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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
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TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF GÄDLÄ YÖM'ATA

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Textual Analysis of Gädlä Yəm'ata

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By:

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Addis Ababa

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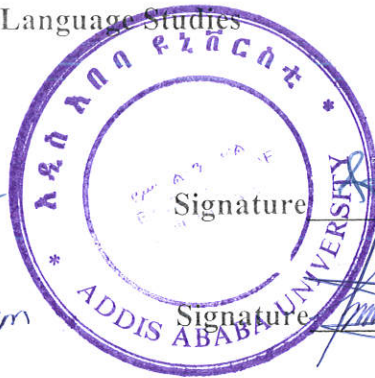
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ABBREVIATIONS

A	ʿAddi -ʿAgwa
B11	ʿAddi- Bäläw1
B12	ʿAddi- Bäläw2
Br	Maryam-Bäraqit
Bt	ʿAddi-Bati
f	folio
G	Guḥ
h	ʿAddi -ḥiza
Kʿ	kʿirkos-Hala
M	ʿAddi-Mäyda
Ms	Manuscript
Mss	Manuscripts
Rc	Recto
Vr	Verso
Y	ʿAddi-Yəʿolo

TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration of fidäl (in Geez as well as the other Ethio-Semitic languages) remains problematic. There is no uniform and standardized system of transliteration for these languages. My transliteration may not be based on the International Phonetic Alphabet. However, I have tried to use the same phonological sound for the same word. The transliterations that are applied in this paper are listed below.

h	U
ħ	ሐ
x	ገ
k'	ቀ
č'	ጨ
q	ቸ
š	ሸ
s	ሠ/ሰ
s'	ረ/ሪ
j	ጃ
g ^w	ግ
ʿ	ዐ
ʔ	አ
p'	አ

ä	first order vowel	ሸ
u	second order vowel	ሐ
i	third order vowel	ሐ
a	fourth order vowel	ሐ
e	fifth order vowel	ሐ
ə	sixth order vowel	ሐ
o	seventh order vowel	ሐ

Some of these symbols are needed because there are words of Tigrigna, Amharic and Hebrew (?) written with these symbols in the manuscript.

ABSTRACT

Yəm'ata is one of the Nine Saints (Roman monks according to tradition) who came to Ethiopia in the 5th - 6th centuries. This period is known as the Second Christianization of Ethiopia. All the Nine Saints contributed a great deal to the spreading of Christianity throughout the Northern parts of Ethiopia. Each of the Nine Saints has his own hagiography. At least two of them have been edited and published by Italian scholars; for instance, Gädlä Arägawi by Ignazio Guidi and Gädlä P'ant'älewon by Conti Rossini. Gädlä Yəm'ata is among the unedited and unpublished hagiographies. Manuscripts of the hagiography of Saint Yəm'ata are found in Gär'alta and Wäjärat. The focus of this research is thus the textual analysis of Gädlä Yəm'ata. The researcher collected ten manuscripts of Gädlä Yəm'ata, digitalized and printed them. The objective of this study is to analyze philological and historical features of the manuscripts, to show the use of figurative language in the manuscripts, to show some linguistic and textual differences among the manuscripts and to propose a stemma for the manuscripts. This research will deliver a new primary source to historians, linguists and scholars of literature.

The analysis in this paper draws on interrelated fields (philology, history, linguistics and literature). Philologically, the paleography, parchment, number of folios, number of columns, penmanship, family tree, archetype, and sub-archetypes of the manuscripts have been analyzed. The researcher has also presented a brief comparative historical analysis of the names of the Nine Saints, where they came from, and where they lived in Ethiopia. The figurative language found in Gädlä Yəm'ata and some poems attributed to Yəm'ata have also been analyzed. Highly expressive and figurative poems about the likeness of Yəm'ata's body (መልክዓ፡ ይምዓታ) are given at the end.

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Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

The influence on Aksumite tradition of outside Christian culture of mainly the Mediterranean world, reached its first climax during the middle of the 4th century, when King Ezana was converted to Christianity. The second significant period for the spread of Christianity all over the northern region of Ethiopia is between the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century, when the Nine Saints, a group of Roman monks (according to tradition and the hagiography of Yəm'ata and other saints), came to the Aksumite kingdom. According to other traditions and some scholars, the Nine Saints are said to have been Syrian missionaries. "It is in fact more than a century after Ezana's conversion, with the advent of groups of Syrian missionaries – the S'adqan, and the Nine Saints—that the traditions of the church show definite signs of progress in the kingdom of Aksum" (Tadesse Tamrate 1972:22).

Edward Ullendorff (1962:102) explained some Geez words as Syriac Aramaic loan words and considered the missionaries as Syrians: haymanot ('faith'), orit ('Torah'), k'wərbān (oblation, sacrifice, Eucharist), s'älot ('prayer'), māk'däs (sanctuary), s'om ('fast'), etc... are among the Syriac loan words explained by him. Polotsky (1964) argues that the Aramaic loan words in Geez are not necessarily Syriac Aramaic. This weakens the argument that the Nine Saints were Syriac speakers and hence came from Syria.

It is clear, rather, that the Nine Saints were Greek speakers; in Gädlä Yəm'ata, when King Ella-Ameda met the them (as will be mentioned in

section 2.1.2.10), they said: እስሙ: ንሕነ: ሮማውያን: ወአንተ: ኢትዮጵያዊ:
አምጽእ: ለነ: ዘይሰምዕ: ቃለ: ሮም: ጅ:እምሰራዊታኩ::

‘We are Romans but you are an Ethiopian, bring one of your troops who can speak the Roman language’.

In the 4th and 5th centuries there were several Christian councils: Nicea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431) and the council of Chalcedon (451). The doctrinal decisions of all these councils, except the council of Chalcedon, were accepted and recognized by the Eastern Church. The issue was the nature of Christ. According to some, the human nature of Christ has been absorbed by the divine and thus disappeared, whereas the others believed that in Christ the human nature was perfectly united with the divine and a single nature resulted from this complete union. The latter view is termed monophysite at that time. However the representatives of the oriental Orthodox churches today strongly reject to their being called Monophysites. In August 29, 1976 in the Venna Christological declaration, it has been suggested as more appropriate to use the names Miaphysites or anti-chalcedonian for the adherents of the churches.

The Virgin (St. Mary) is the mother of God rather than of Christ (God’s human nature), and this is why she has a special place in the Ethiopian cult. The perfect unification of human and divine is also the dogma of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

According to many scholars like Ullendorff, the coming of the Nine Saints to Ethiopia is connected with the condemnation and persecutions of the monophysite belief in the wake of the Council of Chalcedon.

Edward Ullendorff (1962:101-102) said:

The monophysites who rejected the definition of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D 451) took refuge in Egypt, Arabia, and Abyssinia and thus contributed very notably to the spread of Christianity throughout the Aksumite Empire. At the same time their infiltration determined once and for all the fanatical adherence of Ethiopia to the monophysite doctrine. Among these fugitives were the famous 'Nine Saints' who came to Ethiopia in the fifth century, founded monasteries and engaged in the translation of the Bible into Ethiopic. The New Testament was rendered according to the Lucianic recension current in the patriarchate of Antioch- yet another aspect of the Syriac monophysite impact.

According to Ullendorff, it could be understood that the Nine Saints were Syrian missionaries who translated the Bible— but not necessarily from the Syriac language. The Syrian missionaries (according to him) might have known Greek, and the Syriac loan words found in the Geez Bible were probably directly copied from the Greek Bible, which in turn were borrowings from the Hebrew Bible.

The other point is that monophysite refugees came not only to Ethiopia, but also to Arabia and Egypt. Thus there might have been other saints who left Rome or Syria, but did not come to Ethiopia. Indeed, it might have been that the Nine Saints came to Egypt and Arabia before their arrival in Ethiopia. In all ten manuscripts of *Yəm'ata* (collected by the researcher), it says that the Nine Saints went from Rome to Jerusalem and then to Ethiopia. So the refugees who went to "Arabia" (according to Ullendorff) may be the Nine Saints themselves. Of course the saints who came to Ethiopia are not only the Nine Saints but also the S'adk'an, who are venerated mainly in Tigray and Eritrea.

According to Antonella Brita (2008:1188-1191), the reason for the coming of the Nine Saints has not yet been explained on the basis of reliable and scientific evidence. Based on the Gädl of Yəm'ata, the eight Saints (except Gerima) came to Ethiopia (Aksum) during the reign of king Ella-Ameda II, and Gerima came at the time of king Tazena (the son of king Ella-Ameda II). And all the Nine Saints left Aksum during the reign of king Gebre-Mäsqäl (the son of Kaleb and the grandson of Tazena). Their mission is believed to have extended from around the river Märäb, which is north of Aksum (today), to the district of Gärfalta, which is 50 kms north of the rock-hewn church of Abrha wä-As'əbha in Wəqro. Gärfalta is connected only with Yəm'ata. This area is believed to be the southern extremity of the Nine Saints' expansion. However, there are churches of some of the Nine Saints, though not popular, around 40-80kms south of Mekelle. The church of Guba is in Mayč'ew (Maḥəbärä Bäkru) and there is another church of St. Mary where Yəm'ata is highly venerated and commemorated every T'ək'əmt 28, in Wäjərat 'isra-'Addi (lit. 'Twenty district'). It is believed that Yəm'ata prayed there and that the mountain of the monastery of Yəm'ata in Gärfalta had physically come from Wäjərat. This mountain is called Däbrä Täyat'ron (lit. 'theater mountain'; explained in the manuscript as 'mountain reaching to the sky'). In these two churches the respective hagiographic manuscripts of St.Guba and St. Yəm'ata are found.

This thesis is devoted to Yəm'ata only. Ten manuscripts of Yəm'ata (unpublished) have been collected by the researcher. All the manuscripts have similar contents, but there are some polygenetic and conjunctive

errors. The conjunctive errors are very useful in classifying the manuscripts into a family tree or stemma.

There are some linguistic differences among the manuscripts. The variation seen in the following four manuscripts can serve as an example:

Ms 1: ፡፡ደረሰ ለዝንቱ ገድል ፡፡አቡነ ይምጻታ

zädäräso läzəntu gädli zä abunä Yəm'ata

Who composed this hagiography of our father Yəm'ata

Ms 2: ፡፡ደረሰ ለዝንቱ ገድል አቡነ ይምጻታ

zädäräsä läzəntu gädlä abunä Yəm'ata

Who composed this hagiography of our father Yəm'ata

Ms 3: ፡፡ደረሰ ለዝንቱ ገድል አቡነ ብፁዕ ብእሴ አግዚአብሔር ማር ይምጻታ

zädäräsä läzəntu gädlä abunä bäs'u' bə'əse 'əgzi'abher mar Yəm'ata

Who composed this hagiography of our father, the saint, man of God, respected, Yəm'ata

Ms 4: ፡፡ደረሰ ለዝንቱ ገድል ገድል አቡነ ብፁዕ ይምጻታ

zädäräsä läzəntu gädli gädlä abunä bäs'u' Yəm'ata

Who composed this hagiography, hagiography of our father saint Yəm'ata

There are some grammatical differences, and addition of words in some of the manuscripts. The construction of the genitive in Ms1 is different from the other manuscripts: here the genitive marker zä is attached to the possessor (zä-abuna), whereas in the other manuscripts the genitive is marked by the Construct state (gädl-ä) of the thing possessed. In Mss 3 and 4 Yəm'ata is explicitly called a saint, whereas in Mss1 and 2

nothing indicates that he is a saint, except the word gädl, which is found in all the manuscripts.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The hagiographies of the Nine Saints are invaluable sources of history, providing information on many of the kings of Ethiopia; they have historical value mainly for the second Christianization of Ethiopia. Some hagiographies of the Nine Saints have been edited and published by Italian scholars like Ignazio Guidi (Gädlä Arägawi) and Carlo Conti Rossini (Gädlä P'änt'älewon).

Gädlä Yəm'ata is among the unpublished manuscripts. To get reliable historical evidence as well as accurate linguistic analysis, a sound philological treatment of the manuscript is indispensable. The manuscripts will need to be properly edited and published. However, in this thesis the researcher will proceed directly to give historical, philological and some linguistic analysis even prior to editing the manuscripts.

This research also provides information as to where the southern extremity of the second Christianization of Ethiopia was located. Yəm'ata and Guba are the only saints (of the Nine Saints) who are venerated, whose holydays are celebrated, and the manuscripts of whose hagiographies are found in the southern part of Tigray.

1.3. Literature Review

Very little has been written that is directly relevant to Gädlä Yəm'ata, as this Gädl has never been published and there is no edition. There exist published Gädls of at least two of the Nine Saints: Gädlä Arägawi (Guidi

1896) and Gädlä P'änt'älewon (Conti Rossini 1904). A general treatment of the Nine Saints is the article by Antonella Brita in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. The Ethiopic Synaxarium is invaluable as well (Budge 1928). See also Kinefe Rigb Zeleke's hagiographical bibliography (1975).

Specific articles in the *Encyclopaedia* include articles on Afs'e, Alef, Gärima, Guba and several articles on Gär'alta (see References). Articles on the other Saints including Yəm'ata are to appear in the final volumes of the *Encyclopaedia*.

1.4. Objective of the Study

1.4.1 General objective

The general objective of this study is to carry out a textual analysis of Gädlä Yəm'ata and to briefly present all the unpublished manuscripts of Gädlä Yəm'ata.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

Specifically, the objectives of this research are:

To assemble all the manuscripts of Gädlä Yəm'ata.

To give a historical analysis comparing Gädlä Yəm'ata to other hagiographies of other saints (like Guba, Liqanos, Alef, Afs'e etc.), and to give the views of some scholars.

To show the physical features of the ten manuscripts of Gädlä Yəm'ata, i.e. the paleography, parchment, number of columns, penmanship, number of folios etc.

To show the common innovations and family tree of the ten manuscripts.

To show the archetype (Urtext) of all the manuscripts

To explain some linguistic differences among the manuscripts.

To point out the literary language used in the manuscripts.

To give a summary of the hagiography.

1.5. Significance of the Study

As this study is aimed at the presentation and textual analysis of Gädlä Yəm'ata as a primary source, it should have significance for linguists, historians, philologists, etc. who may wish to further analyze the text from the perspective of their respective fields. This study also provides information about the life history of Yəm'ata as well as the other Nine Saints, because there are many important points in Gädlä Yəm'ata which are not found in the hagiographies of the other saints. The study also gives an indication of the southern extremity of the spread of Christianity by the Nine Saints. It shows the development of Geez language and Geez literature during the Aksumite period, and will contribute to our knowledge of the tradition and culture of the Aksumite kingdom (mainly of the people of Gär'alta and of Wäjärat). In general terms, this research should be significant for its contribution to the reconstruction of the history, language and literature etc. of the Aksumite period over the north of Ethiopia.

1.6. Delimitation of the Study

This study is limited to areas of Tigray (Northern Ethiopia). The original manuscripts were copied to other manuscripts that are kept at various churches and monasteries in Tigray. The researcher has divided the sites of the manuscripts in two, i.e. north and south of Mekelle (the capital city of Tigray).

The manuscripts north of Mekelle were found around Gär'alta, in Guḥ (rock-hewn church and original church of Yəm'ata), 'Addi-'Agwa, 'Addi-Mäyda, 'Addi-Bäläw, Maryam-Bäraqit, 'Addi-hiza, 'Addi-Yə'olo; there are two manuscripts in 'Addi-Bäläw (the word 'Addi' means 'home land/house' in Tigrigna). Manuscripts south of Mekelle were found in Wäjärat 'isra-'Addi ('twenty districts'); they are only two in number (manuscript of 'Addi Bati and manuscript of K'irk'os Hala). Wäjärat is located around 80-90 kilometers south of Mekelle.

According to oral tradition, all the other manuscripts are said to have been copied from the manuscript of Guḥ, which is the only manuscript written in three columns. The names of all the manuscripts will be represented in this thesis according to the place where they were found, using the following abbreviations:

- | | |
|-------------------|------|
| 1. 'Addi -'Agwa | A |
| 2. 'Addi- Bäläw1 | Bl 1 |
| 3. 'Addi- Bäläw2 | Bl 2 |
| 4. Maryam-Bäraqit | Br |
| 5. 'Addi-Bati | Bt |
| 6. Guḥ | G |
| 7. 'Addi -hiza | ḥ |
| 8. K'irkos-Hala | K' |
| 9. 'Addi-Mäyda | M |
| 10. 'Addi-Yə'olo | Y |

1.7. Methodology of data gathering

The researcher went to the places where the manuscripts were located, photographed them with a digital camera, and then printed out hard copies of the digitalized folios of seven manuscripts. The researcher also collected information and oral traditions from informants.

The researcher employed all the manuscripts found, because the full set of manuscripts is necessary to show the family tree, the archetypes and sub-archetypes. The researcher proceeded to carry out a historical and philological analysis of the manuscripts, and noted some linguistic differences among them, based on the manuscripts themselves and on other edited hagiographies of other saints (like Arägawi and P'änt'älewon)

Chapter Two

Historical Analysis of Gädlä Yəm'ata

2.1. Hagiographical Tradition and the Nine Saints

“Ethiopian sources describe colorfully an event which took place towards the end of the fifth century, namely the advent of the Nine Saints which is regarded as the Second evangelization” (Sergew HableSelassie, (1972:115)). Christianity was introduced to Ethiopia during the 4th century A.D (but according to the Ethiopian Orthodox church it was before that by Eunch) and became strengthened when King Ezana was converted to Christianity. The coming of the Nine Saints to Ethiopia marks the second important period for the spread of Christianity through the northern part of the Aksumite Empire. “The tradition underlines their role as missionaries who propagated the faith and imported monasticism into Ethiopia” (Brita p.1189). This shows how great was their influence on the religion and culture of the territory they lived in. The names of the Nine Saints are listed below.

1. Zämikael/Arägawi
2. P'ant'älewon
3. Gerima/Yəshaq
4. Afs'e
5. Guba
6. Alef
7. Yəm'ata
8. Liqanos
9. S'əhma

The Nine Saints came to Ethiopia during the time of King Ella-Ameda, the son of Säl'adäba according to Gädlä Arägawi (edited by Ignazio Guidi

1896:54) or 'Al'aldäba according to Gädlä Yäm'ata. Based on Gädlä Yäm'ata, the Nine Saints came from Rome to Jerusalem and then to Aksum. However, many scholars have suggested that in fact they came from Syria. "Syriac monks fled to Ethiopia from their original country, but also from South Arabia and Egypt, and were instrumental, or even essential in a deeper rooting of Christianity in Ethiopia" (Marrassini (1990:35)). The places where the Nine Saints came from are very much matters of debate; mainly Antioch/Ansokya of S'ähma and Caesarea of Alef are open to doubt and question. Based on the Ethiopian Sänkəsar/Synaksarous, the commemoration date and the place where every Saint came from is listed in the table below.

	Name of the Saint	Place of origin	Celebration date in Ethiopia
1	Zämikael/Arägawi	Rome	14 T'ək'əmt
2	Gerima/Yəshaq	Rome	17 Säne
3	P'änt'älewon	Rome	6 T'ərr
4	Guba	Qilqəya/Cilicia	29 Gənbət
5	Yäm'ata	Qosya	28 T'ək'əmt
6	Alef	Esya	11 Mägabit
7	Afs'e	Esya	29 Gənbət
8	S'ähma	Ans'okya/Antioch	6 T'ərr
9	Liqanos	Qwəst'ənt'ənia/ Constantinople	28 hədar

In Gädlä Arägawi (Guidi, p. 36), Alef was not from Esya but from Qisarya. Sergew HableSelassie explains that Liqanos and P'änt'älewon are Greek names; Gerima, Guba, Yäm'ata and S'ähma are Aramaic or Syriac names.

The Nine saints left Aksum during the time of Gebre Mäskäl and went to Mount Soloda near 'Adwa. Then the angel Gebriel told them to split up and go apart from one another.

2.1.1 Gär'alta

Gär'alta is the place where Yäm'ata established his own community in Aksumite times. He had his own disciples from the Gär'alta community, of whom As'bäha, P'etros, Adonay, and Zämaryam are the best known (according to his Gädl). P'etros and Adonay are not Ethiopian names, but were given by Yäm'ata himself.

“The beginnings of the history of Gär'alta could be connected to the South-Arabian migration to Ethiopia (8th-7th century B.C.) if the name of the village of Hawzen is in some way reminiscent of the south-Arabian place-name HWZN. It is precisely in the district of Hawzen that Aksumite pottery (next to Dægum) and the early Ethiopic inscription 'Anza (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.) were found, confirming the participation of south-eastern Tigray in one of the most ancient phases of Ethiopian civilization” (Gianfrancesco Lusini 2005:698). Lusini also suggests that this area was crossed by one of the country's major routes, connecting the new capital city (Lalibela) with Aksum via Lasta, Wag and Temben during the Zagwe period. Today Gär'alta is a district in the sandstone escarpment of south central Tigray, to the north of historical Temben.

Niall Finneran- Red (2005: 697) writes as follows:

The district [of Gär'alta] is approximately half- way along the western side of the main Mekele 'Adigrat road; Hawzen, some 22 km to the west of this road, abuts the northern flank of the area, also accessible from 'Abiy Adi to the South- West. In such a predominantly rugged mountainous zone, crossed by the S'alet River, the major foci of settlements are the villages of Degum and S'egarada (the district's administrative center).

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska (2005:700) has made a map of all the small districts of Gär'alta; however, she puts Bäraqit (where one of the manuscripts of Gädlä Yəm'ata is found) west of Guḥ (the rock-hewn church of Yəm'ata where another manuscript is found). But actually Bäraqit is North/ North East of Guḥ and East of 'addi-Bäläw.

2. 1. 2. The Nine Saints

Most of the Nine Saints have similar hagiographies. As noted above, the Nine Saints were Roman monks (according to the tradition) or Syrian missionaries (according to some scholars) who came to the Aksumite kingdom. According to Gädlä Yəm'ata eight saints, all except Gerima, came during the reign of King Ella-Ameda; Gerima came later, during the time of Tazena. According to Gädlä Yəm'ata the Nine Saints departed from

one another at Mount Soloda. The following table shows the saints and the places where they lived, as given in Gädlä Yəmʼata.

No	Name of the Saint	Place/ Monastery
1	Pʼäntʼälewon	Däbrä Sʼomaʼit near Aksum
2	Liqanos	Däbrä Kʼonasʼəl near Sʼomaʼit
3	Afsʼe	Yəħa
4	Gerima	Mädärä
5	Guba	Neighbor to Gerima
6	Sʼəħma	Sʼädya, which he later renamed Däbrä hatäta
7	Yəmʼata	Gärʼalta, which he later renamed Däbrä Täyatʼron
8	Zämikael/Arägawi	Däbrä Haleluya, which he later renamed Däbrä Damo
9	Alef	_____

This table is based on Gädlä Yəmʼata. The place of Guba is not clearly indicated, and that of Alef is not given.

In Gädlä Arägawi (edited by Guidi p. 63), the places are described as follows:

አባ፡ ሲቃኖስ፡ ኃብ፡ ደብረ፡ ቆናዕል፡ ወአባ፡ ጳጳስ፡ አንጻረ፡ ዘአሁ፡ መጠነ፡ ጀምዕራ፡ ወአባ፡ ይሰሐቅ፡ ዝውክቱ፡ ገሪማ፡ መደራ፡ ወአባ፡ ገባ አንጻረ፡ መደራ፡ መጠና፡ ፫ምዕራ፡ ወአባ፡ ጽሕማ፡ ጌድያ፡ ወአባ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ገርዓልታ፡ ወአባ፡ አሌ፡ አሕስዓ፡ እንተ፡ ትሰመይ፡ ብሕዛ፡ ወአባ፡ አፍዬ፡ ያኃ፡ ዝነቱሰ፡ አቡነ፡ አረጋዊ፡ ወዕከ፡ ለብሄረ፡ ምሥራቅ፡ እንተ፡ ትሰመይ፡ እገላ፡ ዘምሕዋረ፡ ጀመዋዕል፡ ለኃያል፡ ረዋጺ...

Abba Liqanos to Däbrä K'onas'al. Abba P'änt'älewon 2 kms(?) (Geez: mē'araf) opposite to Liqanos, Abba Gerima/Yəshāq to Mādära, Abba Guba 3 kms (?) opposite to Mādära. Abba S'əhma to S'ädya, Abba Yəm'ata to Gärfalta, Abba Alef to Ahsə'a, also called Bəhza, Abba Afs'e to Yaħa, and Abba Arägawi went east to a place called 'əgäla, which takes two days for a strong runner.

It says "two days", but the starting point is not specified; it might be either Aksum or Mount Soloda. When the two manuscripts are compared, there are some differences.

- In Gädlä Yəm'ata no distances are given, in contrast to the distances in Gädlä Arägawi.
- In Gädlä Arägawi the place of P'änt'älewon (Däbrä S'oma'it) is not named.
- The place of Alef is not mentioned in Gädlä Yəm'ata but according to Gädlä Arägawi it is Ahsə'a / Bəhza.
- In Gädlä Yəm'ata, Arägawi went to Däbrä Haleluya / Däbrä Damo, but in Gädlä Arägawi it says that Arägawi went to 'əgäla. This name may be another name for Däbrä Damo.
- In Gädlä Yəm'ata the place of Afs'e is Yəħa, but it is Yaħa in Gädlä Arägawi.
- In Gädlä Arägawi, the place of S'əhma is S'ädya; in another variant edited by Guidi, it is S'edänya.

In Gädlä P'änt'älewön (edited by Conti Rossini, p. 45), the only clearly indicated places are the church of Liqanos and the church of P'änt'älewön himself.

According to the hagiographies, Gädlä Yäm'ata and Gädlä Arägawi were written by St. Yared, while Gädlä P'änt'älewön was written by the unnamed bishop of Aksum. The texts read as follows:

1. Gädlä Yäm'ata:

...ዘደረሰ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ገድል፡ አቡነ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ብእሴ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ ማር፡ይምዓታ፡
ያሬድ ፡መዘምር፡ ካህነ፡ አክሱም፡ ወኢትዮጵያ፡ ዘይዜምር፡ በማጎሌተ፡ ሃሌ፡
ሱያ፡፡

Saint Yared the singer and priest of Aksum and Ethiopia who sings in the ceremony of Halleluya wrote the hagiography of our father, saint, man of God, Yäm'ata.

2. Gädlä Arägawi (Guidi p. 57):

...ዘደረሰ፡ በእንቲአሁ፡ ያሬድ፡ ቀሲስ፡ ማህሌታይ፡ ብርሃና፡ ለኢትዮጵያ፡
በመንግሥቱ፡ ለገብረ፡ መሰቀል፡ ወልደ፡ ካሌብ፡

Saint Yared the priest, singer, the Ethiopian light, in the time of Gäbrä Mäsqäl the son of Kaleb, wrote.....

This mentions the time when St. Yared wrote the hagiography of St. Arägawi: during the reign of King Gäbrä Mäsqäl.

3. Gädlä P'änt'älewön (Conti Rossini p.43):

ዘደረሰ፡ ርቱዐ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘተሰይመ፡ ጳጳስ፡ አክሱም

The upright episkopos of the faith who is also the bishop of Aksum wrote....

This tells only that the writer was bishop of Aksum; it does not tell the time when this bishop wrote, which might have helped us to pinpoint the author more precisely.

The father of Ella-Ameda is given differently in the various texts.

1. Gädlä Yəmʿata

MsA: ሰልዓደባ [säl-ʿadäba]

MsB1/2: አልዓልደባ [ʾal-ʿaldäba]

MsBr: አልዓልደባ [ʾal-ʿaldäba]

MsBt: አልአደባ [ʾal- ʾadäba]

MsG: አልዓልደባ [ʾal-ʿaldäba]

Msh: አልዓልደባ [ʾal-ʿaldäba]

MsK' አልዓደባ [ʾal-ʿadäba]

MsM: ሰዓልደባ [säʿaldäba]

Msy: አልዓልደባ [ʾal-ʿaldäba]

1. Gädlä Arägawi (Guidi p. 62): ሰልዓደባ [säl-ʿadäba]

2. Gädlä Pʾäntʾälewön (Conti Rossini, P. 44): ሰአልደባ [sä-ʾaldäba]

3. Hiruy Weldesilassie (1999:13): ሰልዓደባ [säl-ʿadäba]

As shown above there are differences and similarities among the sources about the father of King Ella-Ameda.

- ✓ In Gädlä Yəmʿata five manuscripts (all except Mss A, M, K, Bt) say አልዓልደባ [ʾal-ʿaldäba].

- ✓ In Gädlä Yəmʿata Mss K and Bt have the almost identical readings [ʿa-ʿadäba] (K) and [ʿal-ʿadäba] (Bt), but still there is a difference between [ʿ] and [ʿ].
- ✓ In Gädlä Yəmʿata, Mss A and M have similar readings [säʿaldäba] (M) and [säʿadäba] (A). Of the manuscripts of Gädlä Yəmʿat, the sound [s] occurs only in these two versions. However, the positions of the sounds [l] and [ʿ] are interchanged in the two manuscripts (metathesis).
- ✓ Gädlä Arägawi is identical to Ms A and the reading found in the book of Hiruy Weldessilassie.
- ✓ Gädlä Pʿantʿälewon is also similar to Gädlä Arägawi, Mss A and M of Gädlä Yəmʿata. It is almost identical to Ms M, but [ʿ] has shifted to [s].
- ✓ The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian church: A translation of the Ethiopic Synaxarium (Budge p.117) give the form [säʿadab].

The difference of the initial ሰ in mss A and M, as compared to ሰ in the other versions of Gädlä Yəmʿata, surely reflects a copyist's error, as the letters are graphically similar. The fact that ሰ occurs in the Gädl of Arägawi and Pʿantʿälewon argues that ሰ is the original and ሰ is a corruption.

According to Hiruy Weldesilassie (1999:19) the Aksumite kings from Säʿadäba to Gäbrä Mäskäl are as follows:

No	Name of the king	Date in Ethiopia	Date in Gregorian Calendar
1	Säl-ʿadäba	461 AD- 469 AD	469-477
2	Ella-Ameda	470-477	478-485
3	Zena	478-484	486-492
4	Kaleb	485-514	493-522
5	Zä-Israel	One month	One month
6	Gäbrä Mäskäl	515-528	523-536

King Zena (486-492) is generally known as Tazena in other sources. Scholars and traditional sources generally connect the Nine Saints' coming with the Council of Chalcedon (451). If so, they must have spent at least twenty-seven years en route to Ethiopia from Rome, because all the sources agree that they came during the time of Ella-Ameda (478-485).

According to Hiruy Waldassilassie (p.19), the exact date of the coming of the Nine Saints was 483 AD. All the above kings are from the same line. The first is the father of his successor, etc.; but Zä-Israel and Gäbrä Mäskäl are both sons of Kaleb. Sergew Hablessilassie, *Aksum: The successors of Kaleb* (1970:2) says, "Zä-Israel was the eldest son of Caleb".

2.1.2.1. Afs'e

Afs'e has traditionally been associated with Yəḥa; he was originally from Eya. As mentioned in Marassini (1990:37), Conti Rossini proposed a Syriac origin for Afs'e, saying that the name does not have a satisfactory Ethiopian etymology, and he considered that it derived from the Syriac root *pt' [should be p-s'] meaning "he liberated, saved". Marrassini opposes this idea. He says, "There are no Syriac personal names of this type and we would therefore suppose the very unlikely construction of a

proper name, by Ethiopians, from a foreign root! Moreover, the same root exists, with the same meaning, also in Hebrew and Arabic.” He says that Afs’ay or Afs’a is a good North-Arabian name, which was well attested in Lihyanite and Nabataean. The presence of this name in Ethiopia he says, could be easily explained by the long historical interactions between this country and the Arabian peninsula. According to Kinefe Rigb Zeleke (1975:62) Afs’e came to Ethiopia, in the 6th century, and founded the monastery of Däbrä K’onas’äl. However, according to Gädlä Yəm’ata, Däbrä K’onas’äl is attributed to Liqanos. In Gädlä Arägawi also Däbrä K’onas’äl was founded by Liqanos. Many sources say that Afs’e founded Yəħa. Sergew Hablessilassie (1972:119) says, “Abba Liqanos made his seat on the hill north of Aksum which is better known today under his name rather than Däbrä K’onas’äl ... Abba Afs’e went to a well-known center of the Sabeian region, Yeha”.

According to Kinefe Rigb Zeleke, copies of Gädlä Afs’e are found in the monastery of Afs’e, the National Library (Addis Ababa), and the Institute of Archaeology (Addis Ababa), and Dersana Afs’e is found in Yəħa.

Sergew Hableselassie, *New Historical elements in Gädlä Afs’e* (1964:200), says: “The best-known Gädls had been only those of Abuna Aragawi, Abuna Pantalewon, and Abuna Gerima. When the famous scholar, Conti Rossini, visited Yeha in 1937, he was told by the ecclesiastics of Yeha about the existence of Gadla Afse.” He also says that Conti Rossini did not manage to get hold of this manuscript, but he told the ecclesiastics to write and send him a copy of the Gädl, and they sent him an incomplete copy. Sergew explains that the newly found Gädlä Afs’e is divided into two parts, historical and religious. According to him, this source also tells about the first immigrants from South Arabia who came to Ethiopia, founded Yəħa, and constructed many buildings. According to

Roderick Grierson (2003:136), the Portuguese Alvares mentioned a town between peaks called “Abafacm”. Grierson suggests that this is derived from Abba Afs’e. According to Ethiopian tradition and the Ethiopian book of Sənkəsar, Afs’e is commemorated on 29 Gənbət.

Antonella Brita (p. 1189) suggests that Gädlä Guba shows a particular similarity to Gädlä Afs’e.

2.1.2.2. Alef

As is well known, the word Alef is the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet. “According to tradition Alef came from Caesarea” (Roderick Grierson, p. 194). As suggested in the same source, in the Gädl of Abba Gerima, the place of Abba Alef is taken by Abba ʾOs, who is also said to have come from Caesarea. However, according to Kinefe Rigb Zeleke (p. 62), Alef migrated from Esya, which is similar to Afs’e. According to this source, Alef is said to have contributed greatly to the evangelization of Ethiopia in the period of the Second Christianization. Conti Rossini and Marrassini say that Alef should be connected with the name of the monastery of Elef (or Elpep, or Alpip).

The church/monastery of Alef is not indicated in Gädlä Yəmʾata and Gädlä Pʾäntʾälewon. In Gädlä Arägawi (Guidi p. 63) the monastery of Alef is Ahsəʾa/Bəḥza. Kinefer Rigb Zeleke says Gädlä Alef is found at Yəḥa, and Dərsanä Alef in Mäqäle. In Gädlä Yəmʾata, the place of Saint Alef is not mentioned.

2.1.2.3. Gerima

Also called Yəshaq (Isaac), Gerima was the founder of Mādāra, and he is believed to have spent twenty years there. “The mission of Abba Gerima seems to have extended to Adi Qayeh(today there is a name Adi Qayeh Eritrea). The church of Abba Gerima there is of Aksumite style” (Sergew Hableselassie, p. 117). As quoted in Marrassini (p. 36), Garima was tentatively explained by Guidi and Conti Rossini identify as reflecting the name of the Syriac monastery of Beth Garme. Marrassini (p. 37) argues against this:

everyone knows of the Ethiopian prince Grmt, wld
ngsy, documented in the two Sabeen inscriptions
Ja. 5 77:36, and Ja. 585:14-15, dated around the
middle of the third century A.D. This personal name
seems to be an almost exact equivalent of Gerima with
the final -a rendered -at in South Arabian (like Gaddara=
Gdrt), and of course it puts our Syriac Beth Garme in very
big doubt.

In the Ethiopian tradition the name Gerima is closely related to his miracles. One day the Nine Saints ate together and shared ingera; all of the Nine Saints ate, but Gerima didn't, rather he put the ingera in his pocket. Then later he attended a mass and received Holy Communion. The other Saints were amazed at him, because according to Ethiopian tradition ingera must not be eaten before taking Communion. So they judged him a sinner. But the rocks and trees followed him saying “Gerima gārämkäni” (lit. ‘You are admirable to me’). In Gädlä Yəm’ata it says:

አመ: ፲ወ፯: ሰሰኔ: በዕለተ: ተአምር: ዘገበረ: አባ: ገሪማ: በሐሜተ: ኑፋቄ: ሰበ: ይቤልዎ:
በሊያ: ተቆረቦ: ቁርባን: ወበዝ: ነገር: ገብረ: ተአምረ: አባ: ይስሐቅ: ዝውኣቱ: አባ:
ገሪማ...

This gives the specific date of the miracle done by Gerima. As reported by Denis Nosnitsin, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (Vol II, p.705), Conti Rossini says that king Gäbrä Mäskäl built the church of Gerima. It is also said that P'änt'älewon initiated Gerima into monastic life. "The father of this saint was Emperor of Rome, and his name was Masfeyanos; the name of his mother was Sefengeya, and she was barren. And having besought our holy lady, the Virgin Mary, the God bearer, she gave her this son; and she called his name Isaac" (Budge 1928: 1009). But Marrassini says that there was no emperor of Rome called Masfeyanos. Based on the Ethiopian Synaxarium, Isaac was once appointed emperor, but St. P'änt'älewon advised him to forsake the kingdom. According to the Ethiopian Synaxarium, the celebration and commemoration of Saint Gerima is on 17 Säne.

According to Gädlä Yäm'ata, Gerima came to Ethiopia during the time of king Tazena, later than the other eight saints. The oldest existing Geez manuscript is found in the church of Gerima and it is believed that he translated it from Greek into Geez.

2.1.2.4. Guba

Guba is said to have come from Qilqaya/Cilicia. "Most obscure among them, Guba is only mentioned in a few hagiographical sources (e.g. the Gädlä P'änt'älewon, ed. Conti Rossini); his own Acts have not been found yet" (Stuart Munro- Hay-Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 2005:897). He is believed to have stayed at Aksum with Abba P'änt'älewon and later went to Mädarä (place of Gerima); Gädlä Yäm'ata says: ወክፍሉ: ለአባ: ገብ: በጎረቤቱ:

ለአባ: ይስሐቅ ('the place of Guba is neighbor to Abba Yəshāq'). Munro-Hay and Gianfranco Fiaccadori suggest that the commemoration of Guba falls together with that of Afs'e and Yəshāq, on 29 Gənbət, but as explained above Gerima/Yəshāq is actually commemorated on 17 Säne.

As indicated in the same source, in rare variants of a Sənkəsar from Däbrä Bizän, Eritrea, 25 kilometers south of Asmera (a place where the Nine Saints stayed before their arrival in Aksum, according to Gädlä Yəm'ata), Guba went out into the desert Baraka (Barka). Today there is a place called Baraka in Eritrea. According to this and other sources Guba is believed to have had no monastic foundation, nor a Gädl of his own. As indicated in Fiaccadori (p. 898), the Jesuit Pedro Paez believed that Guba was a name later given to Oz/Os', who sometimes is included among the Nine Saints.

However, Guba in fact does have his own Gädl. I have found a three-column manuscript of Gädlä Guba at Gärfalta, at a place called 'addi Bäläw (where two manuscripts of Gädlä Yəm'ata are also found); there is another manuscript of Gädlä Guba in Mayč'äw (Southern Tigray), at a place called Maḥəbärä Bokru. Brita says that the church of Guba is found in Mayč'äw. According to Gädlä Yəm'ata, Guba was the confessor of Yəm'ata.

መጽአ: ቅዱስ: ገብርኤል: ወምሰሌሁ: ብፁዕ: አባ: ጉባ: እስከ: ኮነ ቀዳመ መምህራ
ነፍሱ ውስጥ ለአባ ይምግታ

The angel Gabriel came with Saint Abba Guba, because he [Guba] was the confessor of Yəm'ata from he beginning.

In the "Bibliography of the Ethiopic Hagiographical Tradition", by Kinefe Rigb Zeleke(1975), Abba Guba is not listed.

2.1.2.5. Liqanos

Liqanos was nicknamed ኮከበ ገዳም *Kokäbä Gädam* 'Star of the Desert'. "The story of Liqanos and his life is known from his vita, which is nearly devoid of historical information, and to a better extent from the hagiographies of his fellow saints. According to these Liqanos was a native of Q^wäst'änt'änya, i.e. Constantinople (not mentioned in his vita), and came to Ethiopia "from Rome and from Egypt" with the Nine Saints under Ella-Ameda (II)" (Antonella Brita, p. 581). According to tradition, when Liqanos prayed for a night "in Sanctuary" before the Tablets of Moses (Aksum S'äyon), an angel revealed to him his destination, i.e. Däbrä K'onas'äl. This is found on top of a hill near Aksum, opposite to the place of Abba Gerima. According to Gädlä Yäm'ata, it is near Däbrä S'oma'it of P'änt'älewon: ወክናሉ: ለአባ: ሊቃኖስ: ደብረ: ቆናፅል: ቅሩባ: ለደብረ: ምግብት.

"Alef should be compared with the name of the monastery of Elfef (or Elpep, or Alpip) and Liqanos with that of the monastery of Liqinya although there are good examples in the Greek papyri from Egypt of names like Liqanos, Loukanos" (Marrassini 1990:38). According to Brita the only specific source on Liqanos is the unpublished Gädlä Liqanos, attested in three copies: two from Däbrä K'onas'äl and one from Aksum S'äyon. These manuscripts are dated to the reign of As'e Yohannes IV. Brita also explains that Gädlä Liqanos differs in style, language and content from the Gädls of the other saints, and that it seems to have an intellectual bias for toward theological digression rather than the actual story. There is a church called Abba Liqanos to the northeast of Aksum, and this is one witness to the cult of Abba Liqanos. "Liqanos and Abba P'änt'älewon seem to have had great prestige among the people. Both of them lived near the structure today known as the Tomb of Kaleb and his son Gebre Mäskäl" (Kinefe Rigb Zeleke p.80).

According to Ethiopian tradition, while Liqanos was praying, all his fingers shone with light. As quoted by Kinefe Rigb Zeleke there is a poem about this written in Mäs'ḥafä Arke.

ሰላም፡ ለአባ፡ ሊቃኖስ፡ አሐዳ
እምነ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ሆቱ፡ እለ፡ ይትፈቀዳ
በከተማ፡ ርእሱ፡ ዘልፈ፡ ከክለለ፡ ሕይወት፡ ይዳዳ
አፃብዲሁ፡ በፀሎት፡ አምሳለ፡ ማጎጥት፡ ዘነዳ
ወበእኒዘ፡ በትር፡ ካዕበ፡ ዘተሰቀረት፡ እዳ

Salutation to Abba Liqanos,
Who is one of the Nine Saints
On the top of his head the crown of life continually rotates
His fingers burn in prayer like a torch
And in seizing a stick his hand
is burned a second time

This poem is an appreciation of Liqanos, his miracles and his grace. According to the Ethiopian tradition and Ethiopian Synaxarium, Liqanos is commemorated on 28 Hədar.

2.1.2.6. P'änt'älewon

Gädlä P'änt'älewon was edited by Conti Rossini (1904) in Paris. According to this edited Gädl, it was written by the bishop of Aksum. According to Gädlä Yəm'ata, before the Nine Saints departed from one another, P'änt'älewon fed them all and they considered him their father.

ነበሩ፡ በውእቱ፡ ደብር፡ ዘይብልዎ፡ ሰሎዳ፡ ፭ዓመተ፡ አሐተነ፡ በአማኅበርሙ፡
እንዘ፡ ይሰሰዩ፡ በግብረ፡ እደዊሁ፡ ወይመግቦሙ፡ አቡሆሙ፡ ብፀዕ፡ አቡነ፡
ጳንጠሌዎን፡ ወይሁቦሙ፡ ለለጃጃ፡ ሲሳዮሙ፡ ወሶበ፡ ይበልፀ፡ አይራአዩ፡ ጆ
ለጃ፡ ወኮነ፡ ንብረቶሙ፡ ከመዝ፡ ስርዓቶሙ፡ ለአብዊሆሙ፡ አባ፡ መቃርስ፡
ወአባ፡ ጳኩሚስ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ኑፋቄ

They lived together on the mountain called Soloda for five years. Once they were being fed by the hands of their father saint P'änt'älewön; he gave food to each of them. While they were eating no one looked at anyone, because this was the custom of their fathers, Abba Mäkars and Abba P'akumis, [a custom] which is free of heresy.

According to Gädlä Yäm'ata the church of Abba P'änt'älewön is called Däbrä S'oma'it, near Aksum; in Gädlä Arägawi (Guidi p. 63) it says about two kilometers away, and Gädlä P'änt'älewön (Conti Rossini p. 45) says five kilometers (the distance may be from Aksum or from Mount Soloda). Kinefe Rigb Zeleke says that it is called Däbrä P'änt'älewön. This should be the later name of Däbrä S'oma'it. He also explains that P'änt'älewön had a great influence on the political and social life of the country and he was greatly beloved by the people. As quoted in this source, the following Geez poem about P'änt'älewön is found in Mäs'hafä Arke.

ሰላም፡ እብል፡ ለጳጳሳቤዎን፡ ምኅር
 በውስጠ፡ በዓት፡ ሕኑዕ፡ ከመ፡ መቃብር
 አንሲኦ፡ ምውተ፡ በመልእክተ፡ ቃሉ፡ ክብር
 ሜጠ፡ ውስተ፡ ፍስሐ፡ ብካዩ፡ አላቲ፡ ዕቤር

I say peace be unto P'änt'älewön, who resisted temptation, who lives in a cave which is strongly built like a tomb, who raises up the dead by his respected word, and he changed the lamentation of an old woman into happiness.

He is said to have been the son of a noble folk, who were among the great ones of Rome, and once sat at the right hand of the emperor. According to the Ethiopian tradition and Ethiopian Synaxarium, Abba P'ant'älewon is commemorated on 6 T'err. He is also the one who is said to have encouraged Arägäwi/ Zämikael to leave fame and royalty and to follow him to Ethiopia.

2.1.2.7. S'əhma

He said to have come from Ans'okya/Antioch. According to Gädlä Yəm'ata, the place of S'əhma is S'ädya; and later he named it Däbrä hatäta. However, Kinefe Rigb Zeleke says that it is called Enda Abba S'əhma ('the house of Abba S'əhma'). Sergew Hablesilassie says that S'əhma while Os' are the same person:

"Abba S'əhma or Os' settled on a plateau, similar to that of Däbrä Damo, South East of Adwa" (Sergew (1972:119)). However, according to the Ethiopian Synaxarium, S'əhma and Os' commemoration have different dates of commemoration, S'əhma on 6 T'err while Os' commemoration date is given by Budge as 13 Tahisas- 13 T'err.

2.1.2.8. Zämikael/ Arägawi

Arägawi was the founder of Däbrä Damo. Marrassini (p. 37) says, "Arägawi is extremely well attested in Geez, and already van den Oudenrijn explained it as a simple translation of the Greek appellative term, gérôn ("an elder"), usual in the Byzantine monastic accounts." Gädlä Arägawi has been edited by Ignazio Guidi, and is about thirty-one pages long. He is said to have been influenced by Abba P'ant'älewon to join the monastic life. Before he named it Däbrä Damo, his monastery was called Däbrä Haleluya. Today the monastery of Däbrä Damo is one of the Ethiopian historical places and a tourist attraction. As quoted in

Kinefe Rigb Zeleke (p. 65) the following poem is found in Mäs'hafä Arke and it is attributed to Zämikael/ Arägawi.

ሰላም: ለዘሚካኤል: ዘተሰምዮ: አረጋዊ
እስመ: ሐረቱ: ጠቢብ :ወፍናዊሁ: ልባዊ
ምስሌሁ: ኅቡረ: ዘበአሐዱ: ህላዌ
ሰላም: ለቅዱሳን: ዘተሰንዓወ: ስንዓዌ
ከመ: በፀሎት: ይስዓሩ: መንግስቶ: ለኦርዌ

Salutation to Zämikael who is named Arägawi, because all his ways are full of wisdom, also peace be to the saints who are peacefully congregated together with him, that they defeated the power of the Arwe [a wild beast] by their prayer.

2.1.2.9. Yəm'ata

As indicated earlier Yəm'ata was one of the Nine Saints. Kinefe-Rigb Zeleke (1975:96) suggests that Yəm'ata was of Syrian origin. He also suggests that Yəm'ata founded the monastery of Guḥ in Gärfalta. In the manuscripts (unpublished) of Gädlä Yəm'ata, it says that the original name of Yəm'ata was 'Altroman. This seems to be an Arabic word, because 'al- may be the Arabic definite article.

As mentioned by Marrassini (p. 36) Nöldeke proposed that the place Qosyat, where Yəm'ata came from, is an Arabic mistranscription of the town of Fustat which was founded in 643, in the delta. Conti Rossini suggested that the name might have derived from Kussaye, a place where

the Persian martyr Pethion preached. As Marrassini (36) explains, “I should like to point out another possibility, much less remote and much more, so to speak, “at home” in Ethiopian literature. This is the Arabic town of al-Qusiyyah, near Qusqam, well known from the Miracles of Mary.” The word Qusqam found in the miracles of Mary refers to Däbrä Qusqam (Egypt). Marrassini has also suggested that the final- t in Qusyat needs more explanation. In Gädlä Arägawi (Guidi’s edition 1896:58) it is Qosyat; in the manuscripts of Gädlä Yäm’ata it is Qosya.

When the Nine Saints split up, Yäm’ata went to Gärfalta, later called Däbrä Täyat’ron. Later the angel Gabriel and Guba came to Yäm’ata. Guba was the confessor of Yäm’ata (according to Gädlä Yäm’ata). Yäm’ata planted an olive tree, brought from Däbrä Bizän, where the Nine Saints waited for some time before they came to Aksum. According to tradition, there is still an olive tree in Gärfalta which is considered to be the tree which was planted by Yäm’ata. Nowadays this tree is called Awl’a Bizän (lit. ‘Olive of Bizän’). There is a poem written in Gädlä Yäm’ata about this tree.

ሰላም: ለማር: ይምግታ: ላዕክ: ገነት
 ዘተክላ: በየማነ: እዳ: ለዕፀ: ህይወት
 ሲሳየ: ደቁቁ: ትኩን: በየማነ: ደብሩ: ቅድስት
 ወይእትኒ: ኖጋት: ወተልግለት
 ነግሃ: ተክሎ: ወበሰርክ: አፍረየት

Salutation to Yəm'ata messenger of God

Messenger of heaven,

Who planted a tree of life, by his right hand.

For his children in his holy church has been given

The tree to be food.

This tree has

quickly sprung up,

quickly grown,

In the morning,

he planted it;

By the

evening

it has

ripened.

According to the people of Gär'alta, mainly the monks, priests and deacons, this poem has to do with Awl'a Bizän. The phrase ሰ.ሳዖ ደቁቁ ('food of his sons') doubtless refers to the fruit of the olive tree; the poet may also be thinking of the service of the olive as shelter and other uses.

Yəm'ata is commemorated in the Ethiopian tradition on T'äkəmt 28. "And on this day also died saint Abba Yəm'ata, who was one of the Nine Saints. Salutation to Yəm'ata, whose body was buried in rock, on the top of a mountain." (Budge, 1928:249). This shows that Yəm'ata died, unlike Arägawi, who is believed to have ascended to Bəherä Həyawan (lit. 'the country of eternal people'). Yəm'ata's burial on a mountaintop is also suggested in Mäs'hafä Arke, as it is quoted in Kinefe Rigb Zeleke (96):

ሰላም፡ ለአባ፡ ይምግታ፡ ዘተሳተፈ፡ አዕሩገ
 እለ፡ የኃስሱ፡ ስርዓተ፡ ወእለ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ ሕገ
 በሥምረተ፡ አምላክ፡ ከሀሊ፡ እንተ፡ ሠጠቀ፡ አፍላገ
 በድነ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አመ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ደብር፡ ዐርገ
 አሠረ፡ ግንዘቱ፡ በኮከሕ፡ ለትዕምርት፡ ተኃድገ

Line four relates that his holy flesh was buried on top of a mountain.

The exact identity of Yəmʿata is not fully clear. “Abba Yəmʿata or, as he is sometimes called Mätʿaʿ, went to the region of Gärfalta, and founded a monastery which is still flourishing.” This is the view of Sergew Hableselassie (1964:118). Marrassini, however, argues that Yəmʿata and Mätʿaʿ are two different people, and he explains that Mätʿaʿ is the second name of Saint Libanos. “There is no doubt that ... Mätʿaʿ is different from Yəmʿata in Gädlä Gärima; and it is in fact the well-known second name of Saint Libanos” Marrassini (36). Saint Yəmʿata’s church in Gärfalta was originally called Däbrä ḥarasat (lit. ‘mountain of labor’); he renamed Guḥ and later Däbrä Täyatʿron:

Gärfalta → Däbrä ḥarasat → Guḥ → Däbrä Täyatʿron.

Gärfalta is a more general name than the others; it describes a region rather than a specific locality. Gädlä Yəmʿata is not yet published. I have found ten manuscripts of it in Gärfalta areas and in Wäjärat ʿisra ʿaddi. According to his Gädl, first Yəmʿata was originally called ʿAltroman.

2.1.2.9.1. Gädlä Yəmʼata and Yəmʼata in his Gädlä

There are ten manuscripts (unpublished) of Gädlä Yəmʼata in Tigray. Even though there are some philological and linguistic differences, there is no historical difference among the manuscripts. Except for MsG, all the manuscripts are written in two columns. According to this Gädl, eight of the Saints came during the reign of King Ella-Ameda, and at that time the Nəburä-ʼəd ('chief priest') of Aksum was called Iyasu. Before their arrival at Aksum, the eight saints waited in Däbrä Bizän, place of Filip'os (the son of Ewost'atewos); then the angel Gebriel came and told them to go to Mät'ära where many other Saints were staying. They blessed Mät'ära locates and named it Däbrä Baräknaha (lit. 'a mountain that we blessed'), and they waited there for a month. Then Gebriel came for a second time, telling them to go to Aksum. After some years they went to Mount Soloda, where they departed from each other. The long journey of these eight saints is thus:

Rome/Syria → Jerusalem → Eritrean Sea → Däbrä Bizän
→ Mät'ära → Aksum → Mount Soloda

The sanctuary of S'ayon (Zion) at Aksum has four gates, which are a symbol of the four angels/cherubs who guard the throne of God. It also evokes the four evangelists (Matthew, Luke, Mark and John) and the four corners of the sanctuary of Solomon.

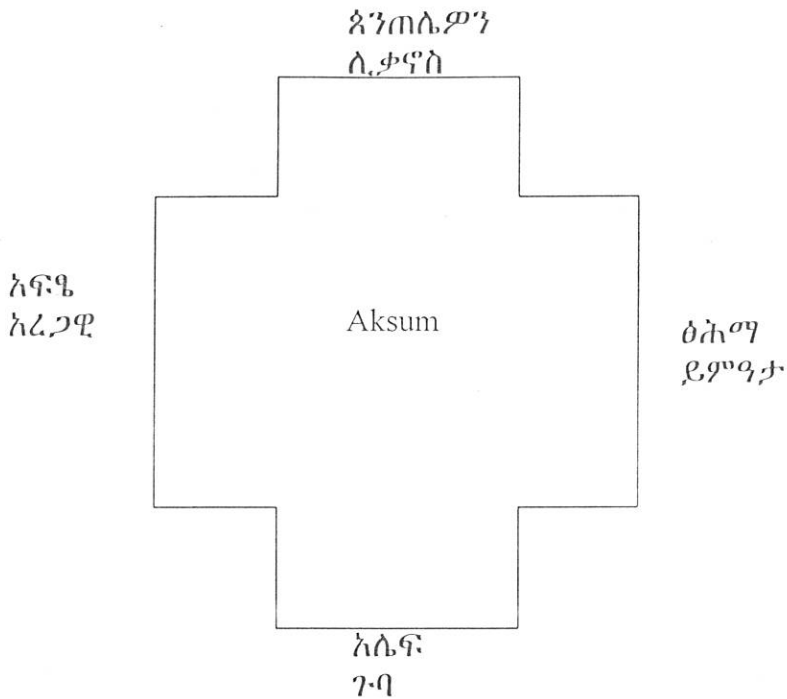
The eight Saints were grouped into four pairs, corresponding to the four directions of the sanctuary:

Abba S'əhma and Abba Yəm'ata in the East

Abba Afs'e and Abba Arägawi in the West

Abba P'änt'älewon and Abba Liqanos in the North

Abba Alef and Abba Guba in the South



The above picture can serve as a map in miniature for the direction each of the Saints would go to establish his mission. The one who would go to the Northern part of Aksum prayed in front of the Northern gate of the sanctuary of Aksum (S'əyon), and similarly for the others. When King Ella-Ameda died, his son Tazena was enthroned. When Tazena came to power the angel Gabriel brought Gerima from Rome to Aksum. When the Nine Saints came, the king showed them a serpent and they killed it in prayer.

King Ella-Ameda was able to speak Greek. As written in Gädlä Yəm'ata, said to the king:

እስመ፡ ንሕነ፡ ሮማውያን፡ ወአንተ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ አምጽኢ፡ ለነ፡ ዘይሰምዕ፡ ቃለ፡ ሮም፡
፩፡እምሰራዊትከ፡ ወሶቤሃ፡ ወለጠ፡ ንጉስ፡ ቃሎ፡ በነገረ፡ ሮማውያን፡ ወተናገሮሙ፡ በነገረ
ብሔሮሙ...

Since we are Romans and you are an Ethiopian, bring any one of your troops who can speak the Roman language. Whereupon King Ella-Amada changed his speech into the Roman language [Greek] and he spoke to them in the language of their country. From this we can infer that there had already been an Ethio-Roman relationship before the coming of the Nine Saints.

When after the Nine Saints left Mount Soloda, Yəmʼata did not go directly to Däbrä Täyatʼron but waited in ʼAddi Bäläw (where manuscripts of both Yəmʼata and Guba are found today). According to his Gädl, Yəmʼata lived at ʼAddi Bäläw with his confessor, Abba Guba, for some while. Later Guba permitted him to go to Däbrä Täyatʼron. Yəmʼata entered his church of Däbrä Täyatʼron /Guḥ on 7 Mägabit.

2.1.2.9.2. Däbrä Täyatʼron / Guḥ

Originally this was called Däbrä ḥarasat (lit. ‘mountain of labor’) and later named Guḥ, after the word *guḥ* ‘dawn’ found in the well-known passage from ‘Kəddase Maryam’: አብ፡ ጉሕ፡ ወልድ፡ ጉሕ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጉሕ (‘The father is dawn, the son is dawn, the Holy Ghost is dawn’). Yəmʼata started to lead a monastic life in this mountain. According to his Gädl the mountain of Däbrä Täyatʼron was originally not as high as it is today. When Saint Yəmʼata died, four mountains from four different directions are said to have come running to raise his tomb. There are two different accounts of these mountains in Gädlä Yəmʼata.

The first:

1. One mountain from Tämben
2. One from Hagärä hāmasen
3. A third from hāramat
4. The fourth from Wäjärat

The second:

1. አሐተ፡ እም፡ ሀገሪሁ፡ ለያሬድ፡ ማህሌታይ፡ መካነ፡ ምስዋሪሁ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡
እም፡ ሀገረ፡ ሰሜን፡ ዘሀለወት፡ በተውልሄ፡ እም፡ ምዕራብ
One from the country of the singer Yared, where he was concealed, which is found in the North, and West of Tāwəlhe.
2. ወአሐተ፡ እም፡ ሀገረ፡ ሓማሴን፡ ዘሀለወት፡ በሀገረ፡ እምባ፡ ሰነይት፡ በሰሜን
And one is from the country of hāmasen, which is found in the country of Embasänäyt, in the North.
3. ወአሐተ፡ እም፡ ሀገረ፡ ሓራማት፡ ይእቲ፡ ባዕዳ፡ እምባ፡ በደቡብ፡ ዘሀለወት፡ በድንሬሃ፡
ለደብረ፡ ሓራሳት
And one is from the country of hāramat, which is S'a'da-Emba ('white mountain'), in the South, found behind Däbrä hārasat.
4. ወአሐተ፡ እም፡ ምስራቅ፡ ዘትመዕእ፡ እምሀገረ፡ ዋድራት
And the other is from the East, from the country of Wäjärat.

Of these four mountains, the fourth (from Wäjärat) won the race, and raised the tomb of Yəm'ata. Now his tomb is found on the top of this mountain. Because of this the mountain was called Däbrä Täyat'ron ('Theater mountain', i.e. mountain that touches the sky). In fact the mountain was called Däbrä Täyat'ron even before the death of Yəm'ata, because God had prophesied to him that after his death a mountain would come to Gärfalta and raise it "to the sky". Indeed, Yəm'ata prayed

and preached both in Gär'alta and in Wäjärat. Today two manuscripts of his Gädl (MsK' and MsBt) are found in Wäjärat.

Yəm'ata performed many miracles. In his Gädl, twenty-three miracles are recorded. The following are some of them.

1. There were two men, buyer and seller of an ox. After the buyer bought the ox, the seller denied that he had sold it; rather, he claimed that his ox had been stolen by the buyer. In addition, the seller accused the "thief"/buyer, because there was a girl who had loved him (the buyer) and had committed suicide because of his love. Thus, the innocent man was accused of theft of the ox as well as the death of the girl. He cried and shouted in the church of Saint Yəm'ata, and prayed that the truth would emerge. Then Yəm'ata caused an ulcer to appear on the neck of the deceitful man/seller. The seller was terrified, confessed, cried and prayed Yəm'ata. As a result he was healed and the buyer was not judged a thief.
2. One day one of the servants of Yəm'ata church stole properties of the church. When he was accused of his action he swore in front of the church of Yəm'ata, that he had not stolen. Therupon he went mad, went to a precipice near the church, fell off the cliff and died.
3. One day a man gave a sheep as a gift to the church of Yəm'ata. The sheep was taken by a hyena. The people of Gär'alta went and prayed before their father Yəm'ata. After a day the hyena returned,

together with the sheep. The hyena shouted three times and died. The people of Gärfalta marveled at the grace of St. Yəm'ata.

4. After St. Yəm'ata died, many people came from different parts of Tigray to celebrate his holy day. The gate of the church of Yəm'ata is very narrow, so that the people were shoving one another to get in first. About 28 people fell off a cliff. But no one died because of Yəm'ata's grace.
5. There was a woman who kept chickens. One day a falcon took a chicken. The woman prayed to Yəm'ata before his church. Yəm'ata caused the falcon to return. It landed on her house, and stretched its feathers. The people killed the falcon, and the chicken was saved.

According to Gädlä Yəm'ata and the people of Gärfalta and Wäjärat, Yəm'ata performed uncountable miracles. Today these miracles are always read out in front of the people on Holydays, and every Sunday in the churches. All the miracles have significant social, moral, ethical and psychological values for the society. Even today people avoid committing evil deeds because they have heard what St. Yəm'ata did to their evil ancestors and evil creatures. In addition this is a very important way of preaching religion, i.e. to inform everybody of the power of prayer, so that they should be faithful in keeping the commandments of God. It is because of such things that the Nine Saints played such a significant role in the Second Christianization of Ethiopia.

Yəm'ata had four disciples from Gär'alta, As'bha, Zämaryam, P'et'ros, and Adonay. Their places were in the four direction of Däbrä Täyat'eron. As'bha went to the North, Zämaryam to the East, P'et'ros to the West and Adonay to the South. Binyami was the son of Yəm'ata's sister; he was an artist, and most of the paintings in the church are said to have been painted by him.

2.2. Oral Tradition

Yəm'ata went to Wäjärat during the reign of King Gäbrä Mäsk'al. According to oral tradition, the people of Wäjärat at that time were not religious people: they committed adultery, they were robbers, etc. However, after Saint Yəm'ata preached about Christianity, they became deeply religious and gave up all evil deeds. They appreciated Yəm'ata very much because of his preaching. There is one folktale about this. The people of Wäjärat decided to be buried in Gär'alta, in the church of their spiritual father, so that they would get the grace of St. Yəm'ata. For many years they buried the dead there and transported the corpses on camels. Once the people of Wäjärat brought a corpse to Gär'alta for burial. After a very long distance they lost the camel carrying the corpse. They looked for the camel for a long time but they couldn't find it, because the camel had returned to Wäjärat without ever arriving at Gär'alta. The people of Wäjärat who were waiting at home saw the camel with the corpse on it; they were amazed and full of sorrow. They did not bury the corpse; rather, they hid the camel until the people who had gone to Gär'alta returned to Wäjärat. The people of Wäjärat who had gone to Gär'alta agreed to act as if they had buried the corpse and lost the camel,

because they did not know where the camel was. When they returned to Wäjärat and were asked where the camel was, they said what they had agreed on. The people of Wäjärat were angry, and were doubtful even about the proper burial of people who had died before that. From that moment on they decided to have their own graveyard.

Today there is a separate burial place in Gär'alta for Wäjärat people, called መቃብረ ወጀራት *māk'abrä Wäjärat* ('graveyard of Wäjärat'). Today the place in Wäjärat where Däbrä Täyat'ron was split off from is called ፈጋዕ ደንጎላ, Fäga' Dongola ('split big stone'). And it is said that Yəm'ata blessed the people of Wäjärat and chased out the demons to Raya. There is a place called ኦፎጃጃ *Afo Jijji* between Wäjärat and Raya. In Wäjärat, [ijj] means 'to stutter/stammer'. Thus it is believed that Yəm'ata chased the devils to that place, and they have kept stuttering there to the present day.

Today the Wäjärat people say that Yəm'ata blessed them mainly in view of two very important things:

- Yəm'ata said that the people of Wäjärat would never be colonized or be defeated.
- There would be only one religion (Orthodox Christianity) in Wäjärat.

The people of Wäjärat have fought many times and usually they were the winners. There have been many conflicts with the Afar; the first Weyane (rebellion) against the Haile Selassie regime began there; in these rebellions the Wäjärat were the winners. Even the word Weyane is originally from Wäjärat. The first people in Tigray who resisted the Oromo expansion in the 16th century, and who defeated them, were the Wäjärat.

There are some jokes and proverbs about the Oromo in Wäjärat. There are also many words in Wäjärat that are similar to Oromo.

Word	Wäjärat	Oromo
Muuča	Child/children	Child
Sanga	an ox	an ox
Wäjärat/Wäjira etc...	Wäjärat (the place itself)	office (Wajira)

However, the word Wäjärat cannot be derived from the Oromo word for 'office', as many believe, because the name is known from Yəm'ata's Gädl which was written during the Aksumite period, many centuries before the Oromo expansion. According to some traditions the word Wäjärat is believed to come from the Geez word *wäyzärat* ('beauties'). (Of course, the girls of Wäjärat are extremely beautiful.)

In a Wäjärat folktale there are two people who were known for fighting against the Oromo. They are called Tamir and Gälädda, they had a fortification on the top of a mountain inside a cave. It is found around Gebriel church of Gonka (Northern tip of Wäjärat) and the name Gälädda is also common in Gonka.

Another folktale in Wäjärat is about a plant called ሸልኻን (Šəl'än). This plant is said to have been brought by Saint Yəm'ata, and it is believed that the plant would repel demons. It is also thought that the demons were chased out to Raya by means of this plant.

Today 100% of the people of Wäjärat are followers of the Orthodox Tewahido religion. Every T'ək'əmt 28 Yəm'ata is commemorated in

Wäjärat, in the church of Maryam 'Addi Bati. Yəm'ata is venerated and remembered today in both Gär'alta and Wäjärat.

2.3. Some Poems about Yəm'ata from His Gädl

There are poems about Yəm'ata, written by St. Yared, in the manuscripts of Gädlä Yəm'ata.

a) ሰላም: ለዕርገትክ: ደብረ: ትያጥሮን: ይእቲ
በበዓል: ልደታ: ለድንግል: እንተ: ይትጋብኡ: ባቲ
ሕዘበ: ገርዓልታ: ከሎሎ: ለአምጽኦት: ወንጌል: በዛቲ
ይምዓታ: ፍቁሩ: ለከባቴ: አበሳ: አመዋቲ
አባ: ጸግወነ: ዕድሜ: ንስሐ: ከመ: አንትፈለጥ: ባቲ

We salute your ascending, Mt. Täyat'ron, on the Holyday of the birth of the Virgin, where all the people of Gär'alta are congregated, to bring a gospel there. Yəm'ata, friend of the Forgiver of Sin, who never dies. Father! Bestow upon us time for confession so that we will not depart from there [your church].

b) ሰላም: ለአባ: ይምዓታ: ዘመነነ: መንግስተ
ፀሊያ: ፍቅረ: ዓለም: ፍትወተ: ስጋ: ሰፋጢተ
ውሰተ: ቤተ: መስቀል: ደብረ: አንግባ: ተክለ: ሓወልተ
ስዕለ: መልክዑ: አስዓሎ: ከመ: ይኩን: ህይወተ
ለእለ: ፀወያመ: ወለ: እለ: አፀወያመ
ወሀቦመ: እም: ኃባ: እግዚእ: ኪዳነ: ምሕረት

Salutation! to Abba Yəm'ata, who renounced and ignored this tiresome world. He erected a monument in Bete Mäsk'al ('the house of cross') in Däbrä Angba. He also had his image painted so that it

should be life. To those whom he called, and those whom he did not call, To all of them he gave a covenant of mercy from the Lord.

Däbrä Angaba is Northwest of Gärfalta, and the image of Yəm'ata was painted there by Binyami (Yəm'ata's nephew). the image stands as a monument.

c) ሰላም፡ ለከ፡ ይምዓታ፡ አቡነ
እንተ፡ ተሰመይከ፡ ፀወነ
ለሀዘበ፡ ጉሕ፡ ወገርዓልታ፡ አመ፡ ኮነ፡ ካህና
መጠውቶሙ፡ ስርዓተ፡ ምስጢር፡ ቁርባነ
ከመ፡ ኢይርአዩ፡ ከነኔ
ወወሀብኩሙ፡ ኪዳነ

Salutation to you our father Yəm'ata

You are called our refuge

He is also a priest

for the people of Guḥ and Gärfalta

You gave them the mystery

of the Holy communion!

So that they will not see the damnation.

And you gave them a covenant.

d) ሰላም፡ ለአባ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ጸማዱ
ዘሐቀረ፡ ነፍሱ፡ እግዚእ፡ በየማነ፡ እዱ
ወሀቦ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ምሕረት፡ በኮኩሐ፡ ምግናዝ፡ ለሕዝብ፡ ገርዓልታ፡ ለለጅዱ
ዓስራተ፡ ይኩንዎ፡ ከመ፡ ይቀድስዎ፡ ለማኅፈዱ
አዘዙሙ፡ እግዚእነ፤ ለክብረ፡ ደሙ፡ ከመ፡ ይስገዱ

Salutation

to Abba Yəm'ata

who is the servant

of God,

whose soul

The Lord embraced with his right arm And He gave him
the covenant of mercy at the Rock of shrouding for every one
of the people of Gär'alta. Let them be a tithe to him.

So that they

should bless

his church fortress,

Our Lord ordered

them to kneel down

to the glory

of his (Yəm'ata's) blood.

According to his Gädl Yəm'ata was killed by the people of Bärbär(?) in
Gär'alta, and his blood flowed on the rock. He was shrouded at that rock.
Today the rock is decorated with symbols that look like blood. The people
of Gär'alta kneel down there, believing that it is Yəm'ata's blood, and this
rock is known as Kokuha Məgnaz ('Rock of shrouding').

e) ሰላም፡ ሰላባ፡ ይምግታ፡ ዘኮኖሙ፡ መርሐ
 ለሕዝብ፡ ዋጅራት፡ ከሎሙ፡ ጎጡአን፡ አእምሮ፡ አሜሃ
 ሜጦሙ፡ በቃለ፡ ሓራውያ፡ ዘከልሐ
 ኃደጉ፡ አምልኮተ፡ ጣዖተ፡ በቃለ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ዘበፍስሐ
 ወአመ፡ ሷለጥቅምት፡ በዕለተ፡ ዕረፍቶሙ፡ ለነገስተ፡ አክሱም፡ አብርሃ፡ ወአፅብሃ

Salutation to Abba Yāmʿata who became a leader to all the people of Wajērat, who were sinners. And he turned them away [from idolatry] through the roaring words of a wild boar. And they left off worshipping idols, by the word of his covenant, joyfully, on 4 Tʿakamt, commemoration day of the Aksumite kings, Abrāha and Asbāha.

Yāmʿata used to preach and teaching people who had been worshipping idols; he had a wild boar that could speak and teach and that sometimes preached for him. As a result the people repented and confessed because of this and other miracles.

Yāmʿata's long and complex spiritual journey was:

Rome/ Syria → Jerusalem → Eritrean Sea → Däbrä Bizen →
 Mät'ära → Aksum → Mount Soloda → Däbrä hatäta (the place of
 Abba S'ähma) → ʿaddi Bäläw (sometimes the place of Guba) Guḥ/Däbrä
 Täyat'ron → Wäjärat → back to Gärfalta/ Guḥ/ Däbrä Täyat'ron
 → Kokuḥa Məgnaz (where he was killed)

Chapter Three

Philological Analysis of the Manuscripts of Gädlä Yəm'ata, and Linguistic Examination among the Manuscripts

3.1. Some Orthographic differences of the manuscripts

There are several examples of orthographic differences among the manuscripts:

I. ጸ, ፀ

1. ዘትትናጸር [zätətnas's'är] 'opposite to' Mss Bl, Y, A, h, M, Br, G
vs. ዘትትናፀር [zätətnas's'är] Mss Bt and K'
2. ፀድያ [s'ädya] Mss Bl, Bt, K', M, G, Br
vs. ጸድያ [s'ädya] Mss Y, A, h

The orthography of the sound [s'] is written in two different forms in the manuscripts- ፀ and ጸ. However today these two orthographies are pronounced in the same way.

II. ፀ-ህ-dh

1. ጠጎደር [maxədär] 'shelter' in all the manuscripts except Ms K'
vs. ጠፀደር [maxədär] Ms K'
2. አልህዖ [ʔalhəmt] 'cows/cattle' in all the manuscripts except Ms Y
vs. አልአዖት [ʔalhəmt] Mss Y, A

The form with N is correct; but N and G frequently interchange in Geez manuscripts.

All the manuscripts, but Ms K', have the reading orthography ጎ in the word [maxədär]. In the second case manuscripts A and Y have አ but the other manuscripts have ፀ. Thus the word [ʔalhəmt] is written with different orthography of the sound [h] in the manuscripts.

III. The word Wäjärat is written in three forms:

1. ዋጆራት [Wajərat] Mss Bl, G, Br, K'
2. ዋጂራት [Wajirat] Mss M, A, Y, ḥ
3. ወጆራት [Wäjärat] Ms Bt

The last reading (Bt), which is found in Wäjärat itself is the correct reading, because the people in Wäjärat only use this pronunciation [Wäjärat]. Elsewhere in Tigray all three pronunciations can be heard.

IV. One day robbers killed a boy; his mother heard and cried out በገግር 'in a moan'.

1. በገግር [bägä'ar] Mss Bl, M, A, ḥ, G, Br
2. በገሐር [bägä'är] MsY
3. በገፐር [bägä'är] Ms K'
4. በሀገር [bägä'är] Ms Bt

The normal form of the word is በገግር, with a pharyngeal. The sound [ʿa] can be spelled ግ or ፐ; Ms K' spells it with ፐ. Ms Y use ሐ instead. The interesting change is seen in MsBt. This Ms Bt presents a totally different word ሀገር 'country' instead ገግር in a moan. It must have been corrupted from MsK' because, orthographically, ፐ and ሀ are very similar. Plausibly, the change was በገፐር → በገሀር → በሀገር. It could be assumed that manuscript K' is the Vorlage/ archetype of manuscript Bt.

Because:

- ✓ Geographically, they are in the same area (Wäjärat)
- ✓ The copyist of MsBt must have considered that በገፐር was written as በገሀር, which has no meaning, and 'corrected' it to በሀገር. This progression only makes sense if MsK' was the Vorlage of Ms Bt.

V. A more substantial difference involves the name of the mother of Saint Yəm'ata, which is written in different ways in the manuscripts:

1. ቁስጥንጥንያ [K'ust'ənt'ənəya] Mss K', Bt, A
2. ቁስጥንጥያ [K'ust'ənt'əya] Mss Bl1, Bl2, M, G, Br, h
3. ቁስጥጥንያ [K'ust'ət'ənya] Ms Y

Here the reading found in the first group agrees with the name Constantinople (the place where Liqanos came from), thus gives sense and should be the original. The others are plausibly corruptions, created by different processes of haplography which deleted either the first *n* (group 3) or the second *n* (group 2).

There are also morphological and syntactic differences among the manuscripts. The following sentence, discussed in chapter one, can serve as an example.

Ms Bl, h: ዘደረሰ ለዝንቱ ገድለ አቡነ ብፁዕ ብእሴ እግዚአብሔር ማር ይምጻታ

Zä-däräsä läzəntu gädlä abunä bəs'u' bə'əse 'əgzi'bəher mar Yəm'ata
Who wrote this hagiography of father, Saint, person of God
respected Yəm'ata.

Ms Y: ዘደረሰ ለዝንቱ ገድለ ብፁዕ አቡነ ይምጻታ

Zä-däräsä läzəntu gädlä bəs'u' abunä Yəm'ata

Who wrote this hagiography of Saint, father Yəm'ata

Ms K': ዘደረሰ ለዝንቱ ገድል ገድለ አቡነ ብፁዕ ይምጻታ

Zä-däräso läzəntu gädl gädlä abunä bəs'u' Yəm'ata

Who wrote (it) this hagiography, hagiography of father, saint

Yəm'ata

Ms M: ፱፻፲፱ ሰዎንቱ ገድሰ አቡነ ይምግታ

Zä-däräsä läzəntu gädlä abunä Yəm'ata

Who wrote this hagiography of father Yəm'ata

Ms A: ፱፻፲፱ ሰዎንቱ ገድሰ ሰአቡነ ይምግታ

Zä-däräsä läzəntu gädl zä-abunä Yəm'ata

Who wrote this father Yəm'ata's hagiography

The genitive marker in Ms A is different from the others: it is expressed by *zä-* “of” attached to the possessor ሰአቡነ (*zä-abunä*). In all the other manuscripts the genitive is indicated by the construct state of the possessee, *gädl-ä*. In manuscripts K', B, Bl, h, Yəm'ata is called a saint and spiritual person. In the other manuscripts, there is no clear indication that he is a saint, except the word *gädl* itself, which is common to all the manuscripts. Notice also the distinctive construction of the verb in Ms K': *däräs-o* “he wrote it”, which is found in no other Ms. Manuscript K' also is the only one to repeat the word *gädl*.

The above points are an example of linguistic differences among the manuscripts. However, these differences are not all useful in constructing a family tree, because philologically most of these errors are common, natural, polygenetic errors rather than conjunctive errors.

3. 2. Physical Features of the Manuscripts

3.2.1. Physical Material

The manuscripts are made of parchment and all most all of them the parchment is thick. They are written with traditional pen, in two colors i.e. red and black. The red ink is used, as usual, mainly for the name of

God, Angels and Yəm'ata himself. The word Yəm'ata is written above five hundred times in each manuscript; this is the equivalent of at least five full folios of red ink in a single manuscript or fifty folios in all the manuscripts, which means there could be a single manuscript consisting only of "Yəm'ata"! Each manuscript is bound as a codex. The binding is made of wood covered by leather or cloth, manuscripts (A, G and Bl2) are covered with cloth; the others are covered with leather. In all of the manuscripts the front and back cover are still well preserved.

3.2.2. Page layout and style of writing

The pages are not numbered, and only Ms Bt has any decorations at all (picture of Yəm'ata). There are page margins on the left, right, top and bottom. Marginalia (marginal notes) are most commonly found in the top margin. The text is written continuously, generally with no gaps or blank spaces between lines; only rarely do gaps occur in some of the manuscripts. Except for manuscript G, which is written in three columns, all the other manuscripts are written in two columns. Catchwords are used only occasionally.

The style of writing of all the manuscripts are very similar, they are written with medium size of letters, there is word divider i.e. two dots. The penmanship of the manuscripts is almost completely clear and neat except in a few places. The paleography appears quite modern— probably 18-20th century, to judge from the samples given in Uhlig (1990). An example from Ms Bl is given on the next page.

3.2.4 Overall condition of the Manuscripts

All the manuscripts are complete, but there are some pages left out inadvertently. For instance, in the manuscript of 'Addi-Bati Bt, the

copyist has left out about three folios unwittingly, between two instances of "In the name of the Father, the son, and the Holy Sprit".

Recto 67 of Bl 2 reads (like all the other manuscripts):

... መሐለ፡ ሎቱ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይርአይ፡ ደይነ፡፡ በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡
አሁዱ፡ አምላክ፡፡ አመ፡ ጄወ፤፡ ለጥቅምት፡ እምድሕረ፡ ተወራዮ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ምስለ፡ ደቂቁ፡
መነኮላት...

Three and half folios later (verso 75) it says:

በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አሁዱ፡ አምላክ፡ ስምዑኬ፡ ፍቁራንዮ፡ ሕዝበ
ክርስትያን፡ ንንግርክመ፡ ተአሚሪሁ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ በምድረ፡ ጉሕ....

But in the manuscript of Bt it is not like that in Recto 108 of Bt it says:

... መሐለ፡ ሎቱ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይርአይ፡ ደይነ፡፡ በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡
አሁዱ፡ አምላክ፡ ስምዑኬ፡ ፍቁራንዮ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስትያን፡ ንንግርክመ፡ ተአሚሪሁ፡
ቀዳሚ፡ በምድረ፡ ጉሕ...

This shows the copyist of manuscript Bt has inadvertently omitted three and half folios. Clearly this is because the identical phrase በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ occurs in two places. The copyist apparently skipped to the second one. Because of this confusion many important passages have been omitted in manuscript Bt.

There are also some pages which are damaged in the manuscripts. More than thirty folios of manuscript Bt have been partly eaten by mice. There are holes in all the manuscripts. However, the parchment itself is well preserved, not fragile or brittle. But the condition of the manuscripts is not necessarily a good clue to their age. A manuscript may have deteriorated because of poor handling or bad conservation. And of course a manuscript is two things, the physical (parchment) and the message. Thus, the age of the parchment is not a good witness to the age of the manuscript text. The ink of most of the manuscripts is clearly legible, and logically the ink and the paleography are better clues to the date of

actual writing than the parchment itself. The physical features of the manuscripts are summarized in the following table.

No	Ms	No. of folios				Total	No. of columns	Parchment (length x width in cm)	Covered with
		written	unwritten						
			F	M	B				
1	A	127½	4	-	½	132	Two	35.6x15.9	cloth
2	Bl1	95		-		95	Two	30.5x15.9	leather
3	Bl2	85	2½		1½	89	Two	30.5x15.9	cloth
4	Br	78		-		78	Two	27.9x16.5	leather
5	Bt	129	1	-	-	130	Two	35.6x16.5	leather
6	G	80	1	-	2	83	Three	35.6x16.5	cloth
7	h	84½	2	-	½	87	Two	27.9x15.9	leather
8	K'	101	½	1	3½	106	Two	27.9x15.9	leather
9	M	96½	2	-	2½	101	Two	33.0x16.5	leather
10	Y	69	2	-	-	71	Two	27.9x15.9	leather

(In columns 4-6, F= front, M= middle, B= back pages)

As shown in the above table, the manuscripts have different numbers of folios (from a minimum of 71 up to a maximum of 132). Manuscripts A, Bt and G have the largest page size. All the manuscripts except G have only two columns. Manuscript K' is the only one which has an unwritten folio in the middle; the blank folio comes after the introduction, which is not commonly found in the other manuscripts. Except for three manuscripts (A, G and Bl 2), all the manuscripts are covered with

leather. Note that manuscript A, the longest one, also contains a different text (excerpts from the Miracles of Mary).

3.3. Some Internal Features of the Manuscripts

There are linguistic and internal philological differences among the manuscripts, including phonological, morphological, orthographical, and textual differences. That means there are common innovations/errors. Some of these are polygenetic (an innovation which is not used to make family tree) and others are conjunctive (an innovation which is used to make family tree) (in the researcher's judgment). The conjunctive errors are used to make a stemma of the manuscripts.

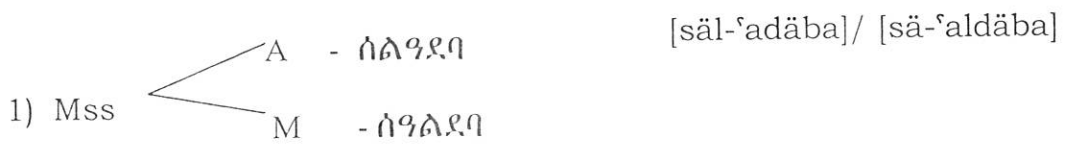
3.3.1. Family tree/ Stemma of the manuscripts

There are many criteria to reconstruct a family tree of manuscripts. The criterion of the *codex optimus* (the best codex/manuscript) is a very old criterion: one manuscript, which appears to show the most correct and the smoothest text, is chosen, and it is printed in all the editions. Another method is the *codices plurimi* ("the most codices/majority manuscripts"): the reading found in the majority of the manuscripts is to be preferred. The third one, which is accepted by most scholars, is the Lachmannian method. In this method there are two important points: *recentiores non-deteriores* ("the more recent manuscripts are not the worst") and *lectio difficilior* (the most difficult reading is most probably of an older time). I have used this method. There are shared innovations, both conjunctive as well as polygenetic, in the manuscripts. The manuscripts thus can be tentatively grouped into three families based on common innovations of the conjunctive type. The following points are key criteria.


I. In all the manuscripts, the Nine Saints came to Aksum at the time of king Ella-Ameda; Ella-Ameda's father is named in all the manuscripts, but in different forms:

MsA:	አልዓሜዳ ወልዱ <u>ሰልዓደባ</u>	[sä-ˈadäba]
MSB11:	አልዓሜዳ ወልዱ <u>አልዓልደባ</u>	[ˈal-ˈaldäba]
MSB12:	አልዓሜዳ ወልዱ <u>አልዓልደባ</u>	[ˈal-ˈaldäba]
MsBr:	አልዓሜዳ ወልደ <u>አልዓልደባ</u>	[ˈal-ˈaldäba]
MsBt:	አልዓሜዳ ወልዱ <u>አልከደባ</u>	[ˈal-ˈadäba]
MsG:	አልዓሜዳ ወልደ <u>አልዓልደባ</u>	[ˈal-ˈaldäba]
Msh:	አልዓሜዳ ወልዱ <u>አልዓልደባ</u>	[ˈal-ˈaldäba]
MsK':	አልዓሜዳ ወልዱ <u>አልዓደባ</u>	[ˈa-ˈadäba]
MsM:	አልዓሜዳ ወልዱ <u>ሰዓልደባ</u>	[sä-ˈaldäba]
MsY:	አልዓሜዳ ወልዱ <u>አልዓልደባ</u>	[ˈal-ˈaldäba]

Based just on this reading the manuscripts fall into the following groups:



[ʔal-ʿadäba]/ [ʔal-ʾadäba]

3) Mss  K' - አልዓደባ
Bt - አልአደባ

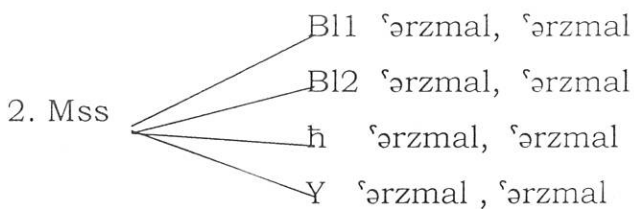
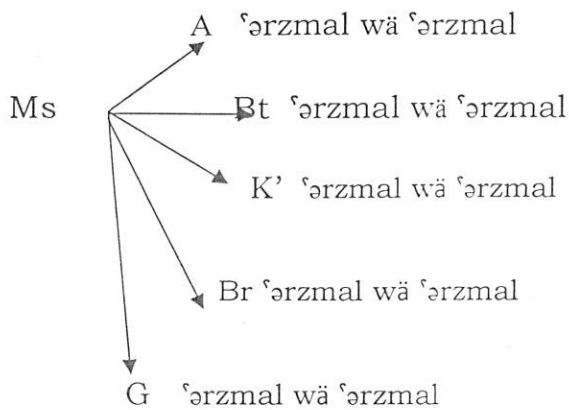
In Group 1 (Mss A,M) there is an initial /s/ that is not present in the other Mss. Group 3 and Ms A omit the second [l]; Ms M apparently omits the first [-l]. The difference between A and M could be the result of graphic metathesis, a reversal of the letters ዓ and ል.

The six manuscripts of the second group have identical readings. Based on the criterion of codices plurimi (the most codices), this group might be taken as representing the original reading. The third group consists of the two manuscripts (K' and Bt), which have very similar readings, except for the difference in the sounds of [-ʔ] and [-ʿ]. Manuscript K' is more similar to the other manuscripts than manuscript Bt is. There is another feature common to group one and three: these groups have five, not six, characters, as they only have one [l] sound.

However, we cannot fairly judge the archetypes and sub-archetypes only from this single example. Rather, additional readings must be considered.

II. According to Gädlä Yämʿata the angel Gabriel called Yämʿata using an (allegedly) Hebrew word, *ʿrzmäl* (ዕርዝማል) with the meaning “who has won over the demon”. (Actually this and the phrases in III and IV show no resemblance to Hebrew (Orin Gensler, p.c). In all the manuscripts this word is written in different forms. These can also be grouped into three families.

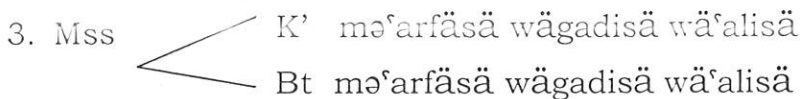
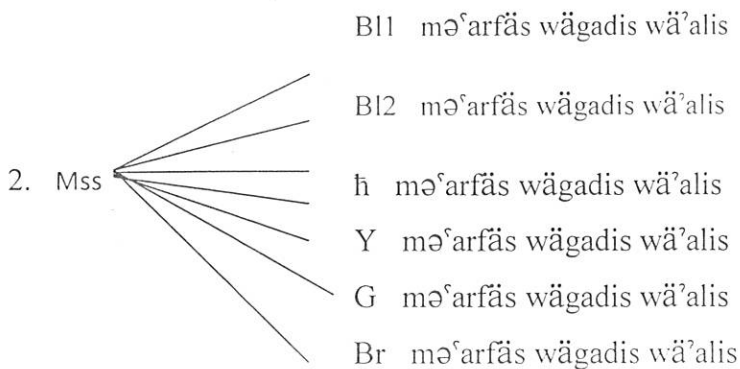
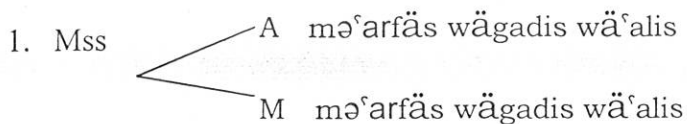
1.



3. MsM ʿərzmal, ʿərzmal, ʿərzmal

In the first group, the conjunction *wä*- 'and' is added. The second and third groups do not have the conjunction. In the third group, consisting only of a single manuscript, the word *ʿrzmal* is written three times. This third repetition may be unconscious, or it may be connected with the theological concept of the Trinity.

III. An angel also greeted St. Yəmʿata, again allededly in the Hebrew language. The following phrase occurs in each of manuscripts, meaning "How do you do and did you come well?" Based on this phrase, the manuscripts can be grouped into three families.



The two manuscripts of the first group are different from the other groups because they have the pharyngeal [ʕ] instead of [ʔ]. The pharyngeal sound was still pronounced in ancient Geez. Thus in the other manuscripts, this pharyngeal sound might have been lost. In the second group of manuscripts, the readings are identical.

The third group is again different: at the end of every word there is an [ä] sound, which is not found in the other manuscripts. This may perhaps be the influence of Afar. In Afar to say, 'good morning, how are you' etc. they say "nagasä wargasä". These two manuscripts K' and Bt are found in Wäjärat (bordered by Afar to the east); and in Wäjärat, it is common to use some Afar words. So, the pattern sä, sä or ä, ä may be because of

that influence. Plausibly, if the copyist knew Afar or some Afar words, this might have led to the corruption.

IV. The people of Wäjärat and Gärfalta paid cattle as a tax to the church.

This is recorded in different forms in the different manuscripts. The meaning of the phrase is: seventy fat (cattle) with long horns.

1. Ms A ፪ ሰንጋ ወከልሕምት ሰቡሓን እለ ነዊሕ
 አቅርንቲሆሙ.

2. Mss

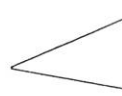
- M ፪ ሰቡሓን እለ ነዊሕ አቅርንቲሆሙ.
- Bl 1 ፪ ሰቡሓን እለ ነዊሕ አቅርንቲሆሙ.
- Bl 2 ፪ ሰቡሓን እለ ነዊሕ አቅርንቲሆሙ.
- Y ፪ ሰቡሓን እለ ነዊሕአ ቅርንቲሆሙ.
- h ፪ ሰቡሓን እለ ነዊሕ አቅርንቲሆሙ.
- G ፪ ሰቡሓን እለ ነዊሕ አቅርንቲሆሙ.
- Br ፪ ሰቡሓን እለ ነዊሕ አቅርንቲሆሙ.

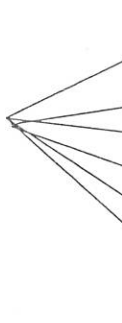
3. Mss

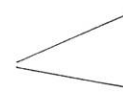
- K' ፪ ሰብዓ ሰንጋ ከልሕምት እለ ነዊሕ አቅርንቲሆሙ.
- Bt ፪ ሰንጋ ከልሕምት ለ ነዊሕ አቅርንቲሆሙ.

In this context, manuscript A does not agree fully with any other manuscript. The two Wäjärat manuscripts K' and Bt are similar but not identical. In manuscript K', the copyist has written the number 70 twice (as a Geez numerical symbol and spelled out as a word). Manuscript Bt also uses ለ (zä) instead of እለ (ʾälä).

V. The angel Gabriel also speaks to Yəm'ata, again alleged in the Hebrew language. The meaning of the phrase is not explained in the manuscripts, but is written as follows:

1. Mss  A: nafamin wä'arfamin wätiman wämä'arsyon
M: nafamin wä'arfamin wätiman wämä'arsyon

2. Mss  B11 nafamin wä'arfamin wätiman wämä'arseyon
B12 nafamin wä'arfamin wätiman wämä'arseyon
h nafamin wä'arfamin wätiman wämä'arseyon
Y nafamin wä'arfamin wätiman wämä'arseyon
Br nafamin wä'arfamin wätiman wämä'arseyon
G nafamin wä'arfamin wätiman wämä'arseyon

3. Mss  K' bafamin watiman wämä'arsayon
Bt (omitted)

Manuscripts M and A have the same reading. All the other manuscripts are the same, except (again) for the two manuscripts K' and Bt.

On the basis of these five criteria, we can tentatively set up the stemma tree given below. I am very grateful to my advisor for his help and advice in this section.

It is clear that K' and Bt form a group. These two manuscripts, and no others, share the following features:

a) 'al-'adäba/'al-'adäba (one l, no s)

b) added -ä in the angel's greeting to Yəm'ata.

There are two other features which K' and Bt share only with A; these will be discussed below.

Still focusing only on K' and Bt, it is also clear that K' is the prototype for Bt, and that Bt is a corruption, for several reasons:

- a) Bt omits 3 ½ pages
- b) Bt omits Gabriel's greeting to Yəm'ata.
- c) Bt's reading *UIC* is clearly corrupt, and only makes sense if it is derived from K's reading *IOC*
- d) Only Bt writes the father of Ella-Ameda as -አደባ (with አ not 0)
- e) Only Bt has *zä* instead of 'əllä, and *zä* can be considered "simpler" Geez.

f) Bt is the only ms to have the *correct* spelling of Wäjärat. But this too could be an innovation; Bt comes from Wäjärat, and the copyist could easily have corrected the wrong spellings of his own home region. This argues for a substructure that looks like this:



As noted above, K' and Bt also have features which they share with A:

- a) *sänga* (wä-) 'əlhəmt
- b) *K'ust'ənt'ənya*

This suggests that K', Bt' and A might make a subfamily. But are the shared features really shared *innovations*? Shared retentions would be

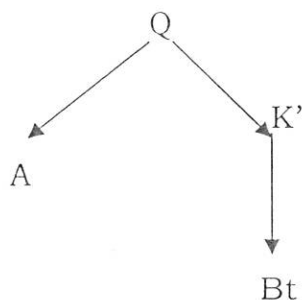
useless for subgrouping. As for *k'ust'at'anya*, this is very likely to be a shared retention. The only plausible source for this woman's name is something like "Constantin(i)a", with the sequence t-n-t-n; and K', Bt, and A all preserve this reading (in the form t'-n- t'-n). On the other hand, the phrase *Sānga (wä)- 'alhəmt* is very likely to be an innovation. The scribe surely was thinking of the biblical passage where Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dream (Gen 41: 2):

säb'atu 'alhəmt sännay ra'əyomu wä səbuhan səgahomu

Literally translated: "seven cows beautiful their appearance and fat their flesh"

The passage in *Gädlä Yəm'ata* uses the same syntactic construction and some of the same words, and is describing cattle. But there is no reason to repeat the word "cows", which is what we find in K', Bt and A. In fact, *sānga* is a Cushitic word (e.g. Oromo) for "ox" and is thus clearly an addition.

Hence K', Bt and A show a shared innovation of a very specific nature—thus a conjunctive innovation, and a good argument for subgrouping them together. This gives us a substructure:



Here Q indicates an older intermediate ancestor manuscript which is presumably lost.

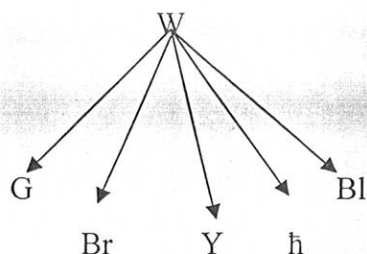
We turn now to the remaining manuscripts. M will be discussed separately below. All the other manuscripts (G, Br, Y, Bl, ĥ) share several features in common:

- a) The name of Ella-Ameda's father is given as 'al-ʿaldäba
- b) The angel's greeting to Yəmʿata has **h** not **0**.
- c) The angel Gabriel's greeting to Yəmʿata has *-seyon* instead of *-säyon* or *-sayon*

They also share two features with Ms M:

- d) The description of the 70 cows does not contain any explicit word for "cow"
(neither 'alĥamt nor sänga).
- e) The woman's name does not have the sequence t'-n-t'-n, but only 3 letters (t'-n-t' or t'-t'-n), a case of hapology.

This would suggest that G, Br, Y, Bl, and ĥ form a subfamily of their own. But again we must ask: are there shared innovations? With the two pseudo-Hebrew greetings, it is impossible to know what the "correct" original version was. But the name 'al-ʿaldäba very likely is a shared innovation. The reason is that the variant *säl-ʿadäba/säʿaldäba* (found in A and M) is also found in other sources outside the direct Yəmʿata tradition. Gädlä Arägawi, Gädlä Pʿantʿälewon, and the Ethiopian Synaxarium (as well as the historian Hiruy Weldesilassie) all give the name with initial *sä-*. This argues strongly that the archetype for Gädlä Yəmʿata also had *sä-*. If so, the variants in initial ʿa- represent a shared innovation, plausibly a conjunctive innovation. We symbolize the hypothetical intermediate ancestor of this group as W. The substructure is then:



A few minor notes. “Bl” indicates two manuscripts, not one; but they are from the same church and are identical in all the above respects. Second, Y shows two small innovations: the woman’s name is spelled t’- t’- n (plausibly a metathesis from t’- n- t’), and the word for “moan” is spelled ገከር with ከ. Third, Br and G use the phrase wäldä ’al-’aldäba, which is correct Geez (construct of *wäldä*), whereas all the other manuscripts (Y, h, Bl, but also A, M, K’, and Bt) have the version *wäldu*, which is not good Geez. It is hard to know whether Br and G represent an innovation or a retention in this case.

Based strictly on text-internal evidence, the identity of the hypothetical Ms W is unknown. However, it may be that W is actually G. This is due to external evidence. Ms G is the only one found in Yäm’ata’s own church of Guh; moreover, the priests assert that all the other manuscripts were copied from G. On the other hand, G is the only manuscript written in three columns, which seems unlikely if it is to be the ancestor of two-column manuscripts.

Manuscript M is the most challenging. It shows similarities with A, but also with group W. The similarities with A are as follows:

- a) Only A, M give the name of Ella-Ameda’s father beginning with sä-. This is probably a shared retention.

b) In two of the Pseudo-Hebrew greetings to Yəm'ata, A, M differ from group W:

A, M: ʿalis

W: ʾalis

A, M: mä'arsyon

W: mä'arseyon

It is unclear which variant here is an innovation, since the “original” of this nonsense- Hebrew is unknown.

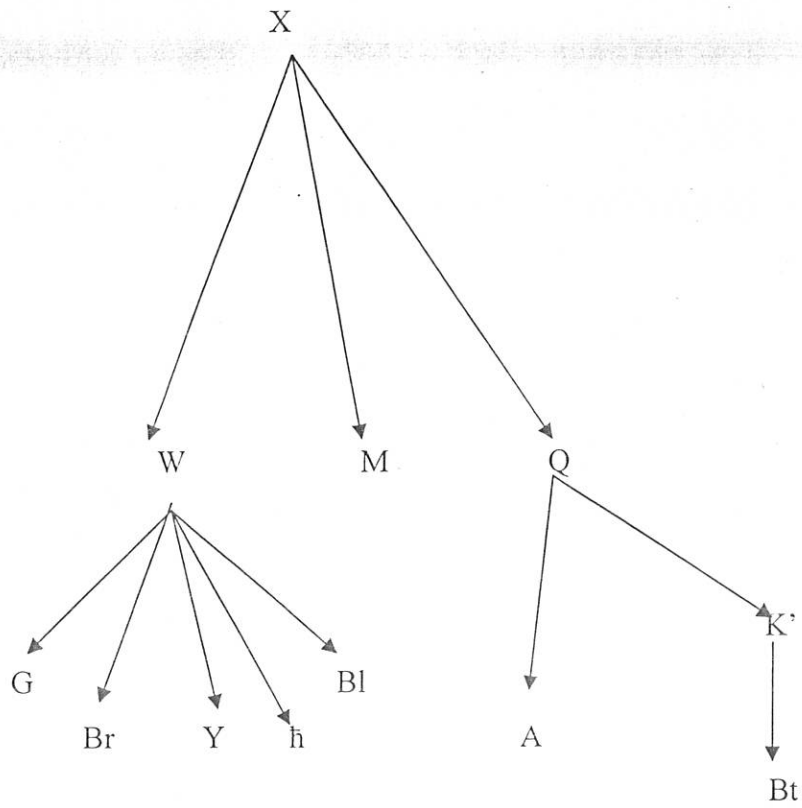
The similarities with group W are these:

c) The description of the 70 cows is identical. It is unclear if this version is a retention or an innovation.

d) The woman's name is K'ust'ant'ya, with the sequence t'- n- t'. This is very likely to represent a shared innovation, since the original was probably t'- n - t'- n.

It is hard to make any strong argument on the basis of this data. Perhaps M should be grouped with W; but it seems safest to present M as a separate group of its own.

Putting all the pieces together, we get a stemma that looks like this:



The nodes X, W, and Q are hypothetical; X is the presumed ancestor of the whole manuscript family.

Chapter Four

Figurative Language in Gädlä Yəm'ata

There is ample use of figurative language in Gädlä Yəm'ata. This shows the literary development of the Geez language in the Aksumite period. Such poetic figures can add psychological and philosophical richness and symbolism to the text. The writer of the Gädl, St. Yared, uses imagery very effectively. For instance, አንተ፡ ኮከብ፡ ምዕናሕ፡ ወምግናዝ፡ ይውሕዝ፡ ደምዮ፡ መልዕልቲክ./anti kokuha mäs'nah wäməgnaz yəwəhəz däməyā mäl'əlteki/

'O you rock of waiting and shrouding! May my blood spill out upon you!'

Here St. Yəm'ata is speaking directly to the rock, the literary figure called apostrophe. Simile, metaphor, personification, hyperbole apostrophe and biblical allusion are among the figurative uses of language seen in the Gädl. These will be discussed in turn below

4.1. Simile

Simile compares things/people with things/people. The Geez word ከመ ካሙ (*kämä* ('as, like, similar to')) figures prominently here. The following are some examples of simile found in Gädlä Yəm'ata.

1. During the reign of Tazena (the son of Ella-Ameda), there was a python which the people worshipped. After the Nine Saints came to Aksum, one day the python whistled. The Nine Saints heard and said, አ፡ንጉሥ፡ ታዜና፡ ምንትነ፡ ዘንሰምዕ፡ ደምፀ፡ ፋዓ፡ ከመ መሰንቆ

Oh! king Tazena, what are we hearing, a sound of whistling like a violin.

Here the sound of the python is compared to the sound of a violin. The king then told them that it was a python, and the Nine Saints killed it through prayer.

2. When Saint Yəm'ata was praying, he was sorely tried; many demons came to deceive him, but he prayed over them. As a result they were cast out. The writer uses simile to express all this.

... እንደ፡ ይጸሊ፡ ወይሰግድ፡ በበጭ፡ ኮነ፡ ሐጎ፡ ከመ፡ ነጠብጣብ፡ ዝናም
በመዋዕለ፡ ክረምት፡ ወአሜሃ፡ ብዙኃን፡ አጋንንት፡ መጽኡ፡ ኃብ፡ ሀሎ፡
አቡነ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ማር፡ ይምዓታ፡ ተመስሎመ፡ በአምሳለ፡ አዕዋፍ፡ እለ፡
ይሰርፍ፡ ወቦ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ኃለስትዩ፡ ወሆባይ፡ ወቦ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ሰብእ፡
ይዘፍኑ ወባረክ፡ ሳዕሌሆመ፡ ወተዘረወ፡ ወጠፍዐ፡ ከመ፡ ተነ፡
ጢስ...

When he prayed and prostrated himself ten thousand times, his perspiration was like the drops of rain in the rainy season. At that time many demons would come to where our father Saint Yəm'ata was, they resembled flying birds, some were like an ape or a monkey, and others were dancing like human beings. After he made the sign of the cross over them, they were scattered and extinguished like dissipating smoke.

These images are powerfully impressed on the reader's mind: the perspiration of St. Yəm'ata, the demons which are like flying birds, apes and monkeys. Anyone can see, in spirit, the demons dancing, becoming scattered like smoke etc. The writer uses this imagery to highlight the spiritual strength of Saint Yəm'ata, and the evil of the demons.

3. Yəm'ata, in his spiritual life, was tempted by Satan many times, as Jesus Christ was tempted in the desert. One day while Yəm'ata was praying, a serpent came to him and there was a demon on the serpent. The writer narrates this as follows:

መጽኢ፡ አርጭ፡ ምድር፡ ዓብይ፡ ወነጎ፡ መጠነ፡ ፪፻፡ ወግድመ፡ ፲ወ፳፡
 ወአዕይንቲሁ፡ ያንበለብለ፡ ከመ፡ አፍሐመ፡ እሳት፡ ወልሳኖ፡ መንታ፡ ከመ፡ ኩናት፡
 በሊህ፡ ወበላዕሊህ፡ ተዕዲኖ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ጋኔን፡ ወገ፡ ይመስል፡ ከመ፡ ሆባይ ...

A serpent (Arwe) came to him. It was huge, its height was 200 and its breadth 15, its eyes were blazing like coals of fire, it had double tongues like a sharp spear, carrying a big demon with a face like a monkey.

In this description of the serpent the writer uses powerful imagery. Everyone can picture what the eye, tongue of the snake and the face of the demon look like. Such expressive words and phrases are very effective in preaching and convincing the people of the faith of saints and the terribleness of Satan. In the above example the length and width of the snake is suggested but not given explicitly: it might be 200 and 15 meters or centimeters. But the numbers suggest immensity.

4. Saint Yəm'ata is said to have planted ዕፀ፡ ገነት 'əs'ägänät ('tree of paradise') on the eastern side of his monastery and the plant grew tall in a short period of time:

5. ተከለ፡ አቡነ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ለይኢቲ፡ ዕፀ፡ ገነት፡ ኖኃት፡ ወተልዓለት፡ ወከነት፡ ነዋሕ፡
 ከመ፡ አርዘ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ወከመ፡ ዕፀ፡ ዘግባ

Our father Yəm'ata planted this tree of paradise, and it grew tall, as tall as the sycamore of Lebanon and the cedar tree.

sometimes like the voice of the Arwe (serpent), which Yəm'ata killed through the protection of his cross.

Here the writer compares the voice of the madman with the voice of animals and the torrent. The expressions used in the text make it clear how terrifying and horrible the voice of the crazy person is. Throughout Gädlä Yəm'ata, there is this kind of figurative language.

7. The following poem found in Gädlä Yəm'ata also uses simile:

ሰላም፡ ለቅዳሴ፡ ቤተክ፡ ዘተቀደሰት፡ በእደ፡ አቡክ፡ ጽሕማ
ደብረ፡ ተያጥሮን፡ መቃብርክ፡ ዘትመስል፡ ፀሐየ፡ ራማ
ይምዓታ፡ ፍቁሩ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ፊማ
አባ፡ አባ፡ ባርክነ፡ ከመ፡ አይበዓነ፡ መስተማ
ኃይሉ፡ ፀሎትክ፡ ለዓላዊት፡ ትጸልሉነ፡ መንክር፡ ወግርማ

Salutation to your holy sanctuary, which was blessed by the hand of your father S'əhma, Däbrä Täyat'ron, your tomb, which is like the sun of Rama (the sixth Heaven from top to bottom). Yəm'ata, friend of the almighty God, Father! Father! Bless us so that Satan will not come to us and may the power of your exalted prayer shelter us, wonder and majesty.

The above is a 5-line poem with the rhyme scheme [ma]. The word አባ 'father' is repeated to give emphasis to Saint Yəm'ata. The poem may be a prayer of the people of Gär'alta; it is also an appreciation of the church of Yəm'ata, Däbrä Täyat'ron.

In Ethiopian tradition there are seven heavens. Their names are listed here from uppermost to lowest:

7. ጸርሐ አርያም	S'ərḥa Aryam
6. ሰማያዊት ኢየሩሳሌም	Sämayawit Iyärusalem ('real Jerusalem')
5. መንበረ መንግሥት	Mänbärä Mängəst
4. ሰማዩ ውድድ	Sämayä Wədud
3. ኢዮር	Iyor
2. ራማ	Rama
1. ኤሬር	Erer

Rama is the sixth heaven, where the angel Gabriel is believed to be living with his hosts. The writer says “like the sun of Rama”, a simile referring to the eternal and spiritual light in that area. All the seven heavens are lit up with spiritual light; but the writer chose specifically Rama, perhaps for two reasons. The first one is that Rama is the only heaven whose name ends with [ma], so it may be for the sake of the rhyme. Second, the angel Gabriel (found in Rama) is an angel who was always talking with Saint Yəm'ata and with all the Nine Saints. Because of this, the writer compares the church of Yəm'ata with the place of Saint Gabriel in the heaven. The phrase ዘትመስል (zä-təmässəl) ‘resembles’ may be an exaggeration, but it serves to appreciate and admire the church of Yəm'ata and the glory of Yəm'ata himself.

4.2. Metaphor

This kind of figurative language also appears frequently in Gädlä Yəm'ata. Instead of comparing things, metaphor changes the thing completely into another thing. The following are examples of the metaphorical use of language in Gädlä Yəm'ata.

1. The monastery of Yəm'ata, Däbrä Täyat'ron is called the monument of Joshua.

ሐወልተ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወልደ፡ ነውየ፡ መዓሉ፡ እም፡ ሀገረ፡ ወጀራት

The monument of Joshua the son of Nun, coming from the district of Wäjärat.

Here the writer changes the mountain of Däbrä Täyat'ron to the monument of Joshua, a reminder of the Old Testament. This metaphorical equation lends emphasis to Yəm'ata's monastery.

2. ወኮነ፡ በዓቱ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ብፁእ፡ ብእሱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማር፡ ይምዓታ፡ ኮከብ፡
ዕባሕ ... ደብረ፡ ጉሕ

The cave of our Father, the man of God saint Yəm'ata, the morning star, is Däbrä Guh ('mount dawn').

Saint Yəm'ata is called the morning star, as if he had been truly changed into a star. In the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Jesus Christ is always symbolized by the sun, his mother by the moon and all the saints by the stars. Thus, the morning star here is a parable for Yəm'ata.

3. Yəm'ata was also called the spring of the Euphrates (river)

ሰላም፡ ለስእርተ፡ ርእሰክ፡ ፍትዋነ፡ ስን፡ ጽጌያት
ዘስጋዌ፡ ርእሰክ፡ ምድር፡ ድኅረ፡ ኃለፈ፡ ክረምት
ፈለገ፡ ኤፍራጥስ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ስቲ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ገነት
ይስቅየኒ፡ ለለዕለቱ፡ ውኅዞትክ፡ ጸሎት
እስመ፡ ማረረ፡ ልብየ፡ ነቅጸ፡ በሐሩር፡ ሐኪት

Salutations to your hair, beautiful flowers, and the flesh of your head which is the earth when the rain season has passed. Spring of the Euphrates, Yəm'ata, you are the drink of the Holy spirit which is heaven; and let me drink your prayer, every day, that flows, because my heart has become dry in the heat of weariness.

The whole poem can be said to be a metaphor; every point explained is figurative and metaphoric. This:

- The hair of Yəm'ata → beautiful flowers
- The flesh of his head → the earth crust
- Yəm'ata himself → spring of the Euphrates
- Yəm'ata's prayer → a drink

All these expressions are metaphor. The expressions are highly imaginative.

4. ማየተአምር፡ ይምዓታ....

The water of miracles, Yəm' ata.

Here Yəm'ata is changed into water, to glorify him.

5. Yəm'ata is also described as a horse: መስተፅዕነ፡ ፈረስ፡ ይምዓታ

'the horse of loading'.

6. ዓርዘ፡ ሊባኖር፡ ይምዓታ፡ ዘታሕመለምል፡ አዕቡቀ

Sycamore of Lebanon, Yəm'ata, who make the branches green



Here Yəm'ata is a tree and he makes the leaves green. What/who are the leaves? It might be about the people of Gär'alta, meaning that Yəm'ata leads them from dry (sin) to green (spiritual strength).

7. ሰላም፡ ለቃልክ፡ ምስለ፡ ልብክ፡ በጉባሬ
እንተ፡ ይፀርሓ፡ ፍፁመ፡ ግብረ፡ ስሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዝማሬ
ካህነ፡ አርያም፡ ይምዓታ፡ ሥርግወ፡ አስከማ፡ ጳጳሬ
ይቅትሎ፡ በእንተአየ፡ ጢስ፡ ኃይልክ፡ ቅታሬ
እንበለ፡ ዕድሜሁ፡ ፍጡነ፡ ለፀርየ፡ ቆሬ

Salutation to your word and your heart together, which cry out in fullness psalms about the holy Trinity. Priest of Aryam (heaven) Yəm'ata, you are adorned with a monastic robe. Let your power, the smoke and incense, kill Korah, my enemy, prematurely in a short time for my sake.

Here Yəm'ata is represented metaphorically as the priest of Aryam (heaven).

4.3. Personification

In personification the characteristics or behavior of a human being are attributed to an inanimate object. In this type of figurative language, mountains laugh, plants walk, the sun cries, the clouds joke, animals think, etc.

The following are examples of personification found in Gädlä Yəm'ata.

1. According to Gädlä Yəm'ata, a hundred fifty people were killed by a snake. After their death they were in Hell. However, after Saint

Yəm'ata prayed, all the dead people were resurrected. Hell was shouting:

...ወአንተኒ፡ መጻእከ፡ አውየወት፡ ሲኦል፡ ወከልሐት፡ በዓብይ፡ ቃል፡ ወትቤ፡ እም፡
አይቱ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ብእሱ፡።

After you came, Hell cried and shouted loudly and said, “Where is this person from?”

Crying and shouting are characteristics of human beings, not of Hell. Literature present deviations from reality, but based on reality. The reader can be amazed at the shouting of Hell, and at the same time be impressed by the expressive power of the writer. This instance of figurative language is not only personification, but also metonymy: Hell represents the creatures in Hell.

2. One day, while Yəm'ata was praying, demons came to him, but he chased them away.

... ወቦ፡ በአምሳለ፡ አእዋፍ፡ እለ፡ ይሰርሩ፡ ወቦ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ኃለስትዮ፡ ወሆባይ
ወበአምሳለ፡ ሰብእ፡ እንዘይዘፍኑ....

Some of them were like flying birds; some were like an ape or a monkey, and others were dancing like human beings.

Demons may be abstract creatures in the tradition, but here they are dancing like human beings, or like apes and monkeys.

3. After Yəm'ata died, he was buried in Däbrä Täyat'ron/Guñ. Later four mountains came from different areas of Tigray to raise his grave. St. Yared narrates this in a very expressive way.

4. ...አሐተ: እምድረ: ተምቤን: ወአሐተ: እምሀገረ: ሐማሴን: ወአሐተ:

እምሐራማት: እንዘ: ይጎይያ: ወይራወዋ: ወሩጾቶንሰ: ከመ: ሩፀተ: ንፋስ: ኃያል: ወይእተ: ደብር: ዘትሐውር: ባተ: ይእዜ: ዘሀለወት: በሀገረ: ምስራቅ: ወበደኃሪ ትሰመይ: ደብረ: ተያጥሮን: ነዋሕ: ወምጥቅት: ላዕለ: ወይእተ: ደብር: ትቀድሞን: በጊዜ: ሞትከ: ለቺተሆን: አድባር: ወታነስእ: በድንከ: ወታዕረገከ: ላዕለ: ርዕሳ: ውስተ: ኖኃ: ሰማይ: ተያጥሮን: ወትትቀበር: በውሳጤሃ: ይእዜኒ: ተንስእ: ወሐር: ንብ: ይእተ: ሀገረ: ዘስማ: ዋጅራት: ከመ: ትምሐር: ወትሰብክ: ወንገለ...

One (mountain) from the land of Tamben, and one from the country of hamasen, and one from haramat, fleeing and running, and their runnings were like the running of the mighty wind, and the mountain to which you should go is found in the country of the East and later will be called Däbrä Täyat'ron, tall and towering to the heights. And this mountain, at the time of your death, will beat the three (other) mountains, and it will raise up your corpse and lift you up to the summit in the heights of heaven, Täyat'ron, and you will be buried inside it. So stand up and go to that country named Wäjärat so that you should teach and preach the gospel.

In this poem the orthography also shows us a phonological process at work, i.e. assimilation and change to gemination. እምድረ:ተምቤን 'əmmədrä Temben was first እም: ምድረ: ተምቤን 'əm mədrä Temben 'from the country of Temben'. The two m's combined and the result was gemination.

The poem includes three types of figurative language:

- Simile, ከመ: ሩፀተ: ንፋስ: *kämä rus'ätä nəfas* 'like the running of the wind'

- Hyperbole, ወስተ፡ ኖኃ፡ ሰማይ፡ *wəstā nuxa sāmay* ‘up to the heights of heaven’
- Personification, እንዘ፡ ይጎይዖ፡ ወይረውዓ ንንጎሳ ሃገላሃላ ወላ ሃራጎላላ
‘while they were racing and running’

Here the mountains behave like human beings, they run like a person. This figure illustrates how the power of literature can act like the power of prayer: the difference is that the power of prayer is applied in reality and the power of literature is imaginative although it is based on reality.

4.4. Hyperbole

In hyperbole, something is presented as better, larger, more important etc. than it really is. Here are some examples in Gädlä Yəmʿata:

1. During the reign of Tazena, there was a python in Aksum and it was whistling. The text goes:

ሰምዑ፡ ድምፀ፡ ፋዓ፡ ቀጠኝ፡ እስከ፡ ይሰማፀ፡ ድምፀ፡ እስከ፡ አፀናፈ፡ ዓለም They heard a thin sound of whistling, so much that its sound could be heard to the ends of the earth.

This is hyperbole. How can the sound of a single snake be heard throughout the world, even throughout Tigray? This is imaginative hyperbole. Anyone can say that he fell in love with a girl for three thousand years, to mean “for most of her life”. Saint Yared also wrote that the sound of the python was terrifying and horrible; this is the basis for the writer’s exaggeration.

2. ወበጊዜሃ፡ ጸገሮት፡ ወጸነወት፡ ቄና፡ መዓዛ፡ ወመዓዛሃሰ፡ አልቦ፡ አይትማሰላ፡
እምከሉ፡ አፈው፡ ወፈረዖት፡ ፍሬ፡ ሰናዩ፡ ወወሀቦመ፡ ለለጅጅ፡ ሐጢቦ፡ በየማነ፡
እዴሀ

At that time the tree blossomed and the scent of its perfume smelled sweet; no scent can be compared to its odor. And when it bore lovely fruit, he (Yəm'ata) gave some to every one of them, having plucked it with his right hand.

Here the odor of the tree is exaggerated.

3. ወሰቤሃ፡ ወድቀ፡ ወእቱ፡ አርዌ፡ ወእጋንንቲሁ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ይወድቁ፡ ተሰምዓ፡
ድምፃሙ፡ ወስት፡ ከሱ፡ አድያማተ፡ ትግራይ፡ ወገርዓልታ

At that time the snake and its demons fell (on the ground). And when they fell the sound was heard throughout all the regions of Tigray and Gär'alta.

This is about the snake which was killed by Saint Yəm'ata; the noise of the snake's falling is exaggerated.

4.5. **Apostrophe**

In apostrophe, a person talks with inanimate things, which cannot give any response. This type of figurative language is also found in Gädlä Yəm'ata.

One day Yəm'ata was talking to the rock where he was later killed.

አንቲ፡ ኮኩሓ፡ ምጽናሕ፡ ወምግራዝ፡ ይውሕዝ፡ ደምየ፡ መልዕልቲክ.

O you rock of waiting and shrouding! My blood will spill out upon you.

The rock is called the rock of waiting and shrouding, because the people of Bärbär waited there and killed Yəm'ata, and his body was shrouded there. Before his death, Yəm'ata knew what would happen to him there.

So he was talking about the future with the non-living organism, the rock.

4.6. Biblical allusion

Allusions to the Bible are common in Gädlä Yəm'ata, as shown by the following examples:

1. ተዘከሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለገብርክ፡ ይምግታ

በከመ፡ተዘከርኮ፡ ለፈያታዊ፡ ዘየማን ...

በከመ፡ ተዘከርኮ፡ ለኤልያስ፡ ገብርክ ...

በከመ፡ ተዘከርኮ፡ ለሙሴ፡ ገብርክ ...

በከመ፡ ተዘከርኮ፡ ለኖላ፡ ገብርክ ...

በከመ፡ ተዘከርኮ፡ ለኦብርሃም፡ ገብርክ ...

በከመ፡ ተዘከርኮ፡ ለይስሐቅ፡ ገብርክ ...

በከመ፡ ተዘከርኮ፡ ለያዕቆብ፡ ገብርክ ...

በከመ፡ ተዘከርኮ፡ ለአዳም፡ ገብርክ ...

Oh Lord! Be mindful of your servant Yəm'ata

As you were with the robber (who was crucified in) the right side

As you were with Elijah, your servant...

As you were with Moses, your servant...

As you were with Noah, your servant...

As you were with Abraham, your servant...

As you were with Isaac, your servant...

As you were with Jacob, your servant...

As you were with Adam, your servant...

This is a prayer of St. Yared for St. Yəm'ata. The prayer recalls many saints from the Bible, in parallelism. The allusion is biblical (not philosophical or historical) because a saint's life is rooted in the Bible.

There are also some expressions which are in effect biblical quotations with some modifications. The following is a good example.

2. መሠረታቲሃ፡ ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ያበድሮን፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለአናቅጸ፡ ደብረ፡
ሐራሳት፡ ወአድባረ፡ ገርዓልታ፡ ወእምኩሉ፡ ተዓይኒሁ፡ ለምድረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ

He has set his foundation on the holy mountains; the Lord loves the gates of Däbrä ḥarasat and the mountains of Gärfalta more than all the dwellings of the land of Ethiopia.

This is a biblical quotation taken directly from Psalm 86/87:1/2, but with some pointed modification. The quotation in the Bible says:
መሰረታቲሃ፡ ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ያበድሮን፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለአናቅፀ፡ ፅዮን፡ ወእም፡
ኩሉ፡ ተዓይኒሁ፡ ለያዕቆብ

He has set his foundations on the holy mountains: the Lord loves the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob.

Here Däbrä ḥarasat and the mountains of Gärfalta are substituted for the gates of Zion and Jacob in the Bible text.

3. ሰላም፡ ለአቡነ፡ ይምዓታ፡ እንተ፡ አልዓለ፡ ፅቢያ
ስብሐት፡ ወብክብር፡ ወቃለ፡ ማኅሌት፡ ወበሃሌሉያ
ለማቃብረ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ሀገረ፡ ገርዓልታ፡ እንተ፡ ትሰመይ፡ ኢትዮጵያ
አባ፡ ክቡር፡ ነብይ፡ ወሐዋርያ
ባርከነ፡ ለደቂቅከ፡ በመስቀልከ፡ ነያ
ከመ፡ ባረኮን፡ አብረሃም፡ ለሳራ፡ ወሊያ

Salutation to our father Yam'ata, who, with glory and splendor and the words of the canticles and with hallelujah, raised up his grave in the country of Gar'alta which is called Ethiopia. Father! You are an honored prophet as well as an apostle; bless us, your children, by this, your cross as Abraham blessed Sarah and Leah.

This is a biblical allusion. Abraham, Sarah and Leah are found in the Old Testament. In the text Abraham blesses his wife Sarah and the wife of his grandson, the wife of Jacob (Leah). Nonetheless, there is no indication in the Bible of such a blessing, nor is it likely that Abraham was alive during the time of Jacob and his wife. But the writer was not concerned with biblical authenticity.

4. በከመ፡ እቤ፡ በወንጌልዮ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በቃልዮ፡ እመ፡ ብክመ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ መጠነ፡ ጎጠተ፡ ሰናፔ፡ ወትብልዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ደብር፡ ፍልስ፡ ወይፈልስ፡ ወአንትመኒ፡ በከመ፡ እቤ፡ አነ፡ ታፈልሱ፡ አድባረ፡ ወቦ፡ እምኔክመ፡ ዘያመፅእ፡ እሳተ፡ በልብስ፡ ወኢይ ውዒ...

In my holy gospel I have said in my words, "If you have the faith of a mustard seed, and you say to this mountain "Move", then it will move. And you also, just as I say, can move mountains. And if anyone amongst you sets fire to a garment, the garment will not be burnt.

This is quoted from the New Testament. This expression motivates the reader to think back to the time of Jesus Christ and his disciples.

4. 7. Symbolism

Yam'ata's four disciples (As'ebha, P'et'ros, Zä-mariam, Adonay) were positioned in the four directions of Däbrä Täyat'ron: in the East, West, North and South. These four disciples are symbols of the four cherubs,

and Däbrä Täyat'ron symbolizes the throne of God. The symbol for God Himself is not explained; perhaps it is Saint Yəm'ata. However, the writer had no confidence to say that a saint could be a parable for the almighty God.

4.8. Parallelism

There is also parallelism in Gädlä Yəm'ata. The following is an example:

ሰብሐት: ለአብ: ለዘአዕረገኒ: ኅብ: ዛቲ: ደብር

ሰብሐት: ለወልድ: ለዘአብዕሐኒ: ኅብ: ዛቲ: ደብር

ሰብሐት: ለመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ለዘያነብረኒ: በዛቲ: መካን

Praise be to the father who let me climb to this mountain.

Praise be to the son who let me arrive at this mountain.

Praise be to the Holy spirit who will help me to live in this place.

Gädlä Yəm'ata is full of figurative speech and literary language. Simile and biblical allusion are the dominant types of figurative language found in Gädlä Yəm'ata. Gädlä Yəm'ata can be read as a source of history, of belief, of literature and of the Geez language. As has been indicated many times, Gädlä Yəm'ata was written by Saint Yared. These figures of speech point out Saint Yared's intellectual and literary ability. They also show how the Geez language and Geez literature were advancing during the Aksumite period

In the appendix part I will present (without translation) poems portraying the likeness of Yəm'ata (መልክዓ ይም'ታ). These poems are especially rich in expressive and figurative language.

CHAPTER Five

Conclusion

- ❖ The Nine Saints who came to Ethiopia at the end of the fifth century are said to have come from different places according to different scholars and different traditions: from Rome, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia.
- ❖ Among the hagiographies of the Nine Saints, Gädlä Arägawi, Gädlä P'ant'älewon, and Gädlä Gerima have been edited and published by Italian scholars. However, Gädlä Yəm'ata and the Gädls of other saints like Guba remain unedited. For this research ten manuscripts of Gädlä Yəm'ata were found in Tigray and were studied and compared. Nine of the manuscripts are written in two columns while one manuscript, found in the rock-hewn church of Yəm'ata (Guḥ), is written in three columns. The paleography of the manuscripts is perhaps of the 18th -20th centuries. Geographically, the manuscripts are all found around Gärfalta and Wäjärat.
- ❖ Across the hagiographies of the Nine Saints, there are some linguistic, historical, and philological differences. The names of some of the saints and the names of their monasteries are sometimes written differently in the different hagiographies. For instance, Saint Yəm'ata is sometimes called Mät'a', and Saint Afs'e is sometimes called 'Os'. In Gädlä Yəm'ata, the place of Alef is not given, but according to Gädlä Arägawi, it is Aḥsə'a/Bəḥza. According to Gädlä Yəm'ata, Yəm'ata was originally called 'Altroman, but this name is not found in the other hagiographies.

- ❖ Yəmʼata performed many miracles and gave grace to the people of Gärʼalta and Wäjärat. Yəmʼata is commemorated on Tʼəkʼəmt 28 (based on the Ethiopian Sənkəsar) and sometimes on Gənbət 1 in Wäjärat.
- ❖ The manuscripts of Gädlä Yəmʼata contain some linguistic, orthographic and textual differences. Some of these are polygenetic and the others are conjunctive. Based on the conjunctive errors a tentative stemma of the manuscripts is shown.
- ❖ The use of figurative language in Gädlä Yəmʼata has also been analyzed. Simile, metaphor, personification, hyperbole, apostrophe, biblical allusion, and symbolism are among the figurative uses commonly found in the manuscripts. According to the Gädl itself the manuscripts were written by Saint Yared of Aksum. He composed the Gädl using imaginative and expressive diction. This way of writing is very valuable in preaching and exhorting the people to religion. Miracles are also narrated, sometimes in highly imaginative and hyperbolic fashion. For instance, the phrases እስከ፡ ይሰማዕ፡ ድምፁ፡ እስከ፡ አዕናፈ፡ዓለም 'till it could be heard through out the world' is an obvious exaggeration. This action happened at Aksum, and might have been important throughout Ethiopia – but there is no need to present it as being heard 'throughout the world, There are also poems written about Yəmʼata. These artistic poems, and all the figurative language, can serve as evidence for the development of Geez literature during the Aksumite period. Poems describing the likeness of each part of Yəmʼata's body (መልክዓ፡ ይምናታ) are the best-known poems in the manuscripts.

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Appendix

The Likeness of Abba Yəmə'ata (መልክዓ አቡነ ይምዓታ)

ሰላም: ለዝክረ: ስምክ: ሶቦ: ተዘክሮ: ልብነ:

ዘያበዝገ: ተድላ: ወዘያረስዕ: ኃዘነ

ፍጻሜ: ስብሐተክ: ይምዓታ: አርእየነ: ፍጡነ

እትወለድ: በበይነዝ: አመ: ልደተ: ነፍሱ: ኮነ

ጸንሶ: ማኅፀና: ለሲኦል: እሰመ: ኮንኩ: አነ



ሰላም: ለስእርተ: ርዕስክ: ፍትዋነ: ስን: ጸጌያት

ዘሥጋዊ: ርእስክ: ምድር: ድኅረ: ኃለፈ: ክረምት

ፈለገ: ኤፍራጥስ: ይምዓታ: ስቴ: መንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ገነት

ይስቅየነ: ለለዕለተ: ውኅዞትክ: ጸሎት

እሰመ: ሣዕረ: ልብዩ: ነቅጸ: በሐሩር: ሐኪት



ሰላም: ለርእስክ: እንተ: አብደረት: በፍትሕ

እም: አክሊል: ምድራዊ: ቆብዓ: እንጦንስ: መርህ

፶ኤላዊ: ይምዓታ: በኩረ: ማጥፀነ: እም: ጸባሕ

ሠውረነ: ውስተ: አጽፍክ: እምነ: ነበልባል: መፍርህ

ከመ: እማየ: አይኅ: ሠወሮ: ለኖኅ



ሰላም፡ ለገጽክ፡ ዘአልሐቀታ፡ ለምድር

ፍና፡ አስተብርኮ፡ ለትሩጽ፡ ከመ፡ ረዋጽያን፡ አእጋር

ድጎረ፡ አጥለለት፡ ፍጹመ፡ ቅብዓ፡ ቅድስና፡ ክቡር

ማኅሌተ፡ ፍቅርክ፡ አባ፡ በአብዝኖ፡ ሰላም፡ ወፍቅር

ኅሥሥ፡ በመርሶ፡ ልብዩ፡ ሥውር



ሰላም፡ ለቀራንብተክ፡ ዘኢተራከባ፡ ለድቃስ

በሰሌዳ፡ ዓይንክ፡ ትንበር፡ ፊደሉ፡ ማኅዩዊት፡ ሓዳስ

መስተጽዕኑ፡ ፈረስ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ወጸባጤ፡ ረቂቅ፡ ንፋስ

እምቢአክ፡ ነጥብ፡ ቀኖና፡ ወእምነጥብ፡ ደም፡ ጊዮርጊስ

ሰላሎ፡ ይክፍለኒ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ



ሰላም፡ እብል፡ ለከዋክብት፡ አዕይንተክ

እለ፡ ረስዬን፡ አምላክ፡ ሥርጋዌ፡ ሰማይ፡ ገጽክ

ፍጻሜ፡ ፈቃድ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ለጳንጠሌዎን፡ አቡክ

ትቤለክ፡ ምድር፡ በተናግሮ፡ ነግሃ፡ ወሠርክ

ኢረከብክ፡ እንበለ፡ ቃል፡ ቤዛ፡ ከማክ



ሰላም፡ ለአእዛኒክ፡ እለ፡ ተከሥታ፡ ለአጽምዖ

ምስጢረ፡ ትንሳኤ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወምሥጢረ፡ አምላክ፡ ተብአ

እወ፡ ቼ ይምዓታ፡ በስዓተ፡ ቀትር፡ ወተባብዖ

ደንገጸ፡ ቀታሌ፡ ነፍስ፡ ለአስቆረታዊ፡ ዘሞዖ

እንዘ፡ ትብል፡ ሶባ፡ ሰምዓ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እግዚአ



ሰላም፡ ለመላቲሒክ፡ ሙሐዘ፡ ማይ፡ አንብዕ

እንተ፡ ርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ኤርሞን፡ ዓይነ፡ ዘአክ፡ ምሉዕ

ይምዓታ፡ ለእንጦንዮስ፡ ክርካዕ

ለሥጋክ፡ ሶባ፡ ስአልኮ፡ ክመ፡ ኢይርአይዎ፡ ሰብእ

እግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ክቡቶ፡ ለደብሩ፡ ርጉዕ



ሰላም፡ ለእእናሬክ፡ ፍዳ፡ መዓዛ፡ እሰ፡ ተመልዓ

ጢስ፡ ዕጣነ፡ ለኪሩብ፡ እምኪያሃ፡ እድ፡ ዘወጽአ

ይምዓታ፡ በለኒ፡ ዓሥራተ፡ ኪዳንዮ፡ ነዓ

ውስተ፡ ቀራንዬ፡ አምለክክ፡ ክመ፡ ደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡ መጽአ

ጻድቀ፡ ያነሥእ፡ ወይገድፍ፡ ኃጥአ



ሰላም፡ ለክናፍሪክ፡ መናስዓተ፡ አፋክ፡ ቤት

ክመ፡ ኢይባዕዎ፡ ግብተ፡ መባልዕተ፡ ደዌ፡ ሠረቅት

ይምዓታ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ሐዋርያ፡ ወንጌል፡ ብስራት

ተራወጹ፡ በእረፍትክ፡ ለቀበላክ፡ ኃይላት

እንዘይብሉ፡ ለይምዓታ፡ ስብሐት



አንበሳ፡ ዕድሜሁ፡ ፍጡነ፡ ለፀርዮ፡ ቆሬ



ሰላም፡ ለእስትንፋስክ፡ እምጼና፡ አበሞ፡ ወመሰክ
አንተ፡ ጼናሃ፡ ተሐርዮ፡ በቤተ፡ ናዝራዊ፡ አምላክ
ጸጌ፡ ደንጎላት፡ ይምጻታ፡ ሐፀረ፡ ገጸ፡ ሣሬል፡ ሦክ
ባርክኒ፡ ለለጊዜሁ፡ በመስቀልክ፡ ቡሩክ
ለይትገኝሥ፡ እምገጽዮ፡ ፀራዊ፡ መልክክ



ሰላም፡ ለጉርዔክ፡ መጻኅ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወቅዳሴ
ለዘበፍስሐ፡ የዓርግ፡ መንገሥ፡ አጋዕዝት፡ ሥለሴ
ይምጻታ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ አበ፡ ነፍስክ፡ ምናሴ
ወለዳክ፡ በብርክ፡ ጸጋ፡ ብእሲተ፡ ወብእሴ
እለ፡ ይገሥጹ፡ ማየ፡ ብሕር፡ ድምሳሴ



ሰላም፡ ለክሣድክ፡ አስኬማ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘአነቆ
ወስግደተ፡ ልዑል፡ ዘአድለቅለቆ
ይምጻታ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ መምህረ፡ ጸዮን፡ ዘደማስቆ
ኃደገክ፡ ዴማስ፡ ረድእክ፡ ልማደ፡ ብእሲ፡ ናፍቆ



ሰላም፡ ለመታክፍተክ፡ ያረ፡ ወንጌላ፡ ንግሥ፡ እለ፡ ያራ
አንተ፡ በውስቴታ፡ ይትረክብ፡ መብልዓ፡ ርጉባን፡ ጵርስፎራ

ይምጻታ፡ ኢትበል፡ አንሰ፡ ኢየአምራ

በግርምት፡ ዓውድ፡ ለነፍስየ፡ ጊዜ፡ ይጸራ፡ ምግባራ

እንዘ፡ ይፈልጥዎ፡ እም፡ አባግዕ፡ መላእክት፡ ሐራ



ሰላም፡ ለዘባንክ፡ ሞጣሕተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘተመጥሐ

ምሳሌ፡ ሌዋውያን፡ ሕዝብክ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ካህናቲሃ

እማዕሠረ፡ ጌጋይ፡ አባ፡ እንተ፡ ትገብር፡ ፍቱሐ

ዘኢኃለይክዎ፡ ሞት፡ እስመ፡ ኃቦ፡ ሥጋዮ፡ በጽሐ

ለሊቀ፡ ኃጥአን፡ ወልድክ፡ ሀበኒ፡ ንስሐ



ሰላም፡ ለእንግድዓክ፡ በሐሊቦ፡ ወንጌል፡ ጥዲና

ዘአርሃቦቶ፡ ጸሎት፡ ወአግዘፈቶ፡ ንጽሕና

ይምጻታ፡ ሳሙኤል፡ ወልደ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሕልቃና

ጊዜ፡ ቦአክ፡ በትእዛዝ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ቀኖና

ቀተልኮ፡ ዕፁብ፡ ለአጋግ፡ ሙስና



ሰላም፡ ለሕጽንክ፡ ለጊዜ፡ ግብረ፡ ሞት፡ መካንኮ

ዘእውሐዘት፡ ላቲ፡ ሐፈ፡ በረከት፡ ወአስተብርኮ

ማዕቀቦ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ይምጻታ፡ ደብረ፡ ተከብቶ፡ ኢያሪኮ

እንዘ፡ ትመውት፡ አልዓለተክ፡ በኃዲገ፡ ቀዊም፡ ተሐውኮ

ወበላዕሌሃ፡ ክፍልክ፡ ለዓለም፡ አርአይኮ



ሰላም፡ አእዳዊክ፡ በትረ፡ መስቀለ፡ ቃል፡ እለ፡ አኃዛ
በጊዜ፡ መነንክ፡ ፍጹመ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዳዊት፡ ግዕዛ
ይምዓታ፡ ዳዊት፡ ቅቡዓ፡ በረከት፡ መዓዛ
አመረክ፡ ድኅነተ፡ ነፍስ፡ በትእምርተ፡ መልአክ፡ ሰኬዛ
እንጦንዩስ፡ በኩረ፡ ሕግክ፡ ዩናታን፡ ወሬዛ



ሰላም፡ ለመዛርዒክ፡ እለ፡ ሐቀፋ፡ ምስለ፡ አሌፍ
አመ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ነፍስ፡ አረርክ፡ ከላስለ፡ ጸሎት፡ ትሩፍ
ስመዓ፡ ዜና፡ ይምዓታ፡ በዕዝነ፡ ማዕከለ፡ ወጽንፍ
መነን፡ መዓዛ፡ ልብነ፡ በመዓዛ፡ ፍቅርክ፡ አንፍ
ወጣዕመ፡ ስቴ፡ ወይን፡ ኃደገ፡ በገድልክ፡ አፍ



ሰላም፡ ለመዛርአክ፡ ኩርናዓ፡ ቁርሎስ፡ መዓዒ
ዘአርዓዩ፡ ኃይሎ፡ መልዕልተ፡ እንሰሳ፡ ጸላዒ
ዓይነ፡ እሳታዊ፡ ቤልሆር፡ እስመ፡ ኪያሃ፡ ይሬኢ
ዘአማዕከለ፡ ይምዓታ፡ እምወረደ፡ እሳት፡ በለዒ
ለአድንኖ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ወልድዮ፡ ማርያም፡ ንዒ



ሰላም፡ ለእመትክ፡ ጊዜ፡ አስተናደፍክ፡ በሰላም
ዘሰፈረ፡ ቅድመ፡ ማኅደረ፡ ጸሎት፡ ወጾም
ይምዓታ፡ ዩሐንስ፡ ዘንብረትክ፡ ገዳም
ወሰደክ፡ ለተጠምቆ፡ እምነ፡ ገዳም፡ ሮም

ክብረ፡ ቤተ፡ ወንጌል፡ ክፍልክ፡ መለኮት፡ ግሩም



ሰላም፡ ለእራኅክ፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክያደ

በቤተ፡ ቀኖና፡ ጽኑዕ፡ ጊዜ፡ ከብዛኅክ፡ ሰጊደ

ጽጉብ፡ አዕምሮ፡ ይምግታ፡ ዘኢተአምር፡ ዕበደ

እምጻማክ፡ ለአዕርፎ፡ እንዘ፡ ያተሉ፡ ነገደ

ጸጋ፡ መንፍስ፡ ቅድስ፡ ሕይወት፡ ኃቤክ፡ ወረደ



ሰላም፡ ለአጻብዒክ፡ ኅብስተ፡ መለኮትሉ፡ እሉ፡ ፈተታ

መልዕልተ፡ ጽሌሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ማኅሌተ፡ ነበልባል፡ ትርስታ

ደብረ፡ ምዕራፍክ፡ አባ፡ እንዘ፡ ሥጋክ፡ ሕይወታ

ትዜምር፡ ዲቦ፡ ርእዕስክ፡ እምርእሱ፡ አድባር፡ ንብረታ

በገጸ፡ ፈጣሪ፡ መፍርሀ፡ ትትመካህ፡ ድልወታ



ሰላም፡ ለአጽፋረ፡ እዴክ፡ ጽዕዳዌ፡ በረድ፡ እሉ፡ አስተቱ

ሶቦ፡ ረሰዮሙ፡ ወልደ፡ ቀጸላ፡ አፃብዕ፡ ፲ቱ

ይምግታ፡ ሥዩም፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ካህነ፡ ቤቱ

ዕቀብኒ፡ ለሕፃንክ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይጥፋዕ፡ በከንቱ

ከመ፡ ዓቀቦሙ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ለብዙኅ፡ መርዒቱ



ሰላም፡ ለገበዋቲክ፡ ተውላጠ፡ ፃማ፡ ወልድ፡ እሉ፡ ኃደጋ

እስመ፡ ኢጋወዞን፡ ዓለም፡ መንበረ፡ ኃላፊ፡ ዘስጋ

ባሕረ፡ ምሕረትክ፡ አባ፡ እም፡ ኢያስጠመተኒ፡ እንበለ፡ ንትጋ

መኑ፡ ዘይሁብኒ፡ ቅድሜክ፡ እንግልጋ



ሰላም፡ ለከርሥክ፡ መብልዓ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ዘጸግበ

ወእምቅድመ፡ ዘመን፡ ዝንቱ፡ እመብልዓ፡ ጸርዓት፡ ዘርገበ

ወይነ፡ ተራድያ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ዘታስተፌሥሕ፡ አልባበ

አባ፡ ከነኒ፡ ለወልድክ፡ በስዓተ፡ ሞትየ፡ አበ

ዓለመ፡ ሰዓት፡ ብየ፡ አልጸቀ፡ ወቀርበ



ሰላም፡ ለልብክ፡ በፍቅረ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ዘበልየ

አንቃዕዲዎ፡ ዓይኖ፡ እንዘይነጸር፡ ሰማየ

ዕንላ፡ ማውታ፡ ወልድክ፡ አመ፡ እብለክ፡ አቡየ

እንበሌክ፡ አባ፡ እስመ፡ ድኅነተ፡ ነፍስ፡ አልብየ

በገጸ፡ ፈጣሪ፡ በሰኒ፡ ወልድየ፡ ወልድየ



ሰላም፡ ለኩልያቲክ፡ ለሰርዓ፡ ጸሎት፡ እለ፡ ተጠባ

ምስለ፡ ገሪማ፡ እኅክ፡ ወምስለ፡ ዘመድክ፡ ገባ

እስመ፡ ሰኮኖ፡ ረኃብ፡ ቆመ፡ በምድረ፡ ሥጋሃ፡ ወልባ

አባ፡ አባ፡ ሐውጻኒ፡ አባ

ለውድቀት፡ ነፍስየ፡ ትንሣኤየ፡ ይርከባ

ሰላም፡ ዕብል፡ ለጎንብርተ፡ ዚአክ፡ ሐላ
እንተ፡ ለፍሬ፡ ክብር፡ ለገራጎተ፡ ክርሣክ፡ በማእከላ
ይምዓታ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሠ፡ አድበረተ፡ ገሊላ
ሐዲር፡ ዘኩዎስ፡ ሕልናዮ፡ መልእልተ፡ ልሳንዮ፡ ሰግላ
ለእግዚአ፡ ሰበሐት፡ ይርአዩ፡ ሣረረ፡ በተድላ



ሰላም፡ ለሐቋክ፡ ቅነተ፡ ጋጋ፡ ሐዲን
ሠርጎ፡ ፍስሐ፡ ለነፍስክ፡ ወሠርጎ፡ ኃዘነ፡ ለበድን
ይምዓታ፡ ኤልያስ፡ ጸጉብ፡ ቀኖና፡ ዘመን
ለወልድክ፡ ኤልሳዕ፡ ረድእክ፡ እምባሕረ፡ ዩርዳኖስ፡ ኃዘን
ያዕድወኒ፡ ተለውኩኮ፡ ፍቅርክ፡ ዘመን



ሰላም፡ ለአቁያጸቀ፡ እም፡ መልዕልተ፡ አብራክ፡ እለተፈጥሩ
በስዓተ፡ ቀደም፡ ወሐዊር፡ አባለቲክ፡ ይፀሩ
ለውሉደ፡ ቤትክ፡ አባ፡ ዕቀበሙ፡ ለሰ፡ አሚሩ
እስመ፡ እንተ፡ ወልዳ፡ ወወራሴ፡ ብርሃት፡ ሀገሩ
ንጉሠ፡ ለነገሥት፡ ማትያስ፡ ዘኮነት፡ መንበሩ



ሰላም፡ ለአብራካክ፡ ሰግደታተ፡ ዑራኤል፡ ኩሉ
እሰ፡ እንበለ፡ ባዕር፡ ፈጸማ፡ ኃቢርን፡ በኢተክፍሉ
ይምዓታ፡ ቅሩብ፡ ለምሕረት፡ ወተግህሉ

በፈረስክ፡ ደመና፡ ወበሠረገላክ፡ ዓውሎ

አእርገኒ፡ ሰማየ፡ ተድላ፡ እምሲከል፡ ተጋጉሎ



ሰላም፡ ለአዕጋሪክ፡ እለ፡ ኤላ፡ ለሕዋዬ

ደብረ፡ ተጋድሎ፡ ወክብር፡ በኢልማደ፡ ሰበእ፡ ድንጋዬ

ምሰለ፡ ሊቃኖስ፡ ሰይፍክ፡ ወምስለ፡ ከናቲክ፡ አፍዬ

በጋይል፡ ጸሎትክ፡ አባ፡ እንተ፡ አድከምክ፡ አማጼ

ፍሬ፡ በረከትክ፡ ይኩን፡ ዲቤየ፡ ሠረዬ



ሰላም፡ ለሰኮናክ፡ እምፍና፡ እግረ፡ ወልድክ፡ እለ፡ ኢድገዓ

አመ፡ እንዘ፡ ታርጉ፡ ጌሥክ፡ ለማገፈደ፡ ዓለም፡ አንቀዓ

መስፈኑ፡ ጅኤል፡ ይምዓታ፡ ውሳጤ፡ ሀገርክ፡ ጥዓ

ደፈንክ፡ ቅጽበተ፡ ለልማደ፡ ትግሬ፡ ዓመዓ

ትትከፈል፡ እም፡ እሊከክ፡ ኃብለ፡ ርስት፡ በዕዓ



ሰላም፡ ለመክየድክ፡ እመንበረ፡ ሥጋ፡ እለወረዱ

እንበለ፡ አሣዕን፡ ወበቅል፡ ገዳመ፡ ጸማዌ፡ ይዑዱ

መግረሬ፡ አጽራር፡ ይምዓታ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ መስቀለ፡ እዱ

ባርከኒ፡ ባርክ፡ ወልድ፡ እስመ፡ ለወላዲ፡ ልማዱ

ከመ፡ ባረክ፡ ኡብርሃም፡ ለይስሐቅ፡ ወልዱ



ሰላም: ለአጻብርዒክ: ሠርዓተ: መካይድ: ፪ቲ

ዚኢያዓመዎን: ምዕረ: ፍና: መልአክ: መስሐቲ

ይምዓታ: ኃሩይ: ለሕጻነ: ድንግል: አሐቲ

አድጎኒ: በጎይለ: ኪዳንክ: ዛቲ

አምጣነ: ወልደ: ጎጉል: አነ: ወላነ: መዋቲ



ሰላም: ለአጽፋረ: እግርክ: በዕቅፈተ: አርዋ: ዘኢተዓቅፋ

አመ: ውስተ: ገዳሞ: ታንሶሱ: ጸዊረክ: መስቀለ: አልፋ

አባ: አንተ: ለክሳድዮ: ተሐቅፋ

ታበአነ: ውስተ: ቤትክ: መደንግጽ: ዘለፋ

አምኃልኩክ: በስሞሙ: ለሳውል: ወኬፊ



ሰላም: ለቆምክ: አርዘ: ቲድሮስ: አምሳሉ

አዕዋፍ: ነፍሳት: በቀትር: ዘበታሐቴሀ: ያጽልሉ

ጸወዓተክ: አባ: ለእግዚአብሔር: ቃለ: ወንጌሉ

ህልወ: ይኩን: ዝክረ: ጽድቅክ: ውስተ: ልቦ: ኣለም: ኩሉ

አኮነ: ዝክረ: ጸድቅ: ለዓለም: ይሄሉ



ሰላም: ለመልክእክ: እለተፈሥሐ: ወተኃሰዩ

ንጹሐ: ኩለንታሃ: ሥላሴ: ሶቦ: በዓይነ: ልብ: ርእዩ

ይምዓታ: በሎሙ: ለሕዝብክ: እለ: ተኃርዩ

ባርክዎ፡ ንዑ፡ ለወልድዮ፡ ወኃጣውአሁ፡ ሥረዩ

እስመ፡ ለጌጋይ፡ ብክሙ፡ ይሠረይ፡ ጌጋዩ



ሰላም፡ ለፀዓተ፡ ነፍስከ፡ አዝማደ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ዘሤመ

ለክበበ፡ ሥጋከኒ፡ ዘዐእግረ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘዓቀመ

በዩዌ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ዕኑዕ፡ እስመ፡ ኃይለ፡ እስመ፡ ነፍስዮ

ከማክ፡ አባ፡ ኢመነንከ፡ ዓለመ

ወከመ፡ በኩረ፡ ደም፡ እስጢፋኖስ፡ ኢከዓውኩ፡ ደመ



ሰላም፡ ዕበል፡ ለበድነ፡ ሥጋ፡ ንጹሕ

መላእክተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ዘወረዱ፡ ምስለ፡ አክሊለ፡ ወርቅ፡ ብሩህ

ጊዜ፡ ክብረ፡ ሞቱ፡ ያስፍሑ፡ መንጦላዕተ፡ ግርማ፡ ስፋሕ

ለጻድቅ፡ ይሞዓታ፡ ምክሐ፡ ቤተ፡ ዳዊት፡ መሢሕ

አዕረግዎ፡ በተባድሮ፡ ውስተ፡ ርእስ፡ ደብር፡ ነዊህ

አርዓያ፡ ግንዘቱ፡ ለሰብእ፡ ኃደገ፡ በከርኩሕ



ሰላም፡ ለግንዘተ፡ ሥጋክ፡ በእደ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘተገንዘ

ወፍውሰ፡ ሕሙማን፡ ፈለግ፡ እምጥቃ፡ ምስካቡ፡ አውኃዘ

አንፈ፡ ደብረ፡ ዘኅርክ፡ ጸግበት፡ ጼኖ፡ ሥጋ፡ ሙዑዘ

ጼኖ፡ ገድልክ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ዘያስተፌሥሕ፡ ትኩዘ

ወለሰ፡ ስብርተ፡ ዕግር፡ ነፍስዮ፡ ይኩኖ፡ ምርኩዘ



ይምግታ፡ ተውኪፈ፡ ደቂቁ፡ ዘንተ

አምኃ፡ ልሳንዮ፡ ጿ፡ ወእለተዋሁ፡ ፪ተ

ጊዜ፡ አንበቦ፡ ካህን፡ እንዘ፡ ትሬስዬ፡ ቅጽበተ

ዘይፌውሶ፡ ለዘዳውዮ፡ ወዘያነሥእ፡ ምውተ

ሰገጦአን፡ ዕሤት፡ ወልድ፡ ሀቢኒ፡ ዕሤተ



ሰላም፡ ለምጽአትክ፡ ወልደ፡ አምላክ፡ ድገረ፡ ሐሰፈ፡ ዕለታ

አባግዲክ፡ ይምልፀ፡ ለቤትክ፡ በውሳጤታ

ድንግል፡ ዘለፋ፡ ጹኑዕ፡ ወመርዓተ፡ ዕፀብ፡ ሐተታ

ነፈስዮ፡ ውስተ፡ እሳተ፡ ከመ፡ ኢትንበር፡ ባሕቲታ

ሀለወኒ፡ ዘእትአመኖ፡ ወልድክ፡ ይምግታ



ሰላም፡ ለክ፡ ይምግታ፡ ጻዲቅ

ጸኑዕ፡ ደብር፡ ምጡቅ

አመ፡ ይጽሕፉ፡ ከሉ፡ በቀለመ፡ ወርቅ



ሰላም፡ ለጸሎትክ፡ ከኛት፡ ወለሰይፍክ፡ መስቀል

ይምግታ፡ ወሬዛ፡ ገድል



ሰላም: ለፈረስክ: ረዋጺ: እም: ብሔረ: ስጋ: ተስናን

ዘገየይክ: አባ: እንበለ: ሀዘን

ይምዓታ: ደብርክ: ተያጥሮን



ሰላም: ለክ: ዘአጽገበተክ: ብዙኅ: ማዕደ: ቀኖን: ወደም

ይምዓታ: ነግደ: ሰላም



ሰላም: ለጥምቀተ: አምላክ: ይምዓታ: በጊዜሁ

በጽሐ: ዕድሜሁ

ማያተ: ዮርዳኖስ: አድባር: ደንገፀ: ወፈርሐ

በነጽሮ: ግርማሁ



ሰላም: ለክ: በጊዜ: ዕረፍትክ: አባ: መላእክተ: ሰማይ: ወረዳ

በማዕጠንተ: ወርቅ: ስጋክ: እንዘ: ይዓውዳ



ሰላም: ለክ: ንግደትየ

በጽሐ: አካነ: ወተፈፀመ: ምግባዕየ

እንበለ: አስተዳሉ: አነ: ስንቀ: ፍኖትየ

እንበሊክ: አስተብቁትየ: እም: ብዕለ: ቤትክ: ክፍለኒ: አስብየ



ሰላም: ለፈረስክ: ረዋጺ: እም: ብሔረ: ስጋ: ተስናን

ዘጎየይክ: አባ: እንበለ: ሀዘን

ይምዓታ: ደብርክ: ተያጥሮን



ሰላም: ለክ: ዘአጽገበተክ: ብዙጥ: ማዕደ: ቀኖን: ወደም

ይምዓታ: ነግደ: ሰላም



ሰላም: ለጥምቀተ: አምላክ: ይምዓታ: በጊዜሁ

በጽሓ: ዕድሜሁ

ማያተ: ዮርዳኖስ: አድባር: ደንገፀ: ወፈርሐ

በነጽሮ: ግርማሁ



ሰላም: ለክ: በጊዜ: ዕረፍትክ: አባ: መላእክተ: ሰማይ: ወረዳ

በማዕጠንተ: ወርቅ: ስጋክ: እንዘ: ይዳውዳ



ሰላም: ለክ: ንግደትየ

በጽሐ: አካነ: ወተፈፀመ: ምግባዕየ

እንበለ: አስተዳሉ: አነ: ስንቀ: ፍኖትየ

እንበሊክ: አስተብቁትየ: እም: ብዕለ: ቤትክ: ክፍላኒ: አስብየ



Declaration

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

Name Hagos Abba
Signature [Handwritten Signature]
Date 25 July 2009

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university advisor.

Name _____
Signature _____
Date _____

