



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**HISTORICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE
CHRONICLES OF IYASU I (1682-1706)**



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IYASU I (1682-1706)**

By

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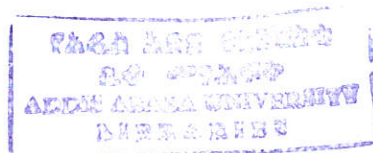
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Symbols use for Vowel and Consonant Sounds

U = hä	ŋ = bā	ω = wā	
Λ = lā	† = tā	0 = 'a	
h = hā	† = čā	ll = zā	ω = ^v cā
σ = mā	† = <u>h</u> ā	ll = žā	ž = pā
ω = śā	† = nā	† = yā	ž = šā
ℓ = rā	† = ná	ℓ = dā	θ = dā
ŋ = sā	h = 'a	ℓ = gā	ℓ = fā
ñ = <u>ś</u> ā	h = kā	† = gā	T = pā
φ = qā	ñ = <u>k</u> ā	m = †a	ñ = vā

ä:- stands for the first order

u:- stands for the second order

i:- stands for the third order

a:- stands for the fourth order

e:- stands for the fifth order

ə:- stands for the sixth order

o:- stands for the seventh order

Glossary of Terms in the Chronicles of Iyasu I

'Äbunä (አቡነ): the Bishop or patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church.

'Ädyam (አድያም): area region, outskirts, environs, borders, limits, bordering cities, confines, districts, and province.¹

Abeto (አቡቶ): was a title given for male members of the Solomonic Dynasty.

Azaž (አዛጃር): a common term for a civil administrator.

Bägemder (በጌ ምድር): a high plateau country bounded on the east by the upper Tākäze valley and on the west by the Lake Ṭana basin. From the mid 15th to the mid 19th century, it lay at the geographic and political center of the kingdom, the districts of Enfranz, Dämbiya, and Däbrä Tabor.

Bäjrond (በጅሮንድ): title given to highly born persons, members of the royal family and their relatives. Initially it was a title given to the chief treasurer of the king.

Bəhtwädäd (በሐትወደድ): the title next to *ras*, who is the senior official or minister of state.

Dabat (ዳባት): Small town located about 50 km north of Gondär on the main Gondär Tigray road.

Däbər (ደብር) means, literally, 'mount, mountain', but traditionally, it is the most common term used for a monastery and the place in which it is located. It is also used for the name of important Churches (e.g, Däbrä Berhan Səllase Church of Gondär).

Däbrä Berhan Səllase (ደብረ ብርሃን 'Mount of Light') of the Trinity; one of the finest Churches of Gondär situated on elevated land north-west of the city, it was consecrated in January 1694 during the region of Iyasu I.

¹ Wolf, Leslau, (1987). *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*. Wiesbaden. p.146

Däbrä Libanos (ደብረ ሊባኖስ): a monastery located in Šäwa, Sälale zone. Its former name was Däbrä Asbo renamed by ‘äṣe Zära Yaḳob in 1445.

Däbrä Maryam (ደብረ ማርያም): a monastery located on the southern side of Lake Ṭana, quite close to the shore. It had a good network with the monastery of Däbrä Liban VII ing Iyasu I.

Däbrä Wärq (ደብረ ወርቅ, Mount of Gold) a monastery located in eastern Goḡḡam, on top of a hill in the town by the same name.

Däbtära (ደብተራ): The most educated clerics and may be described as ‘lay ecclesiastics’ They occupy an intermediate position between the clergy and the layman.

Däga (ደጋ): highland, often mountains, a good environment for the production of barley and sheep.

Däj’äzmač (ደጅ አዝማች): literally means *azmač*, or commander, of the *däj*, or gate, a military title of provincial governors. The province governed by a *däjäzmač* was known as የነጋሪት አገር (*yänägarit agär*, ‘the country of the drum of mobilization;’) or የደጃዝማች ሀገር (*yädäj’äzmač agar*, the country of a *däj’äzmač*)

Dälanta (ደለንታ): a wide highland plateau on the northern side of the Bäšilo River in North Wällo, between Dawint to the east and Yäjju to the west

Dämbäya (ደምቢያ): A vast plain bordering the northern shore of Lake Ṭana, a rich agricultural district.

Damot (ዳሞት): The region immediately south of the Abbay in present-day Wälläga and Western Šäwa.

Dära (ደራ): a region in Bägemdir, located on the south eastern shores of Lake Ṭana, immediately north of where the Abbay flows out of the lake.

Därre (ደራ): A border region between Goḡḡam, šäwa and Wällo. It is delimited by the river Abbay in the west, the river Betu in the north, and the river Ġämma in the south.

Ečäge (አጪጌ): the title first given to the Abbot of Däbrä Libanos monastery in Šäwa. It also indicates the patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church and chief

of the monks of Ethiopia. It was first established by St. Tekele Haymanot (1215-1313)

Fəṯha Nəgäst (ፍትሐ ነገሥት "Law of the Kings") is a legal code compiled around 1240 by the Coptic Egyptian Christian writer, 'Abul Fada'il Ibn al-'Assal, in Arabic that was later translated into Ge'ez in Ethiopia and expanded upon with numerous local laws. It remained officially the supreme law in Ethiopian until 1931.

Fitawrari (ፊት አውራሪ) : Commander of the vanguard.

Gondär (ጎንደር): one of the largest cities in Ethiopia located in the historic Bāgemdir province (today north Gondär zone). It covered the areas, north of Lake Ṭana on the Lesser Angäräb River and southwest of the Sämen Mountains.

Goḡgam (ጎጃም) was a province in the north-western part of Ethiopia, with its capital city at Däbrä Marqos. This province is distinctive for lying entirely within the bend of the Abbay River from its outflow from Lake Ṭana to the Sudanese border.

Gounge (ጎንጅ): Located in western Goḡgam, Addet wäräda. It is a known *Qine* school, following the tradition of Täwanäy, which is entitled to confer a diploma (yäqine məsker).

Grazmač, (ግራዝማች): Commander of the left wing

Käntiba (ክንቲባ): Governor of Dämbəya before becoming in effect the mayor of Gondär in the 13th century. He supervised local markets, levied taxes, dispensed justice and maintained public order with a force of up to several hundred soldiers.

Madrä Amhara (ምድረ አምሓራ): A region of historic Ethiopia surrounded on the west by the Abbay and its branch the Bäšəlo River; on the north by the regions of Angot and Lasta; on the east by the escarpment leading down to the Dänkäl Desert (Afar); and by the wänčət river to the south (the south western part of wällo province). Its name attaches with south Semitic language Amharic.

Näggadras (ነጋድራስ) : head of the merchants and he organized all caravans, collected customs from traders and gave ruling civil, but not criminal matters.

Nəgüsä nəgäst (ነገሠ ነገሥት) King of Kings, or the Emperor of Ethiopia was the hereditary ruler of Ethiopia until the abolition of the monarchy in 1975. The Emperor was the head of state and head of government, with ultimate executive, judicial and legislative power in that country.

Qäññazmač, (ቀኝ አዝማች): Commander of the right wing.

Qolla (ቆላ): Lowland where tef, and vegetable production is good.

Ras (ራስ): the title given to a higher senior official or the governor of a province.

Šähäfe t'azaz (ጸሐፊ ትዕዛዝ): was the chronicler or writer of the king.

Šäraj mä'äsäre (ጸራጅ መስሰፊ): A chamberlain and a priest, one of whose functions was to set the crown on the king's head at the coronation.²

Šanqela (ሻንቅላ) also referred to as Negroids) is an Ethiopian term (originally an Agaw term) used to refer to a number of ethnic groups residing primarily in the western most part of Ethiopia (from the border of Eritrea to Lake Turkana). These peoples typically have stronger ethnic and social ties with groups inside Sudan than with those of Ethiopia.

Täwahədō (ተዋሕዶ) is a Ge'ez word meaning "being made one" or "unified"; it is cognate with Arabic (*tawhid*), meaning "monotheism". It refers to the Oriental Orthodox belief in the one single unified Nature of Christ; i.e., a belief that a complete, natural union of the Divine and Human Natures into One. The Oriental Orthodox Churches describe their Christology as *miaphysite* (meaning "One United Nature", in reference to Christ; the translation of the word " *Täwahədō* ")

² G.W.B Huntingford, (1965) *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia* p. 108.

Abbreviations

DBS : Däbrä Bərhan Səllase

E.C : Ethiopian Calendar

Ms : Manuscript

Mss : Manuscripts

Ms A : Manuscript of Tarikä Nägäst

Ms B : Manuscript of The History of King of Kings Iyasu I

Ms C : Manuscript of *Annales Regis* Iyasu I

ff: Folios

r: Recto (the right side of the page)

v: Verso (the left side of the page)

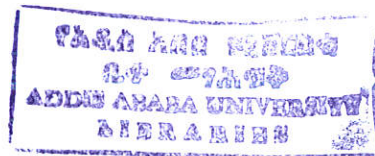
Abstract

This thesis describes and analyzes the historical and philological significance of the three Manuscripts of the chronicles of Iyāsu I who ruled Ethiopia from 1682- 1706.

The first one referred to as the Manuscript of Tarikā Nāgäst (Ms- A), is found in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. This Manuscript is believed to have been written in the early 19th century. The second one termed as Manuscript of the history of king of kings Iyāsu I (Ms-B), was copied from Ms- A by M.RENE BASSET. It was written in the late 19th century and is also found in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. The third Manuscript is Manuscript of *Annales Regis* Iyāsu I (Ms-C), which was edited by Ignazio Giudi in mid 20th century.

The study describes the historical facts during the period of Emperor Iyāsu I and compares and contrasts the first two Manuscripts from the philological point of view. There are omissions of words, repetition of the same words, morphological comparison, homoteleuton error, and the influence of Amharic words. However, both have good historical details of the late medieval period. About the religious teachings, the Manuscripts embodied the orthodox teachings of Christology- the Incarnation of Divinity and Humanity or God and Man besides other traditional history and Biblical teachings.

Therefore the major finding of the research indicates that both Manuscripts are important in dealing with the history, linguistics and religion of the time and also for textual comparison.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Ethiopia is one of the oldest and independent countries in Africa, with a long recorded history. Since the early Sabeian period, the records of the country and its history of dynasties have been preserved by means of inscriptions and chronicles, most of which were inspired by the rulers.

A Chronicle (Latin *chronica*, from Greek χρονικά (from χρόνος)) is a historical account of facts and events in chronological order. It is usually continuous historical account of events arranged in order of time without analysis or interpretation of the text.¹ In most chronicles of Ethiopia, equal weight is given for both major and minor events and the purposes of these chronicles are recording of events that occurred at a particular time and place.

From the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty in the thirteenth century until the reign of Emperor Haile Sellassie, Ethiopia has been ruled by more than sixty emperors. Most of these kings had their own chroniclers and these chronicles have been used as sources of study for history and philology. Today most of the originals of these chronicles that were written in Ge'ez and Amharic are found in the library of the Institutes of Ethiopian Studies, in different monasteries, churches and in the hands of some individuals. Chronicles are also found outside the country in the libraries of London, Paris, Rome and elsewhere. They were taken from Ethiopia at different times. Moreover, the compilation and English

¹ Encyclopedia Britannica Online (19 July 2007) *Chronicle*. Website:
<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article>

translation of these texts would be a great service to English speaking researchers and scholars'.²

Royal chronicles in Ethiopia have been collected and edited by scholars like Ignazio Guidi, Rene Basset, Richard Pankhurst and other scholars. The first two scholars edited the Chronicle of yasu I in Ge'ez and Pankhurst and Budge translated Chronicle of yasu I in to English.

Most of these chronicles glorify the ruling monarchs. In addition, they have historical value. From the Royal chronicles, written during the late medieval period of Ethiopia, the chronicle of Iyasu I, which will be discussed throughout this thesis, has much contribution to the development of literature in the country. During this period, in addition to the chronicles of king Iyasu I, many religious manuscripts were written by scholars of the time.

Iyasu I was King of Kings (nəgusä nägäst) of Ethiopia from 1682-1706. His throne name was Adyam Sägäd (አድያም ሰገድ,) Ge'ez word which means to whom the confines of the earth bow. He was the son of Yohannēs I and Empress Säblä Wängel. According to Täklä Şadäq Mäkuria, he was also known as "Iyasu the Great" based on his courage in war and his talent for administration.³

Gondär was the capital city of Ethiopia during the reign of king Iyäsü I. It is located in the historic Bägemdär province, today north Gondär zone. According to the decree re- issued by Iyäsü I in 1684, in the second year of his reign, names were given for different parts of the city.⁴

² Richard, Pankhurst. (eds.) (1967) *The Royal Chronicles*. Addis Ababa & London: Oxford University press, P. 17.

³ Täklä Şadiq Mäkuria (ተክለ ሻድቅ መካሪያ) (1973) *የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ከግዢ ልብነ ድንግል ስከ ዐፄ ቴዎድሮስ* (*The History of Ethiopia from King Libna Dingil to King Tewdros*). Addis Ababa: Birhan and Selam printing Press, P. 165.

⁴ Siegbert Uhlig, (2005) (eds) Gondar in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica*, Vol.II D-Ha, Printed and Bind, Memmin get Medians Centrum AG, Germany,

Table 1- The names of Places in Gondär during Iyäsü I

No	Name of the Place	Location in Gondar	Importance
1	Eslam Bet (Eslamge)	Lower part of the town besides the Qaha	The area where Muslims lived
2	Betä Esrael (Fälaša Bet)	At the Quarters of Abärra & Kaylamedä, beside the Qaha	The area where Fälašas lived
3	Mäkkäbäbiya (Fasil Gəmb)	A side from the Royal enclosure	The place where Castles were built
4	Addäbabay	The side to the south of the Royal compound	Public square, a place of assemblies and the Monday market
5	Abun Bet	North West of the castles	Residence of the <i>Abun</i> or metropolitan and a place of asylum
6	əčäge Bet	West of the castles	Residence of əčäge and also a refuge for offenders
7	Qäññ Bet	South-East of the castles	Home to many nobles

During Iyasu's reign, a French physician, Charles Poncet, was invited to the Empire to treat Iyasu I and one of his sons. Poncet arrived at Gondär in July 1699, and stayed until September 1700. Based on his observation and experience, Poncet published an account of his visit in Paris in 1704, which included his personal impression about Iyasu the Great. According to the testimony of Charles Poncet, Iyasu I was a lover of curious arts and sciences. In

addition, he had great interest in war. He was brave and undaunted in battles, and always at the head of his troops.⁵

Furthermore, during the reign of Iyasu I, oral and written literatures were highly developed. Kəflä Yohannəs and Azzaz Kənafr were the most prominent of *Qəne* composers of Iyasu's time. Different religious books were also written by scholars of the time. Among these books, the books of Sənkəsar, Chronicle of Eskiander and book of Saweris were the well-known.⁶

According to the evidence of the text of the chronicles, chronicles of Iyasu I were written first in Ge'ez by Hawarya Krəstos (Wäldä Haymanot) and Azzaz Zäwäld. Most of the time, they wrote by dramatizing and narrating the history of the time by relating the deeds of the king with the history of saints in the Bible.⁷

Täklä Şadəq Mäkuria, (1973, 202) states that, Iyasu's chronicles are currently found in Ethiopia, Gondär, *Goğğam*, Tigray, Şäwa and in Paris, London and Berlin outside the country. Moreover, we can get handwritten copies of chronicle in the country.⁸

Therefore, this thesis will aim to study the chronicle of Iyasu I (Adyam Säğäd) focusing on the historical and philological analysis.

⁵ William Foster (eds.) (1949) *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries*. London: Hakluyt Society, pp. 130f.

⁶ Täklä Şadiq Mäkuria: (1973) p. 200.

⁷ Ibid. p. 202.

⁸ Ibid. p. 202.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Existing literature that analyze chronicles of Iyasu I are neither detailed nor comprehensive. Moreover, some of the available literature on chronicles treats them only from the historical point of view.

Besides the historical, this research will make a philological analysis of Iyasu's chronicles. It will also investigate theological, political, social and cultural issues raised in the chronicles. It will answer the following research questions:

- ❖ Which parts of the chronicles are critically valuable for Ethiopian history?
- ❖ What did the epoch look like?
- ❖ What historical matters are recorded in it?
- ❖ What theological issues are raised in it?
- ❖ How was the structural usage of the language [Ethiopic]?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to give a philological and historical analysis of the Chronicles of Iyasu I (Adyam Säḡäd)

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

- ❖ To list out the existing Manuscripts of the chronicle of Iyasu I.
- ❖ To examine the historical facts of Iyasu I in different Manuscripts.
- ❖ To investigate philological, theological, and historical matters in the Chronicles of Iyasu I.
- ❖ To provide information about possible references regarding Iyasu I other than his Chronicles.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The result of this study will draw philological and historical conclusions on the chronicles of Iyasu I. Theological, cultural and other related matters of the period will also be discussed. Furthermore, the study may have great benefit for the study of the language and history of the country. Moreover:

- ❖ It helps the Church to know the theological and religious values of the period.
- ❖ It helps scholars studying the philology of Ge'ez.

1.5 Methodology

In order to address the objectives, both primary and secondary sources were used.

1.5.1 Primary Sources

The relevant first hand information was the Chronicles of Iyasu I which is written in Ge'ez and found through field work. Moreover, the field work method includes observation, interview, and selecting the best Manuscript.

Observation: This is important to maintain close contact with the administration of Däbrä Bərhan Səllase Church in Gondär. In this, I had the opportunity to observe the chronicles of Iyasu I, the way they were written, their sizes, how they are carefully presented and the material they were made from. Additionally, I observed the palace and DBS Church built by Iyasu I.

Interview: This was important to understand some of the local words in the Chronicles, their historical background and detailed information about the subject to be studied. It also provided me with information on where the chronicles of Iyasu I were available.

Selecting best Manuscripts: This was important to select the archetype or the original Manuscript among different versions of the chronicles of Iyasu I for philological study.

1.5.2 Secondary Sources

Secondary sources were useful to have some historical background of the chronicles of Iyasu I in general and about Iyasu I in particular. As a result, an attempt was made to review some written materials related to Iyasu I and his chronicles directly or indirectly. In addition, they were important to write the statement of the problem and strengthening the primary sources.

1.6 Limitations and Delimitation

An exhaustive study is required to examine the various features of the chronicles of Iyasu I. However, this study was designed to carry out the philological and historical analysis of the texts on the Chronicles of Iyasu I. Although this study analyzes the text from the historical and linguistic point of view, further study and enough time is needed. Therefore, the thesis limited only to selected chronicles, due to time and financial constraints.

1.7 Organization of the Study

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one is an introductory part. It includes background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study, methodology and organization of the study that the thesis attempts to answer. Chapter two deals with listing and description of chronicles of Iyasu I in brief. Chapter three deals with biography of Iyasu I with some historical contexts. It provides views on who was Iyasu I, his behavior, summary of his works and his contributions. It also presents about the journeys of Iyasu I and his death. Chapter four deals with philological analysis on the chronicles of Iyasu I. It also investigates some linguistic changes and problems in the texts of the chronicles. In the fifth chapter, conclusions and recommendations are provided.

CHAPTER TWO

LISTS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CHRONICLES OF IYASU I

This chapter deals with listing and describing the chronicles of Iyasu I. All investigated Manuscripts are listed with titles, their authors and dates of writing. The difference of the selected manuscripts also discussed in this chapter. However, only three selected chronicles are written about with full description. The three selected chronicles are:

- A) Manuscript A (Manuscript of *Tarikä Nägäst*)
- B) Manuscript B (The History of King of Kings, Iyasu I)
- C) Manuscript C (Manuscript of *Annales Regis* Iyasu I)

These three Manuscripts are found in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) library.

2.1. Lists of the Chronicles of Iyasu I

1. Manuscript of *Tarikä Nägäst* (Ms-A)

This chronicle is found in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies under the catalogue (IES-691) and in Getachew Haile's catalogue, EMMML, No 1527. The author of the book is not stated anywhere in the texts. It was written in Ge'ez on parchment and has the chronicles of Emperors of Ethiopia starting from Saba to Tewodros II. The chronicle of Iyasu I is a part of these chronicles and available from folios 41-70.

2. The History of King of Kings, Iyasu I (Ms-B)

This chronicle was written in Ge'ez and was edited by M. Rene Basset in his book "*L'Histoire d'Ethiopia*". It is available in the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and has 35 pages in a modern printed book and covers pages 35-70. This book was printed in France, Paris in 1881.

3 Manuscript of *Annales Regis Iyasu I* (Ms-C)

This chronicle is also found in the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies under the catalogue (GUI -972.1) together with the chronicles of Emperor Yohannēs I and Bäkafa. It was edited and compiled by Ignazio Guidi. The chronicle was written in Ge'ez and covers two hundred eight pages in modern printed books.

4 The Reign of Iyasu I (Adyam Säḡäd)

This chronicle was summarized and translated from the chronicles of Iyasu I which was in Ge'ez language to Amharic language by Täklä Şadäq Mäkuria: in 1973. It covers 47 pages in a modern printed book form and found in his book entitled "The history of Ethiopia from king Ləbnä Dəngəl to Emperor Tewodros II." It is found in the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies under the catalogue (963.04 TKL).

5 The History of Gondärine Emperors

This handwritten chronicle contains the history of Iyasu I partially. *Liqä Brəhanat* Mähatämä Säyəfu, administrator of Däbrä Bərhan Səllase Church in Gondär, copied from another copyist, *Märiḡeta*, Yətbäräk, Mära also copied it from *Mälakä Brəhanat* Ləssanä Warəq Hayla Səllase who were the administrators of DBS. According to *Liqä Bərhanat* Mähatämä Säyəfu, the original or the archetype of this chronicle was written on parchment in Ge'ez with the title "The History of Gondärine Emperors." He also said that this

manuscript was taken during the war between Tewodros II and British troops and it is believed that it is currently found in London. In this chronicle, the part of the history of Iyasu I covers eleven pages from 17-28.

6. Iyasu I, Adyam Sägäd

Sir E.A Wallis Budge, in his book entitled *The History of Abyssinia* written in 1928, has a summary of the chronicle of Iyasu I in English. It covers 17 pages in modern printed book from (pp 408-425). The Chronicle is found in the libraries of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and it is also available in the Museum and Library of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church under the catalogue (963 BUD).

7. Iyasu I (1682-1706)

This English Chronicle was translated from Ge'ez chronicles in part by Richard Pankhurst in 1967. It covers ten pages in a modern printed book type and is compiled in his book *The Ethiopian Royal Chronicles* pages 107-115. The Chronicle is found in the Library of the Institute of the Ethiopian Studies under the catalogue (PAN-930).

8. Journeys to Abyssinia

Charles I. Poncet, a French physician, wrote a book on the account of his journey to Abyssinia during the reign of Iyasu I. It is found in the book entitled "General collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels, in all parts of the world" by John Pinkerton in 1814. The account of Poncet covers 46 pages in a modern printed book (P. 61-107)

9. Iyasu I re d'Etiochia

This book was written in Latin by Ignazio Guidi and it is known by the title "Iyasu I re d'Etiochia e martire" in *Revista degli studi orientali*, Roma, 1942.

V.20, facs.1, P. 65-128.” Currently, it is found in Library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies under the catalogue (IES, OSI, RIV)

10. *Regno di Iyasu I, re d'Etiopia dal 1682 al 1706*

This is an article written by Osvaldo Raineri, and known by the title “*Il regno di Iyasu I, re d'Etiopia dal 1682 al 1706*” in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 58 (1992).” It covers from pages 313-340 and is found in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies under the catalogue (IES, OSI, RIV). It was written in Latin in 1992.

11. *La storia di Iyasu (1682-1706)*

This is an article written in Latin by Cerulli. The title of this article is “*La storia di Iyasu (1682-1706), Secondo Cerulli Etiopico 318,*” in “*orientalia christiana periodica*” 60 (1994) 247-253. It is found in the Library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

2.2 Descriptions of the Chronicles

For the MA thesis, the researcher decided for the moment to confine himself to chronicles number 1, (Ms-A), number 2, (Ms-B) and number 3 (Ms-C). These are the archetype chronicles which have more significant for philological research. The description, the folios and numbers below are based on these chronicles.

2.2.1 Manuscript of Tarikä Nägäst (Ms-A)

1. Owner of the Chronicle: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University
2. Number of folios: 29 and written on parchment
3. Number of columns: Two columns each recto and verso
4. Written text: Handwriting on Parchment
5. Cover: Made from fine wood
6. Vellum: 24 cm x 18cm
7. It was written in the 19th century

2.2.1.1 Contents of the Chronicle

- a) (ff 41rb – 42ra) Iyasu I made appointments and demotions. He also invited lunch and gave clothes to prisoners who were relatives of king Susenyos and king Fasilädäs.
- b) (ff 42rb- 42vb) *Dağğazmač* Wale and Abba Ṭbdän gave the title of king to Wärägñña Yəshaq. He was captured by the troops of the king. Iyasu I went to the land of Damot and he killed one buffalo. He also killed many in Wällo.
- c) (ff 42vb-43rb) 47 scholars decide on the true Orthodox faith. The king also called Church scholars and Bishop Abuna Sinoda to condemn *Qəbats* at Däbrä Maryam.
- d) (ff 43rb-44va) Empress Säblä Wängel, the mother of Iyasu I, died at Amädbär and was buried in the island of Məsraha by the side of her husband.
- e) (ff 44vb-46rb) Iyasu I proclaimed that it is forbidden for females to ride a horse. After this, he went to Aksum and received Holy Communion. He also defeated in war, Oromo warriors, Damot and Shanqəla.
- f) (ff 47va-48rb) king Iyasu I went to Aksum with his officials. He ordered people of Aksum, Məşwa and Şəre and to stop any support to *Nayb* Mussa who created a problem on the trade of Ethiopia to foreign countries.
- g) (ff 49ra-49vb) Iyasu I went to Däbrä Bərhan Səllase Church with Bishop and officials to celebrate and carry the Ark of the Covenant, *tabot*.
- h) (ff 50va-52ra) Iyasu I marched to Shanqəla. He killed and captured many. He also went to Damot, Šäwa, Tädəbaba Maryam and he marched alone to Qolla. He killed and captured many.
- i) (ff 52ra-53rb) Iyasu I called a meeting to condemn *Aba* Wäldä Tənsae, the follower of *Qəbat*. He also went to different villages near Gondär.
- j) (f 54ra) Iyasu I settled the taxation paid for Amole salt, which came from Enderta to Gondär.
- k) (f 54rb) Iyasu I celebrated the feast of Trinity at Däbrä Bərhan Səllase Church and gave gold to priests.

- l) (ff 55va – 56rb) The journey of Iyasu I to different villages to celebrate feasts and to bury those who died.
- m) (ff 57va-58rb) Iyasu I marched to Gibe, Belläma and Meča. He captured many Oromo warriors.
- n) (ff 58rb-61va) Täklä Haymanot the son of Iyasu I, discussed about his coronation with *Däjazmač* Wäldä Giorgis, Blaten Kidane and others. Finally, they crowned him in the absence of Iyasu I. Many people opposed the new King and he went out from Gondär to Aringo. After some time, he returned to Gondär. His throne name was Lül Sägäd (ለሁል ሰገድ).
- o) (f 61br) on the fifth of October (15th October) Täklä Haymanot heard of the death of Iyasu I. Priests came together and buried him at Məṣraha where his father and mother had been buried.
- p) (ff 62av-70vb) The activities of Täklä Haymanot in Gondär and Aringo.

2.2.2 The History of King of Kings Iyasu I, Published Version of Ms (Ms-B)

1. Owner of the chronicle: The Institute of Ethiopian Studies
2. Pages: 35 Pages of modern printed book
3. Number of columns: One column each recto and verso
4. Cover: Made from hard bound cover
5. It was written in the late 19th century

2.2.2.1 Contents of the Chronicle

- A) (ff 35r-36v) In the first year of his reign, Iyasu I deposed the *Āqabe Sä't* Constantine and appointed Asärä Kesos in his place, and he made Anastateos governor and chief of Amhara. Then, Iyasu I rode out to the fortress of Wähni, where the sons of Susenyos and Fasilädäs were confined. He provided a feast for them and they rejoiced with him and blessed him.
- B) (ff 36v-38v) The troops of the King captured *Wärägñña* Yəshaḳ who considered himself as a King from the house of Oromo. Then, 47 scholars with the King and *əčäge* announced the true faith. In the meantime, the mother of Iyasu I,

Empress Säblä Wängel also died at Amädbär and was buried in the island of Məsraha.

- C) (ff 38r-40v) Iyasu I went to Aksum to receive the Holy Communion. He returned to Gondär and was angry at the people of Goğgam because they received the condemned *Qəbat* members. Then the king marched with his troops to Shanqəla and killed many people.
- D) (ff 41r-43r) Iyasu I went to Aksum on horseback. The clergy of Aksum received him with special religious celebration. He also went to Lasta and came to Aringo.
- E) (ff 44v-48v) Iyasu I celebrated the feast of Səllase at DBS and he carried the ark of covenant. Then, the king marched to Shanqəla and killed many. He also went to Šäwa and Tädbabä Maryam.
- F) (ff 49r-50v) Iyasu I went to Goğgam, Damot and Šäwa to fight against the Oromo warriors. The wife of Iyasu I, Wäyzäro Gädamawit, died on Mäskäräm 5th in the 17th year of his reign.
- G) (ff 50v-52v) Iyasu I reduced the tax paid for Amole salt, which came from Enderta to Lama.
- H) (ff 53r-56v) the author of the prayer book "*Mälkä'a Səllase*" Abba Səbhat Lä'ab died in the 20th year of the King's reign. Iyasu I with his troops went to Säda, Azäzo, Yəbaba, Gibe, and other places in Šäwa.
- I) (ff 57r-59r) The son of Iyasu I, Täklä Haymanot, declared himself king while his father went to an island in Lake Ṭana. Many people opposed him but he opposed his father and followed *Qəbat* concept of faith. His throne name was "Ləül Säggäd". He sent people to kill Iyasu I. Finally, he heard the death of his father.
- J) (f 60v) Iyasu I was buried at the island of Məsraha. The death of Iyasu I created great sorrow among the people of Gondär and the priests of DBS.
- K) (ff 61r-69r) The activities and duties of King Täklä Haymanot.

2.2.3 Manuscript of *Annales Regis Iyasu I*, Published Version of Ms (Ms-C)

1. Owner of the Chronicle: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University
2. Number of pages: 208 modern printed pages
3. Number of columns: One column each recto and verso
4. Cover: Made from hard bound cover
5. It was written in the 20th century

2.2.3.1 Contents of the Chronicle

- A. (ff 59r-61r)- Compares Iyasu I with Joshua, the successor of Mosses. It also states that Iyasu I grew up in wisdom and was educated in the Holy Scriptures and in the fear of God.
- B. (ff 61r-62v)- Yohannēs I, Aēlaf Sägäd, the father of Iyasu I, died and Iyasu I came to the throne.
- C. (ff 62v-64v)- In his 1st year, Iyasu I gave positions to different persons and ordered that persecution in the name of religious controversy cease.
- D. (ff 64v- 67r)- Journeys of Iyasu I from Gondär to different villages and churches. He also killed wild animals and returned to Gondär.
- E. (ff 68v-79r)- Journeys of Iyasu I from Gondär to an Island of Ṭana and to Wällo. He also visited and prayed in many churches on his way. Then he returned to Gondär.
- F. (ff.80v-83r)- In the midst of many priests, monks, the Bishop and king Iyasu I, a religious dialogue between *Tawhədo* and *Qəbat* was held.
- G. (ff 83r- 88v)- Iyasu I went from Gondär to Arengo to meet Bishop Sinoda. He also called people from Goğgam to Dabat ordered them to stop the religious controversy and returned to Gondär.
- H. (ff 89r-96v) The supporters of *Tāwahədo* and *Qəbat* promised in front of the king and the Bishop to stop the controversy. The true belief was read from scriptures. Those who would break this belief were cursed.

- I. (ff 96v-100v) Iyasu I went to Ṭana to celebrate Epiphany and he also hunted and killed hundreds of buffaloes on his way. Then he spent the fasting season of St. Mary [Fsəläta] alone in prayer. He also celebrated the feast of the Holy Cross in the town.
- J. (ff 100v- 110v) The journeys of Iyasu I to, Şäda, Qaroda, Goğgam Wänba, Ṭana, Gozamn, Fälägä Abawi, Azäzo, Hadis, Čämoga, Gäme, Däbrä Şəmona and Burre, for celebration of religious feasts, war against Oromo warriors and to create peace for the controversy among *Təwahədo* and *Qəbat*.
- K. (ff 110v-119r) The plan of the kings' journey to Aksum for celebration of St. Mary's feast on Hədar 21 E.C and for his coronation. It also explained about the journey of Iyasu I to different places in Gondär and Gojjam for social, political and religious issues.
- L. (ff 120v-122v) The condemnation of *Qəbat* leaders, Ṭäbdän and Qozmos, in the midst of all monks on the feast day of the Ascension.
- M. (ff 123r-135r) - Dəmetros the representative of the Kingin Şäwa captured "warregñña Yəshaq", the one who called himself King. Iyasu I brought this person from Demetros at Därra.
- N. (ff 135r-142v)- The King went to the Island of Ṭana, and he asked saints in the Churches to pray for him. The new Bishop, Abuna Markos came in the New Year from Alexandria and started his work with the King.
- O. (ff 143r- 144v) Empress Säblä Wängel, the mother of Iyasu I, died.
- P. (ff 145 r-147r) The journey of Iyasu I to the Island of Ṭana to spend the time of Lent and St. Marys' fasting [Fsəläta].
- Q. (ff 147r-162v) The army of the king killed many Oromo warriors, and the king went to different villages.
- R. (ff 162v- 166v) The journey of the king to Axum and the monastery of Abba Gäräma at Adwa for prayer. He also solved the problem of taxation with the *Nayab* Mussa. On his journey, the king killed many wild animals.
- S. (ff 166V- 169r) Bishop Abuna Markos taught many church scholars on the day of annual celebration of Səllase at DBS about the Incarnation and Trinity. Iyasu

I carried the Ark of the Covenant, and *Azzaž* hawarya Kərstos, composed *Qane* for the King.

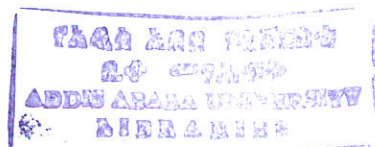
- T. (ff 170v-198v) The king and his army killed many Shanqəla and Oromo warriors and captured them in Goğgam, Šäwa, and Damot.
- U. (ff 199 r- 219r) The king with other officials and many clerics went to Däbrä Libanos. There was a great meeting of *Täwahədo* supporters to condemn *Qəbat* followers at Yəbaba. The king also went to different villages on his way.
- V. (ff 220v- 230v) The army of Iyasu I killed and arrested many Oromo warriors at Guduru and other parts of Šäwa.
- X. (ff 230v- 263r) The writer of the chronicle claims that he wrote with the help of God and, he also compares Iyasu the great with Eskiinder, the wise man. It also mentions the journey of the king to places around Gondär. Finally, he mentions the days on which he wrote the chronicle (9th January-2nd June).
- Y. (ff 263r-267r) The author of the chronicle began his writing by giving praise to the king and he said “I wrote this chronicle for those saddened by the death of the king.”

2.3 Who were the Authors of the Chronicles?

When we trace back the history of Ethiopian kings, most of them had their own writer or “*Šähäfe Təzaz*”. According to Sergaw Hable Selassie, the chronicles of Iyasu I was written by *hawarya* Krəstos and *Azzaž Zäwäld*.⁹ Təklä Šadəq Mäkuria also said, in addition to the above two writers, Sinoda and other scholars participated in writing the chronicles of Iyasu I.¹⁰ The chronicle itself affirms that the writers of the chronicles of Emperor Yohannəs I became the writers of the chronicles of Iyasu. It explained this as follows:

⁹ Sergaw Hable Selassie, (1988) *Amharic Church Dictionary*. Vol. V, Addis Ababa and Heidelberg, p. 60.

¹⁰ Təklä Šadək (1973),165.



ወኣንበረ ኣክሊለ ዲበ ርእሱ ጽራግ ማሰፊ መልክዓ ክርስቶስ ወፈነዉ.
ማጎተመ ጽሑፎም በበብሒሩ ኣዛዥ ሓዋርያ ክርስቶስ ወኣዛዥ ወልደ
ሃይማኖት ጸሐፍተ ትዕዛዝ ከመ እዕረፈ. ኣቡሁ ወከመ ነግሠ ወልዱ
ኢያሱ ህየንቲሁ . . . (Ms-C, f62r)

Translation

Širag Masäre Mälka Kristos put the crown on his (Iyasu I) head.
ḥäwarya Kristos and *Azzäz Zäwäld*, the writers prepared and sent a
sealed written paper to all nation about the death of the father (Yohannäs
I) and the coronation of the son (Iyasu I).

The chronicle of Iyasu I, which was written in Ge'ez, gives a hint that it was
written by *Azäṣ ḥäwarya krəstos*.

ኣዛዥ ሓዋርያ ክርስቶስ ዘጸጋፈ ዘንተ ታሪኽ ንጉሥ
ኢያሱ (Ms-A f49v)

Translation

Azaṣ ḥäwarya Kristos who wrote this history of king Iyasu I...

According to one of the writers of the chronicles the chronicler was writing what he
saw and what he heard from people.

ናሁ ጸሐፍኩ ኩሉ ዘርኢኩ ወሰማዕኩ . . .
(Ms-C, f 266 r)

Translation

Behold! I wrote all that I saw and heard...

Generally, in most cases, Ethiopian kings did not write the chronicles on their
own.¹¹ Instead, they assigned the task to their writers. In addition to the assigned
writers, other scholars could also participate in the preparation of chronicles.

¹¹ Sergew Hable Selassie , P. 60

2.4 Period of the Writing of the Chronicles

The chronicles of Iyasu I were written in different times. According to the description written on the first page of the Chronicle edited by Iginazio Guidi (Ms- C).it was written in 1960 and the description of *Tarikä Nagäst* or Ms-A, written on the catalogue, it was written in the 19th century. The paleography of this age is also similar to that of Ms-A. The chronicle edited by M.Rene Basset or Ms-B is copy of Ms-A, and prepared at the end of 19th century in 1881.

Most parts of these chronicles hold the daily diaries of the king. This shows that the chronicles were about the kings' daily activities. But the chronicle of Ms-C indicates that there was a possibility of writing from memory when people asked him to write. The following evidence is taken from one of the chronicles.

እጽሕፍ ዜና ካልአ ዘኮነ በግንደር ዘከመ አጠየቁኒ ወአይድዑኒ እለ
ርእዩ ወሰምዑ እስመ ኩሉ ዜና ይጸሐፍ በበዘመኑ እመኒ አብይ
ወእመኒ ንኡስ በከመ ርኢነ በመጽሐፈ ኦሪት ወመጽሐፈ ነገሥት
ወበኩሉ ዜናሆመ ለነገሥት። (Ms-C ff 263v-64r)

Translation

I will write another history, which happened in Gondär as they told me and informed me who saw and heard, for all history, whether big or small, is written in its time as we saw in the Book of Moses, the Books of kings and all the history of kings.

2.5 Differences of Chronicles Ms-A, Ms-B and Ms-C

Ms-A and Ms B chronicles explained the events that happened in 24 years of the reign of Iyasu I in chronological order. Ms-A or the book of *Tarikä Nägäst* has the same content with Ms-B. The contents of these chronicles divide the time of

events in days and years and divide the time of events in the year of four evangelists Mathew, Mark, Luke and John. Even though the events written in both chronicles have similar ideas, there are some aspects that make them different. The main differences of these Mss are as follows:

The first difference is the materials from which the chronicles are made and the time they were written in. Ms-B “The History of king of kings Iyasu I” edited by Rene Basset is written on modern printed paper and prepared in the late 19th century. Ms-A, manuscript of *Tarikä Nägäst* was written on parchment and prepared in 19th century. In this Ms, some words were written in red color, whereas they are not in Ms B. The differences are shown in the following table.

Table 2 Words written in red color in Ms-A and not in Ms-B

Name	In Ge'ez	Meaning
Egziabher	እግዚአብሔር	God
Maryam	ማርያም	Mary
Iyäsus	ኢየሱስ	Jesus
Täklä Hymanot	ተክለሃይማኖት	St. Tekelahymanot
Giorgis	ጊዮርጊስ	St. George

The second difference is the volume and kind of paleography¹² in both chronicles. The chronicle written on Ms-A was covering 29 folios and readable handwritten, whereas the chronicle written on Ms-B would cover 35 pages in modern printed book form.

¹² The study of ancient writing systems and the deciphering and dating of historical manuscripts (Tony Smith (eds.) 2001. *Concise Oxford Dictionary* –Tenth Edition, Oxford University Press, 2001)

The third difference is linguistic errors. Even though both Chronicles have philological and linguistic problems, Ms-A has more errors than Ms-B. This will be discussed in the fourth chapter of the thesis.

In general both chronicles (Ms-A and Ms-B) are categorized under the same root. Manuscript of *Annales Regis Iyasu I*, (Ms-C) has common ideas in discussing the history of Iyasu I. But it has some differences from both Ms-A and Ms-B. In the first two chronicles, the history of the king was written in short and in the form of summary but In Ms-C the history of the king was written in detail with narrations. The chroniclers also wrote the history of places and persons those related with the history of king Iyasu I. In addition to these it focused on the religious parts of the history. For instance the issues of controversies between *Qəbat and Tāwahədo* sects were mostly written in detail.

CHAPTER THREE

BIOGRAPHY OF IYASU I AND SOME HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

This chapter describes the history of king Iyasu I and some historical facts during his reign. Therefore, the biography of king Iyasu I, his journeys, what he accomplished in the 24 years of his reign, and his contributions in social and religious aspects are major topics to be discussed in this chapter.

3.1. Who was Iyasu I (Adyam Sägäd)?

Iyasu I, Adyam Sägäd ruled the country for twenty-four years from 1682 to 1706. His father was Yohannēs I, Emperor of Ethiopia (1667-1682) and his mother was Säblä Wängel. His Queen was called Maryamawit. He had only one son from Maryamawit but he had ten sons and twenty daughters from Mäläkotawit, Mamit and other concubines.¹³ Iyasu I was often referred to as Iyasu ‘the Great’.¹⁴ The reign of Iyasu I was one of the golden periods of the country. The title ‘the great’ was given to him as the result of his deeds of arranging tax payment and improving the life of prisoners.¹⁵ Therefore, the life and works of Iyasu I, according to the chronicles are as follows:

3.1.1 Early Period of Iyasu I

During his early years, he was carefully educated and happened to study the Holy Scriptures to learn about the fear of God and the Law. He spent most of his early age under good discipline and guidance of his family. He attended not only

¹³ Wallis, Budge (1928) *A History of Ethiopia: Nubia and Abyssinia*. Vol.II, London: Methven and Co. Ltd, P. 409.

¹⁴ Pankhurst (eds.) (1967) *The Royal Chronicles*. Addis Ababa & London: Oxford University Press, p. 100

¹⁵ Belay Giday Amiha (በላይ ግደይ አምራች) (2005) ጎንደር (Gondär) Mega Printing Enterprise, Addis Ababa, p.53

Church education but also worked for the benefits of the community and for his country. About the early age of Iyasu I, his chronicle said that:

አመ ተወልደ ሐፀንዎ ንጉሠ ነገሥት አቡሁ አእላፍ ሰገድ ወእሙ
ንግሥት ሰብለ ወንጌል ሠናየ ሕፅነተ ወአልሐቅዎ በጥበብ
ወተግሣጽ። ወበትምህርተ መጻሕፍት ቅዱሳት ወበፍርሃተ
እግዚአብሔር እስመ እሙንቱ ጸድቃን ወፈራህያነ እግዚአብሔር .
. . ወውእቱሂ ኮነ ማእምረ ወፍቁረ በኃበ ከሉ ወጠቢበ ወተምህረ
ተፅዕኖተ ፈረሰ። (Ms-C, 60)

Translation

He was born from his father 'Äəlaf Sägäd (Yohannəs I) and his mother Empress Säblä Wängel. As they were righteous and had the fear of God, they made him grow up (Iyasu I) in wisdom, advice, educating him in the Holy Scriptures and in the fear of God. He became knowledgeable and wise and loved by all. He also learned horse riding.

When Iyasu I came to the throne after the death of his father, he was only 20 years old.¹⁶ His good upbringing during his early age contributed much to perform important things later on. His works, as written in the chronicles, indicate that Iyasu I was a naturally gifted person in leading the country wisely. His relation with Church leaders, government officials, people surrounding him and communities in Gondär also helped him to lead the country under good circumstances.¹⁷

¹⁶ Tāklä Şadiq (1973) p. 168.

¹⁷ Ibid. pp.168-69.

3.1.2. Behavior of King Iyasu I

Iyasu I was a great hunter. He practiced horse riding from the beginning which encouraged him to hunt wild animals. For instance, in the first year of his reign, he left his capital, Gondär by himself to see the country and hunt wild animals. ወተመይጦ ንጉሥ ወሐረ ምድረ ዳሞት ወወግዳቶ ጎሽ (Ms-A,f36r) “The king went to Damot and a female buffalo attached him” In addition to this, Iyasu I used to hunt wild animals in different places of the country especially on his journeys. After he hunted these animals, he always returned secretly to the town because he did not love vainglory and vanity.¹⁸

As stated in many parts of the chronicles, Iyasu I had a habit of spending the seasons of fasting, the great Lent and the fasting season of St. Mary [Fṣəläta] alone in monasteries. This indicates that he was a religious person. Charles Poncet gave the following testimony about king Iyasu I:

The Emperor's name is Jesus [Joshua]. He has many children; eight princes and three princesses. The Emperor is possessed of great qualities; he being of lively and poetic/literary genius, of an affable and sweet temper, and a hero in stature. I did not see any man in all Ethiopia so finely shaped as himself. He delights in the polite arts and the sciences but his favorite passion is war. He has an extraordinary love for justice, which he causes to be exactly administered to all his subjects; but he does not delight in blood it is a pain to him to order any criminal for execution. Being thus possessed of such exalted

¹⁸ Pankhurst, (1967) pp. 113,114

qualities, he is equally the darling and terror of his subjects, who revere him to adoration.¹⁹

3.2. Summary of the Deeds of Iyasu I (1682-1705)

The history and deeds of Iyasu I are found in his chronicles. He did many things in religious, social, political, and personal matters in different parts of the country. Among his deeds, some of them are the following:

In the fourth year of his reign (1685) *Zämäna Marqos*, a serious revolt broke out. Because of *Wäräñña Yəshäq*²⁰. አዝማች ወሌ ምስለ አባ ጠብደን መምህረ ጎንጅ ወቦኡ ውስተ ጋላ ቤት ወመጽኡ አንጊሦሙ ወረኛ ዘይሰመይ ይስሐቅ (Ms-B f36v) “*Azmač Wälle and Aba Ṭäbdän, teacher of Guongi [Qane school in Goğgam] went to Oromo country and proclaimed Wärañña, called Yəshäq, as king.*” As a result, king Iyasu sent a large army against him, and the rebels were defeated with great loss, and the leader of the opposition was made prisoner.

In the fifth year of his reign (1686), in the era of *Zämäna Luqas*, the king summoned a great Council to discuss the question about the nature of Christ in his presence. In this discussion, Abuna Sínoda, the *ečäge* Abba Šäga Krəstos, and forty- seven church scholars and all the great notables of the country participated. The Scriptures and the books of the Fathers were quoted at great length. For instance: ወ፪፻፲ወ፰ ርቱዓነ ሃይማኖት ኀበ ይብሉ ወነአምን በእግዚአብሔር አብ ወበእግዚአብሔር ወልድ ወበእግዚአብሔር መንፈስ ቅዱስ (Ms-C f91r) “The 318 Religious Fathers said that we believe in God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.”

¹⁹ John Pinkerton (1814) *Journey to Abyssinia: The Travel of Charles James Poncet in to Ethiopia*. Hallyut Society, p 86.

²⁰ **Yeshaq** claimed the title *nəgusä nägäst* (1685) of Ethiopia, supported by general Walle, and Tabdan the Hermit of Guondj who were enemies of Emperor Iyasu the Great. In short order, Emperor Iyasu marched against them, killed Yeshaq's supporters, and took the claimant captive. (E. A. Wallis Budge, *A History of Ethiopia: Nubia and Abyssinia*, 1928 (Oosterhout, the Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1970), p. 410)

In addition to this, the incarnation of Christ was the main issue of this council. Then the Abūnā and the ečäge rose and excommunicated everyone who said that the son of God had been conceived by the power of the grace, or unction of the Holy spirit በኃይለ ቅብዓ መንፈስ ቅዱስ. Everyone who did not accept the faith laid down at that council had his house destroyed and his possessions confiscated.²¹

In the sixth year of his reign (1687) in the era of *Zämänä Yohannēs*, the religious discussion continued and king Iyasu ordered the principal monks of Däbrä Libanos and Ṭäbdän and others to go to the Island of Däbrä Maryam, to discuss the faith and study the Scriptures. He also summoned a Council at Yibaba, and Betä Krastos and Wäldä Krastos of Däbrä Libanos of *Tāwahado* (ተዋሕዶ) were ordered to discuss with Ṭäbdän and Qozmos of Unction (ቅብዓት) sect.

In the eighth year of his reign (1689), *Zämänä Marqos*, Bishop Mark, sent by Abba John, Patriarch of Alexandria arrived in Gondär in response to the request of Iyasu I. The cause of his request was that bishop Sinoda was not knowledgeable enough to teach people about their faith. Bishop Mark had good understanding of Orthodox religion and he taught much about the Incarnation of Christ.²²

In the ninth year of his reign (1690), *Zämänä Lūqas*, the king discovered that the young women had been in the habit of riding on mules and carrying long spears in their hands; they had been riding with the men, and had dressed and marched as they did. The king promptly sent out a herald with a proclamation prohibiting the exposure of their persons in this fashion,

²¹ Budge, (1928) pp. 409- 410

²² Yared Girma Hile (ያሬድ ግርማ ኃይሌ) (2007) *የጎንደር ታሪክ ከኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ አንፃር* (The History of Gondär from the Prespective of Ethiopian History). Addis Ababa: Emaye Printers. p, 157.

and forbidding them to carry spears or lances or to go on rides with the men.²³ The king ordered the proclamation to be read out by the herald for three days.²⁴

In the fourteenth year of his reign (1695), *Zämänä Yohannäs*, in April, a fire broke out in the house of prostitute at Gondär and burnt down the left quarter of town, including the churches of St. Giorgis and Täklä Haymanot. After Easter, the king went to visit the Church Tädbabä Maryam, and entered the sanctuary, and saluted the remains of king Tewodros 1st, king Yäshaq, king Gälawdiwos and King Minas kings buried there. He also gave his golden cloth for the Church.²⁵

In the seventeenth year of his reign (1698) *Zämänä Lūqas*, In January he held a religious Council, and in May he visited Däbrä Libanōs, where St. Täklä Haymanōt was buried, in May also he summoned all the monks who had been banished to a conference, at which the question of the Substance of Christ's Body was discussed to discuss again on the issue.²⁶

In the twenty-third year of his reign (1704), *Zämänä Marqos*, an earthquake took place in Gondär, and the house and palaces were down; the great tower of the palace called Djan Tākäl fell and crushed many to death. In March, the king went to Tulu Amara, west of Gibe River, Tukur and other Oromo areas. He took many Prisoners among Oromos and baptized them to Orthodox Christianity. At this time he heard that his concubine Kədəste had died and buried at Barkänta.

²³ Budge, (1928) p. 412

²⁴ Pankhurst, (1967) p. 109

²⁵ Yared Girma, 2007, p. 178

²⁶ Budge, (1928) p. 417

Then he went to Gondär, and later retired to the Island Čäqla Mänzo in Lake Tana, where he gave himself up to grief and prayer.²⁷

3.3 Contributions of Iyasu I

King Iyasu I contributed many important things for the community and for the country. The main contributions of the king mentioned in his chronicles are the following:

3.3.1 Recognition of Taxes on Salt (*Amole* አሞሌ)

In 1698, in the seventeenth year of his reign, Iyasu I reorganized the system of taxes on the salt brought to Gondär by way of Tigre. First, he called a conference to discuss the matter. He called all the dignitaries, learned men and commanders and all the governors of the people of Tigre. He interrogated them on the subject of the taxes paid at the customs posts from Enderta to Wägära.

After he asked what the taxes on merchants were in the time of Kings Fasiladas and Yohannēs I.²⁸ he decided to institute uniform tax throughout the country and decree new regulation.

እምነ ፳ በቅል ዙተዕዕነ ይኩን ፩ አሞሌ ወእምነ ፳ አዕዱግ ዙተዕዕነ ጼወ
ይኩን ፩ አሞሌ ወእምነ ፀዋሬ ርእስሂ ዘነሥኦ ይትበርበር ቤቱ በርሂ
ይኩን በ ፩ ሀገር ፩ በር ወለዝሥርዓት በመጽሐፈ ታሪክ ወደብዳቤ
ከዕቃቤት ከመ ይኩን ለትውልደ ትውልድ » (Ms-A 54av)

Translation

The tax on five mules laden with salt was to be one *amōlē* [i.e. one slab of rock salt] and the tax on eight asses laden with salt was to be one

²⁷ Budge,(1928) p.418-419.

²⁸ During the reigns of King Fasiladas and Yohannes I, no tax was levied on the porter who carried salt on his shoulder; he was exempted. The tax on salt carried by a donkey was one *amole* (i.e bar of salt) for every load; for salt carried by a mule two *amoles* per load.

amōlē. If any one levies dues on those who carry salt on their shoulders let his house be pillaged, his goods be seized, and let him be condemned to death. This decision to be registered in the Book of Annals, and in the register of the chief steward, '*Eka Bēt* and sent out to proclaim throughout the generation.

He also decided that there must be only one taxation place with in one district or *Awraja*. The proclamation makes free of tax all merchants of sheep and goat in Gondär. For the implementation of this declaration, the king appointed experienced foreigners like Murad and Hajji Ali.²⁹ The new law also warned those disposed to corruption.³⁰

3.3.2. The Construction of Attractive Buildings

Adyam Sägäd Iyasu's Castle: In the third year of his reign (1685), *Zämänä Mateos*, the attractive building of the castle of Iyasu I had been completed. Wäldä Gíyorgis finished the building of this palace at Gondär, and this palace is said to have been more beautiful than the house of Solomon.³¹ It was a very attractive and decorated palace.³² He found there a house with ceilings adorned with gold and precious stones. When Iyasu I saw it, he was very happy and preferred to live there than in his other house.³³

²⁹ Täklä Şadiq Mäkuria , (1973) p. 191.

³⁰ Budge, (1928) p.417

³¹ Budge,(1928) pp. 409- 410

³² Yared Girma (2007), p. 155.

³³ Pankhurst ,(1967) p.107

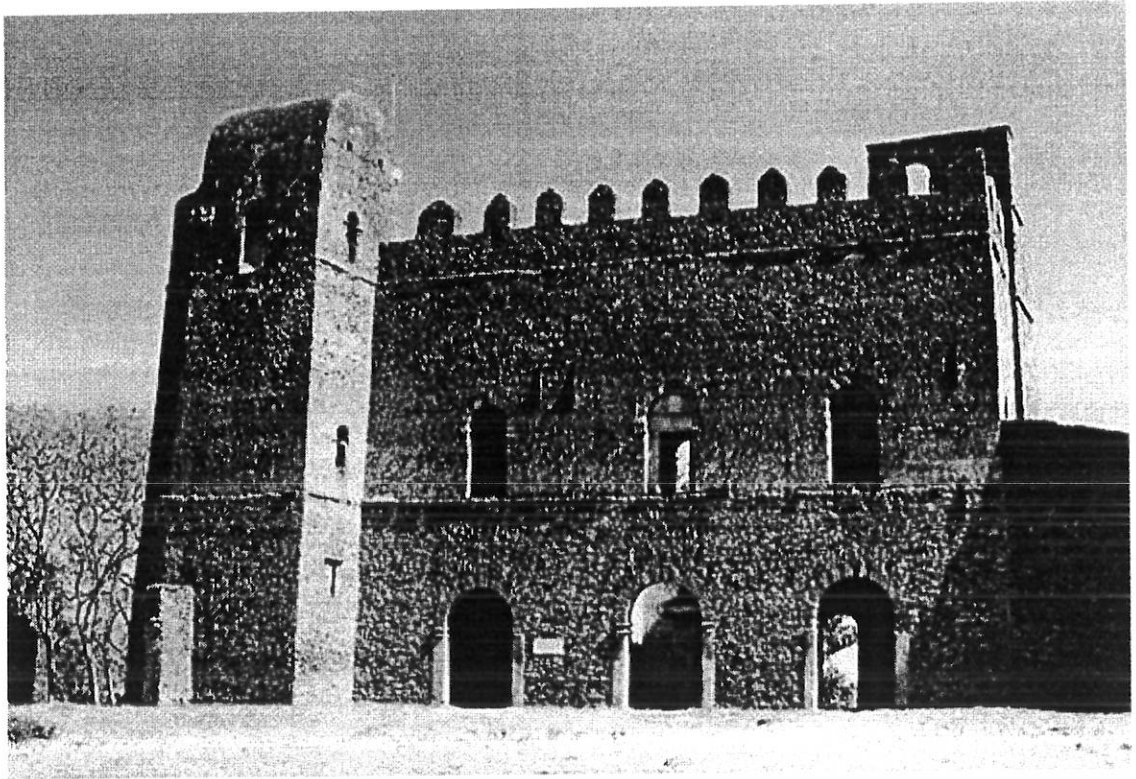


Figure 1-Adyam Sägäd Iyasu's Castle



The castle was one of the greatest works done by the king. According to the evidence the researcher heard from the tourist guide of the castles, Iyasu's castle had been built with gold, ivory and precious stone. Even though some parts of

the castle were destroyed by bombs from airplanes during the 2nd World War, it is still attractive and visited by many tourists from all parts of the world.

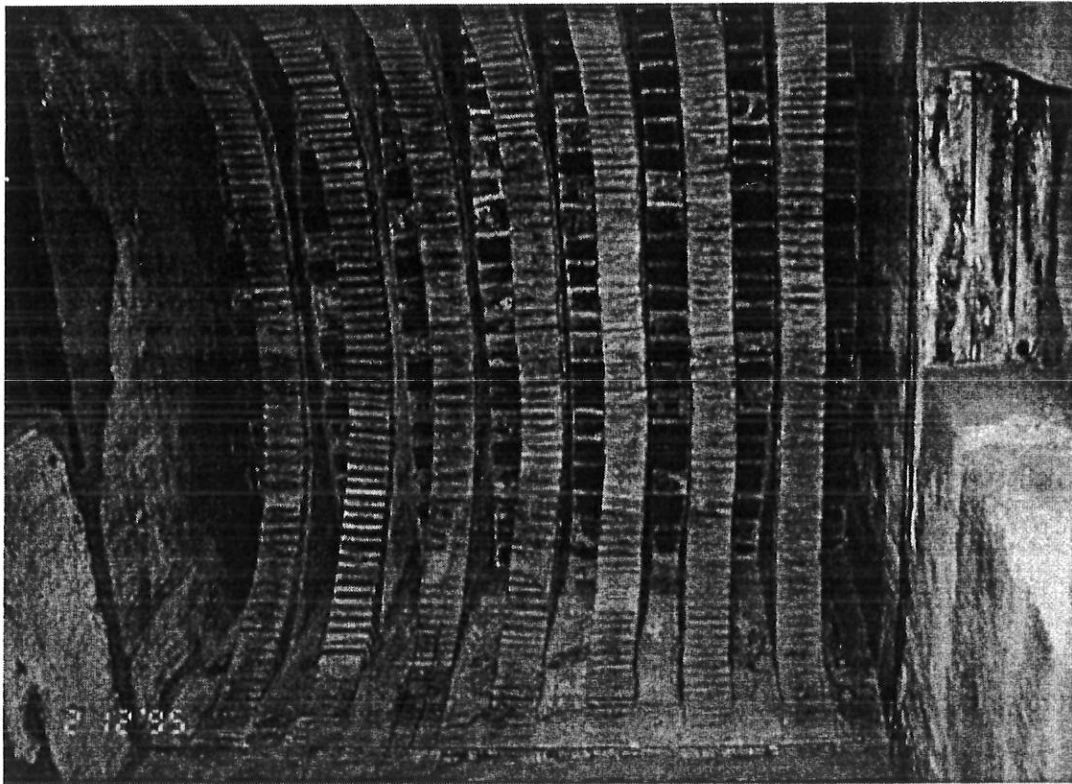


Figure 2-The Ceiling of the Large Room of Castle

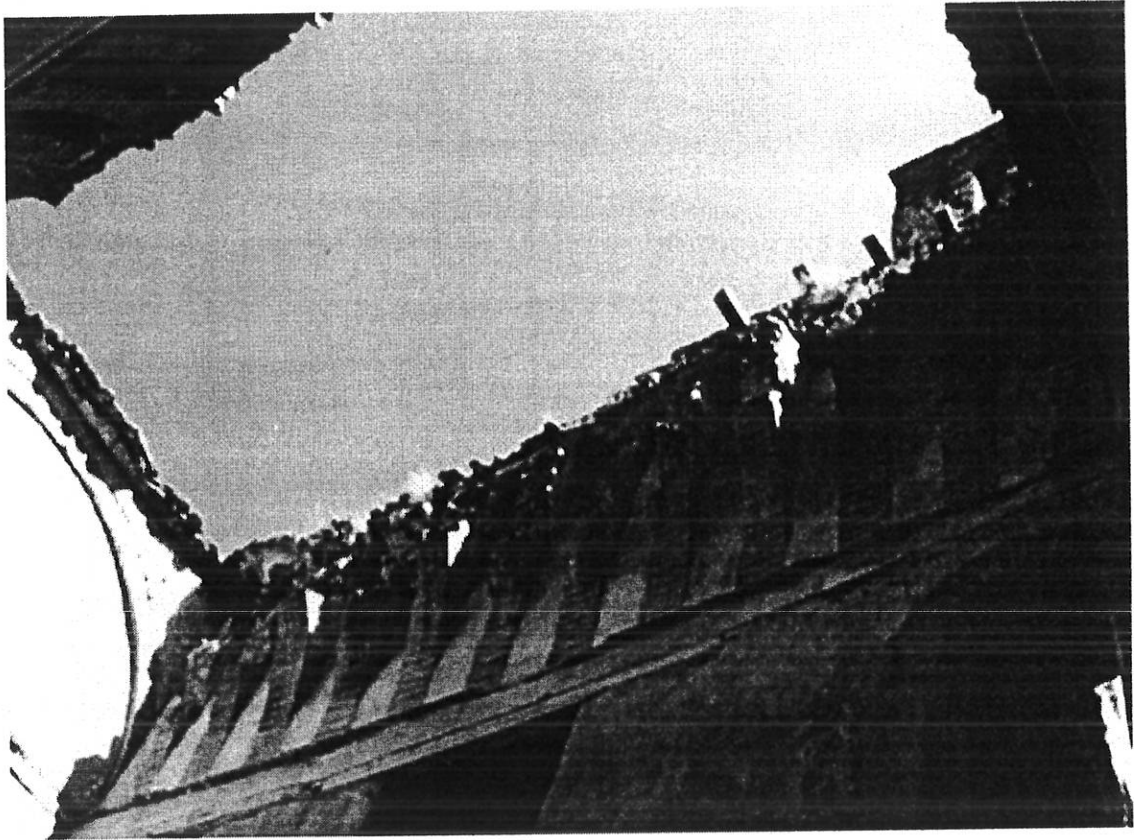


Figure 3-Similar Room where the Ceiling has fallen

Däbrä Bərhan Səllase: Iyasu I also built a beautiful Church called Däbrä Bərhan Səllase (ደብረ ብርሃን ሥላሴ) or the Trinity at the Mount of Light. It is one of the finest churches of Gondär situated on elevated ground to the north-west of the city. It was consecrated in January 1694 during the reign of Iyasu I and it was the great work of the King. The roof of this Church was surmounted by a gold *guləlat* or roof decoration and a large gold cross holding gold spheres the size of ostrich eggs, which shone like the sun by day and the moon by night.³⁴

³⁴ Pankhurst ,(2005) Däbrä Bərhan Səllas: in *Encyclopeadia Aethiopica* Vol.I p.9

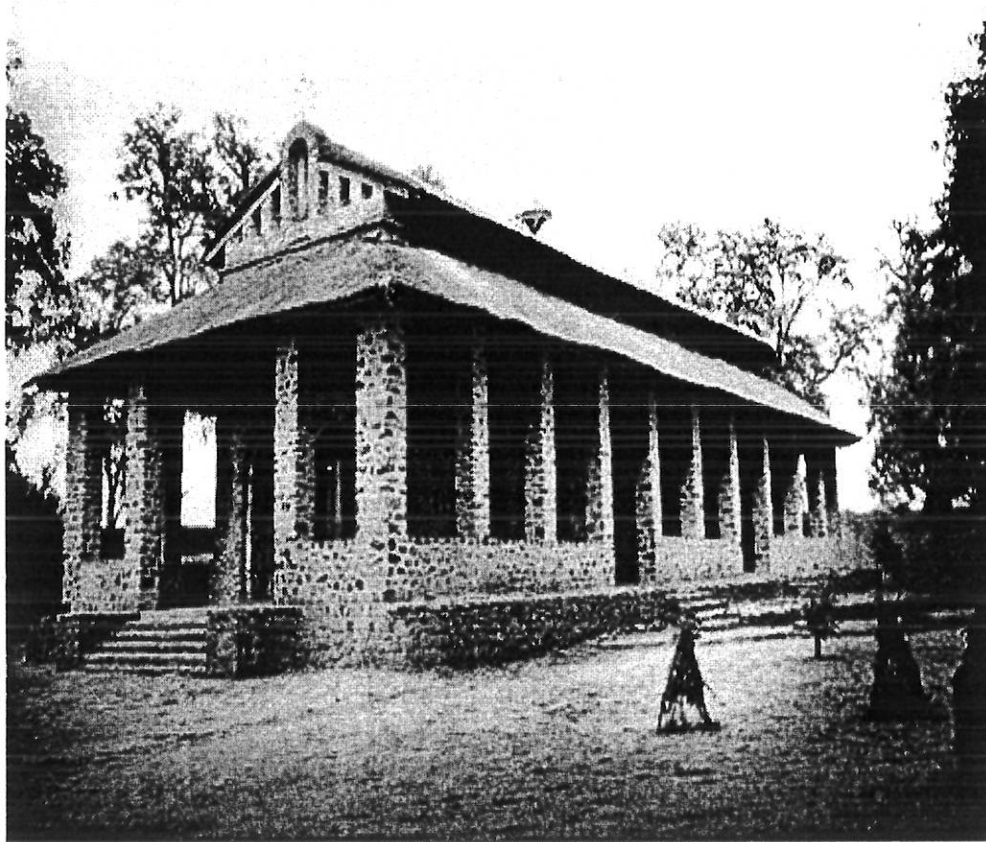


Figure 4-Nəgstä Adbarat Däbrä Brəhan Səllase Church

Däbrä Brəhan Səllase Church in the city of Gondär has a rectangular shape in contrast with most other churches in Ethiopia. It is famous for its ceiling and the murals, and the paintings above the entrance of the Holy of Holies are unique pieces of Ethiopian art.

Its ceiling is decorated with beautiful winged angels and its walls with impressive scenes depicting Biblical events including the lives of Christ, Mary, and the Saints and Martyrs. There is also a painting of Emperor Iyasu I.³⁵



Figure 5- Icon of Holy Trinity

³⁵ Haq, Rukhasana and Lawrance, Berbara (eds.) (1995) *Spectrum Guide to Ethiopia*. Camerapix (edited) Ethiopian Tourism Commission. Hong Kong. P. 94

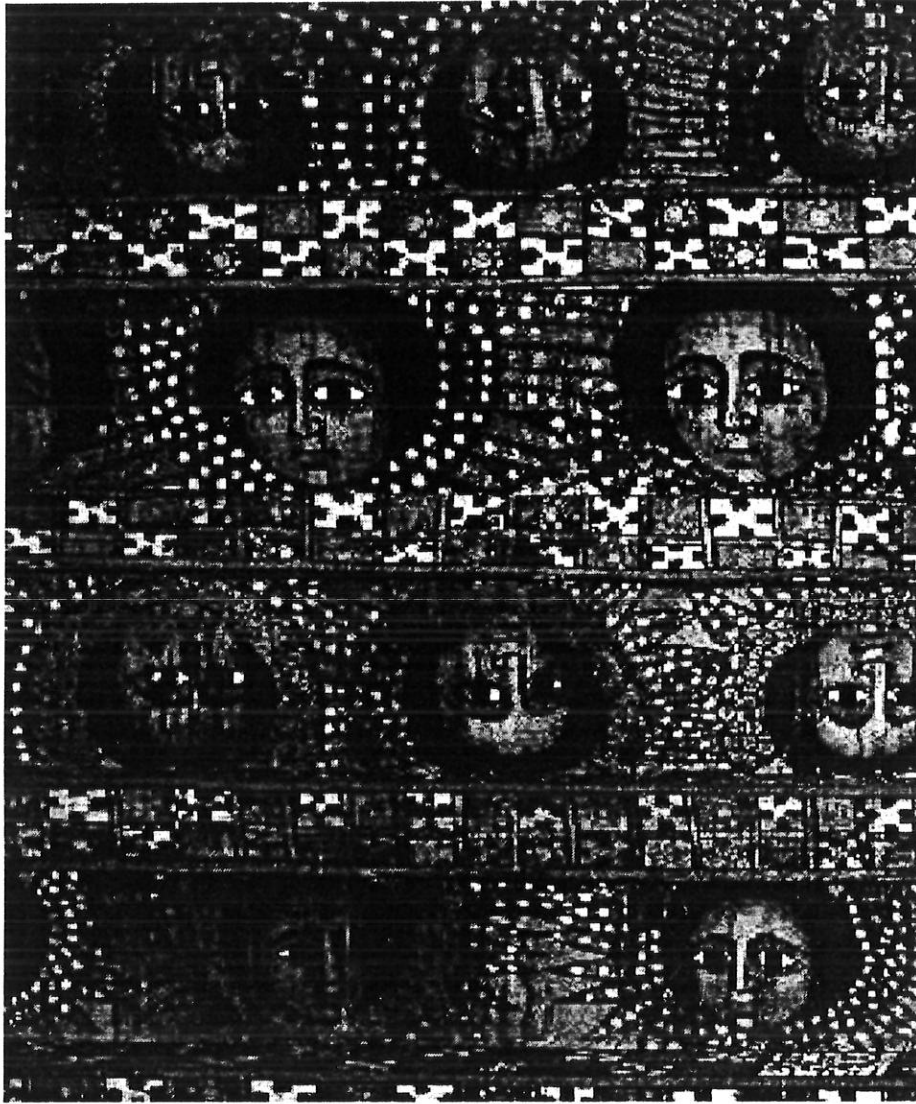


Figure 6-The famous angelic faces on the ceiling of the Däbrä Bərhan Səllase Church

Däbrä Bərhan Səllase (ደብረ ብርሃን ሥላሴ) Church had two large bells, presented by the Dutch Indian company and imported by the Armenian trader Boğa Murad. The Church was important as a place where the Emperor and his courtiers celebrated the feast of the Trinity and where many prominent figures were buried. Its original establishment or *särit* involved over 170 clergy supported by grants of land in Dämbəya.³⁶

³⁶ Pankhurst, (2005) 'Däbrä Bərhan Səllase' in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica*: vol. I, p. 13

On the day the *Tabot*, the Ark of the Covenant, entered into the new building, many scholars composed *Qəne* in Ge'ez and Amharic.³⁷ The Amharic *Qine* described the act of the king as the follows:

ወደፊት ሄዶ ኖሯል ሰሞነኛው ቄስ፤
 ታቦት ተሸከመ ዘውዱን ትቶ ኢየሱስ።
 የተሸሸገውን ያባቱን ቅስና፤
 ገለጠው ኢየሱስ ታቦት አነሣና።
 አየነው ኢየሱስ ደብረ ብርሃን ቆሞ፤
 ከኢሩቤል ጋራ ሦስቱን (ሥላሴን) ተሸክሞ።

Translation

Where was the priest gone to?
 Iyasu put down his crown and carried the *Tabot* [on his head]
 Iyasu revealed the hidden ordination of his father
 By this act of carrying the *Tabot*
 We saw Iyasu standing in Däbrä Bərhan
 Carrying the Trinity along with the Cherubim

Däbrä Bərhan Səllase Church is today renowned for its fine murals which cover the entire interior and include paintings of the Church's original founder, Iyasu I. The ceiling, decorated with cherubs, is today a major tourist attraction.³⁸

³⁷ Täklä Şdaq, Mäkuria, (1973) p. 181

³⁸ Pankhurst, (2005) 'Däbrä Bərhan Səllase" in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica*: vol. I, p. 13

In addition to Däbrä Brəhan Səllase Church, Iyasu I also built the following churches:

Table 3-Churches built by KingIyasu I

No	Name of Churches	Amharic	Location
1	Adäbabay Täklä Haymanot	አደባባይ ተክለሃይማኖት	Gondär
2	Gäränko Maryam	ገረንኮ ማርያም	Wägära
3	Gubiya Iyäsus	ጉቢያ ኢየሱስ	Qolla Dəba
4	Märäwa Aba Kiro	መረዋ አባ ኪሮስ	Qolla Dəba
6	Däqäwa Kidanä Məhərät	ደቀዋ ኪዳነ ምሕረት	Dabat
7	Yəganda Täklä Haymanot	ይገንዳ ተክለሐይማኖት	Zäge Mountain Ararat
8	Kəbran Gäbrə’el monastery ³⁹	ክብራን ገብርኤል	Island of Ṭana

³⁹ Kəbran Gäbrə’el monastery was first built by KingAmdä Şəyon and KingDawit. Iyäsü I rebuilt it in a new style. In this monastery it is said that the icon of St. Mary painted by Luke exists. (Yared Girma, 2007,p.177)

3.3.3. The Compassion and Mercy of the King

In the first year of his reign, Iyasu I visited his brothers, who like those of former rulers where confined in prison at Wahni⁴⁰. This showed his compassion for those in distress.

ወበወርቅ ታኅሣሥ ሐረ ንጉሥ ውስተ ወህኒ ወአውረዶሙ ለከሎሙ
ዌዛዝር ደቂቀ ሐዘ ሱስንዮስ ወሐዘ ፋሲለደስ ለአጋዊሁኒ አቤቶ
ተዎፍሎስ ወአቤቶ ቅላጅ። ወገብረ ሎሙ ምሳሐ በእግረ ደብር
ወአስተፍሥሐሙ በመብልዕ ወስቴ ወወሀቦሙ ክቡራተ አልባሳተ
ወቀመደስ ወውቅያታተ ሠነያተ

Translation

In the month of December E.C, the king went to prison and brought down [from the fortress] all the ladies [who were], the children of Emperor Susenyas, and Fasiledes, and his brothers *Abeto* Tewoflos and *Abeto* Qiladg. He invited them lunch and made them happy by offering sumptuous food and drink. He gave them expensive clothes dresses and good materials.

In 1693, a dispute occurred with the *Naib* Musa or ruler of the port of Mäsawa. He levied taxes on the king's goods, which had been brought from Egypt, Syria and India by a merchant called Murad who had permission from the king to do so.

⁴⁰ **Wehni** is the name of one of the mountains of Ethiopia where most of the male heirs to the Emperors of Ethiopia were interned, usually for life. It was the last one three such mountains -- or *amba* -- said to have been used for this purpose, the other two being Debre Damo and Amba Geshen. From some undetermined time in history, it was the custom that when the Emperor assumed the throne, his brothers and other male relatives would be taken to a royal prison, where they would live until either they were called forth to become the new Emperor -- or died. Mount Wehni was first used as a prison by Fasiledes, when he exiled his son Dawit. The mountain was abandoned as a prison during the Zemene Mesafint. (Samuel, Goba. *Journal of Three years' Residence in Abyssinia*, 1851 (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 243

Iyasu I ordered all the people of Hamasien to stop any supplies needed for life to *Naib* Musa and he decided to attack him. During this time, *Naib* Musa was terrified and trembled and he came to Aksum to ask the mercy of king Iyasu I.

ወተራከቦ ለንጉሥ ውስተ አክሱም ወወድቀ በገጹ ናይብ ሙሳ ወሰገደ
ሎቱ ለንጉሥ ወይቤ መሐረኒ እግዚእየ ንጉሥ ወስረይ ሊተ ከሎ
ዘገበርኩ ዘኢይደሉ ለንጉሥ። ወሰአልዎ ከሎሙ መኳንንቲሁ ለንጉሥ
ከመ ይምሐሮ ለናይብ ሞሳ በኩሉ ነገሩ ዘገብረ። ወተርእዮ በግርማ
መንግሥት ወመሐሮ እስመ መኅሪ ውእቱ ወርኅቀ መዐት ከመ
አምላኩ። (Ms C f 164 r)

Translation

Naib Musa met the king in Axum and he bowed in front of him and said “my king forgive me all things I did which is bad for the King”. All officials asked the king to forgive the *Naib* Musa for all the things he did. He appeared to him in all his royal majesty and had pity on him, just like his God.

Finally the king accepted all the objects which *Naib* Musa had brought for him and reprimanded and reproached him for everything he had done.⁴¹

The other thing which shows the compassion of the king was his support for people in need during famine. In 1701, the twentieth year of his reign, the country suffered from a great famine and the needy came to the King, crying out to him to save them from death through hunger. King Iyasu I gave food to innumerable poor persons for two months. He also ordered rich people to feed all people in hunger.⁴²

⁴¹ Pankhurst, (eds.) (1967) *The Ethiopian Royal Chronicles*. Addis Ababa and London: Oxford University Press, P. 111

⁴² Ibid. P. 113

3.3.4. Development of Literature

The reign of Iyasu I opened a door for the development of oral and written literature. The history of the king shows that he cared for scholars of his time. He encouraged them to write and compose *Qane*. Among known *Qane* composers of the time, Kəfla Yohannəs and *Azzaž Känāfər* took the lead. They composed for Iyasu I during religious feasts and special occasions.⁴³

In addition to this, different religious books were written during this era. The titles of these known books are given in the following table. The books of *Fäwəs Mänfäsawi* and *Fəthā Nəgäst*⁴⁴ were written and copied with the support of Säblä Wängel, the mother of Iyasu I.⁴⁵ Others were written by scholars of the time who were supported by the king.⁴⁶ Generally, this period contributed much for the development of Ethiopic written literature.

Table 4-Titles of Books written during Iyasu I

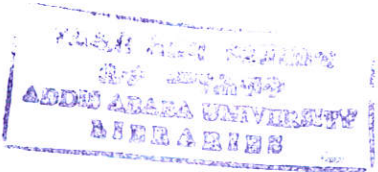
No	Titles of books in Amharic	
1	Səṅksar	ስንክሳር
2	Fäwəs Mänfäsawi	ፈውስ መንፈሳዊ
3	Ṭäbibä Tābiban	ጠቢብ ጠቢባን
4	Māhbrä Mā'əmrān	ማኅበረ ማአምራን
5	Zena Eskəndər	ዜና ኢስክንድር
6	Fəthā Nəgäst	ፍትሐ ነገሥት
7	Mälk'ä Səllus Qədus	መልክአ ሥሉስ ቅዱስ

⁴³ Täklä Şadəq, (1973) p. 200.

⁴⁴ Fəthā Nəgäst, along with Kəbrä Nəgäst was first written during the reign of King'Ämdä Şiyon 1st (1297-1327). During the reign of King Iyasu I, it was re-written with more information. (Belay Giday Amiha (በላይ ግደይ አምኃ) (1997) p.9.

⁴⁵ In January 1689, Säblä Wängel the King's mother died, and was buried in the Island of M.srahā just beside her husband. This queen was famous for her patronage of literature. (Budge, (1928) p. 411)

⁴⁶ Täklä Şadəq (1973) p. 200



3.4 The Journeys of Iyasu I

Iyasu I spent most of his time out of Gondär. He used to travel to different parts of the country for the purpose of war against Damot, Oromo warriors and Shanqəla, to hunt wild animals, to celebrate religious feasts and for other religious and social reasons. His journeys also took him to Churches, monasteries, villages and cities in Goğğam, Šäwa, Wallo, Tigre and most parts of Gondär. From all these, his journey to Aksum was the most historical as it revived the practice of former Kings.

The main reason of the king's Journey to Aksum was for his coronation like the previous emperors of Ethiopia. During his first arrival in Aksum, all the clergy received him with honor, with hymns and psalms. The king mounted his horse and all those of his suite also rode on horseback and arrived with the king at the principal gate, which is the gate of Zion. On entering the sanctuary of Zion, the king kissed it and sat on the throne in accordance with the custom of his royal fathers who, in former times, sat on the seat of the throne. He was dressed, in wonderful robe of brocade of unknown colors; it was the glorious royal dress earlier worn by his father.⁴⁷

ወአመ ፳ ለየካቲት በጽሐ አክሱም ተፅዲኖ ፈረስ ወኩሎሙ
መኳንንት ተፅዕኑ ወቦኡ ውስተ ጽርሕ ምስለ አባ ሲኖዳ ጳጳስ
ወእጩኔ አባ ዮሐንስ መምህረ ደብረ ሊባኖስ። ወምስለ ኩሎሙ
መኳንንት ወሠራዊት ወተቀበልዎ ኩሎሙ ካህናተ አክሱም
ወአዋልዲሃ ለጽዮን በይባቤ ወበማኅሌት (Ms A, ff 41v-42r)

Translation

On the 5th of February (Ethiopian calendar), the King rode to Aksum on horseback and all officials also went on horse back. They went into the sanctuary with bishop Abba Sinoda and *ecäge*

⁴⁷ Pankhurst (1967) p. 109

Yohannēs teacher in Däbrä Libanos, and all the officials. All clergy of Aksum and women of Zion received him in praise and song.

The priests in Aksum brought the book of the history of the kings and read it in his presence until the time for mass. After the king had received the communion on Sunday, he offered a banquet to the clergy, and there was great happiness. Subsequently he confirmed the church of Aksum in all its ancient lands, and proceeded to give justice in the area as well as to distribute presents.

3.5 The Travel of Charles James Poncet to Ethiopia

The closed door policy which was introduced during the reign of king Fasilädäs was violated by Iyasu I when he invited Charles Poncet to the country. Iyasu I suffered from a skin disease of a scrofulous⁴⁸ character, which in some sufferers developed rapidly into a kind of leprosy which ended in death. He invited a French physician, Charles James Poncet, who cured him. The following explanation gives us brief information how this physician came to Ethiopia.

It happened that a certain Turk, a merchant, who was known, as Hajji 'Ali, and had been often employed by the king to transact business for him in Cairo, had suffered from an attack of the same disease, and had been cured by a French doctor called Charles James Poncet, who had a chemist's shop and a large practice in Cairo. Hajji Ali had lived for many years in Abyssinia, and as a merchant of substance was well known both there and in Egypt. One day, the king asked him if he could find a physician in Cairo who would come and cure him of his disease, and 'Ali remembered Poncet who had treated him successfully, and told the king

⁴⁸ A disease with glandular swellings, probably a form of tuberculosis (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*- Tenth Edition)

about him. When 'Ali reached Cairo, he told M.de Maillet, consul of France, about the king's need, and he at once mentioned Poncet as a fit person to go to Abyssinia. Ali suggested to Poncet that he should return with him to Abyssinia, and he agreed to do so. The consul proposed to the Jesuits to send a member of their Society with him, and Father P. Xavier de Brevedent, a French Jesuit, was chosen to accompany Poncet.⁴⁹

Brevedent was a very learned man, and was in every way a counterpart of Paez, a Jesuit who lived in Ethiopia during king Susenus and his humility was so great that he went to Abyssinia as Poncet's servant, and was called by him Joseph. Before Poncet left, the consul told him that it must be his special concern that when he had cured the king he should persuade the letter to send an ambassador to Louis XIV, king of France.⁵⁰

Poncet set out on the 10th of June 1698, with Ali and Joseph, and arrived at Dongola on the 13th of November. On the 3rd of July, they arrived at Bartcha, where King Zä Dāngel was murdered. Father Brevedent died of dysentery before he met the King. A few days later, they reached Gondär, and Ali and Poncet were received by the king. Poncet's treatment of Iyasu and his son was successful, and he became a great favorite of the King. He took every opportunity of impressing upon him the importance of sending an ambassador to Louis XIV and at length the king decided to send a monk called George.

The king was not anxious to let Poncet depart, and he was not able to leave Gondär until the 2nd of May 1700. The gifts sent by Iyasu I to Louis XIV were: a sealed letter from the king, ten young Abyssinians, five men and five women, twenty porcelain coffee cups (*findgin*)\ a number of

⁴⁹ John, Pinkerton (1814) *Journey to Abyssinia: The Travel of Charles James Poncet in to Ethiopia*. Hallyut Society, p 86.

⁵⁰. Budge, (1928) pp. 422-423

richly worked stuffs, a silk belt, an ancient iron cross, a number of horses, and an elephant that died on the way. To Poncet, he gave a gold bracelet and a robe of honor. Poncet started his journey; he passed through Wägära, went on to Limalmon crossed the Takaze River and came to Adwa, From Tigray, he journeyed on to Aksum and examined the monoliths there, and then made his way to Massawah. Poncet lost the King's gifts in the Red Sea during a storm. Poncet and Murad arrived in Cairo on the 20th of June 1701.

Finally Poncet went to Paris, and was so annoyed with his treatment there that he left the city in disgust and returned to Egypt. He tried to get into Abyssinia but failed, and then went to Yemen and died either at Mocca or Maskat.

Poncet wrote an interesting account of his travels which was translated into English and German (*A Voyage to Aethiopia*, London, 1709 ; *Nachrichten aus Aegypten, Nubien, Aethi-opien*, 1728).

3.6 The Death of Iyasu I

The death of Iyasu I in 1706 brought conflict, as not taken place since the death of Fasilädäs. According to Ms-A, Täklä Haymanot⁵¹, the son of Iyasu I was the cause of his father's death by assassination. While Iyasu I was at the island of Lake Ṭana, his son proclaimed himself king in place of his father.

At the great tower of the palace at Gondär, Täklä Haymanot brought out the crown and this message was sent to Iyasu I telling him that his son Täklä Haymanot had been made King, and he was advised to renounce the world, as

⁵¹ He was the supporter of Qibat followers (Täklä Ṣadiq Mäkuria, 1973, p.206)



did Kaleb⁵², for he would never return to his throne. Iyasu I sent back an answer by *azzaž* Gälawdewos in which he asked why Täklä Haymanot had been made king without his permission, and warned the new king and his supporters that he would punish them as they deserved. Täklä Haymanot refused to accept his fathers' message.⁵³

Iyasu I got ready to fight his son, but when he reached Dängäl Bär he was attacked by malarial fever, and he had to be taken back to the island in Lake Ṭana. His general Anorius marched back with his army to Goğgam and waited there for the King's recovery. But Iyasu's sickness increased, and thinking that God had willed his deposition, he had his sons chained with fetters and had sent them to his son that he might imprison them in the fortress on Mount Wähni.⁵⁴

In July 1706, Täklä Haymanot went to Gondär, and his throne name was proclaimed to be Lə'ul Sägäd. He sent two of his kinsmen called Dermen and Pawlos, and a gunner called Albat Täsfa and two Muslim gunners, and others to kill Iyasu I. They made their way to Lake Ṭana and entered the dwelling of Iyasu, and one of the gunners shot him as he sat there, and then Dermen ran his sword through him. Thus Iyasu died on the 13th day of October 1706. Dermen and Pawlos then tried to burn the body, but it was taken from them by the servants of 'Anore and Ya'kob, and the priests buried it with great ceremony on the Island of Məsraha, in the tomb of his father and mother.⁵⁵ When clergy and people in Gondär heard the death of their king, all of them were disturbed.

⁵² Ethiopian tradition states that Kaleb eventually abdicated his throne, gave his crown to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and retired to a monastery. (S. C. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: An African Civilization of Late Antiquity* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1991), p. 84.)

⁵³ Täklä Ṣadiq Mäkuria, (1973) p.206-207

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 207

⁵⁵ Budge, (1928) pp. 420-421.

ወሰሚያመ. ሞቶ ለንጉሥ ኢያሱ ተጋብዖ ከሱመ ካህናት
ዘደሴት ወዘገጸር ወወሰድዎ በታንኳ በክብር ዐብይ ወቀበርዎ
ወስተ መቃብረ አቡሁ ወእመ ዘይእቲ ደሴተ ምጽራሐ (Ms-B
59v-60r)

Translation

All clergies of the island and countryside met together as they
heard the death of king Iyasu and they brought (his body) by boat
in great respect and buried him in the island of Məsraha in the
tomb of his father and his mother

CHAPTER FOUR

PHILOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter is a philological or textual analysis on the Chronicle of Ms A and Ms B. It is difficult to find original manuscripts; instead, I found copies and each copy has its own errors. The copyist could make mistakes in different ways, unknowingly. There are a number of errors which are repeated when the manuscript was copied. The errors in the Chronicle of Ms A and Ms B are discussed below.

4.1 The Influence of Amharic Words

Amharic language started to be spoken in the country during the medieval period. In Gondärian period, some Ge'ez literatures were influenced by Amharic words. We have seen clearly this problem in Ms A. and Ms B. Among these words, the following are good examples.

- a) «ንጉሥኒ ወመጽአ አስከ ደንገል በር ድረስ» (Ms A f59 rb) meaning “The King came up to Dängäl Bär.” The underlined word up to Dängäl Bär (əskä dängäl Bär dräs) is purely an Amharic phrase. The equivalent word in Ge'ez would be ወአስከ ደንገል በር (wəskä dängäl bär)
- b) “በምክንያተ ሰይፍ ዘማማላጃ ” (Ms A f51 ra) meaning “By the reason of Reconciling by sword” The root word māmāljā is Amharic which in Geez is “mālāda” meaning “to ask for”.
- c) «ወይቤ ንወስዶ በዓይነ ቁራኝ» (Ms A f 52 rb) meaning “We brought carefully”. The word B’äyənä Qurāña (carefully) is Amharic.



d) «ወአዛገሮች ዘግራ ወዘቀኝ» (Ms-A f 45ar) meaning “The commanders in the left and in the right”. In this phrase Wä, and Zä, are Ge.ez articles but the words äzäžöčə, grā, qāñə are purely Amharic. The Ge’ez would be zä□gam wzäyāman.

e) አስላሞች፣ ነፍጠኞች (Ms-A f61va) meaning “Muslims, warriors” The pluralizing morpheme “ oč ” in thee words is Amharic.

4.2. Morphological Changes

Morphology studies the internal structure of words. There are some words which have morphological difference between Ms A and Ms B.

a) አግዚአብሔር ኢየሁዳክ ለዝንቱ መንግሥት እምቤትክ (Ms A f42 va)

አግዚአብሔር ኢየሁዳክ ለዝንተ መንግሥት እምቤትክ (Ms B f36 v)

The underlined word ለዝንቱ (läzəntu) in Ms A is read as ለዝንተ (läzntä) in Ms B. the meaning is “Let God not take out this throne from your house.” The first one is the correct reading.

b) አቀሙ ሃይማኖተ በግዝት (Ms A 42 rb)

አቀሙ ሃይማኖተ በግዝት (Ms B 36v) meaning “ They establish faith with promise.” The word በግዝት (bägəztə) in Ms A is በግዝት (bägəzätə) in Ms B. The first one is the correct reading.

c) ወአዋልዲሃ ለጽዮን (Ms 47ra)

ወአዋልዲሃ ለጽዮን (Ms 42v) meaning “The women of Zion.”

The underlined word 'äwālədihā in Ms- A is 'äwāləduhā in Ms-B. The first one is the correct reading.

4.3. Homoteleouton Error (Jumping)

Homoteleouton error is a kind of polygenetic error made by jumping words and continues with other mining, not much with first one.

a) “ወበ ፩ ወ ፬ ዓመተ መንግሥቱ ሐረ ኢያሱ ወንጌላዊ ወንጌላዊ የሐንስ ሐረ ኢያሱ ንጉሥ ውስተ ዳሞት” (Ms-A f50 vb) meaning ‘In the 14th year of his reign King Iyasu went to Damot.’ This sentence has no meaning. The phrase ሐረ ኢያሱ (*horä Iyäsü*) “Iyäsü went” is repeated. We suspect that other words might have been jumped.

b) “ውእቱስ ንጉሥ ኢያሱ ሐረ ንጉሥ ኢያሱ መንገለ ሸዋ . . . » (Ms A f50 ra) meaning “ King Iyasu went to Šäwa.” The word, ንጉሥ ኢያሱ (*nəgus Iyasu*) is written two times, we suspect that some other words were jumped.

4.4 Repetition of Words

Sometimes, the same words were written repeatedly.

a) “ወውእቱ ወውእቱ ፍጻሜ ዘመቻሁ ወሐረ ንጉሥ በፍኖተ ደንገል በር” (Ms A f 57 va) meaning “ at the end of war, the King went on the route of Dängäl bär.” The word *wwətu* is repeated unnecessarily.

b) “አላ ከመ ከመ ይእስሩክ ወያዕርጉ ላዕለ ደብረ ወሕኒ . . .” (Ms A f59 va) meaning “They arrested and put you in prison [Däbrä Wähəni].” The word ከመ (*Kämä*) is repeated which is unusual in Ge’ez grammar.

c) “ወፈነዎ ወፈነዎ መንገለ ትግሬ ” (Ms A f60 va) meaning “He sent him on the way to Tigre” In this sentence, the word ወፈነዎ (*wäfänäwo*) is repeated unnecessarily.

d) “ወአመ ≅ ወወ ፫ ለሐምሌ ሐረ ንጉሥ ውስተ ደሴተ ጨቅላ ” (Ms A f 56 ra) meaning “In the 23rd year of his reign, the king went to island of Čäglä.”

In this sentence, the article ወ (*wä*) is repeated unnecessarily, only one ወ (*wä*) is meaningful.

e) “ንጉሥ ኢየሱ ወይቤቤሉ...” (Ms A f 61av) meaning “KingIyasu said.”

In this sentence, the word ቤ (*be*) is unnecessarily written two times.

f) “ኃዲጎ ፍኖተ ንጉሥ ላዕላየ ላዕላየ ወእንበይነዝ ተንሥኣት” (Ms A f 47 ra) meaning “She left the route of the Kingand stood up.” In this sentence, the word ላዕላየ (*lā’əläyā*) is repeated unnecessarily.

4.5 Omitted Words

In some places of the Chronicle Ms A, there are missed words which make the sentences incomplete. Some of them are shown in the following table.

Table 5: List of omitted words in Ms A

No	Missed words	Folio	Correction
1	ውስ()	42 va	ውስተ
2	መ()ኣራን	42 vb	መምኣራን
3	ሐ ()	44 vb	ሐረ
4	ምፅ ()	47 vb	ምፅዋ
5	ኣ()	49 vb	ኣመ

4.6 Punctuation

a) “ይርኣዮ:መ.” (Ms-A f 45 ra) meaning ‘ That he may see them” “yərə’äyomu” The inclusion of two points the two points i.e the word marker, inserted in this word is not correct.



4.7 Unknown words

Some unknown words were written in Ms A.

a) “ወሂኖ ለሙጫ ማኖ ወበ በጌምድር” (Ms A f60 vb)

In this sentence, the word ለሙጫ (*Lämučā*) is unknown in Ge’ez. We find that the word *mučā* in Oromo language means, “son” or “daughter.” But the article *lä* is from Ge’ez. If this is true, the correct meaning of *mučā* in Ge’ez is “ወልደ” “*wäldä*” “He assigned son of Māmo in Bāgemädär.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusions

This research paper is a study of the chronicles of Iyāsu I in the light of philology and history. Most of the history written in the chronicles took place in Gondär, the capital city of Ethiopia (1636-1769). Gondär was established by king Fasiledes (1632-1667) in 1636. Since then, it became the political, economic & cultural center of the Kingdom for almost two centuries. Because of this, the period between 1636 and 1769 is commonly known as the Gondärine period.

The establishment of a permanent capital city promoted cultural revival in the Christian Kingdom. This was because the Christian kings began to stay long in the city during which they embarked on various construction projects. One of such projects was the construction of a large imperial quarter in the center of Gondär.

Inside the quarter, magnificent castles and palaces for kings' residences, for the Abun and Ečäge, as well as churches were built. A number of churches were also built beside the imperial quarter. These churches became the main centers of education, music, poetry for which Gondär became famous.

Gondär experienced a period of glory and splendor only during the reign of its first three Kings. These were Fasiledes, (1632-67), Yohannəs I (1667-82) and Iyāsu I (1682-1706). Among the kings of the Gondärian period, the most powerful king was the successor of Yohannəs I, Iyāsu I, also nick-name Iyāsu the Great. The nick-named was given to him, because he was the last powerful Christian king before the Kingdom fell into a period of political disorder.



The reign of Iyāsu I was also important in many other respects. During his regime, the traditional civil code, the *Fitha Negest* was rediscovered. Land laws were amended. Taxes and customs dues were also recognized. Known *Qine* composers emerged at this time and other different religious books were also written. And the time was open for the development of oral and written literature.

The closed-door policy which was introduced during the regime of Fasiledes was also violated by Iyasu I. As the king suffered from a skin disease, he invited a French physician, Charles Poncet, who cured him and his son. By following Poncet different Jesuits started to come to the country.

In the face of a mounting opposition, Iyāsu I had no alternative but to flee to an island in Lake Ṭana where he was pursued by assassins who murdered him. Upon his death his son, Täklä Haymanot, took the throne.

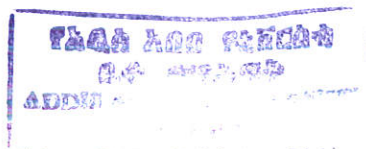
Generally the findings of this research are the following:

- A) There are valuable parts of texts for the history of Ethiopia in the chronicles of Iyāsu I focusing on the development of literature, economical issues, political situation, theological and social contexts.
- B) The result of this study indicates that the era of Iyāsu I was mostly peaceful and stable. The effort of the King for the unification of the country under his Kingdom was almost successful.
- C) The theological reflections concerning Christology, Trinity and Church canons are the main issues stated in the texts of the chronicles. In addition to this, the religious books written during this time focused on Christian faith and church administration.
- D) There are also philological and linguistic errors in some parts of the Chronicles.

5.2 Recommendations

This research paper indicates that the Chronicles of Iyāsu I have many important elements for the study of history, philology, theology, linguistics and other related fields. Therefore the following recommendations will have significant role for the proper utilization of Chronicles in general and the Chronicles of Iyāsu I in particular.

1. It is not easy to find Chronicles especially the archetype or original copies. Sometimes, parts of their texts are damaged and not readable as a result of the lack of good preservation. Some Manuscripts have been taken to Europe in different times and are not found in Ethiopia. Because of these problems, researchers couldn't achieve their goals all in all. To solve this problem and to make available the Chronicles for researchers and for those who want to refer to texts of Chronicles:
 - a) The government and the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church must work together to preserve the existing old Manuscripts before they are damaged by duplicating and microfilming them.
 - b) To make available for many readers in addition to the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, it is better to put copies in public libraries and schools.
 - c) The government and the Institute of Ethiopian Studies of Addis Ababa University are responsible for discussing with European countries where these Manuscripts are available, in order to get copies and original Manuscripts which are not found in the country.
2. The Chronicles of Iyāsu I have important historical accounts of the country in the late medieval period. It discusses the tax system, foreign relations, religious issues and other related histories of the country in



general and the history of Gondär in particular. So, it is better if historians develop and fill some gaps of Ethiopian history by referring from these Chronicles.

3. Ethiopia has a number of Manuscripts in the country and out of the country. Yet, philological works are not done by Ethiopian scholars. Therefore, philological studies should be expected from Ethiopian philologists in the future.
4. The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church can find many important religious messages from the Chronicle, especially on the teachings of *Qibat* and *Tawhido*, theological and doctrinal teachings of the time, and the administration of the Church.

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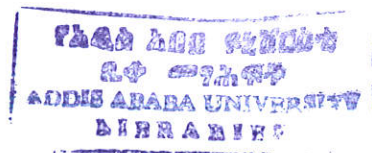
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Appendix -1

List of Informants

No	Name	Place of interview	Age	Remark
1	Mähatämä Säyöfu	Gondär	69	He is administrator of Däbrä Brəhan Səllase church in Gondär and his title is <i>Liqä Bərhanat</i>
2	Hilamariyam Fantahun	Bahir Dar	74	He is a monk and serves in Fälagä Gänät St. Giorgis Church in Bahir Dar
3	Qalamawarqe Ashagre	Gondär	41	He is a priest and senior secretary of North Gondär Diocese
4	Hiruye Baye	Gondär	29	He is a deacon and preacher in North Gondär Diocese
5	Aschalew Kasse	Gondär	32	He is a deacon and head of Orthodox HIV/AIDS controlling and prevention office, North Gondär branch
6	Aschalew Mekonnen	Bahir Dar	28	He is a theologian and lives in Bahir Dar



Appendix- 2 Map

Map of Ethiopia



Appendix - 3

View Gondär Town



During the seventeenth century, the city's population is estimated to have exceeded 60,000 and was the second largest city in the world. . . In 1678, the visiting Armenian bishop Hovannes remarked that the city was "twice as big as Istanbul"... (Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns*, p. 128)