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VOLUME

70

## Current Trends in Eritrean Studies

edited by

Gianfrancesco Lusini

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GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI

**The Monastery of Ǽnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot in Wägäriqo.  
I. A Historical Sketch**

The Eritrean monastery of Ǽnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot (Bausi, Lusini 1992: 25-26) lies in Wägäriqo, near Liban, about 5 km far from Həmbərti.<sup>1</sup> It can be easily reached from Asməra through the national road pointing south to Mändäfära (or 'Addi Wəgri).<sup>2</sup> After 12 km, a deviation westward marks the beginning of that part of Ḥamasen once called Loggo Čəwa (Lusini 2007). After 11 km the road passes through Abba Rāda' (Abarda', according to the local pronunciation), a village today hosting an important technical school. In Abba Rāda' there is still a venerated sanctuary (*bet şälot*), called Däbrä Q<sup>w</sup>əsq<sup>w</sup>am Gäbrə'el and dedicated to the saint Yərdä'annä Krəstos (Kinefe-Rigb 1975: 97, no. 173), who retired there when he was a young man. This personality is an interesting one. In the first half of the the 13<sup>th</sup> c., Yərdä'annä Krəstos was abbot of Däbrä Libanos of Şəmāzana (Akkälä Guzay), the most ancient Eritrean monastery. Because of his leading role he is mentioned in the celebrated *Golden Gospel* (*wängelä wäraq*) within three legal documents (*g<sup>w</sup>əlt* nos. 7b, 8 and 9; Conti Rossini 1901: 190-93; 1928: 318; Bausi 2007) emanated by king Lalibāla (r. about 1186-1225). After 15 km, one can arrive to Liban (pl. Ia-c), a place-name referred both to the centre and to this part of the Loggo Čəwa district (Bausi, Lusini 1992: 25, n. 47). The monastery lies about 2 km from the village.

All the Liban dwellers are nowadays Tigrinya-speakers. The place-name Liban contains a clear reference to the Afro-asiatic root LBN, indicating the frankincense, but one can observe that the word doesn't belong to the Tigrinya vocabulary (where the root is totally absent), neither to the Semitic languages of the North-Ethiopic branch. In these we can find only forms like *ləban* and

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<sup>1</sup> Həmbərti is a big village of the *zoba* Ma'əkäl (the Central Zone), having Asməra as its capital city. Həmbərti is a Tigrinya word meaning «navel, centre», but the historical meaning of this etymology remains so far unexplained (see Rao 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Mändäfära or 'Addi Wəgri is the capital city of the *zoba* Däbub (the Southern Zone); see Lusini (2005: 245, 250); Smidt (2007).

*lābanāt* of Tigre and *lābn* of Gəʿəz (and Amharic, as derived from Gəʿəz) showing, apart from the differences in the meaning, a common vocalism produced by the phonetic development \*i > ə. The Liban dwellers affirm the Bilin, *i.e.* *agāw*, origin of the place-name, since in *bilin* the frankincense is called *liban*. This archaic form of the plant-name is confirmed by other Cushitic languages, first of all the *tu-bedawie* (Beḡa), where the word *liban* has the same meaning. The root is attested in Southern Ethiopia too, where a region called Liban is found, *i.e.* the territory between the rivers Dawa (south) and Ganale (north), around the town of Nāgälle: this region is well-known in the local traditions and the same Oromo dwellers consider it as one of their motherlands. In fact, in *oromiffa* the frankincense is called *liibaanata*, with the same archaic vocalism exhibited by a Semitic language of the South-Ethiopic branch, the *adäre* (Harari), where the word *libanāt* is used for the same plant (Banti, Contini 1997: 172-73).

In recent years, archaeological findings in the Ḥəmbərti region brought to light the traces of an old-date human presence in this part of Eritrea, possibly tracing back to the pre-aksumite period (Rao 2007). Oral traditions state that the first dwellers of these lands were the Kunama, and that later Christian people coming from Wällo, particularly from Lasta, established here and founded Ḥəmbərti (Kolmodin 1912: 30; 1915: 23-24). The most ancient presence of Cushitic peoples in the Ḥamasen region is testified by the isolated *agāw* settlement of Bilin-speakers around Kārān, dating back to the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. (Conti Rossini 1913: 75-76). A Cushitic etymology lies behind place-names as the same Wägāriqo, where the words indicating «olive-tree» and «village» can be recognized («village of the olive-tree»): the same nominal pattern appears in Bambəqo («village of the sycamore»), lying in the neighbouring Saffäʿa (Conti Rossini 1938: 786).

According to a thesis commonly admitted, a second *agāw* expansion into Ḥamasen occurred in 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c., when the Adkämä Məl(əg)ga group took the power in Säraʿe (Schneider 1994), as a consequence of the *coup d'état* of 1270, the overthrowing of the Zag<sup>w</sup>e dynasty and the flight from Lasta to Eritrea of peoples linked to the previous authority (Conti Rossini 1912; 1913: 76). This interpretation of the facts doesn't take into account the extant records about the already mentioned personality of Yərdäʿannä Krəstos. This 13<sup>th</sup> c. saint was certainly from Wällo, as indicated by the surname *bəg<sup>w</sup>ənay* used by the legal documents and containing a reference to Bəg<sup>w</sup>əna, the Lasta district from where the same Zag<sup>w</sup>e royal family originated. This element allows one to guess that since the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. – sometimes before the rise of the Adkämä Məl(əg)ga – the Zag<sup>w</sup>e dynasty was aiming to extend his own direct influence over the regions of the Eritrean highland, and exploited a political strategy for annexing and controlling the lands beyond the Mārāb river. In the 15<sup>th</sup> c. the same strategy was applied on larger scale by the kings of the so-called Solomonic dynasty, as the well-known events occurred to the disciples



of Ewostaṭewos of Däbrä Şärabī clearly confirm (Lusini 1993). As a consequence of this re-assessment of the data, one can suppose that the first wave of *agäw* peoples into Ḥamasen, dating back to the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c., is tied to the fall of Aksum (Conti Rossini 1907: 332-34; Taddesse 1972: 27-28), while the second *agäw* expansion in the same Eritrean region, tracing back to the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c., is connected to a political strategy promoted by the same Zag<sup>w</sup>e kings (Conti Rossini 1916: 80). In order to widen their sphere of influence northward, the last Zag<sup>w</sup>e sovereigns used to resettle new *agäw* groups from Wällo into the Eritrean central regions inhabited by Kunama and Bilin, who were forced to abandon their original seats and to withdraw to the eastern and northern lowlands. In this effort the new monastic foundations played a decisive role as instruments for controlling territories and peoples. This historical picture allows one to reconstruct a more convincing picture of the Zag<sup>w</sup>e presence in Eritrea, and *a fortiori* in Tigray, and to give a more appropriate sense to the conflict between political parties and groups, culminating with the Zag<sup>w</sup>e dethronement and the settlement of the Adkämä Məl(əg)ga in Sära'e.

Halfway between Liban and the monastery of Ānda Abunä Täklä Haymanot (pls. *Id*, *IIa-b*), over a plain standing out because of the reddish colour of the ground, lies the village of Liban Taḥtay (*i.e.* «lower») (pl. *IIc-d*). The space belonging to the monastery is enclosed by a traditional drywall (pl. *IIIa*). The church, round plan and conic roof (pl. *IIIb*), dates back to the Thirties of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. Inside, the space is divided into the traditional tripartite scheme. The outside wall of the *māqdäs*, normally protected by a long breadth of cloth, is decorated by a cycle of interesting wall paintings (pl. *IIIc*). The small monastic community, counting also a women section in a separated space, was led in 2006 by *māmhər* Sämrätä Ab (pl. *IVa*). Even if totally depending on public and private subsidies, the monastery shelters a small religious school too. According to the information given by the monks, in Ānda Abunä Täklä Haymanot are preserved 134 liturgical manuscripts (Bausi, Lusini 1992: 26).

The origins of the monastery are not clearly stated by the written sources we know. Most part of the historical data are transmitted by the *Life* of Säyfa Mika'el (Känäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003, Gə'əz text with Təgrəñña translation; Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003, only Italian translation), a prominent figure in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. Eritrean religious history (1644-1740).<sup>3</sup> He is the founder of the celebrated monastery of Ānda Şəllase in Şa'da Āmba (Ḥamasen), about 30 km south-east of Kärän, in the 'Ansäba region, from where the family of the saint originated too («the origin of his lineage is from the land of 'Aynä Saba

<sup>3</sup> Ayele Teklehaymanot (2003: 74) describes a manuscript of the *Gädlä säyfä mika'el* he found in the monastery of Ānda Şəllase in Şa'da Āmba. This text is very close (possibly the same) to the manuscript published by Känäfä Rəgəb Marqos (2002-2003).

Därsännay, those who went out from ʿEggäla, that is the Zär’ Šännay of Däbrä Gäbrä’el».<sup>4</sup>

In his *gädl* we read that Säyfä Mika’el went to the Adyabo, and there – in a place called Betä Qirqos – he took the monastic habit from the hands of the abbot ‘Ēnq’ä Bərhan.<sup>5</sup> Once accomplished the religious training near the highly venerated eremits of Wäldəbba,<sup>6</sup> Säyfä Mika’el covered the first part of his monastic way in Wägäriqo «which is – according to the *gädl* – his holy hermitage and the place of the tomb of our blessed father Täklä Haymanot, his father».<sup>7</sup> The latter isn’t the great monastic figure of 13<sup>th</sup> c., the founder of Däbrä Asbo, later called Däbrä Libanos, in Šäwa, but his Eritrean namesake, called Täklä Haymanot of Wägäriqo. Even if it is not explicitly stated, with all probability to this monk the foundation of the monastery in Liban must be attributed. According to the monastic traditions, this Täklä Haymanot was a pupil of ‘Ēqubä Šəllase, who received the monastic habit in the Adyabo from the hands of Nolawinä Ǿer, and then retired in Wägäriqo (Conti Rossini 1916: 424). The same monastic genealogies confirm that ʿĒnq’ä Bərhan of Adyabo, the spiritual father of Säyfä Mika’el, was a pupil of Täklä Haymanot of Wägäriqo (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 202-3; Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 117). Consequently, the foundation of ʿĒnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot can be dated back to the first quart of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., a tormented period of the political and religious history of Ethiopia, between the reigns of the kings Susnəyos (*r.* 1622-32) and Fasilädas (*r.* 1632-67).

According to the *gädl*, Säyfä Mika’el spent a part of his life in the Wägäriqo community, «he lived there and he established inside the rule of the fathers, becoming the father, the leader and the teacher».<sup>8</sup> In other words, he was for some time the abbot (*māmhar*) of ʿĒnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot, then

<sup>4</sup> *wäkonä təntä muladu əmhagärä ‘aynä saba därsännay əllä wäd’u əm’əggäla zäwə’ətomu zär’ šännay zädäbrä gäbrä’el* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 9); «l’origine della sua discendenza è dalla provincia di ‘Āyna Sābā Daršannāy, da coloro che uscirono dal Eggälā cioè gli Zär’a (sic) Šannāy di Dabra Gabre’el» (Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 79).

<sup>5</sup> *bəṣṣhā adyabo zätəssəmmäy betä qirqos wäyā’əti mākanä zəhrü lä’abunä nolawinä Ǿer* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 20); «giunse nel Adyabo [in una chiesa] chiamata Bēta Qirqos che è il luogo della tomba del padre nostro Nolāwina Ǿēr» (Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 81). Adyabo is a western district of Šire, the region of Tigray delimited by the rivers Tākkäze and Mārāb.

<sup>6</sup> Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos (2002-2003: 22); Ayele Teklehaymanot (2003: 81-82). Wäldəbba or Wali is the well-known district of Səmen, south of the Tākkäze river.

<sup>7</sup> *zäyā’əti gädamu qəddəsät (sic) wäyā’əti mākanä zəhrü läbədu’ tāklä haymanot abuhu* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 24); «che è il suo santo eremo ed è il luogo della tomba del nostro beato padre Takla Hāymānot, suo padre» (Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 82).

<sup>8</sup> *wänäbärä həyyä wäsär’a bəwəsteta / sər’atä abāw kəwino abbä mārāḣe wāmāmhərə* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 24-25); «vi dimorò e vi stabilì la norma dei padri, divenendone il padre guida, maestro ed esortatore» (Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 82).

he came back to the ‘Ansäba region<sup>9</sup> and to the Däbrä Sala mountain, southwest of Kärän, where he lived more than six years.<sup>10</sup> Next step was the foundation of Ānda Šəllase in Ša‘da Āmba. With this monastery the Wägäriqo community maintained a stable relationship of dependence, in the name and through the authority of the same Säyfä Mika’el «because – as the *gädl* states – he used to go to and fro continuously in order to confirm his sons».<sup>11</sup>

When Iyasu I (Adyam Sägäd, r. 1682-1706) took the power, Säyfä Mika’el was playing an important role as organizer and responsible of the monastic discipline over the whole northern Ḥamasen. The *gädl* states that, during a staying of the holy man in Wägäriqo, the King wrote a letter to him and invited him to his Court in Gondär (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 75; Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 92). Säyfä Mika’el and Iyasu met each other in the capital city (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 88-90; Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 95), then the monk departed to visit two monasteries on the northern side of the Lake Ṭana: Mānda(‘a)bbā and Gälilā (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 93; Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 95).

At the end of that spiritual journey, Säyfä Mika’el «went back to the king and they dealt with a lot of secret matters related to the faith».<sup>12</sup> The topic of the talk is less secret for us than for the hagiographer. In facts, among the targets of Iyasu’s politics was the strengthening of the northern boundaries of the Christian Kingdom and the containment of Mūsā, *nā’īb* (Amharic and Tigrinya *nayəb*) of Massawa, whose sphere of influence was spreading out in the inland, among the Tigre- and Tigrinya speaking peoples of the Ḥamasen province.<sup>13</sup> The support of the Crown to the net of monastic foundations in Northern Ḥamasen was a part of this political strategy, and the Christian king had a temporary success in 1692, when Mūsā payed homage to him (Bosc-Tiessé 2007: 249b; Guidi 1903: 163 [text]). The same author of the *gädl* numbers scrupulously the lands granted (*g’əlt*) by the King in favour of Ānda Šəllase

<sup>9</sup> From the district of Däqqi Šəḥay (so Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 30) or Daqqa Šəḥay (so Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 83) to the native village Zär’ Šännay (so Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 30) or Daršännāy (so Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 83).

<sup>10</sup> *wäbäzäkämäzə gəbr nābärä abunä säyfä mika’el bädäbrä sala 6tä ‘amätä 6tä awraḥa* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 40); «e in questo modo dimorò il padre nostro Sayfa Mikä’el in Dabra Sälā per sei anni e mezzo» (Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 86).

<sup>11</sup> *əsmä kāmāzə ləmmadu yətmäyyät wäträ / lä’əšn’otomu lawəludu* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 86-87); «perché era suo costume continuamente fare la spola per confermare i suoi figli» (Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 92).

<sup>12</sup> *wätämäyṭä ḥabä nəguś wätānaggäru bəzuḥa nāgärä məštir zāhaymanot* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 95); «poi ritornò dal re e trattarono di molti argomenti segreti riguardanti la fede» (Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 96).

<sup>13</sup> Thus, around the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., the *gädla säyfä mika’el* testifies the power alternation in the Ḥamasen province between the Christian governors (*baḥər nāgäs*) and the Islamic officials (*nā’ib*).

monastery, particularly in the ‘Ansäba Valley and among the Bogos, north of Kärän (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 95-96; Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 96); and for the sake of clarity the same list is repeated at the end of the *gädl* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 204-05; Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 117).<sup>14</sup>

We can date with more precision the meeting between the King and the monk, since the *gädl*, telling about the journey of the saint to Gondär, states that «our father Säyfä Mika’el went to the Angäräb river,<sup>15</sup> which is under Däbrä Berhan, and there the King’s legates came to receive him». <sup>16</sup> Däbrä Bərhan Šəllase is a well-known church in Gondär, a monument celebrated for its valuable wall paintings (Balicka-Witakowska 2005). The church was built by order of Iyasu and consecrated in January 1694 (Pankhurst 2005). Thus, the facts told by the hagiographer must be dated to the last years of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., anyhow before 1706, when the King died.

The land granting in favour of the Ənda Šəllase monastery was formally registered in a document (*tomar*) sent by the King to the chief (*šəyyum*) and to the governors (*mäsafənt*) of the Ḥamasen province. «And then – as the *gädl* states – he gave him a lot of gifts for the needs of the monks: books, golden crowns, golden crosses and many furnishings for the needs of his monastery». <sup>17</sup> Moreover, the hagiographer tells the return of Säyfä Mika’el to Eritrea and his eight-days long staying in Wägäriqo, before going back to Ənda Šəllase (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 99-100; Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 97). Because of the tied relationships between the two monastic places, one can imagine that a part at least of those goods were left in Wägäriqo. Till today the monks of Ənda Abunä Täklä Haymanot use to show with pride their paraphernalia (pl. III*d*), and a hand cross tracing back possibly to the facts exposed in the *gädl* (pls. IV*a*, VI*a-b*).<sup>18</sup> The object bears two inscriptions. The

<sup>14</sup> Conti Rossini (1916: 421-24) reports a wider text, containing the information he got from Gərma Šəyon, at that time abbot of Ənda Šəllase in Ša’da Əmba.

<sup>15</sup> This is the so-called ‘Small’ Angäräb, being together with the Qaha one of the two rivers of Gondär. It is not to be confused with the ‘Great’ Angäräb, the well-known tributary of the Atbara (Mulatu 2003). Angäräb and Qaha merge with a wider river, the Mägäč, mentioned in the *gädl* too (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 86); erroneously in Ayele Teklehaymanot (2003: 94) the form Manç is reported.

<sup>16</sup> *wäbäšha abunä säyfä mika’el fälägä angäräb əntä tahtä däbrä bərhan wäbähəyyä täqäbbäləwo la’əkanä nəguš* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 86); «e il padre nostro Sayfa Mikä’el giunse al fiume Angarab che è sotto [la chiesa di] Dabra Berhän, dove gli vennero incontro i messi del re» (Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 94).

<sup>17</sup> *wä’addi wähabo amḥa bəzuḥ lāmāfqädä mänəkösət mäšahəftä wä’aklilatä zäwäraq wämäsqälätä zäwäraq wäq’äsaq’əsatä bəzuḥ lāmāfqädä däbru* (Kənäfä Rəgəb Marqos 2002-2003: 97); «e ancora gli diede molti doni per le necessità dei monaci: libri e corone d’oro, croci d’oro e molta suppellettile [sacra] per le necessità del suo convento» (Ayele Teklehaymanot 2003: 96).

<sup>18</sup> See Lorenza Mazzei, The monastery of Ənda Abunä Täklä Haymanot in Wägäriqo, II. Aesthetic analysis of a hand cross, in this volume.

first is nothing but a *nota possessionis* and it is found along the narrow edge of the lower plate: *zəməsqäl zähəde iyasu*, «this cross belongs to King Iyasu» (pl. IVb). The second, containing a dedication of the object, is written on the two faces of the flower-shaped end of the cross: *zəmə<s>qäl zä'adyam sägäd | zəwähäbu lä'abba säyfä mika'el*, «this cross belongs to Adyam Sägäd | who gave it to abba Säyfä Mika'el» (pl. Va-b). Thus, the facts told by the hagiographer find a confirmation in this liturgical object produced in order to give a tangible sign of the full cooperation between the Christian King and the Eritrean monk in the field of the ecclesiastic politics.

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## SUMMARY

The monastery of ʾĒnda Abunā Täklä Haymanot of Wägäriqo, in the Ḥamasen district once called Loggo Čəwa, was founded in the first quart of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., a tormented period of the political and religious history of Ethiopia, between the reigns of the kings Susnəyos (*r.* 1622-32) and Fasilādas (*r.* 1632-67). The data transmitted by the Life of Säyfa Mikaʾel (1644-1740), the founder of the monastery of ʾĒnda Šəllase in Šaʿda Ĕmba, allow to reconstruct the important role played by ʾĒnda Abunā Täklä Haymanot as the representative of the Christian King's politics in the Northern Ḥamasen toward the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> c.

*Keywords:* hagiography; gädl; Eritrean history; Ethiopian monasticism; Geʿez philology; Semitic linguistics



a) Liban as seen from the road leading to Ɖnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot. (Photo by G. Lusini).



b) Traditional house in Liban (*ħədmə*). (Photo by G. Lusini).



c) Traditional house in Liban (*ħədmə*). (Photo by G. Lusini).



d) The road leading to Ɖnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot (Liban Taħtay in the background). (Photo by G. Lusini).



a) The roof of the monastic church coming up at the end of the road. (Photo by G. Lusini).



b) The roof of the monastic church coming up at the end of the road. (Photo by G. Lusini).



c) Liban Tahtay.  
(Photo by G. Lusini).



d) Liban Tahtay.  
(Photo by G. Lusini).





a) Traditional drywall enclosing the monastery.  
(Photo by G. Lusini).



b) The monastic church of Ānda Abunā  
Tāklā Haymanot. (Photo by G. Lusini).



c) Wall painting on the southern wall of the *māqdās*  
(the *Dormition* of the Virgin Mary). (Photo by G. Lusini).



d) The paraphernalia of Ānda Abunā Tāklā Haymanot.  
(Photo by G. Lusini).



*a) Mämhər Sämrätä Ab with the hand cross of Iyasu I (in the year 2006).  
(Photo by G. Lusini).*



*b) The nota possessionis: zəməsqäl zāḥade iyasu «this cross belongs to King Iyasu».  
(Photo by G. Lusini).*



a) The lower plate: Holy Trinity, Resurrection and first half of the dedication: *zämä<s>qäl zä'adyam sägäd* «this cross belongs to Adyam Sägäd». (Photo by G. Lusini).



b) The lower plate: Our Lady Mary with her Beloved Son, Gabriel and Michael, Ascension and second half of the dedication: *zäwähäbu lä'abba säyfä mika'el* «who gave it to *abba Säyfä Mika'el*». (Photo by G. Lusini).



a) The Crucifixion side of the cross.  
(Photo by the G. Lusini).



b) The *k'ər'atä re'esu* side of the cross. (Photo by G. Lusini).



a) The Crucifixion side of the cross.  
(Photo by G. Lusini).



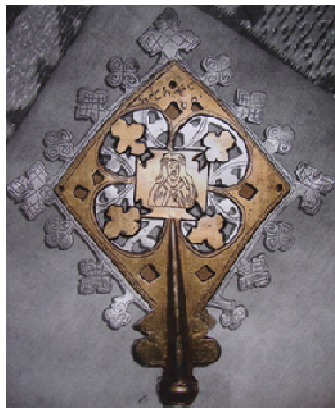
b) The *k'är'atä re'esu* side of the cross. (Photo by G. Lusini).



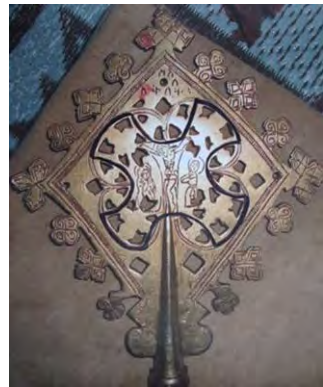
a) Graphics by L. Mazzei.



b) Graphics by L. Mazzei.



c) Graphics by L. Mazzei.



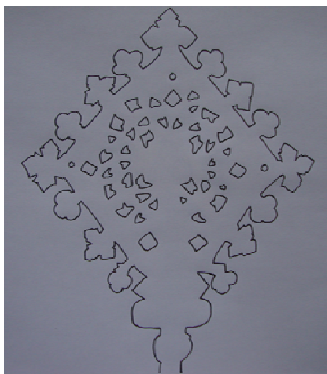
d) Graphics by L. Mazzei.



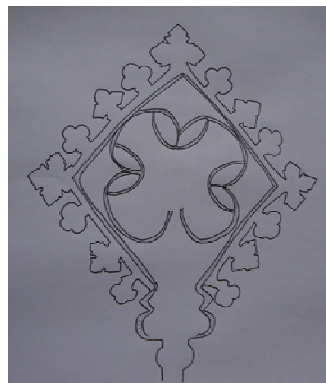
a) Graphics by L. Mazzei.



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