

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY**

**HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF
GÄDLÄ ABÄW WÄ-AḤAW**

BY

TEWOLDE-BERHAN MEZGEBE DESTA



**JUNE 2010
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MULUGETA SEYOUM (PhD)

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WÄ-AḤAW**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE
STUDIES ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN PHILOLOGY**

**BY
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INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES

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Last but not least, thank you *Lilli*.

ABSTRACT

The research aims at exploring the historical contributions of Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw to its period, that is, to the fourteenth and fifteenth century. In addition, it tries to present philological and linguistic analysis of the Gädl.

This thesis incorporates six chapters: chapter one introduction, chapter two historical analysis, chapter three philological analysis, chapter four linguistic analysis, chapter five translation of some selected texts of the Gädl and chapter six conclusion and recommendation.

Chapter one deals with the method I employed in conducting my research in qualitative research, that is, document analysis. Chapter two explains about the cause of the Stephanite movement. The massive persecution of this sect most probably happened due to refusal to prostrate to the King, Zär'a Ya'əqob. Chapter three provides some philological elements such as adiphoric errors and obelos. Chapter four presents the linguistic changes that exist in the Gädl which is written about 450 years back. There are phonological, morphological and syntactic changes or problems in the Gädl. In chapter five, I selected some texts deliberately and gave equivalent translation for them. I did it to let the reader get a brief know how on the movement. I didn't translate all as it is bulky which is 314 pages or 162 folios.

My conclusion holds that the cause of the Stephanites' persecution was neither political nor economical. In the researcher's view, it was rather religious. Lastly, recommendations are given.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAU	= Addis Ababa University
Act.	= Acts
AD	= Anno Domini
A.S.L	= Above Sea Level
b.	= born
BC	= Before Christ
ca.	= circa (around)
CSCO	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
d.	= died
Dan.	= Daniel
EA	= <i>Encyclopaedia Aethiopica</i>
E.C.	= Ethiopian Calender
EMML	= Ethiopian Microfilm Manuscript Library
Exo.	= Exodus
Ez.	= Ezekiel
f.	= folio
ff.	= folios
G	= manuscript of Gunda Gundo
Gen.	= Genesis
Heb.	= Hebrew
I	= manuscript of IES
i.e.	= <i>id est</i> (that is)
IES	= Institute of Ethiopian Studies
Isa.	= Isaiah
Jn.	= John
JSS	= Journal of Semitic Studies
Kn	= King
Lk.	= Luke
MS	= manuscript

- Mth. = Matthew
MSS = manuscripts
Orch = Oriens Christianus
Pet. = Peter
Ps. = Psalm
r. = ruled
Rev. = Revelation
RSE = *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*
Sam. = Samuel
[sic] = in square brackets is used to indicate that the preceding word, statement, etc., is correctly quoted, even though it is a mistake.
Sir. = Book of Sirach (Ethiopic)
St. = Saint
v = verso
Viz. = namely

TRANSLITERATION

There are variations in transliterating the *fidäl* as there is no standardized system of transliteration for it. The researcher used *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* system of transliteration except for ጸ (Ḑ) and ጨ (č') as he failed to access them.

I. Consonants

ሐ = ḥ

ኀ = ḥ

ሠ = ś

ሸ = š

ቀ = q

ቸ = č

ኸ = ḥ

አ = ' (no symbol)

ዐ = °

ዠ = ž

ጀ = ě

ጠ = ṭ

ጨ = č'

ጸ = Ḑ

ጻ = ṣ

II. Vowels

(To illustrate this using the consonant "L")

ሸ = ä

ሰ = lä

ሁ = u

ሰ = lu

ሀ = I

ሰ = li

አ = a

ሰ = la

ሄ = e

ሰ = le

እ = ə

ሰ = lə

ዐ = o

ሰ = lo

III. Labiovelars

ቁ = q^{wä}

ቁ = q^{wu}

ቁ = q^{wa}

ቁ = q^{we}

ቁ = q^{wə}

ቁ = h^{wä}

ቁ = k^{wä}

ቁ = g^{wä}

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UNIT ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Gə'əz or classical Ethiopic has been the written language of Ethiopia at least since the beginning of Christian era. When in the first half of the 4th century Christianity reached the country, the latter was ready to receive its teaching in writing which marked the beginning and subsequent fortunes of Gə'əz literature, one of the most peculiar features of Ethiopian civilization.¹ Moreover, Ullendorff confirms from an inscription, the obelisk of Mätära, that Ethiopic began before the introduction of Christianity.

Most scholars advocate that hagiographical² traditions and royal chronicles flourished in the Middle Ages. Amsalu (2006:1) quoting Adamu (1970:76) stated that medieval Ethiopian literature is particularly rich in hagiographies. Furthermore, Tadesse (1970:12) discussed the richness of Ge'ez hagiographies as follows:

Gi'iz hagiographies constitute by far the largest group of sources for medieval Ethiopian history. Even the Royal Chronicles -- which can otherwise be considered as secular historical documents -- display some hagiographical characteristics. This is the result of not only the clerical monopoly of the literary art at that time, but also because of the intensively religious milieu of medieval Ethiopia.

¹ Getachew Haile " Gə'əz literature", *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol.2(2005), p.736.

² Hagiography is a term that describes literary products related to the veneration of the saints. In the Ethiopian context, hagiography encompasses a number of genres, or different types of texts: Vita, or Acts (*Gädl*), Miracles (*Tä'amər*), Homilies (*Dərsan*), hymns and hymnological compositions of different kinds, accounts about the translations of relics, and a number of smaller texts like monastic genealogies, prayers and inscriptions (Painting; Equestrain saints) etc.

It is true that the *Gädlät*, or the lives of monks and saints have definitely literary values. However, they are often useful for the study of the political history of the country.

According to Taddesse (1970:17) the historical values that we extract from a *Gädl* are only sudden by-products. *Gädlät* can be considered crucial primary sources if they are only for the study of the history of the Ethiopic literature and for the doctrinal institutional history of the Ethiopian church. For the political and military history of the country, however, the value of the *Gädlät* differs greatly from one to the other, and each must be considered on its own peculiar advantages. Depending on the date of their composition, on how closely related the saints were with the royal court, and on the political importance of the monasteries concerned, there are quite a number of *Gädlät* which are paramount to the students of medieval Ethiopian history.

Among the *Gädlät* or hagiographies that were composed during the medieval period of Ethiopia *Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw (ገድለ አበው ወአጎው)* is one. It is a collection of the martyrdom of the Fathers and Brothers of Däbra Gärzen, or the story of the persecution of the Stephanites during the reign of Aṣe Zär'a Ya'əqob (1434-1468).

The name Stephanite is derived from the name of the monk, Abba Ḥṣṭifanos (died ca.1450), who organized the followers of his teachings into a distinct sect, but still under the umbrella of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In the local language they called themselves 'Däqīqa Ḥṣṭifanos meaning 'the spiritual children or followers of Abba

ጃፕፋኖስ'. Their opponents, the Zär'a Ya'əqobites, called them in derogatory fashion, Däqıqa ጃፕፋ "in the Egyptian language"³

*Lä-mäggabe betu lä-Egz'abher sämäyəwwo bäsämä
säyፕan zä-yəbləwwo ጃፕፋ
To the administration of the house of God, they named
him by the name of a demon called ጃፕፋ.*

Gädlä Abäw wä-Aፕhaw presents all accounts of the persecutions that the Stephanites faced in the fifteenth century by their opponent Zär'a Ya'əqob, who is mentioned in the *Gädl* as Dəbbä Şär meaning "a bear to the enemy". The main reason for their persecution is their doctrinal and canonical differences. The *Gädl* provides vast historical events of the sect. It states how the Stephanites defended themselves in front of the royal court, how they sacrificed their lives, in which places they were jailed and to which places they were taken for torment and persecution. Hence, Gädlä Abäw wä-Aፕhaw is one that is worth studying as an important historical source for its period.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Some scholars are interested in the movement of the Stephanites at least since Dillmann's study of the writings of Aşe Zär'a Ya'əqob in 1884. These writings present the account of the movement from the standpoint of the established Church, which the sect was challenging with an amazing degree of perseverance.⁴ Conti Rossini (1910) and A. Caquot (1961) wrote on the acts (*gädlät*) of the important leaders of the sect, that is *Gädlä Abäkeräzun* and *Gädlä*

³ Getachew Haile "The Cause of the ጃፕፋኖስites: A Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia", *Paideuma*, Orono: vol. 29 (1983), p. 94

⁴ Ibid. p.93

Ezra respectively, and Taddesse wrote about the Stephanite “heresy”.

Though these works give invaluable information about the Stephanites movement, Gädlä Abäw wä-Ahaw is mentioned above all. Getachew (1996:46) over emphasizes this as follows:

ገድለ አበው ወአጎው ከፍተኛ የታሪክ ምንጭ ነው። አፃፃፉም እንደ ገድለ ብቻ ሳይሆን እንደ ታሪክም ነው። ከዚህ ምንጭ እንደምናየው እንደኛ፡- ዛሬ ስማቸው የቀረ ወይም የተለወጠ ብዙ የቦታ ስሞች ያነሳል። ሁለተኛ፡- የደቂቀ እስጢፋኖስ እንቅስቃሴ ትግራይ ተጫረ እንጂ በሌሎችም የኢትዮጵያ ክፍለ ሀገሮች ተቀባይነት አግኝቶ እንደነበር ይመስክራል።

Gädlä Abäw wä-Ahaw is rich source of history. Its writing is not like acts (gädlat) but also like history. As we can see from the source: first, it mentions toponyms which are not used today or changed. Second, it also gives evidence that the Stephanite movement though commenced in Tigray has also acceptance in other regions of Ethiopia.

As mentioned above, the Gädlä Abäw wä-Ahaw contains the history about the movement of the leaders of the Stephanites. Hence, it is a rich area for conducting a research on its historical and linguistic aspects.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objectives

The general goals of the study are: to assess the historical trends of Gädlä Abäw wä-Ahaw and look for its contribution to Ethiopian history and to explore the linguistic changes that appeared in the Gädl.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. to find out the historical contribution of the *Gädl* to its period.

Ezra respectively, and Taddesse wrote about the Stephanite “heresy”.

Though these works give invaluable information about the Stephanites movement, Gädlä Abäw wä-Ahaw is mentioned above all. Getachew (1996:46) over emphasizes this as follows:

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Gädlä Abäw wä-Ahaw is rich source of history. Its writing is not like acts (gädlat) but also like history. As we can see from the source: first, it mentions toponyms which are not used today or changed. Second, it also gives evidence that the Stephanite movement though commenced in Tigray has also acceptance in other regions of Ethiopia.

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The general goals of the study are: to assess the historical trends of Gädlä Abäw wä-Ahaw and look for its contribution to Ethiopian history and to explore the linguistic changes that appeared in the *Gädl*.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. to find out the historical contribution of the *Gädl* to its period.

2. denote the linguistic changes such as morphological and syntactic changes of the *Gädl*.
3. to explore the philological elements and problems of the *Gädl*.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The researcher believes that the findings of this study will be useful:

1. to scholars who are interested in Ethiopian history.
2. to philologists and linguists who want to study this MS further.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

There are various MSS which give traces of evidence about the Stephanite movement. Among these include: *Gädlä Abäkäräzun*, *Gädlä Ezra*, and *Gädlä Gäbrä Mäsih*. But the present study depends on using mainly the *Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw*, the base MS, because it is believed to be the richest source for the history of the Stephanite movement.

1.6 Methodology

The researcher has used a qualitative research. He conducted document analysis. The *gädlät* of *Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw* were collected from different places and analyzed philologically.

1.6.1 Source of Data

The main source of the study is a MS called *Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw*. It belongs to the library of IES, A.A.U.

1.6.2 Data Gathering

The main tool taken as primary data is the MS of *Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw*. In addition, relevant books, catalogues of MSS and journals were consulted as secondary data. The researcher conducted a field

trip to the monastery of Gunda Gundo once. However, he devoted much of his time on library work.

1.7 Review of Related Literature

Various scholars, local and foreign, so far have written on the history of the Stephanites movement. The researcher has discussed the main ones.

According to Getachew (1983:93), Dillmann studied the writings of Aṣe Zär'a Ya'əqob in 1884 that was published a year later. These writings present the accounts of the Stephanites movement and their challenge to the Zär'a Ya'əqobites persecution with an amazing degree of perseverance.

Conti Rossini (1910) edited the *Gädlä Abäkäräzun*, the acts of one of the important leaders of the sect. He published the book from a MS which was written for him in the twentieth century. He translated the *Gädl* into Italian. His work is crucial as he tried hard to indicate the ideas or sentences which are taken from the Bible. It is clear, in the Ethiopian context, that there exists a tradition that scribes or writers of hagiographies quote ideas or sentences from the Bible while composing. Conti Rossini's work differs from Getachew's (2004) in that both use different MSS for translation and the latter tried to correct the errors of the MS.

A. Caquot (1961), on his part, edited the *Gädlä ʿEzra*. ʿEzra was one of the prominent leaders of the sect. *Gädlä ʿEzra* is all about the life of *Abba ʿEzra*. It also explains about the Stephanites movement during his time. Caquot's (1961) edition is a paramount contribution to Ethiopian and foreign scholars. His contributions become evident as Getachew (2004) based his Amharic translation of the *Gädlä ʿEzra*

on Caquot's edition. R. Beylot (1970) and Taddesse (1968) also wrote using published and unpublished materials attempting to review the history of the movement of the sect and its teachings.

Besides, there is also an indispensable work by Getachew (1983): "The Cause of the Ἐστίφανοσιτες: A Fundamental Sect in the Church of Ethiopia." Here, he attempted to present inclusive evidence about the cause of the sect. Furthermore, Getachew's (2004) **ደቂቀ እስጢፋኖስ "በሕግ አምላክ"**, 'Däqiqä Ἐστίφανος 'Bähəgg Amlak', present invaluable information about the Stephanites movement.

Last but not least, Girma Elias' (2000.C E) **ደቂቀ እስጢፋኖስና የደብረ ብርሃን ሸንጎ**, 'Däqiqä Ἐστίφανος ሎና ሃል-ደብረ ብርሃን ሸንጎ', contains various facts on the history of the movement.

Nearly all these scholars based their study emphasizing on the translation of the acts (*gädlät*). Except a few, most of the scholars didn't go beyond translation. However, my thesis is different in that my work focuses on the historical contribution of the Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw to its period. Moreover, it will incorporate philological and the linguistic analysis of the *Gädl*, specifically linguistic changes such as phonological change, morphological changes and syntactic changes.

CHAPTER TWO

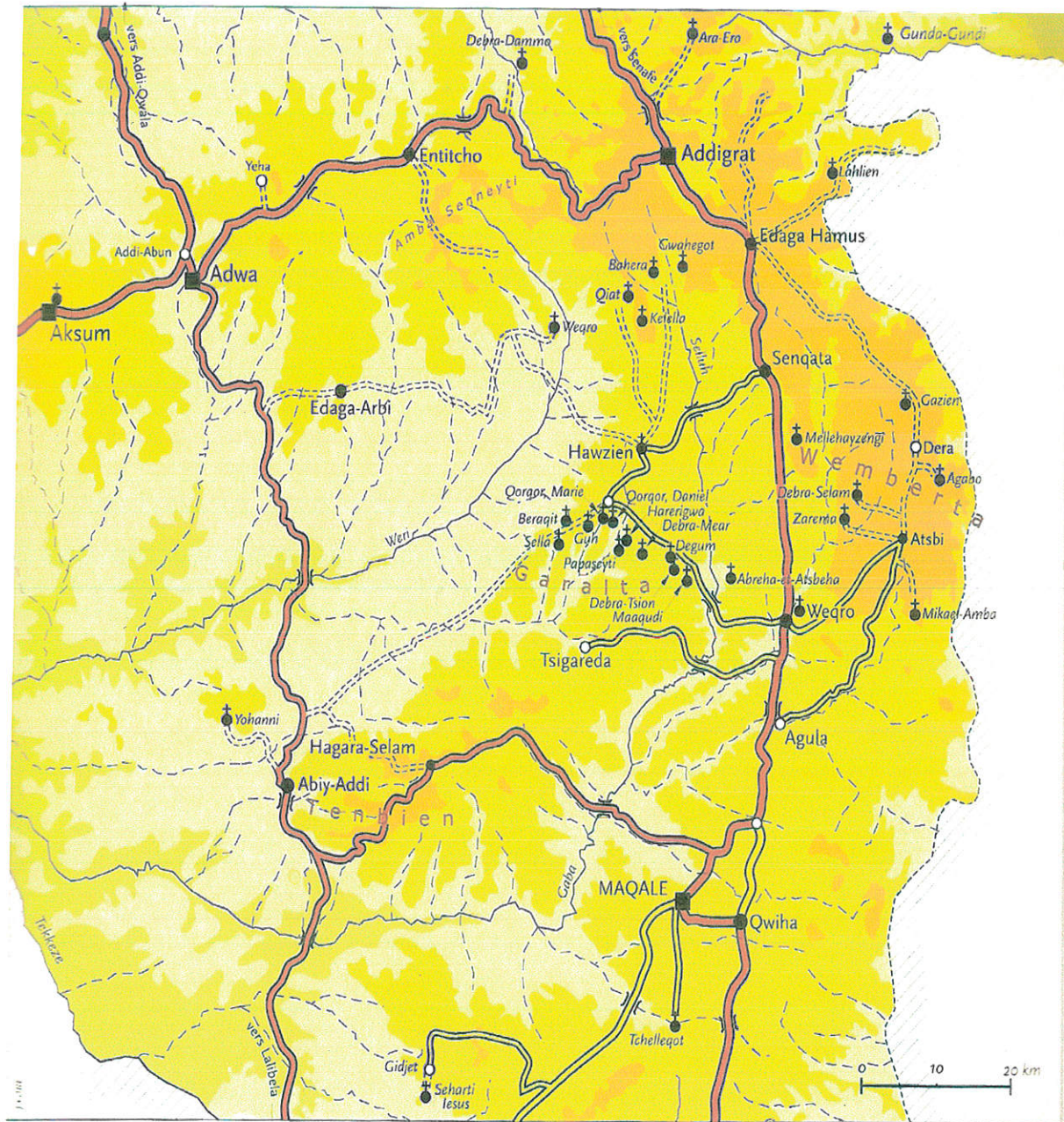
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF GÄDLÄ ABÄW WÄ-AḤAW

2.1 Background of the Monastery of Gunda Gundo

The monastery of Gunda Gundo (ጉንዳጉንዶ, also Gunda Gundi, Gunda Gunde etc.) is found in a valley some 70 kms⁵ east of Adigrat in the north-eastern part of Tigrai. The exceedingly rugged and rough rural road stops at the district of Gäblen. Then, one has to descend steep slopes for some four to six hours walk to reach it. The climb back up is even more challenging and takes longer. The famous monastery of Gunda Gundo, is equally known as Däbra Gärzen (ደብረገርዜጌ, also Däbra Gärizan). It is located at the confluence of the streams Wärat and Kaswa: hence its further name of Kaswa (ደብረገርዜጌ). Built on a semi-circular slope of the rock (1,450m A.S.L) opening into the stream bank and strengthened by stone walls, it includes some 30 dwellings of rectangular shape all around the main church, Gunda Gunde Maryam.⁶

⁵ There is a dispute among scholars in as far as the distance of the monastery from Adigrat is concerned. Hailu Habtu "Background Notes on the Monastery of Gunda Gundi" (Unpublished article p.1) said 70 kms; Fikre Selassie Sebhat Laab (1972) "An Inquiry to the History and Evolution of the Stephanite Movement". A.A.U. (Senior Essay) said a one-day walk; and Robert Beylot "Gunda Gunde," *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol.2 (2005), p. 917 said 30 kms.

⁶ Robert Beylot. "Gunda Gunde," *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol.2(2005), p. 917



- SYMBLES**
- - - limite de région
 - ✝ église
 - ● ○ villes et villages, localités
 - voie importante
 - voie secondaire
 - - - voie pour véhicule 4x4

ALTIMÉTRIE

+ de 2500 m	
de 2000 à 2500 m	
de 1500 à 2000 m	
de 1000 à 1500 m	
de 500 à 1000 m	
de 0 à 500 m	

Fig.1: Map of Gunda Gundo
 Source: The Ancient Churches of Tigray.

The monastery was founded by Abba Yəṣṣḥaq, one of the earliest and prominent disciples of Ǝṣṭifanos, after the latter's death in ca. 1450. It is on the edge of the cliff bordering ʿAgamä (specifically the Irob-speaking area) and Afar territories. The choice of the site, according to Hailu and Fikre Selassie, might have been determined by a desire to escape persecution. Hence its remoteness could have been the most crucial criterion for the selection of the location. Furthermore Hailu stated as follows:

The choice of the site was fortuitous, because Gunda Gundi, a century later, was one of the few churches and monasteries that escaped ransacking and pillaging by the forces of Ahmed Gragne. As a result, it is also one of the most important centers, the other two being Dabra Damo and Inda Aba Garima, that preserved pre-Gragne manuscripts and other religious treasures.

Hailu also explained the richness of the monastery's library quoting the Italian scholar Antonio Mordini, who visited it in the early 1940s. At that time, the library possessed around 800 MSS, many of which were dated prior to 16th century.

Besides the catalogues of some 200 MSS that Mordini made, he himself acquired a homily (*Dərsan*) of a date not later than the 15th century, a *Zena Abäw* of the 17th century, and a *Gädlä Ǝṣṭifanos* and a *Gädlä Abäkərazun* of the 18th as well as a couple of other MSS.



Fig.2: Monastery of Gunda Gundo
Source: The Ancient Churches of Tigrai.

2.2 The Stephanite Leaders

2.2.1 Abäkäräzun

Abäkäräzun (አበካረዙን, also Abäkeräzun, was born in 1394/95, and died in 1476). Originally named ፎቃኖስ, he was a native of the Aksum region, son of Täsfanä Mäsqäl. When his mother became a widow, she brought him to Tämber. He studied at the monastery of Hayg^wimze. Abunä Bärtälomewos made him a deacon at the age of 15. At the age of 17, he received the *askema*⁷ from Abba Samu'el in Däbrä Q^wäyyäša and took the name of Abäkäräzun. Later, he became the disciple of the religious leader ፎቃኖስ. At the age of 33, he was expelled from the monastery for his fidelity to ፎቃኖስ, who was imprisoned.

With several of his brethren he established himself near the river Täkkäze, close to the monastery of Zeranaq^wa. The Stephanite community was founded on 7 September 1428, in the reign of Aše Yishaq, Abba ፎቃኖስ, whose release he secured joined him there.

⁷ *askema* is a monk's or a nun's cloth which is made of leather and consists of 12 signs of the cross. According to the ancient monastic tradition (principle), there are steps to get on *askema*. Any person who has decided to be a monk has to wait for about three years before his ordination serving in the monastery. This is a trial time. If he succeeded in passing the trial time, the abbots have a book called *Sər^catä Asirä Mänkusenna Qəddus* 'Law of ordaining the Holy Monkhood' and ordain him by this ceremony. The ceremony is like this: first, the monk has to confirm that he has left the world by his will; second, they read a book for him, which explains the whatness of monkhood life. After he agrees to become a monk saying loudly in front of God and the people, they lay down him in front of them. Then, they shave his hair and put on a cloth for his monkhood, and they pray for him *šälotä fəthat* 'funerals ceremony' like a dead man. After this, first his teacher (the abbot of the monastery) and then all the monks who participated in the absolution bless him and put on cloth to him. Then, he begins his monkhood after they last pray for him. According to the rule, after some years he will be given *askema* and will be promoted to a higher status, and a monk should not go out of the monastery after he is given *askema*. As a *Mäl'ak* 'an Angel' gives the first *askema* to the first monk *abba* ፎቃኖስ/ፎቃኖስ, by a *Mäl'ak* 'an Angel' it is called *askema Mäla'əkt* 'The Angels' cloth'. And the monk are called 'Angels of the land', But today, the monk's cloth is called *askema*. (Getachew 1996: 62-63)

Soon after they moved to Yəbara, then to Tafat and later to Bäräka, which are on the border of Šire. Abäkäräzun, while on a mission to the court of aṣe Zar'a Ya'əqob, was ordained a priest by Abuna Gabrä'el.

Facing imminent persecution, Abäkäräzun was elected head of Ǝstifanos' disciples. Ǝstifanos was arrested; Abäkäräzun and his fellow monks had to flee. Ǝstifanos died while in exile. First, Abäkäräzun and his followers found refuge at Maṭara, but then traveled much, visiting regularly groups of deported Stephanites. After fourteen years and four months of absence, Abäkäräzun returned to the convent, called Kokawa (ኮከዋ), in the MS, probably erroneously spelled for Kaswa (ከሰዋ), another name of Däbrä Gärzän, the main centre of the Stephanites, where Ǝstifanos had resided in 1434.

He stayed there for three years and then had to flee again. Abäkäräzun died at the age of 81 years on 28 *Gənbət* [23 May] 1476.⁸

2.2.2 Gäbrä Mäsiḥ [I]

Gäbrä Mäsiḥ (ገብረ:መሢሕ; b. ca. 1419, Tigräi, d. 1522) was a disciple of *abba* Abäkäräzun, the leader of the Stephanites, whom he succeeded as the head of Gunda Gunde on 2 July 1476. He held this position during the reigns of aṣe Ǝskəndər, Aṣe Naṓod and Aṣe Ləbna Dəngəl and Metropolitans Yəshaq (who ordained him a priest) and Marqos. During a persecution ca.1482, Gäbrä Mäsiḥ fled to the desert where he was saved by a Fälaša man (Bete Ǝsra'el). He was succeeded at his death on 3 Mäskäräm [13 September] 1522 by *abba* Häbtä Sillase. His Acts (*Gädl*) have not yet been published.⁹

⁸ Robert Beylot " Abäkäräzun of Däbrä Gärzen," *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, vol. 1(2003), p.5-6

⁹ Steven Kaplan" Gäbrä Mäsiḥ," *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, vol.2(2005), p.623

2.2.3 Häbtä Sillase I

Häbtä Sillase (ሃብተ:ሥላሴ; flourished 16th century) was a monk and the head of the monastery of Gundä Gunde, the stronghold of the ጃቲፋኖሳይት, who succeeded *abuna* Gäbrä Mäsiḥ I ca.1522 (Beylot 1991:7). According to his Vita, Gäbrä Mäsiḥ predicted that Häbtä Sillase would follow him as the head of the monastery (ibid. 11). Häbtä Sillase was obviously a contemporary of Aṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508-40); possibly, he was in tenure for 17 years and died on 25 April. A manuscript with the Vita of Häbtä Sillase (which includes also the Vita of Gäbrä Mäsiḥ is preserved in Gundä Gunde and was copied for Conti Rossini. Besides, the text was photographed by Roger Schneider (Beylot 1991:6), and a microfilm has been deposited at the Institute of Archaeology, Addis Ababa (KinBibl 77 no.75), but remains unexplored.¹⁰

2.2.4 Isayəyyas

Isayəyyas (አሳይያስ; b. 1485, Bäʿatä Qäys, ʿAgamä, d. 15 September 1572 (not 1589 of KinBible) was the sixth abbot of Däbrä Gärzen (Gundä Gunde), the major monastery of the Stephanites, followers of ጃቲፋኖስ (cf. Mordini 1953:59).

According to his Acts (Ferenc 1976, edited on the basis of MSS nos.111, 112, see Mordini 1953:50, of the late 16th and ca. 18th cent. respectively), Isayəyyas belonged to the lineage of Gəf Mela (thus being a relative of ጃቲፋኖስ), and his *rəst* was Märwa, not far from Gundä Gunde. His parents were Abel and Amätä Maryam (Ferenc 1976:244). The acts of Isayəyyas tell of Isayəyyas's miraculous conception by intercession of the Archangel Gabriel, a frequent topic

¹⁰ Denis Nosnitsin "Häbtä Sillase I", *EA*, vol. 2(2005), p. 956

of Ethiopian hagiography. When Isayəyyas was still a child, his father abandoned the family and entered the monastery of Däbrä Gärzen. Isayəyyas's mother, following her husband's example, becomes a nun. It was his father who introduced Isayəyyas to monastic life. According to the Acts, Isayəyyas was consecrated deacon by *abuna* Marqos at the age of 12 and took the monastic habit at 15 from the hands of Gäbrä Mäsih (the successor of Abäkäräzun). Later, he was ordained priest at Bärara.

In the community, Isayəyyas distinguished himself as an exegete of the Scriptures (Ferenc, 1970:254). About 1554, when the region faced the devastating Oromo and Muslim invasions (ibid. 250; Schneider 1997:132), Isayəyyas succeeded Taklä Näbiyat as the abbot of Däbrä Gärzen (later incorporated into the Gandä Gunde complex).

Isayəyyas was a faithful imitator of ʿEṣṭifanos, and several passages of Isayəyyas' Acts are borrowed from the latter's life. With ʿEṣṭifanos, Isayəyyas shared also a special devotion for St. Mary, an attitude different from the one attributed by other sources to the Stephanite community (cf. Kur in PICES 10, 360). In his Acts, Isayəyyas is said to have chased away the devil by reciting the *Waddase Maryam* and to have healed a sterile woman by means of an icon of the Virgin. During Isayəyyas' abbotship, the new monastery of ʿAläqat was reportedly founded (cf. Gigar Tesfay 1979:98). Isayəyyas was followed by Gäbrä Krəstos.¹¹

¹¹ Robert Beylot and Alessandro Bausi. "Isayəyyas", *EA*, vol. 3 (2007), pp. 196-197

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¹¹ Robert Beylot and Alessandro Bausi. "Isayəyyas", *EA*, vol. 3 (2007), pp. 196-197

2.2.5 Gäbrä Krəstos

Gäbrä Krəstos (ገብረ:ክርስቶስ; d.1594) was the seventh leader of the Stephanite monastery of Gundä Gunde. He assumed that position in September 1572 following the death of his predecessor Isayəyyas. Gäbrä Krəstos led the monastery until he died and was succeeded by Yəshaq. At least one manuscript (tentatively dated to the 18th cent) containing his *gädl* is known to exist, but it has not been published.¹²

2.3 Some Prominent Stephanite Figures

2.3.1 ʿEzra

ʿEzra (ዕዘራ) was a saint and a prominent follower of ʿEṣṭifanos (15th to early 16th century). According to his Acts, possibly dating to the 16th century and only known from one MS (Mordini 1952:50, no.1), he was born in Kəsad Enba, a district of Həzbä Səbuha (ʿAgamä), from Yəshaq and his wife Le’ul Sämra, whom he married after the death of her first husband (Caquot 1961:72). ʿEzra started his religious life at the age of twelve, when his father died, and his elderly brother, ʿEṣṭifanos, brought him to Kaswa (Gunda Gunde), at the school of *abuna* Yəshaq, then head of the monastery. Here he took the monastic habit and name of ʿEzra (ibid.7)

As there was a shortage of priests, due to the persecution of the Stephanites, *abba* Abäkəräzun chose twelve monks including ʿEzra, to go to Jerusalem to receive holy orders. They departed in 1476, after Abäkəräzun died and was succeeded by Gäbrä Məsiḥ. During the journey, the Stephanites were accused of heresy by their fellow

¹² Steven Kaplan. “Gäbrä Krəstos”, *EA*, vol.2(2005), p.617

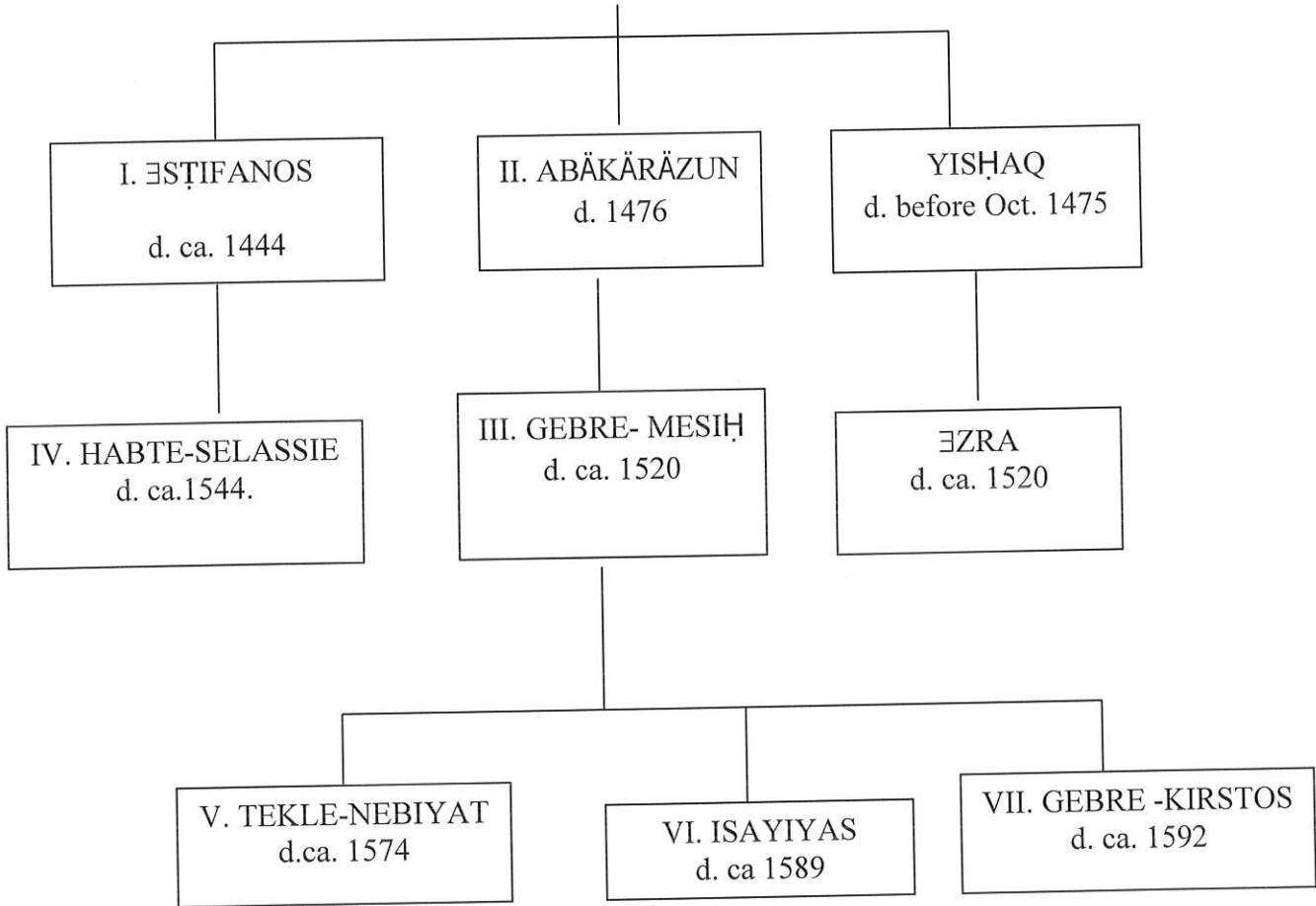
pilgrims. However, in Jerusalem they were all ordained deacons (the story is reflected in another document written under Aṣe Iyasu II, in which they are instead said to have suffered divine punishment. ʿEzra received priestly ordination from the Syrian Patriarch and returned to Ethiopia. When he arrived in Kaswa, he used the technical abilities he had acquired abroad to build a water mill at the request of Aṣe Naʿod.

Naʿod's favourable attitude towards ʿEzra may be partially connected to his ride to Tigrai, during which a passage of the Acts of ʿEṣṭifanos was read to him on the apparition of the Virgin Mary to ʿEṣṭifanos himself. ʿEzra stayed at Naʿod's court between 1499 and 1508, thus being able to achieve reconcillation between the Emperor and the Stephanite movement- no longer considered in terms of religious dissidence or heretical trends. In fact, he played an important role in convincing the Metropolitan *abuna* Yəṣṣḥaq to revoke the excommunication of the Stephanite. Yishaq's successor *abuna* Ya'eqob and above all *abuna* Marqos (always in good terms with ʿEzra, who helped him to sit on Yəṣṣḥaq's "chair") continued his favorable policy towards the Stephanites. Marqos gave holy orders to several of them and consecrated for them 80 *tabots*.

After the death of Naʿod, ʿEzra had to flee persecution. He took refuge for a year in Lakma and then moved to Kaswa, but soon he had to flee again. When he returned to Kaswa, he found the church burnt; he rebuilt it. Aged and sick, he was taken to Dus'a by Gäbrä Mäsiḥ, head of the Stephanite congregation in the monastery; there

Genealogical Table of Stephanite Leaders

SAMUEL OF QOYYÄŞA



Source: Adapted from Taddesse Tamrat's "Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *Rassegna d' Studi Etiopici*, Rome: vol. XXII (1968), pp. 103-115.

2.4 The Stephanite Movement

ጸፀፋኖስ (1397-1444) was the founder of the Ethiopian religious movement that came to bear his name, i.e., the Stephanite Movement. The movement lasted for about a century from 1428 to

1508. It suffered persecution under a succession of emperors, especially under the Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob.¹⁵

Ἐστίφανος went from his birth place, ἘAgamä, to the monastery of Däbrä Q'woyyäša in Šire after his ordination as a deacon by Bärtelomewos¹⁶. He studied and took monastic training under its founder *abba* Samu'el. After being ordained monk, he stayed in the monastery for some twelve years. As a good calligraphist, he copied MSS on parchment and also engaged in teaching in the monastery where he gathered some followers¹⁷. Being absorbed in asceticism, he disregarded the involvement of monks in worldly affairs, in the accumulation of clothes and self-indulgence in food and drinks. He was impartial and did not culminate anybody. He always kept on praying alone. Consequently, they conspired up on him and expelled him from the monastery. He soon established monasteries with his followers near Täkäze River. But his persecutors burnt the residences and properties of the monks. Antagonistic monks began charging him at the court of the governor of Šire and argued against him in debates; but he won. They also accused him in the royal court where his stand regarding "prostration to kings" became clear. He strongly refused to prostrate himself to the king having the doctrine, "Säbə' i-yəsäggəd lä-säbə'" - man does not prostrate himself to man. His disobedience to prostrate before the king brought him floggings and imprisonment though he won the religious debates. Nevertheless, he was permitted to go back to Təgray. After some time, he came to Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob's court accused, and was

¹⁵ Hailu Habtu "Background Notes on the Monastery of Guda Gundi" (unpublished article p.2)

¹⁶ According to Getachew (2004:60), Bärtelomewos was an Arch Bishop who came from Egypt to Ethiopia in 1391. He was still in the region of Aše Yəshaq.

¹⁷ Hailu Habtu "Background Notes..." , p.2

sent back again after much torment and punishment. He was brought to the royal court for the third time. Consequently, he was exiled to a place called Wazerma in Gwater, which is a largely Muslim area in Shoa, and he died in prison in 1444.

The Stephanite movement continued to grow even after his death although there was massive persecution. In 1454, Zär'a Ya'əqob passed a decree ordering the extirpation of the followers of the Stephanite movement. Hailu quoting Zewde said, "As a result, a mass persecution occurred, supervised by *Aqabe Saat* Ameha, in which, according to some estimate, no less than 30,000 persons were killed".

2.4.1 Religious Controversies and the Causes of the Stephanites Persecution

There had been religious controversies between the Zär'a Ya'əqobites and the Stephanites. Among many, the prominent ones are: first, the Stephanites strongly maintained the tenet that prostration (*səgədät*) was proper only for God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; second, the Stephanites were accused of the more serious change of being against the cult (icon) of St. Mary (Şärä Maryam), as well as against the intercession of angles, saints and martyrs and not venerating the cross; third, another point of disagreement between the king and the Stephanites was the controversial question of Məsaḥ bä-Däbrä Şəyon 'the Banquet on Mount Zion'.

2.4.1.1 Prostration is proper only for God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit

The first reason for the extermination of the Stephanite movement lay basically in their understanding of the meaning of the word which stood for "worship". The Gə'əz verb "to worship a deity" is

2.4.1.2 Splitting the Ethiopian Orthodox Church into Two

The Stephanites were also charged by splitting the Ethiopian Orthodox Church into two. Concerning this issue, Aše Zär'a Ya'əqob sent a message to the saints (the Stephanites) saying:

Wä-əmæz ʿadi ḥadaṭä lä'akä nəguś ḥabä kəddusan əllä halläwu wəstä hagär əntä təssämäy ʿArbät bä'astäʿəmo qal kāmä yəḥtomu ənzä yəbl “Sälam läkəmu. Wä-yə'əzeni-a sāməʿənä haymanotäkəmu wä-məgbarikəmu-a lä-mənt təkäfälu haymanotä Itəyopṗəya-a lä-kəle-a”
After some time the king sent (a message) to the saints who are in ʿArbät eloquently and flattering said: “Peace will be with you. Now we have all heard about your faith and year deeds. Why do you split the Ethiopian religion in to two?”²⁰

Here, as we can see from Aše Zär'a Ya'əqob's message, the Stephanites tried to separate the church and state. Conversely, the Emperor wanted to have a uniform and strong Christian Orthodox Church. For this reason, he passed an ordinance to exterminate the Stephanites as they attempted to remain a different sect and refused to accept the royal orders.

2.4.1.3 Refusal of Prostration before the King

It is mentioned time and again in MS I that the Stephanites adamantly refused to prostrate themselves to the king.

Wä-ənzä yəse'alu bəṣṣu wəstä kurgʷane nəguś. Wä-ahazəwwo-mu bə-wəstä məsyaf wä-nägärəwo lä-naguś. Wä-yəbeləwwo-mu səgdu lä-naguś. Wä-yəbelu qəddusan nəhnä-ssä i-nəsəggəd läbəʿəd zä-ənbälä lä-Ab wä-Wäld wä-Mänfäs Qəddus. Wä-azzäzä nəguś yəzbəṭawo-mu.

While asking [people] they [three Stephanites followers] reached the king's square. They [the king's soldiers] handled them in the market and informed the king. And they asked

²⁰ MS I (f.60r)

*them to prostrate to the king. And the saints said, "We prostrate to none but to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." And the King commanded [his soldiers] to flog them.*²¹

Whenever the Stephanites were asked to prostrate before the king, they often replied:

*"nəhnä-ssä i-nəsäggəd lä-baʿəd zä-ənbälä lä-Ab wä-Wäld wä-Mänfäs Qəddus
We [the Stephanites] prostrate ourselves to none but the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.*

Here also they considered prostration as worship. Their favorite verse from the Bible, with which they used to affirm their position, in Gospel of Matthew as stated:

"... Give unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar and unto God what belongs to God." (Mth. 22:21). They believe, "...prostration belongs to God, and should not be given to Caesar..."²²

The texts that Zär'a Ya'əqob used against them were Genesis 23:7, 33:3 and I Sam. 24:8, which report how Abraham prostrated himself to the children of Heth, Jacob to Esau and David to Saul. In reply, they did not try to interpret these Biblical facts, they answered, አምግብሮሙ፡ ለብዙኃን፡ የዐቢ፡ ስምዑ፡ ቃሉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር- From the deeds of the many, verbal testimony of God is greater. They meant, God ordered to prostrate to none other than to Him.²³

According to some sources, the cause of their persecution is religious factor. The king wanted the ጃቸፋኖሲቲስቶስ to follow a uniform religious practice like that of his. Taddesse (1978) noted it as follows:

²¹ MS I (ff. 30v- 31r)

²² Dereje Sahile (2008)

Zar'a Yaeqob was a despot. In his enthusiasm to create a uniform religious practice among his subjects, he applied harsh rules. He declared the abolition of all forms of pagan worship in his kingdom. Consultation with witch-doctors and offering sacrifices to pagan gods were forbidden and punished by death. Za'ra Yaeqob also wanted the full co-operation of the clergies and he passed strict disciplinary measures. He ordered the local governors to pillage the houses and to confiscate the property of the priests who do not follow these rules, and who do not give religious instructions in their churches.

2.4.1.4 Denial of Prostration before the Icon of St. Mary

The Stephanites movement was accused of the more serious charge of being against the cult of St. Mary (*Şärä Maryam*), as well as the intercession of angles, saints, and martyrs. It was further accused of not venerating the cross.²⁴

Regarding the Stephanites' position on the veneration of St. Mary, Getachew (1983:98,100) argued that the sect's position on prostrating oneself to venerate the Blessed Virgin is not clear from their literature. He added that the Stephanites answered consistently in the early period of their movement saying, *Lä-Maryam-æssä sobä nəsäggəd lä-wälda bä-höyyä nəräkkəba*, "As for Mary, we find her there while we prostrate ourselves to her Son."²⁵

Furthermore, Getachew (1983:100) confirmed that the Stephanite never refused in plain words to prostrate themselves to Her as they did when it came to the question of the King. They themselves might not have known how to treat the icon of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Cross, although they rehearsed the *Wəddase Maryam*- Praise of

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Hailu Habtu "Backgroud n Notes..", p.4

²⁵ MS I f.61r

St. Mary. However, at one time the Stephanites nearly obeyed the king's command, Səgədu lä-Maryam, but they did not prostrate having the belief that this could never bring an end to their persecution by him and the clergy of the established church.²⁶ Getachew explained their idea from the *Gädl* as follows:

Bä-sägid lä-Maryam-hi i-yyəhaddəgännä wä-bəḥəttu (sic) yaḥassəs məknəyatä bə-zä yəqəttəlännä. Mənta nəgbär. Sägidä-ssä lä-Maryam Waläditə [sic] Amlak əmmä sägədənä i-yyahazzənänna.

He will not let us go for prostrating ourselves to Mary, but he will rather look for (another) pretext to execute us. What shall we do? If we do prostrate ourselves to Mary, the God-bearer, that will not grieve us.

However, the Stephanites were frank about this question (Səgədu lä-Maryam) only when discussing it with the Metropolitan. Abba Gabra'el asked them saying Lə-mənt i-təsəggədu lä-Maryam, "Why do you not prostrate yourselves to Mary?" And they answered saying:

Akko Zä-rəkäbnä qədmä-zə ənzä yətbəhal, əsəggəd lä-Maryam, Zä-ənbälä zä-yətbəhal, əsəggəd lä-Ab wä-Wäld wä-Mänfäs Qəddus.²⁷

We have not found it said [in the literature] before this [time]: "I prostrate myself to Mary", but [we have only found] it said: "I prostrate myself to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit."²⁸

The sources of which these simple monks were referring may have been specifically the *Waddase Maryam* "Praise of Mary", by Ephraim/Simon, the Syrian potter, and the *Sä'atat zä-Gabş*, or the Coptic Horologium, which contains hymns for the Blessed Virgin and petitions for her intercessions. Both consistently reserve the

²⁶Getachew Haile 1983:100

²⁷MS I (f.62v)

²⁸Getachew Haile 1983:101

2.4.1.6 Controversies on the Existence of 'three words' or 'one word' in the Holy Trinity

According to Tadesse (1972:230-240), the Stephanites were accused for their unorthodox view on the Holy Trinity. Getachew (1983:107) on his part said that Zär'a Ya'əqob accused the Stephanites of holding the heretical view that there are 'three words' and 'three spirits' in the Holy Trinity.

In the first place, as Getachew (1983:107) stated, the Stephanites were not theologians. Even their writings, except perhaps for the *Gädlä ʿƏzra*, do not show that they were written by knowledgeable scholars. They had to reply theological questions only as they were coerced to do so by their opponents who thought pretexts to get rid of them. Their response to complicated theological and philosophical questions was simple and straight:

"Listen, people! The beginning of good deeds is belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit and its end is the rejection of this world."

The Stephanites taught as Wendt (1962:38-40) explained: "They say, the Father exists with His Word and Spirit, the Son exists with His word and Spirit, and the Holy Spirit." The Church of Ethiopia and the King Zär'a Ya'əqob, however, believed in the existence of 'one word' and 'one spirit' in the Holy Trinity. Again as he stated: "We believe in 'one word', the Son, who is the Word of the Father and the Holy Spirit; and we believe in 'one Spirit', the Holy Spirit as the spirit of the Father and the Son."³³

³³ Dereje Sahile 2008:43-44

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³³ Dereje Sahile 2008:43-44

The accusation of the Aṣe to the Stephanites for holding the heretical view that there are in God three words and three spirits, one of each for each person in the Trinity which would amount to three gods is incorrect according to the literature in that time. Abba Ḥṣṭifanos is reported in the MS I (ff.13v-14r) to have taught:

Ab wä-Wäld Wä-Mänfäs Qəddus ḥhadu amlak. Aḥadu amlak bəhil ḥhadu aməlko. Wä-aḥadu mäləkot. Kämä Abə-ni Ab wə'ətu. Wä-səmə Abə-ni zi'ahu wə'ətu əm-qədmä əaläm wä-i-qəddämä əm-Wäld bə-əntä käwinä Ab. Wä-Wäldə-ni Wäld wə'ətu. Wä-səmə Wäld zi'ahu wə'ətu əm-qədmä əaläm wä-i-tədhərə əm Ab bə-əntä käwinä Wäld. Wä-Mänfäs Qəddus-hi Mänfäs Qəddus wə'ətu. Wä-səmə Mänfäs Qəddus Zi'ahu wə'ətu Pəraqliṭos məšənci mənfas Ab wä-Wäld wä-i-tədhərə əm Ab wä-Wäld bə-käwinä Mänfäs Qəddus. Ḥruyan bə-mäləkot wä-kəbr wä-səltän. Wä-ḥayl wä-məngəšt. Zä-bə-aḥadu səmrät ənzä sələsətu həlaweyat. Wä-sələsətu gəsşat.

The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (are/is) one God (Amlak). One God means one God and one Godhead (mäləkot). The father is father, and the Father is his since before the world, and he did not precede the Son because of (his) being father). The Son, too, is son, and the name Son is his since before the world, and he did not come after the Father because of (his) being Son. The Holy Spirit, too, is holy spirit, and the name of Holy Spirit is his, the Paraclete, the Comforter, the spirit of the Father and the Son, and he did not come after the Father and the Son because of (his) being (their) Holy Spirit. They are equal in Godhead, glory (kəbr), authority (səltän) while they are three hypostases (həlaweyat) and three persons (gəsşat).³⁴

This confession of faith disagrees with the heresy which Zär'a Ya'əqob charged them of. They do not confirm the existence of three (words and three holy) spirits in the Holy Trinity. The *Təməhərtä*

Ḥṣṭifanos wä-Abäkärəzun, indeed, approves that they were using one object with three attributes to explain the unity of God and his

³⁴ Getachew Haile 1983:107-108

Trinity. For them, the three persons in the Trinity are likened to man, his word and his breath, which was ardently rejected by the king.

2.4.2 Disputes on the Canonical Differences

The Stephanites were also charged by the Church of Ethiopia and Zär'a Ya'eqob on the basis of 'canonical' differences, although that should not have brought them into collision with the rest of Christian population. Among these include: the difference in monastic cap, observance of the Jewish Sabbath, and pursuing the strict Christian morality and an ascetic monastic life.

2.4.2.1 The Difference in Monastic Cap

The Stephanites had various kinds of monastic caps that distinguished them from their opponents. They claimed that theirs was precise. Notwithstanding, the clergies of the Royal camp challenged them, in a big council which was held inside the King's court, saying:

*Wä-lämant-nu zä-i-tähabäru bä-qobəə-ni məslä fäläsätä
Itəyoṗṗəya
Why do you not agree with the Ethiopian monks concerning
the monastic cap?³⁵*

Concerning this question, Pāwlos, among the Eṣṭifanosites answered saying:

“... it is an example of Christ's patience,...”³⁶

³⁵ MS G (f.17r)

³⁶ Getachew Haile 2004:94

The king sent them to the Archbishop Abba Gäbrä'el, Alexandrian Patriarch, ordering him to excommunicate them (the Ḥṣṭifanosites).

However, the Bishop recognized it as the right monastic cap of the sons of Abba Pakumus (Pachomius) and showed them his monastic cap, which was identical with theirs.³⁷

2.4.2.2 Observance of Jewish Sabbath

Stephanites were charged by their opponents that they observed the Jewish Sabbath, Saturday while breaking Sunday.³⁸ However, he defended saying: "I don't break the Sabbaths. For the seventh day (Saturday Sabbath) is his commemoration for his rest, and Sunday is His Holy Resurrection."

The question of the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, Saturday, was more of a tenet of the Ewostatewosites³⁹ than the Stephanites.

³⁷ Dereje Sahle 2008:39

³⁸ Getachew Haile 2004:94

³⁹The founder of the 'house' of Ewostatewos was the monk Ewostatewos (ca. 1273-1352). He was born in Tsära', a district of Eastern Təgray. His mother was Sənä Hiwet and his father Krəstos Mo'ca, who was a noble family (Gädlä Ewostatewos: 1). As a baby his father gave him a name Ma'qäbä Egzi' and after joining the monastery of Abba Daniel he was renamed Ewostatewos. In 1280 he went to his maternal uncle Abba Daniel, who was the Abbot of Däbrä Maryam in Gärcalta, to study under him. He was professed monk by his uncle, probably in the community of Gärcalta. He apparently left this community soon afterwards and established his own in Sära'e. There, he was joined by many students (such as Absadi, Bäkimos, and Märqorewos) and taught vigorously until the arrival of Abunä Ya'əqob whom he met on his way to the king's court in about 1337. Soon after this, Ewostatewos left the country, visited Cairo where he met Patriarch Benjamin (1327-39), and passed via the Holy Land Cyprus and Armenia, where he died fourteen years later. Ewostatewos left Ethiopia, accompanied by some of his followers, because he had religious controversies with the clergy. Immediately before his departure, there was an attempt on his life, organized by a rival group of the clergy in Sära'e. He was even accused at the court of the patriarch by his fellow Ethiopian pilgrims of refusing to communicate with them and of observing the Sabbath as well as Sunday. (Taddesse 1972: 207)

Zār'a Ya'əqob considered the Eṣtīfanosites as heretics for they observed the Jewish Sabbath. But the Ethiopian Sinodos is in favor of the Eṣtīfanosites for it says one should keep the Sabbath. Regarding this Getachew (1983:110) noted it as follows:

For a church, like that of Ethiopia, which makes the Psuedo Apostolic writings the central basis of its authority, the heretics should be those who do not observe Saturday. As other, including Zār'a Ya'əqob and, before him, Gorgis of Gasičča, have indicated, the Sinodos, the Ethiopic version of the Synodicon, and the Didasqalaya, the Ethiopic version of Didascalia, have articles reaffirming the commandment of the Old Testament (including the Book of Jubilees, the Kufale), that one should keep the Sabbath.

The Ewostatewosites, the Stephanites, the Zār'a Ya'əqobites were all observers of Saturday. Abunä Täklä Haymanot of Šäwa and his cousin and disciple abunä Qäwəṣṣos were strong observers of Saturday. Abba Giyorgis of Gasəč'č'a believes that observing the seventh day is one among the Ten Commandments of God, so that no man has the authority to abolish it.

Prior to Zār'a Ya'əqob's time, there were monasteries which were observing the Jewish Sabbath and yet it was not controversial issue. Thus, the King's accusation of his opponents (the Eṣtīfanosites) for observing the Sabbath is vague. The "heresy" of not observing the Jewish Sabbath, must have been introduced, according to Getachew (1983:107-108), by the metropolitans who came from Egypt, the country of Bishop Sawirus, who disliked the Jewish customs observed in the Church of Ethiopia.

However, the King's confirmation for his opponents' position, i.e., observing the Sabbath is denoted by Dereje (2008:40) as follows:

Wherever, the cause was before 1450 A.D that the observance of Jewish (Sabbath) not accepted at the Kings court. In 1450, at a council held in ደብረ ምኅረት:- Däbrä Məṭmaq, Zär'a Ya'əqob eliminated the stumbling block which divided the Ethiopian Church into two. [Thus], observing the Sabbath and the idea on which Stephanites were accused [got] acceptance at the court.

2.4.2.3 Pursuing the Strict Christian Morality and Ascetic Monastic Life

Being expelled from the monastery of Qwäyyäsa, Ǝṣṭifanos established his own monastery. Nevertheless, he still kept on denouncing the monks of other monasteries for their departure from the Holy Scriptures. He became furious when he found the monks of his time were not abiding by the doctrine of the first monastic fathers.⁴⁰ This is because big monasteries were enjoying land grants of Kings, monarchs and governors. This in turn makes them to break their words which they promised lives in poverty. Even some monks were living in their house, without going to a monastery, having their property, including their slaves with them. The other well-educated and well-known spiritual monks started to live their monasteries and became courtiers of kings.⁴¹ Hence, the Stephanites began a revolution against this because the lives of the then Ethiopian monarchs deviated much from the laws which the monastic fathers set. They argued that one has to go in line with these monastic doctrines and one should be judged by the Holy Scriptures which contains the tenet.

⁴⁰ Getachew Haile 1996:33

⁴¹ Derej Sahile 2008:41

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⁴¹ Derej Sahile 2008:41

Furthermore, the Stephanites had decided to speak out against those who claimed to be Christians but did not observe Christian principles; and they refused to be in communion with such people.⁴²

As it is mentioned in MS I (f.64v) the Metropolitan asked them why they dissociate themselves from the rest of the Christians and they replied saying:

*əsəmā säb'a Itəyop̄p̄əya i-yət̄aqäbu bä-sər̄atä abäwinä
ḥawariyat. Wä-əmā-ni əm aməbko bæəd wä-i-bä'akbəro
Sänbätat. Wä-bä'alat zä-mäfətəw. Wä-i-əmaḥalä bä-ḥasät. Wä-
i-əm-səriq wä-i-əm-zämməwo. Wä-i-əm-qätälä näfəs. Wä-i-əmzä
yəməsəlo lä-zəntu.*

[We disassociate ourselves from them] because the people of Ethiopia do not abide by the law of our Fathers the Apostles, be it concerning the worship of other gods or the observance of the Sabbaths [Sänbätat] and other holy days [whose observance] is required, or swearing falsely or stealing or fornication/adultery [Zämməwo] or murder or away similar [sin].⁴³

2.5 Historical Contributions of the Gädl

The *Gädl* is an important historical asset to its period. As Campbell (2004) noted, “One aim of Philology is to get historical information from documents in order to learn about the culture and history of the people behind the text.” Hence, the *Gädl* presents one major historical event on Stephanites. It provides the true image of their history: what their lives looked like, what ideologies they followed in their time and what culture they had.

Secondly, the *Gädl* contributes much to the historical linguists. It is true that linguistic information can be obtained from written documents. Hence, this older (ca. 450 years old) *Gädl* can preserve much linguistic features in several ways: by documenting sound

⁴² Getachew Haile 1983:104

changes, distinguishing inherited from borrowed material, dating changes and borrowings, and helping to understand the development and change in writing system and orthographic conventions.⁴⁴

Finally, it is crucial as it preserves tremendous toponyms of its time. These places are important to reconstruct historical information of the time. The Stephanite movement started in Q^wäyyäša, around 20kms far from Šire (in Təgray), in Northern Ethiopia, and spread to the south to Bale and south-eastern Ethiopia to Adal, in Harar. There are tremendous places that were cited in the *Gädl* many of which are unknown today.

The *Gädl* mentioned (MS I f.39r) prominent places such as Däwaro and Fäṭägar saying: “For the rest, with the mercy of God they reached Däwaro ⁴⁵ and from the other side Fäṭägar.⁴⁶ The Divine Word which is the soul’s meat guided them.”

⁴³ Ibid. pp. 104-105

⁴⁴ Campbell (2004: 362)

⁴⁵ Däwaro (ደዋራ, also Dauarro, Davvaro, Dauri, on Dauarri/was one of the seventh Muslim trading states in southern Ethiopia which belongs to the belt of Muslim states, fittingly called by the Egyptian courtier al-ʿUmari the “Muslim fringe” (aṭ-tiraz al-Islami). This series of Muslim states, namely Ifat, Däwro, Arabani (Ar’eñ), Hadiyya, Sarha Bale and Dara, grew up along the coast and inland as far as the lakes, thus, encircling the east and south of the Ethiopian massif. As one of the buffer-states, Däwaro itself, corresponding roughly to the present day Arsi region in southern Ethiopia, was a long, narrow territory, only five days journey in length and two days’ in width, as described by al-ʿUmari in the first half of the 14th cent. Bordering up on the Bale sultanate in the south, Däwaro was separated from it by the Wabi Šäbälle river and bordered on Ifat on the right bank of the river Awaš. (Rranz and Christoph Muth “Däwar,” *EA*, Vol.2 (2005) p.109).

⁴⁶ Fäṭägar (ፈጠጋር, also Fäṣägar), a large historical region (possibly, once a Muslim sultanate), was located in the south-east Šäwa region, on the northern short of the Awaš. As the chronicle of aṣe Amdä Šəyon I testifies, Fäṭägar was coveted both by the Emperor and by Šäbräddin b. Dalhuy of Ifat (KrAmd52). According to other sources, in the course of 14th-15th cent., Fäṭägar was progressively integrated into the Christian empire.

Some other crucial places where the Stephanites were jailed also include: Wazrəma in Gʷatər (in Shoa), Qəfrəya (in Təgray), Zäntär in Wäläqa, Azärät and Hagärä Bäli in Bale. However, the complete lists of toponyms which are mention in the *Gädl* are the following:

No	Place Name	Present Name	Remark
1	ጸጉር, Gʷatər		Moslem area in Shoa
2	ኤፋት, Efat/ Ifat		Moslem kingdom east of Shoa
3	በዐልቶ, Băcalto		
4	ጉንጽ, Gʷunጽ		
5	ዋዝርማ, Wazrəma		
6	ድብረ ኩስያት, Däbrä Kusyat		
7	ደብረ ኢምፍራዝ, Däbrä Ěmfəraz	Ěmfəraz	South east of Gondar
8	መካነ ሰላምጌ, Mäkanä Sälaməge	Sälaməge	North east of Gondar
9	ምድረ ቅዳ, Mədrä Qəda		
10	ገኒ, Gäni /Gäñi?/		In eastern Ethiopia
11	ኩላ አራይ, Kʷila Aray		
12	ድሮር, Dəror		
13	ዴሰኦ, Desə'a	Desə'a (eastern Təgray)	
14	መንበርታ, Mänəbärta	Aጃብ Wänbärta (eastern	

The region held a strategic position between the Christian emperors and the Muslim sultanates. This was the reason why Aጃ Dawit II settle his royal residency there, at Ṭəጊ. In the 1st century the site was secured enough to permit the settlement of the royal family. Aጃ Zär'a Ya'əqob. was born at Ṭəጊ and founded the Churches of Aጃdä Mika'eäl at Ṭəጊ and Mikael at Yäläbaš. His son Bä'əda Maryam I, spent his childhood there and was crowned in Yäläbaš. Aጃ Ěskändər was born in Ṭəጊ, too. (Marie and Laure Derat "Fäṭägar", EA, vol. 2 (2005), pp. 504-505.)

		Təgray)	
15	ምድረ በዳና, Mədrä Bädana		
16	ፈጸጋር, Fäṣägar/ Fätägar		East of Lake Zeway
17	ደዋሮ, Däwaro	Arsi region	
18	አበዘት, Abäzät		
19	ጋሳ, Gassa		
20	አግበራ, Agbära		
21	ደንጎ, Dängo		
22	ቅፍርያ, Qəfrəya		
23	ወይራር, Wäyrar		
24	ደዓላ, Däcāla		
25	አራማሮ, Aramaro		
26	ምድረ አመዳ, Mədrä Amäda		
27	ዘንትር, Zäntär		
28	ዐርበት, cArbät		
29	ቁርቋራ, Qwärqwara		
30	አዘራት, Azärat		
31	ጸሕጋ, Ṣəḥga		
32	ምድረ ምራዋ, Mədrä Mərawa		
33	ምድረ ጎዛም, Mədrä Gozam	Gojjam?	
34	ሰፋ, Säfa		
35	ቁራጽ, Qwäraṣ		
36	ሐይት መንዞ, Ḥäyət Mänəzo		
37	ዲማ, Dima	Dima	North of Bičäna in Gojjam
38	ጎን, Gon		
39	ምድረ ፈራጎ, Mədrä Färago		

40	ዋሰል, Wasäl		
41	ይድኖ, Yədəno		
42	ቡራራ, Bərara /Bärara Amba?/		Near Dessie
43	የጋድ, Yägad		
44	እጉባ, Eguba		
45	ምድረ ማያ, Mədrä Maya		
46	ዓጋት, °Agat		
47	ምድረ ፀጋም, Mədrä Şägam		
48	ቀወት, Qäwät		
49	አንፈር, Anfär		
50	ቆገት, Qogät		
51	ሙደዌ, Mudäwe		
52	ሰርመት, Särmät		
53	ኢባ, 'Iba		
54	ምድረ ገይኒ, Mədrä Gäyni / Gäni?/		In eastern Ethiopia
55	ወጊ, Wägi		
56	ሀገረ በሊ, Hagärä Bäli		
57	ጊዘበ, Gizäbä		
58	ቁጠመይ, Qeṭämäy		
59	ቀጸም, Qäşäm		
60	እብሶ, Ebəso		
61	ማያ, Maya		
62	ገዘሞ, Güzämo		
63	ጉንደት, Gwändät		
64	ጦዘ, Tozä		
65	ወልማ, Wälma		

66	ምድረ አምላክ, Mədrä Amläka		
67	ምድረ ጋዘም, Mədrä Gazäm		
68	ወድ, Wäd		
69	ሰገቢ, Sägäbi		
70	መጋርዳ, Mägarda		
71	ደስክ, Däsk		
72	የገብስም, Yägäbsəm		
73	ለክማ, Läkəma		
74	ገሰምቤ, Gäsäməbe		
75	ዘብር, Zäbər		
76	ዝማ, Zəma		
77	ጎዘም, Gozäm	Gojjam?	

CHAPTER THREE

PHILOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

3.1 Description of the Manuscripts

The word ገድለ አጎው / Gädlä Aḥaw/ is a collective name given to hagiographies written on the Stephanite movement. Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw is part of it. Abäkäräzun, the first abbot of the Gunda Gundo, was the one who advised his disciples to dutifully record their activities and their contending with secular authorities in a succession of hagiographic known as ገድለ አጎው / Gädlä Aḥaw/. Hailu quoting the late Merigeta Girma Elias, who was co-director of the project to safeguard the Treasures of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, said there are about twenty-four of them. Some have been edited and published by scholars, but most have not been published yet. Perhaps, the most important one is ገድለ አበው ወአጎው ዘደብረ ገርዜጌ- Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw Zä-Däbrä Gärzen (The contending of the Fathers and Brothers of Däbrä Gä rzen). That has not been edited and published.

There are two MSS which have been existent so far. These are Gädlä Aḥaw (MS G) and Gädlä Abäw wä-Aḥaw (MS I). MS G is found in the monastery of Gunda Gundo. It has not been microfilmed yet. The researcher copied it with a digital camera and made it ready for the study. MS I, on the other hand, is found at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. The *Gädl* (the parchment) and its microfilm copy are available here. It is microfilmed from Däbrä Gärzen (Gunda Gundo) monastery. It is the base MS for the research.

Macomber (1975:7) notes the description of the MS I in the catalogue as follows:

Parchment, 23x 16cm , ff. 162 (? - numbered 1 to 161, with 110 and 123 given to two leaves, 24 omitted and perhaps also 100-109), 2 cols. , 23to 25 lines, late 15th c.

1) Ff. 1a-13b:⁴⁷ *The Combat of the Holly Fathers and Brothers who Dwelt at Dabra Garzen [Gadla abawina wa-aḥawina qedusan ...ella neburan westa Dabra Garzen...]. To be read on the 25th of Tahsas.*

2) Ff. 15a-111b: *The History of Our Father St. Stephen and all his Disciples [zēna abuna qedus ... Eṣṭifanos... wa-zakwellomu daqiqu]. All to be read on the 25th of Tahsas.*

3) Ff.112a-161b: *The third part of the Combat and Witness of our Holly Fathers and Brothers [Kefl ṣales em-meṣḥafa gadlomu wa-semcomu la-abawina wa-aḥawina qedusan]. To be read on the 25th of Magābit.*

Miniature: Front cover: A mounted warrior.

Illumination, ff. 1a, 15a, 43a, and 112a.

Rubric scarcely legible at times.

F. 14ab blank.

Ff. 99b-109a not filmed. Also a miniature at the end, probably on the rear cover.

Ff.143b-144a filmed twice.

3.2 Physical Features of the Manuscript

3.2.1 Physical Material

There MSS are made up of parchment. They are composed with a quill in two colors i.e., red and black. In this two MSS, MS G and MS I, the scribes use the red pen strangely. The red pen is used commonly for the name of God, angels and saints. In this MSS, however, it is used for Gə'əz numerals, to indicate a period (in Gə'əz the period is indicated using four dots as [:::] but in here five dots in a shape of a cross is added to the four dots which are written in black) and for a paragraph which begins with a word **ወካዕበ** literary means 'secondly' and **ወእምዝ** literary means 'after this'. The binding of MS I is made of wood board and the front and back covers are still

⁴⁷ The cataloguer uses 'a' and 'b' for the front and back sides of the vellum of the MS respectively (e.g. f.1a and f.1b). The researcher, however, uses 'recto' (abbreviated as 'r') for the front page, and 'verso' (abbreviated as 'v') for the back side of it (e.g. f.1r and f. 1v)

well preserved. On the contrary, MS G doesn't have any cover. It was badly damaged.

3.2.2 Page Layout and Style of Writing

MS G and MS I have page numbers. The numbering of MS I starts from the very beginning. But MS G starts (saying page1 or f.1r) directly after some folios were missed. When the researcher compares it with MSS I, about fifty folios were missing. Page margins are given on the left, right, top and bottom of both MSS. Both MSS are written continuously, i.e. with no gap or space between lines, in two columns. MS I is written neatly and consistently in two columns and 24 lines except for the first and the last folios. The only gap this MS contains is in f.15r and f.15v before it begins a new chapter (reading). MS G, on the other hand, is written badly. The lines in each column vary greatly from 17-21 lines.

The style of writing of both the MSS are similar. They are written with almost medium size of letters. They use word divider i.e. two dots. They use a unique decoration which is called **ሐረግ** (ḥaräg) when they begin new chapters or readings. The penmanship of the MS I is almost completely neat. MS G, on the contrary, has many folios which are not clear and neat. There are even words, phrases and paragraphs which are written with out lines that are simply added as corrections. The paleography⁴⁸ appears quite old- probably of mid 15th-mid 16th century, to judge from the samples given in Uhlig (1990)

⁴⁸ Palaeography is the study of the evolution of handwritten scripts. It includes codicology, the science of manuscripts analysis. One aim of palaeography is the assignment of approximate dates to undated manuscripts.

3.2.3 Overall Condition of the Manuscript

The MS I is complete and well preserved. MS G, on the other hand, is not complete. Seventeen folios were torn out. These folios are (f.5-f.14); (f.26-f.30) and (f.159-160). Out of the existing folios that are given numbers one folio i.e. (f.3) is omitted. Besides, there are holes in this MS.

3.2.4 Philological Problems

There is an existing facts that we haven't original MSS. Ninety-nine percent of the MSS are copies. Each copy has its own errors. The copyists commit errors in various ways. The errors which the copyists made can be categorized in the two: conjunctive and polygenetic errors. A conjunctive error, which appears in two or more MSS, is a more serious and above all so unusual as to make it impossible to suppose that it arose more than once that is independently in the MSS. A polygenetic error, however, is an error which is easy to be reported through similarity in writing two words, or in pronunciation or in meaning or through possible banalization. These kinds of errors are called characteristic readings.⁴⁹

There are also other kinds of errors like homotheuleton, obelos, morphological and syntactical errors. Since the researcher deals with only two MSS where one of them is a copy of the other, there would not exist conjunctive errors. However, there are quite a number of words which the scribe corrupts while composing. The major ones are listed below. The complete list is found in the appendix.

⁴⁹ Professor Paolo Marrassini's lecture note

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No.	Corrupted word	Correct form
1	ንጉስፍዎሙ (f.29r)	ንጉሥ ይቅሥፍዎሙ
2	ምበለ (f.32 r, f.36 r)	ምስለ
3	ጸማ (f.32, f.32 v)	ጸማ
4	ወከዕበ (f.32v)	ወካዕበ
5	ኢያውዕይ (f.32v)	ኢያውዒ
6	ይወፅ (f.33v)	ይወፅእ
7	ወእዝ (f.33r)	ወእምዝ
8	የነፍስዎ (f.34r)	ያነፍስዎ
9	መኃድሪሙ (f.34r)	ማኅደሪሆሙ
10	ህ (f.34r)	ህዩ
11	ኮነ (f.35r)	ኮና
12	መ:: (f.35v)	መንግሥት
13	ወአበርዎሙ (f.36r)	ወአሰርዎሙ
14	ውበተ (f.37v)	ውስተ
15	ቅዱን (f.37v)	ቅዱሳን
16	ለአም ምህርነ (f.38r)	ለመምህርነ
17	ወሚማ (f.38v)	ወሚመ
18	ይተጋደ (f.41r)	ይትጋደል
19	ሥዓተ (f.42r)	ሥርዓተ
20	ኩሎ (f.42r)	ኩሎ
21	እም ሕያው (f.42v)	እመ ሕያው
22	ጉጽ (f.44r)	ጉንጽ
23	አዕጽምቲ (f.44r)	አዕጽምቲሁ
24	አንተ (f.44v)	እንተ
25	ይሐሩ (f.44v)	ይሐሩ
26	በዝቱ (f.45v)	በዝንቱ

27	ወንገለጉ (f.46r)	ወአንገለጉ
28	ደምጽ እዎሙ (f.47v)	ደምጽእዎሙ
29	ኩ (f.49v)	ኩሉ
30	ወብዙን (f.49v)	ወብዙኃን
31	በለብ ለብዎ (f.51r)	በለብዎ
32	አለ (f.53r)	እለ
33	ወአሜ (f.55r)	ወእመ
34	ይሖር (f.55v)	ይሖር
35	እስብአ (f.33r)	እስመ
36	ከማ (f.132r)	ከመ
37	ወርፉ (f.56r)	ተርፉ
38	አበ (f.57r)	አባ
39	፬ መነኮስ (f.59r)	፬ መነኮስ
40	ለመ (f. 57r)	ከመ
41	አስ (f.59r)	እስመ
42	ወወገርዎሙ (f.61r)	ወገብርዎሙ
43	ዘሐፎ (f.69r)	ዘጸሐፎ
44	ወፅግም (f.73r)	ወፀጋም
45	ዘይቲ (f.75r)	ዘይእቲ
46	ወእዝ (f.79r)	ወእምዝ
47	ኢትጸመኒ (f.79r)	ኢትጸመመኒ
48	ጢበ (f.80r)	ጢስ
49	ወእዜ (f.80r)	ወማእዜ
50	አለ (f.81r)	እለ
51	ስሐት (f.82r)	ሰብሐት
52	ይኤዝ (f.85r)	ይኤዝዝ
53	ወዕርቀን (f.87r)	ወዕርቃን

54	ከመሁ (f.98r)	ከማሁ
55	ቀለ (f.93r)	ቃለ
56	ንጉ (f.99r)	ንጉሥ
57	ፍቅራ (f.114r)	ፍቅረ
58	ገበሬ (f.115r)	ገባሬ
59	ጎለው (f.139r)	ጎለዉ
60	ወመየ (f.137r)	ወማየ
61	በሀየ (f.139r)	በህየ
62	ይበጽሐሙ (f.140r)	ይበጽሐሙ
63	ከማ (f.141r)	ከመ
64	ዕራፋ (f.141r)	ዕረፋ
65	ምንኩስነሁ (f.143r)	ምንኩስናሁ
66	ወዕርቀን (f.144r)	ወዕርቃን
67	መጎበርክሙ (f.147r)	ማጎበርክሙ
68	ከመሁ (f.148r)	ከማሁ
69	ወእምአመኔ (f.150r)	ወእምአመኒ
70	ስቀየት (f.150r)	ስቀያት
71	ወነስተደሉ (f.152r)	ወናስተደሉ
72	መርየም (f.153r)	ማርያም
73	ለዕልወን (f.153r)	ለዕልዋን
74	ሀይመኖተ (f.153r)	ሀይማኖት
75	ቀለ (f.154r)	ቃል
76	፩ ብእሲ (f.155r)	፩ ብእሲ
77	ከየክሙ (f.157r)	ኪያክሙ
78	ደቂቃ (f.158r)	ደቂቀ
79	በስጋሁ (f.159r)	በስጋሁ
80	ደበ (f.161r)	ዲበ

3.2.4.1 Obelos⁵⁰

1. ወብዙኃን መነኮሳት †...† ወካህናተ ደብተራሂ አመ ይትዋሥኡ በእንተ ነገር (f.49r)

መጽኢ

Gloss: ‘Many monks and the Kahənatä Dabtäras⁵¹ [came] to argue for the issue?’

2. ወለአከ ንጉሥ †...† ንቤሁ ያምጽእዎ ወምስለ ደቂቁ (f.54r)

ሰብአ

Gloss: ‘The king sent [a person] to bring him with his children’

3. ወእም ድሕረ ዓመታት አሐዝዎ ምስለ አኃዊሁ እንዘ ሃሎ ውስተ ምድረ መንበርታ ወአብጽሕዎ †...† (f.116r)

ጎበ ንጉሥ

Gloss: ‘After some years, they caught him (again) with his brothers when he was in Mədrä Mänbärta and they brought him [to the king].’

⁵⁰ Obelos: †...† are applied for the missed or corrupted readings.

⁵¹ Kahənatä Dabtära (priests of a tent), in the ancient times, are those priests who serve in a tabbot (covenant) which is found in a tent inside the king’s palace. They are scholars who consult Emperors about religious affairs. ‘Dabtära’ means ‘a tent’. ‘Dabtära’ which is called ‘a tent’ is all related to the Old Testament’s practice or rule. Untill king Solomon builds the temple, the Ark of Covenant (tabotä Şəyon) was a placed in a dabtära (tent). And the priests are called ‘Kahənatä Dabtära’ or ‘Dabtära’.

CHAPTER FOUR

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

In this chapter the researcher discussed the linguistic changes or problems that appeared on MS I. However, it is worth mentioning what historical linguistics is before dealing with linguistic changes. Campbell (2004:4) explained it as follows:

Historical linguistics deals with language change. Historical linguistics is some times called diachronic linguistics, since historical linguists are concerned with changes in a language or languages over time. This is contrasted with synchronic linguistics, which deals with a language at a single point in time. There are various ways to study language diachronically. For example, historical linguists may study changes in the history of a single language, for instance the changes from Old English to Modern English. Modern English is very different from Old English. Often the study of the history of a single language is called philology, fore example English philology, French philology, Hispanic philology and so on. (The term philology has several other senses as well)

As noted above, we can also see the changes from Classical Ethiopic to Modern Ethiopic that occurred in the MS which are under study. The MS used for this study are ca. 450 years old. Therefore, there must have been differences in phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Thus, the researcher attempted to investigate the various linguistic changes or problems of the MS. These include: sound or phonological changes, morphological changes, syntactic or grammatical changes and borrowings.

4.1 Phonology Problems

The gradual evolution of spoken Gə'əz and its ancient sister dialects into modern languages of Ethiopia led to the introduction of systematic errors into MS copying by scribes who applied their own pronunciation to the ancient language and misspelled accordingly.⁵²

⁵² Lambdin (1963:13)

4.1.1 Orthographic Differences of the Manuscript

The researcher has noticed several orthographic differences between the MSS. They used ሐ፣ጎ, አ፣ዐ, ፀ፣ጸ, interchangeably with no meaning change.

I. ሐ፣ጎ

Text

1. G. በጎርወተ ጉንድ (f.4r)

I. በሐርወተ ጉንድ (f.43r)

Gloss

‘with a drilled log’

Text

2. G. ሐሰት (f.36r)

I. ጎሰት (f.64r)

Gloss

‘falsehood’

II. አ፣ዐ

Text

3. G. ዐቀምዎሙ (f.37r)

I. አቀምዎሙ (f.65r)

Gloss

‘they let them stand’

III. ፀ፣ጸ

Text

4. G. ጸክሉ (f.37v)

I. ፀክሉ (f.66r)

Gloss

‘insult’

Text

5. G. በፃዕር (f.4r)

I. በጸዕር (f.43r)

Gloss

‘by sufferings’

Text

6. G. ወኢነሐጽጽ (f.33r)

I. ወኢነሐፅፅ (f.62r)

Gloss G.

‘we don’t decrease’

However, there are times where the above errors can be more serious and they can lead to meaning change when they are used interchangeably.

7) ሀ፣ሐ

ሀሰወ /hässäwä/ 'throw a stone'

ሐሰወ /ḥässäwä/ 'lied'

8) ሠ፣ሰ

ሠረቀ /särräqä/ 'rose up'

ሰረቀ /särräqä/ 'stole'

9) አ፣ዐ

አደመ /addämä/ 'became better'

ዐደመ /^caddämä/ 'invited people'

10) ጸ፣ፀ

ፈጸመ /fäṣṣämä/ 'completed' as ወፈጸምኩ ግብርዮ ዘወሀብከኒ 'I completed my duty that you gave me.'

ፈፀመ /fäṣämä/ 'tied' as ወፈፀሙዎ አፋሁ 'They tied his mouth.'

4.2 Morphological Problems

4.2.1 Graphic Mistakes

4.2.1.1 ያ(ya) is substituted by የ(yä) as in the following

sentence:

11) I. ሰሚያ ንጉሥ ዘንተ ተምዕዐ ጥቀ ወፈነወ ሐራሁ እለ የነፍስዎ መዓቶ
(f.34r)

To mean: ወሰሚያ ንጉሥ ዘንተ ተምዕዐ ጥቀ ወፈነወ ሐራሁ እለ ያነፍስዎ መዓቶ

Gloss: 'The king became angry when he heard this. He sent his soldiers to cool down his temper.'

12) I. በትዕግስትክሙ ተጠርይዎ ለነፍስክሙ (f.43r)

To mean: በትዕግስትክሙ ታጠርይዎ ለነፍስክሙ

Gloss: 'In your patience possess ye your soul.'⁵³

⁵³ Lk. 21:19

4.2.1.2 The causative marker ያ- (ya-) is written as ይ- (ya):

- 13) I. አዘዘ ይምጽእዎሙ ወከብጽሕዎሙ እንዘ እሱራን (f.47v)

To mean: አዘዘ ያምጽእዎሙ ወከብጽሕዎሙ እንዘ እሱራን

Gloss: 'He [the king] commanded [his soldiers] to bring them; they brought them tied.'

4.2.2 Changing the first order letter to the sixth order

- 14) I. ወእምዝ ሶበ ርእየ ፩ መልአክ ኃይሉ ለንጉሥ (f.29r)

To mean: ወእምዝ ሶበ ርእየ ፩ መልአክ ኃይሉ ለንጉሥ

Gloss: 'When a head of the king's army saw'

- 15) I. አምጽኡ ካህናተ ወዲያቆናት (f.63r)

To mean: አምጽኡ ካህናተ ወዲያቆናተ

Gloss: 'bring priests and deacons'

- 16) I. ወያወፅኡ ላዕሌክሙ ስም እኩየ (f.63r)

To mean: ወያወፅኡ ላዕሌክሙ ስም እኩየ

Gloss: 'when they blacken your names'

- 17) I. ሲሳየ ኮነኒ አንብዕየ መግልተ ወሌሊት (f.79v)

To mean: ሲሳየ ኮነኒ አንብዕየ መግልተ ወሌሊተ

Gloss: 'My tears have been my meat day and night.'⁵⁴

- 18) I. ወእምዝ ትቤሎሙ ለቅዱሳን አንሰ እፈቅድ እኩን መነኮሳዪት (f.54r)

To mean: ወእምዝ ትቤሎሙ ለቅዱሳን አንሰ እፈቅድ እኩን መነኮሳዪተ

Gloss: 'After this, she said to the saints,' I want to be a nun.'

- 19) I. ወአልብነ ካልእ ትምህርተ ዘእንበለ ትምህርተ አበዊነ ሐዋርያት (f.61r)

To mean: ወአልብነ ካልእ ትምህርት ዘእንበለ ትምህርተ አበዊነ ሐዋርያት

Gloss: 'We don't have any teaching other than the holy Apostles.'

4.2.3 Omission of the feminine gender marker -ካ(-a)

- 20) I. ከመ ዘቀደምት አንስት እለ ኮነ ሰማዕት በመዋዕለ መጠግዊያን ነገስት (f.35r)

To mean: ከመ ዘቀደምት አንስት እለ ኮና ሰማዕት በመዋዕለ መጠግዊያን ነገስት

Gloss: 'Like those women who became martyrs during idolatrous kings.'

⁵⁴ Ps. 42:3

4.3 Syntactic Problems

The MS I is in a better position as far as the syntactic errors are concerned. However, some of the errors which are found in the MS are presented below.

- 21) I. ወረከበ አዕጽምቲሁ ምስለ ትእምርተ መግነዙ ኅበ አለዱ ላዕሌሁ አእባነ።
 ወአፍለሶ በወርኅ ሰኔ አመ ፳፬ ፯። (f.44r)

To mean: ወረከበ አዕጽምቲሁ ምስለ ትእምርተ መግነዙ ኅበ አለዱ ላዕሌሁ አእባነ። ወአፍለሶ አመ ፳፬ ፯ ለወርኅ ሰኔ ።

Gloss: 'He found the corpse [of ሂጳፍኖስ] together with the sign of its shroud piled up with a stone. He translated it on the 25th of Säne.'

- 22) I. ነአምር ዘይቤ ተዐገስ ወአጽንዕ ልብከ ወተሰፈውዎ ለእግዚአብሔር (f.44r)

To mean: ነአምር ዘይቤ ተዐገስ ወአጽንዕ ልብከ ወተሰፈውዎ ለእግዚአብሔር

Gloss: 'We know it said, "Be patient, be kindhearted and be faithful."

4.3.1. Improper use of a period

Gə'əz texts in general and MS I in particular have problems in using a period. We have only a word divider i.e. two dots and a period-four dots in Gə'əz. Even so the Gə'əz scribes do not use the period properly.

4.3.1.1. Using a period for a fragment

- 23) I. ወከማሁ ይቤ ካልኡኒ ዘስሙ ቀሌምንጦስ። እምካህናተ ደብተራ ውእተ ዘሀገረ እብሶ እንተ ትሰመይ ሀገር ማርያም። ወአገዙሙ ለቅዱሳን ወአብጽሑሙ ውስተ ኩርንኔ ንጉስ። (f.48r).

Gloss: 'Another from the Kahənatä Dabtäras who is called qäleməntos from Hagärä ሂቦሶ which is called Hagärä Maryam also caught the saints and brought them to the kings' square.

In the above example the first two periods are not necessary.

4.3.1.2. Omitting a period and merging sentences together

- 24) I. ወእምዝ እም አበይቶሙ አዘዘ ያብእዎሙ ውስጠ ኅቤሁ [::] ወአቀምዎሙ ቅድሜሁ [::] ወይቤልዎሙ ስግዳ ለንጉሥ [::] ወይቤሉ ኢንሰግድ ለሰብእ ዘእንበለ ለእግዚአብሔር። (f.60-f.61r)

Gloss: 'After this, he [the king] commanded [his soldiers] to let [Stephanites] elders in to him. They made them stand in front how they said to the them, "Prostrate yourselves to the king." They replied, "We don't prostrate to humans but to God."

4.4 Loan Words

Gə'əz literature was influenced by Arabic, Coptic, Greek, Syriac and Hebrew. This is because most of the Ethiopian religious writings were translated from Coptic, Greek, Syriac and Arabic. Hence, it is not surprising to find in Gə'əz a substantial number of loan-words from these various languages. In MS I the researcher found loan words from Arabic, Hebrew and Greek.

4.4.1 Arabic Loan Word

Leslau (1958) noted the influence of Arabic on Geez as follows:

Throughout its entire history, Geez was exposed to the influence of Arabic. There had always been a migration of Arabic speakers into the various regions of Ethiopia. They had found commercial opportunities in Ethiopia, founded political entities, and converted certain segments of the population to Islam. As a result the Ethiopians absorbed certain number of Arabic loan-words in to their speech.

- ፍር /nar/ in MS I (f.33r) literary means 'light, fire' is taken from the Arabic word *nār*.

4.4.2 Hebrew Loan Words

The scribes of MS I and MS G use many Hebrew words when they wanted to put which time the saints of the Stephanites completed their martyrdom. They use the following words of month of the year:

1. ታስሪን (f.32v) /Tastrin/
2. ታሙዝ (f.32v)/ Tamuz/

3. ጎዘራን (f.32v)/ḥaziran/*

4. ታወፊን (f.32v)/Tawfin/*

5. አቴር (f.32v) /Ater/ *

From the above mentioned word two of them are correct Hebrew words: ታሰሪን /Tasrin i.e., *Tashri* / and ታሙዝ /Tamuz/. And probably አቴር /Ater/ could also be a corrupted word to mean *Adar*.

The twelve months of the year in Hebrew are the following:⁵⁵

1. Nisan
2. Iyar
3. Sivan
4. Tamuz
5. Av
6. Elul
7. Tishiri/e
8. Marḥešvan /Ḥešvan/
9. Kislev
10. Ṭevet
11. Šəvaṭ
12. Adar

Besides, the word አዶናይ /Adonay/ (f.92r) meaning ‘my Lord (God, YHWH) in Hebrew is used in this MS.

4.4.3. Greek Loan Word

The only Greek word which is used in this MSS is አለዳስ /alādas/ from the Greek ‘*halade*’ meaning ‘in to the sea’.

⁵⁵ These Hebrew words are translated in to English by Professor Orin Gensler.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOME SELECTED TEXTS AND THEIR TRANSLATION

5.1 Selected Texts [ገድለ አበው ወአጎው]

በስመ አብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ አሐዱ አምላክ። [ንወጥን]⁵⁶ በረድኤተ እግዚአብሔር ገድለ አበዊን ወአጎዊን። ቅዱሳን መንፈሳዊያን [ምእምናት]⁵⁷ ወምእመናን። እለ ንቡራን ውስተ ደብረ ገርዜን። ወእለ ሱቱፋን ሕማማቲሁ ለመድኅን። እንዘ እግዚእ ይረድእ ወቃሎ [የፀንዕ]⁵⁸ በተአምር ዘይተሉ አሜን። ወእምዝ ሶበ ኮነ ላዕሌየ ሐልዮ ከመ [ረብሕ]⁵⁹ ውእቱ ሊተ ወለእለሂ እለ ከማየ እምድኅሬየ አርእዮተ ገድሎሙ ወስምዖሙ ለቅዱሳን። በውስተ መጽሐፍ ለሰብእ ወፈቀድኩ እግቦር እምብዙኅ መዋዕል ወዓመታት ለዘ እምቅድሜየኒ በተስእሎ ወለዘእምድኅሬየኒ በዘአእመርኩ። (f.2r) ወባኅቱ ኢረከብኩ [ማበሕተ]⁶⁰ በእንተ ርሕቀተ ብሔር እምሊቀ ማኅበር። ወሶበሰ ተበዋሕኩ እምጸሐፍክዎ በበዕድሜሁ ዘኮነ። ወወእንበይነዝ ዘይውሕድ ግብሩ ወየሐጽር ነገሩ።

(f.29r) ወእምዝ አዘዘ ንጉሥ ያስተጋብእዎሙ ለእለ ዘረወዎሙ ውስተ ምድረ ቅዳ ጎበ እደ ሐራሁ ወያምጽእዎሙ ኅቤሁ ወተፈኒዎሙ ሐራ አብጽሕዎሙ በከመ ይቤ። ወእምዝ እመዋዕል አዘዘ ንጉሥ ያቅምዎሙ ቅድሜሁ ኅቤረ ምስለ እለ ኅተቶሙ ቀዳሚ። ወእምዝ [ሶበ]⁶¹ ርእዮሙ ፩ መልእክ ኃይሉ ለንጉሥ ይቤ እሉ ሰገዱኑ ለንጉሥ ወይቤልዎ አልቦ። ወአዘዘ ይዝብጥዎሙ ወዘበጥዎሙ ብዙኅ ዝብጠታተ በበትር። ወበመኩድ። ወንጉሥሰ ኢኅተቶሙ በዘ አቀሞሙ። [ወመሰዮ]⁶² አዘዘ ይእትወ ውስተ ማኅደሪሆሙ ወዳግመ አቀሞሙ ወይእተ ዕለተ እንበለ ይኅተቶሙ ወመሰዮ አተወ ውስተ [መኅደሪሆሙ]⁶³ እስመ ከማሁ ሕጉ ለዝኩ መስተአመኒ። ወእምዝ አዘዘ ያቅምዎሙ ወዝንቱ ሣልሶሙ። ወሐተቶሙ ከመ ቀዳሚ እንዘ ይብል እምእለ መኑ ትኔይሱ አንትሙአ ወበእንተሂ ደብረ ጽዮንአ እንዘ ይብል። ደብረ ጽዮን ሀሎኑ ይእዜ ትብሉአ ወሚማ ደኃሪ ይመጽእአ ወእምዝ ይቤ (f.29v) ዝኩ እኅ ቀዳሚኒ እቤ ወይእዜሂ እብል። በእንተሰ ዘይበዝሐኩ ኢኮነ ጽድቀ እግዚአብሔር። ወአመ ተሐጉሉ ብዙኃን በተግሣጸ አይኅ ኖኅ ድኅነ ምስለ ውሐዳን ወአመኒ ውስተ ሰዶም እምርደተ እሳት ሎጥ ድኅነ ምስለ አዋልዲሁ። ወበእንተሂ ደብረ ጽዮን ይእዜሂ ሀለወ [ለገበርየን]⁶⁴ ወደኃሪኒ

⁵⁶ ንዌጥን
⁵⁷ ምእመናት
⁵⁸ የፀንዕ
⁵⁹ ረብሕ
⁶⁰ መባሕተ
⁶¹ ሶበ
⁶² ወመሰዮ
⁶³ ማኅደሪሆሙ
⁶⁴ ለገበርየን [ጽድቅ]

ይመጽእ ለገባርያነ ጽድቅ። ወይቤሎ ንጉሥ ምንተነ-አ ይመስል ደብረ ጽዮን። ወይቤሎ ውእቱ እኅ ምንተነ ይመስል እበልክ ማሴላነ ወሚማ ዳጉሳ። እስመ ይብል መጽሐፍ ዘዐይን ኢርእየ ወእዘን ኢሰምዐ። ውስተ ልበ ሰብእ ዘኢተጎለየ ዘአስተዳለወ እግዚአብሔር ለእለ ያፈቀርዎ። ወይቤ መልእክ ኃይል አንትሙሶ ውሑዳን ከመ እለ ምስለ ኖኅ ወሎጥ። ወንኅነ ምስለ እለ ይትጎጉሎ። ወይቤ ውእቱ እኅ ለሊክ ትቤ። ወሰሚያ መልእክ ኃይል ሐረ ወነገር ለንጉሥ። ወእመዝ እዘዘ [ንጉሥፍዎም]።⁶⁵ ወለቅዱሳንሰ አቀምዎሙ ቅድሜሁ ጊዜ ፫ ሰዓት (f.30r) ወወዓሉ እስክ ተስዓት። ወእሙንቱሰ እንዘ ኢያጸርዑ ዝማሬ ወጸሎት ኅበ አምላኮሙ ከሀሊ። ወእመዝ አስከብዎሙ ወቀሰፍዎሙ ብዙኅ ቅሥፈታት እስክ ይውሐዝ ደሞሙ ከመ ማይ። ውኖልቆሙ ለቅዱሳን እለ ተቀሥፋ ፳ ወቀሲፎ እዘዘ ይዘርወዎሙ ውስተ ምሥራቀ መንግሥቱ። ወጢኖ እምጽንፈ ገኒ እስክ ጽንፈ ኩላ አራይ ለለ ፩፩ በተሞቅሐ። ወውእቱሰ እንዘ ይመስሎ እምከመ ተዘርወ ዘይጠፍኡ ከመ አንበጣ እስመ ኢያአምር ምክረ እግዚአብሔር እንተ ይመክር ወዘይገብር መድኅነተ [ለሐዝቡ]።⁶⁶ በሰብከተ እሉ እግብርቲሁ። [ወእሙንቱሰ እሙንቱሰ]።⁶⁷ እምነበሩ በበምኔታቲሆሙ። እንዘ ይትገበሩ ጽድቀ ለርእሶሙ። [ወዘቲ]።⁶⁸ ዝርወቶሙ እንተ እምነበ እግዚአብሔር ይእቲ ወበሙ የስተጋብእ ነፍሳተ እለ ዝርዋን በበሐተተ ሰይጣን ወይረስዮሙ ውስተ ሥርዓተ ንጽሕ።

ወዝኩሂ አረጋዊ አቡነ በርተሎሚዎስ ይቤሎ ለንጉሥ። ምንተነ ጳዕርክ ከመዝ እንዘ ትብል እመልእ ሥርዓተ ለማይ ቅቡል ዘውስተ ጽዋዕ ይመልኡ ሎቱ ማየ ወዘሰ ኅበ ምሉእ ለእመ ወደዩ ሎቱ ይትከዐው ወይእዜኒ ምንተ ዘትዌስክ ላዕለ ሥርዓተ ሐዋርያት ወነብያት። እንዘ ምሉእ ውእቱ። ወይእተ ዕለት ቀሠፎ ምስሌሆሙ ወእዘዘ በመዓት ስድዎሙ ውስተ ብሔረ ሳጉራ እንተይ ብልዋ ድሮር። ወነበረ ህየ በገድል ፍድፋድ ወበተአምር ብዙኅ እስክ ጊዜሁ።

ወእመዝ አንተ ዕለተ እመዋዕል አዘዘ ያቅምዎሙ ኅቡረ ለኩሎሙ ምስለ እሉ አምጽእዎሙ እም ብሔረ ትግራይ። ወእመዝ ይቤልዎሙ ስግዳ ለንጉሥ ወይቤሎ ቅዱሳን ንኅነሰ ኢንሰግድ ለባዕድ ዘእንበለ ለአብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ። ወእመዝ ለአክ ንጉሥ ኅበ እሉ ፪ እለ አምጽእዎሙ በአስተዋድዮ መጽሐፈ ተአምረ ማርያም ኢይትአምሐ ዘይቤሉክሙ አማንኑ። ወይቤ ፩ [እኅ]።⁶⁹ ንኅነሰ ኢኮነ ዘንቤ ኢንትአማኅ አላ አምጽእ ፩ ላእክ ኅቤየ መጽሐፈ እምድኅረ ንበተ ወንጌል ወእቤሎ ምንትነ ዝመጽሐፍ ወይቤለኒ መጽሐፈ ተአምረ ማርያም። ወእቤሎ እስመ ሥርዓተ ሐዋርያት ኢኮነ ከመዝ አላ እምኦሪት ወነብያት ወኩሎ መጻሕፍተ ዘእምዜናሆሙ ለሐዋርያት። ወእምድኅራሁ ያንብቡ እም ወንጌል። ወይትአምሐ እምድኅረ ፍጻሜ ጸሎት ወንጌለ ወመስቀለ። ወሰሚያ ፍጻሚ ቃልየ ሐረ ምስለ መጽሐፍ ወእምድረዝ እቤሎ ከመ የሀበንዮ ለውእቱ መጽሐፍ (f.37r)።

⁶⁵ ንጉሥ ይቅስፍዎሙ

⁶⁶ ለሐዝቡ

⁶⁷ ወእሙንቱሰ (repeated)

⁶⁸ ወዛቲ

⁶⁹ እኅ (ኀ) This is peculiar letter to its period. It is not used today at all. The author uses this interchangeably with ኖ as in እኖ

ወወሀበኒ ወአንቢብየ ተአማኅክዎ። [ወይቤ]⁷⁰ንጉሥ ዘንተሰ ዘትቤ አካኑ አስተትከ። [ወይቤ]⁷¹ እኖ እመሰ አስትት ይእኬኬ ፍትኑኒ ወይቤሎ ንጉሥ አትሒቶ ወመኑ ተትሒቶ። ወእምዘ እዘዘ ንጉሥ ይዝብጥዎ ወዘበጥዎ በመኩድ። ወለአከ ንቢሆሙ ለቅዱሳን ወመነኮሳይታት እለ አምጽእዎሙ ቀዳሚ እንዘይብል ምንተኑአ ሃይማኖትክሙ። ወይቤልዎ ቅዱሳን ሃይማኖትነሰ አብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ። ወይቤሎሙ ንጉሥ አጠይቁኒአ ዘበ ንዲስ ወብሉይ። ወአውሥእዎ ቅዱሳን በከመ ይደሉ በእንተ ሀሉና ሥላሴ እንዘ ያቀውሙ ስምዐ እምራእየ ነቢያት ወዓዲ እመጽሐፈ ዜናሆሙ ለሐዋርት። ወሰበ አ ጠየቅዎ ከዕበ ዘ ንተ ከዕበ እደው እለተአንገዱ ውስተ ቤተ አብርሃም እለ መኑ ትብሉ። ወይቤልዎ ቅዱሳን ይቤ መጽሐፍ ፫ ዕደው። ወአንተ [ወአለ]⁷² መኑ እሙንቱ ትብል ወእሙንቱ ትብል ወእምኔነኑ ትፈቅድ በግብር ትትመሀር ወእመ ትፈቅድ እምኔነ ትትመሀር ተስእለነ ዘበ ሠናይ ወእመሰ ከመዝ ዘበ አፍርሆ ኢንብለከ በሐ። ወሰሚዎ ንጉሥ ተምዕዐ ጥቀ ወአዘዘ ይፍትሐ ለመነኮሳት ዚአሁ ወለባዕዳንሂ ሰብእ እለ ሀለዉ ህየ ወተንሥእ አሐዱ እምንቡራን እድ ኅትርብዕተ ዓለም ኦድኩ ወኩሎ እንዘ ያካብር ንጉሠ ርኢኩ ንጉሥሂ ኢየአምሩ ወለቃሉሂ ኢይትኤዘዘ። ወይእኬኒ በከመ አዘዘ ወንጌል ይግበሩ ዲቤሆሙ ወያስጥምዎሙ ውስተ ልጎተ ቃላየ ባሕር። ወቦ እለ ይቤሉ ሞተ ለይሙቱ ወእምዝ አዘዘ ንጉሥ ይዝብጥዎሙ ወሰጠጡ እስኬማ ልብሰቶሙ ወዘበጥዎሙ ዐቢየ ዘቢጠ ዘበ መኩድ እስከ ይትበረዩ ሐራ በበይናቲሆሙ። ወእሙንቱሰ [ቅዱን]⁷³ይትበደሩ ለተቀሥፎ ፩ እምካልኩ ወእልክቱሂ መነኮሳይታት ተቀሥፉ ምስሌሆሙ። ወባዕዳንሂ መበለታት እለ አልቦን ተስፋ ጽድቅ ኮና ይነሥእ እብነ ወይዘብጠሆን ወእማንቱሰ ይትዔገሳ በእንተ ተሰፍዎ ጽድቅ ወገደፍዎሙ ህየ እስከ ይኔቁ ደርሆ። ወሰበ (፩.38r) አእተውዎሙ ውስተ [መጎድሪሆሙ]⁷⁴። ወእምዝ አሐተ ዕለተ ገብረ ንጉሥ ጉባኤ ወአዘዘ ንጉሥ [የምጽእዎሙ]⁷⁵ ለቅዱሳን ውስተ ዐውድ። ወተስእሎሙ ንጉሥ እንዘ ይብል ተአምኑት ጳጳስ ወይቤልዎ እወ ነአምን። እስመ እምነቤሁ ንነሥእ ክህነተ። ወቦ እመነኮሳት እለ ይቤልዎ ለንጉሥ ጳጳስስ አኮ ዘይክህዱ [ዱእሙ]⁷⁶ በልዎሙ ጽረፉ መምሀርክሙ። ወይቤልዎሙ በሉኬ ጽረፉ መምሀርክሙ እንዘ ትብሉ ርኩስ እስጢፋኖስ። ወይቤሉ ቅዱሳን ኢንጾርፍ ስሞ [ለአምምሀርን]⁷⁷እስመ ውእቱ መሀረነ ሕገ ወንጌል። ወሰበ አበዩ እዘዘ ይቅሥፍዎሙ ወቀሠፍዎሙ ብዙኅ መቅሠፍተ በንብለ መቅሠፍት እንተ ትሰመይ ጤጤ። ወይቤ ካዕበ ከመ ይሰድዎሙ ውስተ ብሔረ ሞርጋይ እንተ ይእቲ ሀገረ ፀሐይ ወበቲ ውስቲታ ሕማመ ማቄዩ ከመ ይሕልቁ በህየ በውእቱ ሕማም ወወሰድዎሙ ወንበሩ ህየ እስከ ጊዜሁ። ወዝኩሂ አቡነ ገብረ ክርስቶስ ዘአብእዎ ውስተ ጉንጽ ወነበረ በተሞቅሐ ወበገድል ፍድፋድ ወበብዙኅ ትዕግስት እምዕበተ ሲሳይ ወዐራዝ።

70 ወይቤሎ
 71 ወይቤሎ
 72 ወእለ
 73 ቅዱሳን
 74 ማጎድሪሆሙ
 75 የምጽእዎሙ
 76 ዱእሙ
 77 ለመምሀርነ

ወሰሊጦ ፫ ዓመታት ወጂ አውራጎ። ወፈጸመ ስምዖ አመ ፪ ለወርጎ መጋቢት በሰላም እግዚእ ጸሎቱ ወበረከቱ ተሀሉ ምስሌኒ ለዓለም ዓለም አሜን።

ወዝኩሂ አቡነ ዞሲማስ ዘአጎእዎ በአንቀጸ ግድም እንዘ [የፈልሰ]⁷⁸ ዓጽመ አቡሁ ዘቅዱስ እስጢፋኖስ ወወእቱ ዘይቤ አመ ያቀውምዎ ቅድመ ንጉሥ በዘ በዝጎት-ይክውን ጽድቀ እግዚአብሔር ዘእንበለ ዐቂብ ሕግ ወውእቱ ዘይቤአ አመ ተክእልዎ በእንተ ደብረ ጽዮን ማሲላኑ እብለከ ወሚማ ዳጉሣ እስመ ይብል መጽሐፍ ዘዐይን ኢርእየ ወእዝን ኢሰምዐ ዘአስተዳለወ እግዚአብሔር ለእለ ያፈቅርዎ ሠሊጦ ገድሎ ወተዐጊሶ ኩነነያት ብዙን እምንበ ንጉሥ ወበተመቅሖ ወበተቀሥፎ ወምስሌሁ ዝንቱ ህላዌሁ እንዘ ይጸጉ ሲሳየ መንፈስ እምዘ ሎቱ ለእለ አልቦሙ ወይክውን ምስካየ ለእለ ወተጉ እምፍትሕ ኩነኔሁ ሕስው ለመልአከ ዝንቱ ዓለም ዘይቀትል ብዙንተ ነፍሳተ በአሰፍዎ ዘያስተርኢ ወፈጸመ ስምኦ አመ ወ ለወርጎ በሰላም እግዚአብሔር ጸሎቱ ተሀሉ ምስሌኒ አሜን። ወእሉኒ እለ ወሰድዎሙ ውስተ ብሔሪ ምርጋይ ወነበሩ በህየ [በማ]⁷⁹ ብዙን እንዘ በውእቱ ሕማመ ማቄይ ወፈጸሙ እምኔሆሙ ፲ወጂ በውእቶን አዝማናት። በሠናይ ገድል ወአሐተ እምኔሆሙ ማእምንት። ዘፈጸት [ገድለ]⁸⁰ ምስሌሆሙ በሰላም እግዚእ ጸሎቱ ወበረከቱ ተሀሉ ምስሌኒ ወትዕቀብን ለዓለም ዓለም አሜን።

ወለእለኒ ተርፉ አርጎወ ሎሙ እግዚአብሔር ውስተ ይእቲ ሀገር እስከ በጽሑ ደዋሮ ወእምለፌኒ እስከ ፈጸጋር። ወመሀርዎሙ ቃለ መለኮት እንተ ይእቲ ሲሳየ ነፍስ ወሰምዐ ንጉሥ ከመ አንሶሰዉ ወመሀሩ ወኢገብረ እግዚአብሔር አጽብቦ በከመ ውእቶሙ ኃለዩ። ወውእቱኒ ዘረዎሙ ለለ ፩፩ ውስተ ቤተ አረሚ ከመ ይጥፋእ ሃይማኖቶሙ ወከመ ይስዓር ሃይማኖቶሙ ወትምክሕቶሙ። ወእለኒ ውስተ ምርጋይ ከመይህለቁ በሕማመ ማቄይ። ወእግዚአብሔርሰ በብዕለ ምሕረቱ። ወበብዙን ፍቅሩ ዘአቀረን እንዘ ሙታን ንጎነ በኃጥአተነ። ተሳሀለን በሰብከተ እሉ ወአስተጋብአን እምዘርወተነ ውስተ እንተ ተዐበ ሃይማኖት። ወቦሙ ተሐደሶት ልደተነ ዳግሚት ዘእማይ ወእመንፈስ ቅዱስ። ዘበ ንስሐ ንፅሕት ውጽርይት እንዘ ትልዕል [እመልዕት]⁸¹ ንበ [መልዕት]⁸²። በከመ ብዝን ዝርወቶሙ ውስተ ብዙን አድዋለ ምድር። ወከማሁ [ትዘርአት]⁸³ ሃማኖቶሙ ሠናይት ወፈርየት ብዙኃን ኔራን። በከመ ሕጠተ ስርናይ ለእመ ኢሞተት በሕቲታ ትነብር ወእመሰ ሞተት ብዙን ፍረ ትፈሪ። ወእምዝ ሶበ ስእን ንጉሥ በከመ ንለየ ወአዘዘ ያስተጋብእዎሙ ውስተ ፩ ገጸ መካን። ለእለኒ ዘረዎሙ ለለ ፩፩ ውስተ ቤተ አረሚ ወለእለኒ እለ ወስተ ምርጋይ። ወይቤ ከመ ይሰድዎሙ ውስተ ሀገር እንተ ትሰመይ ጋሳ እንተ ይእተ ምድረ አረሚ ከመ ይንበሩ በተሞቅሖ ለለ ፩፩ [ወስተ]⁸⁴ ቤተ አረሚ ወተአዚዞሙ ሐራ ወሰ ድዎሙ ውስተ ይእቲ ሀገር። ወወሀብዎሙ ለስዩመ ውእቱ ብሔር ወገርዎ በከመ ይቤ ንጉሥ። ወተመጢዎ አዘዞሙ ለዋዓሊሁ ከመ

78 ያፈልሰ
79 በጻማ
80 ገድላ
81 እመልዕልት
82 መልዕት
83 ተዘርአት
84 ውስተ

ይሞቅሐዎሙ። ወሞቅሐዎሙ በሕርወተ ጉንድ። [ወኖልቆሙ]⁸⁵ ፫፴፬፯ እምኔሆሙ ፲፬፯ መንኮሳይታ። ወእንዘ ሀለው ህየ ፈጸሙ ገድሎሙ ፭ አኃው በሰላመ እግዚአብሔር ጸሎቶሙ የሀሉ ምስሌን ወይዕቀበን ለዓለም አሜን። ወእለኒ እምውስተ ንትር ፈጸሙ ገድሎሙ በህየ ፱ እኃው በሰላመ እግዚአ። ጸሎቶሙ የሀሉ ምስሌን ወይዕቀበን ለዓለም ዓለም አሜን።

ወእምዝ ይቤሎ ለንጉሥ ፈላሲ እግዚእየ ንጉሥ አብሐኒ ንባእ ውስት አነ [ወእሙቱ]⁸⁶ ከመ ያስተርኢ ሃይማኖትየ ወሃይማኖቶሙ ወንጉሥሰ ሀሎ አዚዞ እምቅድመ ዝንቱ ከመ ያንድዱ እሳተ ወእምዝ ይቤሎሙ ንጉሥ ለቅዱሳን ለኢትትበሀልዎኑ በእንተ ዘይቤለከሙ። ወይቤሎ ቅዱሳን ንጎነስ ኢናበውሐከ እለ ኩሎ ዘአምጸእክ ላዕሌን ንትወከፍ በስመ እግዚአብሔር አምላክን። ወእምዝ አዘዘ ንጉሥ ይሰድዎሙ ለቅዱሳን ውስተ እሳት ወእስሳትሰ ዘያነድዱ ይከውን መጠነ ዐቢይ ቤት ወውእቱ ይትሌዐል ነዱ ከመ ደመና ወወሰድዎሙ ለቅዱሳን እንዘ ያቴክልዎ ወአብጽሕዎሙ ህየ እንዘ እሱራን። ወእሙንቱሰ ተደለዉ ለበዊእ ውስተ እሳት ወክልኩ አልበሲሆሙ ዘላዕሌሆሙ ወእምዝ ተማዓዱ ምስለ ካልኩ ወይቤሎ ዮምሰ ይገብር ለነ እግዚአብሔር ወየዐርፈነ እምዝንቱ ዓለም ወእምዝ ይቤሎ ንጉሥ ለፈላሲ አንሰ አትባእ እስመ ሃማኖትከኒ ዕውቅው ውእቱ አለ እሙንቱ [ይብኡ]⁸⁷ ወውእቱሰ ንጉሥ ኢአዘዘሙ ለሐራሁ ከመ ይደይዎሙ ፍጹመ አላ ከመ ያፅዕርዎሙ ወከመዝ ውእቱ ጸዕሮሙ ለእመ ፈቀዱ ይባኡ [ፍጹ]⁸⁸ ኢያበውሐዎሙ ከመ ይባኡ በወስክሞት። ወለእመኒ ፈቀዱ ከመ ይጸኡ ያጠውቁዎሙ። ውስተ እሳት ወዐ [እሶ]⁸⁹ እምኔሆሙ ዘይጠበስ እገሪሁ ከመዳ አሳ ውስተ ፍሕም። ወዐ እለ ሐለሉ ሥጋሆሙ ከመ ጉንድ። እንዘ [ይግርዎ]⁹⁰ ላዕለ ወእምነ ዝንቱ ባዕር ይፈቅዱ ይሙቱ ወይከልእዎሙ ሐራ ወሶበኒ ይበመዱ ለወላእ ይብልዎሙ እመሰ ትፈቅዱ ትጻዱ ስግዱ ለንጉሥ ወመምህርክሙ ዕረፋ ወበዝ ከመዝ ግብር ብዙኅ ሣቀይዎሙ ወእሙንቱሰ ተዐገሱ ዘንተ ኩሎ ተዘከሮሙ ቃለ ነቢይ ዘይቤ ወልድ ለእመ ሐርክ ትትቀነይ ለእግዚአብሔር አስተጻሉ ርእስከ ለሕማም ወኢትትወለወል ለእመ ተመንደብከ። ወቃለ እግዚእ ዘይቤ ወበ ትዕግስትክሙ [ተጠርይዎ]⁹¹ ለነፍስክሙ። ወበውስተ ቃለ ሐዋርያኒ ዘይቤ ወትዕግስስ ግብረ ፍጻመ ባቲ።

ወዓዲ አዘዘ ይሰድዎሙ ኅበ ጳጳስ ወለክከ ሎቱ እንዘ ይብል ንሳእክ እሎንተክ ፈለስት እስመክ ግብሮሙኒ ግብረ አይሁድክ። ወለማርያምኒ ኢይሰግዱክ። ወሊተኒ ኢይትኤዘዙክ። ንሣእክ አውግዙሙክ ክርስቲናሆሙክ ወክህነቶሙክ ወምንኩስናሆሙኒ ሥኣርክ ወረሲክ ከመ ኢይትወከፍዎሙ ሰብክ በሕብስተሂ ወበማይሂ ወእሳትሂ ወእስከ ለኩሎ መፍቅዳተ እንተ ትትፈቀድክ። ወበሐሂ ጥቀ ከመ ኢይበልዎሙ ወወሰድዎሙ ለቅዱሳን እንዘ ያጌጉእዎሙ። ወአሙንቱሰ እንዘ ዕሩቃን እም ልብስ ወአይስንቁ ወአሙንቱሰ በእንቱ ዝንቱ ይትፌሥሁ እንዘ

⁸⁵ ወኖልቆሙ
⁸⁶ ወእሙቱሰ
⁸⁷ ይባኡ
⁸⁸ ፍጹመ
⁸⁹ እሶ
⁹⁰ ይውግርዎሙ
⁹¹ ተጠርይዎ

ወጎጡአን እምን ሲሳይ። እስመ ነስእዎሙ ኩሎ እንተ ይስንቁ ወእሙንቱሰ በእንተ ዝንቱ ይትፎስሑ እንዘ ይትከሙት ተስፋሆሙ ዘእንተ ቃለ እግዚእ ዘይቤ ብፁዓን እለ ይላሕወ ይእዜ እሙንቱ እስመ ይትፎሥሑ። ብፁዓን እለ ይርገቡ ወይጸምኡ በእንተ ጽድቅ እስመ እሙንቱ ይፀግቡ። ወበዘከመዝ (፩.62፣) ግብር አጽሑብዎሙ። ወከብጽሕዎሙ ኅበ ጳጳስ ወነገርዎ ዘከመ ለአኮሙ። ወአቀሞሙ ቅድሚሁ ወእሙንቱኒ ከትሐቱ። ርእሶሙ ወበረከዎ ምስለ ቃለ ሰላም በከመ ይደሉ ቡራ ለጳጳስ። ወውእቱኒ ሐተቶሙ እንዘ ይብል ዘንተ ዘይብሉክሙ አማንነ- ወይቤልዎ አልቦ አባ ወይቤሎሙ ምንተነ [ማኬ]⁹² ሃይማኖትክሙ።

ወይቤልዎ ቅዱሳን ሃይማኖትነሰ አሚነ በአብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ። ወበአሐቲ ቅድስት ቤተ ክርስቲያን ጉባኤ ዘሐዋርያት እንተ ላዕለ ኩሉ ወበአሐቲ ቅድስት ጥምቀት ለሀድገተ ኃጢአት። ወትንሣኤ ሙታን ዘአመ ዳግም ትንሣኤ። ወአልብነ ካልእ ትምህርተ ዘእንበለ ትምህርት አበዊነ ሐዋርያት ቅዱሳን ወእለ መትሎሆሙ ማንበረ ፫፻፲ ወ፳ ርቱዓነ ሃይማኖት እለ በኒቅያ ጉቡኣን ወ፪፻ እለ በቁስጥንጥንያ። ወ፪፻ እለ በኤፌሶን እንዘ ይኔድፉ ለቅድስት ቤተክርስቲያ ውስተ መርሶ ዛገን። ኢንፎስክ በሥላሴ ወኢንሀፀፀ እምሥለሴ በገጸት ወበህላዌያት ዘንተ ተምህርነ እም አቡነ ቅዱስ አስጢፋኖስ (፩.62፣)። ወይቤሎሙ ጳጳስ ክርስትና ወክህነት ወምንኩስና እም ኅበ ጳጳስ ዘአይቴ ትነሥኡ። ወይቤልዎ ቦኑ እምዚአከ ወቦነ እምአበዊክ። አባ ሚካኤል ወአባ ገብርኤል ወአባ በርተሎሜዎስ። ወአደሞ ለጳጳስ ስነግብሮሙ ለቅዱሳን ወርትዕት ሃማኖቶሙ። ወእምዝ ይቤሎሙ ሃይማኖትክሙሰ ሠናይ ውእቱ ወለምንት ዘኢትሰግዱ ለማርያም ወይቤልዎ አኮ ዘረከብነ ቅድመዝ እንዘ ይትበሀል እሰግድ ለማርያም። ዘእንበለ ይትበሀል እሰግድ ለአብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ወይቤሎሙ ጳጳስ ትሰምዑኑ ዘአነ እነግረክሙ ወይቤልዎ እወ አባ ንሰምዕ ወእምዝ ይቤሎ ጳጳስ እለሰ ቦሙ አእምሮ አልቦ ዘያስተሐቅሩክሙ ዘእንበለ እለ አልቦሙ አእምሮ ወበእንተዝ ይብሉክሙ ከሐዲያነ ማርያም በእንተ ዘኢሰገድክሙኒ ለማርያም አልብክሙ ተልሐፈ። ወሶበኒ ትሰግዱ አልብክሙ ኃጢአት። ወባህቱ ኢይኩን ቀትልክሙ በምክንያት በሰጊድ ለማርያም ዳእሙ በኢሰጊድ ለማርያምስ ኢኮነ። ዳእሙ በኢሰጊድ ለንጉሥ። ወበኢፀሪፍ ከመ መምህርክሙ በዝ ለእመ ሞትክሙ ኔረ ይከውንክሙ። ወይእዜኒ ንዑ ንሰግድ ንቡሩ። ወይቤልዎ ቅዱሳን እንተሰ አቡነ ለእመ ነገርከነ በመንፈስ ሠናይኬ ኦ አባ ወቀዲሙኒ አኮ አስቲተነ ዘንቤ ኢንሰግድ ለማርያም ንኅነሰኬ ሕወትነ በማርያም። አክሊለ ምክሕነ ወቀዳሚተ መድኃኒትነ ወመሠረተ ንጽህነ ኮነ በማርያም ድንግል። እንተ ወለደት ለነ ዘእግዚአብሔር ቃል ዘኮነ ሰብአ በእንተ መድኃኒትነ። ወእምዝ ቦኡ ውስተ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ምስለ ጳጳስ ወሰገዱ በማርያም ኅቡረ ወበ እንተ ቆብዕኒ ዘይቤሎክሙ ኢየሐብሩ ምስለ ኢትዮጵያ አኮነ ደቂቀ አባ ጳኩሚስ ይገብሩ ከመዝ ወአነሂ ብዩ ከማሁ። ወዘንተ ብሂሎ አርአዮሙ አክሊለ ርእሶ ወወሀቦሙ ቆብዕኒ ለለ ፩ ወወሀቦሙ [ሲሳዩን]⁹³።

ወጸቢሐ አዘዘ ያምጽእዎሙ ለቅዱሳን ለእለ ሀለወ አፍአ እምከተማሁ ወከብእዎሙ እንዘ ያጌጉእዎሙ። ወእሙንቱሰ [ኢእመሩ]⁹⁴ ዘገብሩ። ወአምጽኡ

⁹² ኬ
⁹³ ሲሳዩ
⁹⁴ ኢያእመሩ

ጎቤሆሙ በድኖሙ ለእለ ተቀትሉ እንዘ ይስቅብዎሙ ውስተ ምድር። ወለአከ ንጉሥ ጎቤሆሙ እንዘ ይብል ተአምርዎሙኑአ ለእሉ ወሰበ ርዕይዎሙ ቅዱሳን ደንገፀ ወቀርቡ ጎቤሆሙ እስመ ርእይዎሙ እንዘ ይስህብዎሙ ዲበ ምድር ከመ ጉንድ። ወአእመርዎሙ። ወይቤልዎ ለላእክ እወ ነአምርሙ እስመ አጋዊ እሙንቱ። ወዘንተ ብሂሎሙ ነሥኡ ጸበለ ሥጋሆሙ ወተቀብኡ (ፍ.72ጾ) ወይቤሉ ጸሎቶሙ ቅድስት ተሀሉ ምስሌነ አሜን። ወአሜን። ወእምዝ ተማዓዱ በይናቲሆሙ ወይቤ ፩ እኅ ይቤ እግዚእነ ወሶበ ኢገበርኩ ሎሙ ዘበዕድ ገብሮ እምድኅኑ እምጌጋይ። ወይእዜሰ ርእዩኒ ወጸልኩኒ ኪያየሂ ወአቡየሂ። ወባሕቱ ከመ ይብጻሕ ቃለ ኦሪቶሙ ዘይቤ ወጸልኩኒሂ በከንቱ።

ወንኅሂ ለእመ አምጻእነ ካልአ ሥርዓተ እምሥርዓተ አበዊነ ሐዋርያት። እመ ኢኮኖሙ ጌጋዩ ወጌጢአተ በእንተ ዘይገብሩ ሳዕሌነ። ወባሕቱ ይእዜሰ ባሕቱ አእመሩ ወጠየቁ ወጢዱቆሙ ተዐወሩ በከመ ይብል መጽሐፍ። ወይእዜኒ ሰብወ ኦ አኅው እስመ ይበጻሕ ቃለ እግዚእ ዘይቤ። ከመ ትብክዩ ወትበሕው አንትሙ ወዓለምሰ ይትፈሣሕ ወአንቶሙሰ ተሐዝኑ ወሐዘንክሙኒ ፍሥሐ ይከውንክሙ። ወይቤሉ ላእከን ኢትሰግድኑ ለማርያም። ወይቤ ፩ እኅ ዘስሙ ጳውሎስ ምንትኑ ዝንቱ ዘትትለሀዩኒ እመሰ [ዘሀለወክሙ]⁹⁵ ትገብሩ ግበሩ ወእመ አኮ [በክ]⁹⁶ ትጸመዉ በዘኢትክሉ ረኪበ እምኔነ ዘትኔልዩ። ወሰሚያሙ (ፍ.72ሃ) ላእከን ፍጻሜ ቃሎሙ ለቅዱሳን ገብሩ በከመ ተአዘዙ እምንበ ንጉሥ። ወነሥኡ መላጼ ወሠተሩ ገጸሙ ወከመ ይኩን ቦሙ ትእምርተ በንበ በጽሑ። እስመ አዘዘ ንጉሥ ከመ ኢትዌክፍዎሙ በኩሉ መፍቅዳት።

ወበእንተ ዝንቱ ይቤ ዳግመ ከመ ይስትሩ ገጸሙ ወይኩን ትዕምርተ ቦቱ ኅበ በጽሑ። ወእምዝ እንዘ ሀለዉ ምስለ ከመዝ ወአመ ፳ ወ፩ ለ ሰኔ ፈነወ ንጉሥ ጎቤሆሙ እም እሊአሁ ካህናተ ደብተራ መንኮሳቲሁኒ ከመ ይሕትትዎሙ በእንተ ነገረ ደብረ ጽዮን። ወመጽኡ ወሐተትዎሙ በቃለ ንጉሥ ደብተራ ጽዮን ሀለወኑአ ይዜአ ትብሉኡ። ወሚማ አልቦ ትብሉኡ። ወተሰጥውዎ ቅዱሳን ወይቤልዎሙ ይእዜኒ ሀለወ ወይመጽእኒ ለገባርያነ ጽድቅ። ወካዕበ ይቤልዎሙ ናምሕለክሙ በአብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ ወበሥጋሁ ወደሙ ለክርስቶስ ከመ ኢትኅብኡነ ምንተ ይመስል ውእቱ። ወይቤልዎሙ ቅዱሳን እስመ ይብል መጽሐፍ ዘዐይን ኢርእዩ ወእዝን ኢሰምዐ ውስተ ልበ ሰበእ ዘኢተኅለዩ ዘአስተዳለወ እግኢኡብሔር ለእለ ያፈቀርዎ። ወእመኒ ትፈቅዱ ታእምሩ አሰረ ወንጌል ትልዉ ወእመ አኮ [በክ]⁹⁷ ኢትጸምዉኑ። ወካዕበ ይቤ እምኔሆሙ ነብርእድ ዘብሔረ ሲማይ ዘስሙ እስጢፋኖስ አምሕለክሙ በጸሎቱ ለዝኩ አቡክሙ ዘትፈትውዎ ትንግሩኒ እመ ሀለወ ደብረ ጽዮን። ወሰሐቅዎ ወይመስለክኑ ዘንፈርህ ጸሎቱ ለዝኩ አቡነ እምስመ አብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ እመሰ ተአምን ንበለክ ሀለወኒ ወይመጽእኒ ኩሎ ጊዜ ለገበርያነ ጽድቅ ይትወሀብ ወአውዕልዎሙ ይእቲ ዕለት በብዙኅ ፀሕብ በተጋሥሦ ነገር። ወእምዝ በሳኒታ ካዕበ ተስእልዎሙ በእንተ ደብረ ጽዮንሂ ወበእንተ ሰጊድ ለንጉሥ ወአውሥእዎ ቅዱሳን ወይቤልዎሙ ወእመኒ ተአምኑነ

⁹⁵ ዘሀለወክሙ
⁹⁶ በከመ
⁹⁷ በከመ

አኮ ዘንጭልጥ ቃልን ዘዮም እምትማልም እመሰ ሀለወክሙ ዘትገብሩ ግበሩ ይእዘኒ።

(፩.89v)ወዓዲ እምድገረ ጎዳጥ አምጽእዎሙ ላእከን ለቅዱሳን። በከመ ተአዘዙ። ወአብጽህዎሙ ጎበ ንጉሥ እንዘ ሀሎ ውስተ ምድረ ፈራጎ ወአቀሞሙ ቅድሚሁ ወይቤልዎሙ ስግዱ ለንጉሥ። ወይቤልዎሙ ቅዱሳን ንጎነሰ ኢንሰግድ ለንጉሥ ምድራዊ ዘእንበለ ለንጉሥ ሰማያዊ። ወአዘዘ ንጉሥ ለሰራዊቱ ወለካህናቱ ደብተራሁ ይፍትሑ። ወፈትሑ ላእሌሆሙ ፍትሑ ሞት። ወይቤሉሙ ንጉሥ ለቅዱሳን ኢትሰምዑኑ ዘይፈትሑ ለክሙ ካህናት ወይቤሎ ፩ እኖ እምቅዱሳን ዘኮነ ፈጻሚ ነገሮሙ ምንተኑ ካህናቲክ አኮኑ ከመ ካህናተ ኤልሳቤል እሙንተ። ወሶበ ዘንተ ይቤሎሙ ነደ ልቦሙ በመዓት። ወአዘዘ ንጉሥ በመዓት ይሞትሩ እደዊሆሙ ወእግሪሆሙ ወገብሩ ሐራ በከመ አዘዙሙ ንጉሥ ወመተሩ አርእተ እደዊሆሙ ወእግሪሆሙ ወአውፅእዎሙ አፍአ ወገደፍዎሙ [ውኅልቆሙ]⁹⁸ ፤ ። ወፈጸሙ በህየ ስምዖሙ በሰላ እግዚእ ጸሎቶሙ የሀሉ ምስልነ ወይዕቀበነ ለዓለም አሜን ወአሜን። (፩.90r)ወእምዝ አዘዘ ንጉሥ ያስተጋብእዎሙ ለእለ ሀለወ በእደ ዐቀብት ዘርጉቅኒ ወዘቅሩብኒ ጎበ ፩ ገጸ መካን ወለ፩ እኅ አምጽኦ ዐቃቢሁ ነሲኦ አልበሲሁ እንዘ ኢተርፍ ሎቱ ዘእለ አሐቲ አስኬማሁ ወአሲሮ በቅናቱ በክሳዶ ምስለ አብራኪሁ።

ወውእቱሰ እምእለ ምቱራን ውእቱ። ወገደፎ ጎበ እለይትጋብኦ ወአቡዮ ተመጥዎ ወእቱ ዘይትዔዩን ወጎደጎ ውእቱ በህየ። ወነበረ ህየ አፍአ ሰሉሰ መዋዕለ ወእንዘ አራዊትኒ አልቦ ዘይለክፍዎ። ወእንዘ ለባዕዳንሰ ሰብእ ያወፅእዎሙ ሕያዋኒሆሙ እምነ ቤት። ወአመ ራብዕት ዕለት እምዘገደፍዎሙ ፈጸሙ ስምዖ በህየ በሰላመ እግዚእ ጸሎቶሙ ተሀሉ ምስሌነ ለዓመ ዓም አሜን ወአሜን ወአሜን።

(፩.90v)ወእምዝ እምነ ምረተ ልቡ ዝኩ መስተአመኒ ነሥአ እምነ ቅዱሳን ፭ ወአዘዘ ይሰድዎሙ ውስተ አህጉር ኃምስ ወበህየ ይምትሩ እደዊሆሙ። ወእግሪሆሙ ወይውግርዎሙ በአእባን። ከመይፍርሁ ሰብእ እለ ውስተ ሀገር። ወከመ ኢይተወክፍዎሙ ለቅዱሳን። ወተአዘዙሙ ሐራ ወሰድዎሙ ለቅዱሳን ለ ፩ ዋሰል ወለካልኦ ድድኖ። ወለሳልሱ ወለቃ። ወለራብዑ ብራራ ወለኃምሱ የጋድ። ወመተሩ እደዊሆሙ ወእግሪሆሙ። ወወገርዎሙ በአእባን። በውስተ ውእቶን ኃምስ አህጉር። ወፈጸሙ ስምዖሙ በሰላመ እግዚእ [ጸሎቶ]⁹⁹ ተሀሉ ምስሌነ ወትዕቀበነ አሜን። ወለእለሂ [ተተብሩ]¹⁰⁰ ውስተ ቤተ ክርስትያን እምቅዱሳን። እምቅድመ ዝንቱ አዘዘ ያውፅእዎሙ ወይውግርዎሙ በእብን ወሐራሂ ገብሩ በከመ አዘዙሙ ወበእንተዝ ኮነ ፍርሃት ዐብይ ውስተ ኩሉ በሐውርተ መንግሥቱ ወውእቱሰ ንጉሥ እያግህደ ዕልወቶ ላዕለ ኩሉ ክርስትያን ከመ ዲዮግልጥያናስ ዕልወ። ዘእንበለ ጎበ እሉ ቅዱሳን ነአስ መርዔት ወእግዚአብሔርኒ [ከመሁ]¹⁰¹ ኢያግህድ ፀቢኦቶ በከመ ጽሑፍ ዘይብል። በእድ ኅብእት ይፀብኦሙ እግዚአብሔር ለዐማሌቅ ለዘመደ ዘመድ ወከመሰ ፀብኦ እግዚአብሔር ወኮነ አመ ሣቀዮሙ

⁹⁸ ውኅልቆሙ
⁹⁹ ጸሎቶሙ
¹⁰⁰ ተተብሩ
¹⁰¹ ከመሁ

ለቅዱሳን ወረሰየ እሳተ ከመ ምብኬሀ እሳት ምንሃብ ዘይትነዛኅ ወአስተርአየ ላዕለ ደብተራሁ። ወተፈሥሐ ውእቱኒ ወሰራዊቱ ወይቤሉ ወረደ ዲቤነ ብርሀን እምሰማይ። ወቦ እለይቤሉ አመ እምራኒሆሙ አኮ ብርሃን እስመ ዘስ ትእምርተ መዐቱ ለእግዚአብሔር ይመስል። እፎ ወምንተ ናአምር ዘይመጽእ ላዕሌነ መቅሰፍተ በእንተ ዘሳቀዮሙ ለአግብርተ እግዚአብሔር ዝ ብእሲ (f.91v) ወእንዘ ዘንተ ይሄልዩ በውእቱ ዘመን ተፈነወ ብድብድ ዘእዙዝ ጥቀ እምሐቦ እግዚአብሔር እስከ ይብሉ አልቦ ዘከመ ኮነ ከመዝ።

ወእምዝ ይቤ ዝኩ ፍሬ ብርሃን (f.118r) ከመ ምንትነ ህሉነ ሥላሴ እንዘ ተአምን። ይነብብኑ ትብል ኣብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ በቦ ቃሎሙ። ወእምዝ አውስአ ዝኩ እኅ ዘኮነ ፈጸሚ ነገሮሙ ለአኅው ዘስሙ ጳውሎስ ዘጽነዕ በሀይማኖቱ። እወ እቤ በከመ ቃለ መጽሐፍ ይትናገሩ በቃሎሙ ኣብ ወወልድ ወመንፈስ ቅዱስ። ወእመኒ በካልክ እመጸሕፍት ዘትብሉ አንትሙ። እስመ ይብል መጽሐፍ ወትጸገወ በበይናቲክሙ ወእውንቱስ ኢተዋስእዎ በእንተዝ። ወሶቦኒ ተዋስእዎ እም ኢሥእነ የቅ ሰማዕተ ኦ ዘትቤ እትዋስእ ዘትቤ ኅቦ ተነግረ ኣብ። ናሁ ለከ ሐቦ ተናገረ ኣብ።

ዘእም ሄኖክ ነብይ ወእምድሕረዝ ነስሐ ርእሶ መዋዕል ወይቤ [በክ]¹⁰² አሕጎልክዎሙ ለኩሎሙ እለ ይነብሩ ውስተ የብስ ወመንሰ በስሙ ዐብይ ከመ እመይእዜ ኢይገብር ላዕለ ኩሎሙ እለ ይነብሩ ዲቦ የብስ። ወናሁ ለክ ዘእምኦሪትኒ ወይቤ እግዚአብሔር ንግቦር ሰብእ በአርአያነ ወበ አምሳሊነ። ወነሁ ልክ ዘእምኢሳይያስኒ ዘይብል ናሁ ይሌቡ ቁልዔየ ወይትሌዐል ወይክብር። ወነሁ ለክ ዘእምውስተ ህዝቅኤልኒ ዘከመ ይቤሎ (f.118v) ኣብ ለወልድ ወይቤሎ በብእሲ ለዘ ይሰብስ ጳዴሬ በማእከለ ሰረገላ ዘትሕተ ሰረገላ ዘታሕተ ኪሩብ። ወምላእ እዴክ አፍሐመ እሳት ወዘረዎ ውስተ ሀገር። ወዘረዎ አፍሐመ እሳትኒ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ውእቱ ዘወረደ ላዕለ ሐዋርያት ከመ ዘእሳተ። እስመ ስለስቲሆሙ ዲቦ ሰረገላ ኪሩብ ይነብሩ። ወናሁ ለክ በውስተ መዝሙር ፪ ወአነ ዮም ወለድኩክ ሰአል እምኔየ እሁብኩ አሕዘብ ለርስትክ። ወዓዲ ይቤሎ እግዚእ ለእግዚአብሔር ንቦር በየማንየ ወካዕቦ ናሁ ለክ [ዘውስ]¹⁰³ ኦሪት ዘፍጥረት። ናሁ ደም ኮነ ከመ ፩ እምኔነ የአምር ሰናየ ወእኩየ ዮጊ ያልዕል እዴሁ ወይቦልዕ እም ዕፀ ሐይወት ወየሓዩ። ወናሁ ለክ ዘውስተ ወንጌል ማቴዎስ። ወመጽእ ቃል እምሰመይ ዘይብል ዝንቱ ውእቱ ወልደየ ዘአፈቅር ዘኪያሁ ሠመርኩ ወሎቱ ስምዕዎ። ወናሁ ለክ በውስተ ወንጌል ዮሐንስ ሶቦ ይቤ ወልድ አቦ ስብሐ ለስምክ ወለ ወልድክ። ወመጽእ ቃል እምሰማይ ዘይብል ሰባሕኩካሂ ወካዕቦ እሴብሕ። ወበውስተ መልእክተ ጴጥሮስኒ ዘይብል ናሁ ለክ ቃል ወረደ ላዕልሁ እምእ አይቱ እምውስተ ዕቦየ ስብንቲሁ (f.119r)ይቤ ዝንቱ ውእቱ ወልድ ዘአፈቀር ዘአነ ሐረይኩ። ዘንተ ቃለ ንሕነ ሰማዕናሁ ከመ እምሰማይ ወረደ ሎቱ እንዘ ሃሎነ ምስሌሁ በደብረ መቅደስ ወበእንተ ወልድሰ አልቦ ዘትትክሐደኒ። ወበ እንተ መንፈስ ቅዱስኒ ናሁ ለክ ዘእም ሄኖክ ነብይ። ናሁ አሓድር መቅሰፍትየ ወመዓትየ ዲቤሆሙ ይቤ እግዚእ መናፍስት ወናሁ ለክ ዘእም ዳንኤል ነብይ ዘይቤ ወዳግመ ገሰሰኒ ከመ ራእየ ብእሲ ወአጽንዐኒ። ወናሁ ለክ በውስተ ራእየ ለዮሐንስ ዘይቤ ምንተ ይቤ

¹⁰² በከመ
¹⁰³ ዘውስተ

መንፈስ ቅዱስ። ወዘሰ ሞአ ኢይመውት ዳግመ ሞተ። ወናሁ ለከ ዘእም መልእክተ ጳውሎስ ሐዋርያ። እስመ ከመዝ ይቤ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ዮም ለእመ ሰማዕክሙ ቃሎ ኢታዕብዩ ልብክሙ። ወናሁ ለከ በውስተ መጽሐፈ ግብርሙ ለሐዋርያት። ወጸውዖሙ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ወይቤ ፍልጥዎሙ ለበርናባስ ወለሳውል። በግብር ዘፈቀድክዎሙ ወጴጥሮስኒ ሊቀ ሐዋወያርት ይቤ ወይቤለኒ መንፈስ ቅዱስ ሐር ምስሌሆሙ እንዘ ኢትነፍቅ። ወዘንተ ይቤሉ መጻሕፍት ወበእንተ ወልድኒ ነዋ ለከ ዘይቤ ለሊሁ (f.119v) ለኢይሁድ እንዘ ይነግር በእንተ ርእሱ ወበእንተ አቡሁ ዝንቱ ግብር ዘወሀበኒ አቡየ ከመ እግበር ወእፈጽም ውእቱ ግብረ ስመዕትየ ከመ አቡየ ዘፈነወኒ [ወአቡየ ዘፈነወኒ]¹⁰⁴ ውእቱ ስመዕትየ። ከመዝ ነኣን ወከመዝ ንሜህር ወእምዝ ይቤሎ ዝኩ ፍሬ ብርሀን እመቦ ከመዝ ትብል በልኪ አውግዝ ዕልዋነ አርዮስሃ ወመቅደንዮስሃ ወንስጥሮስሃ ወእለ ከማሆሙ። ወበል ውጉዛን እሙንቱ። ወይቤ ውእቱ እኅ እወ ውጉዛን [እሞንቱ]¹⁰⁵ ወዓዲ ይቤሎ ፍሬ ብርሃን በልኬ እስጢፋር ርኩስ። ወይቤሎ ውእቱ እኅ አቡነ እስጢፋኖስ ንጹሕ ወቅዱስ ወጸድቅ። ጸሎቱ ወበረከቱ የሀሉ ሞስሌነ ወላዕለ ኩሉ ሰራዊት ወይቤሉ አጎውሀ አሜን።

ወይቤሎሙ ውእቱ እኖ ዘጽነዕ በሀይማኖት በሰራዊት በሉ አንትሙኒ አማን። ወይቤልዎ ምንተ [ንሓነስ]¹⁰⁶ ኢንፈቅዶ በከሙ ይኩን። ወይቤሉ ቅዱሳን ዳግም አሜን። ወነገርዎ ለንጉሥ ኩሎ ዘከመ ይቤሉ። ወእዘዘ ያብእዎሙ ውስተ ቤተ ሞቅኅ ወይእስርዎሙ ወገብሩ ሐራ [ከመሁ]¹⁰⁷።

¹⁰⁴ ወአቡየ ዘፈነወኒ (repeated)
¹⁰⁵ እንቱሙ
¹⁰⁶ ንሕነስ
¹⁰⁷ ከማሁ

5.2 English Translation of Gädlä Abäw wä- Aḥaw [ገድለ አበው ወአጎው]

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. We shall begin writing the *Gädl* (saints' lives) of our holy spiritual fathers, brothers and believers, who live in Däbra Gärzen and took part in the Savior's suffering by the help of God's Word and His miracle Amen!

When I thought it is important to show the saints' lives and their martyrdom for a person in a book for me and for those who come later [who are like me], I would love to make known by asking (people) what happened in the past and putting what I know in my time (**f.2r**). However, due to the farness of the country I could not get permission from the abbot of the monastery. If they had allowed me, I would have written it immediately in details. Thus, the work is minimized and the story becomes short.

The king (**f.29r**) commanded each of his soldiers to gather them (the Stephanites) and brought them to him. The soldiers went and brought what he ordered them. After some days, the king let them stand with those who investigated them before. When one who is the chief of the soldiers saw them, he said, "Do these prostrate themselves to the king?" They replied him, "No, they don't (prostrate to the king)". They lashed them violently with a stick and a cudgel. After the king made them stand (in front of him), he failed to question them. When it is getting dark, he ordered them to return to their houses. He let them stand again. He did not question them

even that day. They came back home being dark. This craft's¹⁰⁸ principle is just like this (to mistreat).

After this, he ordered them (his soldiers) to let them stand. This is their third time. As in the previous time, he asked them saying, "Whom do you choose?" and regarding Mount Zion, he inquired them "Do you say there is Mount Zion now, or it would come in the future?" (**f.29v**) that brother (follower of Stephanites) said, "I said it before, and I say it now. No one gets God's righteousness because of being too many in number. Noah together with a few (people) saved (from a flood). In Sodom Lot and his two daughters saved from fire rain.¹⁰⁹ As for (the Banquet) on Mount Zion, it is there how for workers of righteousness, later, too, it shall come for workers of righteousness."¹¹⁰

The king said, "What does Mount Zion look like?" That brother said to him, "What do you want me to say it about? Millet or sorghum?" The Scripture said, 'It is that was seen with an eye, was not heard with an ear and that was not imagined with human's heart which God prepared for whom he loves'. The chief of the army said to him, "You are few like Noah and lot. Are we like those who disappeared? That brother replied, "You said it yourself." When the chief of the army heard this, he went and told the king. And the king enjoined (this army) to flog them.

At three o'clock (**f.30r**) he made them stand in front of him. They stayed until nine o'clock (while standing). However, they keep on

¹⁰⁸ The Gə'əz version says "መስተአማኒ" /mästä'amani/. But it is clear that this is to mean መስተመይን" /mästämayən/ literary means 'crafty, deceiver or malicious'.

¹⁰⁹ Gen.19:24-30

¹¹⁰ Getachew (1983:105)

chanting and praying to the Almighty God. The flogged saints were sixty. After flogging, he dissipated them from the border of Gāhi to the boarder of Qwila Aray to the eastern part of his empire to stay in imprisoned. He thought that if they scattered, they would disappear like locusts. God who consulted his advice and by his slaves' preaching, he did not know what kind of remedy to do for his people. They even would live doing works of righteousness in their monastery for themselves. He (God) wanted to bring them to the rule of purity for the souls who were dissipated by the devil's error.

The old man, Bärtälomewos, said to the king, "You said I will fulfill the rule. Why do you show such efforts? One can fill up water for an incomplete cup. Nevertheless, if one adds water for a cup which is full to the top it spills over. Now, as the rule of the Apostles and the Prophets is full, why do you add up to it?" That day he was flogged with them and he (the king) ordered angrily to send them to Dəror, which is called Bəhera Sagwira. He lived until his death with great mortification and with many miracles.

(f.36v) Once up on a time, he (the king) ordered to let them stand with all those who brought them from Bəhera Təgrai. (As they stand), they asked them saying, "Prostrate yourselves to the king." The saints replied, "We prostrate to none but to the Father, to the Son and the Holy Spirit." After that he sent to two (Stephanites) whom they (the soldiers) brought them charging "They don't bow to *Tä'amärä Maryam* 'Miracle of Mary' " saying, "Is that true what they said about you?"

One brother said, "We didn't say that we don't bow. Just one messenger brought me a book to be read after the Gospel. I asked him saying, (What is this book? He replied me, 'It is *Mäṣḥäfä*

Tä'amärä Maryam. I said to him that the Apostles' rule is not like this. The Gospel is read following the old Testaments', the prophets', and the acts of Apostles' reading. After the end of praying, we bow to the Gospel and the Cross. Hearing the last word of mine, he went having the book. After that, I asked (**f.37r**) him to give me that book. He gave me. I had read and bowed for it," he said.

The king said to him, "You are saying this belittling it, is that not?" That brother replied, "If I am deprecating, you can question me." The king said, "Who lets one bend down? And who bows and rise again?" The king commanded (his soldiers) to lash him. They lashed him with a stick.

He sent a message to those saints and nuns who brought them before saying, "What's your religion?"

The saints replied, "Our religion is in the Father, the Son and the Holy Sprit." The king said, "Explain me citing from the New Testament and Old Testament." The saints fully described the existence of the Trinity by quoting evidence from the prophecies of the prophets and from the Acts of the Apostles.

When they explained this, he said, "Who are those who were entertained in the house of Abraham." The saints replied, "The Scripture says three men." "What about you? Who do you think are those? he said. They said, "Do you want to take a lesson from us by force? If you want to take a lesson from us, ask us in a good manner. If it is by frustrating, we didn't greet you."

When the king heard this, he became furious. He summoned his monks and others who were available there to render judgment. Among them Nəburän ədd one stood and pronounced sentence to

death up on the saints saying, "I went round quarter of the world. I saw them all respecting a king. These did not know a king, nor did obey his orders. Now let them do up on them what the Gospel orders. Let them drown in to the depth of an ocean. Some of them said, "Let them die."

The king commanded the saints to be flogged. Ripping their *askema* off, the soldiers lashed then turn by turn. However, the saints come one before the other to be flogged. The nuns were also flagellated with them. Other widows who do not have any hope of righteousness stoned the nuns. However, they tolerate it hoping to get righteousness. They threw them away, until a cock crows (dawn). After this (**f.38r**), they returned them to their houses.

One day, the king called a meeting and enjoined his soldiers to bring the saints to the city square. The king asked them, "Do you be live in an archbishop?" They replied, "Yes, we do. We took ordination from him." Some monks told the king, "They don't deny an archbishop, but tell them to insult their teacher." They said to them, "Now insult your teacher saying *Ἐστίφανος* is unclean."

The saints replied, "As he thought us the Gospel, we won't insult our teacher." As they refused, the king ordered (his soldiers) to flog them. They lashed them with a whip, which is called *ἑτῆῃ*. After that, he commanded them (his soldiers) to drive them to a hot area called *Bəhera Mərgay*. As it is malaria-infected area he took them there to be died of the disease. They stayed in there until time.

Moreover, he commanded them (his soldiers) to take them to the archbishop, and sent for him saying, "Take these monks. Their deeds are all that of Jewish. They don't prostrate themselves to St. Mary. In addition, they do not obey me. Take and abrogate their

Christianity. Cancel their priesthood and their monk hood, and people shall not embrace them could it be in giving food, water, in pleading fire and in providing all things, which are necessarily for their life and shall absolutely excommunicate them.

(The messengers) took the saints hastening. They were naked. They did not even get food as they (the soldiers) took all their provisions for journey. However, they were glad hoping God's word that says' "Blessed are that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled." (Mt. 5:4, 6)

In this way, (**f.62r**) they (the messengers) bring them weakening to the bishop. They told him what the king said to them. He (the bishop) let them stand in front of him. They (the Stephanites) bow and give benedictions to the bishop together with words of salutation.

In addition, he asked them saying, "Is that true what he said to you?" they replied, "No, it is not Abba." He said, "What's your religion, then?"

The saints replied, "Our religion is to believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy sprit, and by the superior Assembly of Apostles by one holy Church, by the Baptism for the remission of sins, and by the Second Coming which is the resurrection of the dead. We do not have any teaching which is different: from the holy Apostles [and from their followers who paddled the holy church to a quiet island], from 318 who have Orthodox faith who gathered in the council of

Nicaea¹¹¹, from 150 scholars who assembled the council of Constantinople¹¹², and from 200 scholars who assembled the council of Ephesus¹¹³. We do not add nor decrease to the Trinity to His hypostasis and His being. We learned this from our father, saint Estifanos (**f.62v**).”

The bishop asked them, “From which bishop do you get christened and receive priesthood, and monkhood?” They replied, “From you, your father, and also from Abba Mikael, Abba Gäbrə’el and *Abba Bärtälomewos*.”

The bishop was pleased by the saints’ splendor work, their ethics and their orthodox faith. He asked them. “Your religion is good, why do you not prostrate yourselves to St. Mary, then?”

They replied, “We have not found it said [in the literature] before this [time]: I prostrate my self to Mary”, but [we have only found] it said: “I prostrate myself to the father, the son and the holy sprit.”¹¹⁴

“Do you hear what I said,” the bishop said. They replied, “Yes, we do father.” After that, he said to them, “Expect those are simple minded, the knowledgeable ones do not despise you. Thus, they called you traitors of Mary. It is not a sin if you prostrate. The

¹¹¹ Nicaea was founded in the fourth century BC by the Macedonian king Antigens I Monophtalmus. The town was besieged and conquered in 1331 by the Ottoman Turks, who renamed it Iznik and built the Greek Mosque (1378-91) (Abraham 2007:1)

¹¹² Formerly Constantinople was called ancient Byzantium and now it is called Istanbul. Byzantium was founded as a colony by the Greek at about the end of the 8th century BC. It came under direct Roman rule during Vespasian’s reign (AD 69-79). In 324 Constantine I made the city his capital, and in 330 he made it the seat of the Roman Empire, later naming it Constantinople/ (Abraham 2007:2)

¹¹³ Ephesus was founded about 600 BC and was the most important Greek city in Ionian Asia minor. Ephesus owned much of its fame by the Temple of Artemis, or Diana. (Ibid)

¹¹⁴ Getachew Haile 1983:101

reason for your death should not be in matters of prostrating to St. Mary. It should be in not prostrating yourselves to the king and in not insulting your teacher, but it should not be in not prostrating your selves to St. Mary. If you die by this, it will be better. Even now, come! Let's prostrate together."

The saints said to him, "You are our father. It is good when you tell us in spirit. O father! Even when we say earlier, 'We do not prostrate to Mary', we are not belittling her. Our life is through Mary. The crown of our pride, the beginning of our salvation and the base of our cleanness is found through Virgin Mary who bore the Word God who became man for our redemption.

After that, they entered in to a church together with the bishop and prostrated to St. Mary.

He said to them, "What they said to you 'They don't agree with Ethiopian monks regarding monastic cap' Is that not like this what the children of Pakumis wear? I do have also like this." Saying this, he showed them his crown. He gave them monastic cap for each. He also gave them food.

When it became morning, the king ordered them (his soldiers) to bring the saints who were out side the camp. They brought them hastening. They did not know what they did. They brought the carcass of the dead dragging. The king sent them saying, "Don't you know those?" the saint's were surprised when they saw them. When they dragged them like a log, they came nearer to them. They said to the messenger, "Yes, we know them. They are our brethren." Taking their bodies, dust they smeared (**f.72r**) themselves with it. They said, "Their holy prayer will be with us, Amen!"

After this, they exhorted each other. Brethren said like this, "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin: but now have they both seen and hated both me and my father. But this cometh to pass, that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me with out a cause,"¹¹⁵ He (God) said. The same is true to us, if we had brought another law which is different from our Apostles, what they did up on us would not have been misfortunes and sins for them. However, they knew it now; understood. Even if they knew it, they become blind as the Scripture said. And this God's word will come to an end, "Verily, verily I say into you, That ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned in to joy."¹¹⁶

The messengers said, "Why do you not prostrate to Mary?" A brother, who is called Pāwēlos, said to him, "Why are you mocking at us?" Do what ever you intend to do. Otherwise, if you do not find what you expect to get from us, why do you wear your selves out? **(f.72v)** When the messengers heard the last word of them, they did what the king ordered them. They cut their faces with a razor so that every one would identify them wherever they go. The king had said before that people should not co-oprate them (the Stephanites) in every thing they want.

While they are in such a condition, the king sent them on Sāne 21 his own Dābtāras and monks to ask them about mount Zion. They came and questioned them (the Stephanites) by the king's word saying, "Do you say that Mount Zion exists now or do you say it will come or do you say it doesn't exist at all?" The saints replied, "If

¹¹⁵ Jn.15:24-25

¹¹⁶ Jn. 16:20

(mount Zion) is there now for workers of righteousness, it shall come for the workers of righteousness, too. They also urged them saying, "We plead you by the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit and by the Christ's Holy Communion to frankly tell us what Mount Zion looks like."

The saints replied, "The scripture said, 'It is that was not seen with an eye, was not heard with an ear and that was not imagined with human's mind which God prepared for whom He loves. If you want to learn more follow the Gospel. Otherwise, don't debilitate us.'"

And among them (from the king's Däbtära and monks) who is called ʔstifanos who is Bəherä Simay's Nəbər 'əd said, "I beg you by your beloved father's prayer to tell me whether there is Mount Zion or not." They laughed at him. He (one of the Stephanites) said to him, "Do you think that we respected our father's prayer more than the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. If you believe, there is Mount Zion, and it will come. We say, it will be given too all workers of righteousness."

They spent the day nagging them and questing mischief. After that, they asked them again in the morning about Mount Zion and about prostrating to the king. The saints replied saying, "If you believe us our today word is not changed from that of yesterdays. If you had some thing to be done up on us, just do it now."

(f.89v) After some time, the messengers brought the saints to the kings as they were ordered. That time the king was in Mədrä Färägo they made them stand in front of the king. They said, "Prostrate yourselves to the king?" The saints replied, "We prostrate ourselves to heavenly king but not the earthly king?" The king commanded his army and *Kahənatä Däbtäras* to render a judgment. They sentenced

them to death. The king said to the saints, "Don't you hear what the priests judge up on you?" one of the saints spoke man said, "What are your priests? Are they not like Jezebel priests?"¹¹⁷

When he said to him (the king), thus his heart burnt by wrath. The king angrily commanded his soldiers to mutilate their hands' fingers and their legs' toes and threw them outside. They were ten in number. They accomplished their martyrdom there by God's peace. Their prayer will be with us and protect us forever. Amen!

(f.90r) After that, the king commanded his soldiers to gather those who were from near and far. The guard brought a brother (follower of the Stephanites) ripping all his clothes except for his *askema* and tying his neck with his knee by his belt. As he was among the mutilated, the supervisor did not accept him. He left him there. The beasts dragged those people who are alive. However, they did not touch him and stayed there for three days. Four days later after he was thrown, he completed his martyrdom by god's peace. Their prayer shall be with us. Amen!

(f.90v) After that, this crafty (the king), due to his extreme anger chose five saints from five towns and commanded his soldiers to stone them mutilating their hand and legs so that people who live around there will fear and will not accepts them. Taking the order (of the king), the soldiers took the saints: the first to Wasäl, the second to Dədəno, the third to Wäläqa, the fourth to Bərara and the fifth to Yägad and mutilated their hands and legs and stoned them. They accomplished their martyrdom by God's peace. Their prayer shall be with us. Amen!

¹¹⁷ Jezebel, who cut off the Israelite prophets, is the princess of the Israelite king Akab. (I Kn.18:4) Getachew 1996:171)

(f.91r) The king commanded his soldiers to dig up the saints who were buried in a church (that is from a grave) and stone them. The soldiers did as they were ordered. As a result, there became great threat in all his kingdom's nations. The king except for these 'few herd' saints did not show his atheism like the atheist Dəyoqəltəyanos.

As it is written, "God will dismiss Amalek's generation hiddenly" or "The Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation," (Exo. 17:16) it does not explain when God attacks. How God attacked is here: As the king, torment the saints, God sent a fire, which looks like a spark given off from bellows. It was seen in a tent. The king and his army delightedly said, "Light has come down to us." Some of the (church) scholars said, "It is not light. Rather, it seems to be the sign of God's wrath. As this man **(f.91v)** tortures the slaves of God, how do we know what kind of calamity he brings up on us?"

This Fære Bərhan **(f.118)** said, "How do you believe the Trinity's being? Do you say, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit have their own words?"

After that, this P̄awəlos, who is the saints' spoke man and pious, said, "As it is for the Scripture's Word, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit speak by their own words. If you are saying in other Scriptures it said, 'Forbear one another?' " They did not argue on this issue. Had they argued him, he could not have failed to cite evidence.

For whom he said, God the Father does not have his own word, here is in Enoch that (God) the Father spoke, "After this, the head of the era repenting said, I eradicated all creatures that live on land. After

words, he made an oath by his big name that he will not do such things up on those who live on earth." Here is also from the Old Testament, "And God said, Let us make men in our image"¹¹⁸ And from Isaiah, "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high."¹¹⁹ And in Ezekiel here you are as it said(**f.118v**), "And he spake unto the man clothed with linen, and said, Go in between the wheels, even under the cherub, and fill thine hand with coals of fire from between the cherubims, and scatter them over city. And he went in in my sight."¹²⁰ The scattering of the fire flame is like the Holy Sprit, which comes down to the Apostles. As three of them, live in the wagon of the cherub. You have also in the Psalm (that says). "I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said in to me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heaven for thine inheritance and the uttermost part of the earth for the possession."¹²¹And, "The lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand"¹²²Here you are also from the Genesis saying". "Behold, the man is become as one of us to know good and evil: now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever."¹²³ Here you are also from the Gospel of Matthew. "While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold, a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him."¹²⁴Here you are also from the Gospel of John that the Son said to the Father, "Father, glorify thy name.

¹¹⁸ Gen.1:26

¹¹⁹ Isa.52:13

¹²⁰ Ez.10:2

¹²¹ Ps.2:7-8

¹²² Ps. 110:1

¹²³ Gen. 3:22

¹²⁴ Mt. 17:5

Then come there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.”¹²⁵

And in the epistle of Peter there is that it say, “For he received from God the Father honor and glory (**f.119r**), when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.”¹²⁶

You cannot deny me about the Son. And about the Holy Spirit, the prophet Enoch said, “O Lord of Ghost! I will bring down my calamity and wrath up on them.” Here you are from the prophet Daniel that say, “Then there came again and touched me one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me.”¹²⁷ You have also in the revolution of St. John that says, “He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; He that overcomes shall not hurt of the second death.”¹²⁸ Here you have also from the epistle of Paul, “While it is said, To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation.”¹²⁹ Here you are also from the Acts of the Apostles, “As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work where unto I have called them.”¹³⁰ Peter, the head of the Apostates, said, “Arise therefore, and get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing: for I have sent them.”¹³¹ The scriptures said this.

¹²⁵ Jn. 12:28

¹²⁶ Pet. 1:17-18

¹²⁷ Dan. 10:18

¹²⁸ Rev. 2:11

¹²⁹ Heb.3:15

¹³⁰ Act 13:2

¹³¹ Act 10:20

And for the Son, here is what He himself (**f.119v**) said about Himself and His Father to the Jews, “But I have greater witness than that of John: for the works which the father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do bear witness of me, that the Father sent me. And the Father himself, which hath sent me, hath borne witness of me.”¹³² We teach like this.

After this, that Fære Bərhan said to him (to P̄awēlos). “If you said so decry the heresies of Aryos, Māqdonəyos, Nəstəṭros and others who are like them.say they are condemned.”¹³³ That brother replied, “Yes, they are condemned.” Fære Bərhan also said to him, “Say Ǝṣṭifa is unclean.”

That brother said to him, “Our father, Ǝṣṭifanos, is clean, holy and righteous. His prayer and his blessing shall be with us and to his army.” His (spiritual) brothers said, “Amen!” The pious brother said to the army, “You also say Amen!” They said, “We do not want him. His prayer shall be to you.” When they say this, the saints said, ‘Amen!’ again.

They told the king what the saints all said. He commanded to put them to prison. The soldiers did like that.

¹³² Jn.5:36-37

¹³³ Aryos said, “Son is creature”, Māqdonəyos said, “Holy Ghost is creature” and Nəstəṭros said, “ The son has two natures” These are all heretics.(Getachew 2004:189)

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

Ethiopia possesses rich sources of history dating back to the monumental scripts in the Aksumite period. The the inscriptions found on the monolithic stones could it be Sabaic or Gə'əz contributed much to the history of Ethiopia in general and to its period in particular.

Ethiopic or Gə'əz has been the written language of Ethiopia at least since the beginning of Christian era. However, hagiographical traditions flourished in the medieval period. Dramatic expansion of Christianity began in 1270 and culminated in the religious nationalism of Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob.

Zär'a Ya'əqob had religious controversies with the Stephanites during his reign. This controversy brought in an abominable extermination. Both have different views on the cause of the persecution. According to King Zär'a Ya'əqob, it happened for their denial of prostrating to the icon of St. Mary and the Holly Cross. The Stephanites, on their part, said that this was a pretext. He vanished them as they failed to prostrate to him.

Zär'a Ya'əqob was a tyrant. In his enthusiasm to create a uniform religious practice among his subjects, he applied harsh rules. He declared the abolition of all forms of pagan worship in his kingdom. He also wanted the full cooperation of the clergies and passed strict disciplinary measures. He ordered the local governors to loot their houses and confiscate the possession of the priests who do not respect these rule. Hence, the cause of the Stephanites extirpation, in the researcher's view, is religious.

The *Gädl* contributes an immense historical event to its period. It clearly states all the lives of the saints, the Stephanites. Besides, it is crucial to the historical linguists who study language change through time as it is an older MS.

6.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the research the following recommendations are drawn.

- This study has been limited to Gädlä Abäw wa-Aḥaw (EMML-4) and Gädlä Aḥaw of Gunda Gundo (MS G). There might have been cases where a coming researcher can do comparative study on the *Gädl* consulting catalogues, referring various libraries finding other copies of the *Gädl*.
- Getachew(1996E.C) has done a paramount contribution to the knowledge of the sec by translating this *Gädl* together with, *Gädlä Ǝstifanos*, *Gädlä Abakerazun*, and *Gädlä Ǝzra*. However, the chief source of the Stephanite movement, Gädlä Abäw wa-Aḥaw, has not yet edited and published. Hence, it is advisable for volunteers or coming scholars to work on the edition and publication of the *Gädl*.
- Some toponyms which are indispensable to the medieval Ethiopian history in general and to the sect's history in particular are currently unknown. Therefore, further historical investigation is needed to disclose this place names
- The *Gädl Aḥaw* of Gunda Gundo is badly damaged. Something must be done to preserve the cultural heritages. Hence, the concerned bodies are recommended to digitalize all the MSS found in the monastery.

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APPENDIX- A

No.	Corrupted word	Correct form
1	ንጉስፍዎሙ (f.29r)	ንጉስ ይቅሥፍዎሙ
2	ምበለ (f.32 r, f.36 r)	ምስለ
3	ጸማ (f.32, f.32 v)	ጻማ
4	ወከዕበ (f.32v)	ወካዕበ
5	ኢያውዕይ (f.32v)	ኢያውዒ
6	እኅ (f.32v)	እኅ
7	ያንጎርጉር (f.33r)	ያንጎርጉር
8	ተተንጎርጉር (f.33r)	ዘታንጎረጉር
9	ይወፅ (f.33v)	ይወፅእ
10	ወእዝ (f.33r)	ወእምዝ
11	ቤተክስተያን (f.33r)	ቤተክርስቲያን
12	ወአምጠነ (f.33v)	ወአምጣነ
13	አልበባ (f.33v)	አልባበ
14	ስሙኤል (f.33v)	ሳሙኤል
15	የነፍስዎ (f.34r)	ያነፍስዎ
16	መኃድሪሙ (f.34r)	ማኅደሪሆሙ
17	ህ (f.34r)	ህዩ
18	የመጽኑ (f.34r)	ያመጽኑ
19	ወበዕዳንሂ (f.34v)	ወባእዕዳንሂ
20	መነኮሳይታት (f.34v)	መነኮሳዩታት
21	ለበዕድ (f.35r)	ለባዕድ
22	ኮነ (f.35r)	ኮና
23	ኮነተ (f.35v)	ኮነት
24	ሙ:: (f.35v)	መንግሥት

25	ለከነ (f.35v)	ላእካነ
26	ወአበርዎሙ (f.36r)	ወአሰርዎሙ
27	በአስተዋድይ (f.36v)	በአስተዋድዮ
28	የንብቡ (f.36v)	ያንብቡ
29	ከዕበ (f.37r)	ካዕበ
30	ውብተ (f.37v)	ውስተ
31	ቅዱን (f.37v)	ቅዱሳን
32	ዳእሙ (f.38r)	ዳእሙ
33	ለአም ምህርነ (f.38r)	ለመምህርነ
34	ወብቲ (f.38r)	ወባቲ
35	የፈልስ (f.38v)	ያፈልስ
36	ወሚማ (f.38v)	ወሚመ
37	መጸሀፍ (f.38v)	መጽሐፍ
38	ገድለ (f.39r)	ጉድላ
39	ትዘርአት (f.39v)	ተዘርአት
40	በሕቲታ (f.39v)	ባሕቲታ
41	ከልአተኒ (f.40v)	ካልአተኒ
42	ይተጋደ (f.41r)	ይትጋደል
43	ዘየዐቀብ (f.41r)	ዘያዐቅብ
44	ዘበጸም (f.41v)	ዘበጾም
45	ቍርባነ (f.41v, f.42r)	ቍርባነ
46	ሥዓተ (f.42r)	ሥርዓተ
47	ኩሎ (f.42r)	ኩሎ
48	እም ሕያው (f.42v)	እመ ሕያው
49	ምምጸአ (f.43r)	ምምጸአ
50	ይንብሩ (f.43r)	ይንበሩ
51	በጸዕር (f.43r)	በጸዕር

52	አእባይ (f.43r)	አእባይ
53	ተጠርይዋ (f.43r)	ተጠርይዋ
54	ኢተሕስሙ (f.43v)	ኢተሕስሙ
55	ምስኪናነ (f.43v)	ምስኪናነ
56	የክብርዎ (f.43v)	የክብርዎ
57	ጉጽ (f.44r)	ጉንጽ
58	አዕጽምቲ (f.44r)	አዕጽምቲሁ
59	አንተ (f.44v)	እንተ
60	ይሐሩ (f.44v)	ይሐሩ
61	የሰቲ (f.44v)	ያሰቲ
62	ይረክበ (f.45r)	ይረክባ
63	በዝቱ (f.45v)	በዝንቱ
64	ወንገላጉ (f.46r)	ወአንገላጉ
65	ውሰጤ (f.47r)	ውሳጤ
66	ይሬእይካ (f.47r)	ይሬእየክ
67	በሰኒታ (f.47v)	በሳኒታ
68	ይምጽእዎሙ (f.47v)	ያምጽእዎሙ
69	የቅምዎሙ (f.47v)	ያቁምዎሙ
70	ነምጽአሙ (f.48r)	ናምጽአሙ
71	ውእተ (f.48r)	ውእቱ
72	የውጽእዎሙ (f.49r)	ያውጽእዎሙ
73	ከ (f.49v)	ከሉ
74	ወብዙን (f.49v)	ወብዙንን
75	በለብ ለብዎ (f.51r)	በለብዎ
76	ወየዐርፈኑ (f.52r)	ወያዕርፈኑ
77	ይብኡ (f.52v)	ይባኡ
78	አለ (f.53r)	እለ

79	ወአሜ (f.55r)	ወአመ
80	ይሐር (f.55v)	ይሐር
81	ወበህላዊያት (f.62 r)	ወበህላዊያት
82	ወመሰዮ (f.29 r)	ወመሰዮ
83	መስተአመኒ (f.29r)	መስተአምን
84	ወእሙንቱሰ ወእምንቱሰ (f.30r)	ወእምንቱሰ
85	እስብአ (f.33r)	እስመ
86	እብሎቶሙ (f.35r)	ብሂሎቶሙ
87	ለአግብርቲሆ (f.131r)	ለአግብርቲሆ
88	ወአመሰኖ (f.132r)	ወአማሰኖ
89	ከማ (f.132r)	ከመ
90	ወርፉ (f.56r)	ተርፉ
91	አበ (f.57r)	አባ
92	፬ መነኮስ (f.59r)	፩ መነኮስ
93	ለመ (f. 57r)	ከመ
94	የመጽኑ (f.57v)	ያመጽኑ
95	አእመርቶ (f.58r)	አእመረቶ
96	በሕቲቱ (f.55r)	ባሕቲቱ
97	አስ (f.59r)	እስመ
98	ሴኖዶስ (f.59r)	ሲኖዶስ
99	ፈጸሜ (f.60r)	ፈጸሜ
100	ወወገርዎሙ (f.61r)	ወገብርዎሙ
101	ዘአወአውፅአሙ (f.63r)	ወአውጽአሙ
102	ነገረተ (f.63r)	ነገር
103	ወሚማ (f.63r)	ወሚመ
104	በንበታትኒ (f.65r)	ሰንበታትኒ
105	ወፍጸሜ (f.66r)	ወፈጸሜ

106	ዝነም (f.67r)	ዝናም
107	ዘሐፎ (f.69r)	ዘጸሐፎ
108	ኢያምሩ (f.71r)	ኢያአምሩ
109	አንሰ አንሰ (f.71r)	አንሰ
110	ትፈቅዱ ትፈቅዱ (f.73r)	ትፈቅዱ
111	ዘይምን (f.73r)	ዘየማን
112	ወፅግም (f.73r)	ወፀጋም
113	ወቃዳሚት (f.74r)	ወቀዳሚት
114	ዘይቲ (f.75r)	ዘይእቲ
115	አሚን አሚን (f.76r)	አሚን
116	ይትወቃሱ (f.76r)	ይትዋቀሱ
117	ቅዳላን (f.77r)	ቅዱሳላን
118	ወእዝ (f.79r)	ወእምዝ
119	ኢትጸመኒ (f.79r)	ኢትጸመመኒ
120	ጢብ (f.80r)	ጢስ
121	መወዕልየ (f.80r)	መዋዕልየ
122	ወእዜ (f.80r)	ወማእዜ
123	ክመ (f.81r)	ከመ
124	አለ (f.81r)	እለ
125	ሰሐት (f.82r)	ሰብሐት
126	ወአቡሁሙሰ (f.84r)	ወአቡሆሙሰ
127	የበውእ (f.85r)	ያበውእ
128	ይኤዝ (f.85r)	ይኤዝዝ
129	ወዕርቀን (f.87r)	ወዕርቃን
130	ተምፀ (f.87r)	ተምፅፀ
131	ካህናቲክ (f.89r)	ካህናቲክ
132	ከመሁ (f.91r)	ከማሁ

133	ሐረ (f.92r)	ሐራ
134	ቀለ (f.93r)	ቃለ
135	በመይ (f.93r)	በማይ
136	ሐይው (f.95r)	ሐይወ.
137	ክዮሆሙ (f.96r)	ኪዮሆሙ
138	ሶቤሆ (f.96r)	ሶቤሃ
139	ወረብዕኒ (f.98r)	ወራብዕኒ
140	ሃይመኖተ (f.99r)	ሃይማኖተ
141	ሐራት (f.99r)	ሐረት
142	ንጉ (f.99r)	ንጉሥ
143	መካሰይተት (f.110r)	መካሰይታት
144	ወአመሰኖ (f.111r)	ወአማሰኖ
145	አውረሕ (f.114r)	አውራሕ
146	ፍቅራ (f.114r)	ፍቅረ
147	በሀይመኖቱ (f.115r)	በሀይማኖቱ
148	ገበሬ (f.115r)	ገባሬ
149	ወእምደሕረ (f.117r)	ወእምድሕረ
150	መወዕል (f.117r)	መዋዕል
151	ክህነት (f.117r)	ክህነት
152	ወነሁ (f.118r)	ወናሁ
153	ዘተሕተ (f.118r)	ዘታሕተ
154	ሰመዕነሁ (f.119r)	ሰማዕናሁ
155	ሐወርያት (f.119r)	ሐዋርያት
156	ሐር (f.119r)	ሐር
157	ክመሁ (f.119r)	ክማሁ
158	ወሰበረ (f.121r)	ወሰበሩ
159	ኢበ ሰመይ (f.122r)	ኢበ ሰማይ

160	ልመድክሙ (f.123r)	ልማድክሙ
161	ምሕወረ (f.67r)	ምሕዋረ
162	ሠህልክ (f.124r)	ሣህልክ
163	ረወጸ. (f.124r)	ረዋጸ.
164	ሕየወን (f.67r)	ሕያዋን
165	ወመየ (f.127r)	ወማየ
166	ደቂቃ (f.129r)	ደቂቀ
167	ንወዩኦ (f.129r)	ንዋዩኦ
168	ስሌሴ (f.130r)	ሥላሴ
169	ኩነት (f.131r)	ኩናት
170	መርያም (f.131r)	ማርያም
171	ወተገብኦ (f.132r)	ወተጋብኦ
172	ይቃትልዎሙ (f.133r)	ይቀትልዎሙ
173	ቀደሚ. (f.134r)	ቀዳሚ.
174	ወዝመሬሁኒ. (f.136r)	መዝማሬሁኒ.
175	ኅለው (f.139r)	ኅለው
176	ወመየ (f.137r)	መማየ
177	በሀየ (f.139r)	በሀየ
178	ይበጽሐሙ (f.140r)	ይበጽሐሙ
179	ከማ (f.141r)	ከመ
180	ፅረፉ (f.141r)	ፅረፉ
181	ምንኩስነሁ (f.143r)	ምንኩስናሁ
182	ወዕርቀን (f.144r)	ወዕርቃን
183	መኅበርክሙ (f.147r)	ማኅበርክሙ
184	ከመሁ (f.148r)	ከማሁ
185	ወእምአመኔ (f.150r)	ወእምአመኒ.
186	ስቀየት (f.150r)	ስቀያት


187	ወነስተደሉ (f.152r)	ወናስተደሉ
188	መርየም (f.153r)	ማርያም
189	ለዕልወን (f.153r)	ለዕልዋን
190	ሀይመኖተ (f.153r)	ሀይማኖት
191	ቀለ (f.154r)	ቃል
192	፬ ብእሲ (f.155r)	፩ ብእሲ
193	ንሑር (f.156r)	ንሑር
194	ወሳበ (f.157r)	ወሶበ
195	ከየክሙ (f.157r)	ኪያክሙ
196	ደቂቃ (f.158r)	ደቂቀ
197	በስገሁ (f.159r)	በስጋሁ
198	ቀል (f.160r)	ቃል
199	ሰዓተት (f.160r)	ሰዓታት
200	ደበ (f.161r)	ዲበ

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all source of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Date of submission: June 29th, 2010