

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**Gädlä Abuna Hara Dəngəl:
Textual and historical Analysis**

**By
FITSUM TADESSE**

**March, 2007
Addis Ababa**

**Gädlä Abuna Hara Dəngəl:
Textual and historical Analysis**

**A Thesis submitted to the School of graduate
Studies of Addis Ababa University**

**In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Philology**

**By
FITSUM TADESSE**

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**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES**

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APPROVED BY

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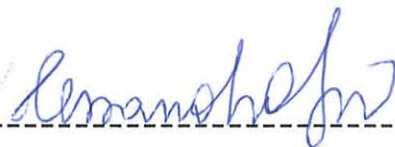
ADVISOR

Prof. Paolo Marrassini



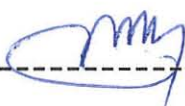
EXAMINER

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EXAMINER

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Abstract

The thesis describes and analyzes two hagiographical manuscripts on Abunä Hara Dəngəl who lived in the seventeenth century. The first one is referred to as the Zänzäləma Manuscript (ZM) (Zänzäləma- a monastery near Bahr Dar where Hara Dəngəl lived as a hermit), is believed to have been written 69 years after his death. The second one termed as Merkato Raguel Manuscript (MRM) is dated at the time of king Menellik II.

The study compares both Manuscripts for philological study. And it contains addition of new words, relieving of words, morphological comparison, homoteleuton error, negativity of words and metathesis. But for additional analysis it uses ZM that is for significance, historical and religious value.

So ZM has good historical details since it was written at the reign of king Susenyous (1608-1632) who welcomed the Jesuits and who himself was converted to Catholicism. His conversion to Catholicism brought unstable political administration. Many citizens and Christian subjects died, wounded and exiled.

About the religious teaching the ZM embodies the Orthodox exegetical (commentary) teaching of Christology- the Incarnation of Divinity and Humanity or God and Man besides other traditional historical and Biblical teachings against the Jesuits two nature theory.

The research result shows the necessities of both manuscripts are important in dealing the textual and historical analysis of the seventeenth century besides its religious propaganda.



Acknowledgment

First of all I would like to thank the Lord Jesus Christ who helped me so far in my life and gave me encouragement for accomplishing this work.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Paolo Marassini, my instructor and advisor in writing this thesis, for the encouragement I received from him and without whose effort this thesis would have not been completed.

My deep gratitude is also to W/t Martha Alemayehu who gave me her personal laptop and also helped me in writing some of first draft. W/t Luna Demetsu is another favorite sister's; I will never forget for printing the thesis and the Manuscripts.

I am extremely grateful to my family and colleagues, especially to Tsahi and Turye, who encouraged me to fulfill my task.

Abbreviations

MS=== Manuscript

MSS== Manuscripts

ZM=== Zänzäləma

MRM= Mercato Raguel Manuscript

ff==== Folios

Transliterations

ʔ === ʰ ǰ === ǰ

ç === 0 ʕ === ʕ

h === ʊ

ḥ === ɬ

ḥ === ʔ

s === ʃ

ś === ʷ

č === ʦ

ṭ === ɱ

ṗ === ɰ

ṣ === ʁ

ḍ === ʈ

Ḥ === ʈ ʂ ʂ ʂ



Chapter one

Background of the study

One of early humanity's histories in all aspect is recorded in hagiographies. Hagiographies are writings about the lives of Christian Saints. It can provide information for social, economic, historical, religious, anthropological information and so on (Marrassini 1982: 288).

In addition, Marrassini says "hagiography is one of the most important sources for the study of alimentary diet of the various groups, practice of medicine and various illness, family life, trade, distribution of wealth, social relations in cities and villages, demography, handcraft, distribution of churches, history of monasticism and so on." It generally tends to praise Saints in lofty and ornate terms.

Hagiographies found in Ethiopia, in general, are of two kinds. The first type is a translation into Ethiopic literature. The second kind of hagiographical traditions of the Ethiopian church is the local hagiographies, which have an immense valuable account of historical and religious facts of the country (Tadesse Tamerat 1970: 3).

The historical value of these compositions varies greatly. Some focus on historical facts besides religious value. As Tadesse (1972: 2) points out most of the Ethiopian hagiographies were created after the 13th century, that is, after the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty in 1270.

The hagiographical traditions about the local saints generally consist of four essential parts:

- 1) The story of a saints's life - his evangelical work or monastic pursuits
- 2) The kidans(promises): which he received from God in return for his endeavors
- 3) The miracles attributed to the saint both in his lifetime and after death.

4) His Malk or the short hymns composed in praise of his holy life

The Ethiopian hagiographies, which are significant and we rely on about the past, are generally classified into three categories (Ibid: 3)

- a) The hagiographies which are more or less biographical in character and which have much historical significance
- b) Those which have importance to tradition.
- c) Those which are written many years after the event occurred.

The hagiography of Ḥara Dəngəl, the text which the researcher attempts to analyze, is found in the Monastery of Abunä Ḥara Dəngəl, 20 km from Bahrdar on the road to Bahr Dar the capital of Gojam. Another MS is that from St. Raguel church of Mercato, microfilmed under EMLL no. 69 in the IES (Institute of Ethiopian Studies), and yet another translated text in Ge'ez with Amharic character. The Manuscripts are found in Ethiopia. The Manuscript under EMLL has detail information about its number of folios, the names of the persons who composed it and granted to be composed.

The hagiographies are valuable for the study of the religious and political history of Ethiopia. Some narrations of the hagiographies contain the conflicts between the Saint and King Susenyous, or his effort against the foreigners (Amsalu Aklilu 1976: 55)

In the case of Ethiopian studies hagiographies have great importance for the enquiry into medieval Ethiopia. In view of their importance, Kaplan generalizes, "Their value, as a contribution for the reconstruction of the political and the ecclesiastical history of Ethiopia is inversely proportional to the distance in time of the saint whom they intend to celebrate" (1982:11).

Besides these the hagiographers also exaggerated them. For example in the Gadlä Abunä Ḥara Dəngəl some of the statements are beyond human thoughts. For example “ሐሰዩ አቡነ እንዘ ይብል መኑ እምአምጽኦ ሲተ ዝኩ አደገ

ከመ እሑር ... ይበጽሕ ውእቱ አድግ ወይቀውም ቅድሜሁ አእምሮ ሕሊና እግዚኡ
“when our father thought of who could bring to him the donkey to
travel... the donkey knowing the thought of his lord (ሀራ ደንግል)
comes and stands in front of his lord”. Such kinds of exaggerations are
common features of hagiographies and chronicles. When the people do a
certain episode, it is simply attributed to the king as the same
supernatural miracles are attributed to the Saint by hagiographers. So
we should reconcile the above two ideological developments side by side.

Similarly in the hagiography of Abunä ሀራ ደንግል the same kind of
feature is reflected. Also as the same in other hagiographies, in the
hagiography of Abunä ሀራ ደንግል we find the significance of history,
theology, and linguistics.

Generally speaking, this study is based on the discipline of philology,
because philology, in modern thoughts, especially after the twentieth
century, has been used in literature, historical linguistics, texts and
other areas of study in order to reconstruct the texts of mutilated
manuscripts and inscriptions. The modern philologist determines the
text of a lost original by comparing various readings in extracted copies.
Philologists also interpret a text, obtaining information about history and
culture as well as language and literature.

Statement of the problem

Texts are bases for the present. The early writings are classified under
two categories: -

1. Those the religious circle
2. Those emperors' area.

The cases of Ethiopian ancient texts are included within these two
classes, since they were written siding with one part. This paper deals
with the textual and historical analysis of gädlä Abunä ሀራ ደንግል who

is expected to be a 17th century Saint, according to the historical narration of the hagiography.

The problems this paper deals:

1. The texts contain historical, theological, and philological events of the era, but no indication about its date of writing, writer and purpose of writing
2. As mentioned earlier, they contain a historical framework and religious interpretation. Equally, there can be little doubt that their biographers did exaggeration in order to emphasize their piety (Fouyas 1979: 260). The same feature is seen in this Gädl.
3. Another problem is that the vita of this local Saint is unknown, which can contribute to the knowledge of the history and literature of that particular part of Ethiopia;

Other sub problems which are seen are: -

- 1) Which parts are critically valuable for our history?
- 2) What the epoch looked like?
- 3) What historical values are recorded in it?
- 4) What was the theological strength?

Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study, therefore, mainly focus on the historical and philological significances of the 17th century.

I. Main objective

The main objective of the study is to make a preliminary analysis of what from the historical and literary point of view.

II. Specific objectives

- a) To present the contents of the vita (hagiography).
- b) To assess the activities of Jesuit Missionaries both in social and religious affairs; moreover, to grasp the attitude of the king, the Jesuits, the Saint and the inhabitants of the period,
- c) To make the gädl available.

Methods of the study

To maintain the objective of this research different kinds of qualitative methods were employed. These are:

- * Consulting with church officers and administrator the monastery of Abunä Hara Dəngel.
- * Discussing with Gə'əz experts and traditional church students.

Tools used

Data that narrate about the Saint and the contemporary events and interviews were used. This enables the researcher to attain valid findings. The study also focus on books and both historians and spiritual leaders.

Assumptions, Limitations and Delimitation

This study was designed to carryout the textual and historical analysis of the text, but because of the limitations and with other some aspects, it didnot cover detail aspects.

Although this study analyzed the text with the historical and linguistic point of view further study and enough time is needed, since a manuscript is not a simple book but describes the whole feature of the era in which the value of inscribing the date was not worth while or if it was understood the value but the lack of materials restricts from recording each and everything.

The other limitation is financial because of which it could not go further and include as it was not possible to cover other monasteries for transport and perdiem expenses. Materials are also must be mentioned. To take the manuscripts into the memory card, the sole means is a digital camera. For this research the digital camera was gained through rent with expensive rent.

Chapter two

Catalogue Consulting

There are two manuscripts. One is ZM manuscript and the other is MRM manuscript and another is a translated book from the MS and ZM.

1 *Gädlä Abunä Hara Dəngəl*

Owner Abunä Hara Dəngəl Monastery found around the Zänzäləma wäräda Laguna village. It has a total of 89 folios (see description of the manuscript page14)

2 *Gädlä Abunä Hara Dəngəl*

Owner St Raguel church (Mercato), Addis Abä ba. It has 116 folios.

Sergew Hable Selassie describes this hagiography in Getachew Haile's catalogue of EMMML under no. 69

This Manuscript is the same as EMMML 69. The code 'EMML 69 is attached on the recto, the right side page of an open book, of the cover. The catalogue shows the Ms, from which the film was copied, as is found at St. Raguel church of Entoto under number 69. But this Ms was later brought to St. Raguel church of Mercato with the attached number, when the church was built at Mercato.

3. *Gädlä Abunä Hara Dəngəl*

It is a translated book from ZM manuscript. The responsibility of translation was taken by the Jimma parish administrator of the monastery of Hara Dəngəl found in the Southern part of Ethiopia.

The monastery was founded recently under the responsibility of arch bishop Estifanos, who is, now, the arch bishop of the diocese of Jimma. It is translated into Amharic side by side with Gə'ez and it has 166 folios. It was published in 1997 by Tinsae Printing Press.

Description of the manuscripts

1. Manuscript Zänzäləma ¹

- Owner of the Manuscript – Abuä Hara Dəngəl Monastery.
- Location: - Amhara Region zone 3, Zänzäləma wäräda Laguna village.
- Distance: - 580 km away from Addis Ababa or 20km away from Bahər Dar, the capital of Amhara Region.
- Number of Folios – 89 folios
- Number of columns – 2 columns to each recto and verso(the left side page of an open book)
- Width of the column 17-18 cm (each column 7.5 – 8cm)
- Height of the column 13-14 cm only the text and 19cm from the bottom to the end
- Written text – parchment (made from the skin of goat or sheep)
- Cover – made from wood and covered with cloth.
- The name of God, St. Mary, Names of other saints and the name of the saint were written in red color to give a special reverence.
- Age: - See the age on ‘The relevance of the writing’

Contents

- From ff 1_a – f 63_{Rb} –Saintly life of Hara Dəngəl
- From ff 63_{Rb} – 69_{Va} – The panegyric (wədase – praise) of Hara Dəngəl.
- From ff 70_{Ra} – R₈₅V_b – The miracle (Tä’amər) of Hara Dəngəl – 12 Miracles.

¹ It is abbreviated as ZM (Zänzäləma Manuscript). The manuscript is found in the monastery of the saint. The monastery is found in the region of Amhara zone around 20 km from Bahr Dar, the capital of the zone, to east-West direction.

- From ff 86_{Ra} – 88_{Vb} – The Chant with rhythm (Ziq) about Hara Dəngəl.

Features of the MS

- It was written with proper orthographical, morphological, and syntactical form.
- The names of God, the saint and other mentioned saints and righteous was written with red ink to give special reverence as it is common in Orthodox Church hagiography.
- No partition is made in paragraphs, or it is not divided into parts and paragraphs. A new idea or paragraph is simply attached to the preceeding ones, while only the Miracles part starts with new recto and paragraphs.
- In the the last part which is found between ff 87_{Ra} – 88_{Vb} there is ዚቅ 'ziq' which means chant of praise attributed to the saint with the St. Yared's Chant signs (notation).
- The beginning of each Miracle starts with ተአምራሁ ለአቡነ ሐራድንግል ጸሎቱ ወበረከቱ የሃሉ ምስለ ገብሩ ማኅተመ ድንግል²ወምስለ ኩልነ ሰማዕያን ለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን. "The miracle of Abunä Hara Dəngəl, his prayer and blessing be upon his servant Mahətämä Dəngəl and upon all of us who listen his miracle amen".
- The conclusion of each Miracle ends with ጸሎቱ ወበረከቱ የሃሉ ምስለ ገብሩ ማኅተመ ድንግል ወምስለ ኩልነ ሰማዕያን ለዓለመ ዓለም His(Hara Dəngəl) prayer and blessing be upon his servant Mahətämä Dəngəl and upon all of us who listen to his miracle for ever Amen. This is the same with the introductory part.

Note: - Every quotation and citation in this textual analysis is taken from this Manuscript.

² ማኅተመ ድንግል , with means the seal of virgin is the name of a man. In the pother miracles instead of the name is mentioned. That is ወለቱ የሐንስ

- From ff 86_{Ra} – 88_{Vb} – The Chant with rhythm (Ziq) about Ḥara Dəngəl.

Features of the MS

- It was written with proper orthographical, morphological, and syntactical form.

- The names of God, the saint and other mentioned saints and righteous was written with red ink to give special reverence as it is common in Orthodox Church hagiography.

- No partition is made in paragraphs, or it is not divided into parts and paragraphs. A new idea or paragraph is simply attached to the preceeding ones, while only the Miracles part starts with new recto and paragraphs.

- In the the last part which is found between ff 87_{Ra} – 88_{Vb} there is ዚቅ 'ziq' which means chant of praise attributed to the saint with the St. Yared's Chant signs (notation).

- The beginning of each Miracle starts with ተአምሪሁ ለአቡነ ሐራድንግል ጸሎቱ ወበረከቱ የሃሉ ምስለ ገብሩ ማኅተመ ድንግል²ወምስለ ኩልነ ሰማዕያን ለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን. "The miracle of Abunä Ḥara Dəngəl, his prayer and blessing be upon his servant Mahētāmā Dəngəl and upon all of us who listen his miracle amen".

- The conclusion of each Miracle ends with ጸሎቱ ወበረከቱ የሃሉ ምስለ ገብሩ ማኅተመ ድንግል ወምስለ ኩልነ ሰማዕያን ለዓለመ ዓለም His(Ḥara Dəngəl) prayer and blessing be upon his servant Mahētāmā Dəngəl and upon all of us who listen to his miracle for ever Amen. This is the same with the introductory part.

Note: - Every quotation and citation in this textual analysis is taken from this Manuscript.

² ማኅተመ ድንግል , with means the seal of virgin is the name of a man. In the pother miracies instead of the name is mentioned. That is ወለቱ የሐንስ

Manuscript MRM³=Mercato St. Raguel Manuscript

- Owner- St. Ragu'el Church (Märcato)
- Place - in mercato, Addis Ababa.
- Number of Folios - 116
- Number of columns - Two columns to each recto and verso
- Width of the columns - each column 6-7 cm
- Height of the columns - 19-20 cm
- Cover - Both the front and back covers are made from wood,
- Written text - parchment (Made from the skin of goat or sheep).
- Age of the Manuscript:-It is of the middle of the 19th century during the Reign of king Menellik II, because it mentions the name of the king and wishes long live to the king

Contents

- From ff 1 - 86va - saintly life of Ḥara Dəngəl
- From ff 86va - 95_{Ra} - the panegyric (Wədase) of Ḥara Dəngəl
- From ff 95_{Ra} - 114v- The Miracle (Tä'amər) of Ḥara Dəngəl

SubDivission

Sub division into months is only appeared in this MS.

- a) f 8Va - Mägabit (March)
- b) f 18Ra - Miyazəya (April)
- c) f 24Ra - Gənbət (May)
- d) f 30Vb - Säne (June)
- e) f 40Ra - ḥaməle (July)
- f) f 44Ra -
- g) f 60Vz - ṭəqəmət (October)
- h) f 64Va - ḥədar (November)
- i) f 68 Va - Taḥəsas (December)



³ This Manuscript, when microfilmed by Sergew Hableselassie, under the catalogue Getachew Haile EMMML no. 69, was attributed to ʔənʔoʔo st. Raguel church. But now the MS is found in Mercato St. Raguel Church and owned by it. The identification no. 69, similar with EMMML 69 is attached at the last cover of the page.

j) f 75 V_a – tər (January)

Nähase (August), Mäskäräm (September) and Yäkatit (February) are not sited. The month of ḥaməle (July) is repeated two times.

Features of the MS

- No Paragraphical partition is made, and copied as the same with ZM
- The copyist simply segmented the miracles into Months. This shows it is careless work, because three months (August, September and February) are not found, a month is repeated (ḥaməle, (July) and the classification is made without a new paragraph but is made simply at the middle of any reading.
- MRM contains only 11 Miracles out of 12 and so one Miracle is omitted. This is the ZM found in f_{78v}_a, which states about the
miracles of the prophet Awwan .
- It is full of problems in orthography (in regard with the old) of Gə'əz.
- Morphological problem is also another common feature.
- In some cases, like copying words, the copyist simply copied without critically seeing what the word means. He even copied words which generate meaning error. (See the part of 'negativity' on philological section)
- The sequential structure of the Folios (starts from folio 92) was completely messy or it was put in disorderly manner. That is: -
 - F 92_v is attached with f_{103R}, then continuous to f_{112V}_b.
 - F_{112V}_{ab} is attached with f_{93R}, and continuous to f_{94V}_a.
 - F_{94V}_a is attached with f_{101R}, and continuous to f_{102V}_{ab}.
 - F_{102V}_{ab} is attached with F_{95v}_b.
 - F_{95v} is attached with f_{100V}_b.
 - F_{100v} is attached with f_{96R} and continuous to f_{99v}.
 - F_{99V} is attached with f_{113R} and continuous to f_{116v}.
 - From f_{113R} till the end was properly bound.

- The introductory part of each miracle starts with ተአምራሁ ለአቡነ ሐራ ድንግል ጸሎቱ ወበረከቱ የሃሉ ምስለ ንጉሥነ ሣህለ ማርያም ለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን “The miracle of Abuä Hara Dəngəl, his prayer and blessing be upon our king Sahələ Marəyam (the baptismal name of Menellik II-King of Ethiopia) For ever Amen”. The conclusion part was also the same with the introductory part without any difference.
- The name of God, St. Mary, Names of other saints and the name of the saint were written in red color to give a special reverence, which was also common in the Ethiopian hagiographical tradition.

Differences of the Manuscripts

The numbers of folios in ZM is 89 whereas that of MRM is 116.

The columns in ZM are 145 and those in MRM are 450.

The Length and width of each column differs a little.

New insertion is found in MRM but not in ZM.

⇒ There is a lot of

- Morphological
- Orthographical
- Homotelouton... errors in the MRM compared to ZM.

⇒ The introductory and conclusion part of each miracle of ZM holds the names of ማኅተመ ድንግል and ወለተ ዮሐንስ whereas MRM uses ሣህለ ማርያም (The baptismal name of king Menellik II)

⇒ In ZM there are 12 miracles, but there are only 11 miracles in MRM. (The baptismal name of king Menellik II)



Addition of new words

Here many words and sentences are inserted in MRM which are not found in ZM.

The word 'አሜን' 'amen' which is a common word in all languages, does not exist in ZM f₃R_b and inserted in MRM f₆R_b.

- መጻሕፍተ ቅዱሳት ሐዲሳት The word 'ሐዲሳት' 'ḥadisat' in the ZM f₃V_a is omitted in the MRM f₆V_b. The word means 'new' but contextually it means 'the teaching of the new testament.'

- The word ትብል in the ZM f₄R_a is absent in the MRM f₇R₆ between the words ወንጌልሂ and ዘይቤ .

(a) ZM f₄R_a መጻሕፍተ ቅዱሳት ወንጌልሂ ትብል ዘይቤ እግዚእነ ኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ

(b) MRM f₇R₆ መጻሕፍተ ቅዱሳት ወንጌልሂ _____ ዘይቤ እግዚእነ ኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ

- The word ብእሲተ 'woman' does not exist in the ZM f₇R_a between words አውሰቡ /ጎawəsäbu/ and መቅሠፍተ /mäqəšäfetä/ but added in the MRMf₁₁V_a.

- (a) ZM f₇R_a ንብ ሰብአ ቆሮንቶስ ቀዳማይ እለስ አውሰቡ _____ መቅሠፍተ

- (b) MRMf₁₁V_a ንብ ሰብአ ቆሮንቶስ ቀዳማይ እለስ አውሰቡ ብእሲተ መቅሠፍተ

- The word ልብሰ /'ləbsä/' 'cloth' in the MRM f₁₃V_a which means is an insertion which is not found in the ZM f₈V_b

(a) ZM f₈V_b ወእም አመ ለብሰ -----

(b) MRM f₁₃V_a ወእም አመ ለብሰ ልብሰ

- The word አጸድክ /ጎašädəkä/ 'your garden' in MRM f₂₇V_b is a new insertion which is not found in the ZM f₁₉R_b between the words ትሢጥ /'təsiṭ/ and ወሶቤሃ /wäsobeha'/

(a) ZM f₁₉R_b እምቅድመ ትሢጥ ----- ወሶቤሃ ሄጥክ በፈቃድክ

(b) MRM f₂₇V_b እምቅድመ ትሢጥ አጸድክ ወሶቤሃ ሄጥክ በፈቃድክ

- The word ወርትዕ /wäretə ə/ 'righteous', in MRM f₆₇R_a is an addition after the word ሣህል /'sähəl'/.

(a) ZM f₄₈R_b ይተረከቡ ሣህል ----- ወምሕረት ወሕይወት

(b) MRM f₆₇R_a ይተረከቡ ሣህል ወርቅ ወምሕረት ወሕይወት

- The sentence ለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን /lā alāmā alām amen'/ 'forever amen' in MRM f₆₈V_a is an insertion which is not found in ZM f₄₉R_b, after ወግሩም /gərum'/ (The same addition is seen in MRM f₇₉V_a, but not found in ZM f₅₄V_b, after a word እምኔሁ /'əmənehu'/.

(a) ZM f₄₉R_b ትጽኅኑ እምሥቃየ ደይን ወግሩም -----

(b) MRM f₆₈V_a ትጽኅኑ እምሥቃየ ደይን ወግሩም ለዓለመ ዓለም አሜን

Homoteleouton error/Jumping/

It is a kind of error in textual studies in philology. It is a copying error by jumping a word or a sentence because of similar words.

- Because the two words are same ዓለም / lām/ 'world', the copyist jumped some phrases and they are not found in the MRM f11vb between the synonymy of two ዓለም / alām'/ 'world'.

- (a) ZM f₇R_b አላ ይሄሊ ንብረተ ዝንቱ ዓለም በዘያዎምራ ለብእሲቱ ወብእሲትኒ ለእመ አውሰበት ብእሲ ኢትሄልዮ ለእግዚአብሔር አላ ትሄሊ ንብረተ ዝ ዓለም በዘታሠምር ለምታ The one who likes his wife is married(to) the man, women who does not think of God but she only thinks about the life (behaviour) of this world

- (b)MRMf11vb አላ ይሄሊ ንብረተ ዝንቱ ዓለም በዘታሠምር ለምታ

- The phrase in the ZM f₁₁R_a ቅድመ ሶበ መጽኡ ኅቤሁ በበጾታሆሙ which means 'towards him came many males and females.' is omitted in the MRM f16va between the words ዘከርናሆሙ, 'whom we remind' and ወበበነገደሙ, 'according to their tribe', and simply written as ዘከርናሆሙ ወበበነገደሙ.

- (a) ZM f₁₁R_a ዘከርናሆሙ ቅድመ ሶበ መጽኡ ኅቤሁ በበጾታሆሙ ወበበነገደሙ

- (b) MRMf16va ዘከርናሆሙ ----- ወበበነገደሙ

- The sentence ወሐረ በበንሐቲት ወበጸሐ ምድረ ደራ - 'he went slowly and arrived at the land of Dāra' in ZMf₁₇R_b is skipped in the MRM f25R_b between the words ጎንጋ Gonəga and ወበጸሐ wābāsiho.

- (a) ZMf17Rb እምድረ ጎንጋ ወሐረ በበንስቲት ወበጸሐ ምድረ ደራ ወበጸሐ

ዝየ

- (b) MRF25Rb እምድረ ጎንጋ

ወበጸሐ ዝየ

- The phrase በዘመጠነ ዝኩ 'to this extent' in ZM f29va is skipped in MRM f28Rb between words እስኩኒ and 'ሂጥክመ' like 'እስኩኒ በዘመጠነ ዝኩ 'ሂጥክመ'.

(a) ZM f29va እስኩኒ በዘመጠነ ዝኩ 'ሂጥክመ'

(b) MRM f28Rb እስኩኒ 'ሂጥክመ'

- The word ሕግ 'law' in ZM f23Rb is skipped in the MRM f33Ra between the words እምዝንቱ and አቡነሂ ገላቤዳኑ

(a) ZM f23Rb ወአልቦ ዘይኒይስ እምዝንቱ ሕግ አቡነሂ

(b) MRM f33Ra ወአልቦ ዘይኒይስ እምዝንቱ አቡነሂ

- ተፈሥሁ ከመ ዘኢትፈሥሐ ወእለሂ ብካይ ከመ ዘኢበክዩ እለሂ ይደለው ከመ ዘኢይደለው ወእለሂ አውሰቡ ከመ ዘኢያውሰቡ /tāfāsəhu kāmā zāʾitfāsəhu

wāʾəlähi bəkay kāmā zāʾibākāyu ʾəlähi yədelāwu kāmāzā ʾiyədelāwu/,

in ZM f24Rb is jumped in MRM f34va between two ወእለሂ's.

- (a) ZM f24Rb ተፈሥሁ ከመ ዘኢትፈሥሐ ወእለሂ ብካይ ከመ ዘኢበክዩ እለሂ ይደለው ከመ ዘኢይደለው ወእለሂ አውሰቡ ከመ ዘኢያውሰቡ

- (b) MRM f34va ተፈሥሁ ከመ ዘኢትፈሥሐ ወእለሂ ብካይ — አውሰቡ ከመ ዘኢያውሰቡ

- እምፍሬያተ ምድር ወቦ እለ ይሴሰዩ ዳፍንተ ወቦ እለይሴሰዩ /ʾəmfəreyatā mədr wābo ʾəlä yəsesāyu dafəntā/, 'others drink dafəntā (a kind of traditional drink), in ZM f25Ra is omitted in MRM f35Ra between words ምድር mədr and ወቦ wābo'

- (a) ZM f25Ra እምፍሬያተ ምድር ወቦ እለ ይሴሰዩ ዳፍንተ ወቦ እለይሴሰዩ ጎብስተ

- (b) MRM f35Ra እምፍሬያተ ምድር ወቦ እለ ይሴሰዩ ጎብስተ

- ወቦ እለይበልዑ ጎዳጠ ወቦ እለ ይብልዑ ብዙኃ በመስፈርተ the words ወቦ እለ ይብልዑ ብዙኃ /wābo ʾəlä yəbäləṣu bəzuḥa/ 'others eat many', in ZM f25Vb is skipped in MRM f36Ra between two ወቦ's

- (a) ZM f25Vb ወቦ እለይበልዑ ጎዳጠ ወቦ እለ ይብልዑ ብዙኃ በመስፈርተ

- (b) MRM f36Ra ወቦ እለይበልዑ ጎዳጠ በመስፈርተ

- መመኃልየ ሶሎሞን ወቦ እለ ይጼልዩ በአንብቦ ፬ ወንጌል ወቦ /wāmḥaləy solomon wābo ገላላ yəṣələyu bāገʾanəbəbo ፬ wāngel wābo/ the sentence /‘wābo ገላላ yəṣələyu bāገʾanəbəbo ፬ wāngel/ ‘others pray reading the four Gospels’, in ZM f₂₉V_a is skipped in MRM f₄₁R_b between two ወቦ’s.

- (a) ZM f₂₉V_a መመኃልየ ሶሎሞን ወቦ እለ ይጼልዩ በአንብቦ ፬ ወንጌል ወቦ በአንብቦ ምድራሳት

- (b) MRM f₄₁R_b መመኃልየ ሶሎሞን ወቦ በአንብቦ ምድራሳት

- ይምሐርዎሙ ጸብዓ ገዳም ለዘይመጽኡ ኅቤሆሙ ወለዘየኃድሩ /yəməḥarəwomu ṣbəṣa gādam Lāzäyemäsəṣu abehomu’/, the sentence ለዘይመጽኡ ኅቤሆሙ /‘Lāzäyemäsəṣu ḥabehomu’/ ‘who come to them’, in ZM f₃₄V_b is skipped in MRM f₄₈R_b between ገዳም /gādam/ and ወለዘየኃድሩ /wālāzäyāḥadəru/.

- (a) ZM f₃₄V_b ይምሐርዎሙ ጸብዓ ገዳም ለዘይመጽኡ ኅቤሆሙ ወለዘየኃድሩ

- (b) MRM f₄₈R_b ይምሐርዎሙ ጸብዓ ገዳም ወለዘየኃድሩ

- The word ወገደፈት /wägādāfāt, ‘leave, cast down, forget, (contextually forsake the world), in ZM f₃₇V_a is omitted in MRM f₅₂R_a between the words መመነነት /wāmännännāt/ and ብዙኃ /bəzuḥa/.

- (a) ZM f₃₇V_a እስከ ተፈጻሚታ መመነነት ወገደፈት ብዙኃ ተድላሃ

- (b) MRM f₅₂R_a እስከ ተፈጻሚታ መመነነት ብዙኃ ተድላሃ

- The word ወይቤልዎ /wäyēbeləwo/, ‘they said’, in ZM f₄₅V_b, is skipped in MRM f₆₃V_a, after the word ሐራ ድንግል Hara Dəngəl.

- (a) ZM f₄₅V_b ዘስሙ ሐራ ድንግል ወይቤልዎ እወ ከማሁ

(b) MRM f₆₃V_a ዘስሙ ሐራ ድንግል እወ ከማሁ

- The phrase ሰብሶ ይምሐሮሙ እግዚአብሔር ወየኃድግ /təḥadəg gegayomu sābṣə yəməḥaromu ገəgziʾabəḥer wāyāḥadəg gegayomu/ ‘God forgives and abandons their wrongs’, in ZM f₄₅V_b was skipped in MRM f₆₃V_b because of two ጌጋዮሙ’s .

- (a) ZM f₄₅V_b ትኃድግ ጌጋዮሙ ሰብሶ ይምሐሮሙ እግዚአብሔር ወየኃድግ ጌጋዮሙ ወሰሚያ ዘንተ

- (b) MRM f₆₃V_b ትኃድግ ጌጋዮሙ ወሰሚያ ዘንተ

- ወተረሥሐ አቡነ በዝንቱ ነገረ ኪዳን ዘወሀቦ እግዚአብሔር ወበተንሥኦታ በዛቲ ብእሲት /wätäfäsəḥa ገabunä bāzəntu nägārā kidan zāwāhabo ገagziገabəḥer

wābātānsəግota/ 'by this covenant, God has given to rise', in ZM f47Vb, is skipped in MRM f66Va between the words አቡነ /ገabunä/ and በዛቲ /bāzati/

- (a) ZM f47Vb ወተረሥሐ አቡነ በዝንቱ ነገረ ኪዳን ዘወሀቦ እግዚአብሔር ወበተንሥኦታ በዛቲ ብእሲት

- (b) MRM f66Va ወተረሥሐ አቡነ በዛቲ ብእሲት

- መነኮሳት እለ ነበሩ ዝርዋነ በኩሉ ገጸ መካን ወተዝያነው /‘mänākosat ግəllä nābāru zərəwanā bākulu gäṣṣä mākan’/, the words በኩሉ ገጸ መካን /‘bākulu gäṣṣä mākan’ / ‘in all places’ in ZM f48Va, is skipped in MRM f67Vb after the word ዝርዋነ /zərəwanä/.

- (a) ZM f48Va መነኮሳት እለ ነበሩ ዝርዋነ በኩሉ ገጸ መካን ወተዝያነው

- (b) MRM f67Vb መነኮሳት እለ ነበሩ ዝርዋነ ወተዝያነው

- ለጽጌ ድንግል ርእሰ መነኮሳት ዘመጉና /läṣəge dəngəl rəግəsä mänākosat zāmäguna/, the word ‘ርእሰ’ /‘rəግəsä’/ meaning- ‘head’, in ZM f49Vb is skipped in MRM f69Ra after a word ለጽጌ ድንግል /läṣəge Dəngəl/.

- (a) ZM f49Vb ለጽጌ ድንግል ርእሰ መነኮሳት ዘመጉና

- (b) MRM f69Ra ለጽጌ ድንግል መነኮሳት ዘመጉና

- እንበለ እፈጽም መዋዕለ ርስዓንዮ ይእዜለ /ግənəbälä ግəfṣəm māwaçəlä rəsəçanəyā/, words ‘መዋዕለ ርስዓንዮ’ /‘māwaçəlä rəsəçanəyā’/ meaning ‘of my days’, in ZM f51Rb. was skipped in MRM f10Vb after a word እፈጽም /ግəfṣəm/.

- (a) ZM f51Rb እንበለ እፈጽም መዋዕለ ርስዓንዮ ይእዜለ

- (b) MRM f10Vb እንበለ እፈጽም ይእዜለ

- **Note:-** This omitted phrase is placed at the head of the verso in the MRM of the same folio.

- The phrase ባሕቲታ ገዳምየ አላ ይነብሩ /wäግitənābəru baḥəጥita gädameyā ግəlä yənābəru bati bəzuግan/, in ZM f53Va was skipped in MRM f73Vb after a word ወኢትነብሩ wäግitənābəru.

- (a) ZM f53Va ወኢትነብሩ ባሕቲታ ገዳምየ አላ ይነብሩ ባቲ ብዙኃን

- (b) MRM f73Vb ወኢትነብሩ ባቲ ብዙኃን

-**Note:-** This omitted phrase is written at the head page of the same folio.

- መብልዕ ውዕ(እ)ቱ ለርጉባን ወለጽሙዓን /mäbləçə wəçə(ʔə)tu lärehuban wäläşəmuçan/, ‘He is a food for the hungry and for the thirsty’, the word ‘ወለጽሙዓን’ /‘wäläşəmuçan’/ in ZMf₅₄R_a was skipped in MRM f₇₉V_a after a word ለርጉባን /lärehuban’/.

- (a) ZMf₅₄R_a መብልዕ ውዕ(እ)ቱ ለርጉባን ወለጽሙዓን ወለዘተአመኝ

- (b) MRM f₇₉V_a መብልዕ ውዕ(እ)ቱ ለርጉባን ወለዘተአመኝ

- Another clear homoteleouton error is seen when the copyist cheated with similar እለ ገላላ, meaning- ‘who’ in ZM f₅₅R_b, jumped in MRM f₇₆R_a እለ ይትዌከሉ ብየ በረከተ ኄኖክ ወማቱሳላ ወኖኅ ወሴም በኩሎሙ ኅሩያን ይኅድር በገዳምየ ወለእለ ኩሎሙ እለ ይትአምኑ /ገላላ yəṯəwekālu bəyā bārākātā henok wāmatusala wānoḥ wäsem bākulomu ḥəruyan yəḥədr bāgādameyā wālaṯəḷā kulomu ገላላ yəṯəʔamānu’/ ‘the blessing of Henok, Matusalla, Noah, Sem and other reverend fathers be upon my monastery.

- (a) ZM f₅₅R_b እለ ይትዌከሉ ብየ በረከተ ኄኖክ ወማቱሳላ ወኖኅ ወሴም

በኩሎሙ ኅሩያን ይኅድር በገዳምየ ወለእለ ኩሎሙ እለ ይትአምኑ

- (b) MRM f₇₆R_a እለ

እለ ይትአምኑ

- ተጋብኡ በሀገረ ኒቅያ ወበረከተ ወ ፩፻፲ እለ ተጋብኡ በሀገረ ቁስጥንጥንያ /tägabəʔu bāhagärā niqəya wābārākātā/ and /፩፻፲ ገላላ tägabəʔu bāhagärā/, Meaning, ‘the blessing of 150 church fathers, who were gathered in the country(Nicea), in ZMf₅₆V_q was skipped is MRM f₇₉V_a between the words two ሀገረ’s.

- (a) ZMf₅₆V_a ተጋብኡ በሀገረ ኒቅያ ወበረከተ ወ ፩፻፲ እለ ተጋብኡ በሀገረ

ቁስጥንጥንያ

- (b)MRMf₇₉V_aተጋብኡ

በሀገረቁስጥንጥንያ

- በትእዛዘ እግዚአብሔር ሰቤሃ ወረዱ እምሰማያት ኀበ /bätəʔəzazä ʔagziʔ abəḥer sobeha wārādu ʔəmsāmayat/, ‘then descended from the heavens’, in ZMf₅₇V_b is skipped in MRM f₇₉R_b, after the word እግዚአብሔር / ʔəgziʔabəḥer/.

- (a) ZMf₅₇V_b በትእዛዘ እግዚአብሔር ሰቤሃ ወረዱ እምሰማያት ኀበ

- (b) MRM f₇₉R_b በትእዛዘ እግዚአብሔር ኀበ

- ዘንተ ኩሎ ነገረኒ እመ ሕያው ውእቱ በከመ ነገረኒ ለሊሁ ከማሁ ኮነ / zāntä kulo nāgārāni ʾəmə ḥəyaw wəʾətu bākämä nāgārāni lālihu kāmahu konä/, in ZM f60Rb was absent in MRM f82Rb between two ነገረኒ's.

- (a) ZM f60Rb ዘንተ ኩሎ ነገረኒ እመ ሕያው ውእቱ በከመ ነገረኒ ለሊሁ ከማሁ ኮነ

(b) MRM f82Rb ዘንተ ኩሎ ነገረኒ ነገረኒ ለሊሁ ከማሁ ኮነ

- ለዛቲ ብእሲት እንተ ሕይወት ወለታ lāzati /bəʾəsit ʾəntä ḥəywot/, meaning- 'That woman with life', in ZMf78Ra was skipped in MRM f106Va after a word ለዛቲ /lāzati/.

- (a) ZMf78Ra ለዛቲ ብእሲት እንተ ሕይወት ወለታ

- (b) MRM f106Va ለዛቲ ወለታ

- ፬ አክላብ which means 'the four dogs', in ZMf80Ra was omitted in MRM f108Ra after the word ዓገትዎ /çagätəwa/

- (a) ZMf80Ra ዓገትዎ ፬ አክላብ አብያጺሁ

- (b) MRM f108Ra ዓገትዎ አብያጺሁ

Relieving of words

It is replacing a word by another word. Some words in ZM are replaced by another word in MRM. Some are by synonymity and some are not.

- Instead of the word ነገረ nāgār' in the ZM f4Rb, the MRM f7Va used ቃሉ /qalu/. The first is literarily means 'narration, discourse, fact' whereas the second means 'word' but contextually both deal with the same idea, that is 'the word' or about the action of the event. በኩሉ ነገር ዘይወጽእ እምአፉ

- (a) ZM f4Rb በኩሉ ነገር ዘይወጽእ እምአፉ

- (b) MRM f7Va በኩሉ ቃሉ ዘይወጽእ እምአፉ

- Instead of the word በጸሎት /'bāṣālot'/ found in the ZMf5Ra meaning- 'by prayer' the MRM f8Vb used ጸም 'som' meaning- 'fasting'.

-(a) ZMf5Ra በጸሎት ወበጽሙና በፍቅር ወትሕትና

-(b) MRM f8Vb በጸም ወበጽሙና በፍቅር ወትሕትና

-**Note:-** They seem different but in religious concept both have equal value.

- The ZM f₈R_b says ቅስና /qəsəna/ but the MRM f₁₃R_a changes it into ቅድስና /qədəsəna/ which is different that in the ZM. The first shows the canonical authority of being a priest whereas the MRM is shows righteousness attaining the position of spiritual holiness. Contextually it deals with the authority of being a priest.

- (a) ZM f₈R_b ከመ ይንሣኦ መዓርገ ቅስና

- (b) MRM f₁₃R_a ከመ ይንሣኦ መዓርገ ቅድስና

- እምሳብ /ʔəməḥabä/, ZM f₁₃V_b meaning- 'toward, to, by, at in' but contextually 'toward' is changed to in the MRM f₂₀V_a, ተምሳብ /täməḥabä/ which has no meaning.

- (a) ZM f₁₃V_b እምሳብ ሰብእ ዘርእዩ ተአምራቲክ

- (b) MRM f₂₀V_a ተምሳብ ሰብእ ዘርእዩ ተአምራቲክ

- The word አትክልት /ʔatəklət/, meaning:- 'vegetable/fruits' in the ZM f₁₄V_b is changed in the MRM f₂₁V_b to እክል /ʔəkl/' means- 'food'.

- (a) ZM f₁₄V_b ፍሬያተ አትክልት ዘተከሎሙ

- (b) MRM f₂₁V_b ፍሬያተ እክል ዘተከሎሙ

- The word መለኮት /mäläkot/, in the ZM f₁₈R_a 'governor' is changed in MRM f₂₆R_a to አምላክ /ʔamlak/, which means 'God'. The change is might be because of the common internal usage of ወላዲተ አምላክ /wäladitä ʔaməlak/, which means 'mother of God' (Mary), instead of /wäladitä mäläkot/, even if contextually describes synonym.

- (a) ZM f₁₈R_a ወላዲተ መለኮት = mother of governor

- (b) MRM f₂₆R_a ወላዲተ አምላክ = mother of God

- ተከሎሙ /täkəloму/, in the ZM f₁₉R_b meaning- 'their vegetables', is changed to አጸዶሙ in the MRM f₂₇V_b /ʔaṣädomu/, meaning- 'their gardens'.

- (a) ZM f₁₉R_b በሰረቀ ሤጠ ተከሎሙ እለ ሞቱ

- (b) MRM f₂₇V_b በሰረቀ ሤጠ አጸዶሙ እለ ሞቱ

- በመጽሐፈ አብረክሲስ /bämäṣəḥafä ʔəbərəksis/, in ZM f₁₉R_b meaning 'in the book of Ebreksis', is written in the MRM as በመጽሐፈ ሐዋርያ /bämäṣəḥafä ḥawarəya/, meaning 'in the book of Apostles'.

- (a) ZM f₁₉R_b ይቤ ጴጥሮስ ሐዋርያ በመጽሐፈ ክብረክሲስ

- (b) MRM f₂₇V_b ይቤ ጴጥሮስ ሐዋርያ በመጽሐፈ ሐዋርያ

- ሐለይክ /ḥaläykä/ written from the root verb አሐለየ /ʔaḥaläyā/ means:-
'give a bribe, corrupt' is written in ZM f₁₉R_b as ኃይለክ /ḥayäläkä/
meaning- 'force' in MRM f₂₈R_a, which has no similarity with ZM. The
copyist might have been confused because of the similarity of writing.
He was cheated by the orthographical and metathesis error (Leslau:
1987:231: a).

- (a) ZM f₁₉R_b ለምንትኬ ሐለይክ በልብክ

- (b) MRM f₂₈R_a ለምንትኬ ኃይለክ በልብክ

- ፬ ወ ፳ equivalent to 48 in ZM f₂₂V_a is changed as ፬ ወ ፳ or 38 is MRM
f₃₂R_a

- The word አጣዕዎ /ʔaṭaʕəwo/ in ZM f₂₃ R_a from the root word ጣዖት
/ṭaʕot/ means 'idol, ungodliness', is changed in the MRM f₃₂V_a አግብዕዎ
/ʔagbəʕəwo/, from the word ገብአ /gäbʔa/ - 'return, turn back, come
back' (Leslau: 584: a and 176:b).

(a) ZM f₂₃ R_a ምግባሩ ለሥጋ አጣዕዎ ወሥራይ ጽልዕ

(b) MRM f₃₂V_a ምግባሩ ለሥጋ አግብዕዎ ወሥራይ ጽልዕ

- እንበለ አሐቲ ጽዋዕ /ʔaḥatī/ in ZM f₂₄R_b, means 'one', is written in MRM
f₃₄R_b as አንቲ /ʔanti/, 'you' (feminine singular) which has no meaning in
the sentence (context).

(a) ZM f₂₄R_b እንበለ አሐቲ ጽዋዕ = except a single cup

(b) MRM f₃₄R_b እንበለ አንቲ ጽዋዕ = except your(fem.) cup

- The word 'ቀጺመት' /'qäimät'/ (a kind of fruit tree) in ZMf₂₅R_b is
changed in MRM f₃₅V_a to ቀለምጺጽ /qäläməʕiʃ/.

(a) ZMf₂₅R_b ወቦ እለ ይሴሰዩ ፍሬ ቀጺመት

(b) MRM f₃₅V_a ወቦ እለ ይሴሰዩ ፍሬ ቀለምጺጽ

- The words ዘእንስሳ ገዳም /zäʔənsəsa gädām/, ZMf₂₇R_b, is changed
to ዘላህም /zälahəṃ/ in MRM f₃₈R_a.

(a) ZMf₂₇R_b ወቦ እለ ይለብሱ አነዳ ዘእንስሳ ገዳም =There were others
who weared skin of wilds.

(b) MRM f₃₈R_a ወቦ እለ ይለብሱ አነዳ ዘላህም =skin.....

domestics

- The word 'ወበዕለተነ' /wäbäçälätä/, means 'in our days' in ZM f₂₈R_b changed to ወበእንተ /wäbä?əntä/, means in MRM f₃₉V_a.

- (a) ZM f₂₈R_b ወበ እሎቱ ተአምኑ ወበዕለተ ዕረፍቱ

- (b) MRM f₃₉V_a ወበ እሎቱ ተአምኑ ወበእንተዕረፍቱ

- The word 'ስሙር' /səmur/, 'fruitful' in ZM f₃₄R_a is written as ስሙዳ /səmoda/ is MRM f₄₇R_b, which has no meaning. But ስማዳ /səmada/ is one of the regions of Gondär.

- (a) ZM f₃₄R_a ወእንዘ ስሙር እንተ

- (b) MRM f₄₇R_b ወእንዘ ስሙዳ እንተ

- The word 'ኦ ለባውያን' 'ኦ /läbbawəyan/' means 'oh you who understand' in ZMf₃₅R_b is changed to 'ዓላውያን' /'çalawəyan'/, meaning 'be faithless, disobedient, rebellious'.

- (a) ZMf₃₅R_b ርእዩኬ ኦ ለባውያን ዕበዮ

- (b) MRM f₄₈R_b ርእዩኬ ኦ ዓላውያን ዕበዮ

- The word in ZM f₄₁R_b 'ተሰዱ' /täsäddu/, 'they were banished, exiled', is changed in MRM f₅₇V_a to 'ቅዱሳን' /'qədusan'/, means 'righteous', which has no relation with the context.

- (a) ZM f₄₁R_b ወካህናት ወምእመናን ተሰዱ በእንተ ሃይማኖት

- (b) MRM f₅₇V_a ወካህናት ወምእመናን ቅዱሳን በእንተ ሃይማኖት

- The word እምነገራተ /?əmnägäratä/ in ZM f₄₃R_a meaning 'from the speech, narration' (based on the context of scripture) is changed in MRM f_{5a}V_b to እምነራህተ /?əmgärahətä/, meaning 'from the land', which has no relation with the paragraph.

- (a) ZM f₄₃R_a ዘይከውና እምነገራተ መጻሕፍት ቅድሳት

- (b) MRM f_{5a}V_b ዘይከውና እምነራህተ መጻሕፍት ቅድሳት

- The word 'ዘአግብአኒ' /zä?agbə?ani/ in ZM f₄₃V_a meaning 'return, turn back', is changed in MRM f₆₀V_b to 'ዘአንገፈኒ' /Zä?angäfäni/'oppress, repress, treat violently'.

- (a) ZM f₄₃V_a እግዚአብሔር አምላኩ አበውየ ዘአግብአኒ ወሜጠነ

- (b) MRM f₆₀V_b እግዚአብሔር አምላኩ አበውየ ዘአንገፈኒ ወሜጠነ

- አቡነ ሖረ /?abunä ?orä/ which means 'our father went' in ZM f₄₆R_a. Because of the synonymity of the words ሖረ and ሖራ /?orä/ and /?hara/,

respectively, the copyist copied ሐረ (went) as ሐራ (hara), the name of the saint and added ድንግል 'Dəngəl', which is not found in the ZM and in MRM f₆₄Ra.

- (a) ZM f₄₆Ra አቡነ ሐረ

(b) MRM f₆₄Ra አቡነ ሐራ ድንግል

- ተጸኒያ /täṣāniṣo/, 'be strong, be powerful' in ZMf₅₀V_b is written in MRM f₇₀R_b as ተጽዒኖ /täṣəṣino/ 'load an animal/ a person', which has no meaning in the context.

- (a) ZMf₅₀V_b ወበጊዜ ሕማሙ ተጸኒያ ሐረ አቡነ

- (b) MRM f₇₀R_b ወበጊዜ ሕማሙ ተጽዒኖ ሐረ አቡነ

- ወአመ በጽሐ ዕለተ ሞቱ ለአቡነ ሐራ ድንግል መጽክ /wäʔamä bäsəḥa ʕələtä motu läʔabunä ʔara Dəngəl mäṣəʔa/ in ZMf₅₃V_b meaning, 'when the day of the death of Abunä ʔara Dəngəl came...', is changed in MRM f₇₄R_b to ወሶበ ፈጸመ ዘንተ ነገረ አቡነ ሐራ ድንግል መጽክ /wäsobä fäṣämä zänetä nägärä Abunä ʔara Dəngəl mäṣəʔa/ when our father ʔara Dəngəl accomplished his duty, came.."

- (a) ZMf₅₃V_b ወአመ በጽሐ ዕለተ ሞቱ ለአቡነ ሐራ ድንግል መጽክ

- (b) MRM f₇₄R_b ወሶበ ፈጸመ ዘንተ ነገረ አቡነ ሐራ ድንግል መጽክ

- **Note** :- both sentences have similar contextual meaning

- ቀዳማውያን /qādamawəyan/ in ZM f₅₀R_a which means 'the earlier', is changed in MRM f₇₆V_a to ገዳማውያን /gādamawəyan/, means 'Monks'.

- (a) ZM f₅₆R_a ወኩሎሙ ነገሥተቀዳማውያን ይኅድሩ በገዳምየ

- (b) MRM f₇₆V_a ወኩሎሙ ነገሥተ ገዳማውያን ይኅድሩ በገዳምየ

- እስከ /ʔəskä/, in ZM f₅₈R_b, meaning 'until' is changed in MRM f₇₉V_b to እስመ /ʔəsəmə/, to mean 'because, since, indeed, in fact'.

- እም አዳም /ʔəmmə ʔadam/, which means 'from Adam' in ZM f₅₈R_b is changed to በገዳም /bəgādam/ meaning 'in the Monastery' in MRM f₇₉V_b.

This changes the contextual meaning of the words.

- (a) ZM f₅₈R_b ዘነበሩ እም አዳም እስከ አሜሃ who has lived from Adam until now

- (b) MRM f₇₉V_b ዘነበሩ በገዳም እስከ አሜሃ who has lived in monastery until now

- ዘተገብራ /zätägäbra/, meaning ‘being done’ in ZM f_{61Vb} is written in MRM f_{84Rb} as ዘተናገራ /zätänägra/ meaning, ‘which was told’.

- ምስለ ኩልነ ሰማዕያን /Məslä kulənä sämaçəyan/ in ZM f_{63Rb}, meaning ‘with all of us who hear’ is changed to ምስለ ንጉሥነ ሣህለ ማርያም /məslä nəguṣənä šahelä marəyam/, meaning, ‘with our king sahle Mariam’, in MRM f_{86Va}.

- (a) ZM f_{63Rb} ምስለ ኩልነ ሰማዕያን

- (b) MRM f_{86Va} ምስለ ንጉሥነ ሣህለ ማርያም

- ወቅድስናሆሙ /wäqədəsənahomu/, meaning ‘their holiness’, in ZM f_{64RQ} is changed in MRM f_{87Vb} as ወቅዳሴሆሙ /wäqəddasehomu/, meaning ‘their Mass’, which has no relation with the context itself.

- ወያጸንዖሙ /wäyaṣänəçomu/, ‘he reinforced them’ in ZM f_{64Rb} is altered in MRM f_{87Vb} as ወያነሥኦሙ /wäyanäsəʔomu/ which means ‘he received them’.

- (a) ZM f_{64Rb} ወያጸንዖሙ ውእቱ ለደናግል

- (b) MRM f_{87Vb} ወያነሥኦሙ ውእቱ ለደናግል

- ወመምህረ /wämäməhərä/, - ‘teacher’ in ZM f_{65Vb} is changed as in MRM f_{90Ra} as ወማዕምረ /wämaçəmərä/, - ‘moment, time’ (to explain his full of time thinker).

- (a) ZM f_{65Vb} ወመምህረ ልቦሙ ውእቱ ለጳጳሳት he is the teacher for the bishops

- (b) MRM f_{90Ra} ወማዕምረ ልቦሙ ውእቱ ለጳጳሳት he is the knowledge for the bishops.

- ዘተሰትየ /zätäsätyä/, - ‘drink’ in ZM f_{66Rb} is changed in MRM f_{90Vb} as በተሰምየ /zätäsämyä/, - ‘named, received name...’

- (a) ZM f_{66Rb} ዝንቱ አቡነ ገነት ነባቢ ውእቱ ዘተሰትየ ማየ ትምሕርት

- (b) MRM f_{90Vb} ዝንቱ አቡነ ገነት ነባቢ ውእቱ በተሰምየ ማየ ትምሕርት

- ፬ ወንጌላት 4 /wänəgelat/, - ‘the four gospel’ in ZM f_{66Rb} is changed in MRM f_{90Vb} as ወጽኦት /wäṣəʔat/, - ‘came out’, for third person feminine singular, which has no meaning relation with the context.

- (a) ZM f_{66Rb} ዘተሰትየ ማየ ትምሕርት እምፈለገ ፬ ወንጌላት

- (b) MRM f90V_b ዘተሰተየ ማየ ትምሕርት ወጽአት

-ዘ አፈጸመኝ /zäʔafäšämänä/, - 'to finish', ZM f69V_a is written as ዘአጽሐፈኝ /zäʔašəḥafänä/ in MRM f94V_b gloss:- 'to write'.

- (a) f69V_a ባሕቱ ይትባረክ እግዚአብሔር ዘአፈጸመኝ ጽሑፈ ገድሉ

- (b) MRM f94V_b ባሕቱ ይትባረክ እግዚአብሔር ዘአጽሐፈኝ ጽሑፈ ገድሉ

-በጸሐሙ /bäšihomu/, - 'they arrived' in ZM f70V_b is changed as በጊዜሆሙ /bägizehomu/, meaning 'in their time' in MRM f96R_b, which has no syntax structure with the context.

- (a)ኢትዘንግዑ ሶበ ተመይጦ በጸሐሙ ንቤክሙ

- (b) ኢትዘንግዑ ሶበ ተመይጦ በጊዜሆሙ ንቤክሙ

-ጎዲሮ /ḡadiro/, - 'to reside, dwell' in ZM f77V_b is changed as ሐጺሮ /ḥaširo/, - 'to fence off' in MRM f104V_b which has no meaning with the text.

- (a) ZM f77V_b ወጽኦ ጋኔን ዘነበረባቲ ጎዲሮ

- (b) MRM f104V_b ወጽኦ ጋኔን ዘነበረባቲ ሐጺሮ

-ዓለም /çaläm/, - 'world' in ZM f78R_a is changed in MRM f106R_b as ሰላም /sälam/, - 'peace'.

- (a) ZM f78R_a ወይኢቲኒ ሀለወት እስከ ዮም በአጸደ ዛቲ ዓለም

- (b) MRM f106R_b ወይኢቲኒ ሀለወት እስከ ዮም በአጸደ ዛቲ ሰላም

-እምሀገሩ /ʔəməḥagäru/, 'from his country' in ZM f81R_a is changed in MRM f109R_b as እምነገሩ /ʔəmənägäru/, meaning: - 'from his word'.

- (a) ZM f81R_a አምጽአሁ እምሀገሩ እሙ

- (b) MRM f109R_b አምጽአሁ እምነገሩ እሙ

-መንገለ /mänəgälä/, - 'to' is changed in MRM f109V_b as ሞገሰ /mogäsä/, - 'gracious'

- (a) ZM f81V_a ዘመጽኦ እምካልእ ሀገር መንገለ ውኡቱ ገዳም

- (b) MRM f109V_b ዘመጽኦ እምካልእ ሀገር ሞገሰ ውኡቱ ገዳም

-ዘእነግረክ /zäʔənägəräkä/, meaning:- 'I will tell you' in ZM f81V_a is changed in MRM f109V_b as ዚአየ እግረክ /ziʔayä ʔəgəräkä/, meaning 'mine your leg', a meaningless syntax structure.

- (a) ZM f81V_a እስመ ነገር ዘእነግረክ

- (b) MRM f109V_b እስመ ነገረ ዚአየ እግረክ

-ንግረኒ /nəgräni/, meaning:- ‘tell me’ in ZM f₈₁V_b is changed in MRM f₁₁₀R_a differently as ገብረኒ /gäbräni/ meaning:- ‘make me’.

- (a) ZM f₈₁V_b እስከ ንግረኒ

- (b) MRM f₁₁₀R_a እስከ ገብረኒ

Morphological analysis

Morphology studies the internal structure of words.

-ወልደሙ /wäldomu/ in ZM f₃R_b is read as ለዝወልድ /läzəwäld/ in MRM f₆V_a. In ZM it means ‘their son’ whereas in MRM it means ‘this child/son’. Both cases identify the son.

-The ZM f₁₀V_b says ከመ ይጎየዩ እም ቅድሜሁ. The word, እም ቅድሜሁ /‘əmə qdəmehu’/, means ‘before him’. The suffix morpheme /ሁ/ (‘hu’) refers to third person singular of object form. The MRM says ከመ ይጎየዩ እምቅድሜህ /‘məqədəmeyä’/. The suffix /የ/ (‘yā’) represents the first person singular ‘Me’, like ‘before me’. The hagiographical dialogue between the two manuscripts differs.

-ኦረና /ʔorəna’/in f₁₄R_b, which means a kind of antelope, or mountain goat, is written as ዘኦርና in the MRM f₂₁R_a. The prefix ‘ዘ’ ‘Zä’ is a genitive marker የ ‘yā’ means ‘of’ a possessive marker. The prefix ‘ዘ’ changes the structural usage of the language or the content.

-በመጽሐፈ ኪዳን /bämäşəḥafä kidan/, ZM f₁₆b_v, meaning ‘is the book of covenant’, is copied in MRM as ወመጽሐፈ ኪዳን /wämäşəḥafä kidan/. The use of ወ instead of በ also changes the semantic structure. The prefix ‘በ’ is ‘in the’ whereas the prefix ‘ወ’ is ‘and’.

-እሑር /ʔəḥur/, - ‘let me go’ in ZM f₂₂R_a is copied in MRM f₃₇R_b as ይሑር /yəḥur/ meaning ‘let him go’. The prefix morphemes of the two manuscripts identify first person singular and third person singular respectively.

- (a) ZM f₂₂R_a ከመ እሑር ቦቱ

- (b) MRM f₃₇R_b ከመ ይሑር ቦቱ

-የዓቅብ /‘yāqəb/, which means ‘he will guard, or keep safe’ in ZM f₄₇R_b is copied as ይትዓቅብ /yətəqəqäb/, which means, ‘It will be kept’ in MRM

f₆₅V_b with the prefix morpheme ይት /'yət'/ indicate 'a thing', whereas the prefix morpheme ይ /'yə'/ indicate the third person singular pronoun 'He'. The case is active voice and that one is passive voice.

- (a) ZM f₄₇R_b እንዘ የዓቅብ አስከሬነክ
- (b) MRM f₆₅V_b እንዘ ይተዓቀብ አስከሬነክ

-ወፈቃድየ /wäfäqadäyä/, meaning 'and to my will', the first person singular noun in ZM f₅₄R_b is copied in MRM f₇₅R_a as ወፈቃድክ 'and to your will' indicating second person singular noun.

- (a) ZM f₅₄R_b ወፈቃድየ ፈጸምክ
- (b) MRM f₇₅R_a ወፈቃድክ ፈጸምክ

-እምኔሆሙ በሥጋ /ʔəmənəhomu bäsəga/, meaning:- 'in flesh from them' in ZM f₅₅V_a is copied in MRM f₇₆V_a as በሥጋሁ /bäsəgahu/, meaning 'in his flesh'. እምኔሆሙ indicates third person plural masculine whereas ሁ (in በሥጋሁ) indicates third person singular masculine.

Negativity

Another feature is words constructed positively in ZM are copied with negative type.

-The ZM says እንበለ ይልበስ አልባሰ ምንኩስና. The word እንበለ ይልበስ /ʔənbälä yəlbäs/ in ZM f₇V_b which means contextually 'without having a monkhood cloth or without being a monk' is written in the MRM f₁₂V_a as እንዘ ይለብስ /ʔənəzä yəlbəs/ which means 'being a monk'. The words እንበለ and እንዘ are negative and positive respectively.

-The ZM f₇R₆ uses ኢፈተወ /ʔi-fätäwä/. The morpheme /'ኢ/' ('ʔi') shows negativity and it is from the root verb ፈተወ /fätäwä/ 'desire, wish, have a liking for'. This concept is replaced by a positive word in the MRM f₁₁V_b, ፈቀደ /fäqädä/ 'wish, desire, willing' (Leslau: 163: b). The negative concept is thus changed into positive and so this syllable has changed the concept of the phrase.

፤) ZM f₇R₆ ወኢፈተወ ካዕበ ከመ ይጎድር he did not want to stay long again

- (b) MRM f₁₁V_b ፈቀደ ካዕበ ከመ ይጎድር he wanted to stay long again

-The ZM f₂₃V_b puts the positive structure of the word ዘይትገሠሥ /zäytägäsäsä/, from the root verb, /gäsäsä/ ገሠሠ or ገሰሰ /gäsäsä/, - 'touch, handle, feel', but the MRM uses it negatively with the prefix morpheme /ኣ/ ('i') a negative marker, as ዘኣይትገሠሥ /'zä-i-yetägäsäsä/. (Leslau: 1987: 204:b).

- (a) ZM f₂₃V_b በለቢሰ ሥጋ ዘይትገሠሥ by the flesh which is touched
- (b)MRM₃₃V_b በለቢሰ ሥጋ ዘኣይትገሠሥ by the flesh which is not touched

-Some words in ZM f₂₄R_b are negatively structured, and used, as positively is MRM f₃₄R_b.

- (a) ZM f₂₄R_bበልዑከመ ዘኣበልዑ those who ate become as who did not eat
- (b)MRM f₃₄R_b በልዑ ከመ ዘይበልኡ (ዑ) those who ate become as who eat
- (c) ሰትዩ ከመ ዘኣሰትዩ those who drank become as who did not drink
- (d) ሰትዩ ከመ ዘይሰትዩ those who drank become as who did not drink

-ወኣገብረ /wä?igbärä/, meaning:- 'he did not do/work, in ZM f₃₉R_b, is written as ወገብረ /wägbärä/, meaning, 'he did' in MRM f₅₄V_a which fluctuate the paragraph.

- (a) ZM f₃₉R_b ወኣገብረ ለሰብኣህሁ ዘያዐርፎ እምጸማሁ he did not do anything that gives rest for his exhaust
- (b) MRM f₅₄V_a ወገብረ ለሰብኣህሁ ዘያዐርፎ እምጸማሁ he made for himself that gives rest for his exhaust

-ርኢናክ /rə?inakä/, in ZM f₄₄R_b, was written negatively with negative marker/ ኣ/ ('i') as ኣርኢናክ in MRM f₆₁V_b.

- (a) ZM f₄₄R_b ወእመ ርኢናክ በዓይንኝ when we saw you in our eye
- (b)MRM f₆₁V_b ወእመ ኣርኢናክ በዓይንኝ when we did not see you in our eye

-ይትጋብኡ /'yätägabə?u/, in ZM f₄₉V_a, is copied in MRM f₆₈V_b as ኣትግብኡ /?itägəbə?u/.

(a) ZM f49Va ይትጋብኡ በይእቲ ቤተ ክርስቲያን to be gathered in that church

(b) MRM f68Vb ኢትጋብኡ በይእቲ ቤተ ክርስቲያን do not gather in that church

-ኢይገስሳ (ኢይገሥሣ) /ገiyəgäsəsa'/, in ZM f49Va was copied in MRM f68Vb as ይገሥሣ /yəgäsəsa'/.

(a) ZM f49Va እንዘ ኢይገሥሣ (fem. singular) እደ መናፍቃን not to be touched by the hand of the protestants (the Romans, Portuguese)

(b) MRM f68Vb እንዘ ይገሥሣ እደ መናፍቃን being touched by the hand of the protestants (the Romans, Portuguese)

-ይመጽኡ /yəmäsəʔu/, (masculine plural future), in ZM f53Ra, is changed as ኢመጽኡ /ገi-mäsəʔu/, (masculine plural simple past), in MRM f23Rb.

(a) ይመጽኡ አጋዊክ ወአዝማዲክ your brothers and relatives will come

(b) ኢመጽኡ አጋዊክ ወአዝማዲክ your brothers and relatives did not come

-በፍትወተ ሥጋ /bäfətwätä səga/, in ZM f64Rb is changed contradictly as በትፍስሐተ ሥጋ /bätfəsəḥətä səga/, in MRM f88Ra.

(a) በፍትወተ ሥጋ ዘኢይማስን not to be weakened by the desire of lust

(b) በትፍስሐተ ሥጋ ዘኢይማስን not to be weakened by the pleasure of flesh

-ዘያደክም /zäyadäkəm/, in ZM f65Rb is copied negatively in MRM f89Va as ዘኢይደክም /Zä-ገi-yədäkm/.

(a) ZM f65Rb ዘያደክም ኅይለ ኅያላን weakening the power of the powerfals

(b) MRM f89Va ዘኢይደክም ኅይለ ኅያላን donot weakened the power of the powerfals.

Metathesis

It is an error which is occurred by changing the entire letters of a word. This error also causes axcent of a given word.

-ይንዝም /'yəznəm'/ in the ZM f13Ra, is written in MRM f19Va as ይንዝም /yənzəm/.

(a) ZM f₁₃R_a ከመ ይዝንም ዝናም to be rained the rain

(b) MRM f₁₉V_a ከመ ይንዝም ዝናም

-በዓመት /bäçamät/, in ZM f₂₆R_a is written in MRM f₃₆R_b as በመዓት /bämäçat/, which is absolutely a different word and which disrupts the sentence.

(a) ZM f₂₆R_a አሐደ ዕለተ በዓመት one day within a year

(b) MRM f₃₆R_b አሐደ ዕለተ በመዓት one day by a trouble

Other variants

(a) Unknown words

Some words are copied unknowingly in the MRM.

-The word አዝዕብት /ʔazəçəbt'/, the plural form of 'hyena', in the ZM f₁₀V_b is written in MRM f₁₆V_a as አዝትብት /ʔazətəbət/, which has no meaning in Ge'ez or which has no words similar to it. (May be the word 'አዝያብ /ʔazəyab/, which means 'depth, abyss' (Leslau: 1987; 53:a), at least seems to it but it demolishes the whole context).

-ዝገር /zəhər/ ZM f₆₂V_b, gloss:- 'grave, tomb' is copied in MRM f₈₅V_b as ዝህና /Zəhəna/ which has no meaning.

(b) Polygenetic constructions

-The word ወጺኦ /wäšiʔo'/ in the ZM f₁₂R_b is written in the MRM f₁₈V_a as መጺኦ /mäšiʔo/ probably because of the similarity of /መ/ and /ወ/ . The first is from the root verb 'come' and the second from 'came out or go up'. Based on the text, it states about the coming out of a Satan from the sea, which is more similar to the ZM.

- መመጽኦ /wämäṣʔa/, in ZM f₁₄R_b, written in MRM f₂₁R_b as ወወጺኦ /wäwäšiʔo/.

(a) ZM f₁₄R_b መመጽኦ ነምር and came a leopared

(b) MRM f₂₁R_b ወወጺኦ ነምር and came out a leopared

Chapter Four

Analysis of the ZM manuscript

Authorship

The text describes the writer of the hagiography Zänzäləma Manuscript (ZM) as ሱስንዮስ ጸጌ ሃይማኖት Susənyos ሩጅ ሃይማኖት. It says in F₈₅R_a ጸሎቱ ወበረከቱ የሀሉ ምስል ገብሩ ማኅተመ ድንግል ወምስል ጸሐፊሁ ሱስንዮስ ጸጌ ሃይማኖት¹His (the saint) prayer and blessing be upon his servant Mahətamä Dəngəl and with the writer Susənyos ሩጅ ሃይማኖት. The introduction and conclusion parts of each miracle frequently mentions ማኅተመ ድንግል ወለተ ዮሐንስ Wälätä Yohanəs, and only once time ብፅዓ ጊዮርጊስ bəፈጻ Giyorgis² (f 83R_a miracle 12).

Relevance of the writing (Date and year of written)

The days when the saint lived were completely messy and confused. Politically, there was a struggle to capture the throne. Especially after the death of Gälawdewos to Susənyos, there was struggle against the throne. The coming of Susənyos to the throne was also through a continuous fighting with others.

The history of Ethiopian politics revolves round war, as it is not strange to Ethiopian politics. The earliest Ethiopian rulers did not seize power through election or peaceful negotiation but through inheritance. That is why Grañ Ahmed had ruled for about 15 years, because he had

¹ Meaning the flower of religion

² ማኅተመ ድንግል and ወለተ ዮሐንስ might be couples, who had taken the responsibility of the hagiography to be written and ብፅዓ ጊዮርጊስ was their son. (ብፅዓ-for male). In the Ethiopian hagiography writing tradition, the hagiographers were not willing to demonstrate about themselves and even to write their proper noun. To have a benediction from a saint, once or two times, they might write their Christian /baptismal names. They did this, because if they do it was a cajolery or flattery, which deteriorate or spoil their spiritual benefits. Also ማኅተመ ድንግል and ወለተ ዮሐንስ might be the rulers of region. The hagiography was written after 69 years from the death of the saints and in Ethiopian history it was the period of aristocratic rulers, which is 1717.

controlled the lower classes and promised a liberal government, which looks after equally all the citizens and decreasing taxes and approves land ownership to each peasant. The Därg regime (before EPRDF) had also the same slogan «መሬት የሰፊው ሕዝብ ነው» the land is to all; to fulfill its interest.

The bloodshed history of Ethiopia is not limited only to the political sphere but also to the religious (especially orthodox) institutions. Before the government of Därg it was difficult to separate religion and politics. The governing party was Orthodox Christian and consecrated through Orthodox canon. So the political problem had impact on the religion.

It was not easy to write publicly what the political history of the country was like and the true performance of religious leaders. So any writing was published only after the event had passed, or writers could write without mentioning the country, in hiding place or out of the country.

One of the religious writing called “ፀወነ ነፍስ” ḍāwānā nāfs – meaning ‘Asylum of soul’, recorded what the political and religious picture of the country looked like while the writer was living out of the country during the reign of Susənyos. It says “ዘተፈነወት እምነ ብሔር ርኅቅ... እፎ ሀሉክሙ ወያግኒ ጸላእትክሙ:: ወባሕቱ እትፌሣሕ በእንተ ዘሰማዕኩ ዳኅናክሙ...” A message /letter/ sent from far away ... How are you? Let’s God subject your enemy beneath you. When I heard your fare well, I delighted (Cerulli 1960:105:1 & 108:5-7).

This hagiography, Zänzäləma Manuscript, was written from the creation of the world 7193 years as the text claims. ዝንቱ መጽሐፍ ተጽሕፈ በዘመነ ማቴዎስ ወንጌላዊ በ፩ አበቅቴ ወ፲ቱ መጥቅዕ አመ፲ወ፫ ለሠርቀ መዐልት ወ፯ ለሠርቀ ሌሊት በ፩፻ወ፩፻፺ወ፫ ዓመት እምፍጥረተ ዓለም ወእም ልደተ እግዚእነ ኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ በ፲፫ወ፯፻፺ወ፫ ዓመት ወእምናኔሁ ለአቡነ በ፩፻፲ወ፱ ዓመት (119) ወእምረፍቱ በ፰ወ፱ ዓመት እገዝ እመምኔት ወሥይምት ገዳም እምነ ተአምረማርያም እንተ ተዓቅብ መቃብሪሁ ለአቡነ ክቡረ ስም በረከተ አምላኩ ይኩን ምስለኔ ለዓለመ ዓለም this text was written during the year of Mathew the evangelist in the

20 ገላጃጃቴ³, 10th of ሙጥጃ ርጃ⁴, 13th day and 7th night, from the creation of the world 7193 year and from the birth of Christ 1693 years, after 119 year which the saint forsook the world or after 69 years of his death.

The Mathematical assumption is: - From the creation of the world to the birth of Christ, according to Ethiopian tradition, there are 5500⁵ years. When we subtract 7193 years from 5500* years we get 1693, which is equal to the years after the birth of Christ that is 1693 years. Based on this 69 years after the death of the saint means, the year of death is 1693 – 69 = 1624 EC, and after 119 years of his hermitic life means, 1693-119 = 1574 E.C. He starts his hermitic life in 1574 E.C⁶.

1693 – years of writing

1693-69= 1624 - year of his death

1693-119=1574 – The starting of his hermitic life

Month – Mathew (each year is attributed to the name four evangelists)

Reason of writing

The reason was basically to acknowledge or accredit the saint and his spiritual campaign in his earthly life against spiritual enemy (Satan) through the followers accepting and believing his righteousness by praying towards him to get benediction and the service of interceding for their Sin from God.

Regarding the absolute value of the saint it is written on the MS f₁R₁ as follows:

³ገላጃጃቴ means the remains of a year. It is derived from the Greek word which means equivalent to 'remain'. This is calculated concerning the difference of the year of the sun and the moon. To get the ገላጃጃቴ of the year is to multiply the year by 11 and if the result is more than 30, then the remains number called ገላጃጃቴ, and if the result is not more than 30 the result of the multiplication is ገላጃጃቴ of the year. (Asrat G/Mariam:1987e.c:68)

⁴ ሙጥጃ ርጃ means large ceremonial drum in Geez. According to the Ethiopian Tradition when this drum was beaten may were gathered for different purposes, Like this the day, assigned by ሙጥጃ ርጃ collects or indicates fasting and Ceremonies of the year, so it is called ሙጥጃ ርጃ. To get the ሙጥጃ ርጃ of the the year is to multiply the year by 11 and if the result is more than 30, the remains number is called ሙጥጃ ርጃ and if not more than 30 the result is called ሙጥጃ ርጃ of the year. (Asrat G/Mariam:1987e.c:69)

⁵ According to the Ethiopian calendar before the birth of Christ the years are calculated as 5500. (Asrat G/Mariam:1987e.c:60)

⁶ All years are according to the Ethiopian calendar which is 8 years less than the Gregorian calendar. So, to each you can add 8 years.

research of historical facts, excludes legened. Of course, the positive side of this attitude is in itself fully acceptable. Hagiography is only certain kind of history, they are not to be separated sharply, but rather a line must be drawn.” (Marrassini 1982: 287)

The greatest problem of Ethiopian history before the 11th century was lack of evident materials. So especially after the 14th century hagiographies have made an outstanding contribution by studying the history of the country.

History that is not based on scientific and concrete evidence or hypothesis is nothing but a legend. Historically this text contains: -

- The biography of the saint.
- The political and religious standing of the king.
- The expansion of Catholicism.
- The geographical location of his birthplace and Monastery and other contemporary Monasteries.
- It also gives information about some historical places.

Theology: - Another very important feature of the text is its significance to Theology, as it is full of spiritual writings, and basically focus on religious matters. Historically it deals with the history of past event, such as history of a saint or the history of his disciples, just like the New Testament partially the acts. Theologically it deals with the basic teaching which separated itself from the other. It could be the teaching of Trinity, Christology, (incarnation), Resurrection, Holy Communion, and baptism.... Etc. This text basically focuses on Christological issue about the incarnation of divinity and humanity in one person, how the Godhood nature became Manhood and the Manhood nature became Godhood through incarnation. (See ZM f₃₉R_b-f₄₀V_b).

The teaching of the incarnation was supported by the writing of others fathers (apologists) teaching. Except this part, the other part of the Manuscript holds historical part and miracles, performed by the saint.

Philology: - As it is the basic issue in analyzing the text, it is important to make a research on the linguistic part of the text about its syntax, phonology, morphology, orthography, semantics, and etymology...etc structure in relation with today's usage.

Philology is in general the overall examination of the text as it is not a limited discipline or does not stand by itself. It means every thing, which is necessary to linguistics, history, archeology, culture, tradition... etc.

Any discipline including history, linguistics, archeology and others are studied by philology. That is why philology has been included in the text and it covers a large portion of the text.

Résumé of the life

Abunä Hara Dəngəl was born during the reign of Aše sārđ Dəngəl in the second half of the 16th C, in the province of Gondār, in , located in Däbrä Tabor ʔawraja in Dära wäräda. His mother's name was wälätä Giyorgis and his father's name was priest Yohannəs. They were kind people who feared God, and benevolent throughout their lives. They had three children, one of whom was Hara Dəngəl.

In their prayers, they used to beg God to give them a blessed child who would please God and his parents. God blessed them and gave them Hara Dəngəl. Hara Dəngəl, his throne name is ʔaʃnaf sägäd. When he was born, his parents and relatives became very happy. They took him to the church for baptism on the 40th day of his birth.

The baptizing priest gave him the name Hara Dəngəl. His parents taught him to be obedient to law and order and assigned him a teacher so that he would learn the Holy Scriptures. His teacher took him home and taught him alphabet. The child studied the Holy Scriptures with devotion until he decided his future when he matured both physically and

⁷ It is one of the places found in the island of lake ʔana

mentally. Later with the will of his teacher, he was ordained as a deacon by his bishop.

After being ordained, he returned home with happiness and peace. Then he started to serve God with purity, sanctity, love and humility. After the death of his parents, he resided for a few days in his parent's home in the island of Rema. He also used to go to Zäge⁸. He preferred the life of chastity to that of marriage. So the love of this world did not attract him. He lived for forty years without being a monk. When he became very ill he asked Mä çaza Dəngəl , master of Rema to make him a monk. Mä çaza Dəngəl granted his request and God healed him and saved him from death.

Later, he was ordained priest by his bishop, returned and received the rank of *qomos*. Many people came to him to get his blessing. Hara Dəngəl, after he became a monk, did not want to live with his relatives and in the place where he was born. When he left for his celibate life, his relatives followed him to a place called gərarya; where they found him and asked him to return home. He told them እምይእዜሰ ኢይትመየጥ መንገሰ ሀገርየ አላ አሐውር ገዳመ ለነቢር ምስለ አራዊት ግሩማን ወመደንግፃን እስመ ይደልዎ ለመካከል ይንበር ውስተ ገዳማት ጽፋቃት ወደአድባራት ልዑላት ወበአታት ወግበበ ምድር ወንቅዓታተ ኮኩሕ በቁር ወበዕርቃን በሐፍ ወበድካም እንዘ ይበልዕ ቆጽለ ገዳም (F 9 R 2) “a monk should not and cannot live with relatives in his place of birth. He should go to an unknown place and live by eating leaves, drinking water drops, enduring the sound of beasts and the coldness of the night.” They begged him saying ከመዝ ገዳመ ነጋሥሥ ለከ ዘይቀርብ እመ ሀገርክ ወእም አዝማዲክ (F9 Rb) “we do not compel you to live with us, but your teaching and advice will help us so we will give you a place near your birth place.” He ordered them to prepare him a place and a residence at Mədrä qusqWam for his monastery. And they did as they were ordered and went back. After three days they gave him food to eat.

⁸ It is the island found in lake ṭana

Ḥara Dəngəl lived alone by eating lentils, peas and fruit. He ate very little just enough to survive. He drank a little water every three days. Since he started celibate life, he didn't drink anything except water. When beasts came to him; he didn't fear them, rather they feared him.

Ḥara Dəngəl planted many vegetables fetching water from far and carrying it on his shoulders. Due to lack of water in the area, he prayed like Moses and the water sprang from two directions. ወሰቤሃ ውጉዝ ማያት እምክልዒሆሙ እስመ ስምዓ እግዚአብሔር ጸሎቶ “at that time God heard his prayer and water poured from two directions has sprinkled”(F11 Rb) So cultivated vegetable and he distributed them to people and to beggars came to visit him.

Satan once came to Ḥara Dəngəl resembling a beautiful lady by wearing an ornamented dress and told him that man should not live alone, man should have company. Ḥara Dəngəl sprinkled the water, which he was praying on everyday on the devil. Then the devil collapsed and fell into the sea. Coming out of the sea, the devil came to the monastery and slept in Ḥara Dəngəl's place looking like Ḥara Dəngəl himself. Ḥara Dəngəl said “you came here today with this face” then the devil went away from him. In this way, the Devil tempted Ḥara Dəngəl for seven days. On the seventh day, Ḥara Dəngəl defeated the Devil by his faith and prayer. Abunä Ḥara Dəngəl made the devil disappear from the monastery by the power of God.

The prayer of Abunä Ḥara Dəngəl healed those who were seriously ill. At that time faithful monks came to him and told him that his fame of healing was spread all over Ethiopia, and advised him not to perform any more miracles fearing it will bring false praise.

From his birth to his death, Abunä Ḥara Dəngəl was away from all bad things such as quarreling, revenge etc that hinder entry to Heaven. In order to obtain heavenly glory, he defeated his fleshly lust and did the will of the soul, which gives eternal joy, rest, blessing and health. Hence,

Abunä Hara Dəngəl lived all his life fasting and praying, in spiritual warfare and righteousness, patience and humility. He received all severity by day and by night. Keeping away himself from sin, he did many good deeds.

Famous saints of the time, hearing the strong faith and the good virtue of Abunä Hara Dəngəl, came to him and discussed with him the spreading of the Gospel and the Təwahədo Religion /Faith/. Among them were the Heads of Hermits Bātrā Maryam of Zäge, Abba şəge Dəngəl Zä māguna and nun wälätä pētəros from səmada came to him after and learnt from him.

The fourteenth year from the start of his celibate life, the faith of Orthodox Təwahədo went into decline because, by the order of king Susənyos, those priests of Rome started preaching the two natures, teaching of the Roman Catholic Religion. The missionaries started preaching that the religion, which came from Rome, is beneficial to both soul and flesh. They told to the people if you don't accept, you can't live in your country, your wealth will be looted and you will lose your well-being.

After this loyal decree, people started shivering and there was great chaos. Many people were persecuted for their religion while others died and yet others were converted into Catholicism. There was a man who was loved by Susənyos (the king) very much. This man was converted to Catholicism and said to the king: ሀሎ አሐደ መነኩስ ገዳማዊ በሀገርየ ዘኢዐአ ውስተ ሀይማኖትነ አምጽኦት ለዝንቱ ንበ ንጉሥ እኒዝየ there is a monk living in the monastery who was not converted to our religion. May I bring him to you? The king said: አምጽኦ ከመ እርአዮ ወከመ አእምር ግብሮ “bring him to see and to know his deeds.” (F41 Vb) The man so ordered by the king came to take Abunä Hara Dəngəl. He told Abunä Hara Dəngəl everything he was ordered by the king. Abunä Hara replied: Here I am. You can do anything as ordered by your Lord.

Then he took Abunä Hara Dəngəl to the king, mounting him on a donkey called Bərhan (light). When he reached the town, he was taken to the palace. Abunä Hara Dəngəl stood fearlessly, preferring death, for God, to living. When he entered into the palace, he didn't fear in his heart and was not shocked; rather he frightened the king because God was with him. The king asked Abunä Hara Dəngəl why he had come. He replied, እስመ ከፈልኩ ለአህዱ አካል ወለአህዱ ባሕርይ ዘውእቱ መለኮት ወትስብእት ኀበ ክልኤ ጾታ በእንተ ዝንቱ መጸአኩ ኀቤኩ (F42 Va) "You divided the one nature in to two, which is why I am before you". Shocked and feared the king told the people around him to take the monk out of his palace. He said, ወይቤሎሙ ንጉሥ እምብዙኃ ድንጋዪ አውጽኡ እም ቤትየ ዝንቱ መነኮስ "Take him back to his monastery". The king asked the servant who had brought Abunä Hara, ብህልኩክኩ ዘሀለወ ከመዝ አምጽኦ "Did I tell you to bring me such a kind of man,"(F42Va&b) and showed him face of Angel. Seeing the face of the earthly king, without any fear and shock, Abunä Hara Dəngəl returned to his monastery with happiness. He thanked the God of his fathers for retaining him to the monastery in peace. Because he was saved from death, many monks, clergy and faithful went to the monastery in order to see Abunä Hara Dəngəl had reached his place without facing any suffering. After the restoration of the religion, when peace and stability was restored many scholars of the church who had been persecuted, gathered together at Saint Minas church⁹ and praised the creator for the leadership of Abunä Hara Dəngəl.

The hagiography says about the restoration of the Coptic (national religion) just after the death of the king and on the coming of his son king Fasiledes to the throne.(F48 Rb)

At the end of praising, Abunä Hara Dəngəl said to ṣəge Dəngəl of the Māguna ቀድሰ እንተ ዮም ወመጥወነ ለኩልነ እለሀለውነ ዝየ ሥጋሁ ቅዱስ ወደሞ ክቡረ ለእግዚእነ ኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ እስመ ጎንደይነ ብዙኃ ዐመት እንበለ ንቅረብ ቁርባነ ሶበ ወለጡ ሀይማኖትነ ወአርኮሱ ስርዓተነ ካህናተ ሮም ርኩሳን "Today you shall

⁹ The East-West direction from the monastery



lead the Liturgy and let us receive the Holy Flesh and the precious Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, we didn't receive the Eucharist since the aliens the priests of Rome had converted our religion and order.”(F49 Vb) Abunä ṣəge Dəngəl replied: አሆ እቁድስ ቅዳሴ ወእሜጡ ለእለ ሀለው ዝየ ምስጢራተ ቅዱሳተ (F50 Ra) “I will do what you say and perform the sacraments”. Then he led the Mass and passed the Eucharist to all and everyone went to his own monastery after the Mass over.

Abunä Hara Dəngəl also went to his monastery together with the other monks, after receiving the Eucharist.

When Hara Dəngəl became very sick for four months, many monks came to visit him. They saw much blood pouring out from his leg. He said to the assembled clergy “the time is coming for one to go to the next world.” (F53 Vb) They told him that two great things were quarrelling within you that are sickness and misery of the flesh and too much spiritual warfare. Abunä Hara Dəngəl stopped taking food and water for long but for the love of the monks he ate and drank. As a result the monks became happy.

Lastly Abunä Hara Dəngəl asked ṣəge Dəngəl (Head of Monks) to bury him in his own monastery and ṣəge Dəngəl assured him he would do so. ṣəge Dəngəl asked, in doubt: መኑ ይብላኒ አሆ እስመ ይመጽኡ አጋዊክ ወአዝማዲክ ዐቢያን ወይብሉ ንወስድ በድነ ሥጋሁ ለእኑነ ወንቀብር ውስተ ቤተክርስቲያን ዘፊማ “who says okey and what if your relatives come and say he is our brother in the flesh and our father in grace, so we will bury him in our country Rema.” Hara Dəngəl replied: “If they asked so, refute them by saying “ቃለ ሐዋርያት ይብጸሕክሙ - this is the word of the apostle came up you ‘which is to say-lets the apostle’s word judge you.”(F53 Ra&b)

Hara Dəngəl confirmed to ṣəge Dəngəl that “if you do as I say many monks and nuns will follow my example.” Finally on Tir 11 (Jan. 18.) Abunä Hara Dəngəl, who was a pillar of faith, on account of his virtue,

father of purity as angels, passed away. Many monks, clergymen and faithful felt deep sorrow at his death. As told earlier, his burial ceremony was concluded in the place /the monastery/where he was praying, teaching, and engaging in spiritual warfare.

General Summary of ZM manuscript

(Based on the ZM Manuscript)

The Ms could be classified under four categories. Although each part deals directly with the Saint, there is a clear difference in their account of him. Generally it is composed of:-

1. The childhood of the saint
2. His hermitic life
3. Miracles done by him
4. Praise to the saint

Before stating his birth, the hagiography gives an introduction about Abunä Hara Dəngəl, which is only a short biography. እምፍጅፋይ ነገር በአውጎይ ወእም አንጥተ ነገር በአጎፅሮ ወጢነ ጽሑፈ ገድሱ..... ክቡር ወልዑል --- ኮከበ ክብር ጽባሐዊ¹⁰ ወፀሐየ ጽድቅ አርያማዊ ሰርዌ ሃይማኖት ኦርቶዶክሳዊ, 'Not by excluding but reducing not by extending but by shortening we start to write about his [Hara Dəngəl] saintly life --- He is a noble and respected, eastern star of honour, the heavenly righteous sun, pillar of the orthodox faith.

1. From birth to monastic life

The part from ff 1---8 includes his birth and the honorable personality of his parents as commonly done in all other hagiographies "ክልኤሆሙ እምክቡራነ ዘመድ ወእሙንቱኒ ጸድቃን ወኒራን ወአጎዛን በኩሉ ምግባር ሠናይ..... Both were from the respected family, righteous, good- hearted ----- and engaged in good deeds

¹⁰ Eastern star (ኮከበ ክብር ጽባሐዊ) based on religious belief, Jesus, is like a star of East

The hagiography states that his birthplace ላጉና (Laguna) is in one Dära /ጸራ/. It also gives information about his father (Yohannes), the priest of Rema, his mother ወለተ ጊዮርጊስ (Wälättä Giyorgis), his two brothers and three sisters.

His birth is accounted to his parent's spiritual devotion to their God. The hagiographer compares his parents based on some related biblical history, and clarifies both loyalties as recorded on the Bible.

Abunä Hara Dəngəl was born during the reign of King Aṣnaf Sägäd, (Gälawdewos 1530-1540). On his 40th day and the canon of the church, baptized him and then named him Hara Dəngəl.

When he grew up, he was taken to a traditional teacher to learn the word of God and to capture many souls as biblical evidence shows.

Then he was ordained deacon and learned all the traditional church teachings. ወዝኩኒ ሕፃን ኮነ ትጉሀ ለትምህርት እስከ ይልህቅ..... አእመረ ወለበወ ዘይቤላ መጻሕፍት ቅዱሳት and matured for learninghe knew and understood what the Holy Scripture says.

When his father and mother died, he went to the nearby island of Rema (ሬማ) and Zäge /ዘኔ/

He didn't marry "ወኢፈቀደ ያብእ ብእሲተ ከመ ሰብእ ዐለም He didn't want to marry a woman like the secular men. From his birth he had lived cenobitic life and spent 40 years without being a monk. Afterwards he felt severely sick with malaria. Then he was allowed to be a monk by the teacher of Rema named Mäçaza Dəngəl (መዐዛ ድንግል) ወሰከሎ ወተናግሮ ለመምህረ ሬማ ዘስመ. መዓዛ ድንግል ከመ የሀቦ አልባሰ ምንኩስና he implored Mäçaza Dəngəl the teacher of Rema and discussed with him (ሬማ) in order that he give him the cloth of monkhood

2. From A monkhood.....

From ff 8---18

After receiving the rank of monkhood, he was cured from his illness and decided to depart from his relatives and native town and to go to Šäwa.

On his way, but he was found at Grarya by his best friends and nephew, named çarkā Mārçawi (ዐርካ መርዓዊ). First he was not willing to come back, even if they wanted him to. At last he agreed to live in a place, which was nearest to his relatives. From Qusqam (ቀስቋም) he returned back and as he was ordered to live in the land of Wänāyat (ወነያት) by God he stayed there እስመ አዘዘኒ እግዚአብሔር በምድረ ወነያት ከመ እንበር ባቲ እስከ ጊዜ ሞትየ 'because God has ordered me to stay in the land of Wänāyat (ወነያት) so that I stay there until my death'.

2.1 His life style in the monastery

He did not eat the cultural food of the country ጉጃራ (ጎጃራ) but rather he used to eat a few peas, haricot and beans and a fruit called ጉሼ (ጎሼ). He used to eat once a day.

In the place where he lived, there were many lions, elephants, hyaenas, leopards and Wolves were coming. But he had abandoned them.

He planted lemons, grapes; peaches and the plant of gourd using water from the river which was far away. He became exhausted carrying the water from the river to the garden. So he prayed for spring water from the land near to the garden. He dug the land with two rows from which water sprang out. He praised his God for the miracle he made for him.

Then a decorated Demon came to him pretending like a woman asked him if it was better to live in pair than alone. When Ḥara Dəngəl heard this, he sprinkled the holy water on the Satan. The Satan feared and alarmed and drowned into the sea.

Another day a Satan from the sea came and slept on the bed of the saint as a dead body (corpse). But when the saint rebuked him, he ran away to the low land of Abbay (አባይ) (The place around the river of Nile).

After the Satan was defeated, many miracles were performed and the sick were healed. The news of the saint was disseminated all over the kingdom of Ethiopia. Many monks traveled to him and advised him not

to heal many. The saint heard their advice and stopped his mission of healing the sick.

A bush duiker arrived at his place but it was chased away by a certain leopard. When the bush duiker begged the saint to save her from the mandibles of the Leopard, he saved her and ordered the leopard to go. እግዚአብሔርኒ ኢመሀበክ ከመ ትቅትላ ወትብልዓ “God has not given(ordered) to you kill and eat her”. The leopard went out. The bush duiker left after she heard the word of the saint.

Two thieves came to steal the fruits he grew. In the morning the thieves were standing there like prisoners. When the saint saw them, he released them with advice.

After cutting some woods to support his grapes, the saint carried the axe on his shoulder. But unfortunately the axe disappeared. Later with great miracle, the axe fell down from his shoulder when he arrived at his home. Then he went to the garden to dig and while he was digging a thorn pierced his hand. The saint was sad, and prayed towards God. When he finished his prayer an Angel named Gabriel came down from heaven and told him that a man would come to him from Gongga (ጎጎጋ). The angel also revealed to a disciple named Täsſfaye (ተስፋዬ) through his dream to go to the land of Dära(ደራ) where this saint lived. This disciple rose up from Gongga and gradually reached Dära, and stayed at Zänzäləma (ዘንዝለማ) for one year with a woman who ground the wheat for Eucharistic bread at the church of St. Qirqos (ቂርቆስ). Then he reached the monastery of Hara Dəngəl and announced his coming. The saint asked him and checked him and asked God to welcome him. God told him he is the right disciple who is prepared to help him.

3. Life experiences.....

- 1. **The coming of three women** (from ff 18---22)

Afterwards three ladies came to serve the saint. Their names are ? mätä Maryam (አመተ ማርያም) ?ämätä giyorgis (አመተ ጊዮርጊስ) and ?amätä ?ægzi? (አመተ አግዚእ)

The first lady took and ate a peach that was brought by his disciple to his master. When dinnertime came he ordered his disciple to bring it for dinner but he could not find it. The lady was asked, but she denied seeing it and swore in the name of God and was chastised¹¹. The second lady also became a true servant of the saint, but after a little time she broke his will, so she did not stay longer and died soon¹²

The third lady came to him. She was widowed and forsook the world. From her retirement from the world until her death she served him honestly (her loyalty was written probably because she was one of his relatives. ወላሐቲ ይእቲ እም እለ ይቀርብዎ በትዝምደ ሥጋ . For her good deed the hagiographer proposed a story quoting from the bible which deals with the goodness of many ladies.

As ordered by God in the bible, he sat down on his donkey named Bərəhan (ብርሃን) and went to participate in the communion and to take the Flesh and blood of Jesus Christ to the church of St. Minas and Giorgis. Knowing the mental desire of his master without the order of his master, the donkey by himself, , was coming (Here there is certain degree of exaggeration)

¹¹ The hagiographer gave his defense mechanism about her death not as of eaten the peach but because of stoien and swore in the name of God. He also reinforced his defense quoting from the bible (see Joshua 6-1 acts 5-1) but according to the Christian teaching New Testament is the age of mercy.

¹² Her fault is not mentioned. But simply the writer says “እስመ ሐረት በፍኖተ ሰይጣን መስሐቲ አቡሃ ለሐሰት ” *She went to the road of Satan who is the teacher of false and misled.* The hagiographer also, as previously stated, gave his defense mechanism quoting from the bible, which is to rational reasonable proof. This might could be also to magnify the inferiority of the ladies because the contemporary famous Saint Wālātā pētros (ወለተ ጴጥሮስ) was recorded in this hagiography as (መጽሐት ኀቢሁ ወለተ ጴጥሮስ እምነ ብዙኅ ዕለተ እስመ መነኮስ ጳድቅ ወእቲ ንጹሐ ሰብእና እምኃጢአት-) our mother Wālātā pētros came to him many times because the monk was righteous and clean.

2. His spiritual activity (the things he eats and wears) ff 22---28

The spiritual activity and the courage of the saint are compared with the biblical stories, which also mentions different kinds of saints and their life style in their monastic life, the food they eat and the drink they drink -----etc. Especially, the hagiographer, identified the saint as “ለአቡነሂ. ንጌልቆ ንሕነ ከመ ዘተገረመ እስመ ኢበልዐ መባልዕተ ” we recognized our father (the saint) as he didn't eat any more. After broadly stating different saints and their habit of drinks he says “ኢሰትዮሙ አቡነ ለእሱ ስቴያት መሠንያት እንዘ ይጸምዕ ውክቱ- when he was thirsty, he did not drink any of them.

As stated earlier after describing the kind of clothes (mainly traditional clothes from animal skins and plant leafs), he states about the saint” “ዘኢይትዋሰን መዋዕሊሁ ኃደጋ ለልብስ በሰዓተ ቁር ወዕርቃን - he forsook dressing clothes when needed to cloth”.

But rather he was a father devoted towards his spiritual activity, and entrated only to the love of God and his merciful deeds to save the world by sending His only Begotten son.

3. His way of praying ff 28---33

This part deals with the prayer of the saint. As the case of his habit of food, cloth and drinks, the hagiographer described the canonical order of praying as ordered by early fore fathers who were devoted to praying. Afterwards he brought special devotional style of praying of the saint as “ኢይሬኡ ሰብእ ሶበ ይጼሊ ጸሎተ ብዙጎ ---ወሶበ ይጼሊ አቡነ ኢይሬኢ በመዩጠተ ዓይኑ ለፌ ወለፌ when he prays many, no one has seen him, when he prays he donot see here and there but takes up his eyes towards God.”

At that time, the country was captured by Muslim warriors called Warədyā (ዋርድያ). He killed and captured many men, women, children and domestic animals. So many Muslims came to the monastery of Hara Dəngəl and stood on its left and right sides. But they could not enter it because the angel of God prevented them. However, one of the troops came to the house of the saint and said to the disciple of the saint “አርጉ

ሊተ ፍጥነት አንቀጽ ከመ እባኡ- open the door for me to enter in". The disciple did not in open it. So through the closed door he smuggled his hand stabbed by the arrow. When the saint felt sad the Angel of God descended from heaven and saved the father and his disciple. The escortee admired the miracle that God has done to the saint and they ran away.

4. (About different) contemporary saints (ff 33---38)

Bäträ Marəyam

The hagiographer inserted the spiritual activity of a person (saint) who was not popular Bäträ Marəyam¹³ (በትረማርያም) described him as “ቀርነ ቤተክርስቲያን ርእሰ ገዳማውያን ወመክሐ ባሕታውያን ምዑዝ ሃይማኖት ከመ ዕጣን - The horn of church, the head of hermits, a model for ascetics performed by the faith like icense.”

He came from Zäge and stayed alone with Hara Dəngəl. Both coordinated each other's spiritual activities. He some times stayed long in the church of Minas¹⁴ (ሚናስ) for one retreat. Then he went to Rema and stayed for two retreats and returned back to his monastery (Zäge).

About səge Dəngəl

Another important person is Şəge Dəngəl of Mäguna. He was a nephew of Hara Dəngəl. He grew up with Hara Dəngəl until he got spiritual strength.

About Wälätä pétros

Another important and famous contemporary saint was a woman named Wälätä pétros (ወለተ ጴጥሮስ). She came to Hara Dəngəl after she heard his news. The hagiographer describes her as “ ወይእቲ ቅድስት በአፍላ ወውስጥ ወመዐዛ አፉሃ ዘይዊኑ እምነ ከልበኔ ወቁስጥ ወእምነ ዕፍረት ጽዑጥ ዘያጽዕጥዎ ገበርተ

¹³ I did not find any source which states about this saint. See also under 'contemporary saints'

¹⁴ A church on a mountain to the eastern side of Hara Dəngəl monastery

አፈው በጥበቦሙ -She was very innocent internally and externally, the fragrance (odor) of her mouth is better than the perfumes named kālbāne and Wāqust (these are the names of perfumes) and all better than the wisdom of the spices.” She spent her life in spiritual campaign and faced a severe torment.

She came to him to receive benediction from him. The writer describes her purpose and her prestige as “ለምንት ትመጽእ ንቤሁ ይኣተ፡ ጸድቅት.....በእንተ ኅዛርኑ ወሚመ በአተ ክብርኑ.....አኮ በእንተ ኅዛር አላ ከመ ታበዝኅ ክብረ - why did this saint come to him? Was it about inferiority or superiority? Neither or nor, but to multiply her prestige.”

Let's return to the saint's life. At the age of 40 he became a monk and forsook the world. He stayed for 14 years without leaving his monastery. Fourteen years after he had become a hermit; the religion of **Rome** came to Ethiopia. The hagiographer states this as “በ ፲ ወበ ፬ ዓመት እምናኔሁ..... መጽአት ሃይማኖተ ሮምያ ርኩሰት ንበ ምድረ ኢትዮጵያ -after 14 years of his hermitic life, impure religion of Rome came to the land of Ethiopia.” The religion stayed 10 years without being officially declared. After its advent of 10 years, it was officially declared by the king, lover of this religion, which says Christ is of two natures.

5. About the coming of Jesuits and their teaching

(ff39-- -43)

The Jesuits believe Divinity performs the act of Divinity and Humanity alone performs the deed of Humanity. They are of two natures. Then the religion of Alexandria was driven out and this was witnessed by the 318 forefathers in the council of Nicea (451AD)

There is a clear clarification by the hagiographer the faith of Alexandria, who quoted from the teaching of the fathers. He also states about the letter of Lyon (ልዮን).

The religion was proclaimed publicly and those who did not receive it would be killed and their property would be confiscated. “ወእመሰ አበይክሙ

ዘንተ ትእዛዘ ዘወጽኦ እምኣፈንጉሥ ይትህየድ ንዋይክሙ ወይትበረበር ቤትክሙ ወትመውቱ በክናት ወበመጥባሕት - Any one who opposes the king's proclamation will be killed with sword and arrow and confiscated his property.”

Those who objected it were killed while others accepted it because they feared death. But Hara Dəngəl encouraged, strengthened, fed and gave place to those who came to him.

One day while the saint was standing with Şäga Dəngəl and Wäldä kərəstos (ወልደ ክርስቶ), a messenger, which said a **Färänəg ፈረንጅ** (white man) was coming, came. The two feared but the saint strengthened them and sent them to the left and right direction separately.

There was a man who was the niece of the saint. He was close to the king and told him about Hara Dəngəl. The king allowed him to bring the saint. He told him this because he feared that the people might tell the king that a man escaped from his mother's brother (uncle). When he was brought to the king, the king asked the saint “why he came here?” The saint replied, “Because you separated the Divinity and Humanity of Christ”. The king feared him and ordered “እውጽኡ አምቤትዮ ዘንተ መካሰ አለመ ገረመኒ ከመ ይትመየጥ ውስተ መካኑ ዘቀዳሚ - Take this monk out and return him back to his former place (monastery)” The king was angry at the saint's niece and said “ወለዘኒ አምጽኦ ይቤሎ ብህልኩ ኮኑ አምጽኦ ዘከመዝሀለወ -Did I say bring a man just like this? (The very spiritual man)¹⁵”

6. (His) religious campaign (ff 43---48)

The saint returned back to his monastery. Many monks, priests and laities were pleased a lot by his return. He received the refugees because of the edict of the king, gave them food to eat, water to drink and sleeping places.

¹⁵ The king was very ruthless and cruel. He even not had mercy on his children's and brothers. So how could the king fear the saint unless it is said nothing is impossible to God

Then popular woman servants who came to his home quarrelled with him, and insulted him as a traitor (deserter). They cut down the saint's grape fruit. The saint, however, never responded and kept silent and felt sad in his heart. They brought the fruit to their lady, who asked them 'was this fruit from Hara Dəngəl?' They said 'yes.' Immediately one of the servants became sick and she came to the saint and begged him to forgive them. The saint replied that if God would forgive them He would forgive them. When a messenger arrived to the lady with the message, the sick servant died¹⁶.

Long months after this miracle, a lady named ämätä Wäld አመተ ወልድ get sick and died. The angel of death brought to God, while the saint was praying and weeping saying “መሐር ሊተ ወአንሥእ ዛተ እንተ ሞተት የም ወመጽአት ሀቤክ በነፍሳ - Forgive this dead woman who came to you in her soul.” Then God asks those who brought that soul 'why did you bring to me? Was it the soul of Hara Dəngəl? (To remind the saint was interceding about her). Return her back to her former earthly life.

The soul heard this news, the message of God through the angel Gabriel to tell to Hara Dəngəl three times.

7. (About) The restoration of the Orthodox faith (ff 48--53)

After the 16th years of the exile of the religion of Alexandrine, from which the Ethiopian church was derived, king Fasilädäs, ፋሲለደስ son of Susenyos, ሱስንዮስ came to the throne. Many scattered priests, monks and laities returned back to their former places and beliefs. Many came and gathered around Hara Dəngəl and praised God for returning to them their Christianity.

¹⁶ For his death the hagiographer gave his defense as not to it but to insult the saint. But what we observe about the praying of Jesus Christ towards those who tortured, insulted, crucified and killed Him (Mt.27)

The monks who came to the saint gathered in the church of Michael and performed ecclesiastical song of praise with drums and sistrums. The saint ordered the priest of Mäguna, Şäga Dəngəl, to prepare Mass and to give him and others around him the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ. All were participated in the Communion and praised the Lord.

The saint was sick for 6 months. His illness was caused by fine splinter from his chair which pierced and bled his leg. Many monks who came to visit him felt sad and wept when they saw him. They begged him to eat food and drink water because he got tired from fasting for long periods. He ate a little 'ənəjära (አንጆራ) (traditional Ethiopian food with a linseed wäṭ (ወጥ) (sauce).)

He became aged “እስመ ደክመ ብረኪከ በጾም ወበጸሎት ወወድቁ አስናኒክ እመካኖመ ብርሰኝ” - Because of fasting and praying you became weak, and your teeth because you were old.”

The saint gave his advice to amätä əgəzi' (አመተእግዚእ) 'when I die don't leave my place'. He also gave his advice to Şäge Dəngəl to entomb him when died in his monastery. Şäge Dəngəl accepted but told him that his relatives might not agree and might take your corpse to burry it in the church of Rema.

The saint told him 'if they objected you let them. God will reveal His miracle up on them.' He also told him about the next generation. 'Many will come to my monastery and if they keep my corpse they will be benefited.' Finally Şäge Dəngəl accepted him.

8. (His) Days of retirement and promises of God (ff 53---57)

The days of his retirement were coming down; God descended from heaven and promised him¹⁷

1. Whether a rich or poor, who rely on your name and promise, and any who pleaded with your name, will be rewarded in the heaven.

¹⁷ It is a common feature in all-Ethiopian hagiographies

2. To the ones who write your hagiography, who take the responsibility to be written, who read and interpret it, who keeps your corpse, and who visits your monastery
3. All these are saved until Seven generation¹⁸
 - The saint was delighted a lot and praised god when he heard this promise.
 - After God went, the saint blessed all who were around him

Then he blessed his monastery in the name of God, former saints and forefathers who were quoted in the bible and in haplographies and commemorated in the Oriental churches.

9. ***(His) Death and burial ceremony (ff 57---63)***

After blessing all and hearing promise from God, he died in the days of Hana and ፬፻፵፱, ሐና እና እያቂም Fasilädä ፋሲለደስ and Gälawədewos and Fiqətor ገላውዴዎስ እና ፊቅጦር on ፲፱ 11.

When his soul separated from his body, many Angeles and their tribes came down. In addition to the coming of the angels there is a description of others, from the martyrs, priests, righteous, saints.

His relatives came to his monastery and wept. Şəge Dəngəl told them all that the saint had told him about his burial place. But they objected to this and took the corpse to bury it in the church of Rema, his birthplace, because his monastery was a desert.

When they started their journey, a sudden whirlwind occurred and churned the land they were standing on and all the forests, woods, plants, trees, mountains etc were shocked and troubled.

The people who took his corpse were shocked and startled. They feared and became unconscious. Then they returned it back to his monastery and his relatives and other monks buried him in the place where he

¹⁸ This is also common. The phrase 'seven generation' almost exists in all Ethiopian hagiographies.

asked to be buried. His relatives and friends returned back to their home, but the disciples stayed in his monastery and 'amätä 'əgəzi' became their servant.

After he was buried, there was a light around his tomb and the odor of the saint smelled like a perfume.

amätä 'əgəzi' died on Miazia 27. Until today there are many who keep his corps.

10. Praise (ff 63---69)

This part contains a praise about him (wudasse)

11. MIRACLES¹⁹ (ff 69---86)

1. Around the saint's monastery, there was a trouble maker/stirrer/. He came to the king and accused the monks of looking down on the king. The king was angry and ordered that their property be confiscated. The Monks shouted at Hara Dəngəl and he wept towards God to save them. They went to an officer and begged him to tell the king about the Mischief of the trouble stirrer. The officer told the king and the king did his mercy to the monks by the prayer of the saint.

2. There had been a man who used to collect taxes for the king in the land of Bāgemədər²⁰. The army came to the land of Dära and took a little money from the monastery. The monks told this to the officer and he ordered his army to return back the money they had taken and not to go there again.

After the summer passed and when the officer came to the land of Dära they told him that there was a murder among the monks. But he refused to accept the charge. The officer did this by the generosity of the saint. Then they praised their Master.

¹⁹ Every paragraph of the miracle starts with the name of the trinity and ends with "may the blessing of our father be upon you"

²⁰ Now it is Gondär

3. There had been a lady in the land of Wägära (ወገራ) (around Gonädär) who was barren. She came to Dära and saw one of her relatives preparing grain for the commemoration of the saint. She asked her relative about Hara Dəngəl. She told her about him and asked her “ሊተኒ እም ወሀበኒኑ እንጋ ወልደ ሶበ እስክሎ -Does he give me a son? Her relative replied ‘yes.’”

She promised money to the saint if he gives her a son and went back to her land. Then she bore a son, but she forgot to pay the money she promised. Then she became severely sick, repented and gave the money. Her illness disappeared and she praised God.

4. In the land of Dima ዲማ (a region of Gojam) there had been a man who was suffering from malaria for seven years. His relatives brought him to the monastery. In the annual memorial feast of the saint, many gathered and the sick man came to them and begged them to appeal to the saint to heal him. Immediately, he slept and in his dream he saw the saint praying for him to God. Then God willed to heal him.

Then the saint brought that sick man and showed him the hell and heaven and warned him to do all good deeds. Lastly he asked him “ተክምረኒኑ መኑ አነ? ወይቤ ውእቱ አንሰ ኢየአምረክ - Do you know me?..... The sick man says no. The saint revealed himself to the sick. Then the sick woke up and was healed. He told people everything he had seen.

5. Five Monks from the saints went to Dawənt (ዳውንት). There had been a sick man and ox and the Monks told the people to give them medicine. The Monks said they had a soil from the tomb of Hara Dəngəl. They anointed and cured cured from their sickness.

6. In the land of Gojam (ጎጃም) there had been a lady who had no child for a long time. She came to the Monastery to pray to have a child and she promised money if she gets She bore a child and gave more money than she promised.

7. There had been two backbone-hunched women one of whom lived in kokəta (ኮካታ) and the other in Gombat (ጎምባት). Both were relatives and came to the place where the tomb of the saint laid. The first was cured on his annual memorial day. She did not return back to her land and stayed there for long. The other was also cured and praised the saint and told other people about him. She went from the monastery to her village.

8. In the land of Găṭəba (ገጥባ) there was a woman whose two daughters were severely sick. Unfortunately one of them died and the other was taken by her nurse and the will of her mother to the saint monastery. Finally she was cured. Her parents astonished by the deed of the saint and praised him forever. After many months one of the lady's brothers became very sick. His brothers brought him to the grave of the saint and put him around by faith. Just after a month he was cured.

9. A blind nun came from another village to Hara's monastery. She asked the inhabitants of the monastery to allow her to stay at least for seven days because she heard a lot of news and miracles he performed. They willed and gave her a nun to help and serve her. The blind nun prayed to the saint for health and cures her from blindness. Then the saint cured her from blindness and she witnessed about him.

10. There had (in the monastery) been a widow who went to a village called Găṭəba (ገጥባ) to seek food. She reached a rich man's house where there were five dogs which came to her. No one was there. A dog took her stick. She shouted towards the saint calling his name to rescue her from being bitten. Unfortunately the other four dogs bit the dog and injured it. The saint, by his miracle, ordered the dogs to save the widow. The owner of the house and his wife came out when they heard the dogs barking. Many gathered there and were surprised by the miracle done on the widow, and praised the Lord, and also praised the saint. Lastly she returned to the Monastery and witnessed what the saint has done to her.

11. In a village called Qoläla (ቆለላ) a child fell sick while sucking his mother's breast. It was Satan's work. His mother and the nurse took him to the monastery and put him in the house of a monk who came from other village. Both prayed towards the saint to cure him and said "አምላክህ ገቢክ ለዝንቱ ሕፃን ሕሙም ዘአልፀቀ ለመዋት ወገደፍህ ቅድሜክ. - **We** brought this sick child to you and we put him in front of you"

A Monk, who came from another village, where a sick child lived, sent a Message to another monk, who was the inhabitant of the Monastery to arrive soon. The monk came and asked this monk what was up and what the problem was. And the strange monk (a non- inhabitant Monk) asked the inhabitant monk to take this child and put him at the grave of the saint. Because by the grace he (the saint) received from God the saint could heal him. The child's mother also promised a gift (money) to the saint (to the Monastery) if her child would be cured.

The monk took the child who was very thin and put him at the grave and prayed Lord's Prayer three times. Immediately he was cured and the monk brought him and gave him to his mother and the nurse. Many, who gathered to see the child, praised the saint.

12. A painter came from a village called Dəṣet (ድጄት) to the Monastery and arrived at a house of a monk who also came from another village. A monk begged the painter to draw the picture of the saint, because he had seen him painting the picture of St. George before. The painter agreed to draw the picture of the saint. Both went to the grave of the father and looked for a piece of cloth to be painted on. The monk told the painter 'I have a cloth and turn it and took what ever you need.' Then the painter told the monk to bring the cloth. Then the painter measured three arms and turned it down and took.

The painter painted both Abunä Hara Dəngəl and Ṣəge Dəngəl. Both were the same in their spiritual campaign. The painter told the Monk to wear this cloth after sewing it. The monk asked why he should wear this turned

cloth and said that his father (the saint) could give him a new one or could replace the turned as it was.

Then the painter told the monk to measure to measure the turned by his arms in order to see the miracle. When he measured the cloth he saw that there was no defect in it and it was the same as before it was turned down. The saint revealed his miracle on the cloth. All who were in the Monastery were surprised by the miracle and praised the saint.

12. Praise of the saint with Yared's nota's hymn (ff 87---88)

Chapter Five

Historical significance

Hagiographies as the relevance to the history of Ethiopia, Tadesse says “Their value as a contribution for the reconstruction for the political and Ecclesiastical history of Ethiopia is inversely proportional to the distance, in time, of the saint whom they intend to celebrate [1972:2]. There is no alternative to learn about Ethiopia, except hagiographies. Especially the hagiographies of the late medieval period have a serious contribution to the history of Ethiopia.

Therefore, it can be said that ancient history of Ethiopia, especially the early and medieval periods, can only be studied from religious circle, especially from Christianity.

The coming of the Jesuits

It should, however, be noted that the hagiography of Abunä Hara Dəngəl has still some significance to history of the country to some extent as it gives some idea about the government of king Susənyos¹

“ወበ⇒ ወበ- ፡ ዓመት እምናኔሁ ለአቡነ ሐራ ድንግል መጽአት ሃይማኖተ ሮምያ ርኩሰት ንበ ምድረ ኢትዮጵያ ወአመ ተከስተት እንታክቲ ሃይማኖት ርኩሰት እንተ ያመልክዋ ነገደ ልዩን መስሐቲ ያደ ዐዋዲ ውስተ ኩሉ ምድረ ኢትዮጵያ በትእዛዘ

¹ Susənyos, his throne name was mā lā k Sā gā d, was the king of Ethiopia from 1607 to 1632, He was an educated man and had studied the religions and profane literature of his country. Budge explains him as ‘remarkable for his power of endurance and strength, and he was brave and courageous... wise and prudent, kind and generous disposition and was liberal minded, he did all he could to promote the interest, of his country, political, military, social, religious, industrial and commercial (Budge: 1966 396) But for the church, he was very cruel and stupid in regard to his notion and country. He was against orthodox religion, because he was not wise as do Pedro Paez to covert to the religion of catholic, but rather he used power. “When Susənyos found that the people would have none of the new Religion, he tried to effect by force what he could not by edict’ (Ibid: 391). The king made different edict to force the people towards the Roman religion. To say the truth, the king publicly favored the Roman religion without any opposition; in regard that the sword had cutoff the greatest part of the rifest and most obstinate defenders of the Alexandrian worship.’(Ludolph: 1982:328)

ንጉሥ እንደ ይብል ተወከፉ ከልከሙ ዛታ ሃይማኖት ዘእምጻእን ለከሙ እምድረ ሮም..... ወእመስ አበይከሙ ዘንተ ትእዛዘ ዘወጽአ እምአፋ ንጉሥ ደትሀየድ ንዋይከሙ ወይትበረበር ቤትክሙ ወትመውቱ በኩናት ወበመጥባሕት.....After 14 years, when the saint had to forsake the world, the vicious religion of Rome came to Ethiopia when the religion revealed, which is believed by the party of Lyon², by the order of the king, proclamation is communicated to all Ethiopia stating, accept the religion which we brought to you from Rome If any one is against the proclamation of the king, your money will be snatched, your house will be searched and confiscated and you will be killed with spear and sword.”

Their event did not, as the manuscript describes, occur at the time of Susənyos, but it started from the finding of Prester John of the Indies³.

² ልዮን Leo I, Roman pope, in the early of the vth century regarded as the first who thought and taught the supremacy of the Roman pope and two natures lived in one Christ without incarnation. ‘Leo I, in 449, in his famous tome asserted the two natures in Christ...there is no real interchange between them’ (Richardson: 1969:57). Just it was after two years in 450/451 in the council of Chalcedon, unaccepted council by oriental orthodoxies, stated ‘the catholic doctrine that presented dissoluble the two faces of the mystery. In the council the Cyrillians partisans remained absolutely opposed to the two natures (Whalen: 1966:v3 426) (Cyrillians are the followers of Cyril, the famous church theologian in the oriental orthodox churches, Egypt, Ethiopia, Syria, Armenia and India). The council of Nicea (325) fully asserted the equality of Christ with his Father and the Holy Ghost and proclaimed the one nature and will of Christ (Whalen 1966 v.7 115). In the contrary the tome of Leo asserts the partition of Christ and the letter of Cyril, addressed to Leo, affirmed the one nature aspect of Christ, to those who destroy the mystery of the incarnation by partitioning Christ (Whalen: 1966:v3: 428). That is why the writer called children of Leo’ because they are adherents of Leo’s Theology.

³ The official permission of the Catholics in the history of Ethiopia was made at the time and the reign of king Susənyos. He was the first officially accepted Catholicism publicly. እነርስም (ሮማውያን) ሱስንዮስን ንጉሥ ሮም ብሎ አዋጀ ንገር ብለው አስነግረዋል በሮም ሃይማኖት ያልገባህ አንድ አካል ሁለት ባህርይ ያላለህ ሰይፍ ይቅጣህ አለ። ክርስቲያን ሁሉ ተጨነቀ The Catholics ordered the king to proclaim himself as ‘king of Rome’. Any one who has not joined to the religion of Rome and do not accept one person and two nature of Christ will be punished by sword. Every Christian became worried (EMML: 1710). The reason of Susənyos accepting Catholicism

first his friendship with Pedro Paez (a great man in expanding Catholicism and a very polite man) was because ‘In Pedro Paez he (Susənyos) saw a deeply religious and learned man...he fasted and prayed, and toiled as hard at manual labor as the ordinary artisan of the country. His humility and modesty were as great as his learning...(Budge: 1966:388]. 2 In 1615 Susənyos sent a letter to pope Paul V affirming his submission to Rome and accepting the papal supremacy

The era of king Susənyos was characterized by the official distribution of both political and religious affairs around the palace and ordinary people.

The attempts of the Jesuits to introduce their religion to the land of Ethiopia connected with the search for Prester John of Ethiopia. Prince Henry of Portugal was an exception. With him the search for new lands and hither to unknown people was a career, a life long profession. Afonso de Aviero discovered the kingdom of Benin in 1482. That same year the king of Benin sent his ambassador to Portugal.

John II, who succeeded Afonso V in August of 1481, heard a story very similar to that from the discoverer and from the ambassador of Benin about Prester John. So he believed that Ethiopia is very near to Benin. To make sure that the Portuguese did reach Ethiopia, simultaneous expeditions were dispatched by land and sea. (Girma and Merid 1964: pp16-17)

Their endeavors to a new kingdom were not simple and mere thing. They had spent many years and lost many lives due to backwardness of technology. Their first advent was in 1508 at Shoa, just when the emperor Naod had died, leaving the throne to Ləbnä Dəngəl. When Fernao Gomes, John Sanchez, and Sid Mohammed reached Shoa in

over the church of Ethiopia, but at the same time asking the pope to get the king of Portugal to send a body of soldiers to assist him (O'Leary: 1938:65) Merid also says 'Initially Susənyos exposed the cause of Catholicism simply because Paez promised to get him a substantial contingent of soldiers from Goa(India) to enable him to deal with the More than fifteen pretenders who were contending his throne..... Then Susənyos came to understand how the catholic church in Spain taught the people obedience to the catholic Monarch, and how religion was there fore how was the strong pillar towards the throne 3 The third reason for his adoption of Catholicism was to use it as an ideology with to weld all these motley collections of mercenaries and upstarts into solid phalanxes of elites (Merid: 1998:45) 4 Other possibility could be as

Budge says'...he was favorably impressed by the intelligence and learning of Jesuit priests when he compared their abilities with those of the native priests whose faith was that of the church of Alexandria. And the Austerity and self-denial and chastity of the Jesuits impressed him more, perhaps, than their intellectual requirements. (Budge: 1966:388)

1508 (Ibid: 23). So their attempt, generally speaking, started from the information of Europe at about 1145(p: 9).The relation with Portuguese had already started towards the end of the 15th c, and reciprocal envoy, had been exchanged between Lisbon and the Ethiopian court. (Tadesse Tamrat: 1970: 28)

After long time, they accustomed to the people because they all knew about the country. But their interest had come when the country needed help from abroad, especially during the reign of King Ləbnā Dəngəl, when he faced a war with Grañ (Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim). We can say that the Portuguese victory over the country became successful when the Muslims became strong. "The religious conflict with the Jesuit Mission was a by-product of the Muslim wars, since direct European involvement in Ethiopia only started after the Portuguese military assistance in 1541" (Tadesse Tamrat: 1972:301)

It is a common behaviour of foreigners to support the invaded to fulfill their interest. That was why the Jesuits, after having a victory over the Muslims warriors in 1541, asked Gälawdewos (The successor of Ləbnā Dəngəl) for a land for their settlement and a promise to be bishops over the Ethiopian church. It could also be said that the gift of the land by Susənyos may have connection with their inquiry. "Knowing how much the emperor Gälawdewos depended for his many wars on these soldiers Bermudes⁴ tried to use their leverage to force him into fulfilling at least

⁴ In Alvarez's book Bermudez is Mester John, the surgeon and physician of the mission who decided to stay behind when the mission returned to India in 1520. (Alvarez; 1961:Vol I: 61) Whenever Alvarez celebrated Mass or heard confessions a certain John Gomes, a Portuguese priest who had been sent to Ethiopia some thirteen years before, assisted him. Had Bermudes been an ordained priest Alvares would have availed himself of his assistance, at least to satisfy Ləbnā Dəngəl and the clergy who were along telling him that celebrating Mass with less than three priests was not correct. This man stayed behind when Dom Rodrigo (later followed Matthew who appointed ambassador of John of the Indies) returned to Europe and became famous as Joao Bermudez. He was sent to Portugal to ask help against the Somali invaders and when reached Lisbon claimed that he had been consecrated by the head of the Ethiopian church as his successor and sent to Rome to convey to the pope Ethiopia submission to the Holy See; he alleged

to of his father's alleged promises—to convert to Catholicism to help him transform the Ethiopian church by recognizing him as its head and patriarch..... “When Ləbnä Dəngəl's fortunes were at low ebb, the Abunä Marcos lay on his death bed, and the king begged the dying Abunä to institute Bermudez ‘according to the custom patriarch of Abyssinia. This was done and Ləbnä Dəngəl commissioned Bermudez to proceed over land and make his submission to the pope, and obtain confirmation of his election as head of the Abyssinian church. After this was done, he went to Portugal and begged material help from the king. (Whiteway: 1952; 1952)

But Gälawdewos replied “You are not our father, nor a prelate, but patriarch of the Franks, and you are an Arian, for you have four Gods, and you are not in future to call yourself my father”(Merid: 1998:37). This could be the reason that king Susənyos was very generous in giving lands and other properties to the Jesuits. “The new emperor Susənyos granted that the lands given to the Jesuits should be settled up on them forever, which is that country is done after this manner...the lands thus given enjoys great immunities, and is perpetual.”(Tellez: 1710:180) Khazanov sees their advent as colonizing. “A Portuguese gentry's settlement in Ethiopia became a colonizer outpost”(Khazanov: 1994: 191) And Alvarez's record shows, as for help and equally with their political benefit, for the propagation of the catholic faith. “The Barnagais⁵ brought with him 200 men on horse back and on mules and more than 2000 men on foot. When our gentlemen and captains saw this new thing, which God had so sent, and how a path was opened for exalting the “Holy Catholic faith..... (Whiteway: 1952: 61)

that the pope had confirmed this consecration and had also consecrated him patriarch of Alexandria. Most of his story was certainly false. (Ibid. Whiteway:MDCCCCII:Xcv)

⁵ Or Bahr Nāgash , the ruler of the sea, the title of the governor of the Northern frontier of Abyssinia, which originally came down to the sea.(Ibid:3-4)

Political Feature

In addition to the cultural and diplomatic contacts, a completely different interest preoccupied the Europeans in their relations with the Christian Ethiopia. Thus, almost completely ignorant of the history and the spiritual heritage of the Ethiopian church, the Portuguese sought to act as the agent of the See of Roma.”(Tadesse Tamrat: 1970:29)

Their interest to have contact with Ethiopia, as we have seen above, is equally balanced with their need. “The ambassador was to find out how much aid Portugal could expect from Ethiopia in the event of war with the Moslems. Dom Rodrigo was to secure Ləbnä Dəngəl’s permission for the fortification of some Ethiopian ports by Portuguese. He was also to obtain information on the mineral resources and other commercially useful aspects of Ethiopian economy.”(Girma and Merid: 1964:30) But regarding the value of Christianity they had a significant importance.

After they controlled the palace, they showed interest to fill their politico-religious mission. To accomplish this and to convert the country to Catholicism, political success was an essential issue. So to capture the king’s mind, especially Pedro Paez, pretended as a very honest and humble person by keeping the instruction of priesthood and by showing an exemplary life, which had not been seen from the Orthodox. “In Pedro Paez, he saw a deeply religious and learned man, whose body and brains were working at alltimes to spread abroad the faith which he professed.

He fasted and prayed and toiled hard at manual labor as the ordinary artisan of the county. He designed palaces and monasteries with excellent taste, and he has made himself master of trades of the builders mason, carpenter and black smith in the nineteen years of his life as missionary in Abyssinia. His humility and modesty were great as he learning, and his cheerfulness and address were such that even those who hated his opinion loved the man. The native clergy could produce no man like him.” (Budge: 1966:388)



Ludolph recorded the event as “After Jacob (the then emperor before Susənyos) was killed, Susənyos become lord of Habessinia, who again kindly received and entertained peter (Peter Paez) together with his companion and to all his requests lent a most gracious ear (Ludolph: 1982: 327)

Religious Disturbances

Directly or indirectly and for a limited period of time they were successful in propagating their religion. After they had been expelled, their religious teachings remained and some religious sects like qəbat and šäga were their traces.

After having victory over the king, they boldly and effectively started their mission of religion. “During their short sojourn in Ethiopia, the Jesuits had done a great deal of damage and they had seriously distributed the spiritual stability of the Ethiopian Church.”(Tadesse Tamrat 1970:29) “The reign of Susənyos was too troubled a period for a successful religious revolution.” (Girma Beshah 1964:97) “Especially towards the last half of his reign, there were religious wars several of which were waged against the people, and the king’s advisors, either to exterminate or to compel them to accept the Roman form of Christianity.”(Budge: 1966:388)

Their success in proclaiming their religion enabled them to alter and replace their standpoint over orthodox teaching. So, many churches were closed and canons were replaced. The hagiography states the event of the era as “ወቦ እለ ቦኡ በዛቲ ሃይማኖት ርኩስት በእንተ ፍርሃተ ሞት -There were others who accept the defiled religion of Rome because of fearing death’. (ZM f41ra).

It was easy for the king to take a serious and harsh measure because all physical power was on his hand.

Following the edict of the king (see page 63), the Jesuits amended some sacraments and replaced them with their own. “On the days of the king

many orthodox religious alternations made. The complete religious revolution, customs directly or indirectly associated with the teachings of the Orthodox Church were modified or altered. In 1624

1. Divorce was made illegal
2. Disputes between husband and wife were transferred from civil to ecclesiastical courts
3. The judges of the new courts were selected and appointed by the Jesuits
4. Circumcision was prohibited
5. The precepts of the orthodox church on fasting on Wednesdays, Fridays, the great lent and other longer seasons were amended
6. The missionaries persuaded the people to eat the meat of rabbits, pigs and other animals forbidden by the Ethiopian church
7. The Mass had to use the new versions of the services.
8. The hours of Mass and other services followed the practice of the Catholic Church.
9. The calendar based on the Gregorian substituted the Coptic system.
10. Monasteries and churches became centers of missionary activities.
11. Ethiopian priests were forbidden to conduct church services and many monasteries were closed.” (Girma and Merid: 1964:92)

The king's Situation

The text describes with clear terms the stand of king Susənyos.

In the 10th year, the Roma religion openly preached to all people from a hidden place.

Then the Portuguese's attempt to reach Ethiopia was motivated by what they heard about Prester John of the Indies and by their desire to create political and economical alignment with Ethiopia and then to covert the country to Catholicism. The effort to convert the kings of Ethiopia to Catholicism started during Ləbnä Dəngəl and continued to Susənyos. So

they were successful in converting the king to Catholicism, because handling the king means handling the country.

The conversion of king Susənyos to Catholicism made the country messy and put the orthodox faith in trouble and the people in vain. These troubles could create many orthodox apologists like Ḥara Dəngəl, Wälätä pēṭəros and others.

The missionaries sympathized with the emperor's struggles to dominate the elements of decentralization and disorder. Likewise, Susənyos was favorably impressed by the methodical approach of the Jesuits to religious problems.

The aim of his conversion to Catholicism was recorded as "he came to learn that the Jesuits were in many ways the opposite of the Ethiopian clergy. The former stood for order and hierarchical organization. They were for absolutism in religion as well as in politics. The latter, on the other hand, had distaste for centralized authority and rigid subordination. Further, the emperor saw in the Ethiopian clergy allies to his enemies as unruly nobility. He remembered clearly the roles they had played in the overthrow of Yaʿqob in 1603 and of Zä Dəngəl in 1604. The realization of the fact that the Jesuits were trying to bring to religion the order and absolutism he was fighting to achieve in politics drew the emperor towards the missionaries". (Girma Beshah 1964:79)

So generally, his intention towards Catholics was directly or indirectly and whether religious or not was to gain a political benefit and to strengthen his throne. Not to lose the benefit he gets from the Jesuits, the king was very inconvenient with them and had no position against their will and decides.

He was also encircled by Paez's false praise and felt righteousness that his deeds were accomplished by the will of God. "Susənyos considered himself God chosen instrument for the salvation of the Ethiopian people. Paez, on whose spiritual guidance the emperor greatly relied, reminded

the emperor that his victories over his enemies were signs of God's favors". (Ibid: 85)

When the people refused to accept the roman religion and to keep the king edict, he passed different rules to force them towards the Roman religion. "When Sus፡nyos found that the people would have none of the new religion, he tried to effect by force what he could not do by edict. He began to persecute those who clung to their old faith, and unfortunately the patriarch Mendez encourage him in this course" (Budge 1966:391) His unfair edict, which did not last long and only continued until the death of the king, stretched to death by swords, made many church scholars and lattés to decide to give their lives to their fathers religion. (If you stand against this proclamation, which came out from the heart of the king, your money will be allotted, your house will be confiscated and you will be killed with sword and spear.

The king's force measure was unveiled, the sword was next unsheathed, when followed those terrible commotions and bloody wars that have almost ruined the most flourishing part of Ethiopia. (Ludolp1982:331)

The standing of the people

As we have seen above, the majority of the people were against the roman religion. Regarding this it is recorded in the book called nägärä haymanot as "እኔ ሱስንዮስ ያዕቆብን ገድለው 25 ዓመት ነግሰዋል 16 ዓመት በሕይወት (አርቶዶክስ ሆኖ) 9 ዓመት በመከራ ነው። የግራኝ ወገን ሰብአ ወሎ የሚያስገዛቸው ቢሆን ከሮም እርዱኝ ብለው ላኩ(እነርሱም) በአባቶችህ ጊዜ ርስት ተቀብለናልና ዛሬ አንድ አካል ሁለት ባሕርይ ያልህ እንደሆነ እንረዳህለን አሉ። እሳቸውም እሺ ጳጳስ ስደዱልኝ ብለው ላኩ እነዚያም በመስከረም ይመጣልሃል ብለው ላኩ.....በመስከረም ጳጳስ አውፍንሶ (አልፎንሱ) ከነ አስተርጓሚው ደንቀዝ ሳሉ ገባላቸው..... መምህራኑ መነኮሳቱ አንድ አካል ሁለት ባሕርይ አንልም አሉ በፈረንጅ ሃይማኖት አናምንም አሉ በፈረንጆቹ ቁርባንም አንቆርብም አሉ። ያልተማሩ ሰዎች ስንዴ ቀርቶ በአፍርንጅ (ፈረንጅ) ቁርባን ቁረቡ አሉ። የተማሩ ሰዎች እንሙት እንጂ

አናደርገውም አሉ። በዚህ የተነሳ አንድ አካል ሁለት ባሕርይ አንልም ብለው ያለቁት ሕዝብ 67777 ናቸው ያን ጊዜ የተሰደዱት ስፍር ቁጥር የላቸውም.....(EMML 1710)

King Susənyos, after killing Yaʿeqob, reigned for 25 years. He spent 16 years with the orthodox faith and 9 years with trouble. When Grañ, with the people of Wollo became powerful, he sent a message to the people asking them to help him. They replied that they had received part from his father and if he believed one person and two natures in Jesus Christ, they would help him. He then asked them to send him a bishop. They replied in September that a bishop would be sent.....In September bishop Alfonso arrived with the translator when he was at dānqāz. They (the Portuguese) ordered the king to proclaim himself as the king of Rome and to compel the people to accept the Roman religion, to say one person and two natures and if any one of them is against it they will be punished by sword. The scholars and the monks boycotted their teaching. They said that they did not believe in the religion of whites and did not participate in their communion. The illiterate participated, whereas the literate did not. As a result, many people were expelled, and around 67,777 were killed.”

“ከሉ ዐመፁ በእንተ ዝንቱ ነገረ አፍርንጅ ከመ ትሚጥ ሃይማኖተ እስክንድርያ- All refused against the whites in order to return back the religion of Alexandria.” (From which Ethiopian Orthodox Church derived) (Basset 1882:28)

The combat of the Saint

The whole text deals with and states the biography, the combat, the panegyric and miracles of the saint. It officially has given a special emphasis to his combat for his religion and against the king and the Jesuits. He was accused by one of his relative (son of his sister) of not receiving the religion of Rome. (See résumé of the life) (f41Vb)

There was a man, who was the son of his sister and who willingly accepted the religion of Rome. He told the king that there was a monk who did not accept the Religion of Rome.

The days of the saint, as we have seen earlier, faced serious trouble, which brought an extreme destruction over Christian subjects. According to the hagiography, the saint was a shelter for many who were afraid of the edict of the king “አቡነሰ ሐራ ድንግል ዘያጸንዕ በሃይማኖት ከሉ ሰብእ ዘይመጽኡ ጎቤሁ ዘይሰምዑ ምክረ ዚአሁ ወይትወክፎሙ ወያበውኡሙ ወያጋድሮሙ ውስተቤቱ -- Our father Hara Dəngəl’ was strengthening those who were coming to him and hear his advice. He welcomed and received many in his home.” (f41ra&b)

That was why the hagiography, because of fearing the edict of the king against the orthodox Christians, recorded the standing of the people who converted towards Catholicism. (See f 40 V b) “In 1621, the Damots⁶ rose in arms, on the same account of keeping the Saturday, at the instigation of either monks, or Bahətawis⁷ , but the viceroy Səṣəlä Kəṣətos⁸ defeated them, killing above 3000, and among them many of those were the religious hermits.”(Telles1710:212) “ሐልቁ ሰብእ በእንተ ነገረ አፍርንጅ አመ፲ወ፳ ዓ.ም ለግንቦት ዕለተ ቅዳሜ ሰንበት Because of the Whites(the Jesuits), many people were persecuted on May 18 on the Sabbath of Saturday” (BASSET1882:27). As Budge explained the era of Susənyos more a ‘religious war’, especially on the adherents of the orthodox faith, it was full of a serious problem.

The saint, in this regard, was accused by one of his relative as anti-Catholicism. “ወሀሎ አሀዱ ብእሲ ቅሩብ ንጉሥ ወልደ እህቱ ለአቡነነገረ ዜና አቡነ ለንጉስሥ እንዘ ይብል ሀሎ አሀዱ መነኮስ ገዳማዊ ዘኢቦአ ውስ ሃይማኖትነ
There was a man who was very close to the king and who was the son of

⁶ People who live in the southern part of Gojam. It was the original kingdom which till the Galla (now Oromo) invasion in the middle of the 16th century was south of Abbay. Since that time, as the result of Galla pressure, it had been north of Abbay.(Alvarez:1961:Vol II, 455. See also the map on Whiteway)

⁷ Who are a sort of monks

⁸ The brother of the king and who was a serious supporter of the Jesuits and converted to Catholicism and persecuted and killed many of his subjects in fever of the roman religion and the king (Ludolph:1982:218, Budge:1966:390, Telles:1710:212)

the saint's sister ...He told the news of the saint to the king as there was a monk who did not inter to our religion." (F41Vb). But the saint boldly professed his religion without fearing the king and accused the king as broken his forefathers' religion and went into heresy. But when we consider the cruel measure of the king, it is difficult to accept the statement as it is, "The king who was never fearful was now more emboldened by his victory. (Ludolphus1987:332).

In the other side, equally we could also believe the saint was the only one who boldly rebuked the king without fear. Ludolphus, without mentioning a name simply states "The edict of accepting there were two natures in Christ, who was regarded very little by one particular monk, more willful and stubborn than truly zealous, who being for his contumacy brought before the king, and speaking in his presence more irreverently than became him, was severely scourged for his sowciness, of the pain and aguish of which chastisement, that the monk was only sensible, yet the fear of it kept others in awe, who not understanding that he was punished for his melee pertness, thought he had been so severely dealt with for the denying the two natures." (Ibid:329) "ንጉሡ እናቴ ወለተ ጴጥሮስን አራት ጊዜ አስረዋታል። ሐራድንግልን አስረው ቢወስዷቸው ገና ከከተማው ሳይገቡ ጦር ነጉድጓድ ነፋሳት አውርደው ግልብጥ ግልብጥ አድርገዋቸዋል እንዲህ ያለ ተአምር ሲሰሩ ጊዜ ያን መነኩሴ መልሱልኝ ከቦታው ይሂድ አሉ። The king imprisoned my mother Wälätä পেጅəros four times. And when the king imprisoned Hara Dəngəl, he roused whirlwind and turned everything upside down. When the king saw such miracle he says 'return that monk to his former place.' (EMML 1710 nāgārā haymanot)

It can be said that the saint strongly opposed to the teaching of the two natures theory of the Jesuits and boldly stressed his Alexandria way of teaching that is 'After incarnation there exist one nature but not two'

Contemporary saints

The hagiography mainly notes about the biography and the act of the saint with some other contemporary saints. It mentions names of some

monks and a nun. In general it describes, except Wälätä pētəros, the others because they do not have any document, written for them till that period.

Bäträ Maryam

“ በመዋዕሊሁ ለአቡነ ሐራ ድንግል ነበረ አቡነ በተረ ማርያም ዘዘጌ ቀርነ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ርእሰ ገዳማውያን ወምክሐ ባሕታውያን ምዑዝ ሃይማኖት... ይመጽኝ ኀበ አቡነ ሐራ ድንግል እምነ ዘጌ የኃድር ወይውኦል ምስሌሁ መጠነ ፈቀደ ወይዝያነዉ ዜና ምስጢራት ዘርእዩ በበሀብቶሙ ወዘተውሀቦሙ ኀበ እግዚአብሔር እስመ ጀሆሙ የኀብሩ በግብረ መነኮሳት መንፈሳውያን፡፡ ወእምህየ ይትነሣእ ወይነብር በዓፀደ ቅዱስ ሚናስ⁹ (Minas)..... ወእምዝ ይትመየጥ ውስተ ገዳሙ እንተ ትሰመይ ዘጌ ወእምኔሃ ይትነሣእ ወየሐውር ኀበ ካልእ ገዳም.....ወእዝ ስሙይ አንተ ዘምልዓ ዓለም ሶበ ኢተጽሕፈ ክብርክ በማየ ቀለም ወእዝ ፍቁር አንተ በኀቤነ ለጽሑፈ ገድልክ ጊዜ ካልኣነ.....ናሁኬ አኀበርነ ግብርሙ ለክልኤሆሙ አሀዱሰ አቡነ ሐራ ድንግል ወካልኡ በተረ ማርያም ውእቱ ዘጸዋዕነ ስሞ በመጽፈ ገድሉ ለአቡነ ሐራ ድንግል ዘይምዕዝ ጼና ፍቅሩ ከመ ኮል ወያበርህ ስኑ ንጽሑ እምብርሃነ ፀሓይ ጽዱል እስመ ኀዱር ላእሌሁ ጸጋ መንፈስቅዱስ ኃያል ወፍጻሜሃ ውእቱ ለሥርዓተ ቅዱስ ወንጌል፡፡(ff33r-34rb) During his days Hara Dəngəl had a friend called Bäträ Maryam of Zäge who was servant of the church, head of the monks, guarantee for the Anchorites who relied on him, and guarantee for the religion.....he had to come and spend days as he wished. Both were discussing about their graces and gifts which had been received from God. Both also were looking after each other and performing their duty

“From his place he had to go to St. Mina’s church and he had gone to an island called Rema. There he spent two weeks and then returned back to his monastery called Zege.....Even if you are the very great monk, nothing was written about you and since you are being beloved among us, time restrict us not to write your hagiography.

“Now we deliver both works. The first is Hara Dəngəl and the second is, whose love is shiny and his righeousness is a reflective light, whom we

⁹ A church to the East West direction from the monastery of Hara Dəngəl

called in the hagiography of Ḥara Dəngəl, Bāträ Maryam. On him the power and the grace of Holyspirit filled. He was also the one who fulfill the order of Gospel.

Ṣəge Dəngəl

“እምብዝኃ ገድሉ ለአቡነ ሐራ ድንግል ይመጽኡ ኀቤሁ መነኮሳት ጸድቃን ወክቡራን ወይነሥኡ በረከተ እምኔሁ። ወአሀደ እምኔሆሙ ጽጌ ድንግል ዘመጥና መምህረ ሃይማኖት ወመዝገበ ትሩፋት ወመሠረተ ቅድሳት። ወይመጽእ ኩሎ ጊዜ አቡነ ጽጌ ድንግል ኃበ አቡነ ሐራ ድንግል እስመ ወልደ ወልድ ዘእጉሁ ውእቱ በሥጋ ወወልደ ዚአሁ ውእቱ በጸጋ። ወልጎቀ(ወልህቀ) ውእቱ ጽጌ ድንግል ምስለ አቡነ ሐራ ድንግል መጺኦ ውስተ ገዳሙ እም ቤተ አቡሁ እስከ ይልሕቅ (ይልህቅ) ወይበጽሕ ኀበ መዓርገ ክብር መንፈሳዊ እንዘ ይትሜሐር (ይትሜሀር) እም አቡነ ሐራ ድንግል ትምህርተ ትሩፋት ወገድል።

አቡነሂ ጽጌ ድንግል ይመጽእ ነበረ ኀበ አቡነ ሐራ ድንግል ለትምሕ(ህ)ሮ ግብረ መነኮሳት ወለተልዕኮ ወለተአዝዞ ሎቱ ረኪቦ አርኣያወበነገር ዘተናገርነ ጸኒያ ጽጌ ድንግል ዓለመ መነ ወሰማዕተ ኮነ ምስለ ሐራ ድንግል እስመ ተሐጽነ። (ff34rb-

35rb) Because of the great combat of Ḥara Dəngəl many reverend and merciful monks came to him and received benediction. Among them was Ṣəge Dəngəl of Mäguna, who was the teacher of religion, the founder of sanctity, and the book of kindness. Our father Ṣəge Dəngəl was coming to our father Ḥara Dəngəl everyday. He was his cousin and spiritual son. He grew in the monastery of Ḥara Dəngəl learning kindness and other spiritual virtues.

“Our father Ṣəge Dəngəl came to Ḥara Dəngəl to learn the virtue of monks and to serve them..... Ṣəge Dəngəl lived courageous life and forsook the world and became a martyr with Ḥara Dəngəl.

Wälätä পেতেরোস

The famous saint in the text was Wälätä পেতেরোস¹⁰. Huntigfod indicates that she was born in 1594 and that she was daughter of Bahar sägäd

¹⁰ When she reached adulthood, she was engaged to a man from the officers of Susənyos celled መልከዐ ከርከቶስ mälkeça kərəstos. He was the advisor of the king Susənyos. So he married her

this she became a very blessed, sancty and rirhteous woman among her contemporary women. She served God loyally all her life. Because of His love she forsook the world and her comfortable life. On her nunhood life she received torture, passion and was also imprisoned.

We mentioned her saying ‘she heard the news of our father’ in the hagiography Hara Dəngəl. She was one among from others who knows the deeds of our father and from others who knows God, Who gives richness to men and women, servants, kings, officers, priests and deacons, and also among those who understand the mercifulness of God. So from this she had to love and honoured our father Hara Dəngəl and she had to come to him to receive blessing.”

She lived in the same manner with the era of Abunä Hara Dəngəl, that was why the text describes as “.....ስምዓት ዜናሁ ለአቡነ (ሐራድንግል) she heard the news of our father (Abunä Hara Dəngəl” she lived with the reign of three kings namely Susənyos (1607-1632), Fasiladas (1652-1667) and yohannes (1667-82) (kinefe Rigb Zelleke 1975:94)

She was strongly against the religion and teaching of the Jesuits. “ወሀለወት አሐቲ ብእሲት ፈራሂት እግዚአብሔር ጸድቅት ወተጋዳሊት በእንተ ሃይማኖተ ሃይማኖተ ርትዕት ዘስማ ወለተ ጴጥሮስ እመምኔት ዘገዳመ ቆራጸ(qoraṣa)¹¹ In the monastery called qoraṣa , there had been a woman who was the

¹¹ The monastery of qoraṣa was possessed by the sects of Qibat and ṣāga. If, according to the source, she was there, she might be able to be of the adheret of Qibat and ṣāga. This could also imples, Abunä Hara Dəngəl was, but not quite sure, among the Qəbats and ṣāgas, because she was coming to him and was taking blessing. ወበእንተ ዝንቱ ታፈቅሮ ወታከብሮ ወለተ ጴጥሮስ ለአቡነ ሐራድንግል ወትመጽእ ንቤሁ በትጋህ ለተወክፎ ቡራኤ. So Wälätä pēṭəros loves and respect him. Corageously she came to him to receive blessing ወተንጦአት ሶቤሃ ጸድቅት ወለቲ ወባረከቶሙ ለኩሎሙ ሰብእ ቋራ.....ዘይባርከከሙ ቡሩክ ለይኩን፡፡ ወዘይረግመከሙ ርጉሙ ለይኩን፡፡ ወይቤሎ ኩሎሙ በ፩ዱ ቃል አምኔን፡፡.....ወዘንተ ኩሎ በረከተ ዘባረከቶሙ እስመ ርቱዕ ሃይማኖቶሙ ወይብሉ በቅባት የባሕርይ ልጅ.....This saint came to the people of Qwara and blessed themwho bleess you, will be blessed. Any one, who curses you, will be cursed. All said with one word Amen.....who were blessed with all these blessing were the followers of the truth religion, who confess by unction (ቅባት) Christ became the son of God (Qəbat) (Guidi. 1910: 16) Trely they were the followers of Qəbat and ṣāga

head of the nuns and who was fearing God. She was truthful and was defender of her religion.” (Guidi 1910:15)

The nun, in all her earthly combat, strongly stood against the teaching of two natures, which was descended from Leo. And also she was traveling to the Christian communities to strengthen them in their faith. “ወነበረት እምነ ቅድስት ወለተ ጴጥሮስ እንዘ ትሜህሮሙ ለሰብአ ወልድባ ሃይማኖት ርትዕት ወትጌሥጸሙ ከመ ኢይትወክፉ ሃይማኖት አፍርንጅ ርኩሰት (Conti.Rossini1912:43).....ወገሠጸቶሙ ለሰብአ ሀገር ከመ ኢይትወክፉ ሃይማኖት ልዩን ርኩሰት.....(Ibid:26)....Our mother Wälätä péteros was with the people of Waldäba¹², teaching the true religion and advising people not to accept the defiled religion of the whites.....she rebuked the people of the country not to accept the religion of Lyon.”

Her enthusiasim towards her religion brought her a serious opposition from the king. The major part of her hagiography states the pictorial event of the reign of king Susənyos infever to the Roman Religion and her combat against the Jesuits. As we have seen earlier, the king who accepted the religion of Rome was a serious enemy of this nun. “ወእምዝ ሶበ ሰምዓ ንጉሥ ሱስንዮስ ከመ ሀለወት እምነ ወለተ ጴጥሮስ በሀገረ ጸለምት ተምዓ ጥቀ.....ወይቤ ለእመ ኀደግዋ ኢትኃድገነ ፡፡ ወለእመ መሐርክዋ ኢትምሕረኒ.....(Guidi:1910:44)” when the king heard that our mother Wälätä péteros was living in the land of şälämt¹³, he became very angry and says ‘if I let her, never let me her, and if I mercy her, never she mercy me.”

Like saint Hara Dəngəl, this nun also was brought to the king many times.

¹² The famous monastery found in the region of Gondar

¹³ A small province in Gondar

Chapter Six

Religious /Theological/ Value

Although hagiographies mainly deal with religious matters, they are also very important as they directly or indirectly present what a history of an era looks like. This manuscript is useful; it shows spiritual life of the saint and to some extent about the Christological teaching of Christianity.

The Manuscript is rich of religious affairs. A certified traditional church scholar and modern theologian can understand its value, which states the co-equality of Christ with His Father and Holy Spirit and the incarnation of the two natures (the Humanity and Divinity) in one person Jesus Christ.

This hagiography also deals about, among the five pillars of sacraments of the Ethiopia Orthodox Church, the incarnation, the unity of Divinity and humanity in one person Jesus Christ, contradicting the two-nature theory of Catholics.

Besides the Orthodox teaching of the forefathers, the text puts side by side the teaching of the Roman Catholicism. For better understanding we can see their teachings about the Incarnation from the hagiography.

The Roman / Jesuit teachings/

“ካህናተ ሮምያ ርኩሳን እለ ይትአመኑ በብሂሎ ህ ባሕርይ ወህግብር እምድገረ ተዋሕዶ ቃል በነሂአ ሥጋ ወነፍስ እምድንግል ወይከፍልዎ ለ[] አካል ወ[] ባሕርይ ንበ ህ እንዘይብሉ መለኮት ይገብር ግብረ መለኮት ወትስብእት ይገብር ግብረ ትስብእት (ff₃₉V_b-40Ra) -The impure priests of Rome who believe in two natures and two persons in Christ says after the Logos (Word), born from the virgin from her flesh and soul, by partitioning one nature and one person into two and say the Divinity performs the duty of divinity and humanity performs the duty of humanity.”

What their teaching looked like was mentioned in one of the book called **ፀወነ ነፍስ** *dāwānā nāfs*, meaning 'Asylum of the soul', by unknown writer as “ወበእንተኒ እለ ይነብቡ ላዕለ ክርስቶስ ወይብልዎ ክልኤ ጠባይዕ ወክልኤ ፈቃድ ሶባ አስጠሞሙ ቀላየ ዕበድ ወአጽለሞሙ ደረተ ዝንጋኤ አንሰ አነክር በእንተ ዘይቤለኒ ፩ እምደቂቀ ልዮን ለባሴ ሰፋድል በ(ቦ)ኑ ትሰምዮ ለክርስቶስ መለኮተ ወእቤ እወ እስምየ (Cerulli 1950: 110)- Those who were sank by forsaking, renouncement and became blind by forgetfulness, who stood against Christ as having two nature and person.....one of the children of Leo, when he says ‘do you say Christ is divinity? I became surprised and I say ‘yes I say Christ is divine’.”

The other sources also present similar teaching with the text “ፈረንጅ ንስጥሮላውያን ሁለት አካል ሁለት ሁለት ባህሪ ይላሉ፡ ልዮናውያንም እንዲሁ አንድ አካል ሁለት ባህሪ ይላሉ (EMML 942:F33 V) *Färäng* (the whites) Nestorians believe in two natures and two persons in Christ . The Lyons also believes.”

One of the famous book called *Mäzḡabä hayəmanot* literally means ‘religious Archive’ is believed have been written in days of the Jesuits, in the 17th C (Budge:1966:155) says “ንስጥሮላውያን ከመዝ ይቤሉ ክርስቶስ **Π** አካል ወ/ ፈቃድ ወ/ ባህርይ ወይቤሉ መለኮት ይገብር ግብረ መለኮት ወትስብእት ይገብር ግብረ ትስብእት፡፡ ወጦማረ ልዮን ዘፈነዋ ትሜህር ከመዝ (Cerulli:1960:Vol,II&II) - The Nestorians say that Christ is one person with two natures, two conducts, two wills ... They also say divinity performs the duty of divining and humanity performs the duty of humanity. The letter, which was sent by Lyon, teaches like this.”

In the later times, Ludolphus, who observed the schismatic period, recorded the days of the teaching of Paez, (One among the sent ambassador from the king of Spain), and added much more concerning the king’s affection to the Roman religion. Frequent disputations were also appointed, of which the chief was concerning the two natures in Christ, which ,being easily demonstrable out of the writings of the Habesines (Abyssinians) themselves, People are obliged to believe that

Christology of St. Cyril and his non chalcedonies followers. That was the followers of one nature theory” [Getachew Haile 1998: 48]

So the teaching of Cyril, mentioned in this text is ኢትዮጵያ ሊተ እስመ እንተ ተፈለጠ ህይወት ለአማኑኤል (f40Rb) Cyril, Arch bishop of Alexandria, says in his letter ‘Don’t separate the Logos from the Flesh. Who separates the Logos from the Flesh will believe Emmanuel as two natures.

The teaching of Orthodox faith described in the text as “ወበውእቱ ጊዜ ፈለሰት ሃይማኖተ እስክንድርያ ቅድስት እንተ ተአምን ብሂላ []ዱ ውእቱ መለኮት ወትስብእት በተዋህዶ እምድገረ ተዋህዶስ አልቦቱ ፍልጠት ወክፍለት በብሂላ ክልኤቱ አካል ወክልኤቱ ባሕርይ ወክልኤቱ ግብር አላ አህዱ አካል ወአሐዱ ባሕርይ ወአሐዱ ግብር ውእቱ ዘመለኮት ወትስብእት ንቡር. (Ff39-40vb&ra) -At that time (at the reign of Susānyos) the religion of Alexandria which believes that there is one divinity and humanity after the incarnation, and that after the incarnation there is no separation and partition as two will, person and deed, but there is one person of the divinity and humanity, and one person, one nature and one deed, was expelled.”

Also other Ethiopic sources give similar affirmation, broadly explaining the one nature theory. Human nature of Christ is equal to His divinity. They acknowledge two natures but changes into one will and one operation without changing, without separation and without division in Christ.

The teaching of the Orthodox faith, which is stated above, is concluded as “The two natures of God head and manhood, the teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, are perfectly united and Christ is thus one person and one nature from two natures. After the union, it is impossible to separate Christ as being in two natures. By the union of the natures by the incantation, the two natures become one nature, the natures being united without separation, without confusion and without change” (Aymro wondmagegnehu 1970:95)

The hagiography, which states the incarnation, signifies or shows the clear theological stand of the Ethiopian Church.

“ከሁለት አካል አንድ አካል ከሁለት ባሕርይ አንድ ባሕርይ በመሆን ተዋሐዱ ነአምን ቦቱ ከመ ውሕቱ በዱ መሢሐ ወበዱ እግዚእ ወበዱ አካል ወበዱ ገጽ እግዚአብሔር ቃል ዘተሰገወ (EMML 1036:ff103-106) It is incarnated by being from two persons as one person and from two natures as one nature.....we believes in one Messiah, one Lord, one person and one face as Word of God has incarnated.”

Such difference in two natures and one nature thoughts, started just after the council of Chalcedon, which is not accepted by the five Oriental Churches (They are Ethiopia, India (Malabar Orthodox), Syria, Armenia and Egypt (Coptic Orthodox).

“After the council of Chalcedon arose a serious controversy chiefly concerning with the description of the person of Christ and the attempt to explain the precise relation between the Deity and the Man hood which were brought together the incarnation” (O’ Leary 1936:27). “The very beginning in the matters of Dogma the Ethiopian Church was on the side of the Alexandrian Patriarch who opposed the definition of the Chalcedonian Christological formula (That is the teaching of two natures in Christ).” (Sergew Hablesehessie 1972:112)

« የሁለቱ አካላት (መለኮትና ሥጋ) ውህደት አንድ ነው። ከተዋህዶ በኋላ ሁለት አካል ወይም ሁለት ባህርይ የለም። አንድ አካልና አንድ ባህርይ ብቻ እንጂ (EMML 942 f 35:R); The incarnation of the two persons (Divinity and humanity) is one. After incarnation there are no more two natures, but only one person and one nature.”

“ንሕነኒ ነአምን ቦቱ ወንብል ወበከመ ተወልደ እማገፀነ ድንግል በ፩ ባህርይ ወበ፩ አካል ። ወከማሁ ነአምን ቦቱ ከመ ሎቱ በ ፈቃድ ወ/ ሥምረት- We believe by saying when He was born from the Virgin womb,born with one nature and person. Like this we believe he was one will.” (Cerulli 1960: V.II.157)

So the hagiographical teaching on the incarnation is another evidence for the one nature adherents which figures out the event of the 17th century teaching, especially to summarize about the supremacy of the Jesuits over the native Ethiopians.

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Conclusion

Hagiographies are sources for the study of history, language, social and political status of a certain country. Primarily they focus on the life of a saint and secondly about religion that the text deals with.

Hagiography can provide a crop of information on those minute facts so important for social and economic history, religion, anthropology and so on.

This paper generally studied the historical, religious and textual parts of the hagiography of Abunä Hara Dəngəl. It is very important in dealing about the history of the middle of the 17th century of Ethiopia. It contained information about the political situation of the country, the religious and political status of the king, some contemporary saints, and the religious and political activities of the Jesuit missionaries and so on.

Religious matter is another aspect that this paper dealt with. The spiritual life of the saint and his family, the teaching of the orthodox faith against that of the two nature adherents, the teaching of Catholicism, the idea of Christology, legends and other biblical have been covered in this paper.

The philological part, which analyzed this text, is another component of this paper. By comparing two manuscripts - ZM and MRM- the paper tried to show the differences between the Manuscripts. The differences include relieving of words, addition of new words, homoteleuton error, morphological comparison, and metathesis and so on.

In general, further investigation and comparison between other similar hagiographies (if exist) should be done since the saint lived at the reign of king Susenyous who altered the political and religious habit of the country.

Finally, because the paper organized structurally, I believe that it gives an insight in to the entire context of the hagiography.

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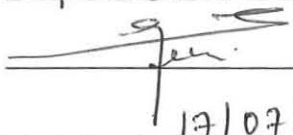
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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been to 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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Confirmed by Advisor:

Name: _____
Signature: _____
Date: _____

Place and date of submission: _____