

# The Textual Tradition of the Chronicle of John of Nikiu: Towards the Critical Edition of the Ethiopic Version

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by

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## **Declaration on oath**

I hereby declare on oath, that I have written the present dissertation by my own and have not used other than the acknowledged resources and aids.

Daria Elagina



## Table of Contents

Declaration on oath .....	v
Table of Contents .....	vii
Acknowledgements .....	ix
List of Abbreviations.....	xi
Biblical Abbreviations .....	xi
Table 1. Transliteration from Ethiopic .....	xii
Introduction.....	xiii
Chronicle as a Historical Source .....	xv
Study of the Chronicle .....	xvi
New Text-Critical Edition of the Chronicle of John of Nikiu .....	xxiii
My Presentations and Publications Related to the Chronicle of John of Nikiu .....	xxiv
Chapter 1: Text Composition and Text Transmission .....	xxvi
1.1 John of Nikiu and the Composition of the Chronicle.....	xxvi
1.2 Note on the Sources of John of Nikiu .....	xxx
1.3 Original Language of the Chronicle.....	xxxvi
1.4 Textual Transmission of the Chronicle .....	xxxviii
1.5 Amharic Version of the Chronicle .....	xliv
Chapter 2: Introduction to the Text-Critical Edition of the Chronicle.....	lvii
2.1 Description of the Witnesses .....	lviii
2.2 Stemma Codicum.....	lxiii
2.3 Text Reconstruction.....	lxxiii
2.4. Note on the Linguistic Features of the Ethiopic Version of the Chronicle .....	lxxvi
Chapter 3: Prolegomena to the Critical Edition.....	lxxviii
3.1 Apparatus .....	lxxviii
3.2 Proper Names .....	lxxix
3.3 Navigation in the Text .....	lxxx
3.4 Translation .....	lxxx
3.5 Footnotes.....	lxxxii
List of Proper Names Not Transliterated in the Text .....	lxxxiii
Bibliography .....	xcii

Legenda.....	civ
Conspectus Siglorum.....	cv
Chronicle of John of Nikiu.....	1
Dissertation Summary.....	a
Zusammenfassung der Dissertation.....	b
List of Publications.....	c

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## List of Abbreviations

BCE	Before Common Era
BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CE	Common Era
Cod. Aethiop.	Codices aethiopici
cp.	compare
EC	Ethiopic Calender
<i>EH</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i>
EMML	Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library
Éth.	Éthiopien
ff.	folia
fol.	folium
HMML	Hill Museum & Manuscript Library
i.e.	<i>id est</i>
MN	Minnesota
MS	manuscript
MSS	manuscripts
Or.	Oriental

## Biblical Abbreviations

Gen.	Genesis
Jub.	Book of Jubilees
Lk.	Luke
Ps.	Psalms
1 Chron.	1 Chronicles

Table 1. Transliteration from Ethiopic

Ethiopic	Transliteration	Ethiopic	Transliteration
<b>ሀ</b>	ha	<b>ጠ</b>	ṭa
<b>ለ</b>	la	<b>ጸ</b>	pa
<b>ሐ</b>	ḥa	<b>ሻ</b>	ṣa
<b>መ</b>	ma	<b>ፀ</b>	ḍa
<b>ሠ</b>	śa	<b>ፈ</b>	fa
<b>ረ</b>	ra	<b>ፐ</b>	pa
<b>ሰ</b>	sa	<b>ቁ</b>	q <sup>w</sup> a
<b>ቀ</b>	qa	<b>ኀ</b>	ḥ <sup>w</sup> a
<b>በ</b>	ba	<b>ኸ</b>	k <sup>w</sup> a
<b>ተ</b>	ta	<b>ኀ</b>	g <sup>w</sup> a
<b>ኀ</b>	ḥa	<b>ቨ</b>	va
<b>ነ</b>	na	<b>ቸ</b>	ča
<b>አ</b>	°a	<b>ጨ</b>	ča
<b>ከ</b>	ka	<b>ጅ</b>	ǰa
<b>ወ</b>	wa	<b>ቐ</b>	qa
<b>ዐ</b>	°a	<b>ኸ</b>	ḵa
<b>ዘ</b>	za	<b>ሸ</b>	ša
<b>የ</b>	ya	<b>ኘ</b>	ña
<b>ደ</b>	da	<b>ዠ</b>	ža
<b>ገ</b>	ga		

<b>ለ</b>	<b>ሉ</b>	<b>ሊ</b>	<b>ላ</b>	<b>ሌ</b>	<b>ሎ</b>	<b>ሎ</b>
la	lu	li	lā	le	l(ə)	lo

<b>ሀ</b>	<b>ሁ</b>	<b>ሂ</b>	<b>ሃ</b>	<b>ሄ</b>	<b>ህ</b>	<b>ሆ</b>
ha	hu	hi	hā	he	h(ə)	ho

## Introduction

The following dissertation<sup>1</sup> under the title *The Textual Tradition of the Chronicle of John of Nikiu: Towards the Critical Edition of the Ethiopic Version* is devoted to the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*,<sup>2</sup> a historiographical text composed by a Coptic bishop named John in the seventh century in Egypt, in the period of the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. Originally written either in Coptic or in Greek,<sup>3</sup> it was translated into Arabic at an undetermined date. No material traces are left of any of these versions, according to the best of my knowledge. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the text was translated into Ethiopic presumably as a tool in ideological warfare with the Jesuits.<sup>4</sup> Later, the *Chronicle* was translated also in Amharic using the edition of Hermann Zotenberg as a *Vorlage*.<sup>5</sup> Only manuscripts in these two languages are attested so far. There is evidence for six manuscripts in Ethiopic:<sup>6</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 123, ff. 62-138; London, British Library, Or. 818, ff. 48-103; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, d’Abbadie 31, ff. 104-165; Rome, Biblioteca dell’Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, fund Conti Rossini 27, pp. 1-120;<sup>7</sup> Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library 7919, ff. 49-98; the existence of the sixth manuscript is highly probable, however, I don’t have any precise data on it;<sup>8</sup> and two manuscripts in the Amharic

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<sup>1</sup> My PhD-Project has been funded by the European Research Council, European Union Seventh Framework Programme IDEAS (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC grant agreement no. 338756 (TraCES), and by The Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities through a project of the Academy of Hamburg (Beta maṣāḥəft).

<sup>2</sup> This title is commonly used in the Western scholarly tradition. The first catalogue attesting this text was published by Antoine d’Abbadie. He provides the following title: ‘ዮሐንስ ፡ መደብር ፡ Yohannis Madabbir “Extraits historique”’ (Abbadie 1859, 37). William Wright in his catalogue refers to the text as ‘Epitome of General History compiled by Yōḥannēs Madabbar’ (Wright 1877, 300). Zotenberg in the catalogue from the same year refers to it as ‘Chronique de Jean Madbbar, évêque de Nikiou’ (Zotenberg 1877a, 223). On the reference to this text used in the Ethiopian tradition, see Chapter 2.1 of the current work.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 1.3 of the current work.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 1.4 of the current work.

<sup>5</sup> Zotenberg 1883. See Chapter 1.5 of the current work.

<sup>6</sup> I can’t exclude the existence of further manuscripts containing the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*. So, this list doesn’t claim for exhaustiveness.

<sup>7</sup> This manuscript is paginated. I preserved the pagination, and give references not to folia but to pages.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 2.1 of the current work.

language: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 240 (= Mondon-Vidailhet 53), ff. 2-83, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 241 (= Mondon-Vidailhet 54), ff. 1-61.<sup>9</sup>

The text belongs to the genre of universal chronicle, i.e. it tells the history of the world starting from Adam and Eve, till the author's time. Bernd Radtke writes about the origin of this genre in Christian Arabic literature and on the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* as follows:

Die christliche-arabische Universalgeschichtsschreibung geht, wie die lateinische des Westens und die griechisch-syrische des Ostens, auf Sextus Julius Africanus bzw. seinen Nachfolger Eusebius zurück [...] Das gilt auch für die Weltchronik des koptischen Bischofs Johann von Nikiu aus dem 7. Jh. Von einer autochtonen ägyptisch-christlichen universalhistorischen Tradition kann somit nicht gesprochen werden.<sup>10</sup>

The *Chronicle* is divided into one hundred and twenty-two Chapters.<sup>11</sup> The text body is prefaced with an Introduction and a Table of Contents with short descriptions of each Chapter,<sup>12</sup> followed by a conclusion and a colophon. It seems that the text of the *Chronicle* was abridged, for the short descriptions of Chapters don't always correspond

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<sup>9</sup> I attached to these manuscripts the following sigla and short labels: A = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 123, ff. 62-138 = BnF Éth. 123; B = London, British Library, Or. 818, ff. 48-103 = BL Or. 818; C = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, d'Abbadie 31, ff. 104-165 = BnF Abb. 31; D = Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, fund Conti Rossini 27, pp. 1-120 = Lincei 27; G = Colledgeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library 7919, ff. 49-98 = EMMML 7919; E = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 240 (= Mondon-Vidailhet 53), ff. 2-83 = BnF Éth. 240; and F = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 241 (= Mondon-Vidailhet 54), ff. 1-61 = BnF Éth. 241. To the presumably existing sixth manuscript containing the *Chronicle* I attached siglum M (for more information, see Chapter 2.1). I use either short labels or sigla further in the text for references to manuscripts.

<sup>10</sup> Radtke 1992, 133. James Howard Johnston characterizes the *Chronicle* as belonging 'to the school of Malalas' (Howard-Johnston 2010, 182).

<sup>11</sup> Charles in his translation introduces Chapter 123 for a short conclusion and colophon at the end which does not correspond to the text division in available manuscripts (Charles 1916, 201; cp. MS A, fol. 138v; MS B fol. 103r-v; MS C, fol. 164r-v; MS G, fol. 95r).

<sup>12</sup> It might be that this Introduction and the Table of Contents represent the Coptic tradition of extended index titles. The Introduction identifies the author, the purpose and circumstances of composing the text. The Table of Contents correspond to 'the main feature of the Coptic longer titles (which) is to summarize, more or less faithfully but certainly not concisely, the content of the work to which they are attributed' (Buzi 2001, 527).

to the content of the main text.<sup>13</sup> Despite this, other *lacunae* are apparent which makes some passages hard to understand. The interpretation of some proper names is also problematic, for they were transliterated either from Greek, or Coptic, first into Arabic and thereafter into Ethiopic and are sometimes helplessly corrupt. The incomprehension by translators and copyists of the realities depicted in the *Chronicle* aggravates the problems of the text. For example, a wide range of different titles of the late antique Egypt, presumably used by the author, was reduced by the Arabic or Ethiopic translator just to a couple of equivalents.<sup>14</sup>

The text of the *Chronicle* is not always organized chronologically, for instance, an account on the nails and Cross of Jesus Christ (Chapter 42)<sup>15</sup> precedes an account on Alexander the Great (Chapter 59).<sup>16</sup>

### *Chronicle as a Historical Source*

The importance of the *Chronicle* as a historical source can't be overestimated. While its first part presents a strong relation to other texts<sup>17</sup>, its second part is an account on the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs written down by an eyewitness from the Christian side. Such written documents are scarce, so that even in its imperfect condition, with its apparent *lacunae*, unclear passages and numerous confusions, the *Chronicle* remains a historical document of an immense value for the history of Egypt, especially when supplemented with the Arabic sources, hagiographic tradition and papyri.<sup>18</sup> Some big events came into light due to the *Chronicle*, for example the rebellion in Egypt against Phocas.<sup>19</sup>

Alfred Joshua Butler writes about the importance of the *Chronicle* as a historical source as follows:

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<sup>13</sup> All these cases are marked in the footnotes in my translation. See, for example, the short description of Chapters 5, 21, 31, 34, 40, 47, and 66 (corresponds to Chapter 67 of the main text).

<sup>14</sup> Booth 2011, 559.

<sup>15</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 44; MS A, fol. 72v; MS B, fol. 55v; MS C, fol. 112v; MS D, pp. 13-14; MS G, fol. 52v.

<sup>16</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 57-58; MS A, fol. 77rv; MS B, fol. 59r; MS C, fol. 116v; MS D, pp. 23-24; MS G, fol. 55rv.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 1.2 of the current work.

<sup>18</sup> However, the earliest accounts of the conquest of Egypt in Arabic date back to the ninth century, which means that a gap of over two hundred years lies between them and the events they recount (see, for example, Sijpesteijn 2007, 438).

<sup>19</sup> Nöldeke 1883, 1366.

Indeed it is the acquisition of John's manuscript by the British Abyssinian expedition which has made it possible to write a history of the Arab conquest of Egypt.<sup>20</sup>

Gianfranco Fiaccadori in 2008 subscribes to his opinion describing the significance, but also the limitations of the *Chronicle* as a historical source:

However mutilated and confused it is, the *Chronicle* remains the only direct, and therefore independent and reliable, source for the Arab conquest of Egypt and its immediate aftermath, anticipating by almost two centuries the earliest and quite contradictory Muslim accounts, and assuming pride of place over them. The *Chronicle* reveals an unmistakable Christian, or rather Coptic, point of view, especially through its focus on theodicy, in that it views history in terms of divine reward and punishment.<sup>21</sup>

Despite its high value for the reconstruction of the history of Egypt, the *Chronicle*, if we assume that it was written originally in Coptic,<sup>22</sup> represents, according to Stephen Emmel, 'a unique specimen of this genre in this language'.<sup>23</sup>

### *Study of the Chronicle*

The *Chronicle* remained unknown to the European scholars until the first manuscripts arrived in Europe which happened about the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> As soon as the manuscripts were catalogued, they were recognized as important documents (see, for example, the Preface in the catalogue by William Wright).<sup>25</sup> It seems that for the very first time the *Chronicle* was mentioned in the catalogue by Antoine d'Abbadie in 1859.<sup>26</sup> However, August Dillmann's *Lexicon* does not include references to the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*.<sup>27</sup> This might be explained by a limited access to the manuscripts from d'Abbadie's collection. BL Or. 818 arrived in Europe after the *Lexicon* was published and BnF Éth. 123 seems to have been mentioned for the first time in 1877 in the catalogue by Zotenberg.<sup>28</sup> So, it might be that Dillmann did not possess

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<sup>20</sup> Butler 1902, ix. I should note here that the manuscript from the collection of Antoine d'Abbadie arrived in Europe in 1849, almost 20 years earlier than the manuscript in the British Museum's collection (1868). But it seems that manuscripts from his collection were not easily accessible for researches before they were handed over to the Trustees of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1902.

<sup>21</sup> Fiaccadori 2009, 214.

<sup>22</sup> See Chapter 1.3 of the current work.

<sup>23</sup> Emmel 2007, 96.

<sup>24</sup> For precise information on each manuscript see Chapter 2.1.

<sup>25</sup> Wright 1877, v.

<sup>26</sup> Abbadie 1859.

<sup>27</sup> Dillmann 1955 (1st edn 1865).

<sup>28</sup> Zotenberg 1877a.

information on this text. However, later on the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* was considered in the contribution by Sylvain Grébaud.<sup>29</sup>

The first scholar who devoted himself to an accurate study of the *Chronicle* was Hermann Zotenberg. First, after having catalogued the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, he published three articles composing a sole contribution in *Journal Asiatique*, ‘Mémoire sur la chronique byzantine de Jean, évêque de Nikiou’, in 1877-1879. In this work he gives a detailed description of the *Chronicle*, information on the author, as well as translations of some portions of the text. He analyses the *Chronicle* from a historical point of view, gives interpretations of some proper names and studies its relations with other texts. The manuscript on which he mostly worked was BnF Éth. 123. On his request Wright compared some passages with the text of the manuscript in the British Museum (today's British Library), BL Or. 818, and noted significant similarities.<sup>30</sup>

This contribution was reviewed by Theodore Nöldeke in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* in 1881. He evaluates the work done by Zotenberg favorably, underlining that he uses not only published editions in order to establish parallels with other texts, but also incorporates unpublished sources into his work.<sup>31</sup> Nöldeke mostly agrees with the reconstructions and interpretations of Zotenberg suggesting only two other identifications of proper names. He points out a high quality of Zotenberg's contribution:

Ref., der gern einem Kundigeren die Besprechung dieser Schrift überlassen hätte, kann hier nur im Wesentlichen Zotenberg's Resultate wiedergeben, thut das aber mit gutem Gewissen, da derselbe mit großer Sorgfalt und Umsicht gearbeitet hat, unterstützt von einer Gelehrsamkeit, wie sie schwerlich einem andern Pariser Semitisten zu Gebote stände; er hat nicht bloß die einschlägige byzantinische und römische Literatur in weitestem Umfange herangezogen, sondern auch die gedruckte und ungedruckte christlich-arabische, syrische und koptische.<sup>32</sup>

In 1883 Zotenberg published the whole text of the *Chronicle* and its translation in French with numerous notes on the parallels with other texts, on the traces of Arabic and Greek and on many other aspects. The edition was prepared on the basis of two manuscripts with the following sigla: A = BnF Éth. 123, and B = BL Or. 818; whereas for some parts, like Preface and the Table of Contents, he did not use the manuscript of

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<sup>29</sup> Grébaud 1952.

<sup>30</sup> Zotenberg 1878, 248.

<sup>31</sup> Nöldeke 1881, 588.

<sup>32</sup> Nöldeke 1881, 587-588.

the British Library itself, but the printed text in Wright's catalogue for an unknown reason.<sup>33</sup>

Unfortunately, Zotenberg could not include the manuscript from the collection of d'Abbadie in his research neither in his first publications in *Journal Asiatique*, nor in that of the year 1883. However, he was certainly aware of its existence, and mentions it in his very first article:

Un autre exemplaire existe dans la bibliothèque du British Museum, et un troisième dans la collection de M. Antoine d'Abbadie.<sup>34</sup>

Zotenberg, who probably just could not get any access to the manuscript, tried anyway to include it into his research. In the preface to his edition of 1883 he mentions that he compared his manuscripts with a fragment translated and published by d'Abbadie in his catalogue.<sup>35</sup>

According to my knowledge this contribution was reviewed three times, first again by Nöldeke in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* in the same year. He analyses in his review once more the historical significance of different parts of the text, stressing the importance of the last Chapters as a historical source; discusses the complex question of the original language of the *Chronicle*, while defending a purely Coptic original; and also proposes other variants of interpretation of proper names or some poorly understandable passages, as well as of translation.<sup>36</sup>

The second review was contributed by Edmond Drouin in *Le Muséon*.<sup>37</sup> He summarizes the content of the *Chronicle* and provides some further references to events and personalities mentioned in the text.

The third review belongs to Rubens Duval. The contribution was published in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* in 1884.<sup>38</sup> Duval adduces arguments against the Coptic original and also points to some difficult passages in the text. He offers a high estimate of Zotenberg's contribution, a readable French translation of the text accompanied by numerous notes shedding light on the history of the text transition:

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<sup>33</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 8, n. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Zotenberg 1877a, 452.

<sup>35</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 9, n. 1. The manuscript from d'Abbadie's collection was first granted to the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1902, after the latter's death in 1897, almost twenty years after Zotenberg's edition was printed.

<sup>36</sup> Nöldeke 1883, 1364-1374.

<sup>37</sup> Drouin 1884, 255-268.

<sup>38</sup> Duval 1884, 2-6.

Les quelques exemples que nous avons cités des altérations du texte suffisent à montrer de quel chaos M. Z. l'a tiré pour en donner une traduction intelligible; sans cette traduction et les notes qui l'accompagnent, le livre était inutilisable.<sup>39</sup>

A book by Alfred Joshua Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, published in 1902, is a natural consequence of the fact that the *Chronicle* became 'utilisable'. The *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* became one of his main sources. I have already cited his opinion above on the role of the *Chronicle* in scholar's understanding of the history of the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. Nevertheless, he also criticizes Zotenberg's edition and translation at some points and mentions the preparation of another translation:

Zotenberg's edition is defective in some points of translation and in the calculation of dates; but scholars are awaiting with much interest the appearance of Dr. Charles' English translation.<sup>40</sup>

This translation appeared in the year 1916. Robert Henry Charles published his book *The Chronicle of John (c. 690 A.D.), coptic bishop of Nikiu: being a history of Egypt before and during the Arab conquest: translated from Hermann Zotenberg's edition of the Ethiopic version*. As it appears from the book title, Charles prepared a new translation of the *Chronicle* based on Zotenberg's edition. Writing on the available witnesses of the text, he does not mention the existence of the d'Abbadie's manuscript (although he worked with Zotenberg's contributions, where this manuscript is mentioned several times), and writes as follows:

There are only two manuscripts known of this version, which for convenience are designated A and B. A is No. 146 in Zotenberg's Catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. [...] This manuscript (*B – D.E.*) is Orient 818 in the British Museum (391<sup>a</sup> in Wright's Catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts there).<sup>41</sup>

Charles analyzes Zotenberg's edition and suggests other emendations and interpretations. Underlying that Zotenberg delivered a very important contribution, he, however, criticizes it to some extent:

Thus, frequently, where the text is unquestionably and sometimes hopelessly corrupt, no attention is drawn to this fact either by the use of obeli in the text or footnotes, and not unfrequently the translation proceeds as if the constructions were quite normal. In footnotes in my translation I have called attention to some of these passages.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Duval 1884, 6.

<sup>40</sup> Butler 1902, ix.

<sup>41</sup> Charles 1916, v.

<sup>42</sup> Charles 1916, vi.

Charles provides quite a long number of passages which were in his opinion mistranslated or misunderstood by Zotenberg. In my edition and translation, I also draw attention to them. Charles introduces a more convenient text structure by using numbered text subdivisions. This innovation improved navigation in the text considerably, for some Chapters of the *Chronicle* are quite long and might occupy several printed pages. In my edition I use this subdivision introduced by Charles with some minor innovations of mine.<sup>43</sup> It allows better text usability, as well as an opportunity to use both English translations (Charles', and mine) side by side without significant complications. The same subdivision I apply to the Ethiopic text itself.

Walter Ewing Crum in his review of Charles' translation underlines the author's attempts at further identifications of proper names and his notable contributions on this aspect, and also proposes his own readings which I note in my translation.<sup>44</sup>

Besides being a remarkable contribution, Charles' translation adopts some doubtful conjectures by Zotenberg without drawing attention to this. In another review of the contribution Ernest Walter Brooks writes as follows:

[A]lthough a new translation should supersede all previous ones, the scholar who wishes to use John of Nikiu for historical purposes must have the three volumes of the *Journal Asiatique* before him as well as Dr. Charles' translation.<sup>45</sup>

Brooks mentioned exactly Zotenberg's publications in *Journal Asiatique*, because there Zotenberg provided more detailed explanations than in his later publication from 1883, for example, of conjectures and transliterations from Arabic.

Concerning my own critical opinion on Charles' translation, I just want to add that he is not very consistent in the usage of proper names. For example, Dometius of Persia is referred to as Domecius in the Introduction but as Domitius in the main text.<sup>46</sup> Despite this, and the points summarized by the reviewers, his translation represents a considerable contribution to the study of the text.

I would like to mention here further contributions which either provide alternative translations, or deliver insights into previously unedited manuscripts of the *Chronicle*. The first contribution of such kind belongs to Franz Altheim and Ruth

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<sup>43</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>44</sup> Crum 1917a, 208-209.

<sup>45</sup> Brooks 1917, 429.

<sup>46</sup> Charles 1916, 8, 76-80.

Stiehl.<sup>47</sup> The authors point to limitations of Zotenberg's translation and Butler's later interpretations:

Bei aller Anerkennung Zotenberg's wird man sich gestehen, daß viele Stellen unerklärt geblieben oder geradezu falsch übersetzt worden sind. Auch Butler's Interpretation hat darunter gelitten, wobei hinzukam, daß ihm das Äthiopische fremd geblieben war. [...] Im folgenden ist versucht, diese Korruptelen tunlichst zu beseitigen. [...] Wenn die im folgenden vorgeschlagenen Verbesserungen Zustimmung finden sollten, müßte nicht wenig von der Geschichte der arabischen Eroberung Ägyptens neugeschrieben werden.<sup>48</sup>

Altheim and Stiehl deliver a new translation of Chapters 111-121 into German and propose new interpretations of proper and place names, as well as a new translation of Chapters 107-109 as an attachment to their contribution.<sup>49</sup>

Maxime Rodinson studied Chapters 90 and 91. His student, Michel Boisset, collated the text of these two Chapters of the manuscript from the collection of d'Abbadie on Rodinson's request.<sup>50</sup> Having analyzed this collation, he states in his article 'Notes sur le texte de Jean de Nikiou' that the manuscript from d'Abbadie's collection represents another branch of text transmission, although it derives from the same translation from Arabic.<sup>51</sup>

Le manuscrit C (Abbadie) semble manifester une tradition manuscrite différente de celle que représentent le manuscrits A (Paris) et B (Londres), tout en remontant à un meme archetype original de la traduction guèze.<sup>52</sup>

In this contribution he also lists some interesting new readings from d'Abbadie's manuscript for Chapters 90 and 91, and discusses Charles' translation and identification of some proper names.<sup>53</sup> He collated the colophon of d'Abbadie's manuscript himself and highlights that it shows differences in comparison with the colophons of the manuscripts edited by Zotenberg.<sup>54</sup> The colophon of d'Abbadie's manuscript contains the name of the second translator into Ethiopic which is lacking in colophons in the other Ethiopic manuscripts.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, this colophon was not published or

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<sup>47</sup> Altheim und Stiehl 1971, 356-389.

<sup>48</sup> Altheim und Stiehl 1971, 356-357.

<sup>49</sup> Altheim und Stiehl 1971, 379-389.

<sup>50</sup> Rodinson 1974, 132.

<sup>51</sup> My collation shows the same result (see Chapter 2.2).

<sup>52</sup> Rodinson 1974, 133.

<sup>53</sup> Rodinson 1974, 132-137.

<sup>54</sup> Rodinson 1974, 132.

<sup>55</sup> See Chapter 1.4 of the current work.

translated in any of the catalogues of d'Abbadie's collection.<sup>56</sup> So, it remained known only to those who gained access to the manuscript itself, until Rodinson's publication. Later Rodinson also published a note on Chapter 51 of the *Chronicle*.<sup>57</sup>

The article 'Giovanni di Nikius chronista bizantino-copto del VII secolo' by Antonio Carile provides with the discussion of several aspects, including the sources of the *Chronicle* as well as the analysis of the contents of the *Chronicle* in the light of the social history.<sup>58</sup>

In 1995 Gérard Colin published his translation of selected Chapters<sup>59</sup> of the *Chronicle* recounting the history of pharaonic Egypt. He collated the text of the manuscript from d'Abbadie's collection but did not consider the manuscript from Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana.<sup>60</sup> He also provides some new interpretations and conjectures as well, to which I draw attention in the footnotes of my translation.

In 2000 the Egyptian Muslim scholar 'Abd al-Jalīl published an Arabic translation of the final part of the *Chronicle*'s text dealing mostly with relations between Copts and Arabs. As I have not been able to access this translation, I cannot offer any precise information about which edition, translation or manuscripts this translation was made from.<sup>61</sup>

The contribution 'Jean de Nikiou et sa Chronique: une écriture «égyptienne» de l'histoire?' by J.-M. Carrié<sup>62</sup> discusses the *Chronicle*'s text as a local historical writing. The article 'Reliquie argonautiche a Cizico. Un'ipotesi sulle *Argonautiche Orfiche*' in *Incontri triestini di filologia classica 7* by Gianfranco Agosti contains an alternative translation of Chapter 40.4-9 in Italian provided by Alessandro Bausi from the Zotenberg's edition.<sup>63</sup> The contributions by Phil Booth of an excellent expertise shed light on the events described in the last part of the *Chronicle*. Pointing to some

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<sup>56</sup> Abbadie 1859, 37-40; Chaîne 1912, 19-20; Conti Rossini 1914, 207-208.

<sup>57</sup> Rodinson 1975, 242-243.

<sup>58</sup> Carile 1986.

<sup>59</sup> Chapters 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 30, 31, 51.

<sup>60</sup> Colin 1995, 45-54. The catalogue by Strelcyn mentioning this manuscript was published in 1974.

<sup>61</sup> It seems most probable that the translation was done from the French translation by Zotenberg. I express my gratitude to Fr. Bishoy L. Mikhail who drew my attention to this publication.

<sup>62</sup> Carrié 2003.

<sup>63</sup> Agosti 2008, 24-25.

ambiguous cases, he provides alternative translations and interpretations of some problematic passages.<sup>64</sup>

I am aware of only one project to involve explicit analysis of the four previously known manuscripts of the *Chronicle*. This research was undertaken by Shamil Mingazov with the assistance of Maria Bulakh.<sup>65</sup> They use BL Or. 818, BnF Éth. 123, BnF Abb. 31, and Lincei 27, to analyse a specific passage in Chapter 120 and describe differences in readings between the latter two and the manuscripts edited by Zotenberg.<sup>66</sup>

A promising new project on the cultural biography of the *Chronicle* is being overseen right now by Felege-Selam Yirga affiliated with the Department of History at the Ohio State University, USA under the working title ‘The Chronicle of John of Nikiou: Its Sources, Contexts, and Afterlife’. He presented his first results at the 44<sup>th</sup> Annual Byzantine Studies Conference in San Antonio, Texas, US.

This short overview does not represent the complete state of the art in the study of the *Chronicle*’s text, but allows me to place my own research in context.<sup>67</sup>

### *New Text-Critical Edition of the Chronicle of John of Nikiu*

The fact that d’Abbadie’s manuscript remained unedited along with the acquisition of another manuscript by Conti Rossini (Lincei 27), and the discovery of one more manuscript amongst uncatalogued ones of the EMMML Collection (EMML 7919) by Jeremy Brown,<sup>68</sup> made it necessary to prepare a new edition of the Ethiopic version of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*.

In the course of my project I learned about the possible existence of a further manuscript containing the text of the *Chronicle* which, though excluded from the current research for the reasons of its inavailability, gives hope for extending the dossier of the textual witnesses of the *Chronicle* in future. Even before the discovery of the new witness from the EMMML Collection, Fiaccadori already designated a new critical edition of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* as a ‘scholarly desideratum’ in 2009.<sup>69</sup> I hope that my

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<sup>64</sup> See, Booth 2011, 555-601; Booth 2013, 639-670; and Booth 2016, 509-558.

<sup>65</sup> Mingazov 2012.

<sup>66</sup> On this case see Chapter 2.2 of the current work.

<sup>67</sup> Amongst other important contributions I would like to mention as well Vycichl 1957; Fiaccadori 2006.

<sup>68</sup> See Chapter 2.1 of the current work.

<sup>69</sup> Fiaccadori 2009, 213. His opinion is shared by Booth 2011, 557.

dissertation is the first step in the direction of preparing such an edition which is the task I would like to dedicate myself to in the coming years.

The core and main goal of my work is the preparation of a text-critical edition of a portion of the Ethiopic version of the *Chronicle* and its translation into English. This requires a thorough study of the history of the text's transmission.

My dissertation is divided into three main parts. In the first part (Chapter 1) I discuss the historical circumstances of John's life, his personality, the parallels with other texts, the problem of the original language, and the history of the text's transmission, especially the Amharic version of the *Chronicle*.

The second one (Chapter 2) is devoted to the Ethiopic version of the *Chronicle*. Here I describe the text witnesses included into the analysis, discuss the methodology I use and propose a *stemma codicum*; and describe the problems of the text reconstruction and on some emendations and interpretations.

The third part (Chapter 3) consists of a short introduction to my text-critical edition followed by the list of bibliographical references, and the text-critical edition of a portion of the *Chronicle* itself with a parallel translation into English, and a commentary. The edition and translation are prepared with the help of Classical Text Editor ©—a word-processing program designed for laying out critical editions.<sup>70</sup>

### ***My Presentations and Publications Related to the Chronicle of John of Nikiu***

My first presentation on the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* took place at the first bilateral Naples-Hamburg Workshop 'Ethiopian Philology: The State of the Art and What to Do' at the University of Naples "L'Orientale" which was held on 9-11 March 2016. This presentation was done during the first phase of my project and was dedicated to the study of the Amharic version of the *Chronicle*. After this presentation, my article 'The Gəʿəz text and the Amharic version of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*' was published in *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, in 2017. The problem I pose in this article, namely the relation between the existing witnesses of Ethiopic version and the Amharic version, was solved by me later in the course of my project.<sup>71</sup>

My next presentation on the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* took place in the frame of the IV Dies Academicus of the Classis Africana at Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan which was held on 25-26 January 2018. This presentation will be followed by my

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<sup>70</sup> <http://cte.oeaw.ac.at/?id0=main>, accessed on 16.02.2018, at 16:52.

<sup>71</sup> See Chapter 1.5 of the current work.

forthcoming article '*Chronicle of John of Nikiu: Textual Transmission of the Ethiopic Version*'. Another article 'A New Witness to the Chronicle of John of Nikiu: EMMML 7919' was written in co-authorship with Jeremy R. Brown and has been published in *Aethiopica*.

I held my last presentation on the *Chronicle* during the 20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, held in Mekelle on 1-5 October 2018. This presentation was dedicated mostly to some methodological issues I faced in the course of my work.

## Chapter 1: Text Composition and Text Transmission

The following chapter is devoted to the personality of the *Chronicle*'s composer John and the circumstances of his life and the text composition. The most historically valuable part of the *Chronicle* corresponds to the last Chapters. They contain an account of the events which happened during the lifetime of John and of which he could have been an eyewitness. Further on I discuss in this chapter the related texts, the question of the original language of the *Chronicle* and the history of its text transmission, and in particular the Amharic version of the *Chronicle*.

### *1.1 John of Nikiu and the Composition of the Chronicle*

The lifetime of John of Nikiu, composer of the *Chronicle*, corresponds to the time of considerable change in the history of Egypt, i.e. the last decades of Roman rule and the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. The Roman dominion in Egypt lasted for over six hundred years. In the seventh century the pressure of the Persians on the borders of the province increased. It achieved its maximum during the reign of Heraclius (r 610-641) who came to power after a revolt against Phocas (r 602-610). In 618/19 the Persians successfully invaded Egypt and held it for several years, until Heraclius had the chance to restore his power. He did so in 629 and held it until the conquest of Egypt by °Amr ibn al-°Ās from 640 to 642.<sup>72</sup> At around this time John of Nikiu was born.

John of Nikiu was a coeval of the governor °Abd al-°Azīz, a son of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. In 684 after a power struggle with Ibn Zubayr, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam entered Egypt and settled down there. Shortly afterward he appointed his son, °Abd al-°Azīz, governor and returned to Syria. °Abd al-°Azīz remained in his position for twenty years until he died in 705. He groomed his son for the succession, but he predeceased his father by a few months. Instead, the Caliph, °Abd al-Malik, selected a new governor, his son, °Abd Allāh.<sup>73</sup>

In this period John occupied the position of a bishop of Nikiu, a city in the southwest Delta known since the third century BCE. It has been known by several names, Nikiu (Νικίους or Νικίου) in Greek, Pšati (Πωα†) in Coptic, and Niqyūs (نقيوس)

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<sup>72</sup> For a detailed review of the history of the conquest see Butler 1902 that still remains one of the most valuable analysis (Kaegi 1998, 37; Kennedy 1998, 62, n. 1).

<sup>73</sup> For a short overview on this period see, for example, Kennedy 1998, 70-72.

or as Ibšādī (إبشادي) in Arabic.<sup>74</sup> The precise site of Nikiu is not clearly identified; there are three main hypotheses regarding its location. According to the first one, Nikiu was situated on the site of the modern town of Ibšādī which was proposed by Emile Amélineau:

Comme conclusion, je place l'ancienne ville de Peschati, ou Prosôpis, ou Nikîous, à l'emplacement actuel du bourg d'Ibschady, au nord d'Aboukalas, à l'est de Zaouïeh et du Nil, don't il est éloigné d'environ 4 kilomètres.<sup>75</sup>

According to the second one, the ancient city of Nikiu corresponds to the ruins of Zāwyat Razīn (زاوية رزين). This hypothesis was proposed by Edith Louisa Butcher, an English philocopt and writer, who while living in Egypt had the opportunity to inspect the town of Ibšādī. Being convinced that the last one could not be the ancient city of Nikiu, she proposed another location:

The present Ibshadi is an entirely modern village, as I convinced myself by personal inspection. [...] A Coptic priest of the district told me that the ancient site of Nikius was marked by the modern town of Zawiet-Razin, and some years afterwards I was able to make an expedition to the place. Zawiet-Razin is certainly within the limits of the area of the ancient Isle of Nikius, and as certainly is the site of an ancient city. I found the remains of a Pharaonic temple, and the remains of pillars, etc., which had belonged to a Christian church. More than that I had not time to see.<sup>76</sup>

This proposal was criticized by Alfred Joshua Butler who points out that geographically Zāwyat Razīn occupies the wrong position to be Nikiu.<sup>77</sup>

Étienne Marc Quatremère, using diverse Greek and Byzantine sources (e.g. the *Geography* by Ptolemy and the *Itinerarium Antonini*) identifies this city with the modern one called Tabšīr (Sabsīr or Šabšīr on modern maps) that lies some six miles south to Ibšādī.<sup>78</sup> Butler agrees with this identification and provides other sources which confirm this hypothesis; one of those is the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*, not available to Quatremère:

Quatremère's conclusions are entirely borne out by John of Nikiu's Chronicle, which of course he had not seen. They are also confirmed by the MS. of Severus of Ushmûnain, who in the life of the Patriarch Andronicus expressly and explicitly identifies the two places.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> „Nikiou“, *CE*, VI (1991), 1793b–1794a (R. Stewart); „John of Nikiu“, *CE*, V (1999), 1366b–1367b (P. M. Fraser); for other orthographic variants see Timm 1985, 1132.

<sup>75</sup> Amélineau 1893, 283.

<sup>76</sup> Butcher 1897, 390.

<sup>77</sup> Butler 1902, 17, n. 1.

<sup>78</sup> Quatremère 1811, 420-446.

<sup>79</sup> Butler 1902, 16 n. 1.

Concerning the life and personality of John the data are scarce and the main source until now has been the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* which is the title commonly used for the principal text of Coptic historiography. It covers the period from the first to the thirteenth century and can be considered the official history of the Coptic Orthodox Church.<sup>80</sup> In the text of the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* John of Nikiu appears at the death of the patriarch John III of Samannūd in 689:

When he (*Abd al-ʿAzīz – D.E.*) arrived at the city of Alexandria, the news was brought to the assembly of the bishops that he (*John III of Samannūd – D.E.*) was prostrate with fever. So they entered to him. And there were in company with them Gregory, bishop of Al-Kais, and Abba John, bishop of Niciu, and Abba James, bishop of Arwât, and Abba John, bishop of Sakhâ, and Abba Theodore, bishop of Metelites, and a body of the laity: and they were all sad because they saw their shepherd called from earth to heaven.<sup>81</sup>

Further he is also present at the election of Issac in 690:

For when Abba John departed to the Lord in good remembrance, the bishops assembled together under the presidency of Gregory, the bishop of Al-Kais; and James, bishop of Arwât, and John, bishop of Niciu, and a body of bishops and of Christian laity took counsel with clergy of Alexandria, and associated with themselves the secretary who was commissioner for the city; and they agreed that they should promote the deacon George, who was a native of Sakha, to the dignity of patriarch without consulting the Amir Abd al-Azîz.<sup>82</sup>

From the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* we also know that John was appointed supervisor of monasteries by patriarch Simon I (689-701)—it explains the supplement ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲓⲥ :<sup>83</sup> *madabbær* or ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲓⲥ :<sup>84</sup> *madabbar* of his name which is apparently a transcription of the Arabic مدبر *mudabbir* ('manager, director, ruler'). After some time, John was disposed for having beaten to death a monk for having sexual intercourse with a virgin:

After this, Abba Simon committed to Abba John, bishop of Niciu, the management of the affairs of the monasteries, because he was conversant with the life of the monks, and knew their rules; and he gave him authority over them. At this time the monks were industriously rebuilding the cells, while the officials took charge of their maintenance. Then, however, some of those who were given up to their appetites took a virgin out of her monastery, and conveyed her to Wadî Habîb and committed sin with her secretly. When this was made known among the monks, there was great distress among them, the like of which had not been heard of in that place. So the

<sup>80</sup> „History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria“, *CE*, IV (1991), 1238b–1242b (J. den Heijer).

<sup>81</sup> Evetts 1947, 20. For the text of the primitive recension see Severus ibn al Muqaffa' 1912, 120.

<sup>82</sup> Evetts 1947, 22. For the text of the primitive recension see Severus ibn al Muqaffa' 1912, 120.

<sup>83</sup> MS C, fol. 104r; MS G, fol. 96r.

<sup>84</sup> MS A, fol. 62r; MS B, fol. 48r.

bishop took the monk who had committed the sin, and inflicted a painful beating upon him; and ten days after his punishment that monk died. Then when the affair became known, all the bishops in the land of Egypt assembled in secret and enquired of the bishop what had happened to the monk, so he informed them concerning the event, and confessed that it was he who had beaten him; and therefore they condemned him to be deposed, because he had transgressed the limit of what humanity required in him.<sup>85</sup>

Another source which mentions John of Nikiu is the *Life of the Patriarch Issac* composed by Mena of Nikiu.<sup>86</sup>

According to the assumption of Witold Witakowski, it is probable that John started to write down his *Chronicle* first after he had been forcibly deposed.<sup>87</sup> However, in the Introduction to the main text of the *Chronicle* he is still referred to as **አብ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ጳጳስ ፡ ዘኒቅዮስ ፡**<sup>88</sup> ('Saint Father John, bishop of Nikiu'). As James Howard-Johnston rightly points out there is no hint of his dismissal in the text, so it appears much more probable that John composed his *Chronicle* before the end of his church career.<sup>89</sup>

Nothing else is known about his life so far. However, taking into account that his *Chronicle* does not extend beyond 700 CE, it is probable that he died shortly after this time. Where his personality is concerned some information can be drawn from the cited parts of the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* and the way some historical events are depicted in his *Chronicle*. It seems that John of Nikiu was a man of great religious zeal and devotion to his faith which apparently influenced his narration. This was pointed out by Nöldeke:

Johannes von Nikiu ist ein strenger Monophysit, mit dem ganzen fanatischen Eifer, den, wenn ich mich nicht täusche, diese Partei in noch höherem Grade entwickelt hat als die s.g. orthodoxe. Natürlich wirkt seine kirchliche Parteistellung stark auf die Darstellung ein; sie führt nicht selten zu wahrer Geschichtsverdrehung. Dabei wird er freilich durchweg nur die unter seinen Parteigenossen gangbare Auffassung wiedergegeben, nicht mit Bewußtsein gefälscht haben.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Evetts 1947, 32-34. For the text of the primitive recension see Severus ibn al Muqaffa ' 1912, 125.

<sup>86</sup> Porcher 1915, 354.

<sup>87</sup> Witakowski 2006, 288.

<sup>88</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 27; MS A, fol. 67r; MS B, fol. 51v; MS C, fol. 108r, MS D, p. 1; MS G, fol. 49r.

<sup>89</sup> Howard-Johnston 2010, 182.

<sup>90</sup> Nöldeke 1881, 592.

## 1.2 Note on the Sources of *John of Nikiu*

Concerning the sources John of Nikiu presumably used to compose his work, the question deserves further and deeper investigation.<sup>91</sup> This Chapter doesn't aim at providing a complete overview of the potential sources, for that would enquire a thorough analysis of the whole text of the *Chronicle* and goes beyond the main goal of the present dissertation. I limit myself to the following observations I made while working on the text.

First of all, it seems to be obvious that John of Nikiu used a number of diverse sources. This is stated in the Introduction to the Table of Contents,<sup>92</sup> as well as in the Introduction to the main text of the *Chronicle*.<sup>93</sup> However, no precise references are mentioned there. There are several references in the text of the *Chronicle* itself which I list further in this subchapter, which however could have been copied from the real source.

The *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* shows considerable similarities with the *Chronicle of John Malalas*. The latter is the earliest extant example of a Byzantine world chronicle. The *Chronicle of John Malalas* covers history from Adam to at least 565 CE.<sup>94</sup> In 2000 a new edition of the Greek text prepared mostly by Hans Thurn<sup>95</sup> appeared in the series *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*.

The *Chronicle of John Malalas* is the text with which I worked most intensively in finding parallels with the text of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*.<sup>96</sup> For my work I used an English translation which appeared in 1986 in the series *Byzantina Australiensia*. This translation was prepared by Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott, in

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<sup>91</sup> See, Zotenberg 1883, 9-10; Charles 1916, xi-xii; Carile 1986, 362-363; Booth 2016.

<sup>92</sup> MS A, fol. 62r; MS B, fol. 48r; MS C, fol. 104r, MS G, fol. 96r; MS D lacks this part.

<sup>93</sup> MS A, fol. 67r; MS B, fol. 51v; MS C, fol. 108r; MS D, p. 1; MS G, fol. 49r.

<sup>94</sup> On the author, composition and transmission of the text see Jeffreys u. a. 1986, xxi-xxiii.

<sup>95</sup> The first steps in the preparation of a new text-critical edition of the *Chronicle of John Malalas* were undertaken by Kristen Weierholt who suddenly died in 1973 having prepared the manuscript dossier on the *Chronicle*. In the mid-1970s these materials arrived in Hamburg and were handed over to Johann Erwin Karlheinz Thurn. At the beginning of 1990s the manuscript of a new text-critical edition was ready. But after a short and severe illness Thurn died in 1993. Only in 2000 did these efforts result in the publication of that edition (Thurn 2000).

<sup>96</sup> Many of these parallels have already been documented by Zotenberg and Charles (Zotenberg 1883 and Charles 1916).

cooperation with many other researchers.<sup>97</sup> Being aware of the disadvantages of using a translation instead of the edition of the original text, I hope still to provide valuable information. The similarities between these two texts are so obvious that the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* was also included into the list of the witnesses of the *Chronicle of John Malalas*.<sup>98</sup> Quite frequently, the text of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* can't be followed without consulting the *Chronicle of John Malalas*. However, the absence of an original of the Malalas' text<sup>99</sup> complicates establishing of a relation between these two Chronicles.<sup>100</sup>

In this regard I would not claim that John of Nikiu used the *Chronicle of John Malalas* directly as a source for his own *ouvrage*. Indeed, Nöldeke writes as follows:

Seine direkten Quellen waren gewis nicht zahlreich; bei der Art, wie diese Leute einander abschrieben, wird man über diese Quellen selbst aber vielleicht nie in's klare kommen. Den Malalas hat Johann von Nikiu schwerlich vor sich gehabt; die große Übereinstimmung beruht auf gemeinsamen (indirecten) Quellen.<sup>101</sup>

In this respect, I want to draw attention to Chapter 2.1 of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* which reads as follows:

ወሴትሰ : ወልዱ : ለአዳም : ዘረከበ : ጥበበ : እምነበ : እግዚአብሔር : ሰመየ : አሰማተ : ከዋክብት :  
፩ : እለ : የሐውሩ : ፪ : ዙሐል ። ወካልኡ : መሽተሪ ። ወሃልሱ : መሪኸ ። ወራብዑ : ዝህራ ።  
ወኃምሱ : ዓጣርድ ።<sup>102</sup>

Seth, son of Adam, who received his wisdom from God, gave names to the five stars (planets) which are moving: the first *Zubal* (Saturn = Cronus), the second *Maštari* (Jupiter = Zeus), the third *Mariḳ* (Mars = Ares); the fourth *Zəbrā* (Venus = Aphrodite), the fifth <sup>ʿ</sup>*Atārd* (Mercury = Hermes).

This passage corresponds to the *Chronicle of John Malalas* 1.1.,<sup>103</sup> with an exception that the second planet was named Hera in the available witnesses of its direct

<sup>97</sup> Jeffreys u. a. 1986, vii-x.

<sup>98</sup> However, pointing that 'John of Nikiu is rarely of independent value as a witness to Malalas' text' (Jeffreys u. a. 1986, xxxvi).

<sup>99</sup> On the witnesses to the Chronicle of John Malalas and the transmission of the text, see Jeffreys u. a. 1990.

<sup>100</sup> For example, Carrié demonstrates that the similarities between the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* and the *Chronicle of John Malalas* might be rather traced back to the shared common sources for Byzantine chronicles (Carrié 2003, 161-).

<sup>101</sup> Nöldeke 1883, 1365. Karl Krumbacher also suggests the usage of same sources by both, John of Nikiu and John Malalas (Krumbacher 1891, 153).

<sup>102</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 28; MS A fol. 67r; MS B, fol. 51v; MS C, fol. 108r; MS D, p. 1; MS G, fol. 49r.

<sup>103</sup> I apply the reference system introduced by Jeffreys u. a. 1986.

tradition.<sup>104</sup> However, the same reading, as in the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*, occurs in the presumably indirect tradition of the *Chronicle of John Malalas*, that is in *Parisinus Graecus 1336*, *Parisinus Graecus 1630* and *George Monachos, Chronicon*.<sup>105</sup> At the same time Chapter 75<sup>106</sup> of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* has similarities with the Bonn's manuscript of the *Chronicle of John Malalas*.<sup>107</sup>

Some passages in the *Chronicle* attest similarities with the *Copto-Arabic Synaxarium*. Thus, for example, Chapter 77.106-112 tells the legend of Saint Theognosta who was credited with Christianisation of Georgia or Yemen (of Yemen and India in the Ethiopic version of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*). The same legend appears in *Synaxarium* on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Tut, however, in the text of *Synaxarium* the name of bishop appointed by Honorius is not mentioned,<sup>108</sup> whereas the *Chronicle* preserved the name *Tawonayos*. At the same time, at least two Coptic manuscripts record this same legend and preserve the bishop's name Theophanes.<sup>109</sup> Some similarities are attested between Chapter 72 and the entry for the 18<sup>th</sup> of Hatour,<sup>110</sup> Chapter 78.9-78.10 and the entry for the 12<sup>th</sup> of Bachons.<sup>111</sup> Taking into account that the *Copto-Arabic Synaxarium*, in the form we know it, was composed around the fourteenth century and represents still a dramatically unstudied material,<sup>112</sup> its precise relation to the *Chronicle* remains unclear.

Howard-Johnston proposes the usage of at least two Egyptian sources for the topic related to the history of Egypt – *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* and a certain local chronicle composed in Nikiu. Unfortunately, Howard-Johnston does not provide with any specific examples. Concerning the usage of non-Egyptian sources, he identifies the first and the second continuation of the *Chronicle of John of Antioch* as

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<sup>104</sup> Jeffreys u. a. 1986, 2.

<sup>105</sup> On these manuscripts, see Jeffreys u. a. 1986, xxxi-xxxiv.

<sup>106</sup> MS A fol. 81r; MS B, fol. 61v; MS C, fol. 119v; MS D, p. 31; MS G, fol. 57v. Cp. Jeffreys u. a. 1986, 161-162.

<sup>107</sup> For discussion of other differences between the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* and the *Chronicle of John Malalas*, see Zotenberg 1883, 10.

<sup>108</sup> Basset 1909, 277-279.

<sup>109</sup> 'Theognosta, Saint', *CE*, 7 (1991), 2243a–2244b (M. van Esbroeck). See also, Lemm 1899, 417.

<sup>110</sup> Basset 1907, 228-232.

<sup>111</sup> Basset 1922, 1019-1020.

<sup>112</sup> Pilette 2019, 34-35.

such.<sup>113</sup> However, at the same time he does not exclude the possibility that John wrote his account independently.<sup>114</sup>

The *Chronicle*, more precisely Chapter 51, also shows strong parallels with the so-called *Cambyses Romance*.<sup>115</sup> This last text survives only in a fragmentary version of six parchment leaves (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P9009) in Sahidic Coptic datable to eighth or ninth century.<sup>116</sup> The character of its relation to the *Chronicle* is not clear,<sup>117</sup> Müller write as follows:

The incomplete state of the manuscript makes it very difficult to judge the character of this romance. It can be compared with the *world Chronicle* of Bishop John of Nikiu (C. A.D. 700). But, of course, this cannot be considered a source for the romance, although both works include the prophet Jeremiah.<sup>118</sup>

However, according to Eugene Cruz-Urbe it is probable that the composer of the *Cambyses Romance* made use of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*. He even concludes his observations on the texts suggesting that John of Nikiu could have been the composer of both texts:

The above discussions make it clear that the author of the Romance was familiar with the Chronicle of John. It is also possible that John of Nikiu was the author of both, though that assumption is impossible to demonstrate. [...] The author of the Romance utilized “history” as found in the only current “history” he was familiar with: the Chronicle of John.<sup>119</sup>

Here I would like to discuss the possibility of the relationship being the other way around, that the *Cambyses Romance* might have been a source for John of Nikiu. Concerning the date of composition of the *Cambyses Romance*, opinions vary a lot.<sup>120</sup> Possibly, the work was composed before fifth or sixth century.<sup>121</sup> Heinz-Joseph Thissen even argues that the *Cambyses Romance* ‘im Umkreis der jüdisch-hellenistischen

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<sup>113</sup> Howard-Johnston 2010, 183. Zotenberg points to similarities with the Chronicle of John of Antioch as well (for example, Zotenberg 1878, 245; ).

<sup>114</sup> Howard-Johnston 2010, 248-249.

<sup>115</sup> For a comparison of both texts see Schwartz 1948 and Cruz-Urbe 1986.

<sup>116</sup> „Romances“, 7 (1991), 2059b–2061a (C. D. G. Müller)

<sup>117</sup> As Cruz-Urbe rightly points out the styles of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* and of the *Cambyses Romance* are very different, and it seems to be rather probable that the authors used the same sources (Cruz-Urbe 1986, 52).

<sup>118</sup> „Romances“, 7 (1991), 2059b–2061a (C. D. G. Müller), 2060a.

<sup>119</sup> Cruz-Urbe 1986, 55-56.

<sup>120</sup> For a short summary of different opinions, see, for example, Cruz-Urbe 1986, 51.

<sup>121</sup> „Romances“, 7 (1991), 2059b–2061a (C. D. G. Müller), 2060b.

Geschichtsschreibung des 2. Jhdts. v. C. entstanden sein könnte'.<sup>122</sup> According to Leslie MacCoull, 'the redactor (*of the Cambyses Romance*<sup>123</sup> - *D.E.*) [...] was a Syrian monastic settler in Scetis during the patriarchate of Benjamin I, working in about the decade 630-640'.<sup>124</sup> If these suggestions are right, it would mean that the text of the *Cambyses Romance* was composed long before or around the time when John of Nikiu was born, and that nothing would have prevented John from using this text in producing his *Chronicle*. As Ludin Jansen, for example, suggests:

It is more likely that what we have in our text (*Cambyses Romance – D.E.*) is a fragment of one of John of Niku's sources or at least of a related text. [...] At the same time it is quite clear from even a cursory reading that the Cambyses story cannot be a fragment of the Chronicle, nor can Chapter 51 be simply a copy of the Cambyses story. On the contrary, there is good reason for believing that John of Nikiu's account is based in part on the Cambyses story.<sup>125</sup>

However, if the *Romance* was composed in eighth or ninth century<sup>126</sup> as a response to the Arab invasion, this relation might be excluded. The question of a relation between the two texts and whether John might have used the *Cambyses Romance* as a source for his *Chronicle* remains open and deserves further investigation.

In regard of other sources John of Nikiu might have used, there is a considerable contribution by Booth, where he discusses the editorial process which the text had undergone and argues for the usage of a certain Constantinopolitan source at the later stage of the text's composition:

Besides the problems which have arisen from the Chronicle's convoluted transmission and abbreviation, the text itself bears witness to the complex editorial processes which have produced the current arrangement of these later chapters (*Chapters 116-120 – D.E.*). The duplication of material, and the contradictions contained within the different streams, at once suggest the presence of two sources; but comparison with the chapter rubrics – the witness of which almost all scholars have ignored – suggest that the problems are the result of significant alterations made to an earlier organization. I have argued here that these alterations are the product of a later editor's attempted integration of a substantial source covering political events in Constantinople from 641 to 642, none of which appears in the text of the rubrics. [...] It is possible that this

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<sup>122</sup> Thissen 1996, 149. Further arguments in favor of this theory were adduced by Tonio Sebastian Richter (Richter 1997).

<sup>123</sup> MacCoull proposes 'narrative' as a preferable term (MacCoull 1982, 185). However, in this work I continue to use the term 'Romance'.

<sup>124</sup> MacCoull 1982, 187.

<sup>125</sup> Jansen 1950, 27-28. However, the arguments provided by Jansen do not seem to me to be very convincing. (Jansen 1950, 28-29)

<sup>126</sup> „Romances“, 7 (1991), 2059b–2061a (C. D. G. Müller), 2060b.

source has been excerpted from a larger text, but we might also imagine that it circulated as some sort of short, apologetic pamphlet, distributed in the immediate aftermath of Cyrus' death, when the rivalries described remained relevant.<sup>127</sup>

Many similarities with the texts by ecclesiastical historians were already identified by Zotenberg. So, for example, he points to the parallels with Eusebius in Chapter 72<sup>128</sup>, Chapter 77<sup>129</sup>; with Socrates in Chapter 78<sup>130</sup>, Chapter 83<sup>131</sup>, Chapter 84<sup>132</sup>; with Rufinius in Chapter 78<sup>133</sup>; with Theodoret in Chapter 80<sup>134</sup>, Chapter 83<sup>135</sup>; with Sozomen in Chapter 83<sup>136</sup>. The *Histories* of Herodotus 2.108-9, 2.137, and 2.124-6 appear to be the source for Chapter 17<sup>137</sup>, Chapter 18<sup>138</sup> and Chapter 19<sup>139</sup> correspondingly.

Concerning the references found in the text of the *Chronicle*, they are not frequent, and as I have already mentioned above were rather copied alongside with the text. For example, in Chapter 2.3 there is mention of Ovid and Plutarch<sup>140</sup> who are also mentioned in the related passage in the *Chronicle of John Malalas*.<sup>141</sup> The mentions of the work *Jewish Antiquities* by Josephus Flavius in Chapter 27.10<sup>142</sup> and of the *Chronographiai* by Sextus Julius Africanus in 29.2<sup>143</sup> are of the same nature, the same references being found in the *Chronicle of John Malalas* 3.2 and in 3.9 correspondingly.<sup>144</sup> Additionally the chronicler Timothy mentioned in Chapter 36.2<sup>145</sup> is

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<sup>127</sup> Booth 2016, 551.

<sup>128</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 293, nn. 2, 3.

<sup>129</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 306, n. 3.

<sup>130</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 312, n. 1.

<sup>131</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 329, 2.

<sup>132</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 341, n. 6.

<sup>133</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 315, n. 2.

<sup>134</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 318, n. 3.

<sup>135</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 326, n. 2; 329, n. 2.

<sup>136</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 326, n. 1; 327, n. 2.

<sup>137</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 247, n. 1.

<sup>138</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 247, n. 3.

<sup>139</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 248, n. 3.

<sup>140</sup> MS A, fol. 67r; MS B, fol. 51v; MS C, fol. 108r, MS G, fol. 49r; MS D, p. 1.

<sup>141</sup> Jeffreys u. a. 1986, 4.

<sup>142</sup> MS A, fol. 70r; MS B, fol. 53v; MS C, fol. 110v, MS G, fol. 50v; MS D, p. 7.

<sup>143</sup> MS A, fol. 70r; MS B, fol. 53v; MS C, fol. 111r, MS G, fol. 51r; MS D, p. 8.

<sup>144</sup> Jeffreys u. a. 1986, 28, 30.

<sup>145</sup> MS A, fol. 71v; MS B, fol. 54v; MS C, fol. 112r, MS G, fol. 51v; MS D, p. 11.

cited in the parallel passage in the *Chronicle of John Malalas* 4.10.<sup>146</sup> In Chapter 50.7<sup>147</sup> of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*, the writings of St Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, are also mentioned. I could not find the parallel reference in the *Chronicle of John Malalas*, but still this reference might be a secondary one as well.

### 1.3 Original Language of the Chronicle

The original language of the *Chronicle* is still a subject of debate. Scholars have proposed three possibilities: Greek, Coptic and the interchangeable usage of these two languages.<sup>148</sup> Zotenberg was first convinced that the *Chronicle* was originally written in Greek, although he then wondered why the text remained unknown to Byzantine authors and no mention of it is available:<sup>149</sup>

L'original de cette compilation historique était écrit en grec; mais on ne le trouve mentionné dans aucun livre ancien, ni moderne, et il est resté absolument inconnu.<sup>150</sup>

Some years later Zotenberg, however, changed his mind and proposed that some Chapters of the text reporting specifically on the history of Egypt were written in the Coptic language:

Le texte original était écrit en grec, sauf un certain nombre de chapitres, se rapportant à l'histoire spéciale de l'Égypte, que l'auteur avait rédigés en copte. L'emploi alternatif de deux langues différentes dans un même ouvrage, imité peut-être de certains livres de la Bible, s'explique par l'origine des récits de cette chronique, tirés, les uns de sources grecques, les autres de traditions indigènes.<sup>151</sup>

Charles subscribes to the opinion of Zotenberg in the introduction to his translation pointing out that the Coptic forms of proper names support the theory of the

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<sup>146</sup> Jeffreys u. a. 1986, 37.

<sup>147</sup> MS A, fol. 73v; MS B, fol. 56r; MS C, fol. 1113v, MS G, fol. 53r; MS D, p. 15.

<sup>148</sup> There is also another suggestion by Colin, that the text was composed in Greek, then translated into Coptic, from Coptic into Arabic, and then into Ethiopic. However, he does not provide any evidence or arguments for this suggestion (Colin 1995, 44).

<sup>149</sup> There is a proposal that the text of the *Chronicle* was used by an unknown Byzantine author of the eighth century for an account on the Bulgars. This account was retold by Theophanes the Confessor in his *Chronicle* and by Nikephoros I of Constantinople in *Historia syntomos, breviarium* (Sirotenko 1972; Mingazov 2012, 13). This claim should be regarded with caution. First of all, it is not always clear whether the identification of certain ethnic groups in the *Chronicle* as Bulgars is correct; and whether John's account is original and not based on other sources, as it could have been used by Theophanes and Nikephoros as well.

<sup>150</sup> Zotenberg 1877a, 451.

<sup>151</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 6-7.

usage of two languages. He also admits that it is impossible to delimit the boundaries of these presumable sections.<sup>152</sup>

Crum in his review of Charles' work criticised this theory on the grounds that no other such bilingual text is known so far and that the historical circumstances do not support this idea:

Why should a Coptic ecclesiastic, late in the seventh century, write in Greek, and in the age too wherein Coptic, as a literary idiom, was spread wider throughout Egypt than in most others? I have not observed an instance throughout the book, whether of incidental Greek phrases, words or names, that cannot equally well be accounted for if the Arabic version had been made from Coptic. [...] Such Greek words as those collected on p. v of the present work would be perfectly in place in a Coptic text, in all of which, as is well known, numberless Greek words (less often syntactically connected than singly) are embedded.<sup>153</sup>

Coptic was a standard literary language of the Egyptian Christians just before and after the conquest of Egypt by Arabs. The lifetime of John corresponds to the time when the Coptic language developed and even flourished in its literary form.<sup>154</sup> Moreover, there are also evidences that the city of Nikiu used to be an important center of literary production in the Coptic language at that time.<sup>155</sup> Nöldeke in his review adduces arguments for a pure Coptic original:

Die Form griechischer Wörter in unserem äthiopischen Text scheint mir nämlich allerlei Spuren koptischen Einflusses zu zeigen; besonders verweise ich auf den beständigen Wechsel von *t* und *d*, welcher dem Griechischen, Arabischen und Aethiopischen eben so fremd als dem Koptischen geläufig ist.<sup>156</sup>

Tito Orlandi states that the original was written in Greek and later translated into Coptic, but he provides no arguments for this theory.<sup>157</sup>

An argument for Greek as the original language is given by Serge Frantsouzoff in his article 'Hronika Ioanna Nikiuskogo: nekotorye osobennosti jazyka I soderžanija' ('The Chronicle of John of Nikiu: Some Peculiarities of its Languages and Contents'). He points to a translation mistake which would prove the usage of the Greek language. The text of the *Chronicle* mentions two main circus parties (*demes*) of Byzantium: Venetoi ('Blues') and Prasinoi ('Greens'). For the first one a transliteration of the corresponding

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<sup>152</sup> Charles 1916, iv.

<sup>153</sup> Crum 1917a, 207. Howard-Johnston has also expressed a similar opinion (Howard-Johnston 2010, 185).

<sup>154</sup> Wilfong 1998, 185.

<sup>155</sup> Orlandi 1998, 145.

<sup>156</sup> Nöldeke 1883, 1367.

<sup>157</sup> Orlandi 1970, 109.

Greek word was used, thus **ⲭⲁⲠⲏⲧⲏ** : *°alwanutēs* or **ⲭⲁⲠⲏⲙⲏ** : *°alwanutis*.<sup>158</sup> But for the second one an Ethiopic word **መስተገብራን** :<sup>159</sup> *mastagabrān* ('laborers, workers') is applied. That fact has already been explained by Zotenberg as a misunderstanding of the Greek word οἱ Πράσσοι and its confusion with one of the derived forms from the verb πρᾶσσειν ('do, work, make'), possibly, as Frantsouzoff suggests, with an active participle in genitive.<sup>160</sup> Frantsouzoff states that in this case the original language must be Greek. Phil Booth, in his article on the Blue and Green fractions in the *Chronicle*, writes that this case does not point directly to the Greek as the original language of the text, for the Greek verb πρᾶσσειν was also sometimes in use in the Coptic language with the same meaning.<sup>161</sup> In my opinion, it appears that this case is supposed to point to the implication of the Greek grammar, not only of the Greek lexica. Eventhough it does not point directly to the Greek original, because this confusion might have happened already at the stage of the text composition, and not at the stage of the translation into Arabic.

There are no traces either of a Coptic or of a Greek manuscript containing the text of the *Chronicle*. A Sahidic fragment found by Heinrich Schäfer in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P9009) turned out to be another text related to the *Chronicle*, namely that of the previously mentioned *Cambyses Romance*.<sup>162</sup> The original language of the *Chronicle* remains for me an open question, although I personally estimate the arguments for its being Coptic stronger than those for its being Greek.

#### *1.4 Textual Transmission of the Chronicle*

The history of the text transmission of the *Chronicle* could be summarized as follows: having been written either in Coptic or Greek (see above), the text was first translated into the Arabic language, and then, at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, in

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<sup>158</sup> Another attested reading is **ⲭⲁⲠⲏⲧⲏ**: (*°alwanutēs*). It is not clear, however, whether this word always correspond to Veneti. For the usage in text see, for example, MS A, ff. 120v, 124r, 127r, 128r; MS B, ff. 90r, 93r, 95r; MS C, ff. 150v, 153v, 155v, 156r; MS D, p. 113; MS G, ff. 82v, 85v, 87v, 88r.

<sup>159</sup> For the usage in text see, for example, MS A, ff. 128rv, 130v, 132v; MS B, ff. 95v, 97r, 99r; MS C, ff. 156rv, 158r, 159v; MS G, ff. 87v, 88r, 89v, 91r.

<sup>160</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 410, n. 2; Frantsouzoff 2010, 79.

<sup>161</sup> Booth 2011, 563.

<sup>162</sup> Möller 1901, 113-16; Charles 1916, iv; see also Schäfer 1899

1601,<sup>163</sup> into Ethiopic. At the end of the nineteenth century the *Chronicle* was translated into Amharic from Zotenberg's edition.<sup>164</sup> There are no traces of any other translations or traditions of the *Chronicle*. The only evidence for the history of the text transmission at our disposal is the colophons at the end of the *Chronicle* and the text of the *Chronicle* itself. These colophons are part of the *Chronicle*'s text and are practically identical despite a difference discussed below. Five manuscripts contain these colophons.<sup>165</sup> The two manuscripts lacking them are one manuscript in the Amharic language (BnF Éth. 241) and one in the Ethiopic from the collection of Conti Rossini (Lincei 27). The first did not preserve its colophon due to the later loss of the material, for this manuscript should have served as the *Vorlage* for another manuscript in Amharic (see below) which has preserved it. Concerning the presumably existing MS M, no information is available to me.<sup>166</sup>

Colophons of the manuscripts are not identical, and as I have already mentioned, the manuscript from the collection of d'Abbadie (BnF Abb. 31) preserved a colophon on ff. 163v-164r which differs from others. Maxime Rodinson was the first to collate this colophon and to take into account the information delivered in it.<sup>167</sup> From this colophon we know that the *Chronicle* was translated from Arabic by Məḥərəkā Dəngəl and deacon *Qəbrəyāl* the Egyptian, son of the martyr *Yohannəs* of *Qalyubi*.

**ወተርጉምኖ ፡ በአስተሓምሞ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ እምዓረቢ ፡ ለግዕዝ ፡ አነ ፡ ምኅረካ ፡ ድንግል ፡ ምስኪን ፡ ምኑን ፡ በጎበ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወትሐት ፡ በውስተ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ወዲያቆን ፡ ቅብርያል ፡ ግብጻዊ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ሰማዕት ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ዘቀልዩቢ ፡<sup>168</sup>**

We have translated this book in great labor, i.e. I, Məḥərəkā Dəngəl, the poorest and most contemptible amongst men and the humblest amongst people, and deacon *Qəbrəyāl* the Egyptian, 'son' of the martyr *Yohannəs* of *Qalyubi*.

All other manuscripts containing colophons, namely BnF Éth. 123, BL Or. 818, EMMML 7919, and BnF Éth. 240, lack the name of Məḥərəkā Dəngəl<sup>169</sup>.

<sup>163</sup> The date of accomplishment of its translation is provided in the colophon of the *Chronicle* (Chapter 123.6) (22 Ṭəqəmt 1594 = 29 October 1601). See, MS A, fol. 138v; MS B, fol. 103r; MS C, ff. 163v-164r; MS G, fol. 95r. MS D lacks this part.

<sup>164</sup> See Chapter 1.5 of the current work.

<sup>165</sup> MS A, fol. 138v; MS B, fol. 103 v; MS C, ff. 164r-v; MS E, ff. 82r-v; MS G, fol. 95r.

<sup>166</sup> See Chapter 2.1 of the current work.

<sup>167</sup> Rodinson 1974, 132-133.

<sup>168</sup> MS C, fol. 164v.

<sup>169</sup> MS A, fol. 138v; MS B, fol. 103v; MS G, fol. 95r; MS E, fol. 82v.

In addition to some traces of Arabic in the text, there is also a clear statement in the colophon concerning the translation of the *Chronicle* from the Arabic language into Ethiopic. No witnesses of the Arabic version have been found, according to my knowledge. However, Amélineau gives a hint that he probably knew of an Arabic version of the *Chronicle*:

Si je ne me trompe, je crois savoir que cette version arabe existe encore et ne pas ignorer où elle se trouve.<sup>170</sup>

Nevertheless, all further investigations by his colleagues turned out to be fruitless: The Arabic version is wholly lost, though Amélineau, in his *Vie du Patriarche Copte Isaac*, p. xxiv, n 2., states that he knows of an Arabic manuscript of John's *Chronicle*. But when asked for further information by Dr. Butler, none was forthcoming.<sup>171</sup>

It is not clear whether Amélineau really possessed any information on an Arabic copy, or if he confused this text with another one. In any case he did not mention this Arabic version in his later article in *Revue Historique* on the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs from the year 1915.<sup>172</sup>

Translation of the *Chronicle* into Arabic seems to be a part of a natural process at that time, for after the decree of 705 Arabic became the language of all administrative offices and all accounts.<sup>173</sup> Although Coptic did not lose its role as a literary language the extensive usage of Arabic influenced the literary production as well. Original compositions in the Arabic language by Christian authors as well as translations are known from the tenth century onwards.<sup>174</sup>

The precise date of the translation of the *Chronicle* is not known, but there are some indications as to the period when it could have taken place. Frantsouzoff analyzes the usage of transliterated Persian lexical items which are to be attributed to the Arabic version, and concludes that the translation of the text into Arabic probably happened the twelfth-thirteenth century.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Amélineau 1890, xxxiv, n. 2.

<sup>171</sup> Charles 1916, v.

<sup>172</sup> Amélineau 1915, 292 ff. Crum in his bibliographical note on Christian Egypt in 1917 writes that 'Amélineau boasted (v. p. xxiv of the Introduction to his *Hist. du patr. Isaac*) of knowing the whereabouts of the Arabic text, whence the Ethiopic was translated. Has the secret died with him?' (Crum 1917b, 53).

<sup>173</sup> „Literature, Copto-Arabic“, *CE*, V (1991), 1460a–1467b (A. S. Atiya).

<sup>174</sup> Wilfong 1998, 185.

<sup>175</sup> Frantsouzoff 2010, 80. Witold Wikowski also suggests that the *Chronicle* was translated into Arabic around the thirteenth century, although he does not provide any evidence for that (Witakowski 2006, 288).

The only trace of the Arabic version by now is the colophon of the *Chronicle*. It states, as I have cited above, that the translation was made with the help of a certain deacon *Qabrəyāl* the Egyptian, son of the martyr *Yohannās* of *Qalyubi* (John of Qalyub).

The translation of this passage varies greatly between different contributions. Zotenberg first, in his catalogue of 1877, translates it as ‘fils de Jean de Qalyoûb’, just omitting the word **ⲁⲙⲓⲣⲧⲁⲓ** : (‘martyr’).<sup>176</sup> Later, he rethought this translation and suggested a new one: ‘moine de l’ordre de Saint Jean Colobos’, explaining that he meant ‘Saint Jean le Petit’.<sup>177</sup> Charles follows the identification of John and translates it ‘son of the martyr John Kolobos’.<sup>178</sup>

Crum interprets the expression ‘son of the martyr *Yohannās* of *Qalyubi*’ as a parishioner of the latter’s church in Qalyub.<sup>179</sup> This interpretation also seems possible to me, although, I have not found yet any mention of this church.

In my turn, I propose the following interpretation of an expression ‘deacon *Qabrəyāl* son of the martyr *Yohannās* of *Qalyubi*’: this deacon was, probably, a disciple, a spiritual son, of the martyr *Yohannās* of *Qalyubi* (John of Qalyub). A certain John of Qalyub is known as neo-martyr. The original martyrology of him is recorded in Cairo, Patriarchal Library, MS Liturgy 106 (2). From this source we learn that he lived in the monastery of Anba Bishoi and was martyred on 6 December 1582, because he refused to deny his Christianity.<sup>180</sup>

The monastery in which John of Qalyub lived is one of the most ancient monasteries of Wādī l-Naṭrūn. Anba Bishoi was founded presumably in the fifth century and survived until the present.<sup>181</sup> If deacon *Qabrəyāl* also lived in this monastery, it is then highly probable that at least by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the time when the translation of the *Chronicle* from Arabic took place, the monastery’s library still contained the Arabic version of it. I should assume that this is only a hypothesis.

The fate of the monastery’s library is complicated. Stephen Emmel in his article ‘Reconstructing a Dismembered Coptic Library’ gives a detailed account of the visitors

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<sup>176</sup>Zotenberg 1877a, 240.

<sup>177</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 467.

<sup>178</sup> Charles 1916, 202. Colin abides by this suggestion as well (Colin 1995, 45).

<sup>179</sup> Crum 1917a, 208.

<sup>180</sup> El-Masri 1978, 460; Emmel 1990, 146; Armanios 2015, 176.

<sup>181</sup> Meinardus 1989, 109; Gabra 2002, 43.

of Anba Bishoi starting from the early seventeenth century who moved manuscripts out of the library. He analyses European collections containing Coptic and Copto-Arabic manuscripts and proposes a list of those which seem to originate from the monastery of Anba Bishoi. I could not find in his list anything resembling the *Chronicle*.<sup>182</sup> The monastery seems still to contain many items and Otto Meinardus, describing the state of the monastery current at the time of the publication in 1989, writes as follows:

At one time, the library was housed in the qasr. A small room in the monastery-yard now contains the remains of the library, and the books are stored in two cabinets with six shelves each. There are approximately five hundred volumes.<sup>183</sup>

Concerning the personality of this certain deacon, Lanfranco Ricci gives the following note:

E sarebbe davvero significativo se nel traduttore in etiopico di questa cronaca, un certo diacono Qebryàl egiziano, fosse concesso di identificare il Qebryàl che, agitator politico, si fece paladino della fede alessandrina contro la cattolica un paio di decenni piú tardi, cadendo ucciso per quelle lotte religiose.<sup>184</sup>

Thus he proposes to identify him with a certain Walda Qəbrəyāl who led an aggressive guerrilla war in 1623-1624.<sup>185</sup> Andreu Martínez d'Alós-Moner writes about him as follows:

Wäldä Qəbrəyāl was reportedly the son of an Egyptian merchant and a prostitute; dressed in the habits of a monk, he claimed to be king of Šäwa under the throne name of Tewodros Šāḥay.<sup>186</sup>

This claim may warrant further investigation which would probably provide with a more detailed context of the translation of the *Chronicle* into Ethiopic.

As I have already mentioned above, according to the colophon of the manuscript from d'Abbadie's collection, another person involved in the translation of the *Chronicle* was Məḥərəkā Dəngəl. He was a court priest and a chronicler, and supporter of the Jesuit missionaries, for which he was later dispatched from the country.<sup>187</sup> His later turn to Catholicism can explain the omission of his name in other manuscripts. In this case I consider the colophon of the manuscript from the d'Abbadie collection to be the most complete one.

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<sup>182</sup> Emmel 1990, 152-154.

<sup>183</sup> Meinardus 1989, 119.

<sup>184</sup> Ricci 1969, 841.

<sup>185</sup> 'Ifat', III (2007), 118a-120a (D. Nosnitsin and Ahmed Hassen Omer); Martínez d'Alós-Moner 2015, 295.

<sup>186</sup> Martínez d'Alós-Moner 2015, 295.

<sup>187</sup> „Məḥərka Dəngəl“, *E Ae*, III (2007), 913b-914a (D. Toubkis).

Further in the colophon we also read who had commissioned the translation and for what purpose:

**በትእዛዘ ፡ አትናቴዎስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ሠራዊት ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ ። ወበትእዛዘ ፡ ንግሥት ፡ ማርያም ፡ ስና ፡ ባሕቱ ፡ ይረስዮ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለመድኃኒተ ፡ ነፍስ ፡ ወለዕቅዕት ፡ ሥጋ ፡<sup>188</sup>**

by the order of ᵀAtnātewos, commander-in-chief of the army of Ethiopia, by the order of the empress Māryām Sēnā. Moreover, God sets it up for salvation of soul and protection of body.

The translation was supported by the court, and the didactic reasons of it are also clear. However, why was the translation of the *Chronicle* of John seen as worthy of commission and as a tool for ‘salvation of the soul and protection of body’? Translation of the *Chronicle* into Ethiopic took place in the period when the arrival of Jesuits into Ethiopia provoked a new period of literary production. The first mission of the Jesuit Order was that to Ethiopia whose aim was the subjection of Ethiopia’s Church to Rome. The history of the mission and relations between the Jesuits and Ethiopians were complicated; the Jesuits tried to collaborate with the local nobility and to develop effective tools for religious debates. For that reason, they started their literary production, translating and composing texts dealing with Christological and theological questions in Ethiopic. These literary productions from the Jesuits’ side encouraged Ethiopians to undertake the same activity to defend their religious dogmas. The translation of Coptic Christian texts from Arabic was thus intensified as a response to propaganda of Catholicism.<sup>189</sup>

Translation of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* was apparently part of this process. Written by a Coptic bishop, this *Chronicle* is highly influenced by the religious dogma of its author. John of Nikiu defends his faith with passion and depicts representatives of the Roman church in a quite unattractive manner. Sevir Chernetsov writes about the translation of the *Chronicle* into Ethiopic as follows:

The fact that it was chosen to deal with a writing by a Coptic author of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, who witnessed the Muslim conquest of Egypt, could be entirely explained for Ethiopia of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, because the defeats of the ‘Rumes’ at the hand of the Muslims are explained by John through their deviation from ‘the true faith’, i.e. the Monophysite faith. Thus the history of Egypt of the 7<sup>th</sup> century turned in Ethiopia of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to be if not a formidable warning, then in any case a sufficiently unequivocal and quite timely hint.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>188</sup> MS A, fol. 138v, MS B fol. 103v, MS C, fol. 164v, MS G, fol. 95r.

<sup>189</sup> Ricci 1969, 840-841; „Jesuits“, *EAE*, III: He-N (2007), 277a–281b (L. Cohen und A. Martínez); see also Pennec 2003, 295-297; Fiaccadori 2009, 211; Martínez d’Alós-Moner 2015, 298-299.

<sup>190</sup> Chernetsov 1994, 206.

Concerning the development of the text of the *Chronicle*, the information is very scarce. Zotenberg proposes that the Introduction to the *Chronicle* with the Table of Contents was composed by the translator into Arabic.<sup>191</sup> This explanation, however, is not the only possibility.<sup>192</sup>

### 1.5 Amharic Version of the *Chronicle*

In this subchapter I describe the Amharic version of the *Chronicle* and pose the question of its *Vorlage*. All cited passages of the Amharic text contain references to the folia of manuscripts. For comparison with Ethiopic text I use the available manuscripts in Ethiopic as well as Zotenberg's edition with a reference to a folio or a page. The translations accompanying each passage are my own, unless otherwise stated.

I came across the Amharic version of the *Chronicle* while going through catalogues of Ethiopic and Amharic manuscripts looking for witnesses of the text for my PhD project as part of the *recensio*. I found two manuscripts containing the text of the *Chronicle* in Amharic in the catalogue by Marius Chaîne of 1913. Both manuscripts were brought to France by Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet (1847-1910) after his stay in Ethiopia and eventually entered the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.<sup>193</sup>

Mondon-Vidailhet left for Ethiopia in 1892 (Chaîne states that he departed in 1891) and stayed there until 1897.<sup>194</sup> His interest in Amharic inspired him to gather different texts in this language. All in all, he collected one hundred and thirteen manuscripts; eighty-six of them are in the Amharic language. Amongst them, Mondon-Vidailhet brought two manuscripts with the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*. I became extremely interested in this version, hoping that it would be valuable for the reconstruction of the *Chronicle*'s text.

As soon as I came to it I began to question this version's origin, and could not avoid thinking about the role of Mondon-Vidailhet in its translation. There are indeed indications that some manuscripts were copied, or sometimes translated, on his request.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 229, n. 4.

<sup>192</sup> See Booth 2016, 551-552.

<sup>193</sup> Chaîne 1913, 1.

<sup>194</sup> Chaîne 1913, iii; „Mondon-Vidailhet, Casimir“, *EAE*, III: He-N (2007), 999b–1000b (A. Rouaud).

<sup>195</sup> Chaîne 1913, ix, n. 1; Rouaud 1997, 125.

Whatever the circumstances of the translation, the most important aspect of this version is its *Vorlage*. It seemed to me possible that the translation was made from an unknown manuscript. I started to study these two manuscripts and compare them with the known manuscripts in Ethiopic. I attached to them sigla E (BnF Éth. 240 = Mondon-Vidailhet 53) and F (BnF Éth. 241 = Mondon-Vidailhet 54), following the tradition of labelling of Ethiopic manuscripts.<sup>196</sup> Both manuscripts are parchment manuscripts of the nineteenth century with original bindings.<sup>197</sup> MS E has 88 ff. and is complete, ff. 83r-88v are blank. Ms F has 62 ff., ff. 61r-62v are blank. The manuscript is incomplete and the text ends abruptly in the middle of Chapter 79. The last folio with text corresponds to the last folio of a quire and is fully used up; the blank ff. 61r-62v are end-leaves. All this leads to the conclusion that MS F is incomplete due to the later loss of the material.<sup>198</sup>

While collating these manuscripts their mutual relationship became clear to me: MS E derives from MS F. The incompleteness of MS F does not weaken this suggestion, for the copying could have taken place before the manuscript was damaged. Moreover, there are two cases where the derivation of MS E from MS F is quite apparent. Both cases represent the same kind of mechanical error; the scribe of MS F wrote two omitted passages in the margins or between the lines, adding a mark where they should be inserted. The scribe who did a copy from this manuscript (whether it was MS E itself or not could not be defined) misunderstood this and inserted both passages in wrong places, so that the text became corrupt. I provide below a detailed description of these cases.

The first one is in the short Introduction just at the beginning of the *Chronicle*. MS F has the following text:

**አንድያስ ፡ ከተሾመ ፡ ጀምሮ ፡ የታደሰዮስ ፡ ዘመን ፡ እስኪፈጸም ፡ ድረስ ፡ ያለው ፡ ታደሰዮስ ፡ ልጆች ፡ አርቃድዮስ ፡ አኖሬስ ፡ ከነገሡ ፡ ጀምሮ ፡ ያንሰጣትዮስ ፡ እስኪፈጸም ፡ ድረስ ፡ ያለው ፡**<sup>199</sup>

It tells from the appointment of <sup>ጳ</sup>*Endayās* (Valentinian?) till the end of the time of *Tādosyos* (Theodosius); from the reign of sons of *Tādosyos* (Theodosius), <sup>ጳ</sup>*Arqādyos* (Arcadius) and <sup>ጳ</sup>*Anores* (Anoreus), till *Yānəsətātəyos* (Yanestius).

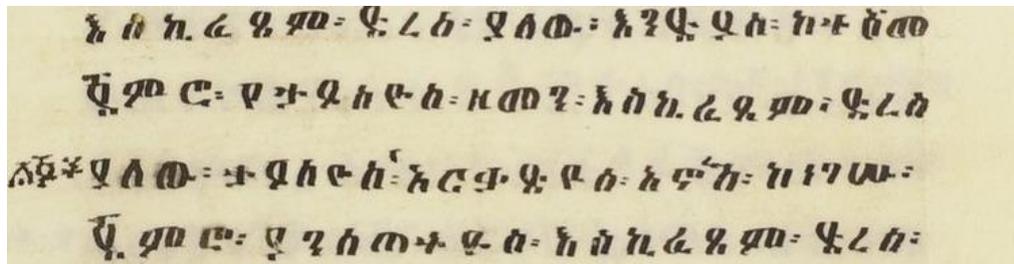
<sup>196</sup> At the time of assigning the sigla I was still not aware about the manuscript from the EMMML collection, which later received siglum G.

<sup>197</sup> Chaîne 1913, 34-35.

<sup>198</sup> I am wondering in this case whether the binding of MS F is original. The manuscript appears to loose quite a big number of quires. It should either be clearly visible on the condition of the binding, or the manuscript was rebound. However, I haven't checked the physical condition of the manuscript by myself.

<sup>199</sup> MS F, fol. 1r.

The word **ልጆች** : (‘children’) is written in the margin and there is a mark between the proper names **ታዶስዮስ** : *Tādosyos* (Theodosius) and **አርቃድዮስ** : *ᵀArqādyos* (Arcadius) indicating that the former should be inserted between them, as is shown in the image below:



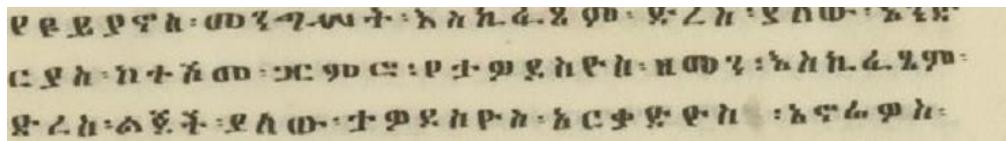
MS F, fol. 1r

In MS E the copyist made an error by having written down these lines, as if the word **ልጆች** : (‘children’) were just the first word in a line. So, the text of MS E reads as follows:

**እንድርዳስ** : ከተሾመ : ዠምሮ : የታዎዶስዮስ : ዘመን : እስኪፈጸም : ድረስ : **ልጆች** : ያለው : ታዎዶስዮስ : አርቃድዮስ : አኖሬዎስ : ከነገሡ : በኋላ : ያንስጣትዮስ : እስኪፈጸም : ድረስ : ያለው :<sup>200</sup>

It tells from the appointment of *ᵀAndrāyās* (Andrew) till the end of the time of *Tāwodasyos* (Theodosius); from the reign of *Tāwodasyos* (Theodosius) *who had children*, *ᵀArqādyos* (Arcadius) and *ᵀAnorewos* (Anoreus), till *Yānāsajātᵀyus* (Yanestius).

This reading is possible if one accepts that the verbal form **ያለው** : is derived from the verb **አለ** : *alla* (‘have’) and not **አለ** : *ala* (‘say’) and that a mistake in the agreement between the expression **ያለው** : and the plural form **ልጆች** : (‘children’) was made. However, considering the version of MS F, it is obvious to me that the word **ልጆች** : (‘children’) occurs wrongly between the words **ድረስ** : and **ያለው** :, see the image below:



MS E, fol. 2r

Comparison with the Ethiopic version also shows that MS F provides the right reading:

**ወእምአመ** : ሢመቱ : ለእንድርዳስ : እስከ : ፍጻሜሁ : ለታዎዶስዮስ : ንጉሥ : ዐቢይ : ወብፁዕ ።  
**ወእምአመ** : ዘመነ : አርቃዶዎስ : ወአኖሬዎስ : ደቂቀ : ንጉሥ : መፍቀሬ : እግዚአብሔር : ታዶስዮስ : እስከ : ፍጻሜሁ : ለእንስጣትዮስ : ንጉሥ : ብፁዓዊ ።<sup>201</sup>

<sup>200</sup> MS E, fol. 2r.

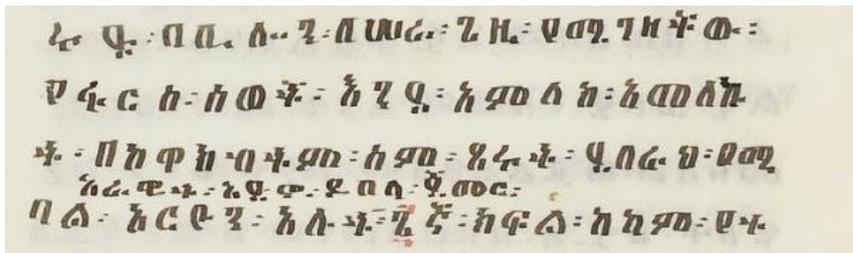
From the accession of *Ἰνδᾶγᾶς* (Valentinian?) till the end of the great and blessed emperor *Ἰωάννης* (Theodosius); and from the time of *Ἀρκᾶδιος* (Arcadius) and *Ἀνῶρειος* (Anoreus), sons of the God-loving emperor *Ἰωάννης* (Theodosius) till the end of the beatific emperor *Ἰανῆστιος* (Yanestius).

Another error is in Chapter 5. It is similar in character and occurred also due to a passage incorrectly inserted from between the lines. MS F has the following reading:

**የሚገዛቸው ፡ የፋርስ ፡ ሰዎች ፡ እንደ ፡ አምላክ ፡ አመለኩት ፡ በከዋክብትም ፡ ስም ፡ ጸሩት ፡ ደበራህ ፡ የሚባል ፡ አርዮን ፡ አሉት ፡ አራዊት ፡ አድኖ ፡ ይበላ ፡ ጀመር ፡<sup>202</sup>**

The Persians whom he ruled over, worshipped him as a god. They named him with a name of the stars. They called him *Ἀρυών* (Orion) that is *Dabarāb*. He started to hunt and eat animals.

The last sentence **አራዊት ፡ አድኖ ፡ ይበላ ፡ ጀመር ፡** (‘he started to hunt and eat animals’) is written between the lines and there is a small sign above the two dots after the word **አሉት ፡** (‘the called him’) indicating where this sentence should be inserted, as shown below:



MS F, fol. 15r

The scribe of MS E inserted this sentence between the words **የሚባል ፡** and **አርዮን ፡**, thus creating the following variant:

**የሚገዛቸው ፡ የፋርስ ፡ ሰዎች ፡ እንደ ፡ አመለክ ፡ (sic) አመለኩት ፡ በከዋክብትም ፡ ስም ፡ ጸሩት ፡ ደበራህ ፡ የሚባል ፡ አራዊት ፡ አድኖ ፡ ይበላ ፡ ጀመር ፡ አርዮን ፡ አሉት ፡<sup>203</sup>**

The Persians whom he ruled over, worshipped him like he worshipped.<sup>204</sup> They named him with a name of the stars. One named *Dabarāb* started to hunt and eat animals. They called him *Ἀρυών* (Orion).

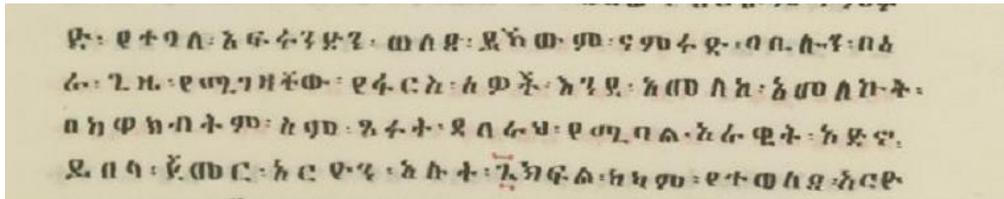
See the picture below:

<sup>201</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 11. I use here Zotenberg’s edition because this passage in the manuscripts causes some problems. In my edition I use the emendations made by Zotenberg.

<sup>202</sup> MS F, fol. 15r.

<sup>203</sup> MS E, fol. 8v.

<sup>204</sup> I consider this reading in MS E an error as well.



MS E, fol. 8v

Also in this case comparison with the Ethiopic text reveals the right variant:

**ዘተቀንዩ ፡ (ዘተቀንዩ ፡ G) ሎቱ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ወአምለክዎ ፡ ከመ ፡ (s.l. G) አምላክ ። ወሰመደዎ ፡ በሰመ ፡ ከዋክብተ ፡ (ከዋክብት ፡ C) ሰማይ ፡ ወጸውዕዎ ፡ (ወጸወዕዎ ፡ D) በሰመ ፡ አርዮን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ደባራን ፡ (ደበራን ፡ CDG) ወውእቱ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ንዲወ ፡ ወበሊዐ ፡ አራዊት ።<sup>205</sup>**

The Persians served him and worshiped him as a god. They called him after a name of a star in the sky. They called him after the name of ᵀAryon (Orion), i.e. *Dabārāḅ*. He began to hunt and eat animals.

I suppose that these two cases provide enough evidence to suggest that MS E derives from MS F. The scribe of MS E also introduced quite a large number of errors. As a result, MS E which is clearly written and complete, is so corrupt that without collation with MS F, quite a different text could have been edited from this manuscript. I want to mention here just a couple of examples with my explanation.

I found one interesting error in a proper name in the Introduction. MS E has the following variant:

**እንድርያስ ፡ ከተሾመ ፡ ዣምሮ ፡ የታዎደሰዮስ ፡ ዘመን ፡ እስኪፈጸም ፡ ድረስ ፡ ልጆች ፡ ያለው ።<sup>206</sup>**

It tells from the appointment of ᵀEndrəyās (Andrew) till the end of the time of *Tāwodasyos* (Theodosius).

The reading appears to be quite normal, as the name እንድርያስ ፡ ᵀEndrəyās (Andrew) is a well-known name in Ethiopia.<sup>207</sup> The variant in MS F reads as follows:

**እንድያስ ፡ ከተሾመ ፡ ጀምሮ ፡ የታደሰዮስ ፡ ዘመን ፡ እስኪፈጸም ፡ ድረስ ፡ ያለው ።<sup>208</sup>**

It tells from the appointment of ᵀEndəyās (Valentinian) till the end of the time of *Tādosyos* (Theodosius).

<sup>205</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 28; MS A fol. 67rv; MS B, fol. 51v; MS C, fol. 108v; MS D, p. 2; MS G, fol. 49r.

<sup>206</sup> MS E, fol. 2r.

<sup>207</sup> For example, the current database of the project Beta maṣāḥəft: Manuscripts of Ethiopia and Eritrea (Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung) contains fourteen accounts for persons with such name.

<http://betamasaeft.eu/as.html?AttestedInType=2&query=%CA%BE%C6%8Endr%C7%9Dy%C4%81s&work-types=pers&xmliid=&start=1>, accessed on 21.07.2018, at 17:42.

<sup>208</sup> MS F, fol. 1r.

It even seems to be an error at the very first glance. But if one compares this passage with the Ethiopic version, one would find only the last variant of this name or the form **እንድያንስ** : *Ἐνδᾶνᾶς*:

**ወእምአመ ፡ ሢመቱ ፡ ለእንድያንስ ፡ (AB ለእንድያስ ፡)**<sup>209</sup>

From the appointment of *Ἐνδᾶνᾶς* (AB *Ἐνδᾶς*) (Valentinian).

Here the proper name **እንድያስ** : *Ἐνδᾶς* or **እንድያንስ** : *Ἐνδᾶνᾶς* is probably a corrupt form of Valentinian, as suggested by Zotenberg,<sup>210</sup> and should be the right reading. It might have been reinterpreted into a common **እንድርያስ** : *Ἐνδᾶρᾶς* in MS E later. I evaluate this case as *lectio difficilior* in MS F and as *lectio faciliior* in MS E correspondingly.

I found another case of a later reinterpretation in a short description of Chapter 113 (0.113) in the Table of Contents. MS E has the following variant:

**ዳግመኛም ፡ ከልጅ ፡ ወደሮም ፡ መመለሱን ፡ [...] ይናገራል ፡**<sup>211</sup>

Moreover, it tells concerning [...] his return from a child to Rome.

MS F has another reading:

**ዳግመኛም ፡ ከልጅ ፡ ወደ ፡ ሮም ፡ መመለሱን ፡ [...] ይናገራል ፡**<sup>212</sup>

Moreover, it tells concerning [...] the return of *Kalağ* to Rome.

Here a personal name **ከልጅ** : *Kalağ* was reinterpreted in MS E as a combination of the preposition **ከ** and a noun **ልጅ** : ('child', 'boy', 'son'). The Ethiopic text has a slightly different variant of that proper name: **ከላጂ** : *Kalāgi*:

**ወተመደጠተ ፡ ከላጂ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ንበ ፡ ሮም ፡**<sup>213</sup>

And also the return of *Kalāgi* to Rome.

Chapter 21.5 on Perseus and his overcoming of Medusa, the Gorgon, contains the next case. MS E reads:

**እርሷን ፡ አሳይቶ ፡ ድል ፡ ነሳቸው ፡**<sup>214</sup>

Having shown her, he overcame them.

This variant seems to be right and logical. According to the legend, Perseus beheaded Medusa who was able to turn the onlookers to stone, and used her head which retained this magical ability, against his own enemies. However, in this context MS F has even a better reading:

<sup>209</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 11; MS A, fol. 62r, MS B, fol. 48r, MS C, fol. 104 r, MS G, fol. 96r.

<sup>210</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 223.

<sup>211</sup> MS E, fol. 7v.

<sup>212</sup> MS F, ff. 13v-14r.

<sup>213</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 15; MS A, fol. 66r; MS B, fol. 51v; MS C, fol. 107v; MS G, fol. 98v.

<sup>214</sup> MS E, fol. 10r.

**እራሷን ፣ አሳይቶ ፣ ድል ፣ ነሳቸው ፣**<sup>215</sup>

Having shown her head, he overcame them.

This variant fits the context better and is also confirmed by the Ethiopic text:

**ወነሥአ ፣ ርእሳ ፣ ለኩርኩና ፣ ድንግል ፣ መሰግልት ፣ አርአዮሙ ፣ ወሞአሙ ፣**<sup>216</sup>

He took the head of the virgin magician *Kurkunā* (Gorgon), showed to them and so vanquished them.

In this case word **እራሷን ፣** ('her head') was falsely substituted by the pronoun **እርሷን ፣** ('her') in MS E probably due to their graphical similarity.

Chapter 22.3 contains another interesting case. MS E has the following reading:

**በርሷም ፣ ስም ፣ ናቡሊስ ፣ የምትባል ፣ ከተማ ፣ ሠራ ፣ የዚያ ፣ አገር ፣ ሰዎች ፣ ጨረቃን ፣ ያመልካት ፣ ነበርና ፣**<sup>217</sup>

He built a city, named *Nābulis* (Iopolis) after her (the moon's) name; for people of this city worshipped the moon.

This might be correct, but comparison with the variant of MS F, reveals that the latter has quite a different meaning and represents a *lectio difficilior*:

**በሷም ፣ ስም ፣ ናቡሊስ ፣ የምትባል ፣ ከተማ ፣ ሠራ ፣ የዚያ ፣ አገር ፣ ሰዎች ፣ ጨረቃን ፣ ዮያሏት ፣ ነበርና ፣**<sup>218</sup>

He built a city, named *Nābulis* (Iopolis) after her (the moon's) name; for people of this city called the moon *Yo* (Io).

An expression **ዮያሏት ፣** should actually be written: **ዮ ፣ ያሏት ፣** ('they called her *Yo*'). *Yo* is to be identified with the Greek *Io* (Ἰώ), and the city called **ናቡሊስ ፣** *Nābulis* with Iopolis. Iopolis was a town situated not far away from Antioch whose inhabitants worshipped *Io* as a moon goddess. This interpretation is confirmed also by the Ethiopic text:

**ወሐነፀ ፣ መዲና ፣ በሀገረ አርጅዮን ፣ በስመ ፣ ወርኅ ፣ ዘተሰመይ ፣ ናቡሊስ ፣ እስመ ፣ አርጅናውያን ፣ ስመይዋ ፣ ለወርኅ ፣ በመስጢር ፣ ኅቡእ ፣ ዩ ፣ እስከ ፣ ዮም ፣**<sup>219</sup>

He built a city in the country of <sup>o</sup>*Arḡayun* (Argives) which is called after the name of the moon *Nābulis* (Iopolis), because the people of <sup>o</sup>*Arḡayun* (Argives) call the moon *Yu* (Io) secretly till nowadays.

In Chapter 31.1 telling the legend on the first ruler in Egypt MS E contains the following reading:

**ጣዖትም ፣ ያመለኩ ፣ በግብጽ ፣ ላይ ፣ አስቀድሞ ፣ የነገሠ ፣ ሁሉ ፣ ስሙ ፣ አብሩሱቢዳ ፣ ይባላል ፣**<sup>220</sup>

<sup>215</sup> MS F, fol. 19v.

<sup>216</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 33; MS A, fol. 69r; MS B, fol. 52v; MS C, fol. 109v; MS D, p. 5; MS G, fol. 49v.

<sup>217</sup> MS E, fol. 10v.

<sup>218</sup> MS F, fol. 20v.

<sup>219</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 34; MS A, fol. 69r; MS B, fol. 53r; MS C, fol. 110r; MS D, p. 6; MS G, fol. 50v.

The name of him who first ruled over Egypt at the time when they worshiped idols, was °*Abrusubidā* (Prosopis).

The expression በ... ላይ ፣ means ‘on, above, in’, and in this case በግብጽ ፣ ላይ ፣ could be understood as ‘over/in Egypt’. But MS F has another variant:

ጣዖትም ፣ ሲያመልኩ ፣ በግብጽ ፣ በብሳይ ፣ አስቀድሞ ፣ የነገሠ ፣ ሁሉ ፣ ስሙ ፣ አብሩሱቢዳ ፣ ይባላል ፣<sup>221</sup>

The name of him who first ruled over Egypt in °*Absāy* (Absai) at the time when they worshiped idols, was °*Abrusubidā* (Prosopis).

This reading appears to be the right one which also corresponds to the Ethiopic text:

ወበይእቲ ፣ ዘመን ፣ ዘአቅደመ ፣ ነገሠ ፣ በምስር ፣ እንዘ ፣ ይትቀነዩ ፣ ለጣዖት ፣ ወከመ ፣ እልክቱ ፣ ዘቀደመ ፣ ዝክሮሙ ፣ ወለሀገረ ፣ እምርት ፣ አብሳይ ፣ እንተ ፣ ይእቲ ፣ ነቂዩስ ፣ ወለንጉሥ ፣ ይሰመይ ፣ አብሩሱቢዳ ፣<sup>222</sup>

In the time, of him who first reigned in Egypt, while they worshiped idols and those which are mentioned previously, and of the famous city °*Absāy* (Absai), that is Nikiu, the king’s name was °*Abrusubidā* (Prosopis).

In this case the city name (አ)ብሳይ ፣ °*Absāy* (Absai) was falsely turned in MS E to the postposition ላይ.

There is another case in Chapter 32.1 on Joshua and the city of Jebus. MS E has the following reading:

እርሱም ፣ በገዛት ፣ ጊዜ ፣ ሀይኑስ ፣ አላት ፣<sup>223</sup>

And when he subdued it, he called it *Haynus* (Jebus).

This reading is not apparently incorrect, but a comparison with another manuscript reveals the better one, MS F reads as follows:

ኢያሱም ፣ በገዛት ፣ ጊዜ ፣ ሀያኑስ ፣ አላት ፣<sup>224</sup>

And when °*Iyāsu* (Joshua) subdued it, he called it *Hayānus* (Jebus).

The second reading is proved to be the correct one by comparison with the Ethiopic text:

ወቀነያ ፣ ኢያሱ ፣ ወልደ ፣ ነዌ ፣ ወሰመያ ፣ ሐያኑስ ፣<sup>225</sup>

°*Iyāsu* (Joshua), son of *Nawe* (Nun), subdued it and named it *Hayānus* (Jebus).

<sup>220</sup> MS E, fol. 12v.

<sup>221</sup> MS F, fol. 24r-v.

<sup>222</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 34; MS A, fol. 71r; MS B, fol. 54r; MS C, fol. 111v; MS D, p. 10; MS G, ff. 51r-v.

<sup>223</sup> MS E, fol. 12v.

<sup>224</sup> MS F, ff. 24v-25r.

<sup>225</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 40; MS A, fol. 71r; MS B, fol. 54v; MS C, fol. 111v; MS D, p. 10; MS G, fol. 51v.

In this case, the proper name **ኢ.ያሱ :** (‘Joshua’) was replaced in MS E with a pronoun **እርሱ :** (‘he’) apparently due to the graphical resemblance of the words.

Chapter 43.1 contains another case of a later reinterpretation of an unknown proper names. MS E reads:

**በሰምሶንም ፡ ጊዜ ፡ በአዋጅ ፡ ሰው ፡ ዘገር ፡ አውሊብጦስ ፡ የሚባል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ነገሠ ፡**<sup>226</sup>

In the time of Samson a king named <sup>።</sup>*Awəlibtos* (Lapathus) came to reign through the lance of a herald’s man.

This reading would point to a kind of *coup d’état*, because of which Lapathus became king with the help of a certain herald’s man. The reading of MS F seems to be closer to the right one:

**በሰምሶንም ፡ ጊዜ ፡ በአውጅሰጡ ፡ ሀገር ፡ አውሊብጦስ ፡ የሚባል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ነገሠ ፡**<sup>227</sup>

In the time of Samson, in the land of <sup>።</sup>*Awəḡsaṭu*, a king named <sup>።</sup>*Awəlibtos* (Lapathus) reigned.

A corrupt form of a proper name **በአውጅሰጡ ፡** was reinterpreted into an expression **በአዋጅ ፡ ሰው ፡** (‘a herald’s man’) and the word **ሀገር ፡** (‘land, city’) into the word **ዘገር ፡** (‘lance’). The fact that it should be a proper name is proved by the Ethiopic text. Zotenberg provides the following text:

**ወበመዋዕለ ፡ ሶምሶን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ መሳፍንት ፡ ነገሠ ፡ አውሊብጦስ ፡ በአድዋለ ፡ አጂይሰቱ ፡**<sup>228</sup>

In the days of Samson, the last of the Judges, <sup>።</sup>*Awəlibtos* (Lapathus) reined in the land <sup>።</sup>*Aḡiyəstu*.

The reading in Zotenberg’s edition differs from readings in manuscripts (on this emendation see below). The manuscripts read as follows:

**ወበመዋዕለ ፡ ሶምሶን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ መሳፍንት ፡ ነገሠ ፡ አውሊብጦስ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ አጂይሰቱ ፡**<sup>229</sup>

In the days of Samson, the last of the Judges, <sup>።</sup>*Awəlibtos* (Lapathus) reigned in the days of <sup>።</sup>*Aḡiyəstu*.

After the relation between manuscripts became clear, I turned to the aspect of the *Vorlage* for this version. It was obvious for me that the translation was made from the Ethiopic text, because the Amharic text contains traces of Ethiopic, for example, in Chapter 8.1, where the translator preserved the Ethiopic expression **ወእምድኅረ ፣** later corrected by the copyist in MS E:

**ወእምድኅረ ፡ ወይልዩስ ፡ ሞተ ፡**<sup>230</sup>

<sup>226</sup> MS E, fol. 14r.

<sup>227</sup> MS F, fol. 28v.

<sup>228</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 40.

<sup>229</sup> MS A, ff. 72v-73r; MS B, fol. 55v; MS C, ff. 112v-113r; MS D, p. 14; MS G, fol. 52v.

<sup>230</sup> MS F, fol. 16v.

*And after Wayløyus (Belus) died*

One can compare it with the Ethiopic text:

**ወእምድጎረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ወሉልዩስ ፡ (ወልልዩስ ፡ A, ወሉልዩስ ፡ B) ነግሠ ፡ በሶርያ ፡ ኒኑንስ ፡<sup>231</sup>**

And after *Waluløyus* (Belus) died, *Ninunās* (Ninus) reigned in *Soryā* (Assyria).

My comparison of the Amharic text with Ethiopic manuscripts was not productive; I was not able to establish any relation between the former and the latter. Moreover, there was one case where my false estimation was misleading. In Chapter 88 of the text the witnesses in Ethiopic, MSS ABDG, have the following passage:

**ወዘንመ ፡ እምሰማይ ፡ በረቅ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡ ህዩንተ ፡ ማዩ ፡ ዝናማት ፡<sup>232</sup>**

Only MS C has:

**ወዘንመ ፡ እምሰማይ ፡ መብረቅ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡ ህዩንተ ፡ ማዩ ፡ ዝናማት ፡<sup>233</sup>**

This passage causes some confusion. Zotenberg translates it as follows:

Il tomba du ciel, dans la ville de Constantinople, au lieu d'eau, une pluie d'éclairs.<sup>234</sup>

Charles has practically the same variant:

And lightning rained from heaven on Constantinople instead of rain.<sup>235</sup>

But Charles adds that the word 'lightning' must be a corruption and the right variant should be 'dust' and compares it with the text of the *Chronicle of John Malalas*.<sup>236</sup>

However, MS E, in Amharic, has the following reading:

**ከሰማይ ፡ ስለ ፡ ዝናም ፡ ፈንታ ፡ ቦረንቅ ፡ ዘነመ ፡<sup>237</sup>**

Some soil rained from the sky like rain.

My first impression was that the Amharic version was translated from an exemplar which preserved the right reading attested in the *Chronicle of John Malalas*. However, after having analyzed this case more thoroughly, I found out that Ethiopic manuscripts, except MS C, contain already the right reading. The word **በረቅ ፡** has the main meaning 'light, bright light', but there is also another one 'white stone or soil used

<sup>231</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 29; MS A, fol. 67v; MS B, fol. 52r; MS C, fol. 108v; MS D, p. 3; MS G, fol. 49r.

<sup>232</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 124; MS A, fol. 102r; MS B, fol. 77r; MS D, fol. 74; MS G, fol. 70r. This part is not included into the current edition.

<sup>233</sup> MS C, ff. 135v-136r. This part is not included into the current edition.

<sup>234</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 354.

<sup>235</sup> Charles 1916, 109.

<sup>236</sup> Charles 1916, 109, n. 2; cp. Jeffreys u. a. 1986, 206.

<sup>237</sup> MS E fol. 41v; MS F stops in the middle of Chapter 79, so it lacks this part.

for whitewash'.<sup>238</sup> In other words, the Amharic version did not preserve the right variant lost in the Ethiopic one, but just contain a correct translation of the Ethiopic text.

At the last stage of my analysis, I compared the Amharic version with the text edited by Zotenberg and established a strong relation between them. There are several cases which allow for considering Zotenberg's edition as the *Vorlage* of the Amharic version. All these cases show that the emendations made by Zotenberg occur also in the Amharic text, being in that case shared innovations missing in all Ethiopic manuscripts which I had at my disposal.

For example, in Chapter 40.4 Zotenberg edits the text as follows, restoring the passage in square brackets [ ],<sup>239</sup> which is not attested in any of the studied Ethiopic manuscripts:

**ወእምድኅረ ፡ መዊኦቶሙ ፡ [ሐነፁ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ወ]ሰመይዎ ፡ ስዋ ፡ ረአውስ ፡  
ዘበትርንሚሁ ፡ እመ ፡ አማልክት ፡**<sup>240</sup>

He translates it as follows:

Après avoir remporté la victoire, ils construisirent un temple qu'ils appelèrent *Rhea*, c'est-à-dire, *mère des dieux*.<sup>241</sup>

This passage, proposed by Zotenberg as a restoration, occurs in the Amharic text:

**ከዚያም ፡ በኋላ ፡ የጣዖት ፡ ቤት ፡ ሰርተው ፡ ስሙን ፡ ረዓውስ ፡ አሉት ፡**<sup>242</sup>

And after that they built a temple and called it Rhea.

In Chapter 43.1 Zotenberg's edition contains the following passage:

**ወበመዋዕለ ፡ ሳምሶን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ መሳፍንት ፡ ነግሠ ፡ አውሊብጦስ ፡ በአድዋለ ፡  
አጁይሰቱ ፡**<sup>243</sup>

He translates it as follows:

Du temps de Samson, le dernier des Juges, régna dans le pays de ..., Lapathus...<sup>244</sup>

Whereby MSS AB, from which he edited his text, as well as three others, namely, MSS CDG, have the following variant:

**ወበመዋዕለ ፡ ሳምሶን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ መሳፍንት ፡ ነግሠ ፡ አውሊብጦስ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡  
አጁይሰቱ ፡**<sup>245</sup>

<sup>238</sup> Leslau 1987, s.v.

<sup>239</sup> The usage of square brackets for restored passages corresponds to the editorial practice of Zotenberg. In my edition I apply angle brackets instead.

<sup>240</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 43; Cp. MS A, fol. 72r, MS B, fol. 55r; MS C, fol. 112r; MS D, p. 12; MS G, fol. 52r.

<sup>241</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 263.

<sup>242</sup> MS E, ff. 13r-v; MS F, fol. 26v.

<sup>243</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 45.

<sup>244</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 265.

And in the time of Samson, the last of the Judges, <sup>ᵛ</sup>*Awəlibtos* Lapathus reigned in the time of <sup>ᵛ</sup>*Aǧiyəstu*.

Zotenberg replaces an expression በመዋዕለ ፡ አጂይስቲ ፡ (‘in the time of <sup>ᵛ</sup>*Aǧiyəstu*’) by an expression በአድዋለ ፡ አጂይስቲ ፡ (‘in the land of <sup>ᵛ</sup>*Aǧiyəstu*’). This emendation was suggested by August Dillmann. Zotenberg comments on this, noting that this passage causes problems and can hardly be understood; he was not able to restore the original writing of this word, despite having taken into consideration the texts John Malalas, John of Antioch and by George Cedrenus.<sup>246</sup> Charles proposes identification with ‘Aegistheus’ in his translation and also points that ‘this identification is most doubtful’.<sup>247</sup> However, this reading, proposed by Dillmann, is attested in the Amharic version:

ክፍል ፡ በሰምሶንም ፡ ጊዜ ፡ በአውጅሰጡ ፡ (በአዋጅ ፡ ሰው ፡ E) ሀገር ፡ (ዘገር ፡ E) አውሊብጦስ ፡ የሚባል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ነገሠ ፡<sup>248</sup>

In the time of Samson a king named <sup>ᵛ</sup>*Awəlibtos* (Lapathus) reigned in the land of <sup>ᵛ</sup>*Awəǧsaṭu*.

There is another emendation by Zotenberg in Chapter 89:

ወመጽአ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ዮልያና ፡ ዘከነ[ት] ፡ እምአዝማዶ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ልዮን ፡ [ከመ ፡ ያንግሥዎ ፡ ለምታ ፡ ] ዘተሰምየ ፡ አውኒጡስ<sup>249</sup>.

He translates:

Ils se rendirent ensuite à la maison de Julienne qui était de la famille de l’empereur Léon, afin de proclamer empereur son mari, nommé Ariobinde.<sup>250</sup>

This passage ከመ ፡ ያንግሥዎ ፡ ለምታ ፡ (‘to proclaim her husband emperor’) is not attested in any studied Ethiopic manuscript,<sup>251</sup> but it is present in the Amharic version:

ወደዮልያና ፡ ቤት ፡ ባሏን ፡ ሊያነግሡ ፡ ሄዱ ፡ ስሙም ፡ አውንስጡ ፡ የተባለ ፡<sup>252</sup>

They went to the house of *Yulyānā* to appoint her husband emperor. And his name was <sup>ᵛ</sup>*Awənəṣtu*.

These three cases representing shared innovations lead to a conclusion that the Amharic translation was done from Zotenberg’s edition. His publication appeared in 1883, and Mondon-Vidailhet went to Ethiopia in 1891-1892. From the chronological point of view, it is possible that by the time Mondon-Vidailhet collected these two

<sup>245</sup> MS A, ff. 72v-73r; MS B, fol. 55v; MS C, ff. 112v-113r; MS D, p. 14; MS G, fol. 52v.

<sup>246</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 165-166, n. 5.

<sup>247</sup> Charles 1916, 34, n. 2. For my suggestion on this passage, see p. 47 of my translation.

<sup>248</sup> MS E, fol. 14r; MS F fol. 28v.

<sup>249</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 144.

<sup>250</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 376.

<sup>251</sup> MS A, fol. 109v; MS B, fol. 82r; MS C, fol. 141v; MS D, p. 89; MS G, fol. 75r.

<sup>252</sup> MS E, fol. 49r.

manuscripts the edition had already arrived in Ethiopia. I would personally suggest that it was even brought by Mondon-Vidailhet himself, and that he prompted this translation into Amharic because of his strong interest in the Amharic language.

One can eliminate these two Amharic manuscripts from the text reconstruction as *descripti*. Despite their low philological value for the text reconstruction of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*, they deliver some insights into the process of text transmission and represent interesting documents of the Amharic language.

## Chapter 2: Introduction to the Text-Critical Edition of the Chronicle

The main goal of my PhD-project is the preparation of a new edition of a text portion of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*. This text portion includes Introduction, Table of Contents, and first eighty Chapters of the main text which corresponds approximately to fifty per cent of the whole text of the *Chronicle*. For my editorial practice I have chosen the so-called genealogical-reconstructive method, also known as the common-error or (Neo-)<sup>253</sup> Lachmannian method. The method inaccurately ascribed to the outstanding German Classicist and Germanist Karl Lachmann (1793-1851) is a product of a collective effort of philologists at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.<sup>254</sup>

The genealogical-reconstructive method, based mostly on formal logic and calculus of probability designates a set of operations and techniques with a purpose of establishing genealogical relationships between all available text witnesses. Based on this genealogical tree, or *stemma codicum*, of manuscripts a philologist can weight high- and low-ranking copies and properly evaluate equally acceptable readings.

The main principle of genealogical-reconstructive method, states that if two or more copies share a monogenetic error (or an innovation, the term some philologists prefer),<sup>255</sup> it is likely that these copies are related. This kind of error is called conjunctive. Conjunctive errors could be only of monogenetic nature that means they could not have been done independently by two or more copyists (or at least that the probability of this is so low that it could be disregarded). Polygenetic errors instead could have been made independently, for example, omissions of single words, or even of larger passages in the case of *homoioteleuton*.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> The Italian term ‘neo-lachmannismo’ mostly refers to the Italian philological school, strating from Pasquali, which provides the Lachmannian method with certain modifications. See, for example, Trovato 2014, 18.

<sup>254</sup> Salemans 2000, 18-19; Trovato 2014, 50. On the genesis of Lachmannian method see also Fiesoli 2000, Timpanaro 2005 (1st edn 1963).

<sup>255</sup> Ben Salemans prefers to use the term common (derived) changes (Salemans 2000, 19).

<sup>256</sup> I do not intend to discuss in this paper the theoretical issues raised by this method, but I want to briefly remark the matter of whether several shared polygenetic errors can be regarded as one monogenetic error. Here one can apply probability calculus to evaluate how high or low the probability is that in this particular text material two independent copyists could have made same several errors independently. If

Disjunctive errors (also known as separative errors, *Trennfehler*, *errore separativo*) indicate that a manuscript which contains such an error, could not have been the *Vorlage* for a manuscript which has the correct reading instead. A disjunctive error should be one which could not have been corrected by the scribe independently while copying. For the sake of greater accuracy, I do not consider any errors which could have been corrected using the context as disjunctive.

Based on these and many other principles a *stemma codicum* might be reconstructed.<sup>257</sup> The *stemma codicum* is supposed to indicate clearly, as much as possible, genealogical relationships between surviving witnesses. *Stemma codicum* does not depict the actual history of the text transmission. One should be aware that it is mostly not clear what part of the whole textual transmission the surviving witnesses constitute. An archetype in the reconstructed *stemma codicum* should represent a manuscript from which all surviving manuscripts appear to derive. Based on the *stemma codicum*, one should try to reconstruct this archetype as accurately as possible which however would represent the lost original text to an unknown extent.

## 2.1 Description of the Witnesses

In my current edition I tried to include all witnesses of the *Chronicle*, to which I could gain access, either direct or indirect. All in all, I was able to gather evidence on eight manuscripts with the text of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*. Six of them are in Ethiopic, and two of them are in the Amharic language.<sup>258</sup> According to the common practice the surviving witnesses are labeled with capital letters A, B, C, D, G, (and M)<sup>259</sup> for manuscripts in Ethiopic and E and F for the Amharic version.<sup>260</sup> For my edition I

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two or more manuscripts share a relatively big number of accidentals, it could point to the existence of a relationship between them. In other words, an association of several polygenetic errors could be regarded as one monogenetic error in specific cases. I had no need to apply this principle in my current study, but for some cases it might be useful.

<sup>257</sup> Those studies of textual criticism I found useful include Maas 1957; West 1973; Kenney 1974; Foulet und Speer 1979; Timpanaro 2005, Trovato 2014.

<sup>258</sup> For the Amharic version, see Chapter 1.5 of the current work.

<sup>259</sup> There is evidence for existence of this manuscript; however, I had no access to it.

<sup>260</sup> I learned about the manuscript designated by me with siglum G and the possible existence of the manuscript designated by me with siglum M, after I came upon manuscripts in Amharic, the sigla of which I preferred to preserve. This fact explains certain inconsistency in ascribing of sigla.

preferred to continue the tradition of Zotenberg in labeling, so my sigla A and B correspond to those sigla by Zotenberg.

A Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 123, seventeenth century, ff. 62r-138v, with colophon.<sup>261</sup> It is a parchment manuscript with a text written in three columns which was dated back to the seventeenth century by Zotenberg based on its palaeography.<sup>262</sup> It was handed over to the Bibliothèque nationale de France by a traveler named Charles-Xavier Rochet d'Héricourt after his third journey to Ethiopia in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>263</sup>

B London, British Library, Or. 818, first half of the eighteenth century, ff. 48r-103r, with colophon.<sup>264</sup> It is a parchment manuscript with a text written in three columns. This manuscript was dated back to the first half of the eighteenth century by Wright basing on its palaeography.<sup>265</sup> It is a part of the manuscript collection from Maqdalā which was handed over to the Trustees of the British Museum on the 28 August 1868.<sup>266</sup>

C<sup>267</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, d'Abbadie 31, 1766<sup>268</sup> (f. 103v), ff. 104r-164r, with colophon.<sup>269</sup> It is a parchment manuscript with the writing laid out in three columns, and a colophon mentioning Məḥərəkā Dəngəl.<sup>270</sup> This copy is a part of a rich manuscript collection gathered by Antoine d'Abbadie during his stay in Ethiopia and adjoining regions in 1837-1848.<sup>271</sup>

D Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, fund Conti Rossini 27, pp. 1-120, twentieth century. Incomplete, it lacks the Introduction, Table of Contents and Chapters 103-122.<sup>272</sup> The manuscript is a European ledger with lined

<sup>261</sup> Cp. Zotenberg 1877a, 222-249, no. 146. In a forthcoming contribution Massimo Villa suggests a possible redating of this manuscript to the eighteenth century (Villa forthcoming).

<sup>262</sup> Zotenberg 1877a, 249.

<sup>263</sup> Zotenberg 1877a, iii; „Rochet d'Héricourt, Charles-Xavier“, *E Ae*, IV: O-X (2010) (L. Prijac).

<sup>264</sup> Wright 1877, 297-314, no. 391.

<sup>265</sup> Wright 1877, 297.

<sup>266</sup> Wright 1877, vi.

<sup>267</sup> Maxime Rodinson also used the siglum for the manuscript from d'Abbadie's collection in his contribution to Chapter 90 and 91 (Rodinson 1974, 127-37).

<sup>268</sup> Conti Rossini reads this date as: 'l'an 7182 des martyrs (lire: "du monde" = A.D. 1690)', which I suppose to be a mistake' (Conti Rossini 1914, 207).

<sup>269</sup> d'Abbadie 1859, 37-40; Chaîne 1912, 19-20; Conti Rossini 1914, 207-208, no. 209.

<sup>270</sup> See Chapter 1.4 of the current work.

<sup>271</sup> „Abbadie, Antoine d' and Arnauld d'“, *E Ae*, I: A-C (2003), 25a-26b (T. Zitelmann).

<sup>272</sup> Strelcyn 1976, 100-102.



manuscript is designated as **ዮሐንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ መደብር ፡** *Yohannēs walda madabbər* (‘John, son of Madabbar’), **ዮሐንስ ፡ መደብር ፡** *Yohannēs madabbər* being the traditional way to refer to the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* in the Ethiopic tradition. The extension of the title into **ዮሐንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ መደብር ፡** *Yohannēs walda madabbər* (‘John, son of *Madabbər*’) might be a later interpretation. When Hagos Abrha, after having consulted the list of manuscripts preserved in this monastery, arrived there in 2012, he was shown a certain manuscript amongst others which was claimed to contain the text known as **ዮሐንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ መደብር ፡** *Yohannēs walda madabbər*. Unfortunately, he was not able to check the content of this manuscript to be sure that this manuscript in fact contains the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*. For the reason of its inaccessibility this manuscript is by now excluded from my research, however, gaining access to this manuscript would be one of the main goals for my further research on the *Chronicle* in the coming years.

The indirect transmission of the *Chronicle* includes a translation into Amharic,<sup>278</sup> as well as the Ethiopian hagiographies of John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria.<sup>279</sup> As MSS E and F, representing the Amharic version of the *Chronicle*, as discussed above, are discarded from the reconstruction as *descripti*, I do not list them here. Concerning both hagiographies, in my PhD-Project I consider only the *Vita of Cyril of Alexandria*, because it is of relevance for the portion of text I prepared for my edition.

I was able to collect information on the following witnesses of the *Vita of Cyril of Alexandria*:

H Däbrä Dammo °Abuna °Arägawi, Ethio-SPaRe, DD-026, a parchment manuscript datable to the eighteenth century, ff. 3r-6v.<sup>280</sup>

I\*<sup>281</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. aethiop. 53, a parchment manuscript datable to the seventeenth-eighteenth century, f. 4ra-vb.<sup>282</sup> This manuscript appears to provide another version of the *Vita of Cyril of Alexandria*. Veronika Six writes on this particular text as follows:

Ein Vergleich mit dem Text von Bl. 9rb-10va der Handschrift Ṭānāsee 37 = Kebrān 37 [vgl. VOHD XX 1, 169 (Nr. 5)], der eine Zusammenstellung aus dem *Senkessār*, aus Yoḥannes

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<sup>278</sup> See Chapter 1.5.

<sup>279</sup> Colin 1995, 45; „John of Nikiu“, *EAE*, III: He-N (2007), 298a–299a (S. Weninger), 298.

<sup>280</sup> Catalogued by Abreham Adugna, description accessed on 2 October 2017.

<sup>281</sup> For the time being I disregard this manuscript in my collation for the reasons described below.

<sup>282</sup> Six 1989, 92-96.

Madabbar, Abušaker and Giyorgis Walda ‘Amid ist, hat keine Identität der Texte ergeben, obwohl Ähnlichkeiten (auch in der Formulierung) vorhanden sind.<sup>283</sup>

However, the digital copy of the folia does not contain the text described in the catalogue, or any related text as well. It seems that a certain error occurred. The manuscript is foliated, so the foliation error is not very probable. The excerpts provided in catalogue don't show any similarity with the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*. It might be that this particular text doesn't represent an indirect witness to the *Chronicle*. However, a detailed analysis of this manuscript will be included in the future research.

J Collegetville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library 688, a paper manuscript dated 20 Genbot 1955 EC (= 28 May 1963 CE) on fol. 180a, ff. 1r-4v.<sup>284</sup>

K Collegetville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library 747, a parchment manuscript dated 1919 EC (= 1926-27 CE) on fol. 145b, ff. 1r-4v.<sup>285</sup>

L Island Kəbrān, Church Kəbrān Gabrə'el, Ṭānāsee 37 = Kebrān 37. It is a parchment manuscript datable to the beginning of the eighteenth century, ff. 9r-10v.<sup>286</sup> Today the microfilm of this manuscript is available in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preßische Kulturbesitz, in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts.

The *Vita of Cyril of Alexandria*, as it appears in MSS HJKL, starts with a citation of the whole Chapter 79 of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*<sup>287</sup> referring, and correctly, to the number of Chapter. The latter is of interest because at least four of the manuscripts I collated, namely ABDG, have a numbering mistake, and MS C has a lacuna instead of a number (or the number is rubricated and is not readable due to the quality of reproduction). Interestingly, all studied witnesses of the *Chronicle* mention the name of Cyril of Alexandria in this Chapter only once. On the contrary, three witnesses of the indirect tradition, namely MSS HJK contain the name of Cyril instead of St Theophilus in 79.13, thus the last sentences of Chapter 79 appear to refer to Cyril instead of St Theophilus.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Six 1989, 95.

<sup>284</sup> Cp. Macomber 1976, 446.

<sup>285</sup> Cp. Macomber 1978, 54-55.

<sup>286</sup> Cp. Hammerschmidt 1973, 168-174.

<sup>287</sup> The text itself is referred to as **ዮሐንስ ፡ መደበር ፡** (*Yohannēs madabbar*).

<sup>288</sup> MS H, fol. 3vb; MS J, fol. 2ra; MS K, fol. 1vb; Cp., MS A, fol. 89ra; MS B, fol. 67vb; MS C, fol. 125vc; MS D, p. 47; MS G, fol. 62rc.

The *Vita of John Chrysostom* represents the indirect tradition of Chapter 84 of the *Chronicle's* text and so is excluded by now from my research. I am going to include this text in the preparation of the critical edition of the whole text of the *Chronicle* in future. According to Witakowski, at least eighteen manuscripts containing this text are known, the earliest one dating back to the seventeenth century.<sup>289</sup>

Both texts contain short notes on which sources they are based, namely *Synaxarium, Chronicle of John of Nikiu, ʿAbuṣākər*<sup>290</sup> and *Walda ʿAmid*.<sup>291</sup>

## 2.2 *Stemma Codicum*

Evaluating the results of my collation,<sup>292</sup> I could define clearly two groups of manuscripts based on conjunctive errors. One of these groups consists of MSS A and B, which were used by Zotenberg for his edition. This result underlines once more the importance of a new critical edition of the *Chronicle*, because these manuscripts share a number of errors (mostly omissions), which were either obvious to the editor or came to light only through a comparison of them with the three other Ethiopic manuscripts. Zotenberg in the introduction to his edition points to the strong relation between A and B and suggests that they either derive from a common ancestor or the one is a copy of the other:

Ces deux exemplaires, qui datent de la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle ou du commencement du XVIII<sup>e</sup>, ne diffèrent que par des variants d'importance secondaire; la ressemblance est si complète que parfois un mot écrit, par erreur, deux fois, se trouve répété dans l'une et l'autre copie. Par conséquent, il y a lieu de croire que les deux manuscrits ont une source commune ou que l'un a été copié sur l'autre.<sup>293</sup>

Further on he discusses on a case in Chapter 90. In the passage: **ወንጉሥኒ ፡ ወሀቦ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ንዋያተ ፤**,<sup>294</sup> MS A has **ወንሥኒ ፡** instead of **ወንጉሥኒ** and B has **ወንሥኒ ፡**. Zotenberg proposes that the reading **ወንሥኒ ፡** in A could be an attempt to

<sup>289</sup> Witakowski 2008, 224-225.

<sup>290</sup> „Abuṣākər“, *EAE*, I: A-C (2003), 56b–57b (S. Uhlig).

<sup>291</sup> „Giyorgis Wäldä ʿAmid“, *EAE*, II (2005), 812b–814a (U. Pietruschka).

<sup>292</sup> Although I edited just a portion of the *Chronicle's* text, I collated the full text of all available manuscripts.

<sup>293</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 8.

<sup>294</sup> MS A, fol. 114r; MS B, fol. 85v; MS C, fol.145v; MS D, fol. 100; MS G, fol. 78r.

correct a mistake in MS B which omits the letter **ጥ**. He concludes that B could have been a *Vorlage* for A.<sup>295</sup>

However, such a case can also be explained through the existence of a common ancestor (subarchetype), which already contained the false reading **ወንሥኒ ፣**. In that case, it could have been that the scribe of MS B copied this reading automatically as it is (as it occurs often in the text transmission), and the copyist of MS A recognized that something was missing and tried to correct an error. In any case I do not consider this case sufficiently plausible to establish a relationship between manuscripts. Charles in the introduction to his translation writes on the relationship between the witnesses as follows:

These two manuscripts are not copies of the same manuscript, but are derived, and not distantly, from one and the same exemplar.<sup>296</sup>

In short, he claimed that MSS AB have a common ancestor, but that they are not direct copies of this ancestor. Unfortunately, Charles does not provide further evidence for this assertion. In my opinion MSS AB derive from a common ancestor (subarchetype). First, they share some conjunctive errors. One conjunctive error for MSS AB is in Chapter 18.1 which discusses King Sabacon (also called Shabaka). Both manuscripts have the following text:

**ወእምድኅሬሁ ፣ ነግሠ ፣ ላዕለ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ሀገር ፣ ስዋኬን ፣ ንጉሠ ፣ ሀንድ ፣ ፶ ዓመት ፣**<sup>297</sup>

And after him Sabacon, the king of India, reigned over the country of the country (the city of the city) for fifty years.

The passage **ሀገረ ፣ ሀገር ፣** (‘the country of the country’, ‘the city of the city’) does not make much sense and was recognized by Zotenberg as an error in his edition; he emends as follows:

**ወእምድኅሬሁ ፣ ነግሠ ፣ ላዕለ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ግብጽ ፣ ስዋኬን ፣ ንጉሠ ፣ ሀንድ ፣ ፶ ዓመት ፣**<sup>298</sup>

And after him Sabacon, the king of India, reigned over the country of Egypt for fifty years.

His emendation generally corresponds to the variant found in MSS CDG:

**ወእምድኅሬሁ ፣ ነግሠ ፣ ላዕለ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ምስር ፣ ስዋኬን ፣ ንጉሠ ፣ ሀንድ ፣ ፶ ዓመት ፣**<sup>299</sup>

And after him Sabacon, the king of India, reigned over the country of Egypt for fifty years.

Another conjunctive error is found in Chapter 30.3, MSS AB read:

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<sup>295</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 8-9.

<sup>296</sup> Charles 1916, vi.

<sup>297</sup> MS A, fol. 68r; MS B, fol. 52v.

<sup>298</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 31.

<sup>299</sup> MS C, fol. 109r; MS D, p. 4; MS G, fol. 49v.

ወሶበ ፡ ተስእሎ ፡ ፩ እምዕብራውያን ፡ ለተኒኑስ ፡ ማእምር ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡  
 ዘኢይመውት ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡<sup>300</sup>

And when one of the Jews asked the diviner Taninus [...] that is in the Heaven, the Immortal, the First.

This passage seems to be corrupt, and Zotenberg provides his emendation:<sup>301</sup>

ወሶበ ፡ ተስእሎ ፡ ፩ እምዕብራውያን ፡ ለተኒኑስ ፡ ማእምር ፡ [ይቤሎ ፯ ውእቱ ፡] ዘሀሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡  
 ሰማይ ፡ ዘኢይመውት ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡<sup>302</sup>

And when one of the Jews asked the diviner Taninus, [he said to him: ‘he] who is in the Heaven, the Immortal, the First’.

However, MSS CDG have the following reading:

ወሶበ ፡ ተስእሎ ፡ ፩ እምዕብራውያን ፡ ለተኒኑስ ፡ ማእምር ፡ ወሰምዐ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ከመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡  
 አምላክ ፡ ዕብራውያን ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ዘኢይመውት ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡<sup>303</sup>

And when one of the Jews asked the diviner Taninus, he heard the words, that he is the God of Jews who is in the Heaven, the Immortal, the First.

In this case MSS CDG seem to have the right reading, while MSS AB share a conjunctive error, for the omission of the passage is of no *homoioteleuton* nature:

ወሰምዐ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ከመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ዕብራውያን ፡ .

The third case I provide here is an omission in Chapter 98,<sup>304</sup> in a passage a certain worshipper of demons, Paulinus is mentioned. MSS AB read:

ወይብል ፡ በጉሕሉት ፡ ንጉሥስ ፡ መሪቅዩስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይትሂየዮ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ።<sup>305</sup>

Zotenberg provides with an emendation changing በዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ፡ into ለዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ፡<sup>306</sup> and translates so:

prétendant que l’empereur Maurice tolérait ces pratiques<sup>307</sup>

Charles follows this and provides his translation:

who falsely said: ‘The emperor Maurice overlooks these practices’.<sup>308</sup>

However, MSS CDG provide the following reading:

ወይብል ፡ በጉሕሉት ፡ ኣነ ፡ ክርስቲያናዊ ፡ ወይግብር ፡ ሥራዩ ። ወንጉሥስ ፡ መሪቅዩስ ፡ ኮነ ፡  
 ይትሂየዮ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ።<sup>309</sup>

<sup>300</sup> MS A, fol. 70v; MS B, fol. 54r.

<sup>301</sup> Zotenberg applies square brackets for restored passages.

<sup>302</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 38.

<sup>303</sup> MS C, fol. 111r; MS D, p. 9; MS G, fol. 51r.

<sup>304</sup> This passage is not included into the edited portion of the text.

<sup>305</sup> MS A, fol. 122r; MS B, fol. 91r.

<sup>306</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 179.

<sup>307</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 414.

<sup>308</sup> Charles 1916, 161.

<sup>309</sup> MS C, fol. 151v; MS D, p. 116; MS G, fol. 84r.

And he said falsely: ‘I am Christian’, and exercised sorcery. But the emperor Maurice ignored him in this practice.

I evaluate the reading in MSS CDG as the right one, and the case in MSS AB as another conjunctive error. Besides such errors which I evaluate as monogenetic ones, MSS AB share also a very large number of omissions of single words and some transpositions – cases which also could be of polygenetic nature. However, the number of shared omissions of single words in MSS AB is so great that I consider it improbable that they could all have been made independently. Using the search function in the Classical Text Editor, the software I use for my edition, I counted these cases. According to my collation and further search, MSS AB share fifty-three omissions of one or two words, disregarding cases of *homoioteleuton* or omissions of the word ክፍል: (‘chapter’).

Another unanswered question is the relationship between MS A and MS B. Three variants are possible: 1) MS A derives from MS B; 2) MS B derives from MS A; 3) MSS AB derive from a common subarchetype. As I have mentioned above both manuscripts were dated back to the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries based on palaeography.<sup>310</sup> This makes it difficult in this case to evaluate which manuscript is younger and so exclude at least one possible relation logically. I found some cases where MS B has better readings than MS A. The first such disjunctive error is in a short description of Chapter 2 (0.2). MS A reads:

**በእንተ ፡ አሰማት ፡ ወከዋክብተ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወወርኅ ፡**<sup>311</sup>

Concerning the names and the stars of the sun and the moon.

This seems to be a corrupt reading. MSS BCG have a better reading:

**በእንተ ፡ አሰማተ ፡ ከዋክብት ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወወርኅ ፡**<sup>312</sup>

Concerning the names of stars, the sun and the moon.

Another example of a disjunctive error is found in the short description of Chapter 51 (0.51). MSS BCG have the following reading:

**በእንተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ኩርሻ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡**<sup>313</sup>

Concerning the kingdom of the king Cyrus.

MS A has **ኩርዝ ፡** instead of **ኩርሻ ፡**,<sup>314</sup> which is the wrong form of the proper name. This is the first mention of this person in the text; and the right form is not to be

<sup>310</sup> Zotenberg 1877b, pp. 222-249; Wright 1877, pp. 297-314; for a possible redating of both manuscripts to the eighteenth century, see Villa forthcoming.

<sup>311</sup> MS A, fol. 62r.

<sup>312</sup> MS B, fol. 48r; MS C, fol. 104r; MS G, fol. 96r; MS D lacks this part.

<sup>313</sup> MS B, fol. 48v; MS C, fol. 105r; MS G, fol. 96v; MS D lacks this part.

found nearby, so that the copyist was not able to correct the form of the name while copying. The next case of a disjunctive error is in Chapter 50.1. MSS BCDG read:

**ወእምቅድመ ፡ ያውዕያ ፡ በእሳት ፡ ለመቅደስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ቦኦ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መንጠላዕት ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ መቅደስ ።<sup>315</sup>**

Before he burnt the sanctuary of God with fire, Jeremiah entered the second chamber which is called the Holy of Holies.

But MS A has **ኢየሩሳሌም ፡** ('Jerusalem') instead of **ኤርምያስ ፡** ('Jeremiah'):

**ወእምቅድመ ፡ ያውዕያ ፡ በእሳት ፡ ለመቅደስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ቦኦ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ውስተ ፡ መንጠላዕት ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ መቅደስ ።<sup>316</sup>**

Before he burnt the sanctuary of God with fire, he entered Jerusalem (and) the second chamber which is called the Holy of Holies.

In this case it is, however, probable that the error could have been corrected, because this episode is well-known outside of the *Chronicle*. On the other hand, the reading in MS A is not a striking mistake.

Taking into account all three cases and also some other smaller mistakes introduced in MS A, it seems unlikely that MS A was a *Vorlage* for MS B. Concerning the possibility of a relation the other way round, I have so far found one case where MS A preserved, as I suggest, a better reading than MS B. This case is found in a short description of Chapter 89 (0.89) on the banishment of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (which corresponds to Chapter 90 of the main text) and is an example of *diffraction in praesentia* according to my evaluation. MS A reads:

**ወበእንተ ፡ ስእለት ፡ ዘገብራ ፡ ኅብ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሰብኦ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ወቀስጥንጥንያ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እከይ ፡ ዘገብራ ፡ ለስጥናስ ፡ ንጉሥ ።<sup>317</sup>**

Concerning the prayer he (Severus) made upon the people of Alexandria and Constantinople regarding the evil the emperor Justin had done.

MSS BG have the following reading instead, mentioning only the people of Constantinople:

**ወበእንተ ፡ ስእለት ፡ ዘገብራ ፡ ኅብ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሰብኦ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ቀስጥንጥንያ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እከይ ፡ ዘገብራ ፡ ለስጥናስ ፡ ንጉሥ ።<sup>318</sup>**

Concerning the prayer he (Severus) made upon the people of Constantinople regarding the evil the emperor Justin had done.

<sup>314</sup> MS A, fol. 62v.

<sup>315</sup> MS B, fol. 56r; MS C, fol. 113r; MS D, p. 15; MS G, fol. 52v.

<sup>316</sup> MS A, fol. 73r.

<sup>317</sup> MS A, fol. 65v.

<sup>318</sup> MS B, fol. 50v; MS G, fol. 98r.

This reading was preferred by Zotenberg in his edition.<sup>319</sup> MS C has the third variant mentioning only the people of Alexandria:

**ወበእንተ ፡ ስእለት ፡ ዘገብራ ፡ ንብ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። በእንተ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እክዳ ፡ ዘገብራ ፡ ለስናጥስ ፡ ንጉሥ ።**<sup>320</sup>

Concerning the prayer he (Severus) made upon the people of Alexandria regarding the evil the emperor Justin had done.

MS D does not include this part of the text. I suggest that MS A has the right reading, and MSS BCG preserved the right reading only partially. MS A has the right reading also from a historical point of view – Severus first stayed in Alexandria, in Egypt, and in 535-536 he went to Constantinople.<sup>321</sup> From the context this right reading couldn't have been restored, either using the short description of Chapter or the Chapter itself. The only grounds for doubt is the fact that both cities, Constantinople and Alexandria, are mentioned very frequently in the text, and an automatic exchange of the city names can't be completely ruled out.

MSS DG are also strongly related to each other. For example, they share longer omissions **ንብ ፡ ሐይቀ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ወኣርስጦማኮስ ፡**<sup>322</sup> and **ወይቤሉ ፡ እስመ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ኮኩብ ፡ ዘአስተርአየ ፡**<sup>323</sup> in Chapter 95 which are of no *homoioteleuton* nature, as well as some additional, smaller omissions in Chapters 89.87<sup>324</sup> and 90.90.<sup>325</sup> As MS D is of much more recent date than MS G, only two possibilities remain open: either MS G was the *Vorlage* of MS D, or they derive from a common subarchetype. MS G introduces some minor, often obvious, omissions in comparison with MS D which could have been restored using, for example, context. However, I could not find any case of a disjunctive (separative) error, which would point to the existence of a common subarchetype. Consequently I stand by the assumption that MS D derives from MS G.

There are several cases which potentially could point to the existence of a common subarchetype for MSS C and G. The first such case is in a short description of Chapter 120. MSS AB has the following reading:

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<sup>319</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 22.

<sup>320</sup> MS C, fol. 107r.

<sup>321</sup> Brock und Fitzgerald 2013, 5-7.

<sup>322</sup> MS D, p. 109; MS G, fol. 81r.

<sup>323</sup> MS D, p.110; MS G, fol. 81v.

<sup>324</sup> MS D, p. 91; MS G, fol. 75v.

<sup>325</sup> MS D, p. 102; MS G, fol. 79r.

በእንተ ፡ ከይረስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘኬልቄድናውያን ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ዘሐረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ ወኅበ ፡ ፊመር ፡ ርእሰ ፡ እስላም ፡ ወአምጽኦ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሐመር ፡ ወአግብኦ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ።<sup>326</sup>

Concerning Cyrus, the archbishop of Chalcedonians, that it was he who went to Babylon and to ‘*Emar*’ (*Amr*), chief of the Muslims, and brought it/him on a ship and delivered it/him into his hands.

The passage is obscure, for it is not clear what or whom he (who?) embarked on a ship and delivered into the mentioned hands. Zotenberg, apparently basing on the text of Chapter 120 itself, emends the text:<sup>327</sup>

በእንተ ፡ ከይረስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘኬልቄድናውያን ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ዘሐረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ ወኅበ ፡ ፊመር ፡ ርእሰ ፡ እስላም ፡ ወአምጽኦ ፡ [ለጸባሕት] ኅበ ፡ ሐመር ፡ ወአግብኦ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ።<sup>328</sup>

Concerning Cyrus, the archbishop of Chalcedonians, that it was he who went to Babylon and to ‘*Emar*’ (*Amr*), chief of the Muslims, and brought [tribute] on a ship and delivered it into his hands.<sup>329</sup>

This emendation is very logical and is wholly supported by the content of Chapter 120 which tells that Cyrus went to Muslims to Babylon in order to offer them tribute and so to establish peace. But MSS C and G read:

በእንተ ፡ ከይረስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘኬልቄድናውያን ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ዘሐረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ ወኅበ ፡ ፊመር ፡ ርእሰ ፡ እስላም ፡ ወአምጽኦ ፡ ኅበ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ወአግብኦ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ።<sup>330</sup>

Concerning Cyrus, the archbishop of Chalcedonians, that it was he who went to Babylon and to ‘*Emar*’ (*Amr*), chief of the Muslims, and he brought it/him to Alexandria and delivered it/him into his hands.

This reading might also be correct. In Chapter 120 it is told that Theodore, prefect of Alexandria, brought Cyrus to Alexandria. In any case, the passage seems to me to be corrupt, and probably something is missing in both cases.

The second case of a possible conjunctive error for MSS C and G is found in Chapter 4. MSS AB read:

ተብህለ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቃይናን ፡ ወልደ ፡ አርፋክስድ ፡ ዘተወልደ ፡ እምሴም ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኖኅ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ ወኖላዊ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ጽሒፊ ፡ እስጦርላባት ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ አይኅ ፡ ወእምድኅሬሁ ፡ ጸሐፉ ፡ ህንዳዊያን ።<sup>331</sup>

It is said concerning *Qāyṅān* (Cainan), son of <sup>፡</sup>*Arfāksəd* (Arphaxad) who was born from Shem, the son of Noah, that he was a wise man and a shepherd. He began to write down astrolabes after the Deluge, and after him the Indians composed (them).

<sup>326</sup> MS A, fol. 66v; MS B, fol. 51r.

<sup>327</sup> Zotenberg applies square brackets for restored passages.

<sup>328</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 26.

<sup>329</sup> The translation is mine. For the translation by Zotenberg, see Zotenberg 1883, 238.

<sup>330</sup> MS C, fol. 108r; MS G, fol. 98v; D lacks this part of the text.

<sup>331</sup> MS A, fol. 67r; MS B, fol. 51v.

MSS CDG read:

ተብህለ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቃይናን ፡ ወልደ ፡ አርፋክስድ ፡ ዘተወልደ ፡ እምሴም ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኖኅ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ ወለባዊ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ጽሒፈ ፡ እስጢርላባት ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ አይኅ ፡ ወእምድኅረሁ ፡ ጸሐፉ ፡ ህንዳዊያን ።<sup>332</sup>

It is said concerning *Qāymān* (Cainan), son of *ʿArfāksəd* (Arphaxad) who was born from Shem, the son of Noah, that he was wise and intelligent man. He began to write down astrolabes after the Deluge, and after him the Indians composed (them).

“At first glance one can think that the variant in MSS AB is *lectio difficilior* and should be the right one. However, I have not been unable to find any mention of Cainan's having been a shepherd in other sources. This precise passage seems to have been taken from the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 8.1-5). Cainan is, however, also listed in genealogies of Shem in the Septuagint (LXX), LXX Gen. 10.24, Gen. 11.12-13, 1 Chron. 1.18, and Lk. 3.36-37. According to the narrative in Jub. 8.1-5., Cainan discovered the knowledge of astronomy and astrology carved into a rock which the fallen angels had transmitted to humans before the Flood. This passage resembles the *Chronicle of John Malalas* 1.5 as well which, however, doesn't mention Cainan as a shepherd.<sup>333</sup> In my opinion MSS CDG contain the right reading while MSS AB have an error, probably, inspired by phonetic similarity. However, this suggestion can't be regarded as the only possible evaluation of this case.

The third case is a passage on a baptism of a certain ethnic group whose identification is still vague. In Chapter 120.47 MSS AB read:

ወሶበ ፡ ተሰምዐ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነገር ፡ በኅበ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ በራንጥያ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነገር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቅጥራድስ ፡ ርእስ ፡ ሕዝበ ፡ ሙጣንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እኑሁ ፡ ለኩርናክ ፡ ዘአጥመቅዎ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡ ወረሰይዎ ፡ መሲሐዌ ፡ አመ ፡ ንእሱ ። ወልህቀ ፡ በቤተ ፡ መንግሥት ።<sup>334</sup>

When people of Byzantium heard of that case, they were saying: ‘This is because of *Qətrādəs*, the chief of the people *Mutānəs*, the nephew of *Kʷərnāk* who was baptized in the city of Constantinople and became Christian as a child and had grown up in the imperial palace’.

While MSS CG in Chapter 120.47 (D lacks the Chapter) read:

ወሶበ ፡ ተሰምዐ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነገር ፡ በኅበ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ በራንጥያ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነገር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቅጥራድስ ፡ (ቅጥራጥስ ፡ in G) ርእስ ፡ ሕዝበ ፡ ሙጣንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እኑወ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ለኩርናክ ፡ (ለኩርናስ ፡ in C) ዘአጥመቅዎ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡ ወረሰይዎ ፡ መሲሐዌ ፡ አመ ፡ ንእሱ ። ወልህቀ ፡ በቤተ ፡ መንግሥት ።<sup>335</sup>

<sup>332</sup> MS C, fols. 108rv; MS D, pp. 1-2; MS G, fol. 49r.

<sup>333</sup> Jeffreys u. a. 1986, 4.

<sup>334</sup> MS A, fol. 136v; MS B, fol. 101v.

<sup>335</sup> MS C, fol. 162r; MS G, fol. 93v.

When people of Byzantium heard of that case, they were saying: ‘This is because of *Qəṭrādəs*, the chief of the people *Muṭānəs*, the cousin of *K<sup>w</sup>ərnāk* who was baptized in the city of Constantinople and became Christian as a child and had grown up in the imperial palace’.

The passage gained much attention due to the interpretation of proper names Zotenberg proposed in his publication of 1883 apparently based on the similarity with *Breviarium of Nikephoros*.<sup>336</sup> While in his first contributions he gave the proper names just in their transliteration,<sup>337</sup> later he identified *Qəṭrādəs* with Kubratos, one of the chiefs of Great Bulgaria, *Muṭānəs* with Huns, and *K<sup>w</sup>ərnāk* with Organa.<sup>338</sup> Charles adopted this interpretation,<sup>339</sup> which Brooks criticized strongly in his review:

A very bad case occurs on p. 197, where we read ‘Kubratos chief of the Huns the nephew of Organa’ without any hint that these names are not in the Ethiopic, and the same is the case with Zotenberg’s final translation.<sup>340</sup>

This identification has often been contradicted by other scholars.<sup>341</sup> The argument for Zotenberg’s interpretation is the parallel family relation between these characters: *Qəṭrādes* is a nephew of *K<sup>w</sup>ərnāk*, as well as Kubratos is a nephew of Organa. But the variant of MSS CG does not fit this hypothesis. Either MSS CG have the right variant, and the interpretation by Zotenberg is false, and MSS AB compressed **ወልደ ፡ እጎወ ፡ አቡሁ ፡** (‘cousin’) into **ወልደ ፡ እጎሁ ፡** (‘uncle’); or if the interpretation is right MSS CG have probably a conjunctive error. However, if the interpretation was based on a family relation as a main criterion, then I would suggest that the interpretation is false, and MSS CG have the right reading. The contribution by Mingazov from 2012 is dedicated to this problem, and the author states that accordingly *Qəṭrādes* and *K<sup>w</sup>ərnāk* should not be identified with Kubratos and Organa.<sup>342</sup>

All these three cases cannot be evaluated by me with certainty, either they point to the existence of a common subarchetype for MSS CG, or not. A direct relation between MSS CG can be excluded. In Chapter 31.1 MSS ABDG read:

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<sup>336</sup> Beševliev 1978, 229.

<sup>337</sup> Zotenberg 1879, 379.

<sup>338</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 460.

<sup>339</sup> Charles 1916, 197.

<sup>340</sup> Brooks 1917, 429.

<sup>341</sup> For the arguments for the Zotenberg’s identification, see, for example, Marquart 1911, 7, n. 5; for the arguments against it, see, for example, Fehér 1921, 40.

<sup>342</sup> Mingazov 2012

ወለንጉሥስ ፡ ይሰመይ ፡ አብሩሱቢዳ ፡ ዘፍካሬ ፡ ስሙ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ሠላስ ፡ ገጸት ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ በሐይቀ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ምዕራባዊ ፡<sup>343</sup>

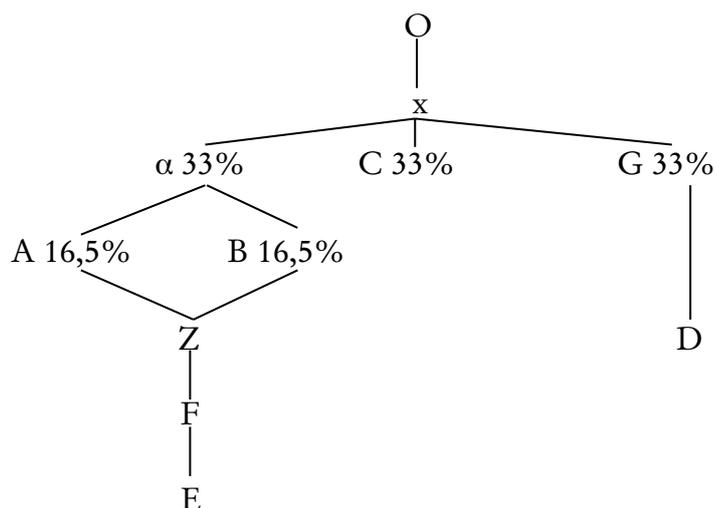
The king's name was ᵅAbrusubidā (Prosopis), and the interpretation of his name 'the lover of gods with three faces'. He was on the western river bank.

MS C omits a passage in **ዘፍካሬ ፡ ስሙ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ አማልክት ፡**<sup>344</sup> in Chapter 31.1 and also contains further, longer omissions, for example 51.59-60.<sup>345</sup> On the other hand, MS G completely omits the short description of Chapter 65 (0.65)<sup>346</sup> which is present in MS C.<sup>347</sup>

I present both variants of *stemma codicum*, including also the Amharic version and Zotenberg's edition (designated by siglum Zot), as part of the text's transmission. Siglum O designates the lost original text, while x states for the lost text witness from which all other studied (for the moment) witnesses appear to derive. Small Greek letters designate reconstructed sub-archetypes. The percentages near sub-archetypes or certain witnesses designate the nominal value of each branch or witness in the reconstruction of the text, making it possible to apply the method of qualified majority for the reconstruction of the text.

If we assume that in the above-mentioned cases MSS AB introduced errors and MSS CG (and D when the text is present) preserved the right readings, then the *stemma codicum* would be as follows:

Stemma codicum I (first hypothesis)



<sup>343</sup> MS A, fol. 71r; MS B, fol. 54r; MS D, p. 10; MS G, fol. 51v.

<sup>344</sup> MS A, fol. 111v.

<sup>345</sup> MS C, fols. 114v-115r.

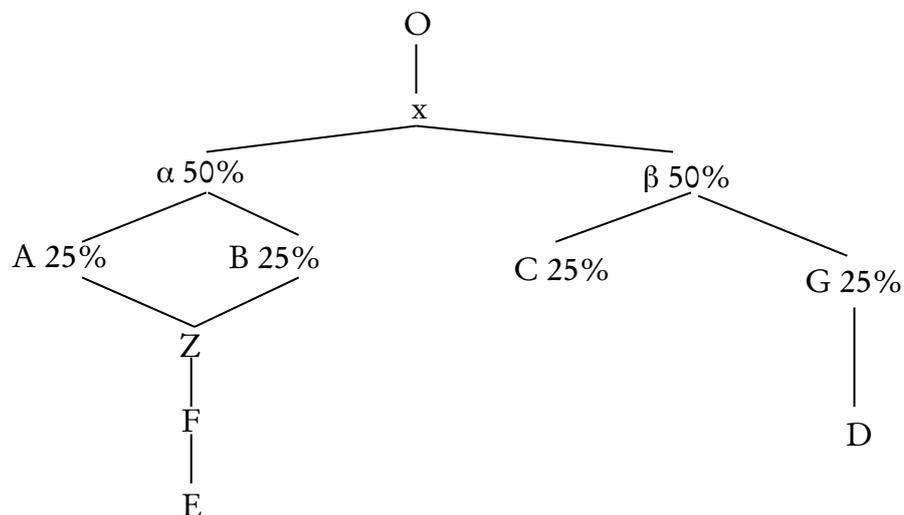
<sup>346</sup> MS G, fol. 97r.

<sup>347</sup> MS C, fol. 105v.

In this case if a certain variant is attested in MSS CG, but  $\alpha$  has another one, then according to the nominal weight, the probability that the variant of MSS CG is the right one corresponds to 66%, but that of  $\alpha$  to still 33%.

But if we suggest that the three above discussed variants represent a common error for MSS CG, then it would indicate the existence of a common subarchetype for them, this assumption influences the *stemma codicum* and the nominal weight of witnesses drastically.

*Stemma codicum* II (second hypothesis)



As I have mentioned above both variants of the *stemma codicum* are possible under certain assumptions. I base my reconstruction of the text of the *Chronicle* on the first hypothesis of the *stemma codicum*, because in my opinion the existence of a common subarchetype for MSS CG could not be stated with certainty. From both variants the Amharic version as well as MS D could be eliminated as copies of preserved witnesses (*eliminatio codicum descriptorum*).

### 2.3 Text Reconstruction

Critical reconstruction of a text is subdivided into two aspects – reconstruction of a textual *substance* and reconstruction of a textual *form*. Under a textual substance one understands readings which influence the meaning of a text, while reconstruction of a

textual form deals with linguistic, stylistical, and purely graphical aspects.<sup>348</sup> For the reconstruction of both layers I rely on *my stemma codicum*. I chose among equally acceptable readings applying the principle of qualified majority. The difference in reconstruction of substance and form might be expressed using a simple example from the text. The short description of Chapter 8 reads:

**ክፍል ፡ ሳምን ፡ (ሳምን ፡ C, ጿ ፡ α, ሳብዕ ፡ G) በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠነ ፡ ሐኒጾታ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ነዌ ።  
ወበእንተ ፡ ዘነሥኣ ፡ ለእሙ ፡ ወረሰዖ ፡ ብእሲተ ።**<sup>349</sup>

Chapter 8. Concerning him who began the construction of the city of Nineveh; and concerning him who married his own mother.

Here the actual graphical variant I preferred is attested only in MS C, i.e. **ሳምን ፡** which nominal weight corresponds to 33%. However, if one distinguishes between the layer of substance (‘eight’ instead of ‘seven’) and the layer of form (spelled-out form instead of a numeral), the situation appears to be different. The variant ‘eight’ (substance) is attested in C and α, so its nominal weight corresponds to 66%. The spelled-out form is attested in C and G, so that its nominal weight corresponds to 66% as well.

Concerning the process of the text reconstruction, I should make a note on my workflow with the text. In my workflow I tried to follow the historical development of the text. Accordingly, I began the proper analysis, reconstruction and translation with the main part of the text, for it was written earlier than the Introduction with the Table of Contents. After having finished with Chapters 1-80, I continued working with the Table of Contents, constantly comparing the main text with the summary in the Table of Contents. All my observations are to be found in the footnotes to the translation.

Concerning the emendations, I propose in the text, there is a methodological issue I want to touch upon. My goal is to attempt a reconstruction of an Ethiopic archetype from which all known witnesses appear to derive. In accordance with that I have to decide every time at what stage of the text transmission this or that innovation might have taken place: in the original text, in the Arabic version, or in the Ethiopic one. I undertake an emendation of the text only when it seems probable to me that the innovation was introduced in the Ethiopic version. I would like to illustrate this approach with two examples. The first one is situated in Chapter 7:

<sup>348</sup> In some cases, it is not very clear how these two layers may be delimited.

<sup>349</sup> MS A, fol. 62v; MS B, fol. 48r; MS C, fol. 104r; MS D lacks this part; MS G, fol. 96r.

ክፍል ፡ ፯ ፡ 1. ወበኪስስ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ኒሩስ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘቀደመ ፡ ነሚአ ፡ እኅቱ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ 2. ወወለደ ፡ እምኔሃ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ወይሉልዩስ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ይመስሎ ፡ ለአክሮንስ ፡ አበ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ 3. ወነግሠ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ወይሉልዩስ ፡ በሶርያ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ <ራአን> ፡ (ረዓድ A, ረዓይ ፡ BD, ረአይ ፡ CG) አቡሁ ፡ ወአክሮንስ ፡ እምሔው ። 4. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ አምለክዎ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አማልክት ።<sup>350</sup>

Chapter 7. 1. Moreover Picus, i.e. *Nirus* (Zeus), was the first to marry his own sister. 2. He begat by her a son named Belus. And he resembled his grandfather Cronus. 3. This Belus reigned over Assyria after his father <*Rā'an*> (Zeus) and his grandfather Cronus. 4. Moreover after he died Persians worshipped him together with gods.

My emendation <ራአን ፡> is based on the form of the proper name Zeus mentioned also in Chapter 6.3. This emendation also corresponds in its substance to the text of the *Chronicle of John Malalas*.<sup>351</sup>

Zotenberg proposes another emendation:

ወነግሠ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ወይሉልዩስ ፡ በሶርያ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ ራእየ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ወአክሮንስ ፡ እምሔው ።<sup>352</sup>

He translates this passage as follows:

qui régnait en Assyrie, après la disparation de son père et de Kronos, son grand-père.<sup>353</sup>

Charles basing on the text of *Chronicon Paschale* suggests:

Text reads ‘appearance’: we must therefore, add ኢ before ራእየ ፡.<sup>354</sup>

He translates the text according to his emendation as follows:

And this Belus rules in Assyria after the disappearance of his father and his grandfather Cronus.<sup>355</sup>

In this case I emend the text because it appears that such a corruption took place in the Ethiopic text already. The name of Zeus was transliterated, already erroneously, from Arabic as ራአን ፡. Later on the copyists altered this name, likely due to the graphical similarity of some letters.

Another example I want to discuss here is situated in Chapter 59.10. Manuscripts read as follows:

ወዓዲ ፡ አንገሠ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ምስር ፡ በጥሊሞስሃ ፡ ዘተሰምየ ፡ በይላጎስ ።<sup>356</sup>

He also appointed Ptolemy who was named *Baylāgos*, king of the land of Egypt.

Zotenberg explains the strange form of the name Lagus, i.e. በይላጎስ ፡ *Baylāgos*, either through a misinterpretation of an Arabic preposition, or through a preservation of

<sup>350</sup> MS A, fol. 67v; MS B, fol. 51v-52r; MS C, fol. 108v; MS D, p. 2; MS G, fol. 49r.

<sup>351</sup> Jeffreys u. a. 1986, 7.

<sup>352</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 29.

<sup>353</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 243.

<sup>354</sup> Charles 1916, 18, n. 1.

<sup>355</sup> Charles 1916, 18.

<sup>356</sup> MS A, fol. 77v; MS B, fol. 59r; MS C, fol. 116v; MS D, p. 24; MS G, fol. 55v.

a Coptic article.<sup>357</sup> However, according to *John Malalas* 8.6 Ptolemy was son of Lagus.<sup>358</sup>

I suggest that the prefix **በይ ፣** in **በይላጎስ ፣** *Baylāgos* is rather a misinterpreted Arabic ب (‘son’). In this case, the Arabic version still had the right reading ‘Ptolemy, son of Lagus’. During translation the Arabic text was interpreted incorrectly, creating a strange form **በይላጎስ ፣** instead of **ወልደ ፣ ላጎስ ፣**. Then the word **ዘተሰምየ ፣** was inserted into the Ethiopic text, probably at the stage of the translation as well, as if the person had two alternative names. In this case, thus I could provide a more intelligible, and reconstructable, reading **በጥሊሞስ ፣ ወልደ ፣ ላጎስ ፣**, I preserve the original reading instead. It appears that the Ethiopic text never attested the reading **በጥሊሞስ ፣ ወልደ ፣ ላጎስ ፣** (or a comparable one), because the innovation had already taken place during the composition of the Ethiopic version.

#### *2.4. Note on the Linguistic Features of the Ethiopic Version of the Chronicle*

In this subchapter I summarize briefly some, most peculiar, linguistic features of the Ethiopic text of the portion of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* I edited. First of all, the text might contain some not well-documented lexical items. For example, at the very beginning of the text, in its Introduction there is a word **አዝማናዊያን ፣**<sup>359</sup> for which I was not able to find any other attestation. By now, I propose to render this word as ‘contemporary’, thus, of course, other interpretations are possible. Another such lexical item is found in Chapter 7.3.<sup>360</sup> All studied manuscripts read **እምሔይው ፣** for ‘grandfather’. By now I consider this reading a spelling variant, not an error.

There are several cases of systematic gender disagreement in the text. If in some cases such disagreement might be explained through an accidental error,<sup>361</sup> in others, it seemed to be rather systematic. I can’t exclude that this disagreement might have some stylistic purposes. Mostly, masculine forms are applied where feminine forms are expected. So, nouns naturally being of feminine gender (for example, ‘women’) are

<sup>357</sup> Zotenberg 1883, 283, n. 3.

<sup>358</sup> Jeffreys u. a. 1986, 103.

<sup>359</sup> MS A, fol. 62r; MS B, fol. 48r; MS C, fol. 104r; MS G, fol. 96r; MS D lacks this part.

<sup>360</sup> MS A, fol. 67v; MS B, fol. 52r; MS C, fol. 108v; MS G, fol. 49r; MS D, p. 2.

<sup>361</sup> As, for example, in Chapter 56.10 (MS A, fol. 76v; MS B, fol. 58v; MS C, fol. 116r; MS G, fol. 54v; MS D, p. 22;), where I propose a conjecture.

accompanied with verbs in masculine form, as for example, in Chapter 0.71,<sup>362</sup> 35.3,<sup>363</sup> 56.15.<sup>364</sup> In Chapter 67.2<sup>365</sup> the term **ንጉሥ ፣** is applied to Cleopatra, when it is told on her reign in Alexandria. The manuscripts read **ወኮነት ፣ ንጉሥ ፣ ውስቴታ ፣**, thus the verb is in feminine form.

I could find only one case, in Chapter 51.15,<sup>366</sup> where a feminine form of a word ‘enemy’, that is **ጸላእት ፣** was applied for a man, namely for Croesus. Maybe, in this case the usage of the feminine form was intended to belittle the figure of Croesus as an enemy.

The text contains many lexical items transliterated from Arabic. So, for example Chapter 2.1 lists the names of the stars transliterated from Arabic,<sup>367</sup> and Chapter 5.3 gives the Arabic name for the constellation of Orion.<sup>368</sup> There are several occasions where transliteration of the Arabic word is provided alongside with its translation into Ethiopic. Thus, for example, Chapter 42.1<sup>369</sup> reads:

**ወረሰዮ ፣ ንብ ፣ ሰርጅ ፣ <ዘ>ፈረስ ፣ ዘውእቲ ፣ ኮር ።**

And he put it (nail) into the *sarġ* <of> a horse that is saddle.

In this case **ሰርጅ ፣** *sarġ* is transliteration of the Arabic سرج ‘saddle’. Similar cases are found in Chapters 0.76<sup>370</sup> and 0.77.<sup>371</sup>

Some other minor observations on the language of the *Chronicle* are summarized in the footnotes to my translation.<sup>372</sup>

<sup>362</sup> MS A, fol. 64r; MS B, fol. 49r; MS C, fol. 105v; MS G, fol. 97r; MS D lacks this part.

<sup>363</sup> MS A, fol. 71rv; MS B, fol. 54v; MS C, fol. 111v; MS G, fol. 51v; MS D p. 11.

<sup>364</sup> MS A, fol. 76v; MS B, fol. 58v; MS C, fol. 116r; MS G, fol. 55r; MS D p. 22.

<sup>365</sup> MS A, fol. 78v; MS B, fol. 59v; MS C, fol. 117v; MS G, fol. 56r; MS D p. 25.

<sup>366</sup> MS A, fol. 74r; MS B, fol. 56v; MS C, fol. 114r; MS G, fol. 53r; MS D p. 16.

<sup>367</sup> MS A, fol. 67r; MS B, fol. 51v; MS C, fol. 108r; MS G, fol. 49r; MS D p. 1.

<sup>368</sup> MS A, fol. 67v; MS B, fol. 51v; MS C, fol. 108v; MS G, fol. 49r; MS D p. 2.

<sup>369</sup> MS A, fol. 72v; MS B, fol. 55v; MS C, fol. 112v; MS G, fol. 52v; MS D p. 13.

<sup>370</sup> MS A, fol. 64r; MS B, fol. 49v; MS C, fol. 105v; MS G, fol. 97r; MS D lacks this part.

<sup>371</sup> MS A, fol. 64r; MS B, fol. 49v; MS C, fol. 106r; MS G, fol. 97r; MS D lacks this part.

<sup>372</sup> See, for example, the translation of Chapters 0.21, 27.12, 77.21, 77.30, 77.37.

## Chapter 3: Prolegomena to the Critical Edition

This Chapter contains some technical notes, and is followed by the list of bibliographical references and by my edition of the portion of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* and its translation into English. The Ethiopic text and its translation are organized in parallel; folia (and pages)<sup>373</sup> of manuscripts and pages of Zotenberg's edition are given in the margins on even pages.

### 3.1 Apparatus

In my edition I apply two systems for *apparatus*, one for the direct transmission, and another for the indirect transmission. The direct transmission is represented by a positive *apparatus criticus*, a positive *apparatus* for *lectiones minores*, and a separate *apparatus* for punctuation. The indirect transmission is documented by a single positive *apparatus* both for readings as well as punctuation. I disregarded orthographical variants of spelling in regard of sibillants and laryngeals. Where punctuation was concerned I followed my *stemma codicum* also in the reconstruction of punctuation signs. Only in some very rare cases I undertook a transposition of the punctuation signs. In particular, I distinguished between *mulu natəb* ( # ), *dərrəb saraz* ( ¶ ), and their absence. A special apparatus for punctuation indicates, however, only the presence of *mulu natəb* ( # ) and *dərrəb saraz* ( ¶ ).

In my collation I consider conjectures and readings proposed by Zotenberg<sup>374</sup> in his edition (siglum Zot), as well as in his translation (siglum Zot<sup>v</sup>). References to the pages of his edition are given alongside the references of the folia (and pages) of manuscripts on the margins. The references to his translation are given in the *apparatus criticus* in brackets. Conjectures by Charles<sup>375</sup> (siglum Cha), Nöldeke<sup>376</sup> (siglum Nöl), and Colin<sup>377</sup> (siglum Col) are also given in apparatus with a reference to a page and

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<sup>373</sup> MS D is paginated.

<sup>374</sup> Zotenberg 1883. So, for example, ‘አክላኩባጥራ ፣ A Zot: B’ means that the reading አክላኩባጥራ ፣ is, in my opinion, attested only in MS A. Zotenberg, however, suggests that the same reading is attested in B. ‘Zot: ቅብዕ ፣ A’ means that according to Zotenberg MS A reads ቅብዕ ፣, disagreeing, I provide my own variant. ‘አወዐኖን ፣ Zot’ means that the edition of Zotenberg contains the reading አወዐኖን ፣ without any other variants provided, of which I find no attestation.

<sup>375</sup> Charles 1916.

<sup>376</sup> Nöldeke 1883.

<sup>377</sup> Colin 1995.

footnote if applicable. As Nöldeke provides his variants using a system of transliteration for which he provides no explanation, my interpretation of his conjecture remains hypothetical.<sup>378</sup>

### 3.2 *Proper Names*

Concerning the proper names, for the edited part of the text I mostly rely on the identifications and restorations done by Charles and Zotenberg. Where there are disagreements between them, or other contributors considered in my work, I provide this information in footnotes to the translation. I similarly indicate any identification I propose for proper names.

One of the disadvantages of the contributions by Zotenberg and Charles is the lack of an adequate transliteration of the proper names. If a proper name was identified no transliteration is provided, and transliteration (however, without explanation of the applied rules) is given only when the proper name remains non-identified. Brooks absolutely rightly pointed to one aspect of this problem in his review of the Charles' translation:

Again, when a Greek word or name is restored by conjecture, the exact transliteration of the Ethiopic word should be given, since a reader may have a different opinion as to the word or name intended; but in this version we are frequently told merely that the text is corrupt or that the name was restored by Zotenberg.<sup>379</sup>

For the sake of clarity, I give transliteration of all proper names, disregarding how common they are, found in the portion of text I edit. The transliteration is given according to Table 1, and the rules of transliteration it presents. However, the list of the most common and less problematic proper names is provided in alphabetical order.<sup>380</sup> It contains variants of the spelling in Ethiopic, its transliteration(s), and the corresponding English variant.<sup>381</sup> Names from this list are not transliterated in the translation, so as to leave it more readable. If any doubts concerning the actual spelling in Ethiopic version

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<sup>378</sup> For example, Nöldeke proposes to conjecture the word  $\beta\lambda\tau$ : as follows: ‘so lese ich [...] in Z. 3 jātet für das jeetî: „denn Fleiß [...] entfernt das Leid“ (Nöldeke 1883, 1372).

<sup>379</sup> Brooks 1917, 429.

<sup>380</sup> This list should not be considered as an Index.

<sup>381</sup> If several orthographic variants are equally acceptable I prefer to use only one. So, for example, I use Belus, and not Belos, unless I provide a citation. I used *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* for controlling the spelling of some personal names (Jones u. a. 1971; Martindale 1980, 1992a, 1992b). However, this contribution is only partially applicable to the text of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*.

occur, this list may be easily consulted. Some proper names are transliterated in the translation; mostly these are names which occur rarely in the text, cause some problems, not identified, or are supposed to contain, for example, traces of the Coptic language. If a proper name can be identified, the English equivalent is written in round brackets after its transliteration.

### *3.3 Navigation in the Text*

The *Chronicle* is a long text which can be divided into Introduction containing information on the author and a descriptive summary of the content, Table of Contents with a short description of each chapter and one hundred and twenty-two Chapters themselves. The Chapters vary greatly in length: some of them consist only of several lines, while others may occupy many folia. This fact makes it difficult to use the original system of Chapters for quick and easy navigation in the text. Zotenberg in his edition of 1883 did not use any additional navigating system or subdivisions. A reference can be made only to a certain page of the edition, so that it is quite difficult to find any precise word or passage in the text of the edition or its translation.

In my opinion, the length and complexity of the text make it necessary to introduce usable subdivisions. Charles took a further step on this way, having introduced further subdivisions in his translation of 1916. He divided long Chapters into passages according to the content and numbered them, the numbering restarts at the beginning of each Chapter. It is quite a useful measure, for the text became more structured and precise references can be made in regard to this translation.

In my edition I used the system of subdivisions introduced by Charles applying to the Ethiopic text as well as to the English translation. However, in some cases I find the subdivisions by Charles confusing, and that they do not always correspond to the contents. Accordingly, I undertook a number of changes of the subdivisions which I marked in the footnotes.

### *3.4 Translation*

Regarding the translation in English, I tried to make my translation as comprehensible as possible. For the sake of readability, I tried to avoid a literal translation of the Ethiopic text. However, my attempt was to follow the Ethiopic text in its sequence and not to overinterpret it. In some cases, a proper translation is not possible due to the corruption of the text; I always mark such passages and draw attention to them in my notes.

The translation and interpretation of the *Chronicle's* text is not an easy task. As Booth rightly points out the various ambiguities of the Ethiopic language aggravates the problems of an adequate translation; he also summarizes the Ethiopic lexica which causes particular problems.<sup>382</sup> Those terms which are most problematic designate various official titles, as for example, **ሥዩም** : *śayyūm* ('appointee, official, governor, prefect'), **መስፍን** : *masfən* ('ruler, governor, prince, prince, chief official, judge'), **መከራንን** : *mak<sup>w</sup>annən* ('ruler, prince, governor, magistrate, officer, high official, prefect'), **ሊቅ** : *liq* ('chief, senior, old man, master, magistrate'), **ርእሰ** : *rəʾəs* ('head, chief'), **እግዚእ** : *'əgzi* ('master, lord, owner, ruler, chief governor'). Not mentioned by Booth, the same problematic terms are in my opinion **መልአክ** : *mal'ak* ('messenger, governor, prefect, prince, chief, captain') and **ሰራዊት** : */ሠራዊት: sarāwit/ śarāwit* ('army, troops, officers'). The identification of specific titles and concepts behind those terms is not always possible. I follow here the solution proposed by Booth for such cases and prefer to use in my translation ambiguous terms like 'official', 'ruler', 'governor', 'general', but I don't provide the Ethiopic term in transliteration for the moment. As a common rule, one should not consider such attributes in the text as official historical titles and bear in mind their ambiguity.

Another problematic Ethiopic term is **ሀገር** : *hagar* ('town, region, province'). The precise meaning of that term might not be always drawn from the context, especially if the identification of the place name is vague.

In addition to these problematic cases already identified by Booth, I would like to mention some other Ethiopic terms which cause problems for interpretation.

For example, the terms **ደቡብ** : *dabub* ('north, south') and **ሰሜን** : *səmen* ('north, south') are ambiguous as well. Originally, **ሰሜን** : meant 'south', and as a result the high land region to the south of Axum inherited this name. Later, with the shift of the core of the Christian kingdom southwards, the word's meaning changed and it appeared to mean 'north'.<sup>383</sup> Apparently, **ደቡብ** : *dabub* means rather 'direction opposite to **ሰሜን** : *səmen*'.<sup>384</sup> Because of this ambiguity I give a transliteration of the Ethiopic term in my translation in brackets to avoid misinterpretations.

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<sup>382</sup> Booth 2013, 645-646.

<sup>383</sup> „Səmen“, *EAE*, IV (2010), 611a–613b (J. Quirin).

<sup>384</sup> Dillmann 1955, 334-335.

### 3.5 Footnotes

The notes accompanying my translation are diverse in nature. They contain my own remarks on some difficult passages, alternative translations and explanations of conjectures; not only mine, but also those proposed by Zotenberg and Charles, where they give an explanation or I could deduce *their* logic. If I do not follow conjectures by them, I also make a note of it. I tried to include also the remarks by Zotenberg, Charles, Nöldeke, Crum and others who contributed to this part of the text. All such remarks contain bibliographical references. However, I do not make any claim of exhaustiveness in this aspect on my part, and the reader should at least consult Zotenberg's and Charles' contributions for more precise information. Notably, I did not include very valuable restorations and explanations of proper names done by Zotenberg into my translation. My notes also contain references to the passages from the *Chronicle of John Malalas* and some other written documents which show similarities with the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*.

Orphographic normalization and standardization of Ethiopic is an important part of editorial practice which allows the editor to avoid disambiguation. However, for now I have left this aspect of the matter aside. All transcribed text is italicized.

## List of Proper Names Not Transliterated in the Translation

Aaron	አሮን ፡	°Aron
Abraham	አብርሃም ፡	°Abrəhām
Absai	አብሳይ ፡	°Absāy
Achaia	አካይያ ፡	°Akāyōyā
Adah	ሐዳ ፡	Ḥadā
Adam	አዳም ፡	°Adām
Aelius Antonius Pius	ኢልዮስ ፡ እንጦንዮስ ፡ ኔሮስ ፡	°Ilyos °Ḥntonyos Neros
Aeneas	አይናስ ፡	°Aynās
Africa	ፊርኔቄ ፡	Farneqe
	አፍራቅያ ፡	°Afrāqəya
Alexander	እስክንድር ፡	°Eskəndər
Amandra	መንዶር ፡	Mandor
Amr	ዕመር ፡	°Ḥmar
Amosius	አሙስዮስ ፡	°Amusəyus
Amycus	አሜከጥስ ፡	°Amekəṭəs
Anastasius	አንስጣትዮስ ፡	°Anəstātəyos
	አንስጣስዮስ ፡	°Anəstāsəyus
Andrasus	አንጣርሳ ፡	°Antārsā
Antigonia	እንዲጋንያ ፡	°Ḥndigānyā
Antigonus	አንዲጎስ ፡	°Andigos
Antinoe	እንዲና ፡	°Ḥndinā
Apollo	አብሎን ፡	°Ablon
Apries	አብርያ ፡	°Abəryā
	አብራ ፡	°Abrā
Arcadia	አርጋድያ ፡	°Argādyā
Arcadius	አርቃዴዎስ ፡	°Arqādewos
	አርቃድዮስ ፡	°Arqādyos
Archelaus	አርሴላዎስ ፡	°Arselāwos
	አርከላኦስ ፡	°Arkalā°os
Argives <sup>1</sup>	አርጅዩን ፡	°Argəyün
Aristomachus	አርስጥማኸስ ፡	°Arəstəmaḵus

<sup>1</sup> This term causes some problems. See, Chapter 22 of the edited text.

Arius	አርዮስ ፡	°Aryos
Arphaxad	አርፋክስድ ፡	°Arfāksəd
Armenia	አርማንያ ፡	°Armānəyā
Artaxerxes	አክራኪስ ፡	°Akrakis
	አክስራክሲስ ፡	°Aksərāksis
Asia	እስያ ፡	°Əsyā
Assyria	ሶርያ ፡	Soryā
Astyages	አንስጥያስ ፡	°Anəstəyās
Athanasius	አትናስዮስ ፡	°Atnāsəyos
Athens	አቴና ፡	°Atenā
Attica	እንዲካ ፡	°Əndikā
Augustus	አውግስጦስ ፡	°Awgəstos
Aurelian	አውሩልዮስ ፡	°Awurəlyos
Babylon	ባቢሎን ፡	Bābilon
Bardane	ጥርጣና ፡	ፒጥጥና
Basil	ባስልዮስ ፡	Bāsəlyos
Basiliscus	ዋስኪስዩስ ፡	Wāsəkiyus
	ዋስልስክስ ፡	Wāsələskəs
Belshazzar	ብልሻሻር ፡	Bəlṯasor
Benjamin	ብንያሚን ፡	Bənyāmin
Byzantium	ብራንጥያ ፡	Bərāntəyā
Caesar	ቄሳር ፡	Qesār
Caesarea	ቄሳርያ ፡	Qisāryā
Cainan	ቃይናን ፡	Qāynān
Cambyses	አክሚስ ፡	°Akmis
	ከሚስ ፡	Kamis
Canaan	ከነኦን ፡	Kana’an
Candace	ቅንዳቅስ ፡	Qəndāqəs
Cappadocia	ቀጳዶቅያ ፡	Qapadoqyā
Chalcedon	ኬልቄዶንያ ፡	Kelqedonyā
Carthage	ቅርጣጣና ፡	Qərṯāgnā
Chartima	ከርዲማስ ፡	Kardimās
Chrysopolis	አክሪሳቡልስ ፡	°Akrisābuləs
Cilicia	ቂልቅያ ፡	Qilqəyā

	ኪልቅያ ፡	Kilqəyā
Claudius	አቅሎንድዮስ ፡	°Aqlondəyos
Cleopatra	አክላኡባጥራ ፡	°Aklā'ubāṭrā
Constantia	ቀስጥንጥና ፡	Q <sup>w</sup> əstəntənā
Constantine	ቄስጠንጢኖስ ፡	Q <sup>w</sup> astantinos
	ቀስጥንጥኑስ ፡	Q <sup>w</sup> əstəntənus
Constantinople	ቀስጥንጥንያ ፡	Q <sup>w</sup> əstəntənəya
Constans	ቀስጦስ ፡	Qastos
Constantius	ፈርንስጣ ፡	Farnəštā
	ቀስጥንጥዩስ ፡	Q <sup>w</sup> əstəntəyus
Cosmas	ቆዝሞስ ፡	Cosmas
Crete	ቀርጤስ ፡	Qartēs
Crispus	አክራስስ ፡	°Akrəsəs
Croesus	አክርስስ	°Akrəsəs
	አክሪሱስ ፡	°Akrisus
	አክሪስስ ፡	°Akrisəs
Cronus	አክሮንስ ፡	°Akronəs
Cush	ኩሽ ፡	Kuš
Cyprus	ቆጵሮስ ፡	Qoṗros
Cyrene	ቂርዋን ፡	Qirwān
Cyril	ቄርሎስ ፡	Cyril
Cyrus	ኩርሽ ፡	Kurš
	ኩርሽ ፡	K <sup>w</sup> ərš
	ካይረስ ፡	Kayras
	ኬይረስ ፡	Keyras
Cyzieus	ከሲክስ ፡	Kasikas
Damascus	ደማስቆ ፡	Damāsqo
Damian	ድምያኖስ ፡	Dəmyanos
Daniel	ዳንኤል ፡	Dān°el
Darius	ዳርዮስ ፡	Dāryos
David	ዳዊት ፡	Dāwit
Decius	ዳኬዮስ ፡	Dākeyos
	ዳኪዮስ ፡	Dākiyos
	ዳክዮስ ፡	Dākyos

Deucalion	ድቃልዮን ፡	Dəqālyun
Dido	ዲጡ ፡	Diṭu
	ቲጡ ፡	Tiṭu
Diocletian	ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡	Diyoqləṭyānos
	ዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ፡	Diyoqləṭyānos
Dionysus	ደናስዮስ ፡	Danāsəyos
	ዱናስዮስ ፡	Dunāsəyos
Dionysius	ዱናስዮስ ፡	Dunāsəyos
Domitian	ዱማድያኖስ ፡	Dumādyānos
	ዶማድያኖስ ፡	Domādyānos
	ዱማዴዮስ ፡	Dumādeyos
Domitius	ዱማድያኖስ ፡	Dumādyānos
	ዱማዴዮስ ፡	Dumādəyos
Elijah	ኤልያስ ፡	°Elyās
Ephesus	ኤፌሶን ፡	°Efeson
Epimetheus	ቢሙቲዩስ ፡	Bimatiyus
Epiphanius	ኤጲፋንዮስ ፡	°Epifānyos
Eudocia	አውዶክስያ ፡	°Awdoksəyā
Eve	ሔዋን ፡	Ḥewān
Ezra	ዕዘራ ፡	°Ezrā
Faiyum	ፊዩም ፡	Fiyum
Faunus	ፉኑስ ፡	Faunus
Gallus	ጋልዮስ ፡	Gālyos
	አለ-ለ-ስ ፡	°Alulus
Gelasinus	ገላስዮስ ፡	Galāsəyos
	አክላስዮስ ፡	°Aklasəyos
Gihon	ግዮን ፡	Gəyon
Gregory	ጎርጎርዮስ ፡	Gorgoryos
Golgotha	ጎልጎታ ፡	Golgotā
Goliath	ጎልያድ ፡	Golyād
Gorgon	ኩርኩና ፡	Kurkunā
Hadrian	አንድርያኖስ ፡	°Endəryānos
Ham	ካም ፡	Kām
Heber	ኤቦር ፡	°Ebor

Hellas	አይላልስ ፡	°Aylālēs
Helena	እሌኒ ፡	°Eleni
Heber	ዔቦር ፡	°Ebor
Heracles	ሐርቀሉስ ፡	Ḥarqalus
Heraclius	ሕርቃል ፡	Ḥərqaḷ
	ሀርቃል ፡	Hərqaḷ
Hermes	ኅርምስ ፡	Ḥərmēs
Hezekiah	ሕዝቅያስ ፡	Ḥəzqəyās
Honorius	አኖሬዎስ ፡	°Anorewos
Iconium	ኢቆንዮን ፡	°Iqonyon
Ignatius	አግኖጥዮስ ፡	°Agnātəyos
	አግኖጤዎስ ፡	°Agnatəwos
Inachus	አንያኸስ ፡	°Anyāhus
India	ሀንድ ፡	Hənd
Io	ዩ ፡	Yu
Iopolis	ኖቡሊስ ፡	Nābulis
Isauria	ሂሱርያ ፡	Hisuryā
Israel	እስራኤል ፡	°Esrā°əl
Italy	ኒጣልያ ፡	Ḥiṭālyā
	አጣልያ ፡	°Atālyā
Jabal	ቃቤል ፡	Qābel
Jambres	አያንበሬስ ፡	°Iyānbares
Jannes	አያኔስ ፡	°Iyānes
Japhet	ያፌት ፡	Yāfet
Jebus	ሐያኑስ ፡	Ḥayānus
Jeremiah	ኤርምያስ ፡	°Erməyās
Jerusalem	ኢየሩሳሌም ፡	°Iyerusālem
John	ዮሐንስ ፡	Yoḥannēs
Joshua	አያሱ ፡	°Iyāsu
Jovian	ዩያኖስ ፡	Yuānos
	ዮናኖስ ፡	Yonānos
Jozadak	ዩሴዴቅ ፡	Yusedeq
Judas	ዮዳ ፡	Yodā
Julian	ዩልያኑስ ፡	Yulyānus

	ዮልያኖስ ፡	Yolyānos
	ዩልያኖስ ፡	Yulyānos
Julius	ዩልዮስ ፡	Yulyos
Justin	ዮስጥያኖስ ፡	Yostəyanos
Laconia	ሉቃንያ ፡	Laconia
Lamech	ላሜኅ ፡	Lāmeḥ
Latinus	ላዲኖስ ፡	Lādinos
	ላንዲኑስ ፡	Lāndinus
Liberius	ሊዋርዩስ ፡	Liwāryus
	ሊዋርዮስ ፡	Liwāryos
Libya	ሉንያ	Lunəyā
Licinius	ሉኪዮስ ፡	Lukiyos
Lucas	ሉቅዋን ፡	Luqwān
Macedonia	መቄዶንያ ፡	Maqedonyā
Macedonius	መቅዶንዮስ ፡	Maqedonyos
Magentius	መግንድዮስ ፡	Magəndəyos
	መግንድዩስ ፡	Magəndəyus
Marcian	መርቃያን ፡	Marqāyān
Marcus	ማርቆስ ፡	Mārḳos
Marcus Turbo	ማርቆስ ፡ ዱረራን ፡	Mārḳos Durarān
Mareotis	መርዩጥ ፡	Maryuṭ
Marsyas	መርስያሲሱስ ፡	Marsəyāsisus
Maurice	ሙርቂዩስ ፡	Murəqiyus
Maxentius	መክስንድዩስ ፡	Maksəndəyos
	መክሲጥስ ፡	Maksiṭəs
Maximian	መክስምያኖስ ፡	Maksəmyānos
Maximinus	መክሲሚኑስ ፡	Maksəminus
Maximus	መክሲሞስ ፡	Maximus
Melchizedek	መልክ ፡ ጼዴቅ ፡	Malka ṣedeq
Mercury	መርቆሬዎስ ፡	Marqorewos
Methuselah	ማቴሳላ ፡	Mātusālā
Michael	ሚካኤል ፡	Mikāʾel
Minas	ሚናስ ፡	Minās
Moses	ሙሴ ፡	Muse

Nebuchadnezzar	ናቡ-ከድነጾር ፡	Nabukadneşor
Nero	ኔሮን ፡	Neron
Nestorius	ንስጥሮስ ፡	Nəştəros
Nikiu	ኒቅዩስ ፡	Niqəyus
	ነቂዩስ ፡	Naqiyus
Nile	ኒል ፡	Nil
Nimrod	ናምሩድ ፡	Nāmrud
Nineveh	ነነዌ ፡	Nanawe
Ninus	ኒንዩስ ፡	Ninəyus
	ኒኑንስ ፡	Ninunəs
Noah	ኖሻ ፡	Noḥ
Nubia	ኖባ ፡	Nobā
Numa	ኑምምዮስ ፡	Numəməyos
Nun	ነዌ ፡	Nawe
Orion	ኦርዮን ፡	Aryon
Palestine	ፍልስጥኤም ፡	Fələstəʾem
Pallas	የላልስ ፡	Yalāləs
Palmyra	በልሚዛ ፡	Balmizā
	ቡልሚዝ ፡	Bulmiz
Persia	ፋርስ ፡	Fārs
Petissonius	ባዲሳንዩስ ፡	Bādisānəyus
	ባዲሳንዮስ ፡	Bādisānəyos
Philadelphus	ፊላዶልፉስ ፡	Filādalfus
Philip	ፊልጶስ ፡	Filpos
Phoca	ፉቃ ፡	Fuqā
Phoenix	ኩንስ ፡	Kunəs
Picus	በክዩስ ፡	Bakəyus
	በይኪስ ፡	Baykis
	በኪስ ፡	Bakis
	ቢኩስ ፡	Bikus
	ቢክስ ፡	Bikəs
Poseidon	ቡሲጦን ፡	Busiṭon
Prometheus	ኦጥሩሚቲስ ፡	ʾAbrumitus
Ptolemy	በጥሊሞስ	Baṭlimos

Pulcheria	ብርካልያ ፡	Bərkalyā
Pyramus	በይራምስ ፡	Bayrāms
	በበራምስ ፡	Babarāms
Rakoustis	ራኩዲ ፡	Rākudī
Remus	ሮማኖስ ፡	Romānos
Rome	ሮም ፡	Rom
Romulus	ሮምሎስ ፡	Romlos
Roxana	ሮኩሳኒ ፡	Rək <sup>w</sup> əsāni
Sabacon	ስዋኬን ፡	Səwāken
	ስዋኪን ፡	Səwākin
Sadranapalus	ሰርጣ ፡ ባብልሉን ፡	Sarṭā Bābləlun
Salem	ሳሌም ፡	Sālem
Samson	ሶምሶን ፡	Somson
Semiramis	ሳሚራ ፡	Sāmīrā
Seruch	ሰሮኽ ፡	Serok
Sesostris	ሳስጠትሪም ፡	Sasṭətrim
	ሳስጥራምስ ፡	Sasṭərawos
Seth	ሴት ፡	Set
Severus	ሳዊሮስ ፡	Sāwīros
Shechem	ሰቂማ ፡	Saqimā
Shem	ሴም ፡	Sem
Sichaeus	ስንሐውስ ፡	Sənḥawəs
Sidon	ሳይዳ ፡	Sāydā
	ሲዶና ፡	Sidonā
Sidus	ሲዱ ፡	Sidu
Sinai	ሲና ፡	Sinai
Socrates	ስቅራጥ ፡	Səqrāt
Solomon	ሰሎሞን ፡	Salomon
Sosthenium	ሰስታኒስ ፡	Sastānis
	ስቴንስ ፡	Sətenəs
Syria	ሻም ፡	Šām
Tarsus	ጦርሱስ ፡	Ṭarsus
Taurus	ጡሩስ ፡	Ṭurus
Theodore	ቴዎድሮስ ፡	Tewodros

Theodosius	ታወዶስዮስ ፡ ታኦዶስዮስ ፡ ትዮዶስዮስ ፡	Tāwədosəyos Tā <sup>o</sup> odosəyos Təyodosyos
Theognosta	ታኦግንስጣ ፡	Ta <sup>o</sup> ogənəštā
Thebes	ጣንባስ ፡ ጥንፋስ ፡	Ṭānbās Ṭənfās
Theophilus	ቴዎፍሎስ ፡ ታኦፊሎስ ፡	Tewoflos Ta <sup>o</sup> ofilos
Thessalonica	ተሰሎንቄ	Tasalonqe
Thrace	አትራክያ ፡	<sup>o</sup> Atrākyā
Tiberias	ጢባርያ ፡	Ṭībāryā
Tiberius	ጢባርዮስ ፡	Ṭībāryos
Timothy	ጢማታዎስ ፡ ጢሞቴዎስ ፡	Ṭīmātāwos Ṭimotewos
Titus	ጢጦስ ፡	Ṭiṭos
Tyre	ጢሮስ ፡	Ṭiros
Tyro	ዲሩ ፡	Diru
Valentia	ወልንድያ ፡	Wələndyā
Zeno	ዘይኑን ፡	Zaynun
Zerubbabel	ዘሩባቤል ፡	Zarubābel
Zillah	ሳላ ፡	Sālā
Zion	ጽዮን ፡	Ṣəyyon

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## Legenda

< >	litterae additae
{ }	delevit
† †	loci corrupti
add.	addit, addunt
coni.	coniecit
corr.	correxit, correxerunt
i.m.	in margine
lac.	lacuna
n.l.	non legitur
om.	omittit, omittunt
praem.	praemittit, praemittunt
rep.	repetit
trans.	transponit, transponunt
s.l.	supra lineam

## Conspectus Siglorum

- A Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 123, ff. 62r-138v.
- B London, British Library, Or. 818, ff. 48r-103r.
- C Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, d'Abbadie 31, ff. 104r-164r.
- D Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, fund Conti Rossini 27, pp. 1-120.
- G Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library 7919, ff. 49r-98v.
- H Däbrä Dammo ʾAbuna ʾArägawi, Ethio-SPaRe, DD-026, ff. 3r-6v.
- I Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Aeth. 53, ff. 4ra-vb.
- J Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library 688, ff. 1r-4v.
- K Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library 747, ff. 1r-4v.
- L Island Kəbrān, Church Kəbrān Gabrəʾel, Ṭānāsee 37 = Kebrān 37, ff. 9r-10v.
- Zot Zotenberg 1883 (edition)
- Zot<sup>v</sup> Zotenberg 1883 (translation)
- Cha Charles 1916
- Col Colin 1995
- Nöl Nöldeke 1883



# Chronicle of John of Nikiu

Text and Translation

(Introduction and Chapters 1-80)

በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ አምላክ ። መቅድመ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡  
 ዛቲ ፡ በኅልቁ ፡ ክፍላቲሃ ፡ ዘውእቶን ፡ ፫፳፱፪ ፡ ለእልክቱ ፡ አምሳላት ፡ አስተጋ  
 ብአሙ ፡ ለቀዳማውያን ፡ ዘኅለፈ ፡ ወኅልቀ ፡ እመጸሕፍተ ፡ ትውልዳት ፡ ቀዳማ  
 ውያን ፡ እምአዳም ፡ እስከ ፡ ቲጡ ፡ ዘነግሠት ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ዮናናውያን ፡ ወአፍራቅያ ፡  
 5 <ወእም>አመ ፡ ሮማኖስ ፡ ወሮምሎስ ፡ ዘነግሡ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሮም ። ለተዝካር ፡  
 ሠናይ ፡ እስከ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ መሲሐዊ ፡  
 ቀዳማዊ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ሮም ፡ <ወእም>አመ ፡ ሢመቶሙ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡  
 መሲሐዊ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ መምለኬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እስከ ፡ ፍጻሜሁ ። ወዩያ  
 ይኑስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። ወእምአመ ፡ ሢመቱ ፡ ለእንድ  
 10 ያንስ ፡ እስከ ፡ ፍጻሜሁ ። ወታውዶስዮስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ወብጹዕ ። ወ<እ  
 ም>አመ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ አርቃዴዎስ ፡ ወአኖሬዎስ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአ  
 ብሔር ፡ ተ ወለእድዮስ ፡ ተ እስከ ፡ ፍጻሜሁ ። ወአንስጣትዮስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ብጹዓዊ ።  
 ወ<እ>መዋዕለ ፡ ዮስጥያኖስ ፡ ቀደማዊ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ እስከ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለሕርቃል ፡  
 እስከ ፡ ፍጻሜሁ ። ወ<እም>አመ ፡ ቴዎድሮስ ፡ ሊቅ ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ዘሀገረ ፡ ምስር ።  
 15 ወዮሐንስ ፡ መነኮስ ፡ ዘደብረ ፡ ሲና ፡ ዘተአመነ ፡ በሃይማኖተ ፡ ኪልቄዶናውያን ።  
 ወዓዲ ፡ | ለእልክቱ ፡ አምሳላት ፡ አስተጋብአሙ ፡ በፍጹም ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ መደብር ፡  
 ወመስተጋድል ፡ ዘበትርጓሜሁ ፡ ሠራዲ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ነቂዮስ ፡  
 ዘምስር ፡ እንተ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ አብሳይ ፡ ዘአስተጋብአሙ ፡ እምነ ፡ ዜናት ፡  
 ነቂኃት ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ክፍላት ፡ ዘኅላቋሆሙ ፡ ፫፳፱፪ ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ጽሑፊ ፡  
 20 አዝማናት ፡ እምጥንተ ፡ ትውልደ <ደ > ፡ አዝማናዊያን ።  
 ክፍል ፡ ቀዳማዊ ። በእንተ ፡ አስማተ ፡ አዳም ፡ ወሔዋን ፡ ወደቂቁ ፡ ወኲሉ ፡  
 ፍጥረት ።  
 ክፍል ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ በእንተ ፡ አስማተ ፡ ከዋክብት ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወወርኅ ፡ ወዘተረክቡ ፡  
 እመጸሕፍተ ፡ ዕብራውያን ።  
 25 ክፍል ፡ ሣልስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ግብረ ፡ አሕማር ፡ እለ ፡ ወጠኑ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ወሐሩ ፡  
 ውስተ ፡ ባሕር ።  
 ክፍል ፡ ራብዕ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘጸሐፉ ፡ እስጡርላባት ፡ እምቀዳሚ ፡ እስከ ፡ ደኃሪ ።

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C104ra G96ra

A62rb

C104rb

B48rb A62rc  
G96rb

APP. CRIT.: 2 ለእልክቱ ፡] A, ለእልክት ፡ BCG | 4 ቲጡ ፡] CG, ቲው ፡ α | 5 ወእምአመ ፡] coni. Zot; አመ ፡ αCG | 7 ወእምአመ ፡] coni. Zot; አመ ፡ αCG | 8 ወዩያይኑስ ፡] α, ወዩይኑስ ፡ C, ወዩያንስ ፡ G, ለዩያይኑስ ፡ coni. Zot | 9 ወእምአመ ፡] BCG, ወእመአመ ፡ A | ለእንድያንስ ፡] CG, ለእንድያስ ፡ α | 10 ወእምአመ ፡] coni. Zot; ወአመ ፡ αCG | 11 አርቃዴዎስ ፡] αC, አርቃድዮስ ፡ G 12 ወለእድዮስ ፡] αCG, ታኦዶስዮስ ፡ coni. Zot | ወአንስጣትዮስ ፡] αC, ወአንስትጣትዮስ ፡ G, ለአንስ ጣትዮስ ፡ coni. Zot | 13 ወእመዋዕለ ፡] coni. Zot; ወበመዋዕለ ፡ αCG | ቀደማዊ ፡] C, om. α, post ንጉሥ ፡ trans. G | እስከ ፡] BCG, መዋዕለ ፡ add. A | 14 ወእምአመ ፡] coni. Zot; ወአመ ፡ αCG 15 ወዮሐንስ ፡] αCG, እስከ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ coni. Zot | ኪልቄዶናውያን ፡] BG, ክልቄዶናውያን ፡ A, ኪልቄዶናዊያን ፡ C | 16 አስተጋብአሙ ፡] coni. Zot, ዘአስተጋብአሙ ፡ αCG | መደብር ፡] CG, መደበር ፡ α | 18 ዜናት ፡] BCG, ዜናዊት ፡ A | 20 ትውልደ ፡] con., ትውልድ ፡ αCG አዝማናዊያን ፡] αCG, ዘቀዳማውያን ፡ coni. Zot | 21 ወደቂቁ ፡] αCG, ወደቂቆሙ ፡ coni. Zot 23 አስማተ ፡] BCG, አስማት ፡ A | ከዋክብት ፡ ፀሐይ ፡] BCG, ወከዋክብተ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ A, ከዋክብት ፡ ወፀሐይ ፡ coni. Zot | 27 ራብዕ ፡] αC, ሣልስ ፡ G | በእንተ ፡] ACG, በእእንተ ፡ B | እስጡርላባት ፡] α G, እስጡር ፡ ላባት ፡ C, እስጡርላባት ፡ s.l. G

APP. LECT. MIN.: 3 ቀዳማውያን ፡] αG, ቀዳማዊያን ፡ C | 4 ዮናናውያን ፡] αG, ዮናናዊያን ፡ C 20 አዝማናዊያን ።] CG, አዝማውያን ፡ α | 24 ዕብራውያን ።] αG, ዕብራዊያን ፡ C

APP. PUNCT.: 1 አምላክ ።] ። αC | 5 ሮም ።] ። αCG | 8 ፍጻሜሁ ።] ። CG | 9 እግዚአብሔር ።] ። αCG | 10 ፍጻሜሁ ።] ። BCG | ወብጹዕ ።] ። αCG | 11 እግዚአብሔር ፡] ። BG | 12 ብጹዓዊ ።] ። αCG | 14 ፍጻሜሁ ።] ። BCG | ምስር ።] ። αCG | 15 ኪልቄዶናውያን ።] ። | 16 መደብር ፡] ። A 20 አዝማናዊያን ።] αCG | 21 ቀዳማዊ ።] ። BCG | ወሔዋን ፡] ። A | 22 ፍጥረት ።] ። BC, ፫ G 26 ባሕር ።] ። αCG | 27 ራብዕ ፡] ። G | ደኃሪ ።] ። αCG

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. An introduction to this book by enumeration of its one hundred and twenty-two chapters. He (author) collected those accounts, which have passed and are gone to the ancestors, from the books of the previous generations: from Adam till Dido, who reigned over the Ionians and Africa; <from> Remus and Romulus, who reigned over Rome, of a good memory, till the end of the reign of St Constantine, the first Christian emperor of Rome; <from> the accession of the children of the great Christian emperor Constantine, servant of God, till its end and till<sup>1</sup> the God-loving emperor *Yuyāyānūs* (Jovian);<sup>2</sup> from the accession of *ʿĪndāyānās* (Valentinian) till its end and till the great and blessed emperor Theodosius; <and from> the time of Arcadius and Honorius, sons of the God-loving emperor † *Walaʿādāyūs* †<sup>3</sup> till its end and till the beatific emperor Anastasius;<sup>4</sup> and <from> the days of the emperor Justin the First till the reign of Heraclius and till its end; and <from> Theodore, the first prefect of the province of Egypt and John,<sup>5</sup> monk of the monastery of Sinai, who entrusted in the faith of Chalcedonians. Moreover, John *madabbər* and ascetic, which is by interpretation administrator, who is a bishop of the city of Nikiu of Egypt, which is called Absai, collected these accounts completely; and there are one hundred and twenty-two chapters, which he collected from the extended chronicles, which are an account of times from the beginning of the contemporary tribe.<sup>6</sup>

Chapter 1. Concerning the names of Adam, Eve, his<sup>7</sup> children and all creatures.

Chapter 2. Concerning the names of the stars (planets), the sun and the moon; and concerning the things found in the books of Hebrews.

Chapter 3. Concerning those, who were the first to begin building ships and travel upon sea.<sup>8</sup>

Chapter 4. Concerning those, who wrote *ʿašturlābāt*<sup>9</sup> from the first to the last.

<sup>1</sup> I do not follow here the conjecture by Zotenberg, which would mean: ‘till the end of the emperor Jovian’. I find this conjecture thus logical, but not necessary. | <sup>2</sup> I am not sure which spelling of the name appears to be correct. According to my *stemma codicum* all three variants are equally possible; nevertheless I prefer this spelling, because the two others could easily have been derived from it. However, this reading differs from the form of this proper name in the main text. | <sup>3</sup> This form of a proper name is not easy to explain. Arcadius and Honorius were sons of the emperor Theodosius (see the conjecture by Zotenberg in *Apparatus Criticus*). However, I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg, for which I see no grounds. I could rather propose a following explanation for this form. As it appears from this introduction, it was composed not by John but by another person, who apparently had added this Index, as well as this short overview at the beginning based on the content of the *Chronicle*. If one assumes that this contributor had at his disposal already the Arabic text and based his summary on it, one could propose that the contributor, having taken this name from the text, rendered the initial *wa* as part of the proper name, thus became . The loss of of the first could have occurred later. Such a corruption might have happened also during the translation into Ethiopic, however, this appears less probable. Though the real Arabic wording is lost, the legitimate presence of in this passage is not easy to explain. If this explanation of the corruption is plausible, it might be indicate that the Index was first composed for the Arabic version of the *Chronicle*. | <sup>4</sup> I do not follow here the conjecture by Zotenberg, which would mean: ‘till the end of the beatific emperor Anastasius’. I find this conjecture thus logical, but not necessary. | <sup>5</sup> I do not follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here, which would mean: ‘till John, monk of the monastery of Sinai’, because I do not find it necessary. | <sup>6</sup> The passage remains unclear. I could not find any other attestation of the word **አጠግናዊያን** : thus I propose my own interpretation of this word. Zotenberg makes a conjecture and replaces the word with **ዘቀደግውያን** : and translates it as follows: ‘qui forment une chronographie commentant par la génération des hommes primitifs’ (Zotenberg 1883, 224). Charles translates it as follows: ‘which is (thus) a chronography beginning with the generation of primitive men’ (Charles 1916, 2). | <sup>7</sup> I do not follow here the conjecture by Zotenberg, although it is logical. This reading is proved by the text of Chapter 1. | <sup>8</sup> Charles points here to the necessity of changing the word order (Charles 1916, 2, n. 1). | <sup>9</sup> Although Zotenberg and Charles translate this word as ‘astrolabes’, both point out that it should rather be translated as ‘astronomy’ (Zotenberg 1883, 240, n. 4; Charles 1916, 16, n. 4).

ክፍል ፡ ኃምስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ጥንተ ፡ ሕንፃታ ፡ ለባቢሎን ፡ ወ<ዘ>ሰገዱ ፡ ለሥዕለ ፡ ፈረስ ፡ ከመ ፡ አምላክ ። ወወጢነ ፡ ንዲ<ው> ፡ ወበሊዓ ፡ አራዊት ።

A62va

ክፍል ፡ ሳድስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠኑ ፡ በሊዓ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ሰብእ ። ወዘቀተለ ፡ <ውሉዳ>ኒሁ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ወዘቀተለ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ዓዲ ።

5 ክፍል ፡ ሳብዕ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘነሥአ ፡ ለእኅቱ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ቅድመ ።

ክፍል ፡ ሳምን ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠኑ ፡ ሐኒጾታ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ነነዌ ። ወበእንተ ፡ ዘነሥአ ፡ ለእሙ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ ብእሲተ ።

C104rc

ክፍል ፡ ፱ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠኑ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ወአውፅአ ፡ <እ>ማዕድን ።

ክፍል ፡ ፲ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠኑ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ንዋየ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ ቅድመ ።

10 ክፍል ፡ ፲፩ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠኑ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ምንሃብ ፡ ወዘአውሰበ ፡ ፪ ፡ አንሱተ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፲፪ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘሐነጸ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እንተ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ፀሐይ ።

B48rc

ክፍል ፡ ፲፫ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘሐነጸ ፡ ክልኤ ፡ አህጉረ ፡ አቡሴይር ፡ ለአሐቲ ፡ በላዕላይ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ወለካልእታ ፡ በደቡብ ፡ ግብጽ ።

15 ክፍል ፡ ፲፬ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘሐነጽዋ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ሰምኑድ ፡ ወለእልበራቢ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ።

ክፍል ፡ ፲፭ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሐነፋዊያን ፡ እለ ፡ አቅደሙ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ክብረ ፡ ሥሉስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ በዕሪና ።

ክፍል ፡ ፲፮ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘአቅደሙ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ማሕረስ ፡ በአህጉረ ፡ ግብጽ ። ወበአይ ፡ ህላዌ ፡ ነበረት ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ምስር ።

A62vb

20 ክፍል ፡ ፲፯ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠኑ ፡ ነሢኦ ፡ ጸባሕት ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ወሰፊረ ፡ ምድር ፡ በሕለት ፡ ወረሰዮሙ ፡ የሀቡ ፡ ለንጉሥ ። ወመኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘሰረየ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ለአውሕዞ ፡ ማይ ፡ ወለፈለግ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ ዲክ ።

G96rc

ክፍል ፡ ፲፰ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘአጥፍአሙ ፡ ለማያት ፡ ወደምሰሶሙ ፡ ለአብሕርተ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ እስከ ፡ ሐነጹ ፡ ላዕሌሆን ፡ አህጉራተ ፡ ወአድያማተ ፡ ወተከሉ ፡ ውስቴቶን ፡ አትክልተ ።

25 C104r

ክፍል ፡ ፲፱ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘሐነጹ ፡ ሠላሰ ፡ ምስጋዳተ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ መኑፍ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠኑ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ጥምዓታተ ፡ ኅብር ፡ ዘአልባስ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳፩ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘገብረ ፡ ምስላተ ፡ ሠናያተ ፡ ወአም<ለከ>ሙ ። ወበእንተ ፡ ዘሐነጸን ፡ ለኢቆንዮን ፡ ወለጠርሱስ ። ወመኑ ፡ ዘሰመያ ፡ ለሶርያ ፡ በፋርስ ።

APP. CRIT.: 1 ኃምስ ፡ ]αC, ራብዕ ፡ G | ወዘሰገዱ ፡ ]con. Zot, ወሰገዱ ፡ αCG | 2 ንዲወ ፡ ]con. Zot, ንዲው ፡ αCG | 3 ሳድስ ፡ ]αC, ኃምስ ፡ G | ውሉዳኒሁ ፡ ]con. Zot, ወላድያኒሁ ፡ αC, ወላዳያኒሁ ፡ G | 5 ሳብዕ ፡ ]αC, ሳድስ ፡ G | 6 ሳምን ፡ ]C, ፰ ፡ α, ሳብዕ ፡ G | ወበእንተ ፡ ዘነሥአ ፡ ]αCG, ወዘነሥአ ፡ con. Zot | 7 ብእሲተ ፡ ]CG, ቅድመ ፡ add. α | 8 ፱ ፡ ]AC, ትሰዓት ፡ B, ሳምን ፡ G እማዕድን ፡ ]con. Zot, ማዕድን ፡ αCG | 9 ክፍል ፡ ... ቅድመ ፡ ]αCG, Zot: om. B | ፲ ፡ ]αC, ታሰዕ ፡ G | ዘወጠኑ ፡ ]αCG, ዘወጠኑ ፡ con. Zot | 10 ፲፩ ፡ ]AC, ፲ B, አሥር ፡ G | 11 ፲፪ ፡ ]αC, ፲፩ ፡ G | በእንተ ፡ ]αC, rep. G | 12 ፲፫ ፡ ]AC, ፲፬ B, ፲፪ ፡ G | 13 በደቡብ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ]BC, በደቡብ ፡ {ግብጽ ፡ } n.l. A, rep. G | 14 ፲፬ ፡ ]αC, ፲፫ ፡ G | ወለእልበራቢ ፡ ]αC, ወእልበራቢ ፡ G | 15 ይእቲ ፡ ]αC, om. G | 16 ፲፭ ፡ ]AC, ፲፫ B, ፲፬ ፡ G | 17 ቅዱስ ፡ ]CG, om α | 18 ፲፮ ፡ ]AC, ፲፬ ፡ B, ፲፭ ፡ G በአህጉረ ፡ ]αC, በአጉረ ፡ G, በ{አ}ህጉረ ፡ s.l. G | 20 ፲፯ ፡ ]ACG, ፲፭ ፡ B | 23 ፲፰ ፡ ]ACG, ፲፮ ፡ B 26 ፲፱ ፡ ]ACG, ፲፯ ፡ B | ሠላሰ ፡ ]BCG, n.l. A | 27 ፳ ፡ ]ACG, ፲፰ ፡ B | 28 ፳፩ ፡ ]ACG, ፳፱ ፡ B ምስላተ ፡ ]αG, አምሳላተ ፡ C | ወአምለከሙ ፡ ]con. Zot, ወአምላክዎሙ ፡ αCG | 29 ወለጠርሱስ ፡ ]BC, ወለጠርሱስ ፡ AG

APP. LECT. MIN.: 10 ፪ ፡ ]AC, ክልኤ ፡ B, ፪ኤ ፡ G | 12 ክልኤ ፡ ]BC, ፪ኤ ፡ AG | 16 ሐነፋዊያን ፡ ]CG, ሐነፋዊያን ፡ α

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ኃምስ ፡ ] # G | 2 አምላክ ፡ ] # BG | አራዊት ፡ ] # αCG | 3 ሳድስ ፡ ] # G | ሰብእ ፡ ] # BCG | 4 ቅድመ ፡ ] # C | ዓዲ ፡ ] # αCG, ፲ B | 5 ሳብዕ ፡ ] # G | ቅድመ ፡ ] # αCG, ፲ B 6 ነነዌ ፡ ] # αCG | 7 ብእሲተ ፡ ] # αCG | 8 እማዕድን ፡ ] # αCG | 9 ፲ ፡ ] # G | ቅድመ ፡ ] # αG 10 ፲፩ ፡ ] # G | አንሱተ ፡ ] # αCG | 11 ፀሐይ ፡ ] # αCG | 13 ግብጽ ፡ ] # αCG | 14 ፲፬ ፡ ] # G 15 አማልክት ፡ ] # αCG | 17 በዕሪና ፡ ] # αCG | 19 ግብጽ ፡ ] # BCG | ህላዌ ፡ ] # C | ምስር ፡ ] # αCG | 21 ለንጉሥ ፡ ] # BCG | 22 ዲክ ፡ ] # αCG | 25 አትክልተ ፡ ] # αCG | 26 መኑፍ ፡ ] # αCG 27 ዘአልባስ ፡ ] # αCG | 28 ወአምለከሙ ፡ ] # BG | 29 ወለጠርሱስ ፡ ] # αG | በፋርስ ፡ ] # αCG

- Chapter 5. Concerning the beginning of the construction of Babylon; and concerning <those, who> worshipped an image of a horse as a god;<sup>10</sup> and concerning the beginning of hunting and eating animals.<sup>11</sup>
- Chapter 6. Concerning those, who began to eat human flesh; and concerning him, who was the first to kill his <sons><sup>12</sup> and also concerning him, who killed his father. 5
- Chapter 7. Concerning him, who was the first to marry his own sister.
- Chapter 8. Concerning him, who began the construction of the city of Nineveh;<sup>13</sup> and concerning him, who married his own mother.<sup>14</sup>
- Chapter 9. Concerning him, who was the first to produce gold and extract it <from> mines. 10
- Chapter 10. Concerning him, who were the first to make weapons of war.<sup>15</sup>
- Chapter 11. Concerning him, who began building furnace<sup>16</sup> and him, who married two women.
- Chapter 12. Concerning him, who built a city, which is called the city of Sun. 15
- Chapter 13. Concerning him, who built two cities of <sup>ʿ</sup>*Abuseyər*,<sup>17</sup> the one in the Upper Egypt and another in the Nothern (=Lower, *dabub*) Egypt.
- Chapter 14. Concerning those, who built the city of *Samnud* and <sup>ʿ</sup>*Albarābi*,<sup>18</sup> which is a house of idols.
- Chapter 15. Concerning the Greeks, who were the first to pronounce the Glory of the Holy Coequal Trinity. 20
- Chapter 16. Concerning those, who were the first to make a plow<sup>19</sup> in the provinces of Egypt; and in which state Egypt was before.
- Chapter 17. Concerning him, who was the first to begin collecting taxes in the land of Egypt and measuring land with a reed and who made them to pay out to a king; and concerning who he was, who dug earth to bring in waters and for a river called *Dik*. 25
- Chapter 18. Concerning him, who made the waters disappear and who drained the lakes of Egypt, until they built cities and villages on them and planted plants there. 30
- Chapter 19. Concerning them, who built three temples<sup>20</sup> in the city of *Manuf* (Memphis).<sup>21</sup>
- Chapter 20. Concerning him, who began to make dyes for garments.<sup>22</sup>
- Chapter 21. Concerning him, who built beautiful statues and <worshipped> them; and concerning him, who built Iconium and Tarsus; and who he was, 35

<sup>10</sup>This passage concerning the worship of a horse's image does not occur in Chapter 5. Either Chapter 5 misses some portion of text, or the short description of it is corrupt, for example, **𐤀𐤆𐤏** could be a corrupt form for **𐤄𐤏𐤏**. | <sup>11</sup>This short description does not correspond completely to the content of Chapter 5. | <sup>12</sup>The conjecture by Zotenberg is based on the content of Chapter 6. | <sup>13</sup>This information is given in Chapter 6. | <sup>14</sup>I am not completely sure that the conjecture by Zotenberg is essential here, although here only one person is meant. | <sup>15</sup>I don't follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here, which is apparently based on the content of Chapter 10. In Chapter 10 only one person is mentioned. However, it is not clear at which stage of the text transmission the plural form in the short description was introduced, or whether this plural form even corresponds to the original content of Chapter 10. | <sup>16</sup>The description corresponds to the content of Chapter 11, but is rather a paraphrase. The building of a furnace is not mentioned in Chapter 11. | <sup>17</sup>To be identified with Bousiris. See Booth 2013, 661. | <sup>18</sup>**𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤏** : **𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤏** : in the main text. See also, Zotenberg 1883, 225, n. 1. | <sup>19</sup>Zotenberg translates: 'De l'introduction de la culture de la terre' (Zotenberg 1883, 225). | <sup>20</sup>See Zotenberg 1883, 225, n. 3. | <sup>21</sup>The place name *Manuf* in the Chronicle might apparently refer either to Memphis (the Arabic Manf, ) or to Onouphis (the Arabic Manūf, ) in the south-western Delta. See Timm 1988, 1549-58 and 1575-85. For this particular case, see Timm 1988, 1556, n. 5. | <sup>22</sup>This reading doesn't completely correspond to the content of Chapter 20. Zotenberg translates: 'des vêtements de couleur' (Zotenberg 1883, 225).

ወመኑ ፡ ዙተከለ ፡ አዕፃወ ፡ በምስር ። ወመኑ ፡ ዘአምለከ ፡ ፀሐየ ፡ ወወርጎ ፡ ወእሳተ ፡ ወማየ ፡ ቅድመ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳፪ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘአምለከ ፡ ወርጎ ፡ ባሕቲቲ ፡ | ወሐነፀ ፡ ላቲ ፡ ምሥዋዐ ፡ ከመ ፡ አምላክ ።

B48va  
A62vc

5 ክፍል ፡ ፳፫ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘሰመያ ፡ ለዮናን ። ወመኑ ፡ ዘሐነጸ ፡ ለሱር ። ወመኑ ፡ ዘሰመዮን ፡ ለከነአን ፡ ወለሻም ፡ ወቂልቅያ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳፬ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘሰመዮን ፡ ለአህጉራተ ፡ ኦርያ ፡ ወዘሐነጸ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ቅርጣጣና ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳፭ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠነ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ዕፅ ፡ በአእጋረ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ቅድመ ።

10 ክፍል ፡ ፳፮ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠነ ፡ ሐኒጸ ፡ ምሥዋዕ ፡ ለጣዖታት ፡ ወአምለከሙ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳፯ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መልከ ፡ ጼዴቅ ፡ ካህን ፡ እምነ ፡ አይ ፡ ነገድ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ዘሐነጽዎን ፡ ለሳይዳ ፡ ወለጽዮን ። እንተ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ ሳሌም ፡ ወተሰምዮተ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ | ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ዕብራውያን ።

C104vb

15 ክፍል ፡ ፳፰ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘረከቡ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ሐነፋዊያን ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ወአእምሮተ ፡ ጽሕፈተ ፡ መጻሕፍቲሆሙ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳፱ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ማየ ፡ አይኅ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ በምድረ ፡ ዲክ ፡ ወምክንያተ ፡ ጎንድዮቲ ፡ ሳዕሌሃ ፡ ወከዊኖታ ፡ በድወ ። |

G96va

ክፍል ፡ ፴ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኩነተ ፡ ፈርዖን ፡ በቅድመ ፡ ሙሴ ፡ ወተሀጉሎቲ ፡ ምስለ ፡ እሊአሁ ፡ | ውስተ ፡ ዕመቀ ፡ ባሕረ ፡ ኤርትራ ።

A63ra

20 ክፍል ፡ ፴፩ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወለጠ ፡ ስመ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ አብሳይ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ነቂዩስ ፡ ወምክንያት ፡ ዘፈለሰ ፡ ባቲ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ እምነ ፡ ምሥራቃ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ምዕራቢሃ ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።

ክፍል ፡ ፴፪ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሐኒጸ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወፍልሰተ ፡ ስማ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ናብሎስ ። ወበእንተ ፡ ዙተሐንጸ ፡ ውስቴታ ፡ ቤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።

B48vb

25 ክፍል ፡ ፴፫ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘወጠነ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ግብረ ፡ እድ ፡ እምነ ፡ ቀዳማዊያን ።

ክፍል ፡ ፴፬ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መኑ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ዘረከበ ፡ ጽሕፈተ ፡ ቀዳሜ ፡ ወወሀብ ፡ ለሰብእ ። ወመኑ ፡ ዘረከበ ፡ ተመርሐ ፡ ወመኑ ፡ ዘፈከረ ፡ መሥመራተ ፡ ዘጽሐፋት ፡ <በ>ሰሌዳ ፡ እብን ።

ክፍል ፡ ፴፭ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መኑ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ዘአንበረ ፡ ሕገ ፡ አውስቦ ፡ | ከመ ፡ ይንሥኡ ፡ ዕደው ፡ አንስቲያ ፡ አዋልደ ፡ ደናግለ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ሎሙ ። ወይስም ይዎሙ ፡ መርፃዊያተ ፡ ወመኑ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ዘወጠነ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ምሳሕ ።

C104vc

APP. CRIT.: 3 ፳፪ ፡] αCG, ፳፮ ፡ B | 5 ለዮናን ።] αCG, ለሉንያ ፡ con. Zot | 7 ፳፬ ፡] αG, ፳፪ C አርያ ፡] αCG | 16 ዲክ ፡] αG, ዲክ ፡ C, እንዲካ ፡ con. Cha(3) | 18 ፴ ፡] αC, ፳፫ ፡ G | 20 ፴፩ ፡] αC, ፴ ፡ G | ወምክንያት ፡] con. Zot, ወምክንያተ ፡ αCG | 23 ፴፪ ፡] αC, ፴፩ ፡ G | ወፍልሰተ ፡] αC, ወፍልሰተ ፡ G | 24 ዙተሐንጸ ፡] αC, ዙተሐንፀ ፡ G | 25 ፴፫ ፡] αC, ፴፪ ፡ G | በእንተ ፡] αCG, om. B 26 ፴፬ ፡] αC, ፴፫ ፡ G | ቀዳሜ ፡] con., ቀዳሚ ፡ αCG | ወወሀብ ፡] con. Zot, ወሀብ ፡ αCG 27 ወመኑ ፡] αC, ውእቲ ፡ add. G | 28 በሰሌዳ ፡] con. Zot, ዘሰሌዳ ፡ αCG | 29 ፴፭ ፡] αC, ፴፬ ፡ G

APP. LECT. MIN.: 13 ዕብራውያን ።] αG, ዕብራዊያን ፡ C | 14 ሐነፋዊያን ፡] CG, ሐነፋውያን ፡ α 18 ወተሀጉሎቲ ፡] αC, ወተኃጉሎቲ ፡ G | 25 ቀዳማዊያን ።] CG, ቀዳማውያን ፡ α | 30 አንስቲያ ፡] CG, አንስትያ ፡ α

APP. PUNCT.: 1 በምስር ።] ። αCG | 2 ቅድመ ።] ። αCG | 4 አምላክ ።] ። αCG | 5 ለዮናን ።] ። αCG | ለሱር ።] ። αCG | 6 ወቂልቅያ ።] ። αCG | 7 ቅርጣጣና ።] ። αC, ፫ G | 9 ቅድመ ።] ። αCG 10 ወአምለከሙ ።] ። αCG | 11 ነገድ ፡] ፫ G | 12 ወለጽዮን ።] ። αCG | 13 ዕብራውያን ።] ። αCG 15 መጻሕፍቲሆሙ ።] ። αCG | 17 በድወ ።] ። αCG | 18 ሙሴ ፡] ። G | 19 ኤርትራ ።] ። αCG 22 እግዚአብሔር ።] ። αCG | 24 ናብሎስ ።] ። αC, ፫ G | እግዚአብሔር ።] ። αCG 25 ቀዳማዊያን ።] ። αCG | 26 ውእቲ ፡] ። C | 27 ለሰብእ ።] ። αCG | ተመርሐ ፡] ፫ G | 28 እብን ።] ። αCG | 30 ሎሙ ።] ። αCG | 31 መርፃዊያተ ፡] ። G | ዘወጠነ ፡] ። C | ምሳሕ ።] ። αCG

who called Assyria Persia; and who he was, who planted trees<sup>23</sup> in Egypt; and who he was, who was the first to worship the sun, the moon, fire and water.<sup>24</sup> Chapter 22. Concerning him, who worshipped the moon only and built a sanctuary for it like for a goddess.

Chapter 23. Concerning him, who named *Yonān*;<sup>25</sup> and who it was, who built *Sur* (Tyre);<sup>26</sup> and who he was, who named Canaan, Syria and Cilicia.

Chapter 24. Concerning him, who named the cities<sup>27</sup> of *ʿOrya* (Europe) and who built the city of *Qərtāgnā* (Gortyna).<sup>28</sup>

Chapter 25. Concerning him, who first began to adjust wood to the men’s feet.<sup>29</sup>

Chapter 26. Concerning him, who began to build altars for idols and to worship them.

Chapter 27. Concerning Melchizedek, the priest; from which tribe he is; and concerning those, who built Sidon and Zion, which is called Salem and the naming of Jews, i.e. the Hebrews.

Chapter 28. Concerning those, who first invented the Greek writing and the knowledge of writing their books.<sup>30</sup>

Chapter 29. Concerning the deluge, which happened in the land *Dik*<sup>31</sup> and the reason of its stagnation there and its becoming a desert.<sup>32</sup>

Chapter 30. Concerning the situation of Pharaoh in front of Moses<sup>33</sup> and the destruction of him and those, who were with him, in the depths of the Red Sea.

Chapter 31. Concerning him, who changed the name of the city Absai and named it Nikiu;<sup>34</sup> and the reason, why a river, which flowed there from the East, turned to the West according to the commandment of God.<sup>35</sup>

Chapter 32. Concerning the construction of Jerusalem; the change of its name into Nablus; and concerning, that a house of God was built in it.

Chapter 33. Concerning him, who was the first to do handicraft amongst the ancients.

Chapter 34. Concerning who he was, who found an ancient<sup>36</sup> inscription and delivered <it> to people; and who he was who invented teaching;<sup>37</sup> and concerning him, who interpreted the verses inscribed <on> the stone tablet.

Chapter 35. Concerning him, who established a law of marriage, that men should take to wife young virgins and call them brides; and who he was, who established common meals.

<sup>23</sup>This plural form seems to be not well attested in other texts, but occurs several times in the *Chronicle*. Nöldeke proposes that it should be considered as a correct one (Nöldeke 1883, 1370). | <sup>24</sup>This last passage on the worship of the sun, moon, fire, and water does not correspond completely to the content of Chapter 21. | <sup>25</sup>I don’t follow here the conjecture by Zotenberg, which is apparently based on the text of Chapter 23.2. Thus, Zotenberg translates this proper name as Lybia; however for the sake of clarity I just give the transliteration.

<sup>26</sup>Arabic form for Tyre. See “Sūr,” EI, IX (1997), 883a–885b (M. Lavergne). Chapter 23 itself attests, however, the form *ṣūr*. | <sup>27</sup>According to Chapter 24.2, one should rather read ‘the land of’. | <sup>28</sup>According to Zotenberg *Qərtāgnā* is an imprecise transcription of the Arabic form (Zotenberg 1883, 226, n. 1). However, the precise mechanism of this error is not clear. Chapter 24 attests the correct reading *Qərtīnā*. | <sup>29</sup>Comparison with Chapter 25 shows that it should be a sort of punishment. | <sup>30</sup>Charles translates: ‘teaching of the writing of letters’ (Charles 1916, 3). | <sup>31</sup>Charles identifies this toponym with Attica and proposes a conjecture, which is based on the reading in Chapter 29 (Charles 1916, 3). I don’t follow his conjecture, but the reading of manuscripts. I agree that the toponym should stay for Attica; however, this reading might have been inherited from the Arabic *Vorlage*. | <sup>32</sup>On the reasons of the deluge in Attica it is told in Chapter 35. | <sup>33</sup>Zotenberg translates: ‘Du pharaon qui était l’adversaire de Moïse’ (Zotenberg 1883, 226). | <sup>34</sup>Chapter 31 gives both names of the city but does not tell anything on the change of the city name; however the beginning of Chapter 31 is very confused and probably corrupt. | <sup>35</sup>I suggest that a construction of an enclosing channel is meant (cp. Chapter 31). | <sup>36</sup>My conjecture is based on the content of Chapter 34. I consider the word *ϕϱαϱα* : an adjective, thus put it in accusative as well. Zotenberg does not translate this word at all: ‘Qui a trouvé une inscription et l’a communiquée aux homme’ (Zotenberg 1883, 226). Charles proposes another translation: ‘Concerning him who was the first to find an inscription and communicate it to men’ (Charles 1916, 4). | <sup>37</sup>The invention of teaching does not occur in Chapter 34.

ክፍል : ፴፮ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘአቅደመ : አሚነ : እምነ : ሐነፋዊያን : በስመ|ሥሉስ : ቅዱስ : እስመ : ውእቱ : ዕሩይ : በ፩ : መለኮት ።

A63rb

ክፍል : ፴፯ : በእንተ : እለ : ወጠኑ : ገቢረ : ፈውስ : በውስተ : ዓለም : ቅድመ ።

5

ክፍል : ፴፰ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘወጠነ : ሐኒጸ : ቤተ : ብለኔ : በውስተ : ዓለም : ቅድመ ።

ክፍል : ፴፱ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘወጠነ : ነፊሐ : እንድር : ወዘይመስሎ : ከመ : ቀርን : ወጥብልቃና ።

ክፍል : ፵ : በእንተ : ሐኒጸ : ከሲከስ ። ወምክንያት <ት> : <ዘ>ተአመኑ : ቦቱ : መናፍስት : በተዋሕዶተ : ሥሉስ : ቅዱስ ፤ ወዜነው : ዓዲ : ለኩሉ : ሰብእ : {ወ}ከመ : ድንግል : ትወልድ : አምላክ ።

10

ክፍል : ፵፩ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘአጽንዐ : ለመቅደስ : ስቴንስ ። ወሐኒጸ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : በትእዛዘ : ንጉሥ : ቈስጠንጢኖስ : መፍቀሬ : እግዚአብሔር ።

B48vc

ክፍል : ፵፪ : በእንተ : ቅንዋት : ዘእግዚእነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : ወመዊእ : ዘኮነ : ለነገሥት : በእንቲአሆሙ ።

G96vb C105ra

15

ክፍል : ፵፫ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሰመዮሙ : ለክልኤ : አህጉር : ዘውእቶሙ : አካይያ : ወሉቃንያ ።

ክፍል : ፵፬ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሰመያ : ለደሴተ : ሉናንያ : ወሐነጸ : ውስቴታ : ሀገረ : ዘትሰመይ : ሉባኒዩን ።

A63rc

20

ክፍል : ፵፭ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸን : ለፈርማ : ወቡልኪኑን ።

ክፍል : ፵፮ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : <ዘ>መሀረ : ተዛውያ : በንዋየ : ተውኔት : ቅድመ ።

ክፍል : ፵፯ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሰመያ : ለደሴተ : ኤፌሶን : እንተ : ይእቲ : እስያ ። ቅድመስ : ትሰመይ : ሰቃልበሀ : ወወለጡ : ስማ : ወሰመይዋ : ኢቆንዮን ።

25

ክፍል : ፵፰ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸ : ለሀገር : ዘትሰመይ : ቡልሚዝ : እስመ : በጎቤሃ : ሞአ : ዳዊት : ንጉሥ : ለፍልስጥኤማዊ ።

ክፍል : ፵፱ : በእንተ : ምክንያተ : መዊኦቱ : ለናቡከድነጾር : ለሀገረ : ጢርስ : እስመ : ይእቲ : ደሴት ።

30

ክፍል : ፶ : በእንተ : ታቦተ : እግዚአብሔር : ወጽላታት : ወበትረ : አሮን : ዘጸገዮት : ወመስፈርተ : መና : ወእብነ : ኩኩሕ : ጽሙም ። ወመኑ : ውእቱ : | ዘጎብአሙ : እምሰብእ ።

C105rb

ክፍል : ፶፩ : በእንተ : መንግሥተ : ኩርሽ : ንጉሥ : ወፈንዎቱ : ዪዋ : <ዘ>ደቂቀ : እስራኤል ። | ወዘከመ : ከልአሙ : ከሚስ : ከመ : ኢይሕንጹ : መቅደስ : ወዘመከሮስ : ለከሚስ : የሲድ : መልአክ : ኃይሎሙ : ለምስር ። ወቀተሎሙ : ለመኳንንተ : ምስር : ወዪወወ : ዪዋ : ዘነሥአ : ከሚስ : እምነ : ምስር : እስክ : ሀገሩ : ወተመይጡ : ምስራቂያን : ጎበ : ሀገሮሙ : ምዕረ : ዳግመ ። ወእ

35

A63va

B49ra

APP. CRIT.: 1 ፴፮ :] αC, ፴፮ : G | 2 በስመ] CG, በከመ : α, ውእቱ : add. A | በ፩ :] ACG, በአሐዱ : B | 3 ፴፯ :] αC, ፴፯ : G | 4 ፴፰ :] αC, ፴፯ : G | 6 ፴፱ :] αC, ፴፰ : G | ውእቱ :] αC, om. G | እንድር :] BCG, እንደር : A | 8 ፵ :] αC, ፵፱ : G | በእንተ :] BCG, መኑ : add. A | ከሲከስ :] B G, ከሲከስ : A, ከሲከስ : C | ወምክንያት :] con. Zot, ወምክንያተ : αCG | ዘተአመኑ :] con.; ተአመኑ : αCG | 9 ለኩሉ :] αCG, Zot: በኩሉ : B | 10 ወከመ :] con. Zot, ወከመ : αCG ድንግል : ... አምላክ ።] CG, ድንግል : አምላክ : α, ይትወለድ : እምድንግል : con. Zot | 11 ፵፩ :] αC, ፵፩ : G | ዘአጽንዐ :] αC, ዘአጽንዐ : G | ወሐኒጸ :] αC, ሐኒጸ : G | 14 ፵፪ :] αC, ፵፩ : G | 16 ፵፫ :] αC, ፵፩ : G | ውእቱ :] CG, om. α | 18 ፵፬ :] αC, ፵፪ : G | 19 ሉባኒዩን :] αC, ሉባኒዩን : G | 20 ፵፭ :] αC, ፵፫ : G | 21 ፵፮ :] αC, ፵፬ : G | ዘመሀረ :] con., መሀረ : αCG | 23 ፵፯ :] αC, ፵፭ : G መኑ : ውእቱ :] CG, om. α | 24 ሰቃልበሀ :] αG, ሰቃል : በሀ : C | 26 ፵፰ :] αC, ፵፮ : G | 27 ሞአ :] αCG, Zot: ሞአ : B | 28 ፵፱ :] αC, ፵፯ : G | ለናቡከድነጾር :] BC, ለናቡከድነጾር : AG | 30 ፶ :] αC, ፵፰ : G | 31 ወመስፈርተ :] ACG, ወመሥርተ : B | 33 ፶፩ :] αC, ፵፱ : G | ኩርሽ :] BG, ኩርዝ : A, ኩርሽ : C | 34 ዘደቂቀ :] con. Zot, ለደቂቀ : αCG,

Chapter 36. Concerning, who he was, who first amongst the Greeks believed in the name of the Holy Trinity, that He is coequal in one Godhead.

Chapter 37. Concerning those, who were the first in the world to begin practicing medicine.

Chapter 38. Concerning who he was, who was the first in the world to begin constructing baths. 5

Chapter 39. Concerning who he was, who began to play on flute and on similar (instruments) like horn and trumpet.

Chapter 40. Concerning the construction of *Kasikas* (Cyzicus);<sup>38</sup> and the reason, why the spirits there entrusted in the unity of the Holy Trinity and moreover announced to all<sup>39</sup> people that a virgin will give birth to God. 10

Chapter 41. Concerning who he was, who established the temple of Sosthenium; and concerning the construction of a church according to the command of the God-loving emperor Constantine.

Chapter 42. Concerning the nails of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the victories, which kings gained through them. 15

Chapter 43. Concerning who he was, who gave names to two provinces, which are Achaia and Laconia.

Chapter 44. Concerning who he was, who named the island *Lunānəyā* (Peloponnesus) and built a city there and called it *Lubāniyun* (Peloponnesus).<sup>40</sup> 20

Chapter 45. Concerning who he was, who built *Farmā* (Pelusium) and *Bulkinun*.

Chapter 46. Concerning, who he was, <who> first taught playing on musical instruments. 25

Chapter 47. Concerning who he was, who named the island Ephesus, which is Asia; and previously it was called *Saqālbah*, and they changed its name and named it *Iqonyon* (Iconium).<sup>41</sup>

Chapter 48. Concerning who he was, who built a city, which is called Palmyra because king David overcame the Philistine there. 30

Chapter 49. Concerning the reason, why Nebuchadnezzar conquered the city of Tyre, which is an island.

Chapter 50. Concerning the Ark of God, the Tablets and the blossoming rod of Aaron, the measure of manna and dry flinty rocks; and concerning who he was, who hid them from men. 35

Chapter 51. Concerning the reign of the king Cyrus; the sending away the captive children of Israel; and how Cambyses prohibited them to build a temple; and what *Yasid*, the commander of the forces of Egypt, advised Cambyses;<sup>42</sup> that he killed the governors of Egypt, and that Cambyses<sup>43</sup> carried the captives he had taken from Egypt to his country; and the return of Egyptians to their country for the second time; and that after forty-one 40

<sup>38</sup>Charles and Zotenberg identify it with Cyzicus (Charles 1916, 4; Zotenberg 1883, 227). However, the foundation of the city is not mentioned in Chapter 40, it mentions only the king Cyzicus. | <sup>39</sup>Zotenberg writes that the word **ኩሉ** : represents here rather a definite article (Zotenberg 1883, 227, n. 2). | <sup>40</sup>For identification of these toponyms, see Zotenberg 1883, 227, n. 3. | <sup>41</sup>The main text of Chapter 47 is very corrupt; however is does not mention **ኢቆንዮን** :. <sup>42</sup>I could not identify the referred passage in Chapter 51. | <sup>43</sup>Charles transposes this passage to the previous clause (Charles 1916, 5).

APP. LECT. MIN.: 1 **ሐነፋዊያን** :] CG, **ሐነፋውያን** : α | 4 **ብላኔ** :] αG, **ቢላኔ** : C | 16 **ለክልኤ** :] B C, **ለጂኤ** : AG | 37 **ምስራዊያን** :] BC, **ምስራውያን** : AG

APP. PUNCT.: 1 **ጳጳ** :] # G | 2 **መለኮት** #] # αCG | 3 **ቅድመ** #] # αCG | 5 **ቅድመ** #] # αCG 6 **እንድር** :] # C | 7 **ወጥብልቃና** #] # αCG | 8 **ከሲከስ** #] # αCG | 9 **ቅዱስ** ፤ αC, # G 10 **አምላክ** #] # αCG | 11 **ጳጳ** :] # G | **ሱቴንስ** #] # αG | 13 **እግዚአብሔር** #] # αCG 15 **በእንተአሆሙ** #] # αCG | 17 **ወሉቃንያ** #] # αCG | 19 **ሉባኒዮን** #] # αCG | 20 **ወቡልኪኑን** #] # αCG | 22 **ቅድመ** #] # αCG | 23 **ኤፌሶን** :] # C | 24 **እስያ** #] # αCG | 25 **ኢቆንዮን** #] # αCG 27 **ለፍልስጥኤግዊ** #] # αCG | 29 **ደሴት** #] # αCG | 31 **ጽሙም** #] # αCG | **ውእቱ** :] # C 32 **እምስብእ** #] # αCG | 34 **እስራኤል** #] # αCG | **ክልኤሙ** :] # C | 35 **መቅደስ** :] # C | **ለምስር** #] # BCG | 36 **ምስር** :] # α | 37 **ዳግመ** #] # BCG

ምድኅረ : ፵ወ፩ ዓመት : ነግሠ : እስክንድር : መቄዶናዊ : ዘተብህለ : አኃዜ : ዓለም ።

ክፍል : ፶፪ : በእንተ : ሕንጻተ : ሀገር : ዘትሰመይ : ሉንያ ።

ክፍል : ፶፫ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸ : ቤተ : ቅድመ : ወሰመየ : ስሞ : ማኅፈዶ ።

G96vc

ክፍል : ፶፬ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸ : ሀገር : እንተ : ትሰመይ : ህልዋን ።

ክፍል : ፶፭ : በእንተ : ዘሐነጸ : ለቅርጣጣና : ሀገር ።

ክፍል : ፶፮ : በእንተ : ዘሐነጸ : ለሀገር : ሮሜ : ወምክንያት <ት> : ዘተሰምየ : ባቲ : ሮማዊያን : ወጥንተ : ጽሕፈተ : መጻሕፍቲሆሙ : በስኢል : ወበትእዛዝ : ወዑደተ : ሢመታት : ወሐረተ : ሐራ : በውሰተ : ጸብእ : በተፅዕኖ : አፍራስ : ወአጽንዖ : መካነ : ጸብእ : ዘአንስት : ወትእዛዘ : ሥርዓታት : ሐራ : ወህላዌ : ልኡካን : ወእለ : ይትለአክዎሙ ። ወምክንያተ : አበዊነ : መነኮሳት : ዘግብጻ ዊያን : ይቄድሱ : በቀዳማዊ : ዕለት : እምነ : ኩሉ : አውራኅ : በእንተ : አይ : ምክንያት ።

A63vb C105rc

ክፍል : ፶፯ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘአስተርአየ : ገቢረ : ፍሉስ : በማኅተም ። ወኮነ : ጥንት : ለሤጥ : ወተሣይጦተ : ወአቅሞተ : መኳንንት : ወመላእክት : ወፈታሕት ።

ክፍል : ፶፰ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸ : ለሀገር : ተሰሎንቄ ።

B49rb Z17

ክፍል : ፶፱ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸን : ለሀገር : እስክንድርያ : ወለእኸርሳ : ሀገር : ብራንጥያ : ዘውእቱ : እስክንድር : በምክንያት : በእንተ : ዘሞኦ : ለዳርዮስ : ወዜወወ : ወለቶ ። ወበምክንያተ : ቅንዳቅስ : ንግሥት : ዘአንዘቶ : ለእስክንድር : አመ : በጽሐ : ኅቤሃ : ምስለ : ሰብአ : ዓይን : ኅቡረ : ዜናዊያን : ዘፈነዎሙ : ኅቤሃ ። ወበምክንያት : ዘረሲያ : ሎቱ : ብእሲተ ።

ክፍል : ፷ : በእንተ : አይ : ዘመን : ተተርጎሙ : መጻሕፍት : እምእስትንፋስ : እግዚአብሔር : ወእስፍንቱ : ውእቶሙ : መተርጎማን ።

A63vc

ክፍል : ፷፩ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸን : ለእንዲዓ : ወአንጸኪያ : ወሎዶቅያ : ወአያምያ : አህጉር : እሙራት ።

C105va

ክፍል : ፷፪ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘጸሐፈ : ዜና : ቅድመ : ወሰመየሙ ።

ክፍል : ፷፫ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሣቀዮሙ : ለቅዱሳን : መቃቢያን ።

ክፍል : ፷፬ : በእንተ : ልደተ : ቄሳር : ዮልዩስ : ንጉሠ : ሮም : ወመንግሥተ : አክላኡ : ባጥራ : ወሕንጻተ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ዐባይ : እንተ : ትሰመይ : ቄሳርያ : በሀገር : እስክንድርያ ።

G97ra

ክፍል : ፷፭ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸ : ለቂሳርያ : ዘፍልስጥኤም ።

ክፍል : ፷፮ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸ : ለእልፋሩስ : ዘእስክንድርያ : ወከረየ : ምድረ : ለአውጎዞ : ፈለገ : ከርዩን : ዘትርጓሜሁ : ክርዩት : እስክ : ቦአ : ማይ : እምነ : ፈለግ : ዐቢይ : ግዮን : ኅበ : ሀገር : ዐቢይ : እስክንድርያ : ወበዊኦቱ : ለማይ : ኅበ : ዕመቅ : ዘተሐንጸ : በጥብብ ። ወበአይ : ዘመን : ተወልደ ።

B49rc

APP. CRIT.: 1 አኃዜ : ዓለም ።] αG, om. C | 3 ፶፪ :] α, ፶ወ፪ : C, ፵፫ : G | ሉንያ ።] αG, ሎንያ : C 4 ፶፫ :] αC, ፶ : G | 5 ማኅፈዶ ።] αC, ማኅፈድ : G | 6 ፶፬ :] α, ፶ወ፬ C, ፶፩ : G | 7 ህልዋን ።] BC G, ህልዊን : A | 9 ፶፯ :] ACG, ፶፭ : B | ወምክንያት :] coni. Zot, ወምክንያተ : αCG | 10 ወጥንተ :] BCG, ወጥነተ : A | 14 ኩሉ : አውራኅ :] CG, አውራኅ : ኩሉ : α | 16 ፶፯ :] αG, ፶፯ : B 17 ወተሣይጦተ :] CG, ወተሣይጦ : α | ወመላእክት :] BCG, s.l. A | 19 ፶፰ :] AC, ፶፯ : B, om. G 20 ክፍል :] αC, om. G | ፶፱ :] ACG, ፶፰ : B | 25 ፷ :] ACG, ፶፱ : B | እምእስትንፋስ :] αG, እስትንፋስ : C | 27 ፷፩ :] ACG, ፷ : B | መኑ :] αC, ምንት : G | 29 ፷፪ :] ACG, ፷፩ : B | 30 ፷፫ :] AC G, ፷፪ : B | 31 ፷፬ :] ACG, ፷፫ : B | ዮልዩስ :] αC, ዮልዩስ : G | 32 አክላኡ : ባጥራ :] AC, አክላኡ ባጥራ : B, አክላኡብጥራ : G | 33 ቄሳርያ :] BC, ቄሣር : A, ቂሣርያ : G | 34 ክፍል : ... ዘፍልስጥኤም ።] αC, om. G | ፷፭ :] ACG, ፷፬ : B | ለቂሳርያ :] (om. G) C, coni. Zot, ዘቂሣርያ : α | 35 ፷፮ :] ACG, ፷፭ : B | 36 ፈለገ :] αC, ፈለግ : G | 38 በጥብብ ።] αG, ኅበ : ጥብብ : C

APP. LECT. MIN.: 1 ፵ወ፩ ዓመት :] αG, አርብዐ : ወ፩ዓመት : C | 10 ሮማዊያን :] CG, ሮማውያን : α | 13 ዘግብጻዊያን :] CG, ዘግብጻውያን : α | 23 ዜናዊያን :] CG, ዜናውያን : α

years<sup>44</sup> Alexander of Macedon, called the conqueror of the world, became king.

Chapter 52. Concerning the construction of a city named *Lunyā* (Lavinia).<sup>45</sup>

Chapter 53. Concerning who he was, who was the first to build a house and name it ‘fortress’.

Chapter 54. Concerning, who he was, who built the city called *Hālwan* (Alba).

Chapter 55. Concerning the construction of the city of Carthage.

Chapter 56. Concerning the construction of the city of Rome; the reason why they are called Romans; the beginning of writing down the documents of petitions and commandments; the circulation of appointments;<sup>46</sup> and that soldiers went into battle riding horses; the establishment of the places of contest for women; and concerning the decree of administration of the army, and the position of officials and those who assist them; concerning what is the reason of our Fathers, the monks of Egypt, to celebrate Eucharist on the first day of each month.

Chapter 57. Concerning who he was, who manifested stamped money, and the beginning of sale and commerce; and the establishment of governors, officials and judges.

Chapter 58. Concerning who he was, who built the city of Thessalonica.

Chapter 59. Concerning who he was, who built the city of Alexandria and <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Ḥkərsā*,<sup>47</sup> a city of Byzantium,<sup>48</sup> i.e. Alexander; concerning the reason why he defeated Darius and took captive his daughter; and the reason why queen Candace captured Alexander, when he came to her with spies, together with the messengers he sent to her; the reason, why he made her his wife.

Chapter 60. Concerning the time, in which the Scriptures inspired by God were translated and how many translations there were.

Chapter 61. Concerning, who he was, who built <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Ḥndīcā* (Antigonia), Antioch, *Lodoqayā* (Laodicea) and <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Ayāmyā* (Apamea)<sup>49</sup> – the renowned cities.

Chapter 62. Concerning who he was, who wrote down the first chronicles and named them.

Chapter 63. Concerning who he was, who persecuted the Maccabean saints.

Chapter 64. Concerning the birth of Julius Caesar, the emperor of Rome; the reign of Cleopatra; and the construction of the great church called Caesarion in the city of Alexandria.

Chapter 65 (66).<sup>50</sup> Concerning who he was, who built Caesarea of Palestine.

Chapter 66 (67). Concerning who he was, who built <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Ḥlfārus* (Pharos)<sup>51</sup> of Alexandria and dug the earth in order to bring in the river of *Karyun*, which is by interpretation ‘pit’,<sup>52</sup> until the water from the great river Gihon entered the great city of Alexandria; and the entering of water into a reservoir, which was

<sup>44</sup>This information is not given in Chapter 51. However, it is said that Jews were sent back to their country after forty-one years of their captivity. | <sup>45</sup>The form *Lunyā* derives apparently from the reconstructable <>. Chapter 52 attests the form *Lāwinā*. | <sup>46</sup>Zotenberg does not translate this passage (Zotenberg 1883, 228). | <sup>47</sup>Probably <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Ḥkərsā* stays for Chrysopolis. See Chapter 59.2. | <sup>48</sup>The form **ቡራንጥያ** : *Borāntəyā* is explained through a misreading of *ḵ* as *ḵ*. <sup>49</sup>According to Zotenberg it is an corrupt transcription of the Arabic (Zotenberg 1883, 229, n. 2). | <sup>50</sup>Starting from this short description there is a disaccordance with Chapters of the main text, I give the number of corresponding Chapter in brackets. | <sup>51</sup>This proper name is missing in Chapter 67. | <sup>52</sup>This information is missing in Chapter 67.

APP. PUNCT.: 2 **ዓለም** #] (om. C) # αG | 3 **ሉንያ** #] # αCG | 5 **ማሳፈደ** #] # αCG | 7 **ሀልዋን** #] # αCG | 8 **ሀገር** #] # αCG | 13 **ይተለክክም** #] # CG, 1 B | 15 **ምክንያት** #] # αCG | 16 **በማኅተም** #] # αG | 18 **ወፈታሕት** #] # αG | 19 **ተሰሎንቄ** #] # αCG | 21 **በምክንያት** #] # C | 22 **ወለቶ** #] # αCG | 24 **ኅቤሃ** #] # BCG | **ብእሲተ** #] # αCG | 26 **መተርጉማን** #] # αCG | 28 **እሙራት** #] # αCG | 29 **ወሰመዮሙ** #] # αCG | 30 **መቃቢያን** #] # αCG | 33 **እስክንድርያ** #] # αCG | 34 **ዘፍልሰጥኤም** #] (om. G) # αCG | 38 **በጥበብ** #] # BCG

እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በሥጋ ። ወበእንተ ፡ ምንት ፡ | ረሰዩ ፡ ሮማውያን ፡ ጥንተ ፡ አውራጊሆሙ ፡ በሳድስ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ እምነ ፡ ዓመት ።

A64ra

ክፍል ፡ ፳፯ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘአንበረ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ † እምትእምርታት ፡ † አመ ፡ ሰዱሱ ፡ ለጥር ። ወአውፅእዎ ፡ ለእስትድራቢ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ በዓመፃ ። |

C105vb Z18

5 ክፍል ፡ ፳፰ ፡ በእንተ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ መኑ ፡ እምነገሥት ፡ ተሰቅለ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ። ወመኑ ፡ ዘሐነጸ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ጢባርያ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳፱ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ለኔሮስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወሞቱ ፡ መሪር ።

ክፍል ፡ ፷ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዱማዴዮስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወዘከመ ፡ ሰደዶ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡ ክልኤ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ወሞቱ ። ወዘከመ ፡ ሐነጹ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ዶማዱያኑ ፡ ወሞቱ ፡ ዕፁብ ፡ ለዶማድያኖስ ፡ ወአፅርዖተ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ ወበጽፍዓተ ፡ ሰብእ ።

10

ክፍል ፡ ፷፩ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሞተ ፡ አግናጤዎስ ፡ ለባሴ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ወለአንስት ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ሰማዕታት ፡ ምስሌሁ ። ወሐኒጸ ፡ ማኅፊድ ፡ በባቢሎን ፡ ምስር ። ወመኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘሰመያ ፡ ባቢሎን ። ወመኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘከረየ ፡ ለሙሐዘ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ ድርያኑስ ፡ እንተ ፡ ተሐውር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ባሕረ ፡ ኤርትራ ፡ ወማኅፊድ ፡ ዘውስተ ፡ መኑፍ ።

A64rb

15

ክፍል ፡ ፷፪ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘሐነጸ ፡ ለእንድና ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ሪፍ ። |

G97rb

ክፍል ፡ ፷፫ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘአንበረ ፡ ትእዛዘ ፡ ለአበው ፡ ይትካዩዱ ፡ ውሉዶሙ ። ወሐኒጸ ፡ ክልኤ ፡ አገርቅጸ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ በምዕራባ ፡ ወምሥራቃ ።

B49va

C105vc

20

ክፍል ፡ ፷፬ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መኑ ፡ ዘአምጽአ ፡ አናብስተ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ምስር ፡ ወፍልስ ጥኤም ።

ክፍል ፡ ፷፭ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘአንበረ ፡ ጥንተ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ሐሳብ ፡ ወተሐብዮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ጽንዕ ፡ ሰብእ ።

25

ክፍል ፡ ፷፮ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡ ግብጻዊ ፡ ወምክንያተ ፡ ተወልጦተ ፡ ልቡናሁ ፡ ወተሰዶቱ ፡ ወመኑ ፡ ውእቶሙ ፡ ደቂቁ ፡ እለ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ እኩዮ ። ወሞተ ፡ ግብት ፡ ዘአምጽአ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ላዕለ ፡ መጣዓውያን ፡ እስከ ፡ ኃጥኡ ፡ ዘይቀብሮሙ ። ወመንግሥተ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወአቅሞተ ፡ ምግባር ፡ ዘገብሮሙ ፡ ወሠርጌተ ፡ <ቤተ > ክርስቲያን ።

APP. CRIT.: 2 ወርኅ ፡] BCG, ወርኑ ፡ A | 3 ፳፯ ፡] ACG, ፳፯ ፡ B | መኑ ፡] αC, ዘንተ ፡ አርኻላወ ፡ ወይሮዮስ ፡ add. s.l. G | ውእቱ ፡] α, om. CG | እምትእምርታት ፡] CG, እምርታት ፡ α, እምርያት ፡ con. Zot, እምርያት ፡ con. Cha (6, n. 1) | 4 ሰዱሱ ፡] BC, ሱዱሱ ፡ A, ፮ ፡ G | 5 ፳፰ ፡] ACG, ፳፰ ፡ B | 6 ጢባርያ ፡] Cጢባርያስ ፡ αG | 7 ፳፱ ፡] ACG, ፳፳ ፡ B | ለኔሮስ ፡] BCG, ለኔሮን ፡ A 8 ፸ ፡] ACG, ፳፰ ፡ B | ዱማዴዮስ ፡] αC, ዱማዴዎስ ፡ G | 9 ሐነጹ ፡] αCG, ሐነጸ ፡ con. Zot ሀገረ ፡] αC, በሀገረ ፡ G | ዱማዳዮኑ ፡] ACG, ዶማዳዮኑ ፡ B | 10 ወአፅርዖተ ፡] αCG Zot: በአፅርዖተ ፡ α | ወበጽፍዓተ ፡] αCG, ወጽፍዓተ ፡ con. Zot (230, n. 1) | 11 ፸፱ ፡] ACG, ፳፱ ፡ B | ወለአንስት ፡] αCG, ወአንስት ፡ con. Zot | ዘኮነ ፡] CG, con. Zot, ዘኮነ ፡ α | 12 ሰማዕታት ፡] con., ሰማዕት ፡ αCG በባቢሎን ፡ ምስር ፡] BG, በባቢሎን ፡ ምስር ፡ A, ዘባቢሎን ፡ ምስር ፡ C, በባቢሎን ፡ ዘምስር ፡ con. Zot | ወመኑ ፡ ... 13 ባቢሎን ፡] αG, ወመኑ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘሰመያ ፡ በባቢሎን ፡ C, i.m. G 14 ወማኅፊድ ፡] αCG, add. ወዘሐነፀ ፡ con. Zot | 16 ፸፪ ፡] ACG, ፳፱ ፡ B | 17 ፸፫ ፡] ACG, ፸ ፡ B 18 እስክንድርያ ፡] αC, እስክ ፡ G | 20 ፸፬ ፡] ACG, ፸፩ ፡ B | 22 ፸፭ ፡] ACG, ፸፪ ፡ B | 23 ይኩን ፡] αC, om. G | ጽንዕ ፡ ሰብእ ፡] BG, ጽኑዓ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ A, ጽንዓ ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ C | 24 ፸፮ ፡] ACG, ፸፫ ፡ B ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡] C, ዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ፡ α, ዲዮግልጢያኖስ ፡ G | 28 ቤተ ፡ ... 14,1 ክርስቲያን ፡] con. Zot, ክርስቲያን ፡ αCG

APP. LECT. MIN.: 1 ሮማውያን ፡] αG, ሮማዊያን ፡ C | 3 አሐዱ ፡] αC, ፩ G | 9 ክልኤ ፡] BC, ፪ኤ ፡ A, ፪ ፡ G | 18 ክልኤ ፡] αC, ፪ኤ ፡ G

APP. PUNCT.: 1 በሥጋ ።] ። αCG | 2 ዓመት ።] ። αCG | 4 ለጥር ።] ። αCG | ለእስትድራቢ ፡] ። A | በዓመፃ ።] ። αCG | 6 ክርስቶስ ።] ። BCG | ጢባርያ ።] ። αCG | 7 መሪር ።] ። αC, ፫ G 9 ወሞቱ ።] ። CG | 10 ሰብእ ።] ። αCG | 12 ምስሌሁ ።] ። αCG | ምስር ።] ። αCG | 13 ባቢሎን ።] ። αCG | 15 መኑፍ ።] ። αCG | 16 ሪፍ ።] ። αCG | 18 ውሉዶሙ ።] ። BCG | ወምሥራቃ ።] ። αCG | 20 ወፍልስጥኤም ።] ። αCG | 23 ሰብእ ።] ። αCG | 26 እኩዮ ።] ። αCG | 27 ዘይቀብሮሙ ።] ። αCG

built skillfully; and at what period Our Lord Jesus Christ was born; and for what reason the Romans declared the sixth month of the year to be the beginning of the year.

Chapter 67 (68). Concerning who he was, who established one of †the signs†<sup>53</sup> on the sixth of †Tərr; and the violent banishment of <sup>3</sup>*ʿIstədrābi* (Ezra), an innocent man.<sup>54</sup>

Chapter 68 (69). Concerning that in the time of which of the kings Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified; and who he was, who built the city of Tiberias.

Chapter 69 (70). Concerning, what happened to the emperor Nero, and (concerning) his bitter death.

Chapter 70 (71). Concerning the emperor Domitian; and how he sent St John the Evangelist in exile two times and concerning his death; and how they built<sup>55</sup> the city of *Domāduyānu* (Domitianapolis) and concerning the grievous death of Domitian; and concerning the abolition of combats and concerning the punching of men.<sup>56</sup>

Chapter 71 (72). Concerning the death of Ignatius, clothed by God,<sup>57</sup> and also concerning women, who became<sup>58</sup> martyr<s> with him; and the construction of a fortress in Egyptian Babylon; and who he was, who called it Babylon; and who he was, who dug the channel for a river called *Dəryānus* (Trajan), which terminates in the Red Sea; and (concerning) a fortress<sup>59</sup> in *Manuf* (Onouphis).<sup>60</sup>

Chapter 72 (73). Concerning who he was, who built Antioe in the province of *Rif*.<sup>61</sup>

Chapter 73 (74). Concerning who he was, who ordered to fathers to make testament for their children; and concerning the construction of two gates in the city of Alexandria – in its West and in its East.

Chapter 74 (75). Concerning who he was, who brought lions to Egypt<sup>62</sup> and Palestine.

Chapter 75 (76). Concerning who he was, who introduced the books for accounts and guarantees of debt, for the security of people.<sup>63</sup>

Chapter 76. (77) Concerning the reign of Diocletian, the Egyptian; the reason why he lost his mind and was exiled; and concerning who his children were, who exercised the evil; concerning the sudden death God brought on idolaters, unless nobody was left to bury them; and concerning the reign of God-loving Constantine; and the establishment of his works and the

<sup>53</sup>I can't propose any adequate translation for this passage. Zotenberg translates: 'Qui a fixé l'un des jours types au sixième jour du mois de ter' (Zotenberg 1883, 229). Charles emends **ⲕⲣⲟⲥⲁⲧⲁ** : of the Zotenberg's edition into **ⲕⲣⲟⲥⲉⲧⲁ** : (Charles 1916, 6, n. 1). Thus he translates: 'Concerning him who fixed one of the 'changes' on the sixth day of the month Ter' (Charles 1916, 6). I choose the reading according to my *stemma codicum* and provide a literal translation of it. | <sup>54</sup>The information on banishment of Ezra is missing in Chapter 68. | <sup>55</sup>I don't follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here. His conjecture is apparently based on the content of Chapter 71. | <sup>56</sup>Zotenberg proposes that the abolition of gladiatorial combats is meant here (Zotenberg 1883, 230, n. 1). I don't the conjecture proposed by Zotenberg here, but follow the text of the manuscripts. | <sup>57</sup>Apparently, Zotenberg proposes this passage to stand for **θεόφορος**, thus he translates: 'De la mort d'Ignace le Théophile' (Zotenberg 1883, 230). <sup>58</sup>There is a gender disagreement in this passage. | <sup>59</sup>I don't follow the conjecture by Zotenberg, which is apparently based on the content of Chapter 72. | <sup>60</sup>Concerning the identification of this place name Timm writes as follows: 'Im Zusammenhang mit Kaiser Trajans Bau eines Kanals, der den östlichen Nilarm mit Klysma//<sup>3</sup>al-Qulzum verband, wird in der Chronik erzählt <...>, daß Trajan bei "Menouf" eine Zitadelle errichtete. Hier kann vom Kontext her das westlich des Nils, auf der Höhe des heutigen Ḥalwān, gelegene Memphis (=Manf) nicht gemeint sein. Liegt hier Ptolemäus' Onouphis (arab. Manūf?) im östlichen Delta vor?' (Timm 1988, 1578). | <sup>61</sup>This toponym can not be identical to the Arabic Rīf, which designates Delta. Chapter 73 tells explicitly on the construction of a city of Antioe in Upper Egypt. In this particular case *Rif* corresponds at least to the region around Antioe, or even to Upper Egypt as the whole. See also Frantsouzoff 2010, 84-85; Booth 2013, 660-661. | <sup>62</sup>Egypt is not mentioned in Chapter 75. | <sup>63</sup>This summary does not correspond completely to the content of Chapter 76, where only registration is mentioned.

በመዋዕሊሁ ። ወመኑ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ዘገብረ ፣ ቀናጥረ ፣ ቅድመ ፣ ዘውእቱ ፣ A64rc  
 ድልዲይ ። ወበእንተ ፣ ተረክቦተ ፣ መስቀል ፣ ወበእንተ ፣ ሕንጻ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ቍስጥን Z19  
 ጥንያ ፣ ወተሰምዮታ ፣ በዝንቱ ፣ ስም ። ወስማስ ፣ ዘቅድም ፣ በራንጥያ ፣ ወበእንተ ፣  
 ሃይማኖተ ፣ አክላስዮስ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ተአምር ፣ ዘርእያ ፣ እንተ ፣ ይእቲ ፣ ጥምቀት ፣ C106ra  
 5 ቅድስት ፣ ወሞቱ ፣ መንክር ። ወበአይ ፣ ምክንያት ፣ አእመርዎ ፣ ሕንድ ፣ ለእግ  
 ዚእነ ፣ ኢየሱስ ፣ ክርስቶስ ፣ አምላክነ ። እስመ ፣ ቅዱስ ፣ አትናስዮስ ፣ ሐዋርያዊ ፣  
 ውእቱ ፣ ሤመ ፣ ሎሙ ፣ ቅድመ ፣ ጳጳስ ፣ ለሕንድ ፣ ወለየመን ። ወለቄስጠንጢ  
 ኖስኒ ፣ ኮነ ፣ ያስተርእዮ ፣ መልአከ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ ኩሎ ፣ መዋዕለ ፣ ሕይወቱ ፣ B49vb  
 ወያነቅሆ ፣ ለጸሎት ።  
 10 ክፍል ፣ ፸፯ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ሕንጻተ ፣ ቀንጠራኅ ፣ ዘውእቱ ፣ ዲልዲይ ፣ ላዕለ ፣ ፈለግ ፣  
 ዘይሰመይ ፣ በበራምስ ፣ ወድቀታ ፣ <ለ>ኒቅያ ፣ ወአስተርእዮተ ፣ መስቀል ፣  
 ቅዱስ ፣ በመንፈቀ ፣ መዓልት ፣ ላዕለ ፣ ጎልጎታ ፣ በመካን ፣ ዘተሰቅለ ፣ ቦቱ ፣ እግ G97rc  
 ዚእነ ። ወሕማም ፣ ዘተወክፈ ፣ ቅዱስ ፣ አትናስዮስ ፣ ሐዋርያዊ ፣ እምነ ፣ አርዮሳ  
 ዊያን ። ወስደተ ፣ ቅዱስ ፣ ሊዋርዮስ ፣ ወጳጳሳት ፣ ቅዱሳን ፣ እለ ፣ ምስሌሁ ፣ በምክ  
 15 ንያተ ፣ ምክረ ፣ እከዮሙ ፣ ለአርዮሳውያን ። ወዓዲ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ዮልያኖስ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣  
 ከሐዲ ። ወምክንያተ ፣ ጎዲጎቱ ፣ መዓርገ ፣ ዘቤተ ፣ ክርስቲያን ፣ ወከዊኖቱ ፣ ሊቀ ፣  
 ሐራ ፣ እስከ ፣ ነሥአ ፣ መንግሥተ ፣ ህየንተ ፣ አሉሉስ ፣ እኑሁ ፣ ወሰዲይታቱ ፣ C106rb  
 ለቅዱስ ፣ አትናስዮስ ፣ ሐዋርያዊ ፣ ከመ ፣ ይቅትሎ ፣ በምክረ ፣ ሐነፋዊያን ።  
 ወበአይ ፣ ምክንያት ፣ ተደለወት ፣ እስክንድርያ ፣ ለተወክፎተ ፣ ሥጋሁ ፣ ለቅዱስ ፣  
 20 ዮሐንስ ፣ መጥምቅ ፣ እስከ ፣ ዮጎድር ፣ ውስቲታ ፣ ወ<የሐ>ንጹ ፣ ሎቱ ፣ መካነ ፣  
 ሥርግወ ፣ በትእዛዘ ፣ ሊቀ ፣ ጳጳሳት ፣ ቴዎፍሎስ ።  
 ክፍል ፣ ፸፰ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ከመ ፣ ናእምር ፣ እስመ ፣ ቴዎፍሎስ ፣ ሊቀ ፣ ጳጳሳት ፣  
 ዘለእስክንድርያ ፣ እምአይ ፣ ሀገር ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ወእምአይ ፣ ዘመድ ። ወቅዱስኒ ፣  
 ቄርሎስ ፣ ወልደ ፣ እኅቱ ፣ ወበአይ ፣ መካን ፣ ተወልደ ፣ ውእቱ ።  
 25 ክፍል ፣ ፸፱ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ፍጻሜ ፣ ሞቱ ፣ ለቅዱስ ፣ ዱማድዮስ ፣ ሰማዕት ።  
 ወበቀ<ል> ፣ ዘአምጽአ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ ላዕለ ፣ ዮልያኖስ ፣ ዓላዊ ፣ B49vc  
 ወዘከመ ፣ ቀሠፎ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ በእደ ፣ ሰማዕቱ ፣ ቅዱስ ፣ መርቆሬዎስ ፣  
 ወሞተ ፣ በሞት ፣ እኩይ ። A64vb Z20  
 ክፍል ፣ ፹ ፣ በእንተ ፣ መንግሥተ ፣ ዮናኖስ ፣ ወዘከመ ፣ በርሀት ፣ ቤተ ፣ ክርስ  
 30 ቲያን ፣ በመዋዕሊሁ ። ወምክንያተ ፣ ተመይጦቱ ፣ ለቅዱስ ፣ አትናስዮስ ፣ ኀበ ፣  
 መንበሩ ፣ በክብር ። ወአስተርእዮተ ፣ ቤተ ፣ ክርስቲያን ፣ በሃይማኖት ፣ ኦርቶ  
 ዶክሳዊት ፣ በኩላሄ ። C106rc  
 ክፍል ፣ ፹፩ ፣ በእንተ ፣ መንግሥተ ፣ ሳሙስትዮስ ፣ ወጸሊኦቱ ፣ <ለ>አመፃ ፣  
 ወፍትሐ ፣ በጽድቅ ፣ ወበርትዕ ፣ ወሐኒገጾቱ ፣ <ለ>አናቅጸ ፣ አእባን ፣ እንተ ፣ G97va  
 35 ይእቲ ፣ ለኅርቃልዩን ፣ ዘረሰዮሙ ፣ አናቅጸ ፣ ዘፈለግ ፣ ዐቢይ ፣ ዘምስር ፣ በግብር ፣  
 ዕፁብ ። ወምክንያተ ፣ አቅሞተ ፣ ፈለገ ፣ ባሕረ ፣ ውቅያኖስ ፣ ላዕለ ፣ እስክንድርያ ፣

APP. CRIT.: 2 ቍስጥንጥንያ ፣] αC, ቍስጥንያ ፣ G | 5 ወበአይ ፣] αC, በአይ ፣ G | 6 አትናስዮስ ፣] BC, አትናስዮስ ፣ A, አትናትዮስ ፣ G | 7 ወለየመን ።] α, ወለደመን ፣ C, ወለያመን ፣ G ወለቄስጠንጢኖስኒ ፣] CG, ለቄስጠንጢኖስ ፣ α, {ለ}ቄስጠንጢኖስኒ ፣ s.l. G | 10 ፸፯ ፣] ACG, ፸፬ ፣ B | ቀንጠራኅ ፣] αCG, ቀንጠራ ፣ con. Zot | 11 በበራምስ ፣] αG, በቦራምስ ፣ C | ወድቀታ ፣] αCG, ወድቀት ፣ ዘኮነት ፣ con. Zot | ለኒቅያ ፣] con., በኒቅያ ፣ αC, በኒቅያ ፣ G | 12 በመካን ፣] con. Zot, ወመካን ፣ αCG | እግዚእነ ።] αCG, ኢየሱስ ፣ add. G | 13 ወሕማም ፣] con. Zot, ወሕማም ፣ αCG 14 ቅዱስ ፣] CG, om. α | 17 መንግሥተ ፣] αCG Zot: መንግሥቱ ፣ B | 18 አትናስዮስ ፣] αC, አትናትዮስ ፣ G | ሐዋርያዊ ፣] CG, om. α | 20 ወየሐንጹ ፣] con. Zot, ወይሐንጹ ፣ αCG | 22 ፸፰ ፣] ACG, ፸፭ ፣ B | በእንተ ፣] αCG, መኑ ፣ add. α | ቴዎፍሎስ ፣] αG, ትዮፍሎስ ፣ C | 23 ዘለእስክንድርያ ፣] C G, ዘእስክንድርያ ፣ α, ዘ{ለ}እስክንድርያ ፣ s.l. G | ወእምአይ ፣] αC, እምአይ ፣ G | ወቅዱስኒ ፣] αC, ወቅዱስ ፣ G | 24 ወበአይ ፣] αCG, በአይ ፣ con. Zot | 25 ፸፱ ፣] ACG, ፸፮ ፣ B | 26 ወበቀል ፣] con. Zot, ወበቀለ ፣ αCG | ዮልያኖስ ፣] αG, ዮልያኖስ ፣ C | 27 ሰማዕቱ ፣] BCG, ሰማዕት ፣ A 28 በሞት ፣ እኩይ ።] BCG, በእኩይ ፣ ሞት ፣ A | 29 ፹ ፣] ACG, ፸፯ ፣ B | 30 በመዋዕሊሁ ።] CG, om. α | አትናስዮስ ፣] αC, አትናትዮስ ፣ G | 31 መንበሩ ፣] CG, መንበር ፣ α | በክብር ።] CG, ዐቢይ ፣ add. α | 33 ፹፩ ፣] ACG, ፸፰ ፣ B | ለአመፃ ፣] con., አመፃ ፣ αCG | 34 ለአናቅጸ ፣] con., አናቅጸ ፣ αC G | አእባን ፣] αCG Zot: lac. | 35 ይእቲ ፣] αG, om. C | 36 ባሕረ ፣] CG, om. α

APP. LECT. MIN.: 2 ድልዲይ ።] α, ድልዲ ፣ CG | 13 አርዮሳዊያን ።] CG, አርዮሳውያን ፣ α 15 ለአርዮሳውያን ።] αC, ለአርዮሳዊያን ፣ G | 18 ሐነፋዊያን ።] CG, ሐነፋውያን ፣ α



ከመ ፡ ኢያሱጥም ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሶበ ፡ አኮ ፡ ኢከልኦ ፡ በጸሎቱ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አትናሰዮስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ።

ክፍል ፡ ፹፪ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ታኦሪስዮስ ፡ ዘየአቢ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወአምሳል > ፡ ዘአምጽኦ ፡ በቅድሚሁ ፡ ፌልጎስ ፡ ጳጳስ ፡ ዘኢቆንዮን ።

5 በእንተ ፡ ተዋሕዶቶሙ ፡ ለሥሎስ ፡ ቅዱስ ። ወበእንተ ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ ዘአስተጋብኦ ፡ ጉጉሥ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ጽንዓ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ። ወበእንተ ፡ ምክንያት ፡ ዘጢሞቱዎስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘእለእስክንድርያ ። ወገሥጸ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ጎርጎርዮስ ፡ ጳጳስ ፡ ዘብርያሱስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይጎድጋ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ጉጉሥ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡ ወይሁር ፡ ጎበ ፡ ሀገሩ ። ወሤሞ ፡ ለ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ <ዘስሙ ፡ መክሲሞስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ > ዘቍስጥንጥንያ ። ወዓዲ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕንጻተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ <ዘ>ታኦሪክሲያ ፡ በእለእስክንድርያ ፡ ወቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘቅዱሳን ፡ ሰማዕታት ፡ ቆዝሞስ ፡ ወድምያኖስ ፡ ወዘአኃዊሆሙ ፡ ሰማዕታት ። ወበእንተ ፡ አውዕዮተ ፡ <በ>እሳት ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ አንጾኪያ ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ ጉጉሥ ። ወተግሣጽ ፡ ዘፈነወ ፡ ጎቤሁ ፡ መነኮስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘእምገዳመ ፡ አስቄጥስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ። ወሕማመ ፡ ልብ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ምክንያት ። ወዓዲ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምክንያተ ፡ ሰያጥያነ ፡ ወይን ፡ ወመካነ ፡ ዘማዊያን ፡ ተጸርዐ ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ ፡ ወበርሃት ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መካን ።

A64vc

B50ra  
C106va

ክፍል ፡ ፹፫ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሢመተ ፡ አርቃድዮስ ፡ ወአኖሬዎስ ፡ ነገሥት ። ወአርቃድዮስ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡ ወአኖሬዎስ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ። ወበእንተ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ አፍቀሮ ፡ አርቃዴዎስ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወተጋድሎተ ፡ አኖሬዎስ ። ወበእንተ ፡ ዘአስተናሥኦ ፡ ሁከተ ፡ <አለ>ሪሁስ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ። ወበምክንያተ ፡ ዘተመስጠት ፡ ቦቱ ፡ እኅተ ፡ ጉጉሥ ፡ አኖሬዎስ ፡ ወበርብሮተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ንዋይ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ በማኅፈድ ። ወዓዲ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምክንያት ፡ ዘንደጋ ፡ አኖሬዎስ ፡ ለሮሜ ፡ ወመጽኦ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያ ። ወኮነ ፡ ሱታፌ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ታኦሪስዮስ ፡ ጉጉሥ ፡ ዘይንእስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እኅሁ ፡ አርቃድዮስ ፡ እስከ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ሞቱ ። ወዓዲ ፡ <በእንተ ፡ > አውዶክሲያ ፡ ንግሥት ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ታኦሪስዮስ ፡ ጉጉሥ ፡ ዘይንእስ ፡ ወእምኦይ ፡ ዘመድ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወእፎ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ምክንያተ ፡ ተሰናእዎቱ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ምስሌሃ ። ወነሥኦ ፡ ሎተ ፡ ብእሲተ ። ወበአይ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ጸሐፊ ፡ ስመ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ አፈ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ፍትሐት ። እምድጎረ ፡ ሐረቱ ፡ ጎበ ፡ እግዚእነ ። ወበእንተ ፡ መርገሙ ፡ ለንስጥሮስ ፡ ወመዊኦቱ ፡ ለቄርሎስ ። ወዓዲ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ሐነፋዊት ፡ ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡ ወሁከተ <ት > ፡ ዘአስተናሥኦት ፡ ማእከለ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ወክርስቲያን ፡ በእለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ። ወምክንያት ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ነሥኦ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ቄርሎስ ፡ ለምኩራብ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ በተናግሮቱ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ወዘከመ ፡ ሰሐብዋ ፡ ለብእሲት ፡ ሐነፋዊት ፡ በውስተ ፡ መራኅብት ፡ እስከ ፡ ሞተት ፡ ወአውዓዩ ፡ ሥጋሃ ፡ በእሳት ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ አባ ፡ ቄርሎስ ።

A65ra Z21

G97vb

C106vb

B50rb

A65rb

ክፍል ፡ ፹፬ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቅትለት ፡ ዘገብሩ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ቁሚትራ ። በእንተ ፡ ዘገብሩ ፡ ሰላቀ ፡ በመስቀለ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ አመ ፡ ሰቀሉ ፡ ሕፃ<ነ> ፡ ንኡ<ሰ> ፡ ወቀተልዎ ፡ በሰላቅ ።

C106vb

APP. CRIT.: 1 ኢያሱጥም ፡] CG, coni. Zot, ኢያሱጥም ፡ A, ኢያሱጥም ፡ B,ያሱጥም ፡, coni. Cha (9, n. 1) | ኢከልኦ ፡] BCG, ኢከልኦ ፡ A | አትናሰዮስ ፡] AC, አትናትዮስ ፡ BG | 3 ፹፪ ፡] ACG, ፸፱ ፡ B | 4 ወአምሳል ፡] coni. Zot (232, n. 2), ወአምሳል ፡ αCG | ጳጳስ ፡] BCG, om. A | 5 ጉባኤ ፡] CG, om. α | 7 ዘጢሞቱዎስ ፡] αCG, ዘጢሞቱዎስ ፡ s.l. G | ዘእለእስክንድርያ ።] BG, ዘእለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ A, ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡ C | ወገሥጸ ፡] ወገሥጸ ፡ αCG, ዘገሥጸ coni. Zot | 8 ጎርጎርዮስ ፡] ለጎርጎርዮስ ፡ coni. Zot! | ጳጳስ ፡] BCG, om. A | 9 ዘስሙ ፡... ጳጳሳት ፡] coni, Zot, ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ መክሲሞስ ፡ αCG | 11 ዘታኦሪክሲያ ፡] coni. Zot, ለታኦሪክሲያ ፡ αCG, ለታኦሪክሲያ ፡ s.l. G | በእለእስክንድርያ ፡] BG, በእለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ AC | 12 ሰማዕታት ፡] con., ሰማዕት ፡ αCG | 13 በእሳት ፡] coni. Zot, እሳት ፡ αCG | ለሀገረ ፡] αG, ዘሀገረ ፡ C | 16 ሰያጥያነ ፡] αG, ሰያጥነ ፡ C | ተጸርዐ ፡] Σ, ዘተጸርዐ ፡ coni. Zot | 18 ፹፫ ፡] ACG, ፹ ፡ B | ወአኖሬዎስ ፡] BCG, ወአኖርዮስ ፡ A | ነገሥት ። ... 20 ወአኖሬዎስ ፡] αC, om. G | 20 አርቃዴዎስ ፡] αG, አርቃድዮስ ፡ C | 21 አለሪሁስ ፡] coni. Zot, ለአለሪሁስ ፡ αCG | 22 ዘተመስጠት ፡] coni. Zot, ዘተሰምየት ፡ αC, ዘተሰመየት ፡ G | 23 ምክንያት ፡] CG, om. α | አኖሬዎስ ፡] BCG, ለአኖረዎስ ፡ A | 26 በእንተ ፡] con., እስመ ፡ αCG | አውዶክሲያ ፡] AC, አውዶክያ ፡ B, አውዶክሲያ ፡ G | 27 ወእምኦይ ፡] αCG, እምኦይ ፡ coni. Zot | 28 ወነሥኦ ፡] αG, ወነሥኦት ፡ C | 29 ስመ ፡] αC, ከመ ፡ G | 31 ሐነፋዊት ፡] G, coni Zot, ሐነዊት ፡ α,

stopped over Alexandria so that they might not inundate<sup>68</sup> the city, but were not able (to do that) through the prayer of the holy bishop Athanasius.

Chapter 82 (83). Concerning the reign of God-Loving Theodosius, the elder; and the parable, which *Felgos* (Amphilochius), the bishop of Iconium, presented to him on the unity of the Holy Trinity; and concerning the Council, which the emperor assembled in the city of Constantinople, in order to strengthen the Church; and concerning the reason, why Timothy, patriarch of Alexandria, admonished Gregory, bishop of *Bəryāsus* (Nazianzum),<sup>69</sup> to leave the imperial city Constantinople<sup>70</sup> and to go to his country; and that he appointed one man whose name is Maximus patriarch of Constantinople; and moreover concerning the construction of the church <of> *Ta'odoksəyā* (Theodosius) in Alexandria and the church of the holy martyr<s> Cosmas and Damian and the martyrs their brethren; and concerning the burning down <in> fire the city of Antioch by the command of the emperor; and the admonition, which a holy monk from the desert of *ʿAsqetās* (Scetis) sent to him on this matter; and the emperor's pain of heart because of that; and moreover concerning the reason, why wine-merchants and brothels were annulled in his time; and that his reign was splendor in all places.

Chapter 83 (84). Concerning the appointment of kings Arcadius and Honorius, Arcadius over Constantinople and Honorius over Rome; and concerning how Arcadius loved God and the struggle of Honorius; and concerning that <ʿAla>*ribus* (Alaric) arose revolt in the city of Rome; and the reason, why the sister of Honorius was taken prisoner by him; and the plundering of all the treasures from the palace; and moreover concerning the reason why Honorius left Rome and came to Constantinople and became an associate of the emperor Theodosius the younger, son of his brother Arcadius, till his death; and moreover <concerning> the empress Eudocia, wife of the emperor Theodosius the younger and from which family she was; and what was the reason of an alliance of the emperor with her and that he took her to wife; and at what time they wrote down the name of St John Chrysostom in the law after he had gone to Our Lord; and concerning the anathema of Nestorius and the victory of Cyril; and moreover, concerning a Greek woman from Alexandria and the disturbance she arose among Jews and Christians in Alexandria; and the reason, why St Cyril took a Jewish synagogue and converted it into a church because of his discussion with Jews; and how they dragged the pagan (*banafāwi*) woman into a square until she died and burnt her body in fire by a command of the patriarch *ʿAbbā* Cyril.

Chapter 84 (85). Concerning the slaughter which Jews arranged in *Qumitrā*; concerning that they exercised mockery on the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ, while they crucified a small child and killed him in mockery.

<sup>68</sup> Charles translates the text as follows: ‘And the ocean tide rose to such a height that it would have submerged the city...’ (Charles 1916, 9). | <sup>69</sup> According to Zotenberg it is a corrupt transcription of the Arabic (Zotenberg 1883, 232, n. 3). | <sup>70</sup> Charles translates: ‘the city of the emperor Constantine’ (Charles 1916, 9).

ሐነፋ-ዊያት ፡ C | ዘለእስክንድርያ ፡ ] CG, ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡ α | ወሁከት ፡ ] con. Zot, ወሁከተ ፡ α CG | 32 በእለ ፡ ] C, በል ፡ α G | 33 ዘከመ ፡ ] α C, በከመ ፡ G | 34 ክርስቲያን ፡ ] α C, ክርስቲያነ ፡ G 37 ሹ፬ ፡ ] ACG, ሹ፭ ፡ B | 39 ሰቀሉ ፡ ] CG, ሰቀሎ ፡ α | ሕዓነ ፡ ንኡሰ ፡ ] con. Zot (233, n. 3), ሕዓነ ፡ ንኡሰ ፡ α CG

APP. LECT. MIN.: 9 ወይሐር ፡ ] α G, ወይሐር ፡ C | 16 ዘማዊያን ፡ ] ACG, ዘማውያን ፡ B

APP. PUNCT.: 2 ጳጳሳት ፡ # α CG | 4 ዘኢቆንዮን ፡ # BCG | 5 ቅዱስ ፡ # α CG 6 ክርስቲያናት ፡ # CG | 7 ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡ # α CG | 9 ሀገሩ ፡ # α CG | 10 ዘቀሩሰጥንጥንያ ፡ # α CG | 12 ሰማዕታት ፡ # α CG | 13 ንጉሥ ፡ # α G | 15 ግብር ፡ # α CG | 17 ምክንያት ፡ # α C G | 16 ወይን ፡ # C | 17 መካን ፡ # α CG | 18 ነገሥት ፡ # (om. G) # α C | 20 አኖሬዎስ ፡ # α CG 21 ሮሜ ፡ # BCG | 24 ለሮሜ ፡ # C | ቀሩሰጥንጥንያ ፡ # α CG | 26 ሞቱ ፡ # BCG 28 ምስሌሃ ፡ # CG | ብእሲተ ፡ # α CG | 29 ፍትሐት ፡ # α G | 30 እግዚእነ ፡ # α CG ለንስጥሮስ ፡ # C | ለቄርሎስ ፡ # α CG | 32 እስክንድርያ ፡ # α CG | 36 ቄርሎስ ፡ # α CG 37 ቁሚትራ ፡ # α CG | 39 በሰላቅ ፡ # α CG

ክፍል : ፹፭ : በእንተ : ፊንክስር : አይሁዳዊ : ዘአስተርአየ : ለአይሁድ : እንዘ : ይብል : አነ : ውእቱ : ሙሴ : ሊቀ : ነቢያት ።

ክፍል : | ፹፮ : በእንተ : ትፋሕ : ዘአምጽአ : ሎቱ : | ለንጉሥ : ትዮዶስዮስ : አምኃ ። ወምክንያት : ሢመታ : ለብርካልያ : እኅቱ : ወጽልመት : ዘከነ : ላዕለ : ኩላ : ምድር : እምጽባሕ : እስከ : ምሴት ። በዕለት : ዘነግሠ : ባቲ : መርቃያን : መናፍቅ ።

A65rc G97vc  
B50rc Z22

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ክፍል : ፹፯ : በእንተ : ምክንያት : ዘአዝነመ : ሰማይ : ጂረን : ዘውእቱ : በረቅ : ላዕለ : ሀገረ : ቀስተንጥንያ : ወእሳትኒ : ነደ : እምባሕር : እስከ : ባሕር ። ወተመ ይጠተ : አንሱካስዮስ : ፊልሱፍ : ሐላፋዊ : ኀበ : ሃይማኖት : ኦርቶዶክሳዊት : ወለጢሞቴዎስ : ሊቀ : ጳጳሳት : እምአይ : መካን : ውእቱ ። ወሞተ : ሕማም : ጽኑዕ : ዘከነ : በሀገረ : ቀስተንጥንያ : ወድቀተ : ደብር : ዘከነ : በሻም : ወምክንያተ : ጽኑቱ : ለዋስኪስዮስ : በአምሳለ : ኬልቄድናውያን : በእንተ : ንዋይ : ሙሱን ። ወምክንያተ : መንግሥቱ : ለዘይኑን : ንጉሥ : ላዕለ : ሀገረ : መንግሥተ : ቀስተንጥንያ : ወሰደተ : ዋሰልስክስ : እስከ : አመ : ሞቱ ። ወሞት : ዘከነ : በፈታሕት : በእንተ : ተሀይዮቶሙ : በውስተ : ፍትሕ ። ወበእንተ : መንግሥተ : ዘይኑን : ወትእዛዙ : ለመጽሐፈ : ጦማር : ወያንብቡ : በውስተ : ኩሉ : መካን ። ወበእንተ : በርንቄ : ሐማቱ : ወተግብአታ : ምስሌሁ : እስከ : ረከባ : ሞት : ምስለ : እሊአሃ ።

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A65va  
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ክፍል : ፹፰ : በእንተ : መንግሥተ : አንስጣስዮስ : መናቀሬ : እግዚአብሔር : በምክንያተ : ትንቢቱ : ለአባ : ያ<C>ምያስ : ባሕታዊ : ዘደብረ : መኑፍ ። ወሕንጸተ : አናቅ<ጸ> : አእባን : ዘእልሙወረድ : ወክርየት : ለገቢረ : ድልዲይ : ዐቢይ : ዘጥንቱ : እምባቢሎን : ወብጽሐቱ : እስከ : ባሕር ። ወምክንያተ : ሰምዮተ : መጽሐፈ : ቂላልትያስ : ወመዊአተ : ሊቀ : ጳጳሳት : ዐቢይ : ሳዊርስ : | ወሰደተ : መቅደንዮስ : ወመንኖተ : ጉባኤ : ኬልቄድናዊያን ።

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B50va

G98ra

ክፍል : ፹፱ : በእንተ : ምክንያተ : ስደቱ : ለቅዱስ : ሳዊርስ : እምነ : መንበሩ : ዘአንጾኪያ : በእንተ : ውዴተ : ሐራጥቃ : ወበእንተ : ስእለት : ዘገብራ : ኀበ : እግዚአብሔር ። በእንተ : ሰብአ : ሀገረ : እስክንድርያ : ወቀስተንጥንያ : ላዕለ : እከይ : ዘገብራ : ለስጥናስ : ንጉሥ ። ወተግሣጽ : ዘሰምዐ : እምእግዚአብሔር : ወበእንተ : እሳት : ዘነደት : ውስተ : ሀገረ : አንጾኪያ : ወአህጉራተ : ምሥራቅ ። ወንጎለተ : ብዙኃን : አብያተ : ሰማዕታት : ወኩሉ : ተአምራት : ዘኩኑ : ወጥምቀተ : ሕዝብ : አርዮሳዊያን : ወነገሥተ : ሕንድ : ወእልማሪጥስ : ዘውእቶሙ : ኖባ : ወበአይ : ሃይማኖት : ኩኑ : ውእቶሙ : ቅድመ ። ወበእንተ : ድልቅልቅ : ዘከነ : በምስር ። ወነዱ : እንተ : ይእቲ : በአፍአ : ሀገር : ወሕንድሂ : ኩኑ : ቅድመ : አይሁድ : ዘውእቶሙ : እልማኩሪድስ ።

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C107rb Z23

APP. CRIT.: 1 ፹፭ : ]ACG, ፹፪ : B | ፊንክስር : ]αCG, ፊንክስር : s.l. G | 2 አነ : ውእቱ : ]αCG, rep. α | 3 ፹፮ : ]ACG, ፹፫ : B | በእንተ : ትፋሕ : ]αG, om. C | ትዮዶስዮስ : ]BC, ቲዮዶስዮስ : A, ቲዮዶስዮስ : G | 4 እኅቱ : ]CG, እኅት : α | 5 እምጽባሕ : ]αC, እምጽባሕ : G | መርቃያን : ]BG, ምርቅያን : AC | 7 ፹፯ : ]ACG, ፹፬ : B | 8 ቀስተንጥንያ : ]αG, እስክንድርያ : C | 9 ፊልሱፍ : ]αC, ፍልሱፍ : G | ሐላፋዊ : ]αCG, ኀነፋዊ : con. Zot | 10 ወለጢሞቴዎስ : ]αCG, ወጢሞቴዎስ : con. Zot | 12 ለዋስኪስዮስ : ]CG, ለዋስኪዮስ : α, ለዋስልስኪዮስ : con. Zot | 14 ዋሰልስክስ : ]αG, ዋልስክስ : C | 15 በፈታሕት : ]CG, con. Zot, በፈታት : α | 17 ወበእንተ : ]αG, በእንተ : C | እስከ : ]αC, om. G | 19 ፹፰ : ]ACG, ፹፭ : B | 20 ያርምያስ : ]con. Zot, ያውምያስ : αCG | 21 አናቅጸ : ]con. Zot, አናቅጽ : αCG | ዘእልሙወረድ : ]αC, ዘእልሙወረድ : G | ወክርየት : ]CG, con. Zot, ወክርየት : α | 23 መጽሐፈ : ]C, om. α, መጽሐፈ : G | 24 ኬልቄድናዊያን ። ]C, ኬልቄድናዊ : α, ኬልቄድናውያን : G | 25 ፹፱ : ]ACG, ፹፯ : B | 26 ውዴተ : ]CG, om. α | 27 ሰብአ : ሀገረ : ]α, ሀገረ : ሰብአ : C, ሀገረ : G | እስክንድርያ : ወቀስተንጥንያ : ]A, ቀስተንጥንያ : BG, እስክንድርያ : C | 28 ለስጥናስ : ]αG, ለስጥስ : C, ዩስጥናስ : con. Zot | 30 ወንጎለተ : ]α, ወንህላተ : C, ወንህለት : G | 31 አርዮሳዊያን : ]C, አርዮሳውያን : α, አርሳዊያን : G | 33 ሀገር : ]αG, ህንድሂ : C ወሕንድሂ : ... 2 እልማኩሪድስ ። ] ወሕንድሂ : (ህንድሂ : C) ኩኑ : ቅድመ : አይሁድ : (አይሁዳዊ : C) ዘውእቶሙ : እልማኩሪድስ ። αCG, ወሕንድሂ : ዘውእቶሙ : እልማኩሪድስ : ኩኑ : ቅድመ : አይሁድ con. Zot

APP. LECT. MIN.: 7 ጂረን : ]αG, ጅረን : C | 12 ኬልቄድናውያን : ]αG, ኬልቄድናዊያን : C 21 ድልዲይ : ]G, ዲልዲይ : α, ድልድይ : C | 33 ወሕንድሂ : ]αG, እልማኩሪድስ ። C

Chapter 85 (86). Concerning *Finkəsər* the Jew, who appeared to Jews saying: ‘I am Moses, the chief of prophets.’

Chapter 86 (87). Concerning the apple, which they brought to the emperor Theodosius as a present; the reason of appointment of his sister Pulcheria; and the darkness over the whole earth from daybreak till evening on the day, when Marcian, the heretic, became emperor. 5

Chapter 87 (88). Concerning the reason, why the sky rained with *ğiran*, that is borax,<sup>71</sup> in Constantinople and that fire burnt from sea to sea; and the conversion of the ...<sup>72</sup> philosopher *ʿAnsukāsəyus* (Isocasius) to the Orthodox faith; and as for patriarch Timothy, from which place he is; and the severe pestilence, which happened in Constantinople; and the fall of a mountain of Syria; and the reason of apostasy of Basiliscus in a manner of Chalcedonians on the corrupt goods; the reason for the reign of the emperor Zeno over the imperial city of Constantinople; and the exile of Basiliscus until his death; and the death, which happened to judges because of their negligence in judgment; and concerning the reign of Zeno; and his command, that they should read the Book of Epistles in every place; and concerning *Barənqe* (Verina), his mother-in-law and her warring with him, until the death of hers and her adherents. 10 15

Chapter 88 (89). Concerning the reign of God-loving Anastasius because of the prophecy of *ʿAbbā Yā<r>myās* (Jeremiah), the Hermit, of the monastery of Manuf (Memphis);<sup>73</sup> and the construction of a stone fortress of *ʿElmuwarad*; and the excavation for construction of a big bridge starting in Babylon and ending in the sea; and the reason of naming the book of *Qilāltəyas* (Philalethes); and the victory of the great patriarch Severus; and the exile of Macedonius; and the rejection of the Council of Chalcedon. 20 25

Chapter 89 (90). Concerning the reason of the exile of holy Severus from his throne of Antioch because of the accusation of heretics; concerning the prayer, which he made to God, on behalf of the people of Alexandria and Constantinople concerning the evil, which the emperor *Lastənās*<sup>74</sup> (Justin) did, and the instruction he heard from God; and concerning the fire that burnt in the city of Antioch and in the cities of the East; and concerning the destruction of many dwellings of the martyrs and all the miracles, which happened; and concerning the baptism of the Arians,<sup>75</sup> the kings of India and of *ʿElmāritəs*, who are Nubians; and of which faith they were previously; and concerning the earthquake, which happened in Egypt; and *Nadu*, which was outside the city;<sup>76</sup> and that the Indians, were formerly Jews, i.e. *ʿElmākuridəs*.<sup>77</sup> 30 35

<sup>71</sup>Zotenberg translates the word **በረቕ** : as ‘éclairs’, Charles follows him and translates it ‘lightnings’ (Zotenberg 1883, 234; Charles 1916, 10). I think that rather another word is meant, a homograph, which stays for borax (sodium borate). | <sup>72</sup>I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg by now. Although, I was not able to find any other attestation of this word, it might be that it derives from **ሐላፊ** : (خَلْفَة). | <sup>73</sup>Timm proposes to render this placename as Memphis: “Hier ist sehr wahrscheinlich das Kloster des Apa Jeremia bei Memphis, d.h. bei Saqqāra, gemeint” (Timm 1988, 1584, n.7). Same interpretation is provided by Amélineau 1893, 248. | <sup>74</sup>I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here. Probably the initial **Λ** corresponds here to the Arabic **ل** (auctoris). | <sup>75</sup>Zotenberg proposes that **አርዮሳዊያን** : (or **አርዮሳውያን** : as found in the manuscripts used by Zotenberg) stands for a corrupt form of Tzatus **ራንዩስ** : which is found in the text of Chapter 90. Thus he proposes that one should rather read Lazi than Arians (Zotenberg 1883, 234, n. 4). | <sup>76</sup>The text is not very clear, Charles adopts the suggestion by Zotenberg, thus he translates: ‘and the Huns without the city’ (Charles 1916, 11). | <sup>77</sup>I do not follow here the conjecture by Zotenberg, for I do not find it necessary. Zotenberg proposes to identify *ʿalmākuridəs* with Homerites.

APP. PUNCT.: 2 ነቢያት #] # αCG | 4 አምሳ #] # αCG | 5 ምሴት #] # αG | 6 መናፍቅ #] # αCG | 8 ባሕር #] # BCG | 10 ውእቱ #] # CG | 13 ሙሱን #] # αG | 14 ሞቱ #] # BCG | 15 ፍትሕ #] # αCG | 17 መካን #] # αG | ምስሌሁ #] ፣G | 18 እሊአሃ #] # αCG | 20 መኑፍ #] # BC 22 ባሕር #] # BCG | 24 ኪልቁደናዊያን #] # αCG | 27 እግዚአብሔር #] # αCG | 28 ለስጥናስ #] # G | ንጉሥ #] # BCG | 29 ምሥራቅ #] # αCG | 33 በምስር መነዳ፡ #] # αCG | 34 ቅድመ #] # C እልማኩራድስ #] # αCG

ክፍል : ፯ : በእንተ : አስተርእዮተ : ቅናት : ወመንዲል : ዘእግዚእነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : ተረክቡ : በኅበ : አይሁድ : ዘይነብር : በእለእስክንድርያ ።

ክፍል : ፯፩ : በእንተ : ምክንያት : ዘተሰመይነ : ንሕነ : ክርስቲያን : በስመ : ታኦ ዶስዮስ : ወአስተርእዮተ : አቴናውያን : ወሃይማኖቶሙ ። ወምክንያት <ት> : ዘጸሐፉ : ባቲ : ሊቃውንት : መልእክታተ : ኅበ : ምሥያጥ : ከመ : ይኩን : ተዝካረ : በኅቤሆሙ : እስከ : ይነሥኡ : ኩሉ : ዘይፈቅዱ ።

B50vb

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ክፍል : ፯፪ : በእንተ : ሕንጻተ : ሀገረ : ሮሜ : ቅድመ ።

ክፍል : ፯፫ : በእንተ : ሀከክ : ዘኮነ : በሀገረ : ቊስጥንጥንያ : በእንተ : ሥጋ : ንጹሕ : ዘእግዚእነ : ወመድኃኒነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ ።

ክፍል : ፯፬ : በእንተ : አርሰጥማኹስ : ወልደ : ታኦዶስዮስ : ዘእምሀገረ : አብሳይ : ወ|ውዴት> : ዘገብሩ : ቦቱ : ኅበ : ንጉሥ : እስከ : አሰሮ ። ወምክንያት <ት> : ዘአምነ : ባቲ : ከስራ : ንጉሠ : ፋርስ : ዘኮነ : ክርስቲያናዊ ።

G98rb C107rc

ክፍል : ፯፭ : በእንተ : ከለንዳህ : ብእሲተ : በጥሪቃ : ዘውእቱ : ስመ : ሢመት : ወበራእይ : ዘርእየቶ : ገሃደ : በቤተ : ማእሰር : አመ : ስደታ ።

ክፍል : ፯፮ : በእንተ : እለ : ሀለዉ : ውስተ : ማእዘንት : ዘመንበረ : ሀገረ : መውሰል : ወበእንተ : እንሰሳ : ዘአስተርእየ : በአምሳለ : አንስት : በፈለገ : ምስር ።

Z24

ክፍል : ፯፯ : በእንተ : ዩልይንስ : መሠርይ : ዘይገብር : ምሥዋዕተ : ለኢጋንንት : በጸሕለ : ብሩር ።

ክፍል : ፯፰ : በእንተ : መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘወጠነ : ጽሒፈ : በስመ : እግዚእነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ ።

A66ra

ክፍል : ፯፱ : በእንተ : ማይ : ዘከደኖን : ለሀገረ : እንጹና : ወለጠርሱስ : ርእሰ : ሀገረ : ኪልቅያ : በአሐቲ : ሌሊት ።

ክፍል : ፻ : በእንተ : ዕርበተ : ፀሐይ : | በመንፈቀ : መዓልት : ወአስተርእየተ : ከዋክብት : ወድልቅልቅ : ዐቢይ : ዘኮነ ።

B50vc

ክፍል : ፻፩ : በእንተ : ሱሪኩስ : መኩንን : ዘገብረ : ተጋድሎ : ወሞት : እኩይ : ዘረከቦ ። ወምክንያቶሙ : ለሰብአ : ቊስጥንጥንያ : ዘሰደድዎ : ለሙርቂዩስ : ንጉሥ ።

ክፍል : ፻፪ : በእንተ : ምክንያተ : ኅዳፍያነ : አሕማር : ድልዋን : ለግዕዛን : ሶበ : ተሠጥመ : ንዋይ : ዘሀለወ : | ቦቱ : ወመንግሥተ : ፋቃ : ወቅትለት> : ዘገብረ ።

C107va

ክፍል : ፻፫ : በእንተ : ምክንያት : ዘኢክህሉ : ይሢሙ : ሊቀ : ጳጳሳት : ወኢአሐደ : እመዓርገ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ዘእንበለ : ምክረ : ፋቃ ። ወበእንተ : ዘገብሩ : ሰብአ : ምሥራቅ : በእንተ : ዝንቱ : ግብር ። ወበፍልስጥኤምሢ : ከመ : መልኡ : ዓዘቅታተ : መቃብር : ዘቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ደመ : አመ : ጎዎዩ : ሰብአ : ኅበ : ምጥማቃት : ዘቤተ : ክርስቲያናት ።

G98rc

ክፍል : | ፻፬ : በእንተ : ታኦፊሎስ : ዘሀገረ : መውረድ ። ወቀትል : ዘገብረ : ፋቃ : በእንተ : ሞቱ : በውስተ : አንጾኪያ : ወፍልስጥኤም ።

A66rb

APP. CRIT.: 1 ፯ :] ACG, ፹፯ : B | 2 አይሁድ :] αG, አይሁዳዊ : C | በእለእስክንድርያ ።] B በእለ : እስክንድርያ : A, በእለ : እስክንድራዊ : C, በአልእስክንድርያ : G | 3 ፯፩ :] ACG, ፹፯ : B 4 ምክንያት :] con. Zot, ምክንያተ : αCG | 7 ፯፪ :] AG, ፹፱ : B, ፯፱፪ C | 8 ፯፫ :] ACG, ፯ : B በእንተ :] CG, om. α | 9 ወመድኃኒነ :] αC, om. G | 10 ፯፬ :] ACG, ፯፩ : B | አርሰጥማኹስ :] BCG, አርሰጥማኹስ : A | 11 ወውዴት :] con. Zot, ወውዴተ : αC, ወውዴተ : G | ኅበ :] CG, con. Zot, om. α | ምክንያት :] con. Zot, ምክንያተ : αCG | 12 ዘኮነ :] Σ, ወኮነ : con. Zot ክርስቲያናዊ ።] ACG, ክርስቲያናዊ : B | 13 ፯፭ :] ACG, ፯፪ : B | ከለንዳህ :] αCGZot: ከለንዳህ : A | በጥሪቃ :] ACG, በጥራቃ : B | 14 ወበራእይ :] Σ, ወራእይ : con. Zot | 15 ፯፮ :] ACG, ፯፫ : B ማእዘንት :] αCG, ማእዘንት : s.l. G | 18 ፯፯ :] ACG, ፯፬ : B | 20 ፯፯ :] ACG, ፯፭ : B | 22 ፯፱ :] A G, ፯፯ : B, ፯፱፱ C | 24 ፻ :] ACG, ፯፯ : B | 26 ፻፩ :] G, n.l. A, ፯፯ : B, ፻፩ C | ሱሪኩስ :] αG, ሰሪኩስ : C | ወሞት :] αC, ወሞተ : G | እኩይ :] CG, om. α | 27 ለሙርቂዩስ :] BCG, ለሙርቂዩስ : A | 29 ፻፪ :] CG, n.l. A, ፯፱ : B | ኅዳፍያነ :] αC, ሐዳፍያን : G | 30 ወቅትለት :] con. Zot, ወቅትለተ : αCG, ወቅትለተ : s.l. G | 31 ፻፫ :] G, n.l. A, ፻ : B, ፻፫ C | ምክንያት :] αC, ምክንያተ : G | 33 ወበፍልስጥኤምሢ :] ACG, ወበፍልስጥኤምሢ : B | 34 ዓዘቅታተ :] αG, ዐዘቃተ : C 35 ክርስቲያናት ።] G, ክርስቲያን : α, ክርስቲያና : ት ። C | 36 ፻፬ :] G, ፻፩ : α, ፻፱ C 37 ወፍልስጥኤም ።] αC, ወፍልስጥኤም : G

Chapter 90 (91). Concerning the appearance of the girdle and the garment of Our Lord Jesus Christ; they were found in the house of a Jew from Alexandria.

Chapter 91 (92). Concerning the reason, why we Christians were named after the name of Theodosius; and the appearance of Athenians and their faith; and the reason, why the chiefs wrote a letter at a market place, so that there should be a commemoration of them until they take everything they want.<sup>78</sup>

Chapter 92 (93). Concerning the first construction of the city of Rome.

Chapter 93 (94). Concerning the disturbance that happened in the city of Constantinople on the matter of the holy body of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

Chapter 94 (95). Concerning Aristomachus, son of Theodosius from the city of Absai; and the accusation they made upon him in the presence of the emperor, until the last put him in bonds; and the reason, why the king of Persia *Kasrā* (Chosroes), who became Christian, believed.

Chapter 95 (96). Concerning *Kalanduh*, the wife of *batriqā*,<sup>79</sup> which is a title of honor; and concerning the vision, which she saw clearly in a prison during her exile.

Chapter 96 (97). Concerning those who were in the corner of a dwelling of the city of *Maʿwāsal*; and concerning the beast, which appeared in the guise of a woman in the river of Egypt.

Chapter 97 (98). Concerning *Yulyānās* (Paulinus), the magician, who made sacrifices to the demons in a silver bowl.

Chapter 98 (99). Concerning who he was, who began writing ‘In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ’.

Chapter 99 (100). Concerning the water, which covered in the same night the city of *ʿInṣunā* (Antinous) and Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia.

Chapter 100 (101). Concerning the sunset at midday and the appearance of the stars and a great earthquake, which happened.

Chapter 101 (102). Concerning the governor *Surikus*, who practiced piety and the evil death which he found; and the reason, why people of Constantinople sent persecuted the emperor Maurice.

Chapter 102 (103). Concerning the case of the ship captains suitable for freemen,<sup>80</sup> if the goods, which were on it (ship) were sunk; and the reign of Phocas and the massacre he did.

Chapter 103 (104). Concerning the reason, why it was not possible to appoint a patriarch or any of the church officials without Phocas’ advice; and concerning, what people of the East did because of this matter; and that in Palestine the tomb pits of the church were filled with blood when people fled to the baptisteries of churches.

Chapter 104 (105). Concerning Theophilus of the city of *Maʿwrad*; and the massacre, which Phocas did in Antioch and Palestine, because of his death.

<sup>78</sup>The meaning of the passage is not clear. Zotenberg does not translate it at all (Zotenberg 1883, 235). Charles translates this passage as follows: ‘and concerning that which the chief officials published in the market-place that there should be a memorial with them till all who wished might take’ (Charles 1916, 11). | <sup>79</sup>Charles follows Zotenberg’s interpretation thus he translates: ‘Concerning Galanduh, a woman of patrician rank – the name of dignity’ (Charles 1916, 12). | <sup>80</sup>Translation of this passage is not clear.

APP. LECT. MIN.: 4 አቴናውያን ፣] αG, አቴናዊያን ፣ C | 31 ወኢአሐዶ ፣] BG, ወኢ፩ AC

APP. PUNCT.: 2 በአለአስክንድርያ ።] # αCG | 4 ወሃይማኖቶሙ ።] # αCG | 6 ዘይፈቅዱ ።] # αCG | 7 ቅድመ ።] # αCG | 9 ክርስቶስ ።] # αCG | 11 አሰር ።] # αC, ፲ G | 12 ክርስቲያናዊ ።] # αCG | 14 ስደታ ።] # αC, ፲ G | 16 መውሰል ፣] # G | 17 ምስር ።] # αCG | 19 ብሩር ።] # αCG | 21 ክርስቶስ ።] # αCG | 23 ሊሊት ።] # αC, ፲ G | 25 ዘካ ።] # αG, ፲ C | 28 ንጉሥ ።] # αCG | 30 ዘገብረ ።] # αCG | 32 ፉቃ ።] # BG | 33 ግብር ።] # αCG | 35 ክርስቲያናት ።] # αCG | 37 ወፍልስጥኤም ።] # αCG

ክፍል ፡ ፻፭ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ህርቃል ፡ ዘየዐቢ ፡ ውብእሲተ ፡ ህርቃል ፡ ዘይንእስ ፡ ወወለቱ ፡ አውልዖ ፡ ድንግል ። ወምክንያት ፡ ዘአድኅኖሙ ፡ አክርስዮስ ፡ መከታንን ፡ እምርኩስ ፡ ፎቃ ።

5 ክፍል ፡ ፻፮ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሀከክ ፡ ዘገብሩ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ፎቃ ፡ በግብጽ ፡ ወመርዮጥ ፡ ወበሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ወቀትል ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ዘገብሩ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ። | ወምክንያት ፡ ዘአውረዱ ፡ ሥዕለ ፡ መልክኡ ፡ ኅብ ፡ መትሕት ። |

B51va  
Z25

ክፍል ፡ ፻፯ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ታኤሌሎስ ፡ ዘዓምድ ፡ ወትንቢቱ ፡ ለይፍትጣሕ ፡ <አ>ንተ ፡ ትመውአ ። ወትጠፍእ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ፎቃ ፡ ወበዛቲ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ይነግሥ ፡ ሕርቃል ።

C107vb

10 ክፍል ፡ ፻፰ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ድልዲይ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ደፋሽር ፡ በጥቃ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያነ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ሚናስ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፻፱ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሞቱ ፡ ለፎቃ ፡ ወተዘርዎተ ፡ ንዋይ ፡ ዘማኅፈድ ፡ ወምንዳቤ ፡ ዘአምጽአ ፡ ህርቃል ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ፎቃ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ትዕይርት ፡ ዘአምጽአ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ብእሲቱ ፡ ወወለቱ ።

A66rc

15 ክፍል ፡ ፻፲ ፡ በእንተ ፡ አስተርእዮተ ፡ እስላም ፡ በወሰነ ፡ ፊዩም ፡ ወተመውአቶሙ ፡ ለሮም ፡ እለ ፡ ይነብሩ ፡ ህየ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፻፲፩ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘተግብአ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ዕመር ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሮም ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ዓውን ።

20 ክፍል ፡ ፻፲፪ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምክንያተ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ዘተጋብኡ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ኅብ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ መኑፍ ። በእንተ ፡ ፍርሃቶሙ ፡ ለእስላም ፡ ወሥቃየ ፡ ዕመር ፡ ወነሢአ ፡ ንዋዮሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ ኅደግዋ ፡ ርኅወ ፡ አናቅጸ ፡ ምስር ፡ ወጎዩ ፡ ኅብ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ በምክንያት ፡ ዘበዝኑ ፡ ዓማፅያን ፡ በጥንተ ፡ ዓመፃ ፡ ወኮኑ ፡ ይትራድእዎ ፡ ለአህጉሎተ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ምስር ።

25 ክፍል ፡ ፻፲፫ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምክንያተ <ተ> ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ሰምኑድ ፡ <ዘ>አስተሐቀርዎ ፡ ለእመር ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይሠጠውዎ ፡ ወተመይጦተ ፡ ከላጂ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ኅብ ፡ ሮም ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ምክንያት ፡ ዘአኅዙ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ እሞ ፡ | ውብእሲቶ ፡ ወኅብእዎሙ ፡ ኅብ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ተሳተፈ ፡ ለተራድኦተ ፡ እስላም ።

G98va

B51vb

ክፍል ፡ ፻፲፬ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘነሥእዋ ፡ እስላም ፡ ለምስር ፡ በ፲ወ፬ ፡ ዓመት ፡ እምነ ፡ ዑደት ። | ወበ፲ወ፭ ፡ ዓመት ፡ አርኅዉ ፡ ማኅፈደ ፡ ባቢሎን ።

C107vc

A66va

30 ክፍል ፡ ፻፲፭ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሞቱ ፡ ለህርቃል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወተመይጦቱ ፡ ለከይረስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ እምስደት ፡ ወመጺኦቱ ፡ ኅብ ፡ ምስር ፡ ከመ ፡ የሀብ ፡ ጸባሕተ ፡ ለእስላም ።

35 ክፍል ፡ ፻፲፮ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ አግብአሙ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለሮም ፡ ውስተ ፡ እደ ፡ እስላም ፡ ወገደፎሙ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኑፋቄሆሙ ፡ ወተፈልጦቶሙ ፡ ወአምጽአቶሙ ፡ ስደተ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘምስር ። |

Z26

APP. CRIT.: 1 ፻፭ ፡ ] CG, ፻፪ ፡ α | ዘየዐቢ ፡ ... ህርቃል ፡ ] α CG, i.m. G | 4 ፻፮ ፡ ] CG, ፻፫ ፡ α | ሀከክ ፡ ] α G, om. C | 6 ዘአውረዱ ፡ ] BCG, ዘአወረዱ ፡ A | 7 ፻፮ ፡ ] CG, ፻፬ ፡ α | 8 እንተ ፡ ] conī. Zot, እንተ ፡ α CG | መንግሥቱ ፡ ] α CG, መንግሥቶ ፡ Zot (236, n. 3) | 10 ፻፰ ፡ ] CG, ፻፭ ፡ α | ክርስቲያነ ፡ ] BG, ክርስቲያን ፡ AC | 12 ፻፱ ፡ ] G, ፻፮ ፡ α, ፻ወ፱ C | ወተዘርዎተ ፡ ... 17 ፎቃ ፡ ] α CG, s.l. G | 13 ላዕለ ፡ ] (s.l. G) α C, ለ ፡ G | በእንተ ፡ ... ዘአምጽአ ፡ ] α C, om. G | 15 ፻፲ ፡ ] CG, ፻፯ ፡ α | ወተመውአቶሙ ፡ ] α CG Zot: ወተመውአቶሙ ፡ B | 17 ፻፲፩ ፡ ] CG, ፻፰ ፡ α | ዘተግብአ ፡ ] α G, ተግብአ ፡ C | 19 ፻፲፪ ፡ ] CG, ፻፱ ፡ α | ምክንያተ ፡ ] α G, om. C | 20 ወነሢአ ፡ ] α C ወነሥአ ፡ G | 21 ኅደግዋ ፡ ] α C, ኃድግዋ ፡ C 22 በምክንያት ፡ ] α CG, በእንተ ፡ ምክንያት ፡ conī. Zot | 24 ፻፲፫ ፡ ] CG, ፻፲ ፡ α | ምክንያተ ፡ ] conī Zot, ምክንያት ፡ α CG | ዘአስተሐቀርዎ ፡ ] con., አስተሐቀርዎ ፡ α CG | 25 ኢይሠጠውዎ ፡ ] α C, ኢሠጠውዎ ፡ G | 26 ምክንያት ፡ ] BCG, ምክንት ፡ A | እሞ ፡ ውብእሲቶ ፡ ] BG, እም ፡ ውብእሲት ፡ α ወኅብእዎሙ ፡ ] α C, ወኅብእዎመ ፡ G | 27 ውእቱ ፡ ] A CG, om. B | ተሳተፈ ፡ ] α CG Zot: ተሳተፈ ፡ A | 28 ፻፲፬ ፡ ] G, ፻፲፩ ፡ α, ፻፲ወ፬ C | ዓመት ፡ ] α G, ፲ወ፬ ዓመት ፡ C | 29 ባቢሎን ። ] α C, ባቤሎን ፡ G 30 ፻፲፭ ፡ ] CG, ፻፲፪ ፡ α | 33 ፻፲፮ ፡ ] CG, ፻፲፫ ፡ α | 34 ወአምጽአቶሙ ፡ ] CG, ወአምጽአሙ ፡ α

APP. LECT. MIN.: 3 እምርኩስ ፡ ] α G, እምርኩስ ፡ C | 10 ድልዲይ ፡ ] CG, ዲልዲይ ፡ α 23 ለአህጉሎተ ፡ ] α, ለአህጉሎቱ ፡ C, ለአኅጉሎተ ፡ G

- Chapter 105 (106). Concerning the wife of Heraclius the elder and the wife of Heraclius the younger, and his daughter<sup>81</sup> ὉΑῠῤῥῥῥῥῥ, <sup>82</sup> a virgin; and the reason, why ὉΑῠῥῥῥῥῥ (Crispus), a governor, saved them from the filth of Phocas.
- Chapter 106 (107). Concerning the revolt against Phocas in Egypt, Mareotis and in the city of Alexandria; and a great massacre, which they did because of this action; and the reason, why they cast his statue down to an abyss. 5
- Chapter 107 (108). Concerning Theophilus, the Stylite; and his prophecy to Ὁῥῥῥῥῥῥ (Nicetas): ‘<You> will defeat him and the reign of Phocas will fail quickly and in these days Heraclius will reign’.
- Chapter 108 (109). Concerning that there was a bridge in the city of Ὁῥῥῥῥῥῥ (Taposiris) close to the church of St Minas. 10
- Chapter 109 (110). Concerning the death of Phocas; and the dispersion of the treasures from the castle; and the hardship, which Heraclius inflicted to Phocas because of the disgrace he had done to his wife and daughter.
- Chapter 110 (111). Concerning the appearance of the Muslims on the borders of Faiyum and that they defeated the Romans, who were there. 15
- Chapter 111 (112). Concerning the first battle between Amr and Romans in the city of Ὁῥῥῥῥῥῥ (Heliopolis).<sup>83</sup>
- Chapter 112 (113). Concerning that all Jews assembled in the city of Ὁῥῥῥῥῥῥ,<sup>84</sup> because they were afraid of Muslims; the torments inflicted by Amr; and the plundering of their possessions until they left the gate of Ὁῥῥῥῥῥῥ<sup>85</sup> open and fled to Alexandria; and concerning the reason,<sup>86</sup> why those lawless multiplied in the beginning of injustice<sup>87</sup> and they began to help destroying the people of Egypt. 20
- Chapter 113 (114). Concerning the reason, why the people of Samnud despised Amr, so that they would not greet him; and also concerning the return of Ὁῥῥῥῥῥῥ to Rome; and concerning the reason, why they seized his mother and wife and hid them in Alexandria, because he joined and helped Muslims. 25
- Chapter 114 (115). Concerning that the Muslims took Ὁῥῥῥῥῥῥ<sup>88</sup> in the fourteenth year of the cycle; and in the fifteenth year they took by assault the fortress of Babylon. 30
- Chapter 115 (116). Concerning the death of the emperor Heraclius; and the return of the patriarch Cyrus from exile and his coming to Ὁῥῥῥῥῥῥ,<sup>89</sup> in order to pay tribute to Muslims. 35
- Chapter 116 (117). Concerning that God delivered Romans into the hands of Muslims and abandoned them because of their heresy and their schism and the persecution they had brought on the Christians of Egypt.

<sup>81</sup> Charles translates ‘her daughter’ (Charles 1916, 12). | <sup>82</sup> Zotenberg proposes an identification with Fabia (Zotenberg 1883, 236). I am not sure that this identification is correct. <sup>83</sup> Zotenberg identifies this toponym with the Coptic form for Heliopolis (Ὁῥ) (Zotenberg 1883, 237). | <sup>84</sup> The precise identification is vague. This passage does not have a precise correspondance with the text of Chapter 113. However, in the text of Chapter 113 a certain Manuf is also mentioned, which can be associated with Memphis as well as with Ounouphis according to Timm (Timm 1988, 1578). | <sup>85</sup> Apparently this toponym does not correspond to Egypt. See, Zotenberg 1883, 237, n. 1. In this case this toponym refers rather to the city or cities situated south-west of later Cairo. See, ‘Miṣr’, (2012) (A. J. Wensinc et al.). | <sup>86</sup> I do not follow the conjecture by Zotenberg, the preposition Ὁ ῥ might have the meaning ‘concerning’. | <sup>87</sup> Meaning of this passage is not completely clear. | <sup>88</sup> Apparently this toponym does not correspond to Egypt. See, Zotenberg 1883, 237, n. 1. In this case this toponym refers rather to the city or cities situated south-west of later Cairo. See, ‘Miṣr’, (2012) (A. J. Wensinc et al.). | <sup>89</sup> Apparently this toponym does not correspond to Egypt. See, Zotenberg 1883, 237, n. 1. In this case this toponym refers rather to the city or cities situated south-west of later Cairo. See, ‘Miṣr’, (2012) (A. J. Wensinc et al.).

ክፍል : ፻፲፯ : በእንተ : ምክንያት : ዘቀነያ : ዕመር : ለአብሻዲ : እንተ : ይእቲ : ነቁዩስ : ወገብይዮተ : ዶማድያኖስ : መኩንን : ወሙተተ : ሐራሁ : በውስተ : ማያት ። ወቅትለት : ዐቢይ : ዘኮነ : በሀገረ : አብሻዲይ : | ወበእለ : ተርፉ : አሀጉር : ኩሎሙ : እስከ : ሐረ : ዕመር : ሀገረ : ሳውና : ዘምልክና : አብሻዲይ : ወደሴታ : አመ : ፲ወ፰ : ለወርኅ : ግንቦት : ወአመ : ፲ወ፭ : ዓመት : እምነ : ዑደት ።

ክፍል : ፻፲፰ : በእንተ : ምክንያት : ዘቀነይዋ : እስላም : ለቂሳርያ : ዘፍልስ ጥኤም : ወመከራ : ዘረከባ ።

ክፍል : ፻፲፱ : በእንተ : ድልቅልቅ : ዐቢይ : ወቀትል : ዘኮነ : በቀርጤሳውያን : ወበደሴቶሙ : ወበኩሎ : አሀጉር : ዘወደሙ ።

ክፍል : ፻፳ : በእንተ : ከይረስ : ሊቀ : ጳጳሳት : ዘኬልቄድናውያን : ወውእቲ : ዘሐረ : ኅበ : ባቢሎን : | ወኅበ : ዕመር : ርእስ : እስላም : ወአምጽኦ : ኅበ : | እስ ክንድርያ : ወአግብአ : ውስተ : እዲሁ ። | ወዓዲ : በእንተ : ዘአክበደ : ጸባሕተ : ግብር : ዕመር : ሳዕለ : ግብጻውያን : ወሞቱ : ለኬይረስ : ኬልቄድናዊ : እም ድኅረ : ንስሐ : እስመ : ውእቲ : አግብአ : ለሀገረ : እስክንድርያ : ውስተ : እደ : እስላም ።

ክፍል : ፻፳፩ : በእንተ : ተመይጦቱ : ለአባ : ብንያሚን : ሊቀ : ጳጳሳት : ዘግብጽ : እምነ : ስደቱ : እምሀገረ : ሪፍ : በ፲ወ፬ዓመት : ወእምኔሃ : ፲ዓመት : በእንተ : ዘሰደድዎ : ነገሥተ : ሮም : ወ፬ዓመት : በመንግሥተ : እስላም ። ወዘ ተርፈ : እምዝ : በፍጻሜ : መጽሐፍ ።

ክፍል : ፻፳፪ : ወዘይተልዎ : ለዝኩ : ዜና : ካልእ : ዓዲ ።|

በስመ : እግዚአብሔር : መሐሪ : ወመስተሣህል ። ይቤ : አብ : ቅዱስ : ዮሐንስ : ጳጳስ : ዘኒቅዮስ : ዘአስተጋብአ : ለዛቲ : መጽሐፍ : አመፍቀሬ : ድካም : እስከ : ታጠርያ : ለፍቅረ : ኂሩት : እስመ : ፍቅረ : ድካም : ይእቲ : ሕማም : ወይእቲ : ታልህቅ : ኩሎ : ሠናያተ : እለ : ይጽሕቂ : ኅቤሃ : ኩሎሙ : ቀናዕያን : ወበ እንተ : ኩሎ : ሠናያት : እንተ : ይእቲ : ጥበብ : ዘለዓለም : እንተ : አኅዜ : ኩሎ : ወእግዚአ : ኩሎ : እስመ : አስተዳጎርዋ : ለእለ : ይመጽኡ : እምድኅ ሬሆሙ : ከመ : ይግበሩ : ዘኅረዩ ። በእንተዝ : አነ : ዓዲ : ኅጡአ : ቃል : ማእከለ : ኩሎሙ : ጸሐፍት : ወድኩም : በውስተ : ንባብ : እስመ : ፈተንኩ : በብዙኅ : ፈተና : መክፈልተ : ኅሩያ<ነ> ። ንወጥን : ከመ : ንግበር : ዘንተ : እም ቀደምት : መጻሕፍት : ብዙኃት : ዘለአዝማን : ወዜና : ዘርኢናሆሙ : ዓዲ : በጊዜያት : እንተ : በጻሕነ : ኅቤሆሙ : ወኮንኩ : በስፉሕ : ከመ : እንግር : ወአ ኅድግ : ተዝካረ : ሠናየ : ለመፍቀርያነ : ትሩፋት : በዝንቱ : ሕይወተ : ዓለም ። ወንሕነ : ኅደግነ : ዘንተ : ቃለ : ዘጽሐፍ : በሥርዓት : ሠናይ : ወበትርጓሜ :

A66vc

C108ra

B51rc G98vb A66vc

A67ra B51va C108rb D1 G49ra Z27

A67rb

APP. CRIT.: 1 ፻፲፯ :] CG, ፻፲፬ :α | 2 ዶማድያኖስ :] αCGZot: ዶማድያኖስ : B | መኩንን :] BCG, መኩንን : A | 3 ወበእለ :] B, ወበእለ : ACG | 7 ፻፲፰ :] G, ፻፲፭ α, ፻፲ወ፰ C | 9 ፻፲፱ :] G, ፻፲፮ : α, ፻፲ወ፱ C | 10 ወበኩሎ :] αC, ወበኩሎሙ : G | 11 ፻፳ :] CG, ፻፲፯ : α | 12 ወአምጽኦ :] αCG, add. ለጸባሕት :] con. Zot | እስክንድርያ :] CG, ሐመር : α | 13 ወአግብአ :] ACG, ወአግብአ : B 15 እደ :] αC, om. G | 17 ፻፳፩ :] CG, ፻፲፰ : α | 19 ወዘተርፈ :] αC, ወዘተረፈ : G | 21 ፻፳፪ :] CG, ፻፲፱ : α | 23 በስመ :] Σ, inc. D, ድምዮስ : ንጉሥ : ዘመንግሥተ : ፋርስ : prae i. m. G | 25 እስመ :] CDG, con. Nöl (1372), እስከ : α | ፍቅረ :] , ፍቅረ :] : s.l. G | ድካም :] CDG, ሕማም : A, ሕማም : add. B | ይእቲ :] Σ, ያአትት :] con. Nöl (1372) | 27 ኩሎ :] CDG; ኩሎሙ : α 28 አስተዳጎርዋ :] Σ; አስተዳጎርዋ {P} corr. B | 29 አነ :] CDG; post ቃል : trans. α | ዓዲ :] αCG; om. D | ኅጡአ :] ኅጡአ : C | 30 ማእከለ : ኩሎሙ :] Σ, እምኩሎሙ :] con. Cha (13) 31 በብዙኅ :] BCDG, n.l. A | ኅሩያነ ።] conieci, ኅሩያን : Σ | ንወጥን :] αCG, ንዌጥን : D 34 ለመፍቀርያነ :] ACDG, ለመፍቀሬያነ : B | 35 በሥርዓት :] BCG, በሥርዓተ : AD

APP. LECT. MIN.: 9 በቀርጤሳውያን :] αG, በቀርጤሳዊያን : C | 11 ዘኬልቄድናውያን :] αG, ዘኬል ቄድናዊያን : C | 14 ግብጻውያን :] αG, ግብጻዊያን : C

APP. PUNCT.: 3 ማያት ።] ። BCG | 6 ዑደት ።] ። BCG | 8 ዘረከባ ።] ። αCG | 10 ዘወደሙ ።] ። αCG | 13 እዲሁ ።] ። BCG | 14 ግብጻውያን :] ። G | ኬልቄድናዊ :] ፲ G | 16 እስላም ።] ። αCG 19 ወ፬ዓመት :] ። A | እስላም ።] ። BCG | 20 መጽሐፍ ።] ። αCG | 21 ዓዲ ።] ። αCG 23 ወመስተሣህል ።] ። BCG | 25 ኂሩት :] ። D | 28 ኩሎ :] ። AD | 29 ዘኅረዩ ።] ። ። αCG 31 ኅሩያነ ።] ። Σ | 33 ኅቤሆሙ :] ። D | 34 ዓለም ።] ። Σ

Chapter 117 (118). Concerning the reason, why Amr subdued <sup>o</sup>*ʿAbsādi* (Absai), that is Nikiu; and the escape of the general Domitian and the destruction of his army in waters; and a great massacre that happened in the city of <sup>o</sup>*ʿAbsādiy* and in all remaining cities, until Amr came to the city of *Sāwānā*, which is an island under the dominion of Absai on the eighteenth day of the month *Gānbot* in the fifteenth year of the cycle. 5

Chapter 118. Concerning the reason, why the Muslims subdued Caesarea of Palestine and the tribulation that befell it.

Chapter 119. Concerning the big tumult and massacre that happened to the inhabitants of Crete both on their island and in all cities in their neighborhood.<sup>90</sup> 10

Chapter 120. Concerning Cyrus, the patriarch of Chalcedonians; those who went to Babylon to Amr, the chief of Muslims and brought it (him) to Alexandria<sup>91</sup> and delivered it (him) to his hands; and moreover concerning that Amr increased the taxes on the Egyptians; and the death of Cyrus, the Chalcedonian, after a penance, for he had delivered the city of Alexandria into the hands of Muslims. 15

Chapter 121. Concerning the return of <sup>o</sup>*ʿAbbā* Benjamin, patriarch of Egypt, from his exile, from the province of *Rif*<sup>92</sup> in its fourteenth year – and out of them ten years of his exile were during the emperors of Rome; and four years during the reign of the Muslims; and the remaining history at the end of the book. 20

Chapter 122. And moreover concerning what follows that story.

In the name of God, merciful and compassionate. The holy father John,<sup>93</sup> bishop of Nikiu, who compiled this book said: ‘O, friend of labor till the love for goodness is obtained, for the love for labor is pain and it increases all virtues, for which all zealous men strive and for the sake of all good things, which are the eternal wisdom that is omnipotent and lord of everything, because they (zealous men) preserved<sup>94</sup> it for those, who come after them, so that they might do what they have chosen. And that’s why also I, the most wanting in eloquence amongst all authors and weak in discourse, indeed tempted with many trials selected portions (of text). We begin to do this from many previous books of chronicles and (give) also the report on what we have witnessed in the times, to which we have come. And I was sincere in order to tell (this) and leave a good memory for the friends of virtues in this mundane world. And we left this account written in a good order and in an exalted 25  
30  
35

<sup>90</sup> Charles translates this passage as follows: ‘Concerning the great earthquake and the loss of life in Crete both in their island and in all their cities round about’ (Charles 1916, 14). | <sup>91</sup> The passage can’t be evaluated by me with certainty, the variant proposed by MSS A and B is also possible. For more details, see Chapter 2.2 of my thesis. | <sup>92</sup> The toponym might refer either to the region around Antinoe or to Upper Egypt, see the rubric to Chapter 72 (73). | <sup>93</sup> Zotenberg omits the translation of this part completely noting that except for some phrases the meaning of this passage escapes him (Zotenberg 1883, 239). Charles proposes a translation of this part pointing out that he has ‘only found it necessary to make one or two slight changes’ (Charles 1913, 13). | <sup>94</sup> Charles translates *አስተዳገርዋ* : ‘He hath reserved’ without any conjecture (Charles 1913, 13). Although it might represent a case of *pluralis majestatis*, I translate this form as a normal plural one.

ልዑል ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ይትሌዐል ፡ እምኩሉ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ በፍካሬ ፡ መተርጉም ፡ ከመ ፡ |  
 ኢይኩኑ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ረባሕ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ወዘሀለወ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ † መክፈልት ፡ ወኢ  
 ርሰት ፡ † እለ ፡ ይረክብዎ ። C108rc

5 ክፍል ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ንወጥን ፡ እምቀዳማዊያን ፡ እለ ፡ ተፈጥሩ ፡ እስመ ፡ | ጽሑፍ ፡ B51vb  
 በእንተ ፡ አዳም ፡ ወሔዋን ፡ እስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘሰመዮሙ ። ወለደ  
 ቂቂሰ ፡ ወለኩሉ ፡ ፍጥረት ፡ አዳም ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘሰመዮሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ። | G49rb Z28

ክፍል ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ 1. ወሴትሰ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ዘረከበ ፡ ጥበበ ፡ እምነበ ፡ እግዚ  
 አብሔር ፡ ሰመየ ፡ አስማተ ፡ ከዋክብት ፡ ፭ ፡ እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ ፩ ፡ ዙሐል ።  
 ወካልኡ ፡ መሽተሪ ። ወሣልሱ ፡ መሪኸ ። ወራብዑ ፡ ዝህራ ። ወኃምሱ ፡  
 ዓጣርድ ። 2. ወበካልእ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ሰመዮሙ ፡ ለፀሐይ ፡ ወለወርኅ ፡ ወኮነ ፡  
 ጉልቆሙ ፡ ፯ ፡ እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ። 3. ወዓዲ ፡ <ወጠነ ፡ ጽሑፈ ፡> መጽሐፈ ፡ A67rc  
 በልሳነ ፡ ዕብራዊያን ፡ ረኪቦ ፡ ጥበበ ፡ እምእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወተናገረ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ በእ  
 ዝማነ ፡ ያርብሐዊያን ። ወዓዲ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጽሑፎሙ ፡ ዓውድዮስ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡  
 15 ዘሐነፋዊያን ፡ ወብሉደርኸስ ፡ ጽውስ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ አይኅ ።

ክፍል ፡ ሣልስ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ኖኅ ፡ ዐቢያን ፡ ወኃያላን ፡ ውእቶሙ ፡ ወጠኑ ፡ ገቢረ ፡  
 ሐመር ፡ ወሐዊር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ባሕር ።

20 ክፍል ፡ ራብዕ ፡ ተብህለ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቃይናን ፡ ወልደ ፡ አርፋክስድ ፡ ዘተወልደ ፡ C108va  
 እምሴም ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኖኅ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ | ወለባዊ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ D2  
 ጽሑፈ ፡ እስጡርላባት ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ አይኅ ፡ ወእምድኅራሁ ፡ ጸሐፉ ፡ ህንዳ  
 ውያን ።

25 ክፍል ፡ ኃምስ ፡ 1. ወሀሎ ፡ ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ እምነ ፡ ህንድ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ቀንጡርዮስ ፡  
 ኮነ ፡ ሐበሺ ፡ እምነገደ ፡ ካም ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ኩሽ ፡ 2. ውእቱ ፡ ወለዶ ፡ ለአፍሩድ ፡  
 ዘውእቱ ፡ ናምሩድ ፡ ያርብሐዊ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘሐነጸ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ 3. ዘተ  
 ቀንዩ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ወአምለክዎ ፡ ከመ ፡ አምላክ ። ወሰመይዎ ፡ በስመ ፡ B51vc

APP. CRIT.: 2 ዘእንበለ ፡ 2] con. Zot ወዘእንበለ ፡ Σ | 5 ንወጥን ፡ 5] αCG, ንዌጥን ፡ D | 9 እምነበ ፡ 9] Σ, s.l. G | 10 የሐውሩ ፡ 9] αCG, ሰመ ፡ add. D, ሰምየ ፡ add. G | 11 መሽተሪ ።] BCDG, መሽተራ ። A ዝህራ ።] αCG, ዝሁር ፡ D | 12 ወበካልእ ፡ 12] αCG, ወካልእ ፡ D | 13 ወጠነ ፡ ጽሑፈ ፡ 13] con., ዘጸሐፈ ፡ ወወጠነ ፡ Σ, ዘወጠነ ፡ ወጸሐፈ ፡ con. Zot | 15 ጽሑፎሙ ፡ 15] A, ጸሐፎሙ ፡ BCDG | ዓውድዮስ ፡ 15] Σ, ለአውድዮስ ፡ con. Zot | 16 ወብሉደርኸስ ፡ 16] CDG, ወብሉደኸስ ፡ α | 21 ራብዕ ፡ 21] CDG, ፩ ፡ α ቃይናን ፡ 21] CDG, ቃይቃን ፡ α | 22 ጠቢብ ፡ 22] BCDG, ጠቢብ ፡ A | ወለባዊ ፡ 22] CG, ወኖላዊ ፡ B, ወኖላዊ ፡ A, ወለባዊ ፡ D | 23 ጽሑፈ ፡ 23] αCG, ጽሑፈ ፡ D | 26 ኃምስ ፡ 26] BCDG, ፭ ፡ A | 27 ኮነ ፡ 27] con., ኮነ ፡ Σ | ሐበሺ ፡ 27] αCG, ሐባሺ ፡ D | እምነገደ ፡ 27] ACDG, እምነ ፡ ገደ ፡ B | 28 ለሀገረ ፡ 28] αCG, ለባቢሎን ፡ D | ዘተቀንዩ ፡ 28] αCD, ዘተቀንዩ ፡ G | 29 ከመ ፡ 29] Σ, s.l. G

APP. LECT. MIN.: 1 መተርጉም ፡ 1] αCG, መተርጉም ፡ G | 5 እምቀዳማዊያን ፡ 5] CG, እምቀዳማ ውያን ፡ αD | 13 ጉልቆሙ ፡ 13] αDG, ጉልቆሙ ፡ G | 14 ዕብራዊያን ፡ 14] CG, ዕብራውያን ፡ αD 15 ያርብሐዊያን ።] CG, ያርብሐዊያን ። αD | 16 ዘሐነፋዊያን ፡ 16] CG, ዘሐነፋውያን ፡ αD 21 ራብዕ ፡ 21] C, ፩ αDG | 23 ህንዳውያን ።] αDG, ህንዳዊያን ፡ C | 26 ኃምስ ፡ 26] CG, ፭ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 3 ይረክብዎ ።] ። Σ | 5 ቀዳማዊ ፡ 5] D | ተፈጥሩ ፡ 5] D | 6 ወሔዋን ፡ 6] A ዘሰመዮሙ ።] ። Σ | 7 ለኩሎሙ ።] ። αCG, ። ። D | 9 ዳግማዊ ፡ 9] D | ለአዳም ፡ 9] A 10 ዙሐል ።] CD, ፫ G | 11 መሽተሪ ።] ። Σ | መሪኸ ።] ። Σ | ዝህራ ።] ። Σ | 12 ዓጣርድ ።] ። Σ 13 የሐውሩ ።] ። Σ | 15 ያርብሐዊያን ።] BCDG | 16 አይኅ ።] ። αCG, ። ። D | 18 ሣልስ ፡ 18] D, ። ። G | 19 ባሕር ።] ። αCG, ። ። D | 23 ህንዳውያን ።] | 26 ኃምስ ፡ 26] D | 29 አምላክ ።] ። Σ

translation.<sup>95</sup> And it is superior amongst all interpretations. So that there are not those who would find it, but as an advantage of any kind and that it is without † partiality and ...†<sup>96</sup>

Chapter 1. We begin with those, who were created at first; for it is written about Adam and Eve, that indeed<sup>97</sup> it was God, who gave them names. And it was Adam, who named them all: his children and all creatures.<sup>98</sup>

Chapter 2.1. Seth, son of Adam, who received his wisdom from God, gave names to the five stars (planets), which are moving: the first *Zuhal* (Saturn = Cronus), the second *Maštari* (Jupiter = Zeus), the third *Marik* (Mars = Ares); the fourth *Zəbrā* (Venus = Aphrodite), the fifth *Atārd* (Mercury = Hermes).<sup>99</sup>

2. In another manner he gave names to the sun and the moon.<sup>100</sup> So, those which are moving are seven in number. 3. Moreover, <he began to write down> a book in the Hebrew language having received the wisdom from God; and he told in it about the times of giants. And moreover, he says, that *Awadāyos* (Ovid), a wiseman of the heathen, and *Baludarkos* (Plutarch) had written (this) after the Deluge.<sup>101</sup>

Chapter 3. The sons of Noah, who were great and strong, began to build ships and travel upon the sea.<sup>102</sup>

Chapter 4. 1. It is told about Cainan, son of Arphaxad, who was born from Shem, son of Noah, that he was a wise and intelligent man. 2. And he began to write down *asturlābāt* (astrolabes)<sup>103</sup> after the Deluge.<sup>104</sup> And after him the Indians wrote (it).

Chapter 5. 1. And there was one man from India, whose name was *Qanturyus* (Gandubarius).<sup>105</sup> There was an Ethiopian<sup>106</sup> from the tribe of Ham, whose

<sup>95</sup> If this part of the text belongs to the initial stage of text composition, it would point, in my opinion, to Coptic as the original language of the *Chronicle*, as for the composer speaks about translation done (so, a translation from Greek into Coptic). Although the word **†C379†** might also mean 'interpretation', or 'commentary'. Yet Nöldeke expresses a different opinion on this part of the text and writes as follows: 'Uebrigens glaube ich, daß der äthiopische Text, vielleicht schon sogar der arabische, hier von Anfang an unklar war, indem die Uebersetzer sich nicht in die verwickelte Periode der Vorlage finden konnten (Der letzte Satz, von wanehna an, ist natürlich erst bei der Uebersetzung ins Geez hinzugefügt)' (Nöldeke 1883, 1372). | <sup>96</sup> Meaning of this passage is not clear to me. | <sup>97</sup> See Zotenberg 1883, 239, n. 2. | <sup>98</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 1.1 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 2). | <sup>99</sup> Transliteration of the Arabic **زحل**, **مشتری**, **مرئخ**, **زهرة**, **عطارد** his passage corresponds to *John Malalas* 1.1, with an exception that the second planet was named Hera in the available witnesses of its direct tradition (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 2). However, the same reading, as in the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*, occurs in the presumable indirect tradition of the *Chronicle of John Malalas*, that is in *Parisinus Graecus 1336*, *Parisinus Graecus 1630* and *George Monachos, Chronicon*. On these manuscripts, see Jeffreys et al. 1986, xxxi-xxxiv. | <sup>100</sup> According to *John Malalas* 1.1, God gave names to the sun and the moon (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 2). | <sup>101</sup> The text is not quite understandable here. The passage was not translated by Zotenberg. Charles rejects emendations by Zotenberg in this passage and proposes the following translation: 'And, moreover, he said that Ovid a wise man of the heathen and Plutarch wrote about them after the deluge' (Charles 1913, 16). I also find the conjecture by Zotenberg misleading. Cp. *John Malalas* 1.3: 'They tell stories of this fire and say that Phthaethon, the son of the sun, fell from his chariot to earth, a tale which Ovid has written poetically. But Plutarch of Chaironeia speaks of this more truthfully when he says that the ball of fire fell on the Celtic land' (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 4). Although the account on this ball of fire is connected to the story of giants, Malalas does not connect it with the writing by Seth. | <sup>102</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 1.5 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 4). | <sup>103</sup> This word should rather be rendered as 'astronomy'. | <sup>104</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 1.5 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 4). | <sup>105</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 1.7: 'During that time a learned Indian astronomer appeared, named Gandoubarios, of the family of Arphaxad. He was the first to write about astronomy for the Indians' (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 5). | <sup>106</sup> Charles points out a necessity to emend the text in this passage: 'Andubarius and Cush are distinct persons, but have been fused together in the present work' (Charles 1913, 17). However, it is also possible to interpret text in this way without any emendation at all.

ከዋክብተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወጸውዕዎ ፡ በስመ ፡ አርዮን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ደበራኅ ፡ 4. A67va  
ወውእቱ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ንዒወ ፡ ወበሊዐ ፡ አራዊት ።

5 ክፍል ፡ ፮ ፡ 1. አክሮ<ን>ስሰ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ያርብሐዊ ፡ እምነገደ ፡ ካም ፡ በኩሩ ፡  
ለኖኅ ፡ ዘሰመይዎ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ በስመ ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ኮከብ ፡ እምከዋክብት ፡ እለ ፡ G49rc  
የሐውሩ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ዙሐል ፡ 2. ወወልዱ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ድምዮስ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ መስተ  
ጸብእ ፡ ወመፍርህ ፡ ወቀታሊ ፡ 3. ወውእቱ ፡ ዘወጠነ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ በፋርስ ፡  
ወሶርያ ፡ ወአውሰበ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ እምሶርያ ፡ ዘሰማ ፡ አራውን ። ወወለደት ፡ ሎቱ ፡  
10 ከልኤ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ በክዩስ ፡ ዘሰመይዎ ፡ ራኣን ። ወኒንዩስ ፡ ዘሐነጸ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ |መን  
ግሥት ፡ በሶርያ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ነዌ ። 4. ወአክሮንስሰ ፡ ኅደገ ፡ ወልዶ ፡ በመ  
ንግሥቱ ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ምዕራብ ። ወነግሠ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡ C108vb  
እንበለ ፡ ንጉሥ ። 5. ወበይኪስሰ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ዘተሰምዮ ፡ ቢሩስ ፡ ተንሥእ ፡ ላዕለ ፡  
አክሮንስ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ወቀተሎ ፡ እስመ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ በልዐ ፡ ደቂቆ ፡ ወአፅነሳ ፡  
ለወለተ ፡ ኒክስ ፡ ወላዲቱ ፡ እንተ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ አራውን ። A67vb

15 ክፍል ፡ ፯ ፡ 1. ወበኪስሰ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ኒሩስ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ ዘቀደመ ፡ ነሢአ ፡  
እኅቱ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ 2. ወወለደ ፡ እምኔሃ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ወይሉልዩስ ፡  
ወእቱ ፡ ይመስሎ ፡ ለአክሮንስ ፡ አበ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ 3. ወነግሠ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ወይሉልዩስ ፡  
20 በሶርያ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ <ራአ|ን> ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ወአክሮንስ ፡ እምሔይው ። 4. ወእም  
ድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ አምለክዎ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አማልክት ። B52ra

25 ክፍል ፡ ፰ ፡ 1. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ወይሉልዩስ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ በሶርያ ፡ ኒኑንስ ፡  
እኅወ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ 2. አውሰባ ፡ ለሳሚራ ፡ እሙ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ወአንበረ ፡  
ሕገ ፡ ርኩስ ፡ ወአስተደኅረ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይተልውዎ ፡ ድኅረ ፡ ወተሰምዮ ፡  
በዝንቱ ፡ ስም ፡ እኩይ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ። 3. ወ<ኢ>ኮነ ፡ ዕቅፍተ ፡ በፋርስ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡  
ግብር ፡ ወይነሥኡ ፡ እማቲሆሙ ፡ ወአኃቲሆሙ ፡ ወአዋልዲሆሙ ፡ አንስቲያ ፡  
ሎሙ ።

APP. CRIT.: 1 ከዋክብተ ፡]αDG, ከዋክብት ፡ C | ወጸውዕዎ ፡]αCG, ወጸወዕዎ ፡ D | ደበራኅ ፡]α,  
ደበራን ፡ CDG | 4 አክሮንስሰ ፡]con., አክሮስሰ ፡ CDG, አክሮስሰ ፡ α | እምነገደ ፡]Σ, ወውእቱ ፡  
prae D | ካም ፡]Σ, ሲም ፡ con. Cha (17, n. 3) | 6 ወወልዱ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡]Σ, ስመ ፡ ወላዲሁ ፡ con.  
Cha (17, n. 4) | ድምዮስ ፡ ብእሲ ፡]con., ብእሲ ፡ Σ | መስተጸብእ ፡]Σ, መስተጸብእ ፡ s.l. G  
7 ወውእቱ ፡]CDG, ወእቱ ፡ α | 8 አራውን ፡]αCG, አውራን ፡ D | 9 ወኒንዩስ ፡]αDG, ወኒንዮስ ፡  
C | 10 ወአክሮንስሰ ፡]αCD, ወአክሮንስሰ ፡ G | 12 ወበይኪስሰ ፡]G, con. Zot, ወበይኪስሰ ፡ αCD  
14 ኒክስ ፡]αCD, ኒኪስ ፡ G | ወላዲቱ ፡]αDG, ለወላዲቱ ፡ C | ትሰመይ ፡]αCD, ተሰመይ ፡ G  
አራውን ፡]αCG, አውራን ፡ D | 16 ነሢአ ፡]ACDG, አሢአ ፡ B | 17 ወይሉልዩስ ፡]CDG, ወይል  
ልዩስ ፡ α | 18 ለአክሮንስ ፡]αC, ለአክሮንዮስ ፡ DG | 19 ራኣን ፡]conieci., ረዓድ A, ረዓይ ፡ BD,  
ረአይ ፡ CG, ራእዮ ፡ con. Zot, ኢራእዮ ፡ con. Cha (18, n. 1) | እምሔይው ፡]Σ, እምሔው ፡ con.  
Zot | 22 ወይሉልዩስ ፡]CDG, ወልልዩስ ፡ A, ወሉልዩስ ፡ B, {ወይ}ሉልዩስ ፡ corr. G | 23 ለሳሚራ ፡  
እሙ ፡]ΣZot: ለሳሚራእሙ ፡ A | ብእሲተ ፡]Σ, ብእሲቶ ፡ con. Zot | 24 ይተልውዎ ፡]αCG, ይተ  
ልውዎ ፡ D | 25 ወኢኮነ ፡]con. Zot, ወኮነ ፡ Σ | ዕቅፍተ ፡]αCD, ዕቅፍት ፡ G | 26 አንስቲያ ፡]BCD  
G, ወአንስቲያ ፡ A

APP. LECT. MIN.: 9 ከልኤ ፡]CG, ፪ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 2 አራዊት ፡] # αCG, # # D | 4 ፮ ፡] # D | 5 ከመዝ ፡] # D | 6 ዙሐል ፡] # BC  
7 ወመፍርህ ፡] # D | 8 ወሶርያ ፡] # D | አራውን ፡] # Σ | 9 ራኣን ፡] # ACD | 10 ነዌ ፡] # BCDG  
11 ምዕራብ ፡] # Σ | 12 ንጉሥ ፡] # Σ | 14 አራውን ፡] # Σ | 19 እምሔይው ፡] # BCDG  
20 አማልክት ፡] # αDG, ፲ C | 22 ፰ ፡] # D | 24 ድኅረ ፡] # αD | 25 እኩይ ፡] # A | ይእዜ ፡] # αG  
26 ግብር ፡] # D | 27 ሎሙ ፡] # αCG, # # D

<sup>107</sup>Crum takes this proper name as an example for ‘confounding radical consonants with particle’ as a trace of the Coptic language. However, he supposes that this form stays for ‘Nebrôd’ (Crum 1917, 207). | <sup>108</sup>Transliteration of the Arabic جبارة, meaning ‘Orion’; the reading of other manuscripts, namely ደበራን ፣, although seems possible, is quite misleading.



ክፍል : ፱ : 1. ወእምድጎረ : ሞቱ : ለቢኩስ : ነግሠ : በውስተ : ምዕራብ : G49va  
 ፋኑስ : ዘተሰምየ : ጎርምስ : ሰጠ፤ : ዓመት : 2. ወኮነ : ነሀቤ : ብሩር : | ውእቱ : C108vc A67vc  
 ቀደመ : ወጢነ : ገቢረ : ወርቅ : በምዕራብ : ወረሰዮ : ከመ : ውሒዝ ። 3. ወሶበ :  
 አእመረ : ከመ : አኃዊሁ : ቀንዑ : ላዕሌሁ : ወፈቀዱ : ይቅትልዎ : ፈርሀ :  
 5 ወጎዮ : ጎበ : ምስር ። ወምስሌሁ : ወርቅ : ብዙኅ : 4. ወጎደረ : ውስተ : ምስር :  
 ወኮነ : ይለብስ : ልብስ : | ወርቅ : ሠናየ ። 5. ወዓዲ : ኮነ : ማእምረ : ዘየአምር : D3  
 ኩሎ : እምቅድመ : ይኩን ። ወይሁብ : ንዋየ : ብዙኅ : ለሰብእ : ወአምኃ :  
 ብዙኅ : ይሁብ : ለሰብእ : ግብጽ : 6. ወበእንተ : |ዝንቱ : ተወከፍዎ : በክብር : Z30  
 ወሰመዩ : ስሞ : እግዚአ : ወርቅ : ወኮነ : ክቡረ : በጎቤሆሙ : ከመ : አምላክ ።  
 10 ወሰገዱ : ሎቱ : ነዳያን ።

ክፍል : ፲ : 1. ወኮነ : ፩ : ብእሲ : ዘስሙ : ቀስጦስ : ዘነግሠ : በምስር : ወረ  
 ሰይዎ : አምላክ ። ወኮነ : መስተጸብእ : ወ|ምሉአ : ዕበድ : 2. ወይትሔዘቡ : B52rb  
 ሰብእ : ከመ : ውእቱ : ኅሣሤ : ምሥጢራት : ወነሣኤ : ንዋየ : ጸብእ : እምነብ :  
 15 አልቦ : ከመ : ነሐቤ : ሐዲን : ወውእቱ : ዘገብረ : ቅድመ : ንዋየ : ጸብእ : ለተ  
 ጸብእ : በዘመነ : ጸብእ : ወአእባነ : ዘይትቃተሉ : ቦ|ሙ : ሰብእ ። 3. እስመ : A68ra  
 ውእቱ : ኮነ : ሐንካሳ : አመ : ሐረ : ውስተ : ጸብእ : ወድቀ : እምላዕለ : ፈረስ :  
 ወተጎድዐ : ወኮነ : ሐንካሳ : በኩሉ : መዋዕሊሁ ። C109ra

ክፍል : ፲፩ : 1. ወማቱሳላ : ወለዶ : ለላሜኅ : ወላሜኅኒ : አውሰበ : ክልኤ : አን  
 ስትያ : ስማ : አሐቲ : ሐዳ : ወስመ : ካልእታ : ሳላ : 2. ወወለደት : ሐዳ :  
 ቃቤልሃ ። ወእምድጎረ : ኅዳጥ : <መዋዕል : > ወለደት : ቶቤልሃ ። ኮነ : ይዘብጥ : G49vb  
 በሰፊልያ : ለገቢረ : ብርት : ወሐዲን ። 3. ወቶልኒ : ወልዶ : ላሜኅ : ኮነ : እም  
 ቅድመ : አይኅ : ነሀቤ : ብርት : ወሐዲን : እስመ : ውእቱ : ነሥአ : ጥበበ : እምእ  
 25 ግዚአብሔር : ሎቱ : ስብሐት ።

ክፍል : ፲፪ : 1. ወእምድጎረ : አይቃስ : ዘተሰምየ : ፀሐይ : ነግሠ : በምስር :  
 ወልዱ : ፀሐይ : ዘተሰምየ : በስመ : አቡሁ : 2. ውእቱ : ዘሐነጸ : ለሀገረ : ፀሐይ :  
 <ወሰመያ : > በስሙ ። ወበውስቱታ : ሀለዉ : አብያተ : አማልክት : ዐቢያን :  
 30 ወሥጋ : ነገሥትኒ : ሀለዉ : ኅቤሃ ።

ክፍል : ፲፫ : 1. ወሀሎ : ፩ : ብእሲ : ዘስሙ : ማጡናዊስ : ዘመጽአ : እምድጎረ :  
 አይቃስቤራ : ዘትርጓሜ : ስሙ : ዱናስዮስ : 2. ሐነጸ : ሀ|ገረ : በላዕላይ : ግብጽ : A68rb  
 ዘትሰመይ : ቡጺር : ወለካልእታ : ቡጺር : በደቡብ : ግብጽ ።

35

APP. CRIT.: 1 ለቢኩስ :]αCG, ለቢኩስ : D | 2 ዓመት :]αG, ዓመተ : CD | 3 ወጢነ :]αCG, om. D | 5 ብዙኅ :]BCDG, ውብዙኅ : A | 8 ወበእንተ : ዝንቱ :]αCG, ወበእንተዝ : D | 12 ዘነግሠ :]AC D, ነግሠ : BG | 14 ኅሣሤ :]BCDG, n.l. A | ንዋየ :]αCG, ንዋይ : D | 15 ሐዲን :]Σ, add. ውእቱ : con. Zot | ለተጸብእ :...ጸብእ :]αCG, om. D | 18 ወተጎድዐ :]αCG, ወተገድዐ : D መዋዕሊሁ :]Σ, መዋ(ዕ)ሊሁ : s.l. G | 20 ወላሜኅኒ :]CDG, ወላሜኅ : α | አውሰበ :]αCD, አወሰበ : G | 22 መዋዕል :]conieci | ኮነ :]Σ, ዘኮነ : con. Zot | 23 ላሜኅ :]αCG, ላሜሀሃ : D 24 እምእግዚአብሔር :]Σ, {እም}እግዚአብሔር : s.l. A | 27 አይቃስ :]CDG, አቃይስ : α 28 ወልዱ : ፀሐይ :]αCG, om. D | በስመ :]D, ስመ : ስመ : A, ስመ : BCG, ስሙ : ስመ : con. Zot | 29 ወሰመያ :]con. Zot

APP. LECT. MIN.: 20 አንስትያ :]αG, አንስቲያ : CD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ፱ :] G | 2 ዓመት :] D | 3 ውሒዝ :] BCDG | 5 ምስር :] Σ | 6 ሠናየ :] Σ | 7 ይኩን :] αCG | 8 ግብጽ :] C | 9 አምላክ :] Σ | 10 ነዳያን :] Σ | 12 ፲ :] BDG 13 አምላክ :] αCG | ዕበድ :] D | 15 ሐዲን :] D | 16 ሰብእ :] Σ | 18 መዋዕሊሁ :] Σ 20 ፲፩ :] D | አንስትያ :] D | 22 ቃቤልሃ :] αCG | ቶቤልሃ :] BCDG | 23 ወሐዲን :] α DG | 24 አይኅ :] A | 25 ስብሐት :] αCG, ። D | 27 ፲፪ :] DG | 29 በስሙ :] CDG, ፲ B | 30 ኅቤሃ :] αCG, ። D | 32 ፲፫ :] DG | 34 ቡጺር :] D | ግብጽ :] αCG, ። D

block in Persia; and they would take their mothers, sisters and daughters to wives.<sup>122</sup>

Chapter 9. 1. After the death of Picus, Faunus, called Hermes reigned in the West for thirty-five years. 2. He was a silversmith; he was the first to begin making gold in the East and to smelt it. 3. When he learned that his brothers were envious of him and wanted to kill him, he got afraid and fled to Egypt with a lot of gold. 4. He dwelt in Egypt and was wearing beautiful golden clothes. 5. Moreover he was a sage, who knew everything beforehand. He gave people a lot of money and a lot of gifts to the people of Egypt. 6. Due to this reason, they greeted him with honor and called him ‘Lord of Gold’. He became honorable amongst them, like a god. And the poor bowed down to him.<sup>123</sup>

Chapter 10. 1. There was one man, named *Qastōs* (Hephaestus), who reigned in Egypt. He was considered a god. He was a warrior and full of rage. 2. People believed that he explored mysteries and received weapons from nothing like an ironsmith.<sup>124</sup> And he was the first to make weapons to fight in the war times and stones, with which people killed one another.<sup>125</sup> 3. Indeed he was lame, when he went to a battle, he fell down from a horse and was injured and became lame for his whole life.<sup>126</sup>

Chapter 11. 1. Methuselah begat Lamech, and Lamech married two women, the name of the first one was Adah, and of the second one was Zillah. 2. Adah bare *Qābel* (Jabal),<sup>127</sup> and after a short <time> she (Zillah) bare *Tobel* (Tubal-Cain).<sup>128</sup> He smited with hammer to produce brass and iron. 3. So, *Tobel* (Tubal-Cain), son of Lamech, was a brass and iron smith before the Deluge; for he received wisdom from God, praise be on Him.

Chapter 12. 1. After <sup>o</sup>*Ayqās* (Hephaestus), named Sun, his son, named Sun<sup>129</sup> after his father’s name, reigned in Egypt. 2. It was he, who built a city of Sun (Heliopolis)<sup>130</sup> and <named it> after his name. There were temples of the supreme gods there as well as the bodies of kings.

Chapter 13. 1. There was a man, whose name was *Mātunāwis*, who came after *Ayqāsbera*, whose name is by translation Dionysus. 2. He built a city in the

<sup>122</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 1.10 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 7). | <sup>123</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 1.14 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 9-10). | <sup>124</sup> I do not follow the conjecture by Zotenberg. Thus, Zotenberg translates: ‘Les hommes croyaient qu’il savait découvrir les choses cachées et faire sortir du néant des armes de guerre; car il était forgeron’ (Zotenberg 1883, 243). Charles translates as follows: ‘And men believed that he investigated hidden things and received weapons of war from the non-existent; for he was an ironsmith’ (Charles 1916, 18-19). | <sup>125</sup> Cp. *John Malas* 1.15: ‘for before his day men had fought with clubs and stones’ (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 10). Colin translates this passage as follows: ‘c’est lui qui fabriqua le premier des armes pour combattre au moment du combat à la place des pierres avec lesquelles les hommes se battaient (auparavant)’ (Colin 1995, 46). | <sup>126</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 1.15 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 10). | <sup>127</sup> Not identified by Zotenberg and Charles (Zotenberg 1883, 245; Charles 1916, 19). I identify Qābel with the half-brother of Tubal-Cain Jabal. | <sup>128</sup> Not identified by Zotenberg and Charles (Zotenberg 1883, 245; Charles 1916, 19). I identify Tobel with Tubal-Cain (Gen. 4:22). The mother of Tubal-Cain was Zillah, and not Adah. | <sup>129</sup> According to *John Malalas* 2.1 Helios was the son of Hephaestus; however Haephestus himself is not identified with Sun (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 11). | <sup>130</sup> This identification seems to me to be doubtful. It should be noted that elsewhere in the Chronicle the author uses Heliopolis’ Coptic and Arabic names, Ōn and ‘Aīn-Sams.

ክፍል : ፲፬ : ሱርስ : ዘትርጓሜ : ስሙ : አብሎን : ዘተሰምየ : | ቡጎበ : |ሐነፋ-  
ውያን : ውእቱ : ሐነጻ : ለሀገረ : ሰምኑድ : ወቤተ : አማልክት : ዐበይት :  
ውስቲታ # ወዛቲ : ይእቲ : ሀገር : ዘትሰመይ : ቡባዔል : ፌጎር #

B52rc Z31

5 ክፍል : ፲፭ : 1. ተብህለ : | በመጽሐፈ : ግብጻዊያን : ጠቢባን : አብራሙስ :  
በዝኩ : ዘመን : ዘውእቱ : ጎርምስ : መፍርህ : በፍትሕ : ዘዜነወ : ቦቱ : ቡጎበ :  
ሐነፋዊያን : እንዘ : ይብሉ : ፫ : ኃይላት : ዐበይት : በጽድቅ : ፈጣሬ : ኩሉ :  
፩ : መለኮት # 2. ወውእቱ : ጎርምስ : ቡጎበ : ሐነፋዊያን : ጠቢብ : ዐቢይ :  
10 ዜነወ : እንዘ : ይብል : ክብረ : ሥሉስ : ቅዱስ : ዕሩይ : ወሀቤ : ሕይወት :  
ወንጉሥ : ላዕለ : ኩሉ #

C109rb

ክፍል : ፲፮ : 1. ወአሐቲ : ሀገር : ቀደመት : ግብረ : ማኅረስ : ወተምህረት :  
ዘሪአ : ሥርፍይ : ወኩሉ : ዘመደ : እክል # 2. ወይእቲ : ኮነት : ልዕልተ : እምነ :  
ኩሉ : ምድረ : ግብጽ # እስመ : ምድረ : ግብጽስ : ኮኑ : | <ምሉ>አ : ማያት :  
15 ወአብሕር<ት> : | እምብዝን : ውሒዝ : ዘፈለገ : ግዮን #

D4

G49vc A68rc

ክፍል : ፲፯ : 1. ወሳስጥራዎስ : ዘነግሠ : ላዕለ : ኩሉ : ምድረ : ግብጽ : ወአድ  
ያሚሃ : ውእቱ : ወጠነ : ነሢአ : ጸባሕት : ወሰፊረ : ምድር # 2. ወሶበ : አስተ  
ጋብአ : ምህርካ : ዐቢይ : ወዌዋ : ብዙኅ : እምነ : ኩሉ : ምድር # ወእምዝ :  
20 አስተጋቢአ : አምጽአሙ : ኅበ : ምድረ : ግብጽ : ወለኩሉ : ነፍስ : ዘተሠልጠነ :  
ላዕሌሆሙ : ለነሢአ : ጸባሕት : ረሰዮሙ : ይክርዮ : ምድረ : ወይምልኡ :  
መሬተ : ላዕለ : ኩሉ : ማያተ : ግብጽ # 3. ወበእንተ : ዝንቱ : ረከቡ : ምክ  
ንያተ : ሰብአ : ግብጽ : ለተኪለ : አትክልት : ወለሐሪስ : ገራህት : ከ|መ :  
25 ምድረ : ስዒድ : ዘቀደመት : አእምሮ : ግብረ : ሐሪስ # 4. ወዓዲ : አዘዘ : ከመ :  
የሀቡ : ጸባሕተ : ወእክለ : ምድር : ለንጉሥ : በድልው # ወከ<ረ>የ : ፈለግ :  
ዘይሰመይ : ዲክ : እስከ : ዮም #

C109rc B52va

ክፍል : ፲፰ : 1. ወእምድጎሬሁ : ነግሠ : ላዕለ : ሀገረ : ምስር : ስዋኪን : ንጉሠ :  
ህንድ : ፶ : ዓመተ : 2. ወኮነ : መፍቀሬ : ሱብእ : ወኢይፈቅድ : ክ|ዒወ : ደም :  
30 በዐመ|ዓ : ወውእቱ : አንበረ : ሕገ : በምስር : ከመዝ : ኩሉ : ዘይኡብስ :  
ኢይሙት : ወኢይሣቅይዎሙ # ባሕቱ : ይሕየው : ወኩሉ : ዘይኡብስ :  
ለለ፩፩ : ከመ : አበሳሁ : አዘዘ : ይከብትሩ : ምድረ : ወያስተጋብኡ : መሬተ :  
25 ወይደዩ : ውስተ : ባሕር # 3. ወሶበ : ጎንደዩ : በዝንቱ : ምንዳቤ : ወበዝ : ዌዋዌ :  
ርሕቁ : ማያተ : ፈለግ : እምነ : ምድር # ወረሰዩ : ሀገሮሙ : መልዕልተ :

Z32

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APP. CRIT.: 1 ዘትርጓሜ : ስሙ : ]αCG, ዘበትርጓሜሁ : D | ዘተሰምየ : ]αCG, ዘተሰመየ : G  
2 ሰምኑድ : ]αDG, ሱምኑድ : C | 3 ቡባዔል : ]αCD, በባዔል : G | 5 አብራሙስ : ]αCD, አቡ  
ራሙስ : G | 6 መፍርህ : ]Σ, ተአመነ : add. con. Zot | 7 በጽድቅ : ]CDG, om. α | 8 ፩ : ]Σ, s.l. G  
12 ግብረ : ...ወተምህረት : ]Σ, ወተምህረት : ግብረ : ማኅረስ : con. Zot | 13 ወኩሉ : ]ACG,  
ወኩሎ : BD | 14 ግብጽ : ...ምድረ : ]αC, om. DG | ምሉአ : ]con. Zot, ምሉእ : αCG,  
ምሉዓነ : D | 15 ወአብሕርት : ]con. Zot, ወአብሕርተ : αDG, ወአብሕርተ : C | 17 ወሳስጥራዎስ : ]  
ΣZot: ወሳስጥራዎስ : A | ወአድያሚሃ : ]Σ, ወአድያሚሃ : corr. B | 18 ጸባሕት : ]αCD, ጽባሕት :  
G | 19 ዐቢይ : ]αCD, ዐቢየ : G | 25 ወከረየ : ]con. Zot, ወክርየ : Σ | 28 ምስር : ]CDG, ሀገር : α,  
ግብጽ : con. Zot | ስዋኪን : ]αC, ስዋኪን : DG | 29 ዓመተ : ]αDG, ዓመት : C | 30 ዘይኡብስ : ]B  
CDG, ዘኢይኡብስ : A, {ዘ}ይኡብስ : s.l. D | 31 ወኢይሣቅይዎሙ : ]BCDG, ወኢይሣይቅ  
ይዎሙ : A | 32 አበሳሁ : ]α, አብሳሁ : C, አብሳሆሙ : D, አበሳሆሙ : G | 33 ምንዳቤ : ]αDG,  
om. C | ወበዝ : ]αCG, ወበዝንቱ : D | 34 ማያተ : ]αCD, ማያት : G

APP. LECT. MIN.: 1 ሐነፋውያን : ]αDG, ሐነፋዊያን : C | 5 ግብጻዊያን : ]CG, ግብጻውያን : αD  
7 ሐነፋዊያን : ]CG, ሐነፋውያን : αD | 8 ሐነፋዊያን : ]CG, ሐነፋውያን : αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ፲፬ : ] # G | 2 ሰምኑድ : ] # D | አማልክት : ] # C | 3 ውስቲታ # # Σ | ፌጎር # #  
αCG, # # D | 5 ፲፭ : ] # G | አብራሙስ : ] # D | 8 መለኮት # # BCDG | ዐቢይ : ] # D | 10 ኩሉ : #

Upper Egypt called *Buṣir* and another *Buṣir* in the nothern (*dabub*) of Egypt.<sup>131</sup>

Chapter 14. *Surās*,<sup>132</sup> whose name is by translation Apollo, who was called (so) amongst the Greeks, built a city of *Samnud* (Sebennytos) and a large temple in it. And this is a city, which is called *Bab<sup>c</sup>el Fegor*.<sup>133</sup>

Chapter 15. 1. In the book of Egyptian wise men *°Abrātus*<sup>134</sup> is mentioned at that time, that is Hermes, extraordinary in judgement, in which (book) they (wise men) announced to the heathen saying: ‘Truly, three great powers (are) creator of everything (and) one Godhead’. 2. And this Hermes, a great sage amongst the heathen, proclaimed: ‘The Glory of the coequal holy Trinity (is) the Giver of life and King over all things’.<sup>135</sup>

Chapter 16. 1. One region<sup>136</sup> began to cultivate land and was skilled in sowing of wheat and of all related grain.<sup>137</sup> 2. It was the most elevated land in the whole Egypt; for the lands of Egypt were full of water and lakes, because of the abundant flow of the river Gihon.

Chapter 17. 1. Sesostris, who reigned over the whole land of Egypt and its provinces, was the first to levy taxes and to measure land. 2. When he had gathered much booty and taken many captives from the whole land, in consequence he brought them into Egypt. He forced all humans under his power to pay taxes, to dig soil and to fill all the waters of Egypt with earth. 3. Due to that people of Egypt received opportunity to plant plantations and to cultivate fields like the land of *Sə<sup>c</sup>ād*, which was the first to learn cultivation of land. 4. Moreover he commanded that they should pay taxes and production of the field to the king properly. And he dug a river (channel), which is called *Dik* till nowadays.<sup>138</sup>

Chapter 18. 1. After him Sabacon, a king of India, reigned over the land of Egypt for fifty years. 2. He loved people and did not like to shed blood unjustly. He established a law in Egypt so that none, who committed crime, should die or be tortured. Rather they should stay alive, and he commanded

<sup>131</sup>For a proposal of identification see Zotenberg 1883, 245, n. 4; Booth 2013, 661. <sup>132</sup>Zotenberg identifies this name with Osiris (Zotenberg 1883, 245). Colin follows him in this identification (Colin 1995, 46). | <sup>133</sup>Zotenberg first supposes that this presumable city name is composed of two names: ‘Le mot Belphegor paraît être le résultat d’un melentandu, et composé des deux noms de Bel et d’Agénor’ (Zotenberg 1877, 473, n. 1). In 1883 he writes: ‘Il est probable que la dernière phrase renferme quelque erreur (peut-être **𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤂** : est-il une corruption de **𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤂** :). Ce mythe est d’ailleurs inconnu’ (Zotenberg 1883, 246, n. 1). Timm associates this toponym with Baalpe<sup>c</sup>or, a city on the boarder of Moab and Israel, but provides no explanation of its relation to Sebennytos. (Timm 1991, 2261, n. 9). Might *Bab<sup>c</sup>el Fegor* be the Arabic *bāb al-fajr* ‘gate of the dawn’? | <sup>134</sup>Identification of this proper name is doubtful; Zotenberg identifies it with Herodotus (Zotenberg 1883, 246, n. 2), Charles suggests an identification either with Sostris or with Trismegistos (Charles 1916, 19, n. 3). | <sup>135</sup>I do follow neither the conjecture by Zotenberg in this passage, nor his suggestion in my translation that there is a lacuna between the words **𐤇𐤌𐤍** : and **𐤇𐤌𐤍𐤁** :. Cp. *John Malalas*, 2.5 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 12-13). However, the text seems to be confused. | <sup>136</sup>From Chapter 17 one learns that it is the region of *Sə<sup>c</sup>ād*. | <sup>137</sup>I do not follow the conjecture by Zotenberg but the manuscripts. | <sup>138</sup>Cp. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.108-9, as pointed out by Zotenberg (Zotenberg 1883, 247, n. 1).

# αCG, # # D | 12 **𐤇𐤌** : # DG | 13 **𐤁𐤏𐤁** # # Σ | 14 **𐤇𐤌** : # D | **𐤇𐤌𐤁** # # BCDG  
 15 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** # # Σ | 17 **𐤇𐤌** : # αCG, # D | **𐤇𐤌𐤁𐤏𐤁** : # D | 18 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** # # Σ | 19 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** # # α  
 CG, | 20 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** : # CD | 21 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** : # D | 22 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** # # Σ | 24 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** # # BCDG  
 25 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** # # Σ | 26 **𐤇𐤌** # # αCG, # # D | 28 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** : **𐤇𐤌** : # D | 31 **𐤇𐤌𐤁𐤏𐤁** # #  
 αCD | **𐤇𐤌𐤁** : # D | 33 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** # # BCDG | 34 **𐤇𐤌𐤁** # # Σ

በእንተ ፡ ፍርሀተ ፡ ማያት ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይሰጠሙ ። 4. ወበመዋዕሊሁ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ለሳስጠትሪም ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ማያት ፡ ያሰጥሙ ፡ | እምቅድመ ፡ ይክርዩ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ለፈለግ ፡ ወዘገብሩስ ፡ ወዲያ ፡ መሬት ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ማይ ፡ ኢተፈጸመ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ሥም ረቶሙ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ብዝነ ፡ ውሒዘ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ 5. ወስዋኪንስ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ህንድ ፡ ረሰዩ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ማኅደረ ፡ ኀበ ፡ መካን ፡ ልዑል ፡ በትግሀተ ፡ ልብ ።

G50ra

ክፍል ፡ ፲፱ ፡ 1. ወኮነ ፡ ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ፈአውንጁዩስ ፡ ፈርዖን ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ በምስር ፡ 2. ዐፀወ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ወዘተርፉ ፡ ጣዖታት ፡ ዘያመልክዎሙ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ | ወይሠውዑ ፡ ለአጋንንት ። ወሐነጸ ፡ <፫> ፡ ምስጋዳተ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ መኑፍ ፡ ወረሰዮሙ ፡ ለሰብአ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ይስግዱ ፡ ለፀሐይ ፡ 3. ወአስተዋፅአ ፡ ለመ ስተገብራነ ፡ ሕንጻ ፡ ፲፪ወ፳፫ ፡ መዳልወ ፡ ብሩር ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ስጉርድ ፡ ወአሕ ማላት ። እስመ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ተረክበ ፡ ጽሑፊ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ እመጸሕፍ ቲሆሙ ፡ በልሳነ ፡ ግብጻዊያን ፡ ዘተቀርጸ ፡ በእብነ ፡ አረፍት ፡ ወአርአዮሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ያነብቡ ።

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4. ወአስተዋፅአ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ጸባሕተ ፡ ወመዛግብተ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ አጥፍአ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ብዝነ ፡ ሐናጽያን ፡ በዘኢኮነ ፡ ለግብር ፡ ሠናይ ። 5. ወሶበ ፡ ወድቀ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ንዴት ፡ ወተመስክኖ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ምንዱብ ፡ ኮነት ፡ | ሎቱ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ሠናይተ ፡ ራእይ ፡ ተሀውከት ፡ እምነበ ፡ ምግባረ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ወስሕተተ ፡ ርኩስት ፡ ወአንበራ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መካነ ፡ ዘማዊያን ፡ ወነ በረት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጽልመት ፡ ወሐዘን ፡ ወኮነት ፡ ዘማዊተ ፡ 6. ወኩሎ ፡ ዘፈቀደ ፡ ይስክብ ፡ ምስሌሃ ፡ ይጸውር ፡ ፩ ፡ እብረነ > ፡ እምአእባን ፡ ዐቢያን ፡ ወይሬስዮ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሕንጻ ።

D5

A68vc C109vb

Z33

G49vb

7. ተብሀለ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ እብን ፡ | ዘይጸውሮ ፡ ኢየሐጽጽ ፡ እም፴ ፡ ሰኩፍ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ፳ ፡ | በእመት ፡ እስከ ፡ ሐነጹ ፡ አሐተ ፡ እምእላ ፡ ፫ ፡ መስ ጋዳት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍትወተ ፡ ርኩሳ ፡ ለይእቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ሕርትምት ።

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ክፍል ፡ <፩> ፡ 1. ሐርቀሉስ ፡ ፍልሱፍ ፡ ዘሀገረ ፡ ጢሮስ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘረከበ ፡ ዘይ ገብሩ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ሐሪር ፡ ወሚላት ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ልብሰ ፡ ሐሪር ፡ ወተ ከደነ ። 2. ወኩንስ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ጢሮስ ፡ ከነአናዊ ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ | ነገሥት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ መካን ፡ ወእለ ፡ መጽሑ ፡ እምድኅሬሁ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ገብሩ ። ወኮኑ ፡ ፍሉጣነ ፡ ወዕውቃነ ፡ እምነ ፡ አሽክር ። 3. ወ<ለ>ቀዳማዊያንስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ልብሶሙ ፡ ፩ ፡ እምነ ፡ ፀምር ። ወነገሥትኒ ፡ ወመኪንንት ፡ ወለጡ ፡ ልብሶሙ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ወለብሱ ፡ ልብሰ ፡ ሐሪር ።

APP. CRIT.: 1 ማያት ፡]BCD G, ማያተ ፡ A | 2 ለሳስጠትሪም ፡]αCG, ለሳስጠቅሪም ፡ D ያሰጥሙ ፡]Σ, ያሰጥሙ ፡ Zot | 3 ወዲያ ፡]αG, ወድዮ ፡ CD | ኢተፈጸመ ፡]CD G, ኢተፈጸሙ ፡ α 5 መካን ፡]αCG, መካነ ፡ D | በትግሀተ ፡]BCD G, በትግሀተ ፡ A | 7 ፲፱ ፡]BCD G, ፳ ፡ A ፈአውንጁዩስ ፡]BD G, ፈአውንጁዩስ ፡ A, ፈአውንጁዩስ ፡ C | 9 ለአጋንንት ።]αCG, ላአማልክት ፡ D | ፫ ፡]con. i. Zot, ፴ ፡]BC, ፵ ፡]A, ሠላስ ፡]DG | 10 ይስግዱ ፡]BCD G, ይስግዱ ፡ A ወአስተዋፅአ ፡]BCD G, ወአስተዋፅአ ፡ A | ለመስተገብራነ ፡]αCG, ለመስተገብራነ ፡ D | 11 ስጉርድ ፡]CD G, ስጉርጉድ ፡ α | 12 ጽሑፊ ፡]αC, ጽሑፍ ፡]DG | መጽሐፍ ፡ ... 18 እመጸሕፍቲሆሙ ፡]CD G, መጸሕፍቲሆሙ ፡ α | 13 ዘተቀርጸ ፡]Σ, ዘተቀርጹ ፡ con. i. Zot | 14 ወመዛግብተ ፡ ... 20 አጥፍአ ፡]con. i. Zot | 18 ወስሕተተ ፡]CG, ወስሕተቱ ፡ αD | 19 ወሐዘን ፡]αC, ወሐዘኒ ፡]D, ወሐዘነ ፡]G 20 እብነ ፡]con. i. Zot, እብን ፡ αCG, ፩ደ ፡]D, ፩ደ ፡]D | 21 እም፴ ፡]BCD, እም ፡]፵ A, እምሠላሳ ፡]G 22 ሐነጹ ፡]αCG, ሐነፀ ፡]D | መስጋዳት ፡]G, con. i. Zot, ምስጋዳተ ፡ αCD | 23 ፍትወተ ፡]αCD, ፍወተ ፡]G | 25 ፳ ፡]con. i. c. i. ፳፩ ፡ αCD, ፲፳ ፡]G | ዘረከበ ፡]αCG, ዘረኪበ ፡]D | 26 ወሚላት ፡ ... ሐሪር ፡]CD G, om. α | 29 አሽክር ።]αCG, አሽኪር ፡]D | ወለቀዳማዊያንስ ፡]con, ወቀዳማዊያንስ ፡]Σ | 30 ወነገሥትኒ ፡]αCD, ወነገሥተኒ ፡]G | ወመኪንንት ፡]CD G, ወመኪንንትኒ ፡ α

APP. LECT. MIN.: 13 ግብጻዊያን ፡]CG, ግብጻውያን ፡ αD | 18 ርኩስት ፡]αG, ርኩስት ፡]CD ዘማዊያን ፡]CG, ዘማውያን ፡ αD | 23 ርኩሳ ፡]αDG, ርኩሳ ፡]C | 26 ወተከደነ ፡]CG, ወተከደነ ፡ αD 30 ወመኪንንት ፡]CG, ወመኪንንትኒ ፡ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ኢይሰጠሙ ።] # Σ | 4 ፈለግ ፡] # D | 5 ልብ ።] # αCG, # # D | 7 ፲፱ ፡] # D 8 አማልክት ፡] # D | 9 ለአጋንንት ።] # Σ | 10 መኑፍ ፡] # D | 11 ብሩር ፡] # C | ወአሕማላት ፡] # C DG | 13 አረፍት ፡] # D | 14 ያነብቡ ።] # BCDG | 15 ሐናጽያን ፡] # A | ሠናይ ።] # Σ 18 ርኩስት ፡] # D | 21 ሕንጻ ።] # Σ | 23 ሕርትምት ።] # αCG, # # D | 25 ፳ ፡] # D 26 ወተከደነ ።] # Σ | 28 ገብሩ ።] # Σ | 29 ፍሉጣነ ፡] # C | አሽክር ።] # BCDG | 30 ፀምር ።] # BC DG | 31 ሐሪር ።] # Σ

to all criminals according to their crimes to sweep the earth,<sup>139</sup> gather soil and put it into the river. 3. When they had done this hard work for a long time during imprisonment, the waters of the river withdrew from the land. And they placed their cities on a high place because of the fear for water, lest they would get flooded. 4. Before, in the days of Sesostris the waters inundated, before they dug a channel for the river. But despite what they had done by adding earth to the water, there was no delight for them,<sup>140</sup> because of the abundance of the river flow. 5. And Sabacon, the king of India, arranged a dwelling for them on a high place in the diligence of his heart.<sup>141</sup>

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Chapter 19. 1. There was one man, called *Fa'awəngiyus*,<sup>142</sup> a Pharaoh, who reigned in Egypt. 2. He closed temples of Gods and other idols, which people of Egypt worshipped, and they (also) made sacrifices to demons. He built <three><sup>143</sup> temples<sup>144</sup> in the city of *Manuf* (Memphis)<sup>145</sup> and forced the Egyptians to worship Sun. 3. He paid to the construction workers one thousand and six hundred<sup>146</sup> measures of silver despite of leek and vegetables; indeed it is found written so in a book amongst their books in the Egyptian language, which is engraved on a stone wall and made it known to those, who read. 4. He paid out all taxes and laid waste the royal treasuries through these large constructions, which were not even for a good purpose. 5. When he fell in a big trouble and was tormented by his poverty – he had a beautiful daughter. She was stirred through the actions of satan and impure seduction. He put her in a brothel, and she existed in darkness and grief and became a prostitute. 6. And everyone, who wanted to lie with her, carried one of big stones and put it on the construction. 7. It is said that a stone, which one should have brought, was no less than thirty feet, which is twenty cubits, until they built one of the three temples through the impure lust of this wretched girl.<sup>147</sup>

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Chapter <20.> 1. It was Heracles, a philosopher of the city of Tyre, who invented how to make silk and linen.<sup>148</sup> He invented the silk garments and was clothed (in them). 2. And *Kunās* (Phoenix),<sup>149</sup> the king of Tyre, a Canaanite, and the kings of all places, as well as his successors, did likewise. They became distinguished and recognizable from servants<sup>150</sup> 3. And the garment of the predecessors was out of wool only. And the kings and

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<sup>139</sup>My translation here does not correspond to those by Zotenberg and Charles, thus Zotenberg translates: 'nettoyer le sol' (Zotenberg 1883, 247). And Charles in his turn follows his interpretation and translates: 'to purify the earth' (Charles 1916, 20). Although I am not very sure about my interpretation, I think rather an activity of gathering soil together is meant here. | <sup>140</sup>My translation here does not correspond to those by Zotenberg and Charles. Zotenberg translates: 'ils n'atteignirent pas leur but' (Zotenberg 1883, 247). And Charles follows him: 'they failed to realize their purpose' (Charles 1916, 20). | <sup>141</sup>Cp. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.137, as pointed out by Zotenberg (Zotenberg 1883, 247, n. 3). | <sup>142</sup>Zotenberg suggests a possible corruption of the name Cheops (Zotenberg 1883, 247, n. 4). Charles identifies this name with Rampsinitus, pointing, however, that the next verse refers to Cheops (Charles 1916, 21, n. 2). Colin follows this suggestion by Charles (Colin 1995, 47, n. 17). Vycichl suggests that '*F'awngiyus* est un personnage complexe qui réunit Aménophis IV, Chéops et (probablement) Piankhi?' (Vycichl 1957, 183). Might it be a misreading of the Arabic for 'pharaoh Cheops'? | <sup>143</sup>For the arguments of the variant 'thirty', see Vycichl 1957, 183-185. | <sup>144</sup>See Zotenberg 1883, 248, n. 1. | <sup>145</sup>See Timm 1988, 1556, n. 5. | <sup>146</sup>Charles gives sixteen thousand (Charles 1916, 21). | <sup>147</sup>Cp. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.124-6, as pointed out by Zotenberg (Zotenberg 1883, 248, n. 3). | <sup>148</sup>The word **ሥላት** : might also be translated as 'purple', probably it refers here rather to a dye or color, which would then correspond to the short description of this Chapter in the Table of Contents. Cp. *John Malalas* 2.9 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 15-16). | <sup>149</sup>See Chapter 23.4. | <sup>150</sup>Zotenberg identifies this word with the Arabic (Zotenberg 1883, 248, n. 5). This could be however also an Amharic loanword (Leslau 1990, 1181b).

ክፍል ፡ ፳፩ ፡ 1. ወሀሎ ፡ ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ኒሩስ ፡ ፈተወ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሶርያ ፡ ወቀንኡ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ኒንዩስ ፡ እኅወ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ኒሩስ ፡ 2. ወሶበ ፡ መጽአ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ቆሮንቶስ ፡ ተራከቦቶ ፡ ወለት ፡ ድንግል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ተሐውር ፡ ባሕቲታ ፡ 3. ወአኅዘ ፡ ሥዕርታ ፡ ወመተረ ፡ ርእሳ ፡ በሰይፍ ፡ ወረሰያ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰንተራ ፡ እንተ ፡ | ሀለወት ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ በከመ ፡ ዕበድ ፡ ዘመሀሮ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ኒሩስ ፡ 4. ወኮነ ፡ ይጸውራ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ጸብእ ፡ ዘየሐውር ፡ # | 5. ወሶበ ፡ ሐረ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የሐውር ፡ ወይወርድ ፡ እልባውና ፡ ተመይጦ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሶርያ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ተጸብእም ፡ ሊቁናዊያን ፡ ወነሥአ ፡ ርእሳ ፡ ለኩርኩና ፡ ድንግል ፡ መሰግልት ፡ አርአዮሙ ፡ ወሞአሙ ፡ 6. ወሐነጸ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ኢቆንዮን ፡ ወኮነት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ንእስት ፡ ሀገር ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡ መንዶር ፡ ቅድመ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘአንበረ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ሥዕለ ፡ መልክዑ ፡ ኅቤሃ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ርኩስት ፡ ኩርኩና ፡ # 7. ወሶበ ፡ ሐረ ፡ {ሂሱርያ ፡} ሀገረ < > ፡ <ሂሱርያ ፡ > ወቂልቅያ ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ ተጸብእ|ም ፡ ወሞአሙ ፡ በግብረ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ በርእስ ፡ ኩርኩና ፡ # 8. ወሀገረ ፡ ቂልቅያ ፡ እንተ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ | አንግርሳ ፡ ረሰያ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሰመያ ፡ ጠርሱስ ፡ # 9. ወአምነ ፡ ቂልቅያ ፡ ሐረ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሻም ፡ ወበዝንቱ ፡ መካን ፡ ተ ካልእ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ተ ሰርጣ ፡ ባብልሉን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ስመ ፡ ሢመት ፡ 10. ወውእቱ ፡ አቡሮሙ ፡ ለአዝማዲሁ ፡ ወበርበረ ፡ መንግሥቶ ፡ ወወለጠ ፡ ስመ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ሶርያ ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ | ፋርስ ፡ በከመ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ወመንግሥቶሙ ፡ <በ>ካልእ ፡ ስም ፡ # 11. ወሶበ ፡ መሠጦ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ስመ ፡ ተከለ ፡ አዕፃወ ፡ |ህየ ፡ ዘይሰመዩ ፡ ብርስያን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ኮኩሕ ፡ # 12. ወዓዲ ፡ ተከሉ ፡ እሎንተ ፡ አትክልተ ፡ ተዝካረ ፡ ለስሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ወፋርሰሂ ፡ ውእቶሙ ፡ | ሶርያ ፡ በዝኩ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ወነግሠ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ፶ወ፫ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ # 13. ወሶበ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ድልቅልቅ ፡ ወፋፃ ፡ ወበዝን ፡ ዝናም ፡ ወመልአ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ በሶርያ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ በዩሪጥስ ፡ በፍጡን ፡ 14. ወረደ ፡ እሳት ፡ ክቡብ ፡ እምሰማይ ፡ ከመ ፡ መብረቅ ፡ # 15. ወአርመሙ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ወነደጉ ፡ ቍጥዓ ፡ ወቆመ ፡ ውሒዘ ፡ ባሕር ፡ # 16. ወሶበ ፡ አስተዕጸበ ፡ ኒሩስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ከመ ፡ እልፈናጥስ ፡ ዘይገብርዎ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ምትሐት ፡ ጋኔናውያን ፡ ወበጊዜሃ ፡ ነደ ፡ እሳት ፡ ወኮነ ፡ የዐቅብዎ ፡ ለዝኩ ፡ እሳት ፡ 17. ወበእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ ወወሰዶ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ አመ ፡ ተመይጦቱ ፡ ወረሰዮ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሶርያ ፡ 18. ወረሰይዎ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ወአክበርዎ ፡ ወሐነጹ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ወሰመይዎ ፡ እሳት ፡ ዘኢይጠፍእ ፡ # | 19. ወለእሳትኒ ፡ ይቤሉ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ዘግልቡብ ፡ በቢረሌ ፡ ወመልክዐ ፡ ቢረሌኒ ፡ ይመስል ፡ ጥ<ጠ> ፡ ዘኅብሩ ፡ ከ|መ ፡ ማይ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘተወልደ ፡ እማይ ፡ ወማእስሉ ፡ አምሳለ ፡ ማይ ፡ #

A69ra  
C109vc  
G49vc  
B53ra  
A69rb  
Z34  
D6 C110ra  
A69rc  
B53rb  
G50v a

APP. CRIT.: 2 ፳፩ ፡] BCDG, ፳፪ ፡ A | ፈተወ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡] αCG, ዘፈተዎ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ D መንግሥተ ፡] αCD, ንጉሠ ፡ G | 3 ኒሩስ ፡] αCG, ኒሩክ ፡ D | 4 ቆሮንቶስ ፡] Σ, ቆሮ{ን}ቶስ ፡ s.l. G 5 መተረ ፡] αDG, መተራ ፡ C | 7 ውስተ ፡] CDG, በውስተ ፡ α | ጸብእ ፡] Σ, i.m. G | 9 ድንግል ፡] Σ, ድ{ን}ግል ፡ s.l. G | መሰግልት ፡] αDG, መሰልት ፡ C | 10 አርአዮሙ ፡] Σ, ወአርአዮሙ ፡ coni. Zot | 12 ኩርኩና ፡] αDG, ኩርኩና ፡ C | ሐረ ፡] αCG, ሶርያ ፡ D | 13 ሂሱርያ ፡] transpositum censeo; hic habent Σ | ሀገረ ፡] coni Zot, ሀገር ፡ Σ | ሂሱርያ ፡] conieci | ወቂልቅያ ፡] αDG, ወቂልቅያ ፡ C | ተጸብእም ፡] αCD, ተጸብእምሙ ፡ G | 14 ኩርኩና ፡] BCG, ኩርኩና ፡ AD | ቂልቅያ ፡] BDG, ቂልቅያ ፡ AC | 15 አንግርሳ ፡] αCG, አንጠርሳ ፡ GZot: እንግርሳ ፡ A | ሰመያ ፡] αCG, ወሰመያ ፡ D, coni. Zot | 16 ካልእ ፡ ... ሰርጣ ፡] Σ, ዓዲ ፡ ቀተሎ ፡ ለሰርጣ ፡ coni. Zot | ባብልሉን ፡] α, ባብሉልን ፡ C, ባብሉን ፡ DG | 18 ወወለጠ ፡] αDG, ወለጠ ፡ C | ወሰመያ ፡ ... ዘውእቶሙ ፡] Σ, ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ሶርያ ፡ coni. Cha (22, n. 2) | 19 በካልእ ፡] coni. Zot, ለካልእ ፡ Σ | መሠጦ ፡] αCG, ወለጠ ፡ D | 20 ዘይሰመዩ ፡] αCG, ዘይሰዩሙ ፡ D | 22 ላዕለ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡] αCG, ላዕለሆሙ ፡ D 23 ዓመተ ፡] αCD, ዐመት ፡ G | ድልቅልቅ ፡] αCG, ድብልቅልቅ ፡ D | 24 ዘሀሎ ፡] CDG, om. α 25 ክቡብ ፡] αCG, ክብር ፡ D | 26 አስተዕጸበ ፡] ACDG, አስተዓፅበ ፡ B | በእንተ ፡] αCD, ዘእንተ ፡ G 27 ጋኔናውያን ፡] αG, ኔናዊያን ፡ C, ጋኔናዊያን ፡ D | 28 ነደ ፡ እሳት ፡] Σ, እምዝኩ ፡ እሳት ፡] አንደደ ፡ coni. Cha (23, n. 1) | ወኮነ ፡] αCG, ወኮነ ፡ D | የዐቅብዎ ፡] Σ, የዐቅቦ ፡ coni. Zot ወበእንተ ፡ ... 32 ነሥአ ፡] Σ, ወለእሳት ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ coni. Cha (23, n. 2) | 30 ፋርስ ፡ አምላክ ፡] αCG, አምላክ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ D | ወአክበርዎ ፡] BCDG, ወአክበርዎ ፡ A | ሎቱ ፡] αDG, om. C | 31 ይቤሉ ፡] αCG, ይቤልዎ ፡ D | 32 በቢረሌ ፡] αCG, በብረሌ ፡ D | ይመስል ፡] αCG, om. D | ይመስል ፡ ጥጠ ፡] conieci, ይመስል ፡ ጥጥ ፡ Σ, ይመስሎ ፡ ለጥጥ ፡ coni. Zot

APP. LECT. MIN.: 9 ሊቁናዊያን ፡] CG, ሊቁናውያን ፡ A, ሊቁናውያን ፡ BD | 12 ኩርኩስት ፡] αDG, ኩርኩስት ፡ C | 20 ኮኩሕ ፡] αDG, ኩኩሕ ፡ C

governors changed their clothes like this and clothed themselves with silk clothes.<sup>151</sup>

Chapter 21. 1. There was one man, named *Nirus* (Perseus).<sup>152</sup> He wished the throne of Assyria. And the children of Ninus, the brother of his father *Nirus* (Zeus), looked askance on him.<sup>153</sup> 2. On his way to *Qorontos*<sup>154</sup> he met a virgin, who went alone. 3. He took her hair, cut off her head with a sword and put it on his shield,<sup>155</sup> according to the magic, his father *Nirus* (Zeus) had taught him. 4. He carried it with him in all battles he went in. 5. When he travelled, he went down to *Ἰλβάρωνά*<sup>156</sup> and returned to Assyria. When Lycaonians warred against him, he took the head of Gorgon, the magical virgin, showed to them and overcame them. 6. And he built a city Iconium - previously it was a small town called Amandra – because he put in front of it a statue (icon) of him with the impure Gorgon.<sup>157</sup> 7. Then he went to the land of Isauria and Cilicia.<sup>158</sup> And they also warred upon him, he overcame them through the magic in the Gorgon’s head. 8. He made the town Andrasus in Cilicia a city and called it Tarsus. 9. From Cilicia he went to Assyria, and there † ... † Sadranapalus, which is a name of dignity.<sup>159</sup> 10. He revolted against his relatives, seized the kingdom, altered the name of the country, and named it Assyria that is Persia after his name and their kingdom <with> another name. 11. When he took away this name, he planted trees there, which are called *bərsəyān* (myrtle) that is plum. 12. They also plant these plants as a commemoration of his name till nowadays. Persians were Assyrians at that time, and he reigned over all of them fifty-three years. 13. When there was an earthquake, hissing, and much rain, the river in Assyria called *Bayurītās* (Orontes), was quickly filled. 14. A fire ball ascended from the sky like a lightning. 15. People kept silent, left the anger, and the flow of the river stopped. 16. And when Perseus was wondering what had happened, he said that Ionians, who performed it (were) demonical magicians.<sup>160</sup> At this time the fire was burning<sup>161</sup> fire and they preserved this fire. 17. Because of that he (Perseus) took it and brought it to Persia on his return, and brought it to the kingdom of Assyria. 18. Persians made it to God, worshipped it and built for it a temple and called it ‘the immortal fire’. 19. And they called this fire the son of the Sun,<sup>162</sup> which is enveloped into a crystal and the form of a crystal resembles cotton, of the color of water, because it was born from water and its core is like water.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 2.9 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 15-16). | <sup>152</sup> According to Zotenberg, *Nirus* is a misreading of the Arabic which is in itself a corruption of . | <sup>153</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 2.14: ‘He was jealous of the children of Ninus, his uncle, his father’s brother’ (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 17). <sup>154</sup> For Zotenberg’s interpretation see Zotenberg 1883, 249, n. 2. Charles leaves the word transliterated. According to John Malalas 2.14, Perseus went to Libya (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 17). | <sup>155</sup> Nöldeke proposes to translate the word ἰβάρωνά rather as ‘Tasche’ (Nöldeke 1883, 1373). | <sup>156</sup> Zotenberg identifies this toponym with Ethiopia (Zotenberg 1883, 249, n. 5). | <sup>157</sup> In this verse the origin of the city’s name is explained. | <sup>158</sup> Charles interprets the passage as follows: ‘to Isauria, a city of Cilicia’ (Charles 1916, 22). However, Isauria, is a district, not a city. | <sup>159</sup> This passage remains obscure. I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg. | <sup>160</sup> The passage remains obscure. For the interpretation by Charles, see Charles 1916, 22-23, n. 4. I follow the manuscripts and translate the text wordly. | <sup>161</sup> Cp. with *John Malalas* 2. 20 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 19). | <sup>162</sup> In *John Malalas* 1.3 another ball of fire is mentioned, which was called son of the sun (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 3). Probably this passage is a result of merging of two different accounts. | <sup>163</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 2.14-2.20 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 17-19).

APP. PUNCT.: 2 ḫḫ ፣ # G | 5 ባሕቲታ ፣ # D | በሰይፍ ፣ # D | 7 ኒሩስ ፣ # D | ጸብእ ፣ # B  
 ዘየሐውር ፣ # αDG | 8 ኀበ ፣ # G | ሰርያ ፣ # C | 9 መሰግልት ፣ # D | 11 ቅድመ ፣ # BC  
 12 ኩርኩና ፣ # Σ | 13 ወቁልቅያ ፣ # BCG | 14 ኩርኩና ፣ # αCD | 15 አንጣርሳ ፣ # D | ጠርሱስ ፣ #  
 # Σ | 16 ሻም ፣ # D | 17 ሢመት ፣ # CD | 18 ሀገር ፣ # CD | 19 ስም ፣ # BCDG | 20 ከኩሕ ፣ #  
 # BCDG | 22 ዘመን ፣ # BCDG | 23 ዓመተ ፣ # AC, 1 B | 24 በፍጡን ፣ # D | 25 መብረቅ ፣ #  
 # Σ | 26 ባሕር ፣ # Σ | 27 ጋኔናውያን ፣ # A | 28 እሳት ፣ # D | 30 ወአክበርዎ ፣ # D  
 31 ዘአይጠፍእ ፣ # Σ | 34 ማይ ፣ # 1 C, # # D

ክፍል ፡ ፳፪ ፡ 1. አንድኛው ፡ ዘአምነገደ ፡ ያፌት ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኖኅ ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምዕራብ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ አርጅዮን ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ 2. አክበራ ፡ ለወርኅ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ አምላክ ። 3. ወሐነጸ ፡ መዲና ፡ በሀገረ ፡ አርጅዮን ። በሰመ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡ ናቡሊስ ፡ እስመ ፡ አርጅናዊያን ፡ ሰመይዋ ፡ ለወርኅ ፡ በምሥጢር ፡ ኅቡእ ፡ ዩ ፡ እስከ ፡ ዮም ። 4. ወሐነጸ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ወአቀመ ፡ ባቲ ፡ ምሥዋዐ ፡ ወገብረ ፡ <ለ>ወርኅ ፡ ሥዕለ ፡ ብርት ፡ ወጸሐፈ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡ ዮም ፡ ካራ ፡ ዘበትርንጫሁ ፡ ብሂል ፡ ምሉአ ፡ ማኅቶት ።

C110rb

ክፍል ፡ ፳፫ ፡ 1. ወሉንያስ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ቢክስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ እማ ፡ ቀሉንያ ፡ ወኮነት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ቡሲጦን ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ በሰሜን ፡ 2. ወሰመያ ፡ ለሀገር ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ ባቲ ፡ በሰመ ፡ ሉንያ ፡ ብእሲቱ ። ወእምኔሃ ፡ | ወለደ ፡ ቡሲጦን ፡ ወሉቢህ ፡ ወአክባኑሩስ ፡ በከነአን ። 3. ወዝንቱ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ዘሰማ ፡ ዲሩ ። ወሐነጸ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ በሰመ ፡ ብእሲቱ ፡ ደይሩስ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ጢሮስ ። 4. ወሶበ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ በህየ ፡ | ወወለደ ፡ እምኔሃ ፡ ፫ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ስሙያ <ነ> ፡ ወሠራዕያ <ነ> ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ አውሩን ፡ † ወቂልቅያ ፡ † ወቀብ ኒክስ ፡ ዘአቅደመ ፡ ለቢስ ፡ ሐሪር ፡ 5. ወአይመ ፡ ይመውት ፡ ከፈሎሙ ፡ ለ፫ ፡ ደቂቁ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ ለምድር ፡ ትትአዘዝ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ 6. ወቀብኒክስ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ ለከ ነአን ፡ ወለኩሉ ፡ አድያሚሃ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ፋትኒኪ ፡ በሰሙ ። 7. ወዳማዊ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ ለኻም ፡ ወሰመየ ፡ ስሞ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ። 8. † ወቀብኒክስ ፡ † ሣልሳይ ፡ አንዝ ፡ አድያሚሁ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ በሰሙ ፡ ቂልቅያ ።

A69va

Z35

B53rc

ክፍል ፡ | ፳፬ ፡ 1. ወኮነ ፡ ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘሰሙ ፡ ጡሩስ ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ በቀርጤስ ፡ ወሐረ ፡ | ወበጽሐ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ጢሮስ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ዕርብተ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ወጸብአ ፡ ወተኸለ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡ ወነሥአ ፡ ብዕላ ፡ ወብዙኅተ ፡ አህገራ ፡ ዪወወ ፡ 2. ወበዝንቱ ፡ ምክንያት ፡ ነሥአ ፡ ለአውራቢ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ ብእሲተ ። ወሶበ ፡ ወዕአ ፡ እምባሕር ፡ | በሌሊት ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀገሩ ፡ ጠርሱስ ፡ ቀርጤስ ፡ ነሢአ ፡ ብእሲቶ ፡ አውራቢ ። ወሰመያ ፡ ለይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ በሰመ ፡ ብእሲቱ ፡ 3. ወሐነጸ ፡ ሀገረ ፡

C110rc

G50vb

D7

A69vb

APP. CRIT.: 2 ፳፪ ፡] BCDG, ፳፫ ፡ A | 4 መዲና ፡] αCG, መካና ፡ D | አርጅዮን ።] αCG, አር ጅደን ፡ D | 5 ሰመይዋ ፡] αD, ሰመይዎ ፡ CG | 6 ዩ ፡] αCG, om. D | ዮም ።] αCD, ዮሙ ፡ G | ቤተ ፡] αCG, ቤት ፡ D | 7 ለወርኅ ፡] conici, ወርኅ ፡ Σ | 8 ዮም ፡ ካራ ፡] Σ, ዮ ፡ ምካራ ፡ coni. Zot | 10 ፳፫ ፡] B CDG, ፳፬ ፡ A | 11 ወኮነት ፡] αCG, ኮነት ፡ D | 12 ወለደ ፡] αDG, ወልደ ፡ C | ቡሲጦን ፡] CDG, ቡሲጦንሃ ፡ α | 13 ወሉቢህ ፡] αCG, ወሉቢህሃ ፡ D | ወአክባኑሩስ ፡] αCG, ወአክባኑሩስ ፡ B, ወአክባኑሩስሃ ፡ D, ዘሐረ ፡ add. coni. Zot | ወዝንቱ ፡] ... 18 ዲሩ ።] αDG, om. C | 14 ወሐነጸ ፡] αCG, ሐነጸ ፡ D | 15 ወወለደ ፡] αCG, ወለደ ፡ D | 16 ስሙያን ፡] ወሠራዕያን ፡] coni. Zot, ስሙያን ፡] ወሠራዕያን ፡ αCG, ስሙያን ፡] ወሠራዕያን ፡ D | ወቂልቅያ ፡] αCD, ወቂልቂያ ፡ G | 17 ዘአቅደመ ፡] BCDG, ዘአቅድመ ፡ A | 18 ወቀብኒክስ ፡] αC, ወቀብኒክስ ፡ DG | ነሥአ ፡] ACDG, ነሥአ ፡ B | 19 አድያሚሃ ፡] CDG, አድያሚያ ፡ α | 20 ወሰመየ ፡] CDG, ወሰመያ ፡ α | ወቀብኒክስ ፡] αCG, ወአብሩን ፡ D, ወቂሊክስ ፡ coni. Zot | 21 አድያሚሁ ፡] coni. Zot, አድያሚሃ ፡ Σ | ቂልቅያ ።] αCD, ቂልቂያ ፡ G 23 ፳፬ ፡] BDG, ፳፭ ፡ A, ፲፬ C | በቀርጤስ ፡] ΣZot: ወቀርጤስ ፡ A | 24 ወሐረ ፡] αCG, ሐረ ፡ D ወተኸለ ፡] αCG, ወኃየለ ፡ D | 26 ብእሲተ ።] BCDG, ብእሲቱ ፡ A, ብእሲቶ ፡ coni. Zot 27 ወሐረ ፡] αC, ወሐሩ ፡ DG | ሀገሩ ፡] αDG, ሀገረ ፡ C | ጠርሱስ ፡] αDG, ጠርጡስ ፡ C | ቀርጤስ ፡] ACD, ወቂርጤስ ፡ G, ወቁርጤስ ፡ B

APP. LECT. MIN.: 5 አርጅናዊያን ፡] CG, አርጅናውያን ፡ αD | 15 ፫ ፡] ACDG, ሠለስተ ፡ B 17 ለ፫ ፡] ACD, ለሠለስቱ ፡ B, ለ፫ቱ ፡ G

APP. PUNCT.: 2 ፳፪ ፡] # D | 4 አምላክ ።] # Σ | አርጅዮን ።] # Σ | 5 ናቡሊስ ፡] # D | 6 ዮም ።] # Σ 8 ማኅቶት ።] # αCG, # # D | 10 ፳፫ ፡] # D | ቢክስ ፡] # C | 11 በሰሜን ፡] # D | 12 ብእሲቱ ።] # Σ | 13 በከነአን ።] # BCDG | 14 ዲሩ ።] (om. C) # αG | 15 ጢሮስ ።] # Σ | 17 ሐሪር ፡] # D 18 ሎሙ ፡] # D | 19 በሰሙ ።] # BCDG | 20 ላዕሌሃ ።] # Σ | 21 ቂልቅያ ።] # αCG, # # D 23 ፳፬ ፡] # G | 25 ላዕሌሃ ፡] # D | 26 ብእሲተ ።] # BCDG | 28 አውራቢ ።] # BCDG

Chapter 22. 1. Inachus, of the tribe of Japhet, son of Noah, who reigned in the East in the land of Argives,<sup>164</sup> was the first to reign over this land. 2. He worshipped the moon and made her goddess. 3. He built a city in the land of Argives, which is called after the name of the moon Iopolis, because the people of Argives call the moon Io secretly till nowadays. 4. And he built a house, performed sacrifices in it and created a brazen image for moon and wrote on it *yomākārā*<sup>165</sup> that means ‘full of light’.<sup>166</sup>

Chapter. 23. 1. Libya, - the daughter of Picus and her mother (was) *Qalunāyā*,<sup>167</sup> - was the wife of Poseidon, who reigned in the north (*samen*). 2. And he (Poseidon) named the country, over which he reigned, after his wife’s name Libya. Poseidon<sup>168</sup> begot by her †*Walubih* (Belus)†<sup>169</sup> and †*Akbānurus*<sup>170</sup> (Agenor),<sup>171</sup> in Canaan.<sup>172</sup> 3. The last, when he took him a wife named Tyro, he built also a city and called it after the name of his wife *Dayrus*, that is Tyre. 4. When he reigned there, he begot by her three children illustrious ones and legislators - †*Awārun*, † *Qilqayā* (Cilix) † and *Qabnikās* (Phoenix), who was the first to wear silk.<sup>173</sup> 5. When he was about to die, he gave a share to his three children and put the land under their rule. 6. *Qabnikās* (Phoenix) took Canaan and all its provinces and called it *Futuniki* (Pheonicia) after his name. 7. The second one took Syria and gave it his name.<sup>174</sup> 8. And † *Qabnikās* (Phoenix) †, the third one, received his provinces and named it after his name *Qilqayā* (Cilicia).<sup>175</sup>

Chapter 24. 1. There was one man named Taurus, who reigned in Crete, he left it and came to Tyre on sunset, he made war, overcame it and took its riches and captured many cities. 2. On this occasion he took †*Awārabi* (Europe) and made her wife. When he came from the sea at night, he went to his land Tarsus and Crete<sup>176</sup> together with his wife †*Awārabi* (Europe), and he named this land after his wife’s name. 3. He built a city there and named it

<sup>164</sup>This toponym was taken from the translation by Charles and causes some problems (Charles 1916, 23-24). I was not able to identify a precise toponym behind this term. Zotenberg does not make any difference between the toponym **ⲁⲚⲀⲚⲉⲛⲓ** and the ethnonym **ⲁⲚⲀⲚⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ** and thus translates both of them ‘Argiviens’ (Zotenberg 1883, 251). | <sup>165</sup>Transliteration of Ἴω μάκαιρα (Charles 1916, 24). | <sup>166</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 2.7 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 13-14). | <sup>167</sup>According to *John Malalas* 2.8, her mother was Io (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 14). My translation here is rather free. The text reads wordly: ‘with her mother *Qalunāyā*. *Qalunāyā* might be a misunderstanding of the Arabic (*fa-lunya*). | <sup>168</sup>Zotenberg and Charles render the name Poseidon as being a name of a son (Zotenberg 1883, 251; Charles 1916, 24). <sup>169</sup>The rendering of this proper name is problematic. I propose that the initial *wa* has been inserted later either into the Arabic version or even into the Ethiopic text, due to misunderstanding that Poseidon here refers to the father of Belus, and not to his brother. The *h* at the end might be explained through a confusion of  $\varsigma$  with a cursive  $\tau$  in Coptic. As for the reverse position of *bi* and *lu*, a copyists’s lapsus in the Ethiopic version is probable. However, this explanation is not very plausible. | <sup>170</sup>According to Crum this proper name contains traces of Coptic (Crum 1917, 207). | <sup>171</sup>According to *John Malalas* 2.8, Poseidon had three sons named Agenor, Belos and Enyalios (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 14). | <sup>172</sup>The conjecture by Zotenberg corresponds to the text of *John Malalas* 2.8 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 14). However, I don’t follow it, but the readings of manuscripts. | <sup>173</sup>The passage is very confused. Zotenberg and Charles identify the name †*Awārun* with Syros (Zotenberg 1883, 251; Charles 1916, 24). This corruption might be explained through a mistaken reading of  $\text{C}\rho\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$  for  $\text{O}\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$ . Alternately it should be associated with Europe. However, Syros is referred to in 23.7. The name of Cilix is corrupt as well; this form is rather used for Cilicia throughout the text, as well as in this Chapter (23.8). Cp. *John Malalas* 2.8: ‘So he reigned there and had sons by Tyro - Kadmos, Phoenix, Syros and Kilix - and a daughter, whom he named Europe’ (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 15). On the invention of silk by Phoenix, see Chapter 20.2. | <sup>174</sup>In this case Syros is probably meant. | <sup>175</sup>The text is confused, the dominion of Phoenix is meant above, in 23.6. Here the text should rather read ‘Cilix’. However, the conjecture proposed by Zotenberg does not seem to me to be appropriate: he uses an invented form of the name attested nowhere in the text. Cp. *John Malalas* 2.8 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 14-15). | <sup>176</sup>See Charles 1913, 24, n. 8

በህየ፡ ወሰመያ፡ ቅርጢና፡ በሰመ፡ እሙ፡ ። ወኮነ፡ ዝንቱ፡ እምነ፡ ዘመደ፡ ቢኩስ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ቢሩስ፡ ።

5 ክፍል፡ ፳፭፡ ወሀሎ፡ ፩፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘሰሙ፡ ላዩን፡ አ<በ>፡ ወይካ፡ ወሶበ፡ ነጻረ፡ ከመ፡ ወልዱ፡ ተደመረ፡ ምስለ፡ እሙ፡ ወአዘዞሙ፡ ለሐራሁ፡ ከመ፡ ይስ ቅልዎ፡ ዲበ፡ ዕፅ፡ ወይምትሩ፡ አዕጹቂሁ፡ ከመ፡ ይጽናዕ፡ ቦቱ፡ እገሪሁ፡ ለዘተ ሰቅለ፡ ።

10 ክፍል፡ ፳፮፡ 1. ወሀሎ፡ ፩፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘሰሙ፡ ሰሮኸ፡ እምነገደ፡ ያፌት፡ ወልደ፡ ኖኅ፡ 2. አስተርአየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ቅድመ፡ እምእለ፡ ያመልኩ፡ ጣዖተ፡ በምግባረ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ወአቀመ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ለጣዖት፡ ወተቀንዮሙ፡ ።

B53va

15 ክፍል፡ ፳፯፡ 1. ወአስተርአየ፡ > መልክ፡ ጼዴቅ፡ ንጹሕ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ኮነ፡ እምነ፡ | አሕዛብ፡ ወተቀንዮ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወድንግል፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘእ ንበለ፡ እከይ፡ 2. ወሰመዮ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ አብ፡ ወእም፡ በእንተ፡ ዘኢኮነ፡ እምነገደ፡ አብርሃም፡ 3. ወጸልአ፡ አግልክተ፡ አቡሁ፡ ወረሰየ፡ ርእሶ፡ ካህነ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ሕያው፡ 4. ተ ወሶበ፡ ተ ወፅአ፡ እምነገደ፡ ሲዱ፡ ወልደ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ምስር፡ ወኖባ፡ <ዘትበሀሉ፡ > በእንቲአሁ፡ ምስራቂያን፡ ። 5. እስመ፡ መልክ፡ ጼዴቅ፡ ብሂል፡ ንጉሠ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ። 6. እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ካህን፡ ነግሠ፡ ላዕለ፡ ከነአን፡ ውእቱ፡ እምዘመድ፡ ጽኑዕ፡ ። ወምስራቂያን፡ ይሰምይዎ፡ ከመዝ፡ በእንተ፡ ከነዓናቂያን፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ሀገረ፡ ፍልስጥኤም፡ እስከ፡ ይእዜ፡ ። 7. ወሶበ፡ ተጽብአሙ፡ ተቀንዮ፡ ሎቱ፡ ። ወሶበ፡ አሥመርዎ፡ ኅደረ፡ ውስቲታ፡ ሐነጸ፡ ሀገረ፡ ወሰመያ፡ በሰሙ፡ ሳይዳ፡ እስከ፡ ይእዜ፡ ትትኃለቀ፡ በከነአን፡ ። 8. እስመ፡ አቡሁ፡ ለመልክ፡ ጼዴቅ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘወፅአ፡ እምሳይዳ፡ አእመርነ፡ ከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ልደቱ፡ ወኮነ፡ አቡሁ፡ መምለኬ፡ ጣዖት፡ ወእሙኒ፡ ። ወዝንቱ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ኮነ፡ ይዛለፎሙ፡ ለአቡሁ፡ ወለእሙ፡ በእንተ፡ አምልኮ፡ ጣዖት፡ ። 9. ወእምዝ፡ ጐየ፡ ወኮነ፡ ካህነ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ሕያው፡ በከመ፡ ተብሀለ፡ ነግሠ፡ ላዕለ፡ ከነአን፡ ወሐነጸ፡ | ሀገረ፡ በኅልጎታ፡ ዘትሰመይ፡ ጽዮን፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ሳሌም፡ ዘትርጓሜ፡ ስማ፡ በልሳነ፡ ዕብራቂያን፡ ሀገረ፡ ሰላም፡ 10. ወነግሠ፡ በውስቲታ፡ ፻፲፱፡ ዓመተ፡ ወሞተ፡ በድንግልናሁ፡ ወጽድቁ፡ በከመ፡ ጸሐፊ፡ ዮሴፍ፡ ጠቢብ፡ ጸሐፊ፡ ዜና፡ በጥንተ፡ መጽሐፉ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ዜና፡ አይሁድ፡ 11. እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ቀደመ፡ <ያቀርብ፡ > መሥዋዕተ፡ ለአምላክ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወቀርባናተ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ደም፡ እምነ፡ ኅብስት፡ ወወይን፡ በአምሳለ፡ ምሥጢራት፡ ቅዱሳት፡ እንተ፡ ዘለእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በከመ፡ ዘመረ፡ ዳዊት፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ አንተ፡ ካህኑ፡ ለዓለም፡ በከመ፡ ሢመቱ፡ ለመልክ፡ ጼዴቅ፡ ። 12. ወዓዲ፡ ይቤ፡ አስተርአየ፡ እግዚአ

Z36

C110va

A69vc

G50vc

A70ra

C110vb

B53vb

D8

APP. CRIT.: 1 ቅርጢና፡ ።] αC, ቀርጢና፡ D, ቀርጢና፡ G | 2 ቢኩስ፡ ።] αCG, ቤኩክ፡ D | 4 ፳፭፡ ።] B CDG, ፳፮፡ A | አበ፡ ወይካ፡ ።] conieci, አቡወይካ፡ αDG, አቡይካ፡ C, አቡ፡ ወይካ፡ coni. Zot, ወልደ፡ ለብደኮስ፡ coni. Cha (25, n. 2) | 6 ወይምትሩ፡ ።] αCG, ወይመትሩ፡ D | አዕጹቂሁ፡ ።] DG, coni. Zot, አዕጹቂሁሙ፡ αC | 9 ፳፮፡ ።] BCDG, ፳፯፡ A | 13 ፳፯፡ ።] BCDG, ፳፰፡ A ወአስተርአየ፡ ።] coni. Cha (25., n. 3), አስተርአየተ፡ ።] Σ | 14 እምነ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ።] αCG, እምአሕዛብ፡ D ወድንግል፡ ።] Σ, ወድ{ን}ግል፡ ።] s.l. G | 15 ወሰመዮ፡ ።] CDG, coni. Zot, ወሰመየ፡ α | አብ፡ ወእም፡ ።] α DG, አበ፡ ወእመ፡ C | 17 ወሶበ፡ ወፅአ፡ ።] Σ, ወፅአ፡ coni. Zot | 18 ዘትበሀሉ፡ ።] coni. Zot, ዘንተ፡ (ዝንቱ፡ C) ዘይቤሉ፡ ።] Σ | 19 ካህን፡ ...23 ነግሠ፡ ።] Σ, ሲዱ፡ ዘነግሠ፡ coni. Zot | 20 ውእቱ፡ ።] αCG, ወውእቱ፡ D | 21 በእንተ፡ ።] Σ, add. ሀገረ፡ coni. Zot | 22 ተቀንዮ፡ ።] αCD, ተቀንዮ፡ G | 23 ሐነጸ፡ ።] Σ, ወሐነ፡ coni. Zot | ትትኃለቀ፡ ።] αD, ትትኅለቀ፡ C, ትትኅለቀ፡ G | 24 በእንተ፡ ።] αCG, እንተ፡ D | 26 ወእሙኒ፡ ።] BCDG, ወእሙነ፡ ።] A | 27 አምልኮ፡ ።] αDG, አምልክ፡ C | ጐየ፡ ።] αCG, ጐዬ፡ D | 28 ነግሠ፡ ።] Σ, ወነግሠ፡ coni. Zot | ሀገረ፡ ።] Σ, ላዕለ፡ add. D | 30 በውስቲታ፡ ።] αCD, ውስቲታ፡ G | በድንግልናሁ፡ ።] Σ, በድ{ን}ግልናሁ፡ ።] s.l. G | 31 ጸሐፊ፡ ።] αDG, ጸሐፊ፡ C 32 ያቀርብ፡ ።] coni. Zot

APP. LECT. MIN.: 18 ምስራቂያን፡ ።] CG, ምስራቂያን፡ αD | 20 ወምስራቂያን፡ ።] CG, ወምስራቂያን፡ α, ወምስራቂያን፡ D | 21 ከነዓናቂያን፡ ።] CG, ከነዓናቂያን፡ αD | 28 በኅልጎታ፡ ።] αCG, በኅልጎታ፡ D | 29 ዕብራቂያን፡ ።] CG, ዕብራቂያን፡ αD | 33 ወቀርባናተ፡ ።] αCG, ወቀርባናተ፡ D 34 ዘለእግዚእነ፡ ።] αCD, ዘለ፡ እግዚእነ፡ G

Qərṭinā (Gortyna) after his mother’s name. And he was from the tribe of Picus, that is *Birus*<sup>177</sup> (Zeus).<sup>178</sup>

Chapter 25. There was one man named *Lāyūn* (Laius), <father> of *Waykā* (Iokkas).<sup>179</sup> When he saw that his son had intercourse with his mother, he commanded his soldiers to suspend him on a tree and to cut off its brunches so that the feet of the suspended one, were fixed.<sup>180</sup>

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Chapter 26. 1. There was one man named Seruch from the tribe of Japhet, son of Noah. 2. He appeared to be the first one of those, who worshipped idols through the action of Satan. He set up altars for the idols and served them.<sup>181</sup>

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Chapter 27. 1. The pure Melchizedek <appeared>, indeed he was a Gentile, he served God and was a chaste without wrongdoing. 2. The Holy Scripture proclaimed that he was without father and mother, because he was not of the tribe of Abraham. 3. He hated the gods of his father and made himself a priest of the living God. 4. † ...†<sup>182</sup> he descended from the tribe of Sidus, son of the king of Egypt and Nubia, after whom the Egyptians <are named.> 5. Indeed, Melchizedek means ‘the king of righteousness’. 6. This priest (Sidus) reigned over Canaan and he was from a powerful tribe. The Egyptians named him so because of the Canaanites, which is till nowadays the land of Palestine.<sup>183</sup> 7. When he warred against them, they subjected to him. While they were pleased with him, he dwelt there, built a city and named it after his name Sidon, which is reckoned in Canaan till nowadays. 8. Indeed, concerning the father of Melchizedek, who left Sidon, we have learnt what his origin was. His father was an idolater, as well as his mother. And this holy man (Melchizedek) quarreled with his father and his mother concerning idolatry. 9. Thereafter he fled and became a priest of the living God, as it is told. He reigned over Canaan and built a city on Golgotha, which is called Zion, that is Salem, and it means in the Hebrew language ‘a city of peace’. 10. He reigned there for one hundred and thirteen years and died in chastity and righteousness, as the wise *Yosef* (Josephus), a chronicler, wrote at the beginning of his book, that is the History of Jews.<sup>184</sup> 11. Indeed he was the first <to offer> sacrifices to God of heaven and a bloodless oblation of bread and vine in a likeness of the Holy Mysteries of Our Lord Jesus Christ. As David sung saying: ‘You are His priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek.’<sup>185</sup> 12. He also said:

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<sup>177</sup> According to Crum, this form of the proper name contain traces of a Coptic article (Crum 1917, 208). | <sup>178</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 2.8 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 15). | <sup>179</sup> Charles proposes here another emendation and interpretation: ‘hence the whole word may be a corrupt form of Labdachus, the father of Laius. Then read (ⲱⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ) ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ: “son of Labdachus”’ (Charles 1916, 25, n. 2). I propose another emendation, which is, however, vague for the form ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ might also have been created through misinterpretation of the Arabic *Vorlage*. | <sup>180</sup> The translation of this passage causes problems. Cp. *John Malalas* 2.36 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 24). | <sup>181</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 2.43 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 26). | <sup>182</sup> I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg, who just deletes the word ⲱⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ. Although I can’t provide any proper translation, it seems possible that the usage of ⲱⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ might refer to a certain construction in the Arabic *Vorlage*. | <sup>183</sup> The passage is not very clear. Charles proposes the following emendation and translation: ‘and the Egyptians so named him because of <the land of> the Canaanites, which is the land of Palestine until this day’. However, I do not think that this conjecture solves the problem. I would rather suggest that there is a dittography in this passage. Cp. *John Malalas* 3.2 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 28). | <sup>184</sup> *Jewish Antiquities* by Flavius Josephus. Same reference in *John Malalas*, 3.2 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 28). | <sup>185</sup> Ps. 100: 4.

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ⲛⲱⲣ ⲛ] # D | ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # αG, ̅ C | 2 ⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # Σ | 4 ⲱⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ] ̅ G | 6 ⲱⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ] # D | ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # C | ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # Σ | 9 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # G | 10 ⲱⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # D | 11 ⲱⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # αCG, # # D | 13 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # G | 15 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # D | ⲱⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ] # D | 17 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # DG | 18 ⲱⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ] # Σ | 19 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # Σ | 20 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # Σ | ⲉⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # G | 22 ⲉⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # αDG | ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # αCG | 24 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # BCDG | 25 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # G | ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # D | 26 ⲱⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ] # Σ | 27 ⲱⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ] ̅ C | 29 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # A | 32 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # G | 35 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # Σ | 36 ⲁⲛⲓⲗⲏⲛ ⲛ] # Σ

ብሔር ፡ በጽዮን ፡ ወዐቢይ ፡ ስሙ ፡ በእስራኤል ፡ ወነበረ ፡ በሰላም ፡ ብሔር ፡  
 ወማኅደሩሂ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጽዮን ። እስመ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ እምነ ፡ አብርሃም ፡ አእመሩ ፡  
 አእምሮተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። 13. ወሳሌምሰ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ | ትሰመይ ፡ ኢየሩ  
 ሳሌም ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘኅደረ ፡ | ሰላም ፡ በጽዮን ፡ ዘውእቲ ፡ መልክ ፡ ጼዴቅ ። 14. ወተ  
 ሰምዮተ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ዕብራዊያን ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኤቦር ፡ ዘወፅአ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ አብ  
 ርሃም ፡ ንዋይ ፡ ኅሩይ ። 15. ወበእንተ ፡ ዘሐነጹ ፡ ማኅፈደ ፡ ዓላዊያነ ፡ እግዚአ  
 ብሔር ፡ | ወጸመዉ ፡ ከንቶ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ኅለዩ ፡ እኩዩ ፡ ወዔቦርሰ ፡ ኢኅብረ ፡ ምስ  
 ሌሆሙ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ ዓቀበ ፡ ልቡናሁ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ጽነት ፡ 16.  
 ወአመ ፡ ተዘርዎተ ፡ ልሳናቲሆሙ ፡ ተርፈ ፡ ዔቦር ፡ ባሕቲቲ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ተወ  
 ልጦተ ፡ ቃሉ ፡ በዳኅና ፡ ወጥዲና ። 7. ወሰብእሰ ፡ እለ ፡ መጽኡ ፡ | እምድኅሬሁ ፡  
 አኅዙ ፡ ነገረ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ዘተናገረ ፡ ቦቲ ፡ አዳም ። ወበእንተዝ ፡ ተሰምዩ ፡ ዕብራ  
 ዊያን ፡ ወነገሮሙ ፡ ዕብራኒ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳፰ ፡ 1. ወሀሎ ፡ ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ አንስተርጣስ ፡ እምነገደ ፡ ያፌት ፡  
 ወልደ ፡ ኖኅ ፡ 2. ውእቲ ፡ ዘረከበ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ሐነፋዊያን ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ወመሀረ ፡  
 መጽሐፈ ፡ ውእቲ ። 3. ተብህለ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ኮነ ፡ በዘመነ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡  
 ምስር ፡ ወነበረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሊድያ ፡ እስመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ፍልሱፍ ፡ እምደቂቀ ፡ |  
 ያርብሐዊያን ፡ እምነገደ ፡ ያፌት ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ አንዲምያኖስ ። 4. ተብህለ ፡ ጸለዩ ፡  
 ውእቲ ፡ በኅቡእ ፡ ለወርኅ ፡ ወይቤሉ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ተምሀረ ፡ እምነበ ፡  
 ወርኅ ፡ ስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በራእይ ። 5. ወሶበ ፡ ሐረ ፡ ፩ደ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ስምዐ ፡  
 ስመ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወበጊዜሃ ፡ ገደፈ ፡ ነፍሶ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ምውተ ፡ ወኢተንሥአ ፡ 6.  
 ወሥጋሁ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ዕቁብ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ሊድያ ፡ እስከ ፡ ዮም ፡ ወይሬእይዎ ፡ ኩሉ ፡  
 ሰብእ ፡ በበዓመት ፡ ሶበ ፡ ፈትሑ ፡ አስከሬነ ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ | ውስቴቲ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፳፱ ፡ 1. ተብህለ ፡ በዘመነ ፡ ኢያሱ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ነዌ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሀገረ ፡  
 እንዲካ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ አውዲክጡን ፡ ኮነ ፡ ማየ ፡ አይኅ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ውስተ ፡  
 ይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ በባሕቲታ ። ወተሀጉለ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወእለ ፡ ዮኅድሩ ፡  
 ውስቴታ ፡ 2. ወኮነት ፡ በድወ ፡ ወኢየኅድር ፡ መኑሂ ፡ ኅቤሃ ፡ መጠነ ፡ ፪፻፴፯ ፡  
 ዓመት ፡ በከመ ፡ ጸሐፎ ፡ ፊርክያኑስ ፡ በመጽሐፈ ፡ አዝማን ። |

ክፍል ፡ ፴ ፡ 1. ወበመዋዕለ ፡ ሙሴ ፡ ሠራዒ ፡ ገብረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘኮነ ፡  
 መርሐ ፡ ለፀአተ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ እምነ ፡ ምስር ፡ <ኮነ ፡> ባዲሳንዩስ ፡  
 ዘውእቲ ፡ አሙስዩስ ፡ ፈርዖን ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ምስር ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ በተራድኦተ ፡  
 <መሠርያነ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡> ኢያኔስ ፡ ወኢያንበሬስ ፡ ዘገብሩ ፡ ኅፍረተ ፡ በቅድመ ፡

APP. CRIT.: 2 ወማኅደሩሂ ፡] ወማኅደሩሂ ፡ C | 3 ትሰመይ ፡] BCDG, ኢትሰመይ ፡ A | ትሰመይ ፡  
 ኢየሩሳሌም ፡] Σ, ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ con. Zot | 4 ሰላም ፡] αCD, ሰላም ፡ G | 6 ዓላዊያነ ፡] C,  
 ዓላውያን ፡ α, ዓላውያነ ፡ D, con. Zot, ዓላዊያን ፡ G | 7 ኅለዩ ፡] αCD, ሀለዉ ፡ G | 9 ተወልጦተ ፡] C,  
 ተፈልጦተ ፡ α, ተወልጦ ፡ DG | 10 ወጥዲና ፡] αCD, ወበጥዲና ፡ G | 11 ቦቲ ፡] con. Zot, ቦሙ ፡  
 Σ | 12 ወነገሮሙ ፡] αCG, ወነገሮሙኒ ፡ D | 14 ፳፰ ፡] BCDG, ፳፱ ፡ A | አንስተርጣስ ፡] αCD, አንስ  
 ተርጣስ ፡ G | 16 መጽሐፈ ፡] αCD, መጽሐፈ ፡ G | ውእቲ ፡...21 ፍልሱፍ ፡] ውእቲ ፡ ኮነ ፡ በዘመነ ፡  
 ነገሥተ ፡ ምስር ፡ (ምድር ፡ α, ምስቀር ፡ D) ወነበረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሊድያ ፡ (ሊዲያ ፡ D) እስመ ፡ ኮነ ፡  
 ውእቲ ፡ ፍልሱፍ ፡ Σ, በዘመነ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ ምስር ፡ ነበረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሊድያ ፡ ፍልሱፍ ፡ con. Zot  
 18 ያርብሐዊያን ፡] αCG, ያብርብሐውያን ፡ D | 19 ወይቤሉ ፡] αDG, ወይቤሎ ፡ C | እምነበ ፡] Σ,  
 {እምነገብ ፡ s.l. G | 21 ስመ ፡] BDG, ከመ ፡ A, እስመ ፡ C | ቅዱስ ፡] BCDG, ቅዱስ ፡ A | 22 ዕቁብ ፡] α  
 CG, ዕቁብ ፡ D | እስከ ፡ ዮም ፡] con. Cha (27, n. 5), praem. ወሥጋሁ ፡ Σ | ኩሉ ፡...27 ሰብእ ፡] α  
 CG, om. D | 23 አስከሬነ ፡] con. Zot, አስከሬነ ፡ Σ | 25 ፳፱ ፡] BCDG, ፴ ፡ A | ወልደ ፡] Σ, (ወል)ደ ፡  
 i.m. G | 26 ኮነ ፡] Σ, ወኮነ ፡ con. Zot | ውስተ ፡] αDG, ውእቲ ፡ C | 27 ሀገር ፡] BCDG, ሀገረ ፡ A  
 28 ፪፻፴፯ ፡] Σ, ፪፻፺ ፡ Zot | 29 በከመ ፡] BCDG, ዘከመ ፡ A | ጸሐፎ ፡] αDG, ጸሐፈ ፡ C | 31 ፴ ፡] BC  
 D, ፴፩ ፡ A, ፳፯ ፡ G | 32 ኮነ ፡] con. Zot, በመዋዕለ ፡ Σ | ባዲሳንዩስ ፡] BCDG, ባዲሳንዩስ ፡ A  
 33 ዘነግሠ ፡] Σ, ወነግሠ ፡ con. Zot | 34 መሠርያነ ፡] መጽሐፍ ፡] መጽሐፈ ፡ መሠርያነ ፡ Σ | ኢያኔስ ፡] α  
 αDG, ኢያኔስ ፡ C | ወኢያንበሬስ ፡] αDG, ኢያንበሬስ ፡ C | ዘገብሩ ፡] CDG, ዘገብረ ፡ α

APP. LECT. MIN.: 5 ዕብራዊያን ፡] CG, ዕብራውያን ፡ αD | 11 ዕብራዊያን ፡] CG, ዕብራውያን ፡ α  
 D | 15 ሐነፋዊያን ፡] CG, ሐነፋውያን ፡ αD | 20 ፩ደ ፡] DG, ፩ ፡ α, አሐደ ፡ C | 27 ወተሀጉለ ፡] αCD,  
 ወተኃጉለ ፡ G

‘God manifested himself in Zion and his name is great in Israel, and his land<sup>186</sup> remained in peace and his dwelling in Zion.’<sup>187</sup> For the Jews learned the understanding of God from Abraham. 13. And Salem is called Jerusalem, because peace dwelt in Zion, that is Melchizedek. 14. And the Jews are called Hebrews because of Heber, from whom Abraham, the chosen vessel, descended. 15. When the rebels against God built the tower, they labored in vain having the evil in mind, but Heber did not join them, but rather kept his understanding for God without wavering. 16. When their tongues were divided, Heber remained alone without changing his speech, safe and sound. 17. His successors preserved the language of angels, which Adam spoke. And that’s why they are called Hebrews and speak Hebrew.<sup>188</sup>

Chapter 28. 1. There was one man named <sup>o</sup>*Anastartās* (Hesiod) from the tribe of Japhet, son of Noah. 2. It was he, who was the first to invent the Greek writing and to teach this writing.<sup>189</sup> 3. It is said that in the days of the kings of Egypt there was a philosopher in the land of *Lidyā*<sup>190</sup> from the offsprings of giants from the tribe of Japhet, whose name was <sup>o</sup>*Andimayānos* (Endymion). 4. It is said that he prayed secretly to the moon and that he learned from the moon the name of God in a vision. 5. One day, on his way,<sup>191</sup> he heard the holy name, at that moment he gave up the ghost, died and has not arisen. 6. His body remained kept in the city of *Lidyā* till nowadays<sup>192</sup> and they showed it to all people every year, when they opened his coffin, where it stays.

Chapter 29. 1. It is said that in the time of Joshua, son of Nun, a king named <sup>o</sup>*Awadiktun* (Odyges)<sup>193</sup> reigned over the country of Attica. There was a great deluge only in this country. And this king perished, as well as, those who dwelt there. 2. It became a desert, and no one dwelt there for two hundred and seven years<sup>194</sup> years as *Firkəyanus* (Africanus) wrote in the chronicles.<sup>195</sup>

Chapter 30. 1. In the time of Moses, law-giver and servant of God, who lead the Exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt there was Petissonius, i.e. Pharaoh Amosius, king of Egypt, who reigned with the help of <the book magicians><sup>196</sup> Jannes and Jambres, who did disgraceful things in front of the

<sup>186</sup> Charles comments on this passage: ‘The ungrammatical ብሔር is found in the manuscripts of the Pss. “In peace” instead “in Salem” is found also in the LXX, Vulgate, and Arabic Versions’ (Charles, 1916, 26, n. 5). | <sup>187</sup> Ps. 76: 1. | <sup>188</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 2.2 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 28). However, this passage contains information not present in the *Chronicle of John Malalas*. | <sup>189</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 2.5 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 29). | <sup>190</sup> Zotenberg and Charles point that it rather should be Caria (Zotenberg, 1883, 255, n. 4; Charles, 1916, 27, n. 3). Cp. *John Malalas*, 2.7 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 29). The whole passage causes some problems and my translation is rather free here. I disregard the conjecture by Zotenberg here. | <sup>191</sup> Zotenberg and Charles suppose this passage to be corrupt (Zotenberg, 1883, 255, n. 6; Charles, 1916, 27, n. 4). | <sup>192</sup> Cp. *John Malalas*, 2.7 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 29). | <sup>193</sup> Zotenberg explains this proper as follows: ‘አውዲክጥን ፣ አውዲስጥን ፣ transcription fautive de l’arabe’ (Zotenberg 1883, 255, n. 9). However, a much probable explanation is that the Ethiopic reading derives from αὐτόχθων in Malalas (cp. Thurn 2000, 44, l. 92). | <sup>194</sup> According to *John Malalas* 3.9, the land stayed uninhabited for two hundred and seventy years (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 30). Zotenberg reads the number as two hundred and six (Zotenberg 1883, 37). | <sup>195</sup> The same reference in *John Malalas* 3.9 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 30). | <sup>196</sup> I base my conjecture on the context and on the *John Malalas* 3.11-12 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 31). From the context it becomes clear that persons rather than a book are meant. So, I just changed the order of words in the *status constructus*. However, I can’t stay with certainty that this innovation occurred first in the Ethiopic version, it might also belong to the Arabic *Vorlage*.

APP. PUNCT.: 2 ጽዮን #] # Σ | 3 እግዚአብሔር #] # Σ | 4 ዴዴቅ #] # αDG | 6 ጎሩይ #] # Σ | 10 ወጥዲና #] # Σ | 11 አዳም #] # BD, ̅ G | 12 ዕብራኒ #] # αCG, # # D | 14 ጳጳጳ #] # G | 16 ውእቱ #] # Σ | 18 አንዲምያኖስ #] # Σ | 20 ቦራኦይ #] # BCDG | 23 አስከራነ #] ̅ B | 25 ክፍል #] # Σ | 27 ባባሕቲታ #] # Σ | 28 ውስቴታ #] # D | 29 አዝማን #] # αCG, # # D | 31 ሷ #] # G



great Moses, who talked to God. For that reason they said, that they did not want to let the children of Israel go, after the miracles and wonders, which had been performed by his rod.<sup>197</sup> 2. Indeed he (Petissonius) went towards the wise men of *Manuf* (Memphis).<sup>198</sup> He told of the vision<sup>199</sup> and made sacrifices. 3. When one of the Hebrews asked *Taninus* (Pythia),<sup>200</sup> the augur, he heard the following words: ‘It is the God of Hebrews, who is in the heaven, the immortal, the first, indeed the heaven trembles before him, as well as the earth, and all the seas are afraid of him, and the satans tremble. And few angels remain, for He is a creator of powers and measures’. 4. And Petissonius inscribed this oracle on a tablet and put it into the temple, in the place of a water-measure, where they indicated<sup>201</sup> (the level of) the river of Nile.<sup>202</sup> 5. We should report that in these times also the destruction of the temple <until the bottom of the foundations of the idol temples><sup>203</sup> happened, nevertheless only this tablet was not destroyed in Egypt. And no one could maintain the temple of *Manuf* (Memphis). 6. Indeed, all the temples were destroyed through the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ. 7. And this insane Petissonius, i.e. Pharaoh Amosius, sunk in the Red sea with his horses and his horsemen. 8. Then he learned after the Exodus of the children of Israel, that they had taken the properties of the people of Egypt. It was according to the will of God and rightly, because the children of Israel took the properties of Egypt, (as a) compensation for the hard labor they had been forced to do without rest. Wrath overwhelmed Pharaoh at that time. 9. He went forth to chase them with his army, and sunk in the sea with those, who were with him, and none survived. 10. The children of Israel went across the sea like on the land and came to the place, where God wished, because he is the conquer of the all elements of creation – Glory be on Him!<sup>204</sup> 11. Thereafter the people of Egypt perished. Those, who remained, worshipped the demons and abandoned God. Those rebels destroyed their own souls and resembled the angels, who rebelled against God. They worshipped the work of their own hands. 12. There were those who worshipped an ox, and those (who worshiped) a cow, and those (who worshiped) a dog, and moreover those (who worshiped) a mule, and those (who worshiped) a donkey, and those (who worshiped) a lion, and those (who worshiped) fish, and those (who worshiped) a crocodile, and some – leek, and many others alike. 13. They named the cities of Egypt after the name of their god. And they worshipped the building (temple?) of

<sup>197</sup> Charles marks this passage as a corrupt one (Charles 1916, 28, n. 1). However, this passage corresponds to the content of *John Malalas* 3.12: ‘Then Jannes and Jambres, using their wizardry, turned their rod into a snake which attacked Moses. Moses prayed and he too hurled to the ground the rod which he held. His rod also turned into an extremely large snake which swallowed up the snake which Jannes and Jambres had made. So Moses won, and the king and his whole court were amazed’ (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 31). | <sup>198</sup> See Timm 1988, 1556, n. 5. | <sup>199</sup> I disregard here the conjecture by Zotenberg. | <sup>200</sup> According to *John Malalas* 3.13 it was Petissonios who posed Pythia the question (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 32). | <sup>201</sup> The conjecture proposed by Zotenberg in his translation part is based on the text by John Malalas (Zotenberg 1883, 257, n. 1). I don’t follow this conjecture. | <sup>202</sup> A Nilometer is meant. | <sup>203</sup> The passage is not very clear, I suggested a transposition. However, the passage still remains a bit problematic. See also Colin 1995, 46, n. 23. Zotenberg and Charles do not draw attention to this passage and provide a very free translation of the passage (Charles 1916, 28; Zotenberg 1883, 257). <sup>204</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 3.11-3.14 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 30-32).

APP. PUNCT.: 1 እግዚአብሔር ፣] # G | 2 እስራኤል #] # CDG | 3 ዘኩኑ ፣] # G | 4 በመኑፍ #] # Σ መሥዋዕተ ፣] # CG | 6 ከመ ፣] ፤ G | 7 ዓዲ ፣] # G | 8 ይደንግፁ #] # Σ | 9 ወመዳልው #] # Σ 11 ማይ ፣] # A | ኒል #] # Σ | 14 በባሕቲታ ፣] # D | 15 ዘመኑፍ #] # Σ | 17 አማልክት #] # Σ 18 ወመስተፅዕናኑ #] # Σ | 20 ወበርቱፅ #] # αG, ፤ C | 21 ምግባራት ፣] # A | 22 ፅርዐት #] # Σ 23 ሠራዊቱ ፣] # A | 24 ምንትኒ #] # Σ | 27 ስብሐት #] # Σ | 28 ለአጋንንት ፣] # D | 29 ነፍሶሙ ፣] # G | 30 ለእግዚአብሔር ፣] # G | እደዊሆሙ #] # Σ | 31 ለብዕራይ ፣] # G | ለላሕም ፣] # G | ለበቅል #] # CG | 32 ለአድግ ፣] # G | ለዓሣ ፣] # G | ለሐርገጽ #] # CG | ለሰጉርት #] # Σ

ወሳህረይጅት ፡ ወእሰና ፡ ወለዕዕ ፡ ወለሐርገጽ ፡ ወለሕንጻ ፡ አህጉራት ፡ ብዙኃት ፡ አምለክዎሙ ፡ ወለዓውሎሂ ፡ ኅቡረ ። |

C111va  
A71ra

ክፍል ፡ ፴፩ ፡ 1. ወበይእቲ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ዘአቅደመ ፡ ነጊሠ ፡ በምስር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይት  
5 ቀነዩ ፡ ለጣዖት ፡ ወከመ ፡ | እልክቱ ፡ ዘቀደመ ፡ ዝክሮሙ ፡ ወለሀገር ፡ እምርት ፡  
አብሳይ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ነቂዩስ ። ወንጉሥስ ፡ ይሰመይ ፡ አብሩሱቢዳ ፡ ዘፍካሬ ፡  
ስሙ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ሠላስ ፡ ገጻት ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ሀሎ ፡  
በሐይቀ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ምዕራባዊ ። ወኮነ ፡ ይጻባእ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ምስለ ፡ በርበር ፡  
10 እለ ፡ ይመጽኡ ፡ እምጅ ፡ አህጉር ፡ እለ ፡ ይሰመዩ ፡ ሪጣናዊያን ። 2. ወሶበ ፡  
መጽኡ ፡ እልክቱ ፡ በቀጥጥግ ፡ ወጸብእዎሙ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ሀገር ፡ በኅይል ፡ ወቀተሉ ፡  
እምኔሆሙ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ 3. ወበእንተ ፡ አሠንዮተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መዊእ ፡ ኢመጽኡ ፡  
ዳግመ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀገር ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ በሥምረተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡  
ዘገብረ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ እምኅበ ፡ ኢሀልዎ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀልዎ ፡ በሥልጣነ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ ጽኑዕ ፡  
በኩሉ ፡ ግብር ። 4. ወለፈለግ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ዘምስር ፡ ይሰመይዎ ፡ ሐነፋዊያን ፡ አክ  
15 ሪሱሩ ። ወበመጽሐፍ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ እስትንፋስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይሰመይ ፡ |  
ግዮን ። 5. ወኮነ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ በምሥራቀ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወፈለስ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ምዕራብ ፡  
ሀገር ፡ |እምነ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ | ወኮነት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ከመ ፡ ደሴት ፡ በማእከለ ፡  
ባሕር ፡ ከመ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ዕዕ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ አክርያስ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ እልክስ ።

G51va

A71rb B54va  
Z40 C111vb

ክፍል ፡ ፴፪ ፡ 1. ወለኢዮሩሳሌምስ ፡ ዘሐነጻ ፡ መልክ ፡ ጼዴቅ ፡ ነግሡ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡  
20 ከነዓናዊያን ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ፍልስጥኤም ፡ ወቀነዮ ፡ ኢያሱ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ነዌ ፡  
ወሰመያ ፡ ሐያኑስ ፡ 2. ወነበረ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰቂማ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቀነዩ ፡ ኩሎ ፡  
አድያሚሃ ፡ ወይእቲ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ ናብሎስ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ። 3. ወበመዋዕለ ፡  
ነገሥት ፡ እለ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ጠቢባነ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ወሰሎሞን ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕንጻ ፡ ሐይከል ፡  
25 ቅዱስ ፡ ዘእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዳዊት ፡ አስተዳለወ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ምግባረ ፡ ሕንጻ ። ወሰ  
ሎሞን ፡ ሐነጽ ፡ በኢዮሩሳሌም ፡ 4. ወሰመያ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ቀድሶ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቅዱሴ ፡  
ወመሥዋዕተ ፡ ሕግ ፡ ወብዝኅ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘሐመ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወመድ  
ኃኒነ ፡ ኢዮሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ውስቴታ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ሰብሐት ።

G51vb

ክፍል ፡ ፴፫ ፡ ወበመዋዕለ ፡ መሳፍንት ፡ ኮነ ፡ ፩ ፡ መስፍን ፡ እምሐነፋዊያን ፡  
30 ዘሰሙ ፡ ባይኑድስ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ ሐቤ ፡ ምእት ፡ በሊሐ ፡ ንጻሬ ፡ ዘይኔጽር ፡ እም  
ርሐቅ ፡ ወይሬኢ ፡ ፈድፋደ ፡ እምኩሉ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ረከበ ፡ ቅድመ ፡  
በሀገረ ፡ ምዕራብ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ግብረ ፡ እደ ፡ ኩሎ ።

A71rc

APP. CRIT.: 1 ወእሰና ፡ ] BCDG, ወእለና ፡ A | ወለዕዕ ፡ ] αCG, ወዕዕ ፡ D | 4 ፴፩ ፡ ] BCD, ፴፪ ፡ A, ፴ ፡ G | ዘአቅደመ ፡ ] αDG, አቅደመ ፡ C | 6 ነቂዩስ ፡ ] αCG, ነቅዩስ ፡ D | ወንጉሥስ ፡ ] CG, ወለን ጉሥስ ፡ αD | ዘፍካሬ ፡ ... አማልክት ፡ ] αDG, om. C | 7 ሀሎ ፡ ] αCG, ዘሀሎ ፡ D | 8 በሐይቀ ፡ ] αCG, በሐይቅ ፡ D | 11 አሠንዮተ ፡ ] CDG, አሠንዮቱ ፡ α | ዝንቱ ፡ ] Σ, ለዝንቱ ፡ con. Zot | 13 ኢሀልዎ ፡ ] αCD, ኢሀለዎ ፡ G | 14 ወለፈለግ ፡ ] αDG, ወለፈግ ፡ C | ዘምስር ፡ ] αCG, om. D | 15 እስትንፋስ ፡ ] BCDG, እስትፋንስ ፡ A, s.l. A, | 18 ተክለ ፡ ] CDG, con. Zot, ተክለ ፡ α | አክርያስ ፡ ] αDG, ዕክርሰያ ፡ C | 20 ፴፪ ፡ ] BC, ፴፫ ፡ A, ፴፩ ፡ G | 22 ወነበረ ፡ ] αDG, om. C | 24 በእንተ ፡ ] αCG, ወበእንተ ፡ D 25 አስተዳለወ ፡ ] αDG, ዘአስተዳለወ ፡ C | 26 ሐነጻ ፡ ] con. Zot, ሐነጻ ፡ Σ | 27 በእንተ ፡ ] Σ, ወበእንተ ፡ con. Zot | ወመድኃኒነ ፡ ] αCG, om. D | 30 ፴፫ ፡ ] BCD, ፴ A, ፴፪ ፡ G | 31 ባይኑድስ ፡ ] αCD, ባዩነ ይድስ ፡ G | ዘይሰመይ ፡ ] BCDG, om. A, Zot: ዘትሰመይ ፡ B | በሊሐ ፡ ] Σ, በሊሐ ፡ Zot 33 ምዕራብ ፡ ] BCDG, ምዕራብ ፡ A

APP. LECT. MIN.: 9 እምጅ ፡ ] αCD, እምጅቱ ፡ G | ሪጣናዊያን ፡ ] CDG, ሪጣናውያን ፡ α 14 ሐነፋዊያን ፡ ] CG, ሐነፋውያን ፡ αD | 21 ከነዓናዊያን ፡ ] CG, ከነዓናውያን ፡ αD | 26 ቀድሶ ፡ ] αC, ቁድሶ ፡ DG | 30 እምሐነፋዊያን ፡ ] CG, እምሐነፋውያን ፡ αG | 31 ምእት ፡ ] BC, ፫ AG, ፫ት ፡ D

APP. PUNCT.: 2 ኅቡረ ። ] # αCG, # # D | 4 ፴፩ ፡ ] # G | 6 ነቂዩስ ። ] # BCDG | 8 ምዕራባዊ ። ] # Σ | 9 ሪጣናዊያን ። ] # C, ፫ G | 13 ጽኑዕ ፡ ] # C | 14 ግብር ። ] # Σ | አክሪሱሩ ። ] # Σ | 16 ግዮን ። ] # Σ | 18 እልክስ ። ] # Σ | 20 ፴፪ ፡ ] # CG | 23 አድያሚሃ ፡ ] # D | ይእዜ ። ] # Σ | 25 ሕንጻ ። ] # BCDG | 28 ሰብሐት ። ] # Σ | 30 ፴፫ ፡ ] # G | 32 ሰብእ ፡ ] ፫ G | 33 ኩሎ ። ] # Σ



ክፍል : | ፴፬ : 1. አብሩሚቱስ : ወቢመቲዩስ : ውእቶሙ : ረከቡ : ሰሌዳ : እብን : C111vc  
 ቅሩጸ : ዘተጽሕፈ : ወተቀርጸ : በመዋገድ : ቀደምት ። 2. ወኤልያስ : ነቢይ : D11 B54vb  
 ተርጎሞሙ : ለመሥመራት ። ወሐነፋዊያን : ዘከሩ : ዘንተ : እንዘ : ይብሉ :  
 በእንተ : ዝንቱ : ዐርገ : ሰማያተ : ወዘኮነ : ውስተ : ሰማይ : ሀሎ : ውስተ :  
 5 ልቡ ። 3. ወድቃልዩን : ዓዲ : ጸሐፊ : ክፍላተ : ወዜና : ዘኮነ : አመ : መዋዕለ :  
 አይኅ : ወመንክራትኒ ።

ክፍል : ፴፭ : 1. ወእምድኅረ : ማየ : አይኅ : ዘኮነ : በሀገረ : እንዲካ : ፈለሰት :  
 መንግሥት : ኅበ : አቴናዊያን ። 2. ወነግሠ : ፩ : ብእሲ : ዘሰሙ : | እልዋጥስ : Z41  
 በሀየ : ወገብረ : ምሳሐ : ከመ : ሕግ : 3. ወዓዲ : ወጠነ : ወሠርዐ : ለኩሉ : A71va  
 ሰብእ : ከመ : ያውስቡ : አዋልደ : ደናግለ : ወከመ : ይኩንዎሙ : አንስትያ :  
 ወይስምይዎሙ : መርዓታተ ። ወከመ : ይክርዩ : ለሙሐዘ : አንቅዕት : ውስተ :  
 መካን : ኅቡእ : ከመ : ያውሕዝ : ሐሊብ : ብዙኅ : ከመ : ውሒዝ : ዘያስ  
 ተርኢ ። 4. ወእምቅድመ : መንግሥቱ : {ኮነ : } አንስት : ዘሀገረ : እንዲካ : ወአቴ  
 15 ናዊያን : ኮነ : ይገብሩ : ርኩስ : ወይዴ|መሩ : በበይናቲሆሙ : ተባዕት : ላዕለ :  
 ተባዕት : ወኮነ : ከመ : አራዊት : ከመ : ፈቀደ : ፩፩ : እምኔሆሙ : ወኢኮነ : G51vc  
 ሎሙ : ለ፩ : እምኔሆ|ሙ : ብእሲተ : ወኮነ : ይትማሰጡ : በገይል : እኩይ ። C112ra  
 በከመ : አቅደምን : ነጊረ : 5. ወኢ<ያ>አምሩ : ዘርአሙ : ወውሉዶሙ :  
 ምንተኒ : ኢተባዕተ : ወኢአንስተ ። መኑ : <ያ>አምር : እስመ : ውእቶሙ :  
 20 ኮነ : ኩሎሙ : ዘእንበለ : አብ : ወኩሉ : ዘይወልድዎሙ : እምነ : ኩሉ :  
 ሰብእ : ኢ<ያ>አምሩ : እምብዝኅ : ተደምሮቶሙ : እመ : ኮነ : ተባዕተ : አው : B54vc  
 አንስተ : ወኮነ : ኩሎሙ : ፍሡሐነ : በዝንቱ : ምግባር : ርኩስ ። 6. በከመ :  
 ይቤ : ከርኩንስ : በዓለ : መጽሐፍ : በውስተ : ሕጉ : ዛቲ : ሀገረ : እንዲካ :  
 ትረክብ : ጥፍአተ : በማየ : አይኅ : እምእግዚአብሔር ። 7. ወእምድኅረ : ዝኩ : A71vb  
 25 ዘመን : ኮነ : በጥብብ : ወሐሩ : በሕገ : ሰብሳብ : ብእሲ : ወአንስት ። 8. ወኮነ :  
 ኬርኬኑስ : ክቡረ : በኩሉ : መዋዕሊሁ : በድልወት : ወክብር : ወረሰዮሙ :  
 ለደቂቅ : ያእምሩ : አበዊሆሙ : በከመ : ይደሉ ።

ክፍል : ፴፮ : 1. ወበውእቱ : መዋዕል : ኮነ : አርፉስ : ቤተ : ረኩስ : እንላሪኩስ :  
 30 በተርሴስ : ዘይሰመይ : በኅበ : ሐነፋዊያን : ጠቢብ : ዐቢይ : 2. አንበረ : ሎሙ :  
 እንተ : ትሰመይ : አውጋንያ : ዝኒ : ፍካሬሁ : በኅቤሆሙ : መስተጋድል : ለእግ

APP. CRIT.: 1 ፴፬ :] BCD, ፴፭ : A, ፴፫ : G | አብሩሚቱስ : ወቢመቲዩስ :] BCDG, አብሪሚቱስ :  
 ወ በመቲዩስ : A | 3 ተርጎሞሙ :] αDG, ተርሞሙ : C | ዘከሩ :] CDG, om. α, ነገሩ : con. Zot  
 4 ዝንቱ :] αCD, om. G | ዝንቱ : ዐርገ :] αCG, ዘእርገ : D | 6 ወመንክራትኒ :] αCG, ወመክ  
 ራትኒ ። D, ወመንክራትኒ : con. Zot | 8 ፴፭ :] BCD, ፴፮ : A, ፴፬ : G | እንዲካ :] αCG, እንዳካ :  
 D | 9 እልዋጥስ :] Σ, ዘወዕቱ : ኬክርታስ ። add. i.m. G | 10 ወዓዲ :] Σ, s.l. G | 11 ወከመ :] Σ, ከመ :  
 con. Zot | ይኩንዎሙ :] αCG, ይኩኖሆሙ : D | 12 ወይስምይዎሙ :] αC, ወይስምይዎን : D,  
 ወሰመይዎሙ : G | ለሙሐዘ :] αCG, ለሙሐዝ : D | 13 ያውሕዝ :] αCD, ያውኒዝ : G  
 ሐሊብ : ...ውሒዝ :] αCG, ሐሊብ : ከመ : ውሒዝ : D, s.l. G | 14 ኮነ :] con. Zot, ኮነ : Σ  
 15 ኮነ :] αCG, om. D | ወይዴመሩ :] αDG, ወይደመሩ : C | 16 ተባዕት :] Σ, ወአንስት : ላዕለ :  
 አንስት : add. D | ፈቀደ :] αCD, ፈቃደ : G | 17 ብእሲተ :] αC, ብእሲት : DG | ይትማሰጡ :] αC  
 D, ይትማሰጡ : G | 18 ወኢያአምሩ :] con. Zot, ወኢያአምሩ : Σ | 19 ምንተኒ :] Σ, post ወኢአንስተ  
 trans. D | መኑ :] αCG, መኑኒ : D | ያአምር :] con. Zot, ያአምር : αCG, ኢያአምር : D  
 21 ኢያአምሩ :] con. Zot, ኢያአምሩ : Σ | እምብዝኅ :] Σ, እም{ብ}ዝኅ : s.l. G | 22 ወኮነ :  
 ኩሎሙ :] αDG, ወኩሎሙ : ኮነ : C | ፍሡሐነ :] αCD, ፍሡሐን : G | 23 ከርኩንስ :] AG, ኩር  
 ኩንስ : B, ኩርኩንስ : C, ኪርንኩስ : D | በውስተ :] BCDG, ውስተ : A | ሕጉ :] BCDG, ሕገ :  
 A | 24 ዝኩ :] αCG, ዝንቱ : D | 25 ኮነ :] αCG, ወኮነ : D | ኮነ : በጥብብ :] Σ, post ወብእሲት :  
 trans. D | ወሐሩ :] αCG, ሐሩ : D | ወኮነ :] αDG, ወኮነ : C | 26 ክቡረ :] αCD, ክቡር : G  
 ወክብር :] D, con. Zot, ወክብረ : αCG | 27 ለደቂቅ :] BCDG, ለቂቅ : A | 29 ፴፮ :] BD, ፴፯ : A,  
 ፴፱ C, ፴፭ : G | ኮነ :] Σ, ኮ<ነ> : con. Zot | ቤተ : ረኩስ :] α, ቤተ : ርኩስ : C, ቤተ : ርኩስ : G  
 , ወተርኩስ : D | እንላሪኩስ :] αCG, ወእንላሪኩስ : D | 31 ለእግዚአብሔር :] Σ Zot: lac.

APP. LECT. MIN.: 3 ወሐነፋዊያን :] CG, ሐነፋውያን : αD | 9 አቴናዊያን :] CG, አቴናውያን : α  
 D | 11 አንስትያ :] αG, አንስቲያ : CD | 14 ወአቴናዊያን :] CG, አቴናውያን : αD | 15 ርኩስ :] αD  
 G, ርኩስ : C | 30 ሐነፋዊያን :] CG, ሐነፋውያን : αD

Chapter 34. 1. Prometheus and Epimetheus found an engraved stone tablet, which had been written and engraved in previous times. 2. The prophet Elijah interpreted the verses. And the Greeks remembered this, saying: ‘on account of this he ascended to heaven, and what was in the heaven was in his heart’.<sup>219</sup> 3. And moreover Deucalion wrote verses and an account, on what had happened in the time of the deluge and miracles.<sup>220</sup>

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Chapter 35. 1. After a deluge in Attica the reign passed to the Athenians. 2. One man named *Ἐλωάτης*<sup>221</sup> reigned there and he established a common meal as a custom. 3. He also was the first to prescribe to all people, that they should marry young virgins and so get their wives and that they should call them spouses; and that they should dig a fountain in a secret place in order that a lot of milk flows like a visible flow.<sup>222</sup> 4. Before his reign women of Attica and the Atheninas were doing the evil and had intercourse with one another – male with male<sup>223</sup> – and they were like animals: each lusted for another and none of them had a wife. They seized each other violently by an evil power, as we have told. 5. They did not know their family and children, either male or female. And who could know? For they were all without a father. They all did not know, whom they begat, either male or female offspring, because of so much intercourse.<sup>224</sup> They all were delightful with this dirty deeds. 6. As *Karkun* (Cecrops), an author of a treatise concerning this custom, said, this city of Attica met its destruction in a flood through God. 7. After that time they became wise and men and women had sexual intercourse according to the law of marriage. 8. And *Kerkenus* (Cecrops) was honored in all his days justly and with respect; and he established so, that children knew their fathers, as it is appropriate.<sup>225</sup>

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Chapter 36. 1. In these days there were<sup>226</sup> *Ἄρφους* (Orpheus) † *beta rak<sup>w</sup>s anlarikus ba-Tarses* (in Odrysae) †,<sup>227</sup> who was called a great sage amongst the Greeks. 2. He established for them what is called *ἁρωγάγνια*<sup>228</sup> (Theogony), the interpretation of which amongst them is ‘combatant for God’,<sup>229</sup> what the

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<sup>219</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 4.4: ‘Atlas interpreted astronomy; men say that he supports the sky, because he holds knowledge of the heavens in his heart’ (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 34). | <sup>220</sup>I disregard here the conjecture by Zotenberg. | <sup>221</sup>Cecrops according to *John Malalas* 4.6 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 34). | <sup>222</sup>The passage causes problems. There is no gender agreement. Cp. *John Malalas* 4.6: ‘he ordered a law to be issued that the women who were subject to his empire, while virgins, were to marry one man. In this law he calls them nymphs because virgin girls are like springs when they give birth and produce a stream of milk from obscure sources’ (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 34). | <sup>223</sup>Zotenberg translates as follows: ‘une femme passait d’un homme à un autre’ (Zotenberg 1883, 260). The translation by Zotenberg is closer to the text by *John Malalas* 4.6 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 34), but does not correspond to the Ethiopic text. <sup>224</sup>The translation of this passage causes problems. | <sup>225</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 4.6 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 34). | <sup>226</sup>I do not follow the conjecture of Zotenberg, who changed ኮኑ ፤ into ኮነ ፤ which would imply the transparency of the passage. | <sup>227</sup>This passage is very corrupt. Charles stays that it reproduces twice the Coptic article *pi* (Zotenberg 1883, p. 261, n. 2; Charles 1916, 31, n. 1) in *beta rak<sup>w</sup>s* and *ba-Tarses*. Crum goes further and identifies the Coptic attributive *en-* in the word *anlarikus* (Crum 1917, 207). Alternatively, I could suggest that the initial *ba/be* in *beta rak<sup>w</sup>s* and *ba-Tarses* might represent simply the Arabic preposition . The form *be* might be a later attempt of the Ethiopian copyist to assign some meaning to this apparently obscure passage (*bet* meaning ‘house’ in Ethiopic). The initial *en-* in *anlarikus* might also be a transcription of the Arabic َ, introducing a nominal sentence. | <sup>228</sup>According to Crum this form of the proper name contains the traces of the Coptic language, i.e. ‘confounding radical consonants with particles’ (Crum 1917, 207). | <sup>229</sup>Theogony actually means ‘the genealogy of Gods’.

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ጳጳጳ ፤ # G | 2 ቀደምት # # Σ | 3 ለመሥመራት # # BCDG | 5 ልቡ # # BCG 6 መንክራትኒ # # Σ | 8 ጳጳጳ ፤ # G | 9 አቴናዊያን # # αDG | ጳልዋጥስ ፤ # C | 10 በሀዩ ፤ # D ሕግ ፤ # C | 11 ደናግለ ፤ # D | 12 መርዓታተ # # Σ | 13 ዘያስተርኢ # # Σ | 15 ርኩሰ ፤ # ፲ G 17 እምኔሆሙ ፤ # A | እኩይ # # BCDG | 19 ወኢአንሰተ # # Σ | 22 አንሰተ ፤ # AD | ርኩሰ # # Σ | 24 እምእግዚአብሔር # # αCD, ፲ G | 25 ወአንሰተ # # BCDG | 27 ይደሉ # # αCG, # # D | 29 ጳጳጳ ፤ # G | 31 ለእግዚአብሔር ፤ # DG

ዚአብሔር፡ ዘዘነዎሙ፡ ጢግታዎስ፡ ጸሓፊ፡ አዝማናት፡ 3. ይቤ፡ እም  
 ቅድመ፡ ኩሉ፡ አዝማን፡ ሀሎ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዕሩይ፡ በ፩፡ መለኮት፡  
 ፈጣሬ፡ ኩሉ፡ ። |

C112rb  
 Z42

5 ክፍል፡ ፵፯፡ 1. ተብህለ፡ ከመ፡ ጠቢባነ፡ አቴናዊያን፡ ውእቶሙ፡ ቀደሙ፡  
 ገቢረ፡ ፈውስ፡ ለሰብእ፡ 2. እስመ፡ ኮኑ፡ ቅድመ፡ ፈላስፋ፡ ዘከሠቱ፡ ግብረ፡  
 ሠናዩ፡ ለገቢረ፡ ፈውስ፡ ዘይሰነአው፡ ለከርሥ፡ 3. ውብዙኃን፡ ሰብእ፡ የሐውሩ፡  
 ኀበ፡ አቴና፡ በእንተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ግብር፡ ። ዓዲ፡ እስመ፡ | ሀሎ፡ ህዩ፡ እስከ፡ ዮም፡ ።  
 |

G52ra  
 A71vc  
 D12

10 ክፍል፡ ፵፰፡ 1. ንጉሥ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ ውእቱ፡ ወጠነ፡ ሐኒጸ፡  
 ቤተ፡ ብለኔ፡ ወመካነ፡ ምንባባት፡ ወትምህርት፡ ውስተ፡ ኩሉ፡ መካን፡ ዘሀሎ፡  
 ታሕተ፡ ሥልጣኑ፡ እስመ፡ አጋንንት፡ ኮኑ፡ ይትቀነዩ፡ ሎቱ፡ 2. እስመ፡ ኮነ፡  
 ሎቱ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ግብር፡ እምቅድመ፡ ያምዕዖ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እግዚአ፡ ኩሉ፡  
 15 እመንገለ፡ አንስት፡ አሕዝባዊያን፡ እለ፡ ይነብራ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ውእቶን፡ አር  
 ከሰዎ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም፡ በአማልክቲሆሙ፡ ።

B55ra

ክፍል፡ ፵፱፡ 1. በመዋዕለ፡ መሳፍንት፡ ዓዲ፡ ተንሥእ፡ ፊልሱፍ፡ በሀገረ፡ አፍ  
 ራቅያ፡ ዘስሙ፡ መርሲያሲሱስ፡ 2. ውእቱ፡ ወጠነ፡ ነፊሐ፡ እንድር፡ ወቀርን፡  
 20 ወጠብልቃና፡ ወአጽመመ፡ እዘኒሆሙ፡ ለሰብእ፡ ወረሰዩ፡ ርእሶ፡ አምላክ፡  
 እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ። አንሰ፡ ረከብኩ፡ ሲሳዩ፡ ሰብእ፡ እምአባል፡ ንኡስ፡ 3. ወተምዐ፡  
 እግዚአብሔር፡ ወቀሠ፡ ወተወለጠ፡ ልቡናሁ፡ ወገደፈ፡ ርእሶ፡ ውስተ፡  
 ፈለግ፡ ወተሀጉሉ፡ ።

C112rc

25 ክፍል፡ ፶፡ 1. ወበዝኩ፡ መዋዕል፡ ዓዲ፡ ኮነ፡ ህርቃል፡ አይኑር፡ ወሰብእ፡  
 ሉንያ፡ ተራድእዎሙ፡ ለኖትያት፡ እለ፡ ሀለዉ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ። ወሐሩ፡ ኀበ፡  
 ጳንጦን፡ 2. ወኮነ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘሰሙ፡ ከሲከስ፡ ወተጸብእዎ፡ ወቀ  
 ተልዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ከሲከስ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ አእምሮቶሙ፡ ። 3. ወሶበ፡ አእመሩ፡  
 ሐዘኑ፡ ወኮኑ፡ አዝማዲሁ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ <ኮነ> እምነ፡ ሀገሮሙ፡ ። 4. ወሶበ፡  
 30 ሐሩ፡ ለጸብእ፡ ሰብእ፡ ከሲከስ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ተሰምዩ፡ |በዐለ፡ ፯፡ | መልክዕ፡ ወእ  
 ምድኅረ፡ መዊአቶሙ፡ | <ሐነጹ፡ ቤተ፡ አማልክት፡ ወ>ሰመይዎ፡ ስሞ፡  
 ረአውስ፡ ዘበትርንጫሁ፡ እመ፡ አማልክት፡ ። 5. ተብህለ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ሐሩ፡ ኀበ፡  
 መካነ፡ ዜናውያን፡ ወምንባረ፡ ልሂቃን፡ ወተስእልዎ፡ ለ፩፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ እንዘ፡  
 ይብሉ፡ ተነባይ፡ ለነ፡ ኦነቢይ፡ ላእኩ፡ ለአጳሎን፡ ምንት፡ ይከውን፡ ወለሙኑ፡  
 35 ውእቶሙ፡ ወ፩፡ አምላክ፡ ባሕቲቱ፡ ። ወናሁ፡ ወለት፡ ድንግል፡ ትፀንስ፡  
 በቃሉ፡ ወዝንቱ፡ ቤት፡ ይከውን፡ ሎቱ፡ ወስሙ፡ ይከውን፡ ለእእላፍ፡ 7.

A72ra  
 Z43 G52rb  
 B55rb

APP. CRIT.: 1 ዘዘነዎሙ፡ ፡]αCG, ወዘነዎሙ፡ ፡D | ጢግታዎስ፡ ፡]αCG, ጢግታዎስ፡ ፡D | 2 ዕሩይ፡ ፡]αCG, ዕሩያን፡ ፡D | 5 ፵፯፡ ፡]BCD, ፵፰፡ ፡A, ፵፯፡ ፡G | ቀደሙ፡ ፡]αCG, om. D | 6 ፈላስፋ፡ ፡]ACDG, ፈላስፋ፡ ፡B | 8 ህዩ፡ ፡]Σ, post ዮም trans. D | ዮም፡ ፡]Σ, ህዩ፡ ፡add. D | 11 ፵፰፡ ፡]BCD, ፵፱፡ ፡A, ፵፯፡ ፡G | 13 ታሕተ፡ ፡]αCG, om. D | እስመ፡ ፡...17 ሎቱ፡ ፡]αCG, om. D, እስመ፡ ፡ኮነ፡ ፡ሎቱ፡ ፡add. G ኮነ፡ ፡]ACDG, ኮኑ፡ ፡B | 14 እምቅድመ፡ ፡ያምዕዖ፡ ፡]αDG, አምጽኦ፡ ፡C | 15 አሕዝባዊያን፡ ፡]C, አሕዝባዊ ውያን፡ ፡D, አሕዝባዊያን፡ ፡G, አሕዝባውያን፡ ፡α | አርከሰዎ፡ ፡]Σ, አርከሰዎ፡ ፡s.l. G | 18 ፵፱፡ ፡]B D, ፶፡ ፡A, ፶፱፡ ፡C, ፶፯፡ ፡G | ፊልሱፍ፡ ፡]Σ, ፍልሱፍ፡ ፡Zot | 19 መርሲያሲሱስ፡ ፡]α, መርሲያሲሱስ፡ ፡C D, መርሲያሲሱስ፡ ፡G | ነፊሐ፡ ፡]BCDG, ሰፊሐ፡ ፡A | 20 ወጠብልቃና፡ ፡]αDG, ወጠብልቃና፡ ፡C 22 ወተወለጠ፡ ፡]αCG, ወወለጠ፡ ፡D | 25 ፶፡ ፡]BCD, ፶፩፡ ፡A, ፶፱፡ ፡G | 27 ጳንጦን፡ ፡]αCG, ጳንጦስ፡ ፡D | ምስሌሆሙ፡ ፡]Σ, በኀቤሆሙ፡ ፡con. Zot | ዘሰሙ፡ ፡]αCG, om. D | ከሲከስ፡ ፡]B, ከሲከስ፡ ፡AC, ከሲከስ፡ ፡DG | ወተጸብእዎ፡ ፡]αCG, ተጻብእዎሙ፡ ፡DG | ወቀተልዎ፡ ፡]BCDG, ወቀተልዎ፡ ፡A 28 ከሲከስ፡ ፡]B, ከሲከስ፡ ፡AC, ከሲከስ፡ ፡G | 29 ወኮኑ፡ ፡]Σ, እስመ፡ ፡ኮኑ፡ ፡con. Zot | አዝማዲሁ፡ ፡]Σ, post ኩሎሙ፡ ፡trans. D | ኮነ፡ ፡]con. Zot | 30 ለጸብእ፡ ፡]Σ, ለፀቢኦ፡ ፡con. Zot | ከሲከስ፡ ፡]B, ከሲከስ፡ ፡AC, ከሲከስ፡ ፡DG | ተሰምዩ፡ ፡]αCG, ዘተሰምዩ፡ ፡D | 31 ሐነጹ፡ ፡...ወሰመይዎ፡ ፡]con. Zot ስሞ፡ ፡]αCG, om. D | 32 ተብህለ፡ ፡]αCG, ወተብህለ፡ ፡D | 34 ለነ፡ ፡]BCDG, n.l. A | ኦነቢይ፡ ፡]αCG, om. D | ላእኩ፡ ፡]αCG, ኦላእኩ፡ ፡D | ወለሙኑ፡ ፡]αCG, ለሙኑ፡ ፡D | 36 ወለት፡ ፡]αCG, ወለደት፡ ፡D

chronicler Timothy announced.<sup>230</sup> 3. He said: ‘before all times there was the holy Trinity coequal in one Godhead, Creator of all things.’<sup>231</sup>

Chapter 37. 1. It is said that the sages of Athenians were the first to practice medicine for people. 2. Indeed, there were previously philosophers, who discovered the good art of practicing medicine, which is in harmony with the stomach. 3. Moreover, many people went to Athens because of that matter, in fact it remains there also until nowadays.

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Chapter 38. 1. King Solomon, son of David, began to construct baths and places for reading and learning in all places under his dominion; for demons were subjected to him. 2. Indeed, this matter happened to him before he provoked God, Lord of everything, through the heathen women, who lived with him. They polluted Jerusalem with their gods.<sup>232</sup>

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Chapter 39. 1. Also in the time of Judges a philosopher, named Marsyas, arose in the land of <sup>o</sup>*Afrāqayā* (Phrygia).<sup>233</sup> 2. He began to play on flute, horn and trumpet.<sup>234</sup> He deafened the ears of people and made a God out of himself saying: ‘I found food for people out of a small member’<sup>235</sup>. 3. God was enraged and punished him. He lost his mind, cast himself into a river and disappeared.

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Chapter 40. 1. Also in these days there was *Hərqaḷ* (Heracles) <sup>o</sup>*Aynur*,<sup>236</sup> and the people of *Lunəyā* assisted the sailors,<sup>237</sup> who were with him. They went to *Pānton* (Hellespont). 2. There was with them<sup>238</sup> (people of Hellespont) a king whose name was Cyzicus. They (sailors) attacked him and killed the king Cyzicus without awareness. 3. When they became aware, they became sad, and they all were his relatives, <and he was> from their country. 4. Then they went to battle against the people of Cyzicus, who was called the lord of seven images. After their victory <they built a temple, and><sup>239</sup> called it *Raʾawəs* (Rhea), which means ‘mother of gods’. 5. It is said that they went to the place of oracles and the seat of the seniors and they asked one of them saying: ‘Predict us, O, prophet, the servant of Apollo, what is this and for whom is this building?’ 6. They gave him, who talked to them, presents and he told them: ‘They are three but in one God only. Now, a virgin will get pregnant according to His word, and this house will be for Him, and His name will

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<sup>230</sup>The same reference in *John Malalas* 4.10 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 37). | <sup>231</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 4.8-10 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 35-37). | <sup>232</sup>There is gender disagreement in this passage. | <sup>233</sup>The form <sup>o</sup>*Afrāqayā* for Phrygia could have several explanations. Thus one possible explanation is a misreading of for in the form . The transliteration of γ with is not infrequent (see, for example, for *μυσταγωγία* in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Arabo 22, fol. 31r). On the other hand the Coptic form *φουκία* for Phrighien has attestation, for example in Acts 2:10, however, only in the Bohairic version. | <sup>234</sup>Charles translates this word as ‘drum’ (Charles 1916, 31). <sup>235</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 4.11: ‘proclaiming himself devine and saying: “I have found nourishment for men through the melody of musical reeds”’ (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 37). | <sup>236</sup>Zotenberg proposes that <sup>o</sup>*Aynur* states for a corruption of ὁ ἥρωας (Zotenberg 1883, 262, n.8). | <sup>237</sup>The passage causes problems. See, Zotenberg 1883, 262-263; Charles 1916, 31-32. | <sup>238</sup>By now I disregard the conjecture by Zotenberg. | <sup>239</sup>I follow the conjecture by Zotenberg, which is apparently based on the text of *John Malalas*. Cp. *John Malalas* 4.12 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 37). Without this conjecture the text is not understandable.

APP. LECT. MIN.: 5 አቴናዊያን ፣ CG, አቴናውያን ፣ αD | 23 ወተሀጉለ ፣ αCD, ወተኃጉለ ፣ G 33 ዜናውያን ፣ αDG, ዜናዊያን ፣ C | 35 ለዘይነግሮሙ ፣ αCD, ለዘ ፣ ይነግሮሙ ፣ G

APP. PUNCT.: 3 ከሉ ፣ # Σ | 5 ሻጂ ፣ # G | 8 ግብር ፣ # CG | 9 ጥም ፣ # Σ | 11 ሻጅ ፣ # G 13 ሥልጣኑ ፣ # I G | 16 በአማልክቲሆሙ ፣ # αCG, # # D | 18 ሻጸ ፣ # G | 20 ለሰብእ ፣ # I G አምላክ ፣ # A | 21 ይብል ፣ # Σ | 22 ወቀሠር ፣ # G | 23 ወተሀጉለ ፣ # αCG, # # D | 25 ሻ ፣ # # G | 26 ምስሌሁ ፣ # αCG | 28 አእምሮቶሙ ፣ # BCDG | 29 ሀገሮሙ ፣ # Σ 32 አማልክት ፣ # Σ | 34 ይከውን ፣ # D | 36 ባሕቲቱ ፣ # Σ | 37 ሎቱ ፣ # D

ወለዛቲ፡ ትንቢት፡ ጸሐፍዎ፡ ሰብአ፡ አማልክት፡ ውስተ፡ እብነ፡ በረድ፡ A72rb  
 በቀለመ፡ ብርት፡ ወአንበርዎ፡ ላዕለ፡ ፩፡ እምሀይክላት፡ ። 8. ወእምድኅረ፡ እሉ፡ C112va  
 አዝማን፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለዘይኑን፡ ንጉሥ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ {ወ}ረ  
 ሰይዎ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ሀይክል፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ወላዲተ፡  
 5 አምላክ፡ ማርያም፡ ። 9. ዘንተ፡ ረሰዩ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘይኑን፡ ተሣይጦ፡ በንዋዩ፡ ። ወተ  
 ፈጸመ፡ ትንቢቶሙ፡ ለአጋንንት፡ ዘሰበኩ፡ በእንተ፡ ምጽአቱ፡ ለእግዚእነ፡  
 ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ።

ክፍል፡ ፵፩፡ 1. ኖትያት፡ ዘአርጁን፡ ሐሩ፡ እምነ፡ ጳጳሳን፡ ኅበ፡ ደሴት፡  
 10 እንተ፡ ትሰመይ፡ ፋስከሪኪኑስ፡ 2. ወእምህየ፡ ወዕኡ፡ መንገለ፡ ኬልቄዶንያ፡  
 ወፈቀዱ፡ ይኅልፉ፡ ውስተ፡ ባሕረ፡ | ጳጳሳን፡ 3. ወተጸብእዎሙ፡ አምጺአሙ፡ D13  
 ፩ደ፡ ብእሴ፡ ኅያለ፡ ተኅየለ፡ ወሞአሙ፡ 4. ወሶበ፡ ፈርሁ፡ | እምነ፡ መዐቱ፡ B55rc  
 ለውእቱ፡ ብእሴ፡ ጉዩ፡ እስከ፡ ጽንፈ፡ ሐይቅ፡ መፍርህ፡ ጥቀ፡ ። 5. ወርእዩ፡  
 ምትሐተ፡ ኅያለ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ዘይመስል፡ ብእሴ፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ፪፡ አክናፍ፡ ላዕለ፡ G52rc  
 15 መዛርዒሁ፡ ዐቢያን፡ በአምሳለ፡ ንስር፡ መፍርህ፡ ጥቀ፡ ። 6. ወይቤሎሙ፡ ሶበ፡  
 ተጸባእክምም፡ ለአሜክጥስ፡ አንትሙ፡ ትመውእዎ፡ ወሶበ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ዘንተ፡  
 ቃለ፡ እምነ፡ ራእይ፡ ዘርእዩ፡ ጸንዑ፡ ወተጸብኡ፡ ወሞእዎ፡ ወቀተልዎ፡ 7. ወአ  
 እኩትዎ፡ ለውእቱ፡ መካን፡ ዘርእዩ፡ ቦቱ፡ ሥዕለ፡ ኅይል፡ ወሐነጹ፡ በሀየ፡ C112vb  
 ቤተ፡ ። ወአንበሩ፡ ውስቱቱ፡ ሥዕለ፡ በአምሳል፡ ዘርእዩ፡ 8. ወሰመይዎ፡  
 20 ለውእቱ፡ ቤት፡ ሰስታኒስ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቶሙ፡ ተፀውኑ፡ በህየ፡ ወድኅኑ፡ ወሰ  
 መይዎ፡ በዝንቱ፡ ስም፡ እስከ፡ | ዮም፡ ። 9. ወበመዋዕለ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ ዐቢይ፡ Z44  
 ወክቡር፡ እምነገሥት፡ መሲሐውያን፡ ገብሩ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ። ሶበ፡  
 ነግሠ፡ ቅድመ፡ በሀገረ፡ ብራንጥያ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ በሮም፡ ቦአ፡ ኅበ፡ ሰስ  
 ታኒስ፡ ከመ፡ ይዕፁ፡ ቤተ፡ አማልክት፡ <ዘሀሎ> ውስቱታ፡ ። 10. ወሶበ፡  
 25 ርእዩ፡ ሥዕለ፡ ዘሀሎ፡ ውስቱታ፡ ወበጊዜሃ፡ አእመረ፡ ከመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ሥዕለ፡  
 መልአክ፡ ወሶበ፡ ተሀውከ፡ ሕሊናሁ፡ በኑፋቄ፡ ጸለዩ፡ ወሰአለ፡ ኅበ፡ እግዚእነ፡  
 ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘይትዌክል፡ ቦቱ፡ ። እንዘ፡ | ይብል፡ አጠይቀኒ፡ እግዚአ  
 ለዝንቱ፡ አምሳል፡ 11. ወእምዝ፡ ሶበ፡ ኖመ፡ ሰምዐ፡ በውስተ፡ ራእይ፡ ከመ፡  
 30 ውእቱ፡ ሥዕል፡ ሥዕለ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ። 12. ሶበ፡  
 አእመረ፡ ከመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ፈነዎሙ፡ ለዕደው፡ ከመ፡ ይጽብእዎ፡ ለአሜክጥስ፡ ።  
 ወአሠርገዎ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ቤት፡ ወአዘዘ፡ ይሚጥዎ፡ መንገለ፡ ምሥራቅ፡  
 ወአዘዘ፡ ከመ፡ ይቀድስዎ፡ በስመ፡ ለሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ሚካኤል፡ 13. ወኮነ፡  
 በውስቱቱ፡ ተአምር፡ ብዙኅ፡ በተፈውሶ፡ ድውያን፡ ። | ወእምዝ፡ ወጠኑ፡ ክርስ  
 ቲያን፡ ሐኒጸ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ | በስመ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ርእሰ፡ መላ  
 35 እክት፡ ወ<ያ>ዐርጉ፡ ውስቱቶሙ፡ ቀሩባናተ፡ ቅዱሳተ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ።

APP. CRIT.: 3 ወረሰይዎ ፡] coni. Zot, ወረሰይዎ ፡ Σ | 4 ቤተ ፡] αCG, በቤተ ፡ D | ክርስቲያን ፡] αCG, ክርስቲያና ፡ D | ወላዲተ ፡] αDG, post ማርያም ፡ trans. AZot: B, om. C | 5 ተሣይጦ ፡] αCG, ተሣይጦ ፡ D | 9 ፵፩ ፡] BCD, ፵፪ ፡] A, ፵ ፡] G | ጳጳሳን ፡] αCG, ጳጳሳን ፡] DZot: B | 10 ፋስከሪኪኑስ ፡] αDG, ፋስከሪኪኑስ ፡] C | 11 ጳጳሳን ፡] αCD, ጳጳሳን ፡] G | 12 ኅያለ ፡] αD, ኃያል ፡] CG | ተኅየለ ፡] αDG, ወተኃየለ ፡] C | 13 ጉዩ ፡] Σ, እስመ ፡] add. G | 14 ኅያለ ፡] C, ኃይለ ፡] αDG, ኅይል ፡] coni. Zot | አክናፍ ፡] αCD, አክናፍ ፡] G | 15 መዛርዒሁ ፡] GZot, መዛርዒሁ ፡] αCD መፍርህ ፡] αDG, ወመፍርህ ፡] C | 16 ለአሜክጥስ ፡] ΣZot: ለአሜክጥስ ፡] B | 17 ወአእኩትዎ ፡] Σ, s.l. G | 18 መካን ፡] Σ, s.l. G | ቦቱ ፡] Σ, s.l. A | ሥዕለ ፡] αCD, ሥዕል ፡] G | በህየ ፡] αC, om. DG | 19 በአምሳል ፡] αCD, በአምሳል ፡] G | 20 ሰስታኒስ ፡] αCD, ሰስታኒስ ፡] G | 21 ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡] αCD, ቈስጠንጢስ ፡] G | 23 ነግሠ ፡] CDG, coni. Zot, ነግሠ ፡] α | ብራንጥያ ፡] αC, ብራንጥያ ፡] DG በሮም ፡] αCG, ሀገሮሙ ፡] D | ሰስታኒስ ፡] BCD, ሰስታኒስ ፡] AG | 24 ዘሀሎ ፡] conieci, እለ ፡] ሀለዉ ፡] Σ | 25 ሥዕለ ፡] CD, ሥዕል ፡] αG | ወበጊዜሃ ፡] αCG, በጊዜሃ ፡] D | 26 በኑፋቄ ፡] αCD, በኑቄ ፡] G | 28 ሰምዐ ፡] Σ, ቃለ ፡] add. D | 29 ሥዕል ፡] BCDG, n.l. A | ሶበ ፡] αCG, om. D | 30 አእመረ ፡] αCG, ወአእመረ ፡] D | 31 ወአሠርገዎ ፡] BCDG, ወአሠርገዎ ፡] A | ንጉሥ ፡] αCG, ለውእቱ ፡] ቤተ ፡] ንጉሥ ፡] D | ወአዘዘ ፡] ... ምሥራቅ ፡] αCG, om. D | 33 በተፈውሶ ፡] αCG, ወተፈውሶ ፡] D ክርስቲያን ፡] αCG, ክርስቲያን ፡] D | 34 ክርስቲያናት ፡] BCDG, ክርስቲያናት ፡] A | 35 ወያዐርጉ ፡] coni. Zot, ወያዐርጉ ፡] αCG, ወኮነ ፡] ያዓርጉ ፡] D

APP. LECT. MIN.: 12 ፩ደ ፡] DG, ፩ ፡] α, አሐደ ፡] C | 14 ፪ ፡] αDG, ክልኤ ፡] C | 22 መሲሐውያን ፡] αDG, መሲሐዊያን ፡] C

belong to thousands.’ 7. The idolaters wrote down this prophecy on marble<sup>240</sup> with a brazen pen, and they put it in one of the sanctuaries. 8. After those times, in the days of the God-loving emperor Zeno they turned this sanctuary into a church of the Saint Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. 9. The emperor Zeno established that on his costs. And the prophecy of demons, who proclaimed the coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ, was accomplished.<sup>241</sup>

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Chapter 41. 1. The sailors of ὁ Ἀργῶν (Argo) went from Πᾶντων (Hellespont) to an island named Φᾶσκαρικήνους (Principi). 2. From there they went in the direction of Chalcedon and wanted to cross over to the sea of Πᾶντος (Pontus). 3. They had taken with them one strong man, and he warred against them, tyrannized and overcame them.<sup>242</sup> 4. When they became afraid of the wrath of this man, they fled to the wild seashore. 5. They saw a mighty portent in the sky resembling a human with two large wings on his shoulders in likeness of a terrifying eagle. 6. He told them: ‘When you battle with Amycus, you will overcome him’. When they heard this utterance from the vision they saw, they became strong, battled, overcame and killed him. 7. They praised the place, where they had seen the vision of power and built a house there. They placed there an image<sup>243</sup> resembling what they had seen. 8. They named this house Sosthenium, for they sought protection there and were saved. And it is called so till nowadays. 9. In the days of Constantine the Great, the most honored of Christian kings, servant of Jesus Christ, when he reigned first over the city of Byzantium, that is in Rome, he entered Sosthenium in order to close the idol temple, which <was> there.<sup>244</sup> 10. Then he saw the image there, at that moment he understood that it was an image of an angel. When his mind was stirred up in doubt, he prayed and appealed to Our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom he trusted soundly, saying: ‘O Lord, reveal to me this image!’ 11. Thereafter while sleeping he heard in dreams that this image was the image of St Michael the Archangel. 12. He learned that he sent men to fight against Amycus. And the emperor adorned this house and commanded to turn it to the eastern direction and to consecrate it in the name of Archangel Michael.<sup>245</sup> 13. And there were many miracles of healing the ill there. Thereafter Christians began to build churches in the name of the St Archangel Michael and to offer holy sacrifices to God there.

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<sup>240</sup> Zotenberg proposes an alternative translation: ‘sur une pierre de cristal’ (Zotenberg 1883, 263). However, *John Malalas* 4.12 reads: ‘in bronze letters on stone, that is, marble’ (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 38). | <sup>241</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 3.12 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 37-38). See also Agosti 2008. <sup>242</sup> Zotenberg translates: ‘Ils furent attaqués par les habitants qui mirent en avant un homme puissant, qui les repoussa victorieusement’, without any conjecture in the Ethiopic text (Zotenberg 1883, 264). Charles follows him and translates: ‘But the inhabitants brought with them a man of valour and fought with them. (And) he gained the mastery and overcame them’ (Charles 1916, 32). | <sup>243</sup> Zotenberg, as well as Charles, translate the word ἰμάθια as ‘statue’ in this Chapter (Zotenberg 1883, 264; Charles 1916, 33). For the sake of clarity, I prefer to translate ἰμάθια as ‘image’ here. | <sup>244</sup> I changed the plural form into singular, because I consider the relative construction to refer to the first word of the *status constructus*. | <sup>245</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 3.13 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 38).

APP. PUNCT.: 2 ብርት ፣] # D | እምሀይካት #] # Σ | 5 አምላክ ፣] # αCD | ማርያም #] # G በንዋዩ #] # BCDG | 7 ክርስቶስ #] # # αCG, # # D | 9 ሿ፩ ፣] # # G | 12 ወሞአሙ ፣] # DG 13 ጥቀ #] # BDG | 15 ጥቀ #] # Σ | 16 ትመውእዎ ፣] # D | 19 ቤተ #] # Σ | ዘርእዩ ፣] # D 20 ወድኅኑ ፣] # D | 21 ዮም #] # Σ | 22 ክርስቶስ #] # Σ | 24 ውስቴታ #] # αDG | 25 ውስቴታ ፣] # C | 26 መልአክ ፣] # G | 27 ቦቱ #] # Σ | 28 አምሳል ፣] # D, ፤ G | 29 መላእክት #] # Σ 30 ለአሜክጥስ #] αG | 32 ሚካኤል ፣] ፤ G | 33 ድውያን #] # αDG | 35 ለእግዚአብሔር #] # Σ



Chapter 42. 1. It is told concerning the holy nails, which were found together with the Cross of Our Savior Jesus Christ, on which his holy body was nailed, that God-loving St Constantine took one of them and put it into the *sarg*<sup>246</sup> <of> a horse that is saddle. The second one he put into the horse's bridle. The third one he put into the passage of Chalcedon. 2. For they had been in a big difficulty until the sea storm got tranquil for them, on behalf of this benevolent saint, as well as all the waves of the ocean.<sup>247</sup> 3. His reign was strong in the city of Constantinople, and in the days of Zeno the reign was in Rome. According to the decision of the generals (*sarāwit*)<sup>248</sup> they united their empires. 4. It happened due to the continuous rebels of barbarians. It occurred according to the advice of officials, that there should be another authority for them in Asia.<sup>249</sup>

Chapter 43. 1. In the days of Samson, the last of the Judges, *°Awālibtos* (Lapathos) reined in the time of *°Agiyāstu*.<sup>250</sup> He had two children, <whose names> were *°Akāwun* (Achaius) and *<Lu>qinā* (Lacon).<sup>251</sup> 2. He divided the lands <of> his empire in two parts – one half for himself and one half for his children. 3. After he had died, they named this land *°Akāyayā* (Achaia) after the name of his elder son; and the name of another one is *Luqānāyā* (Laconia) after the name of his younger son until nowadays.

Chapter 44. 1. In this time one king, named *Biluyās* (Pelops), reigned in the land of Hellas. 2. The Greeks call this man the king of an island after his name *Bālubābyā* (Peloponnesus) till nowadays.<sup>252</sup> 3. He built a city and named it *Bālābānyun* (Peloponnesus) after his own name, and the name of his kingdom is Hellas till today.

Chapter 45.<sup>253</sup> There was one man named *Bilāwon* (Peleus). He built a city of *Fārmā* (Pelusium) in his name. And *°Abrayāmanus* (Priam) built a city of *Malkubinun*, that is *°Afraqayā* (Phrygia) in *°Asbartubulus* (Sparta),<sup>254</sup> the land of Hellas, when he arrived there.

Chapter 46. There was one man, whose name was *Bilāmidās* (Palamedes), a wise and intelligent man. He was the first to teach playing music on fiddle, harp and flute, and all musical instruments.

265). | <sup>249</sup> The translation of this passage causes some problems for me. I follow the text rather wordly, whereas Zotenberg interprets this passage as follows: 'L'un (de ces deux empires) avait été établi, à cause des soulèvements continuels des barbares, et l'autre, sur l'avis des généraux, afin qu'il y eût un autre chef en Asie' (Zotenberg 1883, 265). Charles translates: 'For one of these had been established on account of the continual outbreaks of the barbarians, and the other in accordance with the counsel of the prefects in order that they might have another authority in Asia' (Charles 1916, 34). | <sup>250</sup> The identification is problematic. Here I do not follow a conjecture of *ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲟⲗ ⲛ* into *ⲛⲗⲁⲥⲫⲟⲗ ⲛ*, which was proposed to Zotenberg by Dillmann. Zotenberg pointed to the similarity of this proper name with the toponym *Αἴγυπτος* (Egypt) in *John Malalas* (Zotenberg 1883, 265-266, n. 5). Cp. *John Malalas* 4.17: 'At that time Lapathos reigned over the land of Egypt' (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 40). However, Charles interprets this name as 'Aegistheus' (Charles 1916, 34). Probably, Aegisthos, a contemporary of Samson is meant here (cp. the *Chronicle* of Eusebius). Aegisthos is also mentioned in *John Malalas* 4.21 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 41). | <sup>251</sup> I base my conjecture on the graphical similarity of the letters *ⲗ* and *ⲛ*. I suppose that due to this similarity the mistake in the spelling of the proper name might have been done first in the Ethiopic version. | <sup>252</sup> The whole passage causes problems, Zotenberg does not attempt to translate it (Zotenberg 1883, 266). Cp. *John Malalas* 4.19 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 41). I don't follow the conjecture by Charles. I would rather suggest that something is missing after the word *ⲗⲗⲁⲥ ⲛ*, probably a passage ending with the word *ⲗⲗⲁⲥ ⲛ* as well (meaning 'and they call this island'). However, other explanations are possible as well. | <sup>253</sup> Zotenberg does not translate this Chapter (Zotenberg 1883, 266). He writes concerning its content as follows: 'Il est impossible de trouver dans ce texte corrompu une narration raisonnable. Dans les noms propres, également fort altérés, on croit reconnaître les noms d'Illion, de Priam, de la Phrygie, de Sparte' (Zotenberg 1883, 266, n. 5). | <sup>254</sup> The letter part *bulus* comes from *πόλις* (*polis*).

ክፍል ፡ ፵፮ ፡ ወሀሎ ፡ ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘሰሙ ፡ ቢላሚድስ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ ወለባዊ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ መሐረ ፡ ምግባረ ፡ ተውኔት ፡ ዘከመ ፡ መሰንቆ ፡ ወበገና ፡ ወእንዚራ ፡ ወኩሉ ፡ ንዋየ ፡ ተውኔት ፡ ቅድመ ።

5 ክፍል ፡ ፵፯ ፡ 1. ወዓዲ ፡ አትሩስ ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ አፍራቅያ ፡ | እምቅድመ ፡ C113rb A73ra  
ይቅትሎሙ ፡ ለአብርያሙስ ፡ ወለቃቢን ፡ ወቀተለ ፡ ወራዙቶሙ ፡ ወነሠተ ፡ B55vc  
አብያተ ፡ ነገሥቶሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ተዝካረ ፡ ሎቱ ። ወይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ኮነት ፡ Z46  
ታሕተ ፡ ሥልጣኑ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ አንድርያን ፡ 2. ወለጢባርያ ፡ ዘጳንጦን ፡ ሰመያ ፡  
እሲያ ፡ ዘኤፌሶን ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ ዘይእዜ ፡ ሰቃልያ ። ወኮነት ፡ ደሴት ፡  
10 ዐቢይ ፡ ወሰማስ ፡ ዘቀዳሚ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ ቁባባ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፵፰ ፡ 1. ወሰሎሞን ፡ ወልደ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ሕንጻ ፡  
ዐቢያ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቢሊሚክጡን ፡ ማእከለ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ተዝካረ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይት  
15 ረሳዕ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ወስመ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ 2. ወወሀባ ፡ ለ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘሰሙ ፡ አይወይኒ ፡  
ዘበትርንጫሁ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ በውስተ ፡ ከነአን ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ለሕንጻ ፡ በልሚዛ ፡ 3.  
እሰመ ፡ በውእቱ ፡ መካን ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ መዊእ ፡ ለዳዊት ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ኅያል ፡  
ወጽኑዕ ፡ አመ ፡ ቀተሎ ፡ ለጎልያድ ፡ ፍልስጥራማዊ ፡ ወሞኦ ፡ 4. በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ G52vc  
ረሳየ ፡ ስማ ፡ ሜዛድ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኅድሩ ፡ ባቲ ፡ አዝማድ ፡ ነኪራን ፡ ወነበሩ ፡ |  
ውስቴታ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ ሐራ ፡ አይሁድ ። 5. ወለይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ናቡከድነጾር ፡ A73rb  
20 ንጉሠ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ነሥኦ ፡ በድካም ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ወበተጋድሎ ፡ ጽኑዕ ፡ እስከ ፡ ክህለ ፡  
ነሂቶታ ፡ ወአውዕቶታ ፡ በእሳት ፡ ወደምሰሰ ፡ ዝክራ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ። C113rc D15

ክፍል ፡ ፵፱ ፡ 1. ወዓዲ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ጢርስ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ደሴት ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ማይ ፡  
ሐጹራ ፡ ወተጋደለ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ተጋድሎ ፡ ለነሂአታ ፡ 2. ወአዘዞሙ ፡ ለሐራሁ ፡  
25 መስተጽዕናነ ፡ አፍራስ ፡ ወሰብአ ፡ እግር ፡ ወለኩሎሙ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ከመ ፡  
ይደዩ ፡ መሬተ ፡ በፍኖተ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ዘየዐውዳ ፡ 3. ወመልኡ ፡ መሬተ ፡ እስከ ፡  
ዮብስ ፡ ማየ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ምድር ። ወበእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ክህለ ፡ ነሂአታ ፡ B56ra  
ለይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ናቡከድነጾር ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ፋርስ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፶ ፡ 1. ወበውእቱ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ በውስተ ፡  
ነቢያት ፡ ወመፍቀሬ ፡ ሠናያት ፡ አመ ፡ ዪዋዌ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ በእደ ፡ ናቡከድነጾር ፡  
30 ተአዘዘ ፡ እምእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወተውህቦ ፡ ኅይለ ፡ መላእክት ፡ እምቅድመ ፡  
ብጽሐቱ ፡ ለናቡከድነጾር ፡ ወእምቅድመ ፡ ያውዕያ ፡ በእሳት ፡ ለመቅደስ ፡ እግዚአ  
ብሔር ፡ ቦአ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መንጠላዕት ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ A73rc

APP. CRIT.: 1 ፵፮ ፡ A, ፵፭ ፡ G | 2 ምግባረ ፡ αDG, በምግባረ ፡ C | ወእንዚራ ፡ αCG, ወእንዚራ ፡ D | 5 ፵፯ ፡ BCD, ፵፰ ፡ A, ፵፯ ፡ G | አፍራቅያ ፡ BCDG, አፍራቅያያ ፡ A | 6 ወቀተለ ፡ αCG, ወቀተሎ ፡ ወቀተለ ፡ D | ወራዙቶሙ ፡ αDG, ወራቶሙ ፡ C | 8 አንድርያን ፡ αG, አድርያን ፡ CD | ወለጢባርያ ፡ CG, ወሊጣባርያ ፡ α, ወለጢባርያን ፡ D | ዘጳንጦን ፡ BC, ዘጳንጦስ ፡ DG, ዘጳንጦን ፡ A | 9 ደሴት ፡ αCD, ደሴተ ፡ G | 10 ዐቢይ ፡ αCG, አባየ ፡ D | 12 ፵፰ ፡ αCD, ፵፯ ፡ G | 13 ዐቢያ ፡ AD, ዐቢይ ፡ BCG | ቢሊሚክጡን ፡ ΣZot: ሚሊሚክውን ፡ A | ማእከለ ፡ αDG, ማእከራ ፡ C | 14 አይወይኒ ፡ CD, አይወኒ ፡ α, አይወይን ፡ G | 15 ወሰመያ ፡ αDG, om. C | 16 በውእቱ ፡ BCDG, ውእቱ ፡ A | 18 ስማ ፡ Σ, add. ለሀገር ፡ conl. Zot | 19 ናቡከድነጾር ፡ αDG, ናቡከድነጾር ፡ α, ናቡከድነጾር ፡ C | 20 ነሥኦ ፡ Σ, prae ናቡከድነጾር ፡ trans. D | 21 ነሂቶታ ፡ αCG, ነሂአታ ፡ DZot | ዝክራ ፡ αCG, om. D | 23 ፵፱ ፡ αCD, ፵፰ ፡ G | 26 እስከ ፡ Σ, ባሕር ፡ add. D | 27 ዮብስ ፡ ACDG, ዮብስ ፡ B | 28 ናቡከድነጾር ፡ CDG, ናቡከድነጾር ፡ α | 30 ፶ ፡ αCD, ፶ ፡ G | 31 በእደ ፡ Σ, s.l. G | ናቡከድነጾር ፡ αG, ናቡከድነ ፡ ጾር ፡ C, ነቡከድነጾር ፡ D | 33 ብጽሐቱ ፡ αCG, ብጽሐቱ ፡ D | ለናቡከድነጾር ፡ αG, ለናቡከድነጾር ፡ CD | 34 ኤርምያስ ፡ BCDG, ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ A

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ፵፯ ፡ # G | 2 ወለባዊ ፡ # G | ተውኔት ፡ # G | 3 ቅድመ ፡ # αC, # # D, # G | 5 ፵፯ ፡ # # G | 6 ወለቃቢን ፡ # G | 7 ነገሥቶሙ ፡ # G | ሎቱ ፡ # Σ | 9 ሰቃልያ ፡ # Σ | 10 ቁባባ ፡ # Σ | 12 ፵፰ ፡ # G | 13 ዐቢያ ፡ # G | ሎቱ ፡ # D | 14 አይወይኒ ፡ # G | 15 ብርሃን ፡ # G | 17 ወሞኦ ፡ # D | 18 ሜዛድ ፡ # G | 19 አይሁድ ፡ # Σ | 21 ይእዜ ፡ # Σ | 23 ፵፱ ፡ # G | 24 ሐጹራ ፡ # G | ለነሂአታ ፡ # G | 25 ፋርስ ፡ # G | 26 መሬተ ፡ # G | 27 ምድር ፡ # Σ | 28 ፋርስ ፡ # # αCG, # # D | 30 ፶ ፡ # # G | 31 ነቢያት ፡ # A

Chapter 47. 1. Moreover <sup>ᵒ</sup>*Atrus* (Tros), who reigned in the land of <sup>ᵒ</sup>*Afrāqayā* (Phrygia),<sup>255</sup> before he killed <sup>ᵒ</sup>*Abrayāmanus* (Priam) and *Qābin* (Hecuba), he killed their young men and seized their palaces, so that there might be memorial on him. And this land was under his dominion and he named it <sup>ᵒ</sup>*Andaryān*. 2. And he named *Tibāryā*<sup>256</sup> of *Pānton* <sup>ᵒ</sup>*Ḥsyā* (Asia) of <sup>ᵒ</sup>*Ḥfeson* (Ephesus). It is called now *Saqālyā*. And it is a big island, its previous name was *Qubābā*.<sup>257</sup>

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Chapter 48. 1. Solomon, son of David, king of Israel, built a large building in *Bilimiktun*<sup>258</sup> in the middle of the city as his memorial, so that his name and his father's name would not be forgotten.<sup>259</sup> 2. He granted it to one man, whose name was <sup>ᵒ</sup>*Aywayni*, which is by interpretation 'light' in Canaan. He named the building Palmyra. 3. Indeed, on this place a victory happened to his strong and powerful father David, when he killed Goliath, the Philistine, and conquered him. 4. Because of that he named it *Mezād*, in order that strangers can dwell there. There were many Jewish soldiers in it. 5. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Persia took this city with much toil and effort until he could destroy it<sup>260</sup> and burn in fire. He destroyed the memory of it till nowadays.<sup>261</sup>

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Chapter 49. 1. Moreover, concerning the city of Tyre, that is an island: he (Nebuchadnezzar) made much effort to take it. 2. He commanded to his soldiers, to cavalry and foot-soldiers, and to all people of Persia to throw earth into the arm of the sea, which surrounded it. 3. They filled it with earth until the waters of sea dried up and became like land. By these means Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Persia, could seize this city.

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Chapter 50. 1. In this time Jeremiah, the greatest of the prophets and the lover of virtues, - in the time of the captivity, which happened through the hands of Nabuchadnezzar, - was commanded by God, and the force of angels was granted to him.<sup>262</sup> Before Nabuchadnezzar came and burnt the sanctuary of God with fire, Jeremiah entered the second chamber, which is called the Holy of Holies, and he took the Ark of God, covered outside and inside with gold and the glorious objects that were in it, that is the Tablets of the Law, the golden box of manna, the almond-blossoming rod of Aaron, and a dry flinty stone, from which Moses had given people to drink when they thirsted. 2. Moreover, Moses, the prophet, carried this stone going in front of people

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<sup>255</sup>The beginning of Chapter resembles John Malalas 4.15 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 39). However, the rest of the narrative is close to John Malalas 5.42-43 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 57). One could suggest either a loss of text in the course of its transmission (not supported by Index) or a corruption of John's *Vorlage*. | <sup>256</sup>The edition of Zotenberg contains the reading present only in manuscripts A and B, that is **ወሊጣርያ** ፤. Charles transliterates this toponym as 'Sitabarja' (Charles 1916, 34). | <sup>257</sup>The text of the Chapter 47 is not very clear. Zotenberg does not translate this Chapter, but he identifies some proper names in the text (Zotenberg 1883, 266, n. 7). See also Charles 1916, 34-35. | <sup>258</sup>Zotenberg suggests that this word is a transliteration of the Greek text (Zotenberg, 1883, 267, n. 1); Charles proposes that it could also be a corrupt form of Palmyra (Charles 1916, 35). According to Crum, this form of the proper name contains traces of a Coptic article (Crum 1917, 208). | <sup>259</sup>Cp. John Malalas 5.69 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 76). | <sup>260</sup>Zotenberg reads **ኅሢኣታ** ፤ instead of **ኅሢቶታ** ፤. But he still translates: 'qui enfin détruisit' (Zotenberg 1883, 267). Charles using the edition by Zotenberg thus translates: 'before he could take it' (Charles 1916, 35). | <sup>261</sup>Cp. also *John Malalas* 18.2 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 245-246). This is an interesting case, where one Chapter in the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* has parallels to different parts of the *Chronicle of John Malalas*. | <sup>262</sup>Charles changes the word order in this passage, thus merging two sentences into one and pointing to the fact that 'the text is very confused' (Charles 1916, 35, n. 2). However his translation follows the translation by Zotenberg, rather than the Ethiopic text (Zotenberg 1883, 268).

መቅደስ ፡ መቅደስ ። ወነሥኦ ፡ ለታቦተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘልቡጥ ፡ በወርቅ ፡  
 አፍአሁ ፡ ወውስጡ ፡ ወለንዋያት ፡ ክቡራት ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ ውስቴቱ ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡  
 ጽላት ፡ ዘሕግ ፡ ወመሶበ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ዘመና ። ወበትረ ፡ አሮን ፡ ዘጸገዮት ፡ ከርካዓ ፡  
 ወእብነ ፡ ከኩሱሕ ፡ ጽሙም ፡ እንተ ፡ | ኮነ ፡ ሙሴ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ ያሰትዮሙ ፡  
 5 ለሕዝብ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ጽምኡ ። 2. ወዓዲ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሙሴ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ይጸውሮ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡  
 እብን ፡ እንዘ ፡ የሐውር ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ አመ ፡ ይግዕዙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገዳም ፡  
 በትእዛዘ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ | 3. ወለለጸምኡ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ይወግሮ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡  
 ወይዘብጦ ፡ በበትሩ ፡ ወይወፅእ ፡ ማይ ፡ ወይሰትዩ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ወኩሉ ፡ እንሰሳ ። 4.  
 ወለእልክቱ ፡ ንዋያት ፡ ነሥኦሙ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ወለእብንኒ ፡ ወሐረ ፡ በፍጡን ፡  
 ጎበ ፡ ከኩሱሕ ፡ ወጎብኦሙ ፡ ህየ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ። 5. ወአመ ፡ ምጽአቱ ፡ ዳግም ፡ |  
 ለእግዚእነ ፡ ወመድኅኒነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘትእምርተ ፡ መስቀል ፡  
 ቅድሜሁ ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ታቦት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጸውርዎ ፡ መላእክት ።  
 ወሙሴኒ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ ዘገብሮ ፡ ወኤርምያስኒ ፡ ዘጎብኦ ፡ በጎበ ፡ ከኩሱሕ ፡ 6.  
 አመ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ይትነሥኡ ፡ ምውታን ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡ ትእምርተ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ወእምድ  
 10 ጎራሁ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘተሰቅለ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ። 7. ወለእሉ ፡  
 ቃላት ፡ ተረክቡ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ትምህርቱ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ኤጲፋንዮስ ፡ አቡነ ፡ ብርሃናዊ ፡  
 ኤጲስ ፡ ቆጶስ ፡ ዘቆጵሮስ ። ወጸሐፈ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዜና ፡ ነቢያት ፡ በውስተ ፡  
 መጽሐፉ ፡ እምድጎረ ፡ ንስተተ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ | ወፍጻሜ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡  
 አይሁድ ።

Z47  
C113va

G53ra

A73va  
B56rb

C113vb

ክፍል ፡ ፶፩ ፡ 1. ኩርሽ ፡ ፋርሳዊ ፡ ሞኦ ፡ ለአንስጥያስ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ኩርሽ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡  
 ዘውእቱ ፡ <ወላዴ ፡> አክሚስ ። 2. ወአክርስሰ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ግዙፈ ፡ ክሳድ ፡ ወዕቡዩ ፡  
 ልብ ። ወመንግሥታትሰ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ርሐቃን ፡ ወቅሩባን ፡ ገረሩ ፡ ሎቱ ። 3.  
 ወእለ ፡ ተአዘዙ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ | ወሀብዎ ፡ | ጸባሕተ ፡ ወነበሩ ፡ በሰላም ። ወለእለ ፡ ተቃወ  
 25 ምዎስ ፡ ማህረኮሙ ፡ ወበርበረ ፡ ንዋዮሙ ፡ ወነሥኦ ፡ መንግሥቶሙ ፡ እስመ ፡  
 ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ዓቢይ ፡ ወመፍርህ ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ወኮነት ፡ ሎቱ ፡ መዊእ ። 4. ወኩ-  
 ር<ሽ>ሰ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ፀቢብ ፡ እንግድዓ ። ወኮነት ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ዘስማ ፡ ጥርጣና ፡  
 ወይእቲ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ዳርዮስ ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ ድጎረ ፡ ብልጣሶር ፡ 5.  
 ነገረቶ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብል ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ በጎቤነ ፡ እምዕብራዊያን ፡ ዘስሙ ፡  
 30 ዳንኤል ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ በጎቤሁ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ እምዊዋ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡  
 እስራኤል ። 6. ወኮነ ፡ ዳርዮስ ፡ ኢይገብር ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ምክሩ ፡ ወኩሉ ፡  
 ዘነገሮ ፡ ይከውን ። 7. ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ኩርሽ ፡ |ፈነወ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ዳንኤል ፡  
 ነቢይ ፡ ወአምጽኦ ፡ በክብር ፡ ወተስእሎ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ቦኑ ፡ አነ ፡ እመውኦ ፡ ለአክ-  
 ሪሱስ ፡ አው ፡ አልቦ ። 8. ወአርመመ ፡ ወኢተናገረ ፡ መጠነ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ሰዓት ፡ |  
 35 ወእምዘ ፡ ተናገሮ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ መኑ ፡ <ያ>አምር ፡ ጥበብ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።  
 ወእምዘ ፡ ጸለየ ፡ ዳንኤል ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ወሰኦለ ፡ እምእግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላኩ ፡ ከመ ፡  
 ይክሥት ፡ ሎቱ ፡ እመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይክል ፡ ተቃውሞቶ ፡ ለዝኩ ፡ መሣጢ ፡ አክሪስሰ ፡  
 ዕቡዩ ፡ ልብ ። 9. ወይቤሎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለእመ ፡ ፈነዎሙ ፡ ለዌዋ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡  
 እስራኤል ፡ መዊእ ፡ ይመውኦ ፡ ወይነሥእ ፡ ሥልጣኖ ፡ ለአክሪሱስ ፡ 10. ወዘንተ ፡  
 40 ሰሚያ ፡ እምእግዚአብሔር ፡ ነገሮ ፡ ለኩርሽ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይመውኦ ፡ ለአክሪሱስ ፡  
 ለእመ ፡ ፈነዎሙ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ። 11. ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ ኩርሽ ፡ ዘንተ ፡  
 ነገረ ፡ ሰገደ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ እገሪሁ ፡ ለዳንኤል ፡ ወመሐለ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ሕያው ፡

A73vb D16

G53rb

B56rc

Z48

C113vc A73vc

APP. CRIT.: 1 መቅደስ ፡ ። ላ. G | 2 ወለንዋያት ፡ ፡ CG, ወንዋያት ፡ ፡ αD | ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ... 11 ዘሕግ ፡ ፡  
 αDG, ውእቶሙ ፡ ዘጽላት ፡ ፡ ሕግ ፡ ፡ C | 4 እምኔሁ ፡ ፡ ፤ ላ. ፤, post ለሕዝቡ ፡ ፡ trans. D | 5 ጽምኡ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCD,  
 ጸምዑ ፡ ፡ G | ለውእቱ ፡ ፡ ... 14 እብን ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCG, om. D | 6 አመ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCG, ከመ ፡ ፡ D | 7 ወለለጸምኡ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αD  
 G, ለእለ ፡ ፡ ጸምኡ ፡ ፡ C | ይወግሮ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCG, ይወግሮ ፡ ፡ D | 8 ማይ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ D, con. Zot, ማየ ፡ ፡ αCG  
 10 ወጎብኦሙ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ CDG, con. Zot, ወፀብኦሙ ፡ ፡ α | ዳግም ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ CDG, ምጽአቱ ፡ ፡ add. α  
 11 መስቀል ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αC, መስቀሉ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ DG | 12 ውእቱ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCG, እስመ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ D | 13 ወኤርምያስኒ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCG, በኤል  
 ያስኒ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ D | 14 ምውታን ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ CG, ሙታን ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αD | 15 እግዚእነ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ ላ. ፤, መድኅኒነ ፡ ፡ add. DG | ኢየሱስ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ α  
 CG, ኢየሱስ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ D | ዘተሰቅለ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ ላ. ፤, ፡ add. DG | ወለእሉ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCG, ወእሉ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ D | 16 ተረክቡ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αD  
 G, ዘተረክቡ ፡ ፡ ፡ C | ለቅዱስ ፡ ፡ ኤጲፋንዮስ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCG, ለኤጲፋንዮስ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ D | 17 ኩሎ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCG, ኩሎ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ D  
 18 ወፍጻሜ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ CDG, ፍትወተ ፡ ፡ ፡ α, ወጥፍአተ ፡ ፡ con. Zot | 21 ፶፩ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αCD, n.l. G | ኩርሽ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αDG,  
 ኩርሽ ፡ ፡ ፡ C | ኩርሽ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ αDG, ኩርሽ ፡ ፡ ፡ C, ኩርሽ ፡ ፡ ፡ s.l. G | ንጉሠ ፡ ፡ ፤ ፡ ላ. ፤, ወእምድጎራሁ ፡ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ፡

during their journey in desert according to the commandment of God. 3. Each time people thirsted, he threw it to the ground and stroked it with his rod, and water poured out, and people and all cattle would drink. 4. Jeremiah took those objects and the stone, went quickly to the rocks and hid them until nowadays. 5. During the second Coming of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ proceeded by the sign of the Cross, this Ark will appear being carried by angels. Also Moses, who made it, will come, as well as Jeremiah, who hid it in the rocks. 6. In the time when the dead shall rise, the sign of the Cross will appear; and thereafter Our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified – glory be on Him! 7. As for these words, they are found in the teaching of St Epiphanius, our luminous father, bishop of Cyprus. He wrote down all the accounts of the prophets in his book after the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish kingdom.

Chapter 51. 1. Cyrus, the Persian, overcame Astyages, and Cyrus, that is Cambyses’ <father>, became king.<sup>263</sup> 2. Croesus was stiff-necked and presumptuous. And all kingdoms, far away and nearby, were subjected to him. 3. Those, who were subjected to him, payed him tribute and dwelt in peace. Those, who resisted him, he took captive, plundered their possessions and took their kingdoms, because he was great, dreadful and victorious. 4. And Cyrus was disquited. He had a wife, whose name was Bardane, and she had been previously wife of Darius, who reigned after Belshazzar. 5. She said to him: ‘We have a prophet from the Jews, whose name is Daniel, who has the wisdom of God. And he is from the captive children of Israel. 6. Darius used to do nothing without his advice, and everything happened as he had said.’ 7. When Cyrus heard this, he sent to the prophet Daniel and brought him with honor and asked him: ‘Will I overcome Croesus, or not?’ 8. He was silent and did not speak for one hour, and thereafter he said him: ‘Who knows the wisdom of God?’ Thereafter the prophet Daniel prayed and asked the Lord, his God, to reveal to him, whether it is possible to resist this violent presumptuous Croesus. 9. God said to him: ‘If he sends back the captive children of Israel, he will overcome him and take power over Croesus’. 10. Having heard this from God, he said to Cyrus, that he would overcome Croesus, if he would send back the children of Israel. 11. When Cyrus heard these words, he bowed down to the Daniel’s feet and swore saying: ‘Your God is living. I will send back Israel to their city of Jerusalem and they shall serve their God.’ 12. Cyrus did for them a good thing, as it was proper

<sup>263</sup> My conjecture is based on the context, from which we learn that Cyrus was Cambyses’ father. Zotenberg also proposes a lacuna after the word **ዘው-እቱ** : (Zotenberg 1883, 47). For an alternative conjecture, see *Apparatus Criticus*. However, it might also be that the Arabic *Vorlage* already contained this error.

**ወልዱ** : ንጉሠ : add. con. Col (49, n. 27) | 22 **ወላዴ** : ] conieci | **ወአክርሰሰ** : ] αCD, **ወአክረሰሰ** : G, **ወአክሪሰሰ** : con. Zot | 23 **ኩሎሙ** : ] αDG, **ኩሎ** : C | 24 **ተቃወምዎስ** : ] αCD, **ተቃወም** {**ዎ**} ሰ s.l. G | 25 **ማህረኮሙ** : ] αDG **ማህረክሙ** : C | 26 **ዓቢይ** : ] αCG, **ዓቢየ** : D | **ወመፍርህ** : ] αCG, **ወመፍርህ** : D | **ወኮነት** : ] αCG, **ወኮነ** : D | **ወከ-ርሽሰ** : ] con. Zot, **ወከ-ርሰሰ** : Σ | 27 **ፀቢብ** : ] αDG, **ዓቢብ** : C | **እንግድዓ** : ] αC, **እንግዳ** : DG | **ሎቱ** : ] αC, om. DG | **ብእሲት** : ] BCDG, **ብእሲተ** : A | **ጥርጣና** : ] αCG, **ጥርጣና** : D | 28 **ዳርዮስ** : ] αCG, **ዳርዮን** : D | 32 **ዳንኤል** : ] αCD, **ዳንኤል** : ን : G | 35 **ያአምር** : ] con. Zot, **የአምር** : Σ | 37 **አክሪሰሰ** : ] Σ, **አክሪሰሰ** : con. Zot 38 **ልብ** : ] Σ, **ውእቱ** : add. D | **ፈንዎሙ** : ] αCG, om. D | **ሊዩዋ** : **ደቂቀ** : ] αCG, **ዩዋ** : **ለደቂቀ** : D 40 **ሰሚዖ** : ] αDG, **ሰሚዖ** : C | 42 **ወመሐለ** : ] αCG, om. D

APP. LECT. MIN.: 29 **እምዕብራዊዎን** : ] CG, **እምዕራባውዎን** : αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 **መቅደስ** : ] Σ | 2 **አፍአሁ** : ] ፤ G | **ክቡራት** : ] ፤ G | 3 **ዘመና** : ] ፤ αDG 5 **ጽምአ** : ] ፤ Σ | 7 **እግዚአብሔር** : ] ፤ D | **ምድር** : ] ፤ D | 8 **እንሰሳ** : ] ፤ BCDG | 10 **ይእኪ** : ] ፤ Σ 12 **መላእክት** : ] ፤ Σ | 14 **መስቀል** : ] ፤ G | 15 **ሱብሐት** : ] ፤ Σ | 17 **ዘቆጵሮስ** : ] ፤ CDG 19 **አይሁድ** : ] ፤ Σ | 22 **አክሚስ** : ] ፤ CG | 23 **ልብ** : ] ፤ Σ | **ሎቱ** : ] ፤ BCDG | 24 **በሰላም** : ] ፤ BC DG | 25 **መንግሥተሙ** : ] ፤ G | 26 **መዊእ** : ] ፤ Σ | 27 **እንግድዓ** : ] ፤ Σ | 29 **ትብል** : ] ፤ G 30 **እግዚአብሔር** : ] ፤ G | 31 **እስራኤል** : ] ፤ Σ | 32 **ይከውን** : ] ፤ Σ | 33 **ወተሰእሎ** : ] ፤ G | 34 **አልቦ** : ] ፤ Σ | 35 **እግዚአብሔር** : ] ፤ Σ | 38 **ልብ** : ] ፤ Σ | 39 **ለአክሪሰሰ** : ] ፤ C | 41 **እስራኤል** : ] ፤ Σ

ውእቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክከ፡ አነ፡ እፌንዎሙ፡ ለእስራኤል፡ ኀበ፡  
 ሀገሮሙ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ወይትቀነዩ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አምላኩሙ፡ 12. ወኩ-  
 ርሽሰ፡ ከመ፡ ይደሉ፡ በእንተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ገብረ፡ ሎሙ፡ | ሠናያተ፡ ወፈ-  
 ነዎሙ፡ ለእስራኤል፡ # 13. ወአክሪሱስ፡ ወፅአ፡ በኃይል፡ ዐቢይ፡ ከመ፡ ይጽ-  
 5 ብአን፡ ለአህጉራተ፡ ኩርሽ፡ | ወሶበ፡ ዐደወ፡ ፈለገ፡ ቀጳዶቅያ፡ ከመ፡  
 ይቅትሎ፡ ለኩርሽ፡ ወይትዐየሮ፡ ወኩርሽሰ፡ ኢክህለ፡ ጎይዩ፡ በኀብት፡  
 በእንተ፡ ዘሀሎ፡ | ፈለግ፡ በቅድሚያ፡ 14. ባሕቱ፡ ለዝኩ፡ ፈለግ፡ ሶበ፡ ቦአ፡  
 አክሪሱስ፡ ተሰጥሙ፡ እምእሊአሁ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ሕዝብ፡ በፍጡን፡ ወውእቱሰ፡  
 ኢክህለ፡ ዓዲወ፡ እስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አግብአ፡ ውስተ፡ እዴሁ፡ ለኩርሽ፡  
 10 በዝንቱ፡ ምክንያት፡ 15. ወዴገንዎ፡ ሠራዊተ፡ ኩርሽ፡ ወረከብዎ፡ ሕያዎ፡ ወአ-  
 ኀዝዎ፡ ወአሰርዎ፡ ወቀተሉ፡ እምሠራዊቱ፡ መጠነ፡ ሿ እልፍ፡ ነፍስ፡ ወኩ-  
 ርሽኒ፡ ሰቀሎ፡ ለጸላእቱ፡ አክሪሱስ፡ ዲበ፡ ዕፅ፡ ወለእለ፡ ተርፉ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡  
 ረሰዮሙ፡ ለኀሳር፡ ወለሰላቅ፡ # 16. ለአይሁድሰ፡ ወንጉሃሙ፡ ፈነዎሙ፡  
 ይሑሩ፡ ሀገሮሙ፡ በከመ፡ አሰፈዎ፡ ለዳንኤል፡ ነቢይ፡ # 17. ወሶበ፡ ተመይጠ፡  
 15 ኩርሽ፡ ኀበ፡ ፋርስ፡ † ወቀተለ፡ † ኩሎ፡ ዘታሕተ፡ ሥልጣኑ፡ ወአንገሃ፡ |  
 ለወልዱ፡ ከሚስ፡ ላዕለ፡ ፋርስ፡ ወባቢሎን፡ ወኮነ፡ ብእሴ፡ እኩየ፡ ወገደፈ፡  
 ጥበበ፡ |አቡሁ፡ ወአምልኮተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ # 18. ወዓዲ፡ ኮነ፡  
 አገብርያ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ ምስር፡ ወኮነ፡ የኀድር፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ ጣንባሰ፡  
 ወመኑፍ፡ ወጀ፡ አህጉራት፡ ዘውእቶን፡ ወሂብ፡ ወሱፈሩ፡ # 19. ወበውእቱ፡  
 20 መዋዕል፡ ፈነወ፡ ከሚስ፡ ኀበ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ወአዘዘ፡ ይክልእዎሙ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይ-  
 ሕንጹ፡ መቅደሰ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በምክር፡ | እኩይ፡ ዘአሕዛብ፡ እለ፡ ዐውዱ፡  
 ምዕረ፡ ዳግመ፡ # 20. ወእምዝ፡ መጽአ፡ ኀበ፡ ምስር፡ ምስለ፡ ሠራዊት፡ ብዙኀ፡  
 ዘኢይትኤልቀ፡ ፍቅድሙ፡ ወመስተጽዕናነ፡ አፍራስ፡ ወሰብአ፡ እግር፡ እምነ፡  
 25 ደማድያ፡ # 21. ወዓዲ፡ ተደለወ፡ ለቀበላሁ፡ ሰብአ፡ ሻም፡ ወሰብአ፡ ፍልስ-  
 ጥኤም፡ ወአማሰነ፡ ብዙኀ፡ አህጉራተ፡ አይሁድ፡ ወአኮ፡ ኀዳጠ፡ እስመ፡  
 ውእቱ፡ ኮነ፡ አኃዜ፡ ዓለም፡ ኩላ፡ 22. ወወለጠ፡ ሰሞ፡ በትዕቢተ፡ ልብ፡ ወተ-  
 ሰምየ፡ በስመ፡ ናቡከደነጾር፡ ወኮነ፡ ይመስል፡ | ጠባይ፡ ጠባይዓ፡ በርበር፡  
 ወይጸልእ፡ ሰብአ፡ በምክረ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ እኩይ፡ # 23. ወኩርሽሰ፡ አቡሁ፡ ኮነ፡  
 30 ዐቢየ፡ ወክቡረ፡ በኀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሕያው፡ # ወአዘዘ፡ ከመ፡ ይሕንጹ፡  
 ቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘኢየሩሳሌም፡ በትግህት፡ ወበተጋድሎ፡ አመ፡  
 ፈነዎሙ፡ ለኢዮሴዕ፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ወልደ፡ ዮሴጴቅ፡ ወዘሩባቤል፡ ዘውእቱ፡  
 ዕዝራ፡ ወኩሉ፡ ዔዋ፡ አይሁድ፡ ከመ፡ ይፃኡ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ ዕብራዊያን፡

B56va  
 A74ra  
 G53rc C114ra  
 D17  
 Z49  
 A74rb  
 B56vb  
 C114rb  
 G53va  
 A74rc

APP. CRIT.: 1 አምላክከ ፡]Σ, add. አምላክከ ፡ B | አነ ፡]Σ, ከመ ፡ prae D | ለእስራኤል ፡]αCG, ለደቂቀ ፡ አሰራኤል ፡ D | 4 ወአክሪሱስ ፡]Σ, ወአክሪሱስ ፡ coni. Zot | በኃይል ፡]Σ, በኃይል ፡] s.l. G 6 ለኩርሽ ፡]αG, ለኩርሽ ፡]CD, coni. Zot | ወኩርሽሰ ፡]Σ, ወኩርሽሰ ፡] ሞአ ፡ ለአክሪሱስ ፡] ወአክሪሱስ ፡] ኢክህለ ፡] coni. Zot, ክርሽሰ ፡] ወኢክህለ ፡] coni. Cha (37, n. 1) | 7 በቅድሚያ ፡] BCD G, om. A | ባሕቱ ፡]... ፈለግ ፡]αC, ለዝኩ ፡] ፈለግ ፡] DG, s.l. A | 8 አክሪሱስ ፡]αDG, አክሪሱስ ፡] C እምእሊአሁ ፡]αCG, እምሊአሁ ፡] D | 9 ለኩርሽ ፡]ACD, ለኩርሽ ፡] B, ለኩርሽ ፡] G 10 በዝንቱ ፡]... 21 ኩርሽ ፡] በዝንቱ ፡] ምክንያት ፡] 15. ወዴገንዎ ፡] ሠራዊተ ፡] ኩርሽ ፡] (ኩርሽ ፡] D Zot: A) Σ, s.l. G | 11 ወአሰርዎ ፡]αCD, add. et del. ወቀተሉ ፡] A | ወኩርሽኒ ፡] BCG, ወኩርሽኒ ፡] ADZot: B | 12 ለጸላእቱ ፡]Σ, ለጸላእቱ ፡] coni. Zot | አክሪሱስ ፡]αDG, አክሪሱስ ፡] C 13 ወንጉሃሙ ፡]αCG, ወለንጉሃሙ ፡] D | 15 ኩርሽ ፡] CG, ኩርሽ ፡] αD | ወቀተለ ፡]Σ, ወከፈለ ፡] coni. Zot, ወተከለ ፡] coni. Cha (37) | ዘታሕተ ፡] CDG, ዘውስተ ፡] α | 16 ብእሴ ፡]αDG, ብእሴ ፡] C 19 ውሂብ ፡]Σ, መሂብ ፡] Zot | 20 ይክልእዎሙ ፡]αCG, ወይክልእዎሙ ፡] G | ኢይሕንጹ ፡]αDG, ኢይሕፁ ፡] C, {ኢ}ይሕንጹ ፡] s.l. G | 21 በምክር ፡]... 33 ዳግመ ፡]Σ, ምዕረ ፡] ዳግመ ፡] በምክር ፡] እኩይ ፡] ዘአሕዛብ ፡] እለ ፡] ዐውዱ ፡] coni. Zot | 24 ለቀበላሁ ፡]ΣZot: ላቀበላሁ ፡] A | 25 ብዙኀ ፡] BCD G, ብዙኀተ ፡] A | ወአኮ ፡]Σ, ወ{አ}ኮ ፡] s.l. D | ኀዳጠ ፡]αCD, ኀዳጠ ፡] G | 26 በትዕቢተ ፡]αCG, ትዕቢተ ፡] D | 27 በስመ ፡] CDG, om. α | ናቡከደነጾር ፡]αG, ናቡከደነ ፡] ጾር ፡] C, ናቡከደነጾር ፡] D 28 ወኩርሽሰ ፡]αDG, ወኩርሽሰ ፡] C | 30 በትግህት ፡] BCDG, በትግህት ፡] A | 31 ለኢዮሴዕ ፡] CDG, ለኢዮሴዕ ፡] B, ለኢዮሴዕ ፡] A | ዮሴጴቅ ፡] CDG, ዮሴጴቅ ፡] α | ወዘሩባቤል ፡]αCG, ወዘሩባቤል ፡] D

APP. LECT. MIN.: 11 ሿ]αDG, አርብዓ ፡] C | እልፍ ፡] BCDG, ሿ A | 19 ወጀ ፡] ACD, ወክልኤ ፡] B, ወጀኤ ፡] G | 32 ዕብራዊያን ፡] CG, ዕብራውያን ፡] αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ለእስራኤል ፡] ፤ G | 2 አምላኩሙ ፡] # C | ወኩርሽሰ ፡] ፤ G | 4 ለእስራኤል ፡] # αD G | 5 ኩርሽ ፡] # C | 6 ወይትዐየሮ ፡] # Σ | ጎይዩ ፡] # Σ | 11 ነፍስ ፡] # Σ | 12 ዕፅ ፡] # A 13 ወለሰላቅ ፡] # Σ | 14 ነቢይ ፡] # Σ | 16 እኩየ ፡] ፤ G | 17 አምላክ ፡] # Σ | 18 ጣንባሰ ፡] # αG 19 መመኑፍ ፡] # C | ወሱፈሩ ፡] # Σ | 22 ዳግመ ፡] # Σ | ሠራዊት ፡] # G | 24 ደማድያ ፡] # Σ 26 ልብ ፡] # A | 28 እኩይ ፡] # αDG | 29 ሕያው ፡] # ACG | 32 ዕዝራ ፡] ፤ C

according to God, and sent Israel back. 13. Croesus went out with big forces to make war against the dominions of Cyrus. When he crossed the river of Cappadocia in order to kill Cyrus and to insult him, Cyrus could not<sup>264</sup> secretly flee, because there was a river in front of him. 14. Nevertheless when Croesus entered this river, many people who were with him sank immediately; and he himself could not cross it, for God delivered him into the hands of Cyrus on this occasion. 15. Soldiers of Cyrus chased him, caught him alive and put him in chains; and they killed fourty thousand<sup>265</sup> souls of his soldiers. Cyrus hung his enemy<sup>266</sup> Croesus on a tree. He inflicted on the survived soldiers humiliation and mockery. 16. As for the Jews and their king, he let them go back to their country, as he had promised to the prophet Daniel. 17. When Cyrus returned to Persia, † he killed †<sup>267</sup> everyone under his power, and he appointed his son Cambyses king of Persia and Babylon. And he was an evil man, he left the wisdom of his father and the divine worship of God.<sup>268</sup> 18. Moreover, Apries was king in Egypt, he dwelt in *Tānbās* (Thebes), in *Manuf* (Memphis)<sup>269</sup> and in two other cities – *Wāhib* and *Sufiru*. 19. In those days Cambyses sent to Jerusalem and commanded to forbid them building of a Temple of God according again to the evil advice of the neighbouring peoples.<sup>270</sup> 20. Thereafter he went to Egypt with innumerable soldiers – cavalry and foot soldiers – from *Damādyā*<sup>271</sup> (Media). 21. Moreover the people of Syria and Palestine got ready to meet him, and he destroyed not a few but many cities of Jews, for he was a master over the whole world. 22. He changed his name in the arrogance of his heart, and was named Nebuchadnezzar. His disposition resembled that of a barbarian. He hated people according to the evil council of his desire. 23. Cyrus, his father, was great and honored in the presence of living God. He commanded to build a temple of God in Jerusalem in labor and effort, when he sent back Joshua, the high priest, son of Jozadak, and Zerubbabel, that is Ezra, and all the captive Jews so that they might go to the land of Hebrews and Palestine. 24. <Cambyses>, who was the new Nabuchadnezzar, and Belshazzar burnt down the holy city of Jerusalem and the Temple according to the prophecy of

<sup>264</sup>The passage was emended by Zotenberg, apparently, basing on the text of *John Malalas* 6.10 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 83). Charles proposes another emendation for this passage: ‘There is no need for the addition of three words to the text by Zotenberg. It is only necessary to excise the **ⲱ** before **ⲏ-Ⲙⲓⲓ** : and place it before **ⲕ.ⲏⲨⲀ** :’ (Charles 1916, 37, n. 1). Thus he translates: ‘And having crossed the river of Cappadocia in order to slay Cyrus, Cyrus put him to shame and he was not able to escape secretly because of the river confronting him’ (Charles 1916, 37). I follow the text of the manuscripts, which is though somewhat confusing, not completely improbable. | <sup>265</sup>Four hundred thousand in *John Malalas* 6.10 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 2017, 83). Since the word **ⲕⲀⲘⲤ** : might also mean ‘ten thousand’, such reading is also possible here. | <sup>266</sup>I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg and preserve the feminine form of the manuscripts here. It might be that such disagreement has some stylistic reasons. | <sup>267</sup>The passage causes problems. The reading of manuscripts doesn’t fit in the context. Zotenberg proposes **ⲱⲏⲕⲀ** : instead of **ⲱⲘⲓⲓ** : (Zotenberg 1883, 48). He translates then the passage as follows: ‘Lorsqu’il fut de retour en Perse, Cyrus distribua toutes ses possessions’ (Zotenberg 1883, 271). Charles proposes another emendation, he replaces **ⲱⲘⲓⲓ** : with **ⲱⲏⲏⲀ** :, and translates: ‘When Cyrus returned into Persia, he settled all the affairs of his government’ (Charles 1916, 37) I can neither agree with either of these variants, nor propose my one conjecture. See also Colin 1995, 50, n. 29. Cp. *John Malalas* 6.12; however, the *Chronicle of John Malalas* contains a different account, so it is not very useful for evaluating of this precise passage (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 84). | <sup>268</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 6.7-12 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 81-84). | <sup>269</sup>For identification of the placemane see Timm 1988, 1556, n. 5, 1577-78. Thus, he writes: ‘Als Aufenthaltsort des ägyptischen Königs kommt hier nur Memphis (\*Manf) in Frage’ (Timm 1988, 1578). | <sup>270</sup>I am not sure about the exact meaning and position of the expression **Ⲣⲟⲛⲗ** : **ⲕⲓⲣⲓⲱ** : in this sentence. | <sup>271</sup>According to Crum, this form of the proper name contains traces of a Coptic feminine article (Crum 1917, 208).

5 ወፍልስጥኤም ። 24. ወ<ከሚ>ስሰ ፣ ዘውእቲ ፣ ናቡከደነጾር ፣ ሐዲስ ፣ ወብል  
 ጣሶር ፣ አውዓይዋ ፣ ለሀገር ፣ ቅድስት ፣ ኢዮሩሳሌም ፣ ወለመቅደስ ፣ በከመ ፣ ትን  
 ቢቶሙ ፣ ለቅዱሳን ፣ ነቢያት ፣ ኤርምያስ ፣ ወዳንኤል ፣ 25. ወእምድኅረ ፣ አው  
 10 ዓይዋ ፣ ለሀገር ፣ መጽአ ፣ ከሚስ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ጋዛ ፣ ወአስተጋብአ ፣ ኅቤሁ ፣ መስተጻ  
 ብአነ ፣ ወኩሎ ፣ ንዋየ ፣ ጸብእ ፣ ወወረደ ፣ ምድረ ፣ ግብጽ ፣ ከመ ፣ ይጽብአ ።  
 ወሶበ ፣ ተጽብአ ፣ ረከበ ፣ መዊአ ፣ ወነሥአን ፣ ለአህጉራተ ፣ ግብጽ ፣ ዘውእቶን ፣  
 ፈርማ ፣ ወሽንሁር ፣ ወሻን ፣ ወበሰጣህ ፣ ወረከቦ ፣ ለአብራ ፣ ዘውእቲ ፣ ፈርዖን ፣  
 ሕያዎ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ጥንፋስ ፣ ወቀተሎ ፣ በእዴሁ ። 26. ወኮነ ፣ ዓዲ ፣ ብእሲ ፣  
 15 መስተቃትል ፣ ውስተ ፣ ምስር ፣ ዘስሙ ፣ ፋሲድ ፣ ዘይገብር ፣ ጽድቀ ፣ ወይጻልእ ፣  
 ዓመፍ ፣ አመ ፣ ኮነ ፣ ጸብእ ፣ ማእከለ ፣ ፋርስ ፣ ወምስራዊያን ። ሐረ ፣ ወጸብአሙ ፣  
 ለሻም ፣ ወለሶርያ ፣ ወነሥአ ፣ ፬ ፣ ደቂቆ ፣ ለከሚስ ፣ ወአንስቲያሁ ፣ ወኮነ ፣  
 ፕልቆሙ ፣ ፵ ፣ ነፍስ ። 27. ወአሰሮሙ ፣ ወአውዓየ ፣ አብያቲሆሙ ፣ ወዔወወ ፣  
 20 ኩሎ ፣ ዘኮነ ፣ ሎሙ ፣ ወአምጽአሙ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ መኑፍ ፣ | ወአፀምሙ ፣  
 ውስተ ፣ ቤተ ፣ ነገሥት ። 28. ወሶበ ፣ ኮነ ፣ ጸብአ ፣ ዳግ<መ> ፣ ማእከለ ፣ ሶርያ ፣  
 15 ወምስር ፣ ጸንዑ ፣ ሶርያ ፣ ወተኅየሉ ፣ ላዕለ ፣ ምስር ፣ ወነሥኡ ፣ መንግሥተ ፣  
 እንተ ፣ ኮነት ፣ በሀገረ ፣ ጥንፋስ ። 29. ወሶርያስ ፣ ኅያላን ፣ ይነድፉ ፣ በአሕጻ ፣  
 ወእንዘ ፣ ይነድፉ ፣ ወደቀ ፣ ፩ ፣ ሐጽ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ቀጽ ፣ ዘየማን ፣ ለፋሲድ ፣  
 ኅያል ። ወኅያላነ ፣ ምስርስ ፣ መሠጥዎ ፣ ለፋሲድ ፣ ኅያል ፣ እምነ ፣ ሶርያዊያን ፣  
 እምቅድመ ፣ ትፃእ ፣ ነፍሱ ። | ወሐይወ ፣ መጠነ ፣ አሐቲ ፣ ሰፃት ፣ ወእምዘ ፣  
 20 ሞተ ፣ ወኅደገ ፣ ተዘካረ ፣ ሠናየ ፣ ለእለ ፣ ይመጽኡ ፣ እምድኅሬሁ ። 30. ወምስራ  
 ዊያን ፣ ኮነ ፣ ዓዲ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ፍርሀት ፣ በእንተ ፣ ዘኅጥኡ ፣ ብእሴ ፣ ኅያለ ፣ ዘይ  
 መስሎ ፣ ለፋሲድ ። ወበእንተዘ ፣ ገዎየ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ፩ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ዘኮነት ፣  
 25 ሀገር ፣ ጽንዕት ፣ ወማኅፈዳቲሃ ፣ ጽኑዓት ፣ እምነ ፣ ካልአኒሃ ፣ 31. ወጸብ<አ> ፣  
 ከሚስ ፣ ለይእቲ ፣ ሀገር ፣ ዳግመ ፣ ወአርኅዋ ፣ ወአጥፍ<አ> ፣ ወለኩሎሙ ፣ አህ  
 ጉራት ፣ ዘታሕታይ ፣ ግብጽ ፣ ዘመንገለ ፣ ደቡብ ፣ እስከ ፣ በጽሐ ፣ ሐይቀ ፣ ባሕረ ፣  
 ዔው ፣ ወማኅረከ ፣ ኩሎ ፣ ንዋያቲሆሙ ፣ ወነሠተ ፣ አህጉራቲሆሙ ፣ ወአድያማ  
 ቲሆሙ ፣ ወአውዐየ ፣ በእሳት ፣ አብያቲሆሙ ፣ ወኢያትረፈ ፣ ምንተኒ ፣ እም  
 30 ሰብእ ፣ እስከ ፣ አንሰሳ ፣ 32. ወለአዕፃውኒ ፣ መተሮሙ ፣ ወአማሰነ ፣ አትክል  
 ቲሆሙ ፣ ወረሰያ ፣ ለሀገረ ፣ ምስር ፣ በድወ ፣ ወሶበ ፣ ተመይጠ ፣ መንገለ ፣ ሪፍ ፣  
 ጸብ<አ> ፣ ለሀገረ ፣ መኑፍ ፣ ወሞአ ፣ ለንጉሥ ፣ ዘሀሎ ፣ ውስቲታ ፣ 33. ወዓዲ ፣  
 ለሀገረ ፣ ቡሲርኒ ፣ እንተ ፣ ይእቲ ፣ መትሕተ ፣ መኑፍ ፣ አጥፍአ ፣ ወአማሰና ፣ ወበ  
 30 ርበረ ፣ ንዋያቲሃ ፣ ወአውዐያ ፣ በእሳት ፣ ወረሰያ ፣ በድወ ፣ 34. ወገዎየ ፣ | ደቂቀ ፣  
 ነገሥት ። እለ ፣ ተርፉ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ካልእ ፣ ሀገር ፣ ዘቅርብት ፣ እምኔሆሙ ፣ ውስተ ፣  
 ማኅፈድ ፣ ወዐጸዉ ፣ አናቅጸ ፣ ቅጽር ። 35. ወሱራዊያንሂ ፣ ዓገትዋ ፣ ለይእቲ ፣

B56vc  
 C114rc  
 A74va  
 Z50  
 G53vb  
 B57ra  
 D18 C114va  
 A74vb  
 B57rb G53vc  
 A74vc C114vb

APP. CRIT.: 1 ወፍልስጥኤም ።] ACDG, ፍልስኤም ፣ B | ወከሚስሰ ፣] con. Zot, ወበኪስሰ ፣ BCD  
 G, ወበኪስሰ ፣ A | ናቡከደነጾር ፣] ADGZot: B, ናቡከድነጾር ፣ B, ናቡከድነ ፣ ጾር ፣ C  
 ወብልጣሶር ፣] αCG, ወብልጣሶር ፣ D | 5 ምድረ ፣ ግብጽ ፣] αCG, om. D | ይጽብአ ።] BCDG,  
 {ይ}ጽብአ ፣ s.l. G ይፅብአ ፣ A, ይፅብአ ፣ con. Zot | 6 ተጽብአ ፣] BCDG, ተፃብአ ፣ A, ተፃብአ ፣  
 con. Zot | ለአህጉራተ ፣ ግብጽ ፣] CDG, ለአህጉር ፣ ዘግብጽ ፣ α | 7 ወሻን ፣] CDG, ወሻን ፣ α  
 ወበሰጣህ ፣] αC, ወበሰጣህ ፣ DG | 8 ጥንፋስ ፣] ፤, ጥንፋስ ፣ s.l. D | 9 መስተቃትል ፣] DG, con.  
 Zot, መስተቃትል ፣ αC | 10 ኮነ ፣] ፤, s.l. G | ወምስራዊያን ።] CG, ምስራውያን ፣ α, ወሳምራውያን ፣  
 D | 11 ወነሥአ ፣] CDG, ወነሥአሙ ፣ α | ፬ ፣ ደቂቆ ፣] αG, ፬ ደቂቆ ፣ C, ፬ተ ፣ ደቂቆ D  
 ወአንስቲያሁ ፣] ፤, መአንስቲያሁ ፣ Zot | 13 ወአፀምሙ ፣] αCG, ወአጼምሙ ፣ D | 14 ነገሥት ።] CD  
 G, ንጉሥ ። A, ንጉሥ ፣ ት B | ዳግመ ፣] con. Zot, ዳግም ፣ ፤ | 15 ሶርያ ፣ ወተኅየሉ ፣] ፤, s.l. A  
 ወተኅየሉ ፣] ፤, ወተ{ኅ}የሉ ፣ s.l. G | ወነሥኡ ፣] CDG, con. Zot, ወነሥኡ ፣ α | 16 ጥንፋስ ።] αG,  
 ጥፋስ ፣ C, ጥንፋት ፣ D | በአሕጻ ፣... ይነድፉ ፣] BCDG, om. A | 17 ወእንዘ ፣] (om. A) BCG,  
 ወንዘ ፣ D | ሐጽ ፣] αC, አሕፃ ፣ DG | ቀጽ ፣] αCG, ቀጽ ፣ D | 18 ኅያል ።... ለፋሲድ ፣] αCG, om.  
 D | ምስርስ ፣] (om. D) BCG, ምስር ፣ A | 20 ወኅደገ ፣] ACDG, ኅደገ ፣ B | ሠናየ ፣] CDG, om. α  
 ወምስራዊያን ፣] CG, ወምስራውያን ፣ αD | 23 ወማኅፈዳቲሃ ፣] BCDG, ወማኅፈዳሂ ፣ A  
 ካልአኒሃ ፣] BCDG, ከልአኒሃ ፣ A | ወጸብአ ፣] con. Zot, ወጸብአ ፣ ፤ | 24 ወአርኅዋ ፣] ፤, con.  
 Cha (39, n. 1) post ወአጥፍአ ፣ trans. α | ወአጥፍአ ፣] con. Zot, ወአጥፍአ ፣ ፤ | 26 ዔው ፣] BCDG,  
 ዔው ፣ AZot: B, ባሕር ፣ ዔው ፣ con. Zot | ወነሠተ ፣ አህጉራቲሆሙ ፣] ፤, s.l. A | 28 እስከ ፣] BCD  
 G, ወእስከ ፣ A | ወለአዕፃውኒ ፣] ፤, ወለአዕፃውኒ ፣ con. Zot | አትክልቲሆሙ ፣] ፤, አትክልቲሆሙ ፣  
 s.l. G | 29 በድወ ፣] αCD, በደወ ፣ G | 30 ጸብአ ፣] con. Zot, ጸብአ ፣ ፤ | መኑፍ ፣... ለሀገረ ፣] αCG,  
 om. D | 31 መትሕተ ፣] αC, om. DG | አጥፍአ ፣] con. Zot, አጥፍአ ፣ ፤ | ወበርበረ ፣] ፤, ኩሎ ፣ add.  
 D | 32 በድወ ፣] αC, om. D, በደወ ፣ G | 33 እምኔሆሙ ፣] αDG, ሀገርሆሙ ፣ C | 34 ወዐጸዉ ፣] BCD  
 G, ወዐፀዉ ፣ A | አናቅጸ ፣] αCD, አናቅጽ ፣ G | ወሱራዊያንሂ ፣] αCG, ወሶርያውያንሂ ፣ D



ማኅፊድ ፡ ወአርጎውዋ ፡ በሌሊት ፡ ወአጥፍእዋ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ መኑፍ ፡ ዓባይ ። 36.  
 ወኮነ ፡ ፩ ፡ እምነገ|ሥተ ፡ ምስር ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ መገርብ ፡ ፈነወ ፡ በኅቡእ ፡ ኅበ ፡ Z51  
 ወልዱ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ እልካድ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያምጽእ ፡ ንዋየ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ወለኩሉ ፡ መኪ  
 ንንቲሁ ፡ ወለጃ ፡ አንስት ፡ ዘኮና ፡ አንስትያ ፡ ከሚስ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ናቡከደነጾር ።  
 5 ወለእሎን ፡ አንስት ፡ ዘአምጽአሙ ፡ ፉሲድ ፡ ኅያል ። 37. ወአርጎወ ፡ አናቅጾ ፡  
 ቅጽር ፡ በሌሊት ፡ ወነሥእዎሙ ፡ ወወሰድዎሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገዳም ፡ በካልእ ፡  
 ፍኖት ፡ ዘኢ<ያ>አምሮ ፡ ሰብእ ። ወለአርባዕቱሰ ፡ ደቂቁ ፡ ለከሚስ ፡ ማጥዎሙ ፡  
 ሰብእ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ መኑፍ ፡ ወአዕረግዎሙ ፡ መልዕልተ ፡ ቅጽር ፡ ወጠብሕዎሙ ፡  
 10 ወመተሩ ፡ መለያልዩሆሙ ፡ ወገደፍዎሙ ፡ መትሕተ ፡ ቅጽር ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀሎ ፡  
 ከሚስ ። 38. ወሶበ ፡ ርእዩ ፡ ሠራዊተ ፡ ከሚስ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ግብረ ፡ እኩየ ፡ ዘገብርዋ ፡  
 ሰብእ ፡ መኑፍ ፡ | መልኡ ፡ ቀኑዋዓ ፡ ወጸብእዋ ፡ ለሀገር ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ 39. A75ra  
 ወአንበሩ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡ መንገዲቃተ ፡ ወነሠቱ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወቀተልዎሙ ፡  
 ለደቂቁ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ መገርብ ፡ ወሱፊር ፡ ወለኩሎሙ ፡ አርእስተ ፡ ሐራ ፡ ዘተ  
 ረክቡ ፡ በሀገር ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ምሕረት ። 40. ወሶበ ፡ አእመረ ፡ | እልካድ ፡ ሞተ ፡ B57rc  
 አቡሁ ፡ ጉየ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ኖባ ። ወከሚስኒ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ አጥፍአ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ አውን ፡  
 15 ወለላዕላይ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ እስከ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እሽሙን ፡ ወሶበ ፡ አእመሩ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ | ይእቲ ፡ C114vc  
 ሀገር ፡ ፈርሁ ፡ ወጉዩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እሽሙኒን ። 41. ወፈነወ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ኖባ ፡  
 ኅበ ፡ እልካድ ፡ ወልደ ፡ መገርብ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይምጸእ ፡ ኅቤሆሙ ፡ ወይረስይዎ ፡  
 ንጉሠ ፡ ወያንብርዎ ፡ ኅበ ፡ መካነ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ጸብእ ፡ D19  
 በአህጉራተ ፡ ሶርያ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ 42. ወሶቤሃ ፡ አስተጋብእ ፡ እልካድ ፡ ሠራዊተ ፡  
 20 ብዙኅ ፡ እምነ ፡ ሐበሽ ፡ ወኖባ ፡ ወተጸብእሙ ፡ ለሠራዊተ ፡ ከሚስ ፡ በመንገለ ፡  
 ሠርቃ ፡ ለፈለገ ፡ ግዮን ። ወሰብእ ፡ ሐበሽሰ ፡ ኢክህሉ ፡ ዓዲወ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ 43. A75rb  
 ርስኒ ፡ ምሉአነ ፡ ጉሕሉት ፡ ወሀብዎሙ ፡ ዘባናቲሆሙ ፡ ወሚጡ ፡ ገጸሙ ፡  
 ከመ ፡ ዘይጉይይ ፡ ወዓደወ ፡ ፈለገ ፡ በጥንተ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ በትጋህ ፡ ነሥእዋ ፡  
 25 ለሀገር ፡ ወአመዝበርዋ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ያእምሩ ፡ ሠራዊተ ፡ እልካድ ፡ 44. ወሶበ ፡  
 ፈጸሙ ፡ ምዝባሬሃ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ እሽሙኒን ፡ ሐሩ ፡ <በ>ላዕላይ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ወነሠቱ ፡  
 ሀገረ ፡ እስዋን ፡ ወዓደወ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ማዕዶተ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ አሒፍ ፡ ወአመዝበርዋ ፡  
 ለብላቅ ፡ በከመ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ በካልአት ፡ አህጉራት ፡ 45. ወተመይጡ ፡ ኅበ ፡  
 30 ዘተርፉ ፡ አህጉራት ፡ ወአድያማት ፡ ወበርበርዎሙ ፡ ወአውዓይዎሙ ፡ በእሳት ፡  
 እስከ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ኩላ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ምስር ፡ በድ|ወ ። ወኢተረክበ ፡ ዘየሐ|ውር ፡ Z52 B57va  
 ውስቴታ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ እስከ ፡ አዕዋፊ ፡ ሰማይ ። 46. ወእልካድሂ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ምስር ፡  
 ገብረ ፡ ምክረ ፡ ካልእ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዕደው ፡ እለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡ እምፋርስ ፡ ወሐሩ ፡ ወተራ  
 ኩበዎ ፡ ለከሚስ ፡ እምርሑቅ ፡ ወነሥኡ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡ አምኃ ፡ ምስለ ፡  
 መሰንቆ ፡ ወከበሮ ፡ ወጥብል ፡ ወሰገዱ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ወሰአልዎ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይርከቡ ፡ A75rc  
 35 እምኔሁ ፡ ርኅራኄ ፡ ወፍቅ<ረ> ። 47. ወከሚስኒ ፡ ተራኅርኅ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡  
 ምስራቂያን ፡ ዘመጽኡ ፡ ኅቤሁ ፡ ለተአዝዞ ፡ በገሪር ፡ ወመሐሮሙ ፡ ወወሰዶሙ ፡  
 | ሀገረ ፡ ድማድያ ፡ ወባቢሎን ። ወሄመ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ መኩንነ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡ 48. G53vb

APP. CRIT.: 1 ማኅፊድ ፡ ]αDG, ሀገር ፡ ድ ፡ C | ወአርጎውዋ ፡ ]αCG, ለይእቲ ፡ add. D | 2 ምስር ፡ ]  
 αCG, ምድር ፡ D | መገርብ ፡ ]CDG, መገዥ ፡ α, መገዥ ፡ con. Zot | 3 ወልዱ ፡ ]Σ, እልካድ ፡  
 add. D | 4 ናቡከደነጾር ፡ ]αG, ናቡከደነጾር ፡ CD | 5 ወለእሎን ፡ ]αCG, ወእሎን ፡ D, ለእሎን ፡  
 con. Zot | ወአርጎወ ፡ ]αCG, ወአርጎወ ፡ D, ወአር{ኅ}ወ ፡ s.l. G | አናቅጾ ፡ ]αC, አንቅጽ ፡ D,  
 አንቅጽ ፡ G | 6 ወነሥእዎሙ ፡ ]Σ, ወነሥእዎሙ ፡ add. A | 7 ዘኢያአምሮ ፡ ]con. Zot, ዘኢያአምሮ ፡  
 Σ | ደቂቁ ፡ ]αCD, ደቂቁ ፡ G | ለከሚስ ፡ ]CDG, con. Zot, ለከሚስ ፡ α | 9 ወመተሩ ፡ ]CDG, om.  
 α | 10 ከሚስ ፡ ]BCDG, ከሚስ ፡ A | 11 መኑፍ ፡ ]Σ, ወአዕረግዎሙ ፡ መልዕልተ ፡ ቅጽር ፡ ወጠብ  
 ሕዎሙ ፡ መለያልዩሆሙ ፡ ወገደፍዎሙ ፡ መትሕተ ፡ ቅጽር ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ከሚስ ። ወሶበ ፡  
 ርእዩ ፡ ሠራዊተ ፡ ከሚስ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ግብረ ፡ እኩየ ፡ ዘገብርዋ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ መኑፍ ፡ add. et del. A  
 መልኡ ፡ ]CDG, መልኡ ፡ α | ዘእንበለ ፡ ]αG, እንበለ ፡ CD | 12 ወአንበሩ ፡ ...23 ምሕረት ፡ ]αCG,  
 om. D | 13 መገርብ ፡ ](om. D) C, መገርብ ፡ G, መገርብ ፡ α | ወሱፊር ፡ ](om. D) CG, ወሱፊር ፡  
 α, | 14 እልካድ ፡ ]CDG, con. Zot, om. α | 16 እስከ ፡ ]αCG, እስመ ፡ D | እሽሙን ፡ ]αCD,  
 እሽሙን ፡ G | አእመሩ ፡ ]αCD, አእምሩ ፡ G | ሰብእ ፡ ]Σ, rep. C | 18 መገርብ ፡ ]G, መገርብ ፡ α,  
 መገርብ ፡ CD | ወይረስይዎ ፡ ]αCG, ወይረስይዎ ፡ D | 19 ወያንብርዎ ፡ ]Σ, ዓባይ ፡ መንበር ፡ add. D  
 ውእቱ ፡ ]Σ, s.l. G | 20 ቅድመ ፡ ]αCG, om. D | ወሶቤሃ ፡ ...31 በመንገለ ፡ ]BCDG, n.l. A  
 21 ሐበሽ ፡ ](n.l. A) BC, ጋብሽ ፡ D, ጋብሽ ፡ G | 22 ሠርቃ ፡ ]αC, om. D, ሠርቃ ፡ G | ለፈለገ ፡ ]αC  
 D, ፈለግ ፡ G | ሐበሽሰ ፡ ]αCD, ሐብሽሰ ፡ G | 23 ወሀብዎሙ ፡ ]C, con. Zot, ወሀብዎሙ ፡ αDG

were wives of Cambyses, i.e. Nebuchadnezzar, and whom the mighty *Fusid*<sup>281</sup> had brought. 37. They opened the gates of the fortress, seized them and lead them away to the wilderness by another secret way. The people of *Manuf* (Memphis) turned aside the four children of Cambyses, lead them up to the top of the fortress, slayed them, cut off their limbs, cast them down beneath the fortress, where Cambyses was. 38. Then the soldiers of Cambyses saw this crime, which the people of *Manuf* (Memphis) had done, they filled up with wrath, and warred against the city without mercy. 39. And they set up against it engines, destroyed palaces and killed the children of kings *Mużib* and *Sufir* and all the army officers, who were found in the city, without mercy. 40. When *ʿElkād* learned about the death of his father, he fled to Nubia. And Cambyses destroyed also the city of *ʿAṣwan* (On), and the Upper Egypt till the city of *ʿĪsmun* (Hermopolis).<sup>282</sup> When people of this city recognized (that), they were afraid and fled to the city of *ʿĪsmunin* (Hermopolis). 41. They sent to Nubia to *ʿElkād*, son of *Mużib*, so that he might come to them, and they might make him king and set him on the place of his father, for he had made war in the provinces of Assyria previously. 42. Then *ʿElkād* assembled many soldiers from Ethiopians and Nubians and warred against the army of Cambyses eastwards<sup>283</sup> to the river Gihon. Ethiopians were not able to cross the river. 43. Persians, filled with deceit, turned around,<sup>284</sup> pretended that they would flee, crossed the river at the beginning of the night vigilantly, took the city, and ruined it, while the soldiers of *ʿElkād* were not aware about that. 44. When they finished the destruction of the city of *ʿĪsmunin* (Hermopolis), they went <to> the Upper Egypt and destroyed the city of *ʿĪswān* (Assuan), passed over to the opposite side, to the city of *ʿAbif* and destroyed *Bālāq* (Phile), as they had done to other cities. 45. They returned to the surviving cities and provinces, plundered them, burnt them in fire until the whole Egypt became desert. Nothing alive was found in it: either a human, or a bird of the sky. 46. *ʿElkād*, king of Egypt, made another council with men, who escaped from Persians, and they went and held a meeting with Cambyses from a distance, they brought with them presents, a fiddle, a drum, timbrels,<sup>285</sup> they bowed down to him and asked him, whether they might receive from him compassion and friendship. 47. Cambyses had mercy on the survived Egyptians, who came to obey him. He showed mercy on them and lead them away to the city of *Dāmādyā* (Media) and Babylon. He appointed them a governor from their own number. 48. He did not take<sup>286</sup> the royal crown from *ʿElkād*, but he put him on the royal throne and took him with him. 49.

<sup>281</sup> Charles translates this passage as ‘Fusid the captain’ (Charles 1916, 39). | <sup>282</sup> See Timm 1984, 198-220. | <sup>283</sup> Zotenberg translates this passage as ‘la rive orientale’ (Zotenberg 1883, 274). Charles proposes the translation ‘on the eastern bank’ (Charles 1916, 40). | <sup>284</sup> Zotenberg translates ‘s’élougnèrent d’eux’ (Zotenberg 1883, 274). Charles does not translate this expression at all (Charles 1916, 40). | <sup>285</sup> See, Zotenberg 1883, 274, n. 1; Charles 1916, 40, n. 1. <sup>286</sup> Zotenberg prefers here the form **ኢነሥኦ** : of MS A (Zotenberg 1883, 52). However, I think that the right form should be **ኢነሥኦ** : for the direct object **አክሊለ** : መንግሥት : is not preceded by the preposition **ለ**.

24 ዘይገቡይይ : ] Σ, ዘይገቡይይ : s.l. G | ነሥኦ : ] Σ, ወነሥኦ : con. Zot | 25 ሠራዊተ : ] αCD, ሠራዊት : G | 26 በላዕላይ : ] con. Zot, ላዕላይ : Σ | 27 እስዋን : ] αDG, እሸዋን : C | 28 ለብላቅ : ] αC G, አብላቅ : D | አህጉራት : ] Σ, ወአድያማት : add. DG | 29 ወአድያማት : ] Σ, s.l. G | 33 ወነሥኦ : ] BCDG, ወነሥኦ : A | 35 ወፍቅረ : # ] con. Zot, ወፍቅር : Σ | ተራጎራጎ : ] ACDG, ተራጎራጎ : B | 37 ድማድያ : ] αDG, ደማድያ : C | ሎሙ : ] Σ, s.l. G

APP. LECT. MIN.: 4 አንስትያ : ] CG, አንስቲያ : αD | 7 ወለአርባዕቲስ : ] BC, ለፀስ : AD, ወለፀስ : G | 23 ጉሕሉት : ] αCD, ጉሀሉት : G | 36 ምስራዊያን : ] CG, ምስራውያን : αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ማጎፊድ : ] ፤ G | ዓባይ : # ] Σ | 4 ናቡከደነጾር : # ] Σ | 5 ኅያል : # ] Σ | 7 ሰብእ : # ] αG | 10 ከሚስ : # ] Σ | እኩዮ : ] C | 14 ምሕረት : # ] (om. D) # BCG | 15 ኖባ : # ] BCDG | 16 እሸሙን : # ] C | 17 እሸሙኒን : # ] BCDG | 20 ቅድመ : # ] (om. D) ፤ G | 22 ግዮን : # ] αDG | 23 ጉሕሉት : ] ፤ G | 25 እልካድ : # ] AG | 26 ግብጽ : # ] C | 29 ወአድያማት : # ] A | 30 በድወ : # ] BCDG | 31 ሰማይ : # ] BCDG | 35 ወፍቅረ : # ] Σ | 37 ወባቢሎን : # ] Σ

ወለእልካድሂ ፡ ኢነሥእ ፡ አክሊሊ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ አላ ፡ አንበሮ ፡ በመንበረ ፡ መን  
 ግሥት ፡ ወወሰዶ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ 49. ወጥልቆሙሰ ፡ ለምስራቂያን ፡ እለ ፡  
 ወሰዶሙ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ከሚስ ፡ ጅጅ። ዘእንበለ ፡ አንስት ፡ ወደቅ ። ወነበሩ ፡ ሻ ፡  
 ዓመተ ፡ በዔዋዌ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ወኮነት ፡ ምስር ፡ በድወ ። 50. ወከሚስስ ፡ እም  
 5 ድኅረ ፡ አጥፍ<አ> ፡ ለምስር ፡ ሞተ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ደማስቆ ፡ ወአክራኪስስ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡  
 ዓቢይ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ፳ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ ወኢያሕፀፀ ፡ ፍቅረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወፍቅረ ፡  
 ሰብእ ፡ 51. ወአዘዘ ፡ ለዮስ ፡ ተብእሲ ፡ ሰቃዩ ፡ ተከመ ፡ ይሕንጽ ፡ ቅጽራ ፡ ለኢየሩ  
 ሳሌም ፡ | ወተወክፎሙ ፡ ለሕዝብ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘአክበርዎ ፡ ኩርሽ ፡ ወዳ  
 10 ርዮስ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወተቀንይዎ ፡ ወበእንተዝ ፡ አጽንዐ ፡ ኩሎ ፡  
 ግብሮሙ ፡ ለአይሁድ ፡ 52. ወለምስራቂያንሂ ፡ ተወክፎሙ ፡ ወአሠነዩ ፡ ሎሙ ፡  
 ወረሰዮሙ ፡ መኳንንተ ፡ ተማኪሮ ፡ ምስለ ፡ መሳፍንቲሁ ። ወእምዝ ፡ ፈነዎሙ ፡  
 ለምስራቂያን ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀገሮሙ ፡ በጃወ፩ ፡ ዓመት ፡ እምዔዋዌሆሙ ፡ ወምዝባሬ ፡  
 ሀገሮሙ ፡ 53. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ቦኡ ፡ ወጠኡ ፡ ሐኒጸ ፡ አብያት ፡ በበአህጉሪሆሙ ፡  
 አከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ዐቢያን ፡ አብያት ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ ንኡሳነ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ገብሩ ፡  
 15 ሎሙ ፡ ለመኃድሪሆሙ ፡ ወተከሉ ፡ አትክልተ ፡ ወአውያነ ፡ ብዙኅ ። 54.  
 ወሢሙ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ፊዋቲሮስ ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ አክስራክሲስ ፡  
 መፍቀሬ ፡ ሰብእ ። 55. ወኮነ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ምስራቂ ፡ ናዛዚ ፡ ተወካፊ ፡ ድካም ፡  
 ጠቢብ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ ሠናያት ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ሸኑፊ ፡ ዘበትርንሚሁ ፡ ብስራት ። 56.  
 ወኮነ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ይተግህ ፡ ፈደፋደ ፡ ለሐኒጸ ፡ አህጉራት ፡ ወአደያማት ፡  
 20 ወለሐሪስ ፡ ገራህት ፡ እስክ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ አድያማተ ፡ ምስር ፡ በኅዳጥ ፡  
 ዘመን ። ወሐደሳ ፡ | ለምስር ፡ ወረሰያ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ጽጋብ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡  
 በመዋዕሊሁ ፡ ወበዝኑ ፡ ግብጻዊያን ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ወእንስሳሆሙኒ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ በዝኅ ፡ 57.  
 ወነግሠ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ሻወጃ። ዓመተ ፡ በፍሥሐ ፡ ወበሰላም ፡ በእንተ ፡ ተመ  
 25 ይጠተ ፡ ዔዋ ፡ ምስራቂያን ፡ ምዕረ ፡ ዳግመ ፡ ወአዕረፈ ፡ በክብር ። ወእምቅድመ ፡  
 ይሙት ፡ <ጎለ>ቆሙ ፡ ለምስራቂያን ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ጥልቆሙ ፡ ሻጅ። ብእሲ ። 58.  
 ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ሸኑፍ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ ምስራቂያን ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡  
 ዘመነ ፡ ባሕቱ ፡ ይሁቡ ፡ ጸባሕተ ፡ ለፋርስ ፡ ወለሶርያ ፡ ኅቡረ ፡ ወነበሩ ፡ በሰላም ፡  
 እስክ ፡ ሢሙ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ካልአ ፡ ፈርዖን ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ወወሀቡ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ጸባሕተ ። 59.  
 ወፋርስስ ፡ ኢሠምሩ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ የሀቡ ፡ ጸባሕተ ፡ ምስራቂያን ፡ ለን  
 30 ጉሦሙ ። ወዓዲ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡  
 ዐቢይ ፡ አክስራክሲስ ፡ ዘመሐሮሙ ፡ ለምስራቂያን ። 60. ወዘነግሠ ፡ እምድ  
 ኅሬሁ ፡ ለአክስራክሲስ ፡ ጸብአሙ ፡ ለአይሁድ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ወአይሁድ ፡ ገረሩ ፡  
 ሎቱ ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ ጸብአሙ ፡ ለምስራቂያን ፡ ወሞአሙ ፡ ወበርበረ ፡ ንዋያቲሆሙ ፡  
 እስመ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ሠናይት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ጥቀ ፡ በረድኤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።  
 35 61. ወሶበ ፡ አእመረ ፡ ሰክጣናፉስ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ተፍጻሜተ ፡ ፈርዖናት ፡ እምኅበ ፡

A75va C115ra

B57vb

A75vb G54rc

Z53

D20

C115rc

B57vc

A75vc

APP. CRIT.: 1 ወለእልካድሂ ፡]αCD, ወለእልካድሂ ፡ G | ኢነሥእ ፡]BCDG, ኢነሥእ ፡ A  
 መንግሥት ፡]Σ, እምኒሁ ፡ add. D | በመንበረ ፡]Σ, በመ[ንበ]ረ ፡ s.l. G | 2 ወወሰዶ ፡]Σ, ወኢወሰዶ ፡  
 coni. Zot (274, n. 3) | እለ ፡...14 ከሚስ ፡]αCG, om. D | 3 ዘእንበለ ፡]αCG, ዘእበለ ፡ D  
 5 አጥፍአ ፡]coni. Zot, አጥፍአ ፡ Σ | 6 ወኢያሕፀፀ ፡]αCG, ወኢሕፀፀ ፡ D | 7 ለዮስ ፡]αDG, ለዮ  
 ሐንስ ፡ C, ለንኤምያስ ፡ (or ንእምያስ ፡) coni. Zot (275, n. 1) | ሰቃዩ ፡]αDG, ሥቃይ ፡ C,  
 መዛሪ ፡ (or ገዛኢ ፡) coni. Cha (41, n. 2) | 8 ኩርሽ ፡]BDG, ኩርሽ ፡ AC | 9 ወተቀንይዎ ፡]Σ, ወተ  
 ቀ[ን]ይዎ ፡ s.l. G | ኩሎ ፡]αDG, ኩሎ ፡ C | 10 ወለምስራቂያንሂ ፡]C, ወለምስራቂያን ፡ α, ወለሳም  
 ራቂያን ፡ D, ወለሳምራቂያንሂ ፡ G | 12 ዓመት ፡]αDG, om. C | እምዔዋዌሆሙ ፡]BCG, ወእም  
 ፀዋዌ ፡ D, እምዔዋዌሆሙ ፡ A | 13 ወእምድኅረ ፡]αC, ወእምዝ ፡D, ወእምዝ ፡G | ቦኡ ፡]αCG, om.  
 D | አብያት ፡]αCD, ዐቢያት ፡ G | 14 አብያት ፡]αCG, om. D | 15 ሎሙ ፡]αCG, om. D  
 16 ወሢሙ ፡]αDG, ወሢሙ ፡ C | አክስራክሲስ ፡]αDG, አስክራኪስ ፡ C | 17 ድካም ፡]αDG,  
 ሕማም ፡ C | 18 መፍቀሬ ፡]αDG, መፍቀሬ ፡ C | 19 ለሐኒጸ ፡]CDG, በሐኒጸ ፡ α | 21 ለምስር ፡]αD  
 G, om. C | 25 ጎለቆሙ ፡]coni. Zot, ጎልቆሙ ፡ Σ | ሻጅ ፡]Σ, እልፍ ፡ add. D | 26 ሸኑፍ ፡]Σ,  
 ሸኑፊ ፡ coni. Zot | 27 በሰላም ፡]αCG, om. D | 28 ሢሙ ፡]αDG, ሢሙ ፡ C | ጸባሕተ ፡]αCG, om.  
 D | 29 ወፋርስስ ፡]CDG, ወፋርስኒ ፡ A, ወፋርስሲ ፡ B | በዝንቱ ፡]αDG, ባሕቱ ፡ C | 30 ወዓዲ ፡...  
 ንጉሥ ፡]Σ, i.m. G | ፋርስ ፡]i.m. G) αCG, om. D | ኮኑ ፡]i.m. G) αDG, ኢኮኑ ፡ C | ሞተ ፡]αD  
 G, om. C | 31 አክስራክሲስ ፡]αCD, አክሲራኪስ ፡ G | ዘመሐሮሙ ፡...6 ለአክስራክሲስ ፡]αDG,  
 om. C | 32 ለአክስራክሲስ ፡]αD, ለአክስራኪስ ፡ G, (om. C) | ወአይሁድ ፡]αDG, ወአይሁድኒ ፡ C  
 34 እስመ ፡]CDG, coni. Zot, እስክ ፡ α

APP. LECT. MIN.: 2 ወጥልቆሙሰ ፡]αCD, ወጥልቆሙሰ ፡ G | ለምስራቂያን ፡]CG, ለምስራ

The number of Egyptians, whom Cambyses took with him, was fifty thousand except women and children. They remained for forty years in captivity in Persia and Egypt became desert. 50. Cambyses, having destroyed Egypt, died in Damascus, and the great and wise Artaxerxes<sup>287</sup> reigned for twenty years and he did not lessen the love for God and love for people. 51. He commanded to *Yos*,<sup>288</sup> † a man ..., †<sup>289</sup> to build a wall for Jerusalem. He received the Jews, for Cyrus and Darius venerated the God of heaven and served him. For this reason he supported all the activities of the Jews. 52. He received the Egyptians, treated them well and made them officers having counsel with his officials.<sup>290</sup> Thereafter he sent the Egyptians back to their country in the forty-first year of their captivity and destruction of their land. 53. When they arrived, they began to construct houses in each of their cities, not large ones as formerly, but small ones – so, they built shelters for themselves. They planted plants and much wine. 54. They appointed upon themselves a king named *Fiwāturos* according to the command of Artaxerxes, the philanthropic. 55. There was an Egyptian, comforter, hard-worker, wise, the lover of virtues, whose name was *Sənufi*, which means by interpretation ‘good news’. 56. This man was making much effort for construction of cities and provinces and in cultivating land until he built up all provinces of Egypt in a short time. He restored Egypt and established it as it had been before. There was a great abundance in his time, and the number of Egyptians increased a lot, and moreover their cattle increased in number. 57. He reigned over them for forty-eight years in joy and peace due to the return of the Egyptians from captivity for the second time. He died in honor. Before his death he counted the Egyptians and their number was five hundred thousand people. 58. After the death of *Sənuf*, the Egyptians lived without a king for a long time, but they paid taxes at the same time to Persians and Assyrians and remained in peace, until they appointed them another Pharaoh as king and they paid taxes to him. 59. Persians did not like that Egyptians paid taxes to their king. Also Persians were without king after the death of the great Artaxerxes, who had had mercy on Egyptians. 60. The one, who reigned after Artaxerxes warred first against the Jews, and the Jews submitted to him. He also warred against Egyptians, overcame them, plunder their possessions, for the land of Egypt was very beautiful through the help of God. 61. When *Saktānāfus* (Nectanabus), the last of the Pharaohs, was informed by the great magicians, that he was a magician as well, he asked the impure demons, whether he would reign over Egyptians or not. After he had learned and recognized from demons, that he would not reign over Egyptians, he shaved his head and changed his appearance. He fled and went to the city of *Farmā*. He also went to Macedonia and dwelt there. 62. Egyptians remained subjected

<sup>287</sup> If I understand Nöldeke correctly, he proposes to identify this person rather with Xerxes (Nöldeke 1881, 594). | <sup>288</sup> According to *John Malalas* 6.15 Nehemiah is meant (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 85). | <sup>289</sup> The passage is not clear. See Zotenberg 1883, 275, n. 1; Crum 1917, 208. <sup>290</sup> Charles translates: ‘and made them officers in order to take counsel with his prefects’ (Charles 1916, 41). Zotenberg translates as follows: ‘Il choisissait eux des fonctionnaires, pour délibérer avec ses propres officiers’ (Zotenberg 1883, 275).

ውያን ፡ αD | 3 ጅጃ ፡ ] CDG, ጅ እልፍ ፡ α | ጃ ፡ ] αDG, አርብዐ ፡ C | 12 ለምስራቂያን ፡ ] CG, ለምስራ-  
ውያን ፡ αD | 22 ግብጻዊያን ፡ ] CG, ግብጻውያን ፡ αD | 24 ምስራቂያን ፡ ] CG, ምስራውያን ፡ αD  
25 ጎለቆሙ ፡ ] αC, ጎለቆሙ ፡ D, ፍልቆሙ ፡ G | ለምስራቂያን ፡ ] CG, ለምስራውያን ፡ αD  
ጎለቆሙ ፡ ] αCD, ጎለቆሙ ፡ G | 26 ምስራቂያን ፡ ] CG, ምስራውያን ፡ αD | 29 ምስራቂያን ፡ ] C  
G, ምስራውያን ፡ αD | 31 ለምስራውያን ፡ ] (om. C) αD, ለምስራቂያን ፡ G | 33 ለምስራቂያን ፡ ] CG,  
ለምስራውያን ፡ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 2 ለምስራቂያን ፡ ] # C | 3 ወደቅ ፡ ] # Σ | 4 ፋርስ ፡ ] # C | በድወ ፡ ] # BCDG  
5 ደማስቆ ፡ ] # # D, # G | 11 መሳፍንቲሁ ፡ ] # αDG | 13 ሀገሮሙ ፡ ] # G | 15 ብዙጎ ፡ ] # BCDG  
16 ላዕሊሆሙ ፡ ] # C | 17 ሰብእ ፡ ] # Σ | 18 ብስራት ፡ ] # Σ | 19 ወአድያማት ፡ ] # A | 21 ዘመን ፡ ] # Σ  
24 በክብር ፡ ] # BCDG | 25 ብእሲ ፡ ] # Σ | 28 ጸባሕተ ፡ ] (om. D) # αCG | 29 ለንጉሥ ፡ ] # Σ  
30 ንጉሥ ፡ ] # G | 31 ዐቢይ ፡ ] # G | ለምስራውያን ፡ ] (om. C) # BDG | 32 ቅድመ ፡ ] # D  
33 ለምስራቂያን ፡ ] # G | 34 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ] # Σ

መሠርያን ፡ ዐቢያን ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ መሰግለ ፡ ወይሴአሎሙ ፡  
 ለአጋንንት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ እመ ፡ ይነግሥ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ምስራቂያን ፡ አው ፡ አልቦ ። ወእም  
 ድኅረ ፡ አእመረ ፡ ወጠየቀ ፡ እምአጋንንት ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይነግሥ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ | ምስራ  
 5 ዊያን ፡ ላጸየ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ወወለጠ ፡ መልክኦ ፡ | ወገብ ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ፈርማ ።  
 ወዓዲ ፡ ሐረ ፡ መቄዶንያ ፡ ወነበረ ፡ ህየ ። 62. ወነበሩ ፡ ግብጻዊያን ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይት  
 ቀነዩ ፡ ለዩልያኖስ ። እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ መጽአ ፡ እስክንድር ፡ አልብንጣርዮስ ፡  
 ዘፍካሬ ፡ ስሙ ፡ አኃዜ ፡ ዓለም ። ወቀተሎ ፡ ለጎስግጥስ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ፋርስ ። 63.  
 ወእምድኅረ ፡ ጎዳጥ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ነግሠ ፡ አኩሽ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ፲ወ፪ ፡ ዓመተ ።  
 10 ወእምድኅረ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ እክስራክሲስ ፡ ጳወ፫ ፡ ዓመተ ። ወእምድ  
 ኅሬሁ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ዓርዮስ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ አክርዮስ ፡ ፮ ፡ ዓመተ ። ወእምዘ ፡ እስክ  
 ንድር ፡ ተንሥአ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ወቀተሎ ፡ ወነሥአ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡  
 እምኔሁ ። እስመ ፡ እስክንድር ፡ ወልደ ፡ ፊልጶስ ፡ መቄዶናዊ ፡ ኮነ ፡ አኃዜ ፡  
 ዓለም ። |

C115va  
G54va

A76ra B58ra

Z54

ክፍል ፡ ፶፪ ፡ ወሀሎ ፡ ፩ ብእሲ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ አይናስ ፡ ወአውሰበ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ላዲኖስ ፡  
 ዘስማ ፡ ላዊና ፡ ወሐነጸ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ዓቢያ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ በሰማ ፡ ላዊና ፡ ወአጽገዐ ፡ መን  
 ግሥቶ ፡ ውስቴታ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፶፫ ፡ 1. ወኮነ ፡ ፩ ብእሲ ፡ ዘሀገረ ፡ ኂጣልያ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ዮላልስ ፡ ምስለ ፡  
 ወልዱ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ ወመስተጻብአ ፡ ወጸብአ ፡ ብዙኃተ ፡ አህጉራተ ፡  
 20 እምነ ፡ አህጉራተ ፡ አንያስ ፡ በጎይል ። 2. ወአመ ፡ ተቃተሎ ፡ ለዩስጥን ፡ ነሥአ ፡  
 ሀገሮ ፡ ወሐነጸ ፡ ውስቴታ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ዓቢያ ፡ | ወአሠርገም ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ዘከማሁ ፡  
 ቤት ፡ ዘይመስሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ሀገር ። 3. ወዓዲ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ማጎፊደ ፡ ወሰመዮ ፡  
 በይልላድዩን ፡ ዘበትርንሜሁ ፡ ቅጽር ፡ ወሰመዮ ፡ በሰሙ ፡ ይላልስ ።

C115vb A76rb

ክፍል ፡ ፶፬ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ አክሩሲስ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እንተ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡  
 ህልዋን ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ፈለስ ፡ እምእልባንያ ፡ ቦአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እልዋንያ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡  
 ህልዋን ፡ ዘፍካሬሃ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ብሂል ።

D21

ክፍል ፡ ፶፭ ፡ 1. ወኮነት ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ከነናዊት ፡ ዘስማ ፡ ዲጡ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡  
 30 ለ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ሰንሐውስ ። 2. ወይእቲ ፡ ኮነት ፡ እምሀገር ፡ ንእስት ፡  
 እንተ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ ከርዲማስ ፡ እንተ ፡ ሀለወት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሐይቀ ፡ ባሕር ፡  
 ማእከለ ፡ ጢሮስ ፡ ወሲዶና ። 3. ወይእቲ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ባዕልት ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ላቲ ፡  
 እኅወ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ገማልዩን ። ወውእቱ ፡ ተንሥአ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ምታ ፡ ወቀተሎ ፡ በቀ  
 35 ንአት ፡ ከመ ፡ ይንሣእ ፡ ንዋያቲሃ ፡ ወመዛግብቲሃ ። 4. ወተንሥአት ፡ ፍጡነ ፡

B58rb

G54vb

APP. CRIT.: 2 እመ ፡ ይነግሥ ፡ ]Σ, coni. Zot, trans. post ምስራቂያን ፡ α | 3 እምአጋንንት ፡ ]αCD, እምአጋንንት ፡ G | 4 ላጸየ ፡ ]αCG, ላጽየ ፡ D | ፈርማ ። ]ACG, ፍርማ ፡ B, ሮሜ D | 6 እስከ ፡ ...16 አኃዜ ፡ ]BCDG, n.l. A | 7 ለጎስግጥስ ፡ ]ACDG, ለሕሰግጥስ ፡ B | 8 አኩሽ ፡ ]αCG, ነኩሽ ፡ D 9 ዝንቱ ፡ ]αDG, om. C | 10 ዝንቱ ፡ ]ACDG, om. B | 11 እክስራክሲስ ፡ ]αC, እክራኪስ ፡ DG 12 አክርዮስ ፡ ]αCG, አክርዮስ ፡ D | 13 እስክንድር ፡ ]Σ, እስክንድር ፡ s.l. G | 14 እስመ ፡ ]αCG, እስመ add. B, om. D | 15 ፶፪ ፡ ]αCD, ፶፫ G | ወአውሰበ ፡ ]αCD, ወአሰበ ፡ G | ወለተ ፡ ]BCDG, ወለቱ ፡ A 16 ዓቢያ ፡ ]Σ, ዓቢያ ፡ add. A | 17 ፶፫ ፡ ]αCD, ፶፩ G | ሀገረ ፡ ]αC, በሀገረ ፡ DG | ኂጣልያ ፡ ]αCG, ኂጣልያ ፡ D | ዮላልስ ፡ ]αCG, ዮላልስ ፡ D | 20 ወጸብአ ፡ ]αC, om. DG | ብዙኃተ ፡ ]αDG, ብዙኃ ፡ C | 21 አህጉራተ ፡ ]αD, ብዙኃት ፡ C, አኅጉራት ፡ G | አንያስ ፡ ]Σ, አይናስ ፡ coni. Zot | 22 ሀገር ። ]C G, አህጉር ፡ α, ሀገሮ ፡ D | 23 በይልላድዩን ፡ ]αCG, በይልላድዮን ፡ D | ወሰመዮ ፡ ...ይላልስ ። ]Σ, በሰሙ ፡ ይላልስ ፡ coni. Zot | ይላልስ ። ]αC, ይላልስ ። D, ይላልስ ፡ G | 24 ፶፬ ፡ ]αCD, ፶፫ ፡ G 25 ህልዋን ፡ ]αC, ሀዋን ፡ DG | እምእልባንያ ፡ ]Σ, እምእ(ል)ባንያ ፡ s.l. D | እንተ ፡ ...3 ህልዋን ፡ ]αC G, om. D | 30 ፶፭ ፡ ]αCD, ፶፫ ፡ G | ከነናዊት ፡ ]αCG, ከነአናዊት ፡ D | 31 ዘስሙ ፡ ]αC, om. DG 32 ማእከለ ፡ ]Σ, ማእ(ከ)ለ ፡ s.l. G | ወኮነ ፡ ]αDG, ወኮናት ፡ C | 33 ዘስሙ ፡ ]αDG, ዘስማ ፡ C 34 ገማልዩን ። ]αCG, ገማልዩልን ። D | ተንሥአ ፡ ...10 ወመዛግብቲሃ ። ]Σ, i.m. G | 35 ወተንሥአት ፡ ]Σ, {ወ}ተንሥአት ፡ s.l. G

APP. LECT. MIN.: 2 ርኩሳን ፡ ]αCD, ርኩሳን ፡ G | ምስራቂያን ፡ ]CG, ምስራቂያን ፡ αD 3 ምስራቂያን ፡ ]CG, ምስራቂያን ፡ αD | 5 ግብጻዊያን ፡ ]CG, ግብጻውያን ፡ αD | 8 ፲ወ፪ ፡ ]α, ሀሠርተ ፡ ወክልኤተ ፡ C, ፲ወ፪ተ ፡ D, ፲ተ ፡ ወ፪ተ ፡ G | 10 ፮ ፡ ]αCD, ፮ተ ፡ G



ይእቲ፡ ብእሲት፡ ወአስተጋብአት፡ ኩሎ፡ ንዋያቲሃ፡ ወመዛግብተ፡ ቤታ፡ A76rc  
 ወቦአት፡ ውስተ፡ ሐመር፡ ወጎዮት፡ ወሐረት፡ ኅበ፡ ሀገረ፡ ቶና፡ ዘአፍራቅያ፡  
 እምነ፡ ከነአን፡ ወሐነጸት፡ ሀገረ፡ ዐባዩ፡ ውስተ፡ ውእቱ፡ አድያማት፡ ወሰ  
 መዩታ፡ ቅርጣግና፡ ወይእቲ፡ በልሳነ፡ በርበር፡ ትሰመይ፡ ሀገር፡ ሐዲስ፡ ወነ  
 ግሡት፡ ህዩ፡ በጥቡብ፡ እስከ፡ ሞተት፡ ። C115vc

5

ክፍል፡ ፶፮፡ 1. ወበመዋዕለ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ይሁዳ፡ ኮነ፡ ክልኤ፡ አጋው፡ Z55  
 ዘስሞሙ፡ ሮምሎስ፡ ወሮማኖስ፡ 2. ወእሙንቱ፡ ሐነጹ፡ ሀገረ፡ ዐቢያ፡ በኅበ፡  
 ውልንድያ፡ ሀገር፡ ንእስት፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ቅድመ፡ ቤተ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘት  
 ሰመይ፡ ብላንጥስ፡ በአጣልያ፡ ሀገሩ፡ ለላንዲኑስ፡ ወሐደሱ፡ ሐኒጾታ፡ ምዕረ፡  
 ዳግመ፡ ። 3. ወዓዲ፡ ሐነጹ፡ ቤተ፡ ለአምላኩሙ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ድዮስ፡ ወሰመይዎ፡  
 በልሳኖሙ፡ ቀባዱልዩን፡ ወለጅስ፡ ሕንጻ፡ ቤተ፡ መንግሥት፡ መንክር፡  
 ርእየቱ፡ ጥቀ፡ ወለእልቀባዱልዩንሂ፡ ሰመይዎ፡ ርእሰ፡ ሀገር፡ በልሳነ፡ እልላ  
 ዲኑስ፡ 4. ወበውእቱ፡ መዋዕል፡ ሰመዩ፡ ስሞሙ፡ ሮም፡ ወስመ፡ ሀገሮሙ፡  
 ሮሜ፡ ወነግሡ፡ | ፪፡ አጋው፡ ኅቡረ፡ ውስቲታ፡ ወእምድኅረዝ፡ ኮነ፡ ጽልእ፡  
 ማእከሌሆሙ፡ ወቀተሎ፡ ሮምሎስ፡ ለሮማኖስ፡ እኑሁ፡ ወረሰዩ፡ መንግሥተ፡  
 ለባሕቲቱ፡ 5. ወበጊዜሃ፡ አድለቅለቀት፡ ሀገር፡ ወአሕዛብኒ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ደንገ፡  
 ኅቡረ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ድልቅልቅ፡ ዐቢይ፡ በኅቤሆሙ፡ ወዓዲ፡ ሮምሎስ፡  
 ፈርሀ፡ ወኮነ፡ ድኩመ፡ ልብ፡ ወእምብዝኅ፡ ፍርሀቱ፡ ተጠየቀ፡ እምኅበ፡ ማእ  
 ምራን፡ ወመናፍስት፡ ርኩሳን፡ | ከመ፡ ኢይጸንዕ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ በሮሜ፡ ዘእ  
 ንበለ፡ ሮማኖስ፡ እኑሁ፡ ። | 6. ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ተመክነዩ፡ ብዙኅ፡ ለአንሥአተ፡  
 እኑሁ፡ ወኢተክህሎ፡ ባሕቲ፡ ኮነ፡ ድልቅልቅ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ወበማእከለ፡ ውእቱ፡  
 ድልቅልቅ፡ ርእየ፡ ፍጹመ፡ አርአያ፡ መልክአ፡ እኑሁ፡ እምነ፡ እንግድዓሁ፡  
 እስከ፡ ርእሱ፡ ። 7. ወገብረ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ርእየቱ፡ መልክአ፡ እኑሁ፡ ዘርእየ፡  
 ቅድመ፡ ሥዕለ፡ ወርቅ፡ እምነ፡ እንግድዓሁ፡ እስከ፡ ርእሱ፡ በአምሳለ፡  
 እኑሁ፡ ወአንበሮ፡ ኅበ፡ መንበሩ፡ ወአሰርገዎ፡ በኩሉ፡ ጸዋትወ፡ ሰርጉ፡ | 8.  
 ወከመዝ፡ ኮነ፡ ይጽሕፍ፡ በውስተ፡ መልእክቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ መጽሐፈ፡ መል  
 እክት፡ እምኅቤዩ፡ ወእምኅበ፡ እኑዩ፡ ከመዝ፡ ንብል፡ ወከመዝ፡ ንኤዝዝ፡  
 ከመዝ፡ | ንገብር፡ ወዘይመስሎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ 9. ወጸንዐ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ሥርዓት፡  
 እምኅበ፡ ሮማውያን፡ እስከ፡ ይእዜ፡ ነገሥቶሙኒ፡ ወመኳንንቲሆሙ፡  
 ዐቀብዋ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ሕግ፡ በዐፀደ፡ ሢመታቲሆሙ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ አብሩጠርዩስ፡  
 ዘውእቱ፡ መካነ፡ ፍትሕ፡ ብሂል፡ ። 10. ወሮምሎስሰ፡ ዓዲ፡ ወጠነ፡ ተጽዕኖ፡  
 አፍራስ፡ በሮሜ፡ ወተቀዳድሞ፡ ወትግሀታተ፡ ለመዊእ፡ ወለእልክቱ፡ ምግ  
 ባራት፡ ሰይጣናዊያት፡ ወጥንተ፡ እከያት፡ ወስሕተታት፡ ከሠቶን፡ ከመ፡  
 ይጽንዑ፡ ቡቱ፡ መስተጽዕናነ፡ አፍራስ፡ ውስተ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዓለም፡ ። 11. ወዓዲ፡  
 ሠርዐ፡ መካነ፡ ጸብእ፡ ዘአንስት፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ እልመንጣጡን፡ ከመ፡ ይት  
 ጋብአ፡ ሐራ፡ ከመ፡ የሀልዉ፡ ምስሌሆ<sup><ን></sup>፡ እስመ፡ ውእቶሙ፡ ኮነ፡  
 ቅድመ፡ ያረከሱዎን፡ ለአንስት፡ እለ፡ ቦን፡ ምተ፡ ለደናግል፡ ወለዕቤራት፡  
 ኅቡረ፡ ። 12. ወዘንተሰ፡ ዘገብረ፡ ሮምሎስ፡ መስተጽዕናነ፡ አፍራስ፡ ዘአንስት፡  
 በእንተ፡ ፍርሀቱ፡ ወድካመ፡ ልቡ፡ ወረሰዩን፡ ፩፡ ትዕይንተ፡ ለባሕቲቶን፡ ዘእ

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15

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25

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35

40

A76rc

C115vc

Z55

B58rc

A76va

C116ra

G54vc

A76vb

B58va

D22

Z56 C116rb

A76vc

APP. CRIT.: 3 ወሐነጸት፡ ፡]αCD, ሐነጸት፡ G | ውእቱ፡፡]αCG, ይእቲ፡ D | አድያማት፡፡]αCG, አድያሞ፡ D | 4 ቅርጣግና፡፡]αDG, ግርጣግና C | ወይእቲ፡፡]αCG, ወይእቲስ፡ D | 7 ፶፮፡፡]αCD, ፶፱፡ G | ወበመዋዕለ፡፡]CDG, con. Zot, ወመዋዕለ፡፡]α| ኮነ፡፡]αCD, ኮነ፡ G | ክልኤ፡፡]CG, ፪፡፡]α, ፪ቱ፡፡]D | 9 ውልንድያ፡፡]BCDG, ወልድንያ፡፡]A | ንእስት፡፡]BCDG, ንዕንስት፡፡]A | 10 ብላንጥስ፡፡]BCDG, ብለንጥስ፡፡]A | በአጣልያ፡፡]αCG, በኢጣልያ፡፡]D | ለላንዲኑስ፡፡]αCG, ለላዲኑስ፡፡]D ወሐደሱ፡፡]CDG, ወሐነጹ፡፡]α | 11 ለአምላኩሙ፡፡]αCG, አምላኩሙ፡፡]D | 12 ቀባዱልዩን፡፡]αCG, ቀባዱልዩን፡፡]D | 13 ርእየቱ፡፡]Σ, post ጥቀ፡፡]trans. D | ወለእልቀባዱልዩንሂ፡፡]αDG, ወእልቀባልዱዩንሂ፡፡]C | በልሳነ፡፡]αC, ሰለሳኒ፡፡]D, ሰለሳነ፡፡]G | 15 ወነግሡ፡፡]BCDG, ወነግሡ፡፡]A 17 አድለቅለቀት፡፡]ACD, አድልቅለቀት፡፡]B, አድለቅለት፡፡]G | 19 እምኅበ፡፡]αDG, ኅበ፡፡]C 20 ዘእንበለ፡፡]Σ, ዘእንበለ፡፡]s.l. D | 22 ወኢተክህሎ፡፡]CDG, ወኢክህሎ፡፡]α | ኮነ፡፡]Σ, s.l. A 23 ድልቅልቅ፡፡]Σ, ዓቢይ፡፡]add. D | ፍጹመ፡፡]Σ, post አርአያ፡፡]trans. D | እንግድዓሁ፡፡]αCG, እንግዳዓሁ፡፡]D | 24 በአምሳለ፡፡]αDG, በአምሳሎ፡፡]C | 25 እንግድዓሁ፡፡]αCG, እንግዳዓሁ፡፡]D 26 ወአንበሮ፡፡]αC, ወአንበሮሙ፡፡]DG | ወአሰርገዎ፡፡]αCG, ወአሠርገዎሙ፡፡]D | በኩሉ፡፡]αCG, በኩሎ፡፡]D | ሰርጉ፡፡]αCD, con. Zot, ሠርጎ፡፡]αG | 27 መጽሐፈ፡... ንብል፡፡]Σ, i.m. G

Chapter 56. 1. In the days of the king of Judaea Hezekiah there were two brothers, whose names were Romulus and Remus.<sup>303</sup> 2. They built a great city near the small city of Valentia, which was previously a royal residence named *Balāntās* (Pallantium) in Italy, in the land of Latinus. At that time they renovated its construction one more time. 3. They also built a house for their god named *Dəyos* (Zeus), and they named it in their language *Qabādulyun* (Capitol). The appearance of one of the buildings of the royal palace was so wonderful! They named *ʾlqabādulyun* (Capitol) ‘head of the city’ in the Latin language. 4. At that time they called themselves Romans, and the name of their city was Rome. Both brothers reigned together there. Thereafter there was a conflict between them, and Romulus killed Remus, his brother, and seized the reign for him alone.<sup>304</sup> 5. At that time the earth trembled, and all people were terrified, because a big earthquake happened to them. Romulus was afraid too, and his heart was weak. Out of a great fear he learned from diviners and impure spirits, that his reign in Rome would not be strong without his brother Romus. 6. At this moment he searched for the ways to rise him up, but he could not. But a great earthquake happened. During this earthquake he saw a perfect image of his brother from his breast to his head. 7. He made, following his vision of his brother as he had been before, a golden statue in the likeness of his brother from his breast till his head. He put it on the throne and adorned it with all kinds of decoration. 8. Thereafter he was writing in his declarations so: a declaration from me and my brother: we say so and so, we command so and so, we do so and so, and so on. 9. This rule has been strong from Romans till nowadays. Their kings and governors preserved this law in the court for their ordinations, which is named *ʾabruturyos* (praetorium) that is a place of justice.<sup>305</sup> 10. Romulus also began to ride on a horse in Rome, to be first in races and eager to win.<sup>306</sup> He discovered these devil’s practices and source of evil and seduction, in order that his cavalry might be the strongest in the world. 11. Moreover he established a place of contest<sup>307</sup> for women, named *ʾalmanātun*,<sup>308</sup> in order that soldiers might come and be with them. For previously they defamed those without a husband, virgins and old women altogether. 12. Because of the fear and discouragement Romulus established the women cavalry and arranged them into certain troops alone without men. 13. And he also divided them in two: one front row – virgins, and one front row – married women. And he gathered from all the provinces, from nearby and far away, a big group of the

<sup>303</sup> For the synchronism between Hezekiah and Romulus cp. Eusebius’ *Chronicle*. | <sup>304</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 7.1 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 91). | <sup>305</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 7.2 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 91-92). <sup>306</sup> Charles emends **ወትግሀታተ** into **ተግሀቶት** and translates: ‘And Romulus also was the first to ride on horseback in Rome and to rush to the encounter at full speed and to be ardent to be victorious’ (Charles 1916, 44). | <sup>307</sup> I think that chariot-races are meant. | <sup>308</sup> Crum supposes this word to be a transliteration from Coptic and, thus, translates it ‘place of contest’ (Crum 1917, 208).

29 ንጉብር ፣] α, ንግበር ፣ CDG | ወዘይመሰሎ ፣] ACDG, ወዘይመሰሎ ፣ B | 30 ወመኳንንቲሆሙ ፣] B CDG, ወመኳንንቲሆሙኒ ፣ A | 31 አብሩጡርዮስ ፣] CG, አብሩጡርዮስ ፣ αD | 32 ዘውእቱ ፣] CD G, ዘውእቶሙ ፣ α | 33 ወተቃዳድሞ ፣] αDG, ወተቃዳድሞ ፣ C, ወተቃድሞ ፣ con1. Zot ወትግሀታተ ፣] Σ, ተግሀቶት ፣ con1. Cha (44) | 34 ሰይጣናዊያት ፣] CDG, ሰይጣናዊያን ፣ α, ሰይጣናዊያን ፣ s.l. G | ከሁቶን ፣] BCDG, ወከሁቶን ፣ A | 36 እልመንጣጡን ፣] αCG, እልመጥባጡን ፣ D | 37 የሀልወ. ፣] αCD, የሀለወ. ፣ G | ምስሌሆን ፣] con1. Zot, ምስሌሆሙ ፣ Σ | 38 ያረከሱስዎን ፣] D, con1. Zot, ያረከሱስዎሙ ፣ αCG | ምተ ፣] CG, ምት ፣ αD | ለደናግል ፣] Σ, ወለደናግል ፣ con1. Zot ወለሰራራት ፣] αC, ወሰራራት ፣ DG | 40 ለባሕቲቶን ፣] αD, በባሕቲቶን ፣ CG

APP. LECT. MIN.: 30 ሮማውያን ፣] αDG, ሮማዊያን ፣ C | 40 ሄ ፣] AC, አሐደ ፣ B, ሄደ ፣ D, አሄ G

APP. PUNCT.: 3 አድያማት ፣] # D | 4 ቅርጣና ፣] # BCG | ሐዲስ ፣] # BCG | 5 ሞተት ፣] # # αCG, # # D | 7 ሄ ፣] # G | 8 ሀገረ ፣] ፤ G | 11 ዳግመ ፣] # Σ | 12 ቀባዳልዩን ፣] # Σ | 15 ሮሜ ፣] # αCD | ወስቲታ ፣] | 17 ሀገር ፣] # A | 18 በጎቤሆሙ ፣] # Σ | 19 ልብ ፣] # G | 21 እኅሁ ፣] # αDG 24 ርእሰ ፣] # Σ | 25 ቅድመ ፣] # # αCG, | 26 እኅሁ ፣] # D | ሰርጉ ፣] ፤ G | 27 ይብል ፣] # D 30 ይእዜ ፣] # Σ | 31 ሢሪታቲሆሙ ፣] # BCG | 32 ብሂል ፣] # BCDG | 33 በሮሜ ፣] # C ለመዊእ ፣] # # αCG, | 35 ዓለም ፣] # ACG | 37 ምስሌሆን ፣] # BCG | 39 ጎቡረ ፣] # BCDG

ንበለ ፡ ዕደው ። 13. ወእምኔሆን ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ከፈለ ፡ ለክልኤ ። አንስተ ፡ ደናግለ ፡ ፩ ፡ G55ra  
 ገጸ ፡ ወለአንስት ፡ ዘቦን ፡ ምተ ፡ ፩ ፡ ገጸ ። ወአስተጋብአ ፡ እምኩሎን ፡ አህ  
 ጉራት ፡ ዘቅሩብ ፡ ወዘርሑቅ ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ እምነ ፡ አንስት ፡ መስተጽዕናን ፡  
 አፍራስ ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ ጉልቀኑ ። 14. ወለአንስትስ ፡ ነኪራት ፡ ዘኢኮና ፡ እምሮሜ ፡ |  
 5 ይኔልወ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይ<ፈ>ጽሙ ፡ ፍትወተ ፡ በኅቤሆሙ ፡ ወኩሎን ፡ ዘረከ  
 <ብዋን ፡> ይገስሰዋን ። 15. ወለደናግልስ ፡ ዘሀገረ ፡ ሳባ ፡ ዘቅርብት ፡ እምሮሜ ፡  
 ወእቶን ፡ አንስት ፡ ሠናያት ። ጸውያሙ ፡ ወአስተጋብአሙ ፡ ኅቤሁ ። ወእም  
 ድኅረ ፡ ፈጸመ ፡ ሮምሎስ ፡ አስተጋብአቶን ፡ ለአንስት ፡ ወሀቦን ፡ ለሐራ ፡ እለ ፡  
 አልቦሙ ፡ አንስትያ ። ወሰመዮሙ ፡ ለእሉ ፡ ሐራ ፡ መንጣጥስ ፡ መስተጽብአን ፡  
 10 ብሂል ። 16. | ወለእለ ፡ | ተርፋሂ ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ይትማሠጥዎን ፡ ለለ፩፩ ፡ በአምጣነ ፡  
 ተክህሎ ። ወእምድኅረ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ ነሥኡ ፡ አንስቲያ ፡ በጠባይዲሆሙ ፡  
 እንበለ ፡ መሢጥ ። 17. ወዓዲ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ዝውተ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ ወሰመዮሙ ፡ ማርያ ፡  
 አጽሎን ። 18. ወዓዲ ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ሮምሎስ ፡ ለክቡራን ፡ መኳንንት ፡ ወለሐራ ፡ ከመ ፡  
 ተ ይጸልዩ ፡ ተ በዘመነ ፡ ክረምት እስከ ፡ አልፋ ፡ ወአ ። ወይስአል ፡ ፩፩ ፡ እምክ  
 15 ቡራን ፡ ወሠራዊት ፡ ወመላህቅተ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ ሐራ ፡ እለ ፡ ያፈ  
 ቅሮሙ ። ወዛቲ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ ኮነት ፡ በኅብ ፡ ሮም ። 19. ወዓዲ ፡ አንበረ ፡ ሕገ ፡  
 በሮም ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡ አብራስንጡስ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ መካነ ፡ ልኡካን ፡ ብሂል ፡ ዘየ  
 ዐቅቡ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ቅጽረ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ጊዜ ። 20. ወዓዲ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ አረፋተ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡  
 ወፈጸሞሙ ፡ 21. ወዓዲ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ በሀገረ ፡ አራው ፡ በወርኅ ፡  
 20 መርድዩስ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ መጋቢት ። ወብሂለ ፡ መርድዩስስ ፡ ርእስ ፡ አውራኅ ። 22.  
 ወለላሠርቀ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ይገብሩ ፡ በዓለ ፡ ወሰመይዎ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ | በዓል ፡ እብ  
 ሪምስ ። ወእምድኅረ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ በዓል ፡ አዘዘሙ ፡ ለሐራ ፡ ይግብሩ ፡ ጸብአ ፡ 23.  
 ወሰመይዎ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ | ወርኅ ፡ መርድዩስ ፡ በምክንያተ ፡ ልማዶሙ ፡ ለሐነፋ  
 25 ዊያን ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ በከመ ፡ አዘዙ ፡ ቀዳማዊያን ፡ በእበድ ፡  
 ዘእንበለ ፡ አእምሮ ፡ ወዐቀብዋ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ሮም ። 24.  
 ወበእንተዝ ፡ አበዊነ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ መነኮሳት ፡ ዘግብጽ ፡ ለባሲያነ ፡ አገምላክ ፡  
 ለለኩሉ ፡ ሠርቀ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ <ያ>ዐርጉ ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ደም ፡ ለሥሎስ ፡  
 ቅዱስ ፡ ዕሩያን ፡ በመለኮት ፡ ወይትሜጠወ ፡ እምሥጢራት ፡ ቅዱሳት ፡  
 ዘይሁቡ ፡ ሕይወተ ። እንዘ ፡ ይሴብሐ ፡ ወይብሉ ፡ በመዝሙር ፡ ዘ፹ ፡ ንፍሐ ፡  
 30 ቀርነ ፡ በዕለተ ፡ ሠርቅ ፡ በእምርት ፡ ዕለት ፡ በዓልነ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፶፯ ፡ 1. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሮምሎስ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ኑምምዮስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ብእሴ ፡  
 ጠቢብ ፡ ወለባዌ ፡ ፈድፋዶ ፡ 2. ወረሰያ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ ትሑር ፡ ሑረተ ፡ ሠናየ ፡  
 በተግሣጸት ፡ ክቡራት ። 3. ወዝንቱ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ትሩፍ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ፍሉስ ፡  
 35 ለሢጥ ፡ ወለተሣይጦ ፡ ወተውላጠ ፡ ብሩር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ሰመይዎ ፡ ለናኅስ ፡

APP. CRIT.: 2 ምተ ፡] αCG, ምት ፡ αD | 4 አፍራስ ፡] αDG, om. C | 5 ይኔልወ ፡] αCG, ይሂል  
 ወያን ፡ D | ይፈጽሙ ፡] con. Zot, ይፈጽሙ ፡ Σ | ፍትወተ ፡] αCG, ፍትወቶሙ ፡ D | በኅቤሆሙ ፡] αCG,  
 በኅቤሆን ፡ D | ወኩሎን ፡] αCG, ወኩሉ ፡ D | ዘረከብዋን ፡ ይገስሰዋን ።] con. Cha (45, n. 2),  
 ዘረከቦ ፡ ይግሥዎን ፡ Σ, ዘረከቦ ፡ ይገሥዎን ፡ con. Zot | 6 ወለደናግልስ ፡] C, ወለደናልስ ፡ DG,  
 ወደናግልስ ፡ α | 7 ጸውያሙ ፡] αCG, ጸወያን ፡ D | ወአስተጋብአሙ ፡] αCG, ወአስተጋብአን ፡ D  
 ኅቤሁ ።] αCG, om. D | 10 ለለ፩፩ ፡ በአምጣነ ፡] ACDG, ለለአሐዲ ፡ ፩ በአምጣነ ፡ B  
 11 ወእምድኅረ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡] CDG, ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ α, ወእምድኅረ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ s.l. D | 12 ወዓዲ ፡ ...  
 አጽሎን ።] Σ, i.m. G | ወጠነ ፡] (i.m. G) Σ, add. ወሢመ ፡ con. Zot | 13 ወለሐራ ፡] CDG, ወሐራ ፡ α  
 14 ይጸልዩ ፡] αCG, ይጸልዩ ፡ D, ይሴሰዩ ፡ con. Cha (45, n. 5) | ክረምት... ወአ ።] Σ, እምአልፋ ፡  
 እስከ ፡ post ክረምት ፡ con. Cha (45, n. 6) | 15 ሐራ ፡] αCG, om. D | ያፈቅሮሙ ።] αCD, ያፈ  
 ቅሮሙ ፡ G | 17 አብራስንጡስ ፡] αC, አብራስንጡንስ ፡ DG | 19 አራው ፡] ACDG, አራው ፡ B  
 20 መርድዩስስ ፡] αCG, መርድዩስ ፡ D | ርእስ ፡] Σ, {C}እስ ፡ s. l. D | 21 ወለላሠርቀ ፡] αCG, ወለላ  
 ሠርቀ ፡ D | እብሪምስ ።] αCD, አብሪም ፡ ስ ፡ G | 22 ይግብሩ ፡] αCD, ይግብሩ ፡ G | 23 ልማዶሙ ፡] αCG,  
 om. D | 26 ወበእንተዝ ፡] αC, ወበእንተ ፡ DG | 27 ያዐርጉ ፡] con. Zot, ያዐርጉ ፡ Σ | ዘእንበለ ፡] Σ,  
 ዘእንበለ ፡ s. l. D | 28 ወይትሜጠወ ፡] D, con. Zot, ወይትመጠወ ፡ αCG | 29 ይሴብሐ ፡  
 ወይብሉ ፡] αC, ይብሉ ፡ ወይሴብሐ ፡ DG | 32 ፶፯ ፡] αD, ፶፯ ፡ C, ፳፭ ፡ G | ሮምሎስ ፡] αCD,  
 ሎምሎስ ፡ α | ኮነ ፡] Σ, s.l. G, ወውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ con. Zot | 33 ወለባዌ ፡] αDG, ወለባዌ ፡ C  
 34 ወዝንቱ ፡] αCD, ወዝንቱስ ፡ G | 35 ወተውላጠ ፡] ወለተዋልጠ ፡ D, ወለተውላጠ ፡ con. Zot

APP. LECT. MIN.: 1 ለክልኤ ።] αCG, ለ፩ ፡ α, ለ፪ኤ ፡ D | ፩ ፡] αC, ፩ደ ፡ DG | 2 ፩ ፡] αC, ፩ደ ፡ DG  
 4 ጉልቀኑ ።] αDG, ጉልቁ ፡ C | 11 አንስቲያ ፡] ACD, አንስትያ ፡ BG | 23 ለሐነፋዊያን ፡] αCG,  
 ለሐነፋውያን ፡ αD | 24 ቀዳማዊያን ፡] αCG, ለቀዳማውያን ፡ αD

female riders without number. 14. And they kept watching the foreign women, who were not from Rome, in order they might accomplish their lust and <they> seized any one <they> could find. 15. And concerning the virgins of the city of *Sābā* (Sabina)<sup>309</sup> near Rome they were beautiful women. He invited them and gathered them by him.<sup>310</sup> And after Romulus had assembled the women, he gave them to the soldiers without women. And he called this soldiers *manātās*, that is ‘warriors’. 16. He commanded to those who were left to seize violently any of them as best they could. But after this ordinance they took women according to their character without violence.<sup>311</sup> 17. He also established<sup>312</sup> idol priests and named them the priests of Apollo. 18. Romulus also commanded to the honored officers and soldiers to † pray †<sup>313</sup> in the winter time till alpha and omega.<sup>314</sup> He asked from each and every of the nobles, *śarāwit* (officers), the seniors of people and all the soldiers, whom he wished. This custom remained in Rome.<sup>315</sup> 19. He also established a law in Rome, which is called *abrāsantus*<sup>316</sup>, that is ‘place of officials’, of those who guarded the fortress the whole time.<sup>317</sup> 20. He also built the walls of the city of Rome and accomplished them. 21. He also built an idol temple in the city of *Arāw* (Ares) in the month of *Mardāyus* (March), i.e. *Maggābit*. *Mardāyus* (March) is the beginning of the months. 22. At the beginning of each month they celebrated a feast. They called this feast *ʿIbrimās* (Primus). After this feast he commanded to the army to fight. 23. They named this month of *Mardāyus* (March) according to the custom of the heathen, who are people of deamons; as the previous ones commanded in foolishness without understanding. And the people of Rome preserved this custom. 24. Due to this reason the Holy Fathers, monks of Egypt, clothed by God, offer bloodless sacrifices at the beginning of each month to the Saint Trinity coequal in Godhead and receive the holy life-giving mysteries while chanting from the eightieth Psalm: ‘Blow up the trumpet in the day of the new moon on the notable day of our festival’.<sup>318</sup>

Chapter 57. 1. After Romulus, Numa reigned. He was a very wise and intelligent man. 2. He established so that the city of Rome followed the proper customs in illustrious instructions. 3. This outstanding man began to make *fālus*<sup>319</sup> for buying, selling and exchanging silver. Because of that they call the stamped copper money *fālus* until nowadays. 4. He also established two places: one for governors and one for judges, so that they might

<sup>309</sup>I associate this passage with the myth on the Rape of the Sabine Women. | <sup>310</sup>In this sentence there is a disaccordance in gender. The pronominal suffixes are masculine instead of feminine. | <sup>311</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 7.6. According to *John Malalas*, Romus established chariot-races and invited to women only outside Rome to watch them. When they filled hyppodrome, his soldiers seized these women. It was done so, because no Roman woman wanted to marry his soldiers (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 94-95). | <sup>312</sup>I subscribe to the opinion of Charles, who points out that the emendation by Zotenberg is not needed (Charles 1916, 45, n. 4). | <sup>313</sup>The passage seems to be corrupt. I can’t propose any solution by now. | <sup>314</sup>I don’t follow the conjecture by Charles, but the text of the manuscripts. | <sup>315</sup>Cp. *John Malalas*, 7.7 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 95). | <sup>316</sup>See Charles 1916, 45, n. 7. Cp. *πρωίσεντον* in the Slavic version of *John Malalas* (Thurn 2000, 135). | <sup>317</sup>The passage is confused. Zotenberg does not translate it. See, Zotenberg 1883, 280, n. 3, and Charles 1916, 45, n. 7. | <sup>318</sup>Ps. 81.3. | <sup>319</sup>From Arabic *فلوس* ‘coins’ (which in turn comes from Greek-Coptic *φόλλις*).

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ὀροϝ #] # αDG | ωλγρϝσϝ #] # G | ἈηΔλϝ #] # BCDG | 2 ἡϝ #] # BCDG | 4 ἡϝϝϝ #] # αCG, | 6 ρἡἡἡϝ #] # αG | 7 ωϝϝϝ #] # BCG | ἡἡἡ #] (om. D) # αCG | 9 ἡἡἡϝ #] # αDG | 10 ἡἡΔ #] # Σ | 11 ἡἡἡἡ #] # Σ | 12 σσϝϝ #] # Σ | 13 ἡἡἡἡ #] # (i.m. G) CG | 14 ωρἡἡΔ #] # CG | 15 ρἡἡϝϝ #] # BCDG | 16 ϝϝ #] # αCD | 18 ἡἡ #] # Σ | 20 σσἡἡ #] # αCG, | σσϝϝϝἡ #] # C | ἡἡἡἡ #] # αCD | 21 ἡἡἡἡ #] # Σ | 25 ϝϝ #] # Σ | 29 ἡἡἡἡ #] # Σ | 30 ἡἡἡἡ #] # Σ | 32 ἡἡ #] # G | ἡἡἡ #] # A | 34 ἡἡἡἡ #] # CDG | 35 ἡἡἡ #] # AD

ዘቡቱ ፡ ማኅተም ፡ ፍሉስ ፡ እስከ ፡ ዮም ። 4. ወዓዲ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ክልኤ ፡ መካናተ ፡  
 አሐቲ ፡ ለመኳንንት ፡ | ወአሐቲ ፡ ለፈታሕት ፡ ከመ ፡ የአዝዝዎሙ ፡ ለመኳ  
 ንንት ፡ ወለኩሎሙ ፡ ሐራ ። 5. ወዓዲ ፡ ረሰየ ፡ በአፍአ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይፍትሐ ፡ ለአ  
 ሕዛብ ፡ ዘኩኑ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ሥልጣኖሙ ፡ ወአኮ ፡ ባሕቲቶሙ ፡ ዘይፈትሐ ፡ አላ ፡  
 5 ቦምግባር ፡ ዘይቴሐት ፡ በበመዓርግ ፡ ወዘይመስሎ ፡ ለዝንቱ ። 6. ወኮነ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡  
 ሕግ ፡ ንቡረ ፡ ወሥዩመ ፡ በኅብ ፡ ሮማውያን ፡ እስከ ፡ ዮም ።

B59ra

ክፍል ፡ ፶፰ ፡ 1. ወበመዋዕሊሁ ፡ ለሊ<ቀ> ፡ ካህናት ፡ ዘኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ዘስሙ ፡  
 ዮዳ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ፊልጶስ ፡ ዘመቄዶንያ ፡ ወእምድኅረ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ጸብአ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ናው  
 10 ሳልባት ፡ ወሞአ ። 2. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ረከበ ፡ መዊአ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ በመቄዶንያ ፡  
 ወሰመያ ፡ ተሰሎንቄ ።

C116vb

G55rc

ክፍል ፡ ፶፱ ፡ 1. ወእስክንድር ፡ ወልደ ፡ ፊልጶስ ፡ መቄዶናዊ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ |  
 ሐነጸ ፡ ለሀገር ፡ ዓባይ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ምስር ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ በስሙ ፡ እስክን  
 15 ድርያ ፡ 2. ወሰማስ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ራኩዲ ፡ በልሳነ ፡ ምስራቂያን ። ወእምድኅረዝ ፡  
 ጸብአ <አ> ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ እስከ ፡ ወሰነ ፡ አውዚዝ ፡ ወሐነጸ ፡ በህየ ፡ መካነ ፡ ኅብ ፡  
 ተጋብኡ ፡ ሐራሁ ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ ሠራዊቱ ፡ ወበህየ ፡ ወሀሀሙ ፡ ወርቀ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡  
 ለዓበይት ፡ ሐራሁ ፡ ወለኩሎሙ ፡ መኳንንቲሁ ፡ ወለሠራዊቱ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡  
 20 ወሰመያ ፡ ለይእቲ ፡ መካን ፡ አክሪሳቡልስ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ይሰምይዋ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡  
 ሰብአ ፡ ብርንጥያ ። 3. ወሶበ ፡ ጸብአ ፡ ለፋርስ ፡ እስክንድር ፡ ቀተለ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡  
 እምሠራዊተ ፡ ዳርዮስ ፡ እስከ ፡ አኅለቆሙ ፡ ወነሥአ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ዳርዮስ ፡  
 25 ኩላ ፡ ወተሠልጠ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡ 4. ወዓዲ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ ለወለቱ ፡ ዘሰማ ፡ ርኩሳኒ ፡  
 ወይእቲ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ድንግለ ፡ ወረሰያ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ወኢገብረ ፡ ባቲ ፡ እኩዮ ። 5. ወለን  
 ግሥተ ፡ ኅብሽሂ ፡ ዘሰማ ፡ ቅንዳቅስ ፡ ኢያሕሰመ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዕባየ ፡  
 25 ልቡናሃ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ሰምዐት ፡ ዜና ፡ ምግባራቲሁ ፡ ለእስክንድር ፡ ወልማ  
 ዳቲሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይ<ዴ>መር ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ዓይን ፡ ሶበ ፡  
 ይፈቅድ ፡ ጸቢኦቶሙ ፡ ለነገሥተ ፡ ምድር ። 6. ወንግሥትኒ ፡ ቅንዳቅስ ፡ አእ  
 መረቶ ፡ አመ ፡ መጽአቱ ፡ ኅቤሃ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ዓይን ፡ ወአኅዘቶ ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡  
 አንተ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ እስክንድር ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘአኅዝከ ፡ ኩላ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ወአንተ ፡ ዮም ፡  
 30 ተእኅዝከ ፡ በብእሲት ። 7. ወይቤላ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ በእንተ ፡ አእምሮትኪ ፡ ወርቀተ ፡  
 ልቡናኪ ፡ ወጥቡብኪ ፡ አኅዝክኒ ፡ አነ ፡ እምይእዜ ፡ አዓቅባኪ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ እከይ ፡  
 ለኪ ፡ ወለደቂቅኪ ፡ ወእፊስየኪ ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ ሊተ ። | 8. ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዐት ፡ ዘንተ ፡  
 ሰገደት ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ እገሪሁ ፡ ወተሰነአወት ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ወረሰያ ፡ ሎቱ ፡  
 35 ብእሲተ ። | ወእምድኅረ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ገረሩ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ሐበሽ ። 9. ወእስክንድርኒ ፡  
 አመ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ከፈለ ፡ መንግሥቶ ፡ ለ፬ ፡ አዕርክቲሁ ፡ እለ ፡ ተራድእዎ ፡ በውስተ ፡

Z58

A77va

B59rb

A77vb C116vc

D24

G55va

APP. CRIT.: 2 ወአሐቲ ፡ ]BCDG, ወዓዲ ፡ A | የአዝዝዎሙ ፡ ]αDG, የአኃዝዎ ፡ C | 4 ዘኩኑ ፡ ]αD  
 G, ዘኮነ ፡ C | 5 ወዘይመስሎ ፡ ]BCDG, ይመስሎሙ ፡ A | 6 ንቡረ ፡ ]αD, ንቡር ፡ CG | ወሥዩመ ፡ ]α  
 DG, ወሥዩም ፡ C | እስከ ፡ ዮም ። ]αCG, om. D | 8 ፶፰ ፡ ]αCD, ፳፮ ፡ G | ለሊቀ ፡ ]coni. Zot,  
 ለሊቃነ ፡ Σ | 9 ናውሳልባት ፡ ]BCDG, ናውሳልባት ፡ A | 10 መዊአ ፡ ]BCDG, መዊአ ፡ A | 13 ፶፱ ፡ ]  
 αCD, ፳፯ ፡ G | ወእስክንድር ፡ ]Σ, ወእስክንድር ፡ s.l. G | መቄዶናዊ ፡ ]Σ, መቄዶ(ና)ዊ ፡ s.l. G  
 14 ለሀገር ፡ ]Σ, ለሀገር ፡ s.l. G | በሀገረ ፡ ]Σ, {በ}ሀገር ፡ s.l. G | 15 ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ ]αDG, ወእም  
 ድኅረ ፡ C | 16 ጸብአ ፡ ]coni. Zot, ጸብአ ፡ Σ | ፋርስ ፡ ]Σ, add.ወበጽሐ ፡ oni. Zot | 19 ለይእቲ ፡ ]Σ,  
 ለይእቲ ፡ s.l. G | አክሪሳቡልስ ፡ ]CDG, አኪሪሳቡልስ ፡ α | ከመዝ ፡ ]Σ, ወከመዝ ፡ coni. Zot  
 ኩሎሙ ፡ ]αCG, om. D | 20 ጸብአ ፡ ]αCD, ፀብብአ ፡ G | 22 ለወለቱ ፡ ]αCG, ለወለተ ፡ D  
 23 ብእሲተ ፡ ]Σ, ብእሲቶ ፡ coni. Zot | 24 ኢያሕሰመ ፡ ]BCDG, ኢያሐሰመ ፡ A | 25 ልቡናሃ ፡ ]αC  
 G, ልቡና ፡ D | 26 ይዴመር ፡ ]coni. Zot, ይደመር ፡ αG, ይደምር ፡ CD | 27 ጸቢኦቶሙ ፡ ]αDG,  
 ዐሲኦቶሙ ፡ C | 30 በብእሲት ። ]BCDG, ብእሲት ፡ A | አእምሮትኪ ፡ ]αDG, አእምሮተኪ ፡ C  
 31 ልቡናኪ ፡ ]αCG, ልቡናኪ ፡ D | አነ ፡ ]αCG, ወአነ ፡ D | አዓቅባኪ ፡ ]αC, n.l. D, አዓቅብኪ ፡ G  
 ዘእንበለ ፡ ]Σ, ዘእንበለ ፡ s. l. D | 32 ብእሲተ ፡ ]Σ, post ሊተ ፡ trans. A

APP. LECT. MIN.: 1 ክልኤ ፡ ]CG, ፪ ፡ αD | 6 ሮማውያን ፡ ]αDG, ሮማዊያን ፡ C | 15 ምስራቂያን ። ]  
 CG, ምስራቂውያን ፡ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ዮም ። ] ። BCDG | 3 ሐራ ። ] ። αDG | 4 ሥልጣኖሙ ፡ ] ። D | 5 ለዝንቱ ። ] ። αC

command to officers and to the whole army. 5. He also established (them) outside so that they might judge people, who were under their dominion, and not only those, who judged, but rather those, who were in a lower position and those, who resembled this.<sup>320</sup> 6. This law is established and ordained in Rome till nowadays.

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Chapter 58. 1. In the days of the high <priest> of Jerusalem, whose name was Judas, Philip of Macedonia reigned. After becoming a king he warred against the land of *Nāwəsālbāt* (Thessaly)<sup>321</sup> and gained victory. 2. Having gained the victory, he built a city in Macedonia and named it Thessalonica.<sup>322</sup>

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Chapter 59. 1. When Alexander, son of Philip of Macedonia, became king, he built a great city of Alexandria in Egypt and named it after his name Alexandria. 2. Its previous name was *Rakudi* (Rakote)<sup>323</sup> in the Egyptian language. Thereafter made a war campaign against Persia till<sup>324</sup> the boundaries of *ʿAwəziz* (Europe), and built there a place, where he assembled his army and all his troops. He gave much gold there to his great army,<sup>325</sup> to all the officers and to many soldiers. He named this place Chrysopolis, as all people of Byzantium called it. 3. While fighting against Persia, Alexander killed many soldiers of Darius until he destroyed them. He seized the whole kingdom of Darius and ruled over it. 4. He also took his daughter, whose name was Roxana. She was a virgin and he made her wife, and did nothing evil to her. 5. He did no harm to the queen of Ethiopia, whose name was Candace, because of the greatness of her heart; for she heard the stories about the deeds of Alexander and about his habits. Indeed, he joined the spies, when he wished to war with the kings of the earth. 6. The queen Candace recognized him, when he came to her with spies. She seized him and told him: ‘You are Alexander, who seized the whole world, but now you are seized by a woman’. 7. He told her: ‘You seized me due to your knowledge, the softness of your intelligence and your wisdom. I will protect you and your children from now on, without anything evil. And I will make you my wife’. 8. When she heard this, she bowed down to his feet and made an agreement with him. He made her his wife and thereafter Ethiopians subdued to him. 9. When Alexander was about to die, he divided his kingdom between his four companions, who helped him in war. 10. His elder brother Philip took the land of Macedonia and became king there and in all *ʿAwuryā* (Europe). He also appointed Ptolemy, who was named *Baylāgos*,<sup>326</sup> king of the land of Egypt.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>320</sup>This passage is not very clear. Zotenberg does not translate this verse (Zotenberg 1883, 281). | <sup>321</sup>A corrupt form of the Arabic (for Θεσσαλία) (Zotenberg 1883, 282, n. 1). | <sup>322</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 7.18-19 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 110-101). Zotenberg suggests that ‘le mot **በመቁደኛ** : a été ajouté par le traducteur’ (Zotenberg 1883, 281). However, the same expression occurs also in *John Malalas* (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 101). | <sup>323</sup>See Crum 1917, 208. | <sup>324</sup>I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here. | <sup>325</sup>Zotenberg translates this expression as ‘ses généraux’ (Zotenberg 1883, 282). Charles in his turn translates it as ‘chief generals’ (Charles 1916, 47). | <sup>326</sup>Zotenberg explains the strange form of the name Lagus either through a misinterpretation of an Arabic preposition, or through a preservation of a Coptic article (Zotenberg 1883, 283, n. 3). However, according to *John Malalas* 8.6 Ptolemy was the son of Lagus (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 103). I suggest that the prefix **በደ** : is rather a misinterpreted Arabic بـ; then the word **ዙተሰዎዮ** : was inserted into the Ethiopic text, as if the person had two alternative names. | <sup>327</sup>Cp. *John Malalas*, 8.1-19 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 101-107).

G, | 6 **ሮማውያን** :] # # D | **ዮም** :] (om. D) # αCG | 8 **፶፰** :] # G | 9 **ዘመቁደኛያ** :] # G  
 10 **ወሞአ** :] # Σ | 11 **ተሰሎንቄ** :] # αCG, # # D | 15 **ምስራቂያን** :] # Σ | 20 **ብርንጥያ** :] # Σ  
 22 **ርኩሳኒ** :] # D | 23 **እኩዮ** :] # αG | 25 **ወልማዳቲሁ** :] # D | 27 **ምድር** :] # αDG | 28 **ዓይን** :] #  
 D | 29 **ዓለመ** :] # A | 30 **ቡብእሲት** :] # αCG, | 31 **አጎዝካኒ** :] # D | 32 **ወለደቂቅኪ** :] # D | **ሊተ** :] #  
 # Σ | 34 **ብእሲተ** :] # ACD | **ሐበሽ** :] # CG

ጸብእ ። 10. ወፊልጶስኒ ፣ እኑሁ ፣ ዘዩዓቢ ፣ ነሥኣ ፣ ለሀገረ ፣ መቄዶንያ ፣ ወኮነ ፣  
ንጉሠ ፣ ውስቴታ ፣ ወበኩሉ ፣ አውርያ ። ወዓዲ ፣ አንገሠ ፣ ሎሙ ፣ ለሀገረ ፣  
ምስር ፣ በጥሊሞስሃ ፣ ዘተሰምየ ፣ በይላጎስ ።

A77vc

5 ክፍል ፣ ፳ ፣ | ወበመዋዕሊሁ ፣ ለበጥሊሞስ ፣ ፊላደልፉስ ፣ ዘትርጓሜ ፣ |ሰሙ ፣  
መፍቀሬ ፣ አኃው ፣ <H>ኮነ ፣ ብእሴ ፣ ብዙኅ ፣ ንባብ ፣ ወጠቢብ ፣ ወልደ ፣ አግ  
ላዎስ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ተርጎመ ፣ መጻሕፍተ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ ቅዱሳተ ፣ እምልሳነ ፣  
ዕብራኒ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ልሳነ ፣ ዮናኒ ፣ ምስለ ፣ ሰብአ ፣ አእሩግ ፣ በኅልቄ ፣ ፸ወ፪ ፣  
መዋዕል ፣ በእንተ ፣ ዘኮኑ ፣ ፸ወ፪ ፣ መተርጎማን ፣ ወ፪ሰ ፣ ሞቱ ፣ እምቅድመ ፣  
10 ይተርጎሙ ።

B59rc Z59  
C117ra

ክፍል ፣ ፳፩ ፣ 1. ወነግሠ ፣ አንዲጎስ ፣ በሀገረ ፣ እስያ ፣ ወኪልቅያ ፣ ወፈለግ ፣ ዘይ  
ሰመይ ፣ ተኒን ፣ ዘውእቱ ፣ በሀገረ ፣ ብያውርንድስ ። 2. ወበሻምኒ ፣ ወባቢሎን ፣  
ወፍልስጥኤም ፣ ኮነ ፣ ንጉሠ ፣ ላዕሌሆሙ ፣ ዘሰሙ ፣ ሹሉኪስቃኑር ፣ 3. ወዘንቱ ፣  
15 ቀተሎ ፣ ለአንዲጎስ ፣ ንጉሠ ፣ እስያ ፣ አመ ፣ ተጽብኦ ፣ እስመ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ሐነጸ ፣  
ሀገረ ፣ በጽንፈ ፣ ፈለገ ፣ ተኒን ፣ ወሰመያ ፣ እንዲጋንያ ፣ 4. ወነሥኣ ፣ ኩሎ ፣ ንዋ  
ያቲሃ ፣ እማዕዶተ ፣ ዩቡሊስ ፣ ወእማኅፈድ ፣ ዘኮነ ፣ በቅድመ ፣ ደብረ ፣ ልስልዩስ ፣  
ወይእቲ ፣ ሀገር ፣ ትሰመይ ፣ ቅድመ ፣ ፋዱድያ ፣ 5. ወሐነጸ ፣ በህየ ፣ ለሀገር ፣  
20 ዐባይ ፣ አንጸኪያ ፣ ወሰመያ ፣ በሰመ ፣ ወልዱ ፣ አንጥያኮስ ። 6. ወዓዲ ፣ ሐነጸ ፣  
ሀገረ ፣ ካልኦ ፣ በሰመ ፣ ወለቱ ፣ ወሰመያ ፣ ሎዶቅያ ፣ እስመ ፣ ኮነ ፣ ሰማ ፣ ለወለቱ ፣  
ላውዲቂ ፣ ወዛቲ ፣ ሀገር ፣ ኮነት ፣ ትሰመይ ፣ ባርንጣን ። 7. ወዓዲ ፣ ሐነጸ ፣ ሀገረ ፣  
ወሰመያ ፣ አባሚያስ ፣ ዘኮነት ፣ ቅድመ ፣ ትሰመይ ፣ ፋሪካ ።

A78ra

ክፍል ፣ ፳፪ ፣ ሱሊኪዩስ ፣ ዘውእቱ ፣ ቡሳንዩስ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ቀደመ ፣ ጽሒፈ ፣  
25 ዜናት ፣ ወአዝማናት ፣ ወሰመዮሙ ።

G55vb C117rb  
B59va

ክፍል ፣ ፳፫ ፣ አንጥያኮስኒ ፣ ዘተሰምየ ፣ አፋፋንዮስ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ከኑኖሙ ፣ ለመቃ  
ብያን ።

30 ክፍል ፣ ፳፬ ፣ 1. ዜና ፣ መገብተ ፣ ሮማዊያን ፣ ቀዳማዊያን ፣ ዩልያስ ፣ <ቄ>ስር ፣  
ዲክጣጣር ። ውእቱ ፣ ነሥኣ ፣ ሥልጣነ ፣ ወሢመተ ፣ ቡጎበ ፣ ሮማዊያን ፣ እም  
ቅድመ ፣ አስተርእዮተ ፣ ትሥጉቱ ፣ ለእግዚእነ ፣ ወመድኃኒነ ፣ ኢየሱስ ፣ ክር  
ስቶስ ፣ 2. ወልደቱስ ፣ ለዩልዮስ ፣ ኢኮነ ፣ ከመ ፣ ልደተ ፣ ሰብእ ፣ |ዘይወልዳ ፣  
አንስት ፣ በታስዕ ፣ ወርኅ ፣ ወእንዘ ፣ ሀለወት ፣ እሙ ፣ በፅንሳ ፣ ሞተት ። ወእም  
35 ድኅረ ፣ ሞተት ፣ ተሀውከ ፣ ሕፃን ፣ በከርሣ ፣ ወሶበ ፣ ርእዩ ፣ ጠቢባን ፣ እንዘ ፣ ይት

A78rb  
Z60

APP. CRIT.: 1 ዘዩዓቢ ፣]αDG, ዘያዐቢ ፣ C | ነሥኣ ፣]BCDG, ነሥኣ ፣ A | 2 ወበኩሉ ፣]CG, ወለኩሉ ፣ α, በኩሉ ፣ D | አንገሠ ፣ ሎሙ ፣]Σ, አንገሠ ፣ coni. Zot | 5 ፳ ፣]αCD, ፳፳ ፣ G ዘትርጓሜ ፣]αDG, ዘበትርጓሜሁ ፣ C | 6 ዘኮነ ፣]coni., ኮነ ፣ Σ | 7 ቅዱሳተ ፣]ACDG ቅዱሳት ፣ B 8 ዕብራኒ ፣]αCG, እብረኒ ፣ D | 12 ክፍል ፣ ፳፩ ፣]αCG, om. D | ፳፩ ፣]αCD, ፳፱ ፣ G | ወኪልቅያ ፣]αDG, ወቂልቅያ ፣ C | ወፈለግ ፣]αCG, ወፈለገ ፣ D, ወለፈለግ ፣ coni. Zot | 14 ንጉሠ ፣]αDG, ንጉሥ ፣ C | 15 ለአንዲጎስ ፣]CDG, ለአንዲኮስ ፣ α | ተጽብኦ ፣]ACDG, ተጽብኦ ፣ B | 16 ፈለገ ፣]αC G, ሀገረ ፣ D | 17 ዩቡሊስ ፣]BCDG, ዩቡሊስ ፣ A | 18 ለሀገር ፣]αCG, ለሀገረ ፣ D | 19 አንጸኪያ ፣]αD G, አንጸኪያ ፣ C | 20 ሀገረ ፣]Σ, post ካልኦ ፣ trans. A | እስመ ፣]Σ, ውእቱ ፣ add. α | 21 ላውዲቂ ፣]α DG, ላውዲቂ ፣ C | ኮነት ፣]Σ, add. ቅድመ ፣ coni. Zot | ባርንጣን ፣]Σ, ባርንጣን ፣ s. l. D 24 ፳፪ ፣]αC, ፳፩ D, ፴ ፣ G | ሱሊኪዩስ ፣]αCG, ሱሊኪዩስ ፣ CD | 27 ፳፫ ፣]αC, ፳፪ D, ፴፩ ፣ G አፋፋንዮስ ፣]CDG, አፋፋንዮስ ፣ α | ከኑኖሙ ፣]αC, ከኖሙ ፣ D, ከኖሙ ፣ G | 30 ፳፬ ፣]αC, ፳፫ D, ፴፪ ፣ G | ቀዳማዊያን ፣]C, ቀዳማዊያን ፣ αD, ቀዳማዊን ፣ G | ቄስር ፣...8 ዲክጣጣር ፣]coni. Zot, ወስርዲክጣጣር ፣ Σ | 32 ወመድኃኒነ ፣]αC, s. l. A, om. DG | ክርስቶስ ፣]αDG, om. C

APP. LECT. MIN.: 8 በኅልቄ ፣]αCD, በኅልቄ ፣ G | 9 ወ፪ሰ ፣]αCG, ወ፪ቱስ ፣ D | 30 ሮማዊያን ፣]CG, ሮማውያን ፣ αD | 31 ሮማዊያን ፣]CG, ሮማውያን ፣ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ጸብእ ።] ። CG | መቄዶንያ ፣] ። D | 2 አውርያ ።] ። BCG | 3 በይላጎስ ።] ። αC

Chapter 60. In the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose name is by interpretation the lover of his brother, who was a man of a big thought and wisdom, son of <sup>o</sup>*Aglāwos* (Lagus), he (Ptolemy) translated the Holy Scriptures of God from the Hebrew language into the Greek language together with the seniors during seventy-two days, for there were seventy-two translators, but the two died, before they finished the translation.<sup>328</sup> 5

Chapter 61. 1. Antigonus reigned over the land of Asia, Cilicia and the river, named *Tanin* (Draco),<sup>329</sup> that is in the land of *Bəyāwurəndəs* (Orontes).<sup>330</sup> 2. There was a king in Syria, Babylon and Palestine, whose name was *Sulukisqānur* (Seleucus Nicanor). 3. He killed Antigonus, a king of Asia, while fighting against him, for he had built a city on the bank of the river *Tanin* and named it Antigonía. 4. He took all possessions from the region of *Yubulis* (Iopolis) and from the fortress, which was in the front of the mountain *Ləsalyus* (Silpion). This city was previously named *Fudidyā* (Bottia). 5. Moreover, he built there a great city of Antioch and named it after the name of his son Antiochus. 6. He also built a city in the name of his daughter and named it *Lodoqyā* (Laodicea), for the name of his daughter was *Lāwudiqi* (Laodicea). This city had been named *Bārnaṭān* (Mazabdan).<sup>331</sup> 7. He built another city and named it <sup>o</sup>*Abāmiyās* (Apamea), which was formerly named *Fārikā* (Pharnace).<sup>332</sup> 20

Chapter 62. *Sulikiyus* (Seleucus), that is *Busānyus* (Pausanias), was the first to wright down accounts and chronicles and to name them.<sup>333</sup> 25

Chapter 63. <sup>o</sup>*Antəyākos* (Antiochus), named <sup>o</sup>*Afufānyos* (Epiphanes), tortured the Maccabeans.<sup>334</sup> 25

Chapter 64. 1. An account of the councils of the ancient Rome (and) Julius <Ceasar>,<sup>335</sup> the dictator. He seized power and administration amongst Romans before the appearance of the incarnation of Our Lord ans Savior Jesus Christ. 2. The birth of Julius was not like the birth of a human, to whom women give birth in the ninth month. When his mother was pregnant, she died. After her death the baby moved around in her belly. When the wisemen saw that the baby was moving, they tore apart the mother’s belly and took him out alive, brought him up and named him Caesar. And Caesar that means ‘torn out, cut, severed’. 3. When he grew up, they also named him <sup>o</sup>*Adəryufātun* (Triumvir), he was appointed according to the advise of the 30 35

<sup>328</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 8.7 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 104). | <sup>329</sup> Transcription of the Arabic (‘draco’).  
<sup>330</sup> Zotenberg supposes that this form preserved the Coptic article; he points as well to the fact that in this passage Orontes is falsely associated with a land or a city (Zotenberg 1883, 284, n. 1). Thus, I suppose that the word **ሰህጊ** ፣ might have been added later with the purpose of clarification. Yet I can’t exclude that it was added already at the stage of translation from Arabic to Ethiopic or even earlier. | <sup>331</sup> I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here. The text of manuscripts appear to be quite clear. | <sup>332</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 8.10-11 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 104-105). | <sup>333</sup> I suppose that here two different persons are merged in one. | <sup>334</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 8.22-23 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 108). | <sup>335</sup> I follow here the conjecture by Zotenberg, which in fact changes just one letter. I find it very probable that the letter **ϣ** written inaccurately with a large upper part might have been confused with **ω**. Concerning the possible confusion of Arabic **ع** and **س**, I find it less probable because the two letters are written quite differently in connection with following letters.

G, # # D | 5 **ጽ** ፣ # G | 6 **መፍቀሬ** ፣ # G | 9 **መዋዕል** ፣ # D | 10 **ዶተርጉሙ** # # Σ | 12 **ጽ፩** ፣ (om. D) # G | 13 **ተኒን** ፣ # G | **ብያውርንድስ** # # BCDG | 14 **ላዕሊሆሙ** ፣ # α | 16 **ተኒን** ፣ # D | 17 **ዩቡሊስ** ፣ # D | **ልስልዩስ** ፣ # D | 18 **ፉዱድያ** ፣ # D | 19 **አንጸኪያ** ፣ # D | **አንዋያኮስ** # # αCG | 20 **ወለቱ** ፣ # D | **ሎዶቅያ** ፣ # D | 21 **ላውዲቂ** ፣ # D | **ባርንጣን** # # Σ | 22 **ፋሪካ** # # Σ 24 **ጽ፪** ፣ # G | 25 **ወስመዮሙ** ፣ # Σ | 27 **ለመቃብያን** # # Σ | 30 **ጽ፬** ፣ # G | **ዩልያስ** ፣ # D 31 **ዲክጣጣር** # # BCG | **ወሂመተ** ፣ # C | 32 **ክርስቶስ** ፣ (om. C) # D | 34 **ወርኅ** ፣ # D **ዋተት** # # # αCG | 35 **በከርሣ** ፣ # D

ሀወክ፡ ሕፃን፡ ወሠጠጡ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለእሙ፡ ወአውፅእዎ፡ ሕያዎ፡ ወሐፀንዎ፡  
 ወሰመይዎ፡ ስዎ፡ ቁሣር፡ ወብሂለ፡ ቁሳርሂ፡ ምሉህ፡ ወምቲር፡ ወፍሉጥ፡ 3.  
 ወሶበ፡ ልሀቀ፡ ሰመይዎ፡ ዓዲ፡ አድርዩፋጡን፡ ወተሰይመ፡ በምክረ፡  
 ሠራዊተ፡ ሮም፡ ወኮነ፡ ንጉሠ ። 4. ወሶበ፡ ጸንዐ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ፈርሀ፡ ሰብአ፡ D25  
 5 ፋርስ፡ ወበርበር ። ወዝንቱስ፡ ቁሳር፡ አንበረ፡ ርእሰ፡ ወርኅ፡ በዓመት፡ ዘነግሠ፡  
 ባቲ፡ 5. ወሠርዐ፡ ሕገጋተ፡ ለመኳንንት፡ ለሥዩማን፡ ለለ፩፩፡ በከመ፡ ሢመቱ፡  
 ውስተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ሀገረ፡ መንግሥቱ ። 6. ወእምዝ፡ ተንሥእ፡ | እምሀገረ፡ C117rc  
 ምሥራቅ፡ ወበጽሐ፡ ኅበ፡ እስክንድርያ፡ ሀገር፡ ዓባይ፡ ዘምስር ። ወረከባ፡  
 ለአክላ|ኡባጥራ፡ ንግሥት፡ ወለተ፡ በጥሊሞስ፡ ዘተሰምዩ፡ ደናሰዮስ፡ ዘኮነ፡ A78rc  
 10 ንጉሠ፡ በምስር፡ 7. ወይእቲ፡ | ወለት፡ ድንግል፡ ሠናይተ፡ ላሕይ፡ ጥቀ፡  
 አፍቀራ፡ ወአውሰባ፡ ወወለደት፡ ሎቱ፡ ወልደ፡ ወወሀባ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ምስር፡  
 ወለውእቱኒ፡ ወልድ፡ ሰመዮ፡ ዮል|ዮስ፡ ቁሳር፡ ወዓዲ፡ ሰመይዎ፡ ቁሳር፡ ዮና፡ G55vc  
 8. ውእቱ፡ ሐነጸ፡ ቅፅረ፡ ሠናዩ፡ ወዓዲ፡ ሐነጸ፡ ቤተ፡ ሠናዩ፡ ወሥርግወ፡ ወመ  
 ዓድመ፡ ስን፡ ወሰመያ፡ በሰሙ፡ ወበስመ፡ ወልዱ ። 9. ወበመዋዕለ፡ ዓቢይ፡  
 15 ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ሶበ፡ ነሥእ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሮም፡ ረሲያ፡  
 ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወሰመያ፡ በስመ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ 10. ወእስከ፡ ዮም፡  
 ትሰመይ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘቂሳርዮን ። በእንተ፡ ዘሐነጽዋ፡ ዮልዮስ፡ ቁሣር፡  
 ዘይንእስ፡ ወቁሳር፡ ዘዩዓቢ ።

ክፍል፡ ፳፮፡ 1. ተብህለ፡ በእንተ፡ አርሴላዎስ፡ ርእሰ፡ መኳንንት፡ ዘቀጸ  
 ደቅያ ። ወኔሮን፡ ምሉአ፡ እከይ፡ ቀታሌ፡ አቡሁ፡ ውእቱ፡ ወጠነ፡ በሊዐ፡  
 ሥጋ፡ ጥራዮ፡ ምስለ፡ ደ|ም፡ ወኢኮነ፡ ውእቱ፡ እምሰብአ፡ ሃይማኖት ። ወሄ  
 ሮድስ፡ <ነግሠ፡> በይሁዳ፡ ውእቶሙ፡ ተቀንዩ፡ ለቁሳር፡ ዘዩዓቢ ። ወረሰይዎ፡  
 ንጉሠ፡ ላዕለ፡ አህጉሪሆሙ፡ በኩሉ፡ ሕይወቶሙ ። 2. ወአርሴላዎስስ፡ ሐነጸ፡  
 25 ሀገረ፡ በ|ቀጸደቅያ፡ ወሰመያ፡ ቁሳርያ፡ ዘቀጸደቅያ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩኖ፡ ተዝካረ ።  
 ወይእቲ፡ ኮነት፡ ትሰመይ፡ ቅድመ፡ ማራካ ። |  
 A78va  
 C117va  
 Z61

ክፍል፡ ፳፯፡ 1. ወሄሮድስኒ፡ ዓዲ፡ ሐነጸ፡ ሀገረ፡ በውስተ፡ ፍልስጥኤም፡  
 ወሰመያ፡ ቁሳርያ፡ ወይእቲ፡ ሀገር፡ መዓድምት፡ ጥቀ፡ ወስማስ፡ ት|ካት፡  
 ትሰመይ፡ አስጥራጡንሲርኅስ፡ በእንተ፡ ክብረ፡ ንጉሥ ። 2. ወዓዲ፡ ሐነጸ፡  
 30 ፍኖተ፡ ዘትወስድ፡ ሀገረ፡ አንጸኪያ፡ ወአርሐባ፡ ለሀገር፡ ወጸፍጸፋ፡ በሰሌዳ፡  
 እብን፡ ፀዓዳ፡ በአስተዋፅኦተ፡ ንዋዩ፡ ወረሲያ፡ ምሕዋረ፡ ድልወ፡ ለነገሥት፡  
 ወይእቲ፡ ኮነት፡ ቅድመ፡ ዘኢየሐውርዋ፡ ሰብእ ። 3. ወዓዲ፡ ፈነወ፡ ሐራ፡ እም  
 አይሁድ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድረ፡ ግብጽ፡ ወሢመ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኩሉ፡ አህጉራቲሃ፡ ከ|መ፡  
 35 ይትቀነዩ፡ ለንጉሥ ። ወከማሁ፡ ለሰብአ፡ ምሥራቅሂ፡ ረሰዮሙ፡ የሀቡ፡  
 ጸባሕተ፡ ለቁሣር ።  
 B59vc  
 G56ra  
 A78vb

APP. CRIT.: 1 ወሠጠጡ፡ ]αCG, ሠጠጡ፡ D | 2 ቁሣር፡ ]ACDG, ቁሣር፡ B | ወብሂለ፡ ]ΣZot:  
 ወብሂለ፡ A | ቁሳርሂ፡ ]CDG, ቁሳር፡ α | 3 አድርዩፋጡን፡ ]αDG, አድሩዩፋጡን፡ C  
 ወተሰይመ፡ ]αCD, ወትሰመይ፡ G | 5 ርእሰ፡...18 በዓመት፡ ]Σ, ርእሰ፡ ዓመት፡ በወርኅ፡ coni. Zot  
 6 ወሠርዐ፡ ]ACDG, ወሠርፀ፡ B | ሕገጋተ፡ ]ACDG, ሕገታት፡ B | ለሥዩማን፡ ]αG, ስዩማን፡ C  
 D, ወለሥዩማን፡ coni. Zot | 9 ለአክላኡባጥራ፡ ]αC, ለአክላኡባጥራ፡ D, አክላኡባጥራ፡ G  
 14 ወበመዋዕለ፡ ]αDG, መዋዕለ፡ C | ዓቢይ፡ ]αCG, om. D | 15 ረሲያ፡ ]αDG, ወረሲያ፡ C  
 16 ክርስቲያን፡ ]αCD, ክርስቲያን፡ G | ወእስከ፡ ]Σ, ይእኬ፡ add. D | 20 ፳፮፡ ]αC, ፳፬ D, ፴፫፡ G  
 21 ወኔሮን፡ ]αCG, ኦርን፡ D, trans. post እከይ፡ D, ወሄሮድስ፡ coni. Zot | ምሉአ፡ ]αCG,  
 ወምሉዓ፡ D | ውእቱ፡ ]αCD, ወውእቱ፡ G | 23 ነግሠ፡ ]coni. Zot, ነግሠ፡ Σ | 24 በኩሉ፡ ]Σ,  
 መዋዕለ፡ add. D | ወአርሴላዎስስ፡ ]Σ, ወአርሴላዎስ(ስ)፡ s.l. A | 25 ሀገረ፡ በቀጸደቅያ፡ ]αC, በሀገረ፡  
 ቀጸደቅያ፡ D, ሀገረ፡ ቀጸደቅያ፡ G | ቁሳርያ፡ ]αCG, ቁሣርያ፡ DZot: A | ይኩኖ፡ ]BCDG,  
 ይኩኖ፡ A | 26 ወይእቲ፡ ]αCG, ይእቲ፡ D | ማራካ ። ]αCG, ማሪካ D | 28 ፳፯፡ ]αC, ፳፭ D, ፴፬፡  
 G | 29 ቁሳርያ፡ ]ΣZot: ቁሳርያ፡ B | 30 አስጥራጡንሲርኅስ፡ ]BCDG, አስጠራጡንሲር፡ ኅስ፡ A  
 31 ፍኖተ፡ ]αCG, ፍኖት፡ D | ዘትወስድ፡ ]αCG, እንተ፡ ትወስድ፡ D | ወአርሐባ፡ ]ΣZot: ወአ  
 ርኅበ፡ A | 33 ወይእቲ፡ ]CDG, ይእቲ፡ α | 35 ረሰዮሙ፡ ]Σ, ከመ፡ add. A

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ለእሙ፡ ] ። D | 2 ወፍሉጥ፡ ] ። AC | 3 አድርዩፋጡን፡ ] ። D, ፯ G | 4 ንጉሠ ። ] ።

Roman officers (*śarāwit*)<sup>336</sup> and became emperor. 4. When his empire became strong, people of Persia and Barbarians were frightened. This Caesar appointed the month, in which he became emperor, to be the main month (the beginning) of the year.<sup>337</sup> 5. He established laws for the officers and prefects according to each of the rank in the whole land of his empire. 6. Thereafter he left the Eastern region and came to the great city of Alexandria in Egypt. He found the queen Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy, who was named Dionysus and who was the king of Egypt. 7. This girl was a virgin of a splendid beauty. He fell in love with her, married her, and she bare him a son. He gave her the kingdom of Egypt. He named this son Julius Caesar, and he also named him *Qesār Yonā* (Caesarion). 8. He built a beautiful castle, and he also built a beautiful and decorated house of a charming excellence. He named it after his own name and the name of his son. 9. In the days of the Great Constantine, emperor of the Christians, after he took possession of the Roman empire, he turned it into a church and named it in the name of St Michael. 10. Till nowadays it is named the church of *Qisāryon* (Caesarion) because Julius Caesar the younger and Caesar the elder built it.<sup>338</sup>

Chapter 65. 1. It is told concerning Archelaus, the head of the officers of Cappadocia.<sup>339</sup> Neron,<sup>340</sup> filled with wrath, the killer of his father, began to eat raw meat with blood. He was not one of the people of faith. Herod reigned over Judea, who had subdued themselves to the Caesar the elder. They appointed him king over their provinces for the whole of their lives. 2. Archelaus built a city in Cappadocia and named it Caesarea of Cappadocia, in order that their might be commemoration of him. And it had been previously named *Mārākā* (Mazaca).<sup>341</sup>

Chapter 66. 1. Herod also built a city in Palestine and named it Caesarea. This city was a very pleasant one. In the ancient times its name was *ʿAštərātunsirgos* (Straton’s Tower)<sup>342</sup> in honor of the king.<sup>343</sup> 2. He also built a street in the direction of the city of Antioch, and enlarged the city and paved the road with slabs of white stone at his own expenses and he made it into a path appropriate for kings. Previously it was not passable for people. 3. He also sent a Jewish army to Egypt and ordained to all provinces to be subject to the emperor. And likewise he made people of the East pay tribute to Caesar.

Chapter 67. 1. Queen Cleopatra came down from Palestine to Egypt in order to make her royal residence there. When she came to *Fārmā*, she warred

<sup>336</sup>Zotenberg translates *śarāwit* in this case as ‘senate’ (Zotenberg 1883, 285). | <sup>337</sup>I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here and try to translate the text of manuscripts as it is. I propose to translate an expression **ርእሰ ሰርዓ** as ‘main month’, or ‘chief month’. | <sup>338</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 9.1-2 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 113-114). | <sup>339</sup>This passage should probably be transposed to the beginning of the second verse. | <sup>340</sup>I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg, although the passage seems to refer to Herod. There is, however, a certain graphical similarity of **ወኔርን** and **ወኔርድ**. So, I can’t exclude that this innovation was introduced in the course of transmission of the Ethiopic version. | <sup>341</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 9.17 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 118). The passage does not correspond accurately to the *Chronicle of John Malalas*. <sup>342</sup>Transliteration of Στράτωνος πύργος. | <sup>343</sup>Zotenberg and Charles transpose the words ‘in honor of the king’ to the end of the first sentence, so referring to the name Caesarea (Zotenberg 1883, 286; Charles 1916, 49). However, the name Straton’s Tower also refers to a Phoenician king.

αCG | 5 ወበርበር # | # αCD, 1 G | 7 መንግሥቱ # | # αCG | 8 ዘምስር # | # αCG | 10 በምስር # | # D | 11 እፍቀራ # | # D | 12 ቁሳር # | # G | 13 ወናየ # | # DG | 14 ስን # | # D | ወልዱ # | # Σ 17 ዘቁሳርየን # | # Σ | 18 ዘየዓቢ # | # αCG, # # D | 20 ፳፭ # | # G | ዘቀጸዶቅያ # | # Σ 21 አቡሁ # | # D | 22 ሃይማኖት # | # BCDG | 23 ዘየዓቢ # | # Σ | 24 ሕይወቶሙ # | # Σ 25 በቀጸዶቅያ # | # D | ተዝካረ # | # αCG | 26 ማራካ # | # Σ | 28 ፳፯ # | # G | 30 ንጉሥ # | # BCD G | 31 ለሀገር # | # D | 32 ንዋዩ # | # D | 33 ሰብእ # | # Σ | 35 ለንጉሥ # | # BCDG | 36 ለቄሃር # | # # D, 1 G

ክፍል ፡ ፳፯ ፡ 1. ወንግሥትሂ ፡ አክላኩባጥራ ፡ ወረደት ፡ እምፍልስጥኤም ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ምስር ፡ ከመ ፡ ትግበር ፡ መካነ ፡ መንግሥታ ፡ በህየ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ በጽሐት ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ፈርማ ፡ ተጽብአቶሙ ፡ ለምስራቂያን ፡ ወሞአቶሙ ፡ 2. ወእምዝ ፡ በጽሐት ፡ ኀበ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ወኮነት ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ውስቴታ ። ወይእቲ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ዓባየ ፡ በርእሳ ፡ ወበምግባራቲሃ ፡ ትብእ ፡ ወፅንዕ ፡ አልቦ ፡ | ዘገብረ ፡ ፩ ፡ እምነገሥት ፡ ዘቅ ድሜሃ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ገብረት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ 3. ወሐንጸት ፡ ቅጽረ ፡ ዐቢየ ፡ በውስተ ፡ እለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ መዓድመ ፡ ስን ፡ ወያስተዓፅቦ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ዘከማሁ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዓለም ፡ 4. ዘሐንጸቶ ፡ በደሴት ፡ መንገለ ፡ ደቡብ ፡ በም ዕራብ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እለእስክንድርያ ፡ አፍአ ፡ እምሀገር ፡ ወርሐቅ ፡ መጠነ ፡ ፬ ፡ ምዕራፍ ፡ 5. ወሐተመቶ ፡ ለማየ ፡ ባሕር ፡ በአእባን ፡ ወመሬት ፡ ወረሰየቶ ፡ ለመካነ ፡ ማይ ፡ የብስ ፡ ዘየሐውርዎ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ በሐመር ፡ ወይእቲ ፡ ገብረት ፡ ዘየሐውርገዎ ፡ በእግር ፡ 6. ወ{ዘ}ገብረት ፡ ዘንተ ፡ በምግባር ፡ ግሩም ፡ ወዕፁብ ። ወዘንተ ፡ {ዘ}ገብረት ፡ በምክረ ፡ ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ አክሲያፊኖስ ፡ ወረሰያ ፡ ለባሕር ፡ የብስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትኩን ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ ለእለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ ውስቴታ ። 7. ወዓዲ ፡ ከረየት ፡ ሙኃዘ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ እስከ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ወአምጽአት ፡ ማየ ፡ እምፈለገ ፡ ግዮን ፡ ወአብአቶ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወበውእቲ ፡ ረሰየት ፡ ከመ ፡ ይሐሩ ፡ አሕማር ፡ ወይባኡ ፡ |ውስተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወበእንተዝ ፡ በዝነ ፡ ጽጋብ ። 8. ወሀገርሰ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ቅድመ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ማይ ። ወይእቲስ ፡ ረሰየታ ፡ ምልእተ ፡ ማይ ፡ ዘየ ሐውሩ ፡ ባቲ ፡ አሕማር ። በእንተ ፡ ዝንቲ ፡ በዝነ ፡ ዓሣ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ሀገር ። 9. ወገብረት ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ | በትግሀተ ፡ ልብ ፡ ለሕይወተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወብዙነ ፡ ሠናያተ ፡ ገብረት ፡ ወሥርዓታተ ፡ ጽኑዓተ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ሞታ ። ወዛቲ ፡ ክብርት ፡ ወጠባብ ፡ እምነ ፡ አንስት ፡ ሞተት ፡ በ፲ወ፬ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለአውግስጦስ ፡ ቄሳር ። 10. ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ ገረሩ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ወምስር ፡ እስከ ፡ ላዕላይ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ለነገሥተ ፡ ሮም ። ወሢሙ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ መኪ ንንተ ፡ ወመሳፍንተ ። 11. ወነግሠ ፡ አውግስጦስ ፡ መጠነ ፡ ፶ወ፯ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ወ፯ ፡ አውራኅ ። ወበ፵ወ፪ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወመድኃኒነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በሥጋ ፡ በቤተ ፡ ልሔም ፡ ዘይሁዳ ። ወ|ውእቲ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ በምድር ፡ አምላክ ፡ ዘበአማን ፡ ሎቲ ፡ ስብሐት ። 12. በመዋዕል ፡ ዘወፅአ ፡ ትእዛዝ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይጸሐፍ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወይት ጎጦልቀኡ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዘነፍስ ፡ ለአውፅአ ፡ ጸባሕት ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ዝንቲ ፡ ግብር ፡ በም ክሮሙ ፡ ለአውማኖስ ፡ ወአይሊሉስ ፡ ክቡራን ፡ ወዐቢያነ ፡ ሮም ። 13. ወዓዲ ፡ አውግስጦስ ፡ ረከበ ፡ ስመ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ቂርቆሮስ ፡ ጽሑፊ ፡ በመንፈቅ ፡ ዓመት ። እምነ ፡ አብሪሙስ ፡ ዘውእቲ ፡ መርድዮስ ፡ ርእስ ፡ አውራኅ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ዘሮም ፡ ኮነ ፡ በሳድስ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ እምነ ፡ አውራኅ ፡ ሮም ፡ ዝንቲ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ቂራርዮስ ። 14. ወአውግስጦስ፤ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ለዝንቲ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ይረስይዎ ፡ ተፍጻሚተ ፡ አውራኅ ፡ ዘዓመት ። እስመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ አውግስጦስ ፡ ሐመዮ ፡ ለሊቀ ፡ ሐራ ፡ በዝኩ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ በላዕሌሁ ፡ ሥልጣን ፡ ወእግዚእና ፡ ወለሐ|ራሰ ፡ ዘሐመዮ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ማልያኖስ ፡ ዘቀጸዶቅያ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ዘሠርዖሙ ፡ ለአ

D26 C117vb

B60ra  
A78vc

Z62  
G56rb

C117vc

A79ra

B60rb

C118ra A79rb

G56rc

APP. CRIT.: 1 ፳፯ ፡]αC, ፳፯ D, ፴፭ ፡ G | አክላኩባጥራ ፡]BCDG, አክላኩባጥራ ፡ AZot: B 3 ተጽብአቶሙ ፡]BCD, ተጽብአቶሙ ፡AG | 5 ትብእ ፡]αCG, ትዕብዕ ፡ DZot: ቅብዕ ፡ A ወፅንዕ ፡]αCG ወትጽንዕ ፡ D | 6 እለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡]ACD, እለእስክንድርያ ፡ BG | 7 መዓድመ ፡]αCG, መመዓድመ ፡ D | ወያስተዓፅቦ ፡]CDG, coni. Zot, ወያስዓፅቦ ፡ α | ኩሉ ፡]ACDG, ኩሎ ፡ B 8 በምዕራብ ፡ ሀገረ ፡]αCG, በምዕራቢሃ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ D | 9 እለእስክንድርያ ፡]B, እስክንድርያ ፡ AD, እለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ C, እለእስክንድርያ ፡ G | እምሀገር ፡]αC, እምሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ DG 11 ዘየሐውርዎ ፡]αCG, ዘየሐውር ፡ D | በሐመር ፡]αCG, ወሐመር ፡ D | ወይእቲ ፡]αC, om. DG 12 ወዘገብረት ፡]conieci, ወዘገብረት ፡ Σ | 13 ወዘንተ ፡]BCDG, ዘንተ ፡ A, ዘንተ ፡ coni. Zot ዘገብረት ፡]coni. Zot, ዘገብረት ፡ Σ | አክሲያፊኖስ ፡]αCG, አክሲኖስ ፡ D, አ{ክ}ሲያፊኖስ ፡ s.l. G 14 ለእለ ፡]Σ, rep. G | 16 ወበውእቲ ፡]Σ, ፈለግ ፡ add. DG | 18 ረሰየታ ፡]BCDG, ረሰየታ ፡ A 19 ባቲ ፡]Σ, post አሕማር ፡ trans. α | በእንተ ፡]ወበእንተ ፡ coni. Zot | 20 በትግሀተ ፡]BCDG, በት ግሀተ ፡ A | 23 ለአውግስጦስ ፡]αCG, ለውግስጦስ ፡ D | 24 ወሢሙ ፡]αDG, ወሢመ ፡ C 25 ወመሳፍንተ ፡]Σ, {ወ}መሳፍንተ ፡ s.l. D | ዓመት ፡]αDG, ዐመተ ፡ C | 26 ወበ፵ወ፪ ፡]CDG, coni. Zot, ወበ፵ወ፪ ፡ α | 27 ወውእቲ ፡]αCG, ውእቲ ፡ D | 31 ለአውማኖስ ፡]αCG, ለአውግስጦስ ፡ D ወዐቢያነ ፡]αCG, ወዐቢያን ፡ D | 32 ቂርቆሮስ ፡]BCDG, ቀርቆሮስ ፡ A | 33 እምነ ፡]αCG, ወእምነ ፡ D | 34 ወርኅ ፡]αCG, om. D | ዝንቲ ፡ ወርኅ ፡]αCG, om. D | 35 ዓዲ ፡ አዘዘ ፡]Σ, አዘዘ ፡ coni. Zot | ይረስይዎ ፡]αCG, ይሰምይዎ ፡ D | 36 አውግስጦስ ፡]αDG, አውግስጦስ ፡ C | በዝኩ ፡]αC G, በዝንቲ ፡ D | 37 ሀሎ ፡]Σ, add. ሎቲ ፡ coni. Zot | በላዕሌሁ ፡]CDG, በላዕሌሆሙ ፡ α ወእግዚእና ፡]DG, coni. Zot, ወእግዚእነ ፡ αC

against the Egyptians and overcame them. 2. Thereafter she came to Alexandria and became sovereign<sup>344</sup> there. She was great in her nature and in her deeds, in her courage and power; and no other king of the previous time had achieved something like that. 3. She built a large castle<sup>345</sup> in Alexandria of a charming beauty and everyone who saw it admired it. Nothing similar exists in the whole world. 4. to what she built on an island in the nothern (*dabub*)<sup>346</sup> direction from the western part of Alexandria, outside the city, at a distance of four stadia. 5. She blocked the waters of sea with stones and earth, and turned water into land, previously it was passable with ship and now she made it passable by foot.<sup>347</sup> 6. She did it with tremendous and hard work. She did on the advice of one wise man, whose name was <sup>᾽</sup>*Aksayāfinos* (Dexiphanes), and turned see into land, so that there might be a passable street. 7. She also dug a channel till the river and brought water from the river Gihon into the city. Through that she did so, that ships might go and enter the city. Due to that the riches were abundant. 8. The city had been previously without water. And she established the abundance of water, which was passable for ship. Because of that the fish became abundant in the city.<sup>348</sup> 9. She did all this in dilligence of her heart for the life of the city. She did many good things and strong customs before her death. This most honored and wisest one amongst women died in the fourteenth year of the reign of Augustus Caesar. 10. Thereafter people of Alexandria and Egypt until Upper Egypt submitted to the Roman emperors. They appointed governors and officials upon them. 11. Augustus reigned for fifty-six years and six months. In the fourty-second year of his reign Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ was born in flesh in Bethlehem in Judaea. The truly God – praise be on Him – was in the Heaven and also on earth,<sup>349</sup> 12. in the days, when an order was released to register the whole world and to count all the souls in order to levy taxes. This happened in consultation with <sup>᾽</sup>*Awumānos* (Eumenes) and <sup>᾽</sup>*Aylilus* (Attalus) – the honored elders of Rome. 13. Moreover, Augustus found the name of the month *Qirwāryus* (February) written in the middle of the year. From <sup>᾽</sup>*Abrimus* (Primus), that is *Mardāyus* (March), the beginning of the months in Rome, *Qirāryus* (February) was the sixth month amongst the Roman months. 14. So, Augustus commanded to make this month the last one of the months of a year, for Augustus blamed the chief of the army in that time, for the reason of authority and superiority over him. The name of the chief of the army he blamed was *Mālyānos* (Manlius) of Cappadocia,<sup>350</sup> for it was he who had arranged the months. He was the most grievous and strongest amongst Romans. 15. On the place of this month *Qirwāryus* (February), which he made the last month, for it is the shortest among all months, he inserted in its stead the full month named <sup>᾽</sup>*Awugastos* (August) like his own name. It became the

<sup>344</sup>The text reads **ንጉሥ** ፤. It might be that the usage of the masculin form has some stylistic reasons. | <sup>345</sup> According to *John Malalas*, Pharos is meant. Cp. *John Malalas* 9.9 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 115). | <sup>346</sup>In this case *dabub* should probably rather mean ‘north’. | <sup>347</sup>This passage probably corresponds to the construction of Heptastadium. | <sup>348</sup>Zotenberg notices: ‘Cette information, relative au canal d’Alexandrie, ne vient pas d’une source byzantine’ (Zotenberg 1883, 288). | <sup>349</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 10.1 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 121). | <sup>350</sup>Charles points to the dittography and disarrangement of the text here (Charles 1916, 51, n. 2). I, however, translate the text just as it is.

APP. LECT. MIN.: 3 ለምስራቁያን ፣] CG, ለምስራቅያን ፣ αD | 25 ያወጀ ፣] αC, ያገገ ፣ D, ያገገተ ፣ G  
 ወጀ ፣] αCD, ወጀተ ፣ G | 29 ወይትጉልቀ ፣] αCG, ወይትጉልቀ ፣ D

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ጽጂ ፣] # G | 2 በሆየ ፣] # AD | 3 ለምስራቁያን ፣] # A | 4 ውስጭታ ፣] # Σ  
 5 ወበምግባራቲሃ ፣] # D | 7 እስክንድርያ ፣] # A | 10 ወመራት ፣] # D | 11 በሐመር ፣] # C  
 12 በእግር ፣] # D | ወዕቡብ ፣] # αCG | 13 አክሲያፊናስ ፣] # D | 14 ውስጭታ ፣] # CDG | 15 ባሕር ፣] # D  
 | 16 ግዮን ፣] # D | ሀገር ፣] # C | 17 ሀገር ፣] # CD | ጽጋብ ፣] # Σ | 18 ግይ ፣] # BCDG  
 19 አሕግር ፣] # αCG | ሀገር ፣] # BCG | 21 ሞታ ፣] # Σ | 23 ቄሳር ፣] # Σ | 24 ሮም ፣] # αCG  
 25 ወመሳፍንተ ፣] # BDG | 26 አውራጎ ፣] # Σ | 27 ዘይሁዳ ፣] # Σ | 28 ሰማይ ፣] # G | ስብሐት ፣] # αCG  
 | 30 ጸባሕት ፣] # D | 31 ሮም ፣] # αCD, ፤ G | 32 ዓመት ፣] # αDG | 33 ዘሮም ፣] # D  
 34 ሮም ፣] # A | ቂራርዩስ ፣] # αCG | 36 ዘዓመት ፣] # Σ | 38 ለአውራጎ ፣] # AD

ውራኅ ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ክቡደ ፡ ወጽኑዐ ፡ ቡጎበ ፡ ሮማዊያን ። 15. ወበመካነ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ቂርዋርዮስ ፡ ዘረሰዮ ፡ ተፍጻሚተ ፡ አውራኅ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ሕጹጸ ፡ እምኩሎን ፡ አውራኅ ፡ አብእዎ ፡ ህየንቴሁ ፡ ለወርኅ ፡ ፍጹም ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ አውግስጦስ ፡ በከመ ፡ ስሙ ። ወኮነ ፡ ሳድስ ፡ ወርኅ ። 16. ዘይቀድሞስ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ሳድሳይ ። ኃምሳይ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ዩልዮስ ፡ ዘተሰምየ ፡ ቡቱ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ እኅወ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ለአውግስጦስ ። 17. ወአኅዝዎ ፡ ወአጽንዕዎ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ሮም ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ሕግ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ። ለሳድሳይኒ ፡ ወለኃምሳይኒ ፡ ቀዳሚሆሙ ፡ መርድዮስ ።

D27  
Z63 B60rc

ክፍል ፡ ፳፰ ፡ 1. ወክርስቲያንስ ፡ ፍጹማን ፡ ምእመናን ፡ ኢይመሥጡ ፡ ካልአ ፡ ሕገ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ዘተሠርዐ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ በከመ ፡ ባሕሉ ፡ ለዕዝራ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ መብርሂ ፡ ልቡና ፡ ሶበ ፡ በጽሑ፡ አውራኅ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ አመ ፡ ፮ ፡ ለጡባ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ጥር ፡ ርእስ ፡ አውራኒሆሙ ፡ ለአፍርንጅ ። 2. ወእቱ ፡ ጥንተ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ተሰ ነአወ ፡ በዕለተ ፡ እሑድ ፡ አው ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሰኑይ ፡ አው ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሠሉስ ፡ እስከ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ፯ ፡ ዕለታት ። 3. ወዓዲ ፡ ይገብሩ ፡ ጥንተ ፡ አውራኒሆሙ ፡ በአእምሮ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ሠናየ ፡ አው ፡ እኩየ ። 4. ወስቅራጥሂ ፡ ጠቢብ ፡ ወፍልሱፍ ፡ ፈለካዊ ፡ አጽንዓ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡ ምግባር ፡ ቡጎበ ፡ ሮም ። 5. ወስቅራጥሂ ፡ ሠራዔ ፡ ወአንባሬ ፡ ሕግ ፡ ቡጎበ ፡ ሐነፋዊያን ፡ ወለጠ ፡ መጻሕፍተ ፡ ዕዝራ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ወንጹሕ ፡ ወስሕተ ፡ ወአስሐቶሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ያነብብዎ ፡ በምግባሩ ፡ እኩይ ።

A79rc  
C118rb

ክፍል ፡ ፳፱ ፡ 1. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ አውግስጦስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ጢባርዮስ ፡ ወረሰዮ ፡ ለቀጳዶቅያ ፡ ትትአዘዝ ፡ ለሮም ። ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ አርከላስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መኳንንቲሃ ፡ ለቀጳዶቅያ ፡ 2. ሐነጸ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ አትራክያ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ጢባርያ ። ወበመዋዕሊሁ ፡ ለጢባርዮስ ፡ ቄሳር ፡ ተሰቅለ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በኢየሩሳሌም ።

G56va  
A79va  
B60va

ክፍል ፡ ፷ ፡ 1. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ አቅሎንድዮስ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ በሮሜ ፡ ኔሮን ፡ ርኩስ ፡ እስመ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሐነፋዊ ፡ ወመጣዓዌ ። 2. ወወሰከ ፡ ካልአ ፡ እከየ ፡ ሳዕለ ፡ እከየ ፡ ወገብረ ፡ ምግባረ ፡ ሰዶሞዊያን ፡ ወተወሰበ ፡ ከመ ፡ አንስት ፡ ወሰሚያሙ ፡ ሮማውያን ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ምግባረ ፡ ጽሉአ ፡ | ኢተዐገሥዎ ። 3. ወፈድፋደስ ፡ ካህናተ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ ጸአልዎ ። ወመላህቅተ ፡ ሕዝብኒ ፡ ተማከሩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይቅትልዎ ። ወሶበ ፡ አእመረ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ርኩስ ፡ ምክረ ፡ | መላህቅት ፡ ኅደገ ፡ መካኖ ፡ ወተኅብአ ፡ ወኢክህለ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይጉየይ ፡ እምእደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አዚዝ ፡ ወጽኑዕ ። 4. እስመ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ወድቀ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ልብ ፡ እመንገለ ፡ ተወሰቡቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ አንስት ። ወበእንተዝ ፡ ተለዐለ ፡ ከርሡ ፡ ወኮነ ፡

C118rc  
Z64

APP. CRIT.: 1 ወውእቱ ፡ ።]Σ, ወውእቱ ፡ s.l. D | 2 በእንተ ፡ ።]Σ, በእንተ ፡ s.l. D | 4 ሳድስ ፡ ወርኅ ።]Σ, ሳድስ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ coni. Zot | 5 ዘስሙ ፡ ዩልዮስ ፡ ።]Σ, ስሙ ፡ ስሞ ፡ ዩልዮስ ፡ coni. Zot | ዩልዮስ ፡ ።]α CG, ዩልዮስ ፡ D | 7 ወለኃምሳይኒ ፡ ።]αDG, ወለኃምሳይ ፡ C | 9 ፳፰ ፡ ።]αC, ፳፰ ፡ D, ፴፮ ፡ G | ኢይመሥጡ ፡ ።]αCD, ኢይመሥጡ ፡ G | 10 ዘእንበለ ፡ ።]Σ, ዘእንበለ ፡ s.l. D | 11 ፮ ፡ ለጡባ ፡ ።]αCG, ሰብአ ፡ ለጡባ ፡ D | ጥር ፡ ።]Σ, ዘውእቱ ፡ add. α | 12 ለአፍርንጅ ።]αCD, ለአፍርንጅ ፡ G | ወእቱ ፡ ።]Σ, ወውእቱ ፡ coni. Zot | ተሰነአወ ፡ ።]ተሰነዓወ ፡ C, ትሰናአው ፡ coni. Zot | 14 ፍጻሜ ፡ ።]αCG, om. D | ፯ ፡ ።]Σ, ፯ ፡ Zot | 15 ወስቅራጥሂ ፡ ።]αCG, ወስቅራጥሂ ፡ D, ኮነ ፡ add. CD | ወፍልሱፍ ፡ ።]αCG, ወፍልሱፍ ፡ D | 17 ሕግ ፡ ።]Σ, ኮነ ፡ add. α, ኮነ ፡ coni. Zot | ወለጠ ፡ ።]αCG, ወለጣ ፡ D | 18 ወስሕተ ፡ ።]CDG, ስሕተ ፡ α | 20 ፳፱ ፡ ።]αC, ፳፰ ፡ D, ፴፮ ፡ G | 21 ጢባርዮስ ፡ ።]BCDG, ጠባርዮስ ፡ AZot: B | ለቀጳዶቅያ ፡ ።]ΣZot: ዘቀጳዶቅያ ፡ A | ወእምድኅረ ፡ ።]Σ, እምድኅረ ፡ coni. Zot | አርከላስ ፡ ።]ΣZot: አርከላስ ፡ A | 22 ሐነጸ ፡ ።]Σ, ወሐነፀ ፡ coni. Zot | አትራክያ ፡ ።]αCG, አትራክያ ፡ D | 26 ፸ ፡ ።]αC, ፳፱ D, ፴፰ ፡ G | ነግሠ ፡ ።]αCG, ንጉሠ ፡ D | 30 ጸአልዎ ።]αDG, ጸአልዎ ፡ C | ወመላህቅተ ፡ ።]Σ, ወመላህቅት ፡ s.l. G | 34 ተወሰቡቱ ፡ ።]BCD G, ተውሰቡቱ ፡ A

APP. LECT. MIN.: 1 ሮማዊያን ።]CG, ሮማውያን ፡ αD | 14 ፯ ፡ ።]αCD, ሰብአቱ ፡ G | 17 ሐነፋዊያን ፡ ።]CG, ሐነፋውያን ፡ αD | 28 ሰዶሞዊያን ፡ ።]CG, ሰዶማውያን ፡ αD | 32 ይጉየይ ፡ ።]αC D, ይጉየይ ፡ G

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ሮማዊያን ።] # Σ | 4 ስሙ ።] # αCG | ወርኅ ።] # αCG | 5 ሳድሳይ ።] # BDG | 6 ለአውግስጦስ ።] # αDG | 7 ይእዜ ።] # αCG | መርድዮስ ።] # Σ | 9 ፳፰ ፡ ።] G | 11 ልቡና ፡ ።] #

sixth month. 16. The preceeding of the sixth month, i.e. the fifth one of the name Julius, was named after an emperor, brother of Augustus' father. 17. The people of Rome have accepted and strengthened this custom till nowadays. *Mardəyos* (March) precede the sixth one and the fifth one.

Chapter 68. 1. Christians, complete in faith, did not accept<sup>351</sup> another law without it being ordered to them, according to the saying of the Prophet Ezra, the enlightener of wisdom: when the months come on the sixth of *Tubā*, that is *Tərr*, the first month<sup>352</sup> of the Franks, 2. then the beginning of this month coincides with the first, the second or the third day until the end of the seven days.<sup>353</sup> 3. They establish the beginning of their months knowingly, so that it might be lucky or unlucky.<sup>354</sup> 4. Socrates, a wise man, philosopher and astronomer strengthened this custom in Rome. 5. Socrates, legislator and establisher of customs amongst the Greek changed the writing of the pure prophet Ezra. Being mislead he induced into error those, who read it in accordance with his evil activity.

Chapter 69. After the death of the emperor Augustus his son Tiberius became emperor. He subdued Cappadocia to Rome after the death of Archelaos, the chief of Cappadocia. 2. He built also a city in the province of Thrace and named it Tiberia. In the days of the Caesar Tiberius Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified in Jerusalem.<sup>355</sup>

Chapter 70. 1. After the death of Claudius the impure Nero became emperor, who was a pagan and idolater. 2. He added evil to evil and did sodomic deeds, and he was married like a woman. The Romans heard about this detested action and did not bear it patiently. 3. In particular the idol priests reproached him. And the chieves of the people conspired in order to kill him.<sup>356</sup> When this impure (man) learned about the plot of the chieves, he abandoned his place and hid himself, but he could not escape from the hand of God, mighty and strong. 4. Now, when he fell into this illness of mind concerning his marriage like a woman, due to that his belly rose up and became like the one of a pregnant woman. 5. They expelled him from the empire and he suffered a lot from an abundance of impure pains. Thereafter he commanded to the wise men to pay him a visit in a place where he was and to heal him. 6. Thereafter the wise men entered his place and tore apart his belly - it seemed to them that there was a baby in it - so that they might take it out.<sup>357</sup> And he died through this evil death.

Chapter 71. 1. After the death of Titus, Domitian, his brother, became emperor in his stead. He was a great philosopher amongst the heathen. 2. He

<sup>351</sup> For a proposal of Charles, see Charles 1916, 51, n. 3. However, the text seems to me to be understandable. | <sup>352</sup> Literally 'the head of months'. The 6th of *Tubā/Tərr* corresponds to the 1st of January. | <sup>353</sup> This passage is not completely understandable. | <sup>354</sup> '(Mais les Romains) se servent aussi du commencement du mois pour savoir les jours (du mois) seront hereux ou malheureux' (Zotenberg 1883, 289). 'And they observe moreover the commencement of their months in seeking to know whether it will be lucky or unlucky' (Charles 1916, 52). | <sup>355</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 10.10 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 124-125). | <sup>356</sup> Charles transposes here the begining of the verse 5 to the second sentence of the verse 3. Thus, he reads: 'and the senators (elders of the people) deposed him from the throne and took counsel in common to put him to death' (Charles 1916, 52). | <sup>357</sup> Charles makes transpositions in this sentence, thus translates: 'And when the wise men came to him thinking that he was with child they opened his belly in order to deliver it' (Charles 1916, 52-53). Zotenberg traslates the passage in a similar way, making however no notice on the transposition needed (Zotenberg 1881, 290). I follow the text of the manuscripts here.

DG | 12 ለአፍርንድ #] # BCG | 14 ዕለታት #] # Σ | በአእምሮ #] # D | 15 እኩዩ #] # Σ | 16 ሮም #] # αCG | 18 እኩይ #] # Σ | 21 ለሮም #] # CG | 23 ጢባርያ #] # Σ | 24 በኢየሩሳሌም #] # αCG, # # D | 26 ሮ #] # G | 27 ወመጣጥዩ #] # αCG | 28 አንስት #] # AD | 29 ኢተዐገሥዎ #] # αDG 30 ጸአላዎ #] # BCG | ይቅትላዎ #] # CG | 33 ወጽኑዕ #] # αCG | 34 አንስት #] # BCDG

ከመ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ፅንሰት ። 5. ወአው-ፅእዎ ፡ እመንግሥቱ ፡ ወተመንደበ ፡ ጥቀ ፡ A79vb  
 እምብዝነ ፡ ሕማሙ ፡ ርኩስ ። ወእምዝ ፡ አዘዞሙ ፡ ለጠቢባን ፡ ከመ ፡ የሐ  
 ው-ፅዎ ፡ ኅበ ፡ መካን ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ ውሱቴቱ ፡ ወይግበሩ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ፈውሰ ። 6.  
 ወእምዝ ፡ ቦሉ ፡ ጠቢባን ፡ ኅቤሁ ፡ ወሠጠጡ ፡ ከርሦ ፡ ወመሰሎሙ ፡ ሀሎ ፡  
 5 ሕፃን ፡ ውሱቴቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያው-ፅእዎ ፡ ወሞተ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ሞት ፡ እኩይ ። D28

ክፍል ፡ ፸፩ ፡ 1. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ጢጦስ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ዱማድያኖስ ፡ እኑሁ ፡  
 ህየንቴሁ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ፊልሱፍ ፡ | ዐቢይ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሐነፋዊያን ፡ 2. ወአንሥአ ፡ ሀከከ ፡ B60vb  
 ላዕለ ፡ | ክርስቲያን ፡ ወአው-ረደ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ኩነኔያተ ፡ ብዙ-ኃተ ፡ በእደ ፡ G56vb  
 10 ዳኬዮስ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ምክረ ፡ መኳንንቲሁ ። 3. ወለዮሐንሰኒ ፡ ፍቁር ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡  
 አምጽአ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ ወሰደዶ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ምእመናን ፡ <ለ>እግዚአ  
 ብሔር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ጥይቅት ፡ ወርትዕት ፡ 4. ወእምዝ ፡ ሶበ ፡ አንከረ ፡  
 እምዕባዩ ፡ ጥበቡ ፡ ፈነዎ ፡ በኅብ-እ ። ወሰራዊቲኒ ፡ ወካህናተ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ ኢያ  
 15 እመሩ ፡ ወሜጦ ፡ ኅበ ፡ መካኑ ፡ ዘይነበር ፡ ህየ ። 5. ወዓዲ ፡ ለዮሐንሰኒ ፡ ቴዎ  
 ጎሎስ ፡ ሰደዶ ፡ ዳግመ ፡ ዱማድያኖስ ፡ ሶበ ፡ አሠነዩ ፡ ልቦ ፡ ልኡካነ ፡ አጋንንት ፡  
 እኩያን ፡ ኅበ ፡ ደሴት ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡ ፀሐይ ። 6. ወዓዲ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ዱማድያኖስ ፡  
 ሀገረ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ሂሱርያ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ዱማድያኖስ ፡ በስሙ ። 7. ወሶበ ፡ ቀርበት ፡  
 ፍጻሜ ፡ ኅጢአቱ ፡ ሰደዶሙ ፡ ለሰማዕታት ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አማልክተ ፡  
 20 ጢጦስ ፡ ወፈቀደ ፡ ይሁዕ ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ወይሰምዮ ፡ ለዘኢይነብብ ፡  
 መድኅነ ። 8. ወሶቤሃ ፡ ተማከሩ ፡ ሰራዊቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይቅትልዎ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡  
 ኮነ ፡ <ያ>ኅስሮሙ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ጽንዑ ፡ ካሳዱ ፡ ወትዕቢተ ፡ ልቡ ፡  
 ወኢኮነ ፡ ይገብር ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ እምነ ፡ ፍትሕ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ፍልሱፍ ፡  
 ተንሥኡ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ወቀተልዎ ፡ ጽሚተ ፡ 9. ወሕዝብኒ ፡ ኢያእመሩ ፡ ከመ ፡ Z65  
 ቀተልዎ ። | ወነሥኡ ፡ አልባሲሁ ፡ ዘሐሪር ፡ ወሰቀሉ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሰናስለ ፡ ቀናዲል ፡ B60vc  
 25 ዘሀሎ ፡ ውሱተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ከመ ፡ ያስሕቱ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ በሐሰት ፡  
 እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ተለዐለ ፡ መልዕልተ ፡ ዓዩር ፡ በእደ ፡ ካህናተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ እመ  
 ትሕተ ፡ ምድር ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ፊልሱፍ ፡ 10. ወአስሐትዎሙ ፡ ለሰብእ ፡  
 ኅዳጠ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ አእመሩ ፡ ሞተ ፡ | ዝኩ ፡ እኩይ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ድል  
 ቅልቅ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቅትሉቱ ፡ ውሱተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ ወአርኩስዎ ፡ በዕባዶሙ ፡  
 30 እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ንጹሐን ፡ ንሕነ ፡ ወንጹሕ ፡ መቅደስነ ። 11. ወእምዝ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ድል  
 ቅልቅ ። ወሠምሩ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ አራዎስ ፡ ወረሰይዎ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሊቀ ፡  
 ሰራዊት ፡ ወአረጋቁ ፡ ወኔ<ረ> ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ወያፈቅር ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ወጠቢበ ። 12. ወበ  
 ጊዜሃ ፡ ፈነወ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ልሳነ ፡ መዐዛ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ወሜጦ ፡ እምስደቱ ፡ ወአ  
 ምጽአ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ኤፌሶን ፡ ወሞተ ፡ በህየ ፡ በዕረፍት ፡ ሠናይ ። ወለሥጋሁኒ ፡

APP. CRIT.: 4 ሀሎ ፡ ]Σ, post ሕፃን ፡ trans. C | 5 ሞት ፡ ]Σ, post እኩይ ፡ trans. D | 7 ፸፩ ፡ ]αC, ፸ ፡  
 D, ፴፱ ፡ G | ጢጦስ ፡ ]αCG, ውሱት ፡ D | ነግሠ ፡ ]αCG, om. D | ዱማድያኖስ ፡ ]DG, ዱማድዮስ ፡  
 α, ዱማድዮስ ፡ C | 9 ክርስቲያን ፡ ]αC, ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ DG | ኩነኔያተ ፡ ]Σ, ኩነኔያተ ፡ s.l. D  
 10 ዳኬዮስ ፡ ]C, ዳክዮስ ፡ α, ዳክዎስ ፡ D, ዳኬዎስ ፡ G | ወለዮሐንሰኒ ፡ ]Σ, ወለዮሐንሰኒ ፡ s.l. G  
 11 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ]coni. Zot, እግዚአብሔር ፡ Σ | 12 ጥይቅት ፡ ወርትዕት ፡ ]BCG, ርትዕት ፡ ወጥ  
 ይቅት ፡ A, ጥይቅት ፡ D | 14 ቴዎጎሎስ ፡ ]BCDG, ቴዎጎሎስ ፡ A | 16 ዱማድያኖስ ፡ ]BCG, ዱማ  
 ድዮኖስ ፡ A, ዱማዲያኖስ ፡ D | 18 ቤተ ፡ ...ጢጦስ ፡ ]BCG, ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ጢጦስ ፡ A, ቤተ ፡  
 አማልክት ፡ ዘጢጦስ ፡ D | 19 መሥዋዕተ ፡ ]Σ, post ለአጋንንት ፡ trans. D | 21 ያኅስሮሙ ፡ ]coni.  
 Zot, ያኅሥሮሙ ፡ Σ | ካሳዱ ፡ ]αCD, ክሳዱ ፡ G | ወትዕቢተ ፡ ]ACDG, ወትዕቢቱ ፡ B | 22 እምነ ፡ ]α  
 CG, om. D | 23 ተንሥኡ ፡ ]Σ, ወተንሥኡ ፡ coni. Zot | ኢያእመሩ ፡ ]αCD, ኢያእምሩ ፡ G  
 24 ሰናስለ ፡ ]αCD, ሰናስል ፡ G | 25 አማልክት ፡ ]αCD, አማልክ ፡ G | 27 ፊልሱፍ ፡ ]αDG, ፍልሱፍ ፡  
 C | ወአስሐትዎሙ ፡ ]CDG, አስሐትዎሙ ፡ α | 28 ሞተ ፡ ]Σ, i.m. G | ዝኩ ፡ ]αCG, ዝንቱ ፡ D  
 30 ወእምዝ ፡ ...ድልቅልቅ ፡ ]αCG, ወኮነ ፡ ድልቅልቅ ፡ G, om. D | 31 ወረሰይዎ ፡ ]αCG, ወረ  
 ሰይዎ ፡ s.l. G | ንጉሠ ፡ ]αCD, ንጉሥ ፡ G | ሊቀ ፡ ሰራዊት ፡ ]αCG, ሊቀ ፡ ሐራ ፡ ወሰራዊት ፡ D  
 G | 32 ወአረጋቁ ፡ ...13 ወኔረ ፡ ]coni. Zot, ወአረጋቁ ፡ ወኔር ፡ Σ | ወጠቢበ ፡ ]αC, ወጠቢብ ፡ D  
 34 ወለሥጋሁኒ ፡ ]αCG, ወሥጋሁኒ ፡ D

APP. LECT. MIN.: 8 ሐነፋዊያን ፡ ]CG, ሐነፋውያን ፡ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ፅንሰት ፡ ]Σ | 2 ርኩስ ፡ ]αCG | 3 ፈውሰ ፡ ]Σ | 5 ያው-ፅእዎ ፡ ]D  
 እኩይ ፡ ]Σ | 8 ህየንቴሁ ፡ ]D | 10 መኳንንቲሁ ፡ ]αCG | 12 ወርትዕት ፡ ]C | 13 በኅብ-እ ፡ ]  
 αCG | 14 ህየ ፡ ]Σ | 16 ፀሐይ ፡ ]CG | 17 በስሙ ፡ ]αCG | 18 ቅዱሳን ፡ ]D | 19 ጢጦስ ፡ ]Σ

began a persecution against the Christians and brought down many torments on them through the hands of Decius and through the advice of his officers. 3. He brought the beloved Evangelist John to Rome and exiled him together with all believers <of> God because of the sure and Orthodox faith. 4. Thereafter when he was amazed by the greatness of his wisdom, he sent to him secretly, neither his soldiers (*sarāwit*) nor the idol priests knew that, and he returned him to his residence. 5. But Domitian exiled John the Theologian also for the second time on the island named Sun,<sup>358</sup> when the messengers of the impure demons<sup>359</sup> appeased his heart.<sup>360</sup> 6. Domitian also built a city in the province of *Hisuryā*<sup>361</sup> (Isauria) and named it after his name Domitian.<sup>362</sup> 7. When the completion of his sin was near, he exiled saint martyrs. He went to the idol temple of Titus and wanted to make sacrifices to demons, for he called a speechless thing ‘saviour’. 8. At that time his soldiers conspired to kill him, for he abused them the whole time because of his stiff neck and arrogance, and he did nothing justly, though he was a philosopher. They arose and killed him secretly. 9. And people did not know that they had killed him. They (soldiers) took his silk clothes and hang (them) on the chains of a lamp in the idol temple, in order to mislead all people saying falsely, that he was raised upward into the air from earth through the hands of idol priests, for he was a philosopher. 10. They mislead people for a short time. Thereafter they learned about that evil death and there was tumult concerning the murder of him in the temple and that they polluted it while saying: ‘We are guiltless and our temple is pure.’<sup>363</sup> 11. Thereafter there was tumult and they agreed on <sup>°</sup>*Arawos* (Nerva)<sup>364</sup> and made him emperor. He was a chief officer, an elder, brilliant, philanthropic and wise. 12. At that time he sent to the sweet-tongued St John and returned him from his exile and brought him into the city of Ephesus and he died there in pleasant peace. Concerning his holy body, it is not known where it is buried except for Our Lord Jesus Christ – praise be on Him! 13. This emperor was good and established good laws. He also annulled amongst people that there was a slap for a slap and a stroke for a stroke.<sup>365</sup> While he was engaged in this legislation he died at the age of eighty-eight<sup>366</sup> and in the first year of his reign.

Chapter 72. 1. After the death of <sup>°</sup>*Arwās* (Nerva), good emperor, <sup>°</sup>*Endaryānos* (Trajan)<sup>367</sup> became emperor. He loved to worship idols. 2. He was the third

<sup>358</sup> Zotenberg explains this toponym as a misinterpretation of the Arabic (transcription of the Greek Πάτριον) for (Zotenberg 1883, 291, n. 1). | <sup>359</sup> Zotenberg suggests that this should mean oracle (Zotenberg 1883, 290). | <sup>360</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 10.48 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 139). <sup>361</sup> According to Crum this form of the proper name contains traces of the Coptic language, i.e. ‘confounding radical consonants with particles’ (Crum 1917, 207). | <sup>362</sup> Domitianopolis is meant. | <sup>363</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 10.52 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 141). | <sup>364</sup> The origin of the form <sup>°</sup>*Arawos* / <sup>°</sup>*Arwās* is not clear. It is possible that the initial *n* of the name was misunderstood for the Coptic reposition *n* by a translator into Arabic, however, this mistake has to have been made twice (see 72.1). Is a phonetic explanation also possible? | <sup>365</sup> Zotenberg suggests that the gladiatorial spectacles are meant (Zotenberg 1883, 291, n. 6). | <sup>366</sup> As Zotenberg’s manuscripts have only the variant **ⲛⲟⲩ** he translates it as ‘quatre-vingt-quatre’ (Zotenberg 1883, 292). Charles in his turn reads that as ‘fourty-four’, pointing however that the text is corrupt (Charles 1916, 54, n. 1). According to *John Malalas* 10.54, Nerva died at the age of seventy-one (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 141-142). | <sup>367</sup> The entry in the *Copto-Arabic Synaxarium* on 18th of Hatour read the name of this emperor and the father of St Drusus (see below) as ادريانسوس and was subsequently rendered by Basset as Hadrian (Basset 1909, 228). This identification would however the narrative by John Malalas (cp. *John Malalas* 11.10 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 146)) and the transcription of the name Trajan as ادريانسوس does not seem improbable. The Ethiopic variant <sup>°</sup>*Endaryānos* might be a result of a copysist’s attempt to ‘normalize’ the name (for a similar case see p. xlviii of the current work). Crum proposes another explanation and points to the Coptic attributive *en-* in this proper name. He refers, however, only to the occurrence of this name in 72.19 for an unknown reason (Crum 1917,

CD | 20 መድኅነ #] # ACD | 24 ቀተልዎ #] # ACG, 1 B | 25 አማልክት #] # AC | 27 ምድር #] # C | 28 ዘመነ #] # C | 30 መቅደስ #] # Σ | ድልቅልቅ #] (om. D) # ACG | 31 ንጉሠ #] # C 32 ወያኔቅር #] # G | ወጠቢባ #] # BCG | 34 ሠናይ #] # BCDG

ቅዱስ ፡ ኢይትአመር ፡ ኅበ ፡ ተቀብረ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡  
 ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ። 13. ወዝንቱ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሠናዩ ፡ ወአንበረ ፡ ሕገጋተ ፡  
 ሠናዩተ ። ወዓዲ ፡ አጽርዐ ፡ እምሰብእ ፡ ዘነበረ ፡ ጽፍዐት ፡ ህየንተ ፡ ጽፍዐት ፡  
 ወዝብጠት ፡ ህየንተ ፡ ዝብጠት ። ወእንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ ሞተ ፡  
 5 ንጉሥ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ዓመታቲሁ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ፹ ወ፰ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ወመንግሥቱኒ ፡ ፩ ፡  
 ዓመት ። |

A80rb  
B61ra

ክፍል ፡ ፸፪ ፡ 1. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ አርዋስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ኄር ፡ | ነግሠ ፡ እንድር  
 ያኖስ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ እምልኮ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ 2. ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሣልሶሙ ፡  
 10 እምእለ ፡ ሰደድዎሙ ፡ ለክርስቲያን ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ ሰማዕታት ፡ ውስተ ፡  
 ኩሉ ፡ መካን ፡ ወኩነንዎሙ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ 3. ወዓዲ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አግ  
 ናጥዮስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘአንጾኪያ ፡ ዘተሠይመ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ እጥሮስ ፡ ርእስ ፡  
 ሐዋርያት ፡ ፈነዎ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ እሱረ ፡ ወመጠዎ ፡ ለአንበሳ ። 4. ወዓዲ ፡  
 15 አኅዞን ፡ ወተስእሎን ፡ ወይቤሎን ፡ መነ ፡ ታመልካ ፡ ወበመኑ ፡ ትትዌከላ ፡ እስከ ፡  
 ትረውዓ ፡ ወታፈጥና ፡ ለሞት ። 5. አውሥአ ፡ ወይቤላ ፡ | ንሕነ ፡ ንመውት ፡  
 በእንተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘይሁበነ ፡ ሕይወተ ፡ ዘለዓለም ፡ ወያነሥአነ ፡ እምዝንቱ ፡  
 ሥጋ ፡ ሙሱን ፡ 6. ወመልአ ፡ መዓተ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሐነፋዌ ፡ ወኢ  
 ፈተወ ፡ ከሢተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ትንሣኤ ። ወአዘዘ ፡ ይደዩ ፡ ሥጋሆን ፡ ለቅዱሳት ፡  
 20 አንስት ፡ | ውስተ ፡ እሳት ። 7. ወመሬትኒ ፡ ዘወድቀ ፡ ዲቤሁ ፡ | ሥጋ ፡ ቅዱሳት ፡  
 አንስት ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ይሕፍሱ ፡ ወይደዩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ብርት ፡ ዘአንዳዴ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ብለኔ ፡  
 ዘአሕዛብ ፡ ዘሐነጸ ፡ በስሙ ። 8. ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ ኮነ ፡ በይእቲ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ብለኔ ፡  
 ኩሉ ፡ ዘይትሐፀብ ፡ ኅቤሃ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይጠይስ ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ይወድቅ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይጾንዎ ፡  
 ውእቱ ፡ ጢስ ፡ ወያወፅኦ ፡ ጸዊሮሙ ። ወያነክሮ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ | ዘርእዮ ። ወዓዲ ፡  
 ኮነ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ይሳለቅዎሙ ፡ ለሐነፋዊያን ፡ ወይትሜክሐ ፡ በክርስቶስ ፡ ወይ  
 25 ሴብሕዎ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ቅዱሳኒሁ ። 9. ወሶበ ፡ አእመረ ፡ እንድርያኖስ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡  
 ወለጠ ፡ አንዳድያነ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ብለኔ ፡ ወአእተተ ፡ እምህየ ፡ ንዋያተ ፡ ብርት ፡  
 ዘሀሎ ፡ ውስቲቱ ፡ ሐመደ ፡ ሥጋሆን ፡ ለቅዱሳት ፡ አንስት ። ወረሰየ ፡ ሐመደ ፡  
 ሥጋሆን ፡ ኅበ ፡ ፭ ፡ ሐ<ውላ>ተ ፡ > ብርት ። ወአቀሞሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡  
 ቤተ ፡ ብለኔ ። 10. ወውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይተግህ ፡ ለአስተሐቅሮ ፡ ሰማዕታት ፡ እንዘ ፡  
 30 ይብል ፡ ኢኮነ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ወኢለአምላኮሙ ፡ ወሞታ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ አእምሮ ። 11. ወበ  
 ውእቱ ፡ | ጊዜ ፡ ኮና ፡ ሰማዕታተ ፡ አጥራሲስ ፡ ወለቱ ፡ ወዮና ፡ ወለተ ፡ ፊላስ  
 ንፋን ፡ በጥሪቅ ። ወዓዲ ፡ ኮና ፡ ሰማዕታተ ፡ ካልአት ፡ ደናግል ፡ ብዙኃት ፡  
 በእዴሁ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ከሓዲ ፡ በውዕየተ ፡ እሳት ። 12. ወእንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ አንድር  
 ያኖስ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ አንጾኪያ ፡ ሐመት ፡ ምድር ፡ ወአድለቅለቀት ፡ እመዓተ ፡ እግዚአ  
 35 ብሔር ፡ በሌሊት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘረኩስ ፡ ፫ተ ፡ ጊዜያተ ፡ 13. ወአኮ ፡ አንጾኪያ ፡  
 ባሕቲታ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ <በ>ፋጥስ ፡ ደሴት ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ድልቅልቅ ፡ ድኅረ ፡  
 ንቅወተ ፡ ዶርሆ ። 14. ወአይሁድስ ፡ ዘሀለዉ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ <ወ<በ>አ  
 ድያመ ፡ ቂርዋንሂ ፡ > ተጋብአ ፡ {ወአድያመ ፡ ቂርዋንሂ ፡} ወሢሙ ፡ ሎሙ ፡

D29

C118vc

G57ra

A80rc Z66

B61rb

C119ra

A80va

G57rb

APP. CRIT.: 2 ሕገጋተ ፡ ]αCG, ሕገጋተ ፡ D | 3 አጽርዐ ፡ ]BDG, አጽንዐ ፡ AC | 4 ወዝብጠት ፡ ]αD  
 G, ዝብጠት ፡ C | 5 ኮነ ፡ ]αCG, ይከውኖ ፡ D | ፹ ወ፰ ፡ ]CG, ፹ ወ፬ α, ፹፰ D | ወመንግሥቱኒ ፡ ]C  
 DG, ወመንግሥቱኒ ፡ α, ኮነት ፡ add. α | 8 ፸፪ ፡ ]αC, ፸፩ ፡ D, ፵ ፡ G | ንጉሥ ፡ ]αDG, om. C  
 ነግሠ ፡ ]αCG, om. D | 9 ኮነ ፡ ]Σ, post ሣልሶሙ ፡ trans. α | 10 ሰደድዎሙ ፡ ]Σ, ሰደድዎ{ሙ} ፡ s.l.  
 G | 11 ወዓዲ ፡ ]Σ, ከሓነንዎ ፡ add. D | 12 ዘተሠይመ ፡ ]αDG, ዘትሰመይ ፡ C | 14 አኅዞን ፡ ]αCG,  
 ለአንስት ፡ add. D, ፭ ፡ አንስት ፡ ክርስቲያናውያት ፡ ዘአንጾኪያ ፡ con. Zot | 18 ነገረ ፡ ]αDG,  
 ነገረ ፡ C | 19 ውስተ ፡ ... 88,1 አንስት ፡ ]αCG, om. D | ወመሬትኒ ፡ ](om. D) CG, ወመሬትኒ ፡ α  
 20 አዘዘ ፡ ]Σ, ወዓዲ ፡ prae. D | ይሕፍሱ ፡ ]Σ, መሬተ ፡ ዘወድቀ ፡ ዲቤሁ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ቅዱሳት ፡  
 አንስት ፡ add. D | ወይደዩ ፡ ]αCG, ወወደዩ ፡ D | ዘአንዳዴ ፡ ]Σ, ዘአ{ን}ዳዴ ፡ s.l. G | 21 ዘሐነጸ ፡ ]αC  
 D, ዘሐነጸ ፡ G | 22 ዘይትሐፀብ ፡ ]Σ, {ዘ}ይትሐፀብ ፡ s.l. D, ዘይት{ሐ s.l. G | ኅቤሃ ፡ ]αCG, ኅቤሁ ፡  
 D | 23 ኩሎ ፡ ]αCG, ኩሉ ፡ D | 25 ቅዱሳኒሁ ፡ ]αDG, መላእክቲሁ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ C | 26 ወለጠ ፡ ]αC  
 G, እንድርያኖስ ፡ add. D | አንዳድያነ ፡ ]Σ, አ{ን}ዳድያነ ፡ s.l. G | 28 ሐውላተ ፡ ]conieci, ሐውልተ ፡  
 BCDG, ሐውልተ ፡ A | 29 ለአስተሐቅሮ ፡ ]αCG, ለአስገቅሮተ ፡ D | 30 ኢኮነ ፡ ]αCD, ኢኮነ ፡ G  
 ኢኮነ ፡ ... 12 ወኢለአምላኮሙ ፡ ]Σ, ኢኮና ፡ ሊተ ፡ ወኢለአምላኮን ፡ con. Zot | 31 ወዮና ፡ ]αCG,  
 ለዮና ፡ D | 32 ካልአት ፡ ]αCG, ካልአተ ፡ G | 35 ዘረኩስ ፡ ]αCG, ዘረኩስት ፡ D | 36 በፋጥስ ፡ ]con.  
 Zot, ወፋጥስ ፡ αCG, ወርጥስ ፡ D | ዓዲ ፡ ]Σ, post ኮነ ፡ trans. D | 37 ወበአድያመ ፡ ... 20 ቂርዋንሂ ፡ ]  
 conieci | 38 ወአድያመ ፡ ቂርዋንሂ ፡ ]transpositum censeo; hic habent Σ | ወሢሙ ፡ ]αDG,  
 ወሢሙ ፡ C | ሎሙ ፡ ]αC, om. DG



መከታን ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩኖሙ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ዘሰመ ፡ ለ-ቅዋን ። 15. ወሰበ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ ወጠየቀ ፡ እንድርያኖስ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ፈነወ ፡ ኅቤሆሙ ፡ መስፍነ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ብዙ-ነ ፡ ጎይል ፡ ዘሰሙ ፡ ማርቆስ ፡ ዱረራን ፡ ወብዙ-ነ ፡ ሰራዊት ፡ መስ ተጽዕናነ ፡ አፍራስ ፡ ወሰብአ ፡ እግር ። ወዓዲ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ብዙ-ነ ፡ በአሕማር ። 16. ወእንድርያኖስ ፡ መጽአ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ምስር ፡ ወሐነጸ ፡ ቅጽረ ፡ ወማኅፈደ ፡ ጽኑዐ ፡ ዘኢያንቀለቅል ። ወማያተ ፡ ብዙ-ነ ፡ አብአ ፡ ውስቴታ ። ወሰመያ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ ምስር ። 17. ቅድመኒ ፡ ናቡከደነ ፡ ጸር ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ማሒ ፡ ወፋርስ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ መሠረ ታቲሃ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ቅጽረ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ አመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ባቲ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወአመ ፡ <ሰደ>ደሙ ፡ ለአይሁድ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ ምዝባሬሃ ፡ ለኢ የሩሳሌም ። ወዓዲ ፡ አመ ፡ ቀተሉ ፡ ነቢየ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በአእባን ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ጥንፋስ ፡ ዘምስር ፡ <ወ>ወሰኩ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ እኮየ ፡ በዲበ ፡ እኮሎሙ ። 18. ወናቡከ ደነጸርሂ ፡ መጽአ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምስር ፡ ምስለ ፡ ብዙ-ነ ፡ ሰራዊት ፡ ወነሥአ ፡ ለምስር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘተቃወምዎ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ በሰመ ፡ ሀገሩ ። 19. ወዓዲ ፡ እንድርያኖስ ፡ ወሰከ ፡ ሕንጻ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ቅጽር ፡ ወላዕለ ፡ መካናት ፡ ካልአት ፡ ዘውስቴታ ። ወከረየ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ለሙሐዘ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ ንእስተ ፡ አምጣን ፡ ከመ ፡ ያውሕዝ ፡ ማየ ፡ እምግዮን ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ቀ-ገላዝም ፡ ወአብአ ፡ ለውእቲ ፡ ማይ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ባሕረ ፡ ኤርትራ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ ለይእቲ ፡ ማይ ፡ እንድርያኖስ ፡ በሰሙ ። 20. | ወዓዲ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ማኅፈደ ፡ በመኑፍ ፡ ወእምድኅረ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ደወየ ፡ ወሞተ ፡ በጁ ፡ ዓመት ፡ እምዘ ፡ ነግሠ ።

B61rc  
C119rb  
A80vb  
D30  
Z67  
A80vc  
B61va  
C119rc G57rc

ክፍል ፡ ፸፫ ፡ 1. ወነግሠ ፡ እምድኅሬሁ ፡ እንድርያኖስ ፡ በሮሜ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እኅወ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ለእንድርያኖስ ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ 2. ሐነጸ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ ወአዳም ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ራእያ ፡ በላዕላይ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ወሰመያ ፡ እንዲና ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ እንጸና ፡ ወእምድ ኅረዝ ፡ ረሰይዎ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ስሑታን ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ባዕል ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ወሞተ ፡ ሞተ ፡ እኩየ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፸፬ ፡ 1. ወእምድኅሬሁ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ኢልዮስ ፡ እንጦንዮስ ፡ ኔርስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ መሓሬ ፡ ወየሞሀ ፡ ውኔረ ፡ ሰመይዎ ፡ ሮም ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ቄሳር ፡ ቅኑየ ፡ እግዚአ ብሔር ፡ ኮነ ፡ ብእሴ ፡ ጸድቀ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ መንግሥቲ ፡ 2. ዜነዉ ፡ ቦቲ ፡ ዜና ዊያን ፡ ከመ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ ቀደመ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ርትዕ ፡ ወአጽርዐ ፡ ዓመጻሆሙ ፡ ለሮማ ዊያን ፡ እለ ፡ ከኑ ፡ ቅድሚሁ ፡ 3. ቅድመስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይገብሩ ፡ ዓመጻ ፡ ወይነሥአ ፡ ንዋየ ፡ አብዕልት ፡ መንፈቀ ፡ ንዋየሙ ፡ አመ ፡ ይመውቲ ፡ ወይሁቡ ፡ ለመን ግሥት ፡ በምክንያተ ፡ ኪዳን ፡ ዘተካየዱ ፡ አበው ፡ ምስለ ፡ ውሉደሙ ፡ ወኢ ክህሉ ፡ እለ ፡ እምቅድሜሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያብጥሉ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ሥርዓተ ፡ ባሕቲ ፡ 4. ውእቲ ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ወአጽርዐ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ሥሉጠ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ንዋየ ፡ ወየሀብ ፡ ለዘፈቀደ ። ወዓዲ ፡ አንበረ ፡ ትእዛዛተ ፡ ብዙ-ነተ ፡ በርትዕ ፡ ወሕገጋተ ፡ ዘይሰነአው ፡ ለጽድቅ ። 5. ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ ወረደ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ወእስክ ንድርያ ፡ ወገብረ ፡ በህየ ፡ በቀለ ፡ ለዘገብረ ፡ እኩየ ፡ ወምሕረተ ፡ ለዘገብረ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ እስመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ትኩለ ፡ በኅቤሁ ፡ ርኅራኄ ፡ ወምሕረት ፡ ወአንኖተ ፡ መንፈስ ። 6. ወሐነጸ ፡ በእለእስክንድርያ ፡ ክልኤ ፡ አናቅጸ ፡ በምዕራባ ፡ ወሠርቃ ፡

A81ra  
Z68  
B61vb C119va

APP. CRIT.: 1 ይኩኖሙ ፡ ... ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ፡]Σ, ይኩኖሙ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ coni. Zot | ንጉሠ ፡ ፡]αDG, om. C 3 ዱረራን ፡ ፡]αCG, ዱረራን ፡ D | 4 ወዓዲ ፡ ፡]αCG, ፈነወ ፡ D | 6 ባቢሎን ፡ ...27 ምስር ፡ ፡]Σ, ባቢሎን ፡ ዘምስር ፡ coni. Zot | 7 ቅድመኒ ፡ ፡]αG, ወቅድመኒ ፡ CD | 9 ሰደዶሙ ፡ ፡]con. Zot, ይሰ ድዶሙ ፡ Σ | 11 ወወሰኩ ፡ ፡]con. Zot, ወሰኩ ፡ Σ | ወናቡከደነጸርሂ ፡ ፡]αG, ወናቡከደነጸርሂ ፡ CD 12 ብዙ-ነ ፡ ፡]αCG, ብዙ-ነን ፡ D | 13 ወሰመያ ፡ ፡]Σ, add. ለቅጽር ፡ con. Zot | 15 ለሙሐዘ ፡ ፡]αCG, ሙሐዘ ፡ D | 21 ፸፫ ፡ ፡]AD, ፸፬ ፡ B, ፸፭ ፡ C, ፵፩ ፡ G | እንድርያኖስ ፡ በሮሜ ፡ ፡]Σ, በሮሜ ፡ እንድርያኖስ ፡ con. Zot | 22 ወአዳም ፡ ፡]αCG, ወአዲ ፡ D | 23 እንተ ፡ ...እንጸና ፡ ፡]αCG, om. D እንጸና ፡ ፡]om. D) αC, እጸና ፡ G | 24 ረሰይዎ ፡ ፡]Σ, ሰብአ ፡ add. D | 25 ሞተ ፡ ፡]Σ, post እኩየ ፡ trans. CD | 27 ፸፬ ፡ ፡]C, ፸፫ ፡ AD, ፸፫ ፡ B, ፵፪ ፡ G | ኢልዮስ ፡ ፡]n.l. A, ኤልዮስ ፡ BZot: A 28 ወየሞሀ ፡ ፡]ወየሞሀ ፡ C, post ውኔረ ፡ trans. A | ሰመይዎ ፡ ፡]BCG, ወሰመይዎ ፡ AD እግዚአብሔር ፡ ፡]αCG, ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ D | 29 ጸድቀ ፡ ፡]αCG, ወኮነ ፡ D | ዜነዉ ፡ ፡]αDG, ዜነወ ፡ C | 30 ወአጽርዐ ፡ ፡]Σ, s.l. G | ዓመጻሆሙ ፡ ፡]αCD, ወዓመጻሆሙ ፡ G | 31 ኮነ ፡ ፡]Σ, s.l. G 33 ዘተካየዱ ፡ ፡]αCG, ዝተካየዱ ፡ D | 38 እኩየ ፡ ...19 ለዘገብረ ፡ ፡]αDG, om. C | 39 ኮነ ፡ ፡]αC, ኮነት ፡ DG | 40 በእለእስክንድርያ ፡ ፡]α, በእለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ C, በእለእስክንድርያ ፡ DG

of God with stones in the city of *Tanfās* (Thebes)<sup>373</sup> in Egypt <and> the Jews added evil to their evil. 18. Nebuchadnezzar went in the direction of Egypt with many soldiers and he took Egypt because the Jews had opposed him, and he named it (the fortress) Babylon after the name of his own city. 19. <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Endaryānos* (Trajan) also added a construction onto this fortress and on other places inside it. He dug a small channel too, in order to convey the waters of Gihon to the city of *Q<sup>w</sup>alzām* (Clysma). He brought this stream to the Red Sea and named it Trajan after his name. 20. He built also a fortress in *Manuf* (Onouphis)<sup>374</sup> and after having done all these deeds, he fell ill and died in the twentieth year of his reign.

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Chapter 73. 1. After him <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Endaryānos* (Hadrian) son of the brother of <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Endaryānos* the first (Trajan's)<sup>375</sup> father became emperor in Rome.<sup>376</sup> 2. He built a nice and very beautiful town in the Upper Egypt and named it Antinoe, that is <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Inšinā*. Thereafter, misled people made him god. He was very wealthy and died through an evil death.

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Chapter 74. 1. Thereafter Aelius Antonius *Neros* (Pius)<sup>377</sup> became emperor. He was merciful, gentle and good. Romans named him at first Caesar, the servant of God. He was a righteous man in the time of his reign. 2. The chroniclers wrote on him that he was the first to exercise justice and that he annulled the acts of injustice that had happened to the Romans before. 3. Previously they were exercising injustice. They took the possessions of the rich, the half of their possessions on their death and gave to the government, because of the covenant which fathers made with their children. And his pedecessors could not abolish this custom. 4. He (Aelius Antonius Pius) commanded and annuled (it) in order that everyone had control over their possessions and could give to whom one wanted.<sup>378</sup> Moreover, he established many justful ordinances and righteous laws. 5. Thereafter he went down to Egypt and Alexandria and he had vengeance there on one who did evil and was merciful to one who did virtues, for compassion, mercy and patience were implanted in him. 6. He built two gates in Alexandria, one in its West and one in its East. He named the Eastern one <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Abalyu*<sup>379</sup> and the Western one *Salānyāki*<sup>380</sup>. 7. He built a place of entertainment in white stone in the city of Antioch and named it <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Amulun*,<sup>381</sup> and he brought the stones from the Upper Egypt.<sup>382</sup> 8. He constructed in all his cities baths and places for reading. 9. Thereafter he returned to Rome with many soldiers and remained there for a

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<sup>373</sup> Zotenberg and Charles identify this toponym with Thebes (Zotenberg 1883, 293; Charles 1916, 55). Crum suggests instead the identification with Tahpanhes-Daphnae. Moreover, he states that in this particular case ‘the mention of the stoning of Jeremiah makes this quite clear’ (Crum 1917, 208). | <sup>374</sup> See Timm 1988, 1578 (cited above in the Index). | <sup>375</sup> I suggest here a certain conflation of proper names, thus the same form <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Endaryānos* is attested for Trajan as well as Hadrian. Due to this conflation an attribute *qadāmāwi* (the first) was added to the name of Trajan. | <sup>377</sup> A corrupt transcription of the Arabic read as . | <sup>378</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 11.26 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 149). | <sup>379</sup> See Charles 1916, 56; Zotenberg 1883, 295. | <sup>380</sup> See Charles 1916, 56; Zotenberg 1883, 295. | <sup>381</sup> See Charles 1916, 56, n. 4. | <sup>382</sup> See Zotenberg 1883, 295, n. 3; Charles 1916, 56, n. 4. Cp. *John Malalas* 11.30 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 149-150).

APP. LECT. MIN.: 7 ናቡ-ከደነ ፡ ጸር ፣] CG, ናቡ-ከደነጸር ፡ αD | 29 ዜናዊያን ፣] CG, ዜናውያን ፡ αD  
30 ለርማዊያን ፣] CG, ለርማውያን ፡ αD | 36 ለዘፈቀደ ።] αCD, ለዘ ፡ ፈቀደ ፡ G | 40 ክልኤ ፣] αDG,  
፪ C

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ሉቅዋን ።] ። Σ | 3 ኀይል ፣] ። A | 4 እግር ።] ። Σ | በአሕግር ።] ። αCG  
6 ዘኢያንቀለቅል ።] ። BCDG | ውሱቴታ ።] ። Σ | 7 ምስር ።] ። αCG | 9 ለኢየሩሳሌም ።] ። Σ  
11 እከዮሙ ።] ። αG | 13 ሀገሩ ።] ። Σ | 15 ዘውሱቴታ ።] ። αCG | 17 ኤርትራ ፣] ። D | 18 በሰሙ ፣] ።  
BG | 19 ነግሠ ።] ። αCG, ። ። D | 23 እንጂና ፣] (om. D) ። C | 24 ሰሐታን ፣] ። D | 25 እከዮ ።] ።  
Σ | 31 ኮኑ ፣] ። G | 36 ለዘፈቀደ ።] ። αCG | 37 ለጽድቅ ።] ። αCG | ወእስክንድርያ ፣] ። D  
40 መንፈስ ።] ። Σ | ወሠርቃ ፣] ። C

ወሰመዮ ፡ ለአንቀጽ ፡ ምሥራቃዊ ፡ አብልዮ ፡ ወለምዕራባዊ ፡ ሰላንያኪ ። 7.  
 ወሐነጸ ፡ መካነ ፡ ተውኔት ፡ በሰሌዳ ፡ እብን ፡ ፀዓዳ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ አንጸኪያ ፡  
 ወሰመያ ፡ አሙሉን ፡ ወለአእባንኒ ፡ ወሰደሙ ፡ እምላዕላይ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ 8. ወሐነጸ ፡  
 ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አህጉራቲሁ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ብለኔ ፡ ወመካነ ፡ ምንባባት ። 9. ወእምዝ ፡  
 5 ተመይጠ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ሰራዊት ፡ ወነበረ ፡ ውስቲታ ፡ | ኅዳጠ ፡  
 መዋዕለ ፡ ወሞተ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ፎወጂ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ወእምአመ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ በጁወፒ ፡  
 ዓመት ፡ 10. ወጎደገ ፡ ንዋዮ ፡ ለማርቆስ ፡ ወልዱ ። ወማርቆስኒ ፡ ወልዱ ፡  
 ተመስሎ ፡ ለአቡሁ ፡ በምሕረት ፡ ወበትሩፋት ፡ ወፈጸመ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ጽድቀ ፡  
 ወሕገ ፡ ወሞተ ፡ በአምልኮተ ፡ አቡሁ ።

G57va  
A81rb

D31

ክፍል ፡ ፸፮ ፡ 1. ወእምድኅሬሁ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ዳኪዮስ ፡ መናፍቅ ፡ ፀረ ፡ እግዚአ  
 ብሔር ፡ 2. ወአንሥአ ፡ ኩነኔ ፡ ወሕማመ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ወአቀመ ፡ ሕገ ፡  
 ሐነፋዊያን ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኅሥሥሙ ፡ ለክርስቲያን ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡  
 ከወወ ፡ ደመ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ፍኖት ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይሰግዱ ፡ ለአ  
 15 ምላክ ፡ ዘበአማን ። 3. ወውእቲሰ ፡ ዳክዮስ ፡ ርኩስ ፡ አምጽአ ፡ እምአፍራቅያ ፡  
 ብዙኅ ፡ አናብሱተ ፡ ተባዕተ ፡ ወአንስተ ። ወግዲ ፡ አምጽአ ፡ እምኖባ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡  
 አክይስተ ፡ ወአራዊተ ፡ ዘበሙ ፡ ኅምዝ ፡ ተባዕተ ፡ ወአንስተ ፡ ወረሰዮሙ ፡  
 መንገለ ፡ ምሥራቀ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ዘፊልሙንጢ ፡ ዘዓረብያ ፡ ወፍልስጥዔም ፡ እስከ ፡  
 ቅጽረ ፡ ኪርኪሰዩስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበሩ ፡ ኅይለ ፡ በጎበ ፡ በርበር ፡ ወከሓድያን ።

C119vb B61vc

A81rc

ክፍል ፡ ፸፯ ፡ 1. ወእምድኅሬሁ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘሰሙ ፡ አውሩልዮስ ፡  
 ወበቢዜ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ለቅጽረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ ዘማሰነት ፡ ወፈጸማ ፡ | በኅዳጥ ፡  
 ዘመን ፡ 2. ወአገበሮሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ ለፍጻሜ ፡ ሕንጻ ፡ እንዘ ፡  
 25 ውእቲ ፡ ይቀውም ፡ | በትግሀት ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ትዕቢተ ፡ ልብ ፡ 3. ወውእቲ ፡ ዘመን ፡  
 አጽንዐ ፡ ሕገ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይጸሐፉ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ መስተገብራን ፡ ወይስምዮሙ ፡ ወሰ  
 መዮሙ ፡ አርእስተ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ለክብረ ፡ ነገሥት ። 4. ወዝኩሉ ፡ በእንተ ፡  
 ድካም ፡ ዘረከበ ፡ እስከ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ለአረፍተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወዛቲ ፡ ልማድ ፡ ተሠልጠት ፡  
 ላዕለ ፡ ሮማዊያን ፡ ከመ ፡ ይጸሐፉ ፡ ሐረሳዊያን ፡ ወገባርያን ፡ ግብረ ፡ እድ ፡  
 ወሰብአ ፡ አሕማር ፡ | እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ በባሕር ። 5. ወለኩሎሙ ፡ መስተገብራን ፡  
 30 ሰመዮሙ ፡ ራኦል ፡ በሰመ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ አውርልዩስ ፡ ወጸሐፎሙ ፡ በመጽሐፈ ፡  
 ዲዋን ፡ ዘውእቲ ፡ ድብዳቤ ፡ ወሀሎ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ።

Z69

G57vb

A81va C119vc  
B62ra

ክፍል ፡ ፸፰ ፡ 1. ወሰበ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡ ግብጻዊ ፡ ተመይጡ ፡ ሐራ ፡  
 ለተራድኦተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መናፍቅ ፡ ወሰዳዴ ፡ ምእመናን ፡ ወዓማዲ ፡ ዘዩዐቢ ፡ እም  
 35 ኩሎሙ ፡ ዓማፅያን ። 2. ወሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያስ ፡ ወምስር ፡ አበይዎ ፡ ወኢ  
 ፈቀዱ ፡ ይትቀነዩ ፡ ሎቲ ፡ ወውእቲኒ ፡ ጸንዐ ፡ ለተጸብኦቶሙ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡  
 ሰራዊት ፡ ወሐራ ። ወምስለ ፡ ሠላስ ፡ ሰቲፋኒሁ ፡ በመንግሥት ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡

APP. CRIT.: 1 ለአንቀጽ ፡ ]αCD, ለአናቅጽ ፡ G | ወለምዕራባዊ ፡ ]αCG, ወለአንቀጽ ፡ ምዕራባዊ ፡ D  
 ሰላንያኪ ። ]αC, ሳልንያኪ ። DG | 3 ወለአእባንኒ ፡ ]CDG, ወለአእባንኒ ፡ α | 4 ምንባባት ። ]ACDG,  
 ምንብባት ፡ B | 7 ወጎደገ ፡ ]αCG, ጎደገ ፡ D | 8 ተመስሎ ፡ ]Σ, ተመስሎ ፡ Zot | ጽድቀ ፡ ወሕገ ፡ ]CD  
 G, ሕገ ፡ ወጽድቀ ፡ α | 11 ፸፮ ፡ ]C, ፸፮ ፡ α, ፸፬ ። D, ፵፫ ፡ GZot: ፸፮ ፡ B | ዳኪዮስ ፡ ]α, ዳክዮስ ፡  
 C, ዳኪዮስ ፡ D, ዳኪዮስ ፡ G | 12 ወሕማመ ፡ ]αDG, ወሕመም ፡ C | 13 ወበእንተ ፡ ]BCDG,  
 በእንተ ፡ A | 14 ብዙኃን ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ]αCG, ቅዱሳን ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ D, ኅሢሥሥሙ ፡ add. con. Zot  
 ለእለ ፡ ]αCG, እለ ፡ D | 15 ዳክዮስ ፡ ]αC, ዳኪዮስ ፡ DG | 16 ወዓዲ ፡ አምጽአ ፡ ]αCG, ወአምጽአ ፡  
 ዓዲ ፡ D | አምኖባ ፡ ]CG, አምሆጸ ፡ D, አምኖባ ፡ α | 18 ምሥራቀ ፡ ]αCG, ምሥራቅ ፡ D  
 ወፍልስጥዔም ፡ ]BC, ወዘፍልስጥዔም ፡ A, om. DG | 19 ወከሓድያን ፡ ]αCG, ወበጎበ ፡ ከህ  
 ድያን ። D | 21 ፸፯ ፡ ]C, ፸፯ ፡ α, ፸፮ D, ፵፬ ፡ GZot: ፸፯ ፡ B | ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ]Σ, i.m. A | አውሩልዮስ ፡ ]  
 ΣZot: አውሩልዮስ ፡ α | 23 ሰብአ ፡ ]BCDG, n.l. A | 24 ውእቲ ፡ ]αC, om. DG | በትግሀት ፡ ]BCD  
 G, በትግሀት ፡ A | 25 አጽንዐ ፡ ]αCD, አጽዓ ፡ G | ይጸሐፉ ፡ ]αD, ይጽሐፉ ፡ CG | 27 ዘረከበ ፡ ]CD,  
 ዘረከቦ ፡ G ዘረከባ ፡ α | ለአረፍተ ፡ ]G, con. Zot, ለአረፍተ ፡ αCD | 28 ይጸሐፉ ፡ ]αC, ይጽሐፉ ፡ D  
 G | 29 እለ ፡ ]BCDG, እስከ ፡ A | 30 አውርልዩስ ፡ ]CDG, አውልዩስ ፡ α አውሩልዮስ ፡ con. Zot  
 33 ፸፯ ፡ ]C, ፸፰ ፡ α, ፸፯ ። D, ፵፮ ፡ GZot: ፸፯ ፡ B | ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡ ]CDG, ዲዮቅልያኖስ ፡ A,  
 ዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ፡ B | 34 ምእመናን ፡ ]Σ, ርኩስ ፡ add. D | 37 ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ]αCG, om. D

short time. He died in the seventy-seventh year from his birth and in the twenty-third year of his reign. 10. He gave his possessions to his son Marcus. And Marcus, his son, resembled his father in mercy and virtues. He accomplished all laws and justice and died in the religion of his father.

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Chapter 75. 1. Thereafter the impious Decius, enemy of God, reigned. 2. He raised punishment and torment against Christians. He established a law of impure heathen in order to seek out the Christians. That's why he poured the blood of many saints in all directions, who worshipped the true God.<sup>383</sup> 3. This impure Decius brought many lions and lionesses from Africa. He also brought from Nubia<sup>384</sup> many poisonous serpents and beasts, male and female. He put them to the east of the city of *Filmunṭi* of Arabia and Palestine<sup>385</sup> till the fortress of *Kirkisāyus* (Circesium) us so that they might oppose Barbarians and rebels.<sup>386</sup>

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Chapter 76. 1. Thereafter a certain man named Aurelian became emperor. At the time when he became emperor, he constructed the fortification of Rome, which had been ruined, and accomplished it in a short time. 2. He forced all people of Rome to finish the construction while being diligent without arrogance. 3. At that time he strengthened the law that all workers might be registered and he might name them. He named them chief citizens in the honor of emperors.<sup>387</sup> 4. All this was because of the labor he underwent until he had constructed the city wall. This tradition of registration of farmers, artisans and sailors who sail upon the sea prevailed amongst the Romans. 5. He named all the workers *Rā'ol* (Aureliani) after the name of the emperor Aurelian, he registered them in the book of *diwān*,<sup>388</sup> that is 'register'. This custom exist till nowadays.<sup>389</sup>

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Chapter 77. 1. When Diocletian, the Egyptian,<sup>390</sup> became emperor, the army came back in order to help this heretic, the persecutor of the faithful and the most lawless of all the lawless. 2. Alexandria and Egypt revolted against him and did not want to subdue themselves to him. But he was severe in fighting with them together with many troops and soldiers, and with three companions of him in reign – they are Maximian, of an evil origin, Constantius and Maximinus. 3. He went down to Egypt and subdued it to him and destroyed Alexandria. 4. He built a fortress to the East of the city and dwelt there for a long time, for he was not able to seize the city and to bring it under his power on this occasion. 5. After a long time the inhabitants of the city came to him and showed him an entrance, so that he might enter it. With much effort and labor he unlocked the city, and many, innumerable,

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<sup>383</sup> I do not find the conjecture by Zotenberg necessary here. Charles disregards this conjecture as well (Charles 1916, 57, n. 1). | <sup>384</sup> This reading is not attested in manuscripts used by Zotenberg. | <sup>385</sup> See Zotenberg 1883, 296, n. 1; Charles 1916, 57, n. 2. | <sup>386</sup> A similar passage is attested in the Bonn's manuscript of the *Chronicle of John Malalas* (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 161-162). | <sup>387</sup> It means that they should have been named Aureliani. See Charles 1916, 57, n. 3. <sup>388</sup> From the Arabic ديوان. | <sup>389</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 12.30 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 164). | <sup>390</sup> On the designation of Diocletian as an Egyptian, see Frangulyan, forthcoming.

APP. LECT. MIN.: 6 ሩወጂ ፣] αCD, ሰብዓ ፣ ወጂ ፣ G | 13 ሐነፋዊያን ፣] CG, ሐነፋውያን ፣ αD  
26 ወዝሱሉ ፣] ACDG, ወዝ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ B | 28 ሮማዊያን ፣] CG, ሮማውያን ፣ αD | ሐረሳዊያን ፣] CG,  
ሐረሳውያን ፣ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ሰላንያኪ ።] ። Σ | 3 ግብጽ ፣] ። D | 4 ምንባባት ።] ። Σ | 5 ሰራዊት ፣] ። C  
7 ወልዱ ።] ። αCG | 9 አቡሁ ።] ። αCG, ። ። D | 11 ሩጅ ፣] ። DG | 13 ርኩሳን ፣] ። A  
ለክርስቲያን ፣] ፣ G | 15 ዘበአማን ።] ። B | 16 ወአንስተ ።] ። Σ | 19 ወከሓድያን ።] ። αCG, ። ። D  
21 ሩጅ ፣] ። G | 24 ልብ ፣] ። A | 25 ወይስምዮሙ ፣] ። C | 26 ነገሥት ።] ። Σ | 27 ሀገር ፣] ። BCG  
29 በባሕር ።] ። ። αCG | 31 ይእዜ ።] ። αCG, ። ። D | 33 ሩጅ ፣] ። G | 35 ዓማፅያን ።] ። αDG  
37 ወሐራ ።] ። αDG

መክሰምያኖስ ፡ እምዘርእ ፡ እኩይ ፡ ወፈርንሰጣ ፡ ወመክሲሚኑስ ፡ 3. ወወረደ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ ትትአዘዝ ፡ ሎቱ ። ወለሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያኒ ፡ አጥፍአ ፡ 4. ወሐነጸ ፡ ቅጽረ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወነበረ ፡ ህየ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኢክህለ ፡ ኑሂኦታ ፡ ለሀገር ፡ ወአግብኦታ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እገዴሁ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ምክንያት ። 5. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ዘመን ፡ መጽአ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወአርአይዎ ፡ ሙባአ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይባእ ፡ ውስቲታ ፡ ወብብዙኅ ፡ ጸማ ፡ ወድካም ፡ አርኅዋ ፡ ለሀገር ፡ ወሀለዉ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ሰራዊት ፡ ዘአልቦሙ ፡ ኅልቀኑ ፡ 6. | ወበውስተ ፡ ሀገርኒ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ አእላፍ ፡ ሰራዊት ፡ ጉቡኣን ፡ ውስቲታ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ጸብእ ፡ በኅቤሆሙ ። ወዲዮግልድያኖስኒ ፡ ወደየ ፡ እሳተ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወአ|ውዐየ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ወተሠልጠ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡ 7. ወኮነ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ መምለኬ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ ወሠዋዔ ፡ መሥዋዕት ፡ ለኢጋንንት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ ወገብ|ረ ፡ ስደተ ፡ ለክርስቲያን ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ከመ ፡ አራዊት ፡ 8. ወጸልአ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሠናያተ ፡ ወተቃወሞ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ እስመ ፡ ሥልጣነ ፡ ሮም ፡ ኮነ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ 9. ወቀተለ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ኖሎተ ፡ ወካህናተ ፡ ወመነኮሳተ ፡ እደ ፡ ወአንሰተ ፡ ወሕፃናተ ፡ ንኡሳነ ፡ ወከወወ ፡ ደመ ፡ ብዙኅን ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ ኅልቀኑ ፡ በእደ ፡ ስዩማን ፡ በላዕያነ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ዘሚሞሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ መካን ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ተራኅር|ኖ ፡ ወምሕረት ። 10. ወነሠተ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ ወለ መጻሕፍትኒ ፡ ዘውእቶን ፡ እስትንፋስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አውዐዮን ፡ በእሳት ፡ ኮነ ፡ ስደት ፡ ለኩሎ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ መጠነ ፡ ፲ወ፱ ፡ ዓመት ፡ እምአመ ፡ ተኅየለ ፡ ወረከበ ፡ መዊአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ግብጽ ። 11. ወበውእቱ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ፈነወ ፡ እለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይምትሩ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ አባ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ተፍጻሜተ ፡ ሰማዕት ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ 12. ወለኩሎሙ ፡ ኤጲስ ፡ ቆጶሳት ፡ ዘሀገረ ፡ ምስር ፡ ቀተሎ|ሙ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ረከቦሙ ፡ በሃይማኖት ፡ አርቶዶክሳዊት ፡ ወበገድል ፡ ንጹሕ ። እስከ ፡ ተሐዘብዎ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ከመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ፀሩ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ዘመጽአ ፡ ለአህጉሎ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዓለም ። እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ማኅደረ ፡ ለእከይ ፡ ወምኅባአ ፡ ለዓመፃ ። | 13. ወሱቱፋኒሁ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ በምግባር ፡ ወግዕዝ ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ መክሰምያኖስ ፡ ዘገብረ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ እከያተ ፡ እስመ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ኮነት ፡ እምኔሁ ። ወመክሰምያኖስኒ ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ ዘኮነት ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ከመ ፡ አርዌ ፡ ጠ|ዋይ ፡ ወፀረ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወገባሬ ፡ ምግባራት ፡ ምኑናት ። 14. ወፈርንሰጣ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ሱቱፈ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ በመንግሥት ፡ ውስተ ፡ እስያ ፡ ኢገብረ ፡ እኩየ ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ያፈ ቅሮሙ ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ ወያነብሮሙ ፡ በሠናይ ፡ 15. ወዓዲ ፡ አንገረ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ቃለ ፡ አዋዲ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ መካን ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ሥልጣኑ ፡ ለክርስቲያን ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበሩ ፡ ፈቃዳተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ፩ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ዘበአማን ። 16. ወዓዲ ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይግባሩ ፡ ቦሙ ፡ ሀከከ ፡ ወኢያስተናሥኡ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ስደተ ፡ ወኢይበ ርብሩ ፡ ንዋዮሙ ፡ ወኢያሕምምዎሙ ፡ ምንተኒ ። 17. ወዓዲ ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይ ክልእዎሙ ፡ ተቀንዮቶሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ከመ ፡ ይጸልዩ ፡ በእንቲአሁ ፡ | ወበእንተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ 18. ወእንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ በዘከመዝ ፡ ግብር ፡ ደወየ ፡ ዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ፡ ከሓዲ ፡ ወወድቀ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ጽኑዕ ፡ በሣልስ ፡ ዓመት ፡ አመ ፡ ፍ|ጸሜሁ ፡ ለስደት ፡ ዘአምጽአ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ወተወለጠ ፡ ሕሊናሁ ፡ ወልቡናሁ ፡ 19. ወበእንተዝ ፡ አው|ፅእዎ ፡ እመንግሥቱ ፡ ወሰደድዎ ፡ በምክረ ፡ ሰራዊተ ፡ ሮም ፡ ኅበ ፡ ደ|ሴት ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡

A81vb  
D32  
G57vc  
C120ra  
B62rb  
Z70  
A81vc  
C120rb  
G58ra B62rc  
A82ra  
C120rc  
Z71  
A82rb D33  
B62va

APP. CRIT.: 1 ወመክሲሚኑስ ፡] BCDG, ወመክሰሚኑስ ፡ A, ወመክሰ-ምያኖስ ፡ coni. Cha (58, n. 1) ወወረደ ፡] αCG, ወረደ ፡ D | 2 ትትአዘዝ ፡] αCD, ትእዘዝ ፡ G | 5 እዴሁ ፡] Σ, s.l. G | ዘመን ፡] αC, መዋዕል ፡ ወዘመን ፡ DG | 9 ወዲዮግልድያኖስኒ ፡] CDG, ወዲቅልጥያኖስኒ ፡ α | 10 እሳተ ፡] α, እሳት ፡ CDG | ወአውዐየ ፡] Σ, ወአውዐያ ፡ coni. Zot | 11 ወሠዋዔ ፡] αCG, ወሰራኤ ፡ D | 13 ኮነ ፡] Σ, post ኩሎ ፡ trans. AZot; B | 15 ደመ ፡] Σ, ንጹሐን ፡ add. A | 18 እስትንፋስ ፡] αCG, እስትንፋስ ፡ D | አውዐዮን ፡] Σ, አወዐዮን ፡ Zot | ኮነ ፡] αCG, ወኮነ ፡ D | 20 እለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡] ACD, እለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ B, እልእስክንድርያ ፡ G | 21 አባ ፡] αC, om. DG | ተፍጻሜተ ፡] Σ, ተፍጻሜተ ፡ add. B | 23 አርቶዶክሳዊት ፡] αCG, አርቶዶክሳውያን ፡ D | ወበገድል ፡] αCG, በገል ፡ D | 25 ለእከይ ፡] αC G, እከይ ፡ D | 27 መንግሥቱ ፡] αCG, መንግሥት ፡ D | 28 ወመክሰምያኖስኒ ፡] CDG, ወምክሰምያኖስኒ ፡ A, ወመክሰምያኖስኒ ፡ B, ወመ[ክ]ሰምያኖስኒ ፡ s.l. G | ከኮነት ፡] αDG, ዘኮነ ፡ C | 29 ለእግዚአብሔር ፡] αCG, እግዚአብሔር ፡ D | 30 ምግባራት ፡] αC, om. DG | ወፈርንሰጣ ፡] coni. Zot, ወፈርንጣስ ፡ ACDG, ወፈርንጣስ ፡ B | 38 በእንቲአሁ ፡] Σ, በእንቲ[አ]ሁ ፡ s.l. G | ወበእንተ ፡] αCD, ወበእንቲአሁ ፡ G | 39 ዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ፡] αCG, ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡ D

soldiers accompanied him. 6. Many thousands of soldiers were assembled in the city, for there was a fight between them. Diocletian set fire to the city, burnt<sup>391</sup> everything down and gained power over it. 7. He worshipped idols and offered sacrifices to impure demons, persecuted Christians and was like a beast. 8. He hated all virtues and rebelled against God, for the whole power of Rome was in his hand. 9. He killed all pastors, priests, monks, men, women and small children. He shed blood of many without number through the hands of his flesh-devouring officials, whom he appointed in all places, without compassion and mercy. 10. He destroyed churches, and he burnt in fire the Scriptures inspired by God. There was persecution of all Christians for nineteen years from the time he had got power and gained victory in Egypt. 11. In this time he sent to Alexandria in order that they cut down the head of St <sup>ᵃ</sup>*Abbā* Peter, the last martyr and bishop. 12. He killed all bishops of the land of Egypt when he found them in the Orthodox faith and in pure struggle, until all people considered him Antichrist, who had come to destroy the whole world. Indeed he was a vessel for evil and a storage for violence. 13. His companions were together with him in action and character. They are: Maximian, who did many evil things, for he received his sovereignty from him (Diocletian); and the second Maximian, whose kingdom was in the Eastern direction, was like a depraved beast, enemy of God and a doer of abominable things. 14. But Constantius, who was his companion in the reign in Asia, did nothing evil, but rather loved people and did good things for them. 15. He also made a herald to declare a message in all places under his power for Christians, that they might do the will of Lord, the one true God. 16. He also commanded that none should trouble them, exercise a persecution on them, rob their possessions or harm them.<sup>392</sup> 17. Moreover, he commanded that none should hinder their service in the saint church, so that they might pray for him and for his empire. 18. While he was active in such a way, the impious Diocletian got sick and fell into a strong bodily illness in the third year after the accomplishment of a persecution, which he had brought upon the Christians. His thoughts and mind were disturbed. 19. Due to this reason they chased him away from his empire and exiled him, according to the advice of the Roman officers (*sarāwit*),<sup>393</sup> on an island named *Wāros*.<sup>394</sup> There were many trees there, and it lies to the East and he dwelt alone there. 20. There were some believers on this island, who had survived. They gave him daily food to maintain his body. While being in such condition, alone, his reason returned to him and he desired to reign. He asked his soldiers and officers (*sarāwit*) to take him out of the fortress and to make him emperor as it had been formerly. 21. But the governors, soldiers, and officers (*sarāwit*) did not agree saying: ‘We won’t accept again this one, who has lost his mind and reason and whom we have exiled<sup>395</sup> from the empire.’ 22. Due to this reason the suffering of his heart became stronger, and this enemy of God and of the holy saints was not able to do what he wished, he was mourning and his eyes

<sup>391</sup> I do not follow here the conjecture by Zotenberg, which I find not necessary. The word **ከሎ** : might be understood here not as an adverb meaning ‘altogether, completely’, but as a pronoun **ከሎ** : ‘all, everything’ in accusative. | <sup>392</sup> Cp. Eusebius, *EH* 8.14. | <sup>393</sup> On the proposal to translate the word **ሠራዊት** : as ‘senate’ or ‘senators’, see Zotenberg 1878, 249. | <sup>394</sup> This place name remains unidentified. | <sup>395</sup> On the grammatical form **ዘአውግአኖ** : see Zotenberg 1883, 298, n. 2.

APP. LECT. MIN.: 8 ጉልቀ : ] αCD, ጉልቁ : G | 15 ጉልቀ : ] αCD, ጉልቁ : G

APP. PUNCT.: 1 እኩይ : ] # D | 2 ሎቱ : ] # Σ | 3 አጥፍአ : ] # D | 5 ምክንያት : ] # BCG  
 9 በጎቤሆሙ : ] # αG | 10 ወኮነ : ] ፤ G | 11 ርኩሳን : ] # C | 12 ወኮነ : ] ፤ G | 15 ንኡሳነ : ] # C  
 17 ወምሕራት : ] # BCG | 20 ግብጽ : ] # Σ | 22 ጳጳሳት : ] # D | 23 ንጹሕ : ] # αCG  
 25 ዓለም : ] # αCG | 26 ለዓመፃ : ] # BCG | ወግዕዝ : ] # D | 28 እምኔሁ : ] # αDG | 30 ምኑናት : ]  
 # αCG | ወፈርንሰጣ : ] # C | 32 በሠናይ : ] # G | 34 ዘበአማን : ] # BC, ፤ G | 36 ምንተኒ : ] # αC  
 G | 38 መንግሥቱ : ] ፤ G | 41 ክርስቲያን : ] # D | ወልቡናሁ : ] # CD

ሞሮስ ። ወበውሱቲታ ፣ ሀለዉ ፣ ብዙኃን ፣ አዕፃው ፣ ወይእቲ ፣ ኮነት ፣ መንገል ፣ G58rb  
 ምዕራብ ፣ ወነበረ ፣ ውሱቲታ ፣ ባሕቲቱ ፣ 20. ወሀለዉ ፣ ውሱተ ፣ ይእቲ ፣ ደሴት ፣  
 ጎዳጣን ፣ ምእመናን ፣ እለ ፣ ተርፉ ፣ ኮነ ፣ ይሁብዎ ፣ ሲሳየ ፣ ዕለት ፣ ዘየአክሎ ፣  
 ለቁመተ ፣ ሥጋሁ ፣ ወእንዘ ፣ ሀሎ ፣ በዘከመዝ ፣ ግብር ፣ እንዘ ፣ ይነብር ፣ በባ  
 5 ሕቲቱ ፣ መጽአ ፣ ሕሊና ፣ ወኮነ ፣ ውሱተ ፣ ፍትወተ ፣ መንግሥት ፣ ወሰአሎሙ ፣  
 ለሐራ ፣ ወለሰራዊት ፣ ከመ ፣ ይትቀበልዎ ፣ ኅቤሆሙ ፣ እምነ ፣ ቅጽር ፣ ወይረ  
 ስይዎ ፣ ንጉሠ ፣ ከመ ፣ ቀዳሚ ። 21. ወባሕቱ ፣ ኢሠምሩ ፣ መኳንንት ፣ ወሐራ ፣  
 ወሰራዊት ፣ እንዘ ፣ ይብሉ ፣ ዝንቱ ፣ ዘተወለጠ ፣ ልቡናሁ ፣ ወጠፍአ ፣ ሕሊናሁ ፣  
 10 ዘአውፃእኖ ፣ እመንግሥት ፣ ኢንትዌከፎ ፣ ዳግመ ፣ 22. ወበእንተ ፣ ዝንቱ ፣ ነገር ፣  
 ጸንዐ ፣ ቦቱ ፣ ሕማመ ፣ ልብ ፣ ወኢክህለ ፣ ይግበር ፣ ዘፈቀደ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ፀረ ፣ እግዚ  
 አብሔር ፣ ወ|ሰማዕታቲሁ ፣ ቅዱሳን ፣ ኮነ ፣ ይበኪ ፣ ወአዕይንቲሁ ፣ ያውሕዛ ፣ C120va A82rc  
 አንብዓ ፣ ብዙኅ ፣ ሶበ ፣ ዐገትዎ ፣ እኪያት ፣ እምኩላሂ ፣ ወተወለጠ ፣ ልቡናሁ ፣  
 ፈድፋደ ፣ ወያራ ፣ አዕይንቲሁ ፣ ወጠፍአ ፣ ሕይወቱ ፣ ወሞተ ። 23. ወመክሰምያ  
 15 ኖሰሂ ፣ መዝለፌ ፣ እኪያት ፣ ወይገብር ፣ ብዙኅ ፣ ሥራያተ ፣ ለዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፣  
 ወይፀመድ ፣ ለርኩሳት ፣ ወለጸውያ ፣ ስመ ፣ ኢጋንንት ፣ ወኮነ ፣ ይሠጥቅ ፣ ከርሠ ፣  
 አንስት ፣ ፅሁሳት ፣ ወይሠውዕ ፣ ሰብአ ፣ ወእንሰሳ ፣ ለኢጋንንት ፣ ርኩሳን ። 24. B62vb  
 ወእንዘ ፣ ሀሎ ፣ በዘከመዝ ፣ ግብር ፣ ተሐንቀ ፣ ወሞተ ፣ እምድጎረ ፣ ሞተ ፣ አቡሁ ፣  
 በክልኤ ፣ ዓመት ፣ ወኢተቀትለ ፣ በእደ ፣ ሰብእ ፣ ዳእሙ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ በእዴሁ ። 25.  
 ወዓዲ ፣ መክሰሚኑስ ፣ ከሐዲ ፣ ኢያሕፀፀ ፣ እከየ ፣ ዘይገብር ፣ ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፣  
 20 ወኮነ ፣ ይገብር ፣ በሀገረ ፣ ምሥራቅ ፣ ወፈርኔቄ ፣ ወሀገረ ፣ ዐባይ ፣ እስክንድርያ ፣  
 ወምስር ፣ ወፎ ፣ አህጉራት ፣ 26. ወይቀትሎሙ ፣ ለቅዱሳን ፣ ሰማዕታት ፣ ዘእ  
 ንበለ ፣ ምሕረት ። ቦዘይወግሮሙ ፣ ውሱተ ፣ ባሕር ፣ ወቦ ፣ ዘይሁቦሙ ፣ ለአ  
 ራዊት ፣ ወቦ ፣ በአፈ ፣ ሰይፍ ፣ ወቦ ፣ ለአውዕዮ ፣ በእሳት ። ወኮነ ፣ ያመዘብሮሙ ፣ |  
 ለአብያተ ፣ ክርስቲያናት ፣ ወያውዲ ፣ በእሳት ፣ መጸሕፍተ ፣ ቅዱሳተ ፣ ወያነ  
 25 ሥአሙ ፣ ለአብያተ ፣ አማልክት ፣ እለ ፣ |ንጎሉ ። 27. ወኢተራጎርጎ ፣ ላዕለ ፣  
 ፅሁሳት ፣ አንስት ፣ ወይሠጥቅ ፣ ከርሦን ፣ ወያውዕአሙ ፣ ለሕፃናት ፣ ወይሠ  
 ውያሙ ፣ ለኢጋንንት ፣ ርኩሳን ፣ ወያጌብሮሙ ፣ ለብዙኃን ፣ ከመ ፣ ያምልኩ ፣  
 ጣያታተ ፣ 28. ወዝንቱኒ ፣ ዓዲ ፣ ኢድጎነ ፣ እመዓተ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ እስመ ፣  
 30 ደዌ ፣ ሰዓል ፣ ኮነ ፣ ውሱተ ፣ እንግድዓሁ ፣ በትእዛዘ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ ወኮነ ፣ ዘእ  
 ንበለ ፣ ጥዲና ፣ ወቄስለ ፣ አባላቲሁ ፣ ዘውሥጥ ፣ ወፈልሐ ፣ እፀያት ፣ እኩያን ፣  
 ወጼናሁ ፣ ኮነ ፣ ፍጉገ ፣ ወኢይክል ፣ ሰብእ ፣ ይቅረብ ፣ | ኅቤሁ ፣ 29. ወወድቀ ፣ B62vc  
 ውሱተ ፣ ዝንቱ ፣ መቅሠፍት ፣ ዐቢይ ፣ ወምንዳቤ ፣ ብዙኅ ፣ ወመተረ ፣ ተስፋ ፣  
 ሕይወት ፣ ወኢረከበ ፣ ሎቱ ፣ ዕረፍተ ፣ እምብዝኅ ፣ ደቄ ። ወእምድጎረዝ ፣  
 አእመረ ፣ ወጠየቀ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ዘወድቀ ፣ ቦቱ ፣ ደዌ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ክርስቶስ ፣ አምላክ ፣  
 35 ዘበአማን ፣ በእንተ ፣ ዘአመንደቦሙ ፣ ለክርስቲያን ። 30. ወሶበ ፣ አሠነየ ፣ አስተጋ  
 ብአተ ፣ ሕሊናሁ ፣ | ዘውስጥ ፣ አዘዙሙ ፣ ለሥዩማን ፣ መኳንንቲሁ ፣ ከመ ፣  
 ያህድኡ ፣ ስደተ ፣ እምክርስቲያን ። ወሶበ ፣ ገብረ ፣ ዘንተ ፣ ፍቅረ ፣ ሰብእ ፣  
 ተአተተ ፣ እምኔሁ ፣ ደዌ ፣ ዘአምጽአ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ ላዕሌሁ ፣ ወረከበ ፣ ጥዲና ፣  
 31. ወነበረ ፣ ፮ ፣ አውራጎ ፣ እምአመ ፣ ነስሐ ፣ እምኃጢአቱ ፣ ሀለየ ፣ ዓዲ ፣ ከመ ፣ G58va  
 40 ያስተናሥእ ፣ ስደተ ፣ ላዕለ ፣ ክርስቲያን ፣ ወረስዖ ፣ ለዘፈወሶ ፣ እምሕማም ፣

APP. CRIT.: 1 አዕፃው ፣ ]Σ, ወአዕፃው ፣ add. G | 2 ምዕራብ ፣ ]Σ, ምዕራብ ፣ s.l. G | ወነበረ ፣ ]αCD, om. G | ውሱቲታ ፣ ]αCG, በውሱቲታ ፣ D | 3 ኮነ ፣ ]αCG, ወኮነ ፣ D | 4 ወእንዘ ፣ ]Σ, ወእ(ን)ዘ ፣ s.l. D | በባሕቲቱ ፣ ]αCG, ባሕቲቱ ፣ D | 5 መጽአ ፣ ]BCDG, መጽአ ፣ A | ውሱተ ፣ ]αCG, om. D መንግሥት ፣ ]αCG, ውሱተ ፣ ልቡ ፣ D | 6 ይትቀበልዎ ፣ ]αCG, ይትቀበልያ ፣ D | ቅጽር ፣ ]Σ, ዘሀሎ ፣ ውሱቲቱ ፣ add. con. Zot | 7 ወባሕቱ ፣ ]BCDG, ወባሕቲ ፣ A Zot: B | 9 ኢንትዌከፎ ፣ ]αCG, ኢንትዌከፎ ፣ D | 10 ልብ ፣ ]αCG, ልቡ ፣ D | 11 ኮነ ፣ ]Σ, post ይበኪ ፣ trans. C | ወአዕይንቲሁ ፣ ]Σ, ወአዕ ይ(ን)ቲሁ ፣ s.l. G | ያውሕዛ ፣ ]αDG, ያውሕዝ ፣ C | 12 እኪያት ፣ ]αCG, እኪያቲሁ ፣ D | 13 ወመክሰምያኖሰሂ ፣ ]BCDG, ወመክሰምያኖሰሂ ፣ A | 14 ወይገብር ፣ ]αCG, ኮነ ፣ ይገብር ፣ D, ይገብር ፣ con. Zot | ሥራያተ ፣ ]Σ, ሠራዊተ ፣ C | ለዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፣ ]CDG, ለዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ፣ α, ለዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፣ s.l. G | 15 ለርኩሳት ፣ ]αD, ለርኩሳን ፣ C, ለርኩሳት ፣ G | 16 ወእንሰሳ ፣ ]Σ, s.l. A, አንሰሳ ፣ Zot | 17 እምድጎረ ፣ ]Σ, እምድጎ(ረ) ፣ s.l. G | 18 ወኢተቀትለ ፣ ]αCG, ወአተቀትለ ፣ D በእዴሁ ፣ ]Σ, ተቀትለ ፣ add. D | 19 መክሰሚኑስ ፣ ]αCG, መክሰሚሱስ ፣ D, መክሰምያኖስ ፣ con. Cha (58, n. 1) | ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፣ ]CDG, ዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ፣ α | 20 ወፈርኔቄ ፣ ]BDG, ወፈርንቄ ፣ A, ወፈርንቄ ፣ C | ዐባይ ፣ ]αCG, om. D | 21 ዘእንበለ ፣ ምሕረት ፣ ]αDG, om. C | 22 ቦዘይወግሮሙ ፣ ]αCG, ቦዘይወግሮ ፣ D | 23 ያመዘብሮሙ ፣ ]BCDG, ያመዘብብሮሙ ፣ A | 28 ወዝንቱኒ ፣ ]αCG,

poured many tears, when the misfortunes encircled him in every direction. His reason was disturbed a lot, his eyes became blind, he lost his life and died. 23. Maximian (was) persistent in evil deeds and he brought<sup>396</sup> many spells upon Diocletian. He dedicated himself to the impure deeds and to proclamation of demons' names. He cut the bellies of pregnant women and sacrificed humans and animals<sup>397</sup> to impure demons. 24. While doing so he choked and died two years after his father's death. He was not killed by someone else, but by himself. 25. Moreover impious Maximinus<sup>398</sup> did not reduce the evil done by Diocletian, but did it in the Eastern province, in *Farneqe* (Africa),<sup>399</sup> in the great city of Alexandria, in Egypt and in five cities (Pentapolis). 26. He murdered holy martyrs without mercy. There were those whom he casted into sea, those whom he gave to the beasts, to the edge of a sword or to be burnt in fire. He destroyed churches and burnt down in fire the Holy Scriptures, and he re-erected the idol temples which had been ruined. 27. He had no mercy on pregnant women; he cut their bellies, took out babies and sacrificed them to impure demons. He forced many people to worship idols. 28. This one also did not escape the God's wrath, for he got a cough in his chest according to the commandment of God. He lost his health, his limbs were covered with sores inside and terrible worms gushed out, his smell became fetid, and no one could approach him. 29. He fell into this great torment and many hardships, he despaired of life and he found no rest from his many torments. Thereafter he understood and recognized that he had fallen into this illness due to Jesus Christ, the true God, because he had persecuted Christians. 30. When he properly collected his inner thoughts, he commanded to his appointed officials to stop the persecution amongst<sup>400</sup> Christians. When he did this act of humanity, his disease left him, which had been brought on him by God and he restored his health.<sup>401</sup> 31. Six months later after he had done penance of his sins, he decided again to rise a persecution against Christians and forgot him, who had cured him from a terrible disease – Jesus Christ, Our Lord and Savior. 32. He began again to kill Christians and established new idols in the great city of Antioch. He followed the deeds of demons and witchcraft, which he used to practice. 33. But in this time a rebel against him arose in Armenia, and also there was a severe famine in all provinces of his empire. No fruit emerged in their fields, nothing was found in their granaries. People collapsed and died because of the lack of food. 34. The rich became poor, because the people of *ʿAbrākis*<sup>402</sup> robbed them rapidly. All people were weeping and lamenting bitterly, and they lost

<sup>396</sup>I don't follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here, but try to follow the text of the manuscripts. | <sup>397</sup>Charles erroneously translates this passage as 'men and women' (Charles 1916, 60). | <sup>398</sup>See Charles 1916, 58, n. 1. | <sup>399</sup>According to Zotenberg it is a corrupt transcription of the Arabic (Zotenberg 1883, 299, n. 2). | <sup>400</sup>እም ፣ has the meaning of partitive in this case. | <sup>401</sup>Cp. Eusebius, *EH* 8.16-18, whose account on Maximinus however differs from that of John. | <sup>402</sup>See Zotenberg 1883, 300, n. 1.

ወዘንቱ ፣ D | እመዓተ ፣ ]Σ, rep. A | 29 ደዌ ፣ ሰዓል ፣ ]αC, ሰአለ ፣ ደዌ ፣ DG | እንግድዓሁ ፣ ]αCD, እንግዳሁ ፣ G | 30 ጥዲና ፣ ]αCG, ጥዳና ፣ D | ወቁሰለ ፣ ]ΣZot: ወቁሰላ ፣ B | እፀያት ፣ ]αCD, እዪያት ፣ G | 31 ወጼናሁ ፣ ኮነ ፣ ]BCDG, ወኮነ ፣ ዪናሁ ፣ AZot: B | 32 መቅዓፍት ፣ ]CDG, መቅ ሰፈት ፣ A, መቅዓት ፣ B | 33 እምብዝነ ፣ ]Σ, እምብዝነ ፣ s.l. G | 39 አውራነ ፣ ]αCG, አውርኝ ፣ D ሀለዩ ፣ ]Σ, ወጎለዩ ፣ coni. Zot | 40 ወረሰዖ ፣ ]αDG, ወረሥዓ ፣ C

APP. LECT. MIN.: 16 ርኩሳን ፣ ]αCD, ርኩሳን ፣ G | 18 በክልኤ ፣ ]CG, በጀ ፣ α, በጀኤ ፣ D | 39 ጁ ፣ ]α CD, ጁተ ፣ G

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ዋሮስ ፣ ]Σ | አዕፃው ፣ ]G | 2 ባሕቲቲ ፣ ]AD, ፤ G | 3 ተርፋ ፣ ]D 4 ሥጋሁ ፣ ]C | 7 ቀዳሚ ፣ ]αCG | 8 ይብሉ ፣ ]D | 10 እግዚአብሔር ፣ ]D | 12 እምከለሄ ፣ ]D | 13 ወሞተ ፣ ]αCG | 16 ርኩሳን ፣ ]αCG | 18 በእዴሁ ፣ ]Σ | 19 ዲዮግልጥያናስ ፣ ]D 21 አህጉራት ፣ ]G | 22 ምሕረት ፣ ](om. C) ፣ ]αDG | ለአራዊት ፣ ]AC | 23 በእሳት ፣ ]αCG 24 ቅዳሳተ ፣ ]D | 25 ንጎሉ ፣ ]CDG | 28 ጣዖታተ ፣ ]D | 29 እግዚአብሔር ፣ ]፤ G | 31 ፍጉግ ፣ ]A | ጎቤሁ ፣ ]D | 32 ብዙነ ፣ ]D | 33 ደቄ ፣ ]BCDG | 35 ለክርስቲያን ፣ ]BDG 37 እምክርስቲያን ፣ ]39 እምኃጢአቲ ፣ ]D | 40 ክርስቲያን ፣ ]D

0ቢይ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ | ክርስቶስ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ወመድኃኒነ። 32. ወወጠነ፡ ዓዲ፡ C120vc  
 ቅትለተ፡ ክርስቲያን። ወአቀመ፡ አማልክተ፡ ሐዲሳነ፡ በሀገር፡ ዐባይ፡ እን  
 ጸኪያ፡ ወተለወ፡ ምግባረ፡ አጋንንት፡ ወሥራዮ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ይገብሮም። 33.  
 ዳእሙ፡ በጊዜሃ፡ ተንሥአ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ጸብእ፡ እምአርማንያ፡ ወዓዲ፡ ኮነ፡  
 5 ረኃብ፡ ጽኑዕ፡ በውስተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ሀገረ፡ መንግሥቱ። ወኢወፅአ፡ ፍሬ፡ ውስተ፡  
 ገራውሂሆሙ፡ ወኢተረክበ፡ ምንተኒ፡ ውስተ፡ መዛግብቲሆሙ፡ ወኮነ፡  
 ውዳቃነ፡ ምወታነ፡ እንተ፡ | ኃጢአ፡ ሙብልዕ፡ 34. | ወአብዕልትኒ፡ ኮነ፡ B63ra A82vc  
 ነዳያነ፡ እስመ፡ ሰብአ፡ አብራኪስ፡ በርበርዎሙ፡ ፍጡነ። ወኮነ፡ ኩሉ፡  
 ሰብእ፡ ይበክዩ፡ ወያስቆቅዉ፡ መሪረ፡ ወኃጥኡ፡ ሕይወተ፡ ወኢረከቡ፡ ዘይቀ  
 10 ብሮሙ። 35. ወሰብአ፡ ጣዖትኒ፡ እለ፡ ይነበሩ፡ ሀገረ፡ ምሥራቅ፡ ኮነ፡  
 ምሉአነ፡ ብካይ፡ ወሐዘን፡ በእንተ፡ ዘኃጥእምሙ፡ ለዲዮግልጥያኖስ፡ ወለመክስ  
 ምያኖስ፡ ወልዱ። 36. ወፈነወ፡ መክስንድዮስ፡ ወልዶ፡ ንቤሆሙ፡ ወአቀመ፡  
 ዜናሁ፡ ውስተ፡ ውእቱ፡ | መካን፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ኮነ፡ ወልዶ፡ ከሐዲ፡ ኮነ፡ Z73  
 ይተግህ፡ ለአጎጉሎተ፡ እልክቱ፡ ወእምቀዳሚ፡ ኮነ፡ ጉህላዌ፡ ይፈቅድ፡  
 15 ያሥምር፡ ለኩሎሙ፡ ሰብአ፡ ሮሜ፡ ወአድላዌ፡ ለሃይማኖትነ። 37. ወአዘዘ፡  
 ከመ፡ ያቅልሉ፡ ሰደተ፡ እምክርስቲያን፡ ወተመሰለ፡ ውእቱ፡ በአምሳለ፡ እለ፡ C121ra  
 ያመልክዎ፡ ለክርስቶስ። ወጠነ፡ ከመ፡ ይግበር፡ ፍቅረ፡ ለሰብእ፡ ብዙኅ፡  
 እምእለ፡ ቀደምዎ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ከማሁ። 38. ወእምድኅረ፡ ኅዳጥ፡ ዘመን፡ ተጠየቀ፡  
 ጉህሉቱ፡ ወኮነ፡ ከመ፡ አበዊሁ፡ ከመ፡ ተኩላ፡ በውስተ፡ ምንገሉ፡ ወፈጸመ፡  
 20 ጉህሉተ፡ አበዊሁ፡ ወከሠተ፡ እከያቲሁ፡ ዘውስጥ፡ ወኮነ፡ እቡደ፡ ወኢኅደገ፡  
 ምንተኒ፡ እምነ፡ ኩሉ፡ ርኩስ፡ ወደነስ፡ ወፈጸመ፡ ምግባረ፡ ዘማዊያን፡ ወአህ  
 ጎሎሙ፡ ለኩሉ፡ ሰብእ። | ወለአንስትኒ፡ እለ፡ ቦን፡ ምት፡ ዘተወሰባ፡ በሕግ፡ B63rb  
 ይስክብ፡ ምስሌሆን፡ በገሃድ፡ ወአኮ፡ በኅቡእ፡ ዳእሙ፡ በክሡት፡ ወበጊዜሃ፡  
 ይፌንዎን፡ ኅበ፡ አምታቲሆን። 39. ወዓዲ፡ ኢይፈቅድ፡ ያዕርፎሙ፡ እምነ፡  
 25 ዓመ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ይገብሩ፡ ቦሙ፡ በትእዛዙ። ወዓዲ፡ ይነሥእ፡ ንዋዩ፡ አብዕልት፡  
 ቡብዙኅ፡ ምክንያት፡ ወለእለኒ፡ አልቦሙ፡ ምንተኒ፡ ዘይሁቡ፡ ይነሥእ፡  
 ዘረከበ፡ በኅቤሆሙ፡ ወለአእላፍ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ቀተሎሙ፡ በእንተ፡ ንዋዩሙ፡ 40.  
 ወምግባራትስ፡ ዘገብሮሙ፡ ውእቱ፡ ከሐዲ፡ ኢይትፌጸም፡ በነገር። ወሰብአ፡  
 ሀገረ፡ ሮሜስ፡ ኃጥኡ፡ ዘይገብሩ፡ እስመ፡ ገብረ፡ ቦሙ፡ ዘኢኮነ፡ እምልማዶ፡  
 30 ሀገሮሙ። 41. ባሕቱ፡ ፈርንስግ፡ ቅኑዮ፡ | እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘሠናይ፡ ዜናሁ፡ A83rb  
 ዘፈጸመ፡ ሑረቶ፡ በጥቡብ፡ ወበለብዎ፡ | ፍቁር፡ ወገባሬ፡ ርትዕ፡ ኩሉ፡ C121rb  
 ሰብእ፡ ይጼልዩ፡ በእንቲአሁ፡ ወይስእሉ፡ ክቡራን፡ ወኩሉ፡ ሰራዊት፡ D35  
 ወሐራ። 42. ውእቱ፡ ዘሐነጸ፡ ለሀገረ፡ ብራንጥያ፡ ወሐረ፡ ሑረተ፡ ሠናዩ፡  
 በርትዕ። ወእምዝ፡ አዕረፈ፡ ወሐረ፡ ኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ወኅደገ፡ ወልዶ፡  
 35 ኅሩዩ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ አምሳክ፡ ክቡር፡ መብርሂ፡  
 በጽድቅ፡ ወረሰዮ፡ ንጉሠ፡ አኃዜ፡ ህዩንቲሁ፡ 43. ወዝንቱ፡ ክቡር፡ ሥሉሳዊ፡  
 ብፁዓዊ፡ ገብረ፡ ሥምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በኩሉ፡ ጊዜ። ወኮነ፡ ያፈቅር፡ B63rc  
 ኩሎ፡ ሰብአ፡ ዘውስተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ወይገብር፡ ሠናዶተ፡ ለኩሉ፡ ወፈጸመ፡

APP. CRIT.: 2 ቅትለተ፡ ]αCG, ስቅለተ፡ D | 3 ወሥራዮ፡ ]αCG, ወሥራያተ፡ D | 6 ገራውሂሆሙ፡ ]  
 αCG, ገራዊሂሆሙ፡ D | 7 እንተ፡ ]αCD, በእንተ፡ G | ኃጢአ፡ ]αCG, ሀጥአ፡ D | 8 ሰብአ፡ ]αC,  
 om. DG | 9 ወያስቆቅዉ፡ ]αDG, ወያስቆቁዉ፡ C | ዘይቀብሮሙ፡ ]Σ, ዘይ(ቀ)ብሮሙ፡ s.l. G  
 10 ምሥራቅ፡ ]Σ, ምዕራብ፡ con. Zot | 11 ለዲዮግልጥያኖስ፡ ]CG, ለዲዮቅልጥያኖስ፡ αD  
 13 ውእቱ፡ ]Σ, ው(እ)ቱ፡ s.l. D | ውእቱ፡ 2...38 ኮነ፡ ]Σ, ውእቱ፡ ወልዶ፡ ከሐዲ፡ ኮነ፡ con. Zot  
 15 ወአድላዌ፡ ]Σ, ወአድለወ፡ con. Zot | 17 ወጠነ፡ ]ACDG, ወወጠነ፡ B | 19 ወኮነ፡ ]αDG,  
 ወኮነ፡ C | ወፈጸመ፡ ]Σ, ወ[ፈ]ጸመ፡ s.l. D | 20 አበዊሁ፡ ]αG, አቡሁ፡ C, አብውሆሙ፡ D  
 ወኢኅደገ፡ ]αCD, ወኢአሐደገ፡ G | 21 ወፈጸመ፡ ]Σ, ኩሎ፡ add. A | 22 ለኩሉ፡ ]BCG,  
 ለኩሎሙ፡ AD | ወለአንስትኒ፡ ]αCD, ወአንስትኒ፡ G | ምት፡ ]αDG, ምተ፡ C | 23 በገሃድ፡ ]αC  
 D, በካህድ፡ D | 24 ወዓዲ፡ ]Σ, om. D | ኢይፈቅድ፡ ]αCG, ወኢፈቅድ፡ D | 25 ዓመ፡ ]αCG,  
 ጸማ፡ D | በትእዛዙ፡ ]Σ, በ[ት]እዛዙ፡ s.l. D | 26 ምንተኒ፡ ]αCD, ምንትኒ፡ G | 27 ቀተሎሙ፡ ]αC  
 D, ቀትሎሙ፡ G | 28 ወምግባራትስ፡ ]αDG, ወምግባራተስ፡ C | 29 ዘይገብሩ፡ ]CDG, ዘገብሩ፡ α  
 31 ወበለብዎ፡ ]BCDG, ወበለዎ፡ A | ፍቁር፡ ]αCG, ፍቁረ፡ D | 33 ብራንጥያ፡ ]BCDG, በራ  
 ንጥያ፡ AZot፡ B | 34 ወእምዝ፡ ]αCG, ወበእንተዝ፡ D | ወልዶ፡ ]αCG, ወልዶ፡ D | 35 መፍቀሬ፡ ]C  
 DG, ወፍቁረ፡ α, ፍቁረ፡ con. Zot

APP. LECT. MIN.: 16 ወተመሰለ፡ ]αCD, ወተመሰለ፡ G | 19 ተኩላ፡ ]αCG, ተኩላ፡ D | 21 ርኩስ፡ ]  
 αDG, ርኩስ፡ C | ዘማዊያን፡ ]CG, ዘማውያን፡ αD | ወአህጉሎሙ፡ ]αC, ወአህጉሎሙ፡ DG  
 29 ሮሜስ፡ ]αCD, ሮሜ፡ ሰ፡ G

their lives; and there was no one to bury them.<sup>403</sup> 35. And idolaters of the Eastern province were filled with lamentation and sorrow, for they missed Diocletian and his son Maximian. 36. He (Maximian) sent his son Maxentius to them (the people of Rome), and he confirmed his reputation in that place, for he was a son of an impious one and was eager to ruin them. From the beginning he was treacherous wishing to please all the people of Rome and a pretender of our faith.<sup>404</sup> 37. He commanded to cease from<sup>405</sup> persecution amongst<sup>406</sup> Christians. He took an appearance of those who worshipped Christ. He began to show the greater love for people than any of his predecessors, who were like him. 38. But after a short time his fraud was recognized, and he became, just like his fathers, like a wolf in his lair and accomplished the fraud of his fathers, revealed the evil inside him and became furious. He did not leave undone any form of the evil and impure. He accomplished the deeds of fornicators and destroyed all people. He lied down with married women openly, not even secretly, but publicly. Thereafter he sent them back to their husbands. 39. He did not wish to give them a relief from the oppression, which they exercised upon themselves by his command. Moreover, he took the possessions of the rich on many occasions, and from those, who had nothing to give he took what he had found in their possession. He killed many thousands because of their possessions. 40. The deeds this impious man had done on them could not be described. The people of Rome were helpless in what they were doing, for he treated them contrary to the customs of their land. 41. But Constantius was a servant of God of a good reputation, who accomplished his way in wisdom and prudence; beloved and just. All people were praying for him. Honored people, all generals and army petitioned him. 42. It was he, who built Byzantium. He followed a good way in justice. Thereafter he died and went to God. He left his excellent son, that is God-loving Constantine, glorious and illustrious in righteousness. He appointed him emperor and master in his stead. 43. This glorious blessed Trinitarian always fulfilled the will of God. He loved all people in his empire, and did for everybody good deeds. He accomplished the whole time of his reign in peace, power and chastity. He became great in front of the living God forever. 44. The army and all officers (*serāwit*) praised him, for he was zealous with a goodly zeal for God. In his time splendor, the powerful Christian wisdom, righteousness, philanthropy and tolerance were manifested. 45. The heretical doctrine<sup>407</sup> was not at all accepted by him. But rather he made everybody under his power serve God and did no injustice. Moreover, he did not endure to leave the destroyed churches, but rebuilt them. He also did not allow anything to withstand the holy Christian worship of God, who had anointed him to be an emperor in goodness and peace. 46. He appointed Licinius, husband of his sister Constantia a partner of his reign in Rome. He did not lack in any virtues of the righteous emperor Constantine, for he made

<sup>403</sup> Cp. Eusebius, *EH* 9.8. | <sup>404</sup> Charles division. | <sup>405</sup> See Charles 1916, 61, n. 2. | <sup>406</sup> እም ፡ has the meaning of partitive in this case. | <sup>407</sup> Zotenberg translates the expretion ነገር ፡ ዓላዊያን ፡ as ‘dénonciation’ (Zotenberg 1883, 301). Charles follows this render pointing however that ‘this meaning is unknown to classical Ethiopic’ (Charles 1916, 62, n. 1).

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ወመድኃኒነ ።] # αCD | 2 በሀገር ፣] ፤ G | 3 ይገብሮሙ ።] # Σ | 4 እምአርማንያ ፣] # DG | 5 መንግሥቱ ።] # Σ | 8 ፍጡነ ።] # BCDG | 9 ዘይቀብሮሙ ።] # αDG | 12 ወልዱ ።] # Σ | ጎቤሆሙ ፣] # D | 13 መካነ ፣] # A | 15 ለሃይማኖትነ ።] # BCDG | 17 ለክርስቶስ ።] # Σ | 18 ከማሁ ።] # Σ | 19 ጉሀሉቱ ፣] # D | ወኮነ ፣] ፤ G | 20 ዘውሰጥ ፣] # D | 22 ሰብእ ።] CG | 24 እምታቲሆን ።] # # αCG | 25 በትእዛዙ ።] # Σ | 27 ንዋዮሙ ፣] # D | 28 በነገር ።] # Σ | 29 ዘይገብሩ ፣] # D | 30 ሀገሮሙ ።] # BCDG | 31 ወበለብዎ ፣] # D | 33 ወሐራ ።] # BCDG | ብራንጥያ ፣] # C | 34 በርትዕ ።] # BCG | እግዚአብሔር ።] # CDG | 36 በጽድቅ ፣] # D | 37 ጊዜ ።] # BCDG

ኩሎ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ | በህድሐት ፡ ወበጽንዕ ፡ | ወበንጽሕ ። ወኮነ ፡ G58vc Z74  
 ዓቢያ ፡ በቅድመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሕያው ፡ እስከ ፡ ለዓለም ። 44. ወሐራኒ ፡  
 ወኩሎ ፡ ሰራዊት ፡ የአኩትዎ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቀንአ ፡ ቅንአተ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ ለእግዚ  
 ኦብሔር ። ወተከሥተ ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ | ወጥብብ ፡ መሲሐዊት ፡ A83rc  
 5 ጽንዕት ፡ ወርትዕት ፡ ወፍቅረ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወትዕግሥት ፡ 45. ወኢይትዌከፍ ፡ ንቤሁ ፡  
 ነገረ ፡ ዓላዊያን ፡ ግሙራ ። ባሕቱ ፡ ለኩሎ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ሥልጣኑ ፡  
 ረሰዮሙ ፡ ይትቀነዩ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወኢገብረ ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ እምነ ፡ ዓመፃ ።  
 ወዓዲ ፡ ኢተዓገሠ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይገድጎን ፡ ለአብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ ዘተነሥታ ፡  
 ዘእንበለ ፡ ይሕንጸን ። ወዓዲ ፡ ኢንደገ ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ ዘይትቃወማ ፡ ለአምልኮተ ፡ C121rc  
 10 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ቅድስት ፡ መሲሐዊት ፡ ዘተቀብአ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ንጉሠ ፡  
 በሠናይ ፡ ወበህድሐት ። 46. ወረሰዮ ፡ ለሉኪዮስ ፡ ምተ ፡ እኅቱ ፡ ቍስጥንጥና ፡  
 ሱታፌ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ዘሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ። ወዝንቱኒ ፡ ኢኮነ ፡ ኅጡአ ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ እም  
 ትሩፋተ ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ራትዕ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ አምሐሎ ፡ መሐላ ፡  
 ዐቢያ ፡ ወመፍርሀ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበር ፡ ርትዓ ፡ ወኢየኡብስ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡  
 ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወላዕለ ፡ እለ ፡ ይትቀነዩ ፡ ሎቱ ። 47. ወበውእቱ ፡ ዘመን ፡ B63va  
 መጽአ ፡ መክሰምያኖስ ፡ ከሓዲ ፡ እምሥራቅ ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ዘይት  
 ቃረኖ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ። እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡  
 ለባሕቲቱ ፡ ወመከረ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይቅትሎ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ራትዕ ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ወኢ  
 ፈቀደ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበር ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ መልእክት ፡ <እም>ኅበ ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡  
 በማኅተም ። 48. እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ይገብር ፡ ጸብአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ አህጉር ፡  
 ወአድያም ፡ | ዘታሕተ ፡ ሥልጣኑ ፡ <ለ>ሀገረ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡ ወኢኮነ ፡ ይክል ፡ G59ra  
 ተኃይሎቶሙ ። ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ መምለኬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወለኪኑስ ፡  
 ምታ ፡ ለእኅቱ ፡ ተደለዉ ፡ ክልኤሆሙ ፡ ለተጸብአተ ፡ እልክቱ ፡ ዓላዊያን ። ቁስ  
 ጠንጢኖስኒ ፡ ሐረ ፡ ለተጸብአተ ፡ መክሰጥስ ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ።  
 25 ወለኪኖስ ፡ ሐረ ፡ ለተጸብአተ ፡ መክሰምያኖስ ፡ ከሓዲ ፡ ዘሀገረ ፡ ምሥራቅ ። 49. C121va  
 ወሶበ ፡ አእመረ ፡ መክሰጥስ ፡ ምጽአተ ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ቅነዩ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡  
 ሐረ ፡ በአሕማር ፡ ወቦአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ፈለገ ፡ አጣልያ ፡ ዘዩሐውር ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀገረ ፡  
 ሮሜ ፡ ወገብረ ፡ ተንከተመ ፡ በግብር ፡ ጽኑዕ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይሑሩ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ መስተጻ  
 ብአን ፡ ወእለ ፡ |ይተልውዎ ፡ ወ{ለ}ማእምራን ፡ | እለ ፡ ይዜንውዎ ፡ ሰሚያሙ ፡  
 እምሰይጣናት ። 50. ውእቱስ ፡ ኢ<ያ>አምር ፡ {ዘ}ከመ ፡ ሀለወ ፡ ረድኤተ ፡ ክር  
 ስቶስ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ መምለኬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። ወሶበ ፡ ዐደወ ፡ መክ  
 ሲጥስ ፡ ከሓዲ ፡ ፈለገ ፡ አንጣልያ ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ወአፍራሲሁኒ ፡  
 ዘላዕለ ፡ ድልዲይ ፡ ወዕኡ ፡ ቅድሚሁ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ምጽአቱ ፡ ለቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡  
 መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። 51. ወአመ ፡ መጽአ ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ቆመ ፡ እም  
 35 ርሐቅ ፡ ወኢቦአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጸብእ ፡ ባሕቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይጸንሕ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይሬኢ ፡  
 ረድኤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወአጽራርኒ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይጸንዑ ፡ ወይትኅየሉ ። 52.  
 ወእንዝ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ በዘከመዝ ፡ ግብር ፡ ሰከበ ፡ ወኖመ ፡ እንዝ ፡  
 ሕዙን ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወትኩዘ ፡ ልብ ። ወርእየ ፡ ራእየ ፡ በአምሳለ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ቅዱስ ፡  
 ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወጽሑፍ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ዘይብል ፡ እስመ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡  
 ትእምርተ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ትመውአ ። 53. ወእምዝ ፡ | ተንሥአ ፡ በፍጡን ፡ | ወጠነ ፡ A83vb  
 40 ጸብአ ፡ ወተቃተለ ፡ ወሞአሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይትቃወምዎ ፡ ወኢተርፈ ፡ ፩ ፡ እም  
 ኔሆሙ ፡ ወሠረዎሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ። 54. ወእለ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ መክሰጥስ ፡  
 ርእስ ፡ ሐራ ፡ ፈቀዱ ፡ ይጉየዩ ፡ ወይሑሩ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ ተሰብረት ፡ ቦሙ ፡

APP. CRIT.: 6 ዘኮነ ፡] αDG, ዘኮነ ፡ C | 11 ምተ ፡] αDG, ሞተ ፡ C | 12 ዘሀገረ ፡] BCDG, ዘገረ ፡ A  
 14 እግዚእነ ፡] αC, እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወእግዚእነ ፡ DG | 15 ክርስቶስ ፡] Σ, ክርስቶስ ፡ s.l. D  
 16 መክሰምያኖስ ፡] Σ, መክሰጥስ ፡] con. Cha (58, n. 1) | 18 ከመ ፡] αCG, om. D | ወኢፈቀደ ፡ ...  
 100,1 ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡] αCG, om. D | 19 ይግበር ፡] (om. D) αC, ይግበር ፡ G | እምኅበ ፡] con.  
 Cha (63, n. 1), ኅበ ፡ Σ | ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡] (om. D) BCG, ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡] A | 21 ሥልጣኑ ፡] Σ,  
 ሥ{ል}ጣኑ ፡ s. l. D, add. ለለኪኑስ ፡ እስከ ፡ con. Zot | ለሀገረ ፡] conieci, ሀገረ ፡ Σ | ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡] αC,  
 ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡] D, ቁስጥንጥንያ ፡] G | ይክል ፡] αCG, om. D | 22 ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡] BCDG,  
 ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡] A | 25 መክሰምያኖስ ፡] Σ, መክሰጥስ ፡] con. Cha (58, n. 1) | 27 ወቦአ ፡] αD  
 G, om. C | አጣልያ ፡] αCG, ኢጣልያ ፡] D | 29 ወለማእምራን ፡] con. Zot, ወለማእምራን ፡] Σ  
 30 ኢያአምር ፡] ዘከመ ፡] con. Zot, ኢያአምር ፡] ዘከመ ፡] Σ | 31 መክሰጥስ ፡] CDG, መክሰጥስ ፡] α

himself to take a great and terrible oath, so that he would do justice and would not act wrongly against Our Lord Jesus Christ and against his servants. 47. In that time the impious Maximian came from the East, who was possessed with Satan and who resisted God, for he took the Eastern province for him alone. He plotted to kill the righteous emperor Constantine and did not want to execute the sealed rescript <from> Constantine. 48. Indeed he was making war in all cities and provinces under the power <of><sup>408</sup> Constantinople. But he could not subject them. Constantine, the servant of God, and Licinius, his sister’s husband, two of them, got prepared to make war against these heretics. Constantine went to fight against Maxentius, who was in Rome. And Licinius went to fight against the impious Maximian of the Eastern province. 49. When Maxentius learned about the arrival of Constantine, the servant of God, he went by ship and entered the river of Italy, which leads to Rome and built a bridge in big labour passable for his troops, his followers, and augurs, who announced him, what they had heard from satan. 50. But he did not know that the help of Christ was with Constantine, the servant of God. When the impious Maxentius crossed the river of Ὀντᾶλῶν,<sup>409</sup> and all those who were with him, his cavalry over the bridge went out in front of him before the arrival of God-loving Constantine. 51. When Constantine arrived, he stopped at a distance and did not enter the battle, but was waiting for a revelation of the assistance of God. But the enemies were getting more powerful and stronger. 52. While Constantine was engaged like that, he lied down and fell asleep, being sad and concerned. He saw a vision in a form of the Holy Cross in the sky and it was written on it: ‘By this sign of the Cross you shall conquer him’. 53. He woke up quickly and began to fight, made war and conquered those, who resisted him. No one was left from them. He destroyed them all. 54. Those who were with the general Maxentius wanted to flee away and to go to Rome, but the bridge was destroyed under them according to the commandment of God. They all sunk in a depth of the abyss. 55. There was delight in Rome, that the impious ones had sunk. The officers of Constantine,<sup>410</sup> his nobles, his army, all troops and farmers and children together took candles and they put on clean and tidy clothes. They went out with musicians to receive the servant of God, emperor Constantine. 56. Not only had the city of Rome rejoiced, but all cities and provinces as well as Constantinople. 57. But Constantine did not boast and did not praise himself for his honor and victory as other kings, but he rather

<sup>408</sup> I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg, but propose my own one. | <sup>409</sup> Zotenberg and Charles identify this proper name with Italy (Zotenberg 1883, 302; Charles 1916, 63). | <sup>410</sup> I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here.

32 አንጣልያ ፣] αG, አጣልያ ፣ C, ኢጣልያ ፣ D | ወአፍራሲሁኒ ፣] Σ, ወአፍራ(ሲ)ሁኒ ፣ s.l. G 33 ድልዳይ ፣] αCG, ድልድይ ፣ D | ወዕኡ ፣] Σ, ምስሌሁ ፣ add. D | እምቅድመ ፣] BCDG, n.l. A ምጽአቱ ፣] α, መጽአቱ ፣ CDG | ለቁስጠንጢኖስ ፣] BCDG, n.l. AZot: ለእስጢፋኖስ ፣ ለቁስጠን ጢኖስ ፣ A | 34 መፍቀሬ ፣] αDG, መፍቀ ፣ C | እግዚአብሔር ፣] αG, አምላክ ፣ CD 41 ይትቃወም ፣] Σ, ይትቃ(ወ)ም ፣ s.l. G | 42 ምስለ ፣] BCDG, ምስሌሁ ፣ A | መክሲጥስ ፣] αCG, መክሲጢስ ፣ D | 43 ተሰብረት ፣] Σ, ተ(ሰ)ብረት ፣ s.l. G | ስሙ ፣] αCG, ሎሙ ፣ D

APP. LECT. MIN.: 6 ዓላዊያን ፣] CG, ዓላውያን ፣ αD | 18 ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፣] αCG, ቀስጠንጢኖስ ፣ D | 23 ክልኤሆሙ ፣] CDG, ጄሆሙ ፣ α | ዓላዊያን ፣] CG, ዓላውያን ፣ αD | 43 ይጉዩዩ ፣] αCD, ይጉዩዩ ፣ G | ወይሐሩ ፣] αDG, ወይሐሩ ፣ C

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ወበንጽሕ ፣] # αCG | 2 ለዓለም ፣] # BCD | 3 የአኩትዎ ፣] # D ለእግዚአብሔር ፣] # αCD | 5 ወትዕግሥት ፣] # BG | 6 ግሙራ ፣] # αCG | 7 ዓመፃ ፣] # Σ 9 ይስንጸን ፣] # αCG | 11 ወበህድአት ፣] # αCG | 12 ሮሜ ፣] # BCG | 15 ሎቱ ፣] # Σ 17 ለእግዚአብሔር ፣] # αCG | 18 ለባሕቲቱ ፣] # C | ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፣] # G | 20 በማኅተም ፣] # BC DG | 22 ተኃይሎቶሙ ፣] # αG | 23 ዓላዊያን ፣] # Σ | 24 ሮሜ ፣] # BCG | 25 ከሓዲ ፣] # G ምሥራቅ ፣] # Σ | 27 በአሕማር ፣] ፤ G | 28 ጽኑዕ ፣] # A | 30 እምስይጣናት ፣] # Σ 31 እግዚአብሔር ፣] # CD, ፤ G | 32 ምስሌሁ ፣] # D | 34 እግዚአብሔር ፣] # Σ | 35 ጸብእ ፣] # C 36 ወይትኅዩሉ ፣] # αCG | 38 ልብ ፣] # αDG | 39 ሰማይ ፣] # D | 40 ትመውአ ፣] # Σ | በፍጡን ፣] # D | 41 ይትቃወም ፣] # D | 42 ለኩሎሙ ፣] # αCG | 43 ይጉዩዩ ፣] ፤ G

ድልዲይ ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወተሠጥሙ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዕመቀ ፡  
 ቀላይ ፡ 55. ወኮነ ፡ ትፍሥሕት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘተሠጥሙ ፡  
 ከሐ|ድያን ፡ ወሰራዊተ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስስ ፡ ወክቡራኒሁ ፡ ወሐራሁ ፡ ወኩሉ ፡ B63vc  
 ትዕይንት ፡ ወሐራስያነ ፡ ገራህት ፡ ወሕፃናት ፡ ኅቡረ ፡ ነሥኡ ፡ ማኃትወ ፡  
 5 ሠ<ም>ዓት ፡ ወለብሱ ፡ አልባሰ ፡ ንጹሐ ፡ ወቅድወ ። ወወፅኡ ፡ ምስለ ፡ መዘ  
 ምራን ፡ ለቀበላሁ ፡ ለገብረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ንጉሥ ። 56.  
 ወአኮ ፡ ባሕቲታ ፡ ዘተፈሥሐት ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ አላ ፡ ኩሎን ፡ አህጉራት ፡ ወአድ  
 ያማት ፡ ወሀገረ ፡ ቍስጥንጥንያኒ ፡ ምስሌሆን ፡ ኅቡረ ። 57. ወቈስጠንጢኖስስ ፡  
 ኢይትዓበይ ፡ በልቡ ፡ ወኢይትሜካሕ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ክብ|ሩ ፡ ወመዊኦቲ ፡ ከመ ፡ A84ra  
 10 ካልአን ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ ኮነ ፡ የዋሃ ፡ ወትሐተ ፡ ልብ ፡ ወየአኩቶ ፡ ለእግዚአ  
 ብሔር ፡ ወይሴብሐ ፡ ለእግዚአ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡  
 ነገሥት ፡ ወእግዚአ ፡ አጋእዝት ። 58. ወእምዝ ፡ ቦአ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ በመዊእ ፡ Z76  
 ሰገዱ ፡ ሎቲ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ሮም ። ወ|ዕደው ፡ እለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡ እምቀትል ፡ C121vc  
 ገረሩ ፡ ሎቲ ፡ ወቦኡ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ተአዝዞቲ ። ወእምዝ ፡ ቦአ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡  
 15 ውስተ ፡ ቅጽር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትቁጸል ፡ አክሊለ ፡ መዊእ ፡ 59. ወተናገሮሙ ፡  
 ለኩሎሙ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኅይል ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ሎቲ ፡ ወመዊእ ፡ ዘረከበ ፡ እምነበ ፡  
 ራእይ ፡ ዘርእየ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ በአ|ምሳለ ፡ ርእየተ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ቅዱስ ። ወሰ  
 ሚያሙ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ብህሉ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ አምላክ ፡ | ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘአ  
 ድኃነ ፡ ኪያነ ፡ ወሀገረነ ፡ እምእደ ፡ ከሐድያን ። 60. ወበጊዜሃ ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ዐፂወ ፡  
 20 ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ወአርጎወ ፡ አናቅጸ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ አኮ ፡ በሮሜ ፡ |  
 ባሕቲታ ፡ አላ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አህጉር ። ወቅዱስኒ ፡ ሶል ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ | ሊቀ ፡  
 ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘሮሜ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይጌሥጸ ፡ በተግሣጽ ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ወይሜህሮ ፡ ሃይማኖተ ፡  
 ንጽሕተ ። 61. ወእምዝ ፡ ሐረ ፡ ለጸብእ ፡ ኅበ ፡ አህጉራተ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ወሞአሙ ።  
 25 ወሶበ ፡ ሞአሙ ፡ አንበሮሙ ፡ በሰላም ፡ † ወአጽንዐ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ አምኃ ፡ ምስለ ፡  
 ቀርን ፡ ዘይነፍሐ ፡ ቦቲ ፡ ለንጉሥ ። † 62. ወተወክፎሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ክርስ  
 ቲያን ፡ እለ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡ ህየ ፡ ወለመኳንንተ ፡ ሀገርሰ ፡ ወለኩሉ ፡ ስዩማን ፡  
 ሠዐሮሙ ። ወሄመ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ዕደወ ፡ መሲሐውያነ ፡ ወሐነጸ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክር  
 ስቲያናት ፡ ሠናያ<ነ> ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አህጉር ፡ ወአድያም ። 63. ወዓዲ ፡  
 ፈነዋ ፡ ለ|እሙ ፡ እሌኒ ፡ ንግሥት ፡ መፍቀሪተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ ፡ C122ra  
 30 ትኅሥሥ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ክቡር ፡ ዘተሰቅለ ፡ ቦቲ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወመድኃኒነ ፡  
 ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሎቲ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ቅድስት ። 64. በመዋ  
 ዕሊሁ ፡ ለብፁዕ ፡ አባ ፡ አይሊሙን ፡ ጳጳስ ፡ ዘኢየሩሳሌም ፡ 65. ወሐነጸት ፡ ዓዲ ፡  
 መካነ ፡ ትንሣኤ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ በክብር ፡ ወሐደሰት ፡ ሕንጻሃ ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ዘይ  
 ጌይስ ፡ እምቀዳሚ ፡ ወሀሎ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይእዜ ። 66. | ወቈስጠንጢኖስኒ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ A84rc  
 35 ሐነጸ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ብራንጥያ ፡ መአድምተ ፡ ሥን ፡ ወሠ  
 ናይተ ፡ ራእይ ፡ ወኢኮነት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ንእስተ ፡ አምጣን ፡ አላ ፡ ልዕልት ፡ ጥቀ ።  
 67. ወእምድጎረ ፡ ፈጸመ ፡ | ሐኒጸታ ፡ ሰመያ ፡ <ለሀገር> ቍስጥንጥንያ ፡ በስሙ ። G59va  
 እስመ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ ብራንጥያ ፡ 68. ወአፍቀረ ፡ ነቢረ ፡  
 ህየ ፡ ኅብሃ ፡ ወረሰያ ፡ ማኅደረ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ። 69. ወዓዲ ፡ አስተጋብአ ፡ መጻ Z77

APP. CRIT.: 1 ድልዲይ ፡ ]αG, ዲልድይ ፡ C, ድልድይ ፡ D | ዕመቀ ፡ ]BCD, ፊሙቀ ፡ A,  
 ባሕር ፡ add. D | 2 ዘተሠጥሙ ፡ ]Σ, ዘተ{ሠ}ጥሙ ፡ s.l. G | 3 ከሐድያን ፡ ]αCG, ከሐዲያን ፡ D  
 ቈስጠንጢኖስስ ፡ ]ADG, ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ BC, መክስንጥስስ ፡ con. Zot | 4 ትዕይንት ፡ ]Σ, ትዕ  
 ይንት ፡ s.l. G | 5 ሠምዓት ፡ ]con. Zot, ሠማዓት ፡ Σ | ወቅድወ ፡ ]αCD, ወቅድወ ፡ G  
 6 ለቀበላሁ ፡ ]BCD, ለቀበላሁ ፡ A | 8 ወሀገረ ፡ ]αCG, በሀገረ ፡ D | ቍስጥንጥንያኒ ፡ ]ACDG,  
 ቍስጥንጥንያኒ ፡ B | ወቈስጠንጢኖስስ ፡ ]Σ, ወቈስጠንጢኖስ(ስ) ፡ s.l. A | 9 ወኢይትሜካሕ ፡ ]BCDG,  
 ወኢይትመካህ ፡ A | 11 ለእግዚአ ፡ ]αCG, ለእግዚእነ ፡ D | 12 ነገሥት ፡ ]αDG, om. C | 13 ሰገዱ ፡ ]  
 Σ, ወሰገዱ ፡ con. Zot | 14 ወቦኡ ፡ ]CDG, om. α | 17 በአምሳለ ፡ ]BCDG, ወአምሳለ ፡ A | 18 ሰብእ ፡  
 ኩሉ ፡ ]ACG, ኩሉ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ CD | አምላክ ፡ ]BCDG, አምላክ ፡ A, ሰማይ ፡ add. D | 21 ሶል ፡  
 ጴጥሮስ ፡ ]Σ, ሶልጴጥሮስ ፡ con. Zot | 22 ይጌሥጸ ፡ ]Σ, በትእግሥት ፡ add. D | 23 ኅበ ፡ ]BCDG,  
 om. AZot: B | 24 ወአጽንዐ ፡ ]Σ, ወአጽ{ን}ዐ ፡ s.l. G | 25 ክርስቲያን ፡ ...11 ወለኩሉ ፡ ]αCG, om. D  
 26 ሀገርሰ ፡ ](om. D) αCD, ሀርሰ ፡ G | 27 አብያተ ፡ ]αCG, om. D | 28 ሠናያነ ፡ ]con. Zot,  
 ሠናያን ፡ Σ | 29 ፈነዋ ፡ ]αG ፈነወ ፡ CD | 30 ወመድኃኒነ ፡ ]αDG, om. C | 32 ለብፁዕ ፡ አባ ፡ ]αCG  
 ለአባ ፡ D | አይሊሙን ፡ ]αCD, አይሊሞን ፡ G | ዘኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ]αCG, ዘሀገረ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ D  
 33 ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ]αCG, ወረሰየት ፡ add. D | 34 ወቈስጠንጢኖስኒ ፡ ]BCDG, ወቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ A  
 35 ሐነጸ ፡ ]Σ, post ዓዲ ፡ trans. AZot: B | ብራንጥያ ፡ ]αC, በራንጥያ ፡ DG, በራ{ን}ጥያ ፡ s.l. G

was mild and humble. He glorified God and celebrated his Lord, Lord of everything, Jesus Christ, King of the Kings and Lord of the Lords. 58. When he entered Rome in triumph, all people of Rome prostrated themselves before him. Those who survived in battle were subjected to him and submitted themselves to his command. Thereafter Constantine entered the palace crowned with a crown of triumph. 59. He told to all people of the power, which had been with him and of the victory, which he had gained through the vision he had seen in the sky in a form of a sign of the Holy Cross. Having heard this, they all said: ‘The God of the Christians is great, who saved us and our city from the hands of these impious.’ 60. In this time he commanded to close temples and to open the churches’ gates, not only in Rome, but in all cities. And the Saint *Sol Petros* (Sylvester), patriarch of Rome instructed him with good instructions and taught him the pure faith. 61. Thereafter he went to make war on the cities of Persia and overcame them. When he conquered them, he established them in peace and he †...†<sup>411</sup> 62. He received all Christians, who were there, he deposed all governors of the city and all officials. He appointed upon them Christian men. He built beautiful churches in all cities and provinces. 63. He also sent his mother God-loving empress Helena to search for the wood of the honored Cross, on which Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ had been crucified – praise be on Him – in the saint city of Jerusalem 64. in the time of of the blessed *ʾAbbā ʾAylimun*,<sup>412</sup> bishop of Jerusalem.<sup>413</sup> 65. She also built an edifice of the Holy Resurrection in glory and restored the buildings of Jerusalem, so that they became better as they had been before and so they are till nowadays. 66. Constantine built also a church in Byzantium of a pleasant beauty and splendid appearance. It was not small in size, but rather a very lofty one. 67. After he had accomplished the construction, he named the city Constantinople. Indeed, previously it was called Byzantium. 68. He loved dwelling there and made it into a residence of Christ. 69. Moreover, he gathered Holy Scriptures and placed them in churches. 70. Thereafter he assembled three hundred and eighteen saints in the city of Nicaea and established the Orthodox faith, and no one could enumerate all his good deeds. 71. There was one man, one of the good officers, whose name was *ʾAblāwiyus*, a Christian. He worked zealously to discover the glorious cross,<sup>414</sup> on which Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ was crucified – praise be on Him! 72. The three hundred and eighteen, who had assembled in Nicaea, venerated the emperor Constantine, the servant of God,

<sup>411</sup>The meaning of this passage remains to me obscure. Zotenberg translates it as follows: ‘et les combla de présents, parmi lesquels était un cor dont on fait usage pour sonner devant le roi’ (Zotenberg 1883, 303). See Charles 1916, 64, n. 1. Cp. *John Malalas* 13.3 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 172). Cp. Eusebius, *EH* 9.9. | <sup>412</sup>The name could not be identified neither by Zotenberg nor by Charles. Could this form be the corrupt form of the attribute of Jerusalem Μακάριος A' ἱεροσολύμων (see Zotenberg 1883, 304, n. 1)? Or might the form *ʾAylimun* stand for the Greek ἐλεήμων (‘merciful’), thus having been interpreted as a proper name, whereas the word **ብፁዕ**: (‘blessed’) is a literal translation of the bishop’s name Μακάριος. | <sup>413</sup>This verse belongs to the previous one. However I preserve the division by Charles (Charles 1916, 64). <sup>414</sup>Literally ‘wood’.

**ወሠናይተ** ፣] αCD, **ላህይ ፣ ወ**] add. A, **ወሠናይተ ፣** G | 37 **ሰመያ ፣ ... ቊስጥንጥንያ** ፣] conieci, **ሰመያ ፣ ቊስጥንጥንያ** ፣ Σ, <ሰሀገረ ፣> **ቊስጥንጥንያ ፣ ሰመያ ፣** coni. Zot | 38 **ብራንጥያ** ፣] αC, **በራንጥያ** ፣ DG | 39 **ህየ ፣ ጎቤሃ** ፣] Σ, **ጎቤሃ** ፣ coni. Zot

APP. LECT. MIN.: 10 **ወየአኩቶ** ፣] αCG, **ወየአኩቶ** ፣ D | 27 **መሲሐውያነ** ፣] αDG, **መሲሐዊያነ ፣** C

APP. PUNCT.: 3 **ከሓድያን** ፣] ። αDG | 5 **ወቅድወ** ፣] ። αDG | 6 **ንጉሥ** ፣] ። BCDG  
7 **ወአድያማት** ፣] ። D | 8 **ምስሌሆን** ፣] ፤ G | **ጎብረ** ፣] ። CDG | 9 **በልቡ** ፣] ። C | 10 **ነገሥት** ፣] ። AD  
11 **ለእግዚአብሔር** ፣] ። D | 12 **አጋእዝት** ፣] ። Σ | **በመዊእ** ፣] ። D | 13 **ሮም** ፣] ። αCG | 14 **ተአዝዞቲ** ፣] ።  
15 **መዊእ** ፣] ። AD | 16 **ጎይል** ፣] ፤ G | 17 **ቅዱስ** ፣] ። Σ | 19 **ከሓድያን** ፣] ። αDG | 20 **ክርስቲያናት** ፣] ።  
D | 21 **አህጉር** ፣] ። BDG | 23 **ንጽሕተ** ፣] ። Σ | **ወሞአሙ** ፣] ። BCG | 25 **ለንጉሥ** ፣] ። BDG  
26 **ክርስቲያን** ፣] (om. D) ። C | 27 **ሠዐሮሙ** ፣] ። CDG | **መሲሐውያነ** ፣] ። D | 28 **ወአድያም** ፣] ። ።  
αCG | 31 **ቅድስት** ፣] ። αCG | 33 **በክብር** ፣] ። C | 34 **ይእኔ** ፣] ። BCDG | 36 **ራእይ** ፣] ። D | **ጥቀ** ፣] ።  
Σ | 37 **በሰሙ** ፣] ። BCDG | 39 **ለክርስቶስ** ፣] ። αG

ሕፍተ፡ ቅዱሳተ፡ ወአንበሮን፡ ውስተ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት ። 70. ወእምዝ፡ አስተጋብአሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ፫፻፲ወ፰፡ በሀገረ፡ ኒቅያ፡ ወአቀመ፡ ሃይማኖተ፡ ኦርቶዶክሳዊተ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይክል፡ ይጎልቀኑ፡ ሠናያተ፡ ዘገብሮሙ፡ ። 71. ወኮነ፡ ፩፡ ብእሲ፡ መኰንን፡ እመኳንንት፡ ሠናያን፡ ዘስሙ፡ አብላዊዩስ፡ ክርስቲያናዊ፡ ገብረ፡ | በትግሀት፡ ለአስተርእዮተ፡ ዕፅ፡ ክቡር፡ ዘተሰቅለ፡ ቦቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወመድኃኒኑ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት ። 72. ወ፫፻፲፩፡ ፲ወ፰፡ ዘተጋብአ፡ በኒቅያ፡ አክበርዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ቄስጠንጢኖስ፡ ቅኑዩ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወለእሙ፡ ንግሥት፡ እሌኒ፡ መፍቀሪተ፡ አምላክ፡ ወገብሩ፡ ሎሙ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ዘይደልዎሙ፡ ወጸሐፉ፡ ክብሮሙ፡ እምጥንት፡ እስከ፡ ፍጻሜ ። 73. ወለኪኑስስ፡ ዘነሥአ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ምሥራቅ፡ ሶበ፡ ሐረ፡ ለተጸብአተ፡ መክስምያኖስ፡ ከሓዲ፡ ወእእመረ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዕልው፡ ገባሬ፡ እከይ፡ ከመ፡ መጽአ፡ ኅቤሁ፡ ወተጸብአ፡ | ወድቀተ፡ መክስንጥስ፡ ወተመውአቱ፡ በእደ፡ መምለኬ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ቄስጠንጢኖስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወኅሠሠ፡ ሰላመ፡ እመለኪኑስ፡ 74. ወለኪኑስኒ፡ ፈነወ፡ ኅበ፡ ቄስጠንጢኖስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ኅሠሠ፡ ሰላመ፡ መክስምያኖስ፡ ወተወክፈ፡ ሃይማኖተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ክቡር፡ | ወንጹር፡ | ወንደገ፡ ስሕተቶ፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ወአቀመ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ምስሌዩ ። ወቄስጠንጢኖስኒ፡ ፈነወ፡ ከመ፡ ይትወክፍዎ ። 75. ወመክስሚኒ፡ | ኅቢአ፡ እከዩ፡ ወጉሕሉተ፡ ውስተ፡ ልቡ፡ | ወለአከ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ መልእክት፡ ኅበ፡ ከሎሙ፡ ሥዩማን፡ ታሕተ፡ | ሥልጣኑ፡ ከመ፡ ኢያሕምምዎሙ፡ ለክርስቲያን ። 76. ወሶበ፡ በጽሐ፡ መልእክት፡ ኅበ፡ ሥዩማኒሁ፡ አእመሩ፡ ከመ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ግብር፡ ኢኮነ፡ በፈቃዱ፡ ዳእሙ፡ ከመ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ተሠልጡ፡ ላዕሌሁ ። ወበእንተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ኢኮነ፡ ክቡር፡ በኅበ፡ መኑሂ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘገብረ፡ እኩዩ፡ ቅድመ፡ ላዕለ፡ ቅዱሳን ። 77. ወንጉሥስ፡ ቄስጠንጢኖስ፡ ኢከልአ፡ መነሂ፡ እምክርስቲያን፡ ክቡር፡ ከመ፡ ይግብሩ፡ ጉባኤያት፡ ወሐኒጸ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት ። ዳእሙ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ መሲሐዊት፡ ወጉያዩ፡ እምአምልኮ፡ ጣዖት፡ ወከመዝ፡ ይኤዝዝ፡ | ለኩሉ፡ ወይሜህር፡ ከመ፡ ይንበሩ፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ በሰላም፡ ወይጸባእ፡ በእንተ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት ። 78. ኮነ፡ ፩፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘስጠ፡ ገላስዮስ፡ እምሀገረ፡ ማርሲማስ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ቅርብት፡ ለሀገረ፡ ደማስቆ፡ መጠነ፡ አሐቲ፡ ምዕራፍ፡ ወምስሌሁ፡ ብዙኅ፡ ሰብእ፡ እለ፡ ያፈቅሩ፡ አምልኮ፡ ጣዖት፡ እለ፡ ይነበሩ፡ ሀገረ፡ እንጡኑልዮስ፡ ዘሊባኖስ፡ 79. ወበውእቱ፡ ዘመን፡ | ተጋብአ፡ ውስተ፡ መካነ፡ ተውኔት፡ ወነሥአ፡ ምስሌሁሙ፡ ሰብአ፡ ምትሐት፡ ውእቶሙ፡ ወደዩ፡ ማዩ፡ ቄሪረ፡ ውስተ፡ ጸሕለ፡ ብርት፡ ዐቢይ፡ ወአኅዙ፡ ይሳለቁ፡ ከሎሙ፡ እለ፡ መጽአ፡ በጥምቀት፡ ቅድስት፡ ዘመሲሐውያን፡ 80. ወወረደ፡ ፩፡ ብእሲ፡ እምእሉ፡ ምትሐታዊያን፡ ኅበ፡ ውእቱ፡ ማይ፡ ወተጠምቀ ። ወሶበ፡ ወፅአ፡ እማይ፡ አልበስዎ፡ ልብስ፡ ፀዓዳ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ኮነ፡ ምትሐታዊ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ግብር ። ወእምድኅረ፡ ወፅአ፡ እማይ፡ ኢፈቀደ፡ ይግበር፡ ግብረ፡ ምትሐት፡ ወተሣልቆ፡ ዳግመ ። ዳእሙ፡ ይቤ፡ አነ፡ እፈቅድ፡ እሙት፡ በክርስትናዩ፡ በእንተ፡ ክርስቶስ ። ወይቤ፡ አነ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ኅይለ፡ ዐቢዩ፡ አመ፡ ተሣለቁ፡ በጥ

C122rb  
A84va  
B64rc  
D38  
G59vb  
A84vb C122rc  
Z78  
B64va  
A84vc  
C122va  
G59vc

APP. CRIT.: 2 ፫፻፲ወ፰ ፡]Σ, add. ርቱዓነ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ D | 5 በትግሀት ፡]BCDG, በትግሀት ፡ A, በትግሀት ፡ s.l. G | ክቡር ፡]αCD, ክበር ፡ G | 6 ሎቱ ፡]BCDG, ዘሎቱ ፡ A | 7 አክበርዎ ፡]Σ, አክበርዎ ፡ s. l. D | 8 አምላክ ፡]αDG, እግዚአብሔር ፡ C | 10 መክስምያኖስ ፡]αDG, መክስምያኖስ ፡ C, መክሲሚኑስ ፡ conici. Cha (58, n. 1) | 12 ወተጸብአ ፡]αDG, ለተጸብአ ፡ C | ወድቀተ ፡]C, ውድቀተ ፡ A, ወድቀተ ፡ B, ወድቀት ፡ DG | ወተመውአቱ ፡]αCG, ወተመውአቶ ፡ D | 13 እመለኪኑስ ፡]αCG, እምለኪኑስ ፡ D | 14 ወለኪኑስኒ ፡]αCG, ወኪኑስኒ ፡ D | ኅሠሠ ፡]CDG, post ሰላመ ፡ trans. α | መክስምያኖስ ፡]Σ, መክሲሚኑስ ፡ conici. Cha (58, n. 1) | 15 ክርስቲያን ፡]Σ, ክርስቲያን ፡ s. l. D | ክቡር ፡ ወንጹር ፡]conici. Zot, ክቡር ፡ ወንጹር ፡ Σ | 16 ምስሌዩ ፡]αCG, ምስሌዩ ፡ D | 17 ወመክሲሚኑስኒ ፡]conici, ወመክሲሚኑስኒ ፡ αCD, ወምስሜስኒ ፡ G, ወመክሲሚኑስኒ ፡ conici. Zot | 18 ውስተ ፡]αCG, om. D | ወለአከ ፡]Σ, ለአከ ፡ conici. Zot | 20 መልእክት ፡]αDG, መልእክት ፡ C | 21 ተሠልጡ ፡]αCD, ተሠለጡ ፡ G | 23 ወንጉሥስ ፡]αCG, ወንጉሥ ፡ D | መነሂ ፡]αDG, መኑሂ ፡ C | 24 ጉባኤያት ፡]αDG, ጉባኤያት ፡ C | 25 ወጉያዩ ፡]αC, ወጉያዩ ፡ D, ወጉያዩ ፡ G | 27 ወይጸባእ ፡]αCG, ወይጸብአ ፡ D | 28 ገላስዮስ ፡]αCG, ገላስዮም ፡ D | 29 ለሀገረ ፡]αDG, በሀገረ ፡ C | 30 እንጡኑልዮስ ፡]BG, እንጡሱልዮስ ፡ C, እንጡልዮስ ፡ D, እንጡልዮስ ፡ A | 33 ብርት ፡]αC, ብሩር ፡ ወብርት ፡ DG | 35 ምትሐታዊያን ፡]CG, ምትሐታውያን ፡ αD, ምትሐታውያን ፡ s.l. G | 36 ምትሐታዊ ፡]α, ምትሐታዊ ፡ C, እምትሐታውያን ፡ D, ምትሐታዊያን ፡ G | 38 ዳእሙ ፡]αDG, om. C | እሙት ፡]αDG, እሙንቱ ፡ C

and his mother God-loving empress Helena. They commemorated them in an appropriate way and wrote down their splendid deeds from the beginning till the end. 73. When Licinius, who had seized the Eastern province,<sup>415</sup> went to fight against the impious Maximian, this heretic, a servant of evil, learned that he came to him to battle with him, about the fall of Maxentius, and that he was overcome by the hand of the servant of God emperor Constantine. He demanded peace from Licinius. 74. Licinius sent to Constantine saying: ‘Maximian seeks peace, and he has accepted the glorious and pure Christian faith, he left his error that accompanied him, he concluded a treaty with me’. Constantine sent that they should admit that. 75. But Maximinus concealed evil and treachery in his heart, and he sent a letter to all officials under his power forbidding to inflict pain to Christians. 76. When this message reached his officials, they recognized that this was not according to his wish, but according to the faith of those who had gained power over him. Due to that he was not honored by anyone, for the evil deeds he had done to holy men previously. 77. The emperor Constantine did not forbid to any of the Christian leaders to organize synods and to build churches. But rather he was a guardian of the Christian faith and abandoned the worship of idols. According to that he commanded to all and instructed that the churches should be in peace. He fought on behalf of the Orthodox faith. 78. There was one man named Gelasinus from the city of *Mārsimās* (Mariamme), which lies on the distance of one stadia from Damascus together with many people, who enjoyed worshipping idols of the city of *Ἐπιτουνύλιος* (Heliopolis) of Lebanon.<sup>416</sup> 79. In that time they gathered in a theater and took actors with them. They poured cold water in a large brazen vessel and began to mock all those, who came to the holy baptism of the Christians. 80. One of the actors went down to this water and was baptized. When he went out, they clothed him with white clothes, for before this deed he had been an actor. After he went out of water, he did not want to be an actor and to mock anymore. Moreover he said: ‘I wish to die in the Christian faith on behalf of Christ’. He said: ‘I have seen a great power while I have been mocking the holy baptism’. 81. When he had gone a little way from the place with water, all those, who were there, were filled with wrath and rage, for they were idolaters. 82. They went down from the theater, seized this holy man and stoned him. He received an incorruptible martyrdom’s crown and was associated with holy martyrs. His relatives came together with many Christians, took his body and buried him in the city. They built a church above the place, where his body had been buried. The name of this man is Gelasinus, may God have mercy on us through his prayers.<sup>417</sup> 83. The impure Maximian did not give up his evil treacheries, he was not prevailed upon by the power of justice, which the God-loving emperors obtained from God, and whose way was goodly in their

<sup>415</sup> Charles makes a following note on this passage: “The grammar of the verse is impossible. I have omitted ἄν before “set out” (Charles 1916, 65, n. 1). I find the word order a little disturbing, however, not impossible. | <sup>416</sup> Here the source which John used follows the Cod. Bodleianus Baroccianus 182 (siglum O in the edition by Thurn) of the *Malalas Chronicle* placing Pentapolis in Lebanon, whereas other witnesses place it in Phoenicia. (Thurn 200, 241; cp. also *Paschal Chronicle*). | <sup>417</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 12.50 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 171).

APP. LECT. MIN.: 18 ወጉሐሉተ ፣] αDG, ወጉሐሉተ ፣ G | 34 ዘመሲሐውያን ፣] αDG, ዘመሲሐዊያን ፣ C

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ክርስቲያናት ።] ። Σ | 2 ኒቅያ ፣] ። D | 3 ኦርቶዶክሳዊተ ፣] ። D | 4 ዘገብሮሙ ።] ። Σ | 6 ሰብሐት ።] ። Σ | 8 አምላክ ፣] ። D | 9 ፍጻሜ ።] ። Σ | 13 እመለኪኑስ ፣] ። C | 14 መክሰምያናስ ፣] ። D | 15 ወንጹሐ ፣] ። D | 16 ምስሌሁ ፣] ። BG | ምስሌየ ።] ። αCG | 17 ይትወክፍዎ ።] ። CG | 18 ልቡ ፣] ። D | 19 ለክርስቲያን ።] ። Σ | 21 ላዕሊሁ ።] ። Σ | 23 ቅዱሳን ።] ። BCDG | 24 ክርስቲያናት ።] ። BCDG | 27 ርትዕት ።] ። BCD, ፤ G | 29 ምዕራፍ ፣] ። G | 30 ጣዖት ፣] ። C | 35 ወተጣምቀ ።] ። ADG | 36 ፀዓዳ ፣] ። D | 37 ግብር ።] ። BCG | 38 ዳግመ ።] ። αG | 39 ክርስቶስ ።] ። Σ

ምቀት ፡ ቅድስት ። 81. ወእምድጎረዝ ፡ ሐረ ፡ እመካነ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ማይ ፡ ንስቲተ ፡ መልኡ ፡ መዓተ ፡ ወቀጥዓ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡ ህየ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቶሙ ፡ ኩነ ፡ መምለክያነ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ 82. ወወረዱ ፡ እመካነ ፡ ተውኔት ፡ ወእጎዝዎ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወወገርዎ ፡ በአእባን ፡ ወነሥኦ ፡ አክሊለ ፡ ስምዕ ፡ 5 ፡ ዘኢይማስን ፡ ወተኑላቄ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሰማዕታት ፡ ቅዱሳን ። ወመጽኡ ፡ አዝ ማዲሁ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ወነሥኦ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ወቀበርዎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወሐነጽ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ኅበ ፡ ተቀብረ ፡ ሥጋሁ ። ወስሙ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ገላስዮስ ። እግዚብሔር ፡ ይምሐረነ ፡ በጸሎቱ ። 83. ወመክስም ያኖስሰ ፡ ርኩስ ፡ ኢጎደገ ፡ ስሕተታቲሁ ፡ እኩያ<ተ> ፡ ወኢተእጎዝ ፡ በኃይለ ፡ 10 ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ እንተ ፡ አጥሪይዎ ፡ እምእግዚብሔር ፡ ነገሥት ፡ መፍቀርያነ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ወ|ሐረቶሙ ፡ ሠናይ ፡ በትምህርቶሙ ፡ ወበለብዎቶሙ ። 84. ወውእቱሰ ፡ | ስልው ፡ ኅለየ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበር ፡ ጸብኦ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ መፍቀርያነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ እስመ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ በላዕሌሁ ፡ ኃኔን ፡ ዘያስተዓብዶ ። ወበእንተ ፡ ክብር ፡ ዘነጥኦ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ዘነበረት ፡ በኅቤሁ ፡ እንበለ ፡ መስፈርት ፡ ዘኢጎረየ ፡ ለርእሱ ፡ 15 ፡ ዘይሰነአዎ ፡ ወይሣንዮ ፡ 85. ወወጠነ ፡ በትዕቢተ ፡ | ልብ ፡ | ወግዝፈተ ፡ ክሳድ ፡ ለመለጠ ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ ዘተካየደ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ለኪኑስ ፡ ወተግሀ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበር ፡ ምግባረ ፡ ዘይከውን ፡ ለአጎጉሎቱ ፡ ወበፍርሃት ፡ ወለጠ ፡ ል|ቦ ፡ ወአንሥኦ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሰብኦ ፡ ወሆኩሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ አህጉራት ፡ ወለሥዩማን ፡ ዘታሕተ ፡ ሥልጣኑ ። 20 ፡ 86. ወአስተጋብኦ ፡ አእላፊ ፡ ብዙኃነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይጽብኦሙ ፡ ለነገሥት ፡ መፍቀርያነ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ወተወከለ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ዘተምህረ ፡ እምኔህሆሙ ። 87. ወእ ምአመ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ጸብኦ ፡ ርሕቀ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ ረድኤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። ወለኪ ኖስኒ ፡ ሞኦ ፡ ወቀተለ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ መስተጽብኦነ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ይትዌከል ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ወሐራሰ ፡ ወኩሎ ፡ ሰራዊት ፡ እለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡ ተጋብኡ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ለኪኖስ ፡ ወሰገዱ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ እገሪሁ ። 25 ፡ 88. ወሶበ ፡ ርእየ ፡ መክስምያኖስ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ጐየ ፡ በፍርሃት ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ድኩመ ፡ ልብ ፡ ወወ|ፅኦ ፡ እማእከለ ፡ ጸብኦ ፡ በኅፍረት ፡ ወበጽሐ ፡ ሀገሮ ፡ ወመልኦ ፡ መዓተ ፡ ወቀጥዓ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ካህናተ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ ወለነ ቢያተ ፡ ሐሳት ፡ ወለማእም|ራን ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቶሙ ፡ ኢመከርዎ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ ምክረ ፡ 89. ወበእንተዝ ፡ ቀተሎሙ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ይትሜካሕ ፡ ቦሙ ፡ ወይሬስዮሙ ፡ አማልክተ ፡ ውእተ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ጠየቀ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ መስሕታን ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ወኢ ይክሉ ፡ ተራድኦ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸብኦ ፡ ወክሕዶሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ እለ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይመ ርሕዎ ፡ በምክር ፡ ቀተሎሙ ፡ ለመሠርያን ፡ እለ ፡ ይገብሩ ፡ እኩየ ። ወውእቱሰ ፡ ተሀከየ ፡ ለመድኃኒተ ፡ ነፍሱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ድኩመ ፡ ወኢሰብሐ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ክርስ ቲያን ፡ ወኢተወክፈ ፡ ሕጎ ፡ ወሠናያቲሁ ፡ ግሙራ ። 90. ወለኪኖስኒ ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ይጽብኦሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡ {ወ}በ፲ ፡ ዓመት ፡ እምስደቶሙ ፡ ለክርስቲያን ፡ 30 ፡ ዘሰደዶሙ ፡ ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ፀረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በዝ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ኑኃ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ኢነስሐ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ ውክፍተ ፡ ወኢተሰፈወ ፡ ተስፋ ፡ መ|ድኃኒት ። 91. ወእምድጎረ ፡ ጐየ ፡ እምጸብእ ፡ ሐመ ፡ ሕማመ ፡ ልብ ፡ ወደክመ ፡ በብዙኅ ፡ 35 ፡ ደዌ ፡ ዘመጽኦ ፡ ኅቤሁ ፡ እምእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወውዕየ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ በእሳተ ፡ ደዌ ፡

A85ra  
B64vb

C122vb  
D39

A85rb Z79

G60ra

B64vc

C122vc

A85rc

B65ra  
G60rb

APP. CRIT.: 1 ንስቲተ ፡]D, coni. Zot, ንስቲት ፡ αCG | 3 መምለክያነ ፡]αDG, መምለኪያነ ፡ C  
4 ስምዕ ፡]αCG, ስሞ ፡ D | 6 ብዙኅ ፡]Σ, ሰብኦ ፡ add. D | 7 ወሐነጽ ፡]αCG, ወሐነጽ ፡ D  
8 መክስምያኖስ ፡]Σ, መክስሚኑስ ፡ coni. Cha (58, n. 1) | 9 እኩያተ ፡]coni. Zot, እኩያት ፡ Σ  
9 ወኢተእጎዝ ፡]αCD, ወኢተእጎዝ ፡ G | 10 መፍቀርያነ ፡]αCG, ወመፍቀርያነ ፡ D | 13 ላዕሌሁ ፡]αC  
G, ላዕላሁ ፡ D | 14 ዘኢጎረየ ፡]Σ, ኢጎረየ ፡ Zot  
17 ወበፍርሃት ፡]Σ, በፍርሃት ፡ coni. Zot | ወለጠ ፡]CDG, ወወለጠ ፡ α | 19 አእላፊ ፡]αCG, om. D  
22 ወቀተለ ፡]αCG, ወቀተሎ ፡ D | 24 መክስምያኖስ ፡]Σ, መክሲሚኑስ ፡ coni. Cha (58, n. 1)  
25 ኮነ ፡]CDG, om. α | እማእከለ ፡]αC, እማእከል ፡ DG | ጸብኦ ፡]αC, ወጸብኦ ፡ DG | 26 ወበጽሐ ፡]αDG, ወበኦ ፡ C |  
27 መልኦ ፡]αCD, መልኦ ፡]αCD, መመልኦ ፡]αCD, ካህናተ ፡]αCD, ካህናት ፡]G  
27 ሐሳት ፡]αCD, ሐሳተ ፡]G | ኢመከርዎ ፡]CDG, አምከርዎ ፡ α | 28 ወይሬስዮሙ ፡]D, coni. Zot,  
28 ወይሬስዮሙ ፡ αCG, ወይ|ረ|ስዮሙ ፡ s.l. G | 29 እሙንቱ ፡]αDG, እሙታን ፡ C | 30 ለአጋንንት ፡]Σ,  
እኩያን ፡ add. D | ይመርሕዎ ፡]αCD, ይምሐርዎ ፡]G | 31 ቀተሎሙ ፡]Σ, ወቀተሎሙ ፡ coni. Zot |  
31 ይገብሩ ፡]Σ, እለ ፡ add. G | 33 ወኢተወክፈ ፡]CDG, coni. Zot, ኢተወክፈ ፡ α | ወለኪኖስኒ ፡]ACDG,  
33 ወሎኪኖስኒ ፡ B | 34 ወበ፲ ፡]coni. Zot, ወበ፲ ፡ Σ | ዓመት ፡]αCD, ዐመተ ፡]G  
35 ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡]CDG, ዲዮቅልጥያኖስ ፡ α | 36 ኢነስሐ ፡]C, coni. Zot, ኢነስሐ ፡ αDG  
ወኢተሰፈወ ፡]αCG, ወኢተሰፈወ ፡ D

learning and in their prudence. 84. This heretic decided to make war against Christ-loving emperors, for he was possessed by a demon, which infuriated him. Due to the lack of authority, which he had had previously without measure, he could not choose for himself one, with whom he was in accord and who was fitting for him. 85. He began in arrogance and stiffneckedness to violate the treaty he had arranged with Licinius. He was eager to do the destructive deeds,<sup>418</sup> but he changed his mind in fear. He arose all people and stirred up all provinces and officials<sup>419</sup> who were under his dominion. 86. He gathered many thousands to war against God-loving emperors, and he trusted in demons, from whom he received instructions. 87. When he began the war, the help of God left him. And Licinius gained victory, he killed all warriors, on whom he had relied. The army and all officers, who had survived, came together to Licinius and prostrated themselves to his feet. 88. When Maximian saw this, he fled in fear, for he was weak, he left the midst of a battle in fear and went to his province. He was filled with wrath and anger with idol priests, and false prophets and augurs, for they did not consult him with good advice.<sup>420</sup> 89. Because of that he killed those, whom he had praised and whom he had made gods. In that moment he recognized that they were seducers and were not able to help him in battle. He denied demons, who had guided him with advice, he killed the sorcerers, who committed evil. He was indolent in saving his soul, became weak and did not praise the God of the Christians and did not accept his law and his goodness completely. 90. Licinius commanded to make war on those, who had survived, in the tenth year after a persecution of Christians by his father Diocletian, enemy of God. In all this long time he did not make an acceptable penance and he had no hope for salvation. 91. After he had fled from the battle, he suffered from a heart disease and was exhausted by many illnesses, which had befallen him through God. His body burned through the fire of a disease, and this fire burnt in his stomach. His appearance changed, his limbs<sup>421</sup> were rotten, and everything inside his stomach was destroyed, his bones were revealed, after that his eyes fell out. While he was in all these torments, his soul left his body. 92. These three enemies of God disappeared, i.e. Diocletian and his two sons. Before his death impious Maximian understood that all this occurred to him, because he had rejected Christ and had inflicted evil on the Christian saints. 93. In those days Licinius took the Eastern province, and was master of it and its provinces. The church remained in tranquility and peace. He renovated their (churches') buildings one more time. The church was enlightened with the light of Christ. 94. But thereafter satan, the evil-doer, <who> was looking the whole time <to seduce> all the faithful like a violent lion, which deceives with sophisticated

<sup>418</sup>Zotenberg notes on this passage without an attempt to translate it: 'Il manque évidemment ici, dans le texte, quelques mots, et, de plus, le sene du texte original a été mal rendu par les traducteurs' (Zotenberg 1883, 306, n. 3). Charles marks this passage as corrupt and translates as follows: 'and he exerted himself to execute deeds which should issue in his destruction through fear' (Charles 1916, 66-67). | <sup>419</sup> Zotenberg writes on this: 'Ou les sujets? Le mot ሥዳማን ፣ dans le sens de "sujets" se rencontre encore plus loin. (Voy. ci après, p. 362, note 1)' (Zotenberg 1883, 306, n. 4). | <sup>420</sup> I choose the reading here according to my *stemma codicum*. However, the variant presented in MSS A and B አምከረዎ ፣ ሠናየ ፣ ምክረ ፣ is also possible. Thus, Charles translates this passage: 'they had persuaded him through favourable counsels' (Charles 1916, 67). | <sup>421</sup> I do not agree with the conjecture by Zotenberg. መሊያልይ ፣ is a plural form of መሊሊት ፣, thus the vowel *i* is attached before the pronominal suffix.

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ቅድስት ።] ። BCDG | ንስቲተ ፣] ። D | 4 በአእባን ፣] ። D | 5 ሰማዕታት ፣] ። A ቅዱሳን ።] ። Σ | 6 ክርስቲያን ፣] ። D | 7 ሀገር ፣] ። D | ሥጋሁ ።] ። BCDG | 8 ገላሰዮስ ።] ። αCG በጸሎቱ ።] ። αCG | 11 ወበሉብዎቶሙ ።] ። BCDG | 12 ክርስቶስ ፣] ። D | 13 ዘያስተዓብዶ ።] ። B CDG | 17 ልቦ ፣] ። D | 18 ሥልጣኑ ።] ። Σ | 20 እምኔሆሙ ።] ። Σ | 21 እግዚአብሔር ።] ። BCDG 22 ዘኮነ ፣] ። G | 24 እገሪሁ ።] ። BCDG | 25 ልብ ፣] ። D | 26 ሀገር ፣] ። D | 29 አማልክተ ።] ። BCG እሙንቱ ፣] ። D | 31 እኩዮ ።] ። Σ | 33 ግሙራ ።] ። CDG | 34 ተርፉ ፣] ። C | 36 መድኃኒት ።] ። Σ 38 ዘመጽአ ፣] ። G | እምእግዚአብሔር ፣] ። D

ወነደ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ እሳት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ከርሡ ፡ ወተወለጠ ፡ አርአያሁ ፡ ወማሰነ ፡ መለያ A85va  
 ልዩሁ ፡ ወጎልቀ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ከርሡ ፡ | ወአስተርአዩ ፡ አዕጽምቲሁ ፡ C123ra  
 ወድጎረ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ተመልሐ ፡ አዕይንቲሁ ። ወእንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ በዘከመዝ ፡ ሥቃያት ፡  
 ወፅአት ፡ ነፍሱ ፡ እምሥጋሁ ፡ 92. ወጠፍኡ ፡ እሉ ፡ ፫ ፡ አጽራረ ፡ እግ Z80  
 5 ዚአብሔር ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡ ወ፪ ፡ ደቂቁ ። ወእምቅድመ ፡ ሞቱ ፡ D40  
 አእመረ ፡ መክሰምያኖስ ፡ ከሓዲ ፡ | ዘበጽሐ ፡ ዝኩሉ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘዓለዎ ፡ ለክር  
 ስቶስ ፡ ወዘገብረ ፡ እኩዩ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ቅዱሳኒሁ ፡ መሲሐውያን ። 93. ወበውእቱ ፡  
 መዋዕል ፡ ነሥኣ ፡ ለኪኖስ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ሥሉጠ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡  
 ወላዕለ ፡ አድያሚሃ ፡ ወነበረት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ በሀድኣት ፡ ወበሰላም ፡  
 10 ወሐደስ ፡ ሕንጻሆን ፡ ምዕረ ፡ ዳግመ ፡ ወበርሀት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ በብርሃነ ፡  
 ክርስቶስ ። 94. ወእምዝ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ገባሬ ፡ እከይ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ <ዘ>የጎሥሥ ፡ በኩሉ ፡  
 15 ጊዜ ፡ ከመ ፡ <ይኒ>ጠሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ምእመናን ፡ ከመ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ መሳጢ ፡  
 ዘይትሚየን ፡ በጥብብ ፡ ረቂቅ ፡ አስሐቶ ፡ ለለኪኖስ ፡ ወረሰዮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይርሳዕ ፡ A85vb  
 ምግባረ ፡ ሠናያተ ፡ ዘቀዳሚ ፡ ወጸነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበር ፡ ምግባረ ፡ እለ ፡ አዖሩ ፡ አዕ B65rb  
 15 ይንቲሆሙ ፡ ወቀንአ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሐረቶሙ ፡ እኩይ ፡ ወኢኮነ ፡ ፍሡሐ ፡ ልብ ፡  
 ከመ ፡ ቀዳሚ ። 95. ወውእቱስ ፡ ኢኮነ ፡ ነኪረ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ እምንጉሥ ፡ ቁስጠን  
 ጢኖስ ። ወድጎረ ፡ ረስዐ ፡ ለኪኖን ፡ ወለመሐላ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ማእከሌሆሙ ፡ ወገብረ ፡ C123rb  
 ምክረ ፡ እኩዩ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይቅትሎ ፡  
 ዳእሙ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ አምላኩ ፡ ዘበአማን ። ዘረወ ፡ ምክሮ ፡ ለ<ለ>ኪኖስ ፡ 96. G60rc  
 20 ቅድመስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይሴብሐ ፡ ወየአኩቶ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ አመስ ፡ ክሕዶ ፡  
 መጠዎ ፡ ለሞት ፡ መሪር ፡ ወኢያጎደጎ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘገብረ ፡ ጎፍረተ ። 97. ወአንዘ ፡  
 ለኪኖስ ፡ ይስድዶሙ ፡ ለመሲሐውያን ፡ ወይጸብኦ ፡ ለቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡  
 መፍቀሬ ፡ አምላክ ። በአምሳለ ፡ ከሓድያን ፡ እለ ፡ ቀደምዎ ፡ ዘደምስሰ ፡  
 ዝክሮሙ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። 98. ወዓዲ ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይንሥቶሙ ፡ ለአብያተ ፡  
 25 ክርስቲያናት ፡ ወይዕዕዎሙ ፡ ወይቅትሎሙ ፡ ለቅዱሳን ፡ ምእመናን ።  
 ወለሐራኒ ፡ ጽኑዓን ፡ እመሲሐዊያን ፡ አጎሠሮሙ ፡ ወለአብዕልትኒ ፡ ኩነኖሙ ። A85vc  
 99. ወአንበረ ፡ ሥዩማነ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አህጉር ፡ ወአድያም ፡ ከመ ፡ ያጎድ  
 ግዎሙ ፡ አምልኮተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ቅድስት ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ዘክርስቲያን ፡  
 ከመ ፡ ኢይግበሩ ፡ ጸሎተ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ራትዕ ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ ። ወሚጠሙ ፡ እም  
 30 አምልኮተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ጎበ ፡ አምልኮተ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወአብዝጎ ፡ |እኪያተ ፡ B65rc Z81  
 ጥቀ ። 100. ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ኢወለጠ ፡ ስብሐታተ ፡ ወስግደታተ ፡ ለ፩ ፡ እግዚ  
 አብሔር ፡ አምላክ ፡ ዘበአማን ። ወአስተጋብኦ ፡ ብዙጎ ፡ ሰራዊተ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አክ  
 ሬስስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘሥሞ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ጽኑዕ ፡ ወመፍቀሬ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወምእመነ ፡  
 እግዚአብሔር ። ወተንሥኡ ፡ ለጸቢኦ ፡ አጽራሪሁ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወኮነ ፡  
 35 ይመርሐሙ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወመድኃኒነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ጎይል ፡ ዘኢ  
 ያንቀለቅል ፡ 101. ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ኢተራጎርጎ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ለኪኖስ ፡ በእንተ ፡  
 ዘኮነ ፡ ሐሙሁ ፡ ባሕቱ ፡ ጸንዐ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ዘጎደጋ ፡ A86ra  
 ውእቱ ፡ ዓላዊ ፡ ወጸነ ፡ መንገለ ፡ አጋንንት ። ወበእንተዝ ፡ መጽኦ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡  
 40 ፍጡነ ፡| በበቀል ፡ ወአውደቆ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡ | ወለኩሎሙ ፡ ሐራሁ ፡ G60va D41  
 ሠረዎሙ ፡ በሞት ፡ እኩይ ፡ ወመሪር ። 102. ወዝኩሉ ፡ ዘበጽሐ ፡ ወረከዐ ፡  
 በእንተ ፡ ዘክሕዶ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ዘዐመፀ ፡ መሐላ ፡ ወኪኖን ፡ ዘኮነ ፡

APP. CRIT.: 1 መለያልዩሁ ፡ ]Σ, መለያልዩሁ ፡ conī. Zot | 2 ወአስተርአዩ ፡ ]αCG, ወአስተርአዩ ፡ D  
 3 ወድጎረ ፡ ]αCG, ወእምድጎረ ፡ D | 4 እሉ ፡ ]αDG, ኩሉ ፡ C | 5 ዲዮግልጥያኖስ ፡ ]CDG, ዲዮቅል  
 ቅጥያኖስ ፡ A, ድዮቅልጥያኖስ ፡ B | 6 መክሰምያኖስ ፡ ]Σ, መክሲሚኑስ ፡ conī. Cha (58, n. 1)  
 7 ወዘገብረ ፡ ]BCDG, ወዘዘገብረ ፡ A | እኩዩ ፡ ]BCDG, እኩ ፡ A | 10 ሕንጻሆን ፡ ]αC, ሕንጻሆሙ ፡  
 DG | 11 ዘየጎሥሥ ፡ ]conī. Zot., ወየጎሥሥ ፡ Σ | 12 ይኒጠሙ ፡ ]conī. Zot, የጎጠሙ ፡ Σ  
 15 እኩይ ፡ ]αDG, om. C | ፍሡሐ ፡ ]αCG, ፍሥሐ ፡ D | 19 ለለኪኖስ ፡ ]conī. Zot, ለሉኪኖስ ፡ Σ  
 21 ወኢያጎደጎ ፡ ]αCG, ወኢሀደጎ ፡ D | 22 ወይጸብኦ ፡ ]CG, ወይዕብኦ ፡ αD | 23 ዘደምስሰ ፡ ]CDG,  
 ወደምስሰ ፡ α | 27 ሥዩማነ ፡ ]αCD, ሰዩማነ ፡ G | 31 ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ]BCDG, ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡  
 AZot: B | 32 ብዙጎ ፡ ]Σ, post ሰራዊተ ፡ trans. D | ሰራዊተ ፡ ]αCG, ሰራዊቶ ፡ D | አክሬስስ ፡ ]αDG,  
 አክሬስ ፡ C | 33 ጽኑዕ ፡ ]αC, ጽኑዕ ፡ DG | 36 ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ]αDG ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ C  
 37 ጸንዐ ፡ ]Σ, ቦቱ ፡ add. D | 39 ወለኩሎሙ ፡ ]αCG, ወለኩሉ ፡ D | 40 ሠረዎሙ ፡ ]BCDG, ሠረ  
 ውዎሙ ፡ A | እኩይ ፡ ]αCD, እከይ ፡ D | ወመሪር ፡ ]αDG, መሪር ፡ C | ወዝኩሉ ፡ ]αCG, ወዘ  
 ዝኩሉ ፡ D | ዘበጽሐ ፡ ]BDG, ዘበጽሐ ፡ ACZot: B | ወረከዐ ፡ ]CDG, ረከዐ ፡ α

cunning, seduced Licinius as well. He made him forget the previous good deeds and inclined him to do the deeds of those, whose eyes are blind. He was zealous for their evil way, and his heart was not joyous as before. 95. Previously he had not been estranged from the emperor Constantine. Then he forgot the alliance and vow between them and designed an evil plot against the great emperor Constantine, in order to kill him. But the true God Christ dissipated the plot of Licinius. 96. Formerly he used to praise and to glorify Jesus Christ, but when he denied Him, He delivered him into a bitter death. He did not save him, for he had done shameful things. 97. Licinius began persecuting Christians and fighting with God-loving Constantine; like those unbelievers, who had been before him and the commemoration of which God abolished. 98. Moreover, he began to destroy churches, to close them and to kill the holy believers. He dishonored the powerful Christian soldiers and punished rich men. 99. He appointed officials over all cities and provinces in order to put a stop to the holy worship of God, that of Christians, that they might not pray for the righteous emperor Constantine. He turned them away from the worship of God to the worship of demons; and he multiplied evil a lot. 100. Constantine did not change the glorification and veneration of one Lord, the true God. He assembled many troops together with the emperor Crispus, whom he had appointed. He was brave, philanthropic and devoted to God. They arose to fight with the enemies of God. And Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ lead them with the invincible power. 101. Constantine had no mercy on Licinius on account of him being his brother-in-law. But he was strong in the sacred faith, which this lawless man had abandoned and turned to demons. For this reason he came upon him quickly in revenge, cast him down to earth, and destroyed all his soldiers through an evil and bitter death. 102. All this happened and occurred to him (Licinius), because he rejected Christ and because he violated the oath and covenant between Constantine and him. 103. Thereafter he took the dominion of Licinius and united it with his own. Moreover, he took the dominion of the east and of the west, and the dominion on his right and on his left.<sup>422</sup> They all entered under his command. He established peace in every place. He was in agreement with everyone and was honored everywhere. He strengthened all boundaries of his empire righteously until all his enemies submitted to him under his command through the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the True God. 104. He appointed his two sons, Constantine and Constans,<sup>423</sup> emperors in honor and glory. Thereafter he died without sadness and tumult; for Our Lord Jesus Christ guarded his empire until the third generation. 105. The blessed Constans resembled his father and followed a good way. He accomplished all

<sup>422</sup> ‘on the south and on the north’ (Charles 1916, 69). | <sup>423</sup> Zotenberg and Charles identify these persons with Constantius and Constans, although the form of the proper name of the first one would correspond rather to Constantine (Zotenberg 1883, 309; Charles 1916, 69). However, Constantine the Great was succeeded by his three sons, Constantine II, Constans and Constantius. I suggest that in this verse Constantine II and Constans are meant, who took authority over Rome. Cp. *John Malalas*, 13.16-17 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 177).

APP. LECT. MIN.: 22 ለመሲሐውያን ፣] αDG, ለመሲሐዊያን ፣ C | 26 እመሲሐዊያን ፣] CG, እመሲሐውያን ፣ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ከርሁ ፣] # D | 2 አዕጽምቲሁ ፣] # D | 3 አዕይንቲሁ #] # Σ | 4 እምሥጋሁ ፣] # D እግዚአብሔር ፣] # D | 5 ደቂቁ #] # BCDG | 6 ለክርስቶስ ፣] # D | 7 መሲሐውያን #] # ACD 8 ምሥራቅ ፣] # D | 9 አድያሚያ ፣] # D | ወበሰላም ፣] # AD | 11 ክርስቶስ #] # BCDG | 12 ከመ ፣] 1 G | 13 ለለኪኖስ ፣] # D | 14 ዘቀዳሚ ፣] # D | 15 እኩይ ፣] (om. C) # D | 16 ቀዳሚ #] # Σ ቁስጠንጢኖስ #] # αCD, 1 G | 19 ዘበአማን #] # BCG | ለለኪኖስ ፣] # D | 21 መሪር ፣] # C ጎፍረተ #] # Σ | 23 አምላክ #] # αDG | 24 እግዚአብሔር #] # # αCG | 25 ምእመናን #] # Σ 26 ከነኖሙ #] # Σ | 29 ቁስጠንጢኖስ #] # Σ | 31 ጥቀ #] # αCD | ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፣] # G 32 ዘበአማን #] # Σ | 34 እግዚአብሔር #] # Σ | 35 ዘኢያንቀለቅል ፣] # G | 37 ሐሙሁ ፣] # D 38 አጋንንት #] # Σ | 40 ወመሪር #] # Σ | 41 ለክርስቶስ ፣] # D

ማእከለ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ወማእከሌሁ ። 103. ወእምዝ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡  
 ለኪኖስ ፡ ወረሰያ ፡ ጅ ፡ ምስለ ፡ መንግሥቱ ። ወዓዲ ፡ ነሥአ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡  
 ምሥራቅ ፡ ወምዕራብ ፡ ወመንግሥተ ፡ የማን ፡ ወፀጋም ፡ ወቦኡ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ታሕተ ፡  
 ተአዝዞቱ ፡ ወገብረ ፡ ሰላመ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ መካን ፡ ወተሰነአወ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ B65va  
 5 ወተበጽዐ ፡ በጎብ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ወአጽንዐ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ወሰነ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ በርትዕ ፡ እስከ ፡  
 ገረሩ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አጽራሪሁ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ትእዛዙ ፡ በጎይሉ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡  
 ክርስቶስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላክ ፡ ዘበአማን ። 104. ወለጂሂ ፡ ደቂቁ ፡  
 ረሰዮሙ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ ቊስጥንጥንዩስ ፡ ወቀስጦስ ፡ በክብር ፡  
 ወበዕባይ ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ሐዘነ ፡ ልብ ፡ ወሀከክ ። እስመ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ A86rb  
 10 ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ዘበአማን ፡ ዐቀባ ፡ ለመንግሥቱ ፡ እስከ ፡ ሣልስ ፡  
 ትውልድ ። 105. ወቀስጦስኒ ፡ ብጹዓዊ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ከመ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ሐረተ ፡  
 ሠናየ ። ወፈጸመ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ መዋዕሊሁ ፡ በትሩፋት ። 106. ወእምድጎሬሁ ፡  
 ነሥአ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ የመን ፡ አእምሮተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወበርሁ ፡ በብርሃነ ፡ ስብ  
 ሐቲሁ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ በምክንያተ ፡ አሐቲ ፡  
 ብእሲት ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ዘስማ ፡ ታኦግንሰጣ ። 107. ወይእቲ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ድንግልተ ፡  
 ወመነኮሳይተ ፡ ዘዪወውዋ ፡ እምደብራ ፡ ዘሀለወት ፡ በወሰነ ፡ ሮሜ ፡ ወወሰድዋ ፡  
 ኀብ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ የመን ፡ ወወሀብዋ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ አምታ ። 108. ወዛቲ ፡ ክርስቲያናዊት ፡ G60vb  
 ኮነት ፡ ባዕልት ፡ ጥቀ ፡ በጸጋ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። ወትገብር ፡ ፈውሳተ ፡ ብዙኃተ ፡  
 ወለንጉሠ ፡ ህንድሂ ፡ ሰሐብቶ ፡ ኀብ ፡ አሚን ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ክርስቲያናዊ ፡ ምስለ ፡  
 ኩሎሙ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ህንድ ፡ በምክንያተ ፡ ዚአሃ ። | 109. ወእምዝ ፡ ሰአሎ ፡  
 ንጉሠ ፡ ህንድ ፡ ወእሊአሁ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ አኖሬዎስ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ከመ ፡  
 ይሢም ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ጳጳስ ። 110. ወበእንተዝ ፡ ተፈሥሐ ፡ ዐቢየ ፡ ፍሥሐ ፡ በእንተ ፡  
 በዊኦቶሙ ፡ ኀብ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ወተመይጦቶሙ ፡ ኀብ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወሢመ ፡  
 ሎሙ ፡ ጳጳስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ታምንዮስ ፡ ዘይጌሥጸሙ ፡ ወይሜህሮሙ ፡ ወያጸ  
 ንዎሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሃይማኖተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ አምላክነ ። እስከ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ድልዋነ ፡ ለጥ  
 ምቀት ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ልደት ፡ ዳግሚት ፡ በጸሎታ ፡ ለቅድስት ፡ ድንግል ፡ ታኦ  
 ግንሰጣ ። 111. ወስብሐት ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ገባሬ ፡ ተአምራት ፡  
 ባሕቲቱ ፡ ወጸጋዌ ፡ ሀብታት ፡ ሠናያት ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይትዌከሉ ፡ ቦቱ ። ወከመዝ ፡  
 ኮነ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ እንድያ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ህንድ ፡ ዐባይ ። እስመ ፡ ሰብአ ፡  
 ይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ኮነ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ተወክፍዎ ፡ ለጅ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ አፍሩዲጥ ፡  
 30 ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሐራዌ ፡ እምሀገረ ፡ ህንድ ፡ ወረሰይዎ ፡ ጳጳስ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ በመ  
 ባሕተ ፡ አትናቴዎስ ፡ ሐዋርያዊ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡ ወበአ  
 ንብሮ ፡ እድ ። 112. ወውእቱ ፡ ነገሮ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ጸጋ ፡ ዘነሥእዋ ፡ እመንፈስ ፡  
 ቅዱስ ፡ ወዘከመ ፡ ረከቡ ፡ መድኃኒተ ፡ ነፍስ ፡ በጸጋ ፡ ጥምቀት ፡ ቅድስት ፡  
 35 ወኮነ ፡ ድልዋነ ፡ ለሃቲ ፡ ሀብት ፡ 113. ወለቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡  
 ክርስቶስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ መልአከ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ብርሃናዊ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
 ወበኩሉ ፡ ሰዓት ፡ ይመርሐ ፡ | ወይሜህሮ ፡ ትእዛዝ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እስከ ፡  
 ዕለተ ፡ ሞቱ ፡ ዝክርት ። ወዓዲ ፡ ያነቅሆ ፡ ለጸሎት ፡ እምነ ፡ ምስካቡ ፡ በኩሉ ፡  
 ዕለት ። ወኢኮነ ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡ ለመኑሂ ፡ እምነገሥት ፡ ዘእንበሌሁ ። 114. ወእንዝ ፡  
 40 ሀሎ ፡ ይሬኢ ፡ ራእያተ ፡ ዘውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ በገድል ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ ኮነ ፡  
 ቊርባነ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ኀብ ፡ ዕረፍት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማያት ።

APP. CRIT.: 1 ወማእከሌሁ ።]Σ, ወማእከሌሁ ። s.l. G | 2 ምስለ ፡]Σ, s.l. D | መንግሥተ ፡]αCD, መንግሥ ፡ G | 3 የማን ፡]Σ, s.l. G | 5 ወተበጽዐ ፡]αDG, ወበዕዓ ፡ C | 6 ኩሉ ፡]CG, ሎቱ ፡ α, om. D | 7 ወለጂሂ ፡]αC, ወለክልኤቱስ ፡ D, ወለክልኤቱሂ ፡ G | 9 ወበዕባይ ፡]αDG, ወዕባይ ፡ C | ሐዘነ ፡]αC G, ኀዘነ ፡ D | 10 ዐቀባ ፡]αDG, ዕቀባ ፡ C | 11 ወሐረ ፡]BCDG, om. A | 14 ለእግዚእነ ፡]αC, ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወለእግዚእነ ፡ DG | 15 ታኦግንሰጣ ፡]αDG, ታኦግንሰጥ ፡ C | 16 ዘዪወውዋ ፡]ዘዪወውዋ ፡ G, conl. Zot, ዘዪወዋ ፡ B, 100, ዘዪወውዋ ፡ CD | 17 ንጉሠ ፡... 110,1 የመን ፡]αC, ንጉሥ ፡ የመን ፡ G, ንጉሥ ፡ ዘየማን ፡ D | 18 ኮነት ፡]ACDG, ኮነ ፡ B | ባዕልት ፡]αCD, ባዕልተ ፡ G | ጥቀ ፡]αCG, om. D | 20 ሰአሎ ፡]αCG, ሰአልዎ ፡ D | 21 አኖሬዎስ ፡]ACDG, አኖረዎ ፡ B | 22 ወበእንተዝ ፡... 8 ጳጳስ ፡]Σ, i. m. A | 23 ሃይማኖት ፡]BCDG, ሃይማኖቶሙ ፡ A, ርትዕት ፡ add. D | ወተመይጦቶሙ ፡]Σ, ወተመይጦቶሙ ፡ s.l. G | 24 ቅዱስ ፡]Σ, ቅዱስ ፡ add. C | 25 አምላክነ ፡]αG, አምላክ ፡ CD | 26 ድንግል ፡]αCG, om. D | ታኦግንሰጣ ፡]αCG, ታኦግንሰጦስ ፡ D | 27 ወስብሐት ፡]αDG, ወስብሐተ ፡ C | 28 ሠናያት ፡]αDG, ወሠናያት ፡ C | 29 እንድያ ፡]BDG,

his days in virtues. 106. Thereafter people of Yemen received the knowledge of God and lighted up in the splendor of the glory of Our Lord Jesus Christ – praise be on Him! – because of one saint woman, whose name is Theognosta.<sup>424</sup> 107. She was a virgin and a nun, who was captured from a monastery on the outskirts of Rome. They brought her to the king of Yemen and presented to him as a gift. 108. This Christian woman was very rich with the grace of God. She cured many and led the king of India to the faith. He became Christian together with all people of India because of her. 109. Thereafter the king of India and his companions asked the God-loving emperor Honorius to appoint them a bishop. 110. He rejoiced with big joy because they converted to the faith and turned to God. He appointed them the saint bishop named *Tāwonayos*,<sup>425</sup> who instructed, taught and strengthened them in the faith of Our God Jesus Christ; until they were ready for baptism, which is the second birth, through the prayers of the saint virgin Theognosta. 111. Praise be on Our Lord Jesus Christ, the only doer of miracles and generous with good riches for those, who trust in Him! The same thing happened also in the land of <sup>3</sup>*Indayā* (India), which is great India. Indeed the people of this land accepted previously one man named <sup>3</sup>*Afrudit* (Frumentius).<sup>426</sup> He was a freeborn from India. They appointed him bishop over them through the permission of the Apostolic Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, and ordination. 112. He (Athanasius) told him (Frumentius) about the favor they received from the Holy Spirit, and how they received the salvation of the soul through the glory of holy baptism, and that they became ready for this gift. 113. Concerning the God-loving emperor Constantine, a shining angel of God was always with him the whole time. He always guided him and instructed him the commands of God until the day of his commemorated death. Moreover, he waked him up for a prayer from his bed every day. He was not visible to any other emperor except for him. 114. While he observed a vision in the sky, he died in a sincere struggle, became an oblation to God and went to rest in heaven.

Chapter 78. 1. These are the names of the sons of the great emperor Constantine: Constantius, Constans and Constantine. They divided the kingdom of their father in three parts and cast lots. 2. The lot of Constantius was Asia and he reigned there. For Constantine – the city of Constantinople and he was on the throne of his father. Constans reigned in Rome, the great

<sup>424</sup> On the legend of Saint Theognosta and available sources see ‘Theognosta, Saint’, CE, 7 (1991), 2243a–2244b (M. van Esbroeck). | <sup>425</sup> Coptic fragments of the legend preserve the name Theophanes (‘Theognosta, Saint’, CE, 7 (1991), 2243a–2244b (M. van Esbroeck). See also, Lemm 1899, 417.). The Ethiopic form *Tāwonayos* might be explained through the lost of the letter ፋ in the reconstructable form *Tāwofānayos*. As the name appears only once in the text, this explanation appears to be probable. | <sup>426</sup> This name was identified by Charles (Charles 1916, 70). Zotenberg gives only the transliteration (Zotenberg 1883, 309).

እስክንድርያ ፡ A, እንድርያ ፡ C | እንተ ፡]αCG, እስመ ፡ D | 30 ዘስሙ ፡]BCDG, ዘስመ ፡ A  
 31 በመባሕተ ፡]CDG, con. Zot, በመጥባሕተ ፡ α, {በ}መባሕተ ፡ s. l. D | 32 ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡]α  
 G, ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡ CD | 33 እመንፈስ ፡]αDG, እመንፈራስ ፡ C | 34 ነፍስ ፡]CDG, ነፍሱ ፡ α,  
 ነፍሱሙ ፡ con. Zot | 35 ወኮነ ፡]CDG, con. Zot, ወኮነ ፡ α | ለዛቲ ፡]αDG, በዛቲ ፡ C  
 ወለቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡]αC, ወቁስጠንጢኖስ ፡ DG | 36 ጊዜ ፡]αDG, om. C | 39 እምነገሥት ፡]αC,  
 እምነገሥት ፡ D, እመንግሥት ፡ G | 40 ኮነ ፡]αDG, ወኮነ ፡ C | 41 ሰማያት ፡]αCG, ሰማይ ፡ D

APP. LECT. MIN.: 2፻ ፡]αCD, አሐደ ፡ G

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ወማእከሌሁ ፡] # Σ | 2 መንግሥቱ ፡] # Σ | 3 ወፀጋም ፡] # D | 4 ተአዝቡቲ ፡] # D  
 5 ኩሉ ፡] # D | 6 ትእዛቡ ፡] ፤ G | 7 ዘበአማን ፡] # αG | 9 ወበዕባይ ፡] # D | ወሀክክ ፡] # BCG  
 11 ትውልድ ፡] # αG | 12 ሠናዮ ፡] # αCG | በትፋፋት ፡] # BCDG | 15 ዘሰማ ፡] ፤ G  
 ታላላቅነት ፡] # D | 17 አምኃ ፡] # Σ | 18 እግዚአብሔር ፡] # BCDG | 20 ዚአሃ ፡] # αCG  
 22 ጳጳስ ፡] # αCG | 23 እግዚአብሔር ፡] # G | 25 አምላክነ ፡] # αDG | 26 ታላላቅነት ፡] ፤ G  
 28 ቦቲ ፡] # BCDG | 29 ዐባይ ፡] # αCG | 31 ህንድ ፡] # D | 33 እድ ፡] # αCG | 36 ክርስቶስ ፡] ፤  
 G | 38 ዝክርት ፡] # CDG, ፤ B | 39 ዕለት ፡] # BCDG | ዘእንበሌሁ ፡] # BCDG | 41 ሰማያት ፡] # Σ

ክፍል ፡ ፫፰ ፡ 1. ወዝንቱ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ አስማቲሆሙ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡  
 ንጉሥ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡ ወቀስጦስ ፡ ወቊስጥንጥዩስ ። ወረሰዩ ፡ መን Z83  
 ግሥተ ፡ አቡሆሙ ፡ ፫ ፡ ክፍለ ፡ ወተዓፀዉ ፡ 2. ወወፅአ ፡ ዕፃሁ ፡ ለቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡  
 ሀገረ ፡ እስያ ፡ ወነግሠ ፡ ውስቴታ ። ወለቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡  
 5 ወነበረ ፡ በመንበረ ፡ አቡሁ ። ወቀስጦስ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ በሮሜ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ዐባይ ፡ ዘሮም ።  
 3. | ወኮነ ፡ ጽልእ ፡ ማእከለ ፡ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡ ወቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መን A86vb  
 ግሥት ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ሥልጣኖሙ ። ወአመ ፡ ተጸብኡ ፡  
 በበይናቲሆሙ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸብእ ። 4. ወእምድኅረ ፡  
 ዝንቱ ፡ ነበረ ፡ ቀስጦስ ፡ በሮሜ ፡ ባሕቲታ ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ዘይንእስ ፡ እምክል C124ra  
 ኤሆሙ ። ወበሀገረ ፡ በራንጥያ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡ ነግሠ ፡ ቊስጥን  
 10 ጥዩስ ፡ 5. ወበመዋዕሊሁ ፡ አስተርአዩ ፡ አርዮስ ፡ ወጸነ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ በሃይማኖቱ ፡  
 ወኮነ ፡ አርዮሳዌ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ተንሥ|አ ፡ ሳዕለ ፡ ሮም ፡ ሳፍራርሳክዩስ ፡  
 ንጉሠ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ቀትል ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ማእከሌሆሙ ። 6. ወእምዝ ፡ ተዐረቁ ፡  
 ወኮነ ፡ ሰላም ፡ ወህድአት ፡ ወፍቅር ፡ ማእከለ ፡ ሮም ፡ ወፋርስ ። 7. ወሶባ ፡  
 15 ተመይጠ ፡ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ በራንጥያ ፡ ሐ|ነጸ ፡ ተንከተመ ፡ በውስተ ፡  
 ፈለግ ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡ በይራምስ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ በኪልቅያ ፡ በግብር ፡ ጽኑዕ ። 8.  
 ወበመዋዕሊሁ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ ወድቀት ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ኒቅያ ፡ ርእስ ፡ አ|ሀጉራት ፡ ዘአበዊነ ፡  
 ፫፻፲ወ፰ ፡ በድልቅልቅ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይት A86vc  
 ጋብኡ ፡ አርዮሳቂያን ፡ ውስቴታ ፡ ለአማስኖ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ቅድስት ፡ አርቶዶክ  
 20 ሳዊት ፡ ዘአስተናበሩ ፡ አበዊነ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ፫፻፲ወ፰ ፡ ኤጲስ ፡ ቆጶሳት ፡ ዘተጋብኡ ፡  
 ቅድመ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ በዐለ ፡ ዝክር ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ወበእንተዝ ፡  
 ከልአሙ ፡ መዓተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። | 9. ወእምዝ ፡ አስተርአዩ ፡ ትእምርት ፡  
 ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ። ዘውእቱ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ቀዊሞ ፡ በመንፈቀ ፡ መዓልት ፡  
 መልዕልተ ፡ መካን ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ተሰቅለ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ መድኅኒነ ፡ ኢዮሱስ ፡ ክር  
 25 ስቶስ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ምጽአቱ ፡ ለቄርሎስ ፡ ኤጲስ ፡ ቆጶስ ፡ ዘኢዮሩሳሌም ፡ ወካ  
 ልኣን ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ እለ ፡ ምስሌሁ ። 10. ወእምዝ ፡ ጸሐፊ ፡ ቄርሎስ ፡ መጽሐፊ ፡  
 መልእክት ፡ ምስለ ፡ እሊአሁ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ወፈነዎ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡  
 በእንተ ፡ መንክር ፡ | ዐቢይ ፡ ወትእምርት ፡ ዘአስተርአዩ ። 11. ወቀስጦስ  
 ንጉሥ ፡ ቀንአ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሃይማኖተ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ወኢኮነ ፡ አድላዌ ፡ በሃይማኖተ ፡  
 30 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወተመሰሎ ፡ ለእኑሁ ፡ ዘሞተ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸብእ ። ኮነ ፡ ያነክሮ ፡  
 ወይጸልአ ፡ ለእኑሁ ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ በእስያ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘኢዐቀባ ፡ ሃይማኖተ ፡ አቡሁ ፡  
 ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ አምላክ ። ወበእንተ ፡ ዘአስተናበረ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡  
 ነገረ ፡ ለተቃውሞተ ፡ አትናቴዎስ ፡ ሐዋርያዊ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘለእስክንድርያ ፡  
 ወበእንተ ፡ ዘሰደዶ ፡ እመንበሩ ፡ ለአሥምሮተ ፡ ሐራ ፡ ጥቃ ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ አርዮሳ  
 35 ዊያን ፡ 12. ወኢኮነ ፡ ቀሊለ ፡ ተጸልኦቶሙ ፡ ወተፈልጦቶሙ ፡ ለክልኤ ፡ አኅው ፡  
 ነገሥት ፡ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡ ወቀስጦስ ። አኮ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቀትለ ፡ እኑሆሙ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡  
 ጽልአ ፡ ባሕቲቱ ፡ ዓእሙ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አትናቴዎስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘለእስ  
 ክንድርያ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ዘኢሐረ ፡ ሑረተ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ዘኢያሠምሮ ፡ ለእ

APP. CRIT.: 1 ፫፰ ፡] CD, ፫፱ α, ፵፮ ፡] GZot: ፫፰ ፡] B | 2 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] αDG, ቈስጥንጥዩስ ፡] C  
 ወቊስጥንጥዩስ ።] αCD, ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] G | 3 ክፍለ ፡] αDG, ክፍል ፡] C | ወተዓፀዉ ፡] BCDG,  
 ወተዓፀዉ ፡] A | ለቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] αD, ለቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] C, ለቈስጥንጥዩስ ፡] G | 4 ወለቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡]  
 αCD, ወለቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] G | ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] αDG, ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] G | 6 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] BC,  
 ቀስጦስ ፡] con. Zot, ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] A, om. DG | ወቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] BCD, ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] AG  
 8 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] Σ, ቈስጥንጥዩስ ፡] G | 10 ይእቲ ፡] Σ, s.l. G | ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] ACD ቊስጥንጥ  
 ንዩስ ፡] BG | 11 አስተርአዩ ፡] αDG, አስተርአዩ ፡] C | ወጸነ ፡] αCG, ወጸን ፡] D | በሃይማኖቱ ፡] BCDG,  
 በሃይማኖት ፡] A | 12 አርዮሳዌ ፡] αDG, አርዮሳዌ ፡] C | 15 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] CG, ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] αD  
 በሀገረ ፡] αDG, ሀገረ ፡] C | ተንከተመ ፡] αCD, ተንከተመ ፡] G | 18 ፫፻፲ወ፰ ፡] Σ, ርቱዓነ ፡] ሃይማኖት ፡]  
 add. C | ከመ ፡] BCDG, አመ ፡] A, s.l. G | ኢይትጋብኡ ፡] BCDG, ይትጋብኡ ፡] A  
 19 አርዮሳዊያን ፡] con., አርዮሳዊያን ፡] C, አርዮሳዊያን ፡] G | 20 ፫፻፲ወ፰ ፡] αCG,  
 ፫፻ወ፰ ፡] D, አበዊነ ፡] ቅዱሳን ፡] add. A | 24 ኅበ ፡] αDG, አኮ ፡] C | 25 እምቅድመ ፡] ምጽአቱ ፡] Σ,  
 በቅድመ ፡] Zot (311, n. 1) | 27 መልእክት ፡] αCG, መልእክት ፡] D | እሊአሁ ፡] Σ, እሊአሁ ፡] s.l. G  
 ወፈነዎ ፡] αG, ወፈነዎ ፡] CD | ኅበ ፡] Σ, s.l. G | ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡] Σ, ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፡] con. Zot  
 28 ወትእምርት ፡] Σ, ዓቢይ ፡] add. AZot: B | ወቀስጦስ ፡] CDG, ወቀስጦስ ፡] α | 32 ንጉሥ ፡] CD  
 G, om. α | አምላክ ፡] αC, እግዚአብሔር ፡] አምላክ ፡] DG | 33 ለተቃውሞተ ፡] αCD, ለተቃውሞተ ፡]  
 G | ዘለእስክንድርያ ፡] CDG, ዘለእስክንድርያ ፡] α | 34 እመንበሩ ፡] αCD, እመንበሩ ፡] G

city of Rome. 3. There was a struggle between Constantius<sup>427</sup> and Constantine concerning the reign and peoples who were under their dominion. When they fought with each other, Constantine died in battle. 4. Thereafter Constans was only in Rome, and he was the youngest among them. Constantius reigned over Byzantium that is Constantinople. 5. In his days Arius appeared, he turned to his faith and became Arian. Due to this reason *Sāfrārsākəyus* (Sapor-Arsekius), the king of Persia, arose against Rome, and there was a big battle between them.<sup>428</sup> 6. Thereafter they reconciled and there was peace and tranquility between Rome and Persia. 7. When Constantius returned to Byzantium, he built a solid bridge on a river named Pyramus in Cilicia. 8. Also in his days the city of Nicaea, the head of cities of our three hundred and eighteen Fathers, fell down by a great earthquake, which happened by a command of God, to prevent the assemblage of Arians with the goal to corrupt the holy Orthodox faith, which our three hundred and eighteen Saint Fathers, bishops, had established, having been assembled previously in the days of Constantine, a festival of good memory. Because of that the wrath of God prevented them. 9. Thereafter a vision of the Holy Cross standing at midday above the holy place, where Our Savior Jesus Christ was crucified, appeared in the sky before the arrival of Cyril, patriarch of Jerusalem, and other bishops, who were with him. 10. Thereafter Cyril wrote a letter together with bishops and sent it to the emperor Constantine<sup>429</sup> concerning the great wonder and miracle, which had appeared.<sup>430</sup> 11. Constans was zealous in his father's faith and was not partial to the faith of God. He resembled his brother, who died in battle. He admired him, but hated his brother, who reigned in Asia, because he did not keep the faith of his father, the God-loving emperor Constantine, and because he established many things in opposition to the Apostolic Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria and exiled him for admiration of heretics, i.e. Arians. 12. The quarrel and separation between the two brothers, emperors Constantius and Constans, was not small. The quarrel was not only because of the killing of their brother, but also because of Saint Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria<sup>431</sup> and because, he (Constantius) did not follow the way of his father and did not delight Our Lord Jesus Christ. 13. On behalf of that he strengthened the struggle against his brother. While being engaged like that, Constans died having delighted God and while cursing his brother Constantius on behalf of his evil deeds. 14. After the death of Constans, the emperor Constantius sent to Athanasius an official in order to kill the honored father, chief of the Christian church. 15. Previously Constans guarded him from the evilness of his brother. Constantius had been afraid of his brother and hid evil in his

<sup>427</sup>The conjecture by Zotenberg is based on the context, however, I don't follow it. | <sup>428</sup>Cp. *John Malalas*, 13.17 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 177). | <sup>429</sup>The text should rather read Constantius. However, I do not follow the conjecture by Zotenberg. Charles wrongly translates 'Constans' (Charles 1916, 71). | <sup>430</sup>Cp. the entry for the 12th of Bashons in the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium (Basset 1922, 1019-1020). | <sup>431</sup>Charles translates 'the patriarch of Constantinople' (Charles 1916, 71).

35 ተጸልኦቶሙ ፣] BCDG, ተጸልኦቶሙ ፣ A | ወተፈልጦቶሙ ፣] Σ, ወተፈልጦቶሙ ፣ s.l. G  
 36 ቀሱጥንጥዩስ ፣] CDG, ቀሱጥንጥንዩስ ፣ α | ቀትለ ፣] αDG, ቀትል ፣ C | 37 ዘለእስክንድርያ ፣] CD  
 G, ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፣ α | 38 ዘኢያሠምሮ ፣] αDG, ዘኢያሠምሮ ፣ C | ለእግዚእነ ፣] αCG, ለእግዚአ  
 ብሔር ፣ ወለእግዚእነ ፣ D

APP. LECT. MIN.: 3 ፫ ፣] αCD, ፫ተ ፣ G | 34 አርዮሳዊያን ፣] CG, አርዮሳውያን ፣ αD | 35 ለክልኤ ፣] CDG, ለ፪ ፣ α

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ሞጽ ፣] # G | 2 ወቀሱጥንጥንዩስ #] # BCDG | 4 ወሱቲታ #] # BCDG  
 5 አቡሁ #] # αDG | ዘርም #] # BCDG | 7 ሥልጣኖሙ #] # Σ | 8 ጸብእ #] # Σ | 9 ባሕቲታ ፣] #  
 CD | እምክልኤሆሙ #] # BCD, 11 G | 12 አርዮሳዊ ፣] # A | 13 ግእከሌሆሙ #] | 14 ወፋርስ #] # α  
 DG | 16 በኪልቅያ ፣] # G | ጽኑዕ #] # BCDG | 18 ዐቢይ ፣] # A | 22 እግዚአብሔር #] # Σ  
 23 ሰማይ #] # αCG | 24 ቅዱስ ፣] # D | 26 ምስሌሁ #] # BCDG | 27 ጳጳሳት ፣] # D  
 28 ዘአስተርአየ ፣] # Σ | 30 ጸብእ #] # Σ | 32 አምሳክ #] # Σ | 36 ወቀስጦስ #] # Σ | 38 አቡሁ ፣] # C

ግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ 13. ወበእንተዝ፡ አጽንዐ፡ ላዕለ፡ እኅሁ፡ ጽልእ፡  
 ወእንዝ፡ ሀሎ፡ በዘከመዝ፡ ግብር፡ አዕረፈ፡ ቀስጦስ፡ | እንዝ፡ ያሠምሮ፡ ለእግዚ  
 ኣብሔር፡ ወእንዝ፡ ይረግሞ፡ ለቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ እኅሁ፡ በእንተ፡ ምግባሩ፡ A87rb  
 እኩይ። 14. ወእምድኅረ፡ ሞተ፡ ቀስጦስ፡ ፈነወ፡ ኅበ፡ አትናቴዎስ፡ ንጉሥ፡  
 5 ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ መስፍነ፡ ከመ፡ ይቅትሎ፡ | ለአብ፡ ክቡር፡ ርእስ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስ  
 ቲያን። 15. ቅድመስ፡ ኮነ፡ የዐቅቦ፡ ቀስጦስ፡ እምእከየ፡ እኅሁ። ወቀህጥን  
 ጥዩስ፡ ኮነ፡ ይፈርሆ፡ ለእኅሁ፡ ወየኅብእ፡ እከያተ፡ ውስተ፡ ልቡ። 16. ወእም  
 ድኅረ፡ ሞተ፡ እኅሁ፡ ቀስጦስ፡ አግሀደ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ልቡ፡ ፈቀደ፡  
 ይቅትሎ፡ ዳእሙ፡ የማነ፡ እግዚኣብሔር፡ ልዑል፡ ሰወሮ፡ ወገብ፡ ወተኅብእ፡  
 10 ወድኅነ፡ እምኔሁ። 17. ወመስፍንስ፡ ዘተፈነወ፡ ኅበ፡ አትናቴዎስ፡ ሐዋርያዊ፡  
 አንሥአ፡ ሀከከ፡ ላዕለ፡ መሲሐዊያን፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ኮነ፡ እምሕዝበ፡ ማኒ።  
 ወበውእቱ፡ መዋዕል፡ ኢኮኑ፡ ባሕቲቶ|ሙ፡ አርዮሳዊያን፡ ዘአንሥኡ፡ ሀከከ፡  
 ላዕለ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን። ወመነናዊያንሂ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ በካልእ፡ ገጽ፡ ወአ  
 ንሥኡ፡ ስደተ፡ ላዕለ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ | ወብዙኅ፡ ሀከክ፡ ወክዲወ፡ ደም። | 18.  
 15 ወእምዝ፡ ተንሥአ፡ ፩፡ መስፍን፡ ጽኑዕ፡ ላዕለ፡ ሀገረ፡ ሮሜ፡ ዘስሙ፡ መግን  
 ድዮስ፡ ወነሥአ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕርብተ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ መባሕተ፡ ቀህ  
 ጥንጥዩስ፡ ወሐረ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ አውራቢ፡ ወተቃተሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ቀህጥን  
 ጥዩስ፡ ወሞቱ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ሰብእ፡ እምክልኤሆሙ፡ ወድኅረ፡ ሞተ፡ መግን  
 ድዮስ፡ ኅያል፡ ወሞአ፡ ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ ወተሠልጠ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘኮነ፡  
 20 ለመግንድዮስ፡ 19. ወሶበ፡ ረከበ፡ መዊአ፡ ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ ኢሰብሐ፡ ለእግዚኣ  
 ብሔር፡ ከመ፡ ነገሥት፡ መሲሐ|ዊያን፡ እለ፡ እምቅድሜሁ፡ ዳእሙ፡ ይተ  
 ልዎሙ፡ ለአርዮሳ<ዊ>ያን፡ በኩሉ፡ ግብሩ። 20. ወእምዝ፡ አስተጋብኡ፡  
 ጉባኤ፡ | ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶሳት፡ ዘሐራ፡ ጥቃ፡ በሀገረ፡ መንጠልያ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡  
 ዘጣልያ፡ በምክረ፡ እሉ፡ ዓላዊያን፡ ዘመነኑ፡ ሃይማኖተ፡ አርቶዶክሳዊተ፡  
 25 ወክሕዱ፡ አምልኮተ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ 21. ወአግበሮሙ፡ ከመ፡ ይጽሐፉ፡  
 መጽሐፈ፡ ግዘት፡ ላዕለ፡ አትናቴዎስ፡ ሐዋርያዊ። ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ዘለእስክን  
 ድርያ፡ ምስለ፡ እለ፡ ይተልውዎ፡ ኤ|ጲስ፡ ቆጶሳት፡ 22. | ወዘውእቱ፡ አስማ  
 ቲሆሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ተሰዱ፡ ምስለ፡ አትናቴዎስ፡ ሐዋርያዊ፡ ሊቀርዮስ፡ ሊቀ፡  
 ጳጳሳት፡ ዘሮሜ፡ ዘተሠይመ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ዩልዮስ፡ ወዩልዮስ፡ ምጥሮጳሊስ፡  
 30 ዘገላትያ፡ ወዱናስዮስ፡ ምጥራን፡ ዘአጣልያ፡ ወአውኪናር፡ ምጥራን፡  
 ዘደሴ<ተ>፡ ስድራንያ። ወአውሳንዮስ፡ ወአርዮስ፡ ረሰይዎሙ፡ ጳጳሳተ፡  
 ለሀገረ፡ አጣልያ፡ 23. ወለአረጋዊ፡ ክቡር፡ ተአማኒ፡ ኬርጦስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ዘም  
 ዕራብ። 24. ወዓዲ፡ አምጽኦሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ዘተጋብኡ፡ በኒቅያ፡ ወሰደዶሙ፡

APP. CRIT.: 3 ለቀህጥንጥዩስ፡] CD, ለቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ α, ለቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ G | 4 ወእምድኅረ፡] AC  
 DG, ወበእምድኅረ፡ B | ንጉሥ፡] αCD, ንጉሠ፡ G | 5 ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡] CD, ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ αG  
 6 እምእከየ፡] αCD, እምእከይ፡ G | ወቀህጥንጥዩስ፡] CD, ወቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ αG | 8 ፈቀደ፡] Σ,  
 ወፈቀደ፡ con. Zot | 11 ሀከከ፡] αCG, ሀከክ፡ D | 12 አርዮሳዊያን፡] C, አርዮሳዊያን፡ αD, አርሳ  
 ዊያን፡ G | ዘአንሥኡ፡] αCD, ዘአንሥአ፡ G | 16 ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡] CDG, ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ α  
 17 ወተቃተሉ፡] Σ, ወተቃተለ፡ con. Zot | ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡] CDG, ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ α | 18 ወሞቱ፡] α  
 C, om. DG | መግንድዮስ፡] αC, መግንድዮስ፡ DG | 19 ኅያል፡...6 ለመግንድዮስ፡] αC, om. DG  
 ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡] (om. DG) C, ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ AZot: B, ቁስጥንጥዩስ፡ B | 20 ለመግንድዮስ፡] (om. DG) ለመግንድዮስ፡ αC | ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡] CDG, ቀህጥንጥዩስ፡ α | 22 ለአርዮሳዊያን፡] conieci, ለአርዮሳውያን፡ αD, ለአርሳዊያን፡ C, ለአርሳዊያን፡ G | አስተጋብኡ፡] Σ, አስተጋብኡ፡ con. Zot | 23 መንጠልያ፡] CDG, መንጠልያ፡ α | 24 አጣልያ፡] αCG, ኢጣልያ፡ D አርቶዶክሳዊተ፡] BCG, አርቶዶክሳዊተ፡ A, አርቶዶክሳውያን። D | 25 አምልኮተ፡] αDG, ሃይማኖተ፡ C | ወአግበሮሙ፡] ACD, ወአግበሮሙ፡ BG | ይጽሐፉ፡] αCD, ይጽሐፉ፡ G 26 መጽሐፈ፡] αDG, om. C | ዘለእስክንድርያ፡] CDG, ዘለእስክንድርያ፡ α | 28 ሊቀርዮስ፡] Σ, post ሊቀ፡] ጳጳሳት፡ trans. A | 29 ወዩልዮስ፡] αC, ወዩልዮስ፡ D, ወዩልዮስ፡ G | ምጥሮጳሊስ፡] αDG, ምህሮጳሊስ፡ C | 30 ምጥራን፡] αCG, ምጥራያ፡ D | ዘአጣልያ፡] αCG, ዘኢጣልያ፡ D 31 ዘደሴተ፡] con. Zot, ዘደሴያተ፡ α, ዘደሴያተ፡ C, ዘደሴት፡ D, ዘደሴያተ፡ G | ስድራንያ፡] αC, om. DG | ወአውሳንዮስ፡] αC, ወአውሳንያስ፡ DG | ወአውሳንዮስ፡... ጳጳሳተ፡] Σ, ወለአውሳንዮስ፡ አርዮሳዊ፡ ረሰይዎ፡ ጳጳስ፡ con. Zot | ረሰይዎሙ፡] BCG, ረሰይዎሙ፡ A, ረሰዮሙ፡ D ጳጳሳተ፡] αCD, ጳጳሳተ፡ G | 32 አጣልያ፡] αCG, ኢጣልያ፡ D, add. ወሰደዶ፡] ዓዲ፡ con. Zot (313, n. 1)

APP. LECT. MIN.: 11 መሲሐዊያን፡] CG, መሲሐውያን፡ αD | 18 እምክልኤሆሙ፡] CDG, እምፎሆሙ፡ α | 21 መሲሐዊያን፡] CG, መሲሐውያን፡ αD | 24 ዓላዊያን፡] CG, ዓላውያን፡ αD

heart. 16. After the death of his brother Constans he revealed everything in his heart and wished to kill him. But the right hand of the Most High God protected him. He fled, hid himself and escaped from him. 17. The official, who was sent to the Apostolic Athanasius, arose a tumult against the Christians; for he was from the people of *Māni* (Manes). In those days there were not only Arians who arose tumult against the church. Manicheans aroused in another way and began persecution against Christians, much tumult and bloodshed. 18. Thereafter one mighty official arouse against Rome, whose name was Magnentius. He seized power on sunset<sup>432</sup> without permission of Constantius, he went to <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Awārābi* (Europe) and fought with Constantius. Many people died from both sides. After the death of the powerful Magnentius, Constantius gained victory and became master of everything that had belonged to Magnentius. 19. When Constantius gained victory, he did not praise God as Christian kings before him. But he rather followed the Arians in all his activities. 20. Thereafter heretic bishops assembled<sup>433</sup> a council in the city of *Manṭolyā* (Milan), that is Italy, according to the advice of those apostates, who rejected the Orthodox faith and denied the worship of the Holy Trinity. 21. He (Constantius) made them write a sentence of excommunication on the apostolic Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, and on those bishops, who followed him. 22. These are the names of those, who were exiled together with apostolic Athanasius: Liberius, bishop of Rome, who had been appointed after Julius, and *Yulyus* (Paulinus), the archbishop of *Galātyā* (Gaul), and Dionysius, metropolitan of Italy, and <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Awākinār* (Lucifer), metropolitan of the island of *Sādranyā* (Sardinia). And <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Awāsānyos*<sup>434</sup> and Arius appointed bishops for the country of Italy.<sup>435</sup> 23. and the honored abbot<sup>436</sup> and confessor *Kertos* (Hosius),<sup>437</sup> bishop of the West. 24. Moreover, he put forth the holy ones, who had assembled in Nicea, and exiled them from their bishoprics. Thereafter while the emperor Constantius was in Rome, the honored women assembled by him. They asked him to return the archbishop Liberius to Rome from his exile. 25. And *Filaskās* (Felix) was a disciple of the archbishop Liberius, who was in agreement with the Arians, and they appointed him archbishop after the exile of his master. After the return of his master Liberius, he (Felix) was arrogant with him and hated him because of his appointment. They exiled him from Rome to the western province, in order that he stay there. 26. In those days Constantius sent Gallus, son of his brother,<sup>438</sup> to the East<sup>439</sup> at night, for he had previously fought with Magnentius, killed him and became Christian in every way. 27.

<sup>432</sup>See Zotenberg 1883, 312, n.1; Charles 1916, 72, n. 1. | <sup>433</sup>I do not follow the conjecture by Zotenberg here. | <sup>434</sup>Zotenberg and Charles identify this proper name as Auxentius (Zotenberg 1883, 312-313; Charles 1916, 72). Another possible identification could be with Eusebius (. اوسانيوس misread as اوسانيوس). Cp. Athanasius, *Apologia de fuga sua* 4 | <sup>435</sup>An alternative translation of the passage could be: ‘And they appointed <sup>ᵀ</sup>*Awāsānyos* and Arius bishops of the country of Italy.’ Zotenberg and Charles translated this passage in a different way. Thus, Zotenberg proposes: ‘On nomma Auxentius l’Arien évêque de la province d’Italie.’ (Zotenberg 1883, 312-313) Charles has almost the same translation: ‘And they made Auxentius the Arian bishop of the province of Italy’ (Charles 1916, 72). However, this translation does not correspond to the Ethiopic text. | <sup>436</sup>I don’t follow the conjecture by Zotenberg, but the reading of manuscripts. | <sup>437</sup>The identification is still doubtful. See Zotenberg 1883, 313, n. 2. | <sup>438</sup>Charles surprisingly translates ‘his sister’s son’, marking this passage as corrupt (Charles 1916, 73). | <sup>439</sup>I do not consider the conjecture by Zotenberg necessary here. He, however, writes on this passage as follows: ‘Ce récit a été entièrement défiguré par le traducteur’ (Zotenberg 1883, 313, n. 3).

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ክርስቶስ ፣ # CD | ጽልእ ፣ # D | 2 ለእግዚአብሔር ፣ # D | 4 እኩይ ፣ # αCG  
 5 ክርስቲያን ፣ # BCG | 6 እኩይ ፣ # BCDG | 7 ለእኩይ ፣ # G | ልቡ ፣ # Σ | 9 ሰወር ፣ # C  
 ወገኖ ፣ # D | 10 እምኒው ፣ # Σ | 11 ማኒ ፣ # αCG | 13 ክርስቲያን ፣ # BDG | 14 ደም ፣ # BC  
 DG | 16 ቀስተንጥዩስ ፣ # AD | 20 ለመግንድዩስ ፣ # C | 21 እምቅድሜው ፣ # BG | 22 ግብሩ ፣ #  
 ADG, 1 B | 24 አርቶዶክሳዊት ፣ # D | 26 ሐዋርያዊ ፣ # αCG | 27 ቆጶሳት ፣ # D | 28 ሐዋርያዊ ፣  
 # DG | 29 ዩልዮስ ፣ # D | 31 ዘደሴተ ፣ # G | ስድራንያ ፣ (om. DG) # BC | 32 አጣልያ ፣ # α  
 ዘምዕራብ ፣ # αCG

እመናብርቲሆሙ ። ወእምዝ ፣ እንዘ ፣ ሀሎ ፣ በሮሜ ፣ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣  
 ተጋብሎ ፣ ንቤሁ ፣ አንስት ፣ ክቡራት ፣ ወሰአላሁ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ሊዋርዩስ ፣ ሊቀ ፣ G61va  
 ጳጳሳት ፣ ከመ ፣ ይሚጠ ፣ እምስደቱ ፣ ወሚጠ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ሮሜ ። 25. ወፊልክስስ ፣  
 ረድአ ፣ ሊዋርዩስ ፣ ሊቀ ፣ ጳጳሳት ፣ ዘተስነአወ ፣ ፡ ምስለ ፣ አርዮሳቂያን ፣ ወረ B66vb  
 5 ሰይዎ ፣ ሊቀ ፣ ጳጳሳት ፣ ድኅረ ፣ ስደተ ፣ እግዚአ ። ወሶበ ፣ ተመይጠ ፣ ሊዋርዩስ ፣  
 እግዚአ ፣ ተዐበየ ፣ ላዕሌሁ ፣ ወጸልአ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ሢመቱ ፣ ወለውእቱኒ ፣ A87vb  
 ሰደድዎ ፣ እምሮሜ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ምዕራብ ፣ ከመ ፣ ይንበር ፣ በህየ ። 26. ወበውእቱ ፣  
 መዋዕል ፣ ፈነዎ ፣ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣ ለጋልዮስ ፣ ወልደ ፣ እኑሁ ፣ መንገለ ፣  
 ምሥራቅ ፣ በሌሊት ፣ እስመ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ተጸብአ ፣ ቅድመ ፣ ለመግንድዩስ ፣ C124vc  
 10 ወቀተሎ ፣ ወኮነ ፣ ክርስቲያናዊ ፣ በኩሉ ፣ ሐረቱ ። 27. ወእምድኅረ ፣ ቀተሎ ፣  
 ለኅያል ፣ ተመይጠ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ቊስጥንጥንያ ። ወቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣ ሢሞ ፣  
 ንጉሠ ፣ ላዕለ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ሮሜ ፣ ወፈነዎ ፣ ህየ ፣ ይንበር ፣ ንቤሃ ። 28. ወእምድኅረ ፣  
 ቦአ ፣ ገላልዮስ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ሮሜ ፣ መጽአ ፣ ዩልያኖስ ፣ እኑሁ ፣ በዓለ ፣ ስም ፣ እኩይ ፣  
 ሀገረ ፣ ቊስጥንጥንያ ፣ እምሀገረ ፣ ቡጣ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣ ንጉሥ ። እስመ ፣ Z86  
 15 ውእቱ ፣ ቀተለ ፣ ብዙኃነ ፣ እምነ ፣ አዝማዲሁ ፣ ወፈርሀ ፣ ከመ ፣ ኢያስተዋድይዎ ፣  
 ኅበ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣ 29. እስመ ፣ ዝንቱ ፣ ዮልያኖስ ፣ ኮነ ፣ ኅያለ ፣ ወጽኑዐ ፣ ነበረ ፣  
 ቅድመ ፣ አናጉንስጢስ ፣ በቤተ ፣ ክርስቲያነ ፣ ኒቆምድያ ። ወኮነ ፣ ተወላዋሌ ፣  
 በሃይማኖተ ፣ ክርስቲያን ። 30. ወጋሊኖስስ ፣ ዘኮነ ፣ ንጉሠ ፣ በሀገረ ፣ ሮሜ ፣ በት  
 እዘዘ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ዘኮነ ፣ ሐሙሁ ፣ ወበእንተ ፣ ዘሀሎ ፣ A87vc  
 20 ፍቅር ፣ ላዕሌሁ ፣ ነበረ ፣ ፡ ኅዳጠ ፣ መዋዕል ፣ ወእምዝ ፣ ሞተ ። 31. ወዮልያኖስስ ፣  
 ኅደገ ፣ አንብቦ ፣ መጻሕፍት ፣ ቅዱሳት ፣ ወተጻወነ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ሰራዊት ፣ ወሊቃናተ ፣  
 ሮም ፣ ወአንጎ ፣ ሥዕርተ ፣ ርእሱ ፣ ወኮነ ፣ መስፍነ ፣ ዐቢየ ። 32. ወእምዝ ፣  
 ተሠይመ ፣ ንጉሠ ፣ በሀገረ ፣ አውራያ ፣ ከመ ፣ ሕገ ፣ ክርስቲያን ፣ በመባሕተ ፣  
 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣ ወኢተገግሠ ፣ እስከ ፣ ያስተቀጽልዎ ፣ አክሊለ ፣ መን D45 C125ra  
 25 ግሥት ፣ በከመ ፣ ሕግ ፣ ዳእሙ ፣ ሐረ ፣ በስሕታተ ፣ ማእምራን ፣ ወባህለ ፣ መሠ  
 ርያን ፣ ኮነ ፣ ገብረ ፣ ለአጋንንት ፣ ወፈተወ ፣ ትዕቢተ ፣ ወአንዘ ፣ ይግበር ፣ ጸብአ ፣  
 ምስለ ፣ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣ ንጉሥ ። 33. ወሶበ ፣ አእመረ ፣ ዘንተ ፣ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣  
 አስተጋብአ ፣ ብዙኅ ፣ ሰራዊተ ፣ እምነ ፣ አህጉራተ ፣ ሻም ። ወመጽአ ፣ ኅበ ፣  
 ሀገረ ፣ ቂልቅያ ፣ ከመ ፣ ይጻባእ ፣ ምስለ ፣ ዩልያኖስ ። ወመሰሎ ፣ ከመ ፣ ይቅትሎ ፣  
 30 34. ወእንዘ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ ይሐሊ ፣ ከመዝ ፣ ሐመ ፣ ወሞተ ፣ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣ ወኢ  
 ክህለ ፣ ከመ ፣ ፡ ይፈጽም ፣ ኅልዮቶ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ዘአምጽአ ፣ ላዕሌሁ ፣ እግዚአ A88ra  
 ብሔር ፣ እከያተ ፣ ከመ ፣ ይግባእ ፣ ውስተ ፣ መሬት ፣ እንተ ፣ እምነሃ ፣ ወዕአ ። 35.  
 ወእምድኅረ ፣ አእመረ ፣ ዩልያኖስ ፣ በሞተ ፣ ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣ ነሥአ ፣ መንግሥቶ ፣  
 ጸንዐ ፣ ወተኅየለ ፣ ፈድፋድ ፣ ወሚጠሙ ፣ ለጳጳሳት ፣ እለ ፣ ተሰዱ ፣ ኅበ ፣ መናብር  
 35 ቲሆሙ ። ወለአትናቴዎስኒ ፣ ሐዋርያዊ ፣ አምጽኦ ፣ እምስደት ፣ ፡ ወፈነዎ ፣ ኅበ ፣  
 ሀገሩ ፣ እስክንድርያ ፣ ወለማልድዮስ ፣ ኅበ ፣ አንጾኪያ ፣ ወለቄርሎስ ፣ ዘጸሐፈ ፣  
 ተግሣጸተ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ኢየሩሳሌም ። ወለአሳንዮስ ፣ ወሉኪፋር ፣ ወለአብልያኖስ ፣  
 ሜጠሙ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ምዕራብ ፣ ወለእለ ፣ ይመስልዎሙ ፣ ፡ ሜጠሙ ፣ ኅበ ፣ ቤተ ፣ ክር  
 40 ስቲያኖሙ ። 36. ወእምድኅረ ፣ ኅዳጥ ፣ መግዕል ፣ አግሀደ ፣ ኑፋቄያቲሁ ፣ ወዕልወ  
 ታቲሁ ፣ በምክንያተ ፣ ከልኤ ፣ ፈለስፋ ፣ ለ፩ ፣ ስሙ ፣ ሊዋንዩስ ፣ ዘሀገረ ፣ አን

APP. CRIT.: 1 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣] CD ቊስጥንጥንዩስ ፣ α, ቊስንጥንጥዩስ ፣ G | 2 ወሰአላሁ ፣] D, ወስ  
 አልዎ ፣ αCG | 3 ይሚጠ ፣] αCD, ይሚጥሙ ፣ G | ወፊልክስስ ፣] αCG, ወለፊልክስስ ፣ D  
 4 ዘተስነአወ ፣] Σ, ዘተስናአወ ፣ Zot | አርዮሳቂያን ፣] conieci, አርዮሳውያን ፣ αD, አርሳቂያን ፣ CG  
 ወረሰይዎ ፣] αCG, ረሰይዎ ፣ D | 5 ሊቀ ፣...25 ጳጳሳት ፣] αDG, ሊቀ ፣ ጳጳሳተ ፣ C | ሊዋርዩስ ፣] αC  
 G, ሊዋርዮስ ፣ D | 7 እምሮሜ ፣] αCG, እምሀገረ ፣ ሮሜ ፣ D | 8 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣] CD, ቊስጥንጥ  
 ንዩስ ፣ αG | መንገለ ፣] Σ, እመንገለ ፣ coni. Zot | 9 ለመግንድዩስ ፣] αDG, ለመግንድዩስ ፣ C  
 11 ወቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣] CG, ወቊስጥንጥንዩስ ፣ α, ቊስጥንጥንዩስ ፣ D | 12 ንጉሠ ፣] Σ, s.l. A  
 ወፈነዎ ፣] αCD, ወፈነዎሙ ፣ G | ህየ ፣] BCDG, om. A | 13 ገላልዮስ ፣] αC, ገላስዮስ ፣ DG  
 ዩልያኖስ ፣] αC, ዩልያስ ፣ DG | 14 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣] CG, ቊስጥንጥንዩስ ፣ αD | 17 አናጉንስጢስ ፣] α  
 CD, አናጉንስጢስ ፣ G | ክርስቲያነ ፣] αC, ክርስቲያን ፣ DG | ኒቆምድያ ፣] αC, ዘኒቆምድያ ፣ D,  
 ኒቆምንድያ ፣ G | ተወላዋሌ ፣] αG, ተዋላዋሌ ፣ CD | 19 ንጉሥ ፣] Σ, {ን}ጉሥ ፣ s.l. G  
 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣] CDG, ቊስጥንጥንዩስ ፣ α | 20 ሞተ ፣] BCDG, ሞቱ ፣ AZot: ሙቱ ፣ A  
 21 አንብቦ ፣] αCG, አንቦተ ፣ D | ወሊቃናተ ፣] αCG, ወሊቃውንተ ፣ D | 23 ተሠይመ ፣] αCD,  
 ተሠየመ ፣ G | ክርስቲያን ፣] αCD, ቤተ ፣ ክርስቲያን ፣ G | በመባሕተ ፣] αCD, በመጥባሕተ ፣ G,  
 በመጥባሕተ] s.l. G | 24 ቊስጥንጥዩስ ፣] CDG, ቊስጥንጥንዩስ ፣ α | ያስተቀጽልዎ ፣] αCG, ያስተቆ

After he had killed this strong one, he returned to Constantinople. Constantius appointed him emperor over Rome and sent him to reside there. 28. When Gallus came to Rome, his brother Julian of an evil name, came to Constantinople from the province of *Butā* (Bithynia) to the emperor Constantius, for he killed many of his relatives and he feared they would blame him in front of the emperor 29. Indeed, this Julian was powerful and strong, he was previously a reader in the church of Nicomedia. He had doubt in the Christian faith. 30. Gallus, who was the emperor in Rome according to the order of the emperor Constantius, because he was his son-in-law and because he loved him, stayed for a short time and thereafter he died. 31. Julian abandoned reading Holy Books. He sought protection by the soldiers and the chieives of Rome. He let his hair grow and became a great captain. 32. Thereafter he was appointed emperor of the region of *ʿAwārāyā* (Europe) according to the Christian laws and permission of the emperor Constantius. He did not wait until they put the crown of reign on him according to law, but he rather followed the misguidance of augurs and the instructions of magicians. He became a servant of demons, he wished a proud position, and began fighting with the emperor Constantius. 33. When Constantius learned this, he assembled many soldiers from the cities of Syria. He went to Cilicia to make war with Julian. It seemed to him that he would kill him. 34. While he was thinking so, Constantius fell ill and died. He could not accomplish his plan, because God brought evil things on him, so that he might return to the earth from which he came. 35. Having learnt about the death of Constantius, Julian seized his kingdom, became strong and very powerful. He returned the exiled bishops to their thrones. He brought apostolic Athanasius from exile and sent him to Alexandria, and *Māldayos* (Meletius) to Antioch, and Cyril, the composer of homilies, to Jerusalem; and he returned *ʿAsānəyos* (Eusebius), *Lukifār* (Lucifer) and *ʿAbəlyānos* (Hilary) to the West, and others alike he returned to their churches. 36. After a short time he declared openly his heresies and apostasies on behalf of two philosophers, the name of one of them was *Liwānyus* (Libanius) from Antioch, and the name of another is *Maksəməyus* (Maximus), one of the magicians. 37. While they assisted and supported Julian, he closed churches and opened idol temples, he plundered precious possessions of God's house and gave them openly to seducers. 38. Thereafter he opposed the worshipers of Jesus Christ, he named himself decorator of temples, he offered abominable sacrifices to idols, he kindled a fire in front of the altar of demons, he polluted earth the with the blood of dirty sacrifices and he polluted air with the smoke of fat. 39. He sent to the great Apostolic Athanasius according to the advice of the heathen in order to

**ጽልዎ** : D | 25 በስሕታተ : ] αC, በስሕተተ : D, በስሕታት : G | 26 ኮነ : ] αCG, ወኮነ : D, conī. Zot ለአጋንንት : ] αCG, አጋንንት : D | ትዕቢተ : ] αCD, ወትዕቢተ : G | 27 ቊስጥንጥዩስ : ] CG, ቊስጥንጥዩስ : αD | ንጉሥ # ... ቊስጥንጥዩስ : ] Σ, s.l. G | ቊስጥንጥዩስ : ] CG, ቊስጥንጥዩስ : αD | 29 ቂልቅያ : ] ACG, ቂልቅልቅያ : B, ቂልቅልያ : D | 30 ከመዝ : ] αCG, om. D ቊስጥንጥዩስ : ] CG, ቊስጥንጥዩስ : A, ቊስጥንጥዩስ : BD | ወኢክህለ : ... 16 ቊስጥንጥዩስ : ] BCD G, om. A | 31 ከመ : ] (om. A) BCG, om. D | ጎልዮቶ : ] (om. A) CDG, conī. Zot, (314, n. 1) ሀልዎቶ : B | በእንተ : ] (om. A) BCD, በእበእንተ : G | 32 እከዮተ : ] (om. A) BCG, እከዮት : D 33 በሞተ : ] BCDG, conī. Zot, በሞቱ : AZot: B | ቊስጥንጥዩስ : ] CD, ቊስጥንጥዩስ : αG 34 ጎበ : ] αCG, om. D | መናብርቲሆሙ : # ] αCG, እመናብርቲሆሙ : # D | 35 ወለአትናቴዎስ : ] C, ወአትናቴዎስ : αD, ወአትናቴዎስ : G | 36 እስክንድርያ : ] αD, ለእስክንድርያ : CG 37 ወለከፋር : ] α, ወለከፋር : CG, ወለከፋር : D | 38 ሜጦሙ : ] CDG, om. α | 39 መዋዕል : ] αC D, መዋዕለ : G | ወዕልወታቲሁ : ] αDG, om. C | 40 ከልኤ : ] CG, om. α, ፩ D | ፈለስፋ : ] αCG, ፈላስፋ : D | ሊዋንዩስ : ] Σ, ዘስሙ : ሊዋንዩስ : add. et del. A

APP. PUNCT.: 1 እመናብርቲሆሙ : # ] Σ | 2 ከቡራት : ] # D | 3 ሮሜ : # ] αDG | 5 እግዚአብሔር : # ] αCG | 6 ሚመቱ : ] # BG | 7 በሀዩ : # ] αDG | 10 ሐራቱ : # ] Σ | 11 ቊስጥንጥዩስ : # ] αG 12 ጎቤሃ : # ] Σ | 13 እኩይ : ] # C | 14 ንጉሥ : # ] Σ | 16 ንጉሥ : ] # G | 17 ኒቆምድያ : # ] Σ 18 ክርስቲያን : # ] αG | 19 ሐሙሁ : ] # D | 20 ሞተ : # ] Σ | 22 ሮም : ] # A | በቢያ : # ] ACG 26 ትዕቢተ : ] # D | 27 ንጉሥ : # ] αC | 28 ሻም : # ] αDG | 29 ዩልያኖስ : # ] BCG | 32 ወዕለ : # ] (om. A) # BCG | 34 ፈድፋድ : ] # D | መናብርቲሆሙ : # ] BCDG | 36 አንጾኪያ : ] # D 37 ኢየሩሳሌም : # ] Σ | 38 ምዕራብ : ] # D | ክርስቲያኖሙ : # ] Σ

ጸኪያ ፡ ወለካልኡ ፡ ስሙ ፡ መክሲምዩስ ፡ እምሰብአ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ 37. ሶበ ፡ ተራ  
 ድእዎ ፡ ወአጽንዕዎ ፡ ለዩልያኖስ ፡ ዐጸወ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ | ወአርጎወ ፡ A88rb Z87  
 ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ወበርበረ ፡ ንዋያተ ፡ ክቡራተ ፡ ዘቤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወወ  
 ሀቦሙ ፡ ገሃደ ፡ ለመስሕታን ። 38. ወእምዝ ፡ ተቃወሞሙ ፡ ለመምለክያነ ፡  
 5 ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወሰመየ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ አሠርጋዌ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ወገብረ ፡  
 ምሥዋዕተ ፡ ምንንተ ፡ ለጣዖት ፡ ወአንደደ ፡ እሳተ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ምሥዋዕ ፡ ዘአጋ  
 ንንት ፡ ወአርኩሳ ፡ ለምድር ፡ በደመ ፡ ምሥዋዕት ፡ ርኩስት ፡ ወአርኩሶ ፡  
 ለነፋስ ፡ በጢስ ፡ ስብሕ ። 39. ወፈነወ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ አትናቴዎስ ፡ ሐዋርያዊ ፡  
 በምክረ ፡ ሐነፋዊያን ፡ ከመ ፡ ይቅትሎ ፡ ወውእቲኒ ፡ ጎደገ ፡ መንበሮ ፡ ወገብየ ፡  
 10 ወተጎብአ ፡ እምኔሁ ። 40. ወተመሰሎ ፡ ለአቡሁ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ወእቲ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡  
 ዐላዊ ፡ ዘአጥፍአ ፡ መካናተ ፡ ቅዱሳተ ፡ ዘሐነጸን ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡  
 መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወረሰዮሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ መካናት ፡ ቅዱሳት ፡ B67rb  
 ማጎደረ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ወቤተ ፡ ለጣዖታት ፡ 41. ወተሠልጡ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ የዋሃን ፡ ክርስ  
 ቲያን ፡ ወአጎዙ ፡ ይሳለቅዎሙ ፡ | ይትማሰጥዎሙ ፡ ወይቅትልዎሙ ፡ A88rc  
 15 ወይግበሩ ፡ እኩየ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ አኮ ፡ ጎዳጠ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ አላ ፡ ብዙኃ ፡ አዝ  
 ማናት ። ወኮኑ ፡ ይጸርሑ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ አራዊት ፡ እኩያን ፡ ወያደነግ  
 ዕዎሙ ፡ በውእቲ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ምሉአነ ፡ እከይ ፡ 42. ወሰብአ ፡ ጣዖትሰ ፡ አንደዱ ፡  
 እሳተ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያውዕዩ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ መጥምቅ ፡ ባሕቲ ፡ ጎይለ ፡ እግ  
 ዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘረወ ፡ ምክሮሙ ፡ ወርእዩ ፡ ራእየ ፡ ግሩመ ፡ እስከ ፡ D46  
 20 ጎዩ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ዓላዊያን ። 43. ወሀሎ ፡ ህየ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ወነሥኡ ፡  
 ሥጋ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ወወሰድዎ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ወወሀብዎ ፡  
 በጎቡእ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ አትናቴዎስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ። እምቅድመ ፡ ጎይዮቲ ፡ 44.  
 ወውእቲ ፡ ወሰዶ ፡ ወአንበሮ ፡ ወስተ ፡ ፩ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መኩንን ፡ እምዐበይተ ፡ ሀገር ፡  
 በጎቡእ ። ወአእመሩ ፡ ጎዳጣን ፡ ካህናት ፡ ለዝንቲ ፡ ምስጢር ። ወታኦፊሎስ ፡  
 25 ሣልስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ 45. ወበውእቲ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ኮነ ፡ አናጉስጢስ ፡ ወመዘምረ ፡  
 አመ ፡ አምጽእዎ ፡ ለሥጋ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ። ወእምድጎረ ፡ አትናቴዎስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ A88va  
 ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ጴጥሮስ ። ወእምድጎረ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ጢሞቴዎስ ፡ እኑሁ ፡ አክ  
 ሪሙን ፡ ዘትርጓሜ ፡ ስሙ ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ ጥሪት ። ወእምድጎረ ፡ | ጢሞቴዎስ ፡ ታኦ  
 ፊሎስ ፡ ወእቲ ፡ ዘነሠተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ዘሰማ ፡ አራሙ ፡ ወረሲያ ፡ ቤተ ፡  
 30 ክርስቲያን ፡ 46. ወጽንዕት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወነዊጎ ፡ ቆማ ፡ ወሥርግውት ፡ ጥቀ ።  
 ወረሲያ ፡ ማጎደረ ፡ ለሥጋ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ መጥምቅ ፡ በክብር ፡ ወተብህለ ፡  
 ዓዲ ፡ ወእምድጎረ ፡ ብዙጎ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ | ነሥአ ፡ ታኦፊሎስ ፡ ለሥጋ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ Z88  
 ዮሐንስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ርእሱ ፡ ወአንበራ ፡ ወስተ ፡ መቃብር ፡ ዘተሐንጸት ፡ በውሣጤ ፡  
 ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ 47. ወገብረ ፡ ትፍሥሕተ ፡ ብዙጎ ፡ ወበዓለ ፡ ስቡሐ ። G62rb  
 35 ወሰብአ ፡ ሀገርኒ ፡ ተመክሑ ፡ ቦቲ ፡ ወአክበርዎ ፡ በውዳሴ ። | H3ra J1ra K1ra

ክፍል ፡ <፸፱> ፡ 1. ወተብህለ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ታኦፊሎስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ J1rb  
 ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡ እስመ ፡ ወእቲ ፡ ኮነ ፡ እምሰብአ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ መኑፍ ፡ እንተ ፡  
 ይእቲ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ | ፈርዖን ፡ | ቅድመሰ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ አርጋድያ ። ወውእቲ ፡ እም  
 40 ዘመደ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ 2. ወሀለወት ፡ ሎቲ ፡ እጎት ፡ ንእስት ፡ ወአሐቲ ፡ አመት ፡  
 ኢትዮጵያዊት ፡ ዘኮነት ፡ ለአባዊሁ ፡ ወኮኑ ፡ ድክቲማን ፡ ወውእቲ ፡ ኮነ ፡ | ንኡስ ፡ H3rb

APP. CRIT.: 1 መክሲምዩስ ፡ ]αCG, መክሲምዩስ ፡ D | 2 ዐጸወ ፡ ]BCG, ወዓፀወ ፡ AD | 3 አማልክት ፡ ]  
 αC, om. DG | 4 ለመስሕታን ። ]αCG, ለመስህታት ፡ D | ለመምለክያነ ፡ ]BCDG, ለመምለኪያነ ፡  
 A | 6 እሳተ ፡ ]α, እሳት ፡ CDG | 7 ርኩስት ፡ ]αD, ርኩስት ፡ C, ርኩስተ ፡ G | ወአርኩሶ ፡ ]α, ወአ  
 ርኩሳ ፡ C, ወአርኩሶ ፡ D, ወአርኩሶ ፡ G | 11 ዘአጥፍአ ፡ ]αDG, ዘአጥፍአ ፡ C | መካናተ ፡ ቅዱሳተ ፡ ]  
 αD, መካናት ፡ ቅዱሳት ፡ CG | 13 ወቤተ ፡ ]αDG, om. C | ለጣዖታት ፡ ]Σ, {ለ}ጣዖታት ፡ s.l. G  
 ወተሠልጡ ፡ ]CDG, ወተሠለጡ ፡ α | 15 ወይግበሩ ፡ ]αCG, ወይገብሩ ፡ D | ብዙኃ ፡ ]CDG,  
 ብዙኃት ፡ α, ብዙኃት ፡ con. Zot | አዝማናት ። ]αG, አዝማናተ ፡ CD | 18 መጥምቅ ፡ ]αCG,  
 መቅምቅ ፡ D | 20 ኩሎሙ ፡ ]Σ, post ዓላዊያን ፡ trans. AZot: B | ወሀሎ ፡ ]αCG, ወሀለ ፡ D  
 ወነሥኡ ፡ ]Σ, ወንሥኡ ፡ Zot | 21 ሥጋ ፡ ]αCG, ሥጋሁ ፡ D | ቅዱስ ፡ ]αCG, ለቅዱስ ፡ D | 23 ፩ ፡ ]  
 Σ, post ቤተ ፡ trans. D | 24 ለዝንቲ ፡ ]αCG, ዘንተ ፡ D | ምስጢር ። ]αCG, ምስጢረ ፡ D  
 ወታኦፊሎስ ፡ ]αC, ወታኦፍሎስ ፡ DG | 25 ሣልስ ፡ ]Σ, post ጳጳሳት ፡ trans. AZot: B | ወበውእቲ ፡ ]α  
 CG, በውእቲ ፡ D | አናጉስጢስ ፡ ]BDG, አናጉንስጢስ ፡ AC | ወመዘምረ ፡ ]αCD, ወመዘመረ ፡ G  
 26 አምጽእዎ ፡ ]Σ, {አም}ጽእዎ ፡ s.l. G | 27 አክሪሙን ፡ ]αCG, አክሪሙስ ፡ D | 29 ወእቲ ፡ ]CDG,

kill him. And he left his throne, fled and escaped from him. 40. This apostate emperor, who destroyed the holy places, which the God-loving emperor Constantine had constructed, resembled his father Satan. He converted all holy places into demons' dwellings and idol temples. 41. They ruled over the meek Christians and began to deride them, to seize and kill them, to do evil upon them, not for a short, but for a long time. They shouted at them like evil beasts and terrified them at this time filled with evilness. 42. Idolaters kindled a fire in order to burn down the body of St John the Baptist, but the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ wasted their intention. They saw a terrible vision until all the unbelievers ran away. 43. The peope of Alexandria were there, they took the body of St John, brought it to Alexandria and gave it to the archbishop St Athanasius before his escape. 44. He took it and placed it in a house of a magistrate, one of the great people of the city, secretly. A few priests and Theophilus, the third archbishop, knew this secret. 45. At this time the latter was singer and psalmist, when they brought the body of St John. After Athanasius, Peter became archbishop. After Peter – Timothy *Akrimum* (Aktemon), his brother, the translation of his name is 'whithout possession'. After Timothy – Theophilos, who destroyed an idol temple named *Arāmu* (Serapis)<sup>440</sup> and converted it into a church. 46. This one was firm, lofty, and much adorned. He made it into a dwelling of the body of St John the Baptist in honor. It is also said, that after a long time Theophilos took the body of St John and his head and placed it into a tomb, which was built inside the church. 47. He celebrated much joy and a glorious feast. And the people of the city glorified and honored him in laudation.

Chapter 79. 1. It is said concerning St Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria, that he was from people of the city of *Manuf* (Memphis), which is the city of Pharaoh and was previously named Arcadia. He was from a family of Christians. 2. He had a small sister and one Ethiopian maid, who belonged to his parents. They were poor, and he was small in years and stature. 3. In one of the nights at dawn this maid took the hands of the children and brought them into the temple of impure gods of *Arderwos* (Artemis) and Apollo in order to pray according to their error. 4. When these children entered, the gods fell down to earth and were shuttered. This maid got frightened because of that, she took the children, went away and fled to Nikiu, because she was afraid of the priests of the impure idols. 5. She also got afraid of the people of Nikiu, that they might hand her out to the idol priests, she put the children to

<sup>440</sup>This identification is doubtful.

om. α | 30 ወሥርግውት ፣]Σ, ወሥርግውት ፣ s.l. G | 32 ወእምድጎረ ፣]αCG, እምድጎረ ፣ D 33 በውሣጤ ፣]αCD, በውሣጤ ፣ G | 37 ራጅ ፣]conieci, ሹ ፣ α, om. C, ራጅ ፣ D, ሹ ወጊ ፣ GZot: ራጅ ፣ A | 38 ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፣]αG, ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፣ CD | 39 ቅድመስ ፣]αCG, ቅድመ ፣ D 40 እጎት ፣ ንእስት ፣]αDG, እጎተ ፣ ንእስተ ፣ C | 41 ኢትዮጵያዊት ፣]BDG, ኢትዮጵያዊ ፣ት ፣ A, ኢትዮጵያዊት ፣ C | ወውእቱ ፣]αDG, ወውእቱኒ ፣ C

APP. LECT. MIN.: 7 ወአርኩሳ ፣]αCG, ወአርኩሳ ፣ D | 9 ሐነፋዊያን ፣]CG, ሐነፋውያን ፣ αD 20 ዓላዊያን ፣]CG, ዓላውያን ፣ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 4 ለመስሐታን ፣] # ACG | 6 ለጣዖት ፣] # D | 8 ስብሐ ፣] # αD G | 9 ይቅትሎ ፣] # DG | 10 እምኒሁ ፣] # BCDG | 13 ለጣዖታት ፣] # DG | 14 ይትማሰጥዎሙ ፣] # D | 15 አዝማናት ፣] # αCG | 17 እከይ ፣] # BG | 20 ዓላዊያን ፣] | 21 ዮሐንስ ፣] # D | 22 በጎቡእ ፣] # C | እጎት ፣] # αCG | 24 በጎቡእ ፣] # αCG | ምስጢር ፣] # αC | 26 ዮሐንስ ፣] # BDG 27 ጴጥሮስ ፣] # BCDG | 28 ጥሪት ፣] # Σ | 30 ክርስቲያን ፣] # A | ጥቀ ፣] # αDG | 31 በክብር ፣] # BG | 33 ርእሱ ፣] # D | 34 ክርስቲያን ፣] # BG | ስቡሐ ፣] # Σ | 35 በውዳሴ ፣] # αCG, # # D 37 ራጅ ፣] # # G | 39 ፈርያን ፣] # D | አርጋድያ ፣] # Σ | 41 ለአበዊሁ ፣] # D

37 ክፍል ፣] \*በክፍል ፣ H J K | ራጅ ፣] H J K | ወተብህለ ፣] ተብህለ ፣ H J K | ታሐፊሎስ ፣] ቴዎፍሎስ ፣ H J K | 38 ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፣] ዘእለ ፣ እስክንድርያ ፣ H | 39 ፈርያን ፣] ( # H) | 40 ክርስቲያን ፣] ( # K) ንእስት ፣] H K ንዕስተ ፣] J | 41 ለአበዊሁ ፣] ( # H) | ወውእቱ ፣] H K, ወውእቱኒ ፣] J | ንኡስ ፣] K, ንኡስ ፣] H J

በዓመታቲሁ ፡ ወአካላቲሁ ፡ 3. ወበአሐቲ፡ ሌሊት ፡ እምሊያልይ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ጎሕ ፡  
አጎዘት ፡ እዴሆሙ ፡ ይእቲ፡ አመት ፡ ለሕፃናት ፡ ወአብአቶሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡  
አማልክት ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ ዘአርዴምስ ፡ ወአጵሎን ፡ ለገቢረ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ በከመ ፡ ስሕ  
ተቶሙ ። 4. ወሶበ ፡ ቦኡ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ሕፃናት ፡ ወድቁ ፡ አማልክት ፡ ውስተ ፡  
5 ምድር ፡ ወተቀጥቀጡ ፡ | በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ፈርሀት ፡ ይእቲ፡ አመት ፡ B67va  
ወነሥ|አቶሙ ፡ ለሕፃናት ፡ ወሐረት ፡ ወጎዮት ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ኒቅዮስ ፡ | እስመ ፡ ፈር  
J1va C125vb ሀቶሙ ፡ ለካህናተ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ ርኩሳን ። 5. ወፈርሀት ፡ ዓዲ ፡ እምሰብአ ፡ ነቂዮስ ፡  
ከመ ፡ ኢያግብእዎ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ካህናተ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ ወአጎዮቶሙ ፡ ለሕፃናት ፡ ወበ  
K1va ጽሐት ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያ ። 6. ወሶበ ፡ ሆከታ ፡ ሕ|ሊና ፡ አምላካዊት ፡ ወጎደረ ፡  
A88vc ሳዕሌሃ ፡ ጸጋ ፡ እግዚ|አብሔር ፡ ወነሥአቶሙ ፡ ለሕፃናት ፡ ወአብአቶሙ ፡ ጎበ ፡  
10 ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ከመ ፡ ታእምር ፡ ወትጠይቅ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ምስጢርሙ ፡ ለክርስ  
ቲያን ። 7. ወበጊዜሃ ፡ ከሠተ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለአብ ፡ አትናቴምስ ፡  
D47 ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡ ግብረሙ ፡ ለሕፃናት ፡ አመ ፡ በዓቶሙ ፡  
H3va G62rc ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ወምቅዋሞሙ ፡ ጎበ ፡ መካነ ፡ ተግሣጽ ። ወአዘዘ ፡  
15 ከመ ፡ ይዕቀብዎሙ ፡ ለሠለስቲሆሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይፈጽሙ ፡ ቅዳሴ ። 8. ወእምድ  
ጎረዝ ፡ አምጽእዎሙ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አትናቴምስ ፡ ለሕፃናት ፡ ወለአመት ። ወተ  
J1vb ስእላ ፡ ለአመት ፡ ወይቤላ ፡ ምንትኑ ፡ ዘገበርኪ ፡ ወለምንት ፡ ኢተራድኡኪ ፡ አማ  
Z89 ልክት ፡ እለ ፡ አልቦሙ ፡ ንባብ ። ባሕቱ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ርእይዎሙ ፡ ለ|ሕፃናት ፡ መንፈሳ  
ዊያን ፡ ወድቁ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወተቀጥቀጡ ፡ ወእምይእዜ ፡ ይከውኑኒ ፡  
20 ሊተ ፡ እሉ ፡ ሕፃናት ። 9. ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዐት ፡ ይእቲ፡ አመት ፡ ዘንተ ፡ አንከረት ፡  
እምቃሉ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ በእ|ንተ ፡ ዘ|እእመረ ፡ ጎቡአተ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ አማ  
K1vb B67vb ልክት ። ውእተ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ኢተ|ክህላ ፡ ትክሐድ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘገብረት ፡ ባሕቱ ፡  
C125vc ሰገደት ፡ ታሕተ ፡ እገሪሁ ፡ ወሰአለቶ ፡ ጥምቀተ ፡ ክርስትና ፡ ቅድስት ። 10. ወአጥ  
A89ra መቆሙ ፡ ወረሰዮሙ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ወነሥኡ ፡ ብርሃነ ፡ ጸጋ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ሐዲሳነ ።  
25 11. ወለወለትስ ፡ ንእስት ፡ ፈነዎ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ደናግል ፡ ከመ ፡ ትንበር ፡ ህዩ ፡  
እስከ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ | ተዋስቦ ። ወእምዝ ፡ አስተዋሰብዎ ፡ ለ፩ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘእምሀገረ ፡  
J2ra መሐ|ሌ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ፡ በደቡብ ፡ ምስር ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ዲዩስያ ፡ 12.  
H3vb ወበህዩ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ቄርሎስ ፡ ኮከብ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ዘአብርሀ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡  
መካነ ፡ በትምህርታቲሁ ፡ ለባሴ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ እም  
30 ድጎረ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ትዮፍሎስ ፡ እጎወ ፡ እሙ ። 13. ወለሕፃንስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ትዮፍሎስ ፡  
እምድጎረ ፡ አጥመቅዎ ፡ ላጸዩ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ወጎለቀኑዎ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አንባብያን ፡  
ወሄምዎ ፡ አናጎሰጢስ ፡ 14. ወሐፀንዎ ፡ በሠናይ ፡ በከመ ፡ ይደሉ ፡ ለቅዱሳን ፡  
ወልህቀ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ወሬዛ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያሠምሮ ፡ | ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወተምህረ ፡ ኩሎ ፡  
G62va K2ra መጻሕፍተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ እስትንፋስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡  
A89rb ወዐቀበ ፡ ሕገጋቲሆን ፡ 15. ወእምዝ ፡ ሄምዎ ፡ ዲያቆነ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ቀናኤ ፡ ጥቀ ፡

APP. CRIT.: 1 ወአካላቲሁ ፡]BCD G, ወበአካላቲሁ ፡ A | እምሊያልይ ፡]αCD, እምሊያልይ ፡ G  
3 ወአጵሎን ፡]αCG, ወዘአጵሎን ፡ D | ስሕተቶሙ ።]αCG, ስሕተቶሙ ፡ D | 7 ለካህናተ ፡]Σ, ለካ  
ህ|ናተ ፡ s.l. G | 11 ወትጠይቅ ፡]D, coni. Zot, ትጠይቅ ፡ αCG | 13 ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡]BG, ዘእለእስ  
ክንድርያ ፡ AC, ዘእለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ D | 15 ይፈጽሙ ፡]BCD G, ይፈጽም ፡ A | ወእምድጎረዝ ፡]αDG,  
ወእምድጎረ ፡ C | 18 ርእይዎሙ ፡]αCG, ረሰይዎሙ ፡ D | 22 ውእተ ፡]αCG, ወውእቱ ፡ D  
ትክሐድ ፡]Σ, s.l. G | 23 ቅድስት ።]DG, ቅዱስት ፡ AC, ቅድስ ፡ B | 25 ፈነዎ ፡]CD G, coni. Zot,  
om. α | ደብረ ፡]αCG, om. D | 26 ተዋስቦ ።]αCG, ተወስቦታ ። D | 27 ዲዩስያ ፡]CD G, ዲዱስያ ፡  
α | 30 ትዮፍሎስ ፡]BG, ቲዎፍሎስ ፡ A, ቲዎፍሎስ ፡ CD Zot: ቲዮፍሎስ ፡ B | ትዮፍሎስ ፡]αG,  
ቲዎፍሎስ ፡ CD | 31 አንባብያን ፡]DG, coni. Zot, አንባብያን ፡ α, አንባቢያን ፡ C  
32 አናጎሰጢስ ፡]BCD G, አናጎንሰጢስ ፡ A | 33 ወተምህረ ፡...21 እግዚአብሔር ፡]αC, om. DG  
35 ሕገጋቲሆን ፡]CD, coni. Zot, ሕገጋቲሆን ፡ αG, ለመጻሕፍት ፡ add. D

APP. LECT. MIN.: 8 ወአጎዮቶሙ ፡]αCD, ወአጎዮቶሙ ፡ G | 15 ለሠለስቲሆሙ ፡]BCD G,  
ለ፫ቲሆሙ ፡ A | 18 መንፈሳዊያን ፡]CG, መንፈሳውያን ፡ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 በዓመታቲሁ ፡] B | ወአካላቲሁ ፡] # BG | 3 ስሕተቶሙ ።] # αG  
5 ወተቀጥቀጡ ፡] # C | 6 ኒቅዮስ ፡] # D | 7 ርኩሳን ።] # αG | 8 ለሕፃናት ፡] # A | 9 እስክንድርያ ፡] #  
Σ | 10 ለሕፃናት ፡] # D | 11 ለክርስቲያን ።] # BCG | 14 ተግሣጽ ።] # BDG | 15 ቅዳሴ ።] # Σ  
16 ወለአመት ።] # αG | 17 ዘገበርኪ ፡] # D | 18 ንባብ ።] # αCG | 20 ሕፃናት ፡] # Σ | 21 ለቅዱስ ፡] #  
A | አማልክት ።] # Σ | 22 ዘገብረት ፡] # D | 23 ቅድስት ።] # αCG | 24 ክርስቲያን ፡] # D  
ሐዲሳነ ።] # Σ | 26 ተዋስቦ ።] # Σ | 27 ዲዩስያ ፡] # D | 30 እሙ ።] # αDG | 31 አንባብያን ፡] # D  
33 ወልህቀ ፡] # D | ለእግዚአብሔር ፡] # D | 35 ሕገጋቲሆን ፡] # A

flight and came to Alexandria. 6. Then the divine inspiration incited her and the God's grace dwelt on her, she took the children and brought them into a church, in order to learn and understand the Christian mysteries. 7. At that time God revealed to Father Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria, the case of the children. When they entered the church and stood at the pulpit, he 5  
 commanded to guard those three until he finished the liturgy. 8. Thereafter they brought children and the maid to St Athanasius. He asked the maid and said to her: ‘What did you do and why the speechless gods did not help you? But rather when they saw the children of the Church, they fell down to earth, 10  
 crushed, and from now this children will stay with me.’ 9. When the maid heard that, she was amazed by the words of the holy man, for he knew the secret that had happened in the idol temple. This time she could not deny what she had done, but bowed down to his feet and asked him for the Holy Christian baptism. 11. He sent the 15  
 younger girl to a virgins’ monastery for dwelling there, until the time of marriage. Thereafter he gave her into marriage to one man from the city of *Mahale*, that is in the South (*dabub*)<sup>441</sup> of Egypt and was named formerly *Diyusayā*. 12. St Cyril, a great star, who illuminated everywhere in his learning, clothed with Holy Spirit, was born there, who was archbishop after 20  
 St Theophilus, brother of his mother. 13. After they had baptized the child St Theophilus, they shaved his head, counted him among the deacons<sup>442</sup> and appointed him reader. 14. They educated him perfectly as it is appropriate to holy men, he grew up and became a young man pleasing God. He was skilled in all Scriptures of the church, which were inspired by God and guarded their 25  
 laws. 15. Thereafter they appointed him deacon and he became very zealous in the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ in purity and holiness. 16. Thereafter he put on priest’s clothes, became a chief and remained on the throne of Mark the Evangelist of Alexandria. 17. After he became archbishop, he illuminated the whole city with the light of his holy faith. He rendered all the cities of 30  
 Egypt pure of the worship of idols. He destroyed everyone, who produced statues, according to the prophecy of the holy Apostolic Athanasius.

Chapter 80. 1. And the wretched Julian began building a temple of the Jews at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by Rome. And he offered sacrifices 35

<sup>441</sup>Zotenberg and Charles translate as ‘north’ (Zotenberg 1883, 316; Charles 1916, 76).  
<sup>442</sup>*Anbābi* means ‘reader, lector, deacon who reads the Scripture during the service’ (Leslau 1991, 383a)

1 ወአካላቲሁ ፡፡ ወአካላ ፡፡ H J K | እምሊያልይ ፡፡ ( # J K ) | ጊዜ ፡፡ ...26 ጎሕ ፡፡ om. H J K | 2 ይእቲ ፡፡ አመት ፡፡ om. H J K | 3 ዘአርዲምስ ፡፡ J K, ዘአርዲምስ ፡፡ H | 5 ወተቀጥቀጥ፡ ፡፡ ( # J K ) | በእንተ ፡፡ ዝንቱ ፡፡ H, ወበእንተዝ ፡፡ J K | 6 ለሕፃናት ፡፡ ( # J K ) J K, ለእሙንቱ ፡፡ ሕፃናት ፡፡ H | ወገዮት ፡፡ H J K, ወበጽሐት ፡፡ add. H | ኒቅዩስ ፡፡ H, ኒቅዩስ ፡፡ J K | 7 ርኩሳን ፡፡ ( # H ) | ወፈርሀት ፡፡ # J K 8 ጣዖት ፡፡ H J K, ርኩሳን ፡፡ add. J K | 9 እስክንድርያ ፡፡ ( # H ) | 10 ወነሥአቶሙ ፡፡ J K, ነሥአቶሙ ፡፡ H | ጎበ ፡፡ ወሰተ ፡፡ H J K | 11 ክርስቲያን ፡፡ ( # H J K ) | ከመ ፡፡ ...36 ለክርስቲያን ፡፡ # J K, om. H ለክርስቲያን ፡፡ ( # H ) | 12 አትናቴምስ ፡፡ አትናትዮስ ፡፡ J K | 13 ዘእለእስክንድርያ ፡፡ ዘእለ ፡፡ እስክንድርያ ፡፡ H J K | ለሕፃናት ፡፡ # J K | 14 ወምቅዋሞሙ ፡፡ ወምቅዋሞሙ ፡፡ K | ተግሣጽ ፡፡ ( # H J K ) 15 ለሠለስቲሆሙ ፡፡ H, ለቲቲሆሙ ፡፡ J K | ይፈጽሙ ፡፡ ይፈጽሙ ፡፡ H J K | ቅዳሴ ፡፡ ( # H J K ) 16 አትናቴምስ ፡፡ H, አትናትዮስ ፡፡ J K | ወለአመት ፡፡ ( # J K ) | 17 ወይቤላ ፡፡ H J K, ለአመት ፡፡ add. J K | ዘገበርኪ ፡፡ H J, ዘገበርኪ ፡፡ K | ኢተራድኡኪ ፡፡ ዘኢተራድኡኪ ፡፡ H, ኢትረድኢኪ ፡፡ J K አማልክት ፡፡ H, ለአማልክት ፡፡ J K | 18 ንባብ ፡፡ ( # H J K ) | ሶበ ፡፡ H K, om. J | መንፈሳዊያን ፡፡ H, መንፈሳዊያን ፡፡ J K | 19 ወተቀጥቀጥ፡ ፡፡ ( # H J K ) | ወእምይእዜ ፡፡ J K, ወእምይእዜሰ ፡፡ H 20 ሕፃናት ፡፡ ( # H J ) | 21 ለቅዱስ ፡፡ H J K, አትናትዮስ ፡፡ add. J K | አማልክት ፡፡ ( # H J K ) 22 ውእተ ፡፡ J K, ወውእተ ፡፡ H | ኢተክህላ ፡፡ H J, ኢተህላ ፡፡ K | ዘገበረት ፡፡ ( # H K ) | 23 ወሰአለቶ ፡፡ J K, ወሰአለት ፡፡ H | ቅድስት ፡፡ ( # J ) K, ቅድስት ፡፡ H J | 24 ክርስቲያን ፡፡ ( # J K ) | ሐዲሳን ፡፡ ( # H J K ) | 26 ተዋሰሶ ፡፡ ( # H J K ) | ዘእምሀገረ ፡፡ H, ዘሀገረ ፡፡ J K | 27 መሐሌ ፡፡ መሐሌ ፡፡ H J K | በደቡብ ፡፡ በደቡብ ፡፡ H J K | ዘትሰመይ ፡፡ J K, ዘይሰመይ ፡፡ H | ዲዩስያ ፡፡ ዲዩስያ ፡፡ H J K | 30 ቅዱስ ፡፡ om. H J K | ትዮፍሎስ ፡፡ ቴዎፍሎስ ፡፡ H J K | እሙ ፡፡ ( # H J K ) | ወለሕፃንሰ ፡፡ H, ወሕፃንሰ ፡፡ J K ትዮፍሎስ ፡፡ ቁርሎስ ፡፡ H J K | 31 አንባብያን ፡፡ ( # J K ) | 32 አናጉስጢስ ፡፡ H J, አናጉንስጢስ ፡፡ K ለቅዱሳን ፡፡ ( # H K ) | 34 እግዚአብሔር ፡፡ ( # H, # J ) | 35 ሕገጋቲሆን ፡፡ ( # H ) J K, ሕገጋቲሆሙ ፡፡ H | ሄምዎ ፡፡ J K, ሄሞ ፡፡ H | ዲያቆን ፡፡ ( # J K )

ለሃይማኖት ፡ እግዚእን ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በንጹሕ ፡ ወበቅድስና ። 16. ወእም  
 ድኅረዝ ፡ ለብስ ፡ ልብስ ፡ ክህነት ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ርእሰ ፡ ወነበረ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ መንበረ ፡  
 ማርቆስ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እስክንድርያ ። 17. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሊቀ ፡  
 ጳጳሳት ፡ ኡብርሀ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ በብርሃነ ፡ ሃይማኖቱ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ወለኩሉ ፡  
 5 አህጉራተ ፡ ምስር ፡ ረሰዮሙ ፡ | ርሐቃነ ፡ እምአምልኮ ፡ ጣዖት ። ወአጥፍአ ፡  
 ኩሎ ፡ ዘይትጌበር ፡ ምስላተ ፡ በከመ ፡ ተነበየ ፡ በእንቲአሁ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አትና  
 ቱዎስ ፡ ሐዋርያዊ ።

ክፍል ፡ ፹ ፡ 1. ወምንዱብስ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡ አኅዘ ፡ ይሕንጽ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ አይሁድ ፡  
 10 ዘኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ዘነሠትዋ ፡ ሮም ፡ ወገብረ ፡ በህየ ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡  
 ኮነ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ ክዲወ ፡ ደም ። 2. ወእግዚእን ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሎቱ ፡  
 ስብሐት ፡ አብጠለ ፡ ምግባራቲሁ ፡ ወሥርዓታቲሁ ። 3. ወሳፋርሳኪስ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡  
 ፋርስ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ሰላማዌ ፡ ወዘይሁብ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ ፡ |  
 መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ተንሥአ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበር ፡ ጸብአ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሮማዊያን ፡  
 15 4. በውእቱ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሰማዕተ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዱማድያኖስ ፡ ወፈጸመ ፡ ገድሎ ።  
 ወእንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡ ፀረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይገብር ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡  
 ለአጋንንት ፡ በሀገር ፡ እንተ ፡ ትሰመይ ፡ ካስዩ ፡ በአድያመ ፡ አንጸኪያ ፡ ወይእቲ ፡  
 ርሕቅት ፡ እምኔሃ ፡ መጠነ ፡ ፯ ፡ ምዕራፍ ፡ ወበውስቴታ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ አጸሎን ፡ ጣዖት ፡  
 | ወእምዘ ፡ ተንሥአ ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ለተጸብአተ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወስራዊተ ፡ ሮም ፡

20 5. ወምስለ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ጋኔናዊያን ፡ ወማእምራን ፡ መስሐታን ። ወእንዘ ፡  
 ዮኅልፍ ፡ በጽሐ ፡ ኅበ ፡ መካን ፡ ስዑር ፡ ወርእየ ፡ በህየ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ዕደ ፡  
 ወአንሱተ ፡ ወሕፃናተ ፡ 6. ብዙኃን ፡ ድውያን ፡ ይትፌወሱ ፡ በጸሎተ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡  
 ዱማድያኖስ ፡ ገብረ ፡ አምላክ ። 7. ወተስእለ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ምንት ፡ ውእቱ ፡  
 ጉባኤ ፡ ዘእሬኢ ፡ ወይቤልዎ ፡ መነኮስ ፡ ይገብር ፡ መንክራተ ፡ ወይፌውስ ፡  
 25 ድውያነ ። ወለእልክቱ ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ ዘትሬእዮሙ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ እሙንቱ ፡  
 ይነሥኡ ፡ በረከተ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ ወይትፌወሱ ፡ በኅቤሁ ። 8. ወተምዐ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡  
 ወፈነወ ፡ ኅቤሁ ፡ ፩ ፡ ሐራ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትማየኖ ፡ በቃል ፡ ጽኑዕ ። ወይቤሎ ፡  
 ለእመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ኅድረትክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዛቲ ፡ በአት ፡ ከመ ፡ ታሥምሮ ፡ ለአምላክከ ፡  
 በምንት ፡ ፈቀድክ ፡ ከመ ፡ ታሥምሮሙ ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ ወለምንት ፡ ኢተገባእክ ። 9.

30 ወአውሥአ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዱማድያኖስ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ አንሰ ፡ ገደፍኩ ፡ ነፍሰየ ፡ ወሥጋየ ፡  
 ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ዘበአማን ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ።  
 ወናሁ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ኮነኒ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ዓመታተ ። እምአመ ፡ ዐጸውክዋ ፡ ላዕሌየ ፡  
 ለዛቲ ፡ በአት ። ወለእሉሂ ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ እለ ፡ መጽኡ ፡ ኅቤየ ፡ በሃይማኖት ፡  
 ኢይክል ፡ እስድዶሙ ። 10. ወሰሚያ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ አዘዞሙ ፡ ለሐራሁ ፡ ይዕጽወ ፡  
 35 አፈ ፡ በአት ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይመውት ፡ አረጋዊ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ 11. ወከመዘ ፡  
 ፈጸመ ፡ ገድሎ ፡ አመ ፡ ፳፩ ፡ ለሐምሌ ፡ ወነሥአ ፡ አክሊለ ፡ ስምዕ ፡ ዘኢይ  
 ማስን ። 12. ወበውእቱ ፡ ዕልው ፡ ከሐዲ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡ |ኢጐንደየ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡  
 በቀለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ 13. ወሐረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ መጣዓውያን ፡ እለ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ዘው  
 እቶሙ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ወኢተመይጠ ፡ ይርአያ ፡ ዳግመ ፡ ለሮም ፡  
 40 ግሙራ ፡ 14. ወኢኮነ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ነገርዎ ፡ ሐሳውያን ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ተጋ

30 ወአውሥአ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዱማድያኖስ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ አንሰ ፡ ገደፍኩ ፡ ነፍሰየ ፡ ወሥጋየ ፡  
 ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ዘበአማን ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ።  
 ወናሁ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ኮነኒ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ዓመታተ ። እምአመ ፡ ዐጸውክዋ ፡ ላዕሌየ ፡  
 ለዛቲ ፡ በአት ። ወለእሉሂ ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ እለ ፡ መጽኡ ፡ ኅቤየ ፡ በሃይማኖት ፡  
 ኢይክል ፡ እስድዶሙ ። 10. ወሰሚያ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ አዘዞሙ ፡ ለሐራሁ ፡ ይዕጽወ ፡  
 35 አፈ ፡ በአት ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይመውት ፡ አረጋዊ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ 11. ወከመዘ ፡  
 ፈጸመ ፡ ገድሎ ፡ አመ ፡ ፳፩ ፡ ለሐምሌ ፡ ወነሥአ ፡ አክሊለ ፡ ስምዕ ፡ ዘኢይ  
 ማስን ። 12. ወበውእቱ ፡ ዕልው ፡ ከሐዲ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡ |ኢጐንደየ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡  
 በቀለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ 13. ወሐረ ፡ ኅበ ፡ መጣዓውያን ፡ እለ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ዘው  
 እቶሙ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ወኢተመይጠ ፡ ይርአያ ፡ ዳግመ ፡ ለሮም ፡  
 40 ግሙራ ፡ 14. ወኢኮነ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ነገርዎ ፡ ሐሳውያን ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ተጋ

APP. CRIT.: 1 ለሃይማኖት ፡ αCG, በሃይማኖት ፡ D | በንጹሕ ፡ αCG, በንጹሕ ፡ D | ወበቅድስና ፡ BCDG, ወቅድስና ፡ A | 2 ለብስ ፡ αCD, ልብስ ፡ G | መንበረ ፡ αCG, om. D | 3 ሀገረ ፡ αCG, om. D | 7 ሐዋርያዊ ፡ Σ, ሐዋርያዊ ፡ s.l. G | 9 ክፍል ፡ ፹ ፡ om. C, ክፍል ፡ ፯ ፡ A, ክፍል ፡ ፹፩ ፡ B, ክፍል ፡ ፸፱ ፡ D, ክፍል ፡ ፹፰ ፡ G | ፹ ፡ CDG, ፯ ፡ A, ፹፩ ፡ B | ዮልያኖስ ፡ αCD, ዮልያስ ፡ G | 11 ኮነ ፡ αCG, om. D | 13 ሰላማዌ ፡ ACDG, ሰላማዌ ፡ B | 15 ሰማዕተ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ BCDG, ቅዱስ ፡ ሰማዕት ፡ AZot: B | 16 ይገብር ፡ con. Zot, እንዘ ፡ ይገብር ፡ Σ | 17 ካስዩ ፡ αCG, ባስዩ ፡ D | 18 ፯ ፡ αCG, ፫ ፡ D ፯ ፡ Zot | 20 ምስለ ፡ Σ, ምስሌሁ ፡ con. Zot | 21 ስዑር ፡ αCG, ክርስቶስ ፡ D 22 ብዙኃን ፡ ድውያን ፡ αCD, ብዙኃን ፡ ድውያነ ፡ G, ወብዙኃን ፡ ድውያን ፡ Zot | ይትፌወሱ ፡ D, con. Zot, ይትፌወሱ ፡ αCG | 23 ዱማድያኖስ ፡ BCDG, ዱማድያኖስ ፡ A | 24 መንክራተ ፡ con. Zot, መንክራት ፡ αCG | 25 ወለእልክቱ ፡ Σ, ወለእልክቱ ፡ s.l. G | 27 ይትማየኖ ፡ D, con. Zot, ይትማየኖ ፡ αCG, ይትማየኖ ፡ con. Cha (77, n. 1) | 29 ታሥምሮሙ ፡ αCD, ታሥምሮሙ ፡ G, ሥ.s.l. G | 32 ወናሁ ፡ Σ, s.l. A | ዐጸውክዋ ፡ αC, አውዳእክዋ ፡ D, አጸክውክዋ ፡ G | 33 ወለእሉሂ ፡ αCG, ወለእሉሂ ፡ D | 34 ኢይክል ፡ Σ, አነ ፡ add. D | 36 ፳፩ ፡ BCDG, ፳፫ ፡ A ወነሥአ ፡ αDG, om. C | 37 ዕልው ፡ CDG, om. α | ዮልያኖስ ፡ αG, ዮልያኖስ ፡ C, om. D

there, for he loved shedding blood. 2. Our Lord Jesus Christ - praise be on Him - abolished his practices and customs. 3. *Sāfursākis* (Sapor Arsaces),<sup>443</sup> king of Persia, who was peaceful and gave tribute to the God-loving emperor Constantine, arose to fight with the Romans. 4. In that time St Domitius became martyr and accomplished his struggle. And the emperor Julian, an enemy of God, made sacrifices to demons in the city named *Kāsəyu*<sup>444</sup> in the province of Antioch, which is on the distance of seven stadia from it. There was there an idol of Apollo. Thereafter he and the Roman army arose and went to fight with Persians 5. accompanied by all demon worshippers and deceitful augurs. On his way, he arrived at an abandoned<sup>445</sup> place, he saw many people there: men, women and children. 6. Many ill people were healed by the prayer of St Domitius, the servant of God. 7. He asked: ‘What is the assemblage, that I see?’ They told him: ‘A monk performs miracles and heals ill people. This assemblage that you see are the Christians. They receive blessing from him and are healed through him.’ 8. Julian got angry and sent to him one soldier deceiving him with powerful words. He told him: ‘If your dwelling is in this cave, in order to please your God, why do you wish to please people and why did not you hide yourself?’ 9. St Domitius replied: ‘I gave up my soul and my body to the hands of the God of Heaven, the true God, Jesus Christ. Now many years passed since I locked myself in this cave. I can’t send away these people, who came to me in faith.’ 10. Having heard that, the emperor commanded his soldiers to block the entrance of the cave with him inside until the death of the righteous old man. 11. In this manner he accomplished his struggle on the twenty-fifth of *Hamle*<sup>446</sup> and received the uncorruptible crown of martyrdom.<sup>447</sup> 12. The revenge of God was not slow with this impious heretic Julian. 13. He went to idolators like him, i.e. Persians, and went rapidly and never saw Rome again. 14. It did not happen to him as the liars had told him saying: ‘We, idols, would unite to help you when you enter the river.’ 15. This wretched one was seduced by their words. He could not open his mouth due to the abundance of their speeches. 16. They named this river ‘the river of fire’ because there were beasts in it; and because of that it was named with this name.<sup>448</sup> 17. Julian was firm and

<sup>443</sup>This identification is proposed by Zotenberg and followed by Charles (Zotenberg 1883, 317; Charles 1916, 76). I find the second element ‘Arsaces’ doubtful. | <sup>444</sup>Zotenberg translates this toponym as Casius (Zotenberg 1883, 317). Charles follows this proposal, thus he points to mention of another toponym, namely Cyrrhastica, in the *Chronicle of John Malalas* and in *Chronicon Paschale* (Charles 1916, 76, n. 1) However, I think that rather Kasios is meant, which is mentioned in the *Chronicle of John Malalas* 13.19 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 178). | <sup>445</sup>Two interpretations of the word ἄσπετος are possible. Charles translates it as ‘grassy’ (Charles 1913, 77). Whereas Zotenberg prefers to render it as ‘isolé’ (Zotenberg 1883, 317). | <sup>446</sup>See Zotenberg 1883, 318, n. 2. | <sup>447</sup>Cp. *John Malalas* 13.20 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 178). | <sup>448</sup>See Zotenberg 1883, 318, n.3; Charles 1916, 77, n. 2.

38 ዘውዳቶሙ ፣] Σ, ዘውዳቶሙ ፣ s.l. G | 39 ዳግመ ፣] CDG, om. α | 40 ሐሳውያን ፣] αDG, ሐሳዊያን ፣ C | ተጋብእን ፣] αCD, ተጋባእን ፣ G

APP. LECT. MIN.: 14 ሮማዊያን ፣] CG, ሮማውያን ፣ αD | 20 ጋኔናዊያን ፣] CG, ጋኔናውያን ፣ αD 27 ሷ ፣] αCG, አሐዶ ፣ D

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ወበቅድስና ፣] # BDG | 3 እስክንድርያ ፣] | 5 ጣዖት ፣] # BCG | 7 ሐዋርያዊ ፣] # αCG, # # D | 10 ሮም ፣] # D | 11 ደም ፣] # αG | 12 ወሥርዓታቲሁ ፣] # αG | 14 እግዚአብሔር ፣] # BG | ሮማዊያን ፣] # A | 15 ገድሎ ፣] # BCDG | 18 ጣዖት ፣] # A | 20 መስሕታን ፣] # αCD 21 ስዑር ፣] # D | 22 ዶትፌወሱ ፣] # α | 23 አምላክ ፣] # BCDG | 24 ዘእግዚአብሔር ፣] # αCG 25 ድውያን ፣] # BCDG | 26 በጎቤሁ ፣] # BCDG | 27 ጽኑዕ ፣] # BCG | 29 ለሰብእ ፣] # G አተገባእክ ፣] # αDG | 31 ክርስቶስ ፣] # Σ | 32 ዓመታተ ፣] # αC | 33 በአት ፣] # Σ 34 እስድዶሙ ፣] # αCG | 35 ጸድቅ ፣] # A | 36 ዘእይማስን ፣] # αCG | 38 እግዚአብሔር ፣] # D

1 ለሃይማኖተ ፣] H, በሃይማኖተ ፣] J K | በንጹሕ ፣] J K, በንጹሕ ፣] H | ወበቅድስና ፣] ( # H J K) ወእምድጎረዝ ፣] J K, ወእምድጎረ ፣] H | 2 ልብሰ ፣] አልባሰ ፣] H J K | ወኮነ ፣] J K, ኮነ ፣] H 3 እስክንድርያ ፣] ( # H J K) | 4 ቅድስት ፣] ( # J) | 5 ጣዖት ፣] ( # H) | 6 ምስላተ ፣] ( ፤ H) አትናቴዎስ ፣] H, አትናትዮስ ፣] J K | 7 ሐዋርያዊ ፣] ( # H J K) H J, ሐዋርያ ፣] K



established in his errors, he named himself mocker of God’s word, for he believed in idols and prayed for deamons, who were not able to save him. But they rather seduced him in his worthless deeds. Indeed they spoiled his reason and he became an enemy of God, the honored Creator and Our Savior Jesus Christ, who shed His blood on behalf of many and became a truthful foundation for the faithful, who avenged His Christian servants. 18. Indeed Julian shed the blood of many Christians and slaughtered in his days many believers, and he persecuted severely those, who envoked the name of Christ. 19. When this impious became strong to fight with Persia, the revenge of God Jesus Christ came down on him and he was killed through the hand of his servant, the martyr Mercury. 20. In this night, when this impure heretic was killed, the holy Basil, clothed by God, bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia, saw a vision. 21. He saw the opened heaven and Our Lord Jesus Christ sitting on the throne of His glory. He shouted saying: ‘O, Mercury, go and kill Julian, the enemy of my anointed ones!’ And the holy Mercury stood up in front of him wearing a new corslet covered with flowers.<sup>449</sup> 22. When he heard the command of Our Lord Jesus Christ, he disappeared for a short time, and he appeared for a short time. For the third time he appeared<sup>450</sup> shouting: ‘I killed the emperor Julian according to Your command and he died, O Lord!’ 23. At that time the bishop woke up in astonishment and wondering. Julian used to honor a lot the holy Basil, for they were friends since they were small and were versed in letters.<sup>451</sup> Basil sent many letters to him in order to return him from his seduce but he did not accept this. 24. After the chief of priests Basil woke up from his sleep, he invited the honored priests and the faithful to pray at night in the church. 25. After the completion of the prayer he told them on a vision, he had seen and said: ‘Is Julian about to die?’ Having heard that, the priests and people became afraid. Thereafter they asked him to keep silence until he knew exactly the case. But the man of God did not want to keep silence. He rather spoke and had no fear because he trusted in God and in Our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>452</sup> 26. At that time it happened according to the vision of the holy Basil, the death of the heretic Julian became known in the whole land as well as his destruction, which had happened from God through the hand of the holy martyr Mercury. 27. This impious man practised desolation and evilness on soldiers and he cut off noses of two Persian men, when they led him away and brought him to a desolate region with no water and no path, when he desired to fight with the Persians.<sup>453</sup> 28. Romans perished through hunger, thirst and many hardships in this place, because these Persians acted wisely with Romans and destroyed them. The impious Julian did not recognize the prudent sentence of God. 29. His torments eundured his whole life, i.e. eighty-four years.<sup>454</sup> 30. After the death of Julian, the Roman army assembled in order to appoint an emperor. They all agreed with the help

<sup>449</sup> Charles renders this expression as ‘a flashing corslet of steel’ (Charles 1916, 78, n. 1). Cp. *John Malalas* 13.25 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 181). | <sup>450</sup> I follow here the text of manuscripts and disregard the conjectures by Zotenberg and Charles (Zotenberg 1883, 91; Charles 1916, 78, n. 2). | <sup>451</sup> As Charles points out, the conjecture by Zotenberg here is not needed (Charles, 1916, 78, n.3). | <sup>452</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 13.25 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 181-182). See also, Zotenberg 1883, 320, n. 1. | <sup>453</sup> On this account see *John Malalas* 13.22 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 180). According to *John Malalas*, Sapor, the Persian king, cut off the noses of his officials and sent them to Julian. | <sup>454</sup> Charles translates ‘fourty and four years’, pointing however that other authors give another age of his death (Charles 1916, 79, n.1). See also Zotenberg 1883, 320, n. 3.

APP. LECT. MIN.: 11 መሲሐዊያን ።] CG, መሲሐውያን ፣ αD | 16 ርኩስ ፣] αCD, ርኩስ ፣ G  
40 ወለጄኒ ፣] αCD, ወለከኤቲኒ ፣ G

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ለተራድኦትከ ።] ። αCG | 3 ንባቦሙ ።] ። Σ | 4 አራዊት ፣] ። A | ስም ።] ። Σ  
7 ጽፋዓት ።] ። Σ | 8 ልቡናሁ ፣] ። C | 9 ክርስቶስ ፣] ፤ G | ብዙኃን ፣] ። D | 11 መሲሐዊያን ።] ። Σ  
ክርስቲያን ፣] ። D | 13 ለክርስቶስ ።] ። BDG | 16 ሰማዕት ።] ። Σ | ተቀትለ ፣] ፤ G | 18 ዘቀጸዶቅያ ፣]  
። CD | 19 ስብሐቲሁ ፣] ። BG | 23 ንስቲተ ፣] ። DG | 25 አእግዚኦ ።] ። BCDG | ያነክር ።] ። αG  
27 መጻሕፍተ ።] ። αDG | 29 ወኢተወክፎ ።] ። CG, ፤ B | 31 ክርስቲያን ።] ። αG | 33 ዮልያኖስ ።] ።  
αDG | ወሕዝብ ፣] ። BG | 35 ያርምም ።] ። Σ | 36 ክርስቶስ ፣] ። D | 39 መርቆሬዎስ ።] ። BCG

ለምሕላፍ ፡ አመ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ፈቀደ ፡ ተጽብኦቶሙ ፡ ለሰብአ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ 28. ወጎልቁ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ሮ|ም ፡ በረኃብ ፡ ወጽምእ ፡ ወበብዙኅ ፡ ምንዳቤ ፡ በውእቱ ፡ መካን ፡ C126vc  
እስመ ፡ ተጠባብረው ፡ እሉ ፡ ዕደወ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ለሮማውያን ፡ ወአጎለቅዎሙ ።  
ወዝንቱስ ፡ ከሐዲ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡ ኢያእመረ ፡ ፍትሐ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ A90rc  
5 ፡ ጥይቅ<ተ> ፡ 29. ወኩነ|ኔያቲሁ ፡ አምጣነ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወቱ ፡ ዘኩ ፡ B68vb  
ላቋሁ ፡ ፹ወ፬ ፡ ዓመት ። 30. ወእምድኅረ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡ ተጋብኡ ፡  
ሰራዊተ ፡ ሮም ፡ ከመ ፡ ያንግሡ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ወተሰነአዉ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ በረ  
ድኤተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡ በፋርስ ፡ ወኅረይዎ ፡ ለዮልያኖስ ፡ ከመ ፡  
ይኩን ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ። 31. እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ክርስቲያናዌ ፡ ኦርቶዶ  
10 ክላዌ ፡ ምእመነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወኢፈቀደ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ባሕቱ ፡ Z93  
በአገብሮ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ንጉሠ ። 32. ወእምቅድመ ፡ ዝኒ ፡ ነበረ ፡ ርእሰ ፡ መኳንንት ፡  
ወበእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነሥእ ፡ አክሊለ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ወእምድኅረ ፡ ረሰይዎ ፡  
ንጉሠ ፡ ዐርገ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መካን ፡ ልዑል ፡ ወጸርሐ ፡ በቃል ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ እንዘ ፡  
ይብል ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ወሰራዊት ። እመሰ ፡ ፈቀድክሙ ፡ እኩን ፡  
15 ንጉሠ ፡ ላዕሌክሙ ፡ ኩኑ ፡ መሲሐዊያነ ፡ ከማየ ፡ ወእመኑ ፡ በክርስቶስ ፡ ወኩኑ ፡  
አፅራረ ፡ ለጣዖታት ፡ 33. ወበጊዜሃ ፡ ጸርሐ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ወሰራዊት ፡ |  
በ፩ ፡ ቃል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ንሕነ ፡ መሲሐዊያን ፡ እምይእዜስ ፡ ንጉሥነ ፡ ክር  
ሰቶስ ፡ ወመስቀሉ ፡ ክቡር ። ወበእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ | አክበርዎ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ወወ  
20 ደስዎ ፡ ውዳሴ ፡ ዐቢያ ። 34. ወሶበ ፡ አእመሩ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡  
ፈነዉ ፡ ተናብልተ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ዮያኖስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ አምላክ ፡ በእንተ ፡  
ሰላም ፡ ወዕርቅ ። ወንጉሥኒ ፡ ዮያኖስ ፡ ተወክፎሙ ፡ ኅቤሁ ፡ በ|ፍስሐ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ B68vc  
ሰላም ፡ ወዕርቅ ፡ ማእከለ ፡ ሮም ፡ ወፋርስ ። 35. ወፋርስኒ ፡ ተሰነአዉ ፡ ከመ ፡  
የሀብዎ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ወውእቱኒ ፡ መሐሮሙ ፡ ግብረ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ዓመት ፡ በእንተ ፡  
25 ዘአጥፍአ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ለሀገረ ፡ እንድርዋን ፡ ወረሰያ ፡ በድወ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡ ከሐዲ ።  
36. ወባሕቱ ፡ አዘዘሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይሕንጹ ፡ አሐተ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ አፍአ ፡ እምሀገረ ፡ መን  
ግሥቶሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትኩን ፡ ሎሙ ። ወሰመያ ፡ ለይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ አሚድስ ፡  
ወጽኑዕ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ አረፋቲሃ ፡ ወቅጽራ ፡ ወመልአ ፡ ውስቲታ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ሰብአ ፡  
ወረሰያ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቀዳሚት ፡ ሀገር ፡ ዘአመዝበራ ፡ ዮልያኖስ ፡ ከሐዲ ፡ ወዘተሰይመ ፡  
በይእቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ሰአሎ ፡ | ብዙኅ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ዮያኖስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይስምያ ፡ በስመ ፡ A90vb  
30 ሮም ። ወውእቱኒ ፡ ኢፈቀደ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሰላም ፡ ወዕርቅ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ማእከለ ፡ ሮም ፡  
ወፋርስ ።

APP. CRIT.: 1 ተጽብኦቶሙ ፡ ፤]Σ, ተጽብኦቶሙ ፡ s.l. G | 2 ሮም ፡ ፤]αCG, ፋርስ ፡ D | መካን ፡ ፤]αC, መዋዕል ፡ ወመካን ፡ DG | 3 እስመ ፡ ፤]αC, om. DG | ተጠባብረው ፡ ፤]αC, ተጠባብረው ፡ D, ተጠባብረው ፡ G | 4 ኢያእመረ ፡ ፤]ΣZot: ዮያእመረ ፡ A | 5 ጥይቅተ ፡ ፤]coni. Zot. ጥይቅት ፡ αDG, ጥይ ጥቅት C | ዘኩላቋሁ ፡ ፤]Σ, ዘኩላቋሁ ፡ s.l. G | 6 ዓመት ፡ ፤]αC, ዓመቱ ። DG | ሞተ ፡ ፤]αDG, om. C | 7 ወተሰነአዉ ፡ ፤]ወተሰነአዉ ፡ Zot | 8 ለዮያኖስ ፤]B, ለዮልያኖስ ፡ ADG, ለዮልያኖስ ፡ C | 9 ኮነ ፡ ፤]Σ, s.l. A | 12 ነሥእ ፡ ፤]BCDG, n.l. A | 13 ወጸርሐ ፡ ፤]αCD, ጸርሐ ፡ G | 15 ኩኑ ፡ ፤]αCG, om. D መሲሐዊያነ ፡ ፤]C, መሲሐዊያነ ፡ αD, መሲሐዊያን ፡ G | 20 ፈነዉ ፡ ፤]αDG, ፈነወ ፡ C | 22 ሰላም ፡ ወዕርቅ ፡ ፤]BCDG, ሰላም ፡ ወዕርቅ ፡ A | ተሰነአዉ ፡ ፤]Σ, ተሰነአዉ ፡ Zot | 23 በእንተ ፡ ፤]αDG, om. C 25 አፍአ ፡ ፤]αDG, አጥፍአ ፡ C | 27 ወጽኑዕ ፡ ፤]Σ, ወአፅንዕ ፡ coni. Zot | ወቅጽራ ፡ ፤]Σ, ወ{ቅ}ጽራ ፡ s.l. G | 28 ቀዳሚት ፡ ፤]αCG, ቀዳሚ ፡ D | ወዘተሰይመ ፡ ፤]αCD, ወዘተሰይመ ፡ G

APP. LECT. MIN.: 3 ለሮማውያን ፡ ፤]αDG, ለሮማዊያን ፡ C | 17 መሲሐዊያን ፡ ፤]CG, መሲሐውያን ፡ αD

APP. PUNCT.: 1 ለምሕላፍ ፡ ፤] # D | 2 መካን ፡ ፤] # G | 3 ዕደወ ፡ ፤] # A | ወአጎለቅዎሙ ፡ ፤] # Σ 5 ጥይቅተ ፡ ፤] # A | 6 ዓመት ፡ ፤] # BCDG | 8 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ፤] # C | 9 ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ፤] # BC, ፫ G 11 ንጉሠ ፡ ፤] # Σ | 14 ወሰራዊት ፡ ፤] # αCG | 15 ከማየ ፡ ፤] # D | 16 ለጣዖታት ፡ ፤] # CD | 18 ክቡር ፡ ፤] # αCG | 19 ዐቢያ ፡ ፤] # αDG | 21 ወዕርቅ ፡ ፤] # Σ | 22 ወዕርቅ ፡ ፤] # C | ወፋርስ ፡ ፤] # αDG 24 ከሐዲ ፡ ፤] # BCDG | 26 ሎሙ ፡ ፤] # αCG | 27 ወቅጽራ ፡ ፤] # C | 28 ከሐዲ ፡ ፤] # BG 30 ሮም ፡ ፤] # BCG | ወዕርቅ ፡ ፤] # B | 31 ወፋርስ ፡ ፤] # αCG, # # D

of God while in Persia and elected Jovian to become emperor over them. 31. For he was an Orthodox Christian devoted to God and he did not want to become emperor, but became emperor by force.<sup>455</sup> 32. Beforehand he was a chief of the governors, and according to that he received the crown of empire. 5  
 After becoming an emperor he ascended on a higher place, and shouted in a loud voice saying in front of all people and the army: ‘If you really wish me to become emperor over you, become Christian like me and believe in Christ and be enemies of idols.’<sup>456</sup> 33. At that moment all people and the army cried out in one voice: ‘We are Christians, and from now then our king is Jesus Christ and His Holy Cross.’ According to that they honored the emperor and praised him with great laudation. 10  
 34. When the Persians learned about the death of Julian, they sent ambassadors to the God-loving emperor Jovian for peace and reconciliation. Emperor Jovian received them at his place with joy and there was peace and reconciliation between Rome and Persia. 35. The Persians agreed to pay tribute. But Jovian pardoned them a tribute of one year, because the impious Julian had destroyed previously the city of <sup>3</sup>*Ἰνδάρωαν*<sup>457</sup> and turned it into desert. 15  
 36. But he rather commanded them to construct one city outside their kingdom for them. He named this city <sup>3</sup>*Ἀμιδάς*, its wall and citadel were strong, and it was full with people. He made it like the former city, which the impious Julian had destroyed. The one, who 20  
 was appointed in this city, asked the emperor Jovian many times to name it with the name of Rome. But he did not want it because of peace and reconciliation between Rome and Persia.<sup>458</sup>

<sup>455</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 13.26 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 182). | <sup>456</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 13.27 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 182). | <sup>457</sup> See Zotenberg 1883, 321, n. 1. | <sup>458</sup> Cp. *John Malalas* 13.27 (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 182-183). See also Charles 1916, 80, n. 2.

## Dissertation Summary

The *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* is an extremely important historical source for the history of Egypt, as well as for the history of Late Antiquity in general. Being written either in Coptic or in Greek, the text was translated into Arabic at an undetermined date. Later it was translated into Ethiopic in 1601, and at the very end of the nineteenth century into Amharic. According to the current state of knowledge only these two versions have survived.

The *Chronicle* was completely published and translated for the first time by H. Zotenberg in 1883. Since that time the number of available witnesses to the text increased, and the preparation of a new edition became an obvious *disideratum*. The present dissertation is devoted to the preparation of a new text-critical edition of the *Chronicle* applying the so-called genealogical-reconstructive method. The dissertation contains a summary of the history of research, analysis of the history of the text transmission, including the provenance of the Amharic version. In the frame of this project a new *dossier* of the text was prepared, which incorporated all available direct and indirect witnesses.

In the course of the work, all available witnesses were collated and two hypotheses for a possible *stemma codicum* were proposed. A text-critical edition of the first eighty Chapters of the *Chronicle* (which corresponds to some fifty per cent of the entire text) was prepared based on one of the proposed hypotheses for *stemma codicum*. The *Apparatus Criticus* of the edition includes not only readings attested in manuscripts, but also conjectures of the text proposed by different scholars.

The translation in English is accompanied by commentaries on various aspects, including comparison with other texts, which might have served as a source for the *Chronicle*, explanations of conjectures, historical and linguistic commentaries. The translation is supplied with transliteration of proper names and ambiguous lexica, which serves for better analysis of the content of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*.

## Zusammenfassung der Dissertation

Die Chronik von Johannes von Nikiu ist eine äußerst wichtige historische Quelle für die Geschichte Ägyptens sowie für die Geschichte der Spätantike im Allgemeinen. Der Text wurde entweder auf Koptisch oder auf Griechisch verfasst und dann ins Arabische übersetzt. 1601 wurde er ins Äthiopische übersetzt und Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts ins Amharische. Nach dem heutigen Kenntnisstand sind diese zwei Versionen die einzigen, die erhalten geblieben sind.

Die Chronik wurde 1883 von H. Zotenberg zum ersten Mal vollständig editiert und übersetzt. Seit dieser Zeit stieg die Anzahl der verfügbaren Zeugen des Textes und eine neue Edition wurde zu einem offensichtlichen Desideratum. Die vorliegende Dissertation widmet sich der Vorbereitung einer neuen textkritischen Edition der Chronik unter Anwendung der sogenannten genealogisch-rekonstruktiven Methode. Die Dissertation enthält eine Zusammenfassung der Forschungsgeschichte und eine Analyse der Geschichte der Textüberlieferung, einschließlich der Herkunft der amharischen Version. Im Rahmen dieses Projekts wurde ein neues Dossier des Textes erstellt, in das alle verfügbaren direkten und indirekten Zeugen einbezogen wurden.

Im Laufe der Arbeit wurden alle verfügbaren Zeugen zusammengetragen und zwei Hypothesen für ein mögliches stemma codicum vorgeschlagen. Eine textkritische Ausgabe der ersten achtzig Kapitel der Chronik (die ungefähr fünfzig Prozent des gesamten Textes ausmachen) wurde auf der Grundlage einer der vorgeschlagenen Hypothesen für das stemma codicum erstellt. Der Apparatus Criticus der Edition umfasst nicht nur die Lesungen von Manuskripten, sondern auch Konjekturen des Textes, die von verschiedenen Forscher\_innen vorgeschlagen wurden.

Die Übersetzung ins Englische wird von Kommentaren zu verschiedenen Aspekten begleitet, darunter einem Vergleich mit anderen Texten, die als Quelle für die Chronik dienen könnten, Erklärungen zu Vermutungen sowie historischen und sprachlichen Kommentaren. Die Übersetzung schließt zur besseren Analyse des Inhalts der Chronik von Johannes von Nikiu die Transliteration von Eigennamen und mehrdeutigen Lexemen ein.

## List of Publications

- Brown, J. R. and D. Elagina 2018. ‘A New Witness to the Chronicle of John of Nikiu: EMML 7919’, *Aethiopica*, 21 (2018), 120–136.
- Elagina, D. 2017. “The Gəʿəz text and the Amharic version of the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu*,” *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Terza Serie, 1 (2017), 113–119.
- Elagina, D. 2019. ‘Chronicle of John of Nikiu: Textual Transmission of the Ethiopic Version’, in A. Bausi, A. Camplani, and S. Emmel, eds, *Time and History in Africa*, *Africana Ambrosiana*, 4 (Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2019), 113–126.