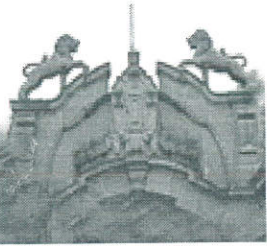


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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**A HISTORICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND PHILOLOGICAL
PERSPECTIVE ON GÄDLÄ ÉLÖYĀS AND A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS**

By

DEREJE SAHILE WOLDEMARIAM



November 2008

Addis Ababa

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PERSPECTIVE ON GÄDLÄ ÉLƏYĀS AND A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS**

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies Addis Ababa
University**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master
of Arts in Philology**

By

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Institute of Language Studies Approved by the Examining Board

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Examiner



Dedication

1. To the Memory of my Father, *Märigétā Sahile*

Woldemariam (1920 - February 1989).

2. To the Memory of my Mother, *Wäyzäro Bezu-Alem Berhanu*

(1921 - March 2008).

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with exploring the historical, theological, and philological text analysis with focus on how is Gädl Ébyās as the hagiographical and historical tradition are considered as an important source for the study of the history of the Ethiopic literature and for the history of the doctrine and institutions of the Ethiopian Church.

In this thesis I attempt to organized and discuss in seven chapters. First, I shall discuss on the problem and justification of the research.

Secondly, I shall ask why on the pioneers of Ethiopian philology with its development; and the catalogued manuscripts of the Gädl in other sources, and the description of the two manuscript texts of Gädlä Ébyās.

Thirdly, on the literature review schism between Early Christianity: it shows some ecumenism concern for Orthodoxy, the Orthodox Church involvement and participation in Ecumenical councils: i.e. schism and Ecumenism which occurred between the churches, the emergence of monasticism in the Church and its movement, focusing on two historic and theological 'dividing issues'.

Fourthly and fifthly, I shall translate the full text of Gädl Ébyās, with comparing from the particular selected manuscript text. I shall also discuss on making text analysis from philological and linguistic perspective. On the external part of survey of the text which depends on the problem and the forms of the letters, the margins, the size, volumes and, in the two centuries of these manuscripts copy period. And also the internal part of the study also concerned and investigate the comparison with changes of syntax and orthography.

The Sixth and the final Chapter gives the summery and conclusion. I shall end by saying what, in my conclusion, recommendations which included related reference with bibliography and appendices.

ABBREVIATIONS

i) Manuscript Collections:

<i>EHNKM</i>	<i>ፀንጥጥዎ ጠላላ ገላገላ ገላገላ ገላገላ ገላገላ</i>
<i>EMML</i>	<i>Ethiopian Manuscript and Microfilm Library</i>
<i>GE</i>	<i>Gädlä Éገyās</i>
<i>HMML</i>	<i>Hill Monastic Microfilm Library</i>
<i>MAM</i>	<i>Mänāgāšā Ambā Mārāyām Monastery</i>
<i>Ms (s)</i>	<i>Manuscript (s)</i>
<i>QSC</i>	<i>Qəḍəst Šəllāsé Cathedral</i>

ii) Encyclopedia and Journals:

<i>AE</i>	<i>Annales d'Éthiopie</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Aethiopica</i>
<i>EB</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Britannica</i>
<i>GSAI</i>	<i>Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana</i>
<i>JES</i>	<i>Journal of Ethiopia Studies</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>MRAL</i>	<i>Memories della Reale Accademia dei Lincei</i>
<i>OM</i>	<i>Oriente Moderno</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
<i>RRAL</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei;</i>
<i>RS</i>	<i>Revue Semitique</i>
<i>RSE</i>	<i>Rassegna di Studi Etiopici</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>

iii) Letters for Columns, Grammar and Others:

accu.	Accusative	p, pp	Page (s)
adj.	Adjective	[]	illegible places and the parenthesis.
adv.	Adverb		
()	letter that calligraphist (copyist) forgot to write.	perf.	Perfect
caus.	Causative	perl. pro.	Personal Pronoun
coll. n.	Collective Noun	plu.	Plural
conj.	Conjunction	per.	Person
fig.	Figure	prep.	Preposition
<i>f</i>	<i>folio</i>	pr.	Project
<i>ff</i>	<i>folios</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>Recto</i> (right side)
imperf.	Imperfect	<i>r^a, r^b</i>	two columns in <i>recto</i>
misp.	Misspelled	<i>sin.</i>	<i>Singular</i>
nomin.	Nominative	<i>subjun.</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
n.	Noun	<i>v</i>	<i>Verso</i> (left side)
#, no.	Number	<i>v^a, v^b</i>	two columns in <i>verso</i>
		<i>vol.</i>	Volume

Table 1: Letters for Columns, Folios, Grammar and Symbols

Transliteration

The transliteration was done using the following letters to express the combination of consonants and seven different vowels, according to the usage of the Ethiopic alphabet.

i) Syllabary

አ፡ዐ	'a, 'a	ነ	nä
በ	bä	ሠ፡ሰ	śä, sä
ገ	gä	ሸ	šä
ደ	dä	ጮ	č'a
ጀ	gä	ኘ	ñä
ሀ፡ሐ፡ኀ	ha, ha, xa	ቀ	qä
ወ	wä	ረ	rä
ዘ	zä	ተ	tä
ዠ	žä	ቸ	čä
ጠ	ṭä	ጸ፡ፀ	ṣä
የ	yä	ኢ	p'ä
ከ	kä	ፈ	fä
ለ	lä	ፐ	pä
መ	mä		

Table 2: Symbols with their Consonants

ii) Vowel Symbol

1 st order	ä	5 th order	é
2 nd order	u	6 th order	ə
3 rd order	ī	7 th order	o
4 th order	ā		

Table 3: The Seven orders of Vowels

CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study and Statement of the Problem

Ethiopic Literature is rich in *Lives* of numerous local *Saints*, who were particularly active in evangelizing the country and in founding monasteries, which are still flourishing now¹. As various writers have noted, the manuscripts include hagiographies, religious books, and chronicles of the Emperors of Ethiopia in different centuries.

However, we can not allow any part of this heritage to be affected or lost by any inimical agents that may be man-made, physical, chemical or biological. Ethiopia is a country that posses a great number of ancient and beautifully illuminated manuscripts and literature. In the history of art architecture, literature and music, the country has its own valuable pace.

Because of this fact, the monasteries and churches of the country are the storehouse of manuscripts, archival documents and source of knowledge; the libraries of ancient churches and monasteries located in the different regions of Ethiopia. They contain a large collection of important old manuscripts known by scholars throughout the world. Most of them do not have replicas (copies); and most of the literary heritage collections are meant for permanent retention because of their religious: canonical, doctrinal, apocalyptic and aesthetic value. Many scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of Ethiopia have emphasized the importance of the preservation of these contents of early literature and manuscripts.

In the early times, our ancestors had made efforts to preserve and save the documents. As it mentioned on [ገድለ፡ኤልያስ፡፡] *Gädlä Élayās*, the king, *Zä-Dəngəl* (r. 1603-1604) himself asked the elders about those priceless manuscript documents.: “*Where are the Books of our Fathers [the Kings], which were kept in a secret place during the era persecution of Grāññ?*”² f. 24v^b.

The need to preserve them is thus very obvious; because they are vital sources of information for the coming generation. The researcher, as it observed in his area to fulfilling the thesis, when tried to find out the *Gə‘əz* Manuscript Text of *Gädlä Élayās* from some monasteries; it was

¹ Journal of Ethiopian Studies (JES), 1975:57.

² *Qədəst Šallāsé Cathedral Ms (QSC, f. 24v^b)*.

difficult to get this primary documents. During my travels to monasteries for research in some monastic centers; I saw a substantial number of unpublished Ethiopic texts. However, there is no doubt that further searches in the monastic 'əqā-bét'-libraries throughout the country will reveal numerous works, still unknown.

The ገድለ፡ኤልያስ፡፡ *Gädlä Élayās* is considered as an important source for the study of the history of the Ethiopic literature and for the history of the doctrine and institutions of the Ethiopian Church. This unpublished source of *Gädlä Élayās*, which written in *Gə'əz* have a priceless values analyzing in historical, theological, paleographical, philological, and linguistic field of studies.

1.2 Objective of the study

Gädlä Élayās has two types of objectives: i.e. general and specific objectives.

1.2.1 General Objectives

- To give a birds eye view to Ethiopic hagiographic and literary tradition, manuscripts collection on the account of Ethiopian Philology, and to give value for Ethiopic Vita of *Gädlä Élayās*.

1.2.2 Specific objectives

- To observe and analyze different manuscripts in the field area.
- To clarify the theological teaching of Orthodox Christianity on the discipline of Christology.
- To explore and give survey on the historical, theological, and philological textual analysis of the *Gädlä Élayās* as the cultural heritage of the church, ecclesiastical antiquity of the church from disasters;
- To narrate the Combats and Miracles of *Élayās* as church father that performed.
- To suggest on the text analysis, surveying the differences from the two manuscripts.
- To translate and analyze *Gädlä Élayās* present status as a literary document of Ethiopia in general and the cultural heritage of the Church hagiographic tradition, manuscripts and literature;

- To explore and suggest about the text analysis and criticism for philological value to translate, edit and to point out and eliminate the *archetype* to the copied one common error.
- Finally, to explore, identify and suggest on the way of linguistic and stylistic problem.

1.3 Significance of the study

This research will have the paramount role for hagiographical tradition of the Medieval history and religious value for the Church and State. It contributes on how are the historical, social, theological facts and problems that are solved at the time.

Specifically the significance is the following: -

- Secular institutions benefit from this relic of Philological works for the context of hagiographical tradition of the country.
- Religious institutions will benefit in developing their theological teachings relatively.
- Historical benefits for the medieval history of the Church & State that comparing with chronology of the time.
- The result of the research will developing this new field, which of unknown manuscript texts, *archaic* literature and language of the country.

1.4 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study has scope and some limitations. The subjects were taken from limited two or three monasteries manuscript. In its context that it could not fully represents all parts of Ethiopic hagiographic manuscript collection centers, which found in different areas and level.

The absence of co-observers and the limited time meant for the observation sessions were also pitfall in one area. Constraints of finance, time and capacity have attributed to these limitations.

1.5 Methodology

In the methodology part the researcher uses the following methodology consulting various primary sources. It will conduct through the investigation of the written manuscript texts and documents; mainly on Ethiopian manuscripts which written in *Gə'əz* language, and/or their microfilms. As well as secondary sources such as collection of library sources: books, periodical articles, Journals and other published and unpublished materials, internet archives and field works are related or relevant importance to the research methods.

The study uses questionnaire and interview with church scholars and field professionals are the most important methodology of the study. This method will be presenting at the monasteries the saint who lived and devoted his monastic life. Beside this there is no doubt that a more careful attempt to look for them in the monastic libraries through the country will reveal many such works still unknown and not examined clearly.

1.6 Definition of Terms

Ethiopic writing system: It is a writing system created and developed in Ethiopia. The system is the foundation of a vast Ethiopic, literary, theological, historical and aesthetic tradition. The Ethiopic writing system has at last five functions: Philosophy, astronomy, numerology, grammar and aesthetics or *sə'ənology*³.

Hagiography: -The name given to the branch of learning that has the Saints and the veneration of them for its object. Greek word 'Ἁγιογρᾶφια'-saint-writings' relating to the venerate of the Saints may be divided into two categories (CE, vol. vi, 894):-(1) those that are the spontaneous product of circumstances or have been called into being by religious needs of one kind or another, and these belong to what may be called practical hagiography⁴; (2) writings devoted to the scientific study of this material, and these constitute critical hagiography⁵.

Ethiopic hagiographic tradition includes:- 'Gädl'- *Vitas* or *Acts*, 'Tä'ämmər'- *Miracles*, 'Dərsān'-*Homilies*. Mediaeval Ethiopian literature is particularly rich in hagiographies; on the lives of well-known Saints [*Gädlat*—ገደላት].

³ A term coined from the *Gə'əz* word [ሥጊ—sə'ən], Ayele (1997).

⁴ Delehaye, Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique, Brussels, (1934: 894; ch. 3).

⁵ (See # 2.2.1 Hagiology, Bollandists and Ethiopicists).

Historiography:- The term historiography refers to the theory and history of historical writing. Historiography is writing of history; especially based on the critical examination of sources, the selection of particulars from the authentic materials in those sources.

Manuscript Collections and Literary Heritage:- These materials are not only valuable for their artistic beauty and ecclesiastical works; but also from historical events, hagiographic, philosophical, theological, ethical, social and cultural information of their time. The Church of Ethiopia have mastered and possessed for centuries the preparation of manuscripts with beautifully illuminated drawings. The most unique features of it is the system and style of producing instruments for writing such as the parchment of commonly known as '*branna*', inks and bamboo or feather pens. We can say that manuscripts are valuable historical records, liturgical and prayer book and source of information of our ancestors. These documents are written on Gə'əz language. (see # 2.1 Manuscript Documents and Collections in Ethiopia).

Philology:- is the study of the science of words. The word derived from a Greek word '*φιλόλογος- philologos*' a rigorous and correct analysis of past texts and the word signified in antiquity-a commentary on ancient texts. The science or study of the development of language or of a particular language and concerned with, among other things, the preservation of ancient texts. (see also # 2.2 From Mythology to Ethiopian Philology).

CHAPTER II

2. Cultural Heritage, Pioneers of Philological Studies and Descriptions

On this topic I will discuss on the literary heritage and Manuscript documentations in Ethiopia, the cause of the pioneers Philological Studies in Europe, catalogue of *Gädlä Éläyās* and the authorship in comparative.

2.1 Manuscript Documents and Collections in Ethiopia

Literary tradition is part of our cultural heritage. Man has used a variety of writing materials for keeping different media. These include stone, parchment and vellum, textile, paper, etc... These documents generally considered forming the central of skeleton of the literary heritage of humankind.

Manuscripts and Literature have been the basic constituents of religious documentary, cultural heritage and literary culture in Ethiopia. The country has ancient literary tradition and possessed its own alphabet and scripts. This literary tradition had been developed with the introduction of Christianity into the country about 4th century. Most of manuscripts are religious by nature-such as: vitas, prayer books, liturgical works, scholarly essays etc... and some are secular and covered by such subjects, i.e. history law, medicine, philosophy and astronomy. In the last few years or so both Ethiopian and foreign scholars have started to analyze *Ancient* and *Medieval Hagiographical* traditions, but much material remains to be studied⁶. It should be bourn in mind that although many of the texts mostly from the large collection of Ethiopian Manuscripts in Europe have been edited and translated the resource of the monastic libraries in Ethiopia are virtually untouched.

2.2 From Mythology to Ethiopian Philology⁷

The Church had long encouraged, in theory, the study of languages that might prove useful in converting unbelievers. But as late as the fifteenth century, it had amassed little expertise. The converted Jew *Flavius Mithridates* impressed the pope and cardinals on Good Friday 1481 simply by his ability to pronounce long passages in Hebrew and Aramaic. In the course of the

⁶ Journal of Ethiopian Studies (JES), Vol. XIII, no. 2, "Bibliography of the Ethiopic Hagiographical Tradition", Kənāfä-Rəgb Zälläqä, Addis Ababa, July 1975.

⁷ The new field, Ethiopian Philology in postgraduate level begun on 2004/05 in Addis Ababa University, Department of Linguistics and Philology, (Linguistic Department Journal, 2005).

sixteenth century, Rome became a center for the study of Near Eastern and other little-known languages. Christians (and a few non-Christian prisoners) from the Slavic world, Armenia, Mesopotamia, North Africa, and Ethiopia came to Rome, often on ecclesiastical business. They found eager students who wanted to learn their languages, inventive printers who could cut type following their scripts, and papal support--especially for the publication of the Bible in Syriac, Ethiopic⁸, Arabic, and other languages. Meanwhile the library amassed extraordinary holdings from many languages and from many cultures. The Church Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-45) brought delegates to Italy from many churches and cultures. The books they brought with them proved instrumental to the growth of the Vatican Library and of near-eastern studies in Europe.

How this Ethiopic Psalter came into the Vatican Library in the late fifteenth century is still a matter of uncertainty. According to one hypothesis it was brought by the Ethiopian delegates at the Council of Ferrara-Florence⁹, probably from the Ethiopian convent in Jerusalem, but according to another it was donated by *Giovanni Battista Brocchi* from *Imola*, who accompanied a Franciscan mission to Ethiopia in 1482. The first folio of the codex shows the First Psalm between two strap work bands. The manuscript is widely held to have inaugurated Ethiopic studies in Europe¹⁰ and to have been borrowed by *Johannes Potken* in 1511. It would thus have provided the text on which he based his "*Psalterium*," published two years later.

This Psalter, probably based on the preceding manuscript [*Vat. etiop. 20*], was the first book ever to be printed in Ethiopic, the first book to be printed in Rome in any oriental language other than Hebrew, and the first Psalter to be printed in any language other than *Hebrew*, *Greek*, or *Latin*. Having learned Ethiopic from Thomas *Wäldä* Samuel, an Ethiopian pilgrim from Jerusalem staying at *Santo Stefano Maggiore* in Rome, *Johannes Potken* had Ethiopic types cut

⁸ Ethiopic (Gə'əz) is an ancient literate language of Ethiopia assumed to cease to be spoken sometimes between the 10th and 12th centuries or before; but it still serves in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. It was used in former governments as the only medium of written documents, such as official correspondence, in addition to its use as a vehicle of historical accounts, religious themes etc..., until the middle of the 19th century; i.e. until the reign of Emperor Téwodros II (Leslau 1958a; Weninger 1993; JES 2001, Vol. xxxiv, No. 2, p. 72).

⁹ Zar'a Ya'əqob sent two monks from the monastery at Jerusalem to the Council of Florence (1431-45), under Pope Eugene IV, and they convinced the assembly that their religious dogmas coincided with those of the Latins with the exception of those which concerned the 'double' (two) natures of Christ. The Ethiopian contended that 'His Divine nature' that became incarnate (Jn: 1:1), while the Latins held that He possessed two natures, the Divine and the Human (W. Budge. 1966:311).

¹⁰ Renato Lefevre, "*Su un codice etiopico della 'Vaticana'*," *La Bibliofilia* 42(1940):97-107. *Vat. etiop. 20 fol. 1 recto orient05 AH.06*.

at his own expense by the printer *Marcellus Silber* from *Regensburg*. On his departure from *Rome* two years after the publication of the Psalter, *Potken* took the fonts with him to *Germany*.

Potken's edition includes canticles from the *Song of Solomon* and ends with an Ethiopic *syllabarium* and a brief comment on it. In the forward *Potken* describes how he learned Ethiopic, which he insistently but erroneously calls Chaldean. He goes on to tell of his decision to publish the Psalter and to inform the reader about the land of *Prester John*. The page on display shows the First Psalm and the beginning of the Second Psalm under a woodcut lacework headpiece¹¹.

2.2.1 Hagiology, Bollandists and Ethiopicists

Hagiology, Hagiography or *Vita* is a branch of historical study dealing with the lives and the veneration of the saints and this specialized study was inspired by the special nature of documents concerned acts of martyrs; biography of saintly monks¹² etc.

In Ethiopia, in general we can find two kinds of Hagiographies. The first type is a translation (mainly from Christian Arabic) into Ethiopic literature. The second kind of hagiographical traditions of the Ethiopian church are the local hagiographies, which have an immense valuable account to know the historical and religious facts of the country¹³.

It has different types of texts: 'Gädl'- *Vitas* or *Acts*, 'Tä'ämmär'- *Miracles*, 'Dərsān'- *Homilies*. Hagiographies in the case of Ethiopian studies have great importance for the medieval Ethiopia as S. Kaplan stated: "*Their value as a contribution for the reconstruction of the political and the ecclesiastical history of Ethiopia is inversely proportional to the distance, in time of the saint whom they intend to celebrate*"¹⁴.

On the hagiographic studies contribution, geography should be the tremendous achievements of the *Bollandists* for Ethiopian studies. But we can avoid speaking at length on them not only because the work of Delehay¹⁵, Peeters, and others are too well known to need to be repeated here, but also because Bollandist studies and methodology do not seem to have left any noticeable mark in Ethiopian hagiographic studies. As P. Marrassini (1982: 1) stated: "*This point to a certain*

¹¹ R.G. *Bibbia IV 936 fol. 2 recto orient06 AH.07.*

¹² Catholic Encyclopaedia (CE) Vol. VI, p. 894.

¹³ Tadesse Tamrat: 1970: 3.

¹⁴ Steven Kaplan, 1982: 11.

¹⁵ P. Marrassini 1982: 1-3. On the development of the legend, one needs only to remember the Delehay himself in many passages of "*Les legendes hegiographiques*", Bruxelles 1927 pp.10,16,47, 50-51, 56, 209.

distance between Ethiopian studies and current methodologies already towards the end of the 19th century and in the first decade of the 20th ”.

Nevertheless, at least the most important methodological principle of the Bollandist School passed, more or less consciously, into the field of Ethiopian studies, namely the attention paid to the historical facts (to be understood, to be sure, in the simplest sense of “*histoire evenementielle*”, facts to be singled out from that mass of useless and disturbing rubbish the legend¹⁶. Uncritically Ethiopian data in a Byzantine mould, but what is needed in at least a complex series of question to be asked to the texts, far beyond the simple tribes, chiefs, toponyms, and movements of populations which *Conti Rossini* was first interested on it¹⁷.

All that we can get from hagiography in this way, however, does not concern hagiography in itself, as specific literary genre different from the other. As he suggested, (1982:3): in fact, we could get from every kind of text, hagiographic or not, because it concerns the reality which lies outside the text, and which the author describes more or less carefully according to his interest in it. To be sure, this “description” will always be affected by a strong ideological bias.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries scholars from European countries were proceeding with the editing and translation of all the important Ethiopian chronicles, hagiographies, different historical and religious texts. Some scholars among them are James Bruce, Hiob Ludolf, Ignazio Guidi, August Dillmann, Conti Rossini, Rene Basset, D’Abbadie, Emerico Cerrulli, Jules Perruchon, W.E. Conzelman¹⁸ etc... are unforgettable Ethiopicists on the scholarly explored and analyzed the Ethiopic manuscripts and literary tradition.

2.3 GÄDLÄ ÉLƏYĀS MANUSCRIPT AND OTHER RELATED TEXTS

On this part a researcher trying to discuss about the ‘*Gädl*’ catalogues and related texts which mentioned the name *Éləyās*. It is understandable that the value of different acts of saints as source – material varies greatly from one to another and each one should be considered on its won merits which depend on the date of the composition, the relation of the saint to the monastic center, which he founded and preached on it.

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ibid; RSO 17, 1037-38, pp. 409-410; Atti dei Rale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 96, 1936-37, p.412.

¹⁸ Passium.

2.3.1 GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT TEXT

On this part I shall discuss on the *Gädlä Élayās* where it is found and related texts catalogue, general and specific descriptions, measurement and related things.

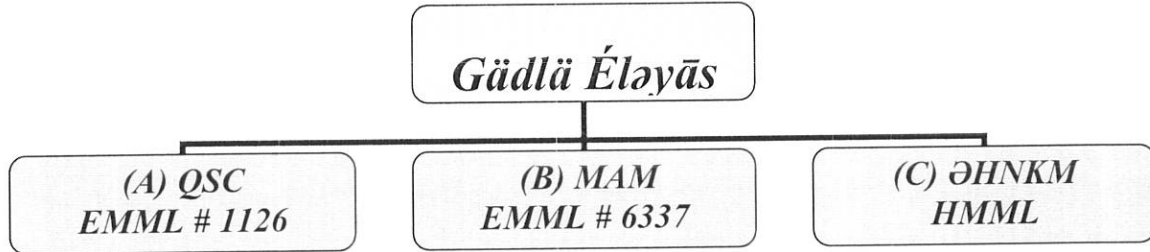


Chart 1: The Place & Number which found *Gädlä Élayās* Manuscripts

2.3.1.1 Catalogue of the *Gädlä Élayās* Manuscript

The two manuscripts: i.e. Ms (A) QSC & Ms (C) ƏHNKM are the same by column and measurement. However, I chose (A) QSC Ms to comaparing the difference with (B) MAM.

- A) *Qədäst Šallāsé* Cathedral (QSC) EMML Project # 1126: pp. or Ms (C) *Ənqoŋto Hamärä No'ax Kidānā Məhrät* Monastery (ƏHNKM)(HMML);
- B) *Mänāgäšā Ambā Mārəyām* Monastery (MAM), EMML, Project # 6337.

Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed Ethiopian Monasteries, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, by UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit, Addis Ababa & Gojjam province: AA 20 Feb. 1970. Series 5, 6, # 15 (Mss, The Holy Trinity Cathedral, Addis Ababa), # 36. (a) “*The History of Mār Jacob and Grāññ Moħammad*”, Manuscript in Ge‘ez. Ms. On parchment, bound with leather on wood. 16.5 x 14 cms. 230 pages.

Encyclopedia Aethiopica. 2005. ‘Élayās’. Harrassowitz Verlag: Weisbaden. Vol. II. p. 267.

Kənāfä-Rəgb Zälläqä. July 1975. “*Bibliography of the Ethiopic Hagiographical Tradition*”. (In *Journal of Ethiopian Studies (JES)*. Vol. XIII, no. 2, (42), Addis Ababa.

Sərgəw Hablä-Šallāsé (ed.). *Bulletin of Ethiopian Mss*, Vol. IV, # 2, Trimester Publication of EMML, April 1977, p. 3: *Gädlä Élayās* (the Ethiopian). IES, Addis Ababa University. EMML, # 1975. Ms # 1302: As catalogued, “The ms is written on paper in 2 columns in Ge‘ez language in

the 20th C. The writings are medium and fair. Its size is 21 x 19 cm. and has 64 + 1v and 1 blank folio with hard paper boards.

Sərgəw Hablä-Səllāsé. 1981/82 E.C.(1988/90). *Amharic Church Dictionary* [*'Amārāññā Yä-bétä-Kərastīān mäzgäbä qälät*]. Addis Ababa/ Heidelberg. Unpublished draft, No. 4, p. 160. No.7, pp. 50-52. EMMML 36; IES 661.

2.3.1.2 The Manuscript Texts in Two Monastic Centers

A) <i>Qadast Šallāsé Cathedral</i> (<i>QSC</i>)	B) <i>Münāgäša Ambā Mārəyām</i> Monastery (<i>MAM</i>)
1) Title: <i>Gädlä Ēlayās</i> : (ff. 24va – 61rb) 2) Language: <i>Gə'əz & Amharic</i> 3) Material: <u>Parchement</u> 4) Binding: <u>Wooden boards</u> 5) Date of Writing: <u>19th Century</u> 6) Measurements: <u>16.5 x 13.5 cms.</u> 7) Property: <u><i>Qadast Šallāsé Cathedral</i>, Addis Ababa Diocese.</u> 8) Ordered By: <u><i>Wäyzäro Agäyā</i>.</u> 9) Handwriting: <u>Bold & neat</u> 10) Stamps: <u>f. _____</u> 11) Number of Folios: <u>ff. 116 + (3blank)</u> 12) Columns: <u>2.</u> 13) Lines of Pages: <u>16 – 18.</u>	1) Title: <i>Gädlä Ēlayās</i> : (ff. 1r – 43r) 2) Language: <i>Gə'əz & Amharic</i> 3) Material: <u>Parchement</u> 4) Binding: <u>Wooden boards with cloth</u> 5) Date of Writing: <u>20th Century</u> 6) Measurements: <u>15.5 x 9.5 cms.</u> 7) Property: <u><i>Münāgäša Ambā Mārəyām</i> Monastery, West Šawā Diocese</u> 8) Ordered By ¹⁹ : <u><i>Wäyzäro Agäyā</i> ?</u> 9) Handwriting: <u>Bold & fair</u> 10) Stamps: <u>f. 119v.</u> 11) Number of Folios: <u>ff. 119r + (3 blank)</u> 12) Columns: <u>1.</u> 13) Lines of Pages: <u>16 – 20.</u>
14) Other texts included:- i) <i>Mār' Yä'əqob</i> : (ff. 2ra – 23ra). ii) <i>Mäšhafä Tārik za-[Oromo]</i> : (ff. 61rb-116vb)	14) Other texts included:- i) <i>Tārik zä-[Oromo]</i> : (ff. 44v – 94r) ii) <i>Rā'əyā Mārəyām</i> : (ff. 95v – 119v).

Table 4: The two Ms Texts in two Monastic Centers

¹⁹ This manuscript may be copied by the order of *Wäldä Mädxən Mäsäsā* in 20th century as it stated on *MAM* (EMML # 6337), f. 119v: "... lä-gäbr-kī Wäldä Mädxən Mäsäsā wä-lä-šəhaf-ihu Gäbrä Kīdän...". (see also # 2.3.3 The Owners and the Scribes of the Manuscript).

2.3.1.3 Columns and Measurements of *Gädlä Élayās* Manuscript

As I explored the material which I used and searched from the monastic centers, both two manuscripts are different in size, measurement and columns. The manuscript of *QSC* (*ƏHNKM*) and EMMML pr. #1126 have 2 columns (v^{a-b} & r^{a-b}), but the MAM ms.or EMMML,pr. # 6337 have only 1 column-i.e. v & r .

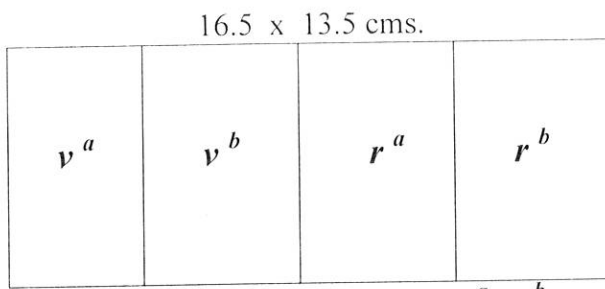


Fig. 1: (A) *QSC* (*ƏHNKM*), ff. $v^a - r^b$

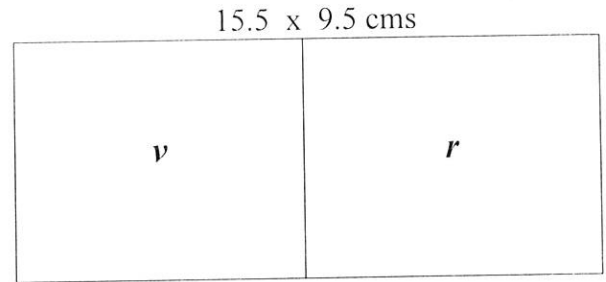


Fig. 2: (B) *MAM*, ff. $v - r$

2.3.1.4 *Gädlä Élayās* and Other Texts in the Manuscript

A) *Qadast Šallāsé Cathedral (QSC)*

Parchment, 16.5 × 13.5 cm, ff. 116 + 3 blank, 2 columns, 16 - 18 lines, 19th Century.

The property of this manuscript is The Holy Trinity Cathedral [*Qadast Šallāsé Cathedral*], Central Quarter Diocese [*Mā'əkälāwi Hagärä Səbkät*], the title of the manuscript registered and given by store keepers in the Cathedral as: "*Mār' Yā'əqob* and the History of *Gərāññ*" [*Mār Yā'əqob ənnā yä-Gərāññ Tārik*]. In this manuscript there are three different texts includes in different titles.

The titles are the following: -

- i) The Faith of James of *Baradeus* [*Haymānotu la-Yā'əqob zä- Əlbärādī*]
- ii) *Vita* of *Abbā Élayās* [*Gädlä Abbā Élayās*]
- iii) The Book of History of [*Oromo*] [*Māşhafä Tārik za-[Oromo]*]

I) Ff. 2r^a – 23r^b : The Faith of James Baradeus [*Haymānotu la-Yā 'əqob zä- Əlbärädī*]

“*bä-Sämä Ab wä-Wäld wä-Mänfäs Qədus....näqädəm bä-rädə 'etä Ēgzi 'abhér wä-sənä sərho-tu bəšəhifä häymānot-u lä-qəddus mārī Yā 'əqob zä- Əlbärädī P 'āp 'ās-omu lä-Yā 'əqob-āwəyān...*”.
(see:- Conti Rossini, (*Manuscripti*), p.634; EMMML Pr. Nos. 80:2, 144:3).

II) Ff. 24v^a – 61r^b : Vita of Abbā Ēlayās [*Gädlä Abbā Ēlayās*].

Ēlayās is a son of Əllēnī, sister of Emperor Zār 'a Yā 'əqob (r.1434 – 1968).

“*bä-Sämä 'Ab wä-Wäld wä-Mänfäs Qədus....näqädəm bä-rädə 'etä Ēgzi 'abher wä-bä-sənä habtu šəhifä Zenahu lä-Abbā Elayās.... Zä-šärəšä əm-bétä Kəhnät wä-Mängəšt...*”.

As the manuscript ff. 24va-vb confirmed that it found and copied from the hidden Ənətoṭto.

“.....räkäbku zäntä zəna gädlu wä-təwləddä nägäru lä-Abbā Ēlayās šəwwər wəstä hagärä Enətoṭto.....”.

III) Ff. 61rb⁻ 116vb: The Book of History of [*Oromo*] and the Vision of King Ləbnä Dəngəl.

[*Mäšəhafä Tārik za-[Oromo] wä-Rā 'əyā Nəguś Ləbnä Dəngəl*, and the Invasion of *Grāññ*; in Amharic with some Ge'ez. (See: Strelcyn, l'Accademia..., No. 25, p.89).

“*bä-Sämä Ab wä-Wäld wä-Mänfäs Qədus.....näšəhaf mäšəhafä Tārik za-[Oromo] wä-Rā 'əyā Nəguś Ləbnä Dəngəl zä-rə 'əyā bä-əntä hagäru kāmä tət-k'ännän bä-ədä tänbälāt wä- 'ärämī*”.

B) Mänägüša Ambā Mārəyām Monastery (MAM)

Parchment, 15.5 x 9.5 cms. ff. 119r + (3 blank), 1 columns, 16 - 20 lines, 20th Century.

The titles of the texts are the following:

- i) *Gädlä Abbā Ēlayās [Zēnā Abbā Ēlayās]: ff. 1r– 43r.*
- ii) *History of [Oromo] [Tārik zä-[Oromo]: ff. 44v – 94r.*
- iii) *Rā 'əyā Mārəyām, Rā 'əyā Nəguś Ləbnä Dəngəl and yä-Grāññ Tārik [The Vision Mary and King Ləbnä Dəngəl and the History of Grāññ]: ff. 95v - 119v.*

2.3.2 PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF GÄDLÄ ÉLƏYĀS MANUSCRIPT TEXT

From these two manuscript texts of the two monastic centers (QSC & MAM), I will describe and give a brief analyzing, which I chose the “*Gädlä (Zéna) Éləyās*” texts as follows:

- a) *ff. 24v^a – 27r^a*: The beginning of *Gädlä Éləyās*, hermitage place and the Advising of Monks to King Zä-Dəngəl about the Scribes (Historians) of his time.
- b) *ff. 27r^a – 28r^b*: His origin, family and education of *Eləyās*.
- c) *ff. 27r^a – 28r^b*: The Council of Däbrä Bərḥān and the participants.
 - i) *f. 29v^{a-b}*: Theological controversies with Stephanites and Nestorians.
 - ii) *f. 30v^{a-b}*: The Church Fathers decision to become *Eləyās* as the head of the Church.
 - iii) *ff. 30v^b – 31vb*: His hermit life in the monastery.
 - iv) *ff. 31r^a – 33v^a*: Emperor Zära Ya’əqob consultation and dialogue with *Eləyās*
 - v) *ff. 33v^b – r^b*: The teaching of Abbā *Eləyās*.
- d) *ff. 34v^a – 42v^b*: Miracles and renewed Churches.
 - i) *ff. 34v^a – r^a*: The Angels’ miracle.
 - ii) *ff. 34r^b – 35v^a*: The Church of Atronsä Marəyam and King Bā’ədä Marəyam.
 - iii) *ff. 35v^b – r^b*: The Transfiguration and Miracles of *Eləyās*, and the Church of Märtulä Marəyam.
 - iv) *ff. 36v^a – 37r^b*: The serpent in the Temple, the prayer of Abba *Eləyās* and the Miracle of St. Marəyam.
 - v) *ff. 38v^a – r^a*: The third Miracle of St. Mārəyam.
 - vi) *ff. 38r^b – 39r^a*: The return of *Eləyās* to Märtulä Mārəyam, and got Monk Särşä Pétros.
 - vii) *ff. 39r^a – 40r^b*: Abbā *Eləyās* and Särşä Pétros went to healing and raising the dead Princess, the Granddaughter of King Bā’ədä Marəyam.
 - viii) *ff. 41v^a – v^b*: The raising of the dead Princess.
 - ix) *ff. 41r^a – 42v^a*: The Miracles of St. Ragu’él on the River Abbay.
- e) *ff. 42v^a – v^b*: The Return of *Eləyās* to his Monastery.
- f) *ff. 42v^b – 43 r^b*: The Excommunication of ‘*Heresies*’ and their persecutions.

- a. *ff.* 42r^b – 43v^a: The persecuted monks migration to Aškkəllā Monastery in Šāwā.
- b. *ff.* 43vb – rb: The Settlement of persecuted monks in Šāwā.
- g) *ff.* 44va – 52ra: Abbā Éləyās met with Gäbärä Mäsih, Governor of Wändäl, Goğgām; to return back their the *Gult* of the persecuted monks. Till end of his life he lived in Aškkəllā [Ənɔtɔtɔ] or Mänāgäšā? Ambā Mārəyām and died.
- h) *ff.* 53rb – 61rb : The death of Abbā Éləyās mentioned by days and stars, Astrology & Star symbols concerning who became king of Ethiopia, the name of the kings abbreviated on it.

2.3.3 The Owners and the Scribes of the Manuscript

In these two manuscripts text that found the scribe and the owner mentioned on:-

- (a) The History of Abbā Éləyās, and
- (b) The Book of History of [*Oromo*]- *Mäšhafä Tarīk zä-[Oromo]*; to which the title [*Mäšhafä Tarīk zä-Nägäst*- the Book of the History of Kings] are given which composed by the command of Emperor Zä-Dəngəl (r. 1603-1604) by Liq Zä-Mäləkot, (EMML Pr. No. 6337, or MAM f. 81) has [Léwi Zä-Mäləkot], Grandson of Märqorəwos who was [*Liqä Šəhafä*] “Chief Scribe” and [*Šəhafé Tə ‘əzəz*] Imperial Secretary of Emperor Zär’a Ya’qob (MAM f. 113v).
- (c) MAM *ff.* 113v -115r: History of the manuscript and its owner Wäyzäro Agäyā ኢጊዮ: [?] (MAM or EMML Pr. No. 6337, *f.* 82r has ኢጊዮ: Agäyā).

See also EMML pr. No. 80: 2), she is a grand-daughter of Emperor Zä-Dəngəl who claims to have found the manuscript in Zəway, when she fled to the Island of Zəway.

“ ... 'a-mşə 'ā-ttā əm-bāhrä Zəway gīzē sädäd-əww-ā 'arəm-āwəyān.... ”, *f.* 114v.

“ ...wä-zəntu *Mäšhafä Tarīk zä- Wäyzäro ኢጊዮ: Agäyā wälätä wälätu lä-Zä-Dəngəl...* ”.

On the manuscript text of MAM (EMML, Pr. # 6337), *f.* 43r as it mentioned about the name of the Owner: “...şəlot-u wä-bärəkät-u lä-Abbā Éləyās yä-hallu məslä gəbru Wäldä Mädxən Mäšäšā wä-məslä wä-məslä kulən-ä sämā- 'əyān lä- 'älämä ālām Amén”.

Again on this manuscript the name of the Owner and the Scribe are stated: “...O Mārəyām əqäbə-nī wä- 'adx ən-ənī ə '-mäkärä šəgä wä-näbs lä-gəbr-kī Wäldä Mädxən Mäšäšā wä-lä-şəhaf-ihu Gäbrä Kīdān” [MAM (EMML # 6337), *f.* 119v].

IES, 5:10; Ms # 36: A paper photo copy manuscript; it may correspond with EHNKM or QSC. On this Manuscript it said that: “Last folio of ‘*Zénā Abbā Élayās*’ + first page of *Tārik zä-[Oromo] wa-Ra’eya Negus Lebna Dengil*”. This part of the manuscript is similar to *Caquot’s Annales d’Ethiopie- Vol. II “Tārik zä-[Oromo]”* and “*Dərsānā Rāgu’él*”. *Zénā (Gädlä) Abbā Élayās* [Paginations are arbitrary, starting from printed pages, and do not correspond to the manuscripts].

2.3.4 Élayās’s Name in Other Ms Sources and Varia Texts

Notice sur Les Manuscrits Éthiopiens De la Collection *D’Abbadie par C. Conti Rossini*. 1912-1914. Paris Imprimerie Nationale, MDCCCXIV. p. 184, # 174, Deuxieme partie: III, f. 74^a: the name *Élayās* mentioned.

QSC, f. 112vb: “...wä-*Abbā Élayās yə-mäwət...*” - and *Abbā Élayās* will die...

EMML Vol. II, Pr. # 553, p. 293: in *varia* part: f. 1r: Illegible note in Amharic containing the name *Élayās*.

EMML vol. iv, p. ix as stated: The History of *Abbā Élayās*, son of Princess *Əlləni*, EMML, Pr. # 1126 (2) has new materials on the era of Emperor *Zār’a Yā’əqob* and his immediate successors. He was a descendent of *Märqoréwos*, and must have played the important role of presiding over the councils (of *Däbrä Bərḥān*) summoned by his uncle, *Zār’a Yā’əqob*, to condemn the views held by sects such as ‘*Däqīqä Bétu*’.

IES, Ms # 373; EMML Vol. IV, Pr. # 1463, p. 556: In ‘*varia*’ part the name of *Abbā Élayās* mentioned :-

a) f. 7rb: A note in Amharic on *Abbā Élayās* who came from *Šāwā* and was [təkl] “established” here at the time of Emperor *Zār’a Yā’əqob*.

b) f. 8va: A note in Amharic on the fact that the [*Gəbzənnā* - vicar] (of this church) has always been of [the spiritual] Children of *Élayās*.

c) f. vb: A list of the names (11 of them) who colonized the highland [*yä-dägāññā ’aqāññ*]: i.e. “*Pioneers of Settlers*”.

EMML Vol. VIII, Pr. # 3469, p. 283, ff. 20v -26r: Miracles of *Cyriacus*: (a) *Élāyās*, who saved the Church of *Cyriacus* at *Ṭānā* [*Ṭānā Qirqos*] from an attack by *Fārāšmālē*, one of the Generals of *Grāññ*, f.22v. (Edited by Grébaut, 1935. “Un nouveau recueil des miracles de l'enfant *Cyriaque*, *Aethiopica*, Vol. III, pp. 87-88). “...wä-hallo 1 mänākos bā-Dāsētā Ṣānā zä-yətlä'ak lä-tābotä Qāduṣ *Qirqos* zä-səmu *Élāyās*.”

EMML 4001-5000, Vol. X, Pr. # 4816, p. 324, ff. 3v -63r: Acts of Child *Cyriacus* [*Qirqos Həṣān*] and his Mother *Julitta*. (3) ff. 59v -63v: Miracles of *Cyriacus*: (a) *Élāyās*, who saved the Church of *Cyriacus* at *Ṭānā*, [*Ṭānā Qirqos*] from an attack by *Fārāšmālē*, one of the Generals of *Grāññ*, EMML 3463, f.2v, f.62r.

Hammerschmidt, E.1973. *Athiopische Handschriften Vom Ṭānā See* 23. Weisbaden, p. 136, II, Ein Ausspruch des *Abbā Élāyās* Bl. 7va; T und ũ: Arr P I 2 (Nr. 4)= II 1 (Nr. 4): *Monches Élāyās vom Ṭānā Qirqos*: 67¹¹⁸.

CHAPTER III

3. Historical Background and Review of Related Literature

This section is devoted to what different writers have said regarding the Early Christianity, theological thought, and monasticism in general; and it will discuss on related topics of *Vita* or 'Gädlä' *Élāyās* in particular.

The researcher discuss as preferred from different primary sources: i.e. manuscripts, unpublished documents, and some microfilm manuscripts. Also I used as the secondary sources that I read many books and other written materials which are available in libraries and journals.

Thus, the organization of this chapter is based upon the following major topics: Historical background of Early Christianity and the cause of schisms, origin of monasticism, the monastic life in Ethiopia, the *Historical Ethiopia* at the beginning of 13th and 16th centuries, its influence on the case of *the Vita of Abbā Élāyās* and his monastic, theological, historical, social thought and related contributions.

3.1. Early Christianity Schisms, Monasticism and the Patristic Age

Christianity arose some 2000 years ago among the *Jewish* communities in *Palestine* at a time when *Palestine* was occupied by the *Roman* Empire. The presence of the *Roman* Empire on Jewish soil represented yet another occupation of the Jewish homeland by a powerful foreign empire²⁰. The sufferings of the Jews at the hands of foreign oppressors were assuaged by the belief that a Messiah, or Savior, would arise and restore the *Jewish* nation to the glories it had enjoyed under King *David*.

The persecution of the Roman Christians represented the beginning of periods of persecution against the church during which times many Christians would bear witness to their faith through martyrdom. This persecution came to an end with the conversion to Christianity of Constantine²¹,

²⁰ Atiya, Aziz. 1968. *A History of Early Christianity*. pp. 23-30.

²¹ Born in 280, Constantine became one of the four emperors of the empire after the retirement of *Diocletian*. This scheme soon fell apart until there were only three generals vying for control: Constantine in Gaul, the least populated portion of the empire, while rule in Rome was under the control of *Maxentius*, and the east under the control of *Licinius*. In 312, Constantine threw caution to the wind and marched on *Maxentius's* forces, even though he was vastly outnumbered. The most important battle occurred at *Milvian* Bridge; he both won the battle and killed his rival, making him emperor of Rome and Gaul and soon emperor of the east as well. Constantine claimed that his victory was the result of his conversion to Christianity; he, according to one biography, had been instructed to carry the banner of Christianity into battle. Since he won the battle, he decided to become Christian. Even so, he was not baptized until he was dying many decades later (Ibid).

the ruler of the western half of the empire, and the subsequent official recognition of Christianity as a legal religion²².

The early Christians had tolerated the emperors and regarded them as 'a kind of necessary evil'. Constantine, as a Christian Emperor, though demanded their obedience both temporally and in terms of faith. To this end, he merged the office of emperor with the Christian faith and assumed authority over doctrinal matters. Added to this equation was the divinity or partial divinity normally bestowed on the emperor. As long as the emperor was a pagan, there was no question of the relationship between the church and the state. The church did its thing and the state did its sinful thing. The presence of Christian imperial authority, however, led to severe conflicts and disruption. The question of the relationship between the church and a Christian government has yet to be resolved in the West.

Constantine had other problems as well. In *Constantine's* view, the Christian church was a powerful tool for unifying the Empire socially and politically. If the church could become unified, that would provide a bulwark against the centrifugal forces pulling the empire apart. The problem, though, was there was no established or unifying doctrine. In fact, there were as many forms of Christianity as there were communities of Christians.

3.1.1. Gnosticism and the Rising of Heretical Teachings

The earliest of these, Gnosticism²³, is represented by a broken line to indicate, firstly, the uncertainty of the date of its origins and, secondly, that not all Gnostics identified themselves as Christians²⁴. The *Marcionite* movement, which emerged in the middle of the second century, has sometimes been described as Gnostic²⁵. However, its relative similarity to mainstream Christianity and its prominence in the early church justify it being located separately and treated as a movement in its own right.

²² Ibid.

²³ Greek: γνώσις *gnōsis*, knowledge, refers to a diverse, syncretistic religious movement consisting of various belief systems generally united in the teaching that humans are divine souls trapped in a material world created by an imperfect god, the demiurge, who is frequently identified with the *Abrahamic* God (González, Justo L.1970. *A History of Christian Thought, Vol. I*. Abingdon. pp. 132-3.)

²⁴ Grant, Robert M. (ed.). 1961. *Gnosticism: ..., pp.2,3,10,20.*

²⁵ Blackman, E.C. 1948. *Marcion and His Influence*, p. 5; Harnack, Adolf von. 1921. *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott: ..., p.45.*

Montanism and *Donatism* represent attempts to create a pure church untarnished by compromise with the world. *Montanism* arose in Asia Minor around the year A.D. 170 and was inspired by the belief that *Montanus* and his followers were prophetic mouthpieces of the Holy Spirit. *Donatism* was a schismatic church that emerged in North Africa in the 4th century, defined by its refusal to accept the ordination of bishops who had abandoned their faith during the persecution of the Church under Diocletian (r. 284-305 A.D.)²⁶.

Monarchianism and *Arianism* were theological movements which sought to explain the meaning of the doctrine of the Trinity. *Monarchianism*, which was at its height during the 3rd century, put forward a variety of interpretations that were designed to affirm the unity of the Godhead. *Arianism*²⁷ also sought to preserve the unity of the Godhead through the claim that the Son was a creature rather than co-equal with the Father.

3.1.2. Ecumenical Councils of Churches and Condemnations

The church was severely divided over fundamental questions; in particular, the speculations of the eastern churches on the nature of divinity were considered grossly heretical by the Latin churches. What would finally call Constantine into action to unify the church was the schism between the *Arians* and the *Athanasians*.

Arius, like many of his eastern counterparts, was primarily interested in defining the nature of the *Trinity*—*God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost*—and insisted in his theology that there was an absolute division between God and Christ. God the Father, he argued, was hierarchically differentiable from God the Son. The opposite position, called *Athanasianism*, after the bishop Athanasius who advocated it, was that God the Father and God the Son was one and the same

²⁶ Frend W.H.C. 1952. *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa*. pp.7-10.

²⁷ The major schism between the churches in the Greek-speaking East and the Churches in the West was founded on the Eastern insistence in engaging in philosophical speculation on questions of doctrine; the western churches, by contrast, largely focused on administrative rather than doctrinal problems. If the church was going to be unified, however, these two separate approaches had to be unified. The flash point came with the dispute over *Arianism*, which the western churches regarded as outright heresy (Ibid).

thing. Both the western church and the bishop of Constantinople came down on the side of *Athanasianism*²⁸—the Alexandrian church subsequently dug in its heels on the matter.

The establishment of these creedal formulas did not, however, bring peace to the church. During the 5th century the church was shaken by disputes concerning how the relationship between the divine and human aspects of Christ was to be understood. At the centre of the dispute was Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who, according to his opponents, held that there were two persons in Christ²⁹. At the Council of Ephesus of 431 Nestorius was condemned and deposed.

As it stated on *Gädlä Éläyās* about the ‘Nestorians’, who rise during *Abbā Éläyās* time:

“The [Medieval Centuries] Church Fathers defended and became victorious by the strong word: “ጥተ፡በሥጋ፡ወሐዮ፡በመንፈስ፡፡ *Motä bäsəga, wəhayo bā-mānfās; He [Christ] died by His Body and raised by His Divinity*”.: The Church Fathers became victorious under the Nestorians heretical teachings and the schism leaders called Gämäləyal Zä-Giorgis and Ənbäräññ with their taught: *Christ has two Bodies and two Natures*. The second heretical teaching of Aṭṭəqqa Mika’él’s taught: *God has one Side (face)*³⁰; the third groups also taught: *Christ has one Body and two Natures*. The taught of the heresies teaching that said: ‘*Christ is two by Body and two by Nature*’, and also ‘*One Body and two Natures*’ taught³¹.

On these cause, the Oriental Orthodoxy³² refers to the churches of Eastern Christian tradition that keep the faith of the first three Ecumenical Councils of the undivided Church: the First Council

²⁸ Constantine's reign coincided with the period of the Arian controversy. To resolve it Constantine set up a council of bishops at Nicaea in 325 A.D. The Council of Nicaea affirmed the full divinity of the Son and condemned *Arianism*. This was followed in 381 by the Council of Constantinople which affirmed the full divinity of the Holy Spirit, (Williams, Rowan. 1987. *Arius: Heresy and Tradition*. London: Darton).

²⁹ Vine, Aubrey R. 1937. *The Nestorian Churches: A Concise History of Nestorian Christianity in Asia from the Persian Schism to the Modern Assyrian*, pp. 6-12.

³⁰ See Qeddase Maryam, p. 427.

³¹ *Gädlä Éläyās*, QSC, f. 29va-ra; EMMML, # 1126. On the Anaphora of St. Mary stated: ናሁ፡ንሰምዖሙ፡ ለአይሁድ፡እኩያን፡ ወለእስግኤላውያን፡ ጊጉያን፤ እንዘ፡ይብሉ፡ ሹ፡ገጽ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ወሹ፡አካል፡፡ አኮ፡ሹ፡ ከሙ፡አዳም፤ ሹ፡ገጽ፡እግዚአብሔር፡፡ “We heard the cursed Jews and the heresies *Isma’eleen* [Muslims or Mohammedans]; and they said, God is one Face and one Body (Person); not like Adam, one face to God” [ወዳሴ፡ማርምና፡ ቅዳሴ፡ማርያም፤ ገጽ፡፻፵፱-፻፵፭]. See also *Gädlä Abbā Eläyās*, ff. 60-61

³² Oriental Orthodoxy developed in reaction to Chalcedon on the eastern limit of the Byzantine Empire and in Egypt and Syria. In those locations, there are now also Eastern Orthodox Patriarchs, but the rivalry between the two has largely vanished in the centuries since schism (Kelly, J.ND. 1977. *Early Christian Doctrines*.pp.8-10).

of Nicaea (325 AD.), the First Council of Constantinople (381 AD.) and the Council of Ephesus (431 AD.), and rejected the dogmatic definitions of the Council of Chalcedon (451 AD.). Hence, these churches are also called *Old Oriental Churches*.

3.1.3. Origin of Monasticism and Patristic Age

The ancient models of the modern Christian monastic ideal are the *Nazirites*³³, the Essene, the Therapeutae and the prophets of Israel. Others point to historical evidence that individuals were living the life later known as monasticism before the legalization of Christianity. In fact, it is believed by the Carmelites that they were started by the Jewish prophet *Elias*³⁴. As monasticism spread in the East from the hermits living in the deserts of Egypt to Palestine³⁵, Syria, and on up into Asia Minor and beyond, the sayings (*apophthegmata*) and acts (*praxeis*) of the Desert Fathers came to be recorded and circulated, first among their fellow monastic's and then among the laity as well.

The triumph of the church resulted in problematic changes to the church. Ambrose, as noted above, began a trend of re-conceiving clerical office as something more along the lines of secular offices. The Roman concern with practical administration drained much of the spiritual mission of the early church. The Patristic³⁶ writings departed significantly from the spirituality of the earliest Christian texts; in the place of faith and insight they offered only rationality and arguments. This secularization of the clergy and the church as well as the rationalization of

³³ A *nazirite* or *nazarite*, (in Hebrew 'nazir'), refers to a Jew who took an ascetic vow described in Numbers 6:1-21. A *Nazirite* was a person voluntarily separated to the Lord, under a special vow (Bible Dictionary, p. 808).

³⁴ Elijah is the 9th c. B.C. prophet of Israel. His name appears in the Hebrew Old Testament (OT) as *élīyyāhū* and *élīyyā*, in the Greek Old Testament (NT) as *Éleīou*, and in the NT as *Élayās*. The name means 'Yah is ÉL' or 'Yahweh is God'. Apart from the reference to Elijah in 1 King 17:1 as, 'the Tishbite, of Tishbe in Gilead, no information about his background is available (Bible Dictionary, p.311).

³⁵The Holy Land or Palestine Showing not only the Old Kingdoms of Judea and Israel but also the 12 Tribes Distinctly, and Confirming Even the Diversity of the Locations of their Ancient Positions and Doing So as the Holy Scriptures Indicate (source: A geographic map from the studio of Tobiae Conradi).

³⁶ The character of this theological and social thought varied widely; there is no unified Patristic "thought." The most radical differences among the *Patristics* were between Latin and Greek writers; the Greek writers focused heavily on theological speculation while the Latin writers were less concerned with abstract questions as they were concerned with practical questions of organization, catechism, and governance of the church. (Wiles, Maurice.1966. *The Christian Fathers*. London: Hodder and Stoughton).

Christian discourse led to the growth of a new Christian phenomenon, monasticism³⁷. Hermit is the very first Christian historically known to have been living as a monk.

The earliest monks were not clergy, but ordinary individuals who fled the poverty of the church to live spiritually dedicated lives while suffering extreme poverty and self-affliction. Seeing the church as too worldly and too materialistic, they lived solitary lives of severe ascetism, or “*world denial*”³⁸. This form of monasticism in which an individual ascetic lives alone is called eremitic monasticism, that is, the monasticism of a hermit.

From the 3rd to the 5th century occurred a period of incredibly rich, creative, and brilliant thought in both the Latin and the Orthodox Church. Some of the best and most creative minds wrestled with this new religion, its theology, its organization, and its social and political implications in a virtual flood of writing³⁹. The writers of this period were eventually designated Fathers of the Church or the Patristic writers and represent perhaps the most creative period of Christian intellectual activity.

In the 4th century, monasticism soon adopted a communal form. Again, monks were not clergy but rather laymen that came together in a community to remove themselves from the world. This form of monasticism, called coenobitic monasticism, was most successfully implemented by Basil (ca. 330 - January 1,379 A.D), who, after a time as a hermit monk, came out from the wilderness to found a community of other monks⁴⁰.

Pachomius were early monastic innovators in Egypt⁴¹. Eastern Orthodoxy looks to Basil of Caesaria as a founding monastic legislator, as well as the example of the ‘Deasert Fathers’. Benedict of Nursia is often credited with being the ‘father of Western monasticism’. Basil set the pattern for monasticism, and the most important figure in its development was Benedict, who

³⁷ Bible Dictionary, pp. 878-880.

³⁸ Mtt. 19:12; *Wand, 1937: A History of the Early Church, p.192.*

³⁹ Atiya,1968: 123.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Monasticism first appeared in the eastern reaches of Christianity in the third century when the Roman Empire seemed to be falling apart; in this sense, monasticism was related to the anxiety and uncertainty of the age. It did not really spread, however, until after the conversion of Constantine and the realignment of the church along more material and political lines. At that point, the practice spread throughout the east to Egypt and North Africa. The extreme forms of eremiticism are legendary; these ascetic monks soon were sought out by Christians who literally worshipped them and the various materials that came in contact with them—or came out of them.

composed a set of rules, the *Benedictine Rule*⁴² that would become the standard model of monasticism in Europe. Saint Athanasius of Alexandria who's Life of Saint Anthony the Great set the pattern for monastic hagiography, St. Jerome, and other anonymous compilers were also responsible for setting down very influential accounts. Also of great importance are the writings surrounding the communities founded by St. Pachomius, the father of *coenobiticism*, and his disciple Saint Theodore, the founder of the *Skete* form of monasticism⁴³.

3.2. Judaism, the Emergence of Christianity and Monasticism in Ethiopia

The tradition affirms that not all were converted from paganism but that some were Jews and some were animists: 'Before the coming of Christianity, one half of the people was under the Mosaic Laws, the other half was worshipping the serpent'.

In the *Fəṯha Nāgāst*⁴⁴, the work, which contains secular and Ecclesiastical material (insofar as the two can be separated in Ethiopia). The Queen *Šābā* from Ethiopia was converted to Judaism by her visit to King Solomon's Court around 900 B.C.: 'From this moment I will not worship the sun, but the Creator of the sun, the God of Israel'⁴⁵. Although the *Fəṯha Nāgāst* is a 13th century work in its present form, it is acknowledged to contain material dating from a much earlier period. As we shall see there is a strong Hebraic influence in Ethiopian Christianity.

Additionally, the *Holy Scripture* as confirmed, Christianity began in Ethiopia on the 1st century, the baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch⁴⁶ by St. Philip, the Apostle of Christ in 34 A.D. (Acts 8:26-

⁴² The Benedictines are the most important of the early monastic communities. They follow the rule of *St. Benedict of Nursia* (c.480-552), which is based on the four principles of study, communal life, prayer and obedience (Benton, 1768:280).

⁴³ Butler, Cuthbert. 1919. *Benedictine Monasticism: Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule*. London,

⁴⁴ Book of the Kings of Ethiopia, which include Canonical and Civil Code Law.

⁴⁵ According to a large compilation of legend and traditions, *Kəbrä Nāgāst*-(the Glory of Kings) as stated The lawful kings of Ethiopia descend from King Solomon and Queen *Šābā* through their son named *Mənlīk* I; and the original tables of the law that God gave to Moses were removed from Jerusalem by *Azārāih*, the son of the Jewish High Priest, brought to Ethiopia with *Mənlīk*, and placed in the holy shrine at አኩሱም: Aksum, the ancient ecclesiastical and political capital of Ethiopia. (E.A. Wallis Budge & C. Rossini tr. 1923 pp.606-608).

⁴⁶ He was a man of high rank in Ethiopia, the treasurer of Candace, the queen-mother of the Ethiopians. As stated on Acts. 8:26 : "A man of Ethiopia....was returning and....read Isaiah, the prophet...". This Ethiopian man was a great palace official, a wealthy and powerful man, he was very much interested in religion. Upon the demand of the Ethiopian minister Philip explains the text of Prophet Isaiah. There wasn't any theological, philosophical or philological question to explain. After he understood the meaning of the passage he asked to be baptized. He descended into water, which has the visible expression of his faith, the certitude of spiritual transformation. As *Bishop T. Poladian* mentioned: "Eusebius of Caesarea (ca.3rd c.) speaks of him as the first Gentile convert, and as the first faithful in the whole world. *Irenaeus* (ca.3rd c.) hints that he has preached the Gospel to the Ethiopians, by which

39). However, Orthodox Christianity were became state religion during twin brothers Kings' አብርሐ፡ወአዕብሐ፡-*Abrəḥa* and *Aṣḃəḥa* in the 4th century⁴⁷.

Frémənāātos ⁴⁸(ca. 328 A.D.), was the instrumental in the conversion of Ethiopia to Orthodox Christianity.

Ethiopian monasticism traces its origins to the end of the 5th century and the arrival of two groups of Syrian monks: the ጸድቃን፡-*Ṣādqān* and ተስዐተ፡ቅዱሣን፡-the *Nine Saints*. The impact of their activities on the understaffed and under resourced Church of the period can scarcely be overestimated⁴⁹. Yet, despite the crucial role played by these foreign missionaries, teachers, and translators in the development of the nascent Church, it appears that not until the 14th century did the monastic ideals and institutions become the dominant force in Ethiopian Christianity.

In the early *Solomonic* period that we witness the rise of the monastic saints in Ethiopia. The questions of the influences behind the emergence of these holy men, their growing impact on the Ethiopian Church, and their relations with the *Solomonic* kings are crucial to the study of the spread of Christianity in the Ethiopian kingdom. Indeed, in recognition of their importance, recent scholarship has shown a growing interest in the monastic *Saints of Medieval Ethiopia*⁵⁰.

the prophecy of Psalm 68:31, was fulfilled: *Prince shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God*". Later, traditions speak of Candace as baptizing by him. (B. T. Poladian, *Facts and Visions*, Addis Ababa 1963, pp. 91-96).

⁴⁷ The story of the conversion of the first Ethiopian king, *Īzānā*, is told by *Rufinus* of Aquileia. Two boys '*Aédésius* and *Frémənāātos* were among a party who were shipwrecked and put in at the port of *Adulis* on the Red Sea. They were from Tyre in Syria. Their companions were slaughtered but being young the boys were taken to አክሱም፡Axum, the capital of Ethiopia at that time, and attained positions of influence at the royal court. This was probably at the time that the *Gə'əz* language was replacing Greek as the language of the court. '*Aédésius*, who was less intellectual than his confrere was made chief steward to the king, while *Frémənāātos* became his secretary and treasurer. Being foreign they were perhaps seen as independent of internal politics and intrigues and therefore trustworthy. On the death of the king, the Queen acting as regent for her son *Īzānā* asked '*Aédésius* and *Frémənāātos* to stay and assist her in ruling the country. Since they were Christian they promoted Christianity and encouraged the building of prayer houses for the Roman merchants who were present in the country. When *Īzānā* became old enough to take over the reins of power, '*Aédésius* returned to Tyre while *Frémənāātos* went to Alexandria and told the great St Athanasius that there were now Christians in Ethiopia but no bishop or clergy. Athanasius decided to consecrate *Frémənāātos* himself and send him back as the first bishop. '*What other man shall we find in whom is the Spirit of God as in you, who can accomplish these things?*' The story of Rufinus is confirmed by inscriptions celebrating victory over the Nubians and by the letter of *Constantius*, the Arian successor of Constantine, encouraging *Ezānā* not to follow Athanasius. The *Aksumite* coinage also testifies to the conversion of the king to the Orthodox Christian faith. (Cosmas Indicopleustes 1968:141).

⁴⁸ He also called *Abbā Sālāmā Kāsāté Bərḥān* "Father of Peace and Revealer of light" became the first Metropolitan to Ethiopia. He was ordained by Athanasius, the Patriarch of Alexandria.(JES, Vol. XIII, no. 2. p. 87.)

⁴⁹ Sergew Hable Sellasie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1370*, (Addis Ababa 1972), pp.115-121.

⁵⁰ Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527*,(Oxford 1972), G.W.B. Huntingford, "Saints of Medieval Ethiopia" *Abba Salma*, X (1979), pp. 257-341.

However, to date little attempt has been made to grapple with the problem of the forces which led to the rise of the monastic men to such prominence.

3.2.1. The Pioneers of Monastic Life in Ethiopia

In this part, I shall begin to examine the historical, social, and political background of the emergence of monasticism and theological controversy in the monastic centers in order to reach a better understanding of the Ethiopian monastic saints, and the society which accorded them so exalted a position.

The main figures in monastic history the beginning of monastic life confined to Northern Ethiopia. The tradition claims that some monasteries founded by two brothers' kings, አብርሐ፡ወአፅብሐ፡-*Abrəha* and *Aṣḅəha* (4th c.). Later, these two brother kings are known by their founding of monasteries.

The first monastic communities have said it founded there in the late 5th century during the *Axumite* Empire Era in *Təgrāy*, around the ancient capital of አኩሱም፡ *Aksum* by some monks who came from the *Eastern Mediterranean* area (probably ሶርያ፣ወግብዕ፡ Syria and Egypt). Because of their Holy and missionary lives they are known as ተሰዐቱ፡ ቅዱሳን፡-*Tāsā'atu Qəduṣān* (*the Nine Saints*). These Nine Saints are said to have introduced and translated the Rules of አባ፡እንጦንስ፡ ወአባ፡ ጳኩሚስ፡ዘግብዕ፡-Saint *Abbā* Anthony [*ፀጥናት*] and Saint *Abbā* *P'ākumius* of Egypt⁵¹, from the ቅብጥ፡ *Coptic* tradition into ግዕዝ፡*Gə'əz*. The certain basic principles are common to all monasteries, which may also add their own individual rules.

The most famous monasteries, ደብረ፡ዳሞ፡-*Däbrä Dāmo*, founded by the most well known of the Nine Saints, ዘሚካኤል፡*Zä-Mikā'él*, also called አባ፡ አረጋዊ፡*Abbā Arägāwi*. አባ፡ሊቃኖስ፡-*Abbā Liqānos* went up a hill North of Aksum, near ንጉሥ፡ካሌብ፡ ቤተ፡ መንግሥት፡-King *Kālēb's* Palace, the place called ደብረ፡ቆናጽል፡-*Däbrä Qonāṣəl*. አባ፡ጳንጠሌዎን፡-*Abbā P'änṭäléwon* founded his hermitage on another hill. Before his expedition to Southern Arabia, King *Kālēb* visited to him [*Abbā P'änṭäléwon*] for a blessing, and after his victory, the king

⁵¹ Ethiopian monks going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, on their way used to stop or settle in Egypt, mainly in the Monasteries of *Qusq'ām/Mohārāq*, near the Nile, and Saint Anthony's [*ፀጥናት*] Monastery, near the Red Sea. *Hārāt Zuwāilā* found in Cairo, and the great desert of *Scete* in *Wādi Nātrun*, between Cairo and Alexandria.

himself became an ascetic⁵². **አባ:ይስሐቅ:-Abbā Yəshāq**, called **ገሪማ:-Gärimā**, founded monastery in a place called **መጠራ:-Mätärrā**⁵³. **አባ:ጽሕማ:-Abbā Šəḥamā**, settled on a hill, 70 km from *Adwā* (or a 4 hour walk, East of the **ገዳመ:አባ:ገሪማ:-Abbā Gärimā** Monastery). **አባ:ጉባ:-Abbā Gubā** made his hermitage in Southern **ትግራይ:-Təgrāy**; today, the monastery of the same name lies to the West of **ማይጨው:-Māyč'äw**⁵⁴. **አባ:አፍጌ:-Abbā Afšé** went to the **ሳባውያን:-Sābian** pagan center of **የሐ:-Yähā**. **አባ:ይምግታ:-Abbā Yəmättā** founded a monastery (some say in monastery of **ገዳመ:ደብረ:ሊባኖስ:-Monastery of Däbrä Libānos** in **ሺመዛና:-Šimāzānā**, present Eritrea⁵⁵).

In the same period another group of monks, known as the [**ጸድቃን: Šādqān**⁵⁶], the Righteous went to Ethiopia. The hermits just pick and eat plants found naturally in the countryside, and they said to have preached the Gospel in Northern *Šəmāzānā*, around **መጠራ:ወባረክናግ Mätärrā** and *Bārāknāhā*, South of **ሰንአፌ: Sänāfē**⁵⁷. Indeed, throughout period the victims of court intrigues, unsuccessful claimants to high office, and rebellious subjects were all likely candidates to assume or be forced to assume monastic garb. As it stated on the *Solomonic* charter-legend *Kəbrä Nägäst*

⁵² As *Gərmā Éləyās* said as an interview that the *Monastery of Goğ*, near **ከራረኮር:ደብረ:ማርያም:-Korākor Däbrä Mārəyām** in **ገራልታ:-Gärältā**. **አባ:አሌፍ:-Abbā Aléf** is said to have founded the **ገዳመ:ደብረ:ሃሌሊያ:-Däbrä Hällé Luyā** Monastery, near the **ፈለገ:መረብ:-Märāb** River, (from *Adwā* North to **ራማ:-Rāmā**, then a 6 hour walk, west). Nevertheless, **አባ:ሳሙኤል: ዘሃሌሊያ:-Abbā Sāmu'él** of *Hällé Luyā* (d. between 1347/71?), who accomplished many miracles is also known as founder in the first half of the 14th century (death liturgical memorial on **ጳጳጵ:ሐምሌ:-26 Hamlé** [2 August]). The monastery was burned down under **ግራኝ:ኑር: መሐመድ:-Grāññ Nur-Mohammäd**, like many others in that time.

⁵³ Around 10 km East of **አድዋ:-Adwā** (forbidden to women, but there is a church and place for women at the entrance).

⁵⁴ A six-hour walk from the town and the place is in forest and famous for its **ፀብል:-täbäl**-Holy Water

⁵⁵ Chaillot. 2002. *EOC Tradition*, pp.7-25. Also the other Monastery of *Šimāzānā* were found near *Azāzo*, Gonder.

⁵⁶ According to the **ገድለ:ጸድቃን:-Lives of the Saints**, **አባ:ዘዮሐንስ:-Zä-Yohannēs** ate river plants, **አባ:ሳሙኤል:ዘዋልድዳ:-Abbā Sāmu'él of Wälddäbbā** ate fruit and **አባ:ተክለ:ሃይማኖት:-St. Abunä Täklä Hāymānot** ate sweet leaves and bitter ones during lent. Apart from praying the 'Seven Hours' and reading the Bible and the Psalms; both monks and nuns read ascetic and spiritual books. The main book of monastic instruction is called **መጽሐፈ:መነከራ:-Mäṣḥafä Mänākosāt**-The Book of the Monks.

Concerning the hermit and monastic life in Ethiopia; as *Abunä P'ä'los*, the Patriarch of Ethiopia said an interview with the researcher: "*Monastic life requires absolute dedication, commitment, a sense of reality and faith. After praying and fasting all the time, and hardly sleeping, some monks receive wisdom from God. Then people may come and ask spiritual advice and a blessing from them.*"

⁵⁷ Most of the *Eritrean* Monasteries established by the followers of **ኤዎስታቴዎስ:-Éwostātéwos**, such as *Filippos* of *Däbrä Bizān* and *Absādi* of the Monastery of *Däbrä Mārəyām* of *Qohāyən*. Today these place found under the political geography in South-East Eritrea.

offers the model of the Emperor *Kālēb*, who is said to have retired to a monastery following his victories in Defense of Christianity⁵⁸.

3.2.2. The Revival of Monasticism in the Middle and Medieval Centuries

There has been a continuous monastic tradition in Ethiopia from this time though there are some gaps in our historical knowledge. Axum declined in the 9th century and later the ‘*Zāgwé Dynasty*’⁵⁹ emerged which was responsible in the 12th century for the famous Churches at *Lālībālā*⁶⁰ carved out of the solid rock hewn Church⁶¹ and recognized as one of the architectural wonders of the world. King *Lālībālā* himself decided to become a hermit in the mountainous regions of *Təgré*, to escape the persecutions of his half-brother *Harbéy* who feared him as a rival for the throne⁶². There *Lālībālā* met his future consort, the devout and gentle *Mäsqäl-Kəbrā*. Monasteries were offered and accepted gifts of land for many reasons. A *gult* was an important means of strengthening the ties between a monastery and a ruler. Thus, during the late *Zāgwé* and early *Solomonic* period, a variety of rulers donated land to *Däbrä Libānos* of *Šimāzānā* in attempt to gain or hold the loyalty of is clergy⁶³.

Another monk, ኤዎናቲዮስ:-*Éwosṣātéwos* of *Sārā’é* (ca. 1273-1352), the nephew of a great ascetic, አባ:ዳንኤል:ዘደብረ:ማርያም:-*Abbā Dāni’él* of *Däbrä Mārəyām*, in ገራልታ:-*Gārāltā* (*Tigrāy*), was influential in the founding of many monasteries. The militant self-sufficiency which characterized the first stages of *Šāwān* and ኤዎናቲዮስ:-*Éwosṣātian* (*Éwosṣātéwos*-

⁵⁸ E.A.W. Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek*, (London 1922), p. 226.

⁵⁹ This dynasty was replaced in 1270 by the restoration of the ‘*Solomonic Dynasty*’, ነገሥት:ይኩኖ:አምላክ:-King *Yakuno Amlāk* who traced his origin from the Queen *Šābā* and her Son *Mənlīk* I, whose father was King Solomon.

⁶⁰ *Lālībālā* was an Emperor of the *Zāgwé* dynasty is recognized as a saint by the Ethiopian Church and commemorated on 12 *Sāné* (19 June). Son of a nobleman, possibly an Emperor, *Žān-Šəyyum*, and cousin of Emperor *Yəmrəhannā Kərəstos*, *Lālībālā* was the most outstanding member of the dynasty which ruled Ethiopia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His father's name also appears as *Šamudā* in the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*. He was born in *Rohā, Lāstā*, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor *Harbéy*, his half-brother, and his mother gave him the name *Lālībālā* (which appears to signify “*Bees have acknowledged his supremacy*” in recognition of a sign shown at his birth when a swarm of bees alighted on him. While still a boy, *Lālībālā* heard the voice of God telling him to build rock-churches at *Rohā* - later his capital and now bearing his name, *Lālībālā* - finer even than those already hewn in *Lāstā* or *Təgré*; to be able to create these, he must become Emperor. (*The Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography, Vol. 1 'From Early Times to the End of the Zagwé Dynasty c. 1270 A.D.*)

⁶¹ The greatest testimony to *Lāl-Yəbālā's* fame is the magnificent series of monolithic churches in his capital, hewn in the natural rock to design revealed to the Emperor in heaven during a vision, according to hagiographic tradition. This complex, including a honeycomb of underground corridors, trenches, stairways and inner courts, complete with a water system, represents the culminating point of the best Ethiopian architectural tradition (Sergew Hable-Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (Addis Ababa, 1972), 15, 208, 240-241, 265-183, 291).

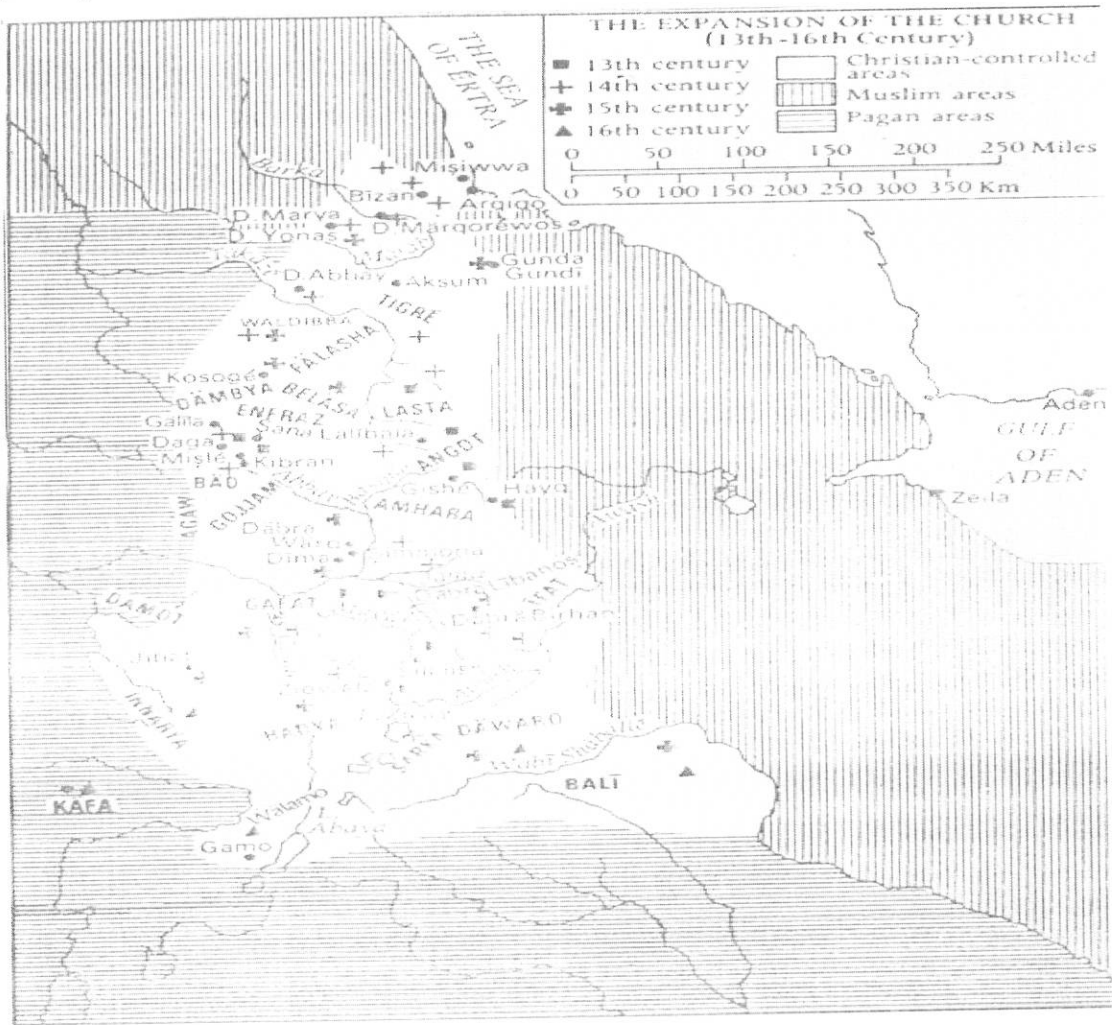
⁶² J. Perruchon. 1892. *Vie de Lalibala*. Paris; R. Sauter. 1955. "La vie de Saint-Lalibela," *L'Ethiopie d'Aujourd'hui*.

⁶³ S. Kaplan 1982:90.

āwāyān) monasticism appears to have also figured prominently in the teaching and practice of the first *Stephanites* communities⁶⁴.

3.2.2.1. Expansion of Monasticism in Central Ethiopia

Until the middle part of the thirteenth century there were no monastic institutions in either *Amharā* or *ጃዋ:-Šāwā*⁶⁵. In *Gädlä Tādēwos of Däbrä Māryām* we read, "In our land [*Šāwā*] there is no monastic rule which any man has made because there are not in our land the



Map 1: The Expansion of Monasticism (13th – 16th C.) in Central and Southern Ethiopia⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ During the final years of the Zagwē dynasty both Amhara and Šāwā were under only nominal royal control. Indeed it was probably this lack of effective Zagwē administration which permitted , ነጉሥ:ይኩኖ:አምላክ:-King *Yakuno Amlāk* to organize his uprising. However, with the success of his revolt and the consolidation of the dynasty by his heirs Amhara and Šāwā came under the direct control of the Solomonic court and the autonomy of the local chiefs was greatly curtailed. The emergence of a militant monastic movement during the reign of the powerful ruler Amda Seyon is to be understood as a reaction of the Šāwans, and to a lesser extent Amhara, to the encroachment of the new rulers on their traditional powers and rights (Tadesse, *Church and State*), pp. 97-100..

⁶⁶ Tadesse Tamerat, *Church and State*, 1972, p. 204.

places of monks⁶⁷. Accordingly, the foundation of *Däbrä Hāyq* in 1248 and of *Däbrä Asbo* ca. 1284 opened up unprecedented educational opportunities to the Christians of these regions.

However, they had been forced to travel to *Təgrāy* province to pursue advanced ecclesiastical studies or a monastic life⁶⁸.

After the middle of 13th century the great figures of monastic life⁶⁹ appears, አባ:አ.የሱስ:ሞአ: - *Abbā Īyāsus Mo'a* (d.1287), a Spiritual Son of አባ:ዮሐን:ዘደብረ:ዳሞ:-*Abbā Yohanni* of *Däbrä Dāmo*, become a monk in that monastery, which was still the Centre of Monastic life. Later, in 1248, he traveled to the Island where the Church of ቅዱስ:እስጢፋኖስ:-Saint *ፀጥታን*, on ሐይቅ:-*Hāyq*-Lake, was to be found, where he established the monastery school of ደብረ:ሐይቅ:እስጢፋኖስ:-*Däbrä Hāyq ፀጥታን*. The most famous disciple of *Abbā Īyāsus Mo'a* is ቅዱስ:አባ:ተክለ: ሃይማኖት:-St. *Abunä Täklä Hāymānot*, who went West and at the end of the 13th century, organized ገዳመ:ደብረ:አስቦ:-the Monastery of *Däbrä Asəbo*. The great monastic revival of the 14th century led to the establishment of the monastery now known as renamed in 1445, as ገዳመ:ደብረ: ሊባኖስ:-Monastery of *Däbrä Libānos*⁷⁰ in ሸዋ:-*ፀላዋ*, it become the most important monastic center in Ethiopia.

3.2.2.1.1. Monastic Life by the Royal Families and Nobel Men

The hagiographic sources from the early *Solomonic* period offer numerous examples of men, women, and children who entered monasteries for many and varied reasons. Some, like *Zār'a Abrahām*, who had two wives die during pregnancy, were motivated by personal tragedies⁷¹.

⁶⁷ *Gadla Tadēwos of Dabra Maryam*, p. 86.

⁶⁸ *Gadla Qawēstos*, f. 20b, "Tegrē the land of monks". Among the important Amharan and Shewan religious leaders who traveled to Tegrē to study were Heywat Bena Baseyon, Iyasus Mo'a, Takla Haymanot, and Basalota Mikaē'l.

⁶⁹ By the 12th century a community of Ethiopian monks existed in the Monastery of Saint *Élāyās* in *Wādi Nātrun*, (near the monastery of St. *Yohannēs Kāmā*), seen in ruins by *Mākrizi* in the early 15th century. They then moved to the Monastery of the Virgin (near the Monastery of *Yohannēs Haṣṣīr* (St. John the short). In the 19th century, Ethiopian monks were found in the Monastery of the Syrians (*Wādi Nātrun*). In 1935, the Ethiopian 'charismatic' monk *Abd al-Thāluth*, who had first occupied a cell in *Deir Baramous* (*Wādi Nātrun*), settled in another cell in *Gebel t-Tair*, (200 km south of Cairo). The last Ethiopian hermit in Egypt, Father *Abd al-Māsīh*, lived from about 1935 in cave, the desert of *Wādi Nātrun*, in the area of the *Baramous* Monastery, associated with *Musé Ṣāllīm* (Moses the Black), a famous 4th century ascetic. Walking barefoot in the desert, living with the minimum materially, turned towards the essential, he was an inspiration for many Coptic monks who later revived the monastic life in the second half of the 20th century.

⁷⁰ C. Conti Rossini, "L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libanos," *Rendiconti della Reale*, pp. 10-44.

⁷¹ B. Turaiev, *Acts S. Fere Mika'el et S. Zar'a Abraham*, *CSCO* XXIII (1905), pp. 17-19.

Others were soldiers who perhaps wished to avoid the obvious dangers of the battlefield⁷². Many of monastic holy men are Ethiopian and some of them are "Saint Kings" by their origin, as P. Marrassini stated on Nov. 1982:5-9:

"...Here the similarities and differences with [in European hagiography?] Ethiopia (and also with its "Saint Kings" like Kaléb, Lalibela, Na'ekuto la-Ab, Iyyasu) are clear, and perhaps worth to be examined more closely.....Most of them [Saints] are Ethiopian origin, but some at least one of the parents is of Jewish origin: in addition to Täklä Hāymānot and Əzrā who were of "Levitical" family..."⁷³

However, if we turn our attention from the general monastic population to the leaders of the communities, we find that the latter were to a significant extent the sons of nobles and chiefs. Basalota Mika'el⁷⁴ was a relative of King Wedem Ra'ad⁷⁵. አባ፡ኤልያስ፡-*Abbā Élayās* was the nephew of the Emperor Zār'a Yā'əqob⁷⁶. Za-Yohannis came from a chiefly family, while Qawestos and Anorēwos were scions of the aristocracy of Dawaro and Mugar respectively⁷⁷. In fact, throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the leadership of Ethiopia's monasteries was drawn from the ranks of the wealthy and honored⁷⁸.

While the skeptical reader might discount these reports of the saints' noble origins as merely another example of the hagiographers' attempts to glorify their heroes, the corroboration these accounts receive from non-hagiographic sources testifies to their authenticity⁷⁹. The young prince Zār'a Yā'əqob was entrusted to the safe-keeping of a Təgrean monk, a relative of Queen

⁷²Getachew Haile, "From Strict Observance to Royal Endowment, the Case of the Monastery of Dabra Halle Luya", *EMML* 6343, ff. 117-118; *Le Musēm*, XCIII (1980), p. 165; C. Conti Rossini, *Acta S. Basalota Mika'el et S. Anorewos*, *CSCO* III (1907), pp. 89-90. In both these texts the Solomonic kings are said to have been strongly opposed to the defection of soldiers to monasticism.

⁷³P. Marrassini, *Ethiopian Hagiography: history of Facts and History of ideas*, Int'l Sympo. On History & Ethnography in Ethiopian Studies (ICI), Mekonen Hall, 6 Kilo Campus, Nov. 18-25, 1982.

⁷⁴አባ፡በዐለ፡ተ፡ሚካኤል፡-*Abbā Bāšālotā Mikā'él* (end of 13 C. beg. of 14th C.) joined a hermit, *Abbā Anoréwos* of *Däbrā Gol* (a disciple of *Abbā İyāsus Mo'a*). He organized an important monastery and was its abbot, in *Däbrā Gol* (*Amhārā*). It claimed that he was exiled south, to *Dārā* and Lake *Zəwāy*.

⁷⁵*Gadla Basalota Mika'el*, p. 14.

⁷⁶*Gadla Élayās*, *EMML* pr. #1126, ff.

⁷⁷M. Schneider, *Actes de Za-Yohannes de Kebran*, *CSCO* LIV (1972), p. 5; *Gadla Qawēstos* (unpublished), f. 2; *Gadla Anorēwos*, p. 67.

⁷⁸For example, Abakarazun, Alaniqos, Ēlsa'ē of Dabra Libanos, Estifanos, Ēwostatēwos, Ezra, Filepos of Dabra Bizan, Filmona, Marha Krestos, Tadēwos of Dabra Bartawa, Yohannes of Dabra Damo, Yohannes of Dabra Bizan.

⁷⁹On *gadlat* as historical sources see the present author's "Hagiographies and the History of Medieval Ethiopia", *History in Africa*, 8 (1981); Cf. p. Charnis, "The Monk in Byzantine society", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXV (1971), pp. 76-77. Charnis while noting the tendency of Byzantine saints' lives to give their heroes a noble origin concedes the authenticity of this claim in many cases.

*Egzi-Kebrā*⁸⁰. A son of Amda Seyon is said to have been the founder of *Mändäbbā*, a monastery on the shores of Lake Ṭānā⁸¹. Takla Iyasus, a teacher of *Bä'ädä Māryām*, was a relative of the reigning Sasarguē (one of the supreme judges)⁸². *Yā'əqob*, the abbot of *Däbrä Libānos* at the time of Alvarez's visit, had been a (Muslim!) governor before receiving a revelation and becoming a Christian and a monk⁸³. Accordingly, there appears to be little reason to doubt the testimony of the *gädlāt* concerning the origins of their protagonists.

Although the authors of the *gädlāt* put considerable emphasis on the choice of a monastic vocation as a rejection of the family⁸⁴, they also testified to the presence of relatives, especially nephews, in the Saints' entourages. St. Anorēwos has five nephews in his community, while Iyasus Mo'a is said to have had a brother and three nephews among his disciples at *Däbrä Hayq*⁸⁵. Eventually he was succeeded by one of his nephews, as was Takla Haymanot of *Däbrä Asbo*⁸⁶. Filmona, while professing to have “*neither Father nor Mother, but only the Lord*”, joined the community of his uncle Tadēwos, one of four brothers who had all entered monasteries⁸⁷. Thus, even if we concede that some traditions of kinship ties between important monks and their disciples are spurious, the overall importance of such links cannot be ignored⁸⁸.

One of the most important factors accounting for the social composition of the monastic communities was the existence of a tradition whereby those who chose or were forced to abandon the political arena took up the monastic life. On some sources abound with examples: Zar'a

⁸⁰ Tadesse, 1970, p. 220.

⁸¹ Cheesman, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, (London 1936), p. 199.

⁸² J. Perruchon, *Les Chroniques de Zar'a Ya'eqob et de Ba'eda Maryam*, (Paris 1893), p. 172.

⁸³ F. Alvarez, *Prester John*, p. 263.

⁸⁴ On the rejection of family for example: *Gadla Basalota Mika'el*, p. 19; M.A. de la Fuye, *Actes de Filmona*, CSCO XXXV (1958), p. 20; A. Ferenc, "Les Actes d'Isaie de Gunda-Gunde", AE X (1976), p. 244; *Miracles of Iyasus Mo'a*. EMLL 1940, f. 69v.

⁸⁵ *Gadla Anorēwos*, p. 81; S. Kur, *Actes de Iyasus Mo'a*, CSCO XLIX (1965), pp. 20, 29.

⁸⁶ ²⁰*ibid.* p. 49; *Gadla Takla Haymanot*, ed. Budge, p. 94; B. Turaiev, *Acta S. Aaronis et S. Phillipi*, CSCO XX (1905), p. 191.

⁸⁷ *Gadla Filmona*, pp. 6, 20, 27.

⁸⁸ Elsa'e who succeeded him, Takla Haymanot's relatives are said to have included Zēna Marqos, Qawēstos, Tadēwos of Dabra Maryam, Hedan Mo'a, Samu'el of Dabra Wagag and others. See V. Six, *Die Vita des Abuna Tadewos von Dabra Maryam im Tanasee*, (Wiesbaden 1975), pp. 42, 94-99, 288-289. However, many of these traditions are problematic. Tadēwos is said to have been older than Takla Hyamanot, while Qawestos was only 6 months his junior. Yet both are said to have died long after Takla Hyamanot who himself lived for almost a century. *Gadla Tadēwos*, pp. 126, 343; *Gadla Qawēstos*, ff. 44-48, 106-109. Hedan Mo'a's hagiographer makes no claim of kinship with Takla Haymanot and the saint would appear to have lived in the reign of Zar'a Ya'eqob. *Gadla Heṣan Mo'a*, EMLL 2353.

Seyon, whose false denunciations had caused the deaths of numerous courtiers in the time of Zar'a Ya'eqob, was forced to become a monk and was deported to Dabra Hayq⁸⁹. Alvarez recounts the story of a noble who assumed the monastic life because of his marital-political difficulties⁹⁰. At the same time there lived Gabra Endreyas, "a soldier who having had the tip of his tongue cut off for a treasonable speech became a monk"⁹¹.

Thus it is not surprising to find among the inhabitants of Ethiopia's monasteries sons of nobles who had failed to inherit their fathers' titles. This is clearly the situation in the family of Filmona and appears to have occurred in the families of Iyasus Mo'a and Marha Krestos as well⁹². Sons of Yəkunno Amlak, Amdä Şəyon, and Zar'a Ya'eqob are all said to have become monks, apparently preferring this career to life in the royal prison of Ambā Gəšän⁹³. Some other monks also join to monasteries, like *Abäkäräzun*, *Əzrā*, *İsāyiyās* and *Həbtä Şəllāsé* were all Stephanite leaders, who like *Əstifānos* himself were of noble origin. Şərə was, as we have noted, the first center of the Stephanite movement, and three monasteries established in this sub-province.

3.2.2.1.2 Persecution of Monks by Kings

There were clashes between the monastic clergy and the kings Amdä Şəyon⁹⁴ and Səyfa Ar'əd have focused almost entirely upon the monks' denunciation of royal polygamy⁹⁵.

In light of both their social background and their local power base, it is reasonable to conjecture that Amdä Şəyon understood the rebellious clergy as a political threat similar to that posed by

⁸⁹ Perruchon, *Chroniques*, p. 7.

⁹⁰ Alvarez, *Prester John*, p. 424.

⁹¹ *ibid.* p. 413, n. 3.

⁹² *Gadla Filmona*, p. 6; *Gadla Iyasus Mo'a*, pp. 20, 29. Iyasus Mo'a, had two brothers. Gabra Seyon joined him at Dabra Hayq, while Sebu Amalk married and sent his sons to their uncle's monastery. *Gadla Marha Krestos*, pp. 4-7, 12-13. Marha Krestos, the youngest of three sons, was sent to a monastery.

⁹³ S. Strelcyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Éthiopiens de L'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, (Rome 1976), p. 79; *Gadla Aron*, pp. 137-140. A daughter of Amda Seyon also joined Aron's community and took the monastic name Barbara. S. Grébaud, "Note sur la princesse - Zir Ganela", *JA*, (1928), pp.142-144. Saga Amlak, a monk among the Beta Israel, is said to have been a son of the Emperor Zar'a Ya'eqob.

⁹⁴ Basalota Mika'el and Filipos of Dabra Asbo did not accept the gifts offered by Amda Seyon and was beaten for his impudence.⁽⁴⁰⁾ His contemporary, Aron of Darēt refused the generosity of Sayfa Ar'əd, although other monks rationalized their acceptance on the grounds that the gifts offered were reparations for the previous persecutions.⁽⁴¹⁾ Samu'el of Dabra Halle Luya apparently forbade his community to receive royal presents. The rule was probably strictly observed during Samu'el's own lifetime, but his successor accepted gold, cloth, a cross, and land from the Emperor Dawit.⁽⁴²⁾

⁹⁵ Taddesse, *Church and State*, pp. 114-118; Huntingford, "Saints", pp. 338-340; Cf. however, E. Cerulli, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libanos", *Orientalia XI* (1943), p. 243, n. 2.

local rulers. Certainly, the steps taken by this king and his son Säyfa Arə'əd against the clergy "who sought to disrupt the kingdom" were in keeping with their noble origins, for the punishment meted out to them, exile, was generally reserved for the nobility⁹⁶.

The rebel monks were thus separated from their noble relatives who were potential allies and sent to areas which offered them little opportunity to build a base of local support, viz islands, wastelands, or predominantly Muslim or pagan regions⁹⁷. Moreover, if the initial exile proved ineffective and the holy man succeeded in establishing a new constituency, he was likely to be transferred to another region, forcing him to repeat the process⁹⁸.

However, Amdä Şəyon and Säyfa Arə'əd's sagacious use of the carrot and the stick, gifts and exile, gradually eliminated monastic opposition in Šäwa province. The most stubborn rebels died or were sent into exile⁹⁹. Others accepted royal favors and dropped their opposition to the kings¹⁰⁰. Thus, at an early date many of the clergy of Däbrä Asbo, the Šäwan monastery from which most of the rebel clerics had come, turned their backs on their anti-monarchical brethren and developed their relationship with the royal court¹⁰¹. By the last quarter of the 14th century, when the royal conflict with the house of Éwostatéwos reached its peak, the monks of Däbrä Asbo were among the most prominent royalists in the Church.

3.2.3 Monastic Genealogy and the Existence of Movements

In 14th century አባ:ሳሙኤል:ዘዋልድባ:-*Abbā Sāmu'él of Wālddabbā*, and አባ:ሳሙኤል:ዘቆየሻ:-*Abbā Sāmu'él of Qoyäšā*, were the famous monks in Northern Ethiopia, በጌምድር:ወትግራይ:- *Bägémmäddr* and *Tigrāy*. Although, we can then be seen two main genealogical monastic movements in 14th and 15th centuries¹⁰²:-

⁹⁶Perruchon, *Chroniques*, p. 7. n. 3.

⁹⁷ *Gadla Anorēwos*, pp. 84, 87-93; *Gadla Aron*, pp. 133-136; *Gadla Basalota Mika'el*, pp. 24, 30, 33, 44, 47; *Gadla Filepos of Dabra Asbo*, pp. 214, 231, 240. Cf. H. Ludolf, *Commentarius ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam*, quoted by perruchon, *Chroniques*, p. 7, n. 3. "Nobilium poena in Habassid est deportatio in insulam lacus Tsanici".

⁹⁸ *Gadla Ancrēwos*, pp. 88-89; *Gadla Filepos of Dabra Asbo*, pp. 231, 235, 240.

⁹⁹ During this period are Anorēwos, Aron, Basalota Mika'el, Filepos, Endreyas, Qawēstos, and Tadēwos of Dabra Maryam. However, it appears probable that some of these traditions are the result of the hagiographer's attempts to glorify their heroes with martyrdom. Endreyas' role in this conflict is portrayed only in the *gadl* of his son, *Gadla Samu'el of Däbrä Wagag*, pp. 10-12. The involvement of Qawēwos and Tadēwos is mentioned only in their *gadlat*. *Gadla Tadēwos of Dabra Maryam*, pp. 348-350; *Gadla Qawēstos*, ff. 106-109.

¹⁰⁰ *Gadla Basalota Mika'el*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁰¹ Filep'os, once the abbot of Däbrä Asbo, was denied entrance to the monastery because of his quarrel with the king. *Gadla Filepos*, p. 241.

¹⁰² Chillot 2002:19.

- i) The Disciples of St. *Täklä Hāymānot* mainly traveled in the South (*ሸዋ:-Šäwā* and further South, probably until *ዝዋይ:ሐይቅ:-Lake Zəwāy*), but also went West and North;
- ii) The Disciples of *Éwosṫātéwos* traveled mainly in the North *Tigrāy* and present Eritrea), and also West.

Among St. *Täklä Hāymānot*; the most famous disciples are: *አባ:ፊ.ሊ.ጳስ:-Abbā Filip'os*, the third Abbot of *Däbrä Asäbo*, *አቡነ:ዜና:ማርቆስ:-Abunä Zénā Mārḳos* (d.1375/6?) of *ደብረ:ብሥራት:-Däbrä Bəsrāt*, in North *Šäwā*, and also West. In the 16th century *አባ:ዕንባቆም:ወአባ:ዮሐንስ:-Abbā Ənbāqom* and *Abbā Yohannəs* are well known Abbots of *Däbrä Libānos*¹⁰³.

Among *Éwosṫātéwos* (ca. 1273-1352 A.D.) disciples were: *አባ:አብሳዲ:ዘደብረ:ማርያም:-Abbā Absādi* of *Däbrä Mārəyām* in *ሠራዬ:-Särāyē* (d.1380/1?), *አባ:ቡሩክ:አምላክ:ወአባ:ፊ.ሊ.ጳስ:-Abbā Buruk Amlāk* and *Abbā Filip'os* *ዘደብረ:አባይ:-of Däbrä Bizän*. Another of his disciples, *አባ:ገብረ:አ.የሱስ:-Gäbrä İyäsus*, preached the Gospel in *በጌምድር:-Bägəmməddr*, where he is said to have converted many *ፈላሻ:-Fälāšā*, *ቤተ:አይሁድ: [Bétä Ayəhud]* the House of Jews, *ቤተ:እሥራኤል::Bétä Əsrāél*-the House of Israel during the middle of the 14th century. Under these two very great influential monastic centers; there through whom the monks of today trace their origins. *አባ:ጊዮርጊስ:ዘጋሥጫ:-Abbā Giyorgis* of *Gāsəč'ā* (d.1425), a famous scholar of the time, became a monk in the *ገዳመ:ጋሥጫ:-Gāsəč'ā* Monastery. The monastery is not far from the *ገዳመ:ሐይቅ:-Hāyq* Monastery.

There are also some famous nuns, themselves founders of independent monasteries. For example:-*ክርስቶስ:ሠምራ:-Kərəstos Sämṛā* (15th C.), *ፍቅርተ:ክርስቶስ:-Fəqərtä Kərəstos* and *ወለተ:ጴጥሮስ:-Wälätä Pétəros* (both 17th Century.)¹⁰⁴.

A) The two Houses Thoughts and Emperor *Zär'a Yā'əqob* and Religious Nationalism

For almost a century the new monastic "house", founded by St. *Éwosṫātéwos* of *Särā'é* (ca. 1273-1352) threatened to divide Ethiopia both religiously and politically¹⁰⁵. Perhaps only their triumph

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ For the life of this important church leader see S. Turaiev, *Monuments Aethiopiae Hagiologia*, III (Petropoli 1905). On *Éwosṫātéwos* and his movement see Tadesse, *Church and State*, pp. 206-231.

within the Church in the mid-fifteenth century prevented the *Ēwoṣṫātians* from becoming a regional church independent of the main body of the Ethiopian Church. While the history of the *Ēwoṣṫātians* and their role in spreading Christianity are of great significance, for the moment we are concerned with the circumstances behind the emergence of the movement. As Taddesse (1972: 209) stated about their position:

“These *Ēwoṣṫātians* taught against the Alexandrian position on the Sabbath¹⁰⁶. It seems that at first he could gather little active support for his cause, and he left the country in self-exile, When his disciples returned fourteen years later, they apparently came with even stronger views on the subject, and with new ideas of better organization”.

Despite the conflicts which eventually developed between the Šāwān clergy¹⁰⁷ and the northern movement of the disciples of Abbā *Ēwoṣṫātēwos*, the roots of both monastic movements are essentially similar. Like the Šāwān clergy, the *Ēwoṣṫātians* included among their leaders sons of nobles such as Filip’os, Yohannes, and *Ēwoṣṫātēwos* himself¹⁰⁸. Once again the rise of the movement can be seen to have been closely connected to the establishment of *Solomonic* control in the area in question, for. *Ēwoṣṫātēwos* lived during the reign of Amdä Šəyon and met the king during the latter's military campaign in northern Ethiopia¹⁰⁹. With the subjugation of this area, the *Ēwoṣṫātians* movement developed as the champion of the area's traditional religious practices,

¹⁰⁶ The newly founded monasteries of the central and Southern provinces, the monastic institutions of the northern regions had endured for close to seven hundred years at the time of the “*Solomonic restoration*”. Tegrē province, the proverbial “land of monks”, had long been the center of Church education and continued to exercise a fascination for pious Christians who journeyed there to learn and visit the ancient religious sites. It is therefore somewhat surprising that in the first half of the fourteenth century a new monastic movement developed in Tegrē, which was opposed by virtually all the clergy of the Ethiopian Church.

¹⁰⁷ The Alexandrian position (ቤተ-ተክለ:ሃይማኖት:- The House of Tāklä Hāymānot) during this time; the disciples among whom Yā’əqob made this arrangement are said to have been twelve in number, including Fīlīḅpos. Among these we have the *Gādls* of only three of them and a complete review of the traditional activities of all cannot be made at the moment. It is however very clear from the geographical setting that the bishop intended to cover all the corners of the province of Šāwā and that he sent his missionaries in different directions from the central and southern provinces (Taddesse1972:176):

- (a) To the east, in the direction of the Muslim frontiers, the following were assigned: *Yoḥannəs* for Kail’at, *Qāwəṣṫos* for Māhagil, *Tādēwos* for Səlāləš, and *Maryas* for Fāṭigar,
- (b) To the north-west, beyond the western edge of the Šāwān plateau, were assigned *Anoréwos* ‘the junior’ for Morät and Wägda” and *Märqoréwos* for Märhabte; to the extensive new areas in the south and south-west were senet *Anorewos* ‘the elder’ for Wäräb and Sigaj,’ Adghani for Damot,9 *Iyosyas* for Waji and, *Yosef* for Inar’ut.

¹⁰⁸ *Gadla Ēwostatēwos*, p. 3; *Gadla Filepos of Dabra Bizan*, p. 71; *Gadla Yohannes of Dabra Bizan*, p. 127. Buruk Amlak is another *Ēwostatian* of royal origin, but he was not an Ethiopian and hence his antecedents are not relevant to our concerns. C. Conti Rossini, “Un santo eritreo: Buruk Amlak”, *RRAL*, ser. 6 XIV (1938), p. 16.

¹⁰⁹ *Gadla Ēwostatēwos*, pp. 53-54. The traditions on the relationship between Amda Seyon and *Ēwostatēwos* are contradictory in nature. His *gadl* records that the saint refused the king's gifts, *ibid.* but wept at his death, p. 108.

While *Ēwostātēwos* himself chose exile and died in Armenia, his disciples succeeded in developing a well-organized movement without the benefit of the royal patronages enjoyed by other monasteries¹¹⁰. Despite the violent opposition of kings, bishops, and other Church leaders, the *Ēwostātians* movement flourished in the frontier areas of the north where they enjoyed local support¹¹¹. In these regions they succeeded, like the monks exiled by Amdä Şəyon and Säyfa Arə‘əd, in attracting a large following among the local Christians and non-Christians¹¹².

B) The *Däqiqä Əstifānos* Movement and The Cause of Controversy

The last of the monastic movement which we shall consider in our analysis of the factors behind the rise of the holy man is that of [ጸቂቀ፡እስጢ፡ፋ፡ኖስ፡-*Däqiqä Əstifānos*], the Children of Stephen ‘heresy’, and the followers of Abbā *Əstifānos*¹¹³. Although [እስጢ፡ፋ፡ኖስ፡ዮን-*Əstifānosāwayān*] *Stephanites* clergy appear to have been especially conscientious in recording the lives of their leaders, the history of their movement and their theological opinions, we are still a long way from being able to accurate reconstruction of the history of this ‘heretical’ movement¹¹⁴.

Some later traditions seek to include *Ēwostātēwos* among the saints who opposed the king's marital practices, *ibid.*, p. 48, n. 1; C. Conti Rossini, *“Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell’eccliahe Filipos”*, *RRAL*, ser. 5 XXVI (1917), p. 709. Others claim that close ties existed between the king and the saint, Taddesse, *Church and State*, p. 208, esp. n. 9.

¹¹⁰ On the organization of the *Ēwostatian* communities see *Gadla Filepos*, *Gadla Yohannes*, *Gadla Buruk Amlak*, and the fragmentary *Gadla Marqorewos*. Also J. Kolmodin, Traditions de Tsazega et Hazzega, *Archives d’etudes orientales*, vol. 5, 3 (1912-1914) A23, A24. *Ēwostatēwos* himself refused gifts from Amda Seyon, *Gadla Ēwostatēwos*, pp. 53-54. Filep’os refused those of Dawit, *Gadla Filep’os*, p. 118; Yohannes counseled his disciples against accepting charity from kings or makwannens, monasteries or laymen, *Gadla Yohannes*, p. 135, but under his leadership Dabra Bizan appears to have accepted royal gifts. G.W.B. Huntingford, *Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa 1965), p. 34.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 146; *Gadla Filepos of Dabra Bizan*, p. 65.

¹¹² Indeed, the emergence of monasticism among the Beta Israel (Falasha) is almost certainly related to the activities of the *Ēwostatians* among these Ethiopian Jews.

¹¹³ አባ፡እስጢ፡ፋ፡ኖስ፡-*Abbā Əstifānos* was born by 1394 to family of the local chiefs at *Marāwā* in the sub-province of *Agāmé* in Northern Ethiopia (*Taddesse Tamrat 1968:104*). He was first given the name *Hədgä ‘Anbāsā*. His father, *Bərhānā Mäsqäl* died before he was born; and he was raised by his mother, *Şārā*. Later, his mother sent the boy to his uncle, the chief of *Zəqlāy* and *Gəmələ* (*Getachew Haile 1996:57*). After a short reunion with his family, *Əstifānos* joined the monastic community of አባ፡ሳሙኤል፡-*Abbā Sāmu‘él of Qoyäşā*, education center called *Bētā İyāsus* and studied Psalms of David. On his behalf of his behavior and his courage of learning, the clergies of *Bētā İyāsus* gave him the name ‘*Əstifānos*’ (*Getachew Haile 1996:58*). At the age of eighteen, his family sent him to the Egyptian Bishop, *Abunā Bärtālomēwos*; and was ordained as a deacon. Here he distinguished himself by his learning and teaching and began to gather disciples from among the pupils who came to listen to him. Although his ‘heretical’ views do not appear to have prevented him from being consecrated as a priest by the same *Abunā Bärtālomēwos* at the age of thirty, they significantly harmed his relationship with the other monks at *Qoyäşā*. Only the intervention of the Governor of Şərə appears to have saved him and his followers from coming to harm and it was in his region that *Əstifānos* established his new community (*Steven Kaplan 1984:41*).

¹¹⁴ S. Kaplan 1984:40.

Əstifānos joined the monastic community of አባ፡ሳሙኤል፡ዘቆየዳ፡-Abbā Sāmu'él of Qoyäšā¹¹⁵. At age of nineteen, as it stated in *Getachew Haile (1996:62-63)*, Abbā Sāmu'él, the Abbot of the Monastery, gave him the Monastic Cap (*Askémā*). He became a calligraphist; the work of copying the manuscripts gave him an opportunity to deal with the teaching and practice of the church¹¹⁶. Knowing his talent and his strict monastic life many people from different monasteries gathered around his little hut to listen his preaching's¹¹⁷. From among the pupils who came to listen to him, Əstifānos began to gather his own disciples¹¹⁸. At the age of thirty, he was ordained as a priest by *Abunä Bärtälooméwos*¹¹⁹.

On his return Əstifānos clashed with the community of the monastery, because he began to denounce them from their departure from the *Holy Scripture*. Finally, they demanded him to leave the community. Knowing the whole community, including the Abbot, needed his expulsion, Əstifānos left *Qoyäšā* and settled at *Wägärä*. After sometime, Əstifānos returned to *Qoyäšā* with the request of the Abbot for reconciliation. However, they put him in jail in his arrival¹²⁰. Concerning the beginning of his movement as *Taddesse Tamerat 1968:106* stated: "He was released soon, at the intervention of the Governor of Šäré, and the History of the Stephenites movement proper started at this point in 1428 A.D.". The ruling king of the time was King *Yəshaq*, with his throne name *Gäbərä Mäsqäl* and the Bishop was *Abunä Bärtälooméwos*¹²¹.

In addition to, political and doctrinal issues, *Stephenites* were also accused by the Church of Ethiopia and by *Zär'a Yā'əqob* himself on the base of 'Canonical' differences. These canonical differences maybe divided into three: -

- i) *The difference in Monastic Cap*
- ii) *Observance of Jewish Sabbath, and*
- iii) *The Christian Morality and Ascetic Life*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Taddesse Tamrat 1968:105.*

¹¹⁷ *Getachew Haile 1996:70.*

¹¹⁸ *Loc.cit 1984:41.*

¹¹⁹ *Op cit 1996:72.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid, pp.73-74.*

¹²¹ *Op cit. 1996:235.*

i) The difference in Monastic Cap

The *Stephenites* had different kind of monastic cap, which irritated their opponents. However, they claimed that theirs was the right one. On a big Council held inside the King's Court, Clergies of Royal Camp asked them saying as it mentioned on:¹²²

“*lä-mänt zä-īṭa-habəru məsälä fäläsətä İtäyoḥḥəyā bä-qob;*
Why is it that you do not agree with Ethiopian monks with
regards to monastic cap?”

Concerning this question, *Pāwlos*, among the *Stephenites* monks answered by saying: “...it is an example of Christ's patience, ...”¹²³.

The king sent them to the Archbishop *Abbā Gäbrä'él*, Alexandrian Patriarch ordering him to excommunicate them (*The Stephenites*). However, the Bishop recognized it as the right monastic cap of the sons of *Abbā P'ākumis* (*Pachomius*) and showed them his monastic cap, which is identical with them¹²⁴.

ii) Observance of Jewish Sabbath

The accusation against *Əsṯifānos* includes the charge he observes the Jewish Sabbath while breaking the Sunday¹²⁵. He admitted that he observed the Sabbath but denied that he disregarded Sundays¹²⁶.

The question of the observance of Jewish Sabbath was the main principle of the ኤዎሳጥኤዎስ:-
Éwosṯātian (*Éwosṯātéwosāwəyān*) than *Əsṯifānosāwəyān* (*'Stephenites'*). However, what I do not understand is that in the church, which had close tie Jewish world, who were those who were not observing the Sabbath? Maybe, I suggest that the *Judaic* religion and culture influenced in the *Church of Ethiopia*.

This idea also developed by *Getachew Haile* (1983:110) as stated: “For a church, like that of Ethiopia which makes the Pseudo-Apostolic writings the central basis of its authority, the heretics should be those who do not observe Saturday”.

¹²² *Gädlä 'Abāw wä-Axaw*, EMMML 4, f.45.

¹²³ *Getachew Haile* 1996:94.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 149.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 94.

¹²⁶ *Taddesse Tamerat* 1968: 111.

The Church of Ethiopia, *Éwosṭātian*, the *Stephenites*, and even the King *Zār'a Yā'əqob* himself were all observers of Saturday. St. *Abunä Täklä Hāymānot* of *Šāwā* and his cousin and disciple *Abbā Qāwāstos*, were strong observers of Saturday. *Abbā Giyor'gis* of ጋስጃ:-*Gāsəč'ā* believes that observing the *Seventh Day* is one among the *Ten Commandments of God*, so that no man has the authority to abolish it¹²⁷.

In the times before *Zār'a Yā'əqob's* time, if the monasteries were observing the Jewish Sabbath and if the Observance of the Sabbath was not a controversial issue, then why *Zār'a Yā'əqob* accused the *Stephenites* on the base of their Observance of the Jewish Sabbath?

This idea of not observing the *Jewish Sabbath* had been introduced by the Metropolitan, who came from Egypt, Bishop *Sāwiros*, who displeased with the Jewish customs, observed in the *Church of Ethiopia*¹²⁸.

Wherever, the cause was before 1450 A.D. that the *Observance of Jewish* not accepted at the *King's Court*. In 1450, at a *Council* held in ደብረ:ምጥማቅ:-*Däbrä Məṣmāq*, *Zār'a Yā'əqob* eliminated the stumbling block which divided the *Ethiopian Church* in to two¹²⁹. Then, observing the *Sabbath* and the idea on which *Əstifānos* were accused to get an acceptance at the court.

iii) Pursuance of Strict Christian Morality and Ascetic Life

After the expulsion from the Monastery of አባ:ሳሙኤል:ዘቆየጳ:-*Abbā Sāmu'él of Qoyäṣā*, አባ:እስጢፋኖስ:-*Abbā Əstifānos* established his own monastery. However, still living in his own monastery, he did not stop denouncing the monks of other monasteries for their departure from the *Holy Scriptures*.

A monk is a 'dead man' who has voluntarily left his worldly life in favor of the life to come¹³⁰. For this reasons the *Code of the Kings [Fəṯha Nägäšt]* preferred to call them as an 'Angels' as mentioned¹³¹:

"...wä-mänākosāt-ni mälä 'əḵ 't mədr-āwəyān wä-säb' sāmāy-āwəyān;
Monks are Angels of the earth and human of the heaven".

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 111.

¹³⁰ .Getachew Haile 1983:95.

¹³¹ *Fəṯha Nägäšt* 1958:153.

However, monks who lived at the time of *Əstifānos* were not angels. On this reason, *Əstifānos* and his children did not observe monastic principles, and they refused to be in *the Communion* with such people¹³².

They exposed the big and wealthy monasteries by saying loudly:-

“... *kämä--zə-nu fənoto lä-mənkus-nā zäbä-'aṭəryo ʔəritä wä-bāli'ə wä-sātiy bā-xasiśä šimāt wä-kəbr wä-bä-täsärəgəwo zä-bäqäqäntä 'aləbās;*

Is the conduct of monasticism like this by acquiring of property, by eating and drinking, by desiring rank and honor, and by putting on expensive dresses”¹³³.

Big monasteries were enjoying land grants of kings, monarchs and governors. This intern makes them to break their words which they promised lives in poverty. Even some monks were living in their own house, without going to monastery, having their property, including their slaves with them. The other well-educated and well-known spiritual monks started to leave their monasteries and became courtiers of kings¹³⁴.

However, the denouncing act of *Stephenites* embarrassed the big and wealthy monasteries; and this in turn consolidated the power of the opposing to the Church of Ethiopia during the reign of Emperor *Zär'a Yā'əqob*.

iv) Doctrinal Controversy

Doctrinal issues were other causes for the disagreement of *Stephenites* and Emperor *Zär'a Yā'əqob*. These dogmatic problems divided into three:-

- a) *The question on the Existence of ጵብረጵጵ:- Däbrä Şəyon;*
- b) *The question on 'three words' or 'one word' exists in the Holy Trinity; and*
- c) *The question on prostration for only the Holy Trinity, or for Saints and objects too.*

¹³² *Op cit, 104.*

¹³³ *Gädlä 'Abāw wä-Axaw, EMMML 4.f.8.*

¹³⁴ *Getachew Haile 1996, pp.33-34.*

a) Existence of **ደብረ:ጳጵጵ: Däbrä Şayon**

ደብረ:ጳጵጵ: Däbrä Şayon, literary means *Mount Zion*. It is one thousand years time, in which Christ will come and reign with his elect. It is related with the belief of *Sāmānyā Mə'ət:- the Eight Thousand*¹³⁵.

Sometimes it is called:- “*mäsāh' bā-Däbrä Şayon*”- *The Banquet on Mount Zion*, “*Mäsāha Kābkāb*” -*The Wedding Banquet (Revolution 19:9)*, “*Mäbl' zä-'Asər'tu Mə'ət*”-*Food of the one thousand [years]*, “*Mā'əd zä-'Asər'tu Mə'ət*”-*Meal of the one thousand [years]*, and “*Kābkābä Däbrä Şayon*”-*The Wedding on Mount Zion*¹³⁶. On *Mäşəhafä Dəggüwa*¹³⁷, it called “*Māngəştä Däbrä Şayon*” -*Government of Mount Zion*”. The Scriptural basis for it is the *Revolution to John 14:1-2, 20:2-3, 21:3* and the second part of the “**መጽሐፍ:ከጳጵጵ:- Mäşəhafä Kidān**”- *The Book of Covenant*.

“... 'əbläk-əmu 'əmäs'ə kāmä 'əntä şāhay zä-yə-şärəq... 'əmäs'ə dibä mədr 'əkonnən həyāw-ānā wä-mut-ānā 'amä-100 wä-50 'amätä məhərät täfäşämä mā'əkälä pāntəqosté wä-pāsikā yə-kāwən məş'a-tu lä- 'ab-uyä;

...I tell you, I will come as the sun rises I will come on earth and rule among the dead and the alive. When the One Hundred Fifty Years between Pentecost and Pascal are completed, the coming of father will come to pass¹³⁸.

Another source for this belief is the historical *Book of Giyorgis Wäldä-Amid* says:- the normal way of life in this world will come to end in 7000 A.M. [*Anno Mundi*]. May it mean that since the creation of this world, which is equivalent to 1500 A.D. On this time, an angel will bind *Satan* for a thousand years (*Rev.20:1*) and the reign of *Christ* with *His* elect will begin. *Christ's* reign will remain through the periods of the imprisonment of *Satan*, and hence the one thousand years of *the Banquet on Mount Zion*. *The Banquet on Mount Zion* will be preceded by the reign of *'Hasāwi Mäsih'-False Messiah [Anti-Christ]* (*I Jn.2:18*) and will be succeeded by the “*New Heaven and the New Earth*” (*Rev.21:1*)¹³⁹.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 31.

¹³⁶ *Dərsānā Mikā'él* 1989: 498.

¹³⁷ *Mäşəhafä Dəggüwa* 1988: p.114, vc[column 3]

¹³⁸ *Mäşəhafä Kidān*, EMMML, 2358, f. 47.

¹³⁹ *Getachew Haile* 1983:109.

Stephenites refused to accept this theory. For them **ደብረጽዮን**: *Däbrä Şəyon* began on the *Day of Salvation* and will continue until the *End of the World*. As it stated on *Gädlä 'Abäw wä-Axaw*¹⁴⁰:

“...*Däbrä Şəyon yə 'zé-hi hālāwä lä-gäbār-əyānā [şədq] wä-däxari-ni yə-mäşə'...*;
As for [the Banquet on] Mount Zion, it is there now the righteousness; later, too, it shall come for the deeds of righteousness...”.

When the king, [*Zär'a Yä'əqob*] asked the *Stephenites*, what *Däbrä Şəyon* is like? They replied quoting from *Təmhərtä Xəbu'at-* (*The Teaching of the Hidden*) as it mentioned¹⁴¹:

“...*zä-yəbé kämä yä-häbä-nä zä- 'äyən ī-rə 'əyā wä- 'əz 'n ī-sämə 'a wəstā ləbā səb 'ə zä-ī-tä-häläyā zä- 'astädälāwä Əgəzi 'abəhər lä- 'əllä yä-fäqər-wwo;*
...As He [Christ] made known [through the Apostles], what God prepared for 'His Elect' is something which is not seen in [human] eye, not heard in [human] ear, and not thought in human heart”.

However, King *Zär'a Yä'əqob* has gone to great length in his *'Mäşəhafä Milād,-The Book of Collection*; to explain what the *Banquet on Mount Zion*¹⁴².

b) The Existence of 'three words' or 'one word' in the Holy Trinity

The *Stephenites* accused on that time for their some unorthodoxy view on the *Holy Trinity*¹⁴³. King *Zär'a Yä'əqob* accused them of holding the vertical view that there are 'three Words' and 'three Sprits' in the *Holy Trinity*¹⁴⁴.

These *Stephenites* thought as stated on *K. Wendt*: “*They say, the Father exists with His Word and Spirit, the Son exists with His Word and Spirit, and the Holy Spirit*”. The Church of Ethiopia and the king, *Zär'a Yä'əqob* himself believes in the *Existence of 'one Word' and 'one Spirit' in the Holy Trinity*. Again as he stated: “*We believe in 'one Word', the Son, who is the Word of the*

¹⁴⁰ EMMML 4, f.69.

¹⁴¹ *Təmhərtä Xəbu'at*, 1966:104.

¹⁴² *K. Wendt* 1962: 31, 40.

¹⁴³ *Taddesse Tamerat* 1972:pp.230-40.

¹⁴⁴ *Getachew Haile* 1983:107.

Father and the Holy Spirit, and we believe in 'one Spirit'; the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of the Father and the Son"¹⁴⁵.

For the Church doctrine, interpreting those who confess 'three Words' and 'three Sprits' have multiplied God in to three; "...Who teaches (the Existence of) 'three Words' and 'three Spirits', has done 'three Gods'".

However, the writings of the *Stephenites* do not confirm the 'Existence of three Spirits' in the *Holy Trinity*. When, those *Stephenites* do confess the 'Existence of three Words'. Of course, they say the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit speak by their own Words¹⁴⁶.

c) The Prostration for the Holy Trinity, and for Saints and Objects

This doctrinal issue is not as simple as it appears on paper. It was the reason for their extermination from the face of Ethiopia. They refused to prostrate before 'others' [*Saints and objects too*]. For them the word 'others' represents objects and persons other than *the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit*. Among persons and objects, which the *Stephenites* refused to bow down before them: *St. Mary, Kings and the Holy Cross* are the main issues. The question is why they refused to do these?

A) Mariology and the Stephenites Case

1. Refusal of Prostration before the Icon of St. Mary and the Holy Cross

Even if it is not clear, whether the *Stephenites* knew it or not refusal of prostration before the *Icon of St. Mary and the Holy Cross* is not a new idea in the *History of Ethiopia*. Some sources found that one hundred fifty (150) years before the establishment of the *Stephenites* movement some people arose in *Təgrāy* who said, "... We will not prostrate ourselves to the Cross nor to an Icon; because an Icon is just a tablet and the Cross and piece of wood from Golgotha". However, the movement was stopped by the declaration of *Aṣé Yāgbə'a Ṣəyon* (r. 1285 - 1294 A.D.)¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ *Loc cit*, 1962: 13, 38, 40.

¹⁴⁶ **ጌታቸው ጌደሌ፡፲፱፻፺፮**: 188. And also the Scriptural bases for their doctrine are the *Book of Enoch* the *Pentateuch* (*Gen.1:26, 3:22*), the *Books of the Prophets* (*Isa. 52:13; Ezek.10:2; Dan. 12:28*), *Acts of the Apostles* (*Acts 8:29, 10:20, 13:2*), *Epistles of the Apostles* (*Cola. 3:13, Heb. 3:15, II Peter 1:17-18*), and the *Revelation of John* (*Rev. 2:11, 7:17, 14:13* (*Knibb 1978:151; ጌታቸው ጌደሌ፡፲፱፻፺፮: 309. Gädlä Éləyās ff. 42vb - 42ra).*

¹⁴⁷ **ጌታቸው ጌደሌ፡፲፱፻፺፮** :p.24.

The *Stephenites* do not prostrate before the *Icon of St. Mary*; but this does not mean they disrespect *her*. When we look at their writings, we can ascertain that do respect *her*. We can find the Icon of St. Mary the so-called “**ምስላ፡ፍቅር፡ወልዳ፡**-*Məslä Fəqur Wäldä*”-[*St. Mary*] with *Her Beloved Son*, throughout their literatures¹⁴⁸. Their church at *Gundä Gundi* is dedicated so St. Mary¹⁴⁹. They also recite *Wəddāsə Mārəyām- Praise of St. Mary*, and *Anqäṣä Bərḥān- the Gate of Light*; every time on their prayer. These two compositions have words, like “*Sä’ali länä Qadast*”-*O Righteous! Intercede for us*, which praise St. Mary¹⁵⁰.

The question is, if they love and respect *St. Mary*, why they refused to prostrate before *Her Icon*? They have four main reasons not to do so¹⁵¹:

- a) *Coincidence of the Institutionalization of the Cult*
- b) *Icons are the Works of Person’s Hand and non-Scriptural*
- c) *Resistance to Royal Domination on the Church*
- d) *Prostration is Worship*

a) Coincidence of the Institutionalization of the Cult

The refusal of the *Stephenites* to prostrate to none; but, *the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit* coincided with the institutionalization of the *Cult of St. Mary* in the local church by Emperor *Zär’a Yā’əqob*¹⁵². Therefore, they refused prostration before an Icon was not a long-lived practice and obligation the church.

b) Icons are the Works of Person’s Hand and Non-Scriptural

In the occasion, the Church Fathers showed the *Cult of St. Mary* called “*Məslä Fəqur Wäldä*”-*With Her Beloved Son*; the *Stephenites* admired the *Icon* and said: “*It is the works of men’s hand*”¹⁵³. It is a deliberate answer to remind the Church doctrine, the *Word of God* which prohibits prostration before men’s hand work (*Psalm 113:13, Ex. 20:4 -5*).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.22

¹⁴⁹ *Fikre Sellase Sibhat La’ab* 1972: ix.

¹⁵⁰ *Op cit*, 30, 140.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁵² *Getachew Haile* 1983:98; *Steven Kaplan*1984:42.

¹⁵³ *Loc cit*, **፲፱፻፲፮**: p.155.

The Bishop, *Abbā Gābrə'él* when asked these *Stephenites* said, “*Why do you not prostrate yourselves for St. Mary?*” They also replied:

“...*We haven't got source before, which says, 'I prostrate myself to St. Mary' except that 'I prostrate myself to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit'*”¹⁵⁴.

They maybe are referring to books, which contain *Hymns for the Blessed Virgin* and petitions for *Her Intercessions*, like *Wəddāsé Mārəyām- Praise of St. Mary*, and ‘*Sä'ātāt zä-Gəbš'*-*Coptic Horologium*. This book reserve the verb ‘*sägädä- prostrated*’ or ‘*sägid- prostration*’ for *God the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit*¹⁵⁵.

c) Resistance to Royal Domination on the Church

As it written on the *Gädlä 'Abäw wä-Axaw*, that the king asked them to prostrate before the *Icon of St. Mary*, they also answered: “...*we will not prostrate by your orders*”. They even refused to prostrate for God by the order of the king¹⁵⁶.

The *Stephenites* main intention here is to oppose the royal domination on the church by refusing his order, which demands prostration before the *Cult of St. Mary*¹⁵⁷.

d) Prostration is Worship

The word ‘*sägädä*’ in *Gə'əz* has three meanings by *Wolf Leslau's Comparative Dictionary* (1987:490) i.e. “*to bow out of respect , to prostrate oneself to ground, and to worship in prostration*”. For the *Stephenites* the word means: “*to worship in prostration*” while for their opponents it meant primarily, “*to bow down before an object or some one as an expression of respect*”¹⁵⁸.

At present *Gə'əz*, two words of exchanging for ‘*sägädä*’, that is ‘*bowing down in greeting before the person*’. In addition, *näsə'a 'ədä*, that is, ‘*shaking hands*’, [lit. ‘*taking the hand*’]¹⁵⁹. On the meaning of *näsə'a 'ədä* has changed to mean: ‘*to bow down*’ by an official of *Zär'a Yā'əqob*¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁴ *Gädlä 'Abäw wä-Axaw, EMMML 4, f. 63.*

¹⁵⁵ *Loc cit, 1983:101.*

¹⁵⁶ *Loc cit, ሹሹሹሹ: p.139, 154.*

¹⁵⁷ *Steven Kaplan 1984:43*

¹⁵⁸ *Loc cit, 1983:96).*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid, 97.*

¹⁶⁰ *Gädlä 'Abäw wä-Axaw, EMMML 4, f.131.*

Since the *Stephenites* connected prostration with worship, they objected to express their Veneration of St. Mary through *səgdät*, which they reserved for *God the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit*. But the later disciples, after a long discussion with Bishop *Abunä Gäbrä'él*, have prostrated before the *Icon of St. Mary* together with the bishop¹⁶¹.

The Church's faith on 'Veneration of the Blessed Virgin', in the other side, had gone beyond the limit for, "one might conclude from the writings that he has left behind that he was demanding of the Christians that they worship Her through Her Icons"¹⁶². In practice for the Church and *Zär'a Yä'əqob*, St. Mary come before Christ; Our Lord is 'Wäldä Mārəyām'-the Son of Mary rather than *Jesus Christ*. The king maybe motivated to act this way by the fact that He was 'yā-Mārəyām yä-səlät ləgğ'¹⁶³ - a Son born with the intercession of St. Mary¹⁶⁴.

On the book of *Mästäbäqu' zä-Mārəyām-Intercession of Mary* (EMML 2969, ff. 14-15) written in opposition against the *Stephenites*, we could find the statements, which support their idea:

"...lätti yädähu kabr wä-səhat zä-məslä Wäldä 'ako wä-səgdät
Honor and Glory for Her, and worship and prostration (for Her) together with Her Son".

As Prof. *Getachew Haile* stated: "In the course of the history of the church the question became no longer whether or not the verb *səgädä* or *səgid* should also apply to St. Mary, but rather *She* should be worshipped with the verb 'Amläkä with Her Son'¹⁶⁵.

2. Refusal of Prostration before of the King

Whenever, the *Stephenites* asked to prostrate before the king. However, they replied¹⁶⁶:

"nəhnä-sä ī-nəsəgəd lä-bä 'əd zä- 'ənbälä lä- 'Ab wä-Wäld wä-Mänfäs Qədus;
We, (the *Stephenites*) prostrate ourselves to none but for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit".

¹⁶¹ *Loc cit.*, ገጽ 149, 294.

¹⁶² *Getachew Haile* 1983:98.

¹⁶³ This expression divided the Christian Ethiopia into two. But later in 1878, at the Council of *Boru Médä*, the expression *zä-məslä Wäldä- together with Her Son*, have revised into *wä-lä-Wäldä-and for Her Son*, by the request of the *Şäggöč- Adoptionists*, and by the will of Emperor *Yohannəs IV* (r. 1871-1889) (*Op cit.*, ገጽ 266).

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 149, 294.

¹⁶⁵ *Loc cit.*, 1983:111.

¹⁶⁶ *Gädlä 'Abäw wä-Axaw*.

have been persecuted by their supporters.

According to his *Gädl* and my informats, Abba *Élāyās* was the son of **ዕለኒ፡-ዕለኒ**, sister of Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob*¹⁷⁰. Steven Kaplan (1982) also speaks of “Abba [**ኤልያስ፡፡**] *Élāyās* is a nephew of *Zār'a Yā'əqob*, the son of the Emperor's sister, *ዕለኒ*”. Abba *Élāyās* had a great deal of religious education which he began since he was a child. Thus, he was a very spiritual man. Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob* was very fond of Abba *Élāyās* and had great respect for him. At first, he lived at another place, on one occasion, his followers are said to have presented to Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob* a proposal that the Emperor give the title of **መምህራን፡፡** *Māmhərā Hāymānot* (Religious Scholar) to Abba *Élāyās*. However, when Abba *Élāyās* heard of his followers' proposal he went into hiding at *Aškkəllā* Monastery. He came to this monastery because he did not desire to be given royal appointments. Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob* looked for Abba *Élāyās* everywhere and could not find him. Once again, although he still doesn't refer to Abba *Élāyās* being at *Aškkəllā* Monastery¹⁷¹. Steven Kaplan has the following about Abba *Élāyās*: “Despite his close connection to the royal family, *Élāyās* did not exploit his position for personal gain and refused the offer of a prestigious monastic seat”¹⁷².

Two years after Abba *Élāyās* came to *Aškkəllā* Monastery, Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob* also came to the *ገብገብ* area. Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob* was accompanied by his soldiers when he came to the area of *Aškkəllā* Monastery and he was in search of wood for constructing a church. While the wood was being cut, Abba *Élāyās* was seen in the forest by two of *Zār'a Yā'əqob*'s soldiers, *Zār'a Yā'əqob* and the two soldiers rushed to Abba *Élāyās* and caught up with him, Following this *Zār'a Yā'əqob* asked Abba *Élāyās* to return with him to this original place, but he was unable to convince Abba *Élāyās* to return.

Abba *Élāyās* continued to live in *Aškkəllā* Monastery for a long time and he made it famous. Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob*, who visited the monastery on different occasions for different reasons, endowed the monastery with lots of presents. He also discussed with Abba *Élāyās* religious issues. Because he hoped that Abba *Élāyās* would accept his request to return. *Zār'a Yā'əqob*

¹⁷⁰ Informat: Abba *Gäbrä Mäsqäl*, Merigeta Neqatibeb and Bah. Abba G/Yesus.

¹⁷¹ **ገደለ፡ኤልያስ፡ ዘቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፡ ክፍሪ፡፡**

¹⁷² Steven Kaplan 1982.

always asked *Élayās* to leave *Aškkəllā* Monastery again and again. However, Abba *Élayās* refused the request of *Zār'a Yā'əqob* because he had the interest to live like a hermit in the monastery of *Aškkəllā* and he made this clear to *Zār'a Yā'əqob*.

Abba *Élayās* is believed to have played a great role in the development of *Aškkəllā* Monastery. He did this by binging monks from *Mānāgəšā Ambā*¹⁷³ and attracting a large number of followers to come to *Aškkəllā* Monastery. The tradition relates that Abba *Élayās* finally disappeared from the monastery at the age of 132. In a manuscript, on the history of King *Nā'od* (r.1494-1508), it is said that the grave of *Abbā Élayās* is found at *Aškkəllā* Monastery.

Abbā Arkä Bəruk was the successor of Abba *Élayās* as administrator of *Aškkəllā* Monastery. He was the one who brought the 'tabot' of St. Mikā'él from *Däbrä Bərḥān* to *Aškkəllā* Monastery. He then put St. Mikā'él's 'tabot' together with *Kidānā Məhrät's* 'tabot' in the monastery. He also died after a great deal of contribution to the development of the monastery and was buried their. King *Ləbnä Dəngəl* (r. 1508 -1540) once came to *Aškkəllā* Monastery. When he returned back he gave to the monastery the 'tabot' of *Lədätā* and different kinds of other presents.

The Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob*, the strongest ruler of the early *Solomonic* period, and the monarch most active in ecclesiastical matters, took an active interest in the monastic leadership and placed friendly clerics in several important monastic seats. According to *Gädlä ኢባ:ኤልያስ:-Abbā Élayās*, the Emperor offered the saint, who happened to be his nephew, the leadership of any of a number of prestigious monasteries including *ደብረ:ሊባኖስ:- Däbrä Libānos*, *ደብረ:ወገግ:- Däbrä Wägəg*, *Däbrä Wāli*, or *Däbrä Hällé Luyā*. While *Élayās* refused the honor, lest he lose the kingdom of heaven, other monks had no such fears and accepted positions. *Abbā Fəré Mikā'él* was nominated to be the abbot of *Däbrä Wārāb* by the clergy of the monastery, but assumed the office only six months later when appointed by the Emperor.

¹⁷³ A place located in West *Šāwā Diocese* (region) 25 km. from Addis Ababa.

Genology of *Abbā Élayās*

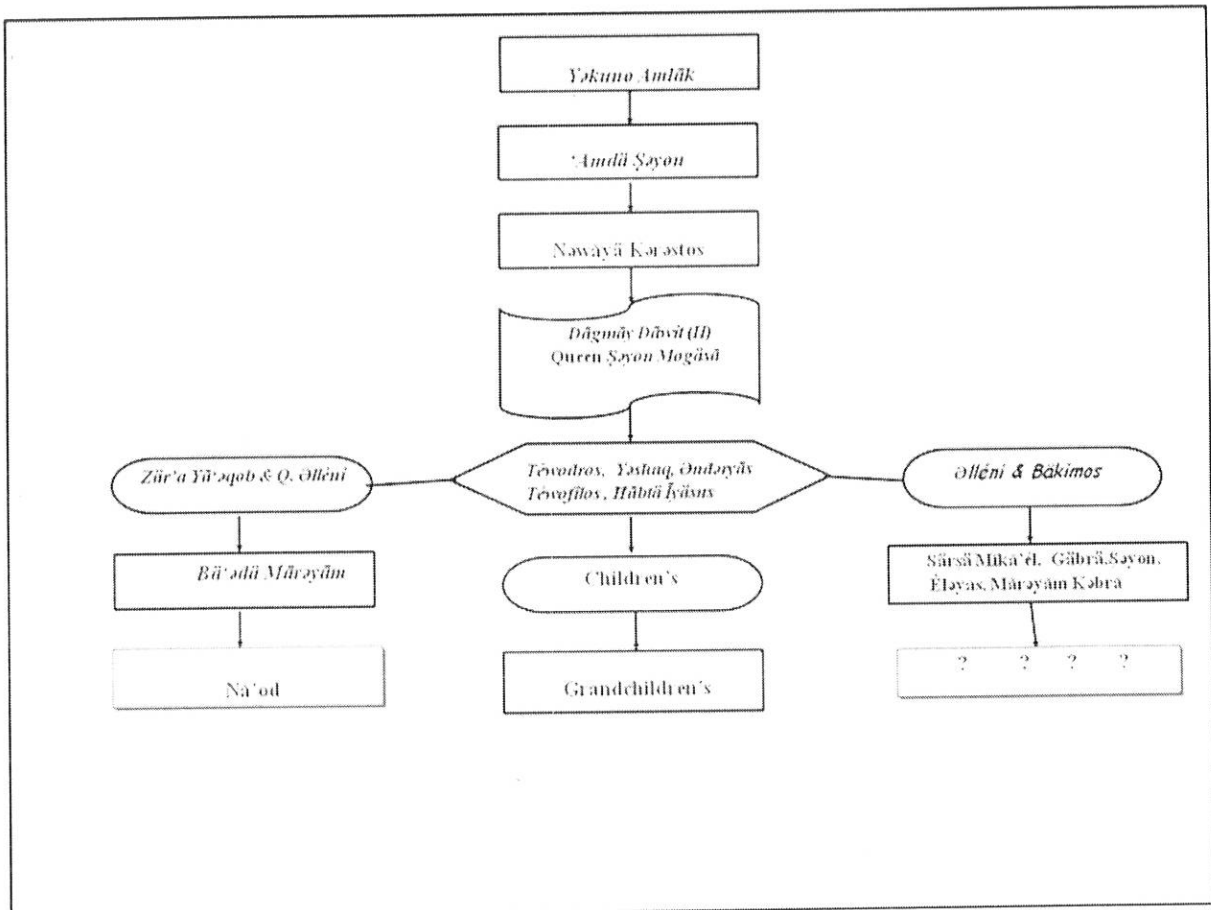


Chart 2: *Abbā Élayās*' Ancestors and Families¹⁷⁴

The leadership of **ደብረ:ሊባኖስ:-** *Däbrä Libānos*, which *Abbā Élayās* had refused was given to *Abbā Märhā Kərəstos*, a monk from the monastery. *Zār'a Yā'əqob* was anxious to have a loyal ally leading this monastery, whose cooperation was so important if his programs of church reunification and evangelization were to succeed. So, while the monks of *Däbrä Libānos* were allowed to nominate four candidates for the throne of **ቅዱስ:አባ:ተክለ:ሃይማኖት:-** St. *Abunä Täklä Hāymānot*, the final selection of an abbot rested with the king. Should he refused he was called into line and reminded of his position: "Give to me ,as your (spiritual) father gave to my father; are we not king like *Zār'a Yā'əqob*? Are you not appointed like *Əndəryās*?".

¹⁷⁴ This Chart which I prepared based upon Mss of QSC, *EHNKM* and *EMML* #1126, f. 27ra - f. 28vb. But it is different geneological interpretation of Ms *MAM*, f. 7r and Tadesse Tamrat (1972: 280).

3.3.2. The Cause of the ደብረ-ብርሃን:-Däbrä Bərḥān Council

Some of the passages quoted from *Gädlä Élayās* (ff. 29vb - 29rb) and allusion to doctrinal issues of the Ethiopian Church during the medieval centuries¹⁷⁵:

[...ወተዋሥኦሎ፡ ለዕልዋነ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ገማልያል ፡ ወጨሆ፡፡ ዘጊዮርጊስኒ ፡ ወእንበረኝ ፡ ረባዕያውያን ፡ ወንሰጥሮሳውያን፡ ወአጥቃ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ዘይቤ፡ ፩ገጸ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወደቂቀ፡ ቤቱ፡ እለ፡ ይቤሉ፡ ፪፡ ዘክርስቶስ ፡ ባሕርይ፡የአምር፡ በመለኮቱ፡ ወኢየአምር፡ ከማነ፡ በትስብዕቱ፡ ሞተ፡ ሥጋ፡ ባሕቲቱ፡ እንበለ ፡ መለኮቱ፡ ወይቤ፡ አባ፡ ኤልያስ፡ ዘይቤ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ በመልእክቱ፡ ሞተ፡ በሥጋ፡ ወሐይወ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ኢኮነኑ፡ ፩ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ኪዳን፡፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር፤ ቅዱስ ፡ ኃያል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሕያው፡ ዘኢይመውት፡ ሐመ ፡ ወሞተ ፡ ወተንሥኦ ፡ እመታን፡፡ ወደመሰሶ ፡ ለሞት ፡ በሞቱ ፡ ለወልደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሲኦለ፡ ከይደ፡ ይቤ፡....]¹⁷⁶.

Name of Institution or Person in the Gädl	Type of Taught
Nestorians and Leo I ¹⁷⁷	"Christ has one Body and two Natures".
Gämaləyal Zä-Giorgis, and Ənbäräñ	"Christ has two Bodies and two Natures"
Aṭṭəqqa Mika'əl's	"God has one Side (face)"
ደቂቀ፡እስጢፋኖስ፡-Däqiqä Əstifānos (Stephenites)	Not necessary prostrate for Our lady [St. Mary] and Icon
Orthodox Tewahido Church (Oriental Orthodox Churches)	["ሞተ፡በሥጋ፡ወሐይወ፡በመንፈስ፡፡- Motä bäsəga, wāhayo bā-mänfäs]; He [Christ] died by His Body; and became Eternal by His Divinity."

Table 5: Some 'Heretical' teachings, and the Church

¹⁷⁵ QSC, ff. 29va - 29rb

¹⁷⁶ See Chapter IV, translation, ff. 29vb - 29rb.

¹⁷⁷ Pope Leo I (ruled 440-461), who is also known as Leo the Great. He was really the first major ecclesiastic and politician to recognize not only the reality of the Roman collapse but its consequences for world being born. In the face of a dying world and another world struggling to be born, he recast the office of the bishop of Rome and its political relationship to other political groups. He realized that he needed to deal with more than the Emperor of Rome, who controlled very little territory, and negotiated, with both the Huns and the Vandals to secure some measure of independence and political control. He recognized, though, that the loss of imperial power meant the diffusion of the church's unified influence over the Christian world. The church had to somehow replace the emperors as a unifying force-the logical candidate was, naturally, the pope or bishop of Rome.

3.3.3. Land Charters (Gult) for Monasteries

The offered land ‘Gult’ for the church is the main material for monks. In a charter ascribed to a later *Aqābé Sä’at Yohannās* we read:

*“On Thursday, the 17th of Hädär in the 6th year of the reign of King Šäyfä ‘Arə’əd, I restored to [The church of] St. Mary the land which had been confiscated.”*¹⁷⁸

According to *Gädlä Abbā Élayās* as it stated:

“Stephenite clerics, who were persecuted during the reign of King Zär’a Yä’əqob when returned to Ethiopia from Jerusalem were given a ‘gult’ which had previously belonged to another monastic community during the reign of King Nā’od. Abbā Élayās rebuked the Mäkönnən [the Governor of Wändäl, Gäbrä Mäsi’h] responsible for the act, reminding him that the transfer of this ‘gult’ was forbidden on pain of curse and excommunication, but only the king was able to restore the land to its rightful owners”.

Given the character of the ‘gult’ system, local rulers and soldiers were in direct competition with the ‘monastic holy men’ [ባሕታዊ፡-*bāhətawi*] for the royal favor and donation. As the monasteries grew in importance, they added to their resources, often at the expenses of local rulers and troops.

3.3.4 His Thought on Defending Orthodoxy, Rules and Regulations

Please keep yourself from the thought of the faith of ለሰብአ፡አፍርንጊ፡ወሮሜ፡፡ *lä-sāb’a Afrənggi wä-Romé* from the people of the Franks and from Rome. They said that ‘Divinity works by its own Divinity, and Humanity works by its own Humanity.’

Please! Keep yourself from heresy of ደቂቀ፡እስጢ፡ፋኖስ፡-*Däqiqä Əstifānos[āwəyān]* [the Children of Stephenite], and from the leader of the destruction called *Gämälöyāl*, the Blind. Keep yourself from their bad works [and heretical teachings]; they thought it ‘not necessary to prostrate before the Cross of Christ and before Our Lady Virgin Mary.’ Also, from the Children of Zä-Mikā’él of Ənbärāññ, *Giyorgis of the Rome*, which stated that in the Canonical Book, ‘there is no confession’. Additionally, these heretics said, ‘...not necessary to believe the Angels of Light, by the Ark of St. Mary, by Angels, by Martyrs intercession. We couldn’t bow down (prostrate), except only before the Icon before God the Father, of the Son of the Holy Sprit.’ Don’t become

¹⁷⁸ Steven Kaplan 1982:100.

one and [don't agree] with the thoughts of the heretical teaching that said as the Children of Christian.

Keep yourself from those who rejected the **ሕገ፡ሐዋርያት፡**-*Law of the Apostles* which is mentioned in the **መጽሐፈ፡ሲኖዶስ፡**- '*Book of Synod*'; these groups said, like the **ሕገ፡ኦሪት፡**-*Law of Orit [Moses?]* which make sexual intercourse with their brothers' wife for her to give birth as they want the seed.

Keep yourself from the **ካሕናተ፡አጃሚን፡**-*Clergies of Ajāmin*, who rejected and did not honor the Sabbath; as it is mentioned on the Gospel of John, 'Don't keep and honor [the Sabbath] like the fundamental Jews. Honor the Sabbath as the Apostles.' As advised by the concrete command of strong words in the Book of Abṫälis, Article no. 65.

3.3.4.1. ካሕናተ፡አጃሚን፡-‘Clergies of Ajāmin’

Those who were not observing the Sabbath, and against *Ajāmin* groups, whose erroneous practice King Zar'a Ya'eqob devoted a substantial part of his writings, in the 20th century copy of *Gädlä Abbā Eläyās* mentioned: the heretics are called *kāhātā Ajāmin* 'the priests of *Ajāmin*'¹⁷⁹, who based their teaching on the Book of Judgment by Yohannes, Masih Yohannes Za-Fāth, which says, "*observe not the Sabbath like the Jews. But these have been heretics of a latter date.*"

3.4 Mediaeval Period Literature

The history of Ethiopia in the middle ages is more or less a history of war. During this period cultural heritage mainly the documentary heritages of the country have suffered a lot. More and more documents were destroyed and exported. One of such kind is the persecution of Christians by [**ዮዲት፡ጊዲት፡**]-*Yodit (Gudit)*, in 10th century; and the second one which has destroyed the cultural and religious heritage, civilization and resource was done by invader *Ahāmād Graññ Mohamād*, in the 16th century¹⁸⁰. These two disasters are the most known for their distraction in the history of the country. Even though, the church had saved a lot of valuable original documents by collecting and keeping in the mountains areas¹⁸¹. What we have to day, as Lake

¹⁷⁹ Maybe the Muslim Imam's, who rejected to observe Sunday during the invader, *Ahāmād Graññ Mohamād*, in the 16th century. See also *Gädlä Abbā Eläyās*, ff. 60-61. [**ወዳሴ፡ማርያም፡ ቅዳሴ፡ማርያም፡ገጽ፡ጀጃ፡ጀጃ፡**].

¹⁸⁰ Aymro, 1957: 22.

¹⁸¹ Amsalu Aklilu. 1976:pp.3-10

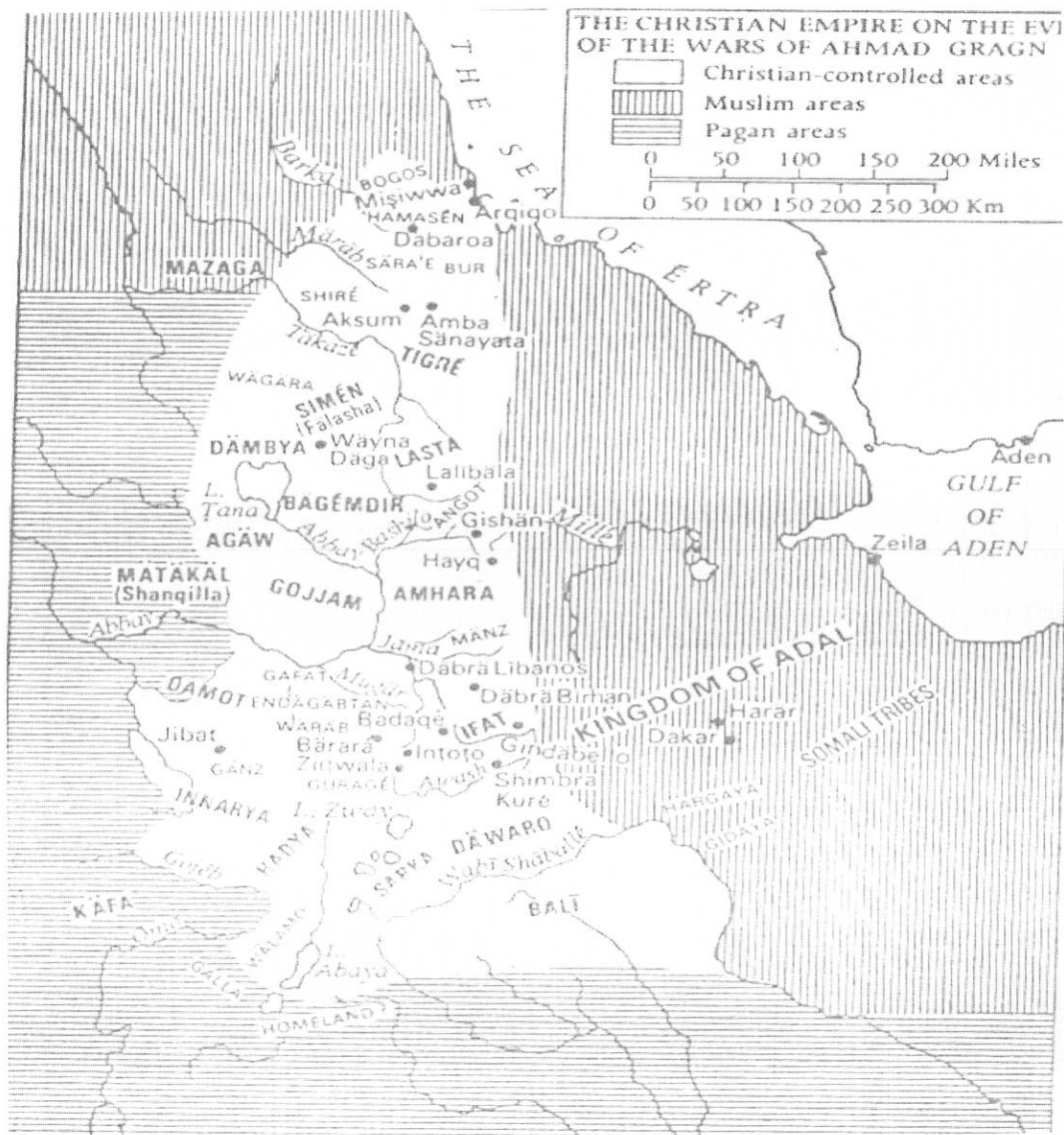
Tana, Hayək', Zəway and some monastic centers. What we have to day, as documentary heritages, in our hands are the documents survived those distractions.

Mediaeval Ethiopian literature is particularly rich in hagiographies. On this account, the lives of Saints [*Gädlät*—ገድላት] such as- *St Anthony*, and *St. George* enjoyed great popularity. The lives of such famous Ethiopian and Coptic saints as *St. Täklä Haymanot* and *Gäbrä Mänfäs Kəddus* provide important source manuscripts. In many manuscripts of Ethiopian Orthodox Church the whole volume is occupied with the life of a single saint and the miracles done by him both in his lifetime and after his death.

The other two important original works appeared in the early 15th century. The first of these was the ፍካሬ፡አየሱስ፡—*Fəkkare Iyäsus* (Predict of Jesus) and another philosophical work was ምሥጢረ፡ሰማይ፡ወምድር፡—*Mystery of Heaven and Earth*, Setting forth the eternal struggle between good and evil. The reign of Emperor Zär 'ə Ya 'qob (r. 1434—1468 A.D.) was notable for the development of great literary activity; he was zealous reformer and wrote several important works. They are መጽሐፈ፡ብርሃን፡— '*Mäṣhafä Bərhan*' (Book of Light) and መጽሐፈ፡ምዕላድ፡— '*Mäṣhafä Milad*' (Book of Nativity)¹⁸². This works attacking heresies and the corruption of religious practices. Other works that have been attributed to him include the hymn collections. It is entitle እግዚአብሔር፡ነግሠ፡— '*Əgziabəher Nägsä*' (God has reigned) a collection of hymns for the days of the year, *Mäṣhafä Milad* and the most famous homilies entitled ርቱዕ፡ሃይማኖት፡— '*Rətu'a Haymanot*' or True Orthodoxy ascribed to St. Jacoub of Beradeus. In addition to ሌና፡መዋዕል፡ዘንጉሥ፡ዐፄ፡ዐምደ፡ጽዮን፡—*Chronicles of the wars of King Amdä Şəyon*, the secular literature of the 15th century included a translation from Arabic፡- ፍትሐ፡ነገሥት፡—*Fətha Nägäst*, ሌና፡አይሁድ፡— '*Zəna Ayhud*' (History of Jews) and a Presentation of the Universal History of al-Makin (George of Egypt)¹⁸³. A Muslim merchant, who had been converted to Christianity and, as *Enbāqom* (Habakkuk), became prior of the Monastery of *Däbrä Libānos*, wrote [*Anqäṣä Amin*] -Gate of Faith to justify his conversion and to persuade apostates to recant. Other similar works were produced, and several were written to defend the Orthodoxy which called as '*Miaphysite*' faith from other religious expansionists.

¹⁸² Sergew Hablesellase 1970: 68.

¹⁸³ Lipsky 1967



Map 2: Ethiopia on the eve of the wars of Ahmād Gragn¹⁸⁴

3.5. Title, Personal, and Place Names in the Text

In this section I tried to explore the title, personal and place names which mentioned on *Gädlä Élayās* manuscript texts. Some title, personal and place names may not known in my present observation of text references. The study refers only based on the *Gädl and* related references.

¹⁸⁴ Taddesse Tamrat, 1972. *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527*. p.298.

3.5.1. Overview Title Names and Materials

አቡን:-'Ābun:- title given to the Head of the Ethiopian Church, the Metropolitan, Patriarch of the Ethiopian Church or the high dignitaries of the church. **አቡን:-'ābunä** represent for 'our father', the bishop of the diocese¹⁸⁵.

ዐቃቤ:ሰአት:: 'Aqābé Sä'āt:- The Abbots of the Monastery of ቅዱስ:እስጢፋኖስ:-Saint *Osṯifānos*, on ሐይቅ:-*Hāyq* in *Wällo* had the title of 'Aqābé Sä'āt', literally, 'keeper of the Hour', the title that remained important until 16th century¹⁸⁶.

አበ:ምኔት:፤ እመ:ምኔት:፤ 'Abämnét,'ämämnét:- Abbot/ Abess :- The head of an important monastery. In large monasteries: *Däbrä Libānos* and **ዝቋላ:Zəq"ālā**; the election of a new አበ:ምኔት:-Abbot will be approved by the **ፓትርያርክ:-**Patriarch, and elsewhere by the local bishop.

ዐጌ ፤ ላጃ፣ - Emperor, title name, which had given for Ethiopian kings.

አስኪማ:-Askémā:-There is a traditional of a higher level of monastic distinction called አስኪማ:-*Askémā*, (indicated by giving a type of scapular also called the *Askémā*): this is associated with certain monasteries, which given only to very few monks.

ደብተራ:-Däbtärā: - a learned man of the church, scribe cantor.

እጩጌ:-ፅ'ägé :- The Abbot of **ገዳመ:ደብረ: ሊባኖስ:-**Monastery of *Däbrä Libānos* in **ሸዋ:-** *Šäwā* became the main abbot 'ፅ'ägé' of the Church after the death of ቅዱስ:አባ:ተክለ: **ሃይማኖት:-**St. *Abunä Täklä Hāymānot*. In the Church tradition and as some historians said, it begun on the beginning of the 16th Century.

ጉልት:-Gult: - The form of right or holding land.

አበ: ልጅ፣ 'Abä ləḡḡ:-God Parents (God-Father):-sponsors at Baptism and Chrismation taking the responsibility for the faith and spiritual development of the newly born Christian.

መኮንን፣ Mäk"nən, plur. Mäk"ännənt:- originally a judge, but applied to provincial governors, especially the viceroy of *Təgrāy*, the *Təgré Mäk"nən*. Also in GE mentioned the name called **ገበረ:መሲሕ፣ መኮንን:ወንደል:-**Gäbrä Mäsi'h, the Governor of Wändäl.

¹⁸⁵ Leslaw 1987: *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*.

¹⁸⁶ Taddesse Tamrat: 1972.

ርዕሰ፡ ርዕሳን :- Rə‘əsü R‘usān, Head of heads; Honorable title of Abbots of መርጡለ፡ ማርያም :- *Märtulä Mārəyām*.

ራስ፡ ጸራስ፡ Rās, rāss, or ‘arās:- The title given to a very senior official, sometimes to the governor of a province and later, the title which replaced ‘*bəhətwäddäd*’.

መጋቢ፡ Mägābī:- The steward takes care of the practical life in the monastery.

ሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ Līqä Mäzämrān- head of the Chanters. In many monasteries, the title given for a learned man of the Church. The father of *Abbā Élayās, Bäkimos* known by this name.

ሊቀ፡ ጸሐፍት፡ Līqä Şähāft:- Chief Scribes—the head of the scribes or calligraphists.

መስፍን፡-Mäsfən, pl. Mäsāfant :- A provincial governor, usually rendered ‘prince’.

ቀሚስ፡-Qümis; ቅናት፡-Qənāt ; - ቆብ፡Qob :- Monastic dress or habits can be brown, white, dark, red, blue, or another color; yellow is usually associated with hermits. The habit consists of a long cloak [**ቀሚስ፡-Qümis**], a leather girdle [**ቅናት፡-Qənāt**], and the centerpiece, a round cap [**ቆብ፡Qob**].

የቆብ፡ አባት፡-yä-Qob Abbāt:- The monk’s giving the *Qob* is called ‘*Father of the Qob*’ [**የቆብ፡ አባት፡-yä-Qob Abbāt**], and he has a specific role in the spiritual formation of the Monk and Nun.

ጸሐፊ፡ ላም ፣ şähüfä lām,-Register of the cattle; ancient title for the provincial governor, especially of Amhara, Šäwa, and Damot.

ፀሐፊ፡ ትዕዛዝ፡-Şähüfé tə‘əzāz :- The king’s chronicler (Secretary), Usually, two are appointed, one as chronicler, and another for public business. They are frequently monks, and have too often the prejudices and ignorance of that order.

ወይዘሮ፡-Wäyzäro:- princess, the house lady, a married woman.

3.5.2. Overview of the Personal Names

አበክረዙን፣ Abäkärüzun (ca. 1476) was a disciple of *Sāmu'él* of *Qoyäšā*. He was a native of Nādir near Axum. He lived in the reigns of *Zär'a Yä'əqob* (r. 1434–68) and his son *Bä'ädä Mārəyām* (1468-78). He was leading member of the *Stephanites* Community¹⁸⁷.

አብርሐ፡ወአፅብሐ፡-Abrəha and Ašbəha were twin brothers, who are believed to have to been and to have ruled the crowed country together. Their simultaneous accession to the throne can be reconstructed from different legends. *Ənbäräm*, then high priest, seems to have been told by *St. Mikä'él* to crown the two brothers as joint rulers of Ethiopia. Christianity preached in their region for the first time by the first Ethiopian Metropolitan, *Sälāmā* (*St. Frumentius*). *Abrəha* and *Ašbəha* are celebrated as saints in Ethiopian Church and their commemoration is observed on 4 *Təqəmət* (15 October).¹⁸⁸

አገዖ፡-Agäyā, the daughter of *Sənä Kərəstos*, her mother name called *Amätä Yohannəs*, who was the daughter of Emperor *Zä-Dəngəl*.

ደቂቀ፡አግናጠዮስ፡-The Children of Agnāṭīos :- They comes from the place *Hawzén*, *Māyā Anbässā* with the Children of *Anəbén* and with the monks from *Däbrä Hällé Luyā* for the Council of **ደብረ፡ብርሃን፡-Däbrä Bərḥān** (DB).

አኖሬዎስ፡- Anoréwos the Elder was a senior disciple of **ቅዱስ፡አባ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡-St. Abunä Täklä Hāymānot**. He appointed *Nəburä-ed* of *Wärəb* by *Abunä Yä'əqob* (1337-44), the Egyptian bishop who came to Ethiopia during the reign of **ንጉሥ፡ዐጌ፡ዐምደ፡ጽዮን፡King Amdä Şəyon**. He found the Monastery of *Däbrä Şəgäggə*. Traditions attributed to him evangelical

¹⁸⁷ MS: *Gädlä Abäkärüzun of Gundä Gundi*, Monastery of *Mārəyām Dibo*, *Ašbi*, *Hullät Awlālo*, *Təgräy*. *Gädlä Axaw of Gundä Gundi*, IES MS No. 496, f. 58r. *Gädlä Sāmu'él of Qoyäšā*, IES MS No. 115, ff. 20r, 71r. C. Conti Rossini, *Acta Sancti Abakerazun CSCO*, Script. Aeth. Ser. Altera (1910),XXIV, 1-135 (text), 1-120 (ver.). A. Mordini, "Il Convento di Gunde Gundie," RSE (1953), XXII, pp. 49, 56-59. Tadesse Tamerat, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanites 'Heresy' in the Ethiopic Church," RSE (1968), XX, 113-115.

¹⁸⁸ (a) *Gädlä Abrəha wä Ašbəha*, Aksum, *Təgré*; (b) *Gädlä Abrəha wä Ašbəha*, IES, mf. No. 193; (c) *Gädlä Abrəha wä Ašbəha*, OPA, *Mäqälé*, *Təgré*; (d) *Gädlä Abrəha wä Ašbəha*, Ašbi, *Däbrä Sälām Mikä'él*. (e) *Gädlä Abrəha wä Ašbəha*, *Hawzén*, *Gär'altä*, *Təgré*; MRF (a) Synaxarium for 4 *Təqəmt*, I.E.S. MS No. 3, f.36r.(b) *Kebra Nagast*, IES., 681 ff.53r,54v; (c) Yared, Deggwa,"Wazema Arke Arke ba'enta Nagast" (Hymn to the kings), (IES.MS No. 322, f.21r; (d) *Mäšhafä Arké*; IES. MS No.34,f.34v contains the following verses about Abreha and Asbeha: PRF (a) C. conti Rossini, *Liber Axumae*, CSCO,script; Aeth. (1909), VIII; (1910), VIII,P.18(text),20(tr); (b) C. conti Rossini *storia d'Ethiopia* (Bergama,1928),pp.15-154;(c) C. conti Rossini, "les listes des rois d Aksoum"; JA.(1909), XV;pp36,41-42; (d) Segew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopia History to 1270*(Addis Ababa, 1972),pp.77-104; (e) S.Streleyn, po.cit.(founds Conti Rossini.),p.10.

activities in *Ḫnāryā*. He was exiled to *Wäläqā*, *Zāngo* and Lake *Zawāy*, and he was once flogged by King *Amdä Şəyon*¹⁸⁹.

አኖሬዎስ:- Anoréwos the Younger was a disciple of **አቡነ፡ዜና፡ማርቆስ**: *Abunä Zēnā Mārḳos*. He was appointed *Nəburä-ed* of *Morät* by Bishop *Yä'əqob* (1337-44), the Egyptian *Abunä*, to help the propagation of the Christian faith. Today he is commemorated only at *Wägdä*, 185 Kms. North of *Addis Ababa*. He lived in the reigns of King *Amdä Şəyon* and King *Şäyfa-Ar'əd*¹⁹⁰.

አባ፡አረጋዊ፡-Abbā Arāgāwi:- called the Elder, as he is the most venerated of **ተሰቡ፡ ቅዱሳን**:-the Nine Saints, founded the famous monastery of **ደብረ፡ዳሞ፡-Däbrä Dämo**¹⁹¹. He is also said to have founded a church in **ዙር፡አምባ፡-Zur Ambā**, a place resembling *Däbrä Dämo*, where it is said that **ቅዱስ፡ያሬድ፡-Saint Yāréd** taught his hymns.

ደቂቀ፡አባ፡አርዕዮነ፡ፀጋሁ፡-The Children of Ar'äyänä Şägāhu comes from *Däbrä Dädä*, the beach of the River *Bäşlo* for the Council of *Däbrä Berhan*.

አሮን ዘዳሬት፡'Arōn of Dārét (or Däbrä Fārān) was a native of *Dämbiyā*, and a disciple of **አባ፡በፀሎተ፡ሚካኤል፡-Abbā Bäşälotä Mikä'él**. He was exiled twice by King *Şäyfa-Ar'əd* to *Zāngo*, south of *Addis Ababa*. 'Arōn achieved an evangelical success in **በጌምድር፡-Bägēmməddr**. He baptized the inhabitant of *Gāyānt*, west of the River *Bäşəlo*. He built a rock hewn Church called *Däbrä Dārét*¹⁹².

ሰብአ፡አፍርንጊ፡ወሮሜ፡፡Säb'a Afrənggi wä-Romé:- the people of the Franks and Rome.

ንጉሥ፡ዐጌ፡በዕደ፡ማርያም፡-King Bā'ädü Mārāyām (r. 1468-1478 A.D.): a son of Emperor **ንጉሥ፡ዐጌ፡ዘርዐ፡ያዕቆብ፡-Emperor Zär'a Yä'əqob**, his throne name *Cyriacus*.

ደቂቀ፡አባ፡በኪሞስ፡-The [Spiritual] Children of Abbā Bäkimos, (they will come) from *Şəmi*, *Hagärä Mād'xānit* and also from *Däbrä Sähəl* for the Council of *Däbrä Berhan*.

¹⁸⁹ **ደቂቀ፡አባ፡አኖሬዎስ፡-The Children of Abbā Anoréwos** will come from the Upper of *Gojjām* and *Şəgājj*;

(A) *Gadle Anorewos*, UNESCO mf.Ethiopia MSS,ser.10,42; (b) *Gedle Filpos*, BM.Or.769,f.10; (c) C. conti Rossini *Monoscritti* (coll.d'Abbadie No 43.),p.616. PT (c) C. conti Rossini *Gdele Anorewos, seu Acta Sancti Onorit CSCO*,script.Aeth. (1905) ,t.1-110, text. PRF (a) E. Cerulli, *Letteratura etiopica*(Milano,1968),p.60; (b) *Taddesse Tamrat*, *Church and state in Ethiopia 1270-1527*; pp 115,180-2,187,189, 208,225; MRF *Mashafa Arke*,I.E.S.MS No.34 ff25r,25v contains the following hymn to *Abba Anorewos*.

¹⁹⁰ MS *Gädlä Anoréwos, Sēt Ambā, Gäşé, Mänz Şawā*; E. Cerulli, *Gli atti di Zēnā Mārḳos*, (1962), pp.196, 205-6.

¹⁹¹ On the **አዲግራት፡- Adigrāt-Adwā** road, then 11km. north of the main road.

¹⁹² MS (a) *Gadla Aron*, Maqet, Lasta, Wallo; (b) W. Wright,op.ict. BM,CCLXIX(Or797,693); (c) C. conti Rossini, "Manoscritti,ed opere abissine in Europa."p.616; PT B.Turaiev,Acta S. aronis ed S. philippi, CSCO, script.Aeth.(1905),t.XX,pp.111-261(text),99-234(tr.).

Abunä Bärtäloméwos, Egyptian Bishop:- *Əstifānos* of ጉጉዳጉጉዲ:- *Gundā Gundi* was ordained by this bishop, before he became 'heresy'.

አባ፡በፀሎተ፡ሚካኤል፡-*Abbā Bāšālotā Mikā'él* was a disciple of **አባ፡አኖሬዎስ፡**- *Abbā Anoréwos*, a hermit of *Däbrä Gol*. He is said to have accused *Abunä Yohannəs*, the Egyptian Bishop, of practicing simony. However, Emperor *Amdä Şəyon* did not accept the accusation and instead exiled *Bāšālotā Mikā'él* to *Təgrāy*. His contributed to the improvement of monastic regulations in *Amharā*. He attacked the custom where by male and female members of the monastic orders shared the same living quarters and solve such organizational difficulties said to have once openly attacked *Amdä Şəyon* for his un-Christian matrimonial practices¹⁹³.

አባ፡በትረ፡ማርያም፡ዘደሴተ፡ዘጌ፡- *Abbā Bātrā Mārəyām of Däsetä Zäghé* was a disciple of **አቡነ፡ዜና፡ማርቆስ፡** *Abunä Zēnā Mārḳos*. He sent by his master to evangelize at *Zäghé*, on the Southern shore of Lake *Ṭānā*. He lived during the reigns of ገገሥ፡ንዋየ፡ማርያም፤ King *Nəwāyā Mārəyām* (r. 1372-82) and ገገሥ፡ዳዊት፡- King *Dāwit* (r. 1382-1412)¹⁹⁴.

አባ፡ባሀርይ፡፤ - *Abbā Bāhrəy*: an ecclesiastic, a 16th century ethnographer and historian. He entered the service of *Aşé Särşä Dəngəl* after being driven from his home in *Gamo* by Oromo incursions. He was a writer of the History of Oromo and in addition, according to the convincing argument of Chernetsov S.B, the author of the history and the chronicles of *Särşä Dəngəl*¹⁹⁵.

አባ፡ዳንኤል፡-*Abbā Dāni'él of Wäqén* was originally from *Şāwā*. He later on moved to *Təgrāy* and established his own Monastery in *Wäqén, Tāmbén*. He was respected by ገገሥ፡ዐፄ፡ዘርዐ፡ያዕቆብ፡-Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob*¹⁹⁶.

አባ፡ዳንኤል፡-*Abbā Dāni'él* from the area *Abi'y*, *Səlwā* and *Däbrä Ofələ* and also from *Hilā* and *Jān Amorā*.

¹⁹³ ደቂቀ፡አባ፡በፀሎተ፡ሚካኤል፡-*Abbā Bāšālotā Mikā'él's* Spiritual Children from *Gāsəč'ā* and the Monastery of *Abālo*, from *Hənşā Mārəyām* and *Kolom*; Ms :*Gadle Ba-Salota Mika-el, Deb Baher, Waldebba, Samen, Bagemder; Gadle Basalota Mikael, coll. d'Abbadie, No 129, B.N,paris, France.* (a) C. Conti Rossini, *Acta St..Baslota Mika'el ed S. Honorii, CSCO, script.Aeth .SER.altera,(1905),XX,1-110(text),3-98(t.)*.

¹⁹⁴ ደቂቀ፡አባ፡በትረ፡ማርያም፡-*The Children of Abbā Bātrā Mārəyām from Däsétawit Abbāy and Saffəjj; Gadla Batra-Maryam,Zage.Baher Dar,Gojjam; E.Cerulli, gli atti di Batra Maryam. RES 1944, 1945), IV. E.Cerulli, Gli atti Zena Markqos,p 10.*

¹⁹⁵ Chernetsov 1984.

¹⁹⁶ (a) *Gadla Daniel, IES.mf.No.116 from Dabra Teguhan,Qolla Tamben; (b) Gadla Daniel, Deber Teguhan Wäqén, Qolla,Tamben Tegre.*

ደስቆሮስ፣ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ዘእስክንድርያ፣ *Alexandrian Arch-Bishop St. Doscorus and ወዲጥሮስ፣ ሊቀ፡ ሐዋርያት፡- the Arch-Apostle's, Peter.*

ዕሌኒ፡-*Əllēni*, the mother and father of Abbā Ēləyās. She married an Arch-Chanter Bākimos from the district called Wāgdā, on the Monastery of Dābrā Kālō'tā and Gərāryā.

እንድርያስ፡-*Əndəryās* of [ወፍ]፡ዘዋሻ፡-*[Wäf]* *Wāššā Gädām* was one of a group of saints called *Éllā Ənfrāz* whose evangelical work took place East of *Ṭānā*. He lived in a cave still known as *Wāššā Əndəryās*¹⁹⁷.

እንድርያስ፡-*Əndəryās* of *Säffé'a* (c.1462 A.D.) lived in the time of King *Zār'a Yā'əqob*. He seems to have carried on his work in northern part, as we find traces of his missionary activities in *Arāzā*, *Sārā'é* and others places in Eritrea. He was a disciple of *Gäbrä Kərəstos* of *Sälodā*¹⁹⁸.

እስጢፋኖስ፡- *Əstifānos* (c.1459) the founder of the *Stephanites* 'heresy' community in *Gundä Gundä*¹⁹⁹.

አባ፡ ፊሊጶስ፡-*Abbā Filip'os* (c.1348-1388) was the third abbot of ገዳመ፡ ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡- Monastery of *Dābrā Libānos* in *Šāwā*, in succession of *Élsā'*, the immediate successor of *Abunä Täklä Hāymānot*, who ruled for only three months. *Filip'os* stayed in office for twenty years. He faced a series of exiles in the reigns of King *Amdä Šəyon* and King *Šäyfa-Ar'əd*. He was sent to *Təgrāy* about 1341 and later on to *Dānbā* and *Zāngo*, localities beyond the *Awāš* River, *Šāwā*. Soon *Filip'os* transferred to Lake *Zəwāy* with አኖሬዎስ፡- *Anoréwos* where he lived on one side of the islands. *Sälāmā* was his contemporary²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁷ (a) Gadla Endreyas, wasa Endreyas, Libo, Kamkam, Bagemder; (b) Gadla Endreyas, I.E.S. mf. No.189.

¹⁹⁸ (a) Gadla Endreyas Monastery of Endreyas, Dabra Sehin or Dabra Efin, Araza, Sara'e, Eritrea. (b) Gadla Endreyas Addi Gabra-Mika'el, Kabsa cewa (c) Gadla Endreyas Dabra Maryam. Dabub Daj Degan, Sara'e Eritrea; (d) Gadla Endreyas S.strelcyn.op.cit., (founds conti Rossini No.84,1), p.11.

¹⁹⁹ *Taddesse Tamrat, Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527*, p.226; "Some Notes of the Fifteenth Century Stephanites 'heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE (1968), XXII (103-116)*. UNP (a) Gadla Estifanos, Institute of Archaeology, Addis Ababa, MS No.2.

²⁰⁰ MS (a) Gadla Filpos Dabra Libanos, Salale, Shawa; (b) Gadla Filpos W.wright op.cit., BM(Or728);

(a) B.Turaiev, "vita philippi di Dabra libanensis, Monumenta Aeth. Hagiologica, fasc.I(1902), 101-83. (b) B.Turaiev, Acta S.Aronis et S.philippi CSCO, Script. Aeth.ser altra (1905).t.XX pp.111-261(text).99-234(tr). RF (a) C.Conti Rossini "Il Libro delle leggende ed tradizioni abissini dell'ecclesiastice Filpos," RRAL, ser.5(1917)XXVI, 699-717. (b) E.Cerulli, "gli Abbati di Dabra Libanos", *orientalia* (1943), XII, fasc.3, p.233-253; (c) E.Cerulli, *La Letteratura etiopica*, pp.59-62.

ፊሊጶስ:- *Filip'os of Bīzān* (ca. 1323-1406 A.D.) was a disciple of **ኤዎስጥቴዎስ:-** *Éwosṯātéwos*, of the second generation, through *Abbā Absādī*. He founded *Däbrä Bīzān*. *Filip'os* defended courageously the *Observance* of the *Sabbath*, as well as *Sunday* at the assembly summoned by King *Dāwit* (r. 1382-1412 A.D.) and presided over by *Abunä Bärtāloméwos* (ca. 1389-1436 A.D.), and refused to accept the Bishop's ruling that he and his colleagues should cease to observe the *Sabbath*. Finally, when *Filip'os* stood firm in his intention of *Observing* the *Sabbath Day* he was exiled to Lake *Däbrä Hayq* for four years under the closed guard of *Aqābé-Sä'āt Śārāqā Bərḥān* (?1400-1403), Abbot of *Däbrä Hayq ሪstifānos*²⁰¹.

አባ፡ፊቅጦር:- *Abbā Fiqṯtor* was contemporary to **አባ፡በፀሎተ፡ሚካኤል:-***Abbā Bäṣālotä Mikā'él* and **ኤዎስጥቴዎስ:-***Éwosṯātéwos*. He was a native of *Sārā'é*, Eritrea²⁰².

ፍቅርተ፡ክርስቶስ:-*Fəqərtä Kəṛəstos*:- She became a nun under King *Susəṇəyos* in 17th c.. On *Her Miracles* and *Gädl* as it mentioned, there are two monasteries named after her and founded by her, both known as spiritual places and visited by sterile women: *ፀmmä Mə'uz* in *Gérāmākət*, and *Rāmā Kidānā Məḥərät*²⁰³.

ፍሬምናጦስ : *Fréməṇāṯos* (ca. 328 A.D.):- also called *Sälāmā Käsāté Bərḥān* was the first Metropolitan to Ethiopia. He was instrumental in the conversion of Ethiopia to Christianity. He was ordained by Athanasius, the Patriarch of Alexandria²⁰⁴.

ፍሬ ሚካኤል:- *Fré Mikā'él* was a native of *Wärāb*. He lived in the reign of King *Zär'a Yā'əqob* and contemporary of *Abbā Zär'a Abrəḥam*. *Abbā Fərə Mikā'él* refused to give sanctuary to a magician who was fleeing the king, but beat him instead. Later *King Zär'a Yā'əqob* had the magician executed and complimented *Fərə Mikā'él* on his behavior²⁰⁵.

ገብረ፡ አየሱስ፡*Gäbrä İyäsus* was born in *Wäg*, a district between *Təgrāy* and *Lāstā*.

Travelling to *Təgrāy* he joined the growing community of **ኤዎስጥቴዎስ:-** *Abbā Éwosṯātéwos*. *Gäbrä İyäsus* is said to have accompanied his master to Egypt, the Holy Land and Cyprus. On his

²⁰¹ GE: ደቂቀ፡አባ፡ዮሐንስ፡ወአባ፡ፊሊጶስ፡ዘደብረ፡ቢዘገ፡- The Children of *Abbā Yohannəs* and *Abbā Filip'os* will come from *Däbrä Bizān*.

²⁰² *Gädlä Fiqṯtor, Sera'e*.

²⁰³ *Gädlä Fəqərtä Kəṛəstos*. The place far around 30 km from *Qobbo*, in *Zobəl*.

²⁰⁴ *Gädlä Sälāmā, Geraltä, Təgray*.

²⁰⁵ *Gädlä Abbā Fərə Mikā'él*, Collection D'Abbadie, MS # 161.

return from Armenia, *Gäbrä İyäsus* was allocated in the district of *Ənfrāz*, East of Lake *Ṭānā*. He established his center at *Däbrä Sān*, an area inhabited by *Fälāšā*, where even the sons of Jews are believed to have received baptism and accepted his teaching. He lived in the reigns of King *Šäyfä-Ar'əd* and ንጉሥ፡ዳዊት፡- King *Dāwīt I*, and in the time of Bishop *Sälāmā*, the *Translator*²⁰⁶.

ገብረ፡መንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡-*Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus*:- was born in Upper Egypt, according to hagiographical tradition. He was contemporary of *Sāmu'él of Wälddəbbā* and *Anbäs of Hazālo*. He was the founder of *Gäbrä ሠቆላ፡ Zəq'ālā* and ምድረ፡ ከብድ፡*Məddrā Kāb 'd*.

ገብረ፡ማርያም፡- *Gäbrä Mārəyām* lived the time of *Zär'a Yā'əqob*. He was the founder of *Däbrä Algén*.

አባ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ዘጋስ፡፡[ዘሰገላ]፡-*Abbā Giyorgis of Gäsəč'ā [Šägälā]* (c.1426 A.D.) was born at *Šägälā* during the reign of King *Dāwīt I*. *Giyorgis* is believed to have attended the Monastic school of *Hayq*, where the Abbot of the Monastery was at that time *Aqābé-Sä'āt Šäräqä Bərḥān*, the great *anti-Sabbath* leader until his death in 1403 A.D.(?). The father of *Abbā Giyorgis*, *Həzbä Šəyon* was one of the chaplains of the Royal Court, and when his father retired into a monastery, *Giyorgis* replaced him as a secular priest of the *Royal Court*. He was admired by, both *Dāwīt I* and his successor, *Yəshaq*. At one time, he had the important post of *Nəburä'əd* of *Dāmo*.

A number of doctrinal and service books are attributing to him. Despite his education and *anti-Sabbath* background from *Hayq*, *Giyorgis* thought it legitimate to observe the *Sabbath* together with the *Lord's Day*, and devoted an important section of his *Mäṣəḥafä Məsṫīr* to it.

አ.የሱስ ዘጅር፡ ሥላሴ፡- *Abbā İyyäsu of Jär Šallāsé* flourished in the second half of the 15th century. He lived during the reign of ንጉሥ፡ዐጌ፡እስክንድር፡-King *Əskəndər* (r. 1494 - 1508) and founded the Monastery of *Jär Šallāsé* to the North-East of *Däbrä Libānos*. *Yəshaq* and *Mārḳos* was the bishop of the time.

አባ፡አ.የሱስ፡ሞአ፡- *Abbā İyäsus Mo'a* ²⁰⁷ was born at *Dāhnā* in ቤጌምድር፡-*Bägəmməddr* around 1211 A.D. He was the founder of a leading monastic order in Ethiopia. He flourished in the 2nd half of the 13th Century at Lake *Hayq* in *Wällo*. He is said to have made a religious pact

²⁰⁶ Taddese Tamrat (1972), pp.197-98, 208, 217.

²⁰⁷ The Commemoration day of *Abbā İyäsus Mo'a* on 26 *Hədār* (05 December).

with **ንጉሥ፡ይኩኖ፡አምላክ፡**-King *Yəkuno Amlāk* though later tradition have ascribed this to role to *Täklä Hāymānot*, his disciple. About 1240 A.D. he traveled to *Təgrāy* to join the Monastery of *Däbrä Dāmo* where he become disciple of *Yohannī*, then Abbot of the monastery, and worked hard for seven years. Later on, he found his own monastery at Lake *Hayq* in about 1248/9 A.D. Many religious leaders, in the 13th and 14th Century, appear to have joined his monastic school. Among his pupils, was *Täklä Hāymānot* who later assumed particular significant in the Ethiopian Church. *Abba Iyāsus Mo'a* (ca.1211-1292 A.D.) was one of the church calligraphists, was learnt how to write and studied in *Gondär*²⁰⁸.

ሊቅ፡ዘመለኮት፡ *Liq Zä-Mäläkot*, a grandson of Märqoréwos, who was **ሊቅ፡ጸሐፍት፡** *Liqä Šähafi* ‘chief scribe’ of the ‘History of Kings’ [of Ethiopia].

ገብረ፡መሰሐክ፡-*Gäbrü Mäsī'h* (c.1520) was a member of the *Stephanites* community. He lived in the reign of King *Nä'od* and **ንጉሥ፡ዐጌ፡ልብነ፡ደ፡ንግል፡**-King *Ləbnä Dəngəl* (r. 1508 – 1540 A.D.), and was contemporary to *Yəshaq* and *Mārqos*, Egyptian bishops to Ethiopia.

ሊቅ፡ዘመለኮት፡-*Léwi Zä-Mäläkot*, Grandson of Märqoréwos, who was [*Liqä Šähafi*] “Chief Scriber” and [*Šähafé Tə'əzāz*] Imperial Secretary of Emperor *Zär'a Ya'qob*.

ንጉሥ፡ዐጌ፡ልብነ፡ደ፡ንግል፡-*King Ləbnä Dəngəl* :- (Emperor) his throne name called *Wänāg Sägäd*. He reigned from 1508 to 1540. During his reign *Nur-Mohammäd Grāññ* invaded the Christian kingdom in 1527 A.D.

አባ፡መልክ፡ጌዴቅ፡-*Abbā Mälkä Šédéq*, - the ‘*monastic cap Father*’ of *Abbā Éləyās*. As it is said, **ደቂቀ፡አባ፡መልክ፡ጌዴቅ፡ ወአባ፡ሐብተ፡ማርያም፡ ወአባ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡ ወእሁኑ፡ ለአባ፡ ታዴዎስ፡**- The Children of the *Abbā Mälkä Šédéq*, *Abbā Habtä Mārəyām*, and *Abbā Gäbrä Mārəyām*; the Brethrens of *Abbā Tädéwos*²⁰⁹.

መድኃኒኑ፡እግዚእ፡-*Mädxāninä Əgzi*- He was the founder of **ደብረ፡በንኩል፡**-*Däbrä Bänkol*, (West Aksum) around 1322 A.D. Following his teaching many monasteries were established in **ሸሬ፡**-*Šərə*, between **አክሱም፡ወዋልደባ፡**-*Aksum* and *Wälddabbā*²¹⁰.

²⁰⁸ Sergew Hablesellase 1972:26.

²⁰⁹ GE, ff. 28vb - 28rb.

²¹⁰ *Gadla Mädxāninä Əgzi*

አባ፡ሚካኤል፡ዘወገግ፡-*Abbā Mikā'él of Wägäg*, the teacher (Preacher) of Abbā Éloyās, and ordained as a monk by him²¹¹.

ማርያም፡ክብራ፡ወሠር፡ሚካኤል፡-*Mārəyām Kəbrā, Śārṣā Mikā'él*, he is called 'The Arch-Chanter' and ordained at the Monastery of Dābrā Libānos; Gäbrā Şəyon, who called the Arch Priest of Dābrā Mətmāq, *the twins sister and brother of Abbā Éloyās*.

ማርያም፡ስና፡-*Mārəyām Sənā, Əmābət*:- a wife of Śārṣā Dəngəl. In the region of *Gərərəyā*, she built a church. The name of the church is *Māhdārā Mārəyām*. Abbā Éloyās visited to her church with the replica of the tablet²¹².

ሙሴ፡-*Musé*- brother of Emperor *Kāléb* is said to have going to Jerusalem as a hermit. He was advised by *Abunä Pənṭäləwon* to leave his birthplace if he seriously intended to serve God.

ኑር፡መሐመድ፡ግራኝ፡-*Nur-Mohammäd Grāññ*:- the Muslim warrior, invaded the Christian kingdom in 1527; it was capable of offering little resistance. Many of the recently Christianized people returned to their former religions or adopted Islam. A 'Golden Age' in the history of Ethiopian Christianity came to an end.

አባ፡ቀውስጦስ፡-*Abbā Qəwəstos* was a relative and disciple of *Täklä Hāymānot*. *Qəwəstos* was one of his twelve disciples with whom Bishop *Yā'əqob* (ca. 1337 – 1344 A.D.) made a programme of vast evangelization in Ethiopia.

ጻድቃን፡-*Şādqān* are a group of saints who are beloved to have lived and died together. There are different group of *Şādqān* in Eritrea, *Təgrāy* and *Bägəmməddr*, known as 'Şādqān' of *Bārāknähā*, *Abrän Tānt*, *Waşf*, *Kādīh* and *Hawzén*.

ሰላማ፡ሣልሳዊ፡-*Sälāmā III*²¹³(c. 1348-88 A.D.), called *Mätärguä Mäşāhəft*, came to Ethiopia in 1348 A.D., and he is remember as the first year of Grace. A great number of translators of religious text in to Ethiopia is attributed to him.

አባ፡ሳሙኤል፡ዘሃሌሊያ፡-*Abbā Sāmu'él of Hällé Luyā* (c.1379 A.D.) he was the founder of the famous Monastery of *Hällé Luyā*, near *Aksum*.

²¹¹ GE, ff. 28rb.

²¹² መጽሐፈ፡ድርሳነ፡ራጉኤል፡-*The Book of Dərsānā Rāgu'él ዘእንጦጦ*- zä-Ənṭotto.

²¹³ See also text translation GE.f. 61ra. May be it confused for the copyist with the 19th c. *Sälāmā IV* ??

አባ፡ሳሙኤል፡ዘወገግ፡-*Abbā Sāmu'él of Wägäg* (c.1388 A.D.) is known the founder of *Däbrä Asäbot*, East of Addis Ababa, along the road leading via Ččärččär to *Härär*. King *Dāwīt I* had a high respect for *Sāmu'él*, who is commemorated on the 29th of *Ṭəqəmt*. The bishop in his time was *Sälāmā*, the *Translator*.

አባ፡ሳሙኤል፡ዘዋልድባ፡- *Abbā Sāmu'él of Wālddabbā* was a disciple of *Mädxānīnā-Əgzī* of *Bānkol*, who gave him the monastic habit. He lived in the reign of *Dāwīt I*. *Sāmu'él* is said to have met *Gäbrä Mānfäs Qədu*s of *Zəq'älā* and *Anbās* of *Hazälo*. His feast on [12 *Tāhəsäs*] 21 December, and [26 *Hamälé*] 02 August.

ጾቂቀ፡አባ፡ሠረቀ፡ብርሃን፡ዘገዳመ፡ጦሐ፡ወዘገ-ዘት፡-The Spiritual Children of *Abbā Šäräqä Bərhan* from the Monastery of *Ṭoha* and also from *Guzät*.

ሠርፀ፡ድንግል፡-*Säršä Dəngəl*:- (Emperor). He reigned from 1563 -1595 A.D. with the throne name called *Mäläk Sägäd*.

አባ፡ሠርፀ፡ጴጥሮስ፡-*Abbā Šäršä Pétros* the founder of *Däbrä Wärq* is said to have been born in *Ənābasé*, north of *Däbrä Wärq*, *Gojjām*. His monastic ancestry traced back to **ገብረ፡አዮሱስ፡***Gäbrä İyäsus* of *Ənfrāz*.

ራስ፡ስምዖን፡ጳውሎስ፡ዘተታ፡ወወግዳ፡ወመሐግል፡ወስርማት፡ወአቡሃ፡ለኒሩተ፡አምላክ፡
-*Rās Səmə'on*, the father of *Xirutä Amlāk*, the Governor of *Kätättä*, *Wägdä*, *Mähagöl* and *Sərmät*
ዐጌ ድንግል፡ ሿጳጳ ድንግል was the composer of *Māhəlētä ሿጳጳ*. He was a nephew of *Harä Dəngəl*. He grew up with him until reached to spiritual strength.

አባ፡ተክለ፡ሐዋርያት፡-*Abbā Täklä Hawārəyāt* was founder of *Däbrä ሿəmmōnā* in *Šäwā*. He lived during the reign of King *Yashaq* and Bishop *Abunä Bärtäloméwos* (ca. 1389-1436 A.D.). In *GE f. 28vb*: as it mentioned when *Abbä Éləyās* was baptized in the Monastery of *Abunä Täklä Mārəyām* at *Gäbärrəmā* (*Däbrä ሿəmonā*), *Abunä Täklä Hāwārəyāt* was *Éləyās's* God Father²¹⁴.

ቅዱስ፡አባ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡-*St. Abunä Täklä Hāymānot* :- (ca.1215-1313 A.D.): The available traditional of the Ethiopia Church are unanimous in attributing a great monastic influence to *Täklä Hāymānot*, and they make him responsible for the establishment of many religious communities. He was a disciple of *Abbā Yohanni* of *Däbrä Dāmo* and **አባ፡አዮሱስ፡ሞአ፡**- *Abbä İyäsus Mo'a* of *Hāyq*. Having enriched himself in monastic experience

²¹⁴ *Gädlä Täklä Hāwārəyāt Šäwā*, *Kəbrān*, *Lake Tānā*, *Bägəmdəḫ*. *GE f. 28vb*:

in *Təgrāy* and *Amharā*, he returned to his native land of *Šāwā*, where he established a permanent center of Christian learning and monasticism in *Dābrā* Asbo, later called *Dābrā* Libānos. Many of the evangelical achievements in the South are attributed to him²¹⁵.

ንጉሥ:ይስሐቅ:- King Yəshaq:-*Bāhrā-Nägāš* [king of the sea] (r.1540-1580 A.D). He welcomed the leader of the Portuguese expedition, when the Ottomans occupied Massawa in 1557A.D²¹⁶.

ያዕቆብ:ወጠሞቴዎስ:-Yā‘əqob and Ṭimotéwos, the children of Agäyā, the scribes of Өrās Dimétrös, her relative²¹⁷.

ቅዱስ:ያዕቆብ:[ዘዕልበረዲ:-]St. Yā‘əqob [zä-Əlbärädi] (Jacob [of Bärädi]), the author of the Book of **ርቴዐ:ሃይማኖት:-The True Orthodoxy Faith**²¹⁸.

አባ:ይስሐቅ:-Abbā Yəshaq:-He lived in 15th c., and a follower of Өstifānos.

**አባ:ዮሐንስ:ዘደብረ:ሊባኖስ:አባ:ቶማስ:ወአባ:ዮሐንስ:ዘደብረ:ብሥራት:አባ:በትረ:ማርያም
:ዘደሴተ:ዘጌ:አባ:ተጠምቀ:መድኅን:ዘገዳመ:በጌዳ:ዘስሜን:አባ:ዮሐንስ:ዘወገራ:አባ:ዮሐንስ
:ዘኤጎራ:አባ:ብንያም:ዘበጌምድር:ወጁ።ቅዱሳን:-**Abbā Yohannəs of Dābrā Libānos, Abbā Thomas and Abbā Yohannəs of Dābrā Bəsrāt, Abbā Bātrā Mārəyām of Dāsetä Zāghé, Abbā Tāṭāmqā Mādhən of the Monastery of Bägédä Səmén, Abbā Yohannəs of Wägärā, Abbā Yohannəs of Égorā, Abbā Bənyām of Bägémməddər and all 500 Saints [of the Medieval Centuries] attended on the Council [of Dābrā Bərhān]

አባ:ዮሐንስ:ዘደብረ:በንኮል :-Abbā Yohannəs of Dābrā Bānkol, was a follower of *Mādxānīnā-Əgzī*. He was one of the early religious leaders of the Ethiopia church.

አባ:ዮሐንስ:ዘደብረ:ቢዘን :-Abbā Yohannəs of Dābrā Bīzān (c. 1448 A.D.) was a senior disciple and successor of **ፊሊጵስ:Filip'os** of *Bīzān* (ca. 1323-1406 A.D.). He lived in the reigns of **ንጉሥ:ይስሐቅ:-King Yəshaq** and **ንጉሥ:ዐጌ:ዘርዐ:ያዕቆብ:-Emperor Zār'a Yā‘əqob**.

አባ:ዮሐንስ:ዘጉናንቄ :-Abbā Yohannəs of Gunānqé was a native of *Šərə*, a district in

²¹⁵ *Gädlä Täklä Häymānot*

²¹⁶ Taddesse Tamrat 1972.

²¹⁷ GE, f.olio 52ra.

²¹⁸ *Mār' Yā‘əqob: (ff. 2ra – 23ra).*

Western *Təgrāy*.

አባ:ዮሐንስ:ዘጸላሎ :-*Abbā Yohannəs of Zä-Şälālo* is known only in *Şälālo*, *Goğğām*.

አባ:ዮሐንስ:ዘዊፋት :-*Abbā Yohannəs of Wifāt* is also called *ፅርሻ* or *Məsrāqāwī*.

He was the apostle of *Mänz*, a district in Northern *Şäwā* in the reign of *Zär'a Yā'əqob* and founded the Monastery of *Şägāro*. His name is mentioned in the *Tārīākā Nägāst*.

ደቂቀ:አባ:ዮሐንስ:ዘወጋይ:ኪዳነ:ምሕረት:ወዘደብረ:ዳንጩት:ወደብረ:ኤጎራ:ወገዳመ:በዞ: ወሐዘሎ: ወገዳመ:ጎሮ:-The Children of *Abbā Yohannəs* from the placed called [Wä]Gäy, and the Church of *Kidānä Məhrät*, from *Däbrä Dānččät*, *Däbrä Éğorā*, from the Monasteries of *Bäzo* and *Hazälo*, and also the Monastery of *Gäro* (GE).

ደቂቀ:አባ:ዮሴፍ:ዘሮሃ:-The Children of *Abbā Yoséf* [will come] from *Rohā*.

አባ:ዮሐን:ዘደብረ:ዳሞ :-*Abbā Yohanni of Däbrä Dāmo* was the 7th abbot of *Däbrä Dāmo*. Both **አባ:ኢየሱስ:ሞአ:-** *Abbā İyäsus Mo'a* of *Hāyq* and **አባ:ተክለ:ሃይማኖት:-***Abunä Täklä Hāymānot* are believed to have met and received the monastic habit from him.

አባ:ዮሴፍ:ዘወለቃ:-*Yoséf of Wäläqā* was a disciple of **አቡነ:ዜና:ማርቆስ:-** *Abunä Zēnā Mārḡos*. *Yoséf* met his master on his return to *Şäwā* from *Təgrāy*. He was lived in the reign of *Gərmā Asfäré* or **ንዋየ:ማርያም: Nəwāyā Mārəyām** and **ዳዊት: Dāwīt**.

ዮስጦስ Yostos was a tutor of **ንጉሥ:ዐጌ:ዘርዐ:ያዕቆብ:-**Emperor *Zär'a Yā'əqob*.

ደቂቀ:ዘሚካኤል:ወእንበረኝ:ወጊዮርጊስ:-'*herעים*'-The Children of *Zä-Mikā'él*, *Ənbäränn*, *Giyorgis* of the Rome.

ደቂቀ:አባ:ዘሩፋ:ኤል:ዘገዳመ:ዋሊ:ወደብረ:አባይ:ወደብረ:አብረንታት:እምገዳመ:ሲዐት: ወእም ደብረ:አባ:ቴዎድሮስ:-The Children of *Abbā Zä-Rufā'él* from the Monasteries of *Wāli*, *Däbrä Abbāy*, *Däbrä Abərāntāt*; from the Monastery of *Sihhāt* which found that in *Däbrä Abbā Téwodros*.

አቡነ:ዜና:ማርቆስ:- *Abunä Zēnā Mārḡos* was relative and disciple of **አባ:ተክለ:ሃይማኖት:-** *Abunä Täklä Hāymānot*. He is the founder of the Monastery of **ደብረ:በሥራት:-***Däbrä Bəsrāt* in *Şäwā*.

3.5.3. Overview of Place Names

አድ:ሸዋ:-Adä Šäwā:- the famous monastic center, which found in central Ethiopia. Some are called as [*Ašé Wāššā ?*].

ደብረ:ዐባይ:-Däbrä Abbāy :-In South–West Aksum, the monastery of **ደብረ:ዐባይ:-Däbrä Abbāy** ²¹⁹ was founded by **አባ:ሳሙኤል:ዘዋልደባ:-Abbā Sāmu'él** of *Wālddabbā* during the reign of **ንጉሥ:ዳዊት:-King Dāwit** (r.1380-1412). It is also on there that the future **ንጉሥ:ዐጌ:ዘርዐ:ያዕቆብ:-King Zār'a Yā'əqob** studied. It is the most famous place for the teaching of **ቅዳሴ:-qəddāsé:-** the liturgy. The monastery is on the north side of the *Tākəzzé* River, at the edge of the *Wālddabbā* complex.

ደብረ: ባህርይ: ፤ Däbrä Bāhəray:- In South *Wällo*, the Monastery of *Abbā Giyorgis* of *Gāsəč'ā* (d.1425 A.D.), or *Däbrä Bāhəray*, is situated on their flat-topped plateau or *Ambā* (around 2400m.). *Abbā Giyorgis* studied in the *Hāyq*. Monastery and was the most prominent scholar of his time.

ደብረ: ብሥራት:-Däbrä Bəsrāt: - In North *Šäwā* the Monastery of *Däbrä Bəsrāt* ²²⁰ ‘the Mount of Annunciation’ of *Abunä Zēnā Mārqos*.. The monastry was found by *Abbā Zēnā Mārqos* on around 13th and 14th Centuries.

ደብረ: እስጢፋኖስ:- Däbrä Əstifānos:- In South *Wällo* ²²¹the Monastery of *Däbrä Əstifānos*, on Lake *Hāyq*, used to be on an island, but it is open only to men. This was already a church on the island in the 9th century. The monastery called *Hāyq St. Abunä İyäsus Mo'a*, after the name of its founder (13th century). It was the most famous monastery from the late 13th C. until the early 16th Century. The *Hāyq* Monastery emerged as a very important school a cultural center for the region, and for the South and the West. It remained important until the coming of the Muslim conquest *Nur-Mohammäd Grāññ* in 1532. The original rule of the *Hāyq* Monastery was

²¹⁹ It far around 60 km from Aksum to *Šəré*, then 60 km in the direction of **ጎጎደር:-Gondär**, the last 20 km is off the main road.

²²⁰ It is far around 3 hours walk from *Ənəwāré*. On there, water springs **ዐበል:-፣äbäl-Holy Water**, and monks pray there at 6 A.M. and at 6 P.M., they pray in *mərfāq*-the House of Monastic Council. Nuns live nearby. The church also dedicated to *Kidānā Məhrät* (*Covenant of Mercy, Virgin Mary*) was rebuilt by Emperor *Xäylä Səlläsé* in 1950

²²¹ Around 35 km North of *Dässé*.

coenobitic²²². Around the 16th century, an idiom-rhythmic system (*qurīt*) introduced in this monastery.

ገዳመ፡ጉንዳ፡ጉንዲ፡- *Gundā Gundi* :-The Monastery of *Gundā Gundi* can be reached from **ዕዳጋ፡ሐሙስ፡-***Edāgā Hāmus*²²³.

ደብረ፡ወርቅ፤ *Däbrä Wärq* :- in Gojam North of Bičana. It was found under King Dāwit (r. 1380 - 1412/13), while Abbā Šäršä Pétros was Abbot of this monastery. Some said to have been founded by the Šäršä Pétros himself. The Monastery of *Däbrä Wärq* linked in the past to the monastic movement which followed **ኤዎስጥቴዎስ፡-***Éwosṯātéwos*. And it became later an important centre for the *Éwosṯātians*. In fact, as can be gathered from both the writings of the Jesuits and the participation of monks from D.W in the *Gondär* Synod of 1688, it became a Qəbat stronghold (unction).

ዳጋ ፡ እስጠፋኖስ፡፤ *Dāgā Əsṯifānos*:- The most famous of the *Tānā* monastery is Saint Stephen, also called *Dāgā Əsṯifānos*²²⁴, on the island of *Dāgā* in the middle of Lake *Tānā*. The remains of some Ethiopian Kings are keeping on there, as well as those of the founder of the monastery. **ኧሩተ፡አምላክ፡-***Xirutä Amlāk* (14th C.). She is a disciple of *Abbā İyäsus Mo'a*.

ደብረ፡ሊባኖስ፡፤ *Däbrä Libānos* :-In *Šāwā* the main monastery is that *Däbrä Libānos*, called *Däbrä Asəbo* until 1445. St. Abunä Täklä Hāymānot founded this monastery in about 1284. The first church built by the first half of the 15th century. **ደብረ፡አሰቦት፡፤የረር፤ወሀገረ፡ወይተ፡-***Däbrä Asəbot, Yärär*, and the district *Wäyitu* found in the province of *Šāwā*.

ደብረ፡ወይንዮ፤ *Däbrä Wäynəyé*:- Near the body water place of *Abunä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus [Abbo]* Church one and a half hour's walk from **ደብረ፡ብርሃን፡-***Däbrä Bərḥān*, is the little Monastery of *Wäynəyé*, where as some legend say that St. *Täklä Hāymānot* spent some time before going to *Häyq*.

²²² This continued until coenobitic life was re-established in 1996 by decision of the present Archbishop *Athanasius*, who resides in *Dässé*. Main festivals on 15 *Mäskäräm* (25 September), translation of Relics of *Əsṯifānos*, his death on 17 *Təqəm't* (27 October).

²²³ 20 km south of *Adigrät*, then 30 km Eastwards still accessible by car, and then one day walk.

²²⁴ More than around 30km north of *Bāḥər Dār*. On this monastery, women not allowed enter to the monastery. The monks work together and grow basic crops.

እንጦጦ፡ኪዳን፡ ምሕረት፤ -Ənṯoṯto Hämärä No'h Kidānā Məhrät :- On the way to እንጦጦ፡-Ənṯoṯto, among eucalyptus trees, it found the Monastery of *Hämärä No'ah*-(‘Ark of Noah’) *Kidānā Məhrät* (‘Convent of Mercy’) in Addis Ababa Diocese. The church re-founded after 1894 by Empress *Ṭāyṯu*.

ገበርማ፡ደብረ፡ተክለ፡ሐዋርያት፡-Gäbärrəmā, Däbrä Täklä Hawarəyāt, the baptismal place of Abbā Élayās which found in Mugär, West *Šāwā* .

መንበረ፡ማርቆስ፡- The See of St. Mark, the Coptic Orthodox Church, the center of Ancient Christianity in the oldest city of Alexandria, Egypt.

መርጡሰ፡ማርያም፡-Märtulä Mārəyām²²⁵:- This monastery is close to a village. A church was built there under **ንግሥት፡ዕሌኒ፡-Queen Əlləni**, at the end of the 15th century.

ምሐር፡ ኢየሱስ፡፤ Məhur İyäsus:- Abunä Zēnā Mārḳos (13/14th c.), a cousin of *Abunä Täklä Hāymānot* founded the Monastery of *Məhur İyäsus* and to have evangelized the other Southern Ethiopia region²²⁶.

ምድረ፡ ከብድ፡፤ Məddrā Kāb'd :- *St. Abunä Gäbrä Mānfäs Qəddus* is also said to have founded the *Məddrā Kāb'd* Monastery²²⁷, near **ዝዋይ፡ሐይቅ፡-Lake Zəwāy**, which still exists as a place of pilgrimage.

ዋልድዳባ፡ Wālddəbbā, situated in the *Təgrāy* and *Gondär* provinces, several settlements of hermitages are scattered in a wide area; it is very remote and wild, in lowland desert area, demarcated by four rivers. It is said that hermits lived in *Wālddəbbā* before *Abbā Sāmu'əl* organized monastic life there at the time of King *Dāwit* (end of 14th C. to beg .15th century). Saint *Abbā Sāmu'əl* was buried in this monastery (*Wālddəbbā*).

ዝቋላ፡ Zəq'ālā:- In South *Šāwā*, *Abbā Abunä Gäbrä Mānfäs Qəddus*²²⁸ [‘the Servant of the Holy Spirit’], also called ‘*Abbo*’ (may be 14th c.?), who is said to have come from Egypt, established the Monastery of *Zəq'ālā* on the mountain today in *Oromia* region.

²²⁵ Archeological remains have been found behind present church. The church, which built, may be by the Jesuits, in this location there is the ruins of the Church.

²²⁶ Today near Hosanna, and in the *Gurāghé* region, which was the ancient province of *Šāwā*. Recently, recognized by the Diocese Bishop in Hosanna, *Abbā Mālkä Šédéq* .

²²⁷The region today in the *Gurāghé* zone.

²²⁸ From down in the plain, right up to the top of the mountain, he prayed to fight and eliminate the evil spirits, which were particularly numerous by the volcanic lake on the top of the mountain. He preaches Christianity to the local people.

CHAPTER IV

4. TRANSLATION

In this part I attempt to translate on the basis of *QSC* text, which include around 43-44 *folios*, and I organized an overview with the full text translation of the *Gädl*. The punctuation and paragraphing of the text are mine. I have added two signs, quotation marks with *italics*, “ ”, and square brackets, [], for illegible places and the parenthesis, round brackets (), for a letter that the copyist or calligraphist forgot to write ²²⁹.

4.1. THE LIFE OF ABBĀ ÉLƏYĀS AND THE CHURCH OF ETHIOPIA

[Part I: The *Gə‘əz* Manuscript Text Translation of *Gädlä Abbā Éləyās*]

4.1.1. *Abbā Éləyās*, the Church Fathers, and Emperor *Zä-Dəngəl* [*ff.* 24v^a - 27vb]

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Sprit, One God Amen. We would like to write about the *vita* (combat) of our Spiritual Father, *Abbā Éləyās*, who was of the Royal and Priestly family; this great father was renowned for his purity and Holiness, his life combined righteousness with honesty as a perfect Monk.

He finished his combat on the 6 *Hədār* [November 16] festival of Our Lady, the Virgin Mary, Mother of God. May her prayers protect us, Amen.

O my Children, Christians! People of the province of *Šəwā* and the whole of the World! May God be a light for your eyes, may the hearts of those that listen to this be made to shine brightly. I will write the account of the holy *Abbā Éləyās* (His Grace is used only of Bishops) as I received the narrative of his combat for the satisfaction of your soul, and the purification of your heart. Before we continue to relate the origins of the ancestors of *Abbā Éləyās*, we would like to inform you concerning the basis of this historical literary work. He became a hermit life at a place called *Ənjoṭto* by the command and the choosing of God. And by the promise of Our Lady, Blessed Mary, the Dual Virgin, Bearer of God, the Savior [of the World]. By the power of Her prayers may we be protected in this world and in the coming one for ever and ever, Amen.

²²⁹ See the edited *Gə‘əz* Manuscript text of *Abbā Éləyās* on ‘Appendices’ part (last chapter of the Thesis; Pp. 132 - 164).

Emperor. Zä-Dəngəl [r. 1603-1604], who is the friend of God, when he became King of Ethiopia; many Elder monks gathered and went to him. The Elder Monks were the Church Fathers who had survived the persecution of the Christians during the period of *Nur-Mohāmmäd Grāññ*. From among these Church Fathers, who were aged 100, 120, and 130, some monks came to the King and said:

“Ó King ! the Almighty Eternal God, whose nature is mercy helped you to succeed to the throne. Our Lord Jesus Christ’s Mother, the Holy Virgin Mary’s blessed those who are Kings- like King Zär’a Yā’əqob, King Bā’ədə Mārəyam, and King Nā’od to commemorate their names and save them from disaster. The Children of the scribes of your Fathers knew about the Books of your Fathers, which they kept in a secret place. Please! Command them to tell us [about the Books].”

At this moment; the Emperor Aşé Zä-Dəngəl officially gathered the Children of the Scribes of his Fathers’ who were around 150 in number; and the Christian people said:

“Where are the Books of our Fathers [the Kings], which were kept in a secret place during the era persecution of Grāññ?” One of them, who were originally from *Gāsəč’ā*, whose name was *Hərəyāqos*, said to the King:

“I am an Elder from among the Children of Writers, my age is 115; by the will of God my life was spared during the time of Grāññ’s persecution. However, I do not know about your Fathers Books, or where they are. However, I assume that Our Teacher, the Writer of History and the grandson of Märqorəwos knows [about the Books]. I heard that he lives in his Fathers’ district in an area called Émā; call him and question him if the Books are here or in Wəgdā”, *Hərəyāqos* replied to Aşé Zä-Dəngəl.

When King Aşé Zä-Dəngəl asked the Old man [*Hərəyāqos*] repeatedly: *“Who was your Father?!”* The Old man became terrified and responded with silence unable to answer the King. At that moment, the King become irritated; and orderd his soldiers to put him in prison.

On that night, Abbā Éləyās came and was transfigured before the King:

“Release him [the old man, Hərəyāqos] from prison! The scribe, who said that he did not know where the ‘Books’ were, was afraid of the King! The Books are found at his hand [It records] what the angels foretold, about the destruction of the country [Ethiopia]; about the rising of the Heathen [Islam in Ethiopia] during the reign of King Ləbnā

Dəngəl. The Children of your Fathers' scribes heard all these things from the Angels, and kept all their Books in secreted secluded places [Hərəyāqos],” Abbā Éləyās told all these things to Aşe (King) Zä-Dəngəl.

The day after the King Zä-Dəngəl heard these things from Abbā Éləyās, he freed him [Hərəyāqos] from prison [saying]: “Yesterday, when I asked [about the books] why you hesitated to tell me the truth without fearing? A certain hermit, red in color told me in a dream Concerning you today: ‘Leave the prisoner, the Old man [Hərəyāqos]- release him - from prison; he knows about the Books of your Fathers’ where they are!” the King said [these words] to Hərəyāqos, the old man and treated him accordingly.

At this time [he said]: “*Ó King! When my father died, he made me promise concerning this box. The box should not be opened without the permission of the son of King Ləbnä Dəngəl, the Children of Yā‘əqob; no one could open it. But now you can open and see it,*” said the old man, and gave the locked box with its firm key and the Books that were found within it.

When the king opened the locked box, he saw the: ‘*Ancestral History of the Ethiopian Kings*’, ‘*The Raising of Grāññ and the Heathens*’, and ‘*The History of Abbā Éləyās*’ - all were found in this box from the beginning up to the end. The numbers of Books was fifteen (15).

4.1.2. His Ancestors and Origins [ff. 27ra - 28vb]

Yəkuno Amlāk was the father of Amdä Şəyon, Amdä Şəyon was the father of Nəwāyā Kərəstos, Nəwāyā Kərəstos was the father of Nəwāyā Mārəyām who was called Dāgmāy Dāwīt. Furthermore, Dāgmāy Dāwīt begat children from Queen Şəyon Mogäsā, Téwodros, Yəshaq, Əndəryās, Téwofilos and Hābtä İyäsus. However, Zär’a Yā‘əqob and Əlləni were descended from the ancestors of Abrəhā and Aşbəhā’s family called Xirutä Amlāk, the Queen. The name of the father of Xirutä Amlāk was Rās Səmə’on. He was the Governor of Kätättä, Wägdä, Mähagəl and Sərmāt. The sister of Zär’a Ya‘əqob, Əllənī married an Arch-Chanter Bäkimos from the district called Wägdä, close to the Monastery of Däbrä Kälə’tā and Gəräryä; she gave birth by him [Bäkimos] to two blessed children. Concerning the names of the children, the first was called Särşä Mik’él. He is known as ‘*The Arch-Chanter*’ and was ordained at the Monastery of Däbrä Lībānos; the second one was named Gäbrä Şəyon, he was known as the Arch-Priest of Däbrä Məṭməq. In her first pregnancy Əllənī gave birth to these two righteous saints.

4.1.2.1. The Birth of Abbā Éləyās and His Family [ff. 28vb - 28rb]

During her second pregnancy, she [Əllēnī] gave birth to Abbā Éləyās and Mārəyām Kəbrā in the month of *Hədar* 22 [December 2nd]. Abbā Éləyās was baptized in the Monastery of Abunā Tāklā Mārəyām at Gəbərrəmā (Däbrā Şəmonā). When he received the Holy Sprit he was given the name of the Prophet Éləyās, and became known as Éləyās. His God Father was Abunā Tāklā Hāwārəyāt.

When Abbā Éləyās grew in stature, his parents brought him to a teacher; and he became a pupil at the school. His teacher was Abbā Mikā'él, the Teacher (Preacher) of Wägäg. He studied all the books of Theology, the Prophets, and the Apostles; and knew their interpretations by the grace of the Holy Sprit who dwelt in him. He became perfect in understanding, in spiritual wisdom and in the interpretations of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. He also became handsome in his physical appearance. Everyone who saw him admired his majestic bearing. A perfect love of God dwelt in him, and he put on the monastic habit and started to walk in the path of our Fathers. He studied the Rules and Regulations of the Monks concerning the monastic life, and Éləyās became a monk under the instruction of Abbā Mälkä Şédéq his '*monastic cap Father*'. He observed all good deeds: fasting, praying, practicing humility, meekness, cleanliness of the body, without defilement, standing and prostrating, reading the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, showing true friendship and love without showing preference for juniors or seniors. He was highly educated and was always diligent in explaining the Scriptures.

The blessed Abbā Éləyās was diligent in the monastic combat and planted, like a firm pillar of prayer. After the establishment of Adā Šəwā III, it came pass at mid night, when Abbā Éləyās entered the Holy of Holies (Temple) with the Holy Communion, a bright light surrounded him and the great light of the power of the Divinity swallowed upon the [Holy Communion] *gold basket* [መሥብ፡ወርቅ፡-*mäsobä wärq*]. In addition to this [the great Light of the Divinity] was revealed again on Däbrā Bərhān for the second time.

4.1.3. The Council of Däbrā Bərhān and the Role of Abbā Éləyās [ff. 29va - 29ra]

The King Aşé Zār'a Yā'əqob was much inclined towards his sister's [Əllēnī's] son, and his nephew Abbā Éləyās. In particular the king admired and honored Éləyās for his high ethical standards, his honesty, activity, and the strong mindedness of his faith and purity. The Council of

Däbrä Bərḥān was convened for the purpose of firmly strengthening the Apostolic Faith [Orthodoxy] of the Church Fathers [as taught during the Medieval Centuries]: Abbā Mälkā Şédēq, Abbā Yohannəs of Däbrä Libānos, Abbā Thomas and Abbā Yohannəs of Däbrä Bəsrāt, Abbā Bātrā Mārəyām of Däsetä Zāghé, Abbā Täṭāmqa Mädxən of the Monastery of Bägédä Səmén, Abbā Yohannəs of Wägärā, Abbā Yohannəs of Égorā, Abbā Bənyām of Bägəmməddər and all the 500 Saints [of the Medieval Centuries] attended the Council [of Däbrä Bərḥān].

Abbā Éləyās became the Chairman of the Council [the Council Speaker]. They were victorious over the Nestorians heretical teachings and the schism, which was propogated by leaders called Gämäləyal Zä-Giyorgis and Ənbäräññ, who taught: “*Christ has two Bodies and two Natures*”. The second heretical teaching of Aṭṭəqqa Mikā’él’s taught: “*God has one Side(face)*”; the third groups also taught: “*Christ has one Body and two Natures*”.

4.1.3.1. The Doctrine of the Church, and the Defence of the Faith at the Council

[f. 29ra - f. 29rb]

During the [Medieval Centuries] the Church Fathers defended and became victorious by their strong word. They taught against the heresies which said: ‘*Christ has two Bodies and two Natures*’, and also ‘*One Body and two Natures*’. As it is mentioned: “*He [Christ] died in His Body and was raised in His Divinity*”. They quoted this Biblical text according to the interpretation of the (commentary of the Church Fathers). This reading directly interpreted or translated: “*ሞተ በሥጋ፣ ወሐድ በሐይወት፡፡-Motä bā-səgā, wāhayo bā-mānfäs; He [Christ] died by His Body; and became Eternal by His Divinity.*”

The text said that- ‘after death there is resurrection for the Incarnate Word; we understood that: “*Christ has One Body, One Nature.*” However, there is no difference in basic thought (doctrine). The teaching of Aṭṭəqqa Mikā’él: ‘*God has one Face*’. The Medieval Church Fathers were victorious over this heretical thought; as Our Lord Jesus Christ taught His Apostles: “*Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Eternal the Immortal.*” As mentioned in the *Book of the Covenant [Kidān]*²³⁰; they became victorious.

²³⁰ Mäzmurāt zä-Dāwīt 1984 E.C., şälotä *Kidān*, p. 468.

4.1.4. His Appointment as Church Leader, Emperor Zār'a Yā'əqob, and the Beginning of His Monastic Life [ff. 30va - 30ra]

At that time all the Church Fathers, attended the Council of Däbrä Bərḥān with Abbā Éləyās where they discussed issues of religious controversy. The Church Fathers told the King, Zār'a Yā'əqob: “ *O King ! This son of your sister, Abbā Éləyās has distinguished himself more than all of us by his strong and talented mind, by his Faith, by his ethical honesty, his Protection of Monastic Rules and Regulations, and by his brilliant education. Please appoint him as 'the Preacher of the Faith'.*”

When Abbā Éləyās heard this; he was disturbed by hearing such unnecessary praises, and fled from the Council of Däbrä Bərḥān; and joined the Monastery at the Aškkəllā River. The King Zār'a Yā'əqob heard of the flight of Abbā Éləyās and tried to find him in all the monasteries; but he could not locate him. Then, two years after Abbā Éləyās had joined the monastery; King Zār'a Yā'əqob visited Aškkəllā River [where Abbā Éləyās lived as a hermit and monastic life] the soldiers of the King went to collect wood to build the Church; the wood-cutters saw Abbā Éləyās from far, as he drew water from the river.

4.1.4.1. His Dialogue with Emperor Zār'a Yā'əqob and the Angel of God [f. 30rb - f. 34vb]

Immediately, when the soldiers of King Zār'a Yā'əqob told about him; the king, Zār'a Yā'əqob came with a following of his soldiers to find Abbā Éləyās; then they took him into custody. At that moment, Abbā Éləyās said to the King:

“O King! What would be the point of trying to persuade me to leave this monastery for you? My name is like that of the true Prophet, Éləyās. I succeeded not only to the name of the prophet; if it was so I would not ascend like him to Heaven. I would like to work for my soul's satisfaction and to save this passing world, I personally not only succeeded to the name of the Prophet Éləyās; but also to His Blessing [or His deeds]; O King ! Please leave me alone by the Name of the Mother of God [St. Mary], as you have regard for Her let me die in this monastery.”

However, when Emperor Ašə Zāra Yā'əqob heard these words of Abbā Éləyās; then the king advised him as follows:

“O my son! You told that, it was good in the monastery. However, Abbā Yohannās and Abbā Mälkä Şédéq informed me that ‘the Rebels of Faith [teachers of Heresies] again would rise. We are elders, we couldn’t foresee this [the raising up of new Heresies],. This yours’ sister son, Abbā Éləyās is a young man with education and a scholar of the Church. He can defend the Church from the heresies referring to the ancient books. Therefore, please appoint him.’ As they advised me and them given recommendation for you; I personally can appoint you to one of the two famous monasteries Däbrä Libānos or Däbrä Bəsrāt [Zénā Mārḡos Monastery] I was advised concerning these great monasteries in the meeting with Abbā Yohannās and Abbā Mälkä Şédéq. So, I can’t permit for to live [the life of a hermit] at this monastery [Aşkkällā].

Upon this, Abbā Éləyās replied thus to King Aşe Zära Yā’əqob:

“O King ! Don’t try to implement this idea which you told me now. Even don’t think consider it I beg you in the Name of the Mother of God. I only want to prostrate myself before Our Lady; she is the cause of the Saving of the World. In this monastery, I would like to continue the hermitic life respecting the Rules and Regulation of the Monks. For God will never leave this land [the World or Ethiopia] without appropriate Clergy [i.e. Preachers] from the Creation of the World until the End of the World. As it is said, from the Chosen land, from Ethiopia those more brilliant than me in their education and ethics .can found and appointed. The Holy Books of the Saints like Abbā Giorgis and Abbā Bāşālotä Mikā’él say: ‘Our Lady received the responsibility to protect Ethiopia from the coming persecution. In Ethiopia, a man can found who is devoted to the Law of God and a righteous preacher of the faith.

O King ! Even if today in your reign, the followers of Arius and the followers of the Nestorians are raised up in Ethiopia, they will never ever destroy the country by their heretical teaching. If they think that it will only last a season, for the time being, then the True Orthodox Church Fathers will defend them themselves against the [heresies]. By the prayers of the Mother of God, the Church Fathers will live, and they will become victorious forever. If I live until that time, I will join with the ‘appointed preacher’ and defend the Orthodox Tāwāhədo Church faith.

O King ! When I joined this monastery [Monastery of Aşkkällā], the Angel of God told me: ‘don’t fear! It is not long till we see the end of the rebels of faith [heresies]’. As the

Angel of God again told about me: 'you [Abbā Élayās] are chosen by God, Himself; when you were in the womb of your mother, you are honest, strong in the faith and righteous; I, personally advise you not to leave this monastery till God calls you by death or by life'.

After a moment, the Angel stood between Abbā Élayās and Emperor Aṣé Zār'a Yā'əqob, who looked like a 3 year old child. The Angel of God said to Abbā Élayās: *"You righteous one, Our Lady [St. Mary] sent me unto you, why did you tell this mystery [to the king] which I have told you?"* The Angel said again unto the King, *"Why should you make demands of this righteous man of God? Now leave him alone and leave this place immediately, before I curse you! He is the one that helps you in defending the Orthodox Church faith. But it is better for Abbā Élayās, the son of your sister [Əlləni], to live the life which he is living as a hermit, like Élayās of Tébəstiyān and like John, the Baptist."*

Instantly, the Angel carried Abbā Élayās upon His wings, and separated him from Emperor Aṣé Zār'a Yā'əqob. The king admired and appreciated this miracle, at that moment when he saw (these things), and returned to his palace.

4.1.5. The Sending of Abbā Élayās to Aṣé Bā'ədä Mārəyām and His Miracle

[ff. 34ra – 35va]

During the reign of the son of King Zār'a Ya'qob, Aṣé Bā'ədä Mārəyām built the Church of Atronsä Mārəyām in the district of Sāyənt [Amharā]. After he finished the building of the Church, it was destroyed by unknown causes. The king had tired in the building of this Church, consequently he was troubled and sorrowful about its destruction. He entered Church of The Blessed Virgin Mary and prayed, crying out:

"O My Lady ! I was expecting to be received in the Kingdom of God, according to that which is said: 'a person who built a Church in the name of you [Blessed Virgin Mary], He will receive its price and salary, when I remember the promises given by you; how is it that I am exhausted, inflicted with pain and mocked in front of my enemies?'"

Our Lady [St. Mary] sent Abbā Élayās to alleviate the sorrow of the king. Secretly Abbā Élayās entered the palace of the king; and when he bowed down in front of the king, the king himself was astounded by the grace and excellence of Abbā Élayās.

4.1.5.1. The Re-Building of Churches of Märtulä Mārəyām and Atronosä Mārəyām

[f. 35vb - f. 36rb]

On that moment, Abbā Ēləyās told a message to the king:

“Ō King! Don't fear! My origin is from the human being, and not from devils; I am the son of your sister! Our Lady sent me to tell you that, 'you must go to the place named Gojjam, to the district called Ənəbəsé; and rebuild the Church in my name, which had been destroyed by my enemy Gudit [Yodit]. This Church is called Märtulä Mārəyām. After you rebuild the Church of Atronosä Mārəyām, you must unite the Rules of those two Churches; as She [the Blessed Virgin Mary] said, your chance will come through the strength of my intercession, and the Blessing of my Father'”.

Again, Abbā Ēləyās gave this advice to the King Bā'ədä Mārəyām:

“O King! Protect yourself from the temptation of the devil, which are like the serpents of the land. During the reign of your father, King Aşé Zär'a Yā'əqob; at the beginning of the service, a great devil entered into the Holy of Holies. At that moment, the clergy were scared. But, your father [Aşé Zär'a Yā'əqob] entered into the Holy of Holies, and prayed the praises of Our Lady: 'O My Lady! Peace be unto you, we bowed down before you'. After that he killed the great serpent. Maybe you are being tested in a similar way to your father; then you should pray this type of prayer before the serpent; as it said that the 'man who believed in Her [St. Mary's] intercession would be heard. You will see the power of the Veneration and Perpetual Help of Our Lady for today, for that day, and until forever”.

The King, Aşé Bā'ədä Mārəyām built a new tabernacle, like the Church of Atronosä Mārəyām on the area of the ruins. He advised the clergy to prepare the sacrifice [Holy Communion] to God. They prepared the divine service in the Church as they were advised by the king. Moreover, the Holy Mass continued with the liturgical service; and then a first priest began the prayer: *‘Ō God! Send the Grace of the Holy Sprit upon us...’*; the laymen also followed the liturgy; then a devil which depend dwelled in the serpent entered the church, making a loud sound and attacked a priest.

4.1.5.2. His Miracle in the Holy of Holies and the Devil's Temptation [f. 36rb - f. 37rb]

On that moment, a priest died and the clergy were anxious and they became gripped by fear. They were overcome by terror and trepidation overwhelmed them. Just then, the Saint Abbā Élayās walked into the Holy of Holies, dressed in the liturgical attire, as appropriate for members of the clergy and said, “*Don't fear this serpent or devil!*” He taking the Holy Communion in his hand; he prayed ‘*the Prayer for the Holy Communion of the Anaphora of Épiphānious, God of the lights, and God of the Authorities*’. After Abbā Élayās finished the Holy Mass - Liturgical service, he blessed the Holy Communion, and then distributed it to the priests, to the king, and to the laymen according to their ranks.

When king Bā‘ädä Mārəyām prayed the prayer [as Abbā Élayās advised on previous time]:

‘O My Lady! Peace unto you, we prostrate & bow down before you...’. Then all Chanters inside the church followed the prayer of the king until the end of his prayer. The priests participated in the prayer service saying:

“O St. Mary, we beg you in the Name of God, who was Incarnated from your Body, We beseech you, let us become the Saviour of our lives as we live in this world, and inherit life after death. Ó St. Mary, we beg you again and again by the Body and Blood of your Beloved Son [Jesus Christ's]! You are the Protector of the True Faith and a Righteous king, May Aşé Bā‘ädä Mārəyām's regime protect the body and soul of the king.”

Meanwhile, when Abbā Élayās touched the dead priest [who was attacked by the serpent] after the prayer and the Holy Mass service; the dead priest was raised at that moment from death. Then, immediately the devil, which was dwelling in the serpent; cried out and left the dead serpent.

O Readers [and Listeners]! You may ask the question, ‘*How could a devil enter into the place of God (the Church)?*’ Don't be disturbed! Because, Satan himself tried not only to tempt human beings, but even to tempt God [i.e. Jesus Christ].

When we returned to the main point at issue, the King, Aşé Bā‘ädä Mārəyām appreciated greatly the great miracle that was done for the priest. After that day [the day of the miracle], The King [Bā‘ädä Mārəyām] declared and made a rule; that the daily Holy Mass service must include a musical composition accompanying the prayer; ‘*O My Lady [St. Mary]! Peace be unto you, we*

prostrate and bow down before you..., ' before that the first deacon should say the prayer, 'Pray for us.... ' ; After this occurrence, the king visited Go□□ām, he went to the district called Өnābsé; to rebuild the Church of Mārṭulā Mārəyām.

4.1.5.3. The Miracles of St. Mary, Angel Rāgu'él, Abbā Éləyās and Šārşā Péṭros

[ff. 38va - 42va]

In connection with this church, Our Lady [the Blessed Virgin Mary] performed a great miracle. The miracle concerned the period when Aşé Bā'ədä Mārəyām was attending to the rebuilding of the Church of Mārṭulā Mārəyām. On the compound of the church, there was a great river called Bähā Giorgis. A great serpent emerged from this river, and attacked a granddaughter of King Bā'ədä Mārəyām, a daughter of Өskəndər who subsequently died to this serpent. King Bā'ədä Mārəyām was greatly grieved by the unknown cause of death of the child.

"This woman did not die due to her own sin, but due to the defilement of my own sin. Ө My Lady! By your previous miracle, you restored to life [a priest], who was attacked by a serpent which was sent by the devil (Satan). Please! Send Abbā Éləyās unto me to pray and raise my child from the dead;" the king said, beseeching Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary.

At that moment, Our Lady sent Abbā Éləyās like Elijah, the Prophet with a Chariot of Fire to King Bā'ədä Mārəyām. Abbā Éləyās reached before the end of the service of the Holy Mass at the Church of Mārṭulā Mārəyām, which was built in the district called Өnābəsé.

He waited until the end of the service of the Holy Mass, and stood in the compound of the Church. When he prayed there, he was seen by a monk Abbā Šārşā Péṭros who called to him.

Furthermore, then Abba Šārşā Péṭros come to him; and bowed down to him [Abbā Éləyās].

"What is your name?" Abbā Éləyās asked; *"I am Šārşā Péṭros! What about your name?"* Šārşā Péṭros replied, asking his name.

Abbā Éləyās said, *"I will tell you my name later. Are you called Šārşā Péṭros, who challenged the men of Mānz; concerning the Hymn of the Flower to Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary, that she is the Mother of the Life of the Seed. I wished to see your eyes, now Our Lady's [the Blessed Virgin. Mary] sent you unto me, the Strongest of her Beloved"*. After a moment, before the end of the service of the Holy Mass, they visited King Bā'ədä Mārəyām to raise the dead girl before she was buried.

“How can I raise a dead person?” Šārṣā Pétros entreated Abbā Éłəyās. He replied: “All those who have faith in Our Lord Jesus Christ and by His Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary; can raise the dead.”

Immediately, Abbā Éłəyās told Abbā Šārṣā Pétros: *“I was sent by Our Lady, to raise the dead person, who is the grand-daughter of the king. Don’t fear! While you are raising the dead child, I will not leave you alone, rather I will assist you. The dead child will rise not only because of us, but also by Our Lady [the Blessed Virgin Mary], and our fathers’ faith and prayers.”* After this speech, Abbā Éłəyās went with Abbā Šārṣā Pétros to the place where the king and the dead child were to be found.

“O King ! Don’t sorrow; I will raise the dead child from the death in the Name of Our Lady!” said Abbā Šārṣā Pétros to the king, Bā‘adā Mārəyām. He entered the place where the corpse was kept, stand by it and prayed; subsequently he said, *“You, dead child, and rise in the Name of Our Lady, who is the Mother of Life for the whole World!”*

At that moment, Šārṣā Pétros saw a glowing hand above the corpse. The body which had been dead was attempting to raise itself, and she began to witness: *“Through the intercession of Our Lady and the prayers of Her Beloved monk friends, Abbā Éłəyās and Abbā Šārṣā Pétros’, my soul and body have become one [incarnated]! Let me be free from my bonds?”* When these words were heard coming from the corpse of the child, the soldiers gathered and took her outside the church. In addition, they freed her from the bonds that restricted her body so that she could stand as a free soul. She gave witness to all, concerning what she has experienced about her kinship, and concerning Abbā Éłəyās in front of the king and the people. After she witnessed saying, *“[May the Archangel Rāgu‘él and Abbā Éłəyās follow and kill] the serpent, which took my life! May you also go with your horses soldiers to the River Abbāy (i.e. the Nile) with to sing of this great miracle!”* she said to the king.

Immediately, the king rode with his horse and followers; and found the serpent as he was carrying away a cow on his back along the banks of the Lower Abbāy (Nile) River. At this moment, the king shot an arrow like a dart, which immediately struck the serpent. At that moment, the serpent left the cow; returned and opened its mouth to swallow the king, curling

around its tongue. At this moment Abbā Éloyās came down from his chariot and immediately caught hold of the head of the serpent; then, the archangel Rāgu'él cut off its head with His sword. When the devil, which had set the serpent saw the king with his soldiers, he cried like a hyena and disappeared into the River Abbāy. After this miracle, Abbā Éloyās returned by chariot to his hermit's life in the monastery.

4.1.6. The Monks Persecution and Exile [ff. 42vb - 42ra]

Meanwhile, for the third time, during the Reign of Aše Nā'od, many monks gathered from Gojjām and Šāwā; and visited Jerusalem to see the sites of the Holy Land, on which Our Lord Jesus Christ preached, showing His deeds and miracles. At that time, when the monks visited the Holy Land, and Jerusalem, they met exiles who were persecuted due to their '*Schism of Faith*', that incurred the death penalty, during the Reign of Emperor Aše Zār'a Yā'əqob. These men believed and taught/preached: "*It is not necessary to prostrate to Our Lady [the Blessed Virgin Mary] and to the Icons...*" The Monks applied to the Alexandrian Patriarch, Arch-Bishop Abbā Gäbrə'él, that he might carry away and imprison [the heretics]. And they returned from Egypt. These prisoners escaped from prison and went to the district called Wändäl in the province of Gojjām.

4.1.6.1. King Aše Nā'od, Gäbrä Mäsi'h the Governor and Abbā Éloyās [ff. 42rb - 45va]

In this district there was a person called Gäbrä Mäsi'h, the Governor of Wändäl, who received them [the heretics] as honored guests and kept them in a secret place. A few days later, he was converted to their heretical faith. Subsequently this governor persecuted the clergy of the church in Wändäl, and gave their lands for to the heretics. The clergy of Wändäl were exiled and joined those of the Ašəkkəlla River.

The Chief Monks [High Priest?] of *Adä Šāwā (Aše Wāššā ?)* and the followers of Abbā Zār'a Şəyon welcomed the guests, and gave them shelter with honour, and [the exiled clergy] told about their persecution and exile to Abbā Éloyās. At that moment, Abbā Éloyās, arrived traveling on an air-borne chariot that was offered to him by Our Lady to facilitate his visitations here and there. He started his visit at Ašəkkəllā River and proceeded to the Land of Wändäl after one day, and as he encountered Gäbrä Mäsi'h, the Governor [of Wändäl]; Éloyās passed on spiritual greetings, saying: '*How are you ?*'.

“Why did you converted to the faith of Ləyon [Leo’s]? Why did you take from the people the True Faith of our forefathers, of Abbā Mikā’él and Abbā Yohannās who were excommunicated due to their strong faith, what about ou father, Hārbā Ğoṣ who granted the land by promise to the Grandchildren of Abba Sāmu’él;? Please! Now you must return the lands of the followers of the righteous fathers! Moreover, for the sake of our beloved Orthodoxy Faith, they should return to their persecuted and origin grant land place.” Abbā Éləyās told for Gäbrä Mäsi’h,[the Governor of Wändäl] about the exiled church fathers.

Gäbrä Mäsi’h defended the false faith of the Ləyonites, and said: *“My brethren, the followers of the Faith of Peter have told me about you, are you Éləyās II ? If you are called Éləyās II, you should be able torain the the fire of condemnation on me like Éləyās I [Elijah the Prophet]? My faith is also true, as you said,”* the Governor of Wändäl replied mocking Abba Éləyās. He again continued: *“Arrest and beat this fearless monk! Who does not have respect for the face of the governor!”* Gäbrä Mäsi’h commanded his servants, who attacked him, *“You have beaten me for the cause of the faith of Ləyon? However, I will die for the True Orthodoxy Faith, like the Alexandrian Arch-Bishop St. Dioscorus and the Arch-Apostle Peter’s faith! Who will save you from the condemnation of our Father Doscorus?”* said Abba Éləyās to the ruthless governor, Gäbrä Mäsi’h.

After experiencing this severe cruelty, the body of Abba Éləyās bled profusely ; as he stood in front of Gäbrä Mäsi’h, then the cloud returned and he ascended into the air, *“During the reign of Akə’ab; the sky is prohibited to give rain in the wet season as the land is prohibited to grow seed. Also, throughout the country, the land must be cursed and prohibited from the blessing of rain,”* said Abbā Éləyās by calling upon the Name of God and condemned it. At this moment, the River of Abbāy was dried from Ənjibārā to Dārā, all of the province of Gojjām and Dāmot became dry, excluding Bägəmməddr.

When The King, Aṣé Nā’od heard about the poverty and dryness of the land in his territory; he understood and assumed that the cause and responsible person was Gäbrä Mäsi’h. The king sent his soldiers to Wändäl to call and arrest him; the soldiers arrested and carried Gäbrä Mäsi’h to King Nā’od. The king asked, *“Why did you do this unnecessary thing? Don’t repeat it again!”* King Nā’od admonished and gave warnings and advice to Gäbrä Mäsi’h.

4.1.6.2. King Ašé Nā'od's Questions for Monks about Abba Élayās [ff. 45vb - 46vb]

After this situation, the king called the followers of Abba Yoħannəs from their place of exiled, at the Ašəkkəllā River; and asked them, "Please tell me about Abbā Élayās?" They replied,

"We don't know anything about Abbā Élayās. However, we heard a rumor, that he lives near the Ašəkkəllā River. At the time, when we lost our land and were exiled from our place of residence at Wändäl; we went and settled into Ašəkkəllā River. The monks of this place were received as guests with honor. One of them, who lived with Abbā Élayās; the righteous hermit man, whose name was (also) Abbā Élayās came to us. We told him about the cause of our persecution and exile; on the other day, he returned and said to us, 'I told Abbā Élayās about your exile and persecution!' Ó King! Here now this hermit is at your court; you can call and ask him," monks told to the king about Abbā Élayās.

"Call the person [the hermit]!" said King Ašé Nā'od. In addition, he send messengers to Abbā Élayās. At that moment, when the king spoke these words, the great righteous man, Abba Élayās came by the Power of the Holy Sprit and revealed himself among them. Two of the monks from among those gathered monks, confirmed to the king: "This is Abbā Élayās! He is Abbā Élayās!" and showed their admiration of him. Then, Abbā Élayās replied, "I am the son of your Grandfather, Ašé Zär'a Yā'əqob's sister, the son of Əlléni; Élayās Ašəkkəllāwi [of Ašəkkəllā]," he spoke in this way to the king.

At this moment, Abbā Élayās hid himself from the eye of the king and from the people. Immediately, Our Lady [the Blessed Virgin Mary] carried and took Abbā Élayās by the air-borne chariot; and settled at Ənətoṭto, pursuing his hermit's [and monastic] life at the place called Ašəkkəllā River. By his holiness, righteousness and honest combat Abbā Élayās collected from the fields and the tombs of the Christian Martyrs, who were executed and killed during the era of persecution of *Grāññ Nur-Moħammäd*. The account of the spiritual combat and deeds of Abbā Élayās are found in the 'Book of the History', in the Chronicle of Ašé Ləbnä Dəngəl.

4.1.7. Review of the Scriber, and the Owner of the Gädl [ff.46ra - 47va]

I became old during the reign of Emperor Zä-Dəngəl, and I returned to my place Émā. When I was their, she [Ḥṭṭ:Agäyā] comes from Gäbogäyā [Bābogäyā] and reached to the nation of Ž'wā'i [Zəwā'i]. She asked on their, her fathers' book and took that during persecuted era of

gentiles from her place. She comes to me and said, “Are you **ሊቅ፡ዘመለኮት፡** Liq Zä-Mäläkot, a grandson of Märqoréwos, who was **ሊቅ፡ጸሐፍት፡** Liqä Şähafit ‘Chief Scriber’ of the ‘History of Kings’ [of Ethiopia].”

I replied to her and said that I remember, “Yes! I was before, but now I become old man, tired, and my age it becomes 125 years. I wrote the ‘News of the Ancestors of Kings from King Zä-Dəngəl upto Fāsīlädäs. I left my children when I came to my exile district Wäf Wäššā in the place Bägéməddr. And I became to hear about the news my grandchildren and my sister’s children.”

[From ff.47vb – 49rb: text it telling us the private dialogue between the ‘Chief Scriber’, **ሊቅ፡ዘመለኮት፡** Liq Zä-Mäläkot, and the owner of this Gädl called Wäyzäro **ወ/ሮ፡አገዖ፡** Agäyā which tell for each other about their life; when she was came to his district].

4.1.7.1. Abba Éləyās and the Owner of the Gädl [f.50va -f.50rb]

[On this folio **ወ/ሮ፡አገዖ፡** Wäyzäro Agäyā, the Owner of this Gädl, telling us more about her visit to Abbā Éləyās].

When I went to the place Mänzə`h and I joined to Adälé; when I reached it that became like the previous, they said to me, “this is not Ərs’ or Adälé.” On this moment, when I sorrowed Abbā Éləyās come to me, on 21 of Mi`azyā [April 29]. He said me, “Go to the place Ərs’ on this road, you will reach directly.” He prayed on there that the prayer for essence in the festive of Lədätā on this monastery. I followed that road, which he [Abbā Éləyās] showed me, and I reached on the place Ərs’ on 30th [] of month. I celebrate the festive of Lədätā in Mägäzo. On 3 o’clock he [Abbā Éləyās ?] comes and begin (to visit) from Məs’älä to Däbrä Däbā. He blessed the water of [Mägäzo], and it became sweet.

I came to Ənṭoṭto to ask someone, and I, **አገዖ፡** Agäyā, the daughter of Sənä Kərəstos, your grand-daughter [Emperor Zä-Dəngəl]. And my mother name called Amätä Yohannəs, the daughter of Emperor Zä-Dəngəl. I told about the time of this monk’s [Abbā Éləyās] when he joined to monastic life. The father, he is Liq Zä-Mäläkot can tell you and he leaved me. As he said for you, he himself will die on the day which I joined to monastery. I will die when my age is 252 year old, after the era of heathen on St. Luke year by 6 November; on the day of the death of Abbā Bāşälotä Mikā`él. And you will die on Tuesday, 1st Gənbot [May 9th].

4.1.7.2. Review of Abbā Éloyās's Birth, Baptism, and Monastic Life [f.51va - f.52ra]

When I heard this thing, I admire and gave 30 Books of History and his Monastic Life which told that on the Book of [King] Nā'od. This king, when fought with Gäbrä Mäsi'h on the month *Ṭirr* 7 [January 16] during the reign of Nā'od 22 years later he became king. Then, after 252 years on the era of gentiles, when the year that became 7026 [A.D. 1526 ?]; as I found the *Book of History of Kings* for the future coming generation, all things (combats) of Abbā Éloyās found on those *Books of History of Nā'od*. As written on the ጎዳጎ: *həddāgä* (varia) of the Miracle of Our Lady Mary, by 22nd of a month *Ṭəqəmt* [November 2], born Abbā Éloyās.

He baptized on Gäbärrəmā, Däbrä Täklä Hawarəyāt on 1st of the month *Tahəsās* [December 11]; they [priests] gave the name called Éloyās, like the name of Elijah the Prophet. Abba Mikā'él is the teacher (the preacher) of Adä Šäwā, Wägäg and Wändäl. John knew about his righteous deeds like Elijah. And Abbā Täklä Hawarəyāt was his father by the Holy Sprit. Abba Mikā'él was his teacher of taught of faith and books, and Mälkä Şédéq was his 'monastic cap Father' of Abbā Éloyās. He ordained as a monk by Abbā Mika'él of Adä Šäwā, Wägäg and Wändäl. He joined to Aškkəllā River in the place called Ənṭoṭṭo, Anbā Mārəyām. He died on it as said on the '*Book of History*' as reviewed.

He said as: "*All my Children! Stand up and become strong!*" Liq Zä-Mäləkot died on 6th of *Ṭirr* [January 15], and buried in Émā at Ənžu^wré, after he born 132 years that finished his age. This book ordered by Our Lady አገዖ: Agäyā, we are her children, Yā'əqob and Ṭimotéwos wrote the scribes of Ərās Diméṭros, her relative.

The Glory of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Sprit; who helped us to finish the Book of the News of Combat [of Abbā Éloyās] in well position. Glory and Kingdom [of God] forever and ever, Amen and Amen, it must become. Ó Lord! God of አገዖ: Agäyā, please keep our Father [Sälāmā III] from his suffering and the temptation of devil forever and ever, Amen.

[Part II: The Gə'əz Manuscript Text Translation of Gädlä Abbā Éləyās]

4.1.8. Revelation, Astrology, Exile and Exodus [f.52rb - f.53rb]

In the Name of the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Sprit, One God, Amen.

By the Help of God, His Grace, Holiness and Righteous man, we will begin to write the combat history of Abbā Éləyās.

As it found on the Book of the History of Ləbnä Dəngəl, in the 56th year after the rising of [Mo]Hamād [Grāññ] the place called *Dä.*, the name of the district called **አ:ፈ.:ቋ:-'Ä.Fä.Qa.**, and the name of the King called **ጊ:ከ.:-Gä.Ki.**, when he become king.

And many years before his name called King **አ:- ፀ.** will come from the See of St. Mark. With this king, the name called Abbā Éləyās will visit to Alexandria. After this moment, again he went to Däbrä Libānos to give Liturgical Service for 3 days on it. The Monastery, Däbrä Libānos will blessed by his combat. Then, Däbrä Libānos does not curse by her (it) self, but the sinners lived on this monastery.

During the rising year of heathens (pagans) were prepared the cursed tobacco that smokes on their. This seed is the cursed one. These gentiles were songs with decorated things. They were live with unethical and cursed work in Däbrä Libānos. Based on this fact, by his [Abbā Éləyās] visiting, by the power of his prayer, by the much of his combat, and by the wittiness and defend of the faith; the Monastery of Däbrä Libānos were blessed again.

During the reign of this king, the tomb of St. Abunä Täklä Hāymānot buried in Däbrä Libānos, who was the preacher of the New Testament, and also Grace and Holiness like St. Peter and St. Paul. At this time, the People of Šāwā with their Governor, who is like *'the young and the Son of Lion'*, will become slavery into exile. In their exile period, they will visit to **ግ:ጌ:ፈ:ጌ:-Madrä Č'ä.**, and live on it. After 10 years later, they will return with their king from their exile place which lived called **ጌ:ፈ:-Č'ä.** A few people, who were in the exile place will return to Šāwā and settled on their homeland.

4.1.8.1. The Death of Abbā Éləyās [f.54va - f.54rb]

The living time of Abbā Éləyās when finished on the age 372 years old; on Tuesday morning, by *Hədār 6* [November 17], the stars which found on air when showed; people terrified, some of them are fall down. On this moment, many people were fear. Mostly, they were assuming as it is *'the End of the World'* [the Revelation]. Many of them prayed the prayer: "*Ö Our Creator! Please give us your mercy, excuse to us!!*" they begging to God.

Then, a star with the symbol of Cross showed on the head of Abbā Éləyās [Timothy 5:24-25]. He will die when he give *'the Prayer of Essence Service'* for Our Lady St. Mary's Church on the day of the festive (celebration) of *Bä'älä Lədatā*. This church was in the previous time called Ambā Mārəyām and after a time that so called the Church of Ənətoṭto that secreted on the mountain area. That is the place and the monastery called Adä Šāwā, this church was established by King Abrəha and King Aşbəha.

On that time, a son of King Aşé Zär'a Yā'əqob's sister, her Excellency Queen Əlləni's son, Abba Éləyas died; and he leaved this world by the age 372 old. The Angeles received and carried his soul by honor and ascended into heaven. As it mentioned on *the Book of the History of King Aşé Nā'od*, his grave place which is found in Aşəkkəllā Monastery.

The second one, also found on the place Adä Šāwā that is the church, which established by King Aşé Zär'a Yā'əqob. The third was found on the place Sāyyā; the church which that established by King Aşé Nā'od. This church was secreted during the reign of this king [Nā'od].

After this moment, the noblemen [commanders] will become your enemies. Kings, nobles and governors of gentiles couldn't have strong power after the death of Abbā Éləyās. As it mentioned on *Dərsānä Mārəyām*, on the Book of the Miracle of St. Mary, on the Book of Mystery which written by Abbā Bāşəlotä Mikā'əl, and as it mentioned on *The True Orthodoxy Faith* by St. Yā'əqob [zä-Əlbärädi] (Jacob [of Bäradius]), as said, " *You will become a strong and a great king!! A king will rise from the seed of your children.* "

4.1.8.2. Däbrä Libānos and Stars with the Sign of Crosses [f.54rb -f.55vb]

By the ninth, after the risen of a star on the above of his head which signed with a cross; the other two stars with the symbol of cross and also the symbol of alphabet will have risen again on the above of them.

These stars will stand on the front side of the grave of St. Təklä Haymānot, who preached in all regions of Ethiopia; and Revealer of the Light by his True Orthodoxy thought (preaching) for the country. Again the risen of those stars, the day that will be on a month *Sāné 19* [June 26th]. On the first month, after those stars which have the sign and symbol when shown; the two kings met in the square of Däbrä Libānos, which found on the front side of Däbrä Şəgə. On that place, His Grace and Holiness St. Təklä Haymanot's tomb was buried and found on it.

4.1.9. The Church Fathers visit to Šäwa [For the Däbrä Bərhan Council?] [ff.55ra - 57ra]

The [Spiritual] Children (Disciples) of Abunä Zēnā Mārḳos will come from the place that called Dänəs and Ɖ'bsəḳot Monastery. From Däbrä Yäšā, from Däbrä Giädräč and the area called Éfrātā. Then, they come from the place called Tāč [the Lower] Nägāš and the Upper Nägāš Mədr and also from the place called Məhur.

The [Spiritual] Children of Abbā Sāmu'él of Wägäg (will come) from Adä Šäwā, Däbrä Asəbot and from the place Yärär, the district called Wäyitu. And also the Spiritual Children of Abbā Qäwəštos will come from Däbrä Fätāli and Čäfäy; and from Däbrä Arbä'ətu Ɖ'nsəsā [the Church of the four Beasts of Apocalypse]. The Children of Abbā Filip'os will come which is called from Däbrä Ɖ'nqu, Yākkənt, Dəhin and Asəbo Monasteries, and also from Élām.

The Children of Abbā Yohannəs will come from Dəbko; and also the Children Abbā Fiḳṭtor from Bibā and Däbrä Dišā.

From the area called Gəbärrəmmā, Wəjjā and Čär Goro Monasteries will comes the Spiritual Children of Abbā Täklä Hawārəyāt. The [Spiritual] Children of Abbā Bäkimos, (they will come) from Šəmi, Hagärä Məd'xānit and also from Däbrä Sāhəl.

The Children of Abbā Gəbrä Mārəyām will come from Däbrä Hantā, Məsälä Mārəyām, Mäqdäsä Dəngəl, [a place called] Akā and Däbrä Mäsqäl.

The Spiritual Children of Abbā Šäräqä Bərhan which that found on the Monastery of Ɖoha and also from Guzät; The Children of Abbā Sāmu'él [Sälāmā ?] from the place called Mujjā and also from the region Amharā, and the area Gibb Anəbā the place which that called Jerusalem. From Däbrä Dədā, the beach of the River Bäšlo, the Children of Ar'äyänä Šägāhu; from the place Agāñnəčā, the Children of Abbā Nāthān, and also from the placed called [Wä] Gāy, and from the Church of Kidānä Məhrät and from Däbrä Danč'ät, Däbrä Égorā, from the Monasteries of Bāzo and Hazälo, and also the Monastery of Gäro will come the Children of Abbā Yohannəs.

The Children of Abbā Bātrā Mārəyām from Dāsétawit Abbāy and Saffəjj; the Children of Abbā Zā-Rufā'él from the Monasteries of Wāli, Dābrā Abbāy, Dābrā Abərāntāt; from the Monastery of Sihhāt which found that in Dābrā Abbā Téwodros, and Abbā Dāni'él from the area Abi'y, Səlwā and Dābrā Ofəllā and also from Hillā and Jān Amorā.

The Children of Abbā Yoséf [will come] from Rohā; Əndəryās who lived in Angot, and again Əndəryās of Ənfrāz and Qätorārā. Gäbrā İyäsus from Lower of Ənfrāz and Qulālā. Abbā İyyäsu from the Monastery of Sāyək and Gādān; Abbā Bənyām from the Lower of Bägéməddər, and Abbā Aron from Bägédā. Abbā Tättämqä Mädxən from the Monastery of Sugā and Gəšäq.

The Children of Abbā Anorəwos will come from the Upper of Gojjām and Şəgājj; and the Children of Abbā İyosəyās from Wāššārā, and Abbā Musé of Wägārā. Abbā Bāşəlotä Mikā'él's Spiritual Children from Gāsəč'ā and the Monastery of Abālo, from Hənşā Mārəyām and Kolom. The Children of Abbā İyäsus Mo'a from Dābrā Mārəyām, Əşifānos, and the Island of Şägām. The Children of Abbā Yohannəs and Abbā Filip'os will come from Dābrā Bizän; the Children of Agnāţţios from the place Hawzén, Māyā Anbässā with the Children of Anəbén and with the monks from Dābrā Hällé Luyā.

These all Church Fathers [the Medieval Centuries] with their disciples (followers) will come from all Dioceses, Monasteries, and Parish Council of the Churches of Ethiopia. They gathering in the place Şāwā [Dābrā Bərhan Council] to talk and meet concerning the faith of the Orthodoxy Church. During the reign of your Fathers, that the True Apostolic faith, Alexandria to becomes strong faith, and the cursed faith of Romé to be fall down; as stated by the righteous kings like Aşé Zār'a Yā'əqob.

4.1.10. Some Prophecies about ['Solomonic Dynasty'] [ff.57rb – 59vb]

After the rising of a little bit fallacy of religious conflict and dialogue; in this moment, on the second year, the Bishop will raise, his name called Əgrā Şāhay. His name is signed and sealed, and written on the '*Book of Clement*' [Mäşəhafä Qäläménţos]; and also found on the See of St. Mark.

The first one, his name called **Θ'**; the second called **ω:τ:ω:-Mä.Tä.Wä** and also called **Ϟ:-Fə**. of Alexandria, King of the Lion with other children of the two kings; they will find and translate the tomb of His Grace and Holiness Abunä Takla Hāymānot from His burial place. During this

time, the heathens with their high noblemen will become slavery, and victory under by kings called **ጸ:-ፀ'**. they will fell down by the hands of this king. And this king is born from the Grandson of your children, who is called Yā'əqob and Minās.

On that year, a woman, her origin from the Black Christian kings families will gave born a Great Child. The name of this child called **ወልደ ኃይለ ጊዮርጊስ:-Wäldä Nägāśī Zä-Anbässa ፀ'**. [the Son of the King of Lion, **ፀ'**]. He was chosen from the womb of his mother, when she gave as a 'Grace gift' for Our Lady, St. Mary; and he is a son of the Great king called **ፀ'**.

As it getting a good wind which grow that as gave like the seed of wine as fruitful in 40th day; he [the Child] born on *Tərr 7th* [January 16] on the day that his father was borne.

He showed the fruitful on a month *Yäkātīt* [February]. This child will becomes king in *Adä Šāwā*. As it mentioned: *'from the beginning of the day that Zär'a Ya'əqob become king; he [the Child] will become righteous king.'*

During the reign of this king, the heathen king and their governors couldn't found in Ethiopia and Alexandria. He will rule the world until his Grandchildren. On the **ግድለ ሰማዕታት:-'Combat of a Martyrs'** called *Fiqttor*, who is a son of Her Grace Martha as stated: 'a person, who is born from the 'Seed of Solomonic Dynasty', his name called **ጌ:-Té**. will rise and become a king. On the 'Book of Clement [*Māṣḥafä Qälāménṭos*], on the 'Book of *Dərsānā Urā'él*', the Arch-Angel as it mentioned and said, 'a king called **ጌ:-Tédä**. is a Grandson of **ፀ'**, who is born from the 'Solomonic Dynasty'. A person is *Yā'əqob*, he is born from the Grandson of Nā'od, who was the king of Ethiopia.

He honor the True Orthodoxy of Apostolic Faith and Beloved with Our Lady [St. Mary], Bearer of God, like the previous fathers that are the True Righteous and Holy men kings; as like *Bä'ädä Mārəyām* and the name of his father called *Nəwāyā Mārəyām*, by his thrown name called *Dāgmāy Dāwit*, and as like *Zär'a Yā'əqob*. Then, this king called *Zär'a Yā'əqob*, he received promise from God to become a righteous king forever in Ethiopia. The Word of God, which is the True Light that Our God; and he [*Zär'a Yā'əqob*] promised for Our Lady St Mary, the Mother of Our Lord, Jesus Christ.

4.1.11. Advice on the Protection of Church Order, Rules and Regulations

[f.59ra – 61ra]

On the 'Book of the History of Kings' as stated and as our king, King Ləbnā Dəngəl as said:

Ō Clergies! The Servants of God, and the Children of the Holy Sprit. Who lived in Adä Šäwa, Däbrä Bəsrāt, Däbrä Mädxānit, Däbrä Əllä-Jänbär, and Asäbot, listen me!...

The Children of the Holy Sprit of Abunä Zēna Marqos; Abbā Sāmu'él of Wägäg; and the Children Abbā Sāmu'él in the Monastery of Wāli; the Children of Abbā Sāmu'él of Däbrä Abbāy. From the place Gäbärrəmmā the Spiritual Children of Abbā Sāmu'él; from Šägälä the Children of Abbā Gior'gis; and also the Children of the Abbā Mälkä Şédéq, Abbā Habtä Mārəyām, and Abbā Gäbrä Mārəyām; the Brethrens of Abbā Tädəwos.

Those who are stand on the True Orthodoxy Faith with hermitic and monastic life; hear me!

Please keep yourself from the thought of the faith of ለሰብአዎች፡፡ ለሰብአዎች፡፡ lä-säb'a Afrənggi wä-Romé from the people of Franks and Rome. They said that 'Divinity works by its own Divinity, and Humanity works by its own Humanity.'

Please ! Keep yourself from ጸቂቅ፡፡ ለሰብአዎች፡፡ -Däqiqä Əstifānos[āwəyān] [the Children of Stephenite] heresy, and from the leader of the destruction called Gämäləyāl, the Blind. Keep yourself from their bad works,[and heretical teachings]; they thought that 'not necessary to prostrate for the Cross of Christ and for Our Lady Virgin Mary.' Also, from the Children of Zä-Mikā'él, Ənbärāññ, and Giyorgis of Rome, which stated that on the Book of Canonical, 'there is no confession'. Additionally, these heresies said: 'not necessary for belief the Angels of Light, by the Ark of St. Mary, by Angles, by Martyrs intercession. We couldn't bow down (prostrate), except only the Icon for God the Father, of the Son of the Holy Sprit.' Don't become one and [don't agree] with thought of the heretical teaching that said as the Children of Christian.

Keep yourself who rejected the ሕግ፡፡ ለዮርዳኖስ፡፡ -Law of the Apostles which mentioned on the መጽሐፍ፡፡ ስነ ጽሑፍ፡፡ - 'Book of Synod' these groups said, like the ሕግ፡፡ ለሪት፡፡ - Law of Orit [Moses?] which making sexual intercourse with their brothers' wife that to gave birth as they want the seed.'

Keep yourself from the **ካሕናተ:አጃሚን**: -Clergies of *Ajāmin*, who are rejected and not honored the Sabbath; as it mentioned on the Gospel of John: '*don't keep and honor [Sabbath] like the fundamental Jews, Honor Sabbath as the Apostles*', on the Book of *Abṭālis Article no.65* as advised by their concrete command a strong of words.

During the reign of heathens and their governors until 250 years; the people were kept and honor Sunday with the works of heathens (bad and unethical work). They were dressing with decor typical church clothes; but their work was committed to adultery, and smoking tobacco. On 250th year, the name called **ፀ'** for you when become king. During that time, you defend for the True Orthodoxy Faith of Alexandria, and will become martyr. Don't smoke! And protect yourself from the cursed seed, tobacco.

Then, you protect and kept yourself from all these bad things later, and passing your bad time; you will save your life from suffering and cursed thing that commanded by God.

The king, who born from my seed that when he becomes king for you, during his reign it will become mercy. You will become the victorious [winners] your enemy by the cause of the intercession of Our Lady Virgin Mary, She is a beloved friend of my father, *King Nā'od*.

If you are not keeping that the Rules, Regulations and Laws of yours fathers, from the relative of **Yā'əqob**; you will be die by your own sins. You will go down to hell like *Arsisan* [heretical sects], and like [**ሰብአ:አፍርጎጊ**: *sāb 'a Afrənggī*] the people of Franks.

We, the writers of Mystery and Law, as wrote and stated on the '*Book of History*': 'this king, my son when he become king by the cause of a little thing, he will cutting off your hands and legs. This is a witness, for the Children of kings that who will rise after the year (a time).

We! The righteous king, King **Śārṣä Dəngəl** and **Zä-Dəngəl** kept on secreted area that all these Low Books in the Sea of the Island which found at *Zəwāy*.

By the goodness and peace that who helped to begin and finish this work, we must Thanks for God. The prayer and intercession of [Arch-Bishop **Sälama III**] become strong unto us, forever Amen.

CHAPTER V

5. PHILOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW AND TEXT ANALYSIS

This philological study of *Gädlä Abbä Élayās* and text analysis is devoted on both external by general and internal by specific.

In general, the external part of survey of the text, which depends on the problem and the forms of the letters, the margins, the size, volumes and, in the two centuries of these manuscripts copy period. The internal part of the study also concerned and investigate the comparison with changes of syntax and orthography.

The last investigation method interprets about the 'Sainthood' of *Abbä Élayās*, his teaching which defend Orthodoxy in the context of present situation of classification in Christianity and 'Scism'. This part will be discussing on survey the questionnaire data analysis with monks, priests, deacons and laymen who found around the three monastic centers: i.e. *QSC*, *ƏHNKM* and *MAM* monasteries.

5.1. Methods of Investigation and Presentation of Results

When I, the researcher collecting materials, a serious letters that seemed to be characteristic of period identified and words, errors and different phrases comparison. During the previous research as I made the text translation as I presented in Chapter IV. The extensive comparative studies of these particular letters, words, phrases, etc...in *Gädlä Abbä Élayās* manuscript that could be dated with certainty within one, two, or three centuries.

The result of such comparisons proved or disproved my preliminary observations and hypotheses. The surveying of letters and characters, words and phrases was an important practical exercise for the researcher at this stage of investigation. At the end of this process I separate general observations concerning the script from the conclusions. These *Gädlä Élayās* manuscript materials from the two monastic centers which the researcher as observed; it also divided into securely dated manuscript and undated manuscript to which an approximate date may be assigned. Because the bulk of much errors by characters, words and phrases in the material text; on presenting of the result, the researcher limited and take as some sample comparison from the manuscript text.

5.1.1. Selecting *Gädlä Élayās* Texts in the Monastic Centers

When, I visited to two different monasteries, and one Cathedral to find the manuscript texts to investigate *Gädlä Élayās*. They are found in the central highlands of Ethiopia. The monasteries are: - *ገብገብ ስላሴ ክብሩ ክብሩ ስላሴ* Monastery [*EHNKM*], *ገብገብ ስላሴ ክብሩ ክብሩ ስላሴ* Monastery [*MAM*], and The Holy Trinity Cathedral (*ባሕር ዳር* Cathedral [*QSC*]).

The first manuscript copy which I found from *EHNKM* monastery was my pioneer and pre-research material to begin and continuing the project of my Dissertation. But for the researcher, there was a problem to read some text, some paragraphs and pages are missed, and not readable. The second manuscript which found in *QSC* is the best and the main one that I selected it. These both [*EHNKM and QSC*] manuscript texts are the same copy and columns. The one which I found in *MAM* monastery was third manuscript text. This manuscript text has one column per page; and it helps to me to investigate and find out errors, variables in comparison as comparatively.

5.1.1.1. Comparative Measurements of the two Manuscript Texts

No.	Measurements	A) <i>Qadast Šallāsē Cathedral (QSC)</i>	B) <i>Mänāgäša Ambā Mārəyām (MAM)</i>
1	Title	<i>Gädlä Éləyās: (ff. 24va – 61rb)</i>	<i>Gädlä Éləyās: (ff. 1v – 43r)</i>
2	Language	<i>Gə'əz & Amharic</i>	<i>Gə'əz & Amharic</i>
3	Material	Parchment	Parchment
4	Binding	Wooden boards	Wooden boards with cloth
5	Date of Writing	20 th Century	19 th Century
6	Measurements	16.5 x 13.5 cms.	15.5 x 9.5 cms.
7	Property	<i>Qadast Šallāsē Cathedral, Addis Ababa Diocese</i>	<i>Mänāgäša Ambā Mārəyām Monastery, West Šawā Diocese</i>
8	Ordered By	<i>Wäyzäro Agäyā</i>	<i>Wäyzäro Agäyā</i>
9	Handwriting	Bold & neat	Bold & fair
10	Stamps	<i>f. ?</i>	<i>f. 119v</i>
11	Number of Folios	<i>3(blank) + 116 ff.</i>	<i>119v – 122v (3 blank) ff.</i>
12	Columns	2	1
13	Lines of Pages	16 – 18	16 – 20
14	Other texts Included	i) <i>Mārə Yā'əqob: (ff. 2ra–23ra)</i> ii) <i>Mäşhafä Tārik zä-[Oromo]: (ff. 61rb – 116vb)</i>	i) <i>Tārik zä-[Oromo] (ff. 44v – 94r)</i> ii) <i>Rā'əyā Mārəyām: (ff. 95v – 119v)</i>

Table 6: Comparative Measurements of the Manuscript

5.2. Survey of the Text: Finding Errors Comparison, Analyze the Results

5.2.1. Sample Comparison from the two Manuscript Texts

On this part, the researcher tried to find out by comparing the two manuscript texts, choose the first part of some sample folios from the text: i.e. *QSC ff. 24va – 28rb*, and *MAM ff. 3v – 8r* the folio phrase and paragraph on *Gə'əz* language and Roman script and discuss on it. From linguistic and stylistic problems: I used the *Gə'əz* script inside the paragraph folios text to show the variation between *QSC & MAM* which showing on the text difference. I trying to show the *Gə'əz* reading of *Gädlä Élayās* sample folios in Roman scripts, to understand and interpreting in philological and linguistic analysis.

Table 7: Sample text Comparative and Finding Errors

No.	<i>Qadast Šallāsé Cathedral (QSC)</i>	<i>Mänägüša Ambā Mārəyām (MAM)</i>
1	<p><i>f. 24va:</i> <i>bä-səmə Ab' wä-Wäld wä-Mänfäs Qədus 1 [ahadu]</i> <i>Amlak : nəqädəm bä-rädə 'éta Əgəzī' abəhēr wä-bä-sənā</i> <i>habtu şəhifä zənāhu [ለአባ: ኤልያስ: መንግሥት: ንዑሕ: ወደ: ንግል:] lä- Abbā Élayās nəşuh wä-Dəngəl: :zä-särəşä</i> <i>[እምቤተ*: ክህነት: ወመንግሥት:] əm-bétä Kəhnät wä-Mängəşt zä-fäşämä gädlo 'amä 6 [sədstu] lä-Hədär bä-bä 'alä lä-Əgzətənā Mārəyām Wäläditā Amlāk [ጸሎታ: ይዕቀብን:] şälotā yə-əqəb-änä Amén: :</i></p>	<p><i>f. 3v:</i> <i>bä-səmə Ab' wä-Wäld wä-Mänfäs Qədus 1 [ahadu]</i> <i>Amlak : nəqädəm bä-rädə 'éta Əgəzī' abəhēr wä-bä-sənā habtu şəhifä zənāhu [ለብፁዕ: ወለቅዱስ: አባ: መንግሥት: ንዑሕ: ወደ: ንግል:] lä-Bəşu' wä-lä-Qədus</i> <i>Ab' mänfäs- āwi nəşuh wä-Dəngəl Abbā Élayās: :</i> <i>zä-särəşä [እምቤተ: መንግሥት: ወክህነት:] əm-bétä</i> <i>Mängəşt wä-Kəhnät zä-fäşämä gädlo 'amä 6 [sədstu]</i> <i>lä-Hədär bä-bä 'alä lä-Əgzətənā Mārəyām Wäläditā</i> <i>Amlāk [ጸሎታ: ዕቀብን:] şälotā əqəb-änä Amén: :</i></p>
2	<p><i>f. 24vb :</i> <i>səmu'ə-ni [ለደቂቅዮ*: ክርስቲያን:] lä-däqiq-yä</i> <i>Kərəstiyān zä-hagärä Šāwā wä-zä-kullu 'älām əllä</i> <i>halāw-kəmu yə 'əzé wä-əllä tə-mäşə'u bä-däxəri zämän</i> <i>Əgəzī' abəhēr yä-bärrəh 'a' əyəntä 'albābi-kəmu lä-sāmi'a zənā-hu [ለብፁዕ*: ኤልያስ:] lä-Bəşu' Élayās zä-əşəhəf</i> <i>läk-əmu lä-bäqu'éta nəfs-kəmu zä-yə-kāwən</i> <i>əsmä räkäb-ku zäntä zənā gädli-u...</i></p>	<p><i>f. 3r:</i> <i>səmu'ə-ni lä-däqiq-yä [ለደቂቅዮ: አገባበ :ክርስቲያን:]</i> <i>həzbä Kərəstiyān zä-hagärä Šāwā wä-zä-kullu 'älām</i> <i>əllä halāw-kəmu yə 'əzé wä-əllä tə-mäşə'u bä-däxəri</i> <i>zämän Əgəzī' abəhēr yä-bärrəh 'a' əyəntä 'albābi-</i> <i>kəmu lä-sāmi'a zənā-hu [...ለብፁዕ: ወለቅዱስ: አባ: ኤልያስ:]</i> <i>lä-Bəşu' wä-lä-Qədus Abbā Élayās zä-əşəhəf</i> <i>läk-əmu lä-bäqu'éta nəfs-kəmu zä-yə-kāwən əsmä</i> <i>räkäb-ku zäntä zənā gädli-u...</i></p>

<p>3</p>	<p><i>f. 24ra :</i> wä-tə-wlədə nāgār-u lä-Abbā Éləyās šəwwər wəstā [ሀገረ: እንግሎ*:] hagārä Əñtoṭto bä-tə 'əzāzä Əgəzi'abəhēr wä-bä-xirut-u zä-konä bä-ə'ntä kidān-ā wä-sə'əlät-ā lä-Əgzətənä [ቅድስት: ድንግል: በጀ: ማርያም:] Qədəst Dəngəl bä-2(kələ'ə)Mārəyām Wälādītā Amlāk əmmu lä-Mädxən kāmā-hu yə-'əqāb -änä bä- xāylä šälotä bāz' 'älām wä-bä-zäyämäš' əskä lä-'älām älām Amén.</p>	<p><i>f. 4v:</i> wä-tə-wlədə nāgār-u lä-Abbā Éləyās šəwwər wəstā hagārä [..ሀገረ: እንግሎ:] Ə[sic]toṭto bä-tə 'əzāzä Əgəzi'abəhēr wä-bä-xirut-u zä-konä bä-ə'ntä kidān-ā wä-sə'əlät-ā lä-Əgzətənä [...ቅድስት: ድንግል: ማርያም:] Qədəst wä-Dəngəl Marəyām Wälādītā Amlāk əmmu lä-Mädxən kāmā-hu yə-'əqāb-änä bä- xāylä šälotä bāz' 'älām wä-bä-zäyämäš' əskä lä-'älām älām Amén.</p>
<p>4</p>	<p><i>f. 24rb:</i> [አመ: ነግሠ: ንጉሥ:] nāhu 'ämä nāgsä nəguš šādəq Zä-Dəngəl mäfqärē Əgəzi'abəhēr tā-gābə'u xabé-hu bəzux-ān 'a-'ərugg mənākosāt bo'o əllä [ኮና : መዋዕሊሁ* :] konā māwa'əli-hu 100 'amät wä-bo'o 100 wä-20'amät wä-bo'o 100 wä-30'amät əllä tärf-u əmmāwa'ələ Gərāññ [:ወኑር : መሐመድ:] wä-Nur wä-Māhamād nāgästä 'ahəzāb tānbälāt.</p>	<p><i>f. 4v:</i> [አመ: ነግሠ: ንጉሥ:] nāhu 'ämä nāgsä nəguš-nä šādəq Zä-Dəngəl mäfqärē Əgəzi'abəhēr tā-gābə'u xabé-hu bəzux-ān 'a-'ərugg mənākosāt bo'o əllä [..ኮና: መዋዕሊሁ:] konā māwa'əli-homu 100 'amät wä-bo'o 100 wä-20 'amät wä-bo'o 100 wä-30 'amät əllä tärf-u əmmāwa'ələ Gərāññ [ወኑር: መሐመድ:] wä-Nur Māhamād nāgästä 'ahəzāb tānbälāt.</p>
<p>5</p>	<p><i>f. 25va:</i> [...ወይቤልዎ: እሙንቲ:] wä-yəbəl-əwwo əmuntu mənākosāt o-nəguš nāhu 'a-ngäššäkä 'amlāk'-nä 'amlāk-ä məhrät əsmä lä-'älām məhrät-u [አደቁቀ : እስራኤል*] lä-däqiqä Əsrä 'əl kāmä [:አይጥፋዕ : አዎድር* : ገክረ: ትውልደሙ:] ī-yə-ṭfā'ə ə-mədr zəkrä təwləd-omu lä-nāgsätä šədq əllä Zär'a Yā'əqob wä- Bä'ədä Mārəyām wä-Nā'od fəqurānā əmmu lä-Əgzi'ənä Īyāsus Kərəstos Mädxāninä həyāw lä-'älām</p>	<p><i>f. 4v:</i> [..ወይቤልዎ: እሙ:] wä-yəbəl-əwwo əllu mənākosāt o- nəguš nāhu 'a-ngäššäkä 'amlāk'-nä 'amlāk-ä məhrät əsmä lä-'älām məhrät-u [..አደቁቀ ለኤል:] lä- däqiqä 20'əl kāmä [..አይጥፋዕ: ገክረ : ትውልደሙ:] ī-yə-ṭfā'ə zəkrä təwləd-omu lä- nāgsätä šədq əllä Zär'a Yā'əqob wä-Bä'ədä Mārəyām wä-Nā'od fəqurānā əmmu lä-Əgzi'ənä Īyāsus Kərəstos Mädxāninä həyāw lä-'älām.</p>

3	<p><i>f. 24ra :</i> wä-tə-wlədə nāgär-u lä-Abbā Éləyās šəwwər wəstā [ሀገረ: እንጦጦ*] hagärä Ənṯoṯto bā-tə ‘əzāzā Əgəzi’abəhēr wä-bä-xirut-u zä-konä bā-ə’ntā kidān-ā wä-sə’əläṯ-ā lä-Əgzətənā [ቅድስት: ድንግል: በ፪* ማርያም:] Qədəst Dəngəl bā-2(kəṯə’ə)Mārəyām Wälādītā Amlāk əmmu lä-Mädxən kāmā-hu yə-‘əqāb-ānā bā- xāylä šälotā bāz’ ‘älām wä-bä-zäyəməš’ əskä lä-‘älām älām Amén.</p>	<p><i>f. 4v:</i> wä-tə-wlədə nāgär-u lä-Abbā Éləyās šəwwər wəstā hagärä [..ሀገረ: እ[ን]ጦጦ:] Ə[^{sic}]ṯoṯto bā-tə ‘əzāzā Əgəzi’abəhēr wä-bä-xirut-u zä-konä bā-ə’ntā kidān-ā wä-sə’əläṯ-ā lä-Əgzətənā [...ቅድስት: ወድንግል: ማርያም:] Qədəst wä-Dəngəl Marəyām Wälādītā Amlāk əmmu lä-Mädxən kāmā-hu yə-‘əqāb-ānā bā- xāylä šälotā bāz’ ‘älām wä-bä-zäyəməš’ əskä lä-‘älām älām Amén.</p>
4	<p><i>f. 24rb:</i> [አመ: ነግሠ: ንጉሥ*:] nāhu ‘ämā nāgsä nəguś šādəq Zä-Dəngəl mäfqäré Əgəzi’abəhēr tā-gābə’u xabé-hu bəzux-ān ‘a-‘əruḡg mənəkösāt bo’o əllä [ኮኖ : መዋዕሊሆ* :] konā mäwa’əli-hu 100 ‘amät wä-bo’o 100 wä-20‘amät wä-bo’o 100 wä-30‘amät əllä tärf-u əmmāwa’ələ Gərāññ [:ወኑር : ወመሐመድ*:] wä-Nur wä-Māhamād nāgästā ‘ahəzāb tānbälät.</p>	<p><i>f. 4v:</i> [አመ:ነግሠ: ንጉሥነ:] nāhu ‘ämā nāgsä nəguś-nä šādəq Zä-Dəngəl mäfqäré Əgəzi’abəhēr tā-gābə’u xabé-hu bəzux-ān ‘a-‘əruḡg mənəkösāt bo’o əllä [..ኮነ: መዋዕሊሆመ*:] konā mäwa’əli-homu 100 ‘amät wä-bo’o 100 wä-20 ‘amät wä-bo’o 100 wä-30 ‘amät əllä tärf-u əmmāwa’ələ Gərāññ [ወኑር: መሐመድ] wä-Nur Māhamād nāgästā ‘ahəzāb tānbälät.</p>
5	<p><i>f. 25va:</i> [...ወይቤልዎ: እሙንጉጉ*:] wä-yəbəl-əwwo əmuntu mənəkösāt o-nəguś nāhu ‘a-ngäśśäkä ‘amlāk’-nä ‘amlāk-ä məhrät əsmä lä-‘älām məhrät-u [ለደቂቀ: እስራኤል*] lä-däqiqä Əsrā’əl kāmā [:አ.ይጥፋዕ: እምድር* :ዝክረ: ትውልደሙ:] ṯ-yə-ṯfā’ə ə-mədr zəkrä təwləd-omu lä-nägsätä šədq əllä Zär’a Yā’əqob wä- Bä’ədä Mārəyām wä-Nā’od fəqurānā əmmu lä-Əgzi’ənā Īyāsus Kərəstos Mädxāninā həyāw lä-‘älām</p>	<p><i>f. 4v:</i> [..ወይቤልዎ:እሉ:] wä-yəbələwwo əllu mənəkösāt o- nəguś nāhu ‘a-ngäśśäkä ‘amlāk’-nä ‘amlāk-ä məhrät əsmä lä-‘älām məhrät-u [...ለደቂቀ: ጽኤል:] lä-däqiqä 20’əl kāmā [:አ.ይጥፋዕ: ዝክረ : ትውልደሙ:] ṯ-yə-ṯfā’ə zəkrä təwləd-omu lä-nägsätä šədq əllä Zär’a Yā’əqob wä-Bä’ədä Mārəyām wä- Nā’od fəqurānā əmmu lä-Əgzi’ənā Īyāsus Kərəstos Mädxāninā həyāw lä-‘älām.</p>

<p>6</p>	<p>f. 25vb: <i>əzəz' kāmā yə-māšə 'u xəbəä däqiqä šähəft zä-'abäw-yä əllä šäwä 'ə-nä səm-omu kāmā yə-nggər-unä mäšähəftä 'abäw-ikä əllä halläw-ä bottu hagärä ; əsmä [የእምርዎ*:] yä-'ammrə-wwon mäkänät-ihon zä-täxäbə 'a botton wä-'améhä 'as-tägābə 'a-nä Nəguś [ዘድጎግል*:] Zä-Dəngəl; bā-qālā 'awādi lā-kulə-nä [..ደቂቀ:ጸሐፍት* :] däqiqä šähəft zä-hulqo-nnä konä 100 wä-50.</i></p>	<p>f. 4r - 5v: <i>əzəz' kāmā yə-māšə 'u xəbəä däqiqä šähəft zä-'abäw-yä əllä šäwä 'ə-nä səm-omu kāmā yə-nggər-unä mäšähəftä 'abäw-ikä əllä halläw-ä bottu hagärä ; əsmä [የእምርዎ:-] yä-'ammrə-wwo mäkänät-ihon zä-täxäbə 'a botton wä-'améhä 'as-tägābə 'a-nä Nəguś [ዘድጎግል:] Zä-Də[sic]gəl; bā-qālā 'awādi lā-kulə-nä [...ደቂቀ:ክርስቲያን :: ወጸሐፍት:-] däqiqä Kərəsti'an, wä-šähəft zä-hulqo-nnä konä 100 wä-50</i></p>
<p>7</p>	<p>f. 25ra: <i>wä-sobä 'as-tägābə 'a-nä əyāyāqqä-nnä ənzä yəbl 'ayité tā-xäb'ä Mäšähəftä nägäst bā-mäwä 'älä Gərāññ. Wä-yəbélo šähəfé nägäst Hərəyāqos 'arägāwi zä-hagärä Gäsəč'ä 'anä 'arägāwi [እምደቂቀ:እሉ: ጸሐፍት:] əmm-däqiqä əllu šähəft wä-konä mäwä 'älä zämān-yä 100 wä-50 amät bā-mäwä 'älä Gərāññ nābär-ku</i></p>	<p>f. 5v: <i>wä-sobä 'as-tägābə 'a-nä əyāyāqqä-nnä ənzä yəbl 'ayité tā-xäb'ä Mäšähəftä nägäst bā-mäwä 'älä Gərāññ. Wä-yəbélo šähəfé nägäst Hərəyāqos 'arägāwi zä-hagärä Gäsəč'ä 'anä 'arägāwi[...እምነ:እሉ:ደቂቀ: ጸሐፍት:-] əmännä əllu däqiqä šähəft wä-konä mäwä 'älä zämān-yä 100 wä-50 amät bā-mäwä 'älä Gərāññ nābär-ku</i></p>
<p>8</p>	<p>f. 25rb: <i>täriř-əyā əm-kunāt bāhətu ?ī-yyā-əmärku [ምኅብዕ: መጻሕፍት:] məxəbə 'a məšəhəft zä-'abäw-ikä 'allä yä-'amm ər yə-məsəl-āni wäldä wäldu lā- šähəfé mänkər-āt Märqoréwos līq-nä wä-sāmā 'ə-ku zénä wäldu kāmā haläwä wəstā [ዐገረ:ኤማ:] hagärä Émā rəstā 'abäw-īhu wä-əyāyāq nəguś kāmā halläw zəyā yom 'aw wəstā hagärä Wägdā</i></p>	<p>f. 5r: <i>täriř-əyā əm-kunāt bāhətu ?ī-yyā-□märku [...ምኅብዕ:መጻሕፍት:] məxəbə 'a məšəhəft zä-'abäw-ikä 'allä yä-'amm ər yə-məsəl-āni wäldä wäldu lā- šähəfé mänkər-āt Märqoréwos līq-nä wä-sāmā 'ə-ku zénä wäldu kāmā haläwä wəstā [ዐገሩ:ኤማ:] hagäru Émā rəstā 'abäw-īhu wä-əyāyāq nəguś kāmā halläw zəyā yom 'aw wəstā hagärä Wägdā</i></p>

<p>f. 6v:</p> <p>asma waldā šāḥafi zā-'abāw-tkā alla yā-'amm ar-n [መጽሐፈ: ነገሥት:] māšḥafā nāgāsi wā-nāgārā lawladd-ommu lā-'abāw-tkā. zā-kona bā-māwā'ala Labnā Dangal zā-nāgār-awwo mala šk-tā Ḫgazi'abāher bā-'ant'a-yā.</p>	<p>f. 26ra:</p> <p>asma waldā šāḥafi zā-'abāw-tkā alla yā-'amm ar-n [መጽሐፈ: ነገሥት: ስጋዳ: ጸሐፊ:] māšairā nāgāsi zā-'abāw-tkā wā-alla yā-'amm ar-n māšair-ā nāgāsi wā-nāgārā ra-wladd-ommu lā-'abāw-tkā. zā-kona bā-māwā'ala Labnā Dangal zā-nāgār-awwo mala šk-tā Ḫgazi'abāher bā-'ant'a-yā.</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>f. 6v:</p> <p>wā-zāntā baht-o [ገጽገጽ: መጽሐፈ: ጸሐፊ:] መጽሐፈ: ገጽገጽ: [sama'a-nnti wā-'azāzā ya-mogah-unt mā-sāfamt-thu. wā-sobē-hā 'asār-unt. wā-bā-ya'ant lēlti 'as-lāw'āyo Abba Elyās bā-'ant'a-yā. wā-yabē-lo xaddaggo lā-zantu šāḥafi zā-'asār-ko asma bā-farḥāwā zī'a-kā yabē 'T-yā-'amm ar-za-kulo māšāḥafā tārik [ሁሉ: ስጋዳ: ጸሐፊ:] hallo bā-edē-hu.</p>	<p>f. 26vb:</p> <p>wā-zāntā baht-o [ገጽገጽ: መጽሐፈ: ጸሐፊ:] ጸሐፊ: ገጽገጽ: [tāma'a-nnti wā-'azāzā mā-sāfamt-thu ya- mogah-unt. wā-sobē-hā 'asār-unt. wā-bā-ya'ant lēlti 'as- tāw'āyo Abba Elyās bā-'ant'a-yā. wā-yabē-lo xaddaggo lā-zantu šāḥafi zā-'asār-ko asma bā-farḥāwā zī'a-kā yabē 'T-yā-'amm ar-za-kulo māšāḥafā tārik [ሁሉ: ስጋዳ: ጸሐፊ:] hallo bā-edē-hu.</p>	<p>10</p>
<p>f. 5r - f. 6v:</p> <p>wā-sobē-hā yabē nags-ndā Zā-Dangal lā-bāḥarī-ndā daqīqā Šāḥafi waldā mānu 'antā [መጽሐፈ: ጸሐፊ:] ጸሐፊ: [ጸሐፊ:] qālayā yabl yā-'as ar-ānti bā-antā-za 'a-amār-kawwo anzā ya-āyāq-ānti wā-yabē lā-mant [ጸሐፊ: ጸሐፊ:] 'T-lā-w'sa 'a-nnti 'antā ba 'esi anzā 'a-ēlyyāqā-kā 'antā nags-kā.</p>	<p>f. 26va:</p> <p>wā-sobē-hā yabē nags-ndā Zā-Dangal lā-bāḥarī-ndā daqīqā Šāḥafi waldā mānu 'antā [መጽሐፈ: ጸሐፊ:] 'a-sobē-hā fārāxa-ku wā-'a-w'sā-'kawwo anzā ebl 'ansā wāldu asma labb-yā [ጸሐፊ: ጸሐፊ:] qālayā anzā yabl yā-'as ar-ānti bā-antā-za 'a-amār-kawwo anzā ya-āyāq-ānti wā-yabē lā-mant [ጸሐፊ: ጸሐፊ:] 'T-lā-w'sa 'a-nnti 'antā ba 'esi anzā 'a-ēlyyāqā-kā 'antā nags-kā.</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>15</p>	<p><i>f. 27ra:</i> <i>Nəgbā</i> 'əké <i>xabā nəgārā mulād-u lāə bāhətāwī</i> [አባ፡ ኤልያስ ፡] <i>Abbā Élayās zä-rākāb-əwwo ? ə-māšhafä</i> 'abīy zä-nägāst. <i>Zä-yəbé Yəkuno Amlāk</i> [ወልደ፡ ናዖድ፡ይቤ፡ ለዓምደ፡ጽዮን፡ ለንዋዩ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ -] <i>wäldä Nā</i> 'od <i>yəbé lä-Amdä Şəyon lä-Nəwāyā Kərəstos wä-Nəwāyā Kərəstos lä-Nəwāyā Mārəyām wä-Nəwāyā Mārəyām zä-wə'ətu</i> [ዳግማይ፡ዳዊት፡-] <i>Dāgmāy Dāwīt</i>:</p>	<p><i>f. 7r:</i> <i>Nəgbā</i> 'əké <i>xabā nəgārā mulād-u lāə bāhətāwī</i> [አባ፡ ኤልያስ ፡] <i>Abbā Élayās zä-rākāb-əwwo ? ə-māšhafä</i> 'abīy zä-nägāst. <i>Zä-yəbé Yəkuno Amlāk</i> [ወልደ፡ አምደ፡ጽዮን፡ወአምደ፡ጽዮን፡ ለንዋዩ፡ ክርስቶስ፡-] <i>wäldä Amdä Şəyon wä-Amdä Şəyon lä-Nəwāyā Kərəstos wä-Nəwāyā Kərəstos lä-Nəwāyā Mārəyām wä-Nəwāyā Mārəyām zä-wə'ətu</i> [ዳግማዊ፡ዳዊት፡-] <i>Dāgmāwī Dāwīt</i>:</p>
<p>16</p>	<p><i>f. 27rb:</i> <i>Dāwīt-ni wäläd-omu lä- Téwodros</i>, [ወይስሐቅ፡] <i>wä-lä -Yəshaq wä-lä- Əndəryās, wä-lä-Téwoflos wä-lä-</i> [ኃብተ፡ኢየሱስ፡] <i>Xabtä İyāsus</i> [አምንግሥት፡ጽዮን፡ ሞገሳ፡] <i>əm-Nəgəs-t Şəyon Mogäsä zä-əm-zär'a nəgāst</i> [አኑሱማይ፡-] <i>Akⁿsumāy zä-tä-wäld-ät</i> : <i>wä-lä- Zär'a Yä</i> 'əqob-nī <i>wä-Əllénī wäläd-omu</i> [እም ንግሥት፡-] <i>əm-Nəgəs-t kälə'ət bə'əsī-tu Hīrutä Amlāk əm-zär'a nəgāst</i> [አርብሐ፡-] <i>Arbəha wä-Aşbəha</i>.</p>	<p><i>f. 7r:</i> <i>Dāwīt-ni wäläd-omu lä- Téwodros</i>, [ወይስሐቅ፡] <i>wä-Yəshaq wä-lä- Əndəryās, wä-lä-Téwoflos wä-lä-</i> [ሐብተ፡ኢየሱስ፡] <i>Habtä İyāsus</i> [አመንግሥት፡ጽዮን፡ ሞገሳ፡-] <i>əm-Mä-ngəst-ä Şəyon Mogäs zä-əm-zär'a nəgāst</i> [አኑሱም፡-] <i>Akⁿsəm zä-tä-wäld-ät</i> : <i>wä-lä- Zär'a Yä</i> 'əqob-nī <i>wä-Əllénī wäläd-omu</i> [አመንግሥተ፡-] <i>əm-mä-ngəst-ä kälə'ət bə'əsī-tu Hīrutä Amlāk əm-zär'a nəgāst</i> [አብርሐ፡-] <i>Abrəha wä-Aşbəha</i>.</p>
<p>17</p>	<p><i>f. 28va:</i> [እለ፡ነበሩ፡] <i>əllä nəbār-u wəstā hagārä Wägdä səmä</i> 'ab-uhā <i>Rās Səmə'on māk^wonnən zä-hagārä Kätätä wä-Wägdä zä-Māhəgəl</i> [ወስርመት] <i>wä-Sərmät</i> : <i>wä-lä- əxətä Zär'a Yä</i> 'əqob-nī, <i>Əllénī 'a-wsāb-ā Līqä Mäzəmər-ān Bäkīmos zä-Gərārəyā</i> [ወደብረ፡ ካልዕት፡] <i>wä-Däbrä kälə'ət zä-Wägdä wä-yə 'ətī-nī wäläd-ät 2-tä</i> [kəl'é-tä] [ውሉድ፡] <i>wəlud-ä buruk-ānā</i>.</p>	<p><i>f. 7r – 8v:</i> [እላ፡ነበሩ፡-] <i>əllä nəbār-u wəstā hagārä Wägdä səmä</i> 'ab-uhā <i>Rās Səmə'on māk^wonnən zä-hagārä Kätätä wä-Wägdä zä-Māhəgəl</i> [ወስርማት፡-] <i>wä- Sərmät</i> : <i>wä-lä-əxətä Zär'a Yä</i> 'əqob-nī, <i>Əllénī 'a-wsāb-ā Līqä Mäzəmər-ān Bäkīmos zä-Gərārəyā</i> [ወለደብረ፡ ካልዕት፡-] <i>wä-lä-Däbrä kälə'ət zä-Wägdä wä-yə 'ətī-nī wäläd-ät 2</i> [kələ'é] [ውሉድ፡-] <i>wəlud buruk-ānā</i>.</p>

<p>18</p>	<p>f. 28vb: <i>lä-1[‘ahadä] səmu [ሠርጸ: ሚካኤል:] Šäršä Mikä’él, Līqä Mäzämər-än zä-Däbrä Libānos wä-kälə-’u Gäbrä Šəyon, Līqä Kāhnāt zä-Däbrä Məṫmāq. Bā-qādāmī šənəs-tā wälädä-tomu lä-əllu qədus-än wä-näbär-u bā-ḥəg mänfäs-āwī. Wə’ət-omunī wäläd-u bəzux-änä [ካህናተ: ቅዱሳን:] Kāhn-ätä qədus-änä [ወበዳግም :] wä-bä-dägəm šənəs-tā wälädä-tomu [ለአባ : ኤልያስ : ወለማርያም : ክብራ:] lä-Abbä Éləyäs wä-lä-Mārəyām Kəbrä</i></p>	<p>f. 8v: <i>lä-1[‘ahadä] səmu [ሰርጸ: ሚካኤል:] Šäršä Mikä’él, Līqä Mäzämər-än zä-Däbrä Libānos wä-kälə-’u Gäbrä Šəyon, Līqä Kāhnāt zä-Däbrä Məṫmāq. Bā-qādāmī šənəs-tā wälädä-tomu lä-əllu qədus-än wä-näbär-u bā-ḥəg mänfäs-āwī. Wə’ət-omunī wäläd-u bəzux-änä [ካህናተ: ቅዱሳን:] Kāhn-ät qədus-än [በዳግም :-] bā-dägəm šənəs-tā wälädä-tomu [ለአባ : ኤልያስ : ወማርያም : ክብራ:] lä-Abbä Éləyäs wä-Mārəyām Kəbrä.</i></p>
<p>19</p>	<p>f. 28ra: <i>mänākos-āy-ət ṭəbāb [ዘደብረ: ሊባኖስ: እመ: ምኒት: ዘደናግል: ኮነት: መስተጋድሊተ:-] zä-Däbrä Libānos əmə-mənét zä-dänāgəl konät mästä-gādəl-ītä əsmä mäntä-hu lä-Abbä Éləyäs zä-tä-wäld-ät wä-lä-Abbä Éləyäs zəntu mäəw-o ’ab-uhu lä-Abbä Mikä’él [መምሕረ: ወገግ:-] mämhrä Wägäg kämä yə-māharr-o mäšāḥft-ä ’Amlāk [ኩሎ: ወመሐሮ : ዘኩሎ : ሥርዓተ ጽድቅ: ወምንከስና:-] kullo wä-māharr-o zä-kullo šəw’ətä šəd’q wä-mənkus-nnā</i></p>	<p>f. 8r: <i>mänākos-āy-ət ṭəbāb [ዘደብረ: ሊባኖስ: ኮነት: መስተጋድሊተ:-] zä-Däbrä Libānos konät mästä-gādəl-’t əsmä mäntä-hu lä-Abbä Éləyäs zä-tä-wäld-ät wä-lä-Abbä Éləyäs zəntu mäəw-o ’ab-uhu lä-Abbä Mikä’él [መ[ም]ሕረ: ወገግ:-] mä[m]hrä Wägäg kämä yə-māharr-o mäšāḥ□ft-ä ’Amlāk [ኩሎ: መጽሐፈ: ጽድቅ: ወምንከስና:-] kullo mäšḥafä šəd’q wä-mənkäs-nnā</i></p>
<p>20</p>	<p>f. 28rb: <i>wä-konä läbāw-ī wä-mä’əmərä. Wä-’amä tā-ḥanš-ät [አደ: ሸዋ: ሳልሲት:] Adä Šäwä säls-ūt ənzä yə-bāwə’ šäwūr-o [ኅብስተ: ቁርባን:-] xəbəstā qurbān bā-mänfäqä lélīt :: ’as-tä-rə’āy-ä bərhānā mälākot dībä mäsobä wärq [ዘጸር: እምጽንፍ:-] zä-šoro əm-šənf əskä šənf zä-məddr :: wä-’ādī bā-Däbrä Bərhān-hī [ኮነ: ከማሁ: ሳዕሌሁ:-] konä kāmāh-u lä’alé-hu.</i></p>	<p>f. 8r: <i>wä-konä läbāw-ī wä-mä’əmərä. Wä-’amä tā-ḥanš-ät [አዳ: ሸዋ: ሳልሳዊት:] Adä Šäwä säls-āwūt ənzä yə-bāwə’ šäwūr-o [ኅብ[]ተ: ቁርባን:-] xəb[]tā qurbān bā-mänfäqä lélīt :: ’as-tä-rə’āy-ä bərhānā mälākot dībä mäsobä wärq [ጸዊር: እምጽንፍ:-] šäwiro əm-šənf əskä šənf zä-məddr :: wä-’ādī bā-Däbrä Bərhān-hī [ከማሁ: ኮነ: ሳዕሌሁ:-] kāmāh-u konä lä’alé-hu.</i></p>

5.2.2. Text Analysis and Linguistic Hypothesis of the two Manuscripts

As I have showed the sample folios from both monastic center manuscripts; now I can give presentation the result from philological and linguistic point of view. As I abbreviate the two manuscripts: *QSC* or (A) for *Qədəst Šallasé Cathedral* (The Holy Trinity Cathedral) manuscript, and *MAM* or (B) for *Mänāgäša Ambā Mārəyām Monastery*.

5.2.2.1. Orthographical Variation

In *Gə‘əz* language in general and on philology in particular, one of the most important features is the keeping of the correct orthographical system of writing. Various letters are identical in pronunciation but different in meaning, while they are using in words. In the *Gə‘əz* alphabet, there are four groups of letters. That is the case of ኢ[‘ā]; ኢ[‘ā̄] ; ዐ[‘ā]; ዓ[‘ā̄]; ዐ[ha]; ዓ[hā]; ሐ[ha]; ሐ[hā]; ኀ [xa]; ኆ [xā]; ሠ [sä]; ሰ [sā]; ጸ [ṣä]; ፀ [ṣǟ]; ከ[ku]; ከ[k^u]; ከ[k^wā]. All those letters have it own functions and purposes while they are used in words. However, on both *Gädlä Abbā Élayās* texts (*QSC* & *MAM*) the calligraphists of both manuscripts made many errors. They did not keep where the letters used or written. We can say that the letters may write in a mixed way of writing one or the other with no clarity. I gave folio letters for both manuscripts: i.e. *QSC* ms represent column letters as *recto* (*r^a* or *r^b*) and *verso* (*v^a* or *v^b*); for *MAM* ms represent column letters as *recto* (*r*) and *verso* (*v*) selected some samples from both texts as soon as the following:

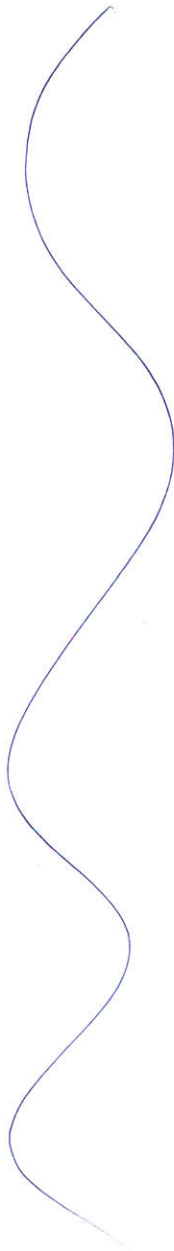
No	Errors	Folios	Corrections	Gloss
1	ጸኤል: - 20[ጸ] ‘él	f.4r	ኢሥራኤል: - ሎሶራ ‘él	Israel
2	ምኅብዓ: - mə-hbə ‘ā	f.5r	ምኅብዐ: - mə-hbə ‘ä	hidden, secret place
3	ተምዓ: - tämmə ‘ā	f.26vb	ተምዐ: - tämmə ‘ä	be irritated, be enraged
4	ስምዓ: - səmə ‘ā	f.6v	ስምዐ: - səmə ‘ä	you listen, hear
5	ቃለ: ኢዋዲ: qälä ‘äwādi	f.5v & 25vb	ቃለ: ዐዋዲ: - qälä ‘äwādi	declaration, regulation
6	እዴዐ: - ‘ədə-hu	f.26vb	ዕዴዐ: - ‘ä ‘ədə-hu	his hand
7	አዴከ: - ‘ädé-kä	f.6v	ዕዴከ: - ‘ä ‘ädé-kä	your hand
8	ሳዐኑ: - saṣun	f.6r	ሳጸኑ: - saṣun	box, cupboard, safety
9	ሥዋሬ: - səwwāré	f.27vb	ስዋሬ: - śəwwāré	hiding, monastic life

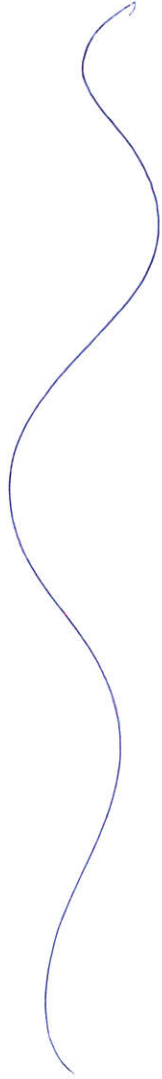
10	መስፍ[]ት:-mä-sf []ət	f.7v	መሳፍንት:-mä-sāfnət	the Nobles
11	ዓምደ፡ጾዮን፡ - 'Ämdä Şəyon	f.27ra	ዐምደ፡ዕዮን፡ - 'Ämdä Şəyon	'Ämdä Şəyon
12	አምደ፡ጾዮን፡ - 'Ämdä Şəyon	f.7r	ዐምደ፡ዕዮን፡- 'Ämdä Şəyon	'Ämdä Şəyon
13	ዳግማይ፡ - dāgm-āy	f.27ra	ዳግማዊ፡ - dāgm-āwi	the Second (II)
14	አክሱም፡ - 'Äk ^u āsum	f.7r	አክሱም፡ - 'Äks ^u m	Aks ^u m
15	አክሱማይ፡-Äk ^u sum-āy	f.27rb	አክሱማዊ፡Äks ^u m- āwi	the Aksumite
16	ሳልሲት፡ - sālsūt	f.28rb	ሳልሲት፡ - sālsūt	in the third place
17	ኃያል፡ - xāyāl	f.29rb & 9r	ኃያል፡ - xayāl	strong, superpower
18	ዓውዓየት፡'ā-wə'āyā-t	f.15r	አውዐየት፡- 'ā-wə'āyā-t	she set on fire, burn
19	ፈለገ፡ዓባይ፡ - fālāgā 'Ābbay	f.22v	ፈለገ፡ዐባይ፡ - fālāgā 'Ābbay	the River of Abbay
20	ይ[]ስኮ፡- yə-[]səko	f.22r	ይነስኮ፡- yə-nəsəko	Imperative case: bite
21	ሰ[]ገላ፡-sä[]ggälla	f.22r	ሠረገላ፡ - särāggälla	chariot
22	ር፡ቲ፡- rätu'ā	f.43ra&24v	ር፡ቲ፡- rätu'ā	straight, orthodox
23	ሠሐቀ፡ - sāhaqā	24r	ሰሐቀ፡ - sāhaqā	he laugh, enjoyed

Table 8: Orthographical Variation from the two manuscripts

5.2.2.2. Phonological and Morphological Variations and Changes

In the both texts (*QSC* and *MAM*) phonological and morphological adaptation of the context, it show that some linguistic variations on the dialect or sound change in words, cases, numbers, and phrases; even the phonological change it show on the proper nouns and place names: From the sample text hypotheses, I tried to find philological errors, making correction the characters or letters and words based on the comparative of two manuscripts of *Gädlä Abbä Élayās*, which I selected it according to the passage and make comparison with *Gə'əz* dictionaries as soon as possible.





5.2.2.2.1 Proper Nouns and Place Names

On these both *Gädlä Abbä Éläyās* texts, the phonological change show on both proper, collective nouns, and place names respectively.

No.	Errors	Folios	Correction	Remark
1	እ[]ጠጠ፡ - ፀ[]ጠጠ፡	f.4v	እንጠጠ፡ - ፀንጠጠ፡	Place name
2	ግራኝ፡ ወኑር፡ ወመሐመድ፡ - <i>Grañ wä-Nur wä-Māhamäd</i>	f.24rb	ግራኝ፡ ኑር፡ መሐመድ፡ - <i>Grañ Nur Māhamäd</i>	Proper noun
3	ግራኝ፡ ወኑር፡ መሐመድ፡ - <i>Grañ wä-Nur Māhamäd</i>	f.4r	ግራኝ፡ ኑር፡ መሐመድ፡ - <i>Grañ Nur Māhamäd</i>	Proper noun
4	ዘድግል፡ - <i>Zä-D[]ngal</i>	f.5v	ዘድንግል፡ - <i>Zä-Dəngal</i>	Proper noun
5	ጃዮን፡ ሞገስ፡ - <i>ጃዮን ሞገስ</i>	f.7r	ጃዮን፡ ሞገስ፡ - <i>ጃዮን ሞገስ</i>	Proper noun
6	አርብሐ፡ - 'Ärbəha	f.27rb	አብርሐ፡ - 'Äbrəha	Proper noun
7	ስርመት፡ - <i>Sərmät</i>	f.28va	ስርማት፡ - <i>Sərmät</i>	Place name
8	አዳ፡ ሸዋ፡ - <i>Adä Šäwa</i>	f.8r	አዳ፡ ሸዋ፡ - <i>Adä Šäwa</i>	Place name
9	ኢጎራ፡ - <i>Īgorā</i>	f.9v	ኤጎራ፡ - <i>Égorā</i>	Place name
10	ንስጥሮስአውያን፡ - <i>Nəstros- 'äwəyān</i>	f.9v	ንስጥሮሳውያን፡ - <i>Nəstrosā-wəyān</i>	Collective noun
11	አጻቃ፡ - 'Äšäqā	f.10v	አፅቃ፡ - 'Äšəqā	Proper noun
12	አሽ[]ላ፡ - 'Äš[]lla	f. 10v	አሽክላ፡ - 'Äškkəlla	Place name
12	ኢትወጽያ፡ - <i>Ītwäp 'ya</i>	f.12r	ኢትዮጽያ፡ - <i>Ītyop 'əya</i>	Country name
13	ቴስባያዊ፡ - <i>Təsbəyā-wi</i>	f.14r	ቴስብያዊ፡ - <i>Təsbəyā-wi</i>	Collective noun
14	ደብሃን፡ - <i>Dəb hān</i>	f.16v	ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ - <i>Dəbrä Bərḥān</i>	Place name
15	አፍርንጊአውያን፡ - <i>'Äfrəngi 'äwəyān</i>	f.24r	አፍርንጊያውያን፡ - <i>'Äfrəngiyäwəyān</i>	Collective noun
16	አፍር[]ገ፡ - 'Äfrə[]gi	f.25v	አፍርንገ፡ - 'Äfrəngi	noun
17	ዲዮስቆ[]ስ፡ - <i>Dosqof[]s</i>	f.25v	ዲዮስቆሮስ፡ - <i>Dosqoros</i>	Proper noun
18	ተለጉት፡ - <i>Tälägut</i>	f.25r	ተጉለት፡ - <i>Tägulät</i>	Place name
19	ደራ፡ - <i>Doré</i>	f.45va	ደራ፡ - <i>Dārā</i>	Place name
20	ገቦገያ፡ - <i>Gəböḡäyā</i>	f.46ra	ባቦገያ፡ - <i>Bäbbogäyā</i>	Place name
21	አጋ[]ቻ፡ - 'Ägā[]čä	f.25v	አጋኝቻ፡ - 'Ägāñčä	Place name
22	ሮሜ፡ - <i>Romé</i>	f.25v	ሮም፡ - <i>Rom 'ə</i>	Country name
22	ዘይ፡ ሸዋ፡ - <i>Z'ay, Š'ay</i>	f.26r & 61ra	ዘዋይ፡ - <i>Zəwāy</i>	Place name

Table 10: The Variation of Proper Nouns and Place Names

5.2.3 Sample Survey of Text Analysis, Linguistic Hypothesis and Semantic Features

As I have showed the sample folios from both monastic center manuscripts; now I can give presentation the result from the context of philological, linguistic or semantic²³¹ point of view.

As I abbreviated the two manuscripts of *Gädlä Élayās*: i.e. *QSC* or (A) for *Qədäst Šállasé Cathedral* (The Holy Trinity Cathedral), and *MAM* or (B) for *Mänägäšā Ambā Mārāyām* Monastery manuscripts; I would like to like observe the meaning of words and phrase are analyzed in several different ways in order to account for as many aspects of meaning as possible. First of all, words, phrases, misspelled and meanings are analyzed in terms of their *semantic features*²³² that are basic elements which enable the differentiation of meaning of words.

I, the researcher, as tried to find the difference between the two manuscripts (*QSC* & *MAM*) in the previous part, under the title: 5.2.1. (*Sample Comparison from the two Manuscript Texts*) on Table 7: *Sample Comparative and Finding Errors from the two Manuscript Texts*; the interpretation of the linguistic hypothesis method , I limited Table 7 from the sample survey box of the text from sample No. 1 upto 10 (1-10): i.e. Ms.(A) -ff. 24va - 26vb [*QSC*] and Ms. (B)- ff. 3v - 6v [*MAM*]. I would like to show their difference in philological and linguistic point of view and methodology as soon as possible.

5.2.3.1 Sample Texts and Presentation of the Result

Please see 5.2.1. *Sample Comparison from the two Manuscript Texts*, on Table 7: ‘*Sample Comparative and Finding Errors from the two Manuscript Texts*’ and compare the two manuscripts.

i) Sample No. 1:

(A) f. 24va: [ለአባ: ኤልያስ: መንፈሳዊ: ንፁሕ: ወድንግል:]

lä- Abbā Élayās mänfäs-āwi nəṣuh wä-Dəngəl

‘to *Abbā Élayās* spiritual, pure and virgin’

Prep. + noun + adjective]+ prep. + adj.

²³¹ Semantics is a branch of linguistics dealing with the meaning of words, phrases and sentences, however, contrary to pragmatics it does not analyze the intended speaker meaning, or what words denote on a given occasion, but the objective, conventional meaning. Additionally, it is concerned with the conceptual meaning and not the associative meaning (*Kamil Wiśniewski*, Aug. 12th, 2007).

²³² In the semantic feature studies, there are two types of meanings: (1) Conceptual meaning , and (2) Associative meaning. The ‘firstone, i.e. Conceptual meaning is what a word in fact denotes, as for example Friday the 13th is a day between Thursday the 12th and Saturday the 14th, and that is the conceptual meaning of the phrase Friday the 13th. Yet, the second one, which is called associative meaning for many people the idea of that day brings to mind thoughts of bad luck and misfortune (Ibid).

(B) f. 3v: [ለብጹዕ፡ ወለቅዱስ፡ አብ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ንፁሕ፡ ወደንግል፡ አባ፡ ኤልያስ፡]

lä-Bəṣu' wä-lä-Qəḍus Ab' mänfäs-āwi nəṣuh wä-Dəngəl Abbā Élayās

‘to his Grace, and his Holiness the Father, spiritual, pure and virgin *Abbā Élayās*’

Prep.+ adj. + prep. + Adj. + pronoun + adj.] + prep. + adj. + noun

(A) f. 24va: [ዘሠረጸ፡ እምቤተ*፡ ክህነት፡ ወመንግሥት፡]

zä-säräṣä əm-bétä Kəhnät wä-Mängəšt

‘His origin from the house of Clerical and State’

Prep. + Perfect + prep. + Nominative? + Noun + prep. + Noun

(B) f. 3v: [ዘሠረጸ፡ እምቤተ*፡ መንግሥት፡ ወክህነት፡]

zä-säräṣä əm-bétä Mängəšt wä- Kəhnät

‘His origin from the house of State and Clerical’

Prep.+ Perfect + Prep.+ Nominative? + Noun + Prep. + Noun

(A) f. 24va: [ጸሎታ፡ ይዕቀብን፡]

ṣälotä yə-qäbä-nä - ‘Her prayer to protect us’

3rd p. femin. + imperfective

(B) f. 3v: [ጸሎታ፡ ዕቀብን፡]

ṣälotä əqäbä-nä - ‘Her prayer must protect us’

3rd p. femin. + imperative

ii) Sample No. 2:

(A) f. 24vb: [ለደቂቅዮ*፡ ክርስቲያን፡]

lä-däqiq-yä Kərəstiyān – ‘for my children Christian’

Prep. + possessive pronoun + collective noun

(B) f. 3r: [ለደቂቅዮ፡.ሕዝብ ፡ክርስቲያን፡]

həzbä Kərəstiyān – ‘the people of Christian’

Collective noun marker

(A) f. 24vb: [ለብጹዕ*፡ ኤልያስ፡]

lä-Bəṣu' Élayās– ‘to his Grace *Élayās*’

Prep. + adj. + noun

(B) f. 3r: [...ለብፁዕ ወለቅዱስ፡አባ፡ ኤልያስ፡]

lä-Bəṣu' wä-lä-Qəḍus Abbā Élayās-

'to his Grace and his Holiness *Abbā Élayās*'

Prep. + adj. + prep.+] + adj. +noun

iii) *Sample No. 3:*

(A) f. 24ra : [ሀገረ፡ እንጦጦ*፡]

Hagärä Əñtoṭto – 'the place *Əñtoṭto*'

Collective noun + place marker

(B) f. 4v: [...ሀገረ፡ እ[ን]ጦጦ፡]

Hagärä Ə[siç]toṭto - 'the place *Ə[n]toṭto*'

(A) f. 24ra : [ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡* ማርያም፡]

Qəḍəst wä-Dəngəl bā-2-é [kələ'-é] Mārəyām –

'Mary, Saint and Virgin by two'

Adj. + prep. + adj. + numeral number

(B) f. 4v: [...ቅድስት፡ ወድንግል፡ ማርያም፡]

Qəḍəst wä-Dəngəl Mārəyām – 'Saint and Virgin Mary'

Adj. + prep. + adj.

iv) *Sample No. 4:*

(A) f. 24rb: [አመ፡ ነግሠ፡ ንጉሥ*፡]

'ämä nägsä nəguś – 'when he became king'

Prep. + Perfect + pronoun (undefined)

(B) f. 4v: [አመ፡ነግሠ፡ ንጉሥነ፡]

'ämä nägsä nəguś-nä - 'when he became our king'

Prep. + Perfect + defined by suffix *-nä*

(A) f. 24rb: [ኮኖ ፡መዋዕለ.ሀ* ፡]

konā mäwa 'əli-hu - 'it became his era'

femin. marker + 3rd per. sing. masc.

(B) f. 4v: [...ኮነ፡ መዋዕለ.ሆመ፡]

konā mäwa 'əli-homu – 'it became their era'

3rd per. plural masc.

(A) f. 24rb: [ወኑር : ወመሐመድ* :]

wä-Nur wä-Mähamäd – ‘and Nur and Mohammad’

Prep. + noun + prep. + noun

(B) f. 4v: [...ወኑር : መሐመድ* :]

wä-Nur Mähamäd – ‘and Nur Mohammad’

Prep. + noun

v) *Sample No. 5:*

(A) f. 25va: [...ወይቤልዎ : እመንቲ* :]

wä-yäbé-läwwo ämmuntu – ‘and they said’

Prep. + 3rd per. plu. + perl. pro. (near object)

(B) f. 4v: [...ወይቤልዎ : እሉ :]

wä-yäbé-läwwo ällu – ‘and they said’

Prep. + 3rd per. plu. + perl. pro. (far object)

(A) f. 25va: [...ለደቂቀ : እስራኤል* ...]

lä-däqiqä Əsrā’él – ‘for the Children of Israel’.

Prep. + coll. noun + country name

(B) f. 4v: [ለደቂቀ ጳኤል :]

lä-däqiqä 20’él – ‘for the Children of 20’él’.

prep. + coll. noun + prefix cardinal no. with suffix name

(A) f. 25va: [አይጥፋዕ : እምድር* : ዝክረ : ትውልደሙ :]

?ī-yyə-ʔfä’ə ?ə-mmäddr zäkrä təwlədd-omu-

‘their commemoration couldn’t destroy from the world’.

negat. + imperf. + adv. noun + accu. + coll. noun + 3rd per. plu.

(B) f. 4v: [.አይጥፋዕ : ዝክረ : ትውልደሙ :]

?ī-yyə-ʔfä’ə zäkrä təwlədd-omu –

‘their commemoration couldn’t destroy’.

neg. + imperf. + accu. + coll. noun + 3rd per. plu.

vi) *Sample No. 6:*

(A) f. 25vb: [የአምርዎን*:]

yä- 'amməṛə-wwon – ‘you may know’.

Imperf. + 2nd per. fem. plu.

(B) f. 4r: [የአምርዎ*:]

yä- 'amməṛə-wwo – ‘you may know’.

Imperf. + 2nd per. masc. plu.

(A) f. 25vb: [ዘድንግል*:]

Zä-Dəngəl – ‘of the Virgin’ - the proper name of the king

Pre. + prop. noun

(B) f. 4r: [ዘድ[ን]ግል:]

Zä-Də[sic]gəl – misspelled ‘n’ character.

Pre. + missp.

(A) f. 25vb: [ደቂቀ ጸሐፍት* :]

däqiqä šähaft – ‘the Children of Scribes’.

Coll. noun + adj. plu.

(B) f. 5v: [ደቂቀ ክርስቲያን :: ወጸሐፍት:]

däqiqä Kərəsti’an, wä-šähaft –

‘the Children of Christians and Scribes’.

Coll. noun +] conj. + adj. plu.

vii) *Sample No. 7:*

(A) f. 25ra: [እምደቂቀ እለጸሐፍት:]

əm-däqiqä əllu šähaft – ‘among the Children of Scribes’.

adv. + noun 3rd per. plu. + perl. pro. + adj. plu.

(B) f. 5v: [እምነጸሐፍት:]

əmən-nä əllu däqiqä šähaft – ‘from among the Children of Scribes’.

adv. + perl. pro. + 3rd per. noun + adj. plu.

viii) *Sample No. 8:*

(A) f. 25rb: [ምጎብዐ: መጻሕፍት:]

mə-ḥbə 'ä mäṣāḥəft – ‘the hidden place of the books’.

Noun + plu.

(B) f. 5r: [ምጎብዐ: መጻሕፍት:]

mə-ḥbə 'ä mäṣāḥəft – ‘the hidden place of the books’

(A) f. 25rb: [ሀገረ: ኤማ:]

hagärä Émā – ‘the place Émā’.

Coll. Noun + place name

(B) f. 5r: [ሀገሩ: ኤማ:]

hagär-u Émā – ‘his origin Émā’

3rd per.masc. + place name.

ix) *Sample No. 9:*

(A) f. 26va: [ወሶቤሃ: ፈራህኩ:]

wä-sobéhā färāxə-ku – ‘and on that time I feared’

conj. + verb + 1st per.sing.

(B) f. 5r - f. 6v: [ወአነሂ: ሶቤሃ: ፈራህኩ:]

wä-'anä-hi sobéhā färāxə-ku – ‘and I am feared’

conj. + per. Indicater + verb + 1st per.sing

(A) f. 26va: [ቀለዩ: እንዘ: ይብል:]

ənzä yəbl – ‘as it saying’

indep't. prepo. + 3rd pers. common.

(B) f. 5r - f. 6v: [ቀለዩ: ይብል:]

yəbl – ‘it saying’

3rd pers. common.

(A) f. 26va: [አታወሥኣኒ:]

īt-'awäsə'a-ni – ‘don't tell me’

neg. + imperf. + interrogat.

(B) f. 5r - f. 6v: [ኢ.ታ.ው.ሥ.አ.ኒ.]

īt- 'awsə 'a-ni – 'don't answer me?'

neg. + imperat. + interrogat.

x) Sample No. 10:

(A) [... ተምግኒ፡ ወአዘዘ፡ መሳፍንቲሁ፡ ይሞቅሉኒ፡]

tāmə 'a-ni wä- 'azäzä mä-sāfənt-īhu yə-moqəh-unī

'he irritated me and ordered his officers put me into prison'.

3rd per. + past par. + conju. + coll. Noun + subjun.

(B) [... ስምግኒ፡ ወአዘዘ፡ መሳፍንቲሁ፡ ይሞቅሉኒ፡]

sāmə 'a-ni wä- 'azäzä yə-moqəh-unī mä-sāfənt-īhu

'hear me and ordered to put me into prison for his officers'.

3rd per. + past par. + conju. + coll. Noun + subjun.

(A) [ሀሎ፡ በእዲሁ፡]

hallo bä-ədə-hu – 'on his hand'

prep. + 3rd per. sing. masc.

(B) [ሀሎ፡ በእዲክ፡]

halo bä-ədə-kä – 'on your hand'

prep. + 2nd per. sing. masc.

5.2.4. Survey of Questionnaire on *Abbā Éləyās*

As I have mentioned on the above part, my last investigation depends on interpreting about *Abbā Éləyās* as a known saint in these two monasteries; by his teaching era, which defend orthodoxy in the context of present situation of Christianity. This part discussing on questionnaire data analysis with monks, priests, deacons and laymen who found around the three monastic centers: i.e. *EHNKM*, *QSC* and *MAM* monasteries. The numbers of persons indicate for both three monasteries.

5.2.4.1. Method of Data Analysis

The data collected through the questionnaire and the interviews were followed by analysis and discussion to provide answer to the questions set in the study.

I selected and discussed the questionnaire with around 50 persons: i.e. 30 from clergies and 20 from laymen. The result is as follows:

No.	Sample Questionnaire	Monks		Priests		Deacons		Laymen		Result	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1	<i>Do you know about Abbā Élayās was the Medieval centuries Ethiopian Saint?</i>	12	3	7	2	5	3	6	12	30	20
2	<i>Do you know about Gädlä Élayās found where it is ?</i>	10	5	6	3	3	5	8	10	27	23
3	<i>His vita (Gädl) reading monthely or annually on your monastery ?</i>	2	13	1	8	1	7	0	18	6	44
4	<i>Do you know about his monastery, lived as monastic life and his thought?</i>	6	9	4	5	2	6	5	13	17	33
5	<i>Do you know about his origin from the Royal and Levite (Priestly) family?</i>	13	2	3	6	4	4	7	11	27	23
Grand Total		43	32	21	24	15	25	26	64	107	143

Table 11: Sample questionnaire and interview in the two monasteries

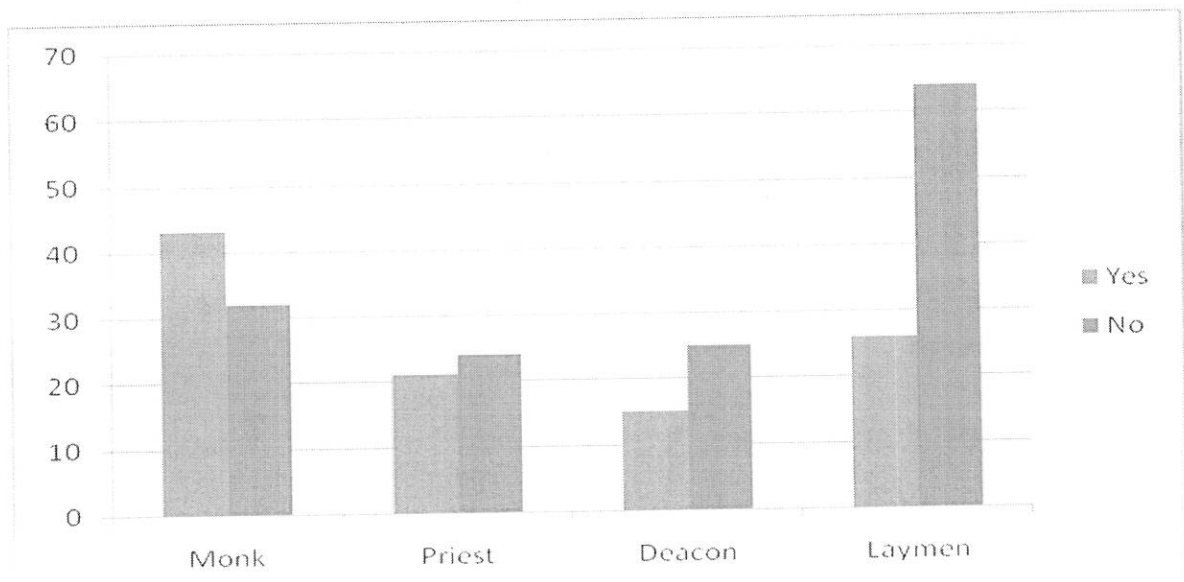


Chart 3: The Results of questionnaire and interview

As I have mentioned on the above part; these three great groups of Christian religious institutions i.e. Roman Catholicism, Byzantine Orthodox Church²³³ and Oriental Orthodox Churches are the main figures in the history of Ecumenism, Ecumenical involvement and participation in early councils of the Church. The fourth one, Protestantism separated from Roman Catholicism around the end of 16th century.

²³³ After the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), these two Churches (Roman Catholic & Byzantine Orthodox) until middle centuries were followed the same thought concerning the *Nature of Christ*. However, they separated in around 1054 ? A.D. by the case of '*filioque clause*' of the Pope of Rome. (passium).

CHAPTER VI

6. CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

6.1 Conclusion

Ancient Literature and manuscripts value is the highest rank in the world as a cultural and documentary heritage of the Church. The Ethiopian Church is the central archive and library of the country. These are consisting of such as official manuscript documents as imperial letters, decrees, decisions, ecclesiastical prayer books, etc... They were recorded in the margins of manuscripts as many documents of tremendous historical importance; were also preserved and saved in traditional system. These materials are helpful and necessary to developing our field, philology. The young philologists could search related to finding the priceless knowledge.

When viewed as a whole, in the perspective of history, King *Zär'a Yā'əqob's* attempts at centralization and religious nationalism were more or less successfully than his handling of ecclesiastical matters. He sought to administer the political and military affairs of his kingdom through a pair of officials known as *Bitwäddäd-oč* (singular:- *Bitwäddäd*). When his son-in-laws proved unsuitable for the title, he appointed his daughters to the positions. When they took proved unsatisfactory: "*The king himself took in hand the government of all Ethiopia and ruled the country through a series of royal appointees*".

However, only a ruthless and powerful Emperor *Zär'a Yā'əqob* could hope to govern in this fashion. His son, *King Bä'ädä Mārəyām* an able ruler by conventional standards, was not a despot like his father, and on his first day in office he restored to power the traditional office holders deposed by *Zär'a Yā'əqob*. In the ecclesiastical sphere, *Bä'ädä Mārəyām* sought to continue the program of religious nationalism initiated by his father. But neither he nor his successors possessed the skills of *Zär'a Yā'əqob*. Moreover, after *Bä'ädä Mārəyām's* death in 1478,. The problem of royal successors reappeared, symptomatic of the weakening of the dynasty and the reassertion of local autonomy.

For half a century conflicts in the court and provinces preoccupied the 'Solomonic Kings' and sapped the resources of kingdom. By the time, the Muslim warrior, ኑር፡መሐመድ፡ግራኝ፡- *Nur-Mohammäd Grāññ* invaded the Christian kingdom in 1527; it was capable of offering little

resistance. Many of the recently Christianized people returned to their former religions or adopted Islam. A 'Golden Age' in the history of Ethiopian Christianity came to an end.

The rise of the 'Solomonic Dynasty' in 1270 A.D marked the beginning of two centuries of Orthodox Christian expansion and culminated in the religious nationalism of the Emperor *Zār'a Yā'əqob*. The momentous political events of this period were accompanied by developments of comparable significance for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, most notably the rise of the 'monastic holy men'. As we have shown above, the *monastic men* and local saints, like *Élāyās* played a vital role in the political, social, economic, and religious life of the early *Solomonic* Period.

Each of the monastic movements which arose during this period (*Šāwān*, *Éwosštātians*, and *Dāqiqā Əstifānos* (Stephanites) represented an attempt by regional groups to oppose the encroachment of the 'Solomonic Kings' on traditional rights and privileges. As the 'Solomonic Kings' expanded their domain and reduced local rulers to vassal status, members of these local noble families abandoned the political arena and took up the monastic life.

The sample churches and monasteries which I observed *Gädlä Élāyās* in The Holy Trinity, Addis Ababa Diocese and Western *Šāwā* Diocese, *Mänāgäša Ambā Mārəyām* are more or less the center for conserving and preserving the manuscript documents of the church and the country. Moreover, they contain a great deal of materials relating to cultural, social, political and even military history of the country. In addition, some information on religious, historical and archaeological and economics, or art can be obtained from them the information thus obtained requires, undoubtedly, thorough checking and critical analysis. Nevertheless the hagiographical traditions offer in many instances new interpretations and shed new light on developments in culture and political history of little known period of Ethiopia

As I have suggested above, the historical notes, which we extract from a *Gädl*, is only accidental by-products. It is only for the study of the philology and history of Ethiopic literature and for the doctrinal and institutional history of the Ethiopian Church the *Gädlä Élāyās* as such can be considered as primary sources. For the Philological, theological and political history of the country, however, the value of *Gädlä Élāyās* varies greatly from one to the other, and each must be considered on its own special merits.

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ሐዋርያት፡ ፍሬ፡ ሃይማኖት ፤ በማኅተሞሙ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ኮከበ፡ ጽባሕ ፤ አሥመራ፡፡

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Appendix:- Gädlä Eləyas Manuscript Text [QSC GE MS]

f. 24va:

በስመ: አብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ፡፩: አምላክ: ንቀድም: በረድኤተ: እግዚአብሔር: ወበስነ: ሀብቱ: ጽሑፈ: ዜናሁ: ለ¹አባ: ኤልያስ: መንፈሳዊ: ንጹሕ: ወድንግል: ዘሠረጸ: እምቤተ: ክህነት: ወመንግሥት²: ዘፈጸመ: ገድሎ: አመ፡፮: ለጎዳር: በበዓለ: ለእግዝእትነ: ማርያም: ወላዲተ: አምላክ: ጸሎታ: ይዕቀበን³: አሜን ።

f. 24vb :

ስምዑኒ: ለደቂቅየ⁴: ክርስቲያን: ዘሀገረ: ሸዋ: ወዘኩሉ: ዓለም: እሉ: ሀለውክሙ: ይእዜ: ወእሉ: ትመጽኡ: በደኃሪ: ዘመን: እግዚአብሔር: ያበርህ: አዕይንተ: አልባቢክሙ: ለሰሚዓ: ዜናሁ: ለብፁዕ⁵ : ኤልያስ : ዘእጽሕፍ : ለክሙ : ለዐቀዲተ: ነፍስክሙ : ዘይከውን : እስመ : ረከብኩ : ዘንተ : ዜና : ገድሎ:

f. 24ra :

ወትውልደ: ነገሩ: ለአባ:ኤልያስ:ሥውር: ውስተ: ሀገረ: እንጦጦ⁶: በትዕዛዜ:

እግዚአብሔር: ወበኒሩቱ: ዘኮነ: በእንተ: ኪዳና: ወስዕለታ: ለእግዝእትነ: ቅድስት: ድንግል: በ፪: ማርያም⁷: ወላዲተ: አምላክ: እሙ: ለመድጎን:: ከማሁ: ይዕቀበነ: በኃይለ: ጸሎታ: በዝ: ዓለም : ወበዘይመጽእ: እስከ: ለዓለመ : ዓለም: አሜን::.....።.....።

f. 24rb:

ናሁ: አመ: ነግሠ: ንጉሥ⁸: ጸጸቅ: ዘድንግል : መፍቀሬ : እግዚአብሔር : ተጋብዑ : ገቤሁ : ብዙኃን : አዕሩግ : መነኮሳት : ቦ : እለ : ተና : መዋዕሊሁ⁹ : ፻ : ዓመት: ወበ : ፻ : ወ : ፳ : ዓመት: ወቦ: ፻: ወ: ፴ : ዓመት : እለ : ተርፉ : እመዋዕለ : ግራኝ : ወኑር : ወመሐመድ¹⁰ : ነገሥተ : አሕዛብ : ተንባላት::

f. 25va:

ወይቤልዎ: እሙንቱ¹¹ : መነኮሳት: አንጉሥ : ናሁ : አንገሠከ : አምላክነ: አምላከ : ምህረት:: እስመ : ለዓለም : ምሕረቱ : ለደቂቀ : እስራኤል¹² : ከመ : ኢይጥፋዕ : እምድር¹³ : ዝክረ: ትውልዶሙ: ለነገሥተ:

¹ ለብፁዕ:ወለቅዱስ:አብ:መንፈሳዊ:ንጹሕ: ወድንግል:: MAM, f. 3v.

² እምቤተ:መንግሥተ: ወክህነት::f. 3v.

³ ጸሎታ:ዕቀበነ: ;f. 3v.

⁴ ሕዝበ :ክርስቲያን: ;f. 3v.

⁵ ለብፁዕ:ወለቅዱስ:አባ: ;f. 3v.

⁶ ሀገረ: እ[]ጦጦ: ;f. 4v.

⁷ ቅድስት: ወድንግል: ማርያም:: MAM; f. 4v.

⁸ ነግሠ: ንጉሥነ: ;f. 4v.

⁹ ኮነ: መዋዕሊሁሙ::;f. 4v.

¹⁰ ወኑር:መሐመድ::;f. 4r.

¹¹ ወይቤልዎ:እሉ::;f. 4r.

¹² ለደቂቀ ፳ኤል: ;f. 4r.

¹³ ኢይጥፋዕ: ዝክረ :ትውልዶሙ::;f. 4r.

ጽድቅ :እለ : ዘርዓ :ያዕቆብ :ወበእደ :
ማርያም : ወናገድ: ፍቁራን: እሙ :
ለእግዚእነ ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: መድኃኒን:
ሕያው : ለዓለም::

f. 25vb:

ዕዝዝ: ከመ :ይምጽኡ :ንቤከ :ደቂቀ :
ጸሐፍት :ዘአበዊክ :እለ :ጸዋዕነ :ሰሞሙ:
ከመ: ይንግሩን :መጻሕፍተ: አበዊክ: እለ:
ሀለዋ :ቦቱ: ሀገረ: እስመ :የአምርዎን¹⁴ :
መካናቲሆን :ዘተኃብአ :ቦቶን::

ወአሜሃ: አስተጋብአን: ንጉሥ: ዘድንግል¹⁵ :
በቃለ :አዋዲ :ሰኩልን : ደቂቀ :ጸሐፍት¹⁶ :
ዘኲልቀኑን :ኮነ :፻ :ወ :፻ ::

f. 25ra:

ወሶበ :አስተጋብአን :ጠየቀን :እንዘ :
ይብል: አይቱ: ተኃብዓ: መጻሕፍተ :
ነገሥት : በመዋዕለ :ግራኝ :ወይቤሎ :
ጸሐፊ: ነገሥት: ሕርያቆስ :አረጋዊ :
ዘሀገረ:ጋስጫ: አነ :አረጋዊ: እም¹⁷ደቂቀ:
እሉ :ጸሐፍት: ወኮነ: መዋዕለ: ዘመንየ:
፻፲ ወ ፳ :ዓመት : በመዋዕለ: ግራኝ :
ነበርኩ:

¹⁴ የአምርዎ:: MAM ;f. 4r.
¹⁵ ዘድ[]ግል: ;f. 5v.
¹⁶ ደቂቀ:ክርስቲያን :: ወጸሐፍት::f. 5v.
¹⁷ እምነ:አሉ:ደቂቀ:ጸሐፍት::f. 5v.

f. 25rb:

ተሪፍየ:እምኩናት: ባሕቱ: ኢያዕመርኩ:
ምንባዓ¹⁸:መጻሕፍት: ዘአበዊክ: አላ:
የአምር: ይመስለኒ: ወልደ: ወልዱ:
ለጸሐፊ:መንክራት: መርቆሬዎስ: ሊቅነ:
ወሰማዕኩ: ዜና: ወልዱ: ከመ: ሀለወ:
ውስተ: ሀገረ: ኤማ¹⁹: ርስተ : አበዊሁ:
ወጠይቅ:ንጉሥ: ከመ: ሀለው: ዝየ:
ዮም: አው: ውስተ: ሀገረ: ወግዳ ::

f. 26va:

ወሶቤሃ: ይቤ: ንጉሥነ: ዘድንግል:
ለባሕቲትነ: ደቂቀ: ጸሐፍት: ወልደ:
መኑ:አንተ:: ወሶቤሃ²⁰: ፈራገኩ:
ወአውሃእክዎ: እንዘ: እብል: አንሶ:
ወልዱ:[ለመርቆሬዎስ]: እስመ: ልብየ:
ቀለየ: እንዘ: ይብል²¹: የአሥረኒ::
በእንተዝ:አእመርክዎ: እንዘ: ይጠይቀኒ::
ወይቤ: ለምንት: ኢታወሥአኒ²²: አንተ:
ብእሲ: እንዘ: አጤይቀክ: አነ: ንጉሥኩ::

f. 26vb:

ወዘንተ: ብሂሎ: ተምዓኒ²³: ወአዘዘ:
መሳፍንቲሁ: ይሞቅሑኒ:: ወሶቤሃ :
አሰሩኒ:: ወበይእቲ: ሌሊት: አስተርአየ:
አባ: ኤልያስ: በእንተአየ:: ወይቤሎ:

¹⁸ ምንባዓ:መጻሕፍት: MAM; f. 5r.
¹⁹ ሀገሩ:ኤማ; f. 5r.
²⁰ ወአነሂ:ሶቤሃ; ;f. 5r.
²¹ ቀለየ:ይብል::f. 5r.
²² ኢታወሥአኒ::f. 6v.
²³ ስምዓኒ: ;f. 6v.

ኅድጎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጸሐፊ፡ ዘአሠርኮ።
እስመ፡ በፍርሀተ፡ ዚእከ፡ ይቤ፡ኢያአምር፡
ዝኩሉ፡ መጻሕፍተ፡ ታሪክ፡ ሀሎ፡
በእዴሁ²⁴::

f. 26ra:

እስመ፡ ወልደ፡ ጸሐፍት፡ ዘአበዊክ፡ እለ ፡
የአምሩ፡ ምሥጢረ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘአበዊክ፡
ወእለ፡ የአምሩ፡ ምሥጢራተ፡ ነገሥት²⁵፡
ወነገረ፡ ትውልደሙ፡ ዘአበዊክ፡ ዘኮነ፡
በዘመነ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ ዘነገርዎ፡
መላእክተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንቲአየ፡

f. 26rb:

ወበእንተ፡ጥፍአታ፡ለሀገርነ፡ ወታድኅና²⁶፡
እምአረማውያን፡ ወዘንተ፡ ብሂሎ፡
ተሰወረ፡ አባ፡ ኤልያስ፡ ወበሳኒታ፡
አውጽአኒ፡ እምቤተ፡ ሞቅሕ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡
ኢትፍርሃኒ ፡በልኬ፡ ንግረኒ ፡ ዘጠዩቁክ፡
ትማልም²⁷፡ እስመ፡ በእንቲአከ²⁸ ፡
ነገረኒ ፡ በሕልምየ ፩ መነኮስ ፡ ቀይሕ ፡
እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ኅድጎ ፡ ለዝ ፡ ጸሐፊ ፡
ዘአሠርኮ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ይነግረነ ፡ ነገረ ፡
መጻሕፍት ፡ ዘአበዊክ፡

²⁴ ሀሎ፡በእዴሁ፡; MAM; f. 6v.
²⁵ መጽሐፈ፡ ነገሥት፡;f. 6v.
²⁶ ወድኅነተ፡; f. 6r.
²⁷ ትማልም፡ትማልም፡;f. 6r.
²⁸ በእንቲአየ፡;f. 6r.

f. 27va:

ወይእተ፡ጊዜ፡ወሀብክዎ፡ለሣጹን²⁹፡ ዘአበውየ፡
ዘነቱም ፡በማዕሠር ፡ጽኑዕ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ ጊዜ፡
ሞተ ፡አቡየ ፡አንተ ፡ ኢትፈትሐ ፡ ለዝ³⁰፡
ማኅተም፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ደቂቀ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ወልብነ፡
ድንግል³¹፡ ንጉሥ፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ፍትሐ ፡
ወነጽሮ፡ ለውሣጤሁ፡ ወውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡
አርጋወ ማኅተም፡

f. 27vb:

ወተረከበ፡ ወሰቴቱ³²፡ ፲ወ፰፡ መጻሕፍተ፡
ታሪክ ፡ዘይነግሩ ፡ ዜና ፡ ትውልደሙ ፡
ለነገሥተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ወነገረ፡ ተንሥኦቶሙ፡
ለግራኝ፡ ወለአረማውያን፡ ወነገረ፡ ወእቱኒ፡
አባ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ባሕታዊ ፡ዘሀገረ ፡እንጦጦ ፡
እስከ ፡ሥዋራሁ፡ ወእስከ፡ ሞቱሂ³³፡ በ፪፻ ፡
ዓመት ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ዘመነ፡ አረማውያን፡
ወዜና፡ መንግሥቶሙ ፡ ለ፰፡ ነገሥት፡
እምድኅረ፡ ሞቱ፡ ዘይትነሥኡ ፡ወዜና ፬
መሳፍንተ³⁴፡ ሸዋ ፡ - - :: - - ::

f. 27ra:

ንግባዕኬ ፡ነበ ፡ነገረ ፡ሙላዱ ፡ለዝንቱ ፡
ባሕታዊ ፡አባ ፡ኤልያስ ፡ዘረከብዎ ፡
እመጽሐፍ ፡ ዓቢይ ፡ዘነገሥት፡ ዘይቤ፡

²⁹ ለሳፁንየ፡ዘአበውየ፡; MAM; f. 6r.
³⁰ አንተ፡ለዝ፡; f. 6r.
³¹ ወልደ፡ልብነ፡ድንግል፡;f. 6r.
³² ወረከበ፡በውሰቴቱ፡;f. 7v.
³³ ስዋራሁ፡ወእስከ፡ሞቱሂ፡; f. 7v.
³⁴ መስፍ[ን]ተ፡ሸዋ፡;f. 7v.

ይኩኖ ፡አምላክ ፡ወልደ ፡ናፆድ³⁵፡፡ ይቤ ፡
ለዓምደ ፡ጽዮን፡ ለንዋዩ፡ ክርስቶስ³⁶፡
ወንዋዩ ፡ክርስቶስ ፡ለንዋዩ ፡ማርያም ፡
ወንዋዩ ፡ማርያም ፡ዘውኣቱ፡ ዳግማይ፡
ዳዊት³⁷፡፡

f. 27rb:

ዳዊትኒ፡ወለደሙ፡ለቴዎድሮስ፡ወለይስሐቅ³⁸፡
ወለእንድርያስ፡ ወለቴዎፍሎስ፡ ወለኃብተ፡
ኢየሱስ፡ እምንግሥት፡ ጽዮን፡ ሞገሳ³⁹፡
ዘእምዘርዓ፡ ነገሥት፡ አኩሱማይ⁴⁰፡
ዘተወልደት፡፡ ወለዘርዓ ፡ያዕቆብኒ፡ ወእሌኒ፡
ወለደሙ፡ እምንግሥት⁴¹፡ ካልዕት ፡በእሲቱ
፡ኒሩተ፡ አምላክ፡ እምዘርዓ፡ ነገሥት፡
አርብሐ⁴²፡ ወአጽብሐ፡ ዘተወልደት፡፡

f. 28va:

እለ፡ ነበሩ⁴³፡ ውስተ ፡ሀገረ ፡ወግዳ ፡ስሙ፡
አቡሃ ፡ራስ ፡ስምዖን ፡መኮንን ፡ዘሀገረ ፡
ከተታ፡ወወግዳ፡ዘመሐግል ፡ ወስርመት⁴⁴፡፡
ወለእኅተ፡ ዘርዓ፡ ያዕቆብኒ፡ እሌኒ፡
አውሰባ፡ ሲቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ በኪሞስ፡

³⁵ ወልደ፡አምደ፡ጽዮን፣; MAM ; f. 7r.
³⁶ ወአምደ፡ጽዮን፡ለንዋዩ፡ክርስቶስ፣; f. 7r.
³⁷ ዳግማዊ፡ዳዊት፡፡፡; f. 7r.
³⁸ ወይስሐቅ፡;f. 7r.
³⁹ እምንግሥት፡ጽዮን፡ሞገስ፡;f. 7r.
⁴⁰ አኩሱም፡;f. 7r.
⁴¹ እምንግሥት፡;f. 7r.
⁴² አብርሐ፡;f. 7r.
⁴³ እላ፡ነበሩ፡; f. 7r.
⁴⁴ ወስርማት፡፡; f. 8v.

ዘግራርያ፡ ወደብረ፡ ካልዕት⁴⁵፡ ዘወግዳ፡፡
ወይኣቲኒ፡ ወለደት፡ ሎቱ፡ ፪ተ፡ ውሉደ⁴⁶፡
ቡሩካን፡

f. 28vb:

ለ፩፡ ስሙ፡ ሠርጸ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ሲቀ፡
መዘምራን ፡ዘደብረ ፡ሊባኖስ ፡ወካልዑ ፡
ገብረ ፡ጽዮን ፡ሊቀ ፡ካሕናት ፡ዘደብረ ፡
ምጥማቅ፡፡በቀዳሚ ፡ፅንስታ ፡ወለደቶሙ
፡ለእሱ ፡ቅዱሳን ፡ ወነበሩ ፡በሕግ ፡
መንፈሳዊ፡፡ ውኣቶሙኒ ፡ወለዱ ፡በዙኃነ
፡ካህናተ ፡ቅዱሳን⁴⁷፡፡ ወበዳግም⁴⁸፡
ፅንስታ፡ ወለደቶሙ ፡ለአባ ፡ኤልያስ
፡ወለማርያም ፡ክብራ፡

f. 28ra:

መነኮሳይት ፡ጠባብ ፡ዘደብረ ፡ሊባኖስ ፡
እመ፡ ምኔት፡ ዘደናግል፡ ኮነት፡
መስተጋድሊተ⁴⁹፡፡ እስመ፡ መንታሁ ፡
ከአባ፡ ኤልያስ፡ ዘተወልደት፡ ወለአባ ፡
ኤልያስ ፡ዝንቱ ፡መጠዎ ፡አቡሁ ፡ለአባ ፡
ሚካኤል፡ መምሕረ፡ ወገግ፡⁵⁰ ከመ፡
ይምሐሮ ፡ መጻሕፍተ ፡አምላክ ፡ኩሎ፡፡
ወመሐሮ ፡ ዘኩሎ ፡ሥርዓተ ፡ጽድቅ ፡
ወምንኩስና⁵¹፡፡

⁴⁵ ወለደብረ፡ካልዕት፡; MAM ; f. 8v.
⁴⁶ ፪፡ውሉድ፡; f. 8v.
⁴⁷ ካህናት፡ቅዱሳን፡;f. 8v.
⁴⁸ በዳግም፡;f. 8v.
⁴⁹ ዘደብረ፡ሊባኖስ፡ኮነት፡መስተጋድልት፡፡; f. 8r.
⁵⁰ መ[]ሕረ፡ወገግ፡; f. 8r.
⁵¹ ኩሎ፡መጻሕፈ፡ጽድቅ፡ ወምንከስና፡;f. 8r.

f. 28rb:

ወኮነ ፡ለባዊ ፡ወማዕምረ። ወአመ ፡
ተሐንጸት ፡አደ ፡ሸዋ ፡ሳልሲት⁵² ፡እንዘ ፡
ይበውዕ፡ ፀዊሮ፡ ኅብስተ፡ ቁርባን⁵³ ፡
በመንፈቀ ፡ሌሊት ። አስተርዓዮ፡ ብርሃነ፡
መለኮት ፡ዲበ ፡መሶበ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘጸሮ፡⁵⁴
እምጽንፍ ፡እስከ ፡ጽንፍ ፡ዘምድር።
ወዓዲ፡ በደብረ፡ ብርሃንሂ፡ ኮነ፡ ከማሁ⁵⁵፡
ላዕሌሁ።

f. 29va:

ወንጉሥኒ፡ ዘርዓ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ጥቀ፡
ያፈቅሮ። እስመ ፡ወልደ፡ እኅቱ ፡ወእቱ፡
ወፈድፋደስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ንጽሐ ፡ሕሊናሁ ፡
ወስነ ፡ምግባሩ ፡ወሃይማኖቱ። ወአመ ፡
ገብረ ፡ጉባኤ ፡ውስተ ፡ደብረ ፡ብርሃን ፡
በእንተ ፡ሃይማኖት ፡ኮነ። ምስለ ፡አቡነ ፡
መልክ ፡ጼዴቅ ፡ወአባ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ዘደብረ
፡ሊባኖስ ።

f. 29vb:

አባ ፡ቶማሰኒ ፡ወአባ ፡ዮሐንስ ፡ዘደብረ ፡
ብስራት ፡ወአባ ፡በትረ ፡ማርያም ፡ዘደሴተ
፡ዘጌ ፡ ወተጠምቀ ፡መድኅን ፡ዘገዳመ ፡
በጌዳ ፡ ወዮሐንስ ፡ዘኤጎራ⁵⁶። ወብንያም ፡

⁵² አዳ፡ሸዋ፡ሃልሳዊት፡; MAM ; f. 8r.
⁵³ ኅብ[]ተ፡ቁርባን፡;f. 8r.
⁵⁴ ጸዊሮ፡ እምጽንፍ፡; f. 8r.
⁵⁵ ከማሁ፡ኮነ፡;f. 8r.
⁵⁶ ወዮሐንስ፡ዘወገራ፡ወዮሐንስ ዘኤጎራ።; f. 9v.

ዘበጌምድር፡ ኮነ፡ አፈ፡ ጉባኤ፡ ዘእሉ⁵⁷ ፡
ቅዱሳን ፡፭፻ ፡ወተዋሥኦሙ ፡ለዕልዋነ ፡
ሃይማኖት ፡ገማልያል ፡ ወጨሆ።

f. 29ra:

ዘጊዮርጊስኒ ፡ወእንበረኝ ፡ረባዕያውያን ፡
ወንሰጥሮሳውያን⁵⁸፡ ወአጥቃ፡ ሚካኤል ፡
ዘይቤ፡ ፩ገጸ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወደቂቀ፡
ቤቱ፡ እለ፡ ይቤሉ⁵⁹ ፡ ፪፡ ዘክርስቶስ ፡
ባሕርይ፡የአምር፡ በመለኮቱ፡ ወአያአምር፡
ከማነ፡ በትስብዕቱ፡ ሞተ፡ ሥጋ⁶⁰፡
ባሕቲቱ፡ እንበለ ፡መለኮቱ። ወይቤ፡ አባ፡
ኤልያስ፡ ዘይቤ፡ ጳውሎስ⁶¹፡ በመልእክቱ፡
ሞተ፡ በሥጋ፡ ወሐይወ፡ በመንፈስ⁶²።

f. 29rb:

ኢኮነ፡ ፩ ፡ክርስቶስ ፡ዘይቤ ፡መጽሐፈ ፡
ኪዳን ።።፡ቅዱስ ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ ቅዱስ ፡
ኃያል⁶³፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሕያው፡ ዘአይመውት፡
ሐመ ፡ወሞተ ፡ወተንሥኦ ፡እሙታን።
ወደመሰሶ ፡ ለሞት ፡በሞቱ ፡ለወልደ ፡
እግዚአብሔር፡ ሲኦለ፡ ከይደ፡⁶⁴ ይቤ።
ወዘንተ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል⁶⁵፡ ወጽኦ፡ እሳት፡

⁵⁷ ምስለ፡እሉ፡ቅዱሳን፡; MAM ; f. 9v.
⁵⁸ ወንሰጥሮስአውያን፡; f. 9v.
⁵⁹ እንዘ፡ይቤሉ፡;f. 9v.
⁶⁰ ሞተ፡በሥጋ፡;f. 9r.
⁶¹ ዘይቤ፡ቴዎፍሎስ፡;f. 9r.
⁶² ወአሕይወ፡በመንፈስ፡;f. 9r.
⁶³ እግዚአብሔር፡ኃያል፡;f. 9r.
⁶⁴ ሲኦለ፡ከይደ፡;f. 9r.
⁶⁵ ወዘንተ፡ይብል፡; f. 9r.

እምአፉሁ ፡ ወአውአዮሙ፡ለደቂቀ፡ቤቱ⁶⁶፡
፶ ፡ ዕደው ፡

f. 30va:

ይቤሉ፡ በጉባኤ፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለው፡ ምስለ፡
አጽቃ⁶⁷፡ መምሕረ፡ አብያጸሊሆሙ፡
ለዕልዋን፡፡ ወውአተ፡ጊዜ፡⁶⁸ አባ፡ ዮሐንስ፡
መምሕረ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ሊባኖስ ፡ ምስለ፡ አባ፡
መልክ፡ ጼዴቅ፡፡ ወኩሎሙ፡ ማኅበረ ፡
ጉባኤ፡ ፭፻ ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ተማከሩ፡፡
ወይቤልዎ ፡ ለውአቱ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘርዓ ፡
ያዕቆብ፡ ስማዕ፡ ኦንጉሥ፡ ርቱዕ፡
ትሢሞ⁶⁹፡ ለወልደ፡ እኅተክ፡ አባ ፡
ኤልያስ ፡ ይኩን፡ መምሕረ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡
ርቱዕ ፡፡

f. 30vb:

እስመ ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ ምንኩስናሁ ፡ ወርቱዕ ፡
ሃይማኖቱ ፡ እምኔነ ፡ ዮአቢ፡ በሃይማኖት፡
ወበጽድቅ ፡ ወበሕገ ፡ ምንኩስና⁷⁰፡፡ ወሶባ፡
ሰምዓ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ምክሮሙ⁷¹፡ ጎዮ፡
እምደብረ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ ወቦክ፡ ገዳሙ፡
አሸክላ⁷²፡ ወተኃብዓ፡ ወሰቴታ ፡
ወኃጥእዎ፡፡

⁶⁶ ለደቂቀ፡ቤቱ፡ለልዮን፡; MAM ; f. 9r.
⁶⁷ ምስለ፡አጽቃ፡; f.10v.
⁶⁸ ወበውአቱ፡ጊዜ፡; f. 10v.
⁶⁹ ሢሞ፡;f. 10v.
⁷⁰ በሃይማኖተ፡ጽድቅ፡ወበምንኩስና፡;f.10v.
⁷¹ ምክሮሙ፡;f.10v.
⁷² ወቡ'አ፡ ገዳሙ፡ አሸ[]ላ፡ ;f.10v.

f. 30ra:

ወነበረ፡ ፲ወ፪ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይሴሰይ ፡
ሐምለ ፡ ገዳም ፡ እምነ ፡ ሐቅል ፡ ጽፋቅ፡፡
ወበ፲ወ፪፡⁷³ ዓመት፡ እምአመ፡ ቦክ፡
ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡⁷⁴ ገዳም ፡ ሐረ፡ ዘርዓ ፡
ያዕቆብ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያስተኃብዕ ፡ ዕፀወ ፡ ለሕንፃ
፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ እምውስተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡
ገዳም፡፡ ወረከብዎ ፡ ለአባ፡ኤልያስ ፡ እንዘ ፡
ይቀድኅ ፡ ማየ ፡ ለሲሳዩ፡ ወነጸርዎ ፡
እምርጉቅ⁷⁵፡፡

f. 30rb:

ወነገርዎ ፡ ረዎጸሙ ፡ ለንጉሥነ ፡ ዘርዐ ፡
ያዕቆብ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀለው ፡ ወስተ ፡ ገዳም ፡
ወሐረ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ምስለ፡፪ኤ⁷⁶፡ መታርያነ፡
ዕፀ ፡ ዘርእይዎ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ ወአኃዞ ፡
ግብተ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ይርአዮ⁷⁷፡ውአቱ፡፡
ወሶቤሃ፡ ይቤሎ፡ አምሐልኩክ⁷⁸፡
በእግዝእትነ፡ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡
ፍቅርትክ ፡ ጎድገኒ ፡ ኦንጉሥ ፡ አቡዮ ፡

f. 31va:

ምንተ ፡ እከውነክ ፡ አነ ፡ አመ ፡ ትእኅዘኒ ፡
ወታወፅአኒ ፡ እምዛቲ ፡ ገዳም፡፡ ስምየሰ ፡
ኤልያስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡
ዘነበረ ፡ ወስተ ፡ ገዳም፡፡ ወአንሰ ፡

⁷³ ወበ [] ፪፡ዓመቱ፡ዓመቱ፡;MAM; f.10r.
⁷⁴ ቦክ፡ ይእቲ፡;f.10r.
⁷⁵ ወነጸርዎ፡በርጉቅ፡;f.10r.
⁷⁶ ምስለ፡፪[] ፡ ;f.10r.
⁷⁷ እንበለ፡ይርአይዎ፡;f.10r.
⁷⁸ አምሐልኩክ፡;f.10r.

ኢይተርፍ ፡ እምተዝ ፡ ዓለም። እስመ ፡
ተፈጠርኩ፡ በዘመን፡ እኩይ፡ ወኢየዓርግ፡
ከማሁ⁷⁹፡ለኤልያስ፡ ነቢያ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ውስተ
፡ሰማይ ፡ሕያውያ ፡ስመ ፡ዚአሁ ፡ሕያው
፡እኒዝየ።⁸⁰ እነብር ፡ዳግመ ፡ውስተ ፡
ዓለም ፡ኃላፊ።

f. 31vb:

አላ ፡እመውት ፡ውስተ ፡ገዳም ፡ከመ ፡
እርከብ ፡ንስቲተ ፡እምበረከተ ፡ዚአሁ ፡
ለኤልያስ ፡ ነቢያ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ከመ፡ ይኩነኒ፡
መድኃኒተ ፡ነፍስየ⁸¹ ፡በእንተ ፡ጸሎታ ፡
ወኪዳና፡ ለእግዝእትነ ፡ማርያም ፡ወላዲተ
፡አምላክ ፡ኅድገኒ ፡፡ - - - - ፡፡

f. 31ra:

ወሰሚያ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡
እምኔሁ⁸² ፡ይቤሎ ፡ለአባ ፡ኤልያስ ፡
ስማዕ ፡ አወልድየ ፡ ዝምክርክ ፡ሠናይ ፡
ውእቱ፡ ነቢረ፡ ገዳም፡ ባሕቱ፡ አባ ፡
ዮሐንስ። ወአባ፡ መልክ፡ ጼዴቅ፡
ይቤሎኒ፡ በደኃሪ ፡ዘመን ፡ዓዲመ
፡ይትነሥኡ ፡ዕልዋነ ፡ ሃይማኖት⁸³፡ ፀረ
፡ እግዚአብሔር። ንሕነ፡ አዕሩጋውያን ፡
ኢንበጽሕ፡ እስከኔሁ።⁸⁴ ለዘመን ፡ውእቱ

⁷⁹ ወኢያእመር፡ከማሁ፡MAM; f.11v.
⁸⁰ እስመ፡ዚአሁ፡እኒዝየ፡f.11v.
⁸¹ ለመድኃኒተ፡ነፍስየ፡f.11v.
⁸² እምከፋሁ፡f.11r.
⁸³ ነቢረ፡ገዳም፡ባሕቱ፡በደኃሪ፡ዘመን፡ይትነሥኡ፡አዲመ፡
ዕልዋን፡ሃይማኖት፡f.11r.
⁸⁴ አዕሩጋውያን፡ንሕነ፡ኢንበጽሕ፡እስከ፡ክዋኒሁ፡ f.11r.

፡ወልደ ፡እኅተክ ፡አባ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ሕፃን
፡ውእቱ ፡እምኔነ ፡ሢሞ።

f. 31rb:

እስመ፡ ንሬእየ፡ እንዘ፡ ይመውዕ⁸⁵፡
ዕልዋነ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ በነገረ፡ ጣዕመ ፡
ወኃይለ ፡ ጸሎቱ ፡በእንተዝ፡ ኢየኃድገክ፡
ትንብር፡ ውስተ፡ ገዳም። አላ፡ እሰይመክ፡
መምሕረ፡ ሃይማኖት። በላዕለ፡ ፩፡
እምደብር ፡ቅዱስ። እመሂ ፡ላዕለ ፡ደብረ
፡ሊባኖስ ፡አው ፡ላዕለ ፡ደብረ ፡ብስራት።

f.32va:

አው ፡ላዕለ ፡ደብረ ፡ወገግ ፡ወደብረ ፡
መድኃኒት ፡ወአደ ፡ሸዋ ፡ወደብረ ፡
ሣህልኒ ፡ወቤተ ፡ማርያም ፡ወገዳመ ፡
ዋሊ። ወደብረ፡ ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡ ተማኪርየ ፡
ምስለ፡ አባ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወአባ⁸⁶፡ መልክ ፡
ጼዴቅ፡ ፍቁራንየ፡ ወምዕመናንየ ፡፡
ወአውሥኦ ፡አባ ፡ኤልያስ ፡ወይቤሎ⁸⁷ ፡
አምሐልኩክ ፡በወላዲተ ፡አምላክ። ከመ ፡
ኢትረስየኒ ፡ከመዝ።

f.32vb:

እስመ ፡አነ ፡በዓዕኩ ፡ወወሀብኩ ፡ርዕስየ ፡
ለእግዝእትነ ፡ማርያም ፡ከመ ፡ትዕቀብኒ ፡

⁸⁵ እስመ፡ይመውዕ፡ MAM; f.11r.
⁸⁶ ወአቡየ፡ f.12v.
⁸⁷ ወይቤሎ፡አ፡ ንጉሥ፡f.12v.

በሕገ ፡መነኮሳት ፡ባሕታውያን፡፡ እስመ ፡
 መድኃኒቶሙ ፡ይእቲ ፡ለውሉደ ፡
 ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘተዓቅቦሙ ፡በጸሎታ ፡
 እምኩሉ ፡እኩይ፡፡ እስመ ፡በእንቲአሃ ፡
 ተፈጥረ ፡ዓለም፡፡ ወበእንተዝ ፡
 ኢትሢሚ⁸⁸፡ ሊቀ፡ ካሕናት ፡፡

f. 32ra:

እስመ ፡እምሢሙተ ፡ሊቅ ፡ዘካህናት⁸⁹ ፡
 ይኔይስ፡ ሢሙት፡ ሳዕለ፡ ሕዝባውያን ፡
 መኳንንት፡፡ እስመ፡ አነ፡ ተቀያሚ ፡
 ወበቂም፡ አይትረከብ፡ መንግሥተ ፡
 ሰማያት፡ ዘከመ፡ ነገራነ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡
 ቅዱሳት፡፡ ወኢይሠወረከ፡ ነገር፡ ኅቡአትየ
 ፡ለከኒ፡፡ ስማዕ፡ እግዚእየ፡ በእንተ ፡
 እግዝእትነ⁹⁰፡ ማርያም፡፡

f. 32rb:

ባሕቱ ፡ኢይትኃጣዕ ፡ጻድቅ ፡ካህን ፡፡
 እምሀገረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ⁹¹፡ ኅሪት፡ እምኩሉ፡
 አህጉራት፡፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ መዘምር⁹² ፡
 ዓቢይ፡ ኅሩየ፡ አምላክ፡ መሐሪ፡ ኢኃደጋ፡
 ለምድር ፡ዘእንበለ፡⁹³ ካህናት ፡ወነቢያት ፡
 እምቅድመ፡ ዓለም፡ ወእስከ፡ ለዓለም፡፡
 ወበእንተዝ፡ በከመ፡ ቃሉ፡ ኢየኃድጋ⁹⁴ ፡

⁸⁸ ኢትሢሚ፡MAM ፡ f.12r
⁸⁹ እስመ፡ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡፡ f.12r
⁹⁰ እግዝእትነ፡፡ f.12r
⁹¹ እምሀገረ፡ኢትዮጵያ፡፡ f.12r
⁹² ይቤ፡በእንቲአሃ፡ መዝሙረ፡፡ f.12r
⁹³ አምላክነ፡መሐሪ፡ኢየኃድጋ፡ለምድር፡ እንበለ፡፡ f.13v.
⁹⁴ ኢኃድጋ፡፡ f.13v.

ለሀገሪትነ፡ኢትዮጵያ፡፡ እስመ፡ ነሥኣታ ፡
 አሥራተ፡ እምአምላክነ፡ወልደ፡መድኃኒነ⁹⁵፡

f. 33va:

ሕያው ፡ወብዙኃ ፡ምሕረት ፡አሙ ፡
 ቅድስት፡ ወኅሪት፡ እምኩሉን፡ አንስት ፡
 ማርያም፡ ለመድኃኒት፡ ወነገራነ፡ ብዙኃን
 ፡መጻሕፍት፡፡ ወበገዳመ፡ ቅዱሳንሂ ፡
 ቅድስት፡ ይእቲ፡፡ ወስምዓ፡ ኮነ ፡ላቲ ፡
 መጽሐፈ ፡ምሥጢር ፡ዘአባ ፡ጊዮርጊስ ፡
 ወአባ ፡በጸሎተ ፡ሚካኤል ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡
 መምሕራነ ፡ቅድስት ፡ቤተ ፡ክርስቲያን ፡
 ርቱዓነ ፡ሃይማኖት ፡

f. 33vb:

ወኢይክሉ ፡አማስኖታ ፡በነገረ ፡ሁከቶሙ
 ፡ለዕልዋነ⁹⁶ ፡ደቂቀ ፡አርዮስ ፡ወንስጥሮስ
 ፡ወልዮን፡፡ በከመ፡ ይእኬኒ ፡መዋዕለ ፡
 መንግሥተከ፡ መነኮሳተ፡ ቅዱሳነ፡
 ያነሥእ፡ላቲ፡ ኢያማስንዋ፡ በዕልወቶሙ፡፡
 ወኢይመውዕዋ⁹⁷፡ በጸሎታ፡ ለእመ፡
 አምላክነ ፡ኃያል ፡ወመዋዒ ፡ ወማኅዋዊ ፡
 ለደቂቀ ፡ጳኤል⁹⁸፡፡

f. 33ra:

ወለእመ ፡ነበርኩ ፡በሕይወተ ፡ሥጋ ፡
 አነኒ ፡እደመር ፡ዘምስለ ፡፩ ካህን ፡ኅሩይ

⁹⁵ እምወልደ፡አምላክነ፡ወመድኃኒነ፡ MAM ፡ f.13v.
⁹⁶ አማ[]ኖታ፡በነገረ፡ሁከቶሙ፡ዕልዋን፡፡ f.13v.
⁹⁷ ወኢይመውዕዋሙ፡፡f.13r.
⁹⁸ ለደቂቀ፡እሥራኤል፡፡f.13r.

:መነከስ: አቀውም: ለሃይማኖት⁹⁹ :
 ቅድስት :ዘእስክንድርያ:: ወንመውያ :
 በኃይለ :ኪዳና: ለእግዝእትነ :ማርያም :
 ኢትፍራህ :አንጉሥ :ርቱዕ:: እስመ :
 ነገረ: ¹⁰⁰ መልአክ: እግዚአብሔር: ነገረ:
 ኩሉ: ዕልዋን:: እስመ: ቦእኩ: ውስተ :
 ዛቲ: ገዳም :ወአጉየየ : ሊተ :ጸብዓ :
 አጋንንት::

f. 33rb:

ወይቤለኒ: ንበር: ዝዩ: እስከ: አመ :
 ይጼውዓክ: መልአክ:¹⁰¹ በሞት: አው :
 በሕይወት:: እስመ: ኃረይክ: እምከርሠ :
 እምክ: ቅድስት: በእንተ: ስነ :
 ሃይማኖት¹⁰²:: ወእምነታ :ምግባረ :
 ሰብእናሃ: አዳም: እምኩሎን :
 አንስተዝ¹⁰³: ዓለም: ኃላፊ::

f. 34va:

ወእንዘ :ይትናገር :ምስለ :አጎወ :አመ :
 ንጉሥነ :ዘርዓ :ያዕቆብ :ወረደ :መልአክ
 :እግዚአብሔር :እምሰማይ :ተመሲሎ :
 ከመ :ሕፃን :ንዑስ :ዘዩአክል :መጠነ :
 ቆሙ :ወልደ :፫ዓመት :ወቆመ :
 ማዕከሎ¹⁰⁴:: ወይቤሎ: ኦ ብእሲ:

⁹⁹ ወቅዱስ:መነከስ:አቀውም:ለሃይማኖት:; MAM ; f.13r.
¹⁰⁰ እስመ:ነገ[]ኒ:;f.13r.
¹⁰¹ ንበር:ዝዩ:አመ:ጸውዓክ:አምላክ:; f.14v.
¹⁰² ሃይማኖታ:;f.14v.
¹⁰³ አጎ[]ተዝ: ;f.14v.
¹⁰⁴ ፫:ዓመት:ማዕከሎ:መ:ወይቤሎ:; f.14v.

የዋሕ :ለምንት :ትነግሮ :ዘነገርኩክ¹⁰⁵ :
 ዘተፈነውኩ :እምእግዝእትነ :ማርያም :
 ለሊከ :ተንሥእ ¹⁰⁶:ወንበር :ዲበ :ዘባንዩ:

f. 34vb:

ወእጸውረክ: ወሑር:¹⁰⁷ አንተኒ :ንጉሥ :
 የዋሕ:: ዘእንበለ: እቅሥፍክ: ለምንት :
 ተሐትቶ: ለነገረዝ: ካሕን:: ለከሂ¹⁰⁸ :
 ይበቀዓክ :ነገረ :ሃይማኖት :ርቱዕ :
 ወለዝንቱ :ወልደ :እኅትክ :ይኔይስ :
 ነቢር :ውስተ :ገዳም:: ከመ :ኤልያስ :
 ቴስብያዊ¹⁰⁹: ወዮሐንስ: መጥምቅ :
 ገዳማዊ¹¹⁰:: ወዘንተ: ብሂሎ: ነሥኦ:
 ወዖር: በክነፊሁ:

f. 34ra:

ወአዕተቶ: እምንበ: አጎወ: እሙ: ዘርዓ
 :ያዕቆብ :ንጉሥ :ዘይብል :ረከብነ :
 እመጽሐፊ :ታሪክ :ዘንጉሥ :ዘርዓ :
 ያዕቆብ::ወዓዲ :ዘይቤ :ከመዝ :ረከብነ :
 በመጽሐፈ¹¹¹: ታሪክ :ዘበእደ :ማርያም :
 ንጉሥ:: ወአመ :ሐነጻ :ለአትሮንሰ :
 ማርያም :ንሕለ :ይቤ :ሕንጻሃ :
 እምድጎረ :ተፈጸመ :ግብራ::

¹⁰⁵ ለዘነገርኩክ:; MAM ; f.14v.
¹⁰⁶ በልኩ:ተንሥኦ:;f.14v.
¹⁰⁷ ወእጸውረክ: ወሑር:; f.14v.
¹⁰⁸ ለነገረ:ዝብእሲ:ለከኒ:;f.14r.
¹⁰⁹ ቴስብያዊ:; f.14r.
¹¹⁰ ቀዳማዊ:;f.14r.
¹¹¹ እመጽሐፊ:;f.14r.

f. 34rb:

ወበእንተዝ ፡ኃዘነ ፡ንጉሥ ፡በእደ ፡
ማርያም ፡እስመ ፡ፃመወ ፡በግብረ ፡ዚአሃ
፡ብዙኃ፡፡ ወቦአ ፡ቤተ ፡ማርያም ፡ወጸለየ ፡
እንዘ ፡ይብል ፡ለምንት ፡ረሰይከኒ ፡ሰላቀ ፡
ለሰብእ ፡አጽራርየ ፡እስመ ፡አነ ፡ፃመወኩ
፡ፈድፋደ፡ በእንተ፡ ሕንፃ፡ ቤትኪ፡ ብሂልየ
፡እጸድቅ ፡በነገረ ፡ኪዳንኪ ፡ተወኪልየ ፡

f. 35va:

ዘይቤ ፡መጽሐፍ ፡ተአምርኪ ፡ዘሐነጸ ፡
በስመ ፡አመ ፡አምላክ ፡ቤተክርስቲያን ፡
ይድገን ፡አምኩሉ ፡እኩይ ፡ወይረክብ ፡
መንግሥተ ፡ሰማያት ፡ዘኢየሩሳሌም፡፡
ሀየንተ ፡መንግሥተ ፡ምድር ፡ዘየሩሳሌም፡፡
ወእንዘ፡ ይጼሊ፡¹¹² ከመዝ፡ ያንጸፈጽፍ¹¹³
፡ አንብዑ ፡ዲበ ፡ክሳዳ ፡ዘይቤ፡፡ ወአሜሃ
፡በእንተዝ ፡ፈነወቶ ፡እግዝእትነ ፡ማርያም
፡ለአባ¹¹⁴ ፡ኤልያስ ፡ጎቤሁ ፡ከመ ፡ይናዝዝ
፡ ኃዘኖ፡፡

f. 35vb:

ወቦአ ፡ጎቤሁ ፡ዘእንበለ ፡ይርአይዎ ፡
ዓቀብተ፡አንቀጹ ፡ለንጉሥ ፡ወአምኖ¹¹⁵፡፡
ወይቤ ፡ሶበ ፡ቀርቦ ፡ጎቤሁ ፡ደነገጸ ፡
ንጉሥ ፡እስመ ፡ብዙኃ፡¹¹⁶ ያፈርህ ፡

¹¹² ዘየሩሳሌም፡በክንቱ፡ወእንዘ፡ይጼሊ፡፡MAM; f.15v.
¹¹³ ያንጸፈጽ፡፡f.15v.
¹¹⁴ ለውእቱ፡አባ፡፡f.15r.
¹¹⁵ ወተአምኖ፡፡f.15r.
¹¹⁶ ንጉሥ፡ብዙኃ፡፡ f.15r.

ርእየተ ፡ገጹ ፡ከመ ፡መላእክተ ፡ሰማይ፡፡
ወአሜሃ ፡ይቤሎ ፡ኢትፍርሃኒ፡ አነ ፡
ኤልያስ፡ ወልዳ፡ ለእኅትከ፡¹¹⁷ እሌኒ፡
እኅተ ፡አቡከ ፡ከማከ ፡

f. 35ra:

ሰብእ፡ ወኢኮንኩ፡ እምፍጥረተ፡
አጋንንት፡፡ ስማዕ፡እንግርክ፡ ዘለአከተኒ¹¹⁸
፡እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ እመ፡ አምላክ ፡
ወትቤለከ ፡ሑር ፡ሀገር ፡እነብሴ፡፡
ወሐድስ፡ ሕንጻታ፡ ለመርጡልየ ፡
ዘአውዓየታ፡¹¹⁹ ፀርየ፡ ጉዲት ፡ንግሥተ፡
ሣይንት፡፡ ወለዛቲ ፡ጉዲት፡ አውዓየታ ፡
እሳት፡ ንግሥተ፡¹²⁰ መሠርያን፡ ዘሀገር፡
ሱባ፡፡

f. 35rb:

ወበእንተዝ ፡ሕንፅ ፡ቀዲሙ¹²¹፡መርጡለ
፡ማርያም፡ እስመ፡ ቀዳማዊት ፡
እምአትሮንስ፡ ማርያም፡ ዛቲ፡፡ ወድጎረ ፡
ተሐንፃ ፡ለዛቲ ፡ደብርየ ፡ዓዲ ፡ዘከመ ፡
ሕጎን ፡አስተማሲለከ ፡፡ወአነ ፡እሁብከ ፡
መንግሥተ ፡ሰማያት ፡ሀየንተ ፡ዘፃመወከ
፡በእንቲአየ ፡ወየዓሥየክ ፡ወልድየ ፡እሴተ
፡ሠናየ ፡ምስለ ፡ነገሥት ፡ጻድቃን፡፡

¹¹⁷ ኢትፍርሃኒ፡አ፡ንጉሥ፡አነ፡ወልደ፡እሌኒ፡፡ MAM; f.15r.
¹¹⁸ ስማዕ፡ዘለዓከተኒ፡፡f.15r.
¹¹⁹ ሐድስ፡ሕንጻታ፡ለመልጡልየ፡ዘውዓየታ፡፡f.15r.
¹²⁰ ዓውዓየታ፡ ንግስተ፡መሠርያን፡፡f.15r.
¹²¹ ቀዲሙ፡ሕንጽ፡፡ f.15r.

f. 36va:

ወይእኬኒ: ዘአንሃላ: ሰይጣን:¹²² ውእቱ
:ዘይትመሰል: በአርጭ: ምድር ::
በመዋዕለ: አቡክ: ተመሲሎ: ዐቢይ :
ከይሲ: ቦአ: ውስተ: ደብረ:ብርሃን:¹²³
:ወሐቀፎ : ለኅብስተ :ቊርባን :ወፈርሀ
:ካህናተ : ይእቲ :ቤተክርስቲያን:: ወቦአ
:አቡክ : ኅቤሀ:: ወቀተሎ :ብሂሎ :
ጸሎተ :

f. 36vb:

ሰላም: ለኪ: እንዘ: ንሰግድ: ንብለኪ:
ንግሥተ: አድኅኖ: ማርያም:
ናስተበቊዓኪ¹²⁴: እምአርጭ: ነግድ:
ተማኅጸነ:ብኪ::¹²⁵ በእንተ: ሐና: እምኪ::
ወኢያቁም: አቡኪ:: ማኅበረነ: ዮም:
ድንግል: አድኅኒ: ወባርኪ:: አንተኒ:
ይእኬ: በል: ዘንተ: ጸሎተ: ዲበ :ዛቲ:
ቤተ: ክርስቲያንዮ: ወትሬኪ: ኃይለ :
ተአምርዮ : ዮምኒ::

f. 36ra:

ዓዲ :በላዕለ :ከይሲ :እም አዳም :አቡዮ :
እስክ: ዮም::¹²⁶ ወበሳኒታሁ: አዘዘ :
ንጉሥ: በእደ: ማርያም: ከመ: ይግበር :
ቊርባን: በሐይመተ: ሜላት: ላዕለ :

¹²² በኃይለ:ሠይጣን; MAM; f.16v.
¹²³ ደብ[ረ:ብ]ርሃን;f.16v.
¹²⁴ ማርያም:እምነ:ናስተበቊዓኪ:በእንተ:ሐና:እምኪ.;f.16v.
¹²⁵ ማኅበረነ:ዮም:ድንግል:ባርኪ.;f.16v.
¹²⁶ እም ዮም; f.16r.

አትሮንስ: ማርያም: ወገብረ: ቊርባን :
በከመ: አዘዘመ::¹²⁷ ንጉሥ :ለካህናቲሃ::
ወሶበ : ይቤ :ካህን :ፈኑ :ጸጋ :መንፈስ
:ቅዱስ :ላዕሌነ::

f. 36rb:

ወሶቤሃ: ከልሐ: ሰይጣን: ወነስኮ:¹²⁸
እግሮ: ለውእቱ: ካህን: እንዘ: ሀሎ :
ኅብስተ: ቊርባን: በእዴሀ:: ወአቡነ¹²⁹:
ኤልያስ: ለብሰ: ልብሰ: ተክህኖ::
ወይቤሎሙ: ንዑ: ኅቤዮ: ወአነ :
አቁርበክመ::¹³⁰ ኢትፍርህዎ :ለውእቱ :
ከይሲ:: ወነሥኦ :ለቊርባን :ወፈተቶ :
እንዘ:ይብል:በጸሎተ:ፈትቶ: ዘኤጲፋንዮስ:
አክሲማሮስ:ፍቁረ: እግዝእትነ: ማርያም:
እመ: ኢየሱስ: ብሂል::¹³¹

f. 37va:

ወዓዲ: ዓቢይ: መልሕቅ: ዘሊቃውንተ :
ቤተ: ክርስቲያን:: እግዚአብሔር¹³²:
እግዚአብሔር: ዘሥልጣናት: እስከ :
ተፍጻሜቱ:: እንዘ:ይብል: ዘንተ: ፈትቶ
:ለቊርባን: ወመጠዎሙ: ለካህናት :
ወለንጉሥኒ:: ወእምዝ :ይቤ :ንጉሥ :

¹²⁷ ወገብረ:በከመ:አዘዘመ::; MAM; f.16r.
¹²⁸ ላዕሌነ: ከልሐ:ሰይጣን:በከይሲ:ወነስኮ; f.16r.
¹²⁹ ለውእቱ:ካህን:ዘይቤ:ፈኑ::ወሶቤሃ:ኮነ:ፍርሃት:ዐቢይ:
ወኃደግዎ:ካህናት:ለኅብስተ:ቊርባን:ወአቡነ:ኤልያስ:ff.16r-17v.
¹³⁰ ወአነ:ቁረበክመ::;f.17v.
¹³¹ ክርስቶስ:ብሂል::; f.17v.
¹³² እግዚአብሔር:ዘብርሃናት; f.17v.

ዘከመ: አቡ-ሁ:: ሰላም: ለኪ :
ወተሰጥውዎ: መዘምራን:እንዘ: ይብሉ::

f. 37vb:

በዝ: ሥጋኪ: ማርያም: እግዚአብሔር :
ዘለብሱ::ለሕይወተ :ሥጋን: ወለነፍስ¹³³
:ቀደሶ:: ወበዝ: ኅብስተ: ሥጋሁ :
ወደሙ: ለወልድኪ: ዕቀቢ: ንግሥ¹³⁴::
ወአጽንኢ: አትሮንሶ:: ለበእደ: ማርያም
:ንጉሥነ: ዘፍትወ: ዘስነ: አሚኖቱ :
ሞገስ:: እስመ: ረሰዩኪ: ምዕቅብና :
ሥጋሁ: ወነፍሶ::

f. 37ra:

ወእንዘ :ይብሉ :ዘንተ :ቀዳስያንት :
ዘአከግቴተ :ቀርባን :ኃተሞ :አባ :
ኤልያስ :በአፃብዒሁ :እለ :ፈተታሁ :
ለውእቱ :ቀርባን :ወገሠሥ :ለውእቱ :
ካህን :ዘነስኮ :ከይሲ :ወተንሥኦ :እምነ
:ሞቱ :: እስመ :ሞተ :ፍጡነ :በጊዜ :
ነስኮ:: ወሰይጣን :ወፅአ :እንዘ :ይኤልሀ
:ከመ :ከልብ :ዘገዳም :ዘውእቱ :ተኩላ :
በነገርነ::

f. 37rb:

ወንጉሥኒ :በእደ :ማርያም :ተፈሥሐ :
ጥቀ:: ወአዘዘ :ይጸለይ :በኩሉ :ጊዜ :
ሰዓተ :ቀርባን :ለዝንቱ :ጸሎት :

¹³³ ወለነፍሳቲነ; MAM; f.17r.
¹³⁴ ዕቀቢ:ንግሥ:f.17r.

እምቅድመ: ይቤ: በእንቲአን:¹³⁵ በጸሎተ
:ቅዳሴ:- - -:: ወእምዝ: ሐረ: ንጉሥ
:በእደ :ማርያም :መንገለ :ሀገረ :
እነብሴ:: ወአኃዘ :ሕንፃ :ግበሪሃ :
ለመርጡል :ማርያም :

f. 38va:

ወበውእቱ :መካን :ሥልሰ :ተአምረ :
ገብረት:እግዝእትነ :ማርያም :በመርጡላ
:ዘሀገረ :ሰብሌ::¹³⁶ ወዘንተ :እንዘ :ሀሎ
:ንጉሥነ:¹³⁷ በእደ:ማርያም: ያስተገብር¹³⁸
:ዘንተ :ሕንጻሃ :ዓርገ :ዓቢይ :ተመን
:እምፈለግ :ዓባይ:: ወነስካ :ለወለተ
:ወልዱ :ዘስማ :ማርታ :ወለተ :አጎወ
:ንጉሥ ¹³⁹:አጎወ :ናዖድ::

f. 38vb:

ወኃዘነ :እንዘ :ያስቆቁ :ወይብል :በእደ :
ማርያም :ንጉሥ :መኑ :ይጼውዖ:
ለአባ¹⁴⁰: ኤልያስ: እምሀገረ: አሸክላ ፤
ከመ: ያንሥኦ: ሊተ: ለዛቲ: ወለትዮ :
ወለቱ: ለወልድዮ: እስመ: ኢአበሰት :
በግብረዝ: ዓለም: እኩይ: ከማዮ:: አላ :
በኃጢአትዮ: ሞተት: እንበለ: አበሳ::

¹³⁵ እምቅድመ:ይቤ:ዲያቆን:ጸልዩ:በእንቲአን::MAM; f.18v.
¹³⁶ ዘሀገረ:እነብሴ; f.18v.
¹³⁷ ወእንዘ:ሀሎ:ንጉሥነ:ውእቱ;f.18v.
¹³⁸ ይተገብር:f.18v.
¹³⁹ ዘስማ:ማርታ:ወለተ:እስክንድር:ንጉሥ:f.18r.
¹⁴⁰ ይጼውዖ:ሊተ:ለአባ; f.18r.

ዘእንበለ፡ ይቅብርዋ፡፡ እምቅድመ ፡
ይፈጽሙ፡ ጸሎተ፡ ቅዳሴ፡፡

f. 39rb:

ወአውሥኦ፡ አባ፡ ሠርጸ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡፡
ወይቤሎ፡ እፎ፡ይተከሀለኒ ፡አባ ፡
አንሥኦ¹⁵² ፡ምውት ፡ሊተ፡፡ ወአውስኦ ፡
አባ፡ኤልያስ ፡ወይቤሎ ፡ዘየአምን ፡በስመ፡
እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ክርስቶስ ፡ሕይወተ፡
ኩሉ ፡ ምውት ፡ያነሥኦ ፡ምውተ ፡
በጸሎተ ፡ ዚአሃ፡፡ እስመ ፡አንተ ፡
ታፈቅራ፡ እምኩልነ፡ መነኮሳት፡፡
ወትገባዕ ፡ምስለ ፡አዝማዲክ ፡በነገረ ፡
ማነሌተ ፡ጽጌሃ ፡ኩሉሄ ፡

f. 40va:

ወአነኒ ፡ኢይትፈለጥ ፡እምኔክ ፡ጊዜ ፡
ትቀውም ፡ቅድመዝ ፡ንጉሥ፡፡ እስመ ፡
ተፈኖኩ ፡ጎቤሃ¹⁵³ ፡ለአንሥኦ ፡ወለቱ ፡
ለይኦቲ ፡በእንቲአክ ፡አትራድአክ ፡
ኢትፍራጎ፡ ታነሥኦ፡ እግዚእትነ ፡
ማርያም ፡በእንተ ፡ሃይማኖተ ፡አበዊነ ፡
ርትዕት ፡ወሶበ ፡እቀውም ፡ምስሌክ ፡
እፈርህ ፡እስመ ፡ዕርቃንዩ፡፡ ሀሎኩ ፡
ዘእንበለ ፡ልብሰ ፡በጉባኤ¹⁵⁴ ፡

¹⁵² ይተከሀለኒ፡አንስኦ፡ምውት፡፡ MAM ; f.20v.
¹⁵³ ዘእም፡ጎቤሃ፡፡ f.20r.
¹⁵⁴ ልብሰ፡ጉባኤ፡፡ f. 20r.

f. 40vb:

እስመ፡ አንተ፡ ለበሰክ፡ ፪ኤ ክዳነ፡ ሀበኒ ፡
፩ እልበስ፡ ወእትሉክ፡ ወእቀውም ፡
በድኅሬክ ፡አነ ፡ወአንተ ፡በል ፡አንሥኦ ፡
በስመ ፡እግዚእትነ ፡ማርያም ፡ወሶበ ፡
ነገሮ፡ ዘንተ፡¹⁵⁵ መጠዎ ፡አባ ፡ሠርጸ ፡
ጴጥሮስ፡ ፩ እምአልባሲሁ፡ ዘብድወ¹⁵⁶ ፡
ጠሊ፡ ወለብሰ፡ ወተለዎ ፡፡ ወቆመ ፡አባ ፡
ሠርጸ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ወጸርሐ ፡ቅድመ ፡
ንጉሥ፡፡

f. 40ra:

ወይቤሎ፡ ኢትኅዝን፡ ወኢብኪ¹⁵⁷፡
አንጉሥ፡ በእንተ ፡ሞታ ፡ለወለተ
፡ወልድክ ፡በስመ፡ እግዚእትነ ፡ማርያም
፡አነ ፡አንሥኦ ፡ እመዊት፡፡ ወባሕቱ
፡ከመ ፡ተሀበኒ ፡ ተምኔተ ፡ልብዩ
፡መሐል ፡ሊተ፡፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ንጉሥ
፡ለእመ ፡ሠናይ ፡ ተምኔተ ፡ልብከ
፡እሁብክ ፡ዘሰአልከኒ ፡

f. 40rb:

ዘእንበለ¹⁵⁸፡ መሐላ፡ እስመ፡ ኢይደሉ ፡
መሐላ ፡በሐሰት ፡ዘእንበለ ፡ገቢረ ፡ሠናይ፡
ለንጉሥ፡፡ ወለእመ ፡ኮነ ፡ነገረ ፡ተምኔት፡
እኩዩ፡ ትመውት¹⁵⁹፡ እንዳኢ ፡አባ ፡

¹⁵⁵ ዘንተ፡ነገሮ፡አባ፡ኤልያስ፡ወሀቦ፡፡ MAM ; f.20r.
¹⁵⁶ ዘበድወ፡፡f.20r.
¹⁵⁷ ወኢትብኪ፡፡f.21v.
¹⁵⁸ ኩሉ፡ዘእንበለ፡፡ f.21v.
¹⁵⁹ ትመውት፡፡f.21v.

እግዚአብሔር፡፡ ባሕቱ፡ እስመ፡ ኢገብረት
፡ ኃጢአት¹⁶⁰ ፡ ከማነ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኃጢአትዮ
፡ እበኪ፡ አንሰ፡ አኮ፡ በእንቲአሃ¹⁶¹፡፡
እስመ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ንጽሕት ፡ እምንዕሳ¹⁶²፡፡

f. 41va:

ወሶቤሃ ፡ ቦአ ፡ ሠርጸ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ንበ ፡
በድና፡¹⁶³ ቆመ ፡፡ ወይቤ ፡ ተንሥኢ ፡
በስመ፡ እመ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ አንቲ ፡
ወለት ፡፡¹⁶⁴ ወአሜሃ፡ አስተርአየት፡
እድ፡ ብርሃናዊት፡ እንዘ፡ ትገሥሥ፡
በድና፡፡ ወአንስሐሰሐት፡ በውስተ፡
መግነዛ፡፡ ወትቤ ፡ ፍትሑ ፡ መግነዝዮ ፡
እስመ ፡ ተመይጠት ፡ ነፍስዮ ፡ ውስተ ፡
ሥጋዮ፡ በጸሎተ ፡ አባ ፡ አልያስ፡፡¹⁶⁵
ወበጸሎተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መነኮስ፡ ዘቆመ ፡
ቅድሜክመ፡ ፍቁረ፡ እግዝእትነ ፡
ማርያም ፡

f. 41vb:

ውእቱ፡ ዘበእንቲአሁ፡ ሐዮኩ¹⁶⁶፡ እምእደ
፡ ሞት፡፡ ወሶቤሃ ፡ ነሥእዋ ፡ ወአውፅዕዋ
፡ አፍዓ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ወፈትሑ ፡
መግነዝ፡፡ ወቆመት ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ጉባኤ ፡
እምሔዋ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወዜነወት ፡ ምሥጢረ፡

¹⁶⁰ አባ፡እግዚአብሔር፡በነፍስ፡አኮኩ፡ባሕቱ፡ እስመ፡አኮኩ፡
ባሕቱ፡እስመ፡ኢገብረት፡ኃጢአት፡፡ MAM ፡ f.21v.
¹⁶¹ እበኪ፡አኮ፡በእንቲአሃ፡ ፡f.21r.
¹⁶² እምእሰሳ፡፡f.21r.
¹⁶³ ንበ፡በድና፡፡ f.21r.
¹⁶⁴ ወለት፡፡ምጡት፡፡ f.21r.
¹⁶⁵ ነፍስዮ፡ወሥጋዮ፡በጸሎቱ፡ለአባ፡ ኤልያስ፡፡f.21r.
¹⁶⁶ ሐይኩ፡፡ f.22v.

ሰማይ ፡ ወነገረ ፡ አባ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ ዘመዳ፡፡
ወትቤሎ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ አበ ፡ አብሃ ፡

f. 41ra:

ተንሥእ ፡ ወጸዓን¹⁶⁷ ፡ ፈረሰክ ፡ ውበጸሐ
፡ ቦቱ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ይባእ ፡ ንበ ፡ ማኅደሩ ፡፡
እስመ ፡ ተለዎ ፡ አባ ፡ ኤልያስ፡¹⁶⁸ መልአክ
፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ራጉኤል ፡ ከመ ፡
ይቅትልዎ ፡ በእዴክ ፡ በትዕዛዝ ፡ እግዝእትነ
፡ ማርያም ፡ ውእተ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ቀነጸ ፡ እምድር
፡ ወተጽዕነ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ዘባነ ፡ ፈረሰ፡፡
ወበጸሐ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ንበ ፡ ሙራደ ፡ ዓቀቡ ፡
ለፈለግ¹⁶⁹፡ ዓባይ ፡

f. 41rb:

ወእንዘ ፡ የሐውር፡¹⁷⁰ እኒዘ ፡ አሐተ ፡
ላህመ፡ በዘነቡ ፡ ወደርበዮ ፡ ዘባኖ ፡
በኩናት፡፡ ወተመይጠ ፡ ንበ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡
ኃዲጎ ፡ ይእተ፡ ላህመ ፡ ዘአኃዘ ፡ ወለውለወ
፡ ልሳኖ ፡ ከመ፡ የአኃዘ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡
ወይነሰኮ¹⁷¹፡፡ ወሶቤሃ ፡ ቀነጸ ፡ አባ
፡ ኤልያስ፡ እምሠረገላ፡ ዘነፋስ፡¹⁷² ወአኃዘ፡
ርእሶ¹⁷³፡፡ ወቅዱስኒ ፡ ራጉኤል፡¹⁷⁴
መልሐ፡ ሰይፎ ፡ ወመተረ ፡ ክሳዶ፡፡

¹⁶⁷ አበ፡አቡሃ፡ተጸአን፡፡ MAM ፡ f.22v.
¹⁶⁸ አባ፡ኤልያስ፡ምስለ፡፡f.22v.
¹⁶⁹ ለፈለግ፡ዓባይ፡፡ f.22v.
¹⁷⁰ እንዘ፡የሐውር፡፡ f.22v.
¹⁷¹ ወይ[]ስኮ፡፡f.22r.
¹⁷² እምሰ[]ገላ፡ነፋስ፡ ፡f.22r.
¹⁷³ ወአኃዘ፡ ርእሶ፡፡f.22r.
¹⁷⁴ ወቅዱስ፡ራጉኤል፡መልአክ፡፡f.22r.

f. 42va:

ወሰይጣንሂ፡ ዘኃደረ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ከልሐ ፡
 ስመ ፡ ዝዕብ ፡ ወቦአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ፈለገ ፡
 ማይ፡¹⁷⁵ ዓባይ ፡ ወጠፍዓ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጢስ ፡
 እንዘ፡ ይሬእይዎ፡ ሠራዊተ፡ ንጉሥ ፡፡
 ወሶበ ፡ ተመይጡ ፡ ንበ ፡ አባ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡
 ተሰወሮሙ፡፡ ወሐረ፡ ንበ፡ ገዳሙ፡¹⁷⁶
 በሠረገላ ፡ ነፋስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ በ፩
 እመጽሐፈ ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ረከብነ ፡ ወሥልስ ፡
 ረከብነ ፡ በውእቱ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ታሪክ ፡
 ዘናዖድ ፡

f. 42vb:

ዘይቤ ፡ ለፌ ፡ ንበ ፡ ድኅረ ፡ መጽሐፉ ፡
 በመዋዕለ ፡ ናዖድ ፡ ወረዱ ፡ እምሀገረ ፡
 ጎጃም ፡ ወሸዋ ፡ መነኮሳት ፡ ብዙኃን ፡
 መንገለ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ተአምሪሁ¹⁷⁷ ፡
 ለእግዚእነ፡፡ ወበህየ ፡ ረከብዎሙ ፡
 ለዕልዋነ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ፮¹⁷⁸ እለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡
 እምቅትለተ¹⁷⁹ ፡ ዘርዐ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ በእንተ
 ፡ ባሕሎሙ ፡ ዘይቤሉ¹⁸⁰ ፡

¹⁷⁵ ወቦአ፡ንበ፡ፈለገ፡ማየ፡; MAM; f.22r.
¹⁷⁶ ወቦአ፡ውስተ፡ገዳሙ፡;f.22r.
¹⁷⁷ ለተአምሪሁ፡; f.23v.
¹⁷⁸ ለ፮፡ዕልዋነ፡ሃይማኖት፡;f.23v.
¹⁷⁹ እምቅትለተ፡;f.23v.
¹⁸⁰ ዘይቤሉ፡;f.23v.

f. 42ra:

ኢይደሉ ፡ ሰጊድ ፡ ለማርያም¹⁸¹ ፡
 ወለመስቀለ ፡ ወልዳ ፡ ወአኃዘሙ ፡ ሊቀ ፡
 ጳጳሳት ፡ ተማኅሊኖ፡፡¹⁸² ወአምሥጡ ፡
 እማዕሠረ ፡ ጳጳስ¹⁸³ ፡ ዘእስክንድርያ ፡ አባ፡
 ገብርኤል¹⁸⁴ ፡ እምድረ ፡ ግብጽ ፡
 ተመይጡ፡፡ ወቦኡ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ወንጌል¹⁸⁵ ፡
 ወኃብአሙ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መሲሕ ፡ መኮንን ፡
 ይእቲ ፡ ሀገር፡፡¹⁸⁶

f. 42rb:

ወእምድኅረ ፡ ጎዳጥ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ እምነ ፡
 ሃይማኖተ ፡ አፍርንጊ ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ ፡
 ለእሙንቱ፡ መነኮሳት፡ ዕልዋን፡፡
 ወወሀቦሙ፡ነቋሎ¹⁸⁷ ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡እምጉልተ
 ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ሀገረ¹⁸⁸ ፡ ወንደል ፡፡
 ወአሜሃ ፡ ተሰዱ ፡ ካህናቲሃ ፡ እም ፡ ሀገረ፡
 ወንደል ፡ ወቦኡ ፡ ገዳሙ ፡ አሸክላ ፡ ወንዝ ፡
 ወተቃጸልዎሙ¹⁸⁹ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ አባ ፡ ዘርዓ ፡
 ጸዮን ፡ ዘዓድ ፡ ሸዋ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መነኮሳት፡፡

¹⁸¹ ለእግዚአትነ፡ማርያም፡; MAM; f.23v.
¹⁸² ወአኃዘሙ፡ለሊቀ፡ጳጳሳት፡ተማኅሊኖሙ፡;f.23v.
¹⁸³ ጳጳሳት፡;f.23v.
¹⁸⁴ አባ፡ኤልያስ፡;f.23v.
¹⁸⁵ ሀገረ፡ወንደል፡;f.23r.
¹⁸⁶ ገብረ፡መሲሕ፡መሀግል፡፤ ሀገር፡;f.23r.
¹⁸⁷ ነቋሎ፡; f.23r.
¹⁸⁸ ዘሀገረ፡; f.23r.
¹⁸⁹ ወተቃጸልዎሙ፡; f.23r.

f. 43va:

ወኃዘነ : በእንቲአሁ : ወነገርዎ : ለአባ :
 ኤልያስ : ዘንተ : ነገረ : ስደቶሙ::.....::
 ወሶቤሃ : ተንሥኦ : አባ : ኤልያስ : ወሐረ :
 በሠረገላ : ነፋስ : ዘወሀበቶ : እግዝእትነ :
 ማርያም : እምነ : ወልዳ : በተልዕኮታ¹⁹⁰ :
 ውስተ : ትሉ : አድባራተ : ሀገራ : ለሐውያ
 : ፍቁራኒሃ : ቅዱሳን :

f. 43vb:

ወበጽሐ : በአሐቲ : ዕለት : ተንሣኦ :
 ገዳመ : አሸክላ¹⁹¹ ወንዝ : እስከ : ሀገር :
 ወንደል : እም : ጄኔ ምሕዋረ¹⁹² : ሰሙን
 : ዕለት : ዘየአክል : ፍኖቱ : ወቦአ : ኀበ :
 ውእቱ : መኮንን : ገብረ : መሲሕ::
 ወይቤሎ¹⁹³ : ለምንት : ተአመንክ¹⁹⁴ :
 በሃይማኖት : አፍርንጊ : ወለምንት¹⁹⁵ :
 ነቀልኮሙ : ለደቂቀ : አባ : ዮሐንስ : ወአባ
 : ማካኤል :

f. 43ra:

ቅዱሳን : ርቱዓነ:¹⁹⁶ ሃይማኖት :
 እምጉልተ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ዘወንደል :
 ዘወሀቦሙ : እምሔውከ : ርቱዓ : :

ሃይማኖት : ሐርቦ : ጎሼ:: እስመ :
 በመሐላ : ወበግዘት : ወሀቦሙ : ለአባ :
 ዮሐንስ : ወሚካኤል : ከመ :
 ኢይነቅልዎሙ¹⁹⁷ : ውሉዳ : ውሉዳ :
 ለደቂቀ : ሳሙኤል : እምዛቲ:¹⁹⁸ ቤተ :
 ክርስቲያን : ዘሀገረ : ወንደል :

f. 43rb:

ይኔይሰከት : ሃይማኖተ : አፍርንጊ :
 ርኩስ: እምሃይማኖተ : አበዊነ : ርቱዕ::
 በል : ሚጥ : ጉልተ : ሀገሮሙ : ለእሱ :
 ደቂቀ : ዮሐንስ : ጻድቅ:: ዘእንበለ :
 ትሙት : በእኩይ : ሞት : ዘበግዘተ :
 አበዊሆሙ : ለቅዱሳን : መነኮሳት :
 ርቱዓነ : ሃይማኖት:: ወሶበ : ሰምዓ :
 ዘንተ: ሰሐቀ:¹⁹⁹ ቦቱ : ጥቀ : ወይቤሎ :
 አንተነ : ኤልያስ : ዳግማዊ : ዘነገሩኒ :
 ዜናክ: ፍቁራንዮ: እሉ: አፍርጊያውያን:²⁰⁰

f. 44va:

ውሉደ : ጴጥሮስ : ርእሰ : ሐዋርያት :
 በልኬ : አውርድ : እሳተ : መቅሠፍት :
 ላዕሌዮ : እምሰማይ : ከመ : ኤልያስ :
 አንተኒ:: ወአነሂ : አመንኩ²⁰¹
 : በሃይማኖተ : አፍርንጊ : ሀገረ : ጴጥሮስ
 : ሲቀ : ሐዋርያት : ወሀገረ : ኤልያስ

¹⁹⁰ ለተልዕኮታ; MAM ; f.24v.
¹⁹¹ እምገዳመ:አሸ[]ላ; f.24v.
¹⁹² እምጄ[]:ምሕዋረ; f.24v.
¹⁹³ በተአምኖ:ወይቤሎ;f.24v.
¹⁹⁴ ለምንት:አመንክ;f.24v.
¹⁹⁵ ለምንት;f.24v.
¹⁹⁶ ቅዱሳን:አበው:ርቱዓ; f.24v.

¹⁹⁷ ኢይነቅልዎሙ; MAM ; f.24r.
¹⁹⁸ እምጉልተ:ዛቲ;f.24r.
¹⁹⁹ ዘንተ:ነገረ:ሠሐቀ; f.24r.
²⁰⁰ አፍርንጊአውያን; f.24r.
²⁰¹ አማንኩ; f.25v.

:ርእሰ፡ ነቢያት፡፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡፡ በሉኬ፡²⁰²
አጎዝዎ፡ለዝ፡መነኮስ ፡እኩይ ፡ዘኢየሐፍር
፡ገጸ ፡ መኮንን ፡ዓቢይ፡፡

f. 44vb:

ወአጎዝዎ ፡አግብርቲሁ፡ ወቀሠፍዎ፡²⁰³
ዓቢየ ፡ቅሥፈተ፡፡ ወእንዘ ፡ይቀሥፍዎ ፡
ይቤሎ፡አንተኒ ፡ቅሥፈኒ²⁰⁴ ፡በሃይማኖተ
፡ሀገር ፡እኪት ፡አፍርንጊ²⁰⁵ ፡ምድረ ፡
ልዮን ፡ ዕልው ፡ወአነ ፡እመውት
፡በሃይማኖተ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ሊቀ ፡
ሐዋርያት፡፡ ከመ ፡ ዲዮስቆሮስ ፡ዘርቱዓ፡
ሃይማኖት ፡ርእስ፡፡²⁰⁶

f. 44ra:

እስኩ ፡እሬኢ ፡ዘያድኅነከ ፡እምግዘተ ፡
ጴጥሮስ፡ ወዲዮስቆሮስ፡፡ እስመ ፡
በሃይማኖተ ፡ልዮን ፡አፍርንጋዊ ፡አኮ ፡
ሀገረ ፡ጴጥሮስ ፡ሊቀ ፡ሐዋርያት፡፡ አላ ፡
ሀገረ ፡ደቂቁ ፡ለልዮን ፡ከሐይ ፡
ሃይማኖቱ፡ ለጴጥሮስ፡ በከመ ፡ነገረ²⁰⁷ ፡
ሃይማኖተ ፡አበው ፡ጽሑፍ፡፡

²⁰² ወይቤልዎ፡በሉኬ፡፡ MAM; f.25v.

²⁰³ አግብርቲሁ፡ሰቤሃ፡ወቀሰፍዎ፡፡ f.25v.

²⁰⁴ ትቀሥፈኒ፡፡f.25v.

²⁰⁵ አፍር[]ገ፡፡f.25v.

²⁰⁶ ከመ፡ዲዮስቆ[]ስ፡ሊቀ፡ጳጳሳት፡ዘርቱዓነ፡ሃይማኖት፡፡ f.25v.

²⁰⁷ ሃይማኖቱስ፡ለጴጥሮስ፡ርቱዕ፡በከመ፡ነገረነ፡፡ f.25r.

f. 44rb:

ወዘንተ ፡በሂሎ ፡እምድኅረ ፡ቀሠፍዎ ፡
ብዙኃ ፡ወውኅዘ ፡ደመ ፡አበላቲሁ ፡ቀጸቦ፡
ለደመና ፡ነፋስ ፡በዓይኑ ፡ወመዘጎ ፡ሰማዮ፡
በሠረገላ ፡ብርሃን ፡እምነቤሁ ፡ለገብረ ፡
መሲሕ ፡ዘይቀሥፍ፡፡ ወነቢሮ ፡ዲቦ ፡
ሠረገላ ፡ይቤ ፡ኢትረድ ፡በዛቲ ፡ሀገረ ፡
ዝናመ ፡በረከት ፡ዘከመ ፡መዋዕለ ፡
አከዓብ ፡ወከመ ፡ተሰጉመት²⁰⁸ ፡በቃለ ፡
ኤልያስ ፡ነቢይ፡፡

f. 45va:

ወአሜሃ ፡ዮብሰት ፡ፈለገ ፡ዓቢይ ፡
እምአጀቦራ ፡እስከ ፡ሀገረ ፡ዶሬ²⁰⁹ ፡ኮነ ፡
ፀሐይ ፡ዘያውኢ ፡አድባራተ ፡ኅጃም ፡
ወኅንደር፡ ወዳሞት፡²¹⁰ እንበለ ፡በጌ ፡
ምድር ፡ወስምዓ ፡ዘንተ ፡ዜና ፡ምንዳቤሃ
፡ለሀገረ ፡ኅጃም ፡ናዖድ ፡ንጉሥ፡፡ ወፈነወ
፡ሠራዊቶ ፡ወመሳፍንቲሁ ፡ከመ ፡
ያምጽእዎ ፡

f. 45vb:

ለገብረ ፡መሲሕ ፡መኮንን ፡ወንደል፡፡
ወአስተጋብኦሙ ፡ለደቂቀ ፡አባ ፡ዮሐንስ ፡
እምነብ ፡ተሰዱ ፡ቦቱ ፡ገዳመ ፡አሽክላ ፡
ወንዝ፡፡ ወይቤሎሙ ፡በሉኬ ፡ንግሩኒ ፡
ዜና ፡አባ ፡ኤልያስ ፡ወይቤልዎ ፡

²⁰⁸ ተሰጉ[]ት፡፡ MAM; f.25r.

²⁰⁹ ሀገረ፡ዶራ፡፡ f.26v.

²¹⁰ አድባራተ፡ኅጃም፡ወዳሞት፡፡f.26v.

አልቦ:ኢነአምሮ²¹¹ :መካኖ :ወኢነአምሮ :
ለአባ :ኤልያስ:: አላ :ንስምዕ :በዕዘኒነ :

f. 45ra:

እንዘ :ይብሉ :ሀሎ :ውስተ :ገዳመ :
አሽክላ :ወንዘ:: ወአመ :ሰደድነ :
እምሀገረ :ወንደል²¹² :ርስትነ :ቦእነ :
ውስተ:ገዳመ:²¹³ አሽክላ:: ባሕቱ:
ተወከፋነ: መነኮሳተ ዝንቱ ገዳም::
ወእምኔሆሙ : ፩ መነኮስ :ባሕታዊ :
ዘተወልደ :ውስተ : ሀገርክ :ዘስሙ :
ኤልያስ :ዘይነብር : ምስሌሆሙ::
መጽአ :ነቤነ²¹⁴ :ስደት : ወነገርኖ :ዜና
: ስደትነ ::

f. 45rb:

ወውእቱ :ይቤለነ :ነገርክዎ: ዜና:²¹⁵
ስደትነ:: ወውእቱኒ :መጽአ :ምስሌነ :
ወተረፈ :ውስተ :ዴዴክ :ወለውእቱ :
ጠይቆ :ነገረ :አባ :ኤልያስ :ባሕታዊ::
ወይቤ :ናገድ :ንጉሥ :ጸውዕዎ :
አንትሙ :እም :ንበ :ሀለወ :ቦቱ :
መካን:: ወእንዘ :ዘንተ :ይቤሎሙ :
ስምዑ :፪ መነኮሳት::²¹⁶

²¹¹ አልቦ:ኢነአምሮ; MAM ; f.26v.
²¹² ሰደደ[]:ወንደል; ;f.26v.
²¹³ ቦእነ:ገዳመ;f.26v.
²¹⁴ መጽአ:ምስሌነ;f.26r.
²¹⁵ ወ-እቱ:ይቤለነ:ነገርክዎ:ነገረ; f.26r.
²¹⁶ ይቤሎሙ:፪:መነኮሳት::f.26r.

f. 46va:

ወይቤልዎ :፩ መነኮስ :ዝውእቱ :
ኤልያስ :ዘሀገረ :ወንደል: ወአነ :
ኤልያስ :አሽክላዊ :ወልደ :እሌኒ :እኅተ
:እምኔውከ²¹⁷:: ወዘንተ: ብሂሎ :
ተሠወረ²¹⁸ :እምቅድመ :ናገድ :ንጉሥ
:ጸሊኦ : ስብሐተ :ብጡለ: ወአዕረገቶ :
እግዝእትነ :ማርያም :በውእቱ :ሠረገላ :
ዘወሀበቶ :ለመልእክታ²¹⁹::

f. 46vb:

ወረሰዮት :ንብረቶ: ውስተ :አንባ :
ማርያም :ደብራ :ሀገረ :እንጦጦ::²²⁰
እንዘ :ይብል :ረከብነ :እመጽሐፈ²²¹ :
ታሪክ : ዘናገድ :ንጉሥ: ወመጽሐፈ²²²
:ታሪክ : ዘልብነ :ድንግል :ዘይብል :
ረከብነ:: ወአመ :ተንሥኡ²²³ :ግራኝ :
ወነር : መሐመድ :እንዘ :ይቀብሮሙ :
ለሰማዕታተ :እንጦጦ :ዘሞቱ :

f. 46ra:

በእደ :ግራኝ :ረከብኖ :ይቤሎ²²⁴ :
ብዙኃን : ጸድቃን :ነገሩነ:: ወእምዝ :

²¹⁷ እምአኃውይከ; MAM; f.26r.
²¹⁸ ተሠወረ:እምኔሆሙ::f.27v.
²¹⁹ ለመልእክት::f.27v.
²²⁰ ውስተ:እምአባ:ኤልያስ:ደብራ:ዘሀገረ:እንጦጦ::f.27v.
²²¹ ረከብነ:እምጽንፈ::f.27v.
²²² ወእመጽሐፈ::f.27v.
²²³ ወአመ:ተንስኡ::f.27v. ;f.27v.
²²⁴ ይቤሎ:ይቤሎ:: f.27v.

እምዘመነ ፡ መንግሥቱ²²⁵ ፡ ሰዘድንግል ፡
 ኮንኩ ፡ አረጋዌ ፡ ወተመጠይኩ ፡ መንገሰ ፡
 ሀገርዮ ፡ ኤማ፡፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ሀሎኩ
 ፡ በህዩኒ²²⁶ ፡ መጽአት፡ እምሀገረ፡ ገባገያ²²⁷
 ፡ በዊኦ፡ ብሔረ ፡ ኀይ፡ ነሢኦ፡²²⁸
 እመጽሐፈ ፡ አበዊሃ ፡

f. 46rb:

ጊዜ ፡ ሰደድዋ ፡ አረማውያን ፡ እምሀገራ፡፡
 ወእንዘ ፡ ትጤይቅ ፡ በጽሐት ፡ ኀቤዮ፡፡
 ወትቤለኒ ፡ አንተኑ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ዘመለኮት ፡
 ወልደ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ሰሊቀ ፡ ጸሐፍት ፡
 መርቆርዮስ ፡ ጸሐፊ ፡ መንክራት ፡
 ወታሪክ፡፡ ዘነገሥት ፡ ወአውሣእክዎ ፡ እንዘ
 ፡ እብል ፡ እወ ፡ ነበርኩ፡²²⁹ ቅድመ ፡ ወኮንኩ
 ፡ ይእዜ ፡ አረጋዌ ፡ ድኩመ ፡

f. 47va:

ዘኮነ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ እድሜዮ ፡ የወጃወጃ ፡
 ዓመተ፡²³⁰ እመዋዕለ ፡ ዘድንግል ፡ ንጉሥ
 ፡ እስከ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ ፋሲለደስ ፡ ጸሐፍኩ ፡ ዜና
 ፡ ትውልደሙ ፡ ሰነገሥት፡፡ ወይእዜኒ ፡
 መጻእኩ²³¹፡ እምሀገረ ፡ ስደትዮ ፡ ወፍ ፡
 ዋሻ፡ ዘሀገረ፡ በጀምድር፡ ሀዲግዮ²³²፡
 ውሉድዮ፡፡ ወኮንኩ ፡ እስምዕ ፡ ዜና ፡

²²⁵ እመንግሥቱ; MAM; f.27v.

²²⁶ በህይኑ;f.27r.

²²⁷ ባባገያ;f.27r.

²²⁸ ባሕረ፡ዚይ፡ነሢኦ;f.27r.

²²⁹ እንዘ፡ይብል፡አነ፡ነበ[]ኩ;f.27r.

²³⁰ ዓመት፡አመ;f.27r.

²³¹ ወይእዜኒ፡መጻ; f. 28v.

²³² በጊምድር፡በዲግዮ; f. 28v.

ውሉደ ፡ ውሉድዮ ፡ ወደቂቀ ፡ ውሉዱ ፡
 ለእኑዮ፡፡

f. 47vb:

አዕይንትዮ ፡ ደክማ ፡ ለርዕይ ፡ ወአዕጋርዮ ፡
 ደክማ፡ ለሐዊር፡²³³ መኑ ፡ ስምኪ ፡
 አንቲ፡፡ ወእምአይቴ ፡ ሀገር ፡ መጻእኪ ፡
 አንቲ፡ ከመ፡ ትጠይቅኒ፡ ነገረ²³⁴ ፡
 መዋዕሊሁ ፡ ለዕድሜዮ፡፡ ወተሐትትኒ ፡
 ስምዮ ፡ ወለምንት ፡ መጻእኪ ፡ ኀቤዮ ፡
 እግዝእት፡ ልዕልት ፡ ይቤሉኒ ፡ መጽአት ፡
 ኀቤክ ፡

f. 47ra:

ወአነ ፡ እኔጽረኪ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ድምፅ ፡
 ኢሰማዕኩ ፡ ወኢርኢኩ²³⁵ ፡ ገጸኪ፡፡ እስመ
 ፡ ላኩዮ፡ አዕይንትዮ፡²³⁶ በርስዕናዮ፡፡
 ወእምዝ፡²³⁷ ትቤለኒ ፡ ሀገርዮስ ፡ ርጉቅ ፡
 ውእቱ ፡ ስምዮ²³⁸፡ ወሀገርዮ፡ ድኅረ ፡
 እነግረክ፡፡ ወምጽዓትዮስ፡ ኀቤክ ፡ ከመዝ ፡
 ነገሩ፡፡²³⁹ እስመ፡ ፈነወኒ፡ ፩መነኮስ ፡

²³³ ለሐዊር፡መጽአኪ; MAM; f. 28v.

²³⁴ መጻእኪ፡ ከመ፡ ትጥይቅኒ፡ነገር; f. 28v.

²³⁵ ወኢሰማዕኩ፡ገዕኪ; f. 28r.

²³⁶ ለኩዮ፡አዕይንትዮ; f. 28r.

²³⁷ በርእዓንዮ፡፡ ወሶቤሃ፡አዕይንትዮ፡ወሶቤሃ፡እምዝ; f.28r.

²³⁸ ወስምዮ;f. 28r.

²³⁹ ኀቤኩ፡ከመዝ፡ንግሩ; f. 28r.

ባሕታዊ፡ ከመ፡ ትዜንወኒ፡ ነገረ ፡
እግዚአብሔር።

f. 47rb:

ዘሰማዕክ፡ እምአበዊክ፡ ዘጸሐፍኮን²⁴⁰፡
ዘከመ ፡እምሔውክ ፡በልኬ ፡ንግረኒ ፡ኩሉ
፡በእንተ ፡እግዝእትነ ፡ማርያም ፡እመ ፡
አምላክ።፡ ወአውሣእክዎ ፡እንዘ፡ እብል ፡
ኢትጸውዲ፡ ስማ ፡ለእግዝእትነ ፡
ማርያም፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ታምሐልኒ ፡
እነግረኪ።፡ በአይቴ ፡ረከብኪ።²⁴¹ ባሕታዊ
፡ በዝንቱ ፡አጸባ ፡ወአረሚ።፡

f. 48va:

ወትቤ²⁴² ፡አመ ፡አንቱኒ ፡አረማውያን
፡ከመ ፡ይሄዱኒ ፡ሀገረየ ፡ወንዋይየ ፡
ጎዮይኩ፡ መንገለ፡ ሀገረ፡ዚይ ፡ተድሂልየ
፡በሌሊት።²⁴³ ወቦእኩ ፡ውስተ ፡ሐቅለ ፡
ደበል፡ ወበውእቱ ፡ገዳም ፡ዓገቱኒ ፡
አራዊት ፡በሌሊት፤ ወጸበበተኒ ፡ሰፍሐ ፡
ምድር ፡ወአዕረጉኒ ፡አግብርትየ ፡ዲበ ፡
፡ፆም ፡ዓቢይ ።፡

f. 48vb:

ወለውእቶሙ ፡ቀተሎሙ፡ ነጌ።፡ ወእንዘ ፡
አበኪ ፡ምስለ ፡ውሉድየ ፡ነቢርየ ፡
መልዕልተ ፡አዕዋም።፡ ወመጽአ፡ ፩መነኮስ

²⁴⁰ ወጸሐፍኮ፡ MAM;f. 28r.
²⁴¹ እነግረኪ፡በአይቴ፡ረከብኪ፡f. 29v.
²⁴² ወትቤ፡f. 29v.
²⁴³ ተድሂልየ፡በሌሊት፡f. 29v.

፡ወዘበጦሙ²⁴⁴ ፡ለነጌያት ፡ ወለካልአን ፡
አራዊት ፡ነድአሙ፡ ከመ፡አልሀምት²⁴⁵ ፡
ወአርኃቆሙ ፡እምነቤየ²⁴⁶፡ ወለ፩ ተመን
፡ቀጥቀጠ ፡ርእሶ ፡

f. 48ra:

እምታሕተ፡አም፡አውዲአ፡እምዘሀለውኩ²⁴⁷
፡ቦቱ፡ ወሰፈረ፡ ኑኖ።፡ ወኮነ፡ ፲ወ፱ ፡
በአመት ።፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ይቤለኒ ፡ንጺ ፡
ረዲ ፡እምውእቱ ፡ፆም ፡ ወቅረቢ ፡ነቤየ፡
ከመ ፡እንግርኪ ፡ ዘለዓከተኒ ፡እግዝእትነ
፡ማርያም ፡ ወላዲተ ፡አምላክ።፡ ወዘንተ ፡
ብሂሎ ፡ አውረደኒ ፡እምአዕዋም ፡
ወይቤለኒ፡ ሑሪ፡ ትቤለኪ ፡

f. 48rb:

እግዝእትነ ፡ማርያም ፡እምሀገረ ፡ኃዲገኪ
፡፫ ወሉደኪ ፡ወ ፫ ደቂቅኪ ፡ይሑሩ ፡
ሀገረ ፡እርስ ፡ነበ ፡ሊቅ ፡ዘመለኮት ፡
እምሔውኪ፡ ወይደመሩ²⁴⁸፡ ምስለ ፡ሰብአ
፡ ወግዳ ፡ወተጉለት ፡እስከ ፡አመ ፡ፈቀደ
፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ይሠሃላ ፡ለዛቲ ፡ሀገር።፡
ወዘንተ ፡ብሂሎ ፡አኃዘ ፡ይምርሐኒ ፡
ፍኖተ፡ ብሔረ፡ ዚይ።²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ መጽአ፡፩፡መነኮስ።፡ወጠበጦሙ።፡ MAM; f. 29v.
²⁴⁵ ከመ፡ ላህም።፡f. 29r.
²⁴⁶ እምነየ።፡ f. 29r.
²⁴⁷ ዘሀለውኩ።፡f. 29r.
²⁴⁸ ወደመሩ።፡f. 30v.
²⁴⁹ ባሕረ፡ዚይ።፡f. 30v.

f. 49va:

ወአብጽሐኒ፡ ውስቴቱ ፡በእገሪሁ፡²⁵⁰ ቦአ
፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ሐመር፡፡ ወበህየ ፡አርአየኒ ፡
መጽሐፈ፡²⁵¹ ታሪክ ፡ዘጸሐፎን ፡አቡከ፡፡
ወአንተኒ፡ እምሔውከ²⁵²፡ ጸሐፊ፡
መንክራት፡ መርቆሬዎስ፡፡ ወጠነ²⁵³ ፡
ጃመጸሐፍት፡፡ ወነሥአ፡፪ተ፡፫ተ ዲናረ²⁵⁴
፡ወርቅ ፡ወተሣዩጠ ፡ጃእግማለ ፡ወአዕዱገ፡
ወለ፫ ደቂቅየ ፡ገደጎሙ ፡ውስተ ፡
ደሴቶሙ ፡

f. 49vb:

ወለ፫ አጽዓኖሙ ፡በአግማል ፡ወሊተኒ ፡
በእድግት²⁵⁵፡ወተመየጥነ፡እምብሔረ፡ዚይ፡
፡ወአብጽሐኒ ፡እንዘ ፡ይመርሐኒ²⁵⁶ ፡
እስከ፡የረር፡ ወመጠዎሙ፡ ለትግራውያን
፡ተንባላት፡ ፫ዲናረ፡ ወርቅ፡፡ ወይቤሎሙ
፡ጎንኩ ፡ዕሤተክሙ²⁵⁷ ፡ዘንተ ፡፫ ዲናረ ፡
ወርቅ ፡ወአብጽሐኖሙ ፡ለእሉ ፡ሰብእ
፡እስከ ፡ሀገረ ፡እርስ፡፡ ፡፡

f. 49ra:

ወዘንተ ፡ብሂሎ ፡ተመይጠ ፡ውእቱኒ ፡
ሀገረ ፡እንጦጦ፡፡ ወይቤላኒ ፡ለእመ ፡

²⁵⁰ ውስቴቱ፡አብዓኒ፡በሃእረ፡ደንገል፡፡ወውእቱ፡በእገሪሁ፡፡
MAM; f.30v.
²⁵¹ ሐመር፡አርአየኒ፡መጽሐፍተ፡ታሪክ፡፡f. 30v.
²⁵² ወእምሔውከ፡፡ f. 30v.
²⁵³ ወእምሔውከ፡፡f. 30v.
²⁵⁴ ፫፫፡ዲናረ፡ወርቅ፡፡f. 30v.
²⁵⁵ በእድግ፡፡f.30r.
²⁵⁶ ይመርሐኒ፡፡ f. 30r.
²⁵⁷ ዕሤተክሙ፡፡f. 30r.

ይቤለከ ፡ዘመለከት ፡መኑ ፡ስሙ ፡
ለመነኮስ ፡ዘአስተርአየኪ ፡በልዮ ፡ኤልያስ
፡ዘገዳመ ፡አሽክላ ፡ሀገረ ፡እንጦጦ²⁵⁸ ፡
ሥውር ፡ለአጢነ ፡አምባ፡ ማርያም ፡
ወውእቶሙ፡²⁵⁹ ተንሢአሙ፡፤ ወነሢአሙ
፡ወርቆሙ²⁶⁰፡ ክህዱኒ ፡ጊዜ ፡በጸሐነ ፡
ሀገረ²⁶¹ ፡ ተጉለት፡፡

f. 49rb:

ወሤጡኒ ፡ምስለ ፡ውሉድየ ፡ለእጎትየ ፡
እግዝእት፡ ተቀራሪት²⁶²፡ ወለተ ፡ማርታ ፡
ንግሥት ፡ወእንዘ ፡ሀለውነ ፡ምስሌሃ ፡
አጉየዩነ ፡አረሚ፡፡ ወይእቲኒ ፡ጉየት ፡
ምድረ፡ እራስ፡²⁶³ ወሊተኒ ፡ሀገኒ፡፡ አይኒ
፡ ቦእኩ ፡ወጠየቁ ፡ስመ ፡ዝንቱ ፡ሀገር ፡
አኮ ፡እርስ ፡ይቤሉኒ ፡አላ ፡አይኒ፡፡

f. 50va:

ወእምዝ፡ ሐርኩ፡ ሀገረ፡ መንዝላ²⁶⁴፡
ወቦእኩ ፡አደሌ²⁶⁵፡ ወስነ፡ ዝኒ፡ ኮነ ፡
ከማሁ፡²⁶⁶ ይቤሉኒ ፡አኮ ፡እርስ፡፡ አላ ፡
አደሌ፡፡ ወበእንተዝ ፡እንዘ ፡አኃዝን ፡
መጽአ ፡ጎቤየ ፡ውእቱ ፡አባ ፡ኤልያስ²⁶⁷ ፡

²⁵⁸ ዘሀገረ፡እንጦጦ፡ወገዳመ፡አሽክላ፡፡ MAM; f. 30r.
²⁵⁹ ለአጢአ፡እምአ[]ባ፡ወውእቶሙ ፡፡f. 30r.
²⁶⁰ ውእተ፡ወርቀ፡፡f. 30r.
²⁶¹ ዘሀገረ፡፡f. 31v.
²⁶² ትቁሪት፡፡ f. 31v.
²⁶³ ምድረ፡አራሳ፡፡f. 31v.
²⁶⁴ ሀገረ፡ወንዝላ፡፡ f. 31v.
²⁶⁵ አዳሊ፡፡f. 31v.
²⁶⁶ ዝኒ፡ከማሁ፡፡f. 31v.
²⁶⁷ እንዘ፡አኃ[]ን፡መጽአ፡ጎቤየ፡አባ፡፡ f. 31v.

አመ፡ ፳፻፩ ለሚያዝያ፡ ተአምኃኒ²⁶⁸ ፡
ወይቤለኒ ፡ሑሪ ፡ እምዝዮ ፡ሀገረ ፡እርስ
፡እኒዘኪ ፡ዘንተ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ያበጽሐኪ²⁶⁹ ፡
ብሂሎ ፡ውእቱ ፡

f. 50vb:

ተርፈ ፡ሀገረ ፡ምስዓለ ፡ማርያም ፡ለዓጢነ
፡በዓለ ፡ልደታ፡ ለይእቲ²⁷⁰ ፡ደብር ፡ወአነ
፡እኒዝዮ፤ ዘንተ ፡ፍኖተ ፡ዘአርአየኒ ፡
በጻሕኩ ፡ሀገረ ፡እርስ ፡አመ ፴ሁ ፡
ለውእቱ፡²⁷¹ ወርኅ ፡ወገበርኩ ፡በዓለ
፡ልደታ፡ በመገዝ²⁷² ፡ወመጽአ ፡ጊዜ ፡፫
ሰዓት ፡ ተንሂአ ፡እምሰዓለ ፡ዲበ ፡ደብረ
፡ዳባ፡፡²⁷³

f. 50ra:

ወባረከ፡ ለማይ፡ወረገዝ፡²⁷⁴ ወኮነ ፡ሜሰ
፡ጥዑመ ፡ወተመይጦ²⁷⁵ ፡ሀገረ
፡እንጦጦ፡፡ ወእንዘ ፡እጤይቅ ፡መጻእኩ
፡ጎቤክ ፡ወረኩብኩ ፡አነ ፡አገያ ፡ወለቱ
፡ለስነ ፡ክርስቶስ ፡ወልደ ፡ወልድክ፡፡
ወእምየኒ ፡ዓመተ ፡ዮሐንስ ፡ስማ²⁷⁶
፡ለስነ ፡ወለቱ ፡ለዘድንግል ፡ማዕዜ ፡ዘመነ

²⁶⁸ ፡ለማዝያ፡ውተአምኃኒ፡; MAM; f. 31v.

²⁶⁹ አበጽሐኪ፡፡;f. 31v.

²⁷⁰ በይእቲ፡;f. 31r.

²⁷¹ አመ፡፴[]፡በውእቱ፡; f. 31r.

²⁷² በመገረዝ፡;f. 31r.

²⁷³ እምሰአላ፡ ማርያም፡ዲበ፡ደብረ፡ዱባ፡;f. 31r.

²⁷⁴ ለማየ፡መግረዝ፡; f. 31r.

²⁷⁵ ወተመየጦ፡;f. 31r.

²⁷⁶ ስመ፡ወለቱ፡;f. 31r.

፡ስዋራሁ²⁷⁷ ፤ ለውእቱ ፡መነኮስ ፡ውእቱኒ
፡ሠወረኒ ፡ለዝ ፡ነገር ፡እምኃተትክዎ²⁷⁸ ፡

f. 50rb:

አባ ፡ውእቱ ፡ሲቅ ፡ዘመለኮት ፡ይንግርክ ፡
ተሰወረኒ፡፡ ወለክ፡ ይብለክ፡ ባሕቱ ፡
ይመውት፡ በዕለተ፡ ሥዋራዬ፡፡ ወአነ ፡
እመውት ፡በ፪፻፶፬²⁷⁹ ዓመት ፡
እምድኅረ፡ ዘመነ ፡አረሚ ፡በዘመነ ፡ሉቃስ
፡አመ ፡፮ ለኅዳር ፡በዕለተ ፡ዕረፍቱ ፡ለአባ
፡በጸሎተ ፡ሚካኤል ፡በዕለተ ፡ሠሉስ ፡
ወአንተ፡ ትመውት ፡አመ ፩ ፡ለግንቦት፡፡

f. 51va:

ወሶበ ፡ሰማዕኩ፡ ዘንተ፡ አንከርክዎ²⁸⁰ ፡
ወወሀብክዎ፡ ፴መጻሕፍተ፡ ታሪክ ፡
ወሥዋራሁ ፡ነገረኒ ፡መጽሐፈ ፡ታሪክ፤
ዘናያድ ፡አመ ፡ተዓብዓ ፡ምስለ ፡ገብረ ፡
መሲሕ ፡አመ ፡፮ ለወርኃ²⁸¹ ፡ጥር
፡በዘመነ ፡ናያድ ፡እምአመ ፡ነገሠ ፡በ፳፬፻
ዓመት፡፡- - - ፡፡

f. 51vb:

ወእምዝ ፡በ፪፻፶፬²⁸² ዓመት፡ እምድኅረ
፡ዘመነ ፡አረሚ፡፡ ወኮነ ፡ዘመን ፡
፪፻፶፮²⁸² ዓመት፡፡ ወእምዝ ፡

²⁷⁷ ማዕዜነ፡ዘመነ፡ስዋራሁ፡; MAM; f. 31r.

²⁷⁸ አመ፡ሐተትክዎ፡;f. 32v.

²⁷⁹ በ ፪፻፶፬ዓመት፡;f. 32v.

²⁸⁰ አንከርኩ፡; f. 32v.

²⁸¹ አመ፡፮ለወርኃ፡ጥር፡; f. 32v.

²⁸² ፪፻፶፮ዓመት፡;f. 32r.

ጎለቀዎሙ²⁸³፡ ትውልድ ፡፡ዘመጽኡ፡፡
 ወእነ ፡አይደዕኩክሙ ፡፡ዘረከብኩ ፡
 እመጽሐፈ ፡ታሪክ ፡፡ዘነገሥት፡፡ ወሀሎ ፡
 ኩሎ፡ ነገሩ፡ ለኤልያስ፡²⁸⁴ በኩሎን ፡
 መጻሕፍተ፡ ታሪክ፡²⁸⁵ ዘናዖድ ፡በኅዳገ ፡
 መጽሐፈ ፡ተአምረሃ ፡ለእግዝእትነ ፡
 ማርያም ፡

f. 51ra:

ዘተጽሕፈ ፡አመ ፡ጳውጪ²⁸⁶ ለወርኃ ፡
 ጥቅምት ፡ተወልደ ፡አባ ፡ኤልያስ ፡
 ወተጠምቀ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ክርስትና፤
 በግበርማ ፡ደብረ ፡አባ ፡ተክለ ፡ሐዋርያት
 ፡አመ፩ ለወርኃ ፡ታኅሣሥ ፡ወሰመይዎ ፡
 ስሞ ፡ኤልያስ ፡በስመ ፡ኤልያስ ፡፡ነቢይ፡፡
 እለ ፡አባ ፡ተክለ ፡ሐዋርያት ፡፡ዘገበርማ ፡
 ወአባ ፡ሚካኤል ፡²⁸⁷

f. 51rb:

መምሕረ፡ አደ ፡ሸዋ ፡ወወገግ፤
 ወዘወንደል ፡ዮሐንስ ፡አዕሚርሙ ፡ስነ ፡
 ጽድቁ፡፡ ከመ ፡ኤልያስ ፡ከዊኖቱ ፡
 ወአቡሁ ፡በመንፈስ ፡ቅዱስ ፡አባ ፡ተክለ ፡
 ሃይማኖት ፡ወመምሕሩ ፡በምሃረ ፡

²⁸³ ጎልቆሙ፡፡; MAM ; f. 32r.
²⁸⁴ ወሀሎ፡ኩሎ፡ነገሩ፡ለአባ፡ኤልያስ፡፡;f. 32r.
²⁸⁵ በኩሎን፡መጽሐፈ፡ታሪክ፡ወይቤ፡፩፡መጽሐፈ፡ታሪክ፡ ዘናዖድ፡
 f. 32r.
²⁸⁶ አመ፡፩ወጪ፡፡;f. 32r.
²⁸⁷ ወአባ፡ኤልያስ፡፡; f. 33v.

ሃይማኖት፡፡ ወመጻሕፍት ፡አባ ፡ሚካኤል
 ፡ወበአስኬማኒ ፡መልክ ፡ጼዴቅ፡፡

f. 52va:

ወበምንኩስና ፡ውእቱ ፡አባ ፡ሚካኤል
 ፡፡ዘአደ ፡ሸዋ ፡ወደብረ፡ወገግ፡²⁸⁸ ወንብረቱ፡
 በአሽክላ ፡ወሀ ፡ወምድረ ፡እንጦጦ ፡አንባ፡
 ማርያም፡ ወዕረፍቱ፡²⁸⁹ በህዩ ፡ይቤ ፡
 መጽሐፈ ፡ታሪክ ፡ነጽርዎ፡፡ ወለብውዎ ፡
 ዘንተ ፡ወጽንሕዎ ፡ኩልክሙ ፡ውሉድዮ ፡
 ብሂሎ፡፡ አዕረፈ ፡ሊቅ ፡፡ዘመለኮት፡፡
 ወአዕረፈ ፡አመ ፡፮ ለጥር ፡

f. 52vb:

ወተቀብረ ፡ኤማ²⁹⁰ ፡ውስተ፡ ጸማዕት፡
 እንኻራ፡²⁹¹ እንዘ ፡ወልደ ፡፻ወ፴ወ፪፡ ዓመት፡
 ከዊኖ፡ ኑኃ፡²⁹² ዕድሜሁ፡፡ ወተመጠወቶ
 ፡እግዝእትነ ፡አገዖ ፡ለዝንቱ ፡መጽሐፍ
 ፡ወንሕነ ፡ጸሐፍኖ ፡ያዕቆብ ፡
 ወጢሞቲዎስ፡ቶስ፡ወልዳ፡²⁹³ ወጸሐፍተ²⁹⁴
 ፡እራስ ፡ድሜጥሮስ ፡፡ዘመዳ ፡

²⁸⁸ ወወገግ፡፡; MAM ; f. 33v.
²⁸⁹ በአሽ[]ላ፡ውሀ፡ወእንጦጦ ፡እምአባ፡ኤልያስ፡ወዕረ[]ቱ፡፡; f.
 33v -f. 33r.
²⁹⁰ ኢ.ሜ፡፡;f. 33r.
²⁹¹ እንኻራ፡፡;f. 33r.
²⁹² ዓመተ፡ከዊኖ፡ኖኃ፡፡; f. 33r.
²⁹³ ወጢሞቲዎስ፡ጸሐፍተ፡አዕጋረ፡ክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡፡; f. 33r.
²⁹⁴ ወጸሐፍት፡፡;f. 33r.

f. 52ra:

ስብሐት ፡ለአብ ፡ወወልድ ፡ወመንፈስ ፡
 ቅዱስ ፡ዘአፈጸሙን ፡በዳኅና ፡ዘንተ ፡
 መጽሐፈ ፡ዜና። ዘሎሙ፡ ስብሐት²⁹⁵ ፡
 ወምልክና ፡እስከ ፡ለዓለም ፡ዓለም ፡አሜን
 ፡ወአሜን ፡ለይኩን፤ ለይኩን፤²⁹⁶ አ
 እግዚአ ፡አምላክ ፡አገያ ፡ዕቀቦ ፡እምነ ፡
 መከራሁ።²⁹⁷ ለዲያብሎስ፡ ጉጎልያ።
 ለአቡነ፡ [ሰላማ፡ ሣልሣዊ፡]፡ ለዓለመ፡
 ዓለም፡ አሜን ፡:.....:.....:

f. 52rb

በስመ ፡አብ ፡ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ
 ፡፩ አምላክ፡ ንዌጥን፡ በረድኤተ ፡
 እግዚአብሔር ፡ጽሐፈ ፡ዜናሁ ፡ለቅዱስ፡
 ወብፁዕ፡ኤልያስ²⁹⁸፡ዘተረከበ፤ እመጽሐፈ
 ፡ታሪክ ፡ዘንጉሥ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡
 ወእምድኅረ፡ ዘመን፡ ሐመድ²⁹⁹ ፡
 በ፻ወ፮³⁰⁰ ፡ ዓመት ፡ይትነሣእ ፡ንጉሥ ፡
 ዘስሙ፡ ገ፡ኪ፡ እምሀገረ ፡ደ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡
 አ፡ፈ፡ቋ፡

²⁹⁵ ዜና፡ገድሱሙ፡ስብሐት፡; MAM; f. 34v.
²⁹⁶ ወአሜን፡ለይኩን፡;f. 34v.
²⁹⁷ ዕቀብነ፡እመከራሁ፡;f. 34v.
²⁹⁸ አባ፡ኤልያስ፡;f. 34v.
²⁹⁹ ዘመን፡ሐመድ፡;f. 34v.
³⁰⁰ በ፻ወ፮፡ዓመት፡; f. 34r.

f. 53va

ወእምቅድመ ፡መዋዕለ ፡ዝንጉሥ ፡
 ይወፅእ ፡እመንበረ ፡ማርቆስ ፡ዘስሙ ፡
 እ፡ ወየሐውር ፡እ[]ንድርያ ፡ምስለ³⁰¹ ፡
 ውእቱ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ንበ ፡ደብረ ፡ሊባኖስ
 ፡ወየሐውር፡ ፫ ዕለታተ፡³⁰² እንዘ ፡ይገብር
 ፡ግብረ፡ ክህነት ፡ወትትቄደስ ፡ደብረ ፡
 ሊባኖስ፡ በስብራቱ፡፡ ባሕቱ ፡አኮ ፡ደብረ ፡
 ሊባኖስ ፡ ርኩስት ፡አላ ፡ርኩሳን፡፡

f. 53vb

እለ፡ ይነብሩ³⁰³፡ ባቲ ፡በዘመነ ፡
 አረማውያን፡ እንዘ፡ ይገብሩ³⁰⁴ ፡እለ ፡
 ይሰትዩ፡ ዕፁ፡ ሰጠጢራ፡ ርኩስት³⁰⁵፡
 ዕፁ፡፡ ወይዘፍነ፡ በትርሲተ፡ ኩርባት³⁰⁶፡፡
 በእንተዝ ፡ይረኩሱ፡ እለ ፡ይነብሩ ፡ዲበ³⁰⁷
 ፡ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ቅድስት ፡ይእቲ ፡እንተ፡
 ተቀደሰት ፡ በነሶሰወ³⁰⁸ ፡እገሪሁ ፡ወበቃለ
 ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ወበስነ፡ ተጋድሎቱ፡ ወበስምዓ፡
 ሃይማኖቱ³⁰⁹፡፡

f. 53ra

ወበዓፅመ ፡ሥጋሁ ፡ቅዱስ ፡ዘተቀብረ ፡
 ባቲ ፡ለአብ ፡ቅዱስ ፡ወብፁዕ ፡አባ ፡ተክለ፡

³⁰¹ ወየሐውር፡ምስለ፡; MAM; f. 34r.
³⁰² ወየኃድር፡፫፡ዕለታት፡;f. 34r.
³⁰³ ዘይነብሩ፡;f. 34r.
³⁰⁴ ይገብሩ፡ግብረ፡አረማ፡;f. 34r.
³⁰⁵ ርኩስ፡ዕፁ፡;f. 34r.
³⁰⁶ ኩርባት፡ ;f. 34r.
³⁰⁷ ባቲ፡; f. 35v.
³⁰⁸ በኖሶሰወ፡ f. 35v.
³⁰⁹ ወበስምዓ፡ተጋድሎቱ፡ወበእጽሙ፡;f. 35v.

ሃይማኖት ፡ ሐዲስ ፡ ሐዋርያ ፡ ከመ ፡
 ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ ወበመዋዕለ ፡
 ውእቱ ፡ ንጉሥ ³¹⁰ ፡ አሜሃ ፡ ይጌወው ፡
 ሰብአ፡ ሸዋ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ወልደ ፡ መስፍኖሙ ፡
 ፡ እገለ ፡ አንበሳ፡፡ ወየሐውሩ ፡ በምሕርካ
 ፡ ኅበ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ጨ፡ ይነብራ፡፡

f. 53rb

ወእምዝ ፡ በ፲ ዓመት፡ ይትመየጡ ፡
 እምሀገረ ፡ ጼዋሆሙ ፡ ጨ፡ ይነብሩ፡፡
 ወእምዝ ፡ በምስለ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወልደ ፡
 መስፍኖሙ፡³¹¹ ፡ ኅዳጣን ፡ ሰብእ ፡
 እምሕርካ፡ ዘነበሩ ፡ በሀገር፡³¹² ወይበውኡ
 ፡ በዳኅና ፡ በበሐውርቲሆሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡
 ሀገረ ፡ ሸዋ፡፡ ወበ፫ ፡ ዓመት ፡ እምድኅረ ፡
 ተመይጦቶሙ ፡ በጼዋዌ³¹³ ፡ አመ ፡ ፯ ፡
 ለኅዳር፡

f. 54va

በሠርክ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ሠሉስ ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡
 ትዕምርተ ፡ ከዋክብት ፡ እምጽንፈ ፡ ዓለም፡
 እስከ ፡ አጽናፈ ፡ ዓለም፡፡ ወበይእቲ ፡
 ሌሊት³¹⁴ ፡ ለጸቢሐ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ረቡዕ ፡
 ይሠርቅ፡ ዓቢይ ፡ ኮከብ ፡ ዘዲበ³¹⁵ ፡ ርእሱ፡

³¹⁰ ወበመዋዕሊሁ፡ንጉሥ፡; MAM;f. 35v.
³¹¹ እምሀገረ፡ጼዋሆሙ፡ጨ፡ምስለ፡መስፍኖሙ፡;f. 35v.
³¹² ሀገር፡ዘነበሩ፡ባቲ፡;f. 35r.
³¹³ እምጼዋዌ፡;f. 35r.
³¹⁴ እምጽንፈ፡ዓለም፡፡ወበይእቲ፡ዕለት፡;f. 35r.
³¹⁵ ኮከብ፡ወቦ፡ዲበ፡;f. 35r.

ከመዝ፡ ትዕምርተ፡መስቀል፡፡
 ወይእተ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ይመውት ፡ አባ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡
 ባሕታዊ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እሌኒ ፡ እግዝእት³¹⁶
 ፡ ክብርት፡ እኅተ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘርዓ ፡ ያዕቆብ፡

f. 54vb

ዘነበረ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የአጥና ፡ ለታቦተ ፡ በዓለ ፡
 ልደታ ፡ ለእግዝእትነ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ወላዲተ፡
 አምላክ ፡ ዘኮነት ፡ ሥውርተ ፡ ውስተ ፡
 ደብረ ፡ እንጦ[ጦ] ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡ አምባ ፡
 ማርያም ፡ ወለታቦትኒ ፡ ዘነበረት³¹⁷
 ፡ ውስተ፡ አደ ፡ ሸዋ ፡ ዘደብረ ፡ አርብሃ³¹⁸ ፡
 ወአጽብሐ፡፡ ወለካልዕታ ፡ ታቦት ፡ ዘዘርዓ
 ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ ዘአደ ፡ ሸዋ ፡ ወሣልስታ³¹⁹ ፡
 ዘናዖድ ፡ ዘነበረት ፡ ሣያ፡፡

f. 54ra

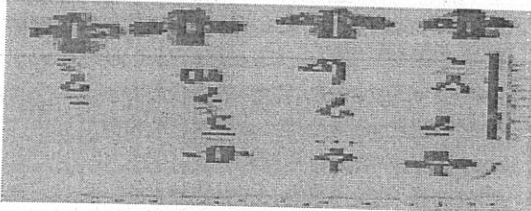
እለ ፡ ኮና ፡ ሥውራተ³²⁰ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ ዝከ፡
 ንጉሠ³²¹ ፡ ተንባላት ፡ ፀርክ ፡ ወእምድኅረ ፡
 ዝኒ ፡ ነገር ፡ ድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ አባ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡
 አልቦሙ ፡ ኃይል ፡ ወምኩናን ፡
 ለአረማውያን፡፡ ወለነግሥተ ፡ ተንባላት፡፡
 እስመ ፡ ይነግሥ ፡ እምዘርዓ ፡ ውሉድክ ፡
 ዓቢይ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘተብህለ ፡ በድርሳነ ፡ እመ
 ፡ ቃል ፡

³¹⁶ ንግሥት፡; MAM; f. 35r.
³¹⁷ ዘ[]በረት፡; f. 36v.
³¹⁸ አብርሃ፡;f. 36v.
³¹⁹ ወላሣልስታ፡;f. 36v.
³²⁰ ሥውርት፡;f. 36v.
³²¹ ንጉሥ፡;f. 36v.

f. 54rb

ወበመጽሐፈ :ተአምራሃ³²² :ወበመጽሐፈ
 : ምሥጢር :ዘጸሐፎ :አባ :በጸሎተ :
 ሚካኤል :ወበመጽሐፈ :ያዕቆባዊ :
 ዘይሰመይ³²³ :ርቱዓ :ሃይማኖት :ወበ፱ :
 እምድሃረ :ሠረቀ : :ዝንቱ :ኮከብ :
 ዘቦ :በርእሱ :ትእምርተ :መስቀል :
 ከመዝ : :ወይሠርቁ :፪
 ከዋክብት :ዘቦ :ላዕሌሆሙ :ትዕምርተ :
 መስቀል :ወፊደል:³²⁴ ❖ ❖

f. 55va



ወይቀውም: ውስተ :አንጻረ :መቃብሪሁ:
 ለአባ :ተክለ :ሃይማኖት³²⁵ :ብርሀነ
 :ኩሱ : ደወለ :ኢትዮጵያ :ዘአውክያ³²⁶ :
 በስነ : ስብከቱ :ጥዕምት :ወርትዕት::
 ወእምዝ: በ፲ወ፱: ለወርኃ: ሰኔ:³²⁷

³²² ተአምራቲሃ; MAM; f. 36v.

³²³ ዘይሰ[የ]ምይ; f. 36r.

³²⁴ f. 36r :

፯	፱	፯	፱
፯	፱	፯	፱

³²⁵ :ለአባ:ኤልያስ; f. 36r.

³²⁶ አወክያ;f. 36r.

³²⁷ በወርኃ:ሰኔ;f. 36r.

f. 55vb

ወይከውን³²⁸: ዕለተ: ሥርቀቶሙ:
 ለእሉ³²⁹: ከዋክብት:: ወእምድሃረ :ኮነ :
 ዝንቱ: ነገረ: ትእምርተ: ከዋክብት³³⁰ :
 በቀዳሚ: ወርኅ: ይትራከቡ³³¹: ፪ :
 ነገሥት :ውስተ : መርኅባ :ለደብረ :
 ሊባኖስ :ኅብ :አንጻር: ደብረ :ጽጌ :
 በመርኅባ: ዘኅቡዕ:³³² ውስቴታ: አዕመ:
 ቅዱስ: ተክለ: ሃይማኖት:³³³

f. 55ra

ወበውእቱ: መዋዕል: ይመጽኡ: ኅቡዓን:
 ውሉዱ :እምደቂቀ :ዜና :ማርቆስ :
 ዘሀለው: ስውራን: ውስተ:³³⁴ ገዳመ:
 ደንስ: ወዕብስቆት³³⁵: ወደብረ: የሻ :
 ወዘደብረ: ገደራች³³⁶: ወዘሀገረ :ኤፍራታ::
 ወዘኃቅለ: ታች :ነጋሽ :ወላዕለ :ምድረ :
 ነጋሽ: ወዘምድረ: ምሑር:: እምደቂቀ:
 አባ: ሳሙኤል: ዘወገግ: እም: አደ: ሸዋ :
 ወዘደብረ: አስቦት :

³²⁸ ይከውን; MAM; f. 36r.

³²⁹ ለእሙንቱ;f. 37v.

³³⁰ ዝንቱ:ነገር:ከዋክብት;f. 37v.

³³¹ ይትራከቡ;f. 37v.

³³² ደብረ:ጽጌ:ዘኅቡዕ; f. 37v.

³³³ አጽመ:አብ:ቅዱስ:አቡነ:ተክለ:ሃይማኖት;f. 37v.

³³⁴ ዘሀለው:ውስተ:ገዳመ;f. 37v.

³³⁵ ወብስቆት; f. 37v.

³³⁶ ወዘገደራች;f. 37v.

f. 55rb

ወእነደሙ፡ ቃል፡ ወዘሀገረ፡ የረር፡ ሀገረ፡
 ወይቱ፡፡³³⁷ ወእም፡ደቂቀ፡ አባ፡ ቀውሰጦስኒ
 ፡እምደብረ፡ ፈታሊ፡ ወቸፋይ፡ ወደብረ ፬
 እንሰሳ፡ ወእምደቂቀ፡ ፊልጶስኒ³³⁸፡
 እምደብረ፡ ዕንቀ፡ ያክገት፡፡ ወድኒን ፡
 ወገዳመ፡ አስቦ፡ ወበዓተ፡ ኤላም ፡
 ወእምደቂቀ፡ አባ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ እምድብኮ ፡
 ወዘአባ፡ ፊቅጦ[C]፡ እምቢባ፤ ወደብረ ፡
 ዲባ³³⁹፡

f. 56va

ወዘአባ ፡ተክለ ፡ሐዋርያትኒ³⁴⁰ ፡
 እምገበርማ ፡ ወዘወጃ ፡ወዘገዳመ ፡ቸር ፡
 ጉሮ፡ እምደቂቀ³⁴¹ ፡አባ ፡በኪሞስ ፡
 ዘሽማ³⁴²፡ እምሀገረ ፡ማርያም ፡ወምድረ፡
 ካልአት፡ እምቤተ ፡ማርያም ፡ወዘደብረ³⁴³
 ፡መድኃኒት፡ ወዘደብረ፡ሣህል፡እምደቂቀ³⁴⁴
 አባ፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያ[ት?]³⁴⁵፡ እምደብረ
 ሐንታ፡ ወምስዓለ፡ ማርያም፡ ወመቅደሱ፡
 ድንግል፡ ወአካ ፡ ወደብረ ፡መስቀል፤

³³⁷ :ወሀገረ፡[]ይቱ፡; MAM; f. 37r.
³³⁸ አባ፡ፊሊጶስኒ፡;f. 37r.
³³⁹ ወደብረ፡ዲባ፡;f. 37r.
³⁴⁰ ተክለ፡ ሐዋርያት፡; f. 37r.
³⁴¹ ወደቂቀ፡;f. 37r.
³⁴² ዘሽማ፡;f. 37r.
³⁴³ ወደብረ፡; f. 37r.
³⁴⁴ ወደብረ፡ሣህል፡ወእምደቂቀ፡;f. 38v.
³⁴⁵ ወእምደብረ፡;f. 38v.

f. 56vb

እምደቂቀ³⁴⁶፡ አባ፡ሠረቀ፡ ብርሃን ፡
 ዘገዳመ፡ ጦሐ፡ ወዘጉዘት፡ እምደቂቀ፡³⁴⁷
 አባ፡ ሳሙኤል³⁴⁸፡ዘሀገረ ፡ሙጃ ፡ወዘገብ፡
 እንባ፡ሀገረ፡³⁴⁹ አምሐራ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡
 ኢያሩሳሌም ፡እምደቂቀ ፡አባ ፡አርዕዮን ፡
 ጸጋሁ፡ እምደብረ፡ ደዳ፡ ወጽንፈ፡ፈለገ፡³⁵⁰
 በሽሎ፡ ወእምደቂቀ፡ አባ፡ ናታንሂ ፡
 እምሀገረ፡ አጋኝ፡³⁵¹፡፡

f. 56ra

ወዓዲ ፡ኪዳነ ፡ምሕረት ፡ወጋይ ፡ወደብረ፡
 ዳንጨት ፡ወእምደቂቀ ፡አባ ፡ዮሐንስ ፡
 ዘደብረ ፡ኤጎራ ፡እምገዳመ ፡በዘ ፡ወኃዘሎ፡
 ወእምገዳመ፡³⁵² ገሮ፡ ወእምደቂቀ ፡አባ ፡
 በትረ፡ ማርያም፡ እምደሴታዊት³⁵³ ፡
 ወአባይ፡ ወሳፍጂ፡፡ ወእምደቂቀ ፡አባ ፡
 ዘሩፋኤልኒ ፡ዘገዳመ ፡ዋሊ ፡ወዘደብረ ፡
 ዓባይ፡ ወዘእምደብረ፡ አብረንታት፡፡³⁵⁴

³⁴⁶ ወእምደቂቀ፡; MAM; f. 38v.
³⁴⁷ ዘገዳመ፡ጦሀ፡ወዘጉዘት፡ወእምደቂቀ፡;f. 38v.
³⁴⁸ አባ፡ሰላማ፡;f. 38v.
³⁴⁹ አምባ፡ዘሀገረ፡;f. 38v.
³⁵⁰ ወፈለገ፡ጽንፈ፡;f. 38v.
³⁵¹ አጋኝ፡;f. 38v.
³⁵² ወዘእምገዳመ፡; f. 38r.
³⁵³ አባ፡በትረ፡እምደሴትአዊት፡;f. 38r.
³⁵⁴ ወዘእምገዳመ፡አብረንታት፡; f. 38r.

f. 56rb

ወእምደብረ: አባ:ቴዎድሮስ:³⁵⁵ ዘገዳመ :
ሲሐት: ወዓዲ: አባ: ዳንኤል: ወአብይ :
ወስልዋ: ወደብረ: ያፍላ: ወዘሂላ: ወጃን:
አሞራ:: ወእምደቂቀ :አባ :ዮሴፍኒ :
ዘሀገረ: ሮሐ: ወእንድርያስ: ዘእንጎት :
ወእንድርያስ :ዘእፍራዝ :ወዘቀጦራራ :
ወዘገብረ:³⁵⁶ ኢየሱስ :ዘታሕት :እፍራዝ:

f. 57va

ወቀላላ :ወአባ :ኢያሱ:³⁵⁷ ዘገዳመ : ሳይክ:
ወጋዳን፤ ወአባ: ብንያም : ዘታሕታይ :
በንምድረ :ወአባ:አሮን:³⁵⁸ ወአባ :ተጠምቀ :
መድኅን :ዘበጌዳ፤ ወእም :ደቂቀ :አባ:
አኖሬዎስ :ዘገዳመ: ሱጋ: ወግሼቅ: ወላዕላይ
:ምድረ :ጎጃም: ወጽጋጅ: ወእምደቂቀ :አባ:
ኢየሱያስ³⁵⁹: ዘወሽራ:: ወአባ: ሙሴ:³⁶⁰
ዘወገራ:

f. 57vb

ወእምደቂቀ :አባ :በጸሎተ :ሚካኤል :
ዘጋስጫ: ወዘገዳመ: አባሎ፤ ወሕንፃ :
ማርያም :ወኮሎ :ወእምደቂቀ: አባ: ኢየሱስ
:ሞዓኒ:³⁶¹ ደብረ :ማርያም : ወእስጢፋኖስ:

³⁵⁵ ወእምደቂቀ:አባ:ቴዎድሮስ:; MAM; f. 38r.
³⁵⁶ ወዘቀጦራራ:ወገብረ:;f. 38r.
³⁵⁷ ወቀላላ:; ወአባ:ኢየሱስ:;f. 38r.
³⁵⁸ ወአባ:አሮን:ዘደራት:;f. 38r.
³⁵⁹ አባ:ኢየሱስ:; f. 39v.
³⁶⁰ ወአባ:ሙሴ:ወእምደቂቀ:;f. 39v.
³⁶¹ ወኮሎ:እምደቂቀ:ኢየሱስ:ሞዓኒ:;f. 39v.

እምደሴተ:ጸጋ: እምደቂቀ³⁶²: አባ: ዮሐንስኒ:
ወአባ: ፊሊጳስ:³⁶³ ዘደብረ: ቢዘን :ወደቂቀ :
አግናጥዮስኒ:³⁶⁴ ዘሀገረ : ሐውዜን:

f. 57ra

ምስለ :ደቂቀ :ማይ :አንበሳ :ወአንቤን :
የኃብሩ :መነኮሳት :ዘደብረ :ሃሌሱያ :
ወየሐውሩ: ሀገረ: ሸዋ:³⁶⁵ ወይትዋሥኡ :
በሃይማኖት:: ዘነበረት :በዘመነ :አበዊክ:
ነገሥተ :ጽድቅ :ዘርዓ :ያዕቆብ :ወናገድ:
ወተረትዕ :ሃይማኖተ :እስክንድርያ :
ርትዕት:: ወትኩስዕ :ሃይማኖተ:ሮሜ:³⁶⁶
ርኩስት::

f. 57rb

ባሕቱ: ይትነሣእ :፩ጊዜ: ጸብአ :
ሃይማኖት :በንስቲተ :ነገረ :ሐሰት::
ወበኅዳጥ :መዋዕል :በእንተዝ :ይወፅዕ :
በ፪ ዓመት :እምድኅረ :ተንሥኦ :ጸብዓ :
ሃይማኖት :ጳጳስ :ርቱ :ዘስሙ :በዕግረ :
ፀሐይ³⁶⁷::ዘሀሎ:ጽሑፈ:ስመ :ትእምርቱ:
ኅቱመ: በመጽሐፈ: ቀለሜንጦስ::
[]እመንበረ:ማርቆስ:³⁶⁸[]

³⁶² ወእምደቂቀ:; MAM; f. 39v.
³⁶³ ወፊሊጳስ:;f. 39v.
³⁶⁴ አባ:አግናጥዮስኒ:;f. 39v.
³⁶⁵ በሀገረ:ሸዋ:;f. 39v.
³⁶⁶ ሃይማኖተ:ሮም:;f. 39r.
³⁶⁷ እግረ:ፀሐይ:; f. 39r.
³⁶⁸ እመ[]በረ:ማርቆስ: ;f. 39r.

f. 58va

ወያፈልስ³⁶⁹ :ዓዕመ :ሥጋሁ :ቅዱስ :
 ለአቡነ: ተክለ: ሃይማኖት:³⁷⁰ ምስለ: ፪
 ነገሥት :ደቂቀ :ነጋሢ :ዘአንበሳ :ስመ :
 ፩ዕ :ወካልዑ :መተ:ወ:³⁷¹ ዘውእቱ: ፍ:
 እስክንድርያ³⁷²:: ወዘውእቱ :መዋዕል :
 ይትመውዑ :ሰብእ :ተንባላት :ወአረሚ:
 በእደ :ውእቱ :ንጉሥ :ዘስሙ: ዕ:
 ዘይትወለድ :እምደቂቀ³⁷³ :ያዕቆብ :
 ወሚናስ : ውሉድከ³⁷⁴::

f. 58vb

ወበይእቲ: ዕለት: ወዘመን:³⁷⁵ ይትወለድ
 : ሕፃን :ዓቢይ: ዘይነግሥ :ለኩሉ :
 ዓለም: እምወለተ: ነገሥተ:ክርስቲያን::
 ወሰብእ: ጥቋቀር :እምውእቱ :ንጉሥ :
 ዘስሙ: ወልደ :ነጋሢ:: ዘአንበሳ: ዕ::
 እስመ : ውእቱ :ሕፃን :ወልደ :ንጉሥ:
 ዕ: ዓቢይ:³⁷⁶ ውእቱ :ወነገሩይ :እማነጸነ :
 እሙ: በስዕለተ :እግዝእትነ :ማርያም:

f. 58ra

ወላዲተ :አምላክ :ይዘንም :ጠለ :ቅብዕ :
 ወሐረገ :ወይን :ይሁብ :ፍሬ :በጃ ዕለት
 :እምዘተወልደ :ከመ :ዕለተ :ተወልደ :

³⁶⁹ ወያፈልስ; MAM; f. 39r.
³⁷⁰ ቅዱስ:ተክለ:ሃይማኖት::f. 39r.
³⁷¹ ወ፤መ፤ተ፤;f. 40v.
³⁷² እስክ[]ድርያ: ;f. 40v.
³⁷³ ወአሜሃ:እምደቂቀ::f. 40v.
³⁷⁴ ወውሉድከ::f. 40v.
³⁷⁵ ወአሜሃ:በይእቲ:ዘመን::f. 40v.
³⁷⁶ ንጉሥ:[]:ዐቢይ::f. 40v.

እሁብ:አመጂ:ለወርጋ:ጥር:: ወአስተርአዮ:
 ፍሬሁ: በወርጋ³⁷⁷: ዮካቲት :ወውእቱ
 :ሕፃን:ንጉሥ: ይነግሥ :በዓደ :ሸዋ::
 በዕለት:ነግሠ:³⁷⁸ ቦቱ :ዘርዓ : ያዕቆብ :
 ወይከውን: ንጉሠ:³⁷⁹ ጽድቅ::

f. 58rb

ወኢይትረከብ :በመዋዕለ :መንግሥቱ :
 ንጉሠ :ተንባላት :ወአረማውያን :በሀገረ
 :ኢትዮጵያ :ወእስክንድርያ:³⁸⁰ ወይኳንን:
 ኩሉ: ዓለመ: እስከ: ትውልደ :
 ትውልድ:: ወእምትውልደ: አንበሳ:³⁸¹
 ይትነሣእ:ንጉሥ: ዘስሙ:ቴ:³⁸²ዘተብሀለ:
 በመጽሐፈ:: ገድለ :ፊቅጦር :ሰማዕት :
 ወልደ :ማርታ :በዕዕት::

f. 59va

ወመጽሐፈ :ቀሌሜንጦስ :ወድርሳነ :
 ዑራኤል :ሲቀ :መላእክት :ወልደ :
 ውሉደ :ውእቱ :ንጉሥ: ዕ: ውእቱ :
 ዝንቱ :ንጉሠ: ቴደ:³⁸³ ትውልደ :አንበሳ :
 ዘይትብሀል :ያዕቆብ :ውእቱ :ወልደ :
 ወልዱ :ለናፖድ :ንጉሠ :ኢትዮጵያ :
 ርቱዓ :ሃይማኖት :መፍቀሬ:³⁸⁴
 እግዝእትነ : ማርያም: ወላዲተ: አምላክ :

³⁷⁷ ለወርጋ:MAM; f. 40r.
³⁷⁸ በዕለተ:ንግሥ::f. 40r.
³⁷⁹ ወይከውን:ንጉሥ:ወኢይትረከብ::f. 40r.
³⁸⁰ በሀገረ:ኢትዮጵያ:ወእስክ[]ድርያ: ;f. 40r.
³⁸¹ ወእምቅድመ:አንበሳ::f. 40r.
³⁸² ዘስሙ: ቴዎድሮስ::f. 40r.
³⁸³ ንጉሥ:ቴዳ::f. 41v.
³⁸⁴ ፍቁረ; f. 41v.

ዘምስለ ፡ አበዊሁ፡ቅዱሳን ፡ነገሥት ፡
በአደ፡ ማርያም ፡

f. 59vb

ወዘርዓ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ ወአቡሁ ፡ ንዋየ ፡
ማርያም ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ስመ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡
ዳግማዊ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ዘነሥአ ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ እም ፡
ኅበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይጥፋዕ ፡
ንጉሠ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ዘሀገረ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡፡
በሰለተ፡³⁸⁵ እግዝእትነ ፡ ማርያም ፡ እሙ
፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ቃለ ፡
እግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላክነ ፡ ብርሃነ ፡
ሕይወት፡፡

f. 59ra

ወይቤ ፡ ንጉሥነ ፡ ልብነ ፡ ድንግል ፡
በመጽሐፈ፡ ታሪክ፡³⁸⁶ ዘነገሥት፡፡ ኦ
ደቂቀ፡ ካህናት ፡ ዘአደ ፡ ሸዋ ፡ ወደብረ
፡ ብስራት፡ ወዘደብረ፡ መድኃኒት ፡ ወዘደብረ
፡ እለ፡ ገር[ም]በር፡³⁸⁷ ወአስቦት፡ ውሉደ ፡
አባ ፡ ዜና ፡ ማርቆስ፡፡ ወአባ ፡ ሳሙኤልነ ፡
ዘወገግ ፡ ወዘሳሙኤል ፡ ዘገዳመ ፡ ዋሊ ፡
ወዘደብረ፡ ዓባይ፡ ወዘደቂቀ፡ አባ ፡
ሳሙኤል ፡ ዘገ[በ]ርማ፡³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ በዕለተ፡ዕለተ፡እግዝእትነ፡ MAM; f. 41v.
³⁸⁶ በመጽሐፈ፡ዝኩ፡ታሪክ፡ ;f. 41r.
³⁸⁷ ወዘደብረ፡ገር[]በር፡ ; f. 41r.
³⁸⁸ ወደቂቀ፡አባ፡ሳሙኤል፡ዘገበርማ፡ ; f. 41r.

f. 59rb

ወአባ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ዘብሔረ ፡ ሸግላ ፡
ወመልክ ፡ ጼዴቅ ፡ ወሀብተ ፡ ማርያም ፡
ወልዱ፡ ወገብረ፡ ማርያምነ፡ ወአባ፡³⁸⁹
ታዴዎስ፡ አኃዊሁ፡ በምንኩስና፡
ወበጽንዓ፡³⁹⁰ ሃይማኖት፡ ስምዑኒ፡፡
ተዓቀቡ፡ እምሕላዌ ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ ፡
ለሰብአ፡ አፍርንጊ፡ ወሮሜ፡፡ እለ ፡
ይብሉ፡ መለኮት፡ ይገብር፡ ግብረ፡
መለኮት፡ ወትስብዕት፡ ይገብር፡ ግብረ፡
ትስብዕት፡³⁹¹

f. 60va

ወእምግብረ³⁹²፡ ደቂቆሙ፡ ለውሉደ ፡
እስጢፋ፡ ወለደቂቀ፡ ዕውር፡ ገማልያል ፡
እለ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ኢንሰግድ ፡ ለመስቀለ ፡
ክርስቶስ፡ ወለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም ፡
ወእምደቂቀ፡ ዘሚካኤል፡ ወእንበረኝ³⁹³ ፡
ወዘጊዮርጊስ ፡ ሮማዊ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ አልቦ ፡
ንስሐ ፡ እምኃጢአት፡ ወመጽሐፈ፡ ቀኖና፡
ወተአምኖ፡ በመላእክት፡ ብርሃን ፡
ወበታቦተ፡ ማርያም፡

³⁸⁹ ወልዱ፡ለገብረ፡[]፡ወአባ፡ MAM; f. 41r.
³⁹⁰ ወጽንዓ፡ሃይማኖት፡;f. 41r.
³⁹¹ ግብረ፡መለኮት፡ወግብረ፡መ፡ ክርስቶስነ፡ይገብር፡
ትስብእት፡ ;f. 42v.
³⁹² ወእምግብረ፡;f. 42v.
³⁹³ ፡ወእንበ[]ኝ፡ ; f. 42v.

f. 60vb

ወበስዕለተ³⁹⁴፡ ሰማዕታት ፡ ወበመላእክት፡
 ወበስዕለተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡³⁹⁵ ማርያም ፡
 ኢንሰግድ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ሥዕለ፡ ኣብ ፡
 ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ ፡
 ወኢትተሐወሱ፡ ምስለ፡ ደቂቀ ፡
 ክርስቲያን³⁹⁶፡ እስመ፡ ይቤሱ፡ ይደልወነ
 ፡ተራክቦ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አንስተ ፡ አጋዊነ ፡
 ለአቅሞ ፡ ዘርእ ፡ በከመ ፡ ሕገ ፡ ብሊት ፡
 ሐዲጎመ፡ ሕገ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ዘተሰርዓ፡
 በመጽሐፈ፡ ሲኖዶስ፡፡

f. 60ra

ወተዓቀቡ፡ እምካህናተ፡ አጃሚን ፡ እለ፡
 ይሥዕርዋ፡ ለቀዳሚት፡ ሰንበት³⁹⁷ ፡
 በምክንያተ፡ ቃሉ ፡ ለመጽሐፈ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡
 ዘፍትሕ ፡ ኢትጠናቀቁ ፡ ሰንበተ ፡ ከመ ፡
 አይሁድ ፡ እስመ ፡ አክበርዋ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡
 በመጽሐፈ ፡ አብጥሊስ ፡ በጳውሎስ ፡ አንቀጽ፡
 በቃለ ፡ ትዕዛዞሙ ፡ ህልው ፡

f. 60rb

ውእቱ ፡ አክብሮታ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሰንበተ ፡
 ክርስቲያን ፡ በመዋዕለ³⁹⁸ ፡ አረማውያን ፡
 ወተንባላት ፡ እስከ ፡ ፪፻፵፯ ፡ ዓመት ፡
 ይትገብር፡ ግብረ፡ አረሚ፡ ወዘማዊ ፡

³⁹⁴ ወበስእተ፡; MAM; f. 42v.
³⁹⁵ ወመላዕክት፡ወበስዕለ፡እግዝእትነ፡;f. 42v.
³⁹⁶ ዘክርስቶስ፡;f. 42v.
³⁹⁷ ለሰንበተ፡ቀዳሚት፡ ;f. 42r.
³⁹⁸ በመዋዕለተ፡;f. 42r.

ወበትርሢተ ፡ ኩርበት ፡ ይሰትዩ ፡ ዕፀ ፡
 ሰጠጢራ፡፡ ወበ፪፻፵፯፡ ዓመት፡ ይነግሥ፡
 ለክሙ፡ ውእቱ፡ ነጋሢ፡³⁹⁹ ዘስሙ፡ ዕ፡
 አሜሃ፡ ተጋደሉ፡ በሃይማኖተ ፡ ርትዕት ፡
 ዘሀገረ፡እስክንድርያ፡ ወተዓቀቡ፡ እምስታዮ
 ፡ዝኩ ፡ ዕዕ፡፡

f. 61va

ወእመ፡ ተአቀብክሙ፡ እምዝኩሉ⁴⁰⁰ ፡
 ነገር፡ ትድገኑ፡ ወእምኩሉ፡ ሕማመ፡⁴⁰¹
 መቅሠፍት፡ ዘተእዘዘ፡ በመዋዕሊሆ፡
 እኩይ፡⁴⁰² ዘኮነ ፡ በኃጢአትዮ፡ ወባሕቱ፡
 ያነግሥ⁴⁰³፡ ለክሙ፡ ዘእምዘርዓ⁴⁰⁴፡ ዚአዮ
 ፡ሃህላዊ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወትመውዑ፡ ፀረክሙ፡
 በጸሎታ፡ለእግዝእትነ፡ማርያም፡መፍቀሪተ፡
 አቡዮ፡ ናዖድ፡፡

f. 61vb

ወለእመ፡ ኢዓቀብክሙ፡ ትዕዛዘ ፡
 አበዊክሙ፡ ያዕቆባውያን፡ ትመውቱ ፡
 በኃጢአትክሙ፡ ወትወርዱ፡፡ ውስተ ፡
 ሲኦል፡ ከመ፡ አርሲላን፡ ወሰብእ⁴⁰⁵ ፡
 አፍርንጊ፡ ወይመትር፡ እደዊክሙ ፡

³⁹⁹ ውእቱ፡ንጉሥ፡; MAM; f. 42r.
⁴⁰⁰ እምኩሉ፡ዝነገር፡; f. 43v.
⁴⁰¹ እምሕማመ፡;f. 43v.
⁴⁰² ዘተእዘዘ፡በመዋዕለ፡ዚአዮ፡ዕኩይ፡;f. 43v.
⁴⁰³ ወባሕቱ፡ይነግሥ፡;f. 43v.
⁴⁰⁴ እምዘርዓ፡;f. 43v.
⁴⁰⁵ ወበ፡ወሰብእ፡ ;f. 43v.

ወእገሪክመ፡ በንስቲት፡⁴⁰⁶ ነገር፡ ውእቱ፡
 ንጉሥ ፡ወልደ ፡ወልድዮ ፡ዘይከውን፡፡
 ወጸሐፍነ ፡ዘንተ ፡መጽሐፈ ፡ታሪክ ፡
 ንሕነ ፡ጸሐፍተ ፡ትእዛዝ፡ ወምሥጢር፡

f. 61ra

ዘነገሥተ ፡ጽድቅ ፡ሠርፀ ፡ድንግል ፡
 ወዘድንግል፡፡ ወአንበርኖ፡ ውስተ ፡
 መዝገብ፡ መጸሐፍት፡⁴⁰⁷ በደሴተ፡ ባሕረ ፡
 ጊደ፡⁴⁰⁸ ከመ ፡ይኩን ፡ስምዓ ፡ለደጋሪ⁴⁰⁹
 ፡ መዋዕል ፡ለውሉደ ፡ነገሥት ፡ተዓቅቦ፡፡

f. 61rb

ስብሐት፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክነ ፡
 ዘአፈጸመነ፡ በዳኅኖ፡ ወበሰላም፡፡⁴¹⁰
 ጸሎቱ፡ ወበረከቱ ፡ለአባ ፡ኤልያስ ፡የሀሉ፡
 ምስሉ፡ አቡነ፡ [ሰላማ ፡ሣልሣዊ፡]⁴¹¹
 ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡፡

⁴⁰⁶ በምክንያተ፡ንስቲተ፡፡; MAM; f. 43r.

⁴⁰⁷ ውስተ፡መጸሐፍት፡፡; f. 43r.

⁴⁰⁸ ባሕረ፡ዚደ፡፡;f. 43r.

⁴⁰⁹ በደጋሪ፡፡;f. 43r.

⁴¹⁰ ፡በሰላም፡ወበዳኅኖ፡፡;f. 43r.

⁴¹¹ የሀሉ፡ ምስሉ፡ገብሩ፡ወልደ፡መድኅን፡መሸሻ፡ወምስሉ፡
 ከ-ልነ፡ ሰማዕያን፡፡;f. 43r.

LISTS OF INFORMANTS

No.	Name and Title	Age	Place of Interviews
1	Ato Aseffa Tafese	66	ፀHNKM
2	M/ta Erqiyhun Muche	85	ፀHNKM
3	Abba G/Mariam Alemayehu	86	ፀHNKM
4	Q/G Abba G/ Mikael Abera	76	ፀHNKM
5	Bah. Abba G/Iyesus Mekonnen	71	ፀHNKM
6	Abba H/ Gebriel	75	ፀHNKM
7	Bahetawi H/Sellase	71	ፀHNKM
8	Memre Lissanu Wondimu	80	ፀHNKM
9	Ato Mulugeta Betizazu	48	ፀHNKM
10	Merigeta Neqatibeb Leggese	70	ፀHNKM
11	Qes Shewaye Deneke	61	ፀHNKM
12	Ato Taye Betizazu	66	ፀHNKM
13	Ato Tezera Worku	69	ፀHNKM
14	Sebate Betse'a Getahun	75	ፀHNKM
15	Abba W/Mika'el H/Mariam	80	ፀHNKM
16	Dn. Zenebe Berhanu	41	ፀHNKM
17	Ato Zenebe Berqneh	67	ፀHNKM
18	Abba Dabbe	64	ፀHNKM
19	Dn Estifanos Haile	33	ፀHNKM
20	Dn. Shimelis H/ Gebriel	35	ፀHNKM
21	Abba Berhane	72	QSC
22	Abba G/Mikael	68	QSC
23	Abba Neway	43	QSC
24	Liq.T. Abba G/Giorgis	44	QSC
25	Liq.S. Fekre H/Selasse	45	QSC
26	Dn. Negash G/Tsadik	42	QSC
27	Qes Negusse	54	QSC

28	Qes Maru	55	QSC
29	Ato Tesheberu	82	QSC
30	Ato Shiferaw	63	QSC
31	Ato Mengesha	65	QSC
32	Dn. Benyam Abreham	35	QSC
33	Dn. Solomon Mazengia	36	QSC
34	Qes Zelalem	40	QSC
35	Abba Germa	44	QSC
36	Liq. Mez. W/Mika'el H/Mariam	56	MAM
37	Liq.T.Yared Abebe	50	MAM
38	Abba Beselotu	70	MAM
39	Abba G/Egziabher	72	MAM
40	Dn. Dagnachew	37	MAM
41	Dn. Demeke	40	MAM
42	Ato Tibebu	65	MAM
43	Ato Kebede	70	MAM
44	Dn. Amare	30	MAM
45	Abba H/Mariam	58	MAM
46	Ema W/Mikael	50	MAM
47	Abba H/Gebriel	60	MAM
48	Ato Sirak	68	MAM
49	Qes Merawi	68	MAM
50	Qes Yitbarek	70	MAM

Letter from Jerusalem

For those who are Great Elder Men and Women !

For those who are Small Brethren and Sisters !

For the previous time that called *Aškəllā* Monastery Däbrä Ənṭoṭo.

On the present time called *Hāmārā No'ah Kindānā Məhrät* Monastery Association and for lay men;

How are you from the day and time that which we leaved each other? I am fine Thanks to God.

I gladly for you that a great greeting thing ! The Hagiography [*Gädlä*] of Abbā Éləyās is found. Abbā Éləyās of *Aškəllā* is a son of Emperor Zär'a Yāq'ob's sister, Queen Ə'lléni.

He was a great scholar of Old Testament and New Testament; on the Council of Däbrä Bərḥān. He defend the Orthodox Church from the heresies, and he became victorious and [winner]. By this cause, Abbā Éləyās was chosen and appointed for a great position as a church leader. But, he rejected the appointment and went to *Aškəllā* Monastery, and he lived on it as a monastic and hermit life.

In this monastery he lived more than 200 years, and he deeds many miracles on it.

This monastery was established by King Abrəḥā and Aṣḥəḥā. You will find all of the history in this hagiographic [*Gädl*] written text. I asking you as a promise, that on every early morning after which you read the '*Miracle of Jesus*', please read [*Gädlä Éləyās*] it.

The Blessing of the righteous man can protect you; I asking that if you need to this unpublished text [*Gädlä Éləyās*], publish it. But if you are not publishing it, please copy the text by a good calligraphist.

Jerusalem, Miyāzyā 27, 1975 E.C.

Māmḥər Lā'kā Mārəyām Bərru

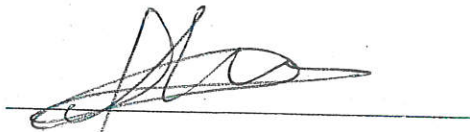
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Declaration

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

Name: DEREJE SAHILE WOLDEMARIAM

Signature:



Place: A.A.U

Date of Submission: November, 2008

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

Confirmed by the Advisor:

Paolo Marrassini (Prof.)

Signature: Paolo Marrassini

Date: Nov. 13, 2008.

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

I would ask you to fulfill this questionnaire form and return on time as soon as possible, please.

1) Do you know about Abbā Élayās was the Medieval centuries Ethiopian Saint?

Yes

No

2) Do you know about Gädlä Élayās found where it is?

Yes

No

3) His vita (Gädl) reading monthely or annually on your monastery?

Yes

No

4) Do you know about his monastery, lived as monastic life and his thought?

Yes

No

5) Do you know about his origin from the Royal and Levite (Priestly) family?

Yes

No



Thank you!!