the fifteenth century at the latest, and is very widespread also today. For this purpose,

slightly tanned sheep skin, or better goat skin, is used (just as for a number of household items). Tambēn, a region in Northern Ethiopia, is particularly known for the production of high quality leather (also called *tambēn*). Rarely, also imported Morocco leather (*bāhra ‘arab*) was used. The leather cover is glued onto the outer faces of the boards (at least in some cases, the adhesive was also brought unto the spine-folds of the quires); then protruding edges of the cover are folded as turn-ins and glued onto the inner surface of the boards. The remaining open surface in the middle can be covered with textile inlays; in older codices, it was covered by parchment paste-downs.

While most of the codices commonly have a full leather cover, quite a number have a ‘quarter cover’, and very few a ‘half cover’. A fully leather-covered volume may later receive a leather overback, to strengthen the spine area or to repair damage. For very big codices, the leather cover could be made of two pieces of leather, sewn along the middle of the spine.

In very few cases, the codex could receive a luxurious furnishing made of metal plaques (usually bearing tooled decorations) attached to the boards. The material could be copper or (gilded) silver or gold-like metal. Such an expensive embellishment was usually reserved for the main Four Gospels manuscript of the institution (but some other books decorated in this way do occur, see fig. 1.6.11). Traditionally, the term ‘golden gospel’ (*wangēla warq*) refers to a Four Gospels manuscript which contains the most significant notes regarding the owning institution (usually a monastery or a church) or the region (Bausi 2010d, see also Balicka-Witakowska forthcoming a), not to a Gospel book with a golden or gilt cover.

The codex is often kept in a special two-part slip case (*māhdar* and *defāt*), made of crude stiff leather, although high quality examples made of fine leather and furnished with elaborating fastenings also occur. The cases are used to hang the books (in the storage rooms) on a peg inserted in the wall, or from a beam. The big and heavy volumes could be stored on improvised shelves or on a traditional leather thong bed (*algā*), or, in the church, in a special piece of furniture (*manbara tābot*) for the altar tablet (*tābot*). Many codices received a secondary textile cover, or are kept and transported wrapped in textile or brocade. Extremely poor preservation conditions—which started only recently to be slowly improved—have resulted in the great percentage of old bindings being lost or badly damaged. Many manuscripts have been rebound, often unprofessionally.

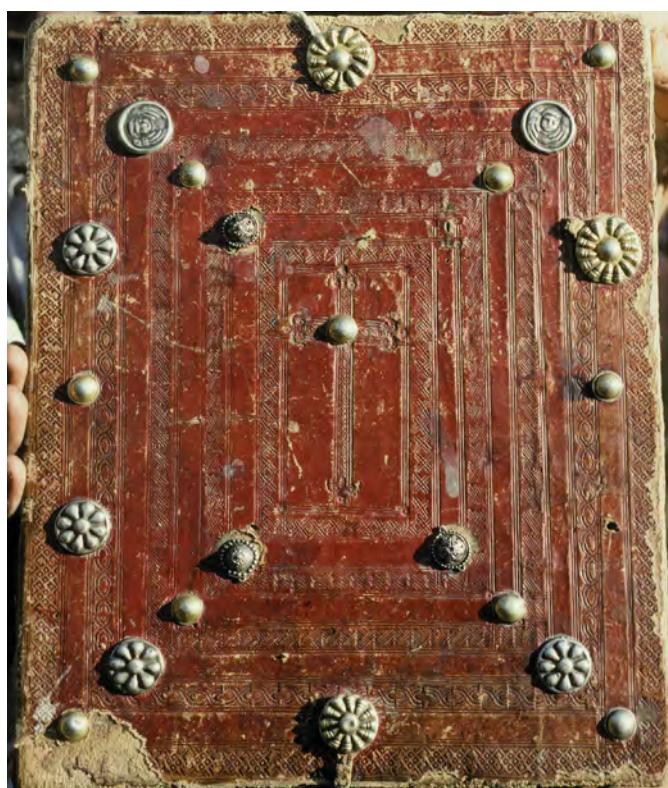


Fig. 1.6.11 Ethiopia, Amhārā, Saqotā Mikā’ēl Gabre’ēl, *Ta’āmmerra Iyasus* (Miracles of Jesus), eighteenth century, front board, photograph by Michael Gervers

Text blocks frequently include end-leaf quires protecting the first and last pages of the text from direct contact with the wooden boards. Such quires usually include a smaller number of leaves (two to six) than usual, which remain unwritten and can be used for additional texts, notes, paintings or drawings of different kinds. The end-leaf quires were an unstable part of the text block and were frequently taken out or modified (Tomaszewski – Gervers 2014, 73–74).

Another important feature which can be observed in older (pre-mid-sixteenth century) codices is the use of the first and the last leaf of, respectively, the left and right end-leaf quires as paste-downs. The leaf was glued to the board surface with an adhesive, and the turn-ins of the leather cover were glued onto it. With time the adhesive (possibly of wheat origin) tends to lose its strength, so that the paste-downs become detached from the wooden surface, and in many cases they were later cut off. However, in a few cases the former function of those leaves can still be surmised thanks to typical discolourations that occur on end-leaves.

Ethiopian manuscript-makers occasionally trimmed text blocks, but only rarely; this practice is attested for a few manuscripts, among others, through the ‘cues’ for the rubricator in the margins (numbers, titles, instructions), which have partly been cut together with the edges of the leaves.

Threads used for sewing the codex can be of animal or vegetable origin. As to threads of animal origin, they were probably ‘sinews’, according to recent observations, instead of ‘guts’, as sometimes reported (cf. Sergew Hable-Selassie 1981, 24; Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010, 208–209). The vegetable threads are made from different sorts of linen or cotton string or twine. The use of long and narrow twisted strips of parchment has also been observed, although it is a marginal practice. Today, synthetic threads are also widely used.

Depending on the size of the manuscript, the boards receive one, or (most commonly) two, or three pairs of sewing stations (up to six; sewing on three stations has also been attested). For this sewing, channels are made at appropriate places on the boards, where the threads are to be anchored, and they are matched by the holes made in the centrefolds of the quires. The sewing is executed without any sewing supports. Ethiopian chain-stitch sewing has been described in detail (Szirmai 1997, 46–48); it is sometimes referred to as an ancient feature of Ethiopian book production and compared to the Coptic multiple-quire manuscript sewing (for example, Shailor 1988, 55). For each pair of sewing stations, one single thread and two needles are used. The same thread is used for attaching the boards to the text block.

Most of the leather-covered codices have endbands or at least traces of their remains. The core of the endband (*totān*, cf. Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010, 222–224) is usually slit-braid (sometimes made of two leather thongs of different colours). Two cores are sewn to the protruding tip of the spine at the top and bottom (making ‘headband’ and ‘tailband’, respectively). The threads used for them are led through the centrefolds of the quires, then between the board and text block, and knotted (Szirmai 1999, 49). It appears that in very many cases the holes left by the tackets have been re-utilized for endband sewing (Faqāda Šellāsē Tafarrā 2010, 133–134). The endband structures (especially stitching) are quite fragile and can be observed intact only in a relatively small number of codices.

The accordion book could have a limp binding, or its front and end folds could receive light wooden or leather boards and laces (fig. 1.6.1). Often it is also supplied with a leather case in which the book is carried as an amulet, with a channel for a cord. The scroll is kept rolled in a cylindrical case made in two parts of tinted red leather or of a hollowed piece of bamboo covered with leather. The case has a channel for lacing a cord, to which may be attached shells, beads, dried beneficial plants closed in small cases and additional charms. In rare cases, the case is made of metal, usually silvered alloy, and decorated with filigree and chased (for example, London, BL, Or. 12859).

Leather covering the wooden boards is dyed brown or reddish brown. Different conditions of preservation, exposure to light and humidity produce the whole gamut of these basic colours. Recently executed examples, tinted with industrial products, are pinkish red. Leather is usually blind-tooled with small finishing tools (*deggʷes*), each having a special name recalling its form (Mellors – Parsons 2002a, 17; Mersha Alehegne 2011; Tomaszewski – Gervers 2014, 80–84). Sometimes the decorative pattern is incised or punched. The blind panel design is very simple and repetitive, but it would be difficult to find two identical examples even if they were produced in the same workshop. Usually the ornamentation includes a cross, sometimes flanked by a schematically drawn church building, always framed or encircled by multi-linear borders. The cross appears in innumerable variants. The design of the front cover is repeated on the back cover. The turn-ins, the spine, and the edges of the cover are also sometimes tooled with the same patterns as those on the external covers. The centre of the inside cover is filled with a textile inlay, of varying quality—from cheap Indian chintz to fine silk (Pankhurst [Rich.] 1980, 1981, 1983–1984, 1984, 1985–1986). A leaf with a drawing or even with a miniature may also be pasted in place of the textile. In the centre of some upper boards there is a square cavity which originally housed a piece of locally produced mirror.

The elaborate examples of leather covers may be supplied with metal furnishings. The bosses or studs, usually in the form of rosettes, were executed by means of different techniques, some made of two pieces of solid metal. Quite often a metal appliquéd decoration was introduced, arranged into various compositions. The fastening catches and clasps may have ornamented metal parts. For production of all these elements, most often silver or silvered alloy are used, but other metals may occur (Pankhurst [Rich.] 1999); very fine examples are two manuscripts donated by King Nā’od (1494–1508) to the church of

Marṭula Māryām, Acts of the Apostles and Catholic Epistles, and a two-volume Synaxarion belonging to the church of Māryām Dengelāt, Tegrāy.

Books entirely covered with metal are rare and of recent date, mostly from the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries (a well-known example is MS London, BL, Or. 728, a binding ‘in metal covers of copper gilt’, Wright 1877, 196, no. 304; also Pankhurst [Rich.] 1983–1984, 249). Made of a cheap silver or alloy, they are fastened by means of metal pegs and usually decorated with engravings representing figural and aniconic motifs. Three among the most ancient Four Gospels books have metal covers dating to a much earlier period: two Four Gospels from Endā Abbā Garimā (with three bronze pieces, plus one fragmentarily preserved, repoussé ornamented, and one possibly gilt), and the Four Gospels book of Dabra Libānos, Ham (now Eritrea), that is also a ‘golden gospel’. In the former case, the decorative motifs, the cross encircled by stylized foliage, are similar in all three examples, but not identical (Leroy [Jules] 1960). The latter case from Dabra Libānos (Bausi 1994, 1995a, 1997) has not yet been more closely examined, but the cover has a votive inscription mentioning the name of its commissioner donor (Conti Rossini 1901, 181; Derat 2010, 20; Fiaccadori 2011 [2012]).

Some wooden boards are coated with textile, usually a kind of velvet or thick cotton, providing support for the metal appliqué. The covering textile goes over the boards. Buckram-like textiles, usually cheap ones, are also used to protect the leather covers and the edges of the text block.

Several manuscripts are furnished with bookmarks made of coloured threads or pieces of leather fastened to the outer margin of a leaf some 50 mm from its upper corner. In the *de luxe* manuscripts it is a small, colourful bunch of silk threads. In some manuscripts, the miniatures may be protected by a tipped-in curtain of thin cotton or other textile, but seldom is the whole set protected.

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