

**The Chronicle of King Gälawdewos (1540–1559):
A Critical Edition with Annotated Translation**

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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.

Solomon Gebreyes Beyene

Hamburg, 31 March 2016

Dedication

In Memory of my beloved father Gebreyes Beyene (*Abbabiye*),
(1937–2008)

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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

ARCCH	Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritages.
BL	London, British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
<i>CE</i>	<i>The Coptic Encyclopedia</i>
Ch.	Chapter
cp.	Compare
<i>E Ae</i>	<i>E Ae</i>
E.C.	Ethiopian Calendar
<i>El²</i>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>
EOTC	Ethiopian Orthodox Tāwāḥədo Church
fn.	Footnote

Biblical Abbreviations¹

1. Old Testament

Abbreviation	Book
Gen.	Genesis
Exod.	Exodus
Lev.	Leviticus
Num.	Numbers
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Josh.	Joshua
Judg.	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam.	1 Samuel
2 Sam.	2 Samuel
1 Kings	1 Kings
2 Kings	2 Kings
1 Chron.	1 Chronicles

¹ Abbreviation for the books of the Bible are adopted in this study according to the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Information is taken from *The Chicago Manual of style*, 15th ed., 2003, sections 15, 50–54.

List of abbreviations and symbols

2 Chron.	2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Neh.	Nehemiah
Esther	Esther
Job	Job
Ps.	Psalms
Prov.	Proverbs
Isa.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Dan.	Daniel
Hosea	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos
Obad.	Obadiah
Jon.	Jonah
Mic.	Micah
Nah.	Nahum
Hab.	Habakkuk
Zeph.	Zephaniah
Hag.	Haggai
Zech.	Zechariah
Mal.	Malachi
Sir.	Sirach (= Ecclesiasticus)
Bar.	Baruch
Epis.	Jeremiah Epistle of Jeremiah
Jub.	Jubilees
En.	Enoch

2. The New Testament

Abbreviation Book:

Matt.	Matthew
Mark	Mark
Luke	Luke

List of abbreviations and symbols

John	John
Acts	Acts of the Apostles
Rom.	Romans
1 Cor.	1 Corinthians
2 Cor.	2 Corinthians
Gal.	Galatians
Eph.	Ephesians
Phil.	Philippians
Col.	Colossians
1 Thess.	1 Thessalonians
2 Thess.	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim.	1 Timothy
2 Tim.	2 Timothy
Titus	Titus
Philem.	Philemon
Heb.	Hebrews
James	James
1 Pet.	1 Peter
2 Pet.	2 Peter
1 John	1 John
2 John	2 John
3 John	3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev	Revelation (= Apocalypse of John)

Note on Transliteration

The transliterations are done in accordance with the EAE standard.

a. Vowels

Sound	Symbol	Pronunciation	
		Amharic examples	English examples
አ	ä	ደረሰ	däräsä
ኡ	u	ሙታን	mutan
ኢ	i	ኢየሱ	°Iyasu
ኣ	a	ተኣከለ	tä°akkälä
ኤ	e	ኤፍሬም	°Efrem
እ	ə	እኩል	°əkkul
ኦ	o	ኦሜጋ	°omega

b. Consonants

ሀ	h	ሀረግ	haräg
ለ	l	ለግላጋ	läglaga
ሐ	ḥ	ሐሜት	ḥamet
መ	m	መንገድ	mängäd
ሠ	ś	ሠነቀ	śänäqä
ረ	r	ረዳ	rädda
ሰ	s	ሰበረ	säbärä
ሸ	š	ሸለት	šulät
ቀ	q	ቀጣ	qätṭa
በ	b	በረከት	bäräkät
ተ	t	ተናጋሪ	tänagari
ቸ	č	ቸበቸበ	čäbäččäbä
ኀ	ḥ	ኀለየ	ḥalläyä
ነ	n	ነቃ	näqqa
ኘ	ñ	ዋኘ	waññä
አ	°	አባለ	°abbala
ከ	k	ከበሮ	käbäro
ኸ	ḳ	ይኸው	yəkäw
ወ	w	ወንፊት	wänfit

Note on transliteration

ዐ	°	ዐለሙ	°allämä
ዘ	z	ዘራ	zärra
ዠ	ž	ታዛሻር	Tazzaž
የ	y	የሰው	yäsäw
ደ	d	ደፋር	däfar
ጀ	ǧ	ጀገን	ǧäggänä
ገ	g	ገደል	gäddäl
ጠ	ṭ	ጠዋት	ṭawat
ጨ	č	ጨለሙ	čällämä
ጸ	Ṗ	ጴጥሮስ	petros
ሸ	š	ሸበል	šäbäl
ፀ	š	ፀጋ	šäga
ፈ	f	ፈለቀ	fäläqä
ፐ	p	ፖሊስ	polis
ቁ	q ^w	ቁጠረ	qwottärä
ኀ	ḥ ^w	ኀለቀ	ḥwälläqä
ኸ	k ^w	ኸረከሙ	kwäräkkwämä
ገ	g ^w	ገባጣ	gwäbaṭa

Preface

The present PhD thesis ‘The Chronicle of King Gälawdewos (1540–1559): A Critical Edition with Annotated Translation’ is the result of a three-year intensive work. There had been three main points which led me to propose the topic of my dissertation. The first is the following: in the textual editions of Ethiopian chronicles, the methodological issue for the edition of the chronicles is the central focus of research. All Ethiopic chronicles composed for many Ethiopian kings from the fourteenth to the early twentieth century were edited by European scholars since the last quarter of the nineteenth century and translated into many European languages. In this regard, the works of the European scholars have greatly contributed to the reconstruction of the history and culture of the country.

Today, however, their works evaluated from the point of current philological trends, suffer from a problem of the method of editing. That is why scholars in the field call for re-edition of these historical texts. They argue that most Ethiopic chronicles were edited based on a base-text approach which makes available only a (so-called) single ‘best text’ for the readers and is not appropriate for the reconstruction of an authentic text. The Neo-Lachmannian method, which is employed in this study, is scientifically more reliable for reconstructing the authentic text, that is, the text which is the nearest to the original. In this regard, philologists in the field of Ethiopian studies after long scholarly investigation on the earlier edition of these texts have recalled for a re-edition (Kropp 1984; Marrassini 2009). Marrassini (1993) and Kropp (1994) took priority and edited the Chronicle of the first Solomonic monarch, the so-called Chronicle of ʿAmdä Şəyon (1314–1344), having brought new insights for the historiography of Ethiopia. At present, Kropp has also been working on another medieval chronicle—the Chronicle of Zärʿa Yaʿqob (1434–1468). Thus, I have selected one of the still neglected chronicles of medieval Ethiopia, the Chronicle of King Gälawdewos (1540–1559) for the re-edition of it on the basis of the fact that this chronicle is a very important primary source to understand the turbulent period of the sixteenth century. This period witnessed disastrous religious wars and massive population movements which completely changed the ethnic and religious map of the country. It is a crucial century in the long history of the country and, therefore, an up-to-date edition of this crucial document will provide a much needed historical source for the researchers.

The chronicle was edited in 1895 based on the best-text approach which implies limitations in the reconstruction of the authentic document. It was edited on the basis of three man-

uscripts ignoring the other two manuscripts, for unknown reasons, which were kept in Bibliothèque nationale de France since the second half of the nineteenth century. Above all, I have discovered a new uncatalogued manuscript from the royal church of Ethiopia called Tädabä Maryam. Thus, this edition is going to be prepared on the basis of the six manuscripts and, therefore, this new edition is expected to yield the authentic text near to the original on the basis of the Neo-Lachmannian method. This includes studying both the internal and external features of the manuscripts thoroughly, studying the tradition of the text and building the *stemma codicum* of the text. Apart from the methodological limitation, the previous edition of by Conzelman suffers greatly from imprecise collation of the manuscripts he utilized (in many places the variants indicated in the critical apparatus are misleading).

The translation of all the Ethiopic chronicles into English deserves equal attention. This is because of the fact that the chronicles which were edited almost a century ago or earlier are not easily available for Ethiopian scholars due to a language barrier. In addition, the annotation is also outdated, being based on the old, non-up-to-date state of the art of one hundred years ago. Much has been done on Ethiopian history, culture and languages over the last century and it is useful, therefore, to apply a new updated annotation. These are the three important rationales for this project.

The main goal of this project includes critical edition based on Neo-Lachmannian method, by analyzing the text with the help of the other primary historical sources and annotating it with an English translation.

The thesis is organized into five chapters:

1. Chapter One: Introduction
2. Chapter Two: Content and Context
3. Chapter Three: Critical Edition of the Chronicle of Gälawdewos
4. Chapter Four: Critical Text with Apparatus
5. Chapter Five: Translation and Commentary.

Chapter One is an ‘Introduction’ which provides general information on Ethiopian chronicles—features, the problems of the critical edition and translation of the chronicles approximately in the last century. Finally, it defines why I selected for the reedition the Chronicle of Gälawdewos, and the methods and reviews of the works which have been done so far concerning the Chronicle.

Chapter Two is devoted to provide a useful information of the content and context of the chronicle: how it was composed, why it was composed, how it was narrated and by whom it was written. Also, it analyses the language and literary genres of the chronicle.

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Chapter Three, in turn, deals with the editorial methodology and philological elements of the different versions of the chronicle, which are essential aspects for the reconstruction of the critical text. These aspects embrace the manuscript tradition of the text, the description of the manuscripts, the chapter arrangement of the manuscripts, collation, conjunctive errors and *stemma codicum* as well as critical apparatus. It also treats the results of the critical edition.

Chapter Four contains the critical text with the apparatus, and Chapter Five the translation with annotation.

Chapter One: Introduction

1. Ethiopian Royal Chronicles: development and characteristics

Royal Chronicles are important Gəʿəz literary texts dealing with the history of Ethiopian kings from fourteenth century to the early twentieth century. Before fourteenth century, we still have no evidence that proves the existence of a tradition of chronicle composition either during the Aksumite or Zagʷe period. However, the Aksumite kings had a tradition of recording royal historical tradition on inscriptions and lists of kings might hint at the existence of such a tradition.¹ Hagiography has been the only written royal historiography composed for some saint kings of the Zagʷe dynasty though it is usually believed that their hagiographies were written two centuries after the end of the Zagʷe dynasty.² Consequently, chronicle composition, as far as we know it so far, was an exclusive royal historiographical tradition of the Solomonic monarchs, primarily composed to maintain dynastic genealogy and political legitimacy.

The first chronicle of the Solomonic monarch, the chronicle of ʿAmdä Şəyon, was written during the reign of the king,³ which marked the beginning of the chronicle production in the royal court. Thereafter, with the exception of a few known Solomonic monarchs,⁴ chronicle production continued in subsequent centuries for a king in power—during either his reign or long after his death—in some cases composed by the order of the immediate successor of a king.

The royal chronicles were composed in the court by clerics who were well versed in Gəʿəz language and who had advanced knowledge of church education. These clerics are called chroniclers.⁵ We can identify two groups of chroniclers in the development of Ethiopian royal historiography. The first group of chroniclers, who produced many of the royal

¹ Dillmann 1884; Conti Rossini 1909; Kobishanov 1966; Bausi 2006a; ‘Inscriptions’, *EAE*, III (2007), 163a-165a, esp. 170a-b (Gianfranco Fiaccadori); ‘King lists’, *EAE*, V (2014), 376b-379b (Alessandro Bausi).

² ‘Hagiography’, *EAE*, II (2005), 969a-972a, esp. 970 (Denis Nosnitsin).

³ Turaev who translated the chronicle into Russian strongly believed that it was composed during the period of the king evidently taking references from the chronicle that indicate that the chronicler was a contemporary of the time and the eyewitness of the event. Cp. Turaev 1936, 13.

⁴ We do not find any royal chronicles for medieval Solomonic monarchs like King Yəkunno Amlak, Dawit, and Yəşhaq, and in seventeenth century for Gondarine King Fasilädäs. Chronicles might have been written for each of these kings but they did not reach to these days.

⁵ Täklä Şadəq 1960, 2 ff.; Sergew 1972, 2; Hussein 1994, 75; McCann 1979, 48.

chronicles, bore the title of *Şāḥafe Təʿəzaz*.⁶ The monarch (king) directly appointed them and they worked under the supervision of the *Azzaż*.⁷ They had the task of writing what the king or the *Azzaż* dictated to them and after that they took the written chronicles to the king for approval. If there was anything that displeased the king, he could order a change or if there were some points, which the chronicle had not sufficiently stressed, he would ask for improvement.⁸ Sometime, *Şāḥafe Təʿəzazat* were ordered to read their text publicly in the presence of the king and court dignitaries. Several chronicles of the medieval, post-medieval and modern periods were believed to have been composed by *Şāḥafe Təʿəzazat* such as the chronicle of ʿAmdä Şəyon, Ləbnä Dəngəl, Minas, Susənyos, Yoḥannəs I, Iyasu I, Tewodros II, Yoḥannəs IV and Mənəlik II.

In fact, it is very difficult to identify all the names of the royal chroniclers. However, there were notable royal chroniclers who have been known, such as *Azzaż Ṭinno*⁹ of Susənyos, *Azzaż Sinoda*¹⁰ of Iyasu I, *Aläqa Gäbru* of Täklä Giyorgis (1779–1784),¹¹ *Aläqa Zänäb*¹² of Tewodros II and *Gäbrä Şəllase*¹³ of Mənəlik II. Others are not known to these days because of the fact that there was no tradition to mention the name of the writer in Ethiopian literature.

The other group of chroniclers was not directly subject to *Azzaż* in the court and they were independent of the royal court. These chroniclers were few in number compared to the first group of chroniclers. They appeared in the historiography of Ethiopia towards the end of the eighteenth century on the eve of *Zämänä mäsafənt* when power was at low ebb¹⁴ and continued to exist in the nineteenth century. These individual chroniclers, who were independent of the royal court, had more freedom than the first to criticize and analyse the historical

⁶ Basset 1882, 4; Pereira 1892, 288 (text); Dombrowski 1983, 304. See more details on the essence and evolution of this title, in ‘*Şāḥafe Təʿəzaz*’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 460–461 (Sevir Chernetsov and Denis Nosnitsin).

⁷ The title *Azzaż* is given for court official who were responsible to administer court activities under the king. However, in some cases *Şāḥafe Təʿəzaz* could serve both as court administrator and writer of the history of the king—in such situation the title *Azzaż* was probably delineated for the chronicler. This is more evident particularly during the Gondarine time when all the chief chroniclers bore the title *Azzaż*. See also Dombrowski 1983, 299.

⁸ Sergew 1972, 2.

⁹ The Chronicle of Susənyos was written by many chroniclers. Among the major known of these chroniclers was *Azzaż Ṭinno* who was known by the name of Täklä Şəllase. He had also a title of *Şāḥafe ḥəgg* at the royal court. See Pereira 1892, XVIII; Orłowska 2002, 423.

¹⁰ Guidi 1910.

¹¹ Shiferaw 2004.

¹² *Aläqa Zänäb* was a court chronicler of Emperor Tewodros II and curator of the Mäqdäla collection.

¹³ *Gäbrä Şəllase* was the only chronicler of Emperor Mənəlik II.

¹⁴ Chernetsov 1991, 87.

events as they were.¹⁵ Examples are the two chroniclers of Emperor Tewodros, namely Wäldä Maryam¹⁶ and an anonymous¹⁷ chronicler, who can be categorized as individual chroniclers.

In general, Ethiopian chronicles can be characterized in terms of their date of composition, style of writing, philosophy and the language in which they were written. In their date of composition, Ethiopian chronicles are written either during the events which they describe or long after the events. According to many European philologists and historians who have meticulously studied Ethiopian chronicles, a sizeable number of chronicles were composed during the reign of the king. In this regard, the chronicles of King ʿAmdä Şəyon, Śārşä Dəngəl, Susənyos, Iyasu I, Yoḥannəs I, Tewodros II, Yoḥannəs IV and Mənəlik II can be categorized under the group of the chronicles composed during the reign of the king.¹⁸ On the other hand, the chronicle of Zärʿa Yaʿəqob (1434–1468),¹⁹ the chronicle of Gälawdewos,²⁰ the short chronicle of Ləbnä Dəngəl, Minas²¹ and the other two chronicles of Tewodros II and Yoḥannəs IV were composed some years after the king died.²²

Both types of chronicles have value for reconstruction of history as primary sources with various degree. However, historians give more credit to those chronicles composed during the life time of the king. They argue that the accuracy of a given chronicle is inversely proportional to the gap in time between the events described and the writing of the chronicles.²³ While chronicles written long after the fact tend to provide less accurate and less specific facts, it can also be said that they confuse sequence and telescope events.²⁴ Thus, chronicles written during the time when the event happened can serve as excellent primary sources.

¹⁵ McCann 1979, 52. In fact, there were some royal chroniclers like *Aläqa Zänäb* of Tewodros II who had freedom to criticize. He did not follow strictly the method and approach of other royal chronicles. He had greater freedom in expressing independent views and he avoided exaggerating the facts.

¹⁶ Wäldä Maryam was not a court chronicler. It is believed that in his youth he was among the close circle of *Abuna Sälama III*, metropolitan of Ethiopia. He wrote the chronicle of Tewodros II after his death in 1881. Cp. ‘Historiography’, *EAE*, III (2007), 41–44 (Sevir Chernetsov).

¹⁷ The other chronicler of Tewodros II remains anonymous and his name cannot be traced from any passage in the text. He wrote the chronicle of Tewodros II after Yoḥannəs IV’s accession to power.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Perruchon 1893, 3 (text) = 199 (tr.); Derat 2006, 1. It was written forty years after the death of the king during the reign of Ləbnä Dəngəl.

²⁰ It was written two years after the death of the king. It is discussed in detail in chapter two.

²¹ Both the short chronicle of Ləbnä Dəngəl and Minas were written during the reign of Śārşä Dəngəl as an introduction to the long chronicle of the same king. Cp. Kropp 1988, 3 (text) = 3 (tr.).

²² McCann 1979, 52.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ McCann 1979, 55.

Even chronicles composed as the events unfolded may differ from each other in their accuracy and in the degree to which they contribute to an understanding of the period. This means that not all of them have equal value as historical sources. In this regard, there are some chronicles which described events chronologically and contained detailed historical data. Notable examples of these are the chronicles of King Śārṣä Dəngəl and Susənyos.²⁵ Both of these chronicles provide details on historical facts that help us to understand significantly the history of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Besides, the chronicle of °Amdä Şəyon though it mostly describes one of the king's victorious expeditions over the Muslim states of Ifat, has incorporated detailed historical facts, particularly place names and political boundaries of Christian Empire in the fourteenth century.²⁶

In their style of writing chronicles are all focused on the monarch as the main central figure. All chronicles which were written in various periods incorporated the historical background, military success, political administration and religious devotion of the king. In fact, the structure and content of the chronicle show a shift in trend in the eighteenth century on, when it deviates from the previous tradition of considering the monarch as the central figure: at this time the tradition of incorporating the queen and other notables in the narration starts to gain ground. This is really reflected in the chronicle of Iyasu II (1730–1755) in which Queen Məntəwwab and her relatives *grazmač* Niqolawos and *ras* Wäldä Lə³ul dominate the narration.²⁷

By and large, the chronicles begin with a biblical or genealogical statement setting the subsequent narrative firmly in the context of the glorious achievements of the past. In this regard, the Ethiopian chronicles share commonality, as noted by McCann, with their counterparts in Rajasthan and Medieval Europe.²⁸ This is mainly due to the fact that according to the Old Testament model, as expressed by biblical monarchs and prophets, the king was an appointee of God on earth to rule his people. Thus, one can safely argue that the chronicles were not only a literary genre to record the history of the king, rather they served as a legal and ideological document to legitimize the king's divine source of political power in the absence of a written constitution. Evidently, the chronicles of Ethiopia from the fourteenth to

²⁵ Conti Rossini 1907, 1–3 (introductory part of the Latin translation of the text); Chernetsov 1984, 13; Kropp 2001, 257–277; Pereira 1892; Orłowska 2002, 422.

²⁶ Huntingford 1965, 1–43, Huntingford 1989, 19.

²⁷ Guidi 1910; Chernetsov 1994, 88.

²⁸ McCann 1979, 49.

nineteenth century have provided an ideological legitimacy to rulers as they presented them as a representative of God.²⁹

Furthermore, there are elements that one can observe in the writing style of chronicles. Most of Ethiopian chronicles do have similar statements for the introductory part. These chronicles start their narration with such introductory statements as በሰዎ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ንዌጥን ፡ ጽሑፊ ፡ በረድኤቱ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዜናሁ ፡ ለንጉሥ ።³⁰ ('In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, we will start to write the history of the king by the help of the Lord').

In addition, the chronicles describe the religious deeds of the king in comparison with deeds of angels and saints whom he favoured. This is commonly seen in most chronicles particularly in the early and post medieval periods. The chronicle of Gälawdewos (namely, the Ethiopian form of the name 'Claudius'), for example, equates the king's deeds with saint Claudius of Antioch.³¹ In this point, chronicles share some similarities with the style of hagiographic composition. In this sense, Tadesse Tamrat argues that the royal chronicles which are considered as a secular historical document, display some hagiographical characteristics.³²

Most of the Christian chronicles are written in the classical language, Gəʿəz, except the chronicles of Tewodros II and Mənəlik II, which are written in Amharic language.

The Ethiopian chronicles share a common tradition of praise and adulation of the kings' power and military success. This is largely evident through collecting many statements. In the first composed royal chronicle, the chronicle of ʿAmdä Şəyon, the chronicler explained that ʿAmdä Şəyon's soldiers 'fight like eagles and run like wild goats', the movement of their feet is like a rolling of stones and their sound is like the rolling of seas.³³ The anonymous chronicler of ʿAmdä Şəyon has also continued his narration explaining the king's military character, ʿAmdä Şəyon 'trampled on them (his enemies) like the dust, he crushed them like corn, he broke them like the fire which burns the grass or the flame which scorches the mountain'.³⁴ In addition, ʿAmdä Şəyon was represented as a religious zealot. Yet, the chronicler deliber-

²⁹ This point is well treated in two parts of Pankhurst's contributions. Cp. Pankhurst 1986, 11–31; Pankhurst 1987, 25–88; Chernetsov 1988, 191–200.

³⁰ This statement can be seen in the introductory part of most royal chronicles of Ethiopia.

³¹ Conzelman 1895, 102.

³² Tadesse Tamrat 1970, 70; Marrassini 2012.

³³ Bahru Zewde 1968, 37.

³⁴ Huntingford 1965, 92.

ately ignored the king's early adultery that was mentioned in contemporary local saints' hagiography.³⁵

Similarly, in the medieval and subsequent period chroniclers have been dedicated in their writing to painting their master with colourful language.³⁶

Some historians, picking such drawbacks of the chronicles, argue that chronicles offer very little information on social and economic situation mainly around the royal palace. They also argue that their scope is limited and its interpretation of events reflects a parochial and partisan outlook.³⁷ Despite this limitation, as McCann remarked, chronicles can serve as primary sources and should continue to play an important role in the reconstruction of Ethiopia's past.

Historians who have conducted detailed research on Ethiopian chronicles have come up with a general recommendation on the importance and the methodology for utilization of chronicles. For instance, Hussein argues that chronicles are essential for the understanding of the court and its environ by cross-checking with the other travellers accounts of foreign observers and other historical documents. Rubenson, too, confirmed that about the events on the Ethiopian side of campaigns, battles, etc. chronicles are in many cases our only sources, and in other cases they provide opportunities to check European secondary sources. Yet, he also stressed that for a closer study of diplomatic relations, they are, however, of little immediate value either because negotiations with foreigners were kept secret or because the chronicles did not regard them as important enough to record.³⁸

Hence, the Ethiopian chronicles can be said to be one of the most important literary heritages, with various characteristics of their own, and play an important role for the reconstruction of Ethiopian history. Although the exact number of chronicles that had been composed is not known, almost all Ethiopian Christian monarchs from the fourteenth to the twentieth century had their own chronicles. In the following section attempt has been made to reassess the development of the studies of the chronicles in the historiography of Ethiopia and to examine the problems of edition and translation in the last one hundred years.

³⁵ Conti Rossini 1961; Getatchew Haile 1990.

³⁶ See all medieval chronicles; Marrassini 2012, 392.

³⁷ Hussein 1994, 76; Ullendorff 1976, XX.

³⁸ Rubenson 1991, 20–21.

2. Edition and translation of the Royal Chronicles: development and shortcomings

Although the history of research on Gəʿəz texts dates back to the seventeenth century and even earlier, Ethiopian Chronicles have received scholarly attention only since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Two important factors seem to account for this development. Firstly, they were more easily available in their home libraries of Europe than ever before. Many Gəʿəz manuscripts of Ethiopia were taken to Europe by European travellers since the eighteenth century. A notable example of this was James Bruce who took a number of Ethiopian manuscripts which were eventually deposited in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University. In addition, the British expedition of 1868 to Ethiopia also led to an exodus of ancient Gəʿəz manuscripts that were deposited in different British libraries. Secondly, the nineteenth century saw the expansion of Ethiopian studies in Europe which led to the coming of several European scholars to Ethiopia, who later on brought royal chronicles to the European libraries.³⁹ Along with this trend, all the royal chronicles of Ethiopia from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth century were edited and translated into various European languages. Ethiopicist scholars such as Perruchon, Conti Rossini, Guidi, Conzelman, Pereira, Littmann, Chaîne and Fusella made a significant contribution in the edition and translation of chronicles into European languages. This represents an important chapter in the study of Ethiopian chronicles. Their works contributed a lot for the reconstruction of the medieval, post medieval and modern history of Ethiopia.

For more details, see the table below, where editions and translations of the royal chronicles since the last quarter of the nineteenth century is summarized.

Table 1: Editions of the Royal Chronicles

No.	Name of the chronicle	Editor or Translator	Year of edition or translation	Methods of edition	Language
1	Chronicle of ʿAmdä Şəyon (1314–1344)	Perruchon Dillmann (trans.) Pereira (trans.) Turaev (trans.)	1889 1884 1907 1936	Based on two manuscripts	French German Portuguese Russian

³⁹ In the history of royal chronicles of Ethiopia Eduard Rüppell, Antoine d’Abbadie and Casimire Mondon Vidailhet had won an important place for collecting and commissioning the copying of manuscripts, which they finally brought to their home libraries in the nineteenth century. For more information, see ‘Rüppell, Eduard’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 415–416 (Red.); ‘Abbadie, Antoine d’ and Arnauld d’’, *EAE*, I (2003), 25–26 (Thomas Zitelmann); ‘Mondon Vidailhet, Casimire’, *EAE*, III (2007), 999–1000 (Alain Rouaud) respectively. Cp. Rüppell 1834; d’Abbadie 1859; Falceto 2003, 124–125; Wion and Bosc-Tiessé 2010, 79–109.

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		Ducati (trans.) Huntingford (trans.)	1939 1957		Italian English
		Marrassini	1993	Based on a Neo-Lachmannian method on seven manuscripts	Italian
		Kropp	1994	Based on seven manuscripts	German
2	Chronicle of Zär'a Ya'əqob (1434– 1468) and Ba'ədä Maryam (1468– 1478)	Perruchon Turaev (trans.) Lois Haber (trans.) Kropp	1893 1936 1961–1962	Two manuscripts Is doing a new edition	French Russian English German
3	Chronicle of Əskəndər and Na'od (1478–1508)	Perruchon	1893	Based on two manuscripts	French
4	Chronicle of Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508– 1540)	Conti Rossini Turaev (trans.)	1894 1936	Based on one manuscript	Italian Russian
5	Chronicle of Gälawdewos (1540–1559)	Conzelman Turaev (trans.) Alämu Hayle (trans.)	1895 1936 2007	Based on three manuscripts	French Russian Amharic
6	The Chronicle of Minas (1559–1563)	Pereira Turaev (trans.) Kropp	1888 1936 1988	Based on two manuscripts Based on ten manuscripts	Portuguese Russian German
7	Chronicle of Säršä Dəngəl (1563– 1597)	Conti Rossini Alämu Hayle (trans.)	1907 2009	Based on two manuscripts	French Amharic
8	Chronicle of Susənyos (1603– 1632)	Pereira Pereira (trans.) Chernetsov (trans.) Alämu Hayle (trans.)	1892 1900 1984 2013	One manuscript	Portuguese and detailed commentary Russian Amharic
9	Chronicles of Yo- hannəs I (1667– 1682), Iyasu I (1658–1706) and Bäkaffa (1721– 1730)	Guidi	1903	Based on two manuscripts	Latin
10	Chronicles of Iyasu II (1730–1755) and Iyo'as (1755–1769)	Guidi	1910		Latin
11	Chronicle for the second half of 18th century (1769– 1840)	H. Weld Blundell (trans.) Conti Rossini (trans.)	1922 1916	Old method	English Italian
12	Chronicle of Te- wodros II (1855– 1868)	Littmann (Aläqa Zänäb chronicle) Fusella (unknown chronicler) M.M. Moreno	1902 1904 1942	One manuscript One manuscript One manuscript	German Italian Italian

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		Mondon-Vidailhet (Wäldä Maryam)	1942	One manuscript	French
13	Chronicle of Emperor Yohannäs (1872–1889)	M. Chaïne Ricci Fusella Bairu Tafla	1913 1947 1957 1984	One manuscript	French Italian Italian English
14	Chronicle of Emperor Mənəlik II (1889–1913)	De Coppet Hussein Ahmed (Annotated and translated)	1930-31 1981		French English

Although the scientific study of Ethiopian chronicles by European scholars contributed to the reconstruction of Ethiopian history over a century, there are some gaps when we weight it from the point of view of current philological trends. In the study of Ethiopian chronicles, it is observed that the European scholars' main goal was editing and translating the chronicle into their own language for the understandings of the history and culture of Ethiopian people in their country, as the time was critical for the Europeans to understand more the political history and the past of the country. In this regard, most of the editors of the royal chronicles representing the history of the Solomonic monarchs particularly from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century edited the texts based on one or two manuscript witnesses.⁴⁰ Indeed, one may contend that the reason for not employing more witnesses would probably be that the editors had not at hand more manuscripts to employ in the edition so that they edited only the manuscript they had access to. However, almost all the codices of the Ethiopian chronicles had already entered European libraries before the last quarter of the nineteenth century through European travellers.⁴¹ Therefore, the scholars involved in the work of editing the Ethiopian chronicles had chiefly a problem in accessing all the extant available manuscripts of the chronicle.

The edition of these European philologists was recently criticized by modern philologists who call for the re-edition with new philological methods and approaches.⁴² They argue that many medieval chronicles of Ethiopia were edited based on old method ('best text' ap-

⁴⁰ Perruchon (1889) used two manuscripts in the edition of the chronicle of ʿAmdä Şəyon; with the presence of seven manuscripts. He also employed two manuscripts (both from the Ḥaylu group i.e. London, British Library, Or. 821 and Paris, BnF, Éth. 143) for the edition of the chronicle of Zär'a Ya ʿəqob and Bā'ədä Maryam with the presence of seven manuscripts. Pereira edited the chronicle of Minas based on two manuscripts but with the presence of seven or even more manuscripts. Conzelman used three manuscripts with the presence of five manuscripts in his time. Conti Rossini edited the chronicle of Śārşä Dəngəl in 1907 based on two manuscripts (Oxford Bodleian Library, Bruce 88 and Paris, BnF, Éth. 143) indeed with the presence of nine manuscripts.

⁴¹ Bruce 1772, Ruppell 1833, d'Abbadie 1844.

⁴² Kropp 1984, Marrassini 1984.

proach) in which an editor would usually choose what he took to be a good manuscript and transcribe it, frequently thereby introducing new numerous errors. The sole objective of the old method was to make the medieval texts as soon as possible available to readers.⁴³ But in contemporary textual criticism theory, the main purpose is to produce a text as close as possible to what the author wrote. The Neo-Lachmannian method was favoured because it is more appropriate to reconstruct the original text by establishing a general relationship represented in a *stemma codicum*, but also applying methods from modern auxiliary fields like codicology, palaeography and archaeology.⁴⁴ In addition, this method provides knowledge about the archetypal text and about the relationship of extant texts to that lost archetype. It is because of this fact that philologists in the area of Ethiopian studies who have edited various texts in general and chronicles in particular have recommended the re-edition of those chronicles, which were at the time edited based on the ‘base manuscript’ approach.

The senior Ethiopicist philologists who proposed the re-editing of historical texts are Manfred Kropp and Paolo Marrassini. Kropp (1984), in his long article in which he reviewed the edition of Ethiopian chronicles over three decades ago, appealed for the re-edition and has indicated the shortcomings of the edition of the Ethiopian chronicles which have been summarized above. Recently, Marrassini (2009)—in many previous essays as well⁴⁵—has reiterated the same concern making further points. These two philologists started the re-edition of Ethiopian chronicles by publishing the chronicle of °Amdä Şəyon in 1993 (Marrassini)⁴⁶ with Italian translation and 1994 (Kropp)⁴⁷ with German translation. The editions of these scholars with new introductory note and annotation have provided new insights into the historiography of Ethiopia.⁴⁸ Kropp continued his research on Ethiopian chronicles and edited the chronicle of Minas which was only edited based on two Ḥaylu codices, namely BL Or. 821 and BnF Éth. 143.⁴⁹ Currently, Kropp is also working on the re-edition of the chronicles of King Zär’a Ya’qob.

⁴³ McGillivray 2005.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Marrassini 1984, 137–161.

⁴⁶ Marrassini 1993.

⁴⁷ Kropp 1994.

⁴⁸ Marrassini and Kropp consulted seven manuscripts of the chronicle of °Amdä Şəyon for re-edition and revealed that the Ḥaylu codex has many philological shortcomings and some historical distortion, which have been retained in the previous edition of the same chronicle by Perruchon. Likewise, I also identified a serious historical distortion in the Ḥaylu group of manuscripts through collation in preparing the re-edition of the chronicle of Gälawdewos.

⁴⁹ According to my evaluation, the chronicles of °Amdä Şəyon, Zär’a Ya’qob and Minas were only edited based on the Ḥaylu composition of the manuscripts. The edition of all these chronicles was done neglecting the MS Bruce 88, one of the best early codex of the royal chronicles and has in

Though it is necessary to carry out the re-edition of the chronicles based on the Neo-Lachmannian method, their translation into English deserves equal attention. A recent study on the review of the edition and translation of Ethiopian chronicles reveals that among thirteen edited medieval and modern chronicles 54% of them were translated into French, 54% into Italian, 46% into Russian, 38% into German, 38% into English, 23% into Portuguese, 23% into Latin and 23% into Amharic.⁵⁰ Language barrier has remained one of the most serious challenge for Ethiopian scholars, who are predominantly only English speaking, to use the edited chronicles. From this, one can understand that the translation of chronicles into English is lagging far behind as compared to French, Italian, and Russian languages.

In addition, the available English translations of the chronicles suffer from a number of scientific shortcomings. This is because of the fact that in philological science no translation could have been completely satisfactory without first establishing an authentic critical text through critical edition.⁵¹ Thus, the available English translated chronicles of Ethiopia were done without establishing an authentic text consulting all manuscripts. In this regard, Huntingford's⁵² English translation of 'Amdä Şəyon chronicle and Blundell's (1922) translation of short chronicles of *Zämänä Mäsafənt* can be cited as examples.

On the other hand, the edition of most Ethiopian chronicles was conducted between 1880 and 1910. It is more than a century old and the annotation is outdated. The following table shows the publications in these years.

Table 2: Editions of the Royal Chronicles according to chronology

No.	Year of edition	No of edited chronicles	In Percentage/%
1	1880–1900	8	40%
2	1901–1910	6	30%
3	1911–1920	-	-
4	1921–1930	1	5%
5	1931–1940	-	-
6	1941–1950	2	10%
7	1951–1960	-	-

the end exposed the edition to numerous errors. Kropp have simplified such problems in editing the chronicle of Ləbnä Dəngəl and Minas together, based on ten manuscripts and corrected the editorial problems in Pereira's edition of the chronicle of Minas. However, the short chronicle of Əskəndər and Na'od awaits the new re-edition as they were edited on the basis of two manuscripts with the presence of seven manuscripts.

⁵⁰ See the above table.

⁵¹ Ullendorff 1966, 48.

⁵² Huntingford 1965.

8	1961–1990	-	-
9	1991–2000	3	15%

Source: It is my own assessment of the edited chronicles.

To sum up, Ethiopian chronicles were edited and translated into several European languages. However, three outstanding problems are evident in their critical edition and translation. One, it is known that many of the Gəʿəz chronicles were published in the presence of many witnesses with the criterion of a ‘base manuscript’ or by an apparently arbitrary selection. Secondly, most chronicles were not translated into English language. Third, many available editions are a century old and their annotation is outdated. Thus, a new updated edition based on Neo-Lachmannian method with annotated English translation of these historical texts is vital. Therefore, I proposed to do a re-edition of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos (1540–1559) as a subject of my PhD dissertation.

3. Edition of the Chronicle of King Gälawdewos

The chronicle of King Gälawdewos (1540–1559) was edited and translated into French by Conzelman in 1895. Conzelman in his edition of this chronicle employed three manuscripts.

- 1) **O**, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88, Dillmann 1848, 76 (no. 29), ff. 43r-54v.
- 2) **L**, MS London, British Library, Or. 821, Wright 1877, 315 (no. 392), ff. 118r-145v.
- 3) **P**, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éth. 143, Zotenberg 1877, 216 (no. 19), ff. 95v-117v.⁵³

He mentioned the presence of other two manuscripts⁵⁴ of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos in European libraries in his time but he did not tell why in the edition he did not use the other two manuscripts i.e. BnF, d’Abbadie 118 and Frankfurt, Rüppell 38.⁵⁵ In addition, the previous edition of Conzelman suffers greatly from imprecise collation of the manuscripts he utilized and from several editorial problems.⁵⁶

⁵³ Note that Conzelman used siglum A, B and C in his edition of 1895 respectively.

⁵⁴ Conzelman 1895, V.

⁵⁵ MS B, Paris, BnF, d’Abbadie 118, d’Abbadie 1859, 134 (no. 118), ff. 52v-63r. MS F, Frankfurter, Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, MS or. 38 (= Rüpp. I a), Goldschmidt 1897, 58–62 (no. 16), pp. 36–48, 113–140b. See a brief information on the chronicle, Solomon 2015a, 832–836.

⁵⁶ The details on this point is provided under the sub-topic ‘Scholarly research on the chronicle’.

Additionally, I also found one more manuscript, still uncatalogued, from one of the royal churches of Tädbabä Maryam that I employed in the critical edition of this study. In addition, Conzelman's annotation is outdated. This is because of the fact that our knowledge of the history of medieval Ethiopia in general and the reign of Gälawdewos in particular has immensely grown following the publication of various historical books and articles, particularly in the last four decades. Above all, the chronicle of Gälawdewos is not translated into English, which is the language more widely used in Ethiopian studies. In view of all the above facts, the Gə'əz chronicle of Gälawdewos is critically edited, annotated and translated into English in this dissertation.

In this regard, the principal aim of this study is to conduct a critical edition, with a translation and a commentary of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos based on the Neo-Lachmannian method.

4. Objective and methodology of the study

The main objective of the study is to reconstruct the original text of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos based on Neo-Lachmannian method. The following are some of the specific objectives.

- 1) To identify existing manuscripts of the chronicle;
- 2) To establish the *stemma codicum*;
- 3) To reconstruct the history of the text;
- 4) To try to answer the questions, when and by whom was the chronicle composed?
- 5) To describe and analyse the chronicle in relation to other historical sources in the period and to reconstruct the main features of the history of King Gälawdewos' time;
- 6) To annotate and translate the text into English.

It is true that philology is a method to establish authentic text for use by historians, linguists or others. Gə'əz texts—particularly chronicles—contain a corpus of historical raw materials that would be useful for the reconstruction of medieval and post medieval periods.

The main task of critical edition is to seek an authentic text. In this regard, philological works have valuably contributed for the re-construction of the Ethiopian past.⁵⁷ Therefore, there is no doubt about the significance of doing the re-edition of the chronicle of Gälawdewos.

⁵⁷ Lusini 2006; Shiferaw 2009.

4.1. Concept of the critical edition

Critical edition is concerned with identification and removal of transmission errors in the texts as attested by their witnesses, usually manuscripts. Ancient copyists made errors or alterations when copying manuscripts by hand. Given a manuscript copy or several copies, but not the original document, the textual critic seeks to reconstruct the archetype or autograph which is as closely as possible to the original.⁵⁸ Thus, the main objective of critical editing is to produce a text as close as possible to the original. Within reconstructivist philology, there are three major methods of critical edition, namely the Lachmannian method, the best (or base) text method, and the Neo-Lachmannian method.

Lachmannian method was for the first time proposed by Karl Lachmann (1793–1851), a German philologist. It is sometime called historical editing or common error method. He has proposed that before critical edition an editor should identify the relation between the manuscripts based on their common errors. He identified two steps in critical edition: *recension* (the process of constructing the stemma) and *emendation*. The *recension* part includes the task of collecting all extant manuscripts, identifying common errors (conjunctive errors), grouping manuscripts into families and reconstructing the stemma based on common errors. This is followed by the emendation of the archetype.⁵⁹

The Lachmannian method of critical edition is still in use but it has been criticized by the modern philologists who proposed various views against it. One among this was that by Joseph Bédier (1864–1938), who favours the presentation of a single text, with minor emendations, which is a historically tangible exemplar among surviving witnesses.⁶⁰ This method is called ‘best text approach’. Best text approach applies a good manuscript to emend it rather than considering other witnesses. The proponents of this method commented that Lachmannian method appear misleading or even fallacious in the potential establishment of a text which never existed. This method does not necessarily imply the reconstruction of a *stemma codicum* that shows the relationship between the manuscripts.

Both the Lachmannian and the ‘best text approach’ are strongly criticized by contemporary philologists. They argue that common errors are not the only way to determine the affiliations of manuscripts, rather they tend to take into accounts all factors (including clusters of minor variants) as useful for reconstructing a family tree.⁶¹ They added that the manuscripts could be grouped according to their readings without reference to whether the readings are

⁵⁸ West 1973.

⁵⁹ Saleman 2000.

⁶⁰ Altschul 2006.

⁶¹ Dearing 1974; Saleman 2000.

correct or incorrect. This truly represents a step in the evolution of stemmatology. Another contemporary philologist, Robinson (1992), has favoured similar views arguing that manuscripts should not be considered wrong in all readings just because most of them are non-archetypal. Thus, Lachmann's way of reconstructing the stemma based only on common errors has been a bone of contention among the modern philologists who proposed many other ways for the reconstruction of a family tree.

Similarly, the 'best text' was found to be lacking of objectivity, by choosing a single manuscript as a base for an edition. Maas (1927) argues that there are mistakes in every witness of the text that should be corrected. Though the proponents of the best text method proposed the reconstruction of a text based on stemmatology as misleading, the contemporary philologists strongly assert that the intention of the author are recoverable through a process that requires knowledge of the genesis of the text and all relevant witnesses.⁶² They added that it is a big failure for the best text approach the missing reconstruction of the stemma. According to sources, the best-text proposals are considered as 'lazy' simplification.⁶³ Thus, a base text does not seem to take an active stance in definition of historical past or the objective of the study of the literary field.

Some contemporary philologists, following reflections dating back to decades ago, favoured a new alternative, more flexible, modified Lachmannian way of critical editing, called Neo-Lachmannian method. It advocates the rigorous editorial pursuit of a hypothesis of the precise form of the earliest archetype or source text, and mostly considers the editorial work in itself as *aimed at the reconstruction of a critical text as a working hypothesis*. It is generally characterized by the pursue for a genealogical tree with historical perspective, it embraces on search to bring back from the past a lost historical text closer to the original conception than a single exemplar in existence, it considers all relevant variant readings, and takes into consideration a more refined attitude towards the history of the textual and manuscript tradition (for example, by applying the concept of 'diffraction'). It is argued here that Neo-Lachmannian method is more appropriate and scientific to edit a coherent and stable historical text like the Chronicle of Gälawdewos, where the scope is that of recovering the original text as it was written down by its early author, a few years after the death of the king.

Additional tools to be used in modern philology imply new automatic systems of collation based on scientific technology as well as the more careful consideration for text-critical

⁶² Greg 1927; Dearing 1974.

⁶³ Altschul 2006; Macé 2015.

purposes of auxiliary sciences, like codicology and palaeography, moving also towards a material philology.

4.2. Method of the critical edition

As it is mentioned, the chronicle of Gälawdewos was edited and translated by Conzelman based on the best text approach. In this regard, I applied Neo-Lachmannian method to do a critical edition.

The manuscripts, which are used for the preparation of the critical edition of the chronicle of Gälawdewos, are preserved in various European libraries and Ethiopian monasteries and churches. The catalogues of Dillmann (1848), d'Abbadie (1859), Wright (1877), Zotenberg (1877) and Goldschmidt (1897) provide a description of the manuscripts of the chronicle located in European libraries.

Six manuscripts are employed in the edition.

- 1) **B**, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, d'Abbadie 118, d'Abbadie 1859, 134 (no. 118), ff. 52v-63r.⁶⁴
- 2) **F**, MS Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS or. 38 (= Rüpp. I a),⁶⁵ Goldschmidt 1897, 58–62 (no. 16), pp. 36–48, 113–140b.
- 3) **L**, MS London, British Library, Or. 821, Wright 1877, 315 (no. 392), ff. 118r-145v.
- 4) **O**, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88, Dillmann 1847, 76 (no. 29), ff. 43r-54v.
- 5) **P**, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éth. 143, Zotenberg 1877, 216 (no. 19), ff. 95v-117v.
- 6) **T**, MS Tädbabä Maryam Church (uncatalogued).⁶⁶

5. Scholarly research on the Chronicle

5.1. Conzelman's edition

The first full-fledged philological work on the chronicle of Gälawdewos was conducted by Conzelman, a Paris trained American,⁶⁷ for the fulfilment of his doctoral thesis under the

⁶⁴ The same manuscript is also indicated in the catalogues of Chaîne and Conti Rossini. Cp. Chaîne 1873, 76; Conti Rossini 1914, 199.

⁶⁵ For the concordance of the shelfmarks, see Beylot and Rodinson 1995, 56: the present shelfmark of the manuscript is MS or. 38.

⁶⁶ A detailed description and history of each manuscripts is provided in Chapter three of the thesis.

⁶⁷ Halévy 1895, 112.

guidance of a leading nineteenth-century Semitist scholar Joseph Halévy.⁶⁸ He edited and published it with French translation in 1895. This edited work is composed of three main parts: introduction, edition and French translation with a commentary. The introductory part in particular has two main sections: description and analysis of the manuscripts and a short history of King Gälawdewos. Accordingly, Conzelman has provided the list of catalogues of the manuscripts he employed and their locations. He employed three manuscripts: MS O, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88, MS P BnF Éth. 143 and MS L BL Or. 821. In the second part of the introduction, providing a short history of the king, he reconstructed the main historical facts of the period based on the preceding works of Ludolf (1682), Bruce (1790) and Basset (1882) and on a few missionary accounts as well.

Thus, it is necessary to appreciate and acknowledge the work of Conzelman for his contribution to edit the text that had been intensively employed by historians of the medieval period for the reconstruction of the history of Ethiopia in the sixteenth century. It is, therefore, understandable that Conzelman contributed much in the study of this chronicle. However, a closely study of his edition reveals that his work has many shortcomings.

5.1.1 Collation

In preparing the new edition of the Chronicle of King Gälawdewos, a careful study of the previous edition by Conzelman is necessary. When I collated the six manuscripts of the chronicle I cross-checked the variants of the three manuscripts he utilized (A stands for the manuscript in Bodleian Library, Bruce 88, B for the manuscript in British Library, Or. 821 and C for the manuscript in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éth. 143) which are indicated in the critical apparatus.⁶⁹ It is noticeable that the collation of the three manuscripts, Conzelman used, suffered from numerous errors, which are apparent almost in every single page. There are three main groups of errors. Firstly, the editor left unnoticed many readings in the texts (from lack of checking his collation) without providing their variant readings in his critical apparatus. To mention a few examples, p. 43, line, 4 a reading **እምንዋዩ** has a variant reading **እምንዋይ** in manuscript C (37/104v/2/25)⁷⁰ but the editor failed to indicate it in the apparatus. In addition, p. 47, on the last line for the reading **ወምስር** the manuscripts B (40/130v/1/22) and C (40/104r/ 2/ 11) have a variant reading **ወስምር** which is not indicated, however, in the critical apparatus. P. 57 line 5 manuscript C (47/107v/2/4) has a variant read-

⁶⁸ Halévy 1894, 57; Nöldeke 1896a, 164. Conzelman (1855–1900) was short lived; he died a few years after the publication of his work, in 1900.

⁶⁹ See Gəʿəz text of Conzelman 1895, 1–120.

⁷⁰ The numbers show chapter number, folio, column and line respectively.

ing **ወይመውት** against the correct reading **ወይመጸውት** and p. 78 line 8, for the name **ኡዝደሜር** the manuscripts B (64/137v/3/ 26) and C (66/110v/15) read **ኢዝደሜር, አዝደሜር** respectively which are not mentioned in the apparatus. Similarly, the editor failed to indicate, p. 56 line 12, for the reading **ይትቤቀሎሙ** the variant reading in B (46/107v/1/12) **ይትብቀሎሙ**. In p. 57, line 17, the edited text reads **ይበጽሕ** and manuscript B (47/132r/3/6) reads **ይበዝሕ**. The rest of such kind of errors are listed in table three.

Table 3: Collation errors in Conzelman's edition

No	Unnoticed variants			Manuscripts	Variant Reading	No. (chapter, folio, column, line)
	Reading	Page	Line No			
1	እምውሳኔ	3	9	B	እምውሳኒ	3/119v/3/5
2	አርእስተ	43	5	C	አርእስት	37/104v/2/27
3	ወመንግሥተ	44	16	A	ወመንግሥት	39/49v/ 2/7
4	ወተግግሦ	45	1	C	ወተግግሥ	39/104v/2/3
5	ቅውምተ	46	13	B	ቅውምት	40/ 130v/ ¾
6	ርእሳ	3	17	A	ርእሰ	3/44r/ 2/30
7	ያስተዳልዎ	48	14	C	ያስተደልዎ	40/ 106r/ 2/29
8	ወአዘከሮ	49	9	A	ወአዘክሮ	40/ 106r/ 2/ 29
9	ሐኒጽ	50	13	B	ሐኒጸ	40/106r/2/29
10	ካህናተ	50	13	B	ካህናት	40/106r/ 2/29
11	ጵጵስናሁ	54	9	A	ጸጸስናሁ	40/106r/2/29
12	ብርትጓል	55	5	B	ብርት ፣ ጓል	40/106r/2/29
13	ቡርካን	4	4	B, C	ብሩካን	3/119r/1/9 , 3/96v/2/21
14	በውስተ	56	15	B, C	ውስተ	40/106r/2/ 29
15	ላዕለ	4	14	C	ለእለ	3/96v/34
16	ተንባላት	5	7	B	ተንባላት	4/119r/ 2/24
17	ሰለዎ	77	12	C	ሰብዎ	66/110v/2/31
18	ወኮነ	6	1	B, C	ዘኮነ	5/119r/ 3/20, 5/97r/1/31
19	እምአውራኝ	62	2	A	እምአውኝ	54/51v/ 1/ 23
19	ወበጺሐ	90	6	B	ወበጸሐ	75/140v/2/1

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20	ትፍሥሕት	99	14	C	ትፍሥሕት	81/114r/2/9
22	ዓመተ	15	6	A	ዓመት	11/46v/ 1/ 1
23	ወሐጋይ	15	17	B	ወሐሐገያ	11/122v/ 3/14
24	ምንትኒ	16	3	A, B	ምንተኒ	11/46v/1/22, 11/122v/1/22)
25	እምፈቀዳት	16	2	C	እምፈቀደት	11/99v/2/6
26	ላዕለ	16	8	C	ለእለ	11/99r/2/13
27	ላዕለ	17	6	C	ለእለ	12/99v/1/6
28	ተንበላት	17	6	C	ተንበላት	12/99v/ 1/6
29	በጺሐ	17	7	A	በጺሐ	12/46v/2/17)
30	በአራቅይናሁ	17	14	B	በአራቅይናሁ	12/122r/3/18
31	ዘላዕሌሆሙ	18	6	C	ዘላእሌሆሙ	13/123v/2/11
32	ሠናይተ	19	7	A	ሠናይት	13/46v/3/31
33	ተግብአሙ	19	11	A	ተግብአመ	14/46r/1/3
34	ናይድዕ	6	7	B	ናየድዕ	5/120v/1/8
35	ተንበላታዊ	7	22	B	ተንበላታዊ	6/120r/1/10
36	ዘለአፍቅሮ	8	6	B	ዘለአፍቀሮ	6/20v/1/10
37	ለተንበላት	8	8	B	ለተንበላት	6/120v/ 1/ 13
38	ትሩፋዊ	9	4	B	ትሩፋዌ	7/120v/2/17
39	በቀዳሚ	9	9	A	በቀዳሜ	7/45v/ 3/12
40	ዘተክዕወ	9	14	B	ዘተክዕው	7/120v/3/13
41	ለአግዋር	9	16	B, C	ለአግዋር ፤ ብአግዋር	7/120v/3/19, 7/98r/1/1) respectively
42	ወለፈውሰተ	10	7	B, C	ወለፈውሰታ ፤ ወፈውሰተ	8/121v/1/16 , 8/98r/ 1/16 respectively
43	እምተንበላት	10	18	B	እምተንበላት	8/121v/ 2/ 12
44	ሠራዊተ	11	11	C	ሠራተ	8/98r/2/15
45	ዘሠምረት	12	11	C	ዘሠምረቶ	9/98v/1/4
46	ኢያንፈሰ	13	12	B	ኢያንፈሱ	10/121r/3/2
47	ነፍሶ	13	15	A	ነፍሱ	10/45r/3/7
48	ጌዶራውያን	14	12	B	ጌዶራዊያን	10/122r/1/13
49	መንግሥት	14	22	B	መንግሥቶ	10/122r/1/24)

The second group of errors concern Conzelman’s wrong presentation of the variants for the readings in the apparatus so that they do not directly correspond to the correct variants in manuscripts, as I was able to check. For instance, p. 25, no. 5, for a reading **ይዌስቁ**, the variant reading **እወስቁ** is wrongly given for the manuscript A and B but both manuscripts A (19/47v/1/29) and B (19/124r/3/17) instead read **ይወስቁ**. In similar manner, on p. 37, 7 for the reading **ክብደ** the variant **ከብድ** is wrongly given for A, but A (30/48v/3/13) instead reads **ክብደ**. The editor continued to make the same type of errors repeatedly providing wrong variants for the manuscript A even at a time when the manuscript has no reading at variance with the emended reading in his edition. For example, p. 48, 6 for the reading **ገብረ** the variant **ገቡረ** is provided as a variant in A but in fact such reading does not exist in A (40/49v/1/14), rather reads **ገብረ** correctly and p. 65, 16 for **ቤተ** the variant of the manuscript **ቦተ** is indicated as variant reading for A. On the contrary, however, the manuscript A (57/51v/2/36) has a correct reading **ቤተ** with the corresponding reading (for more details see Table 4).

Table 4: Variants wrongly represented in Conzelman’s apparatus

No.	Readings of Conzelman printed text	Page	No. of variant	Wrong variants in the apparatus	Manuscripts	Correct Variant reading	No. (chapter, folio, column, line)
1	አምሳሊሁ ፡ ለብእሲ ፡ ሰማያዊ	22	12	ዓሙሳሊሁ ፡ ለሰማያዊ	C	ዓምሳሊሁ ፡ ለሰማያዊ	37/100v/2/4
2	ተአርዮተ ፡ ሕማም	23	9	ተዓርዮተ ፡ ከማም	C	ተአርዮተ ፡ ሕማም	37/100v/2/30
3	ይዌስቁ	25	5	እወስቁ	A, B	ይወስቁ	19/47v/1/29, 19/124r/3/17
4	በመዊእ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ ዘኢይትመዋእ	25	18	በመዊእ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ ዘኢይትመዋእ	Ap\	በመዊእ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ ዘኢይትመዋእ	19/47v/2/13
5	ክብደ	37	7	ከብድ	A	ክብደ	30/48v/3/13)
6	ወናነብሮ	38	15	ወናነብሮ	C	ወናነብር	31/103v/1/20)
7	ወተሠይመ	10	5	ወተሰምይ	B, C	ወተሰምየ	8/121v/1/11 8/98v/1/12
8	ገብረ	48	6	ገቡረ	A	ገብረ	40/49v/1/14
9	ቤተ	65	16	ቦተ	A	ቤተ	57/51v/2/36
10	መምህረ	9	3	መዕምረ	B	መዕምሕረ	7/120v/2/16
11	እልሕቡስ	5	14	እለሕቡስ	B	እልሕቡስ	4/119r/3/2

Finally, in some cases the edition omits variants of the manuscripts in the apparatus, which is a further evidence of the poor collation work of the editor. In this case, the editor put only a single manuscript in the place where two manuscripts read with similar or different reading regularly throughout the text. For example, p. 23, 1 for the reading **ኢትዮጵያ** both manuscripts B and C read a variant **ኢትዮጵያ**. However, it is only C that is indicated in the apparatus and the editor for unknown reason omits B in the apparatus. Similarly, p. 29, 3 for the reading **በብሔራዊ** the variant reading of C (23/101v/2/28) **በብሔራዊ** is indicated. However, the editor failed to indicate in the apparatus a variant from B (23/125v/3/12), which reads **በብሔራዊ**. There are several examples of such errors throughout the text as a result of not so careful collation; for more information they are listed in the Table 5.

Table 5: Omitted variants in Conzelman’s apparatus

No.	Corresponding reading for variants in the Apparatus			Omitted manuscript in the critical apparatus			Manuscript indicated in the apparatus	
	Reading	Page	Variant number	MS	Omitted variant	No. (chapter, folio, column, line)	the variant in Apparatus	MS
1	ባህታዊት	3	11	B	ባህታዊት	3/ 119v/3/6	ብሔታዊት	C
2	ወአእተው	3	17	C	ወአእተው	3/96r/ 2/21		
3	ሰዓዳዲን	4	16	C	ሰዓዳዲን	3/96r/2/11	ሰዓዲን	B
4	ወእምደቂቀ	6	5	B	ወእምደቂቀ	5/97v/2/5	እምደቂቀ	B
5	ይበውእ	8	10	B	<i>Om.</i>	7/120v/1/17	ይመውእ	C
6	ዘተቃረኑ	9	13	C	ዘይትቃረኑ	7/98r/1/3	ዘይትቃረኑ	B
7	ካልእታ	10	17	C	ካልእታ	8/ 98r/1/ 30	ካልዕታ	B
8	እምግዳሊሁ	11	2	AB	እምግዳሊሁ	8/45v/1/20 8/121v/2/20 respectively	እምግዳሊሁ	C
9	እላ	11	4	B	እላ	8/121v/2/21	እላ	C
10	ትምክሕት	11	24	C	ትምክሕት	8/98r/2/22		
11	ነፍሱ	13	22	A	ነፍሱ	10/45r/3/7	<i>om.</i>	BC
12	ኢይትዓበይ	14	22	C	ኢይትዓበይ	10/99r/1/4	ኢይትአበይ	B
13	አቡሁ	23	4	C	<i>Om.</i>	17/100r/2/21	<i>om.</i>	B
14	ዓለም	19	9	A	ዓም	19/47v/1/11	ዓመት	C
15	ኢዘያስተአዝብ	43	4	C	ወኢዘያስተአዝብ	36/104r/2/26	ዘኢያስተአዝብ	B

16	በነፍሱ	55	11	B	በአፍራሱ	45/132V/2/25	በአፍራሱ	C
17	ይትሚካሐ	64	17	C	ይትሚካሕ	52/108r/2/31	ይትሚክሁ	B

5.1.2. Editorial problems

The result of a rigorous work of edition and incorporation of Conzelman’s printed text into the apparatus of the new edition has revealed also errors in his edition. There are three main groups of such errors. Firstly, the editor has wrongly selected some readings from the extant variants for the critical text from the manuscripts he consulted with siglum A (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88, namely MS O in the present edition, B (London, British Library, Or. 821) which is MS L in the present edition and C (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éth. 143), which corresponds to MS P in the new edition. In this case, there are a dozen examples of such errors. But I present only a few of them as the rest are indicated in the critical apparatus of the present new edition.

1) አምጣነሰ ፡ ከህለ ፡ ሜጠ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ አውሥኦተ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ጸአልዎ ፡ ወከሠተ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ጥርዒሁ ፡ ዘኢይክል ፡ ውኒዘ ፡ ምራቅ ፡ እምብዙኅ ፡ ሕማም ፡ ዘላዕሌሁ ፡⁷¹ (‘As much as he could, he gave an answer to those who rebuked him, and he showed them his throat that could not swallow saliva because of the great suffering on him’). He selected the reading of BC. But the variant of A is **ውኒጠ** which makes contextually more meaningful the sentence that ‘his throat could not swallow saliva because of his suffering’ than **ውኒዘ** that makes the meaning ‘his throat could not flow saliva’. Thus, I replaced **ውኒዘ** by **ውኒጠ** in my new edition against Conzelman reading.⁷²

2) ተብህለ ፡ ኮነአ ፡ ይትነበይ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ አመ ፡ ናእሱ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ይበውእ ፡ ፀሮ ፡ ወይቀጥቅጦሙ ፡ ለአሕዛብ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንዋዩ ፡ ለብሓ ፡⁷³ (‘It is said that his father had predicted him in his youth that he would defeat his enemy and crush the unbelievers like a piece of earthenware’). I corrected the underlined word with **ይመውእ** which mean to defeat selecting the variant of the manuscript C.

3) ወእንዘ ፡ ያርአ ፡ ብዙኃ ፡ ሠናዖቲሁ ፡ ሰመዮ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ኢያእምሮ ፡ ለግብሮሙ ፡ ዘበአእምሮ ። But all the manuscripts support a reading **ግብረ** which is correct. In the same way in Conzelman **ወሶበሂ ፡ ይወድስ ፡ ልቦ ፡ ውሱተ ፡ ነገር ፡ ዘይትናገሩ ፡ ወይሰምዕ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይረግጥ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘኢሰምዓ ።** (‘When he took his heart to the matter they were discussing and when he heard his slave was cursing him, he pretended as he did not

⁷¹ Conzelman 1895, 71.

⁷² The Critical Text 145, 3.

⁷³ Conzelman 1895, 6.

hear’) the reading of A was **ደወስድ**, which is more correct.⁷⁴ The rest of such errors are found in the critical apparatus of my new edition as all the variant readings of the Conzelman’s printed text are listed (with siglum C).⁷⁵

The second group of errors is concerning Conzelman’s emendation. For unknown reason, he presented his emended readings in the edition as if they were readings of MS A (i.e. our MS O), but actually they were his emendation; this particularly happens when he corrects a single letter of the word. In fact, of such corrections, some are acceptable and other are wrong. They are exemplified for instance by the following cases:

1) **ወጸንዐ ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ቀትል ፡ በይእቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ እስከ ፡ ገልበዐ ፡ ለፀሐይ ፡ ጢስ ፡ እሳ[ተ] ፡ ፀብእ ፡ ከመ ፡ ግዘፈ ፡ ጊሜ ።**⁷⁶ (‘The battle was so fierce in that day until the smoke of the fire of the fighting covered the sun, as thick as fog’). The letter **ተ** instead of **ት** is emended by Conzelman himself but he did not indicate it in the square bracket. Rather he presented it as if it was the reading of the two manuscripts he consulted (AB) as they read **እሳተ** but they all read **እሳት**.

2) **ይዴውዖ ፡ ለእግዚአ ፡ ወይሰምዖ ፡ ወኢይርኅቅ ፡ ሣህሉ ፡ ወትእዛዙ ፡ እምኔሁ ።**⁷⁷ (‘He invoked his Lord, he listened to him, and his clemency and power were never driven away from him’). The word **ወትእዛዙ** appears in none of the manuscripts he consulted, even though according to his edition A has this reading, while B reads **ትእዛዙ ፡** and C has **ወትእዛዙ**. So, the underlined reading was his correction but he presented it as the reading of his base manuscript A. He did not want to indicate that it is his emendation. He always tries to portray that the manuscript A is more correct than the other two manuscripts. Such similar cases are common throughout the text of his edition.

Finally, some of the readings are not recognizable as errors by Conzelman, but it was possible to detect them in my new edition and are now emended. This is demonstrated by the following instances:

1) **ወእምድኅሬሁ ፡ በፍጻሜ ፡ ግብር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ገብሮ ፡ ሞኦሙ ፡ ለእሉ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ዘሞተ ፡ ሞተ ፡ መጥባሕት ፡ ወዘሐረ ፡ በተዲውዖ ፡ ሐረ ።**⁷⁸ (‘After that, in accomplishing the deed that he did he defeated these heathen people; of them some died by sword and who

⁷⁴ See Conzelman 1895, 69, 4. This error was already identified and commented by Nöldeke in his partial review edition of Conzelman, cp. Nöldeke 1896a, 167.

⁷⁵ The presentation of Conzelman’s printed text variants in the apparatus together with the other manuscripts is very useful because it is easy to note that errors that have been corrected in the new edition.

⁷⁶ Conzelman 1895, 102.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 45.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 40.

went, was taken as a captive’). It is clear that a preposition should be added on the word መጥባሕት and it is appropriate to correct like this: [በ]መጥባሕት :

2) አእግዚእየ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ አርአያ ፡ ትዕግሥትከሰ ፡ ብከ ፡ ኢዮብ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ጸረ ፡ ክልኤተ ፡ ቀሳሳተ ፡ ቀሳሳ ፡ ዘወረደ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ እምጸላኤ ፡ ዘመድኅ ።⁷⁹ (‘Oh, my lord *Mar* Gälawdewos, the model of your patience is like that of Eyob (Job). He bore two wounds: the wound that descended over his flesh from an enemy of our race, and the wound that descended over his soul, from the enmity of three spirits’). Here Conzelman was expected to emend it, in my new edition the Frankfurt manuscript which was not previously included in Conzelman has a variant ከመ and I maintain it in my new edition.

3) ዓቀመ ፡ ህየንቴሁ ፡ ፋኑኤልሃ ፡ እምዐበይተ ፡ ሐራሁ ፡ በኩሎን ፡ አህጉረ ፡ ሠርቅ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ደዋሮ ፡ ወአዋልዲሃ ።⁸⁰ (‘For this, he placed Fanu’el, from the principal commanders of his army, in the whole eastern provinces such as Däwaro and its dependencies’). The last word ወአዋልዲሃ (‘her daughters’) is irrelevant to place name. It does not give any meaning. It should be the error of the copyist of the archetype text since all the six manuscripts maintain it and instead it is appropriate to use a geographical term [ወአድዋሊሃ] which means ‘its dependencies’.

4) ወቡቱ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ተዝካሩ ፡ ለአባ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ማኅበር ፡ መምህረ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ አርሳንዮስ ፡ ካልእ ።⁸¹ (‘In addition, on that day there is the commemoration of *Abba* Täklä Maḥbär, teacher of kings, a second Arsanyos’). Conzelman did not annotate the name in the commentary of his edition or else proposed any emendation. Indeed, three of the manuscripts he consulted all read አርሳንዮስ and just one manuscript that was not consulted by Conzelman has a right reading አርሳንዮስ in my new edition.⁸²

Though Conzelman edition is exposed to many such philological shortcomings, some of his emendations are retained in my new edition, sometimes with slight corrections. For example, ተነሥቱ ፡ ማኅፈዳት ፡ ወአቅጸራት ፡ እስመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ቀዋሚ ፡ መወዘበረ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ሕንፃ ፡ እስመ ፡ ቀተሉ ፡ [ዐምደ] ።⁸³ All the six manuscripts read as ዓማፄ ፡ BFLOTP and it is logical to emend it. But a much more economic correction is to emend to ዐማዴ ፡ (ዓማዴ ፡), that is paleographically even more similar to ዓማጺ ፡ and also gives a satisfactory meaning.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 40.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 37.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 106.

⁸² Cp. The Critical Text 235, 2. It is theoretically true that the consultation of more manuscript witnesses provide a greater chance for a true reading, yet provided that an additional branch of the tradition is acquired (if we have additional manuscripts which belong to the same branch one cannot take that for granted).

⁸³ Conzelman 1895, 104.

It is also supported by the reading **ዐማዴ ፣ ሰማይ ፣ ወምድር ፣** ('A founder of the sky and the earth').⁸⁴ In similar manner in his edition, Conzelman emended the following **ሥጋ ፣ ወወይነ ፣ ዘኢቦኣ ፣ ውስተ ፣ [ማጎደሩ] ፣ በኩሉ ፣ መዋዕለ ፣ ሕይወቱ ፣ ወኢያስመክ ፣ ዲበ ፣ መንጸፍ ፣ በገበዋቲሁ ፣ ወብዙጋ ፣ ምሕረት ፣ ከመ ፣ አብርሃም ፣ ወሎጥ ፣ ወቆርኔሌዎስ ።** But it is more appropriate if it is [**አፋሁ**] instead of [**ማጎደሩ**].

The edition of Conzelman also does not only suffer from wrong collation, editorial problematic and typographical errors,⁸⁵ but also it lacks consistent rules for his critical apparatus. The system he used in the critical apparatus is not sufficient to represent clearly all the variants, namely the variants of addition and omission, lacuna, punctuation. Particularly for the addition and omission he writes the whole sentence and it does not show clearly which verb or word is omitted or added.

In general, the new edition offers better readings and fulfills such lacunae in Conzelman work. It increases the variant readings in the text and also shows better the textual evolution of the text.

5. 2. Other works on the Chronicle

A year after the publication of Conzelman the famous scholar of the day, one of the greatest orientologists of every time, Theodor Nöldeke,⁸⁶ reviewed the work and critically examined the content of the chronicle, the historicity, the language and a few points of edition and translation. Another leading scholar of Ethiopian studies and no less great orientalist, Ignazio Guidi,⁸⁷ commented mainly on the linguistic features of the chronicle, provided a detailed information about the Arabic words in the chronicle, a hypothesis on the authorship of the chronicle, and gave an insightful information on its peculiar characteristics.

Forty years later, the work of a renowned Russian orientalist, Boris Turaev,⁸⁸ who had translated Conzelman's edition into Russian (together with other medieval Ethiopian chronicles including 'Amdä Šəyon, Zär'a Ya'qob, Bā'ädä Maryam and Minas without any further

⁸⁴ Cp. Velat 1966, 13; Kidanä Wäld 1956, 697.

⁸⁵ Some of these typographical errors are, for instance, on p. 20, 7 **ፍትረተ ፣** instead of **ፍጥረተ ፣** p. 34, 13 **አሀማድ** instead of **አሀመድ**, p. 48, 15 **ነገት** instead of **ገነት**, p. 53, 8 **አማላክ** instead of **አምላክ**, p. 54, **ጴትሮስ** instead of **ጴጥሮስ**, p. 57, 18 **ድጎን** instead of **ድጎን**, p. 61, 5 **ፍትረቱ ፣** instead of **ፍጥረቱ**. p. 67, 14 **በእሲት** instead of **ብእሲት**, p. 85, 13 **ለኩሁ ፣** instead of **ለኩሉ** p. 99, 8 **ዶመ** instead of **ጾመ**, p. 108, 9 **ዛተ** instead of **ዛቲ** and p. 108, 11 **ድኩን** instead of **ይሁን**.

⁸⁶ Cp. further details about Nöldeke in the entry 'Nöldeke, Theodor', *EAE*, III (2007), 1195 (Rainer Voigt). Nöldeke had an important place for reviewing the edition of royal chronicles in his time.

⁸⁷ Guidi 1899, 111–115.

⁸⁸ Cp. 'Turaev, Boris Aleksandrovič', *EAE*, IV (2010), 1002–1003 (Sevir Chernetsov).

re-edition) in 1918, was published by the editor, Krachkovski in 1936.⁸⁹ Indeed, he provided significant information in his introduction about the historicity and the literary features of all the chronicles in general and the chronicle of Gälawdewos in particular based on the views and ideas of Conzelman, Nöldeke and Guidi. This work is little known in Ethiopian scholarship, perhaps it is not worth more than Conzelman's work.

Two philological works have been done very recently on the chronicle of Gälawdewos. The first is the translation of the chronicle into Amharic by Alämu Hayle (2006) and another one is a historical and philological analysis of the chronicle by Abeselom (2009) for his MA Thesis. Alämu's translation of the chronicle into Amharic has contributed a lot in minimizing the problems of the scholars who do not understand Gə'əz. However, his translation without any commentary is heavily depending on Conzelman's edition and it is also full of translation errors.⁹⁰ And also a translation should consider aspect of textual criticism, as a good practice.

Abeselom's thesis is poorly done: the content of the thesis has no relevance to the title. He confused the chronicle of Gälawdewos with the short chronicle of *Tarikä nägäšt* and he entirely focused on writing the history of Gälawdewos, which has been extensively studied by the historians. He did not even consult a single manuscript of the Chronicle of Gälawdewos.

⁸⁹ The Russian translation of the chronicle of Gälawdewos appears from page 124–171 in his book *Abissinskie chroniki XIV-XVI vv.* ('Abyssinian Chronicles of 14th-16th Centuries').

⁹⁰ He jumped many passages of the text without translating them.

Chapter Two: Content and Context of the Chronicle of Gälawdewos

1. General information on the content of the Chronicle

In medieval Ethiopia, King Gälawdewos (1540–1559), whose regnal name was Aṣnaf Sägäd,⁹² was considered as a savior of the Christian kingdom, that he restored from a disastrous and long civil war with the Adalites. The reign of King Gälawdewos was recounted in Portuguese sources, in a short chronicle and, more comprehensively, in the chronicle which is the subject of the present study. The chronicle consists of ninety-seven, relatively short, chapters which take 120 pages in Conzelman's edition.⁹³

The chronicle covers the whole period of Gälawdewos's reign that lasted over nineteen years. It opens with recalling the name of Gälawdewos's parents, Ləbnä Dəngəl and Säblä Wängel. Then it focuses on the wars between the Christian kingdom and the Muslim sultanate of ʿAdal that marked the reign of Ləbnä Dəngəl and continued into the times of his son and successor, Gälawdewos. This was indeed one of the most turbulent periods of sixteenth century Ethiopia. Although the text serves as an apologetic document in favor of the king, it does not pass over the fact that the victorious advance of the Muslim army between 1529 and 1543 almost led to the complete demise of the Christian state. The narrative presents dramatic scenes of the burning down of important churches and monasteries, and the forceful conversion to Islam of numerous Christian fellows.⁹⁴ It also mentions the arrival of the Portuguese military, poetically called in the text 'ጸቂቀ ፡ ተቤል' (sons of Tubal)⁹⁵ or, alternatively, 'መስተቃትላን ፡ ለዮአን' (soldiers of Yoʿan), after the name of the Portuguese King João III.⁹⁶ The author stresses the bravery of the foreign soldiers but denies them the glory of victory. The chronicle explains that it was one of Gälawdewos's close soldiers who killed the Muslim

⁹² The name 'Aṣnaf Sägäd' literary means, 'extremities bow before him'. The word 'Sägäd' was frequently used in the crown names of the Ethiopian medieval kings, such as in 'Wänag Sägäd', the regnal name of Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–1540), 'Admas Sägäd' of Minas (r. 1559–1563), 'Mälak Sägäd' of Säršä Dəngəl (r. 1563–1596), 'Səltan Sägäd' of Susənyos and later 'Adyam Sägäd' of Iyasu the Great in the Gondarine period, cp. Conzelman 1895, 119; Conti Rossini 1961, 4; Guidi 1961, 59; Kropp 1988; Pereira 1888, 27; Pereira 1892, 329; 'Gälawdewos', *EAE*, II (2005), 656a-657b (Michael Kleiner)

⁹³ Conzelman 1895, 120.

⁹⁴ The Critical Text, 7; Conzelman 1895, 5.

⁹⁵ The Critical Text, 29; Conzelman 1895, 17. Tubal is the fifth son of Japheth, Gen. 10:2.

⁹⁶ Conzelman 1895, 135, fn. 3.

leader Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (called ‘*Imām* Aḥmad b. Abrāhīm’ in the text) in early 1543.⁹⁷

The chronicle narrates the revival of the Christian state following the crush of the *ḡihad* of the °Adal’s leader and the rebellion of his nephew °Abbās b. Abūñ b. Ibrāhīm (‘*Wāzir* Abbas’).⁹⁸ The narration is flowery and the author is eager to emphasize the strong leadership exerted by the powerful king.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the text mentions new measures concerning religion implemented by the king which aimed above all at reviving the Christian state that had been afflicted by a decade of wars. These measures included the reconstruction of churches, particularly the royal church of Tädbabä Maryam,¹⁰⁰ the production of religious texts¹⁰¹ and the conducting of campaigns against groups of people, which at that time had been made subjects of the Christian empire.

The subsequent events recounted in the chronicle embrace other big challenges faced by the ruler, such as the Oromo expansion northwards, the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries and the Ottoman colonization of the coast around Massawa in 1557.¹⁰² Afterwards, the revival of the Muslim sultanate of °Adal under its new leader Nūr b. Muḡāḥid who succeeded to control the southern part of the Christian empire is discussed.¹⁰³ Faced with this new challenge, Gälawdewos set off to fight against him but eventually Nūr b. Muḡāḥid’s forces killed him. His head was cut off and taken to Harär as a war booty.¹⁰⁴ Next, the narrative treats about the mourning after the death of the king.¹⁰⁵ The author paraphrases here excerpts from the *Book of Lamentations*.¹⁰⁶

2. Narrative structure

The central figure of the narration of the chronicle is the monarch, Gälawdewos, like in other medieval Ethiopian chronicles. The chronicler intends to address three main themes about this king—to narrate his successful campaigns, his religious deeds, and highlight and extoll his personality and martyrdom, which finally led to sainthood. The first two points are

⁹⁷ The Critical Text, 48; Conzelman 1895, 26.

⁹⁸ The Critical Text, 29; Conzelman 1895, 28–31.

⁹⁹ The Critical Text, 61–63; Conzelman 1895, 32. See Chapter 26.

¹⁰⁰ The Critical Text, 120; Conzelman 1895, 58, 59. See Chapter 50.

¹⁰¹ The Critical Text, 121; Conzelman 1895, 59. See Chapter 51.

¹⁰² The Critical Text, 123–136; Conzelman 1895, 60–68.

¹⁰³ The Critical Text, 123–136; Conzelman 1895, 95–97.

¹⁰⁴ The Critical Text, 221–224; Conzelman 1895, 101–102.

¹⁰⁵ The Critical Text, 239–268; Conzelman 1895, 108–117.

¹⁰⁶ Also known as *Lamentations of Jeremiah*.

narrated in the first part of the text, as I finally realized while analyzing the narrative structure of the work. The chronicler framed the narrative structure of the text systematically in his own way within the limits and according to the literary conventions of the genre. Unlike the modern ways of arranging the structure of the text, we do not find a table of contents that would tell us the structure of the text, but this is identifiable through rigorous careful reading and deep understanding of the content of the text as well as understanding of the style of the chronicler.

Besides dividing the text into chapters (the smallest text division unit of the chronicle), the author has his own key-words that he applies to divide the themes of his narration, though this structuring is light and intangible. **ዜና** ('story') is the key-word the author uses to narrate the military campaigns and the legacies of the king during his reign. Indeed, sometimes the writer also uses a key-word **ነገሩ** ('his account') for historical parts of the narrative. In some cases, he combined the two terms **ዜና ፣ ወነገሩ** ('story and his account'). Furthermore, the author divides **ዜና**, which he introduces as the main theme of the text in Chapter 2, just after the introductory note, into four sub-topics in the following order: **ዜና ፣ አባዊሁ ፣ ወዜና ፣ ልደቱ** ('the story of his forefathers and the story of his birth'), **ዜናሁ ፣ ለፀብእ ፣ ወመዊእ** ('the story of war and victory'),¹⁰⁷ **ዜና ፣ ዘሀለወ ፣ ወፈጸመ** ('the story that he lived and accomplished') and **ዜና ፣ ወነገሩ ፣ እምግብሩ** ('the story and his account from deeds').

'The story of his forefathers and his birth' covers a small portion of the section that starts from Chapter 3 and continues to Chapter 5.

The second and one of the main parts of the **ዜና** is 'The story of war and victory' which encompasses Chapters 6–16 and Chapters 19–29. The narration in this section is also internally sub-divided into four sub-sections on the basis of the chronology of the reign of the king such as **አመ ፣ ቀዳሚት ፣ ዓመት ፣ እመንግሥቱ ፣** ('in the first year of his reign') from Chapter 6 -10, **ወአመ ፣ ካልእት ፣ ዓመተ ፣ መንግሥቱ** ('in the second year of his reign') Chapters 11–13, **ወአመ ፣ ሣልስ ፣ ዓመት ፣ እመንግሥቱ** ('in the third year of his reign') from Chapters 14–16.¹⁰⁸ Then, it continues in Chapter 19–26 to narrate those activities of the king, which were conducted in the third year of his reign. Finally, in the fourth sub-section, the

¹⁰⁷ He repeated again in the end of Chapter six **ዜና ፣ ተፃብአቱ ፣ ወተቃትሎቱ ፣ ወመዊአቱ ፣ ሀለወነ ፣ ናገሩ ፣ በገሩ ፣ ዘመፍትወ** ('We will present the story of his fight and his battle and his victory in the proper place'). Cp. The Critical Text, 13.

¹⁰⁸ The author does not mention the year of the accession of Gälawdewos but he starts to narrate saying: 'In the first year of his reign', 'In the second year of his reign', 'In the third year of his reign'. If one does not understand his style, it may lead to a confusion. However, in Chapter 20, the author mentions that the king fought his big enemy Ahmad during the third year of his reign. He indicates the exact year, month and day at which he fought and, consequently, it is possible to calculate when the king came to power.

chronicle narrates events without mentioning his specific year of reign simply noting with **ወበእሎን ፣ አውራኃ ፣ ዓመታት** ('in those years') from Chapter 27 to Chapter 29.

'The story that he lived through and accomplished' covering Chapters 31–38 and Chapters 40 to 58 which the author calls **ዙተረፈ ፣ ዜና** being the continuation of the story he accomplished. Then follows 'The story and his account of deeds' which encompasses Chapters 64–74. The remaining chapters, which are not included to **ዜና**, belong to the second theme of the first part, the religious deeds, which is discussed here below.

Apart from the key-words discussed above, in the chronicle there also are other specific key-words that the author often employs to narrate and praise the religious deeds and goodness of the king such as **ትሩፋቲሁ** ('his virtue'), **ግዕዛቲሁ** ('his dominion'), **ውዳሴሁ** ('his praise'), **ሐረታቲሁ** ('his behavior'), **ብዕዕናሁ** ('his blessed [deeds]'), **ፍድላታቲሁ**¹⁰⁹ ('his excellence') and **ውዳሴሁ** ('his praise'). It seems that he intended to use these terms as sub-topics under the major topic of religious deeds and the personality of the king. The author inserts these key-words, which he employs for the thematic division of the narration, at the beginning of the chapter with one exception when they appear at the end of the chapter.

In the chronicle, also appear 'key conjunction phrases' that come always together with the key-words of the themes to keep the sequence of the narration of the two main themes. These key conjunction phrases are literary devices of the author, which are supposed to lead the narration, such as **ንጭጥን ፣ በዝየ ፣** ('we begin here'), **ንንግር ፣ ንስቲተ ፣** ('let's say a few words'), **ንዘከር ፣ ዙተረፈ ፣** ('let's remember what has been left'). These are guiding words for the themes the author narrates and the reader of the text should notice and keep them. Both themes are narrated one after the other. Thus, the author divided the first part of the text thematically into the following sequence.

He begins with **ንጭጥን ፣ በዝየ ፣ ጽሑፊ ፣ ዜና ፣ ሠናይ ፣** ('we begin here writing the fine story') in Chapter 2 and he proceeds to provide detailed accounts until Chapter 16: about the family background of the king, his military confrontation against *imām* and his chief commanders. Then, he turns to narrate the religious deeds of the king in Chapter 17 stating that **ንንግር ፣ ንስቲተ ፣ እምትሩፋቲሁ ፣ ወጎዳጠ ፣ እምግዕዛቲሁ ፣** ('let's speak a little of his virtues and on a part of his commendable manners'). Then he returns to narrate the successful campaign of the king beginning with the expression, in Chapter 18, **ንዘከር ፣ ዙተረፈ ፣ ዜና ፣ እምዜና ፣ ፀብእ ፣ ወመዊእ** ('we will resume the remaining story of war and victory') and continues until Chapter 29. In the following chapter (Chapter 30), he shifts again to shower praises on the king saying: **ንንብብ ፣ ንስቲተ ፣ እመብዝኅተ ፣ ውዳሴሁ** ('we will talk a little

¹⁰⁹ It is derived from the Arabic word **ፋድላ**. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 144; Guidi 1899, 114.

from much of his praise’). Then again, he turns to the historical part to tell us the story of the successful military campaign: **ናሁ ፡ ንዜኑ ፡ በዝዩ ፡ ዜና ፡ ዘሀለወ ፡ ወፈጸመ** (‘now we will narrate here the story that he lived and accomplished’) covering Chapters 31–38. In Chapter 39, he turns to the religious deeds of the king: **ንጽሐፍ ፡ ኅዳጠ ፡ እምነገረ ፡ ሐረጎታቲሁ** (‘we will write a bit about the condition of his behavior’) which is followed by the historical part in Chapter 40: **ወካዕበ ፡ ንጽሐፍ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ዘኃደግናሁ** (‘we now resume the account we stopped’). Afterwards he continues his narration until Chapter 58. Thereafter, he turns again to the topic of religious deeds in Chapter 59: **ንጽሐፍ ፡ ንሱቲተ ፡ እምትሩፋተ ፡ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ወፍድላታቲሁ** (‘we will write a little of the virtues and commendable of *Mar* Gälawdewos’) which extends to Chapter 63. At the end of this chapter, before he proceeds to the next one, he says to the reader: **ዓዲ ፡ ናተሉ ፡ ጽሑፈ ፡ ዜናሁ ፡ ወነገሩ** (‘we will continue to write his story and his deed’) followed by the story of the king in Chapters 64–74. Then he comes back to the religious deed of the king in Chapter 75 opening it with the sentence: **ንጽሐፍ ፡ ብፅዓነ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ** (‘let’s write the bless of King Gälawdewos’). The same theme continues from Chapter 76 to Chapter 79. In this part of the text, it is important to notice the connecting phrases that the author mentions either at the beginning or at the end to keep the sequence and coherence of the text.

Chapter 80 is a turning point of the chronicle where the author notes, ‘It is impossible to write the whole virtue and goodness of the king, since time is short to prolong this story. We did our best in a few words and that will suffice to those who read and hear. We were able to overcome the difficulties of this work and lead a successful conclusion with the help of God, glorious and the most high, until the end of time! Amen’. This is the end of the first part of the text.

In the second part of the text, which is characterized by hagiographic style both in content and structural feature,¹¹⁰ the chronicler devotes a large section to the martyrdom of the king (Chapters 81 to 89) which includes the prophecy, his confrontation with the Muslim and his death. It ends with the sainthood of the king. In the course of the narration, the author seems to be very careful to show how the king obtained sanctity. According to the author, a prophecy came telling him, ‘the end of your earthly royalty is approaching and you will receive the heavenly kingdom in which no work is required for those who enter and you pass the fieldwork in the field of the eternal life’. When the glorious prince Gälawdewos peace be

¹¹⁰ The scholars in the field of Ethiopian hagiography believe that Ethiopian hagiographies have four structural forms: the historical part, *kidan* (a kind of formal pact between the saint and God), miracle, a short poem (*mälkä*). Cp. Conti Rossini 2012; Tadesse Tamrat 1970; Kaplan 1981.

upon him learned of this prophecy, he was not scared, but he said, ‘Lord, grant me a place with martyrs who have suffered because of your name’.¹¹¹ To use Marrassini’s word the figure of the king begins to fade into that of the saint.¹¹²

The prophecy is followed by the news that has come to the court of the king that Nur is ready to fight against him in Fätägar. The king did not want to devote some time for organization of his army and so he went to fight with Nur, although the people of the court and his soldiers tried to convince him to take time for more preparation. Nūr b. Muğāḥid’s forces killed him and his head was cut off and taken to Harär as a war booty. At this point, the historiographer claims that three days after the king’s death his body was found uncorrupted, like those of ancient martyrs. According to him, it shows the sainthood of the king.¹¹³

Next, the author is devoted to portray the occurrence of the calamity of God. Then, the chronicler devotes three consecutive Chapters (90–93) to recount the acts of three religious fathers: *Abba* Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Libanos,¹¹⁴ *Abba* Aser of Däbrä Şäba’ot and *Abba* Täklä Maḥbär, a teacher of the kings, respectively. They suffered their martyrdom together with the king and were represented in the text as ሰማዕታት (‘martyrs’). It is noticeable that each subsection ends with the word አሜን. I think it is an author’s marker of thematic division for this part. Finally, the chronicler concludes his work cursing the date of the death of the king and the house of Nūr b. Muğāḥid.

This is followed by a poem composed for the martyr king called መጽሐፈ ሰቆቃው (‘Book of mourning’) that contains Chapters 94–95, Chapter 96, namely the chronicler’s order to the people for mourning of the king, and Chapter 97 is a colophon.

3. Some features of each narrative parts

The ዜና section of the chronicle, as the chronicler referred it ዘንሐነ ፡ ዜነውነ ፡ ክፍለ ፡ እምዜናው (‘as we reported in the story section’) in the second part of the text,¹¹⁵ represents the largest part of the chronicle. This part is narrated precisely in space and time, which is the most important as a source for the historical reconstruction of the king’s reign.

¹¹¹ The Critical Text, 192.

¹¹² His death in the battle against the Muslims earned the King Gälawdewos the title *Mar*, reserved for saints, and a commemorative notice in the *Synaxarion*. In the narration about war, we may observe the constant feature of the Ethiopian royal ideology—God guides the king. Cp. Pankhurst 1987; Marrassini 2012, 391.

¹¹³ The Critical Text, 226; Marrassini 2012, 392.

¹¹⁴ Cerulli 1943, 153.

¹¹⁵ The Critical Text, 197.

The different place names where the historical episodes took place, various religious group, and ethnic group by his own term mainly represented in this part of the text. In this regard, the main terms used in the Chronicle to delimit geographical and religious areas are **ምድር** ('land') and **አህጉር** ('region'). The word **ምድር** is a general term that can refer to anything from a small locality to a province, or the entire county, **አህጉር** is only used in connection with the four major regions, Təgray (**አህጉረ ፡ ትግራይ**), Šäwa (**አህጉረ ፡ ሸዋ**) (the two provinces that remained under Christian control during the years of Aḥmad Grañ's expansion), Dawaro (**አህጉረ ፡ ደዋሮ**), and Wäg (**አህጉረ ፡ ወጅ**). Other terms used include **ብሔር** ('land'), **አድባር** ('mountains'), **ባሕር** ('lake', 'sea'), **በር** (lit. 'gate'), **ምሥራቃውያት** ('Eastern provinces'), and **ማዕድተ ፡ ባሕር** ('the other side of the river/lake'). The ethno-religious groups are referred to as **ሕዝብ** ('people', as in **ሕዝብ ፡ ክርስትያን**, 'Christians', **ሕዝብ ፡ ከሃድያን**, 'pagans, i.e. followers of various indigenous religions'); the term used for Muslims is **ተንባላት**. In the **ዜና** part of the chronicle, the writer has his own style of chronological presentation and it is not visible for the reader. Thus, the reader should be very careful to look into the calendar and his presentation.

On the other hand, in the part dealing with religious deeds of the king, the chronicler praises and adulates the king, it is a place where the writer try to magnify and uplift the righteous and sainted of the king. In the composition of this part, the author mainly referred several quotations from the Bible and equates the king's religious deeds with the Biblical figures. The whole discussion is devoted to portray the best religious qualities of the king, his peaceful reign, and generosity to the poor and his observance of God's law. The degree of praising is unexplainable which brings totally the king to an ideal human being, perfect. In some cases, the author failed to keep religious dogmatism of the medieval time when he elevated the king to the status of Jesus. This leads a way for the second, the final part of the text where the king is completely transferred from king to a saint.

In addition, the poem (Book of mourning) also shares similar features with this part of the text that fully concentrates crying on the death of the king. Therefore, it is certain that this part of the chronicle has a very little value as a historical source but it has a literary value to understand the context of the Gə'əz language in the medieval time.

Understanding narrative structure of the text is important to examine the content and to identify which part of the text can be utilized as historical sources. Conzelman¹¹⁶ in this case argues that the narration of the chronicle is disjointed and lacks consistency. However, the case is not true. The author of the chronicle follows his own style of narration. The author

¹¹⁶ Conzelman 1895, IX.

needs to treat two themes one after the other. He did not describe uniformly. He addressed both in parallel line through the above leading words—he did not narrate the historical part from the beginning to the end or the religious deed of the king from the beginning to the end. In the course of dealing with the historical element, suddenly, he shifts in one chapter amid and turns to the other. In fact, if we do not realize such style of the chronicle, we assume that the text is disjointed.

4. Date and purpose of the composition

The colophon clearly states that the date of completion of the composition of the text was March 1561, just two years after the death of King Gälawdewos.¹¹⁷ However, the date of the beginning of the composition of the chronicle has been a subject of contention among scholars, since the colophon left open the date of the beginning of the composition.

Dillmann¹¹⁸ and Zotenberg¹¹⁹ suggested that it was started under the reign of Gälawdewos and ended in the reign of King Minas (1559–1563). Though they did not provide further evidence, since their concern was mainly cataloguing and describing the text. But Conzelman¹²⁰ strongly argues that it was entirely written in the period of Minas. His argument is plausible and acceptable, on the basis of a collection of certain relevant facts in the text. For example, in Chapter 29 of the chronicle, the chronicler mentioned **ሚናስ ፡ እኅሁ ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ እምድሳሬሁ** ('Minas, his brother, who reigned after him').¹²¹ Therefore, any part of the story that followed this event (which seems to have occurred around 1546 and 1547) was certainly written after Gälawdewos' death. It is also noted that the author used perfect verbs and phrases like **ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ዘነግሠ** (*Mar Gälawdewos* who reigned) and **በኩሉ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ኢሐነጸ ፡ ዓመፃ ፡ ወግፍዐ ፡ ኢሳረረ** (throughout his reign he did not commit injustice and he refrained from oppression).¹²²

The main goal of the composition of the Chronicle seems to have been to commemorate and mourn the untimely death of Gälawdewos at the hands of the Muslims, producing a kind of a hagiography of the saintly king.¹²³ This can be deduced from the poetic approach of the author and his concern for glorifying the moral and religious merits of the king, praising

¹¹⁷ The Critical Text, 272–274.

¹¹⁸ Dillmann 1848, 80.

¹¹⁹ Zotenberg 1877, 216.

¹²⁰ Conzelman 1895, VII.

¹²¹ The Critical Text, 66.

¹²² Cp. The Critical Text: 3, 149 respectively.

¹²³ This point also noted by Russian scholars, cp. 'Historiography,' *EAE*, III (2007), 40b-45b (Sevir Chernetsov).

his bravery, and the deep sorrow of the author when he interrupts the main story to tell the readers about the Muslim adversaries. More significantly, the author-included excerpts from the biblical *Lamentations of Jeremiah* to cry for reading in the churches on the feast day of the king who was canonized later in the *Synaxarion*. This is evident from the reading that the author dedicated to explain the necessity of mourning for the death of the king as it happened for the Prophet Jeremiah. It reads

‘How admirable is the house of Jacob who set certain days, in order to read the lamentation of the Prophet Jeremiah in their Synagogue to the memory of the death of Josiah¹²⁴ and the destruction of the first temple, the demolition of the city and the captivity of the people. In the same way, you, the flock of Ethiopia, set mourning in the certain day and remember your pastor, Gälawdewos, who opened to you the mouth of the closed well that many pastors had not opened¹²⁵ and made you drink the living water, holy and pleasant’.¹²⁶

For this reason, it seems that the work was purposefully completed four days before the second anniversary of the death of the king to mourn him while reading this text in the church.¹²⁷ As a result, the author was in a hurry to accomplish the composition, as he tells us in his words.¹²⁸

The chronicle¹²⁹ is also purposefully concerned to portray the ideological orientation of Royalty that means the Ethiopian kings were descendants of the lineage of Judah, Son of David and Solomon who were kings in Jerusalem.¹³⁰ As Pankhurst and Marrassini remarked, those ideological principles of Solomonic monarchs¹³¹ were the central concern of the *Käbrä nägästä* and they are also maintained in royal chronicles which serve to propagate such ideol-

¹²⁴ 2 Chron. 35:25.

¹²⁵ Gen. 29:2, 3.

¹²⁶ The Critical Text, 270.

¹²⁷ The ritual of mourning by the reading of this text must have been continued for some years during the sixteenth century and in the course of time it would have turned simply to a reading of the text as a hagiography of the king, a tradition which keeps on being observed to these days in the church of Tädbabä Maryam every first day of *Gänbot* E.C. (8 May).

¹²⁸ Cp. The Critical Text, 271. አአኃውየ ልቡናውያን ፣ ነዮ ፣ ዝንቱ ፣ መጽሐፍ ፣ ዘአገግግግግግ ፣ ጎበ ፣ ጽሐፊቱ ፣ ገላቅክሙ ፣ መስተናድእ ፣ ብቀጥጥጥ ፣ ወምልኡ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ንትጋ ፣ አእምሮትየ ፣ ዘጠዋይ ፣ እምኔሁ ፣ አርትዑ ፣ ወጺሑ ፣ ዘገግግግግ ፣ እስመ ፣ አእምሮተ ፣ አሐዳ ፣ ብእሲ ፣ ኢይክል ፣ ያሠርግዎ ፣ ለቃለ ፣ መጽሐፍ ፣ በከመ ፣ ብርሃነ ፣ አሐዳ ፣ ኮከብ ፣ ወላሕየ ፣ አሐዳ ፣ ጽጌ ፣ ኢይክል ፣ ያሠርግዎ ፣ ለግዕዝ ፣ ሰማይ ፣ ወምድር ። (‘Oh! my brothers, you who are intelligent, this is the book which your pressing solicitation has hastened me to write. Do me a favour and fill in the gap of my knowledge. Straighten what is crooked from it (the book) and smooth which is rugged because the knowledge of one person cannot decorate the word of the book as the light of one star and the beauty of one flower cannot decorate the dominion of sky and earth’).

¹²⁹ Caquot 1957b; Pankhurst 1987; Marrassini 2012.

¹³⁰ Pankhurst 1987.

¹³¹ Pankhurst 1987 listed the Holy ark of the Covenant, special relation with God, the House of David, the lion of the tribe of Judah, identification with God and the Virgin Mary, the good shepherd, instrument of God, royal mint, enemy, royal succession and selection, anointment, attributes of the ruler, counsel and obedience as some of the principles of the royalty. Cp. Pankhurst 1987, 25–49.

ogy for their respective kings. The case is true in this chronicle as well. In this regard, the author compared King Gälawdewos with ‘his forefathers David and Solomon’ as well as with Moses and other Israelites leaders like Joshua, Barak, Gideon, Josiah, Ezekiel, Job and Daniel.¹³² The author also carefully cited passages to claim that the king belongs to the lion of Judah. In Pankhurst’s good analysis, the Royal chronicles usually cited the notable references from the Bible (Ps. 77:67, Gen. 49:10, Rev. 5:5)¹³³ to indicate that the king belongs to the line of Judah. In this regard, the chronicler of Gälawdewos cited reference from revelation that is spoken for the Lion of Judah.¹³⁴ In similar manner, the chronicle also devoted the divinity of the king Gälawdewos who was likened even to Jesus.¹³⁵ Following the basic principles of *Kəbrä nägästä* and *Fəthä nägästä* that ‘King must be a good shepherd’,¹³⁶ the chronicler systematically explained in the chronicle that King Gälawdewos refused to flee from his enemy saying that ‘If I die and the flocks are scattered, the lord of shepherds does not inquire about the dispersion of the flocks’.¹³⁷ Other ideological principles of royalty including the anointment, counsel, obedience to God, attributes of the rules are explained based on several references from the Bible. The chronicle also indicated the significance of the anointment citing Ps. 44:7. Thus, this chronicle represents one of the main example of means of indoctrinating the ideological orientation of the kings, perhaps next to *Kəbrä nägästä*.

Another intention of the Chronicle is to keep the political legitimacy of the dynasty to the Ləbnä Dəngəl family. To do that the author shows the royalty of the king and his family referring to the sources of legitimacy based on the ideological orientation of *Kəbrä nägästä*.¹³⁸ In this regard, the author was very careful to keep the rule of royalty in his narration. He presents the kingship of King Gälawdewos as coming from God: **አንገሥ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡** (‘God enthroned *Mar* Gälawdewos’). According to the chronicler, Gälawdewos keeps the whole subjects, he feeds the people, and his power is unlimited. In addition, Gälawdewos ensures an end to internal strife, enmity and affliction.¹³⁹ Victory is always for the king, impossible without Gälawdewos. God always protects him. All these representations aim to portray the divinity of the king.

¹³² See The Critical Text, 11, 55, 69, 70, 62.

¹³³ Pankhurst 1987, 31.

¹³⁴ The Critical Text, 30.

¹³⁵ The Critical Text, 69.

¹³⁶ Budge 1932, 180; Paulos Tzadua 1968, 22.

¹³⁷ The Critical Text, 216.

¹³⁸ Bezold 1909, 93; Guidi 1897–1899, 283 (text); Caquot 1957, 205–218; Marrassini 2012, 390–398.

¹³⁹ The Critical Text 38, 61, 68, 69, 88.

5. Sources of the text

As mentioned above, the chronicler did not compose during the time when the events did happen or in the lifetime of the king. Indeed, the chronicler was a contemporary of the period. He wrote it after he collected all the relevant sources in the court, oral information and employing his own knowledge, as he was close to the king. These sources are useful for the writing of the historical part of the chronicle.

He intensively referred to several religious texts including Old Testament and New Testament to narrate the religious duties and religious personality of the king equating with the most known Biblical figures.¹⁴⁰ Thus, while writing the chronicle, the author employs various sources as it emerges from the content of the text. These sources in general include literary sources, personal witness and oral information along with oral tradition and legends.

5.1. Literary sources

The historical context of the date of composition of the chronicle, 1561, represents the time of the revival of the Gəʿəz literature following severe destruction of the Christian culture through the long civil war of Christians and Muslims.¹⁴¹ After King Gälawdewos managed to ensure a relative stability of his kingdom, his primary concern was to initiate the production of literary sources and the restoration of the monasteries and churches. As a result, the king bought a large number of books that cost him not less than ten thousand weight of gold.¹⁴² Undoubtedly, the manuscripts came from the Christian Arabic world, mainly from Egypt. The mediators were the metropolitan and foreigners in the court, አፍረንጅ (as the chronicles call them) mainly Portuguese¹⁴³ as well as Indians, Armenians and Syrians. The sources attest that in the royal court, there was a big enterprise of production and translation of texts from Arabic into Gəʿəz.¹⁴⁴ This created a favorable condition for the chronicler to consult several texts.

¹⁴⁰ It is attested that the chronicler mentioned several Biblical figures in various context in the text. A large number of them were drawn from the Old Testament and a few of them from the New Testament. Pankhurst 1987; Marrassini 2012.

¹⁴¹ ‘Gəʿəz literature’, *EAE*, II (2005), 736a-741a (Getatchew Haile).

¹⁴² The Critical Text, 121. It reads አልፍ ፡ መዳለወ ፡ ወርቅ (‘ten thousand weight of Gold’).

¹⁴³ Martínez d’Alòs-Moner 2015, 35.

¹⁴⁴ The result of the translation enterprise produced a monumental religious text serving still in the national church EOCT, the books of *Mäṣhafä Qändil* and *Haymanotä Abäw* are cases in point. Cp. Basset 1882, 198.

There are two kinds of literary sources that have been consulted for the composition of the text. Firstly, the literary sources that the author himself indicates in the text. Secondly, those texts that the author does not mention but he uses in the text.

5.1.1. Literary sources indicated in the text

5.1.1.1. Court Annals

The chronicler used various short annals of the king, which were composed for the successful military campaigns conducted during his lifetime. This means that the king might have had ordered the composition of several annals for each of his military campaigns during his time. The names of these annals are mentioned in the text by the chronicler for further reading for the readers. The first annals are mentioned in Chapter 36 by the author, they are called **ብርያሚን**,¹⁴⁵ which was composed for the victory of the king against Adalites. These annals are named after the name **ብርያሚን** of the biblical book.¹⁴⁶ In Chapter 38 **መጽሐፈ ፡ ጥናት ፡ ንጉሳዊ** which deals with the destruction of the city of °Adal by the forces of the king in 1550.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, the chronicler reports from an annal that the farmers were paying tax during the time of the king, **ወተወጥነት ፡ ግብር ፡ ዘጽሕፍት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዜና ፡ ሐቃላውያን**.¹⁴⁸ ('Tribute was begun which is written in the account of farmers').

In similar manner, the chronicler also reveals that the annals of the church of Tädbabä Maryam is found in the book of Prophets (**መጽሐፈ ፡ ነቢያት**).¹⁴⁹ The effort to get these annals in the church and monasteries of Ethiopia have been unsuccessful. In addition, they are not mentioned in any other sources.

The tradition of compilation of the annals on a particular campaign seems to be an old tradition in the court of the medieval kings. The example is the chronicle of °Amdä Şəyon whose chronicle deals only with a single event that the modern editors consider as annals of

¹⁴⁵ The Critical Text, 83.

¹⁴⁶ The name is drawn from the Bible. See 1 Kings 14: 19, 29.

¹⁴⁷ The Critical Text, 87.

¹⁴⁸ The Critical Text, 26.

¹⁴⁹ The Critical Text, 110. There was a tradition of recording story (**ዜና**) for a famous monastery or a royal church in medieval time. Sources reveal that a chronicle was dedicated to the monastery of Däbrä Libanos and monasteries of Laka Tana. Cp. Turaev 1906; 'Historiography', *EAE*, III (2007), 40b-45b (Sevir Chernetsov). Chernetsov further argues that *Wängelä wärq* ('Golden Gospels') is found almost every church. In this text, land grants, donations, etc. were recorded, more often on specially added pages. In this regard, in Tädbabä Maryam, the book the author mentioned (**መጽሐፈ ፡ ነቢያት**) was serving like *Wängelä wärq* in various churches and monasteries.

the king.¹⁵⁰ Thus, the tradition of composing annals for the successful campaign must have been continued to the period of Gälawdewos.

The existence of these small annals during the time of King Gälawdewos lead to the speculation that there was another royal chronicler in the proper sense who was writing day by day, moving with the king and taking the night with the soldiers. There is also useful information that supports this speculation on the existence of the other chronicle of King Gälawdewos. The short chronicle of the same king, which was composed in the time of King Säršä Dəngəl, reports that the detailed history of the king was written in the book of Səʾələ Krəstos. Who was this chronicler? Initially, Kropp¹⁵¹ suggested that this must have been the chronicler of the present text and stated that the speculation of Guidi's ʿƏnbaqom can be disproved. However, later, when he studied again the chronicle of Gälawdewos he supported the view of Guidi.¹⁵²

Therefore, there were two chroniclers of Gälawdewos, the one who composed in the space and time that we did not know, and the chronicler of this text who composed it after the death of the king.

5.1.1.2. Calendrical book

The author consulted a book, he mentioned by the name, መጽሐፈ ፈለክ ሶርያዊ¹⁵³ (book of Syrian Astronomy) which is the main source of the calendars he intensively utilized in the text, particularly for the Zodiac calendar which is calculated on the position of the sun.¹⁵⁴ The full passage of the text where this book is mentioned reads that በመዋሉቴ ፡ ለፀሐይ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መስኮት ፡ ማእከላዊ ፡ ዘየዐቢ ፡ እመሳክው ፡ በከመ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ፈለክ ፡ ሶርያዊ ፡ ('the entry of the sun in the central window, the largest of the windows, as it is written in the book of Syrian Astronomy').¹⁵⁵ However, the identity of this book found neither in the list of Gəʾəz literature nor in the catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts.

¹⁵⁰ Marrassini 1993, 22; Kropp 1994, X (text). Pankhurst in his contribution of the Ethiopic chronicles pointed out that the chronicle of ʿAmdä Şəyon is annals of the king. Cp. Pankhurst 1987, 28.

¹⁵¹ Kropp 1988, XVII.

¹⁵² Kropp 1986, 329.

¹⁵³ The word ፈለክ is an Arabic word which means astronomy. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 132.

¹⁵⁴ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ በማኅፈድ ፡ ተውር (see also The Critical Text, 107), እትወተ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማኅፈድ ፡ ኃምሳዊ (The Critical Text, 112), እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ በጳ ፡ ወፒ ፡ መዓርግ ፡ እመዓርግ ፡ ዓቢያን ፡ በማኅፈድ ፡ ሐመል (The Critical Text, 274).

¹⁵⁵ The Critical Text, 36.

Conzelman,¹⁵⁶ in his commentary of this particular calendar, noted that this passage directly corresponds with the astronomical part of a book of Henok.¹⁵⁷ Based on this hints, I have gone through The ‘Astronomical Chapters’ of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72–82)¹⁵⁸ which provides the full information how the Zodiac calendar performs based on the position of the sun.

The name of this book interestingly calls further speculation in relation with either the book of *Abušakər* or the book of Henok. The question is that this book was it *Abušakər*? or part of Henok or a Syriac text?

It is necessary to look at this point in two ways. One, literally, **መጽሐፈ ፡ ፈለክ ፡ ሰርዖዊ** indicates either a person from Syria or the provenance of the book. If the author is referring to the person, this book most probably would be a Syriac text. In this case, the author might have been referring to the owner of the book rather than to the provenance of the text. This can be also further supported because there were Syrian artisans in the court of the king, who engaged for the construction of the palace of the king.¹⁵⁹ It can also be further supported by the fact that as it is speculated the hypothetical author of the chronicle, ʿĒnbaqom, who translated the book of *Abušakər*, might be referring to such a book that might have been accessed through a Syrian person. In this case, the author might be referring to the book of *Abušakər*.

On the other hand, it could probably be a Syriac text, although the existence of a full Syriac text is not supported by the Ethiopic scholarship.

Or even, as the content of this text is related with the book of Henok one may think that it is the astronomical section of Henok. However, the corresponding astronomical part of the book of Henok is called in Ethiopic **መጽሐፈ ፡ ሚጠተ ፡ ሰማይ** (‘book of the course of heaven’)¹⁶⁰ in chapter 72. Therefore, I contend that the information of the presence of such book in the medieval time might bring new insight both in the literary tradition of the book of Henok or the book of *Abušakər*.

¹⁵⁶ Conzelman 1895, 132.

¹⁵⁷ Dillmann 1853, 221–226.

¹⁵⁸ Neugebauer 1981, 6–7.

¹⁵⁹ The Critical Text, 95.

¹⁶⁰ Dillmann 1853, 221–226.

5.1.2. Literary sources that the chronicler might have used without mentioning them

5.1.2.1. Bible

The chronicler uses intensively the Bible to portray the religious personality of the king. He quoted abundantly the Bible for every of the details he deals with which evidently overshadowed the historical data most expected from the text.¹⁶¹ The author cited Old Testament more than the New Testament. He cited the Old Testament 71 times and 36 times the New Testament.¹⁶² Nöldeke¹⁶³ noted this feature of the text; he commented that the author of this chronicle was tedious and used cheap scholarship. However, it is an undeniable fact that the author was one of the outstanding learned men intimately familiar with the Bible.

5.1.2.2. *Fəṯḥa nəgäšt*

The chronicler might have also consulted the book of *Fəṯḥa nəgäšt*. The text provides a valuable information of the justice system of the period of the king. According to the information in the text, the king was providing a judgement according to tradition of the penal law and ordinance of the time. This is evident from the text which stated that if there was an avenger of the blood and he wanted to kill this man (culprit), he redeemed him from him with humble word and paid the proper redemption.¹⁶⁴

5.1.2.3. Canonical books of the church

The chronicle attests that canonical books were in service during religious controversy with the Jesuits in the court of the king. For this purpose, the king had collected several religious texts that justify the doctrine of the church and the ecumenical council of the international churches. The chronicler listed these books, they were called books of Pseudo-apostolic literature, books of Prophets and books of church fathers. In this regard, it seems that the author has read these books and he mentions the names of those celebrated religious figures responsible for the organization of the ecumenical councils including Marcian, Byzantine Emperor, who summoned the council of Chalcedon, Theodosius II, who summoned the council of Ephesus. On the other hand, the author reported that the father of King Gälawdewos Ləbnä Dəngəl did not exceed the limit that was set out for him by the ecumenical councils in the whole world. The author explains that the marriage of his father Ləbnä Dəngəl and Säblä Wängel was according to the Canon book in the words of the author ‘Ḥ :

¹⁶¹ Conzelman deserves to be mentioned for his meticulous collection and identification of the quotations from the Bible.

¹⁶² The data is drawn from Conzelman's work on the same text.

¹⁶³ Nöldeke 1896a, 165.

¹⁶⁴ Cp. The Critical Text, 117.

መርዓዊ ፡ ለአሐቲ ፡ መርዓት ፡ በአምጣነ ፡ ቀኖኖሃ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ እንተ ፡ አሐዛብ¹⁶⁵ one women for one man operate, which is evidently incorporated in the canon law book of the church.

5.2. Eye witness account, oral information, oral tradition and legend

The author used his fresh memory and oral tradition for the composition of the text. He pointed out in the text that he had a personal talk with the king. This is evident in chapter 58¹⁶⁶ of the text **ወበ፩ ፡ እምዕለታት ፡ አነ ፡ ወክልኤቱ ፡ አብያጽዮ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ንቀውም ፡ ቅድሜሁ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ክቡር** (‘one day I and my two companions stood in front of the honorable king’).

There are also some expressions that indicate the author used oral information for his composition. For instance, **ዘንተ ፡ ባህለ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ እምአፋሁ ፤ ፩እምሕፅዋን ፡ ወነገረነ ፡ ለነ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይምሕል ፡ በሰም ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ወቅዱስ** (‘This speech was heard from his mouth by one of the eunuchs who told us, swearing in the great and holy name’).

In the chronicle, many references indicate the author was also an eyewitness of the event at some point. He used his eyewitness account to define the personal qualities of the king on the basis of the information he personally observed, he heard and he asked as stated like this **ከመዝ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ግዕዙ ፡ ዘርኢነ ፡ ወዘሰማዕነ ፡ ወዘጠየቅነ ።** (‘As we have seen, as we have heard and as we have learnt’).¹⁶⁷

The author also employs allusions that he quoted from several sources. Actually, some personal and places names are unidentifiable, when he quotes names like **ብሔረ ፡ ፍራኩሙኖስ** and a king by the name of **ፈያድሊፎስ**¹⁶⁸ to whom the author compares the king, stating that he was more enlightened than him. Allusion and legends are drawn from *Tä’ammärä Maryam* and the book of *Därsanä Ragu’el*. In case of *Tä’ammärä Maryam*, for the allusion to the legend of Marco’s son Christodoulos, King of Rome, who renounced the throne to marry and not take to the spiritual,¹⁶⁹ which has a complex history of spreading, is evident in the text, according to Cerulli. In addition, the author has also employed the legend told about the kingship of the king by his father Ləbnä Dəngəl, which is written in the book of *Därsanä Ragu’el*.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ The Critical Text, 5.
¹⁶⁶ The Critical Text, 138.
¹⁶⁷ The Critical Text, 38.
¹⁶⁸ The Critical Text, 204 (maybe Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, r. 283–246 BCE).
¹⁶⁹ Cerulli 1968, 123.
¹⁷⁰ Caquot 1957a, 91–122.

It is true that understanding the sources of the text is significant for the understanding of the context and the circumstances behind the text. The author of the chronicle of Gälawdewos had his own methodological approach, in the context of medieval setting, which he applied to compose this chronicle. When he deals with the historical elements of the reign of the king, he consults the annals and court document, utilizes his eyewitness information and oral information pertinent to the period under discussion. When he deals with the justice system under the dominion of the king, he employs the governing law of the time, both for the spiritual and secular matters. It is also evident that when he is dealing with dating events in time, he consulted the available calendrical book. When the chronicler deals with the religious debates between the king and the Jesuits, he justified his arguments depending upon the canonical books of the Church. When he talks of the saints he referred to the hagiographies of the saints, when he deals with doctrinal issue, he heavily depends on the Old and New Testament. Therefore, the nature and the way of the composition of this text is well-articulated and highly documented. This indeed is one of the works of highest of medieval Ethiopian literature. Obviously, this cannot be compared with the modern methodological system of references in footnotes or in the bibliography.

6. The language and literary genre of the Chronicle

The chronicle is one of the best literary works of sixteenth century Ethiopia, with a peculiar nature in comparison with other works of the royal historiography. The text uses pure Gəʿəz with very minimum or almost none Amharic influence.¹⁷¹ In this regard, there are a dozen of Gəʿəz words which have several meanings in different context and the writer placed them in the properly understanding of the context of each. For instance, the word ትእይንት has four meanings in different contexts. In one point the text reads 109 (2) ወበይእቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ሰነይ ፡ ዘካልእት ፡ ዕለት ፡ እምዕለታተ ፡ ፍጥረት ፡ ወፅአት ፡ እምትዕይንት ፡ ታቦት ፡ ዘስምይት ፡ በስመ ፡ ተድባባ ፡ ማርያም ፡ (‘In that day, a day of Monday, the second day from the days of creation, the *tabot* called in the name of Tädabä Maryam came out from the tabernacle’). Here the author prefers to write instead of the commonly usage of ታቦት ፡ እመንበሩ¹⁷² (‘tabot from altar’) the oldest name of the place where the *tabot* was kept,

¹⁷¹ Nöldeke in his review has noted this point, Nöldeke 1896a, 164–168. I found just only in one point a word አሽከር which means ‘servant’ in Amharic but I do not get a possible root verb. However, Guidi commented that this word must have been derived from an Arabic word. Cp. Guidi 1899, 115.

¹⁷² መንበር is wooden box in which the *tabot* is kept, lit. ‘the throne of the *tabot*’. Leslau 1991, 384.

ትዕይንት ('tabernacle') which is also mentioned in the Old Testament. Dillmann also maintains this meaning in his famous lexicon.¹⁷³ Indeed, it is important to make linguistic analysis how it shifts from **ትዕይንት** to **መንበሩ**.¹⁷⁴ The word **ትዕይንት** has also the meaning of 'congregation'¹⁷⁵ and 'camp'.¹⁷⁶ A dozen similar words with several meanings in the context exist throughout the text like the word **ማገፈድ**, or **ቀርባን**, which have more than one meaning in the context.

In addition to this there are expressions which are unique to the text and they are not commonly available in Gəʿəz literature. For instance, verse 156 of the critical text reads **አንሥኦት ፣ እደዊሁ ፣ ወነቀልቃለ ፣ ከናፍሪሁ ፣ ለንጉሥ ፣ ቅቡእ ።** ('raising his hands and moving his lips against the anointed king'). The Phrase **ነቀልቃለ ፣ ከናፍሪሁ ፣** is not commonly used in Gəʿəz tradition because the word **ነቀልቃለ** literally means 'thundering' or 'lightning', which applies for thunder—it is not used for the lips but the author intended to explain the quick movement of the lips in time of speaking. Indeed, if the author said **አንሶስዎት ፣ ከናፍሪሁ ፣** that would be a better expression. The author also uses such a similar style of expression (see verse 163 of the critical text) **ትካዘ ፣ ከርስ ፣** Yet the word **ትካዘ** most commonly comes with **ልብ** or **ነፍስ** or in the expression **ያለብሶሙ ፣ ሕይወት ፣** (see verse 197). Apart from this, the text is also very rich in compound Gəʿəz words like **አበ ፣ ደም ፣**, **ቃለ ፣ ድኩም ፣**, **ትርሲት ፣ ቀትል ፣**, **ንዋየ ፣ ቀትል**, etc.

There are words in the text which are not properly treated in the existing lexica. **ሰርዌ** ('army') has the meaning of 'commander' in this text. The word **አንበረ** has the meaning of 'compose' which is not attested in Dillmann 1865. The word **ተንበለ** is originated from an Arabic word **تنبّل** which means 'be clever and capable'.¹⁷⁷ However, it does not appear in such a meaning in Dillmann (1865, 562–563), Leslau (1991, 576) and Kidanä Wäld (1956, 900–901).

From the literary point of view, the chronicle is full of pathos and high sincere feeling, which are composed with powerful words and phrases. The chronicler exercised fully his literary gift to explain his deep sadness at the death of his beloved king though both romantic and poetic way. He also presented the narration adorned with selected quotations from the Bible, allegoric expressions and metaphors. He had an extraordinary literary talent to explain

¹⁷³ Dillmann 1865, 1007.

¹⁷⁴ There are texts which maintain that **ታቦት ፣ እመንበሩ ፣** relatively seems to be a later development.

¹⁷⁵ The Critical Text, 248.

¹⁷⁶ The Critical Text, 245.

¹⁷⁷ Conzelman 1895, 156; Pereira 1892, 304.

the fear and hardness of the contender of his protagonist and, indeed, to explain the power, goodness and mercy of the king.

The poem, named by the author መጽሐፈ ሰቆቃው ፣ ('Book of mourning'), is the most literary section of the text. It was composed, according to the chronicler, to commemorate his beloved king and uphold the people to cry while reading this poem in the church. The poem has 22 strophes in number, each titled with the name of a letter of the Hebrew's alphabet. It is composed based on the lamentations of Jeremiah.

The chronicler applies the prophecy as an essential literary device to justify the occurrence of some historical facts, avoiding to investigate the true historical reasons. He did not explicitly ignore the fact, but he preferred to justify the truth through prophecy. In this case, the author presented in the text the coming of King Gälawdewos into power,¹⁷⁸ the invasion of Ottoman Turks in 1557,¹⁷⁹ and the death of the king, as taking place according to prophecies. The royalty of Gälawdewos was determined before his birth as his father had a prophecy on him.¹⁸⁰ In 1557 the king was not in a position to confront the Turks, who invaded Massawa and later occupied Däbrä Dammo, since he was at war with the Oromo at that time. Thus, the author wanted to prove that it was already predetermined that they would be strong against him and God would defeat them. The defeat of the king by the hands of Muslims was also justified by the prophecy,¹⁸¹ which was also predetermined. All these things were deliberately designed as medieval literary genres allow for.

The writer also used other literary devices to demonstrate the effectiveness of the king in the battles, presenting the large number of troops of the enemies and the small number of troops on the side of the king. According to the data from the text, the king participated in 12 battles.¹⁸² In these battles, the author reports that the king fought with a small number of troops compared to the enemy's side. This is not always necessarily true; there was in fact a situation where the king had a smaller number of troops but it is not convincing the fact that the king was always joined by no more than 60 or 70 soldiers, during confrontations. This is

¹⁷⁸ The Critical Text, 14.

¹⁷⁹ The Critical Text, 133.

¹⁸⁰ This corresponds to the feature of hagiographic genre, as the sanctity of the saint has been predetermined in the womb of his mother.

¹⁸¹ The Critical Text, 192.

¹⁸² The CriticalText 20, 22, 24, 34, 37, 45–48, 53–58, 77, 84–85, 114, 123 and 210.

simply required by the literary genre, and shaped according to the established rules conventions of royal historiography, which is generally applicable in other medieval chronicles too.

The presentation and characterization of the king is carefully written by employing two important titles in different context: **ንጉሥ** and **ግር**. When the king is involved for the religious deeds and good virtue, the author employed the title **ግር** that is most commonly designated for the saints. In addition to these titles, there are also useful phrases used to praise and offer a special homage to the king like **ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል** ('glorious and the most high'), **ላዕሊሁ ፡ ሰላም** ('peace be up on him') and **ኃያል ፡ መዋኢ** ('mighty and victorious').

The medieval writer presents the compassion and sainthood of the king in light of Christianity. However, he measured the pity and mercy of the king, that he showed towards the Christians, not to the pagans and Muslims. The pagans and the Muslims are portrayed as enemies—there is no pity for them, they were forced to slavery and servitude that would be considered a normal act in the text. This was the context of the medieval historiographer. Similarly, one may understand that the writer does seem inconsistent in his narration. In one point, he described the Christians suffering by the forces of the Muslims, the destruction of the monasteries and churches of the kingdom as well as the occurrence of the famine. However, when he wanted to praise and glorify the king, these facts did not prevent him to sanctify the king and to describe his kingdom like a paradise, stating that 'In his reign, there was neither war nor murder, neither tumult nor enmity, neither sorrow nor hunger, but all his days were happy and peace'.¹⁸³ It sounds ridiculous, but it is simply a literary genre used to praise and extoll the king in the tradition of royal historiography. Such a dozen literary elements are common throughout the text. According to Turaev,¹⁸⁴ these kinds of expressions in the royal historiography emanated, in style and content, from the background of legends as those fixed in the *Kəbrä nägäst*.

7. The author of the Chronicle

The identity of the author of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos is mentioned neither in the text nor in any other contemporary document. After the chronicle was edited for the first time by Conzelman in 1895, it drew the attention of some eminent orientologists, such as

¹⁸³ The CriticalText, 91.

¹⁸⁴ Turaev 1936, 5.

Nöldeke,¹⁸⁵ Guidi,¹⁸⁶ later on Cerulli¹⁸⁷ and more recently Kropp.¹⁸⁸ All of them agreed that it was written by an author with outstanding knowledge of Arabic. This is evident from the fact that the narrative includes many Arabic words which have been borrowed without any change. Among these words are, for instance, *falahin* ('farmer'), *falak* ('celestial sphere'), *fadla* ('excellence') and *lälänäsära* ('Christian'). In addition, Guidi notices that the text includes purely Arabic expressions, such as *la^clehomu sälam = as-salāmu ^calayhim, Kəbur wa-lə^cul = tabāraka wa-ta^cālā*. According to him, the style of expression directly depends upon the Qur^ʿān. He suggests that the text was initially drafted in Arabic and then translated into Gə^cəz.¹⁸⁹ In addition, he noted that the author uses various calendrical systems including Hebrew, Coptic, Arabic, Syrian and Roman and thus he might have been very familiar with the book of *Abušakər*, probably translated by ʿƏnbaqom. Therefore, based on these facts, one may advance the hypothesis that the chronicle was written by the famous Ethiopian medieval church intellectual ʿƏnbaqom, who spent many years at the court of Gälawdewos.

ʿƏnbaqom was one of the outstanding personalities of sixteenth century Ethiopia. Born in Yemen, he arrived in Ethiopia at the court of king ʿƏskəndər (r. 1478–1494) around the last decade of the fifteenth century when he was still a young man. He joined the monastery and thereafter was able to reach the highest position of the Ethiopian church as *əččäge* of the renowned monastery of Däbrä Libanos in 1523. Then, during the wars with Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī he left the monastery, which had been sacked by the Muslims and spent some years moving from one place to another.¹⁹⁰ When Gälawdewos succeeded his father in 1540, he was called to his court and served him as a counselor until the death of the king. He was also well treated under the reign of Minas until his death in 1563. As a witness of his veneration, a *gädl* ('spiritual combat') was dedicated to him.¹⁹¹

Over a half century later, Cerulli notes that a clergyman or someone else who probably was in Palestine or Egypt wrote the chronicle. However, he does not provide any detailed evidence to support his hypothesis. According to him, the author was strongly influenced by the Arabic culture and language. With saying this, he supports Guidi's view that some passages can be only understood through Arabic syntax and language structure.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ Nöldeke 1896a, 164–173.

¹⁸⁶ Guidi 1899, 111–115.

¹⁸⁷ Cerulli 1968, 121.

¹⁸⁸ Kropp 1986, 329; Kropp 1988, XX-XXI (tr.).

¹⁸⁹ Guidi 1899, 115.

¹⁹⁰ 'ʿƏnbaqom', *EAE*, II (2005), 280–282 (Emeri van Donzel).

¹⁹¹ Ricci 1954, 91–120.

¹⁹² Cerulli 1968, 121.

Apart from the view of the scholars mentioned above, the context of the chronicle provides an important insight about an Arab identity of the author. For instance, when he wants to date one event, he reveals that he is not an Ethiopian. Namely, he mentions that it happened ‘according to the months of Ḥabäša’ (እምአውራጎ፣ ሐበሲያዊት),¹⁹³ with ‘Ḥabäša’ being a word used by Arab writers for Ethiopians. The famous chronicler of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, Arab Faqih, calls the Ethiopians ‘Ḥabäša’.¹⁹⁴

The chronicler might have also known the Syriac language as he cites from one Syriac book. Scholars who researched into ʿĒnbaqom, like Ricci and later van Donzel, agree that he knew, apart from Coptic and Arabic, also Portuguese. However, they are not sure of his knowledge of Syriac.

In addition to the above-mentioned philological arguments, historical elements in the text reveal to us some more details about the identity of its author. Firstly, he appears to have been very close to the king. Thus, the chronicle describes a scene where the king talks to the author.¹⁹⁵ The author had also a special love for the king calling him እግዚእየ፣ ገላውዴዎስ፣ (‘My Lord Gälawdewos’). He writes that he felt great sadness after the death of his beloved king. In this regard, he composed a poem in which he curses the house of Muğāhid.¹⁹⁶

The letters of the first Jesuit group leader, Gonçalo Rodríguez, provides useful information about the presence of an Arab monk, certainly ʿĒnbaqom, who translated texts from Gəʿəz into Portuguese and vice versa. The letter said, ‘He certainly had never given obedience to the Roman Pontiff, for the obedience that Gaspar de Magalhaes had taken had not been given by him, but an Arab monk, who had translated his letters to the king of Portugal, had made a mistake and had not understood them’.¹⁹⁷ This was what Gälawdewos said to Rodríguez during the religious debate. Gälawdewos sent a letter to the king of Portugal during the serious conflict with Aḥmad and promised to convert to the Catholic faith. Here, we may ask who was this Arab monk working in the court of the king as a translator from Gəʿəz into Portuguese? As Alvares confirmed that ʿĒnbaqom spoke very well the Portuguese language, so he could be the one who translated the letter from Gəʿəz into Portuguese.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ He uses this term only once. In other cases, he calls the months according to the Ethiopic calendar.

¹⁹⁴ Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad 2003, 5.

¹⁹⁵ The Critical Text, 137. The context of the text also tells us that he knows the character of the king very well. To reveal it, he devotes many chapters.

¹⁹⁶ The Critical Text, 240.

¹⁹⁷ Boavida et al. 2011, II, 21.

¹⁹⁸ Alvares 1962, 162.

The nature of other sources employed by the author also supports the hypothesis that the author of the chronicle is ʿĒnbaqom. It is known that he was the main principal translator of the Arabic texts in the time of Ləbnä Dəngəl and, to a greater extent, in the time of Gälawdewos. Alvares, who visited the court of Ləbnä Dəngəl and later was in friendly terms with ʿĒnbaqom, reports that ʿĒnbaqom translated the book of the Gospel of John from Arabic into Gəʿəz.¹⁹⁹ Other books translated by ʿĒnbaqom are the book of *Bärälam wäYəwasef* (by order of King Gälawdewos in 1553) and *Mäṣhafä Qändil*.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, he produced his own original famous work *Anqäšä Amin* (‘The Gate of Faith’).

Guidi’s suggestion about ʿĒnbaqom as the possible author of the chronicle a century before, is supported with some relevant evidence drawn from a comparative analysis of the works of this medieval monk: both his translation of *Bärälam wäYəwasef* and his original work *Anqäšä Amin*. The analysis focuses on the author’s language, literary style, and the nature and usage of the sources. Since the book *Bärälam wäYəwasef* was not originally written by ʿĒnbaqom, but it is a translation, we do not find there his own ideas. However, when he was translating the text, no doubt, his language appeared in it. For instance, the Arabic word **فـرـقـان**, which occurs in the chronicle, is also attested in an adjective form in the book of *Bärälam wäYəwasef* with the reading **ለወ-አቱ ፣ ብእሲ ፣ ቶድል**²⁰¹ (‘A man of excellence’). This may indicate that one and the same person worked on both texts. More importantly, the colophon of the book of *Bärälam wäYəwasef*, written by ʿĒnbaqom, shows a similar type of calendrical system as it is found in the chronicle.²⁰² It means, it is based on the position of the sun which is a typical style of time reckoning found in the chronicle of Gälawdewos.

The book of *Anqäšä Amin*²⁰³ (‘The Gate of Faith’) has a particular place in the comparative analysis of both linguistic and content aspects. Though the two texts are far distant in terms of their literary genre, they have some linguistic similarities. Both texts call Aḥmad with his proper title *imām*, just like the chronicler *Arab-Faqih*. One exception is that *Anqäšä Amin* changes the first **አ** into **ኧ**, for which the scribe might have been responsible. In contrast, the other Gəʿəz sources like *Synaxarion*,²⁰⁴ short chronicles of King Gälawdewos and other historical texts which recount the war of sixteenth century Ethiopia, use a nickname **ግራኝ** (‘left handed’), which seems to be a derogatory one. Like the chronicle, the author of

¹⁹⁹ Alvares 1961, 162.

²⁰⁰ Cerulli 1968, 126.

²⁰¹ Budge 1976, 15.

²⁰² Budge 1976, 246.

²⁰³ ‘Anqäšä amin’, *EAE*, I (2003), 278 (Emeri van Donzel).

²⁰⁴ Colin 1994, 131–132.

Anqäšä Amin employs a zodiac calendar and the Arabic astronomical word **ḫalīf** appears in the book of *Anqäšä Amin* as well as in the chronicle of Gälawdewos.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, the style of the author’s presentation of a given word or phrase both in Gə‘əz and Arabic appears similar in both texts. For instance, the chronicler mentions in one point the title of **ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት** with its corresponding Arabic title: **ዐረብ ፡ በልሳኖሙ ፡ ሥልጣን ፡ ሠላጢን ፡ ዘውጳቱ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ በልሳንነ** (‘The Arabs call in their language *šalṭan sälatin* (‘Sultan of Sultans’), which is in our language ‘King of Kings’).²⁰⁶ In a similar manner, in the book of *Anqäšä Amin* we find: **በስመ ፡ አላህ ፡ ወረሒማን ፡ ዘበተርንሜሁ ፡ በስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ መሀሪ ፡ ወመስተሣህል** (‘In the name of *Allah warähiman* which means in the name of God, clement and merciful’).²⁰⁷ One cannot but suggest that this kind of linguistic similarities within these works emerged from the same hand.

There are common sources, such as the Apocalypse of John, the *Book of Enoch* and some philosophical works, which were used in the composition of these texts. In the book of *Anqäšä Amin*, ሮጌባቆም mentions and utilizes the works of many Greek philosophers like **አፍላጦን**, **አርስ**, **ዮንዮን**, **ኒፎስ** and **አርስጦ**. In the chronicle, there are some foreign names, like **አብሮሲፋርዮን** who was represented in the text as a wise king.²⁰⁸ It might be inferred then that the author of the chronicle had some knowledge about the Greek philosophy.

Guidi claims that the chronicle was initially drafted in Arabic. van Donzel maintains a similar view concerning the book of *Anqäšä Amin*. According to him, it was initially drafted in Arabic, which certainly bears that the Arabic features of the two texts might be due to a process of working that goes back to one and the same person.²⁰⁹ Therefore, ሮጌባቆም could have been the author of the chronicle.

8. Historical commentary of the text

The chronicle of King Gälawdewos is, next to the chronicles of Säršä Dəngəl and Susənyos,²¹⁰ the most voluminous of the chronicles of Ethiopian kings. However, only two-thirds of its content is valuable for the historical reconstruction. The remaining one third, of

²⁰⁵ van Donzel 1969, 246.

²⁰⁶ The Critical Text, 167.

²⁰⁷ van Donzel 1969, 222.

²⁰⁸ The Critical Text, 148.

²⁰⁹ van Donzel 1969, 40.

²¹⁰ These two royal chronicles are the best work of the royal historiography. They fulfill the criteria of a chronicle in the proper sense of its meaning. Cp. Pereira 1892, int. Chernetsov 1988, 131; Nöldeke 1896b, 225–230; Nöldeke 1896c, 232–234; Orłowska 2002, 423.

clear literary value, is composed of praises, prophecies, panegyrics and biblical quotations²¹¹ which cannot be treated as historical data.

Evaluated from the historical point of view, the part of the chronicle valuable for the historical reconstruction has many shortcomings. It lacks objectivity and reliability, particularly in unfolding the role of the Portuguese who, in fact, saved Gälawdewos's force from a decisive defeat during the military confrontation with Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. The chronicler deliberately undermines the role of the Portuguese whose history is well documented in the work of Castanhoso,²¹² chronicler of the Portuguese expedition. Even though the two sources are concerned about their own subject of discussion, the chronicler of Gälawdewos denies many basic facts concerning the Portuguese. The chronicler tends to glorify the protagonist, King Gälawdewos, and in some cases in the battles when the Portuguese were confronted with Aḥmad in the absence of Gälawdewos, he ascribes the final victory to the king. This is evident in Chapter 12²¹³ where the chronicler narrates the king's bravery stating that the Portuguese involved in the struggle with unfaithful people, but the final victory was given to Gälawdewos. This chapter basically deals with the first military confrontation between the Portuguese soldiers and the forces of Aḥmad at the time when Gälawdewos was in Šäwa. From then, the king moved to Təgray to meet them after their victory. In this passage, the chronicler obviously makes a statement incompatible with the fact. Also, in Chapter 20 the chronicler does not give much attention to the role of the Portuguese in the final confrontation together with the king against Aḥmad's forces since he claims that Aḥmad was killed by one of Gälawdewos's closer soldiers in early 1543. It reads **ወሞተ ፡ ኢማም ፡ አሐመድ ፡ በእደ ፡ አሐዳ ፡ እምአግብርቲሁ ።**²¹⁴ ('*Imām* Aḥmad was killed by the hand of one of his²¹⁵ servants'). Thus, the chronicler ascribes the full victory to his own people, undermining the role of the Portuguese. However, both contemporary sources of the Portuguese, Castanhoso²¹⁶ and Bermudez,²¹⁷ confirm that he was killed by one of the Portuguese soldiers. It

²¹¹ It might be noted that the royal chronicler has more interest for the religious matters.

²¹² The work of Castanhoso is very valuable as a source of the history of the period from the Portuguese side. The reading of this text together with the chronicle of Gälawdewos is useful to build a balanced view of the history of the period. However, the work of Castanhoso narrates about the period up to the death of Aḥmad and then he went back to Portugal. This book was translated into English together with the work of Bermudez. Cp. Whiteway 1967.

²¹³ The Critical Text, 29.

²¹⁴ The Critical Text, 48.

²¹⁵ It refers to Gälawdewos.

²¹⁶ Whiteway 1967, 80.

²¹⁷ Whiteway 1967, 192.

is known that during that time, Gälawdewos's soldiers were not familiar with the use of gun and it was possible only in the hand of the Portuguese.

Similarly, the chronicler also commits some errors concerning periodization.²¹⁸ He relates the arrival of the first Jesuit missionary to the time of the king's return from the expedition against the people of Gämbo in 1552: 'he found in court the Portuguese envoys that were waiting for him.'²¹⁹ In addition, though the chronicler employs various calendar systems for a single event, it appears inaccurate in some places.²²⁰ Perhaps the chronicler used his personal memory as a source of the composition and that is why he made mistakes of such kind. But missionaries reports²²¹ and an indigenous source (the Confession of Gälawdewos) date their arrival to 1555.²²² Thus, it is evident that the chronicler wrongly indicated the year of their arrival. In my edition, however, I have not emended it because I consider it as an error in the original text of the chronicler.

Historically, it is known that the arrival of the Portuguese soldiers was realized after lengthy and repeated request for military support by both King Ləbnä Dəngəl and his son King Gälawdewos.²²³ Neglecting this fact, the chronicler claims that they came from across the sea since they were hungry of warfare. His statement reads **በደእቲ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ዐርጉ ፡ እምባሕር ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ቶቤል ፡ ወልደ ፡ ያፌት ፡ ዕደው ፡ ኃያላን ፡ ወጽኑዓን ፡ እለ ፡ ጽሙአን ፡ ለፀብእ ፡ ከመ ፡ ተኩላ ፡ ወርጉባን ፡ ለቀትል ፡ ከመ ፡ አንበሳ ።** ('In this year children of Tubal, son of Japheth, strong and brave men, who were thirsty for combat like wolves and hungry for killing like a lion, landed from the sea').²²⁴ In addition, the chronicler deliberately passes over the names of all the most important personalities of the Portuguese forces who came to support the king and those Jesuit missionaries who came in the half of the sixteenth century. This should be ascribed to the fact that the chronicle was composed in the time when

²¹⁸ As it is dealt with in the narrative structure, the best thing of the chronicle is that his narration of the events is arranged according to chronology. This can be taken as an important feature of the text.

²¹⁹ The Critical Text, 112.

²²⁰ Cp. The Critical Text, 206, 272, 273. The details of this inaccuracy are analysed in the annotation to the text.

²²¹ Rodríguez, who led the first group of missionaries, wrote a report after he went back to Portugal. In the report, he provides important information about their journey to Ethiopia, the reception of the king, his submission of the letter of the Portuguese king to King Gälawdewos, his composition of the treatise against the errors of the Ethiopian Christianity, the reaction of the king and finally his return to Portugal. The whole content of the letter is found in Páez book *History of Ethiopia*. Cp. Boavida et al. 2011 II, 20–23.

²²² Ullendorff 1987, 159–176.

²²³ See the letters of the two kings, Raineri 2003, 47, 57.

²²⁴ Cp. in contrast, Pereira in the introduction to his edition of the chronicle of Minas, who took this point as the appreciation of the chronicler for the Portuguese soldiers. Cp. Pereira 1888, 10.

the Jesuits were in major conflict with the court of Minas, who finally expelled them. However, the letter of King Gälawdewos indicates that he appreciated them for their support.²²⁵ It appears that the chronicler treats more fairly the Muslims than the Portuguese. He mentions most of the names of the military commanders of Aḥmad since the chronicler was well acquainted in Arabic language. He does not deny the defeat of the king by the Muslim army. This fact is only provided by the Portuguese sources.²²⁶ Some facts presented in the chronicle are also supported by the Portuguese sources. Páez did not only consult the chronicle of Gälawdewos rather he confirmed the facts with the oral information. Since his arrival at the beginning of seventeenth century, he had a chance to talk to the eyewitnesses of the period of Gälawdewos. He states that he had a conversation with an old man who was at the Gälawdewos's court when he was sixteen years old. The old man provided Páez with detailed information about what happened in March 1559 and about the death of the king.²²⁷ In this regard, what is written in the chronicle coincides with the oral information. In addition, the chronicle in most cases corresponds with the reading of Castanhoso and the work of Castanhoso is more devoted to recount the history from the Portuguese perspective, particularly before they contacted King Gälawdewos. However, the chronicle does not tell us what happened to the Portuguese after the war. Many Portuguese sources confirm that they were well treated in the court and they were donated some land. The letter of the king indicates that he had good heart for the Portuguese until his death.²²⁸ Many Jesuit missionaries, with the exception of Bermudez, state that Gälawdewos was kind to them. In addition, the chronicler mentions the kind treatment of the people who had been driven by Oromo in the war of 1557.²²⁹ Therefore, the question arises why the chronicler fails to mention the existence of many Portuguese in the court. It is possible that the chronicler wrote the chronicle after a serious conflict between the king and the Jesuits. Even in the time of the king, the court people were unhappy of the special treatment of the Portuguese by the King.

In spite of these and other disadvantages, the chronicle, together with the Portuguese sources and the chronicle of Aḥmad, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, is an important historical document for the study of this turbulent period.

²²⁵ Whiteway 1967, 115, 119.

²²⁶ For the history of Aḥmad and his forces after 1535, the year at which *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* stops, we do not have sources: definitely, if *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* were continued, it would have been an important gift for the Ethiopian historiography. It is only this chronicle that accounts the whole episode of the Muslims after 1535.

²²⁷ Boavida et al. 2011: II, 17.

²²⁸ Whiteway 1967, 120.

²²⁹ The Critical Text, 195.

Chapter Three: Critical Edition of the Chronicle of Gälawdewos

1. Textual tradition

1.1. Direct textual tradition

In critical edition, understanding of the textual tradition of the text has an important value together with the collation and possibly identification of the shared innovations (conjunctive errors, etc.) for the stemmatic reconstruction.²³⁰ In this regard, the textual tradition of the manuscripts of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos evolves directly from three textual sources.²³¹

1.1.1. Bruce collection of Ethiopian chronicles (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88, Dillmann no. 29)

The Bruce codex, which is named after the name of the famous Scottish traveler James Bruce,²³² is a compilation of medieval Ethiopian chronicles from fourteenth to sixteenth centuries starting from ‘Amdä Šəyon to Säršä Dəngəl under which the chronicle of Gälawdewos is represented. This codex was compiled in 1592, during the reign of Säršä Dəngəl, by his personal order.²³³ The date of the compilation of the codex is mainly confirmed from the colophon of the codex²³⁴ and various scholars²³⁵ who have studied in various times have accept-

²³⁰ This point has been emphasized in several scholarly contributions of Ethiopian studies. Cp. Marrassini 2009, 26–68; Bausi 2006b, 542–551; Bausi 2014, 37–77.

²³¹ This analysis is based on the existing sources on the tradition of Ethiopian chronicles. Kropp has no parallel at all for his study of the textual tradition of Ethiopian chronicles in the contemporary Ethiopian studies. He provided detailed information in his publications. Cp. Kropp 1983–1984, 243–256; Kropp 1988; Kropp 1989.

²³² James Bruce was in Ethiopia from 1769 to 1773. After he returned to his country, he published the result of his journey in a series of five volumes. Cp. Bruce 1790; ‘Bruce, James’, *EAE*, I (2003), 631b–633a (Richard Pankhurst).

²³³ ተወጥኑ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ በትዕዛዝ ፡ መላክ ፡ ሰገድ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወተፈፀመ ፡ በረድኤተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘሎቱ ፡ ክሂል ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ግብር ፡ ወቦቱ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ነገር ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወላዕሌነ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ምሕረት ። (‘This book was started by the order of King Mälak Sägäd and it was completed with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose power is over all things and he will allow the accomplishment of every thing, Glory for God and mercy come up over us’). Cp. Dillmann 1848, 80.

²³⁴ This codex deals with the history of King Säršä Dəngəl until the 29th year of his reign and ends with the following colophon ዝንቱ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ኮነ ፡ በጁ ወጀ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ መላክ ፡ ሰገድ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወግኒ ፡ ወፈጻሚ ፡ ወላዕሌነ ፡ ይኩን ። (‘All this was in 29th year of the reign of King Mälak Sägäd, praise to God who is the beginner and accomplisher and his mercy be up on us’), see Bruce 88, fol. 98v; Conti Rossini 1907, 140 (text) = 160 (tr.).

ed this date, although Kropp strongly argued that the codex is composed in the time of Susənyos, just around 1610.²³⁶

One may question why the king initiated the compilation task of the chronicles of his predecessors. It could be because of the destruction and devastation of ‘Grañ’'s war in the sixteenth century, and to save the historical heritage.²³⁷ And also it could have been mainly related to a political reason that following the death of Minas, Hamälmal, who had no kingship genealogy but he was the strong military commander, was planning to take away the throne. Following this, the nobility and the young King Särşä Dəngəl would have aimed, through narrating the genealogical tree of kingship, to avoid the future power struggle in the court. Thus, this situation forced the king to collect all the existing chronicles of his predecessors, including the chronicle of Gälawdewos and others, compiled in one codex as background to the composition of his huge chronicle.

If one does not examine carefully, just looking at the first four folios of the codex may conclude that this codex was compiled in the 18th century during the reign of the last Gondärine King Täklä Haymanot (1769–1777). This is because the first four folios of the codex dealing with the universal history of the world, described the lists of all Ethiopian kings until Iyo^cas and then Täklä Haymanot. However, these four folios are later addition to the codex because its paleography and parchment is different from the other folios of the codex. These folios are written in new parchment that maintained the original handwriting of Bruce who had commissioned the copying. Thus, the codex is mainly a work of sixteenth century with the exception of the first four folios.²³⁸

²³⁵ Dillmann 1848, 76; Conzelman 1895, 3; Marrassini 1993, 7; Chernetsov 1988, 131–137.

²³⁶ Kropp argues that the chronicle of Särşä Dəngəl, which covers the large portion of this codex, was censored in the time of Emperor Susənyos, who was not in favour of the history of Särşä Dəngəl. Cp. Kropp 2001, 257–277. He argues so on the basis of two chapters of the chronicle (Chapters 8 and 9) which he believed were dropped due to censorship and were not incorporated in the Bruce codex, yet the manuscript tradition of these two chapters surfaces in MS d’Abbadie 42 (d’Abbadie 1859, 30) which Kropp considered belonging to the original composition. Then, he speculated that the compilation must be dated to 1610. Thus, he dated Oxford manuscript to 1610, which he employed for the reedition of the chronicle of ^cAmdä Şəyon. Cp. Kropp 1994, XVIII. The colophon of the codex does confront his speculation. The copyist of Bruce codex ended his writing on the 29th of the reign of the king wishing long life for his king (cp. f. 5) and this would lead to speculate that the two chapters might have been written by another author since the Emperor reigned for additional four years. With the absence of a new full-fledged critical edition of this chronicle, it would be difficult to accept the year of 1610 with the presence of the date mentioned in the colophon of the codex and I maintained the year of this colophon.

²³⁷ It has a similar justification with the later compilation of the chronicle, Ḥaylu’s compilation.

²³⁸ This point has already been identified by Dillmann who stated that *Exceptis foliis quatuor primis, quae cura J. Brucei exscripta sunt, Codex antiquior, et inter annos 1592 et 1605 exaratus est*

With regard to the geographical origin of the codex, Bruce himself has provided a long explanation in his book. Accordingly, he confirms that this codex of Ethiopian royal chronicles was brought from the monastery of Däbrä Libanos. He explains that he brought it through his request to the son of the king of Šäwa, Amha Iyäsus, during his visit of the Gondarine king on the feast of Ephifany 11, *Ṭər* 7266 of the creation.²³⁹ The whole story is also quoted here below.

He had heard, while at Shoa, from some priests of Debra Libanos, that there was a strange white man in favour with the king at Gondar, who could do every thing but raise the dead; it was among his first requests to the king, to make him acquainted with me. The king therefore ordered me to wait upon him every morning, and I, on my part, did not let slip that opportunity. Insensibly, we came to be inseparable companions. Our conversation fell one day to be upon the Abyssinian kings who first lived at Shoa at the time when the kingdom of Adel was a great mart for the East Indian trade, before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. He said that a book containing their history, he believed, was in some of the churches in Shoa, and that he would immediately send for it. Although I could not help testifying my desire of having a book which I had sought for in vain through the rest of the provinces of Abyssinia, yet I thought it unreasonable to desire man to send 300 miles merely for the purpose of getting it; I therefore did not press it, being satisfied with his promise; but as my work would have been incomplete without it, I asked my friend Tecla Mariam to mention to him as from the king. His answer was ‘I have already promised to get it for Yagoube, the messenger by this time is in Amhara; depend up on it, my father will not fail to let me have it; for fear of mistake, I have dispatched a very intelligent man, who knows and has seen a book at Debre Libanos’. The promise was punctually kept, the book came, and from it I have drawn the history of Adelan war, and the reign of those kings who had not yet returned to Axum, but reigned in Shoa.²⁴⁰

The Bruce codex was taken to Oxford by Bruce in 1773 and he gave it to the Bodleian Library. Bruce used this collection of Ethiopian chronicles for the reconstruction of the Ethiopian history in five volumes. The collection waited for long without any attention of scholarly study. Later on, in 1848 Dillmann²⁴¹ catalogued and studied the collection and led the way. Following this the editors²⁴² of Ethiopian chronicles in subsequent years used the codex of Bruce as an important witness and as the base text for the edition of the individual chronicles. Conzelman²⁴³ edition of 1895 used the same codex as the ‘best witness’ of the chronicle of Gälawdewos.

1.1.2. Ḥaylu compilation

The Ḥaylu Compilation of Ethiopian chronicles has an important place in the royal historiography of Ethiopia. This codex was compiled, as its name indicates, by one of the no-

(‘with the exception of the first four leaves, on which Bruce signed, the codex was written between the years 1592 and 1605’). Cp. Dillmann 1848, 76; Kropp 1994, 19.

²³⁹ Bruce 1790, IV, 96–97.

²⁴⁰ Bruce 1790, IV, 96–97.

²⁴¹ Dillmann 1848.

²⁴² Conti Rossini 1907.

²⁴³ Conzelman 1895.

blemen of *Zämänä Mäsafənt*, *däggazmač* Ḥaylu Ešäte,²⁴⁴ in 1785. According to the sources, Ḥaylu was inspired by the fact that many of the chronicles were burnt out during the Gondarine court crisis particularly by *ras* Səhul Mika’el who had no claim of Solomonic descent. Mika’el was interested to write down new historiography in the advantage of his political interests. This was around 1769, when there was a crisis between the royal monarch Täklä Haymanot II and Mika’el himself in the Gondär palace. In this time, Ḥaylu Ešäte started to collect the remnant copies of these historical chronicles from various monasteries and churches and compiled them in one codex with the help of his secretary assistant Abägaz.²⁴⁵ This is evident from the colophon of the Ḥaylu codex that reads **ለዛቲ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ታሪክ ፡ አስተጋብአ ፡ ደጃዝማች ፡ ኃይሉ ፡ እምነ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ አህጉር ፡ ወደሰያት ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይጥፋዕ ፡ ዝክረ ፡ አባዊሁ ፡ ነገሱት ፡ ወመኳንንት ፡ እምአመ ፡ ጠፍአ ፡ በብዙኅ ፡ ዕለት ፡ እምቤተ ፡ መንግስት ፡ ከመ ፡ አስተጋብአ ፡ በጥሊምስ ፡ ለመጽሐፈ ፡ ነቢያት ።** (‘This book of history was collected by *däggazmač* Ḥaylu from several lands and islands to save them from disappearance of the memories of his forefather kings and nobilities, since they disappeared long ago from the court, like Ptolemy collected a book of prophets’).

Sources do not tell us what happened then after the compilation—were they useful for the Gondarine kings or not. However, sources reveal that following his death, in 1809, the original copy was in the hand of his daughter, by the name called Märsit and in return she donated this original copy to the church of Wälättä Petros in Gondär.²⁴⁶ It was then that copies were disseminated to the various monasteries and churches from whence the existing manuscripts were copied.

The Ḥaylu compilation exists in four known codices which are kept today in various European libraries. These codices begin each with the universal history of the world and are followed by the chronicle of ‘Amdä Şəyon, but then they end with different content. This means that the content of each codices increased over time as the date of copying of each codex comes closer to recent time. These codices are the following, with the size of their contents.

1. (P) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien 143, reports from ‘Amdä Şəyon to Täklä Giyorgis.

²⁴⁴ *Däggazmač* Ḥaylu Ešäte, was one from the regional nobilities in the period of *Zämänä Mäsafənt* and he had direct genealogical relation with Gondarine monarchs. He was born in 1753 and died 1809. For more details of the early life of Ḥaylu see Kropp 1989, 165–198; Täklä Şadəq 1984 (unpublished); Täklä Şadəq 1984, 189–213.

²⁴⁵ Abägaz was from Şäwa, he was with *däggazmač* Ḥaylu in the refuge of Maḥdärä Maryam Gondär, cp. Kropp 1989, 23–45. ‘Abägaz’, *EAE*, I (2003), 5 (Sevir Chernetsov).

²⁴⁶ Ruppell 1838–1840, 129–130; Kropp 1988, XI.

2. (F) Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS orient. Rüpp. Ia, copied to Eduard Rüppell which reports from °Amdä Şəyon to Täklä Giyorgis.

3. (B) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, d'Abbadie 118, copied to A. d'Abbadie (who was in Ethiopia 1838–1848) reports from °Amdä Şəyon to Yohannes III.

4. (L) London, British Library, Or. 821, copied in 1851, reports from °Amdä Şəyon to Sahlä Dəngəl.²⁴⁷

It is puzzling that all the Ḥaylu codices neglect to incorporate the chronicle of the seventeenth century catholic monarch, Susənyos (1604–1632). This would seem done deliberately to belittle the history of this king because of his conversion to Catholicism.

On the other hand, the original Ḥaylu codex, which was the vorlage for the four codices, not yet found. But Rüppell elaborated that he had visited it at the church of Wälätä Petros, where at that time this codex was given to the church through the daughter of *dägğazmač* Ḥaylu following his death in 1809. Thus, Rüppell visited it this church together with the famous scholar of the day, *Liq Atqu*,²⁴⁸ his copyist of the codex and he claimed that he copied his codex from the Original.

All the above codices under which the chronicle of Gälawdewos is incorporated have a colophon that shows clearly the scribal tradition of each manuscript. Thus, it could be possible to understand the basic fact when each individual manuscripts was copied and by whom and where they were copied.²⁴⁹

1.1.3. A single text tradition

It seems that the chronicle of Gälawdewos not only exists within a collection together with the other Ethiopian chronicles.²⁵⁰ It exists also as a single text. The Tädbabä Maryam manuscript is a case in point. It is copied as an independent text.

The Tädbabä Maryam manuscript of the chronicle of Gälawdewos was probably copied from other copies of the chronicle by the order of the church administration. Traditionally, the church of Tädbabä Maryam has a special association with the King Gälawdewos. In par-

²⁴⁷ Marrassini had examined the content of these codices, cp. Marrassini 1984, 137–161.

²⁴⁸ 'Aşqu', *EAE*, I (2003), 382–383 (Richard Pankhurst). Rüppell provided a lot of historical information about 'Aşqu' whose name is mentioned many time throughout his book. Cp. Rüppell 1840, 86–392.

²⁴⁹ Each of the manuscripts of this group is described below under the title of the description of the manuscript in this Chapter.

²⁵⁰ Many years before, in one of his work, Kropp concluded that the chronicle of Gälawdewos was received through the compilation, never as a separate text. Indeed, this was long before the discovery of this manuscript which certainly indicates that the text was still maintaining the original form of the text. Cp. Kropp 1989, 253.

ticular, he was the one who was responsible for the construction and donation of many land grants to the church. His chronicle provides more coverage of its construction, administration and the role of the king in the accomplishment of the building of this royal church from its inception to the end of the construction. So, there is no doubt that this chronicle is not only the history of the king, but also the history of the church. It would be for this reason that this text was copied as an independent text. According to the traditions of the church in Tädbabä Maryam, each year on the first of *Gənbət* E.C. (8 May), King Gälawdewos is commemorated together with Lädäta Maryam, and his chronicle read to the adherents of the religion, considered as a hagiography of the king, too.

1.2. Indirect textual tradition

In the modern textual criticism, studying of the indirect evidence of the text is valuable to understand the text tradition which provides further insight for the lost part of the tradition. This point is stressed and well explained in the recent book *An introduction to Comparative Oriental Manuscript studies*.²⁵¹ It states that,

When any piece of indirect evidence exists and it is possible to use it, this is an invaluable help in understanding the tradition of the text, because it may give some insights about the lost parts of this tradition, and it may shed light on essential events in the evolution of the tradition that we can not know of through the direct witnesses. The indirect tradition proper, especially if it is older than the extant direct witnesses is extremely precious in this respect: it comprises 1) citation of works in later works, 2) other recensions of the work, 3) ancient translations of the work in other languages. All those types of the indirect witnesses can be especially helpful when deciding about the primary / secondary character of the variants, because they provide information about an earlier stage of the text.

In this regard, the chronicle of Gälawdewos also maintains the indirect textual tradition which is also valuable for understanding of the reconstruction of the stemma.

1.2.1. Gə'əz texts

It appears that the chronicle of Gälawdewos has been used both in the court and in the Church for historical writing and religious service respectively. In the court, it was used as a source of the composition of short annals of King Gälawdewos and his successor, King Minas. In the Church, it has regularly served as a hagiography of the king who was considered a martyr of the Church in *Synaxarion*. As a result, this chronicle is to be ascribed to some of the Gə'əz texts that have also an indirect textual tradition of the text.

The first and perhaps the most important text which heavily utilized the chronicle, I can say that it is rather a summary of it, is the short chronicle of the same king which was compiled together with the other short chronicles of the kings under the common title *Tarikä*

²⁵¹ Macé 2015, 340–341.

nägäšt.²⁵² It exists in two folios in Bruce codex next to the final folio of the chronicle of Gälawdewos. It was indeed edited and published by Perruchon²⁵³ (1894) in *Revue sémitique et d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne* and later by Kropp²⁵⁴ together with the short chronicle of Ləbnä Dəngəl and Minas. According to its colophon, it was written in the time of Säršä Dəngəl in 1592, who undertook to compose the history of his predecessors and it was later followed by the Ḥaylu composition in 1785, in codex form. The chronicler of these annals heavily relied on the informations from the long chronicle to deal with the king's victory over *Imam Aḥmad* and the final confrontation of the king with Nur Muḡāhid which was followed by the death of Gälawdewos.²⁵⁵ I have cross-checked its content with the official chronicle, the subject of this study. In this case, the information coincides with the official chronicle, which was carefully summarized and shortened with addition of the fresh memory of the writer. However, in the short chronicle, probably for sanctification of the king, the writer changed significant details. This is true particularly about the death of the king. The official chronicle said that after the death of King Gälawdewos his head was taken to the city of ʿAdal by the soldiers of Nur Muḡāhid and the remaining body was buried in the church.²⁵⁶ The short chronicle reads that his body was taken to Rome and buried near the tomb of the Roman martyr Gälawdewos (Claudius) at Antioch.²⁵⁷ Though these short annals were written 30 years after the death of the king, the author was an eyewitness of the period of Gälawdewos because at one point he said, 'As I have seen it',²⁵⁸ i.e. the event.

The chronicle of King Minas, successor of Gälawdewos, is another text which refers to the official chronicle of Gälawdewos.²⁵⁹ Indeed the chronicle of Minas is very short; the first two pages deal with the history of Gälawdewos. In addition, before it proceeds its narration

²⁵² The term *Tarikä nägäšt* serves interchangeably with chronicle in some cases. *Tarikä nägäšt* is a summary of the chronicles of the Ethiopian kings drawn from the chronicle of each king and sometime it is commonly referred to as 'short chronicles'. It is believed to have been compiled starting from the sixteenth century. Various versions of such short chronicles were edited and commented. For the full text see Basset 1882; Beguinot 1901; Guidi 1929; Foti 1941; Caquot 1957c; Dombrowski 1983.

²⁵³ Perruchon 1894, 155–166, 263–270.

²⁵⁴ Kropp 1988, 25–34 (text) = 29–38 (tr.).

²⁵⁵ See The Critical Text, 212. In addition, the chronicler also reported that በገብ ፡ ክፍል ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ ፡ ዜናው ። ('as his story is written in the first part', referring to the main chronicle). See Kropp 1988, 25 (text) = 29 (tr.).

²⁵⁶ The Critical Text. 226.

²⁵⁷ Basset 1882, 22 (text) = 115 (tr.).

²⁵⁸ Kropp 1988, 29 (text) = 33 (tr.).

²⁵⁹ Infact, I observe that in the historiographical tradition, it is common to consider the earlier chronicles as background knowledge and to start with the narration of the history of the preceding king. This is also reflected in the chronicle of Säršä Dəngəl in which the chronicler referred to the chronicle of Minas. Cp. Conti Rossini 1907, 3 (text) = 1 (tr.).

of Minas's history the author of this chronicle indicated that the other remaining details are mentioned in the chronicle of Gälawdewos.²⁶⁰

As we have seen above, both the short chronicle of Gälawdewos and the chronicle of Minas were written by the same person as it is indicated in the chronicle of Minas **በከመ ፡ አቅደምነ ፡ ፅሒፈ ፡ ዜናሁ** #²⁶¹ referring to the short chronicle of King Gälawdewos.

On the other hand, Gälawdewos was represented as a martyr of the church, and this was followed by the insertion of his history in the *Synaxarion* (on 27 Mäggabit). The *Synaxarion* provides a brief account how the king came to power, the forceful conversion of the Christians to Islam by Aḥmad and how he brought the Christians under his slavery and later on the victory of King Gälawdewos against Aḥmad and finally his death. Here is below the full text of the short text in the *Synaxarion*:

ወበዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ፈጸመ ፡ ክላሌ ፡ ስምዕ ፡ መፍቀሬ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ወውእቱ ፡ ተሐፅነ ፡ በተግሣጽ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ርቱዓ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ልብነ ፡ ድንግል ፡ ወሶበ ፡ አዕረፈ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ አንገሥ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ፩ተንበላታዊ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ግራኝ ፡ ዘሰመየ ፡ ርዕሶ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ዘኢድልወቱ ፡ ወአእመነት ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ በጎይሉ ፡ ወአስተሳተፎሙ ፡ በሃይማኖቱ ፡ ወእለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡ በክርስትና ፡ ረሰዮሙ ፡ መስተገብራኝ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ወነሠተ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ ወዲወወ ፡ መብዝህታ ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወሜጣ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ዘፈቀደ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ እምይእዜሰ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘይትቃወመኒ ፡ ቀነይክምን ፡ ለኩሎን ፡ አህጉር ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ አንሥኦ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ወአኅዘ ፡ ይትቃተል ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዐበይት ፡ መኳንንቲሁ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ ዕልው ፡ ወሞአሙ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዓ ፡ ግራኝ ፡ ተቈጥዓ ፡ ወመጽአ ፡ ኅቤሁ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አእላፍ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ አፍራስ ፡ ወትርኩ ፡ ወተፃብኡ ፡ ወቀተሎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በእዴሁ ፡ ወአጥፍኦ ፡ ወተመይጡ ፡ ዲውዋን ፡ ወትሕንፃ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ ዘተመዘበራ ፡ ወረትዓት ፡ ሃይማኖተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ መጽአ ፡ ፩እምተንበላት ፡ ምስለ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ ወተራክቦ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ውሑዳን ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወይቤልዎ ፡ ንትገኝሥ ፡ ወኢንትቃተል ፡ እስከ ፡ ይመጽኡ ፡ መኳንንተ ፡ ፀብእነ ፡ ኢይትገኝሥ ፡ ወኢይሬኢ ፡ ተዲውዎተ ፡ ቤተክርስቲያን ፡ ወሙስናሆን ፡ ለአብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ቦአ ፡ ማእከለ ፡ ጸብእ ፡ ወጸንዓ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትቃተሎሙ ፡ ወድኅረኒ ፡ ዐገትዎ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ተንበላት ፡ ወዘበጥዎ ፡ በእስይፍት ፡ ወረገዝዎ ፡ በብዙኅ ፡ እርማሕ ፡ ወአውደቅዎ ፡ እመልዕልተ ፡ ፈረሱ ፡ ወአዕረፈ ፡ ወመተሩ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ክቡረ ፡ ወወሰድዎ ፡ በረከቱ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ወሞገስ ፡ ስምዑ ፡ የሀሎ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዮሕንስ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

(‘And also on this day, King Gälawdewos lover of God accomplished the coronation of martyrdom. He had been raised in the discipline of his father, the king in the true faith Ləbnä Dəngəl. When his father

²⁶⁰ Pereira 1888, 26.

²⁶¹ Pereira 1888, 26; Kropp 1988, 51. The compilation of the chronicles under the order of Särṣä Dəngəl to whom the scribe seemed to be loyal incorporates the full text of the chronicles of Gälawdewos as it was written in 1561 and copied it all without any changes. The stylistic feature, the language, and hagiographic feature indicates that the chronicle of Gälawdewos was not written by the same author as the other three chronicles. But he wrote the small annals of the king which summarizing it the text and named **ክፍል ፡ ዳግማይ** ፡ and named the chronicle of Minas as **ክፍል ፡ ሳልሳይ** and then followed by the voluminous chronicle of Särṣä Dəngəl. I contend that on the basis of the stylistic approach the short chronicle of Ləbnä Dəngəl, which is located just before the main chronicle of Gälawdewos in Bruce codex and the short chronicle of Gälawdewos, Minas and finally the long chronicle of Särṣä Dəngəl were written by the same author. The chronicler seemed to be also the eye-witness of the period of Särṣä Dəngəl.

died, God enthroned him while there was a Muslim named Grañi²⁶² who called himself king, which did not suit him. He converted the people of Ethiopia by his force and he associated them into his faith. Those who remained in the Christian faith, he made his slaves for him. And he destroyed churches and monasteries, he made captives many Ethiopians and sold them to whom he wanted. And he said, ‘Now, no one can rebel to me, I subdued all the cities’. After that, God raised up Gälawdewos the king; he began to wage war against his chief commanders of such heretic and he defeated them. When Grañi heard this, he became furious and came to him with tens of thousands of riders and Turks. They fought and God killed him by His hand and He destroyed him. The captives returned, churches and monasteries that had been devastated were reconstructed and the faith of Christ, Glory to Him, was restored. After that, one of the Muslims came with many warriors to confront King Gälawdewos while he was with few men. They (soldiers) said to him ‘let us wait and not fight until our army leaders arrive. ‘I will not make patience nor see the captivity of Christians and the destruction of churches’. After saying that, Gälawdewos went into the midst of the battle and remained the firm fighter. After that, all Muslims encircled him and they struck by swords and pierced him with many spears and brought him down from his horse, and he died. They cut off his glorious head and they took it. That his holy blessing and Grace name be with his martyrdom Yoḥannəs (John) forever, amen.²⁶³

This summarized history of the king in the *Synaxarion* seems to have been taken, as I have cross-checked, directly from chapters 4, 19 and 84 of the chronicle of Gälawdewos.²⁶⁴ Colin used this brief entry of Gälawdewos to date the second recension of the *Synaxarion*, since it was for sure composed after the death of the king. In addition, he used further evidences, and then, he firmly dated the second recension of the *Synaxarion* in which this short summary of the chronicle is incorporated, as occurring between 1559 and 1581.²⁶⁵ This date is largely important to avoid the assumption that this short entry for the king might have been copied from the above mentioned short chronicle of the same king. This is definitely impossible since both the short chronicle and the chronicle of Minas were a later literary production than the composition of the second recension of the *Synaxarion*. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the references in the *Synaxarion* about the history of King Gälawdewos hint at the early utilization of the chronicle of Gälawdewos, quite earlier than the short chronicle and the chronicle of Minas. The text of the *Synaxarion*, therefore, was the pioneer in using the chronicle as a reference source.

²⁶² I did not correct it ኘ instead of ኘ since the editor kept it. The name Grañ for the first time appears in this *Synaxarion* and later in the short chronicle of Gälawdewos, Minas and in the other preceding chronicles. The chronicle of Gälawdewos, under this study, never calls him Grañ, rather it uses the proper title of *Imam* like the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*. The short chronicle provides an essential reference why this nickname is given to Aḥmad stating that አሀመድ ፡ ወልደ ፡ አብራሐም ፡ ዙተሰምዩ ፡ ግራኝ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘኮነት ፡ እዱ ፡ ፀጋማይት ፡ ከመ ፡ እድ ፡ የማናዊ (‘Aḥmad son of Abrahim who is named Grañ because whose left hand was like the right hand’). Cp. Kropp 1988, 8.

²⁶³ Colin 1994, 131–132.

²⁶⁴ See for the comparison the critical text of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos, verse 33, 45–49, 212–216 respectively.

²⁶⁵ Colin 1988, 308; ‘Sənkəssar’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 622–624 (Gérard Colin and Alessandro Bausi).

1.2.1. European sources

Another important indirect textual tradition of the text is revealed in European sources including the work of Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century and the works of other travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These European scholars had employed the text as a historical source in their contributions on Ethiopian history and historiography. In this regard, Páez work was the pioneering one.

Páez was the first European scholar who referred to the chronicle of Gälawdewos, 280 years before the edition of Conzelman, in his voluminous book *Historia da Etiópia*.²⁶⁶ In the production of this book, Páez referred to all royal chronicles, which had been written before the seventeenth century in general and to the chronicle of Gälawdewos in particular.²⁶⁷ He quoted paragraphs directly from the chronicle of Gälawdewos in his discussion of the Jesuit missionaries in chapter V of his book III.²⁶⁸ It reads:

In the 17th year of the reign of Glaudeos, the sons of Japheth entered Ethiopia from the direction of the sea; and the patriarch of the Portuguese came with clerics and deacons and a few Portuguese, and he arrived at Emperor Glaudeos's camp at the beginning of winter. And the reason for his coming was to put a stain on the truth faith that came to Ethiopia from Alexandria, and to manifest and praise the evil faith that proceeded from Rome, boasting by saying 'Our father Peter', not knowing that mighty God on high can raise sons of Peter from the rocks of the forefathers. But the emperor, when disputing with these wise Portuguese, defeated and shamed them for the lack and diminution of their faith and reviled their corrupt customs by making songs against them, in which he showed spiritual words taken from the apostles and prophets; and when they boasted chair of Peter, he boasted of the Mount of Olives on which Our Lord stayed in Jerusalem, where He was crucified and buried, because these places are of the one who occupies the chair of Mark, the master of Nobâ and Sobâ and Ethiopia.

This text directly corresponds to the readings of chapter 54 and 55 of the chronicle.²⁶⁹ This Páez's quotation in his book III Chapters 54 and 55 of the chronicle, however, makes a more important contribution, as a witness for the building of the stemma along with the existing manuscripts. I could not find a conjunctive error to decide on the place of Páez's witness, whether in the same sub-archetype as other extant manuscripts. In fact, it could be a copy of the Oxford manuscript, since this manuscript might have been in the court of Susänyos in the seventeenth century, long before it was taken to Oxford. But here we do not have any conjunctive error that is shared with O manuscript.

²⁶⁶ This book was edited in the Portuguese original text by Camillo Beccari in 1907–1908, and very recently it has been critically re-edited, and also translated into English with detailed introductory notes. Cp. Boavida et al. 2011.

²⁶⁷ See the detailed introduction of the English translation, Boavida et al. 2011, I, 47.

²⁶⁸ Boavida et al. 2011, II, 35.

²⁶⁹ See The Critical Text, 127–130.

On the other hand, there is another supportive idea in the works of Marrassini²⁷⁰ who placed the Páez text in the stemma. He considered the Páez work as derived from the sub-archetype common to other two manuscripts of the text of °Amdä Şəyon on the basis of concrete collected conjunctive errors (the chronicle of °Amdä Şəyon here is referred more extensively for more pages²⁷¹ and the chance to get the conjunctive error was quite good, unlike with the chronicle of Gälawdewos which is only quoted for a half page). He did not assign it to either the Oxford or the Ḥaylu family which belong to the same sub-archetype.

In addition, there are some references in his book that indicate that Páez did not have the Bruce codex available in his time. He stated that he consulted the short history of Gälawdewos (which he quoted in his work)²⁷² from the chronicle of Minas.²⁷³ If he had had the Bruce codex (where the short chronicle Gälawdewos is preserved), he would have referred to it, but instead he referred to the single witness of the chronicle of Minas.²⁷⁴

Therefore, it is possible to portray Páez’s translated text on the stemma parallel to the sub-archetype of Oxford, Tädbabä Maryam and the Ḥaylu family. It is true that here we will compare the readings of Páez with the Oxford and Tädbabä Maryam manuscript and the Ḥaylu family. But Páez’s text does have shared similar readings (although it is known that similar readings can not be taken as a basic criterion of family reconstruction, it is possible to consider them as a supplementary input) with the Oxford and Tädbabä Maryam, for example: አመ ፡ ዐሠርቱ ፡ ወሰብዓቱ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ መንግስቱ ፡ ለንጉስ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ወፅኡ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወዓርጉ ፡ እምባህር ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ያፌት ። (whereby the Ḥaylu manuscripts do have error አመ ፡ ፲ወ፪ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ መንግስቱ ፡ ለንጉስ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ወፅኡ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወዓርጉ ፡ እምባህር ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ያፌት ።). However, it is difficult to conclude that Páez’s text belongs to the same sub-archetype as the Oxford and Tädbabä Maryam. In addition, on the basis of the stemma and the fact that all manuscripts at my disposal (Ḥaylu family, Oxford and Tädbabä Maryam) belong to the same archetype on the basis of common errors, I must admit that I did not find any similar common error in Páez translation. Thus, for all these reasons, it is better to portray Páez text independently directly under the archetype of the text in the stemma.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ Marrassini 1993, 15.

²⁷¹ Cp. Boavida et al. 2011, II, 3–11.

²⁷² Cp. Boavida et al. 2011, II, 15–16.

²⁷³ Cp. Boavida et al. 2011, II, 37–40.

²⁷⁴ Páez’s description about the chronicles he consulted throughout his book shows that he consulted each individual text of the chronicles of each kings rather than a compilation of the chronicles in one codex. Cp. Boavida et al. 2011 II, 3–8, 15–16, 35.

²⁷⁵ See the Stemma in this Chapter.

On the other hand, both Almeida's (1628–1646)²⁷⁶ and Bruce's (1790)²⁷⁷ works have employed the chronicle. Unlike Páez, these two books are not included in the stemma since Almeida directly took Páez's translation whereas Bruce used, in his writing, the Oxford manuscript which I have employed in the edition. But they are very useful works to deal with the manuscript tradition of the text. Bruce's work especially provides detailed firsthand information how he accessed the manuscript and took it to Oxford, as it is discussed earlier. In addition, the book of Rüppell, *Reise in Abyssinien* (1838–1840), provides the details of his specific codex and it has an important place in the study of the manuscript of the Frankfurt collection.

2. Description of the manuscripts

In preparing a critical edition of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos (1540–1559), 'the neo-Lachmannian' method is applied based on the presence of conjunctive errors. Six manuscripts are employed in the edition

1) MS O, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88, Dillmann 1848, 76 (no. 29), ff. 43r-54v.²⁷⁸



This manuscript witness is part of the Bruce codex along with several other Ethiopic chronicles including that of 'Amdä Şəyon, Zär'a Ya'əqob, Ləbnä Dəngəl, Minas and Särşä Dəngəl. As it is already dealt with under the section on the textual tradition, it is the earliest manuscript of the chronicle, dated 1592. It is written on parchment. The text is arranged in three columns each with 38 lines. This manuscript is quite legible. It is proved to be the more complete and more accurate manuscript.

This manuscript has some unique palaeographic features. The scribe does not differentiate between the numerals ፮ and ፯, he writes throughout the text ፮ in place of both six and seven. Punctuation is rich and differentiated (# # # ! !).

2) MS L, London, British Library, Or. 821, Wright 1877, 315 (no. 392), ff. 118r-145v.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Almeida 1907, 269–270 deals with the chronicle of Gälawdewos.

²⁷⁷ Bruce 1790, II, 173–214.

²⁷⁸ Dillmann 1848, 76.

²⁷⁹ Wright 1877, 315.

This manuscript is included in one of the codices compiled by *däggazmač* Ḥaylu in



1785. Each folio is divided into three columns and the chronicle of Gälawdewos runs from f. 118r to f. 145v. It is written on paper. This manuscript was copied under the order of the Goḡḡam lord *ras* Goṣṣu Zäwde.²⁸⁰ This is clearly indicated in the colophon **ወዘአጽሐፎ ስ፡ ራስ ፡ ጎሹ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ለደጅ ፡ አዝማች ፡ ዘውዴ ፡ ወእሙሂ ፡ ወይዘሮ ፡ ድንቅነሽ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ራስ ፡ ኃይሉ ፡ መንገለ ፡ አቡሃ ፡ ወመንገለ ፡ እማ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘይትኤረያ** #²⁸¹ (‘It is written under the auspices of *ras* Goṣṣu who was the son of *däggazmač* Zäwde and his mother was *wäyžäro* Dənqənäs who was the daughter of *ras* Ḥaylu, no one is comparable in the line

of his father and his mother’). It is dated in the year of creation 7344, which is equivalent to 1852.²⁸² The commissioner of this manuscript, *ras* Goṣṣu Zäwde, was the most important political figure in the first half of the nineteenth century. He was with the title of *däggazmač* until 1848 and towards the end of the same year he obtained the highest title of *ras*.²⁸³ So, this manuscript of the chronicle was copied in his golden years between 1848–1852 after he obtained the title of *ras* and also before he was defeated and killed by Kassa Ḥaylu’s forces at the battle of Gur Amba, Dämbya, in November 1852. Then, according to the sources, Kassa looted all the property of Goṣṣu including this text and stored it in his collection. Later on, it was taken by Britain soldiers in 1868.

3) MS P, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éth. 143, Zotenberg 1877, 216 (no. 19), ff. 95v-117v.²⁸⁴

The chronicle of Gälawdewos extends from f. 95v to f. 117v. The colophon reads **ወዘአጽሐፎ ፡ ለደጅ ፡ አዝማች ፡ ኃይሉ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ለደጅ ፡ አዝማች ፡ እሹቴ ፡ ወእሙሂ ፡ ወይዘሮ ፡ ወለተ ፡ ሩፋኤል ፡ ወለተ ፡ አድያም ፡ ሰገድ ፡ ኢያሱ ፡ መንገለ ፡ አቡሃ ፡ ወመንገለ ፡ እማ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘይትኤረያ** # (‘It has been written by *däggazmač* Ḥaylu, son of *däggazmač* Eṣäte and his mother, *wäyžäro* Wälättä Rufa’el, a daughter of Adyam Säḡäd Iyasu, no one is comparable in the line of his father and mother’).

This manuscript was copied by more than two scribes. The scribe did not write the word **ምዕራፍ** throughout the text. He did attempt to emend, to correct the text and some of

²⁸⁰ ‘Goṣṣu Zäwde’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 861a-862a (Eugenia Sokolinskaia).
²⁸¹ See f. 145v.
²⁸² Wright 1877, 315.
²⁸³ ‘Goṣṣu Zäwde’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 861a (Eugenia Sokolinskaia).
²⁸⁴ Zotenberg 1877, 216.

his corrections are better readings, to be taken into for the critical text. If the scribe of this manuscript had not corrected it, the number of the archetypal errors would have been enormous.

The date of copy of this manuscript seems obscure. Two dates of composition for the codex are indicated by two editors of ^oAmdä Şəyon chronicle which also belongs to the same



codex of Gälawdewos manuscript. Kropp²⁸⁵ indicated its date as 1841 and Marrassini²⁸⁶ dated it to 1809 simply on the basis of the content of the Codex.²⁸⁷ However, Kropp has provided ideas that are more critical and a historical approach to trace its date and authorship. According to him this codex has a small short note about Abunä Sälama III which would seem to indicate that it was copied in Abunä Sälama III's time, who might have been also the commissioner of this codex and the date can be therefore 1841.²⁸⁸ This would seem plausible and acceptable.

4) MS B, Paris, Bn, d'Abbadie 118, d'Abbadie 1865, 134 (no. 118), ff. 52v-63r.²⁸⁹

This manuscript is included in the small codex of *Tarikä Nägäšt* which was copied by commission of d'Abbadie from another copy of Ḥaylu from the church of Atronsä Maryam.



The codex is bound with very careful binding and *mahdär*. It is adorned with iron. It is written on modern parchment with holes and sewing. The writing style is *räqiq* in three columns. The height of the letters is 2.5 mm and every columns contains 28 lines. It has 257 folios of which four of them blank at the beginning and two blank at the end.

In his catalogue, d'Abbadie explained that the process of copying the codex was very difficult both to access and to copy it.

He stated 'I spent two years in trying to get permission to take a copy, and another two years in getting the work done. One of my scribe had to be replaced because of the leprosy that had made him unable to use his finger even if I would have paid a lot of money for the original

²⁸⁵ Kropp 1994, XX.

²⁸⁶ Marrassini 1993, 7.

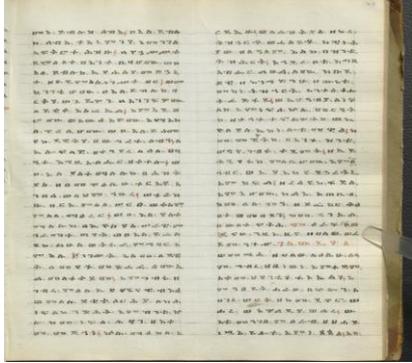
²⁸⁷ Huntingford also accepted this date, see Huntingford 1965, 25.

²⁸⁸ In his article, Kropp provided detailed information on the history of this manuscript. Cp. Kropp 1987, 104–105; Marrassini 1993, 7.

²⁸⁹ d'Abbadie 1859; 134; Chaîne 1913.

manuscript, I was never able to see so that I could not collate my copy (i.e. cross-check with my copy). Such is the isolation spirit and the secrets of Africans'.²⁹⁰

5) MS F, Frankfurter, Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, MS or. 38 (= Rüpp. I a), Goldschmidt 1897, 58–62 (no. 16), pp. 36–48, 113–140b.²⁹¹



This manuscript is found in the collection of Rüppell in Frankfurt, Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek. It is written on European paper. It is seized with 300 mm length and 22 mm paper width. It has two columns with 30 lines. It is bound with half leather. It was copied in 1833 by scribe *liq* Atqu under the commission of Rüppell.²⁹² Despite it is claimed to be copied from the original Ḥaylu from the

church of Wälättä Petros, it is highly emended and shortened. Thus, it was very difficult to use it, even for the collation, since often it does not correspond, particularly in the first 15 chapters, with the readings of the other manuscripts. Then after, it keeps better, except with omitting of some phrases and words in the text that does not affect the general meaning of the text. For instance, the scribe canceled the words **ሳዕዲ፡ ሰላም** which always go with the name ‘Gälawdewos’ throughout the text, as well as other phrases for the king used by the author.²⁹³ In addition, he introduced innovations differently from the other manuscripts. For instance, in 160: 5, it reads **ፈደየ** instead of **መከረ**, 140: 7 instead of **ከንቲ** it reads **እኩይ**, 121: 5 instead of **ሐቲተ** it reads **አንብቦ**, and such type of arbitrary innovations are common throughout the critical text for the manuscript F.

Many scholars considered this text as incomplete, defective, and decided not to include in the edition as the whole codex is revised.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ This is the personal comment of the commissioner of this manuscript, cp. d’Abbadie 1859, 133.

²⁹¹ Goldschmidt 1897, 59.

²⁹² In his book, he provided detailed account on the manuscript tradition, how he accessed and copied it with the help of his field assistant, *Liq* Atqu.

²⁹³ The copyist of this manuscript was *Liq* Atqu and he seemed to be unhappy about the style of the writing of the author of the chronicle of Gälawdewos. He revised almost the whole text – many words are reduced, chapters are wrongly arranged and in some cases he shortened it without deviating from the original meaning. He avoids some sayings that would be unusual to Gəʿəz literature, such as *Nəgus Gälawdewos laʿalehu sälam* – this expression as Guidi (1899) mentioned in his review, is directly taken from Qurʾan ‘Peace upon him’. I believe that *Liq* Atqu was a learned priest and he knew about the common tradition of writings of Gəʿəz and this one would have probably been unusual for him. It is probably because of such reasons that *Liq* Atqu decided to revise the text.

²⁹⁴ This Rüppell codex did not get attention in the edition of Ethiopian chronicles. Some scholars did not mention even its existence in their introductory note of the edition of Ethiopian chronicles (Pereira 1888; Perruchon 1893). Conzelman simply dropped it from the edition without providing any

6) Ms T, Tädbabä Maryam Church (uncatalogued).



This manuscript has some missing pages and it is unknown whether it had a colophon or not. And I did not get any further information that states its dates. However, I have relied on palaeographic analysis on the basis of Uhlig's²⁹⁵ palaeographic guidelines for relative dating and thus, it is estimated to be an eighteenth century witness. This manuscript has a unique feature for its having a single column.

Table 6: The description of the Manuscripts

Sigla	Dating	Folios of the MS	Ff. of the Chronicle	Provenance	Measures (LxW) in cm	Cols	Writing material
O	1592	100	ff. 43r-54v	Gondär	30 x 26	3	Parchment
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88, Dillmann 1848, 76 (no. 29).							
L	1852	598	ff. 118r-145v	Goḡgam	23 x 18	3	Paper
London, British Library, Oriental 821, Wright 1877, 315 (no. 392).							
P	1841	370	ff. 95v-117v	Goḡgam	32 x 22	2	Paper
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éth. 143, Zotenberg 1877, 216 (no. 19).							
B	1842	249	ff. 52v-63r	Wällo (Atronsä Maryam church)	30 x 26	3	Paper
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, d'Abbadie 118, d'Abbadie 1859, 134 (no. 118).							
F	1833	530	pp. 36–48, 113–140b.	Gondar	31 x 22	2	Paper
Frankfurt, FSB, MS or. 38 (= Rüpp. I a), Goldschmidt 1897, 58–62 (no. 16).							
T	18th c.	36	36 ff.	Wällo	28 x 20	1	Parchment
Tädbabä Maryam Church, uncatalogued.							

logical reasons, probably he found it tedious and difficult to collate it. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 5. However, this codex consequently gets attention for the study by Kropp (1989) and Marrassini in (1984). Kropp studied the tradition in detail in his book and mentioned it as a witness to his edition of the chronicle of °Amdä Şəyon, but he reported that he did not collate it. Marrassini critically collated and examined the philological features of this manuscript, first in his article, see Marrassini 1984, 137–161 and then in the following year (1985) he proposed the stemma of the chronicle of °Amdä Şəyon in his scholarly contribution (Marrassini 1985, 127–150). Finally, he included it in his excellent edition of the chronicle of °Amdä Şəyon. Cp. Marrassini 1993.

²⁹⁵ Uhlig 1990.

3. Chapter arrangement

The *Chronicle of Gälawdewos* consists of 97 chapters in Conzelman edition. All manuscripts, except manuscript T, have an introductory note, which does not have a chapter number. The numbering begins from chapter 2. In addition, the three manuscripts of the Ḥaylu family (B, L, F) have an additional colophon (which explains that they were copied from the text commissioned by *däggazmač* Ḥaylu) at the end of the last chapter of the text – next to the main colophon, which is not included in the chapter arrangement of the text.

Each manuscript has its own feature of chapter arrangement. The Oxford manuscript, relatively speaking, has a more proper chapter arrangement than the other five manuscripts. But still it has some irregularities: Two chapters carry the same number 63, and chapters number 68 and 69 are not written at all. After chapter 96, we find 94 and 95 instead of 97 and 98, respectively.

The numbering of chapters is even more irregular in the Ḥaylu family manuscripts. The chapters in Oxford and the other three manuscripts of Ḥaylu (B, L and P) have the same numbers until chapters 42. Then, B, L and P depart from the Oxford chapter arrangement until chapter 77, which is in fact chapter 72 in B, L and P. They continue their own the same difference numbering until the end of the two chapters, which are 92 and 93 in B, L and P.

On the other hand, the order and allocation of the chapters in the Frankfurt manuscript (F) are substantially different from all other manuscripts that are characterized by inconsistency and wrong chronological arrangement. It has also the peculiar feature of using four different names for the units of chapter division: *Məʿraf*, *Tarik*, *Kəfl*²⁹⁶ and *Anqäš*.²⁹⁷ *Tarik* is used in the manuscript for division of chapters 59, 60 and 61. Chapters 57, 57, 58 are represented by *Kəfl* and chapter 62 by *Anqäš*. The remaining chapters are divided by *Məʿraf*. The copyist uses inconsistently the word *Məʿraf* and the numeral: in some cases, he writes the numeral before the chapter. Many chapters are omitted in F, which are corresponding to chapters 2–22 of the Conzelman text, except for chapters 2, 3, 5, 13, 14 and 18, as a result of numerous omissions, paraphrases and shortenings of the text made by the scribe Aṭqu. In addition, starting from chapter 25 to the end of the Conzelman text or the Oxford manuscript,

²⁹⁶ The word **ከፍል** was not a common word for the chapter division of the text. Indeed, this style is also employed in the chapter division of the chronicles of Gondärian kings. The units of the text division are also **ከፍል** in the chronicle of Sarsä Dəngəl and later in the chronicle of Iyasu the Great. Cp. Guidi 1903. In fact, using various units for the chapter division seems to depend on the preferences of the scribe. The scribe of the Frankfurt manuscript, *Liq* Aṭqu, would probably have learnt from the tradition of other chronicles I mentioned above since he had a collection of many of them in his personal library.

²⁹⁷ Mersha 2011, 148.

the equivalent chapters are given in F but the numbers do not correctly correspond to C; it remains puzzling why the copyist did this. On the other hand, the manuscript F has a similar chapter arrangement to that of the other Ḥaylu family, starting from chapter 77 – the last 95 of the corresponding chapters of Conzelman text except its omission of chapter 96.

Similarly, there is also some disarrangement of chapters in the Tädbabä Maryam manuscript because of the misplacement of some folios, omissions and some missing leaves. In addition, chapter numbers are not given throughout the text and it is only divided with *Məʿraf* without numbers. So, here, I have compared only *Məʿraf* with the Conzelman chapter arrangement. Thus, T has a corresponding reading in each *Məʿraf* chronologically with the chapter number of the Conzelman text until chapter 24 except its omission of chapters 19 and 22. Also, it lost the corresponding chapter 20 of the Conzelman text. Moreover, those chapters of T which correspond to chapters 28–40 of the Conzelman text are misplaced and located in folios 27r-32v of the manuscript T. (That probably happened during the binding of the text by the scribe). Then, the corresponding chapter of T for chapter 41 of the Conzelman returns to folio 11r of T and it continues chronologically up to the corresponding chapter 76. However, it misses a corresponding chapter 77 of Conzelman and the following chapters (78–81) are also misplaced to folios 32r-33v. In addition, chapter 81 of the manuscript lost some two lines and it omits chapter 82. The corresponding *Məʿraf* of T for the chapters of the Conzelman text from 83–96 have a proper arrangement of the chapters. But chapter 96 of T is divided into 14 small chapters, which is a feature unique to T. Finally, the last two chapters in Conzelman i.e. 94 and 95 are missing in T because of the missing of the leaf.

Table 7: The chapter arrangement of the six MSS of the Chronicle of Gälawdewos

Conzelman Printed text and MS Oxford (O)			MS London, BL (L)		MS Paris, BnF (P)		MS Paris, BnF, d'Abbadie (B)		MS Frankfurt (F)		MS Tädbabä Maryam (T)	
Chp.	Pp. (C)	Ff. (O)	Chp.	Ff.	Chp.	Ff.	Chp.	Ff.	Chp.	P.	Chp.	Ff.
-	1	44r	-	118r	-	96v	-	52v	-	38	om.	
2	1	44r	2	118r	2	96v	2	52v	ግዕድ.	38	lac.	1r
3	3	44r	3	119v	3	96r	3	52v	ግዕድ.	38	lac.	1r
4	4	44r	-	119v	-	96r	-	52r	-	-	ግዕድ	2v
5	5	44r	5	119r	-	97r		52r	6	39	ግዕድ	2r
6	7	45v	6	120v	6	97r	6	52r	-		ግዕድ	3v
7	8	45v	7	120r	7	97r	7	53v	-		ግዕድ	3r
8	10	45v	8	121v	8	98v	8	53v	-		ግዕድ	4v
9	12	45r	9	121v	9	98v	9	53v	-		ግዕድ	4r
10	12	45r	10	121r	10	98r	10	53v	-		ግዕድ	4r-5v

Chapter three: Critical edition of the Chronicle of Gälawdewos

11	15	46v	11	122v	11	99v	11	53r	-		ግዕድ	5v
12	16	46v	12	122r	12	99v	12	53r	-		ግዕድ	6v
13	18	46v	13	123v	13	99r	13	54v	ግዕድ	41	ግዕድ	6r
14	19	46r	14	123v	14	100v	14	54v	ግዕድ	41	ግዕድ	7v
15	20	46r	15	123r	15	100v	15	54v	-		ግዕድ	7v
16	20	46r	16	123r	16	100v	16	54v	-		ግዕድ	7v
17	21	46r	17	124v	17	100r	17	54v	-		ግዕድ	7r
18	24	47v	18	124v	18	101v	18	54r	ግዕድ.	42	ግዕድ	8r
19	24	47v	19	124r	19	101v	19	54r	-		-	
20	26	47v	20	125v	20	101r	20	54r	-		Lost	
21	27	47v	21	125r	21	101r	21	54r	-		ግዕድ	9r
22	27	47v	22	125r	22	101r	22	55v	-		-	9r
23	28	47v	23	125r	23	101r	23	55v	ግዕድ	43	ግዕድ	9r
24	29	47r	24	125r	24	101r	24	55v	ግዕድ	44	ግዕድ	10v
25	29	47r	25	126v	25	102v	25	55v	22	44	ግዕድ	10
26	32	47r	26	126r	26	102v	26	55v	23	45	ግዕድ	10r
27	33	48v	27	127v	27	102v	27	54r	24	45	ግዕድ	11v
28	33	48v	28	127v	28	102r	28	55r	25	46	ግዕድ	11v, 27r
29	34	48v	29	127v	29	102r	29	55r	26	46	ግዕድ	28r
30	35	48v	30	127r	30	103v	30	55r	27	46	ግዕድ	28r
31	37	48v	31	128v	31	103v	31	56v	28	47	ግዕድ	29r
32	39	48r	32	128v	32	103r	32	56v	30	48	ግዕድ	29r
33	39	48r	33	128r	33	103r	33	56v	31	48	ግዕድ	30v
34	40	48r	34	128r	34	103r	34	56v	32	48	ግዕድ	30v
35	41	48r	35	128r	35	104v	35	56v	29	113	ግዕድ	30v
36	42	48r	36	129v	36	104v	36	56r	33	113	ግዕድ	30v
37	42	48r	37	129v	37	104v	37	56r	34	114	ግዕድ	31v
38	43	49v	38	129r	38	104r	38	56r	35	114	ግዕድ	31v
39	44	49v	39	129r	39	104r	39	56r	36	114	ግዕድ	31v
40	46	49v	40	130v	40	104r	40	56r	37	115	ግዕድ	32v
41	48	49r	41	130r	41	104r	41	57v	38	116	ግዕድ	11r
42	50	49r	42	131v	42	105v	42	57v	37	117	ግዕድ	12v
43	51	49r	42	131v	42	-	-		42	118	ግዕድ	12r
44	52	49r	43	131r	43	105v	43	57r	33	118	ግዕድ	12r
45	53	50v	44	131r	44	106r	44	57r	39	118	ግዕድ	13v
46	54	50v	45	132v	45	106r	45	57r	35	119	ግዕድ	13v
47	55	50v	45	132v	46	106r	-		36	119	ግዕድ	13r
48	56	50v	46	132v	46	107v	46	57r	37	119	ግዕድ	13r
49	56	50v	47	132r	47	107v	47	57r	37	120	ግዕድ	14v
50	58	50r	48	133v	48	107r	48	58v	38	121	ግዕድ	14r
51	59	50r	49	133v	49	107r	49	58v	39	121	ግዕድ	14r
52	59	50r	49	133v	50	107r	49	58v	40	121	ግዕድ	14r
53	60	50r	50	133v	51	107r	50	58v	50	121	ግዕድ	15v

Chapter three: Critical edition of the Chronicle of Gälawdewos

53	60	50r	50	133v	51	107r	50	58v	50	121	ዎዕ	15v
54	62	51v	51	133r	52	108v	51	58r	51	122	ዎዕ	15r
55	63	51v	52	134v	53	108r	52	58r	52	122	ዎዕ	16v
56	65	51v	53	134v	54	108r	53	58r	53	123	ዎዕ	16r
57	65	51v	54	134r	54	108r	54	58r	54	123	ዎዕ	16r
58	68	51r	55	135v	56	109v	55	59v	55	124	ዎዕ	17v
59	68	51r	56	135v	57	109v	56	59v	56	125	ዎዕ	17v
60	70	51r	57	135r	58	109r	-		57 (ክፍል)	125	ዎዕ	17r
61	70	51r	57	135r	59	109r	57	59v	57 (ክፍል)	125	ዎዕ	17r
62	72	51r	58	136v	60	109r	58	59v	58 (ክፍል)	126	ዎዕ	18v
63	72	51r	59	136v	61	110v	59	59v	59 (ታሪክ)	126	-	18v
63	72	51r	60	136v	62	110v	60	59v	60 (ታሪክ)	126	ዎዕ	18r
64	73	52v	61	136v	63	110v	61	59v	61 (ታሪክ)	126	-	18r
65	74	52v	62	136r	64	110v	62	59r	62 (አንቀፅ)	127	ዎዕ	18r
66	75	52v	63	136r	65	110r	63	59r	63	127	ዎዕ	19v
67	76	52v	64	137v	66	110v	64	59r	64	128	ዎዕ	19r
70	78	52r	65	137r	67	111v	65	59r	65	128	ዎዕ	20v
71	79	52r	66	137r	68	111v	66	60v	66	128	ዎዕ	20v
72	80	52r	67	137r	69	111v	67	60v	67	129	ዎዕ	20r
73	81	52r	68	138v	70	111v	68	60v	68	129	-	20r
74	81	52r	69	138v	71	111v	69	60v	69	129	ዎዕ	20r
75	82	52r	70	138v	72	111r	70	60v	70	129	ዎዕ	21v
76	83	52r	71	138v	73	112r	71	60v	71	130	ዎዕ	21v
77	86	53v	72	139v	72	112r	72	60r	72	131	Lost	-
78	88	53v	73	139r	73	112r	73	60r	73	131	ዎዕ	32r
79	89	53r	74	139r	74	113v	74	60r	74	131	ዎዕ	33v
80	90	53r	75	140v	75	113v	75	61v	75	132	-	33v
81	90	53r	76	140v	76	113v	76	61v	76	138	ዎዕ	33v
82	91	53r	77	140r	77	113r	77	61v	77	138	-	21v
83	94	54v	78	141v	78	114v	78	61v	78	138	ዎዕ	22v
84	95	54v	79	141v	79	114v	79	61r	79	138	ዎዕ	22r
85	97	54v	80	141r	80	114r	80	61r	70	134	ዎዕ	23v
86	99	54v	81	142v	81	114r	81	61r	80	135	ዎዕ	23r
87	101	54v	82	142v	82	115v	82	62v	81	135	ዎዕ	24v
88	102	54r	83	142r	83	115v	83	62v	83	135	ዎዕ	24r
89	103	54r	84	142r	84	115v	84	62v	84	136	ዎዕ	24r
90	105	54r	85	143v	85	115r	85	62v	85	136	ዎዕ	25v
91	105	55v	86	143v	86	115r	86	62v	86	136	ዎዕ	25v-r
92	106	55v	87	143v	87	115r	87	62v	87	138	ዎዕ	25r
93	107	55v	88	143r	88	115r	88	62r	88	138	ዎዕ	25r
94	108	55v	89	143r	89	116v	89	62r	89	138	ዎዕ	26v
95	109	55v	90	144v	90	116v	90	62r	90	138	-	26v
96	109	55r	91	144v	91	116v	91	62r	-		ዎዕ	26r-27

94	118	55r	92	145r	92	117r	92	62r	92	138	-	Mis
95	118	55r	93	145r	93	117r	93		93	138	-	Mis

4. Collation

For the re-edition of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos, I collated six manuscripts of the chronicle together with the 1895 edited text of the Conzelman published text.

In the practice of collation, there are two main ways of collating the text: manual collation and using digital tools.²⁹⁸ Here, in this case I used manual collation. I chose a reference text, the Oxford manuscript (MS O), not the previous edition of Conzelman because I had a concern that this printed edition might contain readings that are not found in any of the extant manuscripts since there are some words emended by the previous editor who consulted only three manuscripts, not all extant manuscripts. The Oxford manuscript is clear to read and legible, the oldest, has the full pages of the chronicle, and is also well preserved.

Then, the primary task of the collation was writing each single word of the manuscript O in a vertical column on the collation sheet. Every difference from any of the other five manuscripts or from the Conzelman edition printed text was noted in comparison with the Oxford manuscript with the exception of orthographic differences. In this regard, a different word from the reference text, any difference in numeral or in word, difference in punctuation marks,²⁹⁹ or the addition or omission of a word is considered.

I used a different color pencil for each one of the manuscript to identify easily each variant of the word. When I found there was a different reading I wrote the variant and the siglum to simplify the task. When there was another manuscript that shared a similar variant, I wrote only the siglum.

This method of collating the text revealed much about the texts: the nature of the internal structure of each manuscript used in the edition, the errors of the collation of the previous edition of Conzelman in the same text and many types of errors in the texts including unique

²⁹⁸ Macé 2015, 332–333.

²⁹⁹ Indeed, the punctuation marks in the critical edition of Ethiopic texts had not had attention for a long time and they were neglected due to lack of relevant study in the field. But recent study in this punctuation has led to the conclusion that it is very important to consider the punctuation marks in the mechanical work of collation and putting in the critical apparatus. Cp. Marrassini 1992. Thus, among recent critical editions of Ethiopic text, Prof. Paolo Marrassini and Prof. Alessandro Bausi, in this regard, have considered punctuation marks in their scholarly editions, and are somehow pioneers. Cp. Marrassini 1993; Bausi 2003.

errors, polygenetic and homeoteleuton errors. Conjunctive errors, the most useful errors for family reconstruction of the manuscripts, were also revealed.³⁰⁰

5. Grouping the manuscripts

As mentioned before, it is apparent that Ḥaylu manuscripts (B, F, L, P) belong to one family, as it is confirmed by several available historical sources (primary and secondary). Here, I will simply point out the peculiar features of these four manuscripts on the basis of their internal variants in order to deduce the possible features of the original Ḥaylu text.

4.1. Ḥaylu family

In the first place, Ḥaylu family manuscripts share numerous conjunctive errors in the text. The number of these conjunctive errors represents the highest percentage compared to that of OT family conjunctive errors. They occurred in the process of redaction, emendation and revision that took place between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. These conjunctive errors are created mainly by substitution, omission and misreading of a word. A few even appear to have been done deliberately for religious purposes. Some of the conjunctive errors are critical as they incur big errors concerning the historical facts.³⁰¹ These errors are listed here below:

1. 12:10³⁰² አመ ፣ ቀዳሚት ፣ አመት ፣ እመንግሥቱ ፣ አኅዘ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ ክቡር ፣ ወልዑል ('During the first year of his reign, God, glorious and the most high started') MSS BFLP instead read ዕለት. This word can be taken as an error on the basis of the facts in the context of the whole chapter. The main theme of this chapter is to narrate the activities of the king in his first year of his reign and what God did provide to his kingdom. In the same chapter in the following lines, (12):18 reports what God did in the first year of his rule more than in the first day of his rule. It states that ወበወ-እቱ ፣ አመት ፣ ወጠኅ ፣ ግር ('In that year *Mar* started'). Thus, አመት is the right reading.

³⁰⁰ Here in the notes I discuss only those conjunctive errors, which are very important for the reconstruction of the stemma according to the Neo-Lachmannian method. Other errors of the group or individual manuscripts together with the variants of the readings are indicated in the critical apparatus.

³⁰¹ This is a reminder to the reader to look carefully at the Ḥaylu group of manuscripts.

³⁰² Note that the two consecutive numbers refer to the verse number and the number of the line in the critical text respectively.

2. 62:3 ወተብህለ ፡ በእማንቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ይነብር ፡ ኅሩይ ፡ ዲበ ፡ መንበሩ ፡ ወኅቡአተ ፡ ጥቡብ ፡ ይወዕእ ፡ እምሕሊናሁ ፡ ወአፉሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ መናፍስት ፡ ወሀቦ ፡ ወሰብሐ ። ('And it is said that in those days, the elect will sit on his throne and the secret of wisdom will come out from his mind and his mouth since the lord of spirits bestowed and glorified him.'³⁰³) MSS BFLP substitute with ወኅብስተ which means 'the bread'.
3. 64:16 ቦእምኔሆሙ ፡ ዘአዘዙሙ ፡ ያግብኡ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ጸባሕተ ፡ ወሢመ ፡ ጋላተ ። ('There were some of them whom he forced to pay him tribute and appointed them as guards'). MSS BFLP omitted the underlined word that makes the sentence meaningless.
4. 85:3 ወሰደዶ ፡ ለንጉሥሙ ፡ እመንበሩ ፡ ወኢያትረፈ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ እምንዋዩ ፡ ኢዘያስተአዝብ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አረፍት ። ('He deposed their king from his throne and he left him destitute of his wealth and he did not even leave anyone pissing onto the wall'). MSS BFLP read ሎሙ which mean for them against the underlined word.
5. 85:7 ከመ ፡ ይስድድዎ ፡ ለከልብ ፡ ዘለመደ ፡ ጼና ፡ ስቡሕ³⁰⁴ ('like chasing away a dog, which is accustomed to the smell of fat things'). MSS BFLP committing a serious mistake that read against the underlined word ለዘመደ which mean for 'the relative' that makes nonsense.
6. 95:13 ወዝንቱ ፡ ግብር ፡ ኮነ ፡ በኪነ ፡ ኪነቶሙ ፡ ለሶርያ ፡ ወአርሞን ፡ ወጥቡብ ፡ ጥበቢሆሙ ፡ ለአፍርንጅ ፡ ወምስር ። ('This work was the art of Syrian and Armenian artists and the skill of Frank and Egyptian skilled men'). MSS BFLP wrongly spelt it ወስምር.
7. 107:9 ሢሞ ፡ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ካህናት ፡ ኅሩያን ፡ ለካህን ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ አፈወ ፡ ድንግል ። ('Mar Gälawdewos appointed the high priest Afäwä Dəngəl, the head over the chosen priests') instead the MSS BFLP read that he appointed over the 'troops' ሠራዊት.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ It is quoted from Revelation 21:4.

³⁰⁴ Indeed, the scribe of P seemed to understand the error and tried to correct it by adding the word ዜና ፡ ጼና. Still this does not give any meaning at all.

³⁰⁵ Indeed, Afäwä Dəngəl is mentioned in the earlier chapter of the same chronicle that he was the most educated priest, consulted the king how to construct the church of Tädbabä Mayam. He was a patriarch of the church; there was no any way to appoint him over his troops. See, The Critical Text, 99. The whole paragraph deals with this priest.

8. 113:5 ወረኪቦ ፣ ዘንተ ፣ ማር ፣ ገላውዴዎስ ፣ ኢተመክሐ ፣ በነፍሱ ፣ አላ ፣ ኩሎ ፣ ትምክሕታት ፣ አግብአ ፣ ለእግዚአብሔር ፣ ክቡር ፣ ወልዑል ። ('Receiving this, *Mar* Gälawdewos did not become proud in himself but returned back all the glories to God, glorious and the most high'). Instead of this right reading, MSS BFLP read በአፍራሱ which means 'by his horses'.
9. 127:7 አመ ፣ ዐሠርቱ ፣ ወሰብዓቱ ፣ ዓመተ ፣ መንግስቱ ፣ ለንጉሥ ፣ ክቡር ፣ ገላውዴዎስ ፣ ወፅኡ ፣ መንገለ ፣ ምድረ ፣ ኢትዮጵያ ፣ ወዓርጉ ፣ እምባህር ፣ ደቂቀ ፣ ያፌት ። ('In the seventeenth year³⁰⁶ of the reign of glorious King Gälawdewos, the children of Japheth called Levantines came into the land of Ethiopia and they landed from the sea and occupied the land of Ethiopia that is on the coast of the sea') instead of the right ዐሠርቱ ፣ ወሰብዓቱ ፣ manuscripts BFLP reads ፲ዐ፪ 'in the twelfth year of the reign of the king'.

Here, the conjunctive error occurred not through a grammatical problem and thus, in order to judge between the two variants which one is correct, one needs the consultation of the contemporary pertinent historical sources. Thus, the date of the second³⁰⁷ arrival of the Jesuits at the court of the king is reported in several contemporary primary Portuguese sources dated in 1557, which means in the seventeenth year of the king. In addition, Páez, in the writing of the history of the second Jesuit father quoted the whole chapter where this sentence is found from the chronicle of Gälawdewos. He mentioned the date of 1557 together with the letter of Father Oviedo to Gälawdewos mentioning their arrival at Dəbarwa.³⁰⁸ But the Ḥaylu manuscripts date this moment to 1552.

³⁰⁶ It refers to 1557. They arrived on the coast of Massawa on 19th March 1557 and they did not embark on the island, since the Turkish soldiers were there. They moved slowly, reached Dəbarwa on 25 March 1557 and on the next day the bishop wrote a letter to the King Gälawdewos. Cp. Boavida et al. 2011, II, 28. See for more information, the letter of father bishop Dom Andre de Oviedo to Emperor Claudio dated on 26 March 1557 in the same book. Cp. Boavida et al. 2011 II, 28–29.

³⁰⁷ The first group of the Jesuits arrived in 1555 led by Jesuit Father Gonçalo Rodríguez at the head of other religious men together with a diplomat of the Portuguese king, Diogo Dias. The group had been sent to check the spirit and disposition of King Gälawdewos and to announce to him the arrival of a Catholic bishop and his companions. Then, the second group, led by Father Oviedo, arrived at the court of the king in 1557. This chapter of the chronicle deals with the second arrival of the Jesuits. See Boavida et al. 2011, II, 20.

³⁰⁸ The Letter from Father Bishop Dom Andre de Oviedo to Emperor Claudio reads: 'May the Heavenly Father with His consubstantial and eternal Son and the consoling Spirit, one single God and three persons, be with Your Highness always with abundance of His divine gifts, and thanks be given so that in everything His most holy will may be known and followed, as Christ Our Lord said in Saint John, 4: 'My meat is to do the will of him that sent me (John 4:34).' And thus he taught us to ask for it through Saint Matthew, saying, Fiat Voluntas tua (Matt. 6:10, 'Thy will be done'). After the very Catholic and enlightened king of Portugal, Don Juan III, procured with His Holiness the coming of

10. 127:11 **ጳጳሰኒ ፡ ዘአፍርንጅ ፡ ወፅአ ፡ ወዓርገ ፡ እምባሕር ፡ ምስለ ፡ ቀሳውስት ፡ ወዲያቆናት ፡ ወምስለ ፡ ውሑዳን ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ እምአፍርንጅ ፡ ወበጽሐ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ትዕይንተ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ በቀዳማይ ፡ ወርኃ ፡ እምአውርኃ ፡ ክረምቶሙ ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ ።** (‘The metropolitan of the Franks also came and landed from the sea with priests, deacons, and a few people of Franks, and he arrived at King Gälawdewos’ camp at the beginning of the first month of the months of the rainy season of Ethiopia; and (it was) the third month of the months of the creation of the world’). But the MSS BFLP omitted the underlined phrase. Here, in the edition of this sentence, one should be certain that the reliability of the facts they contain, state, both of them are correct. The coming of the first Jesuit communities is also confirmed in the works of these missionaries, that they came with many of their deacons and priest. Manuscripts BFLP (the Haylu recension) could have omitted deliberately, since it provides small attention of the coming of the Jesuit. Yet, the possibility of an omission due to homoeoteleuton cannot be disregarded.
11. 132:6 **ወዐ ፡ እለ ፡ ረሰዩ ፡ ማኅደሮሙ ፡ ጸላእተ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ግሔያት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትጋወሮሙ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ሄሮድያኖስ ።** (‘Others had taken up residence on cliffs with rabbits in the vicinity of which there was a nest of herons’). Instead MSS BFLP read **ርእሶሙ** which mean ‘their heads’.
12. 133:13 **ምንት ፡ ውእቱ ፡ በቅድሚክ ፡ ደብር ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ዘታኅክር ።** (‘What is the high mountain, before you, that you admire?’). But Ḥaylu group read **በቅድሚኑ** in front of us. However, the whole paragraph is talking about the king.
13. 130:3 **እስመ ፡ እሉ ፡ መካናት ፡ ኮኑ ፡ እኅዳኅ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ ለበዐለ ፡ መንበረ ፡ ማርቆስ ፡ መምህረ ፡ ኖባ ፡ ወሶባ ፡ ወኢትዮጵያ ።** (‘Because these places were under the possession of the owner of the seat of Mark, the teacher of Noba and Soba and Ethiopia’). Here the Ḥaylu group (MSS BFLP) replaced

the Patriarch and his companions to Ethiopia, moved not by temporal interests but by the zeal of the Lord God and love for Your Highness, and incurring great expenditure with it, as Your Highness can be further informed, we arrived last year in India, where the Patriarch remains awaiting your Highness’s royal will in order to more gently serve in Christ Our Lord. And therefore, he felt that I and some of the religious Society of Jesus should come in advance, and he gave me as his coadjutor, ordained by His Holiness, his mandate and power for this purpose. Thus, we have arrived in the kingdom of Your Highness as far as Debaroâ, where we have been well received by the Bahâr Nagâx, in the good company of Francisco Jacome and other Portuguese who have come here with us. We have come to serve Our Lord and Your Highness and, as soon as we can, with divine favour, we shall set off for Your Highness; may Our Lord keep your royal person and state for His greater service and honour. Amen. From Debaroâ, on 26th March 1557’. Boavida et al. 2011, II, 28–29.

the word ሶባ with ሳባ the scribe knows the most common name ሳባ and he seems to be certain that ሶባ must have been an error as both names are historical toponyms and brings a change of meaning.³⁰⁹ Interestingly, Páez text also supports ሶባ.³¹⁰

14. በመዋዕለ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ አመ ፡ ተዓብኦተ ፡ ጉግ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ (‘at the time of the fight of Gog against them’). MSS BFLP read ኑግ which is irrelevant to this context. But it has no meaning in Gəʿəz, and in Amharic it is the name of a leguminous plant which has a small, oily banana-shaped black seeds. The oil is made from these seeds.³¹¹
15. 229:4 ተነሥቱ ፡ ማኅፈዳት ፡ ወአቅጸራት ፡ እስመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ቀዋሚ ፡ ወመዝበረ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ሕንፃ ፡ እስመ ፡ ቀተሉ ፡ ዐማ[ዶ] (‘The towers and walls were fallen since there was no protector and the entire building was demolished since they had killed the corner’). Instead MSS BFLP read ሕፃን which means ‘young child’.
16. Furthermore, there are two very serious errors of this group that probably occurred through much reluctance or carelessness of the scribe, but which completely change the coherence and the meaning of the paragraphs. The first is in Chapter 9 (21) of the first sentence which reads as ወእምዝ ፡ ዓደወ ፡ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ማዕደተ ፡ ክልኤቱ ፡ አፍላግ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ሼዋ ፡ እመንገለ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ትግራይ ። Instead the Ḥaylu group skip this underlined sentence of Chapter 9 and in the place of it reads the first sentence of Chapter 10 (22) ወአሜሃ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነስረዲን ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኢማም ፡ አሕመድ ፡ በጽባሒሃ ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ ፡ and then back to Chapter 9 and continue to read from

³⁰⁹ The linguistic error of the Ḥaylu group in some cases creates a tremendous historical distortion if the editor fails to consult the other witnesses. As the Ḥaylu group read in this chronicle ሳባ instead of ሶባ, they read ጋላ instead of ጋላ for the chronicle of ʿAmdä Şəyon. The edition of Perruchon maintains the name ጋላ since he edited on the basis of two manuscripts both belonging to the Ḥaylu family (BL Or. 821 and BnF Éth. 143) without consulting the other five manuscripts of the chronicle of ʿAmdä Şəyon and this edition in fact remained for a century or more. Cp. Perruchon 1889, 295, 304. However, in the re-edition of the same chronicle, by the senior Ethiopicists and philologists, Marrassini (1993) and Kropp (1994), on the basis of seven manuscripts, it is recognized that the name ጋላ was a latter corruption of the Ḥaylu recension composed in 1785. Both editors have provided the details in the introduction of their edition. Cp. Marrassini 1993, 14; Kropp 1994, XXVIII.

³¹⁰ Boavida et al. 2011, II, 35.

³¹¹ Kane 1990, I, 1059.

እመንገለ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ትግራይ until the end of the chapter. In this case the underlined phrase is omitted and this completely changes the meaning of the text.

17. Also, the Ḥaylu family group commits a similar error in chapter 10. This means that the chronicle theoretically should continue with chapter 57 since the scribe has already finished chapter 56. Instead he forgot and started to copy chapter 56 again instead of 57, the first **ወእምካልአትሂ ፡ ለፌ ፡ ኮነ ፡** which is the beginning of 56, but he understood that it was in the wrong place and went on to chapter 57.

All these errors can be related to the original Ḥaylu manuscript. On the one hand, it can be speculated that the copyist of the original Ḥaylu composition in 1785, Abägaz, committed many of these mistakes in the process of copying. On the other, one can argue that some of the errors were inherited from the lost proto Ḥaylu manuscript (sub-archetype). Be it as it may, the Ḥaylu original was full of such serious conjunctive errors. In this regard, the work of edition of the Ethiopian chronicle only on the basis of the Ḥaylu family is seriously in question and it is very important to be careful not to rely fully on them for a new, scientific edition, but to attributed them the right position in the textual tradition. Thus, I contend that the Ethiopian chronicles that were edited only on the basis of the Ḥaylu manuscripts since the last quarter of the nineteenth century suffer from such flaws and need to be revised. In addition, since the Abägaz text already suffered from several errors, it seems that the later copyists were forced to incur mistakes while they strove to correct and emend the texts in order to provide sensible meaning. So this has considerably increased the degree of corruption of the original text. This, however, does not mean that the Ḥaylu manuscripts do not have a value at all and there are many cases where we do find passages with superior readings, which indeed correct wrong readings from the Oxford and Tädbabä Maryam manuscripts.

4.2. OT family

Unlike the Ḥaylu family manuscripts, the OT family manuscripts do not have numerous conjunctive errors in the text. However, I found a sufficient number of conjunctive errors that reveal that both manuscripts belong to the same family group. Below, I listed the best selected conjunctive errors.

1) 230:1 **ወእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዕዙዘ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ አምጽኦ ፡ እኪተ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ኩላ ፡ ምድር ፡ እምድህረ ፡ ነሥኦ ፡ ኅቤሁ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ መልአከ ፡ ሠናያት ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ወትረ ፡ ወእስከ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዓለማት ፡ ወለዓለመ ፡ ዓለማት ፡ አሜን ።** (‘And the almighty God

brought calamity over the entire land after he had taken to him Gälawdewos, the angel of goodness, praise to him continually until the end of time and for ever, amen’). Instead, OT read ተኩላ, which means ‘wolf’, against the underlined word.

2) 76:2 ወበውእቱ ፡ ዓም ፡ ሶበ ፡ ሰምዑ ፡ ነገደ ፡ ተንባላት ፡ ከመ ፡ ሐረ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ኃያል ፡ ወጽኑዕ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምዕራብ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ሮዱ ፡ አህጉራተ ፡ ምሥራቃውያተ ፡ እለ ፡ ዘከርናሆን ። (‘In that year, when the Muslim tribes heard that King Gälawdewos, mighty and strong in the battle headed to the direction of sunset, they invaded the eastern provinces we mentioned’). Instead OT read ነደ in place of the underlined word which means ‘burn’.

3) 116:8 ወካዕበ ፡ ፀብአሙ ፡ አሜሃ ፡ ለካልኣን ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ወአግነዮሙ ፡ ወፈጸመ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ግብሮ ፡ ዘአሜሃ ፡ እስከ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ሰብዓቱ ፡ አውራህ ። (‘And furthermore he fought at that time numerous other gentiles and subdued them. He accomplished all his deeds at that time within the time of seven months’). But OT read እስመ instead of the underlined word which means ‘because’.

4) 54:5 ወሞሰርትኒ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ዘይወስር ፡ ቦቱ (‘And also the saw against the one who uses to cut by it’), instead of the underlined the OT family read ዘይሰውር which means ‘to hide by it’.

4.3. Archetype text

It is apparent that unlike the common errors used to group manuscripts into families, the archetypal errors are not easily noticeable. Indeed, to understand deeply the context of the text needs laborious work. Accordingly, all the manuscripts are derived from the same archetype, as the following conjunctive errors demonstrate.

1) 234:1 ሥጋ ፡ ወወይነ ዘኢቦኣ ፡ ውስተ ፡ [] ፡³¹² በኩሎ ፡ ወዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወቱ ፡ ወኢያስመከ ፡ ዲባ ፡ መንጸፍ ፡ በገበዋቲሁ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ከመ ፡ አብርሃም ፡ ወሎጥ ፡ ወቆርኔሌዎስ ።] MSS BFLPOT. It is clear that a word is missed following ውስተ and it is appropriate to insert a word አፉሁ following ውስተ. (‘Meat and wine have never entered into his mouth throughout his life and he did never lie on a bed; he was merciful as Abraham and Loṭ and Qornelewos’).

2) 84:1 ነሠተ ፡ ማኅፈዲሆሙ ፡ ዘእምዘንቱ ፡ ወአውዓየ ፡ አብያቲሆሙ ፡ ዘእምዕዕ ፡ ወረሰየ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ንዋዮሙ ፡ ሕብልያ ።] MSS BFLPOT. For the underlined word one would

³¹² Conzelman proposed the word ማኅደሩ but አፉሁ is more appropriate. Cp. Conzelman1895, 106.

expect **እብን** instead of **ዝንቱ**. (‘He demolished their castel forts, burnt their houses of wood and stripped them of all their property’).

3) 112:9 **ወለላእካንኒ ፡ ተቀበሎሙ ፡ ሠናዩ ፡ ተቀብሎተ ፡ [ወሠ[ር]ዐ] ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሥርዐተ ፡ ተድላ ፡ ወኢያገጥአሙ ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ እምዘ ፡ ፈቀዱ ።]** MSS BFLPOT reads **ወሠረፀ ፡** (‘He received the envoys warmly and he made rules for their comfort in order to provide them everything they wanted’).

4) 73:3 **ዓቀመ ፡ ህየንቴሁ ፡ ፋኑኤልሃ ፡ እምዐይተ ፡ ሐራሁ ፡ በኩሎን ፡ አህጉረ ፡ ሠርቅ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ደዋሮ ፡ ወአዋልዲሃ ።]** MSS BFLPOT. The last word **ወአዋልዲሃ** (her daughters) is irrelevant to place name. It does not give any meaning. It should be the error of the copyist of the archetype text since all the six manuscripts maintain it and instead it is appropriate to use a geographical term [**ወአድዋሊሃ**] which means ‘her dependencies’. Therefore, it is translated as ‘Instead of him, he placed Fanu^cel, from the principal commanders of his army, in the whole eastern <provinces> such as Däwaro and its <dependencies>’.

5) 229:12 **ተነሥቱ ፡ ማጎፈዳት ፡ ወአቅጸራት ፡ እስመ ፡ አልዐ ፡ ቀዋሚ ፡ መወዘበረ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ሕንፃ ፡ እስመ ፡ ቀተሉ ፡ [ዐማ[ዴ]].** ‘The towers and walls were fallen since there was no protector and the entire building was demolished since they had killed the founder’. All the six manuscripts (BFLOTP) read as **ዓማጼ** which mean ‘wrong doer’ and it is irrelevant to the context.

On the other hand, there are some linguistic features which would seem an error from the archetypal point of view but they would seem descended directly from the original text. This can be demonstrated by several instances from the text. For instance, a reading in 12:14 **ህየንተ ፡ መከራሁ ፡ ለሃይማኖታ ፡ ወህየንተ ፡ መንሱት ፡ ዘመጽአ ፡ ላዕሌሃ ፡ በእደ ፡ አሕመድ ፡ ወልደ ፡ አብራሒም ፡ ተንበላታዊ ።]** MSS BFLPOT instead of **አብራሒም**. (‘In compensation for her suffering for her religion and the punishment that befell her at the hands of Aḥmad, son of Abrahim, the Muslim’). Here, **አብራሒም** instead of **አብራሒም** is mentioned twice in the text. I was curious about this name and I took it initially as an error that must have been made by the scribe of the archetype text based on the following two premises. One, as it is discussed in chapter two, several scholars, including the editor of the chronicle, Conzelman³¹³ and others like Nöldeke³¹⁴ and Guidi³¹⁵ viewed that the chronicle of Gälawdewos was written by an author with outstanding knowledge of Arabic. Thus, an author who had an Arabic linguistic background is less likely to have made such an error and

³¹³ Conzelman 1895, VIII.

³¹⁴ Nöldeke 1896a, 164–173.

³¹⁵ Guidi 1899, 111–115.

rather the error was probably made by the later copyist. Secondly, the existing contemporary Arabic source dealing with the same event of the sixteenth century call him **አብራሐም** rather than **አብራሐም**.³¹⁶

On the other hand, however, the religious book called *Anqäṣä Amin*³¹⁷ authored by *aččäge* ሮጌባባ, who was supposed to be the likely author of the chronicle of Gälawdewos, suprisingly maintained the name **አብራሐም** and the editor of the text, van Donzel, keeps it. In addition, the chronicle of Ləbnä Dəngəl which narrates the early history of the Christian Muslim confrontation mentions the name **አህመድ ፡ ኢብን ፡ አብራሐም** and the latest edition of the same text by Kropp³¹⁸ maintained **አብራሐም**. Kropp provided a further explanation for such Arabic names in Gəʿəz and their features in the introduction of the edition and in his further long scholarly contribution.³¹⁹ Therefore, I argue that this name would probably emanate directly from the original text of the chronicle. Thus, I contend that keeping **አብራሐም** instead of **አብራሐም** is appropriate without emendation in my new edition.

Similarly, there are many words and phrases which do not exist in Gəʿəz—they seem to be archetypal error but they are directly adopted from Arabic. This subject was mainly studied by Guidi in 1899. He held the view that the author of the chronicle wrote the text initially in Arabic, which he was familiar with, but did not publish it in Arabic but rather translated it immediately. He added the further view that such errors were created through wrong translation and transcription of the Arabic into Gəʿəz. He substantiated his argument citing several examples from this chronicle providing their corresponding Arabic root words from which they are derived. For instance, words and phrases like **አልገብስ**, **ልልንሰራ**, **ፊድላታት** and **መስሊም** in the chronicle do not have a meaning in Gəʿəz. These errors are certainly derived from the original text and it is difficult to consider them as archetypal errors: I did not emend them.

Apart from the above linguistic problems, historical errors are observable in the six manuscripts of the chronicle which are not also to be taken as archetypal errors because, having been composed two years after the death of the king, the chronicler is not an eye-witness account in the strict sense. As it is discussed in chapter two, there are some references in the text that indicate that the author employed oral information, short annals and court docu-

³¹⁶ Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad 2003, 5. This book mentions him by name just at one point and then it calls him the *Imam*.

³¹⁷ van Donzel 1969, 238, 242.

³¹⁸ Kropp 1988, 8.

³¹⁹ Kropp 1986, 314–346.

ments, as well as his own memory. The chronicler thus may have been unaware of some of the historical details and wrongly incorporated them into the text. Thus, such errors in the strict sense are directly derived from the original text. For this reason, I have not emended the text. For instance, the coming of the Jesuit missionaries was reported to be in 1552 in the text.³²⁰ But the contemporary Portuguese sources and the *Confession of King Gälawdewos* which was composed against Jesuit proselytism confirmed that the Jesuits arrived in 1555.³²¹ In addition, the author uses three systems of calendar to narrate a single event in the twelfth year of the king, which is 1552, and it is only one calendar that corresponds to this date.³²² These kinds of factual errors would have been derived from the original text.

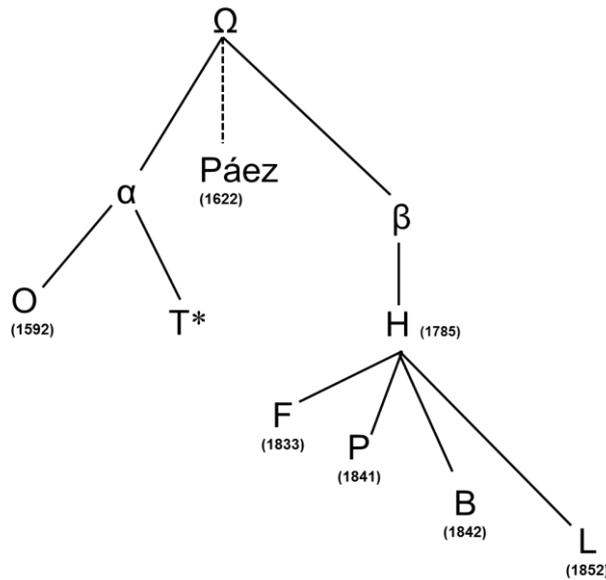
Here it is possible to speculate that archetypal errors occurred due to the unique literary nature of the original text. The copyist of the archetype tried to correct it to make it clearer. This led to the introduction of further mistakes. However, the original text preserved such readings through a confusion with the translation and transcription of Arabic into Gəʿəz. In fact, the task of identifying archetypal errors and readings of the original text still remains a subject of contention.

³²⁰ The Critical Text, 112.

³²¹ The letter of Rodríguez, which he wrote after he went back to Portugal, provides important information about how they went to Ethiopia, their reception by the king, his submission of the letter from the king of the Portuguese to King Gälawdewos, his composition of the treatise against the imputed errors of Ethiopian Christianity, the reaction of the king and finally the return of Rodríguez to Portugal. The whole content of the letter is found in the book of Páez. See Boavida et al. 2011, II, 22–23; Ullendorff 1987, 166.

³²² See The Critical Text, 107. It reads that በሳብዕ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ እምሃሌ ፡ ሉዖ ፡ በጅጅታዎቹ ፡ እምዓመተ ፡ ዓለም ። ወበጊወጃ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለበዐለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ዜና ፡ ወበጊወጃጅጅታዎቹ ፡ እምትሥጉተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ። ወበጊወጃጅጅ ፡ እምዓመተ ፡ ሰማዕታት ፡ ወጃጅታዎቹ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ ተንበላት ።

6. The stemma codicum



On the basis of the above grouping of the manuscripts, the stemma can be represented as it is indicated. The first four manuscripts were copied at different times from the same family which I can all ‘Ḥaylu family’. Though all four manuscripts are belonging to the Ḥaylu family, there is a basic variation on the date of copy, provenance where they were copied and persons who commissioned them. Each manuscripts of Ḥaylu is placed in the stemma according to the date of the copying. On the other hand, the manuscripts O and T belong to the same family which has an equal place parallel to the Ḥaylu original and holds the top of the Stemma along with this.

7. The critical text and its presentation

Large part of the edition has been established by examining the variants according to the rules of Gəʿəz grammar and selecting the true variant, that is on the basis of internal and contextual evidence. I put the remaining variant readings in the critical apparatus. However, since my text has an Arabic affiliation, those words and nouns which have an Arabic origin are kept as they are. The process of examining the reading for the edition involves a few various tasks. The primary task is to identify conjunctive errors. As it is known, the Ḥaylu group (H) of family embraces 70% of the whole number of conjunctive errors and all these are corrected by the corresponding reading of the OT family. A few conjunctive errors of OT are corrected by the corresponding readings of the Ḥaylu family. In addition, there are also read-

ings whereby all the other five manuscripts have an error reading and only one manuscript maintains a true reading. In this case, the manuscript P plays an important role providing the correct reading. The manuscript F has also but rarely such a correct reading against the other five manuscripts. Such errors of the five manuscripts were probably transmitted from the archetype text and corrected by conjecture in a single manuscript. When knowledgeable copyists of F and P noticed it, they emend it. There are many instances in the text, such as:

1) 209 ውብዙኃን ፡ ጸድቃን ፡ ይፈርሁ ፡ እምዝንቱ ፡ አኮኑ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ይቤ ፡ **ጴጥሮስ** ፡ እስመ ፡ ቀትልክሙ ፡ ኢኮነ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወደም ፡ አላ ፡ ምስለ ፡ መኳንንተ ፡ ጽልመት ።] BFLOT. Instead the P copyist corrected it **ጳውሎስ** and so I took the P reading for the critical text.

2) 128 ወምክንያተ ፡ ምጽአቱስ ፡ ለጳጳስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ለአንወሮ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ርትዕት ፡ **ዘተፈነወት** ፡ [] ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ እምእለ ፡ እስክንድርያ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ያግሀድ ፡ ወይወድሳ ፡ ለሃይማኖት ፡ ጠዋይት ፡ ዘሠረፀት ፡ እምሮምያ ።] BPLLOT. If one looks at this sentence the word **ዘተፈነወት** should be followed by a preposition. The three manuscripts (O, P and L), that Conzelman used, omitted this preposition and he did not emend it either. The other two manuscripts B and T also omitted it. But the Frankfurt manuscript (F) has a reading **ኅበ** following **ዘተፈነወት** and so I incorporated the F reading **ኅበ** in my critical text. On the other hand, P and F copyists proposed readings which were omitted in the OT and BL, which might have also been omitted in the archetype text. Thus, I contend that the copyists of the two manuscripts proposed their own emendation to reconstruct the possible reading of the missed original sub-archetype. Furthermore, when all the six manuscripts shared an error, I have proposed my own emendation and put the word in square brackets. These include the archetype errors and some minor errors which need emendation.

7.1. Stemma application

Whenever possible, I rely on the stemma of the text to select the true reading based on the following cases. When I found two variant readings, and both were grammatically correct, I selected the reading of the majority of the families. There are many such instances throughout my edition.

In some cases, however, I have to opt for internal criteria. In these cases, although not stemmatically grounded, it appears that OT mostly preserve a superior reading. In the case of 140 ወሶበሂ ፡ ይወስድ ፡ ልቦ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ነገር ፡ ዘይትናገሩ ፡ ወይሰምዕ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይረግሞ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘኢሰምዓ ።] MSS OT, BFLP read **ይወድስ**. Both words are possible and it is the internal criteria that shall decide here. Finally, I took the OT reading.

Similarly, for selecting a reading for the variants of a particular place, personal names and ethnic group names I also use the stemma for deciding on the true reading. The six manuscripts reveal a high degree of linguistic variation for writing personal and place names. This is perhaps because each scribe was influenced by his own linguistic background. I do not correct them by taking the commonly used names; since my goal is to establish the text as close to the original work as possible.

Likewise, in chapter 23, the two families have a different reading: OT reads as **ሐበሲያዊት**, the Ḥaylu group reads as **ሐበሲያዊት**. Here still, even though the stemma does not give them priority, it appears a better reading for internal criteria to maintain the reading of the OT family.

In chapter 67, we come across **ደባርዎ** in OT, **ጀባርዎ** in BPL and **ወምባርያ** in F. The chosen reading is the first one. In chapter 39, there are three variants: **ቤቱ** in LP, **ሀገሩ** in F and **ብሔሩ** in OT. In this case, the chosen reading is the last one.

7.2. Critical apparatus

The critical apparatus of the critical text is positive. It appears that the positive apparatus is more appropriate for the edition of the text. It clearly depicts the position of each manuscripts in each point. It is even more important also to understand and realize to what extent the edition is done according to the established stemma and which is the actual basis of the edition.

The critical apparatus portrays various types of variants: omission, addition, lacuna etc. The punctuation is also fully indicated. The following abbreviation are used in the critical apparatus:

add.	addit
con.	conjecture
lac.	lacuna
om.	omittit
post.	postponit
tra.	transponit

Chapter Four: The Critical Text

[1] በስመ ፡ ሥሉስ ፡¹ ቅዱስ ፡ ስቡሕ ፡ ወቡሩክ ፡² በአፈ ፡³ ኩሉ ፡ ፍጥረት ፡⁴
ናቀድም ፡ ባርኮት ፡⁵ ለስም ፡ ቡሩክ ፡ ዘእግዚእነ ፡⁶ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ተፍጻሜተ ፡
ኩሉ ፡ በረከት ፡⁷ ወንብል ፡⁸ ቡሩክ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ዋሕድ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡
ዓቢዩ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘሜመ ፡ ኦርጋኖና ፡ ነባቤ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አፉሁ ፡ ለእንሰሳ ፡ ነባቢ ፡⁹
ወፈጠረ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ለልብ ፡ ቀርነ ፡ ነፋሕ ፡ በዘቦቱ ፡ ይትአመር ፡ ዘኅቡእ ፡ ወይትከሠት ፡¹⁰
ዘስውር ፡¹¹ ወውእቱ ፡ ይረድአነ ፡¹² በአለ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ወጥንት ፡¹³ ወውእቱ ፡¹⁴ ይመርሓነ ፡
¹⁵ ፍኖተ ፡¹⁶ ቃል ፡¹⁷ _b[ወይጸይሕ] ፡¹⁸ ለነ ፡ መዓፅባተ ፡ ነገር ፡¹⁹ ወይሰርሓነ ፡²⁰ በኩሉ ፡
ወበውስተ ፡ _cኩሉ ፡²¹ ሎቱ ፡ _c²² ስብሓት ፡ ወትረ ፡²³ እምስብሓታት ፡ እለ ፡ እንበለ ፡
_dአርምሞ ፡²⁴ ለዓለም ፡_d²⁵ ወለዓለመ ፡²⁶ ዓለም ፡²⁷ አሜን ፡²⁸

[2] _{ab}ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፪ ፡_a² ንዌጥን ፡_b³ በዝየ ፡ ጽሒፈ ፡ ዜና ፡ ሠናይ ፡ _cዘጥዑም ፡⁴
ውስተ ፡ አፍ ፡ ወውስተ ፡ ጉርዒ ፡ እም ፡ ጣዕመ ፡ መዓር ፡ ወሦከር ፡⁵ ዘይረብሕ ፡ ብፅዓነ ፡⁶
ለአእዛን ፡ እለ ፡ ይሰምዓሁ ፡⁷ ወወሀቤ ፡⁸ ትፍሥሕት ፡⁹ ለለባውያኒሁ ፡ _dከመ ፡¹⁰
ትድምርተ ፡_d¹¹ ማኅሌት ፡ ወወይን ፡¹² እምዜናሁ ፡ ወነገሩ ፡¹³ ለንጉሥ ፡¹⁴ ክቡር ፡¹⁵
ወልዑል ፡ በአለ ፡ ስም ፡ ዓቢይ ፡¹⁶ ወበአለ ፡ ዝክር ፡ ትሩፍ ፡ ዘውዱስ ፡ ግብሩ ፡
እምግብረ ፡ አበዊሁ ፡ ወሠናይ ፡ ሥርዓቱ ፡ ወንጹሕ ፡ ሕጉ ፡ ወእሙን ፡ ስምዑ ፡ ወርቱዕ ፡
ኩነኔሁ ፡ ወጽድቅ ፡ ፍትሑ ፡ ወብሩህ ፡ ትእዛዙ ፡_c¹⁷

[1] 1 BCOLPT; ሥሉስ ፡ F | 2 አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ add. F | 3–14 om. F | 4 (# COT) | 5 (om. F) BCOT; ባርኮት ፡ L; ባርኮታ ፡ P | 6 (om. F) PT; ለእግዚእነ ፡ BL; ዘእግዚእነ ፡ CO | 7 (# BCLOT) | 8 (om. F) COT; ወንብል ፡ BLP | 9 (# COT) | 10 (om. F) BCLOT; ወዘከሠት ፡ P | 11 (# BCLOT) | 12 (om. F) BCOT; ይረድአነ ፡ L | 13 (# CLOT) | 14 ይትአመር ፡ add. L | 15 BCLOPT; ዘይመርህ ፡ F | 16 ኃይለ ፡ add. F | 17 ወልብ ፡ add. P | 18 con.; (om. F); ወይጸይሕ ፡ BCLPOT | 18–19 om. F | 20 BCLOPT; ወይሠርሕ ፡ F | 21–22 om. F | 23 BCLOPT; ዘሎቱ ፡ F | 24–25 om. F | 26 CLOT; ለዓለመ ፡ BFP | 27 om. F | 28 (# BCFLOT).

[2] ዘንጉስ ፡ አጽናፍ ፡ ሰገድ ፡ in margine praep. T | 1–2 om. T | 1–3 (1–2 om. T); FLO; ምዕራፍ፪ ንዌጥን ፡ BCP | 2 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; om. F | 3 ንዌጥን ፡ T | 4–17 om. F | 5 (# BCOT); (፲ T) | 6 (om. F); BCLOT; ብፅዓን ፡ P | 7 (፲ L) | 8 (om. F); COT; ወሀቤ ፡ BLP; ሕይወት ፡ add. BLP | 9 (om. F); COT; ወትፍሥሕት ፡ BLP | 10–11 (om. F); COT; ከመትድምርተ ፡ BLP | 12 (# CO) | 13 (፲ T); (om. F); BCOT; ወዘነገሩ ፡ L; ለዝነቱ ፡ add. P | 14 (om. F); BCLOT; ንጉሥ ፡ P | 15 (፲ T) | 16 (# L) | 17 (# CO); ዘንጉሥ ፡ add. F.

[3] ማር :¹ ገላውዴዎስ :² ዘነግሠ : በኢትዮጵያ :³ ዓባይ :⁴ እምጽንፋ :⁵ እስከ : ጽንፋ :⁶ ላዕለ :⁷ ኩሉ : ቄላቲሃ : ወደግዓሃ : ላዕለ :⁸ ኩሉ : ኢድባራቲሃ :⁹ ወላዕለ : ኩሉ : አዕግዳቲሃ : ላዕለ : ኩሉ : አብሕርቲሃ : ወላዕለ : ኩሉ : ደሰያቲሃ : ወላዕለ : ኩሉ :¹⁰ ጠቢባኒሃ : ወአብዳኒሃ : ወላዕለ :¹¹ አጋእዝቲሃ : ወአግብርቲሃ : ምስለ :¹² መዊኦቲ :¹³ ፀሩ : ወአግርሮቶሙ : እምበር : አጅም : እስከ : ሰበረ :¹⁴ ሰዓደዲን :¹⁵ እንዘ : አልቦ : ዘይትቃረን ።¹⁶ ዜና :¹⁷ መዊኦቲስ : ወኩሎ :¹⁸ ግብሮ :¹⁹ ዘከመ : ኮነ : ሀለውነ : ናንብር :²⁰ በመካን : ዘይደሉ ።²¹ ወዝንቲ : መካን : ውእቲ : መካነ :²² ዜና :²³ አበዊሁ :²⁴ ወዜና :²⁵ ልደቲ : ዘከመ : እፎ : ኮነ ።²⁶

[4] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፫ ።² ወኮነ :³ ሰፊ ።⁴ ፪ ።⁵ ዓመት :⁶ እምዓመተ :⁷ ዓለም :⁸ ንጉሠ :⁹ ወስተ :¹⁰ ሀገር : ዐባይ : ዘግጽውት :¹¹ ወስተ : ገጸ : ነገር : ቀዳማይ :¹² መፍቀሬ : እግዚአብሔር : ወመፍቀሬ :¹³ ሰብእ :¹⁴ ንጉሥ :¹⁵ ጸድቅ :¹⁶ ልብነ :¹⁷ ድንግል :¹⁸ ወልደ : ናኦድ :¹⁹ ወልደ :²⁰ በእደ : ማርያም : ወልደ : ዘርአ : ያዕቆብ : ወልደ : ዳዊት ።²¹ ወሶበ : ነግሠ : ረሰየ : ሑረቶ : ሑረተ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያናዊተ ።²² ወይትለአክ : ላዕለ :²³ መንበሩ :²⁴ ተልእኮ : ከቶሊካዊተ :²⁵ ወኢየዓዱ : እምውሳኔ :²⁶ ዘወሰነት :²⁷ ሎቲ : ባሕታዊት :²⁸ ጉባኤ : እንተ :²⁹ ላዕለ : ኩሉ : ዓለም ።³⁰

[5] ወእምግብረ :¹ ቀደምትኒ : ነገሥት : ኮነ : ይገብሮ :² ለዘተወደሰ :³ ወይገድፎ :⁴ ለዘተሓምየ ።⁵ ወእመንገለ : ዛቲ : ፍና : ወረደ : ላዕሌሁ : ጸጋ : እግዚአብሔር ።⁶

[3] 1 BCFLOP; ለማር : T | 2 ውእቲ : add. F | 3 (፫ F) | 4 BCLOPT; om. F | 5–6 BCLOPT; እምዓመተ : እስከወሰና : F | 7–14 om. F | 8 (፫ L); (om. F) BCLO; ለእለ : P; ወላዕለ : T | 9–10 om. BLP | 9 (# BCLPO) | 11 (om. F) BCLOT; ላዕለ : P | 12 (om. F) BCLOT; ላእለ : P | 13 (# L); (፫ T); (om. F) BCLOT; መዊኦቲ : P; ዝንቲ : add. L; ወዜና : add. BP | 14–15 (om. F) BCLO; በረሰዓደዲን : T | 15 (# L) | 16 (# BCFOT); BCLOPT; ዘይከልኦ : F | 17–25 om. F | 18 (om. F) BCLOT; ኩሉ : P | 19 (፫ T); (om. F) BCLOT; ግብሩ : P | 20 (፫ T) | 21 (# CLOT) | 22 (om. F) BCLOPT; om. L | 23 (om. F) COPT; ዜናሁ : BL | 24 (# L); (om. F) COT; ዘአበዊሁ : BLP | 26 (# BCFLPOT); ልደቲ : add. F.

[4] 1–2 om. T | 2 (# CLO); (om. T) BCLOP ; om. F | 1–3 (1–2 om. T); BCFLO; ምዕራፍ ፫ ወኮነ : P | 4 CFOPT; ሰብእ : BL | 4–6 BCLO; ፪ ፻ ዓመት : PT; ፪ ፻ ዓመተ : F | 5 CFLOPT; ምዕት : B | 7 CLOPT; om. F | 8 ኮነ : add. P | 9 ነገሥት : add. BF | 10–16 om. F | 11 (om. F) COT; ዘግጽውት : BLP | 12 (# CLO) | 13 BCFOPT; om. L | 14 (፫ T); CFOPT; ሰብእ : B; ወሰብእ : L | 15 BCFOPT; ንጉሥነ : L | (om. F) BCLOT; 15–16 ጸድቅ : ንጉሥ : tra. P | 17–18 BCFLOP; lac. T | 19 መፍቀሬ : እግዚአብሔር : add. F | 20–30 om. F | 21 (# CLOT) | 22 (# CO) | 23 (om. F) BCLOT; ለእለ : P | 24 (om. F) BCLOT; መንበር : P | 25 (om. F) CO; ከቶሊካዊተ : BPT; ከቶላዊተ : L | 26 (om. F) BCLOPT; እምውሳኔ : L | 27 (፫ T); (om. F) BCLOPT; ዘተወሰነ : L | 28 (om. F) BCOT; ባሕታዊተ : L; ብሕታዊት : P | 29 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 30 (# BCFLOT).

[5] 1–12 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLOT; ይገብሮ : P | 3 (om. F) BCOT; ዘተወደሰ : LP | 4 (om. F) COT; ወይገብሮ : B; ወኢይገብሮ : L; ወኢይገብሮ : P | 5 (# CLOT); (om. F) BCLOT; ዘተሓምየ : P | 6 (# BCFLOT) | 7 (፫ T); (om. F) BCLOPT; ወወደየ : L | (om. F) BCLOT; መርዓዊ : ፩ : tra. P | 10 (om. F) CLOPT; ቀኖናን : B | 11 (፫ T) | 12 (፫ B); (# L) | 13 BCLOT; ወእእተው : FP | 14 (፫ T) | 15 በእነገ :

ወወደየት ፡⁷ ውስተ ፡ ልቡ ፡ አፍቅሮተ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ሰብሳብ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ከዊነ ፡ ^b፩ ፡⁸
መርዓዊ ፡^b ለአሐቲ ፡ መርዓት ፡ በአምጣነ ፡ ቀኖናሃ ፡¹⁰ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡¹¹ እንተ ፡
አሕዛብ ፡^a ¹² ወአእተወ ፡¹³ ሎቱ ፡¹⁴ ብእሲተ ፡¹⁵ ሠናይተ ፡ ዘታሠረጉ ፡¹⁶ ርእሳ ፡¹⁷ በቅኔ ፡
ምታ ፡¹⁸ ወተአዘዘት ፡ ለብእሲሃ ፡¹⁹ ከመ ፡ ሳራ ፡ ለአብርሃም ፡²⁰ ወረሰያ ፡ ንግሥተ ፡
ወአቀማ ፡ ²¹ በየማኑ ፡²² እንዘ ፡ ^c ጉብርት ፡²³ ወዑጽፍት ፡^c ²⁴ በአልባስ ፡ ወርቅ ፡²⁵ እስከ ፡
ረስዓት ፡²⁶ ሕዝባ ፡²⁷ ወቤተ ፡ አቡሃ ፡²⁸ እስመ ፡ ፈተወ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ሥነ ፡²⁹ ዚአሃ ፡³⁰

[6] ^aወስመ ፡¹ ይእቲ ፡ ንግሥት ፡² ሰብለ ፡ ወንጌል ፡ ወለደ ፡³ እምነሃ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡
ወአዋልደ ፡⁴ ቡሩካን ፡⁵ እስከ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ከመ ፡⁶ ተክለ ፡⁷ ዘይት ፡ ሐዲስ ፡ ዓውደ ፡⁸ ማእዳ ፡⁹
ወላቲኒ ፡ ረሰያ ፡¹⁰ ከመ ፡ ወይን ፡ ሥሙር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጽርሐ ፡¹¹ ቤቱ ፡^a ¹² ^bወ፩ ፡¹³
እምውሉድ ፡^b ¹⁴ ዘወለደት ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ውእቱ ፡¹⁵ ወዝንቱ ፡¹⁶ ^cወልድ ፡¹⁷ ቡሩክ ፡¹⁸ ወቅዱስ ፡
በዓለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ዜና ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ተባዕታዊ ፡^c ¹⁹ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡²⁰ ዘውእቱ ፡ ይሬእዮሙ ፡
²¹ ለኩሎሙ ፡²² አሕዛብ ፡²³ በበትረ ፡²⁴ ኃዲን ፡²⁵

[7] ምዕራፍ ፡^a ¹ ፩ ፡^a ² ወበውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡³ ገብአት ፡ መዊእ ፡ ውስተ ፡⁴ እደ ፡⁵
ተንባላት ፡⁶ ^bዘበረ ፡⁷ ሰዓዲዲን ፡^b ⁸ ወተበውሐ ፡ ላዕለ ፡⁹ ቤተ ፡¹⁰ ክርስቲያን ፡¹¹
ኢትዮጵያዊት ፡¹² ^cወሞኡ ፡¹³ ኩሎ ፡¹⁴ ፀብአ ፡ ዘመንገለ ፡¹⁵ ጽባሒሃ ፡ ወዓረቢሃ ፡ ¹⁶
ወዘመንገለ ፡¹⁷ ደቡባዊሃ ፡¹⁸ ወሰሜናዊሃ ፡¹⁹ እስከ ፡ አመዝብሩ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ጸሎት ፡

ቅድስት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ፤ ወቀኖናሃ ፡ add. F | 16 BCFLOP; ዘታሠረጉ ፡ T | 17 BCFLPT; ርእሳ ፡ O | 18 BCFLOP; ለምታ ፡ T | 19 CFOT; ለምታ ፡ BLP | 20 (# CFOT) | 21 BCLOPT; ወአንበራ ፡ F | 22 (፤ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 23–24 BCFLOT; ዑጽፍት ፡ ወጉብርት ፡ tra. P | 24 BCLOPT; ዑጽፍት ፡ F; ወውጽፍት ፡ L | 25 (፤ T) | 26 ሕገ ፡ add. F | 27 (፤ LT) | 28 (# CLO); በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ መዕሐፍ add. F | 29 BCLOPT; ስነኪ ፡ F | 30 (# CLO); BCLOPT; om. F.

[6] 1–12 om. F | 1 (om. F) BCOP; እስመ ፡ LT | 2 (፤ T) | 3 (om. F) BCLOT; ወወለደ ፡ P | 4 (፤ T) | 5 (om. F) BCOT; ቡሩካን ፡ LP | 6 (om. F) BCLOP; om. T | 7 (om. F) BCLOP; ከተክለ ፡ T | 8 (om. F) BCLO; ውስተ ፡ P | 9 (# COT) | 10 (፤ T) | 11 (om. F) BCLOT; ጽርሐ ፡ P | 12 (# L); (om. F) COT; ንጉሥ ፡ BLP | 13–14 CLOP; ወ፩እምውሉድ ፡ BFT | 14 (፤ T) | 15 (# BL); BCLOPT; om. F | 16 BCLOPT; ዝንቱ ፡ F; ውእቱ ፡ add. P | 17 (፤ T) | 18 (om. F) BCLOP; om. T | 17–19 om. F | 20 (፤ T) | 21 BCLOT; ይርእዮሙ ፡ FP | 22 BCLOPT; om. F | 23 COT; ሕዝብ ፡ BLP; ለአሕዛብ ፡ F | 24 (፤ F) | 25 (# BCOT); BCLOPT; om. F.

[7] 1–2 om. BFLP | 2 (# CLO); (om. BFLP) CO; om. T | 3 (፤ T) | 4 BCOT; ጎበ ፡ F; om. LP | 5 BCOT; om. F; በእደ ፡ LP | 6 (፤ T); BLPT; ተንባላት ፡ CO; ዓላውያን ፡ F | 7 BCLOT; om. F; ዘነበረ ፡ P | BCFLOP; 7–8 ዘበረሰዓዲዲን ፡ T | 8 (፤ CO); CFOT; ሰዓዲድን ፡ B; ሰዓዲን ፡ L; ሰዓዲን ፡ P | 9 BCFLOT; ለእለ ፡ P | 10 BCFOPT; om. L | 11 (፤ T); CFT; ቤተክርስቲያኑ ፡ BLOP | 12 ወቀተልዎሙ ፡ ወፈፀምዎሙ ፡ add. F | 13–34 om. F | 14 (፤ T) | 15 (om. F) BCLOP; om. T | 16 (፤ CO) | 17 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘመንገለ ፡ P | 18 (፤ CO); (om. F) BCOT; ደቡባዊ ፡ L; ደቡባ ፡ P | 19 (# L); (፤ T); (om. F) BCLOT; ወሰሜና ፡ P | 20 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 21 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘሕኑጸት ፡ P | 22 (፤ T) | 23 (፤ O) | 24 (om. F) BCLOT; ወበአጽባኒሃ ፡ P | 25 (፤ CO) | 26 (፤ T) | 27 (# CLO) | 28 (om. F) BCLOPT; ለምእመናን ፡ L | 29 (# CLO) | 30 (om. F) CLPT; ወራዙት ፡ BO | 31 (፤ T); (om. F) P; ደቂቀሂ ፡ BCLOT | 32 (፤ T) | 33 (om. F) BCLOPT; እምግራት ፡ L | 34 (# CLO); (om. F) COT; ሕሡማት ፡ BLP.

እለ ፡²⁰ ሕኩዳት ፡²¹ አረፋቲሆን ፡ በወርቅ ፡²² ወበብሩር ፡²³ ወበአእባን ፡²⁴ ክቡራት ፡²⁵
ዘእምእብነ ፡²⁶ ህንደኬ ፡²⁷ ወቀተሉ ፡ መብዝኅቶሙ ፡ ለመሃይምናን ፡²⁸ በመጥባሕት ፡²⁹
ወዴወወ ፡ ወራዙተ ፡³⁰ ወደናግለ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡³¹ ወአዋልደ ፡ እስከ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ይሠይጥዎሙ ፡
ለግብር ፡³² እምግብራት ፡³³ ጎሠራት ፡³⁴

[8] አሜሃ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ እምእመናን ፡¹ ፈለሱ ፡² እምሃይማኖታ ፡³ ለቤተ ፡⁴
ክርስቲያን ፡⁵ ወገብኡ ፡ ውስተ ፡⁶ ሃይማኖተ ፡⁷ ተንባላት ፡⁸ ወእለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡
በሃይማኖቶሙ ፡ ኢይከውኑ ፡⁹ መጠነ ፡ አሐቲ ፡¹⁰ እምዓሠርቱ ፡¹¹ ወበውእቱ ፡¹²
መዋዕል ፡ ኮነ ፡ ረኅብ ፡ ዓቢይ ፡ በምድረ ፡¹³ እልጎቡስ ፡¹⁴ ዘኢኮነ ፡ ከማሁ ፡¹⁵ ኢበመዋዕለ ፡
¹⁶ ነገሥተ ፡¹⁷ ሰማርያ ፡¹⁸ ወኢበመዋዕለ ፡¹⁹ ንስተተ ፡²⁰ ቤት ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡²¹ እስመ ፡
እሳት ፡ ትነድድ ፡ እመዓቱ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡²² ወታውዒ ፡ እስከ ፡ ሲኦል ፡ ታሕተ ፡²³
ወትበልዓ ፡ ለምድር ፡²⁴ ወለፍሬሃ ፡²⁵ ወተፈነወ ፡ ስነ ፡ አራዊት ፡²⁶ ምስለ ፡ ጎምዝ ፡²⁷
ወውስተ ፡²⁸ ገጸ ፡²⁹ ለምድር ፡³⁰

[9] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፩ ፡² ወበእማንቱ ፡³ አዝማን ፡⁴ ተሰደ ፡⁵ ንጉሥ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ አቡሁ ፡⁶
ለበዓለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ዜና ፡ እመንበሩ ፡⁷ ወኮነ ፡⁸ ይዔይል ፡⁹ እምገዳም ፡¹⁰ ውስተ ፡ ገዳም ፡¹¹
ብረኅብ ፡¹² ወበጽምእ ፡¹³ በቀሩር ፡¹⁴ ወበዕርቃን ፡¹⁵ ወጎረየ ፡ እመንግሥት ፡ ምድራዊ ፡
ወእምብፅዒሃ ፡ ብፅዒን ፡¹⁶ እለ ፡ ይሰደዱ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ወመንግሥተ ፡¹⁷ ሰማያዊተ ፡
¹⁸ ዘሎሙ ፡¹⁹ ወእምደቂቀ ፡²⁰ ዝንቱ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡²¹ ቦዘሞቱ ፡²² በመጥባሕት ፡²³

[8] 1 BCLOPT; om. F | 2 BCLOPT; ክህዱ ፡ F | 3 BCOT; ሃይማኖቶሙ ፡ F; እምሃይማኖተ ፡ L; እምሃይማኖት ፡ P | 4 (om. F) BCOT; ቤተ ፡ L; ዘቤተ ፡ P | 4-5 om. F | 5 (፲ T) | 6 BCLOPT; ኅብ ፡ F | 7 BCLOT; ባህለ ፡ F; ህገ ፡ P | 8 (፳ CFLOT); BFLPT; ተንባላት ፡ CO | 9 BCLOPT; የዓክሉ ፡ F | 10 BCLOPT; om. F; በሃይማኖቶሙ ፡ add. BP | 11-12 BCLOPT; ፲ወበውእቱ ፡ F | 11 (፳ COT); CFO; እም፲ ፡ BLP; እም፲ቱ ፡ T | 13 (፲ T); COT; om. BFLP | 14 (፲ T) | 15 (፳ L) | 16 BCLOPT; om. F | 17 CLOP; ነገሥት ፡ BT; om. F | 18 (፳ CLOT); BCLOP; በሰማርያ ፡ F; ዘሰማርያ ፡ T | 19-21 om. F | 20 (om. F) COT; ንስተተ ፡ BLP | 21 (፳ CLO) | 22 (፳ LT) | 23 (፳ COT) | 24 ወለኩሉ ፡ add. F | 25 (፳ LT); BCLOPT; ፍሬሃ ፡ F | 26 COT; አራዊተ ፡ ምድር ፡ BFLP | 27 (፳ LT); (፲ CO) | 28-30 om. F | 29 (om. F) BP; ገጸ ፡ CLOT | 30 (፳ CLOT); (om. F) BCLOPT; ምድር ፡ L.

[9] 1-2 om. P | 2 (፳ CO); (om. P) CFL; om. BT; ኃምስቱ ፡ O | 1-3 (1-2 om. P) BCLOT; ፩ ወበእማንቱ ፡ F | 4 (፲ T) | 5 BCLOPT; ወተሰደ ፡ F | 6 (፲ T) | 7 (፲ T) | 8 (om. F) COT; ዘኮነ ፡ BLP | 8-9 om. F | 9 (om. F) BCLOT; የኦይል ፡ P; እም ፡ አድባር ፡ ውስተ ፡ አድባር ፡ add. P | 10 BCFLPT; ወእምገዳም ፡ P | 11 (፲ T) | 12-19 om. F | 12 (፳ BLP) | 13 (፳ BLP) | 14 (፳ BLP) | 15 (፳ CLO) | 16 (om. F) BCLOT; ብፅዒን ፡ P | 17 (om. F) COT; ወመንግሥት ፡ BLP | 18 (፲ T); (om. F) COPT; ሰማያዊት ፡ BL | 19 (፳ COT) | 20 BCOT; እምደቂቁ ፡ F; እምደቂቀ ፡ L; ወእምቀደቂቀ ፡ P | 21 (፲ T) | 22 LOT; ቦ ፡ ዘሞቱ ፡ BP; ቦዘሞቱ ፡ C; ቦዘሞቱ ፡ ፲ F | 23 (፳ CLO) | 23-28 om. F; ወእምዝ ፡ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ አቡሁሰ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ፈለሰ ፡ እምዝንቱ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ኃለፈ ፡ add. F | 24 (፳ CLOT) | 25 (om. F) BCLOT; ናየድዕ ፡ L | 26 (om. F) BCLOT; ይሰነአው ፡ L | 27 (፳ T) | 28 (፳ CLO).

ወቦ ፡ ዘተዓወወ ፡ ወተመይጠ ።²⁴ ዜና ፡ ተመይጦቱስ ፡ ሀለውነ ፡ ናይድዕ ፡²⁵ በጊዜ ፡
ዘይሰነአው ፡²⁶ ወስንእ ፡ በእግዚአብሔር ፡²⁷ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ።²⁸

[10] ወእምዝንቱ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ለማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ በዓለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ዜና ፡ ሐነ ፡¹ የዓቅቦ ፡
ዓቃቢሁ ፡² ለኩሉ ፡ ከመ ፡ <ተዓቅቦት> ፡³ አሐቲ ፡⁴ ብእሲት ፡⁵ ወወልዳ ፡ እምነ ፡ አርዌ ፡
ዓቢይ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡⁶ ዮሐንስ ፡⁷ በዐለ ፡ ራእይ ፡ ዘደሴተ ፡⁸ በጥሙስ ።⁹ ወበዘከመዝ ፡ ግብር ፡
ዝንቱ ፡¹⁰ ወልድ ፡¹¹ ወአቡሁ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ እሙራተ ፡ ዓመታተ ፡¹² እንዘ ፡ ይትዌከፉ ፡ ኩሎ ፡
በአኩቱት ፡¹³ ዘይመጽእ ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ።¹⁴ ወእንዘ ፡ ኢይሁቡ ፡ እበደ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡
አምላኮሙ ፡¹⁵ ከመ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኤዶም ፡ በውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ።¹⁶ ወበጊዜ ፡ ዘፈቀደ ፡¹⁷
እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡ በጽሐ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ አቡሁ ፡¹⁸ ለዝንቱ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ዘኅሩይ ፡
እምአእላፍ ።¹⁹ ዓቢይ ፡²⁰ ትሕዝብተ ፡ ፍጥረቱ ፡²¹ ለእንል ፡²² እመሕያው ።²³ ወፈለሰ ፡
በምሕረቱ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡²⁴ እምጻማ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዕረፍት ፡
ወእምግብርናት ፡ ውስተ ፡²⁵ ግዕዛን ።²⁶

[11] ወእምድኅረ ፡¹ ዝንቱ ፡² አንገሥ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡
መንግሥተ ፡ ሠናይተ ፡ ወአንበሮ ፡ ዲበ ፡ መንበረ ፡³ አቡሁ ፡⁴ ምስለ ፡⁵ ጥቡብ ፡⁶
ወአእምሮ ፡⁷ ለወልቡና ፡⁸ ከመ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ወልደ ፡⁹ ዳዊት ፡¹⁰ እስከ ፡ ሐኢሐነ ፡¹¹ መኑሂ ፡
ዘያስተኣብድ ፡ ውርዘቶ ፡ እምብዝጎ ፡ ጥበቡ ፡¹² ወአእምሮቱ ፡ ዘኢይደልዎሙ ፡
ለአእሩግ ፡ ከማሁ ።¹³ ወህየንተ ፡¹⁴ ቅብአት ፡¹⁵ ምድራዊ ፡¹⁶ ዘመንግሥት ፡¹⁷ ቀብአ ፡¹⁸
መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡¹⁹ ቅብአተ ፡²⁰ ሰማያዊ ፡²¹ ወቅብአ ፡ ትፍሥሕት ፡²² እምእለ ፡ ከማሁ ፡²³
ወአስተፍሥሐ ፡²⁴ እምክቡዳነ ፡ አቅርንት ።²⁴

[10] 1–26 om. F | 1 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 2 (̄ T); (om. F) BCLOT; ዓቃቢሁ ፡ P | 3 (om. F) con.;
ተዓቅቦት ፡ BCLOPT | 4 (om. F) CLOT; ለሐቲ ፡ B; om. P | 5 (# L); (̄ T) | 6 (om. F) COT; ዘርእዮ ፡
BLP | 7 (̄ T) | 8 (om. F) COT; በደሴተ ፡ BPL | 9 (# CLO); (om. F) CLOPT; በጥሙስ ፡ B | 10 (om. F)
BCLOT; ውእቱ ፡ P | 11 (̄ T) | 12 (̄ T) | 13 (̄ T) | 14 (# CLOT); (om. F) COPT; በላዕሌሆሙ ፡ BL |
15 (̄ T) | 16 (# CLO) | 17 (om. F) COT; ፈቀደ ፡ BLP | 18 (̄ T) | 19 (# CLOT) | 19–20 om. B | 21
(om. F) CLOPT; ፍጥረቱ ፡ B | 22–25 om. B | 23 (# CLO) | 24 (# LOT) | 26 (# CLOT).

[11] 1 BCLOPT; ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ F | 2 BCLOPT; om. F | 3 BCLOPT; መንበረ ፡ F | 4 (̄ T); COT;
አባዊሁ ፡ BLP; በአቡሁ ፡ F | 5 BCLOPT; ወከነ ፡ F | 6 BCLOPT; ጠቢብ ፡ F | 7 (̄ L) | 8 ወምክር ፡ add.
BLP | 8–9 om. F | 10 (̄ T); BCLOPT; ወዳዊት ፡ F | 11–13 om. F | 12 (̄ T) | 13 (# CLOT); ወቀብዓ ፡
add. F | 14 BCLOPT; ህየንተ ፡ F | 15 BCLOPT; ቅብአት ፡ F | 16 BCLOPT; ምድራ ፡ F | 17–18 om. F | 18
(om. F) BCLOP; ቅብዓ ፡ T | 19 (om. F) BCLOP; ቅብዕተ ፡ T | 19–22 om. F | 20 (̄ F); (# L) | 21 (om. F)
CLOPT; ትፍሥሕተ ፡ B | 23 COPT; ወአስተፍሥሐ ፡ BFP | 24 (# CLO); BCFLLOT; አቅርንተ ፡ P.

[12] ምዕራፍ፡¹ ጌ፡² አመ፡³ ቀዳሚት፡ ሳመት፡⁴ እመንግሥቱ፡⁵ አጎዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡⁶ ክቡር፡⁷ ወልዑል፡⁸ ከመ፡ ይፍድያ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በበ፡⁹ ህቅ፡¹⁰ ፍዳ፡¹¹ ሠናዩ፡¹² በዝ፡ ዓለም፡ እስከ፡ ይበጽሕ፡¹³ ዕለተ፡¹⁴ ፍዳሁ፡¹⁵ ለዓለም፡¹⁶ ዘይመጽእ፡¹⁷ ህዩንተ፡ መከራሁ፡¹⁸ ለሃይማኖታ፡¹⁹ ወህዩንተ፡ መንሱት፡ ዘመጽአ፡ ላዕሌሃ፡²⁰ በእደ፡ አሕመድ፡ ወልደ፡ አብራሒም፡ ተንባላታዊ፡²¹ ዘእሙር፡ ምስለ፡ ረጎብ፡²² ወጽምእ፡ ወዕርቃን፡²³ ወምንዳቤ፡²⁴ ብዙጎ፡ ዘኢይደልዎ፡ ለዓለም፡²⁵

[13] ወኮነ፡ ላቲ፡¹ ፍልሰት፡ እምርጊብ፡ ጎበ፡² ጸጊብ፡³ ወእምጸሚእ፡⁴ ጎበ፡ ረዊይ፡⁵ እስመ፡ አንጸፍጸፈ፡ መዓር፡⁶ እምአድባር፡ ወሐሊብ፡ እምአውግር፡ ውስተ፡ ኩሎን፡ ገጸቲሃ፡⁷ ወበውእቱ፡ ሳመት፡ ወጠነ፡ ማር፡ገላውዴዎስ፡⁸ ቅንአተ፡⁹ ዘለአፍቅሮ፡¹⁰ እግዚእ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡¹¹ ወሐለዩ፡ ይፅብአሙ፡ ለተንባላት፡¹² ዘይና፡¹³ ተባብአቱ፡¹⁴ ወተቃቅሎቱ፡ ወመዊአቱ፡ ሀለወነ፡ ናገጹ፡ በገጹ፡ ዘመፍትው፡¹⁵

[14] ምዕራፍ፡¹ ጌ፡² ተብህለ፡³ ኮነአ፡⁴ ይትነበይ፡⁵ ሎቱ፡ አቡሁ፡ አመ፡⁶ ናኢሱ፡⁷ ዘከመ፡⁸ ይመውእ፡⁹ ፀሮ፡¹⁰ ወይቀጥቅጦሙ፡¹¹ ለአሕዛብ፡¹² ከመ፡ ንዋዩ፡ ለብሐ፡¹³ ወከመ፡ ይፈኑ፡¹⁴ ሎቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡¹⁵ በትረ፡¹⁶ ኃዲን፡¹⁷ ለምኢየሩሳሌም፡¹⁸ እንተ፡ ላዕሊ፡ ወከመ፡ ይኳንን፡ በማእከለ፡ ጸላእቱ፡¹⁹ እስመ፡

[12] 1 (om. F) BCLOT; lac. P | 1–2 om. F | 2 (# CO); (om. F) BCLP; ጌ፡ O; om. T | 2–3 CFLOPT; ጌ አመ፡ B | 4 COT; ዕለት፡ BLP; ዕለተ፡ F | 5 (፤ T); BCLOPT; መንግሥቱ፡ F | 6 (፤ F) | 7–8 CLOPT; ልዑል፡ ወክቡር፡ tra. B; om. F | 9–10 CO; በበህቅ፡ BLFPT | 9–11 BCLOPT; ፍዳ፡ በበህቅ፡ tra. F | 12 BCLOPT; om. F | 13 BCLOT; ይመጽእ፡ FP | 14 BCLOPT; om. F | 15 BCLOPT; ፍዳ፡ F | 16–25 om. F | 17 (# CLOT) | 18 ለዓለም፡ ዓለም፡ add. P | 19 (# L) | 20 (om. F) CO; om. BT; ላዕሌሁ፡ L; ለእሌሁ፡ P | 21 (om. F) BLPT; ተንባላታዊ፡ CO | 22 (፤ T) | 23 (# L) | 24 (፤ T) | 25 (# CLOT).

[13] 1–2 om. F | 3 BCLOPT; ጽጋብ፡ F; ፍዳ፡ ረጋብ፡ ወዕርቃን፡ add. F | 4 BCFOPT; ወእምፅ፡ L | 4–8 om. F | 5 (# CLOT) | 6 (፤ T) | 7 (# BCLOT) | 8 (om. F) B; om. CLOPT | 9 (፤ T); ዘበእንተ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ add. F | 10–11 om. F | 11 (# BCFLOPT) | 12 BLPT; ለተንባላት፡ CO; ለተንባላት፡ F | 13–15 om. F | 14 (om. F) BCLOT; ተጽብአቱ፡ P | 15 (# CLOT).

[14] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 1–2 BCLOPT; om. F; ምዕራፍጌ፡ L | 2 (# COT); BCFLOP; om. T | 2–3 CFLOT; ጌ ተብህለ፡ BP | 4 BCLOPT; ከመ፡ F | 5 CLOT; ይተነበይ፡ B; ይትነበይ፡ F; ይትአበይ፡ P | 6 CLOPT; ከመ፡ BF; ይኳንኖሙ፡ add. F | 7 (፤ T); CFLOPT; ንእሱ፡ B | 7–8 om. F | 8 (om. F) COPT; ዘከመ፡ B; ዘከመ፡ L | 9 P; om. BF; ይበውእ፡ CLOT | 10 CLOPT; om. B; ለፀላእቱ፡ F | 11 BFLT; ወይቀጥቅጦሙ፡ CO; ወይቀጥቅጦሙ፡ P | 12 (om. F) CLOPT; በአሕዛብ፡ B | 12–15 om. F | 13 (# BCLOT); (om. F) CLOPT; ስብሐ፡ B | 14 (om. F) BCLOT; ይፈኑ፡ P | 16 BCLOPT; በበትረ፡ F | 17 (፤ T) | 18–24 om. F | 19 (# CLO); (om. F) BCLOP; ጸላእቱ፡ T | 20 (፤ T) | 21 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 22 ቅዱስ፡ add. LP | 23 (# CLOT) | 24 (om. F) BCLO; ኮነ፡ P; ኮነ፡ አ፡ T; ከመ፡ add. P; ከመ፡ ንዋዩ፡ ለብሐ፡ add. F | 25 CLOT; ያለብውዎ፡ B; ወያሌብዎ፡ F; ያሌብዎ፡ P | 26 BCLOPT; om. F | 27 BCLOPT; ለመጸሕፍት፡ F | 27–28 (፤ FT); BCFLOP; ለ ቅዱሳት፡ መጸሕፍት፡ tra. T | 28 BCLOPT; om. F | 29–31 om. F | 30 (om. F) COPT; በልዓ፡ BL | 31 (# CLOT).

ለአቡሁሰ ፡²⁰ ወረደ ፡²¹ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ጸጋ ፡ መንፈስ ፡²² ትንቢት ፡ ወክህነት ፡ ወመንግሥት ፡
ከመ ፡ መልክ ፡ ጼዴቅ ፡ ወዳዊት ።²³ ወዳዲ ፡ ተብህለ ፡ ኮነአ ፡²⁴ ያሌብዎ ፡²⁵ አቡሁ ፡²⁶
ኅይሎን ፡ ለመጸሕፍት ፡²⁷ ቅዱሳት ፡²⁸ ጸምአኃዊሁ ፡²⁹ ፈድፋድ ፡ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡
በዓለ ፡³⁰ ልቡና ፡ ዓቢይ ።³¹

[15] አቡሁኒ ፡¹ ኮነ ፡ ማእምረ ፡ አፍአሆሙ ፡ ወውሣጤሆሙ ፡ ለመጸሕፍተ ፡ ሕግ ፡
መንፈሳውያን ።² ወምስለ ፡ ዝኒ³ ኮነ⁴ ሎቱ ፡⁵ መምህረ ፡⁶ ትሩፋዊ ፡⁷ ዘይሜህሮ ፡
እምትሩፋቲሆሙ ፡⁸ ለሰብእ ፡ እለ ፡ ልጹቃን ፡ ምስለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡⁹
ዘከመ ፡¹⁰ ነቢያት ፡ ወሐዋርያት ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡¹¹ ካልአኒሆሙ ።¹² በዝንቱ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡¹³
ወበዘይመስሎ ፡¹⁴ ልህቀ ፡ ማር ፡¹⁵ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁶ ወጸንዓ ፡ በኅይለ ፡¹⁷ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ።¹⁸
ወተምህረ ፡ ለኩሎ ፡¹⁹ ትምህርተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያናዊ <ዊ> ፡²⁰ በቀዳሚ ፡²¹ ሕይወቱ ።²²
ወእምድኅሬሁ ፡ ተምህረ ፡²³ ተፅዕኖ ፡ ፈረስ ፡²⁴ ወነዲፈ ፡ ቀስት ፡²⁵ ወንዲወ ፡²⁶ አራዊት ፡
²⁷ ወኩሎ ፡²⁸ ሥርዓተ ፡²⁹ ጸብእ ፡³⁰ ከመ ፡ ልማደ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ነገሥት ።³¹

[16] እስመ ፡ ላዕለ ፡¹ ዝንቱ ፡² አንበረቶ ፡³ ግብር ፡⁴ አምላካዊት ፡⁵ ከመ ፡ ይፍዲ ፡⁶
በቀለ ፡⁷ ደሞሙ ፡⁸ ዘተክዕወ ፡⁹ ለአግብርተ ፡¹⁰ እግዚእ ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡¹¹ ወከመ ፡
ይሠሃሎሙ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ ቅቱላን ፡ በዕባዩ ፡ መዝራዕቱ ፡¹² ወከመ ፡¹³ ይፍድዮሙ ፡¹⁴
ለአግዋር ፡¹⁵ መስተቃርናን ፡¹⁶ ምስብዒተ ፡¹⁷ ውስተ ፡¹⁸ ጎፅኖሙ ፡ አምጣነ ፡ ተቃርኖ ፡
ዘተቃረኑ ፡¹⁹ ወአምጣነ ፡²⁰ ትዕይርት ፡²¹ ዘተዓየሩ ።²² ወኮነ ፡²³ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡
ወልዑል ፡ ሰራሔ ፡²⁴ ሎቱ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ግብር ፡ እምግብራት ፡ ዘፍንውት ፡²⁵ ኅቤሁ ፡ ጸህቀ ፡
ዚአሁ ።²⁶

[15] 1–2 om. F | 2 (# CLOT) | 3 BCLOPT; ዝንቱ ፡ F | 4–5 om. F | 6 BCFOPT; መዕምሕረ ፡ L; ኮኖ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያሌብዎ ፡ ነገረ ፡ add. F | 7 BCFOPT; ትሩፋዊ ፡ LT | 7–10 om. F | 8 (om. F) BCLOT; ትሩፋቲሆሙ ፡ P | 9 (# L) | 11 ልፁቃን ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ add. F | 12 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; om. F | 13 (# L) | 14 BCLOPT; ወበዘይመስሎ ፡ F | 15 BCLOPT; om. F | 16 (# L) | 17 BCLOPT; om. F | 18 (# CLO) | 19–23 om. F | 20 (om. F) O; ክርስቲያናዊ ፡ BCLPT | 21 (om. F) BCLPT; በቀዳሚ ፡ O | 22 (# COT) | 24 (፤ F) | 25 BCLOPT; አፍንት ፡ F | 26–27 BCLOPT; ወደርብዮ ፡ ኩናት ፡ F | 28–31 om. F | 29 (om. F) BCLOT; ወሥርዓተ ፡ P | 30 (# L) | 31 (# CLOT).

[16] 1 ላ ፡ add. L | 1–2 om. F | 2 BCFLPT; ኩሎ ፡ P | 3 CFLOPT; አንበረቶ ፡ B | 4 BCLOT; ፀጋ ፡ F; ግብ ፡ C ፡ P | 5 BCFOPT; አምላካዊ ፡ L | 6 (፤ F); BCLOPT; ይሜጥ ፡ F | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 BCLOPT; ደመ ፡ F; ቅዱሳን ፡ add. F | 9 BCLOPT; ዘተክዕወ ፡ FL | 10–13 om. F | 11 (# L); (፤ T) | 12 (# L); (፤ O) | 14 BCLOPT; ወይፍድዮሙ ፡ F | 15 (om. F) BCOT; ለአግዋር ፡ L; በአግዋር ፡ P | 15–20 om. F | 17 (om. F) BCLOT; ምስብዒተ ፡ P | 18 (om. F) BCLOPT; ወውስተ ፡ L | 19 (om. F) COT; ዘይትቃረኑ ፡ BLP | 21 BCLOPT; ትዕይርተ ፡ F | 22 (# BCFLPT) | 23–26 om. F | 24 (om. F) COT; ሰራሔ ፡ BLP | 25 BCFOPT; ዘፍንው ፡ L | 26 (# BCLOPT).

[17]_a ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፰ ፡² ወእምድኅረ ፡_a³ ምዝንቱ ፡⁴ ንትናገር ፡ እንከ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ዘኅደግናሁ ፡
 በመካን ፡ ዘይቀድም ፡⁵ እምዝንቱ ፡⁶ መካን ፡_c⁷ ወአመ ፡⁸ ነግሠ ፡ ማር ፡⁹ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁰
 ወነበረ ፡ ዲበ ፡ መንበረ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ በጽድቅ ፡¹¹ ወተሠይመ ፡¹² ኖላዌ ፡ ላዕለ ፡¹³ መርዔት ፡
 ኢትዮጵያዊት ፡_b¹⁴ እንዘ ፡¹⁵ የዓውድ ፡¹⁶ አህጉራተ ፡¹⁷ ወአዕጻዳተ ፡¹⁸ ለአስተጋብኦ ፡
 ኤባግዕ ፡¹⁹ እለ ፡ ተዘርዋ ፡_c²⁰ ወለፈውሶተ ፡²¹ እለ ፡ ቈሰላ ፡²² እምኔሆን ፤_d²³ ወኢፈርሃ ፡
 እምፀር ፡ እለ ፡ ይጸንሑ ፡²⁴ በፍኖት ፡ ወኢያደንገዖ ፡²⁵ ብዝኖሙ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ፊውእቱ ፡²⁶
 ምስለ ፡ ሰብእ ፡_f²⁷ ገዳጣን ፡²⁸

[18] ወኮነ ፡¹ ይትአመን ፡² _a በቃል ፡³ አማናዊ ፡ ዘይቤላ ፡ እስትንፋሳተ ፡_a⁴
 እግዚአብሔር ፡ _bክቡር ፡⁵ ወልዑል ፡_{cd}⁶ ዓሠርቱ ፡⁷ ምእት ፡_c⁸ ይነትዑ ፡_d⁹ እምአሐዳ ፡¹⁰
 ወእምቅድመ ፡_e¹¹ ክልኤቱ ፡_b¹² ይሰደዱ ፡_f¹³ እልፍ ፡¹⁴ ውእቱሰ ፡_g¹⁵ ያረትዕ ፡ ፍኖቶ ፡¹⁶
 በዓቂበ ፡¹⁷ ነቢቡ ፡¹⁸ _hለእግዚአብሔር ፡¹⁹ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡²⁰ አኮ ፡ በዕቅበተ ፡ አፍራስ ፡
 ውብዝኃ ፡²¹ ሠራዊት ፡²² ወእንዘ ፡ የሐውር ፡ በዝንቱ ፡²³ አርአያ ፡ እምአሐቲ ፡ ሀገር ፡
 ውስተ ፡ ካልኦታ ፡_h²⁴ ተዳደቅዎ ፡ በፍኖት ፡²⁵ ክልኤቱ ፡²⁶ ሠራዊት ፡_i²⁷ እምተንባላት ፡²⁸
 ምስለ ፡_j²⁹ ብዙኃን ፡³⁰ አሕዛብ ፡_j³¹ ዘጽንዖሙ ፡³² ከመ ፡ አውልዕ ፡³³ ውብዝኖሙ ፡ ከመ ፡
 አንበጣ ፡³⁴

[17] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); BCFLOP; om. T | 1-3 ምዕራፍ፤ ወእምድኅረ ፡ B | 4 ነገር ፡
 add. T | 4-14 om. F | 5 (# L); (om. F) BCLOT; ዘይቀድም ፡ P | 6-7 (# CO); (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 8
 (om. F) BCLOT; ወስመ ፡ P | 9 (om. F) CO; om. BLPT | 10 (# CLO) | 11 (፲ T) | 12 (om. F) COT;
 ወተሰምየ ፡ BLP | 13 (om. F) BCLOT; ለእለ ፡ P | 14 (# CO | 15 BFLPT; አኅዘ ፡ CO | 16 BFLT; ይኡድ ፡
 CO; ያዓውድ ፡ P | 17 BCFOPT; አሕጉረ ፡ L | 18-23 om. F | 19-20 (om. F) BCLOT; እለተዘርወ ፡
 አባግዕ ፡ tra. P | 21 (om. F) CO; ወለፈውሶ ፡ B; ወለፈውሶታ ፡ LT; ወፈውስተ ፡ P | 22 (om. F) BCLOT;
 ቈሰለ ፡ P | 23 (# BLP) | 24 BCLOPT; ይጸንሑዎ ፡ F | 25 BCLOPT; ወኢያደንገዩ ፡ F | 26-27 om. F | 28
 (# CLO) ሠራዊቱ ፡ add. F.

[18] 1 BCLOPT; om. F | 2 BCLOPT; ወየአምር ፡ F; ከመ ፡ add. F | 3-4 om. F | 5-12 om. F | 6 (#
 CLO) | 7-8 (om. F) BCOPT; ፲፪ ፡ L | 7-9 (om. F) CLO; ፲፫ ይነትዑ ፡ BPT | 10 (# L); (om. F) BCOPT;
 እም፩ ፡ L | 10-11 (om. F) CLO; እም፩ ወእምቅድመ ፡ BPT | 12 (om. F) BCFOPT; ፪ ፡ L | 13 BCFOPT;
 ይሰደዱ ፡ L | 12-13 CFLO; ፪ ይሰደዱ ፡ BPT | 14 (# CLO); BCOPT; በ፩ ፲፫ ወያነትሱ ፡ በ፪፻ ፡ F; ፻ ፡
 L | 14-15 CFLOT; ፻ ውዕቱሰ ፡ BP | 15 ወሬዛ ፡ add. F | 16 BCLOPT; om. F | 17 BCLOPT; ዓቂበ ፡ F | 18
 ወእንዘ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ add. F | 19-24 om. F | 20 (# L) | 21 (om. F) BCLOP; ወብብዙኃ ፡ T | 22 (#
 CLOT) | 23 (om. F) BCLOT; በዛቲ ፡ P | 24 (om. F) BCLOT; ካልኦታ ፡ P | 25 BCLOPT; om. F | 26
 BCFOPT; ፪ ፡ L | 26-27 CLO; ፪ ሠራዊቶ ፡ B; ፪ ሠራዊተ ፡ F; ፪ ሠራዊት ፡ PT | 28 BLT; እምተንባላት ፡
 CO; ተንባላት ፡ F; እምተንባላት ፡ P | 29 BCLOT; om. FP | 30-31 BCLOT; om. F; ወእምአሕዛብ ፡
 ብዙኃን ፡ tra.. P | 32 BCFLOP; ጽንዖሙ ፡ T | 33 (# L) | 34 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; ወጽንዖሙ ፡ ከመ ፡
 አውልዕ ፲ tra. F.

[19] ^aወለሊሁ ፡¹ ^bኮነ ፡² ምስለ ፡^b ³<ጎጡአን> ፡⁴ ሰብእ ፡⁵ ዘተርፉ ፡⁶ ሕምቀትል ፡⁷
 ቀዳማይ ፡^c ከመ ፡ ያተርፍ ፡⁹ አንበሳ ፡ ርእሰ ፡¹⁰ አው ፡ እግረ ፡ እምገዳሊሁ ።¹¹ ወባሕቱ ፡
 ኢከልኡ ፡ እለ ፡¹² ^dክልኤቱ ፡¹³ ምክንያት ፡^d ¹⁴እምተግብአተ ፡ ፀር ።¹⁵ አላ ፡^a ¹⁶ተራከሶሙ ፡
¹⁷ በልብ ፡ ጥቡዕ ፡¹⁸ ^eወበገጽ ፡¹⁹ ዘይጸንዕ ፡ እምኩኩሕ ።²⁰ ከመ ፡^e ²¹ተራከሶ ፡²² ^fአሐዱ ፡²³
 እምሰብአ ፡^f ²⁴ይሁዳ ፡²⁵ ለረአይታዊ ፡²⁶ ዘተግየረ ፡ ዲበ ፡²⁷ ጸባኢተ ፡²⁸ እግዚአብሔር ፡²⁹
^gክቡር ፡³⁰ ወልዑል ።³¹ አሜሃ ፡ ተከፍለት ፡³² መዊእ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ^hክልኤቱ ፡³³መክፈልት ፡^h ³⁴
 ቅድመ ፡ ኮነ ፡³⁵ ሎቱ ፡ መዊእ ።³⁶

[20] ወድጎረ ፡ ሞአ ፡ አባስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ሠራዊተ ፡¹ ^aፀብእ ፡² ይእተ ፡³ ጊዜ ፡^a ⁴ወማርሰ ፡
⁵ገላውዴዎስ ።⁶ ^bዓዲሁ ፡⁷ ልዑለ ፡ እድ ፡ በእንተ ፡⁸ ተግብረዎሙ ፡⁹ ለተንባላት ።^b ¹⁰
 እመኒ ፡ ሞአ ፡ ኢይትመካሕ ።¹¹ ወእመኒ ፡ ሞእዎ ፡¹² ኢይትኃፈር ፡¹³ ገጹ ።¹⁴ እስመ ፡
 ይዜከር ፡ ቃለ ፡ ዘትቤሎሙ ፡¹⁵ ጥብብ ፡ ለደቂቃ ፤¹⁶ አኮ ፡¹⁷ ለዘሞአ ፡¹⁸ ትምክሕት ፡¹⁹
 ወውዳሴ ፡ ወኢለዘተሞአ ፡²⁰ ኃሣር ፡ ወዝንንጌ ፡²¹ ወጽእለት ።²² እስመ ፡²³ ዘይመውእሰ ፡²⁴
^ሐዘልፈ ፡²⁵ ^dወኢይትመዋእ ፡²⁶ ውእቱ ፡^d ²⁷^e አሐዱ ፡²⁸ እግዚአብሔር ፡^e ²⁹ክቡር ፡ ስሙ ።^c ³⁰

[21] ምዕራፍ ፡፱ ።¹ ^aወእምዝ ፡² ዓደወ ፡ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ማዕዶተ ፡ ክልኤቱ ፡
 አፍላግ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ሼዋ ፡^a ³እመንገለ ፡⁴ ምድረ ፡⁵ ትግራይ ፡⁶ ከመ ፡⁷ ይርአይ ፡

[19] 1 BCFLOT; ወእሉ ፡ P | 1–16 om. F | 2–3 om. P | 3 (om. FP) COT; om. BL | 4 con.; (om. F) ኃጥአን ፡ BCLOPT; እለ ፡ add. P | 5 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 6 (om. F) BCLOT; ተርፉ ፡ P | 7–8 (om. F) BCLOT; እምቀዳሚ ፡ ቀትል ፡ P | 8 (om. F) CLOPT; ቀዳማዊ ፡ B | 9 (om. F) CLOPT; ያተርፍ ፡ B | 10 (om. F) BCLOP; ርእሰ ፡ T | 11 (# CLOT); (om. F) BLO; እምገዳሊሁ ፡ C; እምገዳሊሁ ፡ PT | 12 (om. F) BLT; አላ ፡ CO; እሉ ፡ P | 13 (om. F) BCOPT; ፪ ፡ L | 13–14 (om. F) CLO; ፪ምክንያት ፡ BP; ፪ምክንያተ ፡ T | 15 (# CLO) | 16 (om. F) BCLO; አለ ፡ P; እለ ፡ T | 17 BCLOPT; ወተራከሶሙ ፡ F | 18 (፤ F) | 19–21 om. F | 20 (# COT) | 22 COPT; ተራከሶ ፡ B; ወረከሶ ፡ F; ተራከሶ ፡ L | 23 (om. F) BCOPT; ፩ ፡ L | 23–24 CFLO; ፩ እምሰብአ ፡ BPT | 25 BCLOPT; om. F | 26 CLOT; ለራዓታይ ፡ BP; ረዓታይ ፡ F | 27 (፤ T); BCLOT; ለእለ ፡ FP | 28 BCLOPT; om. F | 29 CFOT; ዘእግዚአብሔር ፡ BLP | 30–31 BCLOPT; om. F | 31 (# CLOT) | 32 BCFLOP; ተከፍለት ፡ T | 33 BCFOPT; ፪ ፡ L | 33–34 CFLO; ፪መክፈልት ፡ BPT | 34 (# L); (# BP); BCLOPT; om. F | 35 BCFLOT; ኮነት ፡ P | 36 (# CLO); BCLOPT; om. F.

[20] 1 BCLOT; ሠራዊት ፡ ፤ F; ሠራተ ፡ P | 2–4 om. F | 3 (om. F) BPT; ይእቲ ፡ CLO | 4 (፤ O); (# L) | 5 BCLOT; ወማር ፡ F; ማርሰ ፡ P | 6 (# CLO) | 7–10 om. F | 8 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 9 (om. F) CO; ተግብረዎሙ ፡ BLT; ለተግብረዎሙ ፡ P; ዕልዋን ፡ add. P | 10 (# CLOT); (om. F) BLT; ለተንባላት ፡ CO; ተንበለት ፡ P | 11(#CLO); BCFLOT; ኢይትመካሕ ፡ P | 12 BCLOT; ተሞአ ፡ FP | 13 (፤ F) | 14 (# CO); BCLOPT; om. F | 15 COT; ዘነገሮሙ ፡ BF; ዘነገርዎሙ ፡ L; ዘነገረቶሙ ፡ P | 16 (# L); (# FPT); BCLOT; ለደቂቃ ፡ F; ለደቂቃ ፡ P | 17 (፤ F) | 18 BCFOPT; በዘሞአ ፡ L | 19 BCFLOT; ትምክሕት ፡ P | 20 LT; ወኢለዘተሞአ ፡ BP; ወኢ ፡ ለዘተሞአ ፡ CO; ወኢለዘተሞአ ፡ F | 21 (፤ F) | 22 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; om. F | 23 BCLOPT; እግዚአብሔር ፡ ውእቱ ፡ F | 24 BCLOPT; ዘይመውዕ ፡ F | 25–30 BCLOPT; om. F | 26–27 om. F | 27 (om. F) BCOPT; ፩ ፡ L | 28–29 CFLO; ፩ እግዚአብሔር ፡ BPT | 30 (# BCLOT).

[21] 1 (# CO); BCFLOP; om T | 2–3 COT; om. BFLP; ወአሜሃ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነስረዲን ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኢማም ፡ አሕመድ ፡ በጽባሒሃ ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ ፡ add. BLFP | 4 BCLOPT; መንገለ ፡ F | 5 BCLOPT; om. F | 6 (# COT); BCLOPT; ትግራይ ፡ F | 7 BCLOPT; ወሐረ ፡ F | 8 BCFOPT; አላ ፡ L; ሀለው ፡ add. P | 8–9

ዓበይተ ፡ እምሠራዊቱ ።^b13 እስመ ፡ ኢያንፈሰ ፡¹⁴ መንፈሱ ፡¹⁵ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡¹⁶ ክቡር ፡¹⁷
ወልዑል ፡^c18 እምኃጣውአ ፡¹⁹ ሕዝብ ፡ ወተምዕዖቶሙ ።²⁰ ወሎቱስ ፡ ዓቀቦ ፡
²¹እግዚአብሔር ፡^b ክቡር ፡²² ወልዑል ፡ ነፍሱ ፡²³ እስመ ፡ ነፍሱ ፡ ኩሉ ፡²⁴ ሕዝብ ፡ ስቁል ፡
በነፍሱ ።²⁵ ወምስለ ፡ ዝኒ ፡ ኢያንጎ ፡²⁶ መንፈሰ ፡ ወኢተዓገሠ ፡ እምተበቅሎተ ፡ መሳሌም ።
^b27

[24] ^aዓዲሃ ፡¹ እዴሁኒ ፡² ልዕልት ፡³ ወመጥባሕቱ ፡ ኢገብአት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤታ ።⁴
ወእምድጎረ ፡⁵ ዝንቱ ፡⁶ ተመይጠ ፡⁷ ውስተ ፡⁸ ምድር ፡⁹ ዘከረመ ፡ ባቲ ፡¹⁰ ወረሲያ ፡¹¹ ላቲ ፡
ቤተ ፡ ምክራም ፡¹² ወቤተ ፡ ሐጋይ ።^b13 ወበውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ለብሰት ፡¹⁴ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡
ጎይላ ፡¹⁵ ወአጎዘት ፡¹⁶ ትሐር ፡¹⁷ ጎበ ፡ ዘይትሌዓል ፡ ሕምዘ ፡¹⁸ ይቱሐት ።^c19 ወወድቁ ፡²⁰
^dበውእቱ ፡²¹ መዋዕል ፡^d22 ብዙኃን ፡^eሰብእ ፡²³ እመሳፍንተ ፡^e24 እስላም ፡²⁵ ወእሊአሆሙ ፡²⁶
በኃሊን ፡²⁷ ዘውስተ ፡ እደቂሆሙ ፡²⁸ ለሠራዊት ፡²⁹ ንኡሳን ፡³⁰ እምሠራዊተ ፡^fዝንቱ ፡³¹
ንጉሥ ፡^f32 ክቡር ፡³³ ዘንሕነ ፡³⁴ መስተኃሥሣን ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዜናሁ ።^g35

[25] ^aወሠራዊትሂ ፡¹ እለ ፡ ዝኩራን ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ጌዶራውያን ፡² ወሐቃላውያን ፡^a3 ወተፀውኑ ፡
⁴ ውስተ ፡ ጎፅነ ፡⁵ ደብር ፡^b ልዑል ፡⁶ እምአድባረ ፡^b7 ኢፋት ።⁸ ወበእማንቱ ፡⁹ አዝማን ፡
ፀብአሙ ፡ ነስረዲን ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ሠራዊት ።¹⁰ ወሞእዎ ፡^c11 ወቀተሉ ፡
እምሠራዊቱ ፡¹² አእላፍ ።¹³ ወኮነት ፡¹⁴ መንግሥት ፡¹⁵ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡¹⁶ ወለመሲሐ ፡¹⁷
^dወንጉሥስ ፡¹⁸ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁹ እመኒ ፡ ሞአ ፡ ኢይትዓበይ ፡²⁰ ከመ ፡ ዘሞአ ፡
ወኢይዜሃር ፡ በጎይሉ ፡ ከመ ፡ ከልኣን ፡ ኃያላን ።²¹ አላ ፡²² ትሐት ፡ ውእቱ ፡ በኩሉ ፡

BCOPT; om. F; ልዑል ፡ ወክቡር ፡ tra. L | 19 BCLOPT; በጌጋዩ ፡ F | 20 (# BCLO) | 21 BFLPT; አቀብ ፡ CO | 22-27 om. F | 23 (̄ T); (om. F) OT; om. BLP; ነፍሱ ፡ C | 24 (om. F) BCLOP; om. T | 25 (# BCLO) | 26 (om. F) CO; ወኢያንሂ ፡ BLPT | 27 (# BCLOT).

[24] 1 BCFLOP; ዓዲሂ ፡ T | 1-4 om. F | 2 (om. F) CO; እዴሆን ፡ BLT; እዴሁ ፡ P | 3 (# L) | 4 (# BCO) | 5 BCLOT; ወእምድሃረዝ ፡ P; ወእምዘ ፡ F | 6 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 CFLOP; ተመይጠ ፡ B | 8 BCLOPT; ጎበ ፡ F | 9 (̄ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 10 (̄ T) | 11-13 om. F | 12 (̄ T) | 13 (# CLO) | 14 CFLOP; ልብሰት ፡ B | 15 (̄ T) | 16 (̄ F) | 17 BFLPT; ትሐር ፡ CO | 18 BCFLOP; የእምዘ ፡ T | 18-19 (# BLP); COT; እምዘይቱሐት ፡ BLP; እምዘይቱሐት ̄ F | 20 BCLOPT; om. F | 21 BCLOPT; ወበውእቱ ፡ F | 21-22 om. P | 23-24 om. F | 25 (# L); (̄ T); በውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ add. P | 26 BCLOPT; ሐልቁ ፡ F | 27 (̄ F); BCFLPT; በኩላት ፡ P | 28 (̄ T) | 29 BCLOPT; om. F | 30 BCLOT; ለንዑሳን ፡ F; ጎዳጣን ፡ P | 31-32 BCFLPT; ንጉስ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ tra. P | 33 (̄ F) | 34-35 BCLOPT; om. F | 35 (# CLO).

[25] 1-3 om. F | 2 (̄ T); (om. F) BCOPT; ጌዶራዊያን ፡ L | 4 BCFLOT; ወተፀውኑ ፡ P | 5 BCLOPT; ፅነ ፡ F | 6 (̄ T) | 6-7 om. F | 7 (om. F) COT; እምአድባራት ፡ BLP | 8 (# CFLPOT); COT; ዘኢፋት ፡ BFLP | 9 (om. F) BCLOT; ወበውእቱ ፡ P | 9-11 om. F | 10 (# COT) | 11 (# L); (om. F) BCLOT; ወሞእዎ ፡ P | 12 (om. F) BCLOPT; ብዙኃን ፡ F | 13 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ለብሐ ፡ F; ወይቤ ፡ add. F | 14 BCLOPT; ኮነት ፡ F | 15 COPT; መንግስቶ ፡ BL; መንግስተ ፡ ዓለም ፡ F | 16 BCLOPT; ለእግዚእነ ፡ F | 17 (# CLO) | 18 (om. F) BCLOP; ለንጉሥስ ፡ T | 18-23 om. F | 19 (̄ T) | 20 (om. F) BCLOT; ኢይትዓበይ ፡ P | 21 (# CLO) | 22 (om. F) BCLOT; እለ ፡ P | 23 (# COPT); (om. F) BCOPT; ድብ ፡ L.

ፍናዊሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ዘኢኮነ ፡ ይትሜካሕ ፡ በጽንዑ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ከመ ፡ መሓስኦ ፡ አባግዕ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ በቅድሜሁ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ወድብ ።²³

[26] ምዕራፍ ፡¹፲ወ፩ ።² ወአመ ፡³ ካልእት ፡ ዓመተ ፡⁴ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለማር ፡⁵ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁶ ተጸገወት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ጸጋ ፡ መዊእ ፡ እምእግዚአብሔር ፡⁷ ክቡር ፡⁸ ወልዑል ፡⁹ ወተወጥነት ፡ ግብር ፡ ዘጽሕፍት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዜና ፡ ሐቃላውያን ።¹¹ ወበይእቲ ፡ ዓመት ፡¹² ብዙኃን ፡ ሥራዊት ፡¹³ እምእመናን ፡¹⁴ ዘፈለሱ ፡¹⁵ እምሃይማኖቶሙ ፡¹⁶ ንብ ፡¹⁷ ሃይማኖተ ፡ ተንባላት ፡¹⁸ ገብኡ ፡ ውስተ ፡¹⁹ ሃይማኖታ ፡²⁰ ለቤተ ፡²¹ ክርስቲያን ።²² ወተደመሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ትዕይንተ ፡²³ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡²⁴ ኃያላን ፡ እምትዕይንተ ፡ ኢማም ፡ አሕመድ ፡²⁵ [ወ]እምትዕይንተ ፡ ስምያን ፡ ወዚር ፡²⁶ ወካልአንሂ ፡ መላእክተ ፡ ፀር ።²⁷

[27] ወበዘከመዘ ፡ ግብር ፡ አኅለፋ ፡¹ ክረምታ ፡ ወሐጋያ ፡² ለይእቲ ፡³ ዓመት ፡⁴ ንጉሥ ፡⁵ ክቡር ፡⁶ ማር ፡⁷ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁸ ነቢሮ ፡⁹ ውስተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ምድር ፡ ዘዝክርት ፡¹⁰ ወስምይት ፡¹¹ በስመ ፡¹² ቤተ ፡¹³ ምክራም ፡ ወሐጋይ ።¹⁴ ወኩሉ ፡ ጸሕቁ ፡ ዘአሜሃ ፡ ኢይትሌዕል ፡¹⁵ ላዕለ ፡¹⁶ ምንትኒ ፡¹⁷ እምፈቃዳት ፡¹⁸ ዘእንበለ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ ላዕለ ፡¹⁹ ተቃትሎ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ፀረ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑ ።²⁰ እስመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ቀናኤ ፡²¹ ፈድፋደ ፡²² ለመንግሥት ፡²³ ሰማያዊ ፡²⁴ ወአኮ ፡²⁵ ለመንግሥት ፡ ምድራዊ ።²⁶ ወዝንቲስ ፡²⁷ ተውሳክ ፡²⁸ ውእቱ ፡²⁹ ሎቱ ፡ ህየንተ ፡ ተልዕሎት ፡³⁰ ኃሠሣሁ ፡³¹ ላዕለ ፡³² መንግሥት ፡ ወጽድቅ ፡ አምላካዊ ።³³

[26] 1 BCFL0T; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); BCFLOP; om. T | 1–3 CFLOPT; ምዕራፍ፲ወ፩ ወአመ ፡ B | 2–3 BCFL0T; ፲ወ፩ ወአመ ፡ P | 4 BCFLPT; ዓመት ፡ O | 5–6 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 BCLOPT; እግዚአብሔር ፡ F | 8–9 (om. F) BCLOPT; ወልዑል ፡ ወክቡር ፡ tra. P | 8–11 om. F | 11 (# CLO) | 12 BCLOPT; om. F | 13 (om. F) BCLOPT; እምሠራዊተ ፡ P | 14 (om. F) BCLOPT; ምእመናን ፡ P | 13–14 om. F | 15 BCLOPT; ክህዱ ፡ F | 16 BCLOPT; ሃይማኖቶሙ ፡ F; ወገብኡ ፡ add. P | 17 (om. F) BCLOPT; ውስተ ፡ P | 17–18 om. F | 18 (፻ T); (om. F) BLT; ተንባላት ፡ CO; ተንባላት ፡ P | 19 BCLOPT; ንብ ፡ F | 20 BCLOPT; ሃይማኖቶሙ ፡ F; ዘቀዳሚ ፡ add. F | 21–27 om. F | 22 (# LT) | 23 (om. F) CP; ትዕይንት ፡ BLOT | 24 (om. F) CLOPT; ውበዙኃን ፡ B | 25 (፻ T) | 26 (# CLT) | 27 (# L).

[27] 1 BCFOPT; አሕለፋ ፡ L; ለዛቲ ፡ add. F | 2 BCFOPT; ወአሐገያ ፡ L | 3 ወሐጋያ ፡ ለይእቲ ፡ add. F | 4 (# L) | 5–6 BCFL0T; ክቡር ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ tra. P | 7 CFLOPT; ማር ፡ B | 8 (፻ FT) | 9–10 BCLOPT; om. F | 11 BCOP; ወስምይት ፡ L; ወሰምያ ፡ F | 12–13 om. F | 14 (# L); BCLOPT; om. F | 15 COPT; ይትሌዕል ፡ L; ይትሌዓል ፡ BF | 16 BCFL0T; ለእለ ፡ P | 17 BCO; ምንትኒ ፡ FLPT | 18 BCFL0T; እምፈቃዳት ፡ P | 19 BCLOPT; ንብ ፡ F | 20 (# CLO) | 21 BCFLOP; ቀናኒ ፡ T | 22 BCLOPT; om. F | 23 BCLOPT; ለመንግሥተ ፡ F | 24 COT; ምድራዊ ፡ BLP; ሰማያት ፡ F; አእሚሮ ፡ ከመ ፡ add. F | 25–26 om. BFLP | 26 (# COT) | 27 BCLOPT; ውእቱ ፡ F | 28 CPT; ተውሳክ ፡ O; ተውሳክ ፡ BL; ተሳውክ ፡ F | 29 (om. F) CLOPT; om. B | 29–33 om. F | 30 con.; (om. F); ተልዕሎተ ፡ BCLOPT | 31 (om. F) COT; ዘኃሠሣሁ ፡ BLP | 32 (om. F) BCLOPT; ለእለ ፡ P | 33 (# BLOT).

[28] ልምድ፡፡¹ ፲ወ፪ ፡² ወአመ ፡³ ካልእት ፡ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁴ ካዕበ ፡⁵ ሞአት ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ትግራት ፡⁶ ላዕለ ፡⁷ ፀብአ ፡⁸ ነገደ ፡ ተንባላት ፡⁹ ዘመንገለ ፡ አረፍታ ፡ ኅዳጠ ፡ ክፍለ ፡ መዊእ ፡¹⁰ እስመ ፡¹¹ ፍጻሜ ፡ መዊእስ ፡ ኢተውህበ ፡¹² ዘእንበለ ፡ ለማር ፡¹³ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ሰላም ፡¹⁴ ወኢኮነ ፡ አሜሃ ፡ ዘሀለወ ፡ በምድረ ፡ ትግራይ ፡¹⁵ አላ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ዘዘከርናሃ ፡¹⁶ በእንተዝ ፡ ኢክህለት ፡ ትብጻሕ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ መዊእ ፡ ቤተክርስቲያን ፡ ዘዘከርናሃ ፡ በእርሰ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነገር ፡¹⁷ እስመ ፡ ርእሳ ፡ ለቤተክርስቲያን ፡ ሄሞ ፡¹⁸ እምታሕቴሁ ፡¹⁹ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ርእሰ ፡²⁰ ዘቡቱ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ልደጸንዕ ፡²¹ መሊያልዩ ፡²²

[29] ወምክንያትሰ ፡ ዘቡቱ ፡¹ ሞአት ፡² ቤተ ፡³ ክርስቲያን ፡⁴ አሜሃ ፡⁵ እስመ ፡⁶ በይእቲ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ዐርጉ ፡ እምባሕር ፡⁷ ደቂቀ ፡ ቶቤል ፡⁸ ወልደ ፡ ያፌት ፡⁹ ህዕደው ፡¹⁰ ኃያላን ፡¹¹ ወጽኑዓን ፡¹² እለ ፡¹³ ጽሙአን ፡¹⁴ ለፀብእ ፡¹⁵ ከመ ፡ ተኩላ ፡ ወርኑባን ፡ ለቀትል ፡¹⁶ ከመ ፡ ሓንበሳ ፡¹⁷ እሉ ፡¹⁸ ረድእዋ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘዘከርት ፡ ላዕለ ፡¹⁹ ፀብአ ፡ ተንባላት ፡²⁰ ወወጠኑ ፡ መዊእ ፡²¹ ሶበሰ ፡²² ሐለዩ ፡ በጺሐ ፡²³ ኅበ ፡²⁴ ፍጻሜ ፡²⁵ መዊእ ፡ ዘኢተውህበ ፡²⁶ ሎሙ ፡ ፀብአሙ ፡²⁷ ኢማም ፡ አሕመድ ፡²⁸ ወቀተለ ፡ መብዝህቶሙ ፡ ወአዕቀጸ ፡²⁹ ኅሩያኒሆሙ ፡³⁰

[30] ወቀተሎ ፡ ለሊቆሙ ፡ ኃያል ፡ ወጽኑዕ ፡ ዘልቡ ፡¹ ከመ ፡ ኃሂን ፡² ውብርት ፡ በቀትል ፡³ ዘኢይደሉ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ እኅዘት ፡⁴ ወተሞቅሐ ፡⁵ ዘውእቲ ፡ መክፈልተ ፡

[28] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 1–2 om. F | 2–3 (1–2 om. F) CFLOT; ፲ወ፪ወአመ ፡ BP | 2 (# CLO); (om.F) BCFL0; om. T | 4 (፲ LT) | 5 BCLOPT; ወካዕበ ፡ F | 6 BLOPT; ትግራይ ፡ C; ሰብዓ ፡ ትግራይ ፡ F | 7–17 om. F | 8 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 9 (፲ T); (om. F) BLT; ተንባላት ፡ CO; ተንባላት ፡ P | 10 (# CLOT) | 11 (om. F) COT; እስከ ፡ BLP | 12 (om. F) BCLOT; ኢተውህበት ፡ P | 13 (om. F) CLOT; ማር ፡ BP | 14 (# CLO) | 15 (፲ T) | 16 (#COT) | 17 (# BLT); (# P) | 18 BCLOPT; ሲሞ ፡ F | 19 BCLOPT; om. F; እግዚእነ ፡ add. F | 20 BCLOPT; om. F | 21–22 BCLOPT; መሊያልዩ ፡ ይጸንዕ ፡ tra.. F | 22 (# COT); CFLOT; መሊያልዩ ፡ BP.

[29] 1 BCLOT; om. FP | 2 BCLOT; ዘሞአት ፡ P; ዘመጽዓት ፡ F; ቦተ ፡ add. F | 2–3 BCFLOP; ፲ቤተ ፡ T | 4 BCFLOT; ክርስቶስ ፡ P | 5 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; om. F | 6 BCLOPT; post ዓመት ፡ tra. F | 7 (፲ T) | 8 (፲ T); ዘውእቲ ፡ add. F | 9 (፲ T) | 10–12 om. F | 11 (፲ T) | 13 BCFLOP; እሉ ፡ T | 14 BCLOPT; ጽሙዓን ፡ F | 15 BCFLOT; ለቀትል ፡ P | 16 (# COT) | 17–20 om. F | 18 (om. F) BCLOT; እለ ፡ P | 19 (om. F) BCOT; ለእለ ፡ LP | 20 (፲ LT); (om. F) BFLT; ተንባላት ፡ CO; ተንባላት ፡ P | 21 (# COT); COT; መዊዓ ፡ BFLP | 22 BCFLOP; ሶበ ፡ T | 23 BCFL0T; በጺሐ ፡ P | 24 ኅበ ፡ add. F | 25 መፍቀድ ፡ add. F | 26 BCLOPT; ኢተውህበ ፡ F | 27 (፲ LT); BCLOPT; ወጽብአሙ ፡ F | 28 (፲ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 29 BCFL0T; ወአቀጸ ፡ P | 30 (# CLOT).

[30] 1 BCFLOP; ልቡ ፡ T | 2 (፲ T) | 3 BCFLOP; ለቀትል ፡ T | 4 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; om. F | 5 (፲ T); ሊቆሙ ፡ add. F | 6 BCLOPT; አብይን ፡ F | 7 (# CLOT) | 7–8 om. F | 9 BCLO; ኮነ ፡ FT; om. P | 10 COPT; በእራቅይናሁ ፡ BL; በዕርይቅናሁ ፡ F | 11 (፲ F) | 12 (# BCLOT); CFLOPT; ወአዘዘ ፡ B | 13 (፲ T) | 14 BCLOPT; om. F | 15 BCLOPT; ይከሥታ ፡ F; ለይእቲ ፡ add. F | 16 BCLOPT; መጽሐፍ ፡ F | 17 (፲ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 18 (# L); BCLOT; ማኅተሚሃ ፡ FP | 19–20 om. F | 20 (# COT) | 21 BCLOPT;

ድኩማን ፡⁶ _a ወፅዑላን ፡⁷ ወዝንቱ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዘረከረሙ ፡⁸ እስመ ፡ አሜሃ ፡ ኢኮነ ፡⁹ ፀብአሙ ፡ በአራቅይናሁ ፡¹⁰ ለማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ዘሎቱ ፡ መዊእ ፡¹¹ ወዕዘዝ ፡¹² ወዘሎቱ ፡¹³ ደለወ ፡ ከመ ፡¹⁴ ይክሥታ ፡¹⁵ ለመጽሐፍ ፡¹⁶ ጎትምት ፡ ዘመናዊት ፡¹⁷ ወይፍታሕ ፡ ማጎተማ ፡¹⁸ _b ወይሰመይ ፡¹⁹ መዋኤ ፡²⁰ ወይትሌበው ፡²¹ ዝንቱ ፡ እምሥርዐተ ፡ ሞቱ ፡²² ለኢማም ፡ አሕመድ ፡²³ በእዴሁ ፡²⁴ ለማር ፡²⁵ ገላውዴዎስ ፡²⁶ ኩሎ ፡ ዜና ፡ ሞቱ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ እፎ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ፍነብር ፡²⁷ ድጎረ ፡²⁸ ወንጽሕፎ ፡ ውስተ ፡²⁹ ተጽሕፎ ፡³⁰ ዘይሰነአዎ ፡³¹

[31] _a ምዕራፍ ፡¹ _b ፲ወ፫ ፡² ወበይእቲ ፡³ _{ab} ዓመት ፡⁴ ፈነወ ፡⁵ እግዚአብሔር ፡ _{cd} ክቡር ፡⁶ ወልዑል ፡⁷ ሣህሎ ፡⁸ ውስተ ፡ ኩላ ፡⁹ ምድረ ፡ አግዓዚ ፡¹⁰ ወአምጽአ ፡ ሰላመ ፡ ለብሔር ፡¹¹ በእደ ፡ መልአኩ ፡¹² በዓለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡¹³ ዜና ፡ ሠናይ ፡¹⁴ ኩሎሙ ፡¹⁵ ሕዝብ ፡ እድ ፡ ወአንስት ፡ እለ ፡ ኮነ ፡¹⁶ _e ይሜጽሩ ፡¹⁷ ሥርወ ፡¹⁸ ዕፅ ፡¹⁹ እምዐቢይ ፡ ረኅብ ፡ ዘላዕሌሆሙ ፡²⁰ ኬድዎ ፡ ለኅብስት ፡ በእገሪሆሙ ፡²¹ ከመ ፡ እብን ፡_f በውእቱ ፡²² ዓም ፡²³ ወሰብእ ፡ እለ ፡ ክዱናን ፡²⁴ ማእስ ፡_f አስተርአዩ ፡²⁵ _g በአልባስ ፡²⁶ ፀዓድው ፡²⁷ ፀዓድው ፡²⁸

[32] ወተአተተ ፡¹ መጥባሕቱ ፡² ለመልአከ ፡ ሞት ፡ ዘከደና ፡ ለምድር ፡ ኩለንታሃ ፡ _a ከመ ፡³ ጊሜ ፡_a ፡⁴ በጸሎቱ ፡ ወበስእላቱ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ _b ንጉሥ ፡⁵ ዘውክፍት ፡ መሥዋዕቱ ፡⁶ _c ከመ ፡⁷ መሥዋዕት ፡_c ፡⁸ ዘወደ ፡⁹ ኦርና ፡¹⁰ ድምፀ ፡¹¹ ማጎሌት ፡¹² ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ መርኅብ ፡ ህየንተ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ሰቆቃው ፡ ዘኃለፈ ፡¹³ በልዩ ፡¹⁴ ኃዘን ፡¹⁵ ወተወለጠ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሞጣሕት ፡¹⁶ ተሐደሰ ፡¹⁷ ወወርዘወ ፡ ትፍሥሕት ፡ ዘተረከዐ ፡¹⁸ ወማሰነ ፡¹⁹ ወኃለፈ ፡ መዋዕሊሁ ፡_b ፡²⁰ ደቂቅ ፡ ረከቡ ፡ ሐሊብ ፡ ዘይትወግዑ ፡²¹ ወአዕሩግ ፡²² አጥረዩ ፡²³ ቅብአ ፡ በዘይጠልል ፡²⁴ ሲቡቶሙ ፡²⁵

ወይትሌቦ ፡ F | 22 (፻ T) | 23 (፻ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 24 BCLOPT; በእደ ፡ F | 25 BCLOPT; ማር ፡ F | 26 (# L) | 27–28 om. F | 29 BCLOPT; ወስተ ፡ F | 30 BCLOPT; om. F | 31 (# BCFLot).

[31] 1 BCFLot; lac. P | 1–3 ምዕራፍ ፲ወ፫ ወበይእቲ ፡ B | 2 (# CO); BCFLot; om. T | 2–3 BCFLot; ፲ወ፫ ወበይእቲ ፡ P | 4 (፻ T) | 5 BCP; ተፈነወ ፡ LOT ; አምጽአ ፡ F | 6–7 CFLOPT; ልዑል ፡ ክቡር ፡ B | 6–8 om. F | 9 COT; om. BFLP | 10 (፻ T) | 11 (፻ T) | 12 BCLOPT; መልአከ ፡ F | 13 BCLOPT; ዝክር ፡ F | 14 (# CO) | 15 BCLOPT; om. F | 16 BCLOPT; ዘነበሩ ፡ F | 17–19 BCLOPT; ሥርወ ፡ ዕፅ ፡ ይሜጽሩ ፡ tra. F | 18 እንዝ ፡ add. F | 20 BCFLot; ዘበእሌሆሙ ፡ P | 21 BCLOPT; om. F | 22–25 om. F | 23 (፻ T) | 24 (om. F) CO; ክዱን ፡ BLPT | 26 BCLOPT; ወአስተርአዩ ፡ F | 27–28 BCLOPT; በፀዓድው ፡ አልባስ ፡ tra. F | 28 (# CLO); BCFLot; ፀዓድው ፡ T.

[32] 1 BCFLot; አተተ ፡ P | 2 BCFLot; ወመጥባሕቱ ፡ P | 3–4 om. F | 4 (om. F) BCLOT; ጊሜ ፡ P | 5 (፻ T) | 5–20 om. F | 6 (፻ L) | 7–8 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 8 (፻ T); (om. F) BCLOP; መሥዋዕቱ ፡ T | 9 (om. F) CO; ዘአደወ ፡ BLPT | 10 (# CLO) | 11 (om. F) BCOT; ደምፀ ፡ LP | 12 (፻ T) | 13 (# O) | 14 (፻ L) | 15 (፻ T) | 16 (om. F) BCLOT; ምጥሕት ፡ P; ተወለጠ ፡ add. P | 17 (፻ T); (om. F) BCLOT; ወተሐደሰ ፡ P | 18 (om. F) T; ዘረከዐ ፡ BCFLot; ፍዳ ፡ add. F | 19 (፻LT); BCLOPT; ማሰነ ፡ F | 20 BCLOT; መዋዕሊሆሙ ፡ P; ኩሉ ፡ F | 21 BCLOPT; ዘይትወግዑ ፡ F; ወረከቡ ፡ add. F | 22 BCLOT; አዕሩግ ፡ F | 23 BCLOPT; om. F | 24 BLPT; በዘ ፡ ይጠልል ፡ CO; በዘይጠልሉ ፡ F | 25 (# CLOT); BCLOT; ሲቡቶ ፡ F. .

[33] ሰማይ ፡ ወሀበ ፡ ዝኖመ ፡¹ ወምድርኒ ፡ ወሀበት ፡ ፍሬሃ ፡² ኩሎ ፡ ^aፍግዐ ፡³
 ወተድላ ፡⁴ ^bወሠናይተ ፡⁵ ዘኮነ ፡ ^cበበ ፡⁶ ዘመኑ ፡⁷ ንጽሕፍ ፡ ^dበበ ፡⁸ መትሎ ፡ ^d⁹ ውስተ ፡
 አንቀጽ ፡ ዘስንእው ፡¹⁰ ወበዐለ ፡¹¹ ስንእስ ፡ ^dውእቱ ፡¹² ኔግዚአብሔር ፡^d¹³ ይትባረክ ፡¹⁴
 ስሙ ፡¹⁵ ንዑ ፡ ኩልክሙ ፡ ማኅበረ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡¹⁶ ናስተብፅዖ ፡¹⁷ ለንጉሥ ፡ ጌር ፡
 ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁸ ዘበእዱ ፡ መጽአት ፡ ሠናይት ፡¹⁹ እስመ ፡²⁰ ጽሑፍ ፡ ዘይብል ፡²¹
 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ያመጽእ ፡ ሠናይተ ፡²² ለሀገር ፡^b²³ ወባሕቱ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡²⁴ ዘበእዱ ፡²⁵ መጽአት ፡
²⁶ ሠናይት ፡²⁷ ^f ^g ወከማሁ ፡²⁸ ተብህለ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መንሱትኒ ፡²⁹ እግዚአብሔር ፡³⁰ ያመጽእ ፡
 መንሱተ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ብሔር ፡³¹ ወባሕቱ ፡ ^hአሌ ፡³² ሎቱ ፡³³ ⁱለዘ ፡³⁴ በእዱ ፡³⁵ ትመጽእ ፡
 መንሱት ፡³⁶

[34] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ^a፲ወ፬ ፡² ወአመ ፡³ ሣልስ ፡⁴ ዓመት ፡⁵ እመንግሥተ ፡⁶ ^bክቡር ፡⁷ ማር ፡
 ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁸ ተባብአሙ ፡ ካዕበ ፡⁹ ንጉሥ ፡¹⁰ ነስረዲን ፡¹¹ ለእለ ፡ ጌዶር ፡¹² እለ ፡¹³
 ዝኩራን ፡^c¹⁴ በወርታ ፡¹⁵ ቲቶ ፡ ^dቀዳማይ ፡¹⁶ ወርኅ ፡ እምአውራኅ ፡¹⁷ መስከረም ፡
 ወኢትዮጵያ ፡^d¹⁸ በብዝታ ፡¹⁹ ፀብእ ፡ ዘዘዚአሁ ፡²⁰ ወሞእዎ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡²¹ በጽላሎቱ ፡
 ለንጉሥ ፡²² ቅብእ ፡²³ ዘሀሎ ፡ ጥቃሖሙ ፤ ወቀተሉ ፡ አእላፊ ፡²⁴ እምዐበይቱ ፡²⁵ ለአፍራስኒ ፡
 ረሰይዎሙ ፡ ሰቂማ ፡²⁶

[35] ወተካፊልዎሙ ፡¹ ወለመስተፅዕናን ፡² ነጽሕዎሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ^aኩኩሕ ፡³
 ወበእንተ ፡⁴ ዝንቱ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ወረደ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ድንጋዔ ፡⁵ ሞተ ፡⁶ ግብተ ፡⁷ ንጉሥ ፡⁸ ነስረዲን ፡⁹

[33] 1 (̄ LT); BCLPT; ዝኖሞ ፡ FO | 2 (̄ T) | 3–4 BCLOPT; ተድላ ፡ ወፍግዓ ፡ tra. F | 5–23 om. F | 6–7 (om. F) CO; በበዘመኑ ፡ BLP; በዘመኑ ፡ T | 7 (# L); (̄ T) | 8–9 (om. F) CO; በበመትሎ ፡ BPT; በበመትሎሁ ፡ L | 10 (# CLO) | 11 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 12–13 (om. F) BCLOT; እግዚአብሔር ፡ ውእቱ ፡ tra. P | 13–14 (# T); (om. F) BCLOP; ይትባረክ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ tra. T | 15 (# CLO) | 16 (# L) | 17 (̄ T) | 18 (̄ T) | 19 (# L); (̄ T) | 20–27 (om. F) BCLOPT; om. B | 21 (om. BF) CLOPT; ይብል ፡ L | 22 (om. BF) CLPT; ሠናይት ፡ O | 23 (# L); (̄ T); (om. F) BCLOT; ለብሔር ፡ P | 24 BCLOPT; om. F; add. ብእሲ ፡ F | 25 (# O) | 26 BCLOPT; ይረክብ ፡ F | 27 (# CFLO); BCLOPT; ለሠናይት ፡ F | 28–36 om. F | 29 (# L); (om. F) BCLOT; እኪትኒ ፡ P | 30 (̄ T) | 31 (# L) | 32–33 (om. F) BCOP; አሌሎተ ፡ L | 34–35 (om. F) BCOP; ለዘበእዱ ፡ LT | 36 (# CLOT).

[34] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# BCO); BCFLOP; om. T | 2–3 BCFLOT; ፲ወ፬ወአመ ፡ P | 4 BCLOP; ሣልሲት ፡ F; ሣልሰት ፡ T | 5 CLO; ዓመተ ፡ BFPT | 6 BCOT; መንግሥቱ ፡ FP; እመንግሥት ፡ L | 7 BCFLOT; ለክቡር ፡ P | 7–8 BCLOPT; om. F | 9 COT; om. BFLP | 10 (̄ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 11 (̄ T) | 12 (̄ T); BCLOPT; ጌዶን ፡ F | 13–14 BCLOPT; om. F | 15 (̄ T) | 16 (̄ T) | 17 CFLOPT; እምወርታ ፡ B | 16–18 om. F | 18 (̄ T); (om. F) CLOPT; ዘኢትዮጵያ ፡ B | 19 BCFLOT; ዝታ ፡ P | 20 (# LO); (̄ T); BCOT; om. F; ዘዚአሁ ፡ L; በዘዚአሁ ፡ P | 21 BCLOPT; om. F | 22 (# L); (̄ T) | 23 (om. F) CO; ቅብዕ ፡ BLPT | 23–26 om. F | 24 (̄ T) | 25 (# L); (om. F) BCLOT; እምትዕይንቱ ፡ P | 26 (# CO T).

[35] 1 BCLOPT; ወተካፊሉ ፡ F | 2 BCLOPT; ምህርኅ ፡ ብዙታ ፡ F | 3 (# COL); (̄ T) | 3–5 om. F | 4 (om. F) BCLOT; ወእምድህረ ፡ P | 6 BCOT; ወሞተ ፡ F; ሞት ፡ LP | 7 (̄ T); CFOT; ግብተ ፡ BLP | 8 BCLOPT; om. F | 9 ግብተ ፡ እስመ ፡ አኃዘ ፡ ድንጋዔ ፡ add. F | 10–12 om. F | 11 (om. F) COT; ዕለተ ፡ BLP | 12 (# COL); (̄ T) | 13 BCFLPT; አስትይዎ ፡ O | 14 (# L); (̄ T) | 15 COT; om. BFLP; አስተይዎ ፡

b እንበለ ፡¹⁰ ይትወዛቅ ፡ ምክንያተ ፡¹¹ ሞቱ ።¹² ቦዘይቤ ፡ አስተይዎ ፡¹³ ጎምዘ ፡¹⁴ ወቦ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ ሞተ ፡¹⁵ ርበሕማመ ፡¹⁶ ነፍስ ፡ ዘይቀትል ፡ ግብተ ፡ በንፍሐቱ ።¹⁷ ልህነ ፡¹⁸ አልብነ ፡ መፍቅድ ፡¹⁹ ለአጽድቆ ፡²⁰ ዝንቱ ፡ ዜና ፡²¹ ባሕቱ ፡²² ስቡሕ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘቀተሎ ።²³

[36] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፲ወ፩ ።² ወበዛቲ ፡³ ዓመት ፡⁴ በሳብዕ ፡ ወርኅ ፡⁵ ወርኃ ፡ ርታስሪን ፡⁶ ቀዳማይ ፡⁷ እምአውራኃ ፡ ፍጥረተ ፡⁸ ዓለም ፡⁹ ዘውእቱ ፡ ካልእ ፡ ወርኅ ፡¹⁰ እምወርኃ ፡¹¹ በዊኦቱ ፡¹² ለፀሐይ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መስኮት ፡ ማእከላዊ ፡¹³ ዘየዐቢ ፡ እመሳክው ፡¹⁴ በከመ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ፈለክ ፡¹⁵ ሶርያዊ ፡¹⁶ አርትዐ ፡¹⁷ ፍኖቶ ፡¹⁸ ንጉሥ ፡¹⁹ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ር²⁰ መንገለ ፡²¹ ትግራይ ፡²² ኅበ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡²³ ልኢማም ፡²⁴ አሕመድ ፡²⁵ ወኩሎሙ ፡ ሠራዊቱ ።²⁶ ወምስሌሁ ፡²⁷ ኅቡረ ፡²⁸ ማርቆስ ፡²⁹ አፍርንጋዊ ፡³⁰ ዘመጽአ ፡ ምስለ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡³¹ መልእክቶሙ ፡ ለአፍርንጅ ፡³² ዘጸሐፉ ፡³³ ኅቤሁ ፡³⁴ እንዘ ፡³⁵ ይጌጉእዎ ፡³⁶ ከመ ፡ ይሂም ፡³⁷ ጽላሎቶ ፡³⁸ ተስተ ፡³⁹ ትዕይንቶሙ ፡ ወይድኃኑ ፡ በጽላሎቱ ፡⁴⁰ እመዓተ ፡⁴¹ አሕዛብ ።⁴²

[37] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፲ወ፪ ።² ወበወርኃ ፡³ ርታስሪን ፡⁴ ርዳማይ ፡⁵ ዘውእቱ ፡ ሳምናይ ፡⁶ ወርኅ ፡ እምአውራኃ ፡ ዕብራዊያን ፡⁷ ወሃልሳይ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ እምአውራኃ ፡ ፩ ፡ አህጉር ፡⁸ በጽሐ ፡ ምድረ ፡⁹ ወገራ ።¹⁰ ርወገብረ ፡¹¹ ፀብአ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኃያላኒሁ ፡¹² ለኢማም ፡¹³ አሕመድ ፡ ወሞአሙ ፡¹⁴ ወቀተሎ ፡¹⁵ ልስኢድ ፡¹⁶ ምሕመድ ፡ ሊቀ ፡¹⁷ ሠራዊተ ፡¹⁸ ርፀብእ ።¹⁹ ወደበየ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ አብያተ ፡ መሰሊማን ፡²⁰ እለ ፡ ህየ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ዘአውዐየ ፡ በእሳት ፡

add. BFLP | 16–17 በሕይወተ ፡ ነፍሱ ፤ ወአግብኡ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እደ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ F | 17 (# COT) | 18–23 om. F | 19 (om. F) BCLPT; መፍቅድ ፡ O | 20 (om. F) BCLOT; ለአጽድቆተ ፡ P | 21 (፻ T) | 22 (om. F) BCOPT; ባሕቱ ፡ L | 23 (# BCLOT).

[36] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# BCLOT); BCFLOP; om. T | 2–3 CFLOT; ፲ወ፩ ወበዛቲ ፡ BP | 4 (፻ T) | 5 CFLOPT; ወርኃ ፡ B; ወርኃ ፡ add. L | 6–16 om. F | 7 (፻ T) | 8 (om. F) COT; ፍጥረት ፡ BLP | 9 (# L); (om. F) COT; ዘዓለም ፡ BLP | 10 (፻ T); (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 11 (om. F) BCLOP; እምአውራኃ ፡ T | 12 (om. F) CP; በውእቱ ፡ BLOT | 13 (፻ T) | 14 (# CLO) | 15 (om. F) BCLOP; ፈለክ ፡ T | 17 ሐዊረ ፡ add. F | 18–20 om. F | 18 (፻ T) | 19 (om. F) CLOPT; om. B | 21 BCLOPT; ኅበ ፡ F | 22 BCLOPT; ትግራይ ፡ F; ንጉሥ ፡ add. F | 23 CO; ሀለው ፡ BFLPT | 24–27 om. F | 25 (፻ T) | 26 (# CLO) | 28 COT; ኅብረ ፡ BP; እለ ፡ F; ኃብር ፡ L | 29 (፻ F) | 30 (፻ F); BCLOPT; om. F | 31 BCLOPT; om. F | 32 (፻ T) | 33–34 BCLOPT; ዘፈነው ፡ F | 35 BCFLPT; እንተ ፡ O | 36 BCFLPT; ይጌጉእዎ ፡ P | 37 CFLOT; ይሂም ፡ BP | 38 (፻ FT); BCLOPT; ጽላሎቶ ፡ F | 39–41 om. F | 40 (om. F) BCLOT; በጽላሎቱ ፡ P | 41 ከመ ፡ ያምላጡ ፡ እምአሕዛብ ፡ add. F | 42 (# CLOT).

[37] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# BCLOT); BCFLOP; om. T | 2–3 CFLOT; ፲ወ፪ ወበወርኃ ፡ BP | 4 BCFOPT; ርታስሪን ፡ L | 5–8 BCLOPT; om. F | 6 (፻ T) | 7 (፻ T) | 9 BCLOPT; om. F | 10 (# CLO) | 11–13 BCLOPT; ወሰሚዓ ፡ አህመድ ፡ ተራከቦ ፡ F | 12 (፻ T) | 14 BCLOPT; ወሞአ ፡ F; ንጉሥ ፡ add. F | 15 (፻ T) | 16–17 BCLOPT; om. F | 17 ሊቀ ፡ add. F | 18 BCLOPT; ሠራዊቱ ፡ F | 19 (# CLO) | 19–21 BCLOPT; ወበሳኒታ ፡ ፀብዓ ፡ ሀገር ዘታህተ ፡ እሳም ፡ F | 20 BCFLPT; መሰሊማን ፡ P | 21 (# CLO) | 22 (፻ T) | 23 (# BCLPOT); በቤተ ፡ add. P.

መግህረክ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ አህጉራተ ፡ ዘታሕተ ፡ ቅኔሆሙ ፡ ለእስላም ፡²¹ ዛቲ ፡ ይእቲ ፡²² ቀዳሚት ፡ መዊእ ፡ ዘኮነት ፡ በእዴሁ ፡ ለማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ትእምርተ ፡ መዊኦቱ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡²³

[38] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፲ወ፯ ፡² ወበዝዩ ፡³ ንንግር ፡⁴ ንስቲተ ፡ እምትሩፋቲሁ ፡ ወጎዳጠ ፡⁵ እምግዕዛቲሁ ፡ ውዱሳት ፡⁶ ዜና ፡ መዊኦቱስ ፡⁷ ዘማእከል ፡ ወዘፍጻሚ ፡⁸ ናዩድዕ ፡⁹ ድጎረ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡¹⁰ ያረትዕ ፡¹¹ ከመዝ ፡ ውእቱ ፡¹² ግዕዙ ፡¹³ ዘርኢነ ፡ ወዘሰማዕነ ፡¹⁴ ወዘጠየቅነ ፡¹⁵ ያፈቅሮ ፡¹⁶ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡¹⁷ በኩሉ ፡ ልቡ ፡¹⁸ ርወበኩሉ ፡¹⁹ ኃይሉ ፡²⁰ ወበኩሉ ፡ ነፍሱ ፡²¹ ወያፈቅር ፡²² ቢጸ ፡ ከመ ፡ ነፍሱ ፡²³ ዓዲ ፡ ውእቱ ፡²⁴ መሓሪ ፡²⁵ ዘርጎሩጎ ፡ ልቡ ፡²⁶ ለኩሉ ፡ ፍጥረት ፡ ለሰብእ ፡²⁷ ወለእንስሳ ፡²⁸ ለአዕዋፍ ፡²⁹ ወለአራዊት ፡³⁰ ወኩሉ ፡ ዘይሬኢ ፡³¹ መስተምህር ፡³²

[39] ወሶበ ፡ ይሔሊ ፡¹ ትካዝ ፡² ቢጸ ፡³ ያውጎዛ ፡⁴ አዕይንቲሁ ፡⁵ አንብዐ ፡ እምብዝታ ፡⁶ ምሕረት ፡⁷ ዘውስተ ፡ ልቡ ፡⁸ ውእቱ ፡ ትሑት ፡ ፈድፋደ ፡ ዘኢይፈቅድ ፡ ተልዕሎ ፡⁹ ዲበ ፡ ደብር ፡¹⁰ ልዑል ፡¹¹ ዘለ ፡ ዝኩራን ፡¹² ውእቱመ ፡¹³ ኢተመካሒ ፡¹⁴ አመ ፡ ይመውእ ፡¹⁵ ወኢተኃፋሪ ፡¹⁶ አመ ፡ ይትመዋእ ፡¹⁷ በከመ ፡¹⁸ ንቤ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡¹⁹ እስመ ፡ የአምር ፡ ከመ ፡ የም ፡ ሎቱ ፡²⁰ ወጌሠም ፡ ለካልኡ ፡²¹ ወካዕበ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ንጹሐ ፡ ልብ ፡ ዘኢይትቤቀሎ ፡²² ርለዘ ፡²³ አሕሰመ ፡²⁴ ላዕሌሁ ፡²⁵ ወያሤኒ ፡²⁶ ሎቱ ፡ ከመ ፡²⁷ ኢሐዱ ፡²⁸ እምእለ ፡²⁹ አሠነዩ ፡³⁰ ሎቱ ፡³¹ እስመ ፡ ለብሰ ፡ አምሳሊሁ ፡³² ለብእሲ ፡³³ ሰማያዊ ፡³⁴ ዘይቤ ፡ በምሒር ፡³⁵

[38] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# BCLO); BCFLOP; om. T | 2-3 BCFLOT; ፲ወ፯ወበዝዩ ፡ P | 3 BCFOPT; በዝዩ ፡ L | 4 BCFLOT; ንንግር ፡ P | 5 BCFLOT; ወጎዳጠ ፡ P | 6 (# BCLOT) | 7 (፻ T) | 8 (፻ T); እንዘ ፡ add. P | 9 BCFLOT; ናዩድዕኦ ፡ P | 10 BCFLOT; እግዚእ ፡ P | 11 (# BCLO) | 12 (፻ T) | 12-15 om. F | 13 (om. F) COT; ግዕዝ ፡ BLP | 14 (፻ T) | 15 (# BCLO); መዊኦ ፡ እስመ ፡ add. F | 16 BCLOPT; ያፈቅር ፡ F | 17 BCFOPT; እግዚአብሔር ፡ L | 18 (፻ T) | 19-20 om. F | 21 (# BCLOT) | 22-32 om. F | 23 (# BCLO) | 24-25 (om. F) COT; መሓሪ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ tra. BLP | 26 (፻ T) | 27 (፻ T) | 28 (om. F) BCLOPT; ወእንስሳ ፡ L | 29-30 (om. F) COT; ወለአራዊት ፡ ወለአዕዋፍ ፡ BLP | 30 (# BCLOT) | 31 (፻ T) | 32 (# BCLO).

[39] 1 BCLOPT; ይሔሊ ፡ F; ይሄሉ ፡ L | 2 BCFLPT; ትካዝተ ፡ O | 3 BCLOPT; ካልኡ ፡ F | 4 COPT; ያውጎዛ ፡ BLF | 5 (፻ T); COT; በአዕይንቲሁ ፡ BLP; om. F | 6-9 om. F | 7 (፻ T) | 8 (# COT) | 9 (፻ T); (om. F) BCLOT; ተልዕሎ ፡ P | 10 BCLOPT; ምድር ፡ F | 11 (፻ T) | 12 (# CO); CFO; ዘለዝኩራን ፡ BLPT | 13 BCLOPT; ውእቱስ ፡ F | 14 BCFLOT; ዘኢተመካሒ ፡ P | 15 (፻ T) | 16 CLOPT; ወኢተኃፋሪ ፡ B; ወኢየኃፍር ፡ F | 17 (፻ T) | 18 (om. F) BCLOPT; ከመ ፡ L | 18-19 om. F | 19 (# BCLO) | 20 (፻ T) | 21 (# BCLOT) | 22 BCLOPT; እምብቀልወቂም ፡ F | 23-24 CO; ለዘአሕሰመ ፡ BFLPT | 25 (፻ T) | 26 BCFOPT; ወያሤኒ ፡ L | 27-30 om. F | 28 (om. F) BCLOPT; ፩ ፡ L | 28-29 (om. F) CLO; ፩እምእለ ፡ BPT | 31 (# L); (፻ T) | 32 BCLOPT; አምሰሎ ፡ F | 33 (፻ T); BCLOT; ሰብእ ፡ F; om. P | 34 BCFLOT; ለሰማያዊ ፡ P | 35 BCOP; መምህር ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ F; በምህር ፡ LT | 36 BCLOPT; አቅሩ ፡ F | 37 (# L); (፻ T) | 38-40 om. F | 39 (om. F) CLOPT; ምግባር ፡ B | 41 BCLOPT; ወእለ ፡ F | 42 (# L); አስተሰረየ ፡ እንዘ ፡ add. F | 43 BCLOPT; ይብል ፡ F | 44 BCLOT; ሰረይ ፡ FP | 45 ወኢትረሲ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ add. P | 46 (# CLO).

አፍቅሩ፣³⁶ ጸላእተክሙ፣³⁷ ወዘአርአየ፣³⁸ በምግባር፣³⁹ እንዝ፣ የኃሥሥ፣ ስርየተ፣⁴⁰ ለእለ፣
41 ሰቀልዎ፣⁴² ወይብል፣⁴³ አባ፣ ኢትሬሲ፣⁴⁴ ሎሙ፣⁴⁵ ጌጋየ።⁴⁶

[40] ወእንዝ፣¹ ያርኢ፣² ልብዙኃ፣³ ሠናያቲሁ፣ ሰመዮ፣⁴ ግብረ፣⁵ ኢያእምሮ፣⁶
ለግብሮሙ፣ ስዘ፣⁷ አእምሮ።⁸ ወከማሁ፣ ዝንቱ፣ ማር፣⁹ ገላውዴዎስ፣¹⁰ የኃሥሥ፣
ስርየተ፣¹¹ አበሳ፣¹² ለእለ፣¹³ ልብሱ፣¹⁴ አበሳ፣ ዘለሞት።¹⁵ ወለእለ፣ ይብልዎሙ፣ ደቂቀ፣
ሞት፣¹⁶ ያስተዳሉ፣¹⁷ ሎሙ፣¹⁸ ሕይወተ።¹⁹ ወዘይመርሐሰ፣²⁰ ላዕለ፣²¹ ዛቲ፣ ፍኖት፣²²
ናሁ፣ አሰር፣²³ ኅበ፣ ሕዝበ፣ ኢትዮጵያ፣²⁴ ዘአስመኩ፣ መዝራዕቶሙ፣²⁵ ለተንባላት።²⁶

[41] ልግብሩ፣¹ እኩዮ፣ ላዕለ፣ ቤተ፣² አቡሁ፣³ ወቀተሉ፣ አኃዊሁ፣⁴ እስከ፣ ነፍሰ፣
ማር፣ ገላውዴዎስ፣⁵ ዐቢየ፣ ልደት፣⁶ እምኔሁ፣ እሙንቱ፣ ሶበ፣ ገብኡ፣ ውስተ፣ እዴሁ፣⁷
ፈደዮሙ፣ ፍዳ፣ ሠናየ፣ ከመ፣ ፍዳ፣ አዕርክት፣⁸ ወአዝማድ።⁹ ወጸውያሙ፣ ከመ፣
ይእርዮ፣ ምስሌሁ፣ ነጊሠ፣¹⁰ ወኢተሐሰቦሙ፣ በእንተ፣¹¹ ዘአጽርዑ፣¹² ተአርዮተ፣¹³
ሕማም፣¹⁴ ምስሌሁ፣¹⁵ ለዕለ፣ ጸውዐ፣ ኪያሆሙ፣ አፍቀረ።¹⁶ ወለእለ፣ አፍቀረ፣ ኪያሆሙ፣
አክበረ።¹⁷ ወአስተጋብአሙ፣¹⁸ እምዝርወት፣ ልውስተ፣¹⁹ እንተ፣ ተዐቢ፣ ሃይማኖት።²⁰

[42] ወሶበኒ፣¹ ነበረ፣ ዲበ፣ መንበረ፣ መንግሥት፣² ኢኩነነ፣³ በመጥባሕት፣ ልከመ፣⁴
ነገሥት፣ አፍአ፣⁵ አላ፣⁶ ኮነት፣ ኩነኔሁ፣ መስቀላዊት፣⁷ ከመ፣ ኩነኔሆሙ፣ ለመኳንንት፣⁸
ሰብኡ፣⁹ ወተሠርዑ፣ ሥርዐታት።¹⁰ ዘኒ፣¹¹ ምስለ፣¹² አንሐ፣ መንፈስ፣ ወትዕግሥት፣
እምድጎረ፣ ተዐድዎ፣ ኃጢአት፣ አእላፍ።¹³

[40] 1 BCLOPT; እስመ፣ F | 2 BCLOPT; ዘኢያእምሩ፣ F; ግብረ፣ add. P | 3-4 BCLOPT; om. F | 5 BFLOPT; ገብረ፣ C | 6 CFLOPT; ኢያእምሮ፣ B | 6-8 om. F | 7-8 (# BCLOT); (om. F) CO; ዘበአእምሮ፣ BLPT | 9 BCLOPT; ንጉሥ፣ F | 10 BCLOPT; om. F | 11 BCLOPT; ዕርቀ፣ F | 12 CFLOT; ዘአበሳ፣ BP; እምእለ፣ add. F | 13 BCLOPT; ላእሌሁ፣ F | 14 (፻ T) | 14-26 om. F | 15 (# CLO); (om. F) CLOT; ለዘሞተ፣ BP | 16 (፻ T) | 17 (om. F) BCOT; ያስተዳሎ፣ L; ያስተዳሎ፣ P | 18 (om. F) BCOT; ሎቱ፣ L | 19 (# CLO); (om. F) BCLP; ሕይወት፣ OT | 20 (om. F) BCLO; ወዘይመርሐሰ፣ P; ወዘይመርሐሰ፣ T | 21 (om. F) BCLO; ለእለ፣ PT; ኅበ፣ add. P | 22 (፻ T) | 23 (om. F) BCLOT; አሰር፣ P | 24 (፻ LT); (om. F) BLPT; ኢትዮጵያ፣ CO | 25 (om. F) BCLP; ዘመዝራዕቶሙ፣ OT | 26 (# COT); (፻ L); (om. F) BL; ለተንባላት፣ CO; ለተንባላት፣ P; ለተንባላት፣ T.

[41] 1-10 om. F | 2 (om. F) COT; ቤት፣ BLP | 3 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 4 (፻ T) | 5 (፻ T) | 6 (፻ T) | 7 (፻ T) | 8 (፻ LT) | 9 (# CLO) | 10 (# B) | 11 CFOT; om. BLP | 12 አላ፣ አለ፣ add. F | 13-17 om. F | 14 (፻ T) | 15 (# L); (om. F) BCLOT; ምስሌሆሙ፣ P | 16 (# BCLO) | 17 (# CLO) | 18 BCLOPT; አስተጋብአሙ፣ F | 19-20 BCLOPT; om. F | 20 (# CLO).

[42] 1 BCLOT; ወሶበ፣ FP | 2 (፻ T); COT; ዳዊት፣ BFLP | 3 BCLOPT; ኢኩነነ፣ F | 4-9 om. F | 5 (፻ T); (om. F) CLOT; om. BP | 6 (om. F) BCLO; እለ፣ PT | 7 (om. F) CO; መስቀላዊተ፣ BLPT | 8 (om. F) BCLOT; ለመኳንንት፣ P | 9 (# L); (፻ T); (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 10 (# COT); BCLOPT; ሕገጋት፣ F | 11 BCLOT; ዝኒ፣ FP | 12-13 BCLOPT; አኮ፣ በትዕቢት፣ ዳዕሙ፣ በጸሎት፣ ወበአመክሮ፣ መንፈስ፣ F | 13 (# CO); (፻ T).

[43] እመስ :¹ ናጠብዕ :² ንጽሐፍ : ኩሎ :³ ትሩፋቲሁ :⁴ ወኒሩታቲሁ :⁵
ዘይጽሐፍኒ :⁶ እምወድቀ :⁷ ውስተ : ሀኬት :⁸ ወዘኒ :⁹ ያጸነግል :¹⁰ እምደክመ :¹¹
ወእምአርመመ :¹² አርምሞተ :¹³ አብዳን : ህያረምሙ :¹⁴ ወአልቦ : ዘይሐልዩ :¹⁵
ጠቢባንሰ : እመኒ :¹⁶ አርመሙ :¹⁷ እምተናግሮ : አፍ :¹⁸ ያየድዕ :¹⁹ ሕሊና :²⁰ ልቦሙ :²¹
ምክረ :²²

[44] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፲ወ፰ :² ናሁ :³ ቀጸበተነ : መፍቅድ : ከመ : ንዘከር : ዘተረፈ :⁴ ዜና :
⁵ እምዜና : ⁶ ፀብእ :⁷ ህመዊእ : ⁸ ዘለ :⁹ ንጉሥነ :¹⁰ ማር :¹¹ ገላውዴዎስ : ¹² ላዕሌሁ :
ሰላም :¹³

[45] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፲ወ፱ :² ወበውእቱ :³ ዓመት :⁴ ሣልስ : በፍጻሜ : አውራጎ :
እምአውራጎ : ዕብራዊ :⁵ በሳድስ :⁶ ወርጎ : እምወርጎ :⁷ ቅብጣዊ :⁸ ወርኃ : ጾም : ዘየዐቢ :
እምአጽዋመ :⁹ ቤተ :¹⁰ ክርስቲያን : በዓመት :¹¹ ፸፻፴ወ፮ :¹² እምዓመተ : ዓለም :¹³ ወአመ :
¹⁴ ፳ :¹⁵ ወስሙኒ :¹⁶ ለውእቱ :¹⁷ ወርጎ : ዘዘኩር :¹⁸ በዕለተ :¹⁹ ረቡዕ : ፀብእ :²⁰
እግዚእነ : ማር : ገላውዴዎስ : ለኢማም : አሕመድ :²¹ እብነ :²² አብራሂም : ዘብዙጎ :²³
ሠራዊቱ : ከመ : ብዙኃ :²⁴ አንበጣ :²⁵ የዓዲ :²⁶ እምተልቆሙ :²⁷ እምተልቁ :²⁸
አእላፈ :²⁹ አእላፋት :³⁰ ወትእልፊተ :³¹ አእላፋት :³²

[43] 1 BCLOPT; ወእመስ : F | 2 BCLOPT; om. F | 3 BCLOPT; om. F | 4 BCFLOT; እምትሩፋቲሁ : P | 5 (፻ T); BCLOPT; ወምግባራቲሁ : F | 6 COT; ዘያንጽሕ : B; ኢያገምሮ : መፅሐፍ : F; ዘይንጽሕኒ : LP | 7 (om. F) CLOPT; እምወዲቅ : B | 7-9 om. F | 8 (# L) | 10 BCLOPT; ያገንጽል : F; ይዘነግዕ : ልቡ : እስመ : አብዝኖ : መጽሐፍ : ያዘነግዕ : ልቦ : add. F | 11 (፻ T); BCLOT; ወእምደክመ : F; እምክመ : P | 12 BCFOPT; ወእምአርመማተ : L | 13 BCFOPT; om. L | 14 BCFLOT; ያረምሙ : P | 14-15 om. F | 15 (# CLO) | 16 BCLOPT; እመ : F | 17 BCFOPT; አርመመ : L | 18 ወልሳን : add. F; አፍ : ሕሊና : ልቦሙ : add. P | 19 BCLOPT; ይኤምር : F; ጥበበ : add. F | 20 BCFLOT; om. P | 20-22 BCLOPT; ወምክር : ሕሊና : ልቦሙ : F | 21 BCFLOT; ያየድእ : P | 22 ወእለ : ተዘርወ. መኳንንት : ወመሳፍንት : እምኩሎ : በሐውርት : ወእምኩሎ : አህጉር : ከመ : ይዕርዩ : ምስሌሁ : ነጊሠ : ወለእለ : ፀውዓ : ኪያሆሙ : አክበረ : add. F.

[44] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P; ነገር : add. F | 2 (# CLO); BCFLOT; om. T | 2-3 CFLOT; ፲፰ ናሁ : BP | 4 FT; ተረፈ : BCLOP | 5 CFOT; ዜናሁ : BLP | 6 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 (፻ T); BCLOPT; ፀብ : F | 8 (# L); (om. F) COT; ዘመዊእ : BLP | 8-10 om. F | 9-10 CFO; ዘለንጉሥነ : BLPT | 11 BCLOPT; ዘማር : F | 12 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 12-13 om. F | 13 (# BCLOT).

[45] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 1-2 om. F | 2 (# CLO); (om. F) BCLOP; om. T | 2-3 (om. F) CLOT; ፲ወ፱ ወበውእቱ : BP | 4 BP; ዓለም : CFLT; ዓም : O | 5 (# L); (፻ T) | 6 COT; ወበሳድስ : BFLP | 7 BCLOPT; እምደክመ : F | 8 (# L); (፻ T) | 9 CLP; እምአጽዋመ : BFOT | 10 BCLOPT; ዘቤተ : F | 11 BCLOPT; በ--- : F | 12 BCFT; ፸፻ : ወ፴ወ፮ : L; ፸ : ፻ : ፴ወ፮ : O | 13 (# CLO) | 14 BCPT; አመ : F; ወእም : L; ወእመ : O | 15-16 CO; ፳ወ፲ : BFLPT | 17-18 om. F | 19-20 BCFLOT; ፀብእ : በዕለተ : ረቡዕ : tra.. T | 20 BCFLPT; ፀብእ : O | 21 (፻ T) | 22 BCFLOT; ወልደ : P | 23 (፻ T) | 24 CFO; ብዙጎ : BL; om. P; ብዙጎ : T | 25 (፻ T) | 26 BCFOT; om. BLP; ውብዝኃ : add. P | 26-28 om. F | 27 BCFLO; ጎልቁ : P; እምተልቆሙ : T | 28 CFOT; ወእምተልቁ : BL; om. P | 29-30 BCLOT; ፻፲አእላፋት : FP | 30 (፻ T) | 31 COPT; ወትዕልፊት : B; om. FL | 32 (# CO); COT; om. BFLP.

[46] ^aእለ ፡¹ ይቀውሙ ፡^{a2} ^bለፀብዕ ፡³ እንዝ ፡⁴ ጽኑዓን ፡^{b5} ከመ ፡ አንበሳ ፡⁶ ወቀሊላን ፡⁷
 ከመ ፡ ንስር ።⁸ ቦእምኔሆሙ ፡⁹ መስተፅዕናን ፡¹⁰ አፍራስ ፡ ወልቡሳነ ፡ ድርዓ ፡¹¹ ኃዲን ።¹²
 ወቦ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡ አጋራውያን ፡¹³ እለ ፡ ይትዌከሉ ፡¹⁴ በወላትው ፡¹⁵ ወያጸንፀው ፡¹⁶ ሰይፈ ፡
 ወኩናተ ።¹⁷ ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡ ይዌስቁ ፡¹⁸ ወይነድፉ ፡ ከመ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ኤፍሬም ።¹⁹ ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡
 ይትቃተሉ ፡²⁰ በሞግአ ፡²¹ ነፍጥ ፡ ከመ ፡ መስተቃትላኒሁ ፡ ለዮአን ።²² ወያስተርእዩ ፡ ነዳያነ ፡
^dለዘ ፡²³ ይሬእዮሙ ፡^{d24} ከመ ፡ ጽሕርት ፡ ዘመንገለ ፡ ሰሜን ።²⁵ ^eወቦ ፡²⁶ ዘይወግር ፡²⁷ አእባነ ፡
 በእራኃ ፡ ሞጸፍ ፡ ለእሉ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ አልቦ ፡²⁸ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡²⁹ ሥርዐተ ፡³⁰ መምዖ ፡
 እምቀትል ።³¹ ወቦ ፡ ^fጊዜ ፡³² ቀትል ፡^{f33} ይረውጹ ፡³⁴ ጥቡአኒሆሙ ፡ ከመ ፡³⁵ ከልበ ፡ ነዓዊ ፡³⁶
 ዘርእዮሙ ፡ ለአራዊት ፡³⁷ ወርእዮተ ፡³⁸ ቀዳማዩ ።^{cc39}

[47] ^aወሠራዊቱስ ፡¹ ለማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ውሐዳን ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሠራዊተ ፡
 ጌዴዎን ፡² ጎሩያን ፡³ በማይ ።⁴ ^bወባሕቱ ፡⁵ ተሐውር ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡ ኃያል ፡⁶ ከሀሊት ፡^{a7}
 ዘአንኩርኩረት ፡ ከመ ፡ ጎብስተ ፡⁸ ሰገም ፡ ውስተ ፡ ትዕይንቶሙ ፡⁹ ለምድያም ፤¹⁰ ^b
 ወንጉሥኒ ፡¹¹ ማር ፡¹² ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ኢገገጸ ፡¹³ እምብዝኃ ፡¹⁴ ሠራዊቶሙ ፡^{c15} ለእስላም ፡¹⁶
^dወግርማሆሙ ፡¹⁷ ወግዘፈ ፡¹⁸ ልቦሙ ፡ ወእርፍና ፡ ነፍሶሙ ፤¹⁹ ወኢተዘከረ ፡ ሕይወቶሙ ፡^{d20}
 ዘከመ ፡²¹ ሐይወ ፡ ²² ቀዳሚ ፡²³ ^eበመዊአ ፡²⁴ ፀብእ ፡²⁵ ዘኢይትመዋእ ፡^{e26} ወበአርጎዎ ፡²⁷
 አህጉራት ፡²⁸ [ወ]ዕፅዋት ፡²⁹ ^fእለ ፡³⁰ ኢይትረኃዎ ፡³¹ ^gአላ ፡³² ይጸምአ ፡³³ ጎበ ፡
 ተቃትሎቶሙ ፡^{fg34} ከመ ፡³⁵ ሀዩል ፡ ³⁶ጎበ ፡ አንቅዕተ ፡ ማያት ።³⁷

[46] 1 CFOT; ወእለ ፡ BLP | 1–2 om. F | 3 CFP; ለብፀዕ ፡ BLOT | 4 BCLOT; om. FP | 3–5 BCLOPT; ዘፀኑዓን ፡ ለፀብ ፡ tra. F | 6 (፤ T) | 7 CFOP; ወለሊቃነ ፡ BLT | 8 (። CLO); BCFLTOT; አንስርት ፡ P | 9 BCLOPT; ቦ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡ F | 10 CFOT; መስተፅዕናን ፡ BLP | 11 (፤ T) | 12 (። BCLO) | 13 BCLOPT; አረጋውያን ፡ F | 14 BCFLTOT; ይትአሙኑ ፡ P | 15 BCLOPT; በወላትው ፡ F | 16 BCLOPT; ወይእጎዘ ፡ F | 17 (። BCLOT) | 18 CFPT; ይወስቁ ፡ BLO | 19 (። CLOT) | 20 BCLOPT; በካልአ ፤ F | 21–39 lost T | 22 (። CLO) | 23–24 (lost T) CFLO; ለዘይሬእዮሙ ፡ BP | 25 (። CLO) | 26–39 om. F | 27 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; ዘዌግሩ ፡ P | 28 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; አልቦሙ ፡ P | 29 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; om. P | 30 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; ሥርዐት ፡ P | 31 (። CLO) | 32–33 (om. F) (lost T) CO; om. BLP | 34 (om. F) (lost T) CLO; ዘይረውጹ ፡ BP | 35 (om. F) (lost T) CO; om. BLP | 36 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; ነዓዊ ፡ P; ከማሁ ፡ add. BLP | 37 (። L) | 38 (om. F) (lost T) CO; ወርእዮት ፡ BLP | 39 (። CLO).

[47] 1–7 lost T | 2 እለ ፡ add. F | 3 (lost T) BCLO; ፍቱናን ፡ F; ጎሩያን ፡ P | 4 (። CLO) | 5–10 om. F | 6 (lost. T) (om. F) CLO; ኃያል ፡ B; om. P | 8 (om. F) BCL; ጎብስተ ፡ OT | 9 (om. F) BCLOT; ትዕይንተ ፡ P | 10 (። L); (om. F) BCLOT; ምድያም ፡ P | 11 BCLOPT; ወንጉሥኒ ፡ F | 12 BCLOPT; om. F | 13 እምገጸ ፡ add. F | 14–15 om. F | 16 BCLOPT; ተንበላት ፡ F | 17–20 om. F | 18 (om. F) BCLOPT; ወግዘፈ ፡ L | 19 (፡ BP) | 20 (። L) | 21 BCLOPT; በከመ ፡ F | 22 BCLOPT; ጎብረ ፡ F | 23 (፤ F) | 24–26 om. F | 24 (om. F) BCLP; በመዊእ ፡ OT | 25 (om. F) BLOPT; ፀብእ ፡ C | 26 (። L); ከመ ፡ add. F | 27 BCLOP; አርጎዎ ፡ አናቅጸ ፡ F; ወበአርጎዎ ፡ T | 28 LOPT; አህጉራተ ፡ BC; om. F | 29 BCLOPT; ዕፅዋን ፡ F | 30–34 om. F | 31 (om. F) CO; ይትረኃዎ ፡ BLPT | 32 (om. F) CO; ወእለ ፡ BLPT | 35 ያፈቅር ፡ add. T | 36 BCFLTOT; ሀዩል ፡ P | 37 (። CLO).

[48] ወኮነ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ቀትል ፡ ማእከሌሁ፡¹ ወማዕከለ ፡² ኢማም ፡³ አሕመድ ፡⁴ ወእግዚአብሔር ፡⁵ ልዑል ፡⁶ ይትባረክ ፡ ስሙ ፡⁷ አሠርግዎ ፡⁸ መዋዊ[ኤ] ፡⁹ ለንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁰ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ሰላም ፡¹¹ ወሞተ ፡¹² ኢማም ፡¹³ አሕመድ ፡¹⁴ በእደ ፡¹⁵ ሐሐዳ ፡¹⁶ እምአግብርቲሁ ፡¹⁷ ወቀተሉ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡¹⁸ ሠራዊት ፡¹⁹ እምተርኩማን ፡²⁰ ወእምበር ፡ ሰአዲዲን ፡²¹

[49] ወእለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡ ለመንፈቀ ፡¹ ሠራዊት ፡² ጎዌ ፡³ እንተ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡⁴ ባሕር ፡⁵ ምስለ ፡ ብእሲቱ ፡⁶ ለኢማም ፡⁷ አሕመድ ፡⁸ ወመንፈቀ ፡⁹ ሠራዊትኒ ፡ አገዙ ፡ ምሕመድሃ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኢማም ፡ አሕመድ ፡¹⁰ ወአግብኡ ፡¹¹ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ክቡር ፡¹² ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹³ ወውእቶሙኒ ፡¹⁴ ኮኑ ፡ ግሩራኑ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ እገሪሆሙ ፡¹⁵ ውእቱስ ፡ መሐሪ ፡ ወመስተሣህል ፡¹⁶ ወኢይፈድዮ ፡ እኩዮ ፡¹⁷ ለዘ ፡¹⁸ አሕሰመ ፡¹⁹ ሎቱ ፡ ወያህኒ ፡²⁰ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ መሠንይ ፡²¹

[50] ለምዕራፍ ፡¹ ርጅ ፡² ወበይእቲ ፡³ ዕለት ፡ ለዘዘክርት ፡⁴ በርእሰ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነገር ፡⁵ ብዙኃን ፡⁶ እለ ፡ አሕሰሙ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡⁷ ወላዕለ ፡⁸ ቤተ ፡⁹ አቡሁ ፡¹⁰ ወእሙ ፡¹¹ ወላዕለ ፡¹² ኩሉ ፡¹³ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡¹⁴ እለ ፡¹⁵ ታሕተ ፡ መንግሥቶሙ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ገብኡ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡¹⁶ ኮኑ ፡¹⁷ ጽሩዓን ፡ በምሕረቱ ፡ ወበሣህሉ ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ዘሰሐሙ ፡ በእኩይ ፡¹⁸ ከልብሂ ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ኢለሐሶሙ ፡¹⁹ በልሳኑ ፡²⁰ ወባሕቱ ፡ ለአሐዳ ፡²¹ እምእሉ ፡²² ዘተለዕለት ፡

[48] 1 (̄ T) | 2 (̄ T) | 3 (# L) | 4 (# CLO); BCLOPT; om. F | 5 (̄ T) | 6–7 om. F | 8 BCT; አሠገዎ ፡ F; አሠርገዎ ፡ LOP | 9 (̄ T); con.; መዋኢ ፡ BCLPT; ሰለመ ፡ F; om. P | 10–11 (# BCLO); om. F | 12 (̄ T) | 13–14 om. F | 15 CFLOPT; ወበእደ ፡ B | 16–17 CLO; ጅእምአግብርቲሁ ፡ BPT; ጅእምሐራሁ ፡ F | 17 (# CLOT) | 18 C; ብዙኃን ፡ BLPT; om. F | 19 BLOPT; ሠራዊት ፡ C; እምሠራዊት ፡ F | 20 (̄ T) | 21 (# BCLOT); COT; ወእምበር ፡ ሰአዲዲን ፡ B; ወአሰበአዲዲን ̄ F; ወእአምበር ፡ ሰአዲዲን ፡ LP.

[49] 1–2 om. F | 3 (̄ T) | 4 BCLOPT; om. F | 5 (̄ T) | 6 (̄ T) | 7–20 (# CLO); om. F | 8–9 om. BLP | 10–20 lost T | 11 (om. F) (lost T) BCLOP; ማር ፡ P | 12 (# L) | 13 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; ወውእቶሙ ፡ P | 14 (# CLO); (om. F) (lost T) BCO; እዴሁ ፡ L; እገሪሁ ፡ P | 15 (̄ T); ወመሐሪ ፡ add. F | 16 (om. F) (lost T) CO; እኩተ ፡ BLP | 17–18 (om. F) (lost T) COP; ለዘአሕሰመ ፡ BL | 19 (om. F) (lost T) CFLOPT; ወያህኒ ፡ BL | 20 (# BCLO).

[50] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 1–2 om. F | 1–31 lost T | 2 (# CLO) | 2–3 (lost T) CFLOT; ጅ ወበይእቲ ፡ BP | 5 (lost T) CFOP; መጽሐፍ ፡ BL | 4–6 om. F | 7 (lost T) BCLOP; ላዕለ ፡ F | 8 (lost T) BCLOP; om. F | 9–10 (lost T) BCLOP; ቤተ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ F | 11 (# L); (lost T) BCLOP; om. F | 12 (lost T) BCFLP; ወላዕለ ፡ O | 13 (lost T) BCLO; om. FP | 14 (# L); (lost T) BCFLP; ክርስቲያናትሁ ፡ P | 15–16 om. F | 16 በእመ ፡ ምህሮሙ ፡ add. F | 17–31 om. F | 18 (# CLO); (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; እኩይ ፡ P; ልብ ፡ add. L | 19 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; ኢሠሐሎሙ ፡ P | 20 (# L) | 21 (om. F) (lost T) BCOP; ጅ ፡ L | 21–22 (om. F) (lost T) CLO; ጅ እምእሉ ፡ BP | 23 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; om. P | 24–25 (om. F) (lost T) CLO; ጅእምሠራዊት ፡ BP | 26 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; ብትርጓን ፡ P | 27 (om. F) (lost T) CP; ኢመፍቀዲ ፡ BLO | 28 (om. F) (lost T) CO; ፈቃድ ፡ BLP | 29 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; om. P | 30 (om. F) (lost T) BCLO; lac. P | 31 (# BCLO).

እከዩ ፡ እስከ ፡ ደመናት ፡ ቀተሎ ፡ በጉጎሉት ፡²³ ፩ ፡²⁴ እምሠራዊተ ፡²⁵ ብርትንን ፡²⁶ እንዘ ፡
ኢመፍቀዱ ፡²⁷ ላዕለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ፈቃደ ፡²⁸ ንጉሥ ፡²⁹ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡³⁰ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ሰላም ።

³¹_{ag}

[51] _{ab} ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ጳጳጵ ።² ወኮነት ፡³ አሜሃ ፡⁴ ሠናይተ ፡⁵ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡⁶ እንተ ፡⁷
አሕዛብ ፡⁸ ከመ ፡ አዕዋም ፡ ዘይጼልል ፡⁹ ወከመ ፡ _d ገነት ፡¹⁰ ዘንብ ፡ ፈለግ ፡¹¹ ወከመ ፡
ትዕይንት ፡¹² ዘተክለ ፡¹³ እግዚአብሔር ፡_d ¹⁴ ወከመ ፡ አርዝ ፡ _e ዘንብ ፡¹⁵ ሙሐዘ ፡ ማይ ።¹⁶
ወከመ ፡ ተዓይኒሁ ፡ ለያዕቆብ ፡¹⁷ ወአብያቲሁ ፡_e ¹⁸ ለእስራኤል ፡¹⁹ ምቅድመ ፡ _g ²⁰ መሥዋዕተ ፡
ሞአብ ።²¹

[52] _a ምዕራፍ ፡¹ _b ጳጳጵ ።² _c ጠንቀቀ ፡³ ኡደተ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዓም ፡ በዓም ፡ ዘመትሎሁ ፡⁴
ወድቀ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡⁵ ረኃብ ፡_c ⁶ ወወረደ ፡ ዲብ ፡⁷ ምድር ፡⁸ ተግሣጽ ፡⁹ እምእግዚአብሔር ፡¹⁰
_d ክቡር ፡¹¹ ወልዑል ።_d ¹² እስመ ፡¹³ _e እግዚአብሔር ፡¹⁴ ዐቢይ ፡ ስሙ ፡_e ¹⁵ ቦአመ ፡¹⁶ ይትዩዋህ ፡
¹⁷ ወቦ ፡ አመ ፡ ይትመካህ ፡¹⁸ ትምክሕቱኒ ፡¹⁹ ኢኮነ ፡²⁰ ከመ ፡²¹ _f እንለ ፡²² እመሕያው ፡_f ²³
ወተዋውሆቱኒ ፡²⁴ ኢኮነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሰብእ ፤ ወበውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ኮነ ፡²⁵ ዝንቱ ፡²⁶ ንጉሥ ፡
መሓሪ ፡²⁷ ይሴስዮሙ ፡ _g ለሕዝቡ ፡²⁸ በኩሉ ፡ ፍኖት ፡_g ²⁹ ከመ ፡³⁰ ይሴሲ ፡³¹ አብ ፡ ውሉዶ ።³²

[53] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ _a ጳጳጵ ።² ወእምዝ ፡_a ³ በሃልስ ፡ ወርኅ ፡⁴ _b ወርኃ ፡⁵ ሐዘራን ፡⁶
እምአውራኅ ፡ ዕብራዊት ፡ ወወርኅ ፡ ዓሥራይ ፡ እምአውራኅ ፡ ሐበሲያዊት ፡_b ⁷ ሐረ ፡
ማዕዶተ ፡⁸ _c ፩ ፡⁹ አፍላግ ።_c ¹⁰ ወገብረ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ምክራም ፡¹¹ በምድረ ፡ አጋይ ፡¹² እግዚእ ፡

[51] 1 (om. F) BCLOT; lac. P | 1–2 om. F | 2 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOP; om. T | 1–3 ጳጳጵ ወኮነት ፡ P | 4 (፤ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 5 CFOPT; ሠናይት ፡ BL | 5–6 BCLOPT; ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ሠናይተ ፡ tra. F | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 BCLOPT; በአሕዛብ ፡ F; ዘኮነ ፡ add. F | 9 (፤ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 10–14 om. F | 11 (፤ T); (om. F) COT; ፈለክ ፡ BLP | 12 (፤ T) | 13 (om. F) CLOT; ዘተክለ ፡ BP | 15 BCFLot; ዘከመ ፡ P | 15–18 om. F | 16 (# CLO) | 17 (፤ T) | 19 (፤ T); BCLOT; ዘቤተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ F; ለጳጳጵ ፡ P | 20–21 om. F | 21 (# BCLO).

[52] 1 BCFLot; lac. P | 1–2 om. T | 2 (# CO) | 2–3 ጳጳጵ ጠንቀቀ ፡ P | 3–6 om. F | 4 (# CO) | 5 (om. F) BCLPT; ዓቢይ ፡ O | 6 (፤ T) | 7 BCFOPT; ውሉተ ፡ L | 8 (፤ T) | 9 BCLOPT; ተግሣጽ ፡ F | 10 BCLOPT; ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ F; ዲብ ፡ ምድር ፡ add. F | 11–12 om. F | 12 (# COT) | 13 BCLOPT; እስመቦ ፡ F | 14–15 om. F | 16 COT; ዘአመ ፡ BL; አመ ፡ F; ቦ ፡ አመ ፡ P | 17 CLO; ይትዩዋህ ፡ BFPT | 18 (# CLO); FPT; ይትመካህ ፡ BL; ይትመካህ ፡ CO | 19 BCLOPT; ትምክሕቱሰ ፡ F | 20 (፤ T) | 21 ወልደ ፡ add. L | 22–23 BCFLot; እንለእመሕያው ፡ P | 23 (# L); (፤ T) | 24 BCLOPT; ወተዋውሆቱ ፡ F | 25 BCFLot; om. P | 26 BCLOT; ውእቱ ፡ FP | 27 (፤ T) | 28–29 om. F | 29 (፤ T) | 30 BCLOPT; በከመ ፡ F | 31 BCFLot; ይሴሲ ፡ T | 32 (# COT); BCLOT; ወልዶ ፡ F; ለወልዱ ፡ P.

[53] 1 BCFLot; lac. P | 2 (# CO); BCLOP; om. FT | 2–3 BCFLot; ጳጳጵ ወእምዝ ፡ P | 4 (፤ T) | 5–7 om. F | 7 (om. F) COT; ሐበሲያዊት ፡ BLP | 8 CO; ማዕከለ ፡ BFLPT | 9–10 CLOT; ፩ አፍላክ ፡ BP; ፩አፍላግ ፡ F | 10 (# COT); BCFOPT; አፍላክ ፡ L | 11 (፤ T) | 12 (፤ T) | 13 (፤ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 14 (፤ F); BCFLot; lac. P | 15–16 om. F | 16 (# CLOT) | 17 BCLOPT; ወበውእቱ ፡ F | 18 BCLOPT; om. F | 19 (፤ T) | 20 BFLT; ተንበላት ፡ CO; ተንባለት ፡ P | 21 BCLOPT; ሀለው ፡ F | 22 (፤ T) | 23 (# CO); BCLOPT; om. F.

ክቡር ፡ ማር ፡¹³ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁴ ላዕሌሁ ፡¹⁵ ሰላም ።¹⁶ ወበእማንቱ ፡¹⁷ መዋዕል ፡ ነግሠ ፡¹⁸
ወዚር ፡ አባስ ፡¹⁹ ላዕለ ፡ ተንባላት ፡²⁰ እለ ፡ ሀለወ ፡²¹ በባሊ ፡²² ወበፈጠጋር ፡ ወበደዋሮ ።²³

[54] ^aወይቤ ፡¹ አነብር ፡ መንበርዮ ፡² መልዕልተ ፡ አርዮብ ፡³ ወእሣርር ፡ አትሮንስዮ ፡
ዲበ ፡ ርእሶሙ ፡⁴ ለአድባራት ፡⁵ ዘደቡብ ።⁶ ወሮደ ፡ አህጉራተ ፡ ዘእምጥቃሁ ፡⁷ ለንጉሥ ፡⁸
ክቡር ፡⁹ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁰ ^bወነበበ ፡¹¹ ዐቢያተ ፡¹² ላዕሌሁ ፡¹³ ወላዕለ ፡¹⁴ ልዑል ፡ ዘፈጠሮ ፡¹⁵
ወላዕለ ፡¹⁶ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡¹⁷ ወኢያእመረ ፡ አምሳለ ፡¹⁸ ዘመሰሉ ፡¹⁹ ሎቱ ፡²⁰ በጽድቅ ፡²¹
እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ [በበሃ]ልያን ፡²² ይትዔበይኑ ፡ ጉድብ ፡²³ ላዕለ ፡ ዘይገዝም ፡²⁴ ቦቱ ፡²⁵
ወሞሰርትኒ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ዘይወስር ፡²⁶ ቦቱ ፡²⁷ ወቦኑ ፡ ይትሌዐል ፡ በትር ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ዘይጸውሮ ።²⁸

[55] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ^aጅወ፬ ።² ወንጉሥስ ፡³ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁴ አኮ ፡ ዘይደነግጽ ፡
እምትድምርተ ፡⁵ ዚአሁ ።⁶ አላ ፡ ይትዌከል ፡⁷ በተዘክሮ ፡ ግብር ፡ ቀዳማይ ፡⁸ ዘገብረ ፡
ሎቱ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡⁹ ቡሩክ ፡ ስሙ ።¹⁰ ወለሕዝቡኒ ፡ ያዜክሮሙ ፡ ዘንተ ፡¹¹ ከመ ፡¹² ኮነ ፡
ያዜክሮሙ ፡¹³ ሙሴ ፡ ነቢይ ፡¹⁴ ለደቂቀ ፡¹⁵ እስራኤል ፡¹⁶ በማዕድተ ፡¹⁷ ዮርዳኖስ ።¹⁸

[56] ወበዘከመዝ ፡¹ ግብር ፡² አገለፈ ፡³ ^a፫ ፡⁴ አውራኃ ፡⁵ እምክራማተ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ።⁶
ወኮነ ፡ ይትዔገሥ ፡ ^bላዕለ ፡⁷ ትዕይርተ ፡ ፀር ፡⁸ ከመ ፡⁹ ይትዔገሥ ፡¹⁰ አንበሳ ፡¹¹ እስከ ፡
ይበልዕ ፡ ሥጋ ፡¹² ዘነዓወ ፡¹³ ወይሰቲ ፡¹⁴ ደመ ፡¹⁵ ዘቀተለ ።¹⁶ ከማሁ ፡ ውእቲኒ ፡ ተዐገሠ ፡
^cመዋዕል ፡¹⁷ እሙራተ ፡¹⁸ እስከ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ዘፈቀደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ^dክቡር ፡¹⁹ ወልዑል ።²⁰

[54] 1–6 om. F | 2 (̄ T) | 3 (̄ T) | 4 (̄ T) | 5 (om. F) BCO; ለአድባራተ ፡ LPT | 6 (# CLOT); CP; ደቡብ ፡ BFLOT | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 BCLOPT; ንጉሥ ፡ F; ማር ፡ add. P | 9 BCFOPT; ማር ፡ L | 10 (# L); BCFLPT; lac. P | 11–17 om. F | 12 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 13 (om. F) BCLOT; ላእለ ፡ P | 14 (om. F) BCLOT; ወበእለ ፡ P | 15 (̄ T) | 16 (om. F) COPT; ላዕለ ፡ BL | 17 (# L); (om. F) BCLOPT; ክርስቲያን ፡ L | 18 (̄ T) | 19 BCLOPT; እንተ ፡ መሰሉ ፡ F | 20 COT; om. BFLP | 21 (# L); (̄ T); BCFLPT; ጽድቅ ፡ T | 22 C; በብሔልያን ፡ BFLT; በበሕልያን ፡ O; በብልሕያን ፡ P | 23 (̄ T) | 24 BCFLPT; ዘይትገዝም ፡ P | 25 (# L) | 26 BCP; ዘይትዌሰር ፡ F; ዘይሞሰርት ፡ L; ዘይሰውር ፡ OT | 27 (̄ T) | 28 (# BCOT).

[55] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 BCLOP; om. FT | 2–3 ጅወ፬ወንጉሥስ ፡ BP | 4 (̄ LT) | 5 BCLOT; በትድምርት ፡ F; እምትድምርተ ፡ P | 6 (# CO) | 7 (# L); ቦቱ ፡ add. BLP | 8 (̄ LT); BCFOPT; ቀዳማይ ፡ L | 9 COT; om. BFLP | 10 (# CLO) | 11 (̄ T); CFLOPT; ከዘንተ ፡ B; ኩሎ ፡ add. F | 12 BCLOPT; በከመ ፡ F | 13 ከማሁ ፡ add. BLP | 14 BCLOPT; om. F | 15–18 BCLOPT; በማዕድተ ፡ ዮርዳኖስ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ tra. F | 16 BCFLPT; ጅኤል ፡ P | 17 (# CLO); FP; ማዕድተ ፡ BCLOT.

[56] 1 BFLPT; ወበዘ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ CO | 2 BCFLPT; om. P | 3 BCFLPT; አገለፈት ፡ O | 4 BCFLPT; ፫ተ ፡ T | 4–5 CLOT; ፫አውራኃ ፡ BFP | 5 (# L) | 6 (# CLOT) | 7 BCFLPT; ላእለ ፡ P | 7–10 om. B | 8 (̄ T) | 9 (om. B) CLOPT; በከመ ፡ F | 11 (̄ T) | 12 (̄ T) | 13 (̄ F) | 14 BCFLPT; ወይሰቂ ፡ O | 15 (̄ T) | 16 (# CLO); BCFLPT; ዘቀተለ ፡ T | 17–18 BCLOPT; እሙራተ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ F | 19 CFLOPT; om. B | 19–20 BCFOPT; ልዑልወክቡር ፡ L | 20 (# BCLOT); BCLOPT; ስሙ ፡ F.

[57] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ጳጳውጂ ፡² ወበካልእ ፡³ ወርኅ ፡ እምአውራጎ ፡⁴ ኢትዮጲስ ፡⁵ ወምስር ፡⁶
 ፡⁷ ወበወርቃ ፡ ሳብዕ ፡⁸ እምአውራጎ ፡⁹ ዕብራዊት ፡¹⁰ በጽሐ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡¹¹ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹²
 ምድረ ፡ ወጅ ፡¹³ እምድገረ ፡¹⁴ ብዙጎ ፡ ግዕዝታት ፡¹⁵ ወዘንተ ፡ ሰሚያ ፡¹⁶ ወዚር ፡ አባስ ፡¹⁷
 ተንሥኦ ፡¹⁸ እምድር ፡ ዘነበረ ፡¹⁹ ምስለ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡²⁰ ዐበይቱ ፡ ወሠራዊቱ ፡²¹ እንዘ ፡
 ያፈጥን ፡ ከመ ፡ ዕቡድ ፡ ከልብ ፡ ለነሲክ ፡²² ወእንዘ ፡²³ በተነፍሐተ ፡²⁴ ቀርን ፡²⁵ ይብል ፡
 እንቋዕ ፡²⁶ ከመ ፡ ፈረስ ፡²⁷ ኃያል ፡²⁸ ወንጉሥኒ ፡²⁹ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ይጸንሕ ፡ ተቀብሎቶ ፡
³⁰ ከመ ፡ ቀበለ ፡ መርዓዊ ፡³¹

[58] እስመ ፡ ጥቡዕ ፡¹ ልቡ ፡ ለተወክሎ ፡² በእግዚአብሔር ፡³ ጸኑዕ ፡⁴ ውእቱ ፡⁵
 ወኢይትሀወክ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ እስከ ፡ ይሬኢ ፡ በጸላእቱ ፡⁶ ወኮነ ፡ ተራክቦቶሙ ፡ በዕለት ፡
 ዘፈትሐ ፡⁷ ባቲ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሰቡሕ ፡⁸ ስሙ ፡⁹ ወወሀብዎ ፡ አክሊለ ፡¹⁰ ለንጉሥ ፡¹¹
 ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹² ከመ ፡ ይማእ ፡ ወወፅኦ ፡¹³ ወሞእ ፡¹⁴ ወወድቁ ፡ አባስ ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡¹⁵
 መላእክቲሁ ፡¹⁶ በኃዲን ፡¹⁷ ወተጋብኡ ፡ አዕዋፍ ፡¹⁸ በበዓሉ ፡¹⁹ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዐቢይ ፡
 ከመ ፡ ይብልዑ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወሥጋ ፡ መላእክት ፡²⁰ ወሥጋ ፡ ጸኑዓን ፡ ወሥጋ ፡
 አፍራስ ፡ ወእለ ፡ ይጸዓንዎሙ ፡²¹ ወሥጋ ፡ ኩሉ ፡²² ከእግዚአብሔር ፡²³ ንኡስ ፡²⁴
 ወዐቢይ ፡²⁵

[59] ወእለ ፡ ጉዩ ፡ ለእምቀትል ፡¹ ኮነ ፡² ክፍለ ፡³ ትሑታን ፡ ሕዝብ ፡⁴ ወቀተሎሙ ፡
 ኩሉ ፡⁵ ዘረከበ ፡⁶ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ተረፈ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ክፍለ ፡⁷ ንኡሳን ፡⁸ አራዊት ፡⁹ ዘከመ ፡¹⁰

[57] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLOT); BCLOP; ጳጳውጂ ፡ F; om. T | 2-3 ጳጳውጂወበካልእ ፡ P | 4 CP; እምአውራጎ ፡ BO; እሙራተ ፡ FL; እምዕሙራተ ፡ T | 5 BCFLOP; ኢትዮጵያ ፡ T | 6 (# L); BCFOPT; ወምስር ፡ L | 7-8 BCLOPT; ወበሳብዕወርቃ ፡ F | 8 CFLOP; ሰብኦ ፡ B; ሳብኦ ፡ T | 9 BCFLOP; እምአውራጎ ፡ T | 10 (# L); (፤ T) | 11 CFLOPT; ንጉሥ ፡ B | 12 (፤ T) | 13 (፤ T) | 14 BCFLOP; እምድረ ፡ T | 15 (# CLOT); CFOT; ግዕዝታት ፡ BLP | 16 (፤ T) | 17 (፤ T) | 18 BCFLOP; ተንሥኦ ፡ T | 19 (፤ T) | 20 (፤ T); BFLOPT; ኩሎሙ ፡ C | 21 (# CO) | 22 (# L); (፤ T) | 23 BCFLOT; om. P | 24 CFLOT; ይትነፋሕ ፡ B; ወበበተነፍሐተ ፡ P | 25 እንዘ ፡ add. P | 26 (፤ T) | 27 (፤ T) | 28 (# L) | 29 (፤ FT); ኃያል ፡ add. BFL | 30 (# L); (፤ T); BCLOPT; ተቀብሎቶ ፡ F | 31 (# COT).

[58] 1 BCLOPT; ጸኑዕ ፡ F | 2 BCLOPT; ለተወክሎ ፡ F | 3 (# L); (፤ T) | 4-5 om. T | 5 (om. T) BCFO; ልቡ ፡ P | 6 (# L); (፤ T) | 7 (፤ T) | 8-9 BCLOPT; ስሙ ፡ ሰቡሕ ፡ tra. F | 9 (# CLO) | 10 (፤ T) | 11 BCFLPT; ንጉሥ ፡ O | 12 (፤ T) | 13 BCLOPT; om. F | 14 (# L); BCFLOP; ወሞያ ፡ T | 15 BCLOPT; om. F | 16 BCLOPT; ወሠራዊቱ ፡ F | 17 (# CO) | 18 BLOT; አዕዋፍ ፡ CFP | 19 B; በዐሉ ፡ CFLOPT | 20 BCLOPT; om. F | 21 BCFLOT; om. P | 22 BCFLOT; ከእግዚአብሔር ፡ P | 22-23 BCLOPT; ጉብር ፡ ወእግዚአብሔር ፡ tra. F | 24-25 BCLOT; om. F; ዐቢይ ፡ ወንኡስ ፡ tra. P | 25 (# CLO).

[59] 1-2 om. F | 3 BCFLOT; om. P | 4 (፤ T) | 5 COP; ኩሎ ፡ BFTL | 6 BCOPT; ዘረከቡ ፡ FL | 7 CFPT; ክፍለ ፡ BLO | 8 BCFLOT; ለንኡሳን ፡ P | 8-10 om. F | 9 (፤ T) | 10 (om. F) COPT; ከመ ፡ BL | 11 (፤ T); CFLOPT; ዘቆናጽል ፡ B | 12 (# CLO); BCLOP; ወእለ ፡ ይመስልዎሙ ፡ F; ወከልዓኒሁ ፡ T | 13 (፤ T) | 14 BCLOPT; om. F | 15 CFLOPT; om. B | 16-17 om. FP | 17 (# CLO) | 18 (፤ T) | 19 BCLOT; ሀገረ ፡ F; om. P | 20 (፤ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 21 BCFLPT; ትውጎዝ ፡ O | 22 (# CLO) | 23 (፤ T) | 24 (፤ T); BCFOPT; ዘኢነደቂ ፡ L | 25 BLPT; ወይስተዩ ፡ CO; ወስትዩ ፡ F | 26 ዘኢከረዩ ፡ add. P | 27 BCFLOT;

ቁናጽል ፡¹¹ ወከልኢሆሙ ፡¹² ወዘንተ ፡ ገቢሮ ፡¹³ ንጉሥ ፡¹⁴ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁵ ላዕሌሁ ፡¹⁶
ሰላም ፤¹⁷ አውረሶሙ ፡ ለሕዝቡ ፡¹⁸ ምድረ ፡¹⁹ ቡርክተ ፡²⁰ እንተ ፡ ታውጎዝ ፡²¹ ሐሊብ ፡
ወመዓረ ፡²² ከመ ፡ ይንበሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አብያት ፡²³ ዘኢነደቁ ፡²⁴ ወይሰትዩ ፡²⁵ እምዓዘቅት ፡²⁶
ዘኢወቀሩ ፡²⁷ ወይቅስሙ ፡²⁸ እምአዕዓድ ፡²⁹ ዘኢተከሉ ፡³⁰

[60] ወለመርዔትሂ ፡¹ ያዕቆባዊት ፡² እንተ ፡ ተነድፈት ፡³ ወሳኩዮት ፡⁴ ውስተ ፡ ገዳመ ፡⁵
ዓረባዊ ፡⁶ የኃሥሣ ፤⁷ ወሶብ ፡⁸ ይረክባ ፡⁹ ይጸውራ ፡¹⁰ ዲብ ፡ መታክፍቲሁ ፡¹¹ ወይትፌሣሕ ፡
ባቲ ፡ ፈድፋድ ፡¹² እምእለ ፡¹³ ኢተገድፋ ፡¹⁴ ለዘኒ ፡¹⁵ መጽአ ፡¹⁶ ጎቤሁ ፡ እመርዔተ ፡¹⁷
ዓረባዊ ፡¹⁸ ኢይሰድዶ ፡ ወኢያወፅአ ፡ አፍአ ፡¹⁹ ወኢያሁኒ ፡²⁰ ይሬስዮ ፡²¹ ሐሐደ ፡²²
መርዔተ ፡²³ ለ፩ ፡²⁴ ኖላዊ ፡²⁵ ወሶብ ፡ ይቀርቦ ፡²⁶ መኑሂ ፡²⁷ ፩ ፡²⁸ እምገባርያነ ፡²⁹
ሕሰማት ፡³⁰ ኢያርጎቆ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሞአባዊ ፡ ወአሞናዊ ፡³¹ ዘአሕሰሙ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡
እስራኤል ፡³¹

[61] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ጳውሎስ ፡² ወበውእቲ ፡³ መዋዕል ፡⁴ ተሠጥዎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡
ለሰማይ ፤⁵ ወሰማይኒ ፡⁶ ተሠጥዎ ፡⁷ ለምድር ፡⁸ ወምድርኒ ፡⁹ ተሠጥዎቶሙ ፡¹⁰ ለእክል ፡
ወለወይን ፤ እክልኒ ፡ ወወይን ፡¹¹ ተሠጥዎዎ ፡¹² ለሰብእ ፡¹³ ወኮነ ፡ ሰላም ፡ ዲብ ፡¹⁴ ኩሉ ፡
መርዔት ፡¹⁵ ወዲብ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡¹⁶ አልቦ ፡ ዘያግዕዝ ፡¹⁷ ወይትገዓዝ ፡¹⁸ ወአልቦ ፡ ማዕቅፍ ፡
¹⁹ ኢይትዓቀፍ ፡²⁰ ደቂቅ ፡ በልሒቅ ፡²¹ ወክቡር ፡ በጎሡር ፡²² ወቦ ፡²³ እምሰብእ ፡ ጠቢባን ፡

ወኢወቀሩ ፡ P | 28 BCOPT; ወቀሰሙ ፡ F; ወይቅስሙ ፡ L | 29 BCOT; እምዓዕድ ፡ FLP | 30 (# CLO);
CLOPT; ዘኢተከሉ ፡ BF.

[60] 1 BCLOPT; ወለመርዔት ፡ F | 2 (፤ T); BCLOPT; ያዕቆባዊት ፡ F | 3 BCLOPT; ተነድፈት ፡ F |
4 BCLOP; ወሳኩዮት ፡ F; ወሳኩዮት ፡ T | 5 O; ገዳም ፡ BCFLPT | 6 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 (# CLOPT) | 8
BCLOPT; ወእምከመ ፡ F | 8-9 om. P | 9 (om. P) BCLOT; ረክባ ፡ F | 10 BCFLPT; ወይጸውራ ፡ P | 11 (፤
T); BCLOPT; መታክፍቲሁ ፡ F | 12 (፤ T) | 13 BCFLPT; እለ ፡ T | 14 (# CLO); BCOPT; ኢተገድፋ ፡ FL |
15 CFP; ለዘኒ ፡ BLOT | 16 post ዓረባዊ ፡ tra. P | 17 T; እመርዔት ፡ BCLPO; መርዔት ፡ F | 18 (፤ T) | 19
(# CO) | 20 CFO; ወኢያሁኒ ፡ BPT; ወኢያሁን ፡ L | 21 CFLOT; ይሬስዮን ፡ B; ይሬሲ ፡ P | 22 BCFOPT;
፩ ፡ L | 22-23 CLO; ፩መራዔተ ፡ BFT; ፩መርዔተ ፡ P | 24 BCFOPT; መርዓዊ ፡ L | 24-25 CLOP;
ለ፩መርዓዊ ፡ BF; ለ፩ ኖላዊ ፡ T | 25 (# CLO) | 26 COT; ይቀርብ ፡ BFLP | 27 BCLOPT; om. F | 28-29
CLOP; ፩ እምገባርያነ ፡ BT; ፩እምገባርተ ፡ F | 30 (፤ T) | 31 (# BCLOT); BCFLPT; ጳውሎስ ፡ P.

[61] 1 BCLFOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); BCFLP; ጳውሎስ ፡ O; om. T | 2-3 (# BCLOT); ጳውሎስወበውእቲ ፡
BP; ጳውሎስወበውእቲ ፡ F | 4 (፤ T) | 5 (# CLO); CLFOT; በሰማይ ፡ BP | 6 BCLOPT; ሰማይኒ ፡ F | 7 (om. F)
BCLOPT; ተሠጥዎ ፡ F | 8 (# L); (፤ T) | 9 BCF; ወለምድርኒ ፡ LPT; ወለምድር ፡ O | 10 COPT;
ተሠጥዎቶሙ ፡ BFL | 11 BCFLPT; ወይን ፡ P | 12 BCFO; ተሰጥዎዎ ፡ LP; ተሠጥዎ ፡ T | 13 (#
CLOT) | 14 BCLOPT; ላዕለ ፡ F | 15 (፤ T) | 16 (፤ T) | 17 BCLOPT; ዘያግዕዝ ፡ F | 18 (፤ T) | 19 (# CO) |
20 BCLFOT; ወኢይትዓቀፍ ፡ P | 21 (፤ T) | 22 (# CLO); CFOPT; ወበጎሡር ፡ BL | 23 (፤ T) | 24 BCLO;
እለ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ FP; ዘይሌቡ ፡ T | 25 BCLOPT; እላንቲ ፡ F | 26 (# CO) | 27 BCLOT; ዝንቲ ፡ F; ዘውእቲ ፡ P
| 28 BCLOPT; መዋዕል ፡ F | 29 F; ዘተናገረ ፡ BCLPOT | 30 (፤ T) | 31 (፤ T) | 32 (# CB).

ዘይቤሉ፡²⁴ በእንተ፡ ገንቱ፡²⁵ መዋዕል ።²⁶ ዝውእቱ፡²⁷ ዘመን፡²⁸ ዘተነግረ፡²⁹ በእንቲአሁ፡³⁰
ውስተ፡ ነገረ፡ ሰንበት፡³¹ ቀዳማይ ።³²

[62] ወተብህለ፡¹ በእማንቱ፡ መዋዕል፡ ይነብር፡ ጎሩይ፡ ዲበ፡ መንበሩ፡² ወጎብአተ፡³
ጥብብ፡ ይወፅእ፡⁴ እምሕሊናሁ፡ ወአፋሁ፡ እስመ፡ እግዚአ፡ መናፍስት፡ ወሀቦ፡ ወሰብሐ ።
⁵ ወበእማንቱ፡ መዋዕል፡ ይዘፍኑ፡ አድባር፡ ከመ፡ ሐራጊት፡ ወአውግር፡⁶ ከመ፡ መሐስአ፡
አባግዕ፡ ጽጉባን፡⁷ ሐሊብ ።⁸ አልቦ፡ እንከ፡ ሞት፡ ልዑላሕ፡⁹ ወኢገዓር፡¹⁰ እስመ፡¹¹
ኃለፈ፡¹² ዘቀዳሚ፡¹³ ሥርዐት ።¹⁴ ወበመርጎብ፡ ዘይትዋነዩ፡¹⁵ ቦቱ፡ ጼዴናት፡¹⁶
ወመጽአሞ፡¹⁷ ተዋነዩ፡¹⁸ ደቂቅ፡¹⁹ ወውስተ፡ አንቀጸ፡ ሀገር፡ መልኡ፡ አዕሩግ፡²⁰
ወለኩሎሙ፡²¹ ምርጉዞሙ፡²² ወውስተ፡ እደቂሆሙ ።²³

[63] ወንጉሥስ፡¹ ገላውዴዎስ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ሰላም፡² ሐነጸ፡ መንበሮ፡³ በአሐቲ፡⁴
ምድር፡ እምድረ፡ ደዋሮ፡⁵ ወረሰዩ፡ ጽርሐ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ አግራሮሃ፡ ወእምይእቲ፡
ምድር፡ ቡርክት፡⁶ ተካፈለ፡⁷ ኩላ፡⁸ አህጉራተ፡⁹ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ብዕለ፡ ወተድላ ።¹⁰ ወነሥአ፡
እምኔሃ፡ ሞገሰ፡ ልተሐንጸ፡¹¹ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡¹² ምዝቡራን፡¹³ ወመራጉታን፡¹⁴
ይእቲ፡ ለእለ፡ ተዓፅዋ ።¹⁵

[64] ምዕራፍ፡¹ ፳፱፡² አሜሃኒ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ገላውዴዎስ፡³ ላዕሌሁ፡⁴ ሰላም፡⁵
ወኢያዕረፈ፡⁶ እምተግብአ፡⁷ ወፀብአሙ፡ ለሐድያ፡ ወለጋላ፡ ወሞአሙ፡⁸ ወዪወወ፡
ደቂቆሙ፡⁹ ወአዋልዲሆሙ፡¹⁰ ወረሰዩሙ፡ ቀዳሕያነ፡ ማይ፡¹¹ ወሐጣብያነ፡ ዕፀው፡¹²
ወኃያላንሂ፡ ኮንዎ፡ ተውኔተ ።¹³ ቦእምኔሆሙ፡ ዘአዘዞሙ፡¹⁴ ያግብኡ፡¹⁵ ሌሎ[ቲ]፡¹⁶

[62] 1 (# O) | 2 (# LO) | 3 OT; ወጎብአተ፡ BFLP; ወጎብአተ፡ C | 4 BCLOPT; ይውጎዝ፡ F | 5 (# CLOT) | 6 COT; ወአውግርኒ፡ BFLP | 7 BCFLPT; ጽጉባን፡ O | 8 (# CLO) | 9 BCFLPT; ኢላሕ፡ P | 9–10 BCLOPT; ወኢገዓር፡ ወኢላሕ፡ tra. F | 11 BCFLPT; om. T | 12 BCFLPT; ወኢኃለፈ፡ T; ኩሎ፡ add. F | 13 BCFOPT; ዘቀዳሚ፡ L | 14 (# CO) | 15 BCLOPT; ዘተዋነዩ፡ F | 16 BCLFOT; ጼዴናት፡ P | 17 BCFLPT; ወመጽአሞ፡ P | 18 ቦቱ፡ add. P | 19 (# LO) | 20 (# L); BCFLPT; ደቂቅ፡ P | 21 BCFLPT; om. P | 22 BCFLPT; ወለምርጉዞሙ፡ P | 23 (# CL).

[63] 1 FPT; ወንጉሥ፡ BCLOT | 2 (# BLO); (፲ T) | 3 BCFLPT; መቅደስ፡ T | 4 BCLOPT; ወውስተ፡ አሐቲ፡ F | 5 (# L); (፲ T) | 6 BCFLPT; om. P | 7 BCFLPT; ተከፍለ፡ L; ታከፈለ፡ P | 8 BCLOPT; om. F | 9 BCFOPT; አህጉራት፡ L | 10 (# COT) | 11 CLOP; ተሐንጸ፡ BFT | 11–12 BCFOPT; ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ተሐንጸት፡ L | 12 BCFLPT; ክርስቲያን፡ T | 13 COPT; om. BFL | 14 BCLOPT; ወመራጉታን፡ F | 15 (# BCOT) |

[64] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# COL); BCLOP; ፳፱፡ F; om. T | 3 BCFLPT; lac. P | 4 BCFLPT; ወላዕሌሁ፡ P | 4–5 om. F | 6 BCOT; ኢያዕረፈ፡ FLP | 7 BCLOP; እምተቃትሎ፡ F; ተግብአ፡ P | 8 (፲ T) | 9 (፲ F) | 10 (# L); (፲ T) | 11 (፲ T) | 12 (፲ T) | 13 (# CO) | 14 BCLOP; ዘአዘዞሙ፡ F; ዘአዘዞሙ፡ P | 15 BCFLPT; ወያግብኡ፡ T | 16 con. (tra. F); ሎሙ፡ BCLOPT | 16–17 ጸባሕተ፡ ሎሙ፡ F | 18 (# CO); COT; om. BFLP | 19 BFLPT; በዘ፡ ከመዝ፡ CO | 20 BFLPT; ወበዘ፡ ይመስሎ፡ CO | 21 BCLOPT; ወነበረ፡ F | 22 BCFOPT; ፫፡ L | 22–23 CLO; ፫ ዓመት፡ BFPT | 23 (# BCLOT).

ጸባሕተ ፡¹⁷ ወሤመ ፡ ጋላተ ።¹⁸ በዘመዝ ፡¹⁹ ግብር ፡ ወበዘይመስሎ ፡²⁰ ነበረ ፡²¹ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ዘዝክርት ፡ መጠነ ፡ ሠለስቱ ፡²² ዓመት ።²³

[65] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ጳውሎስ ።² ወበእሎን ፡³ አውራጃ ፡ ዓመታት ፡ አልዐሉ ፡ ርእሶሙ ፡ ነገደ ፡ ተንባላት ፡⁴ ወወረዳ ፡ መንገል ፡⁵ ታሕታይ ፡⁶ ምድር ፡⁷ እምአህጉረ ፡⁸ ደዋሮ ።⁹ ተቃተሎሙ ፡ መልአክ ፡¹⁰ ይእቲ ፡ ብሔር ፡¹¹ ወሞአሙ ፡ ወቀተለ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡ ብዙኃ ።¹² ወአኃዞ ፡ ለወራባ ፡¹³ ጎጥ ፡¹⁴ እኅወ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ አደል ፡ ወለአሊ ፡¹⁵ ገራድኒ ፡¹⁶ ወልደ ፡ ድልወምበራ ፡¹⁷ ወለተ ፡ ማኅፉድ ፡¹⁸ እንተ ፡ ተዓቢ ፡ ብእሲቱ ፡ ለኢማም ፡ አሕመድ ።¹⁹ አግብአሙ ፡²⁰ ለንጉሥ ፡²¹ ምስለ ፡ ምህርካ ፡²² ብዙኅ ፡²³ ወአፍራስ ፡ ወአብቅልት ።²⁴ ወበእሎን ፡²⁵ ዓመታት ፡²⁶ ገብረ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡²⁷ ንጉሥ ፡²⁸ ዐቢያ ፡ ኃይለ ፡²⁹ ወመድምመ ።³⁰ ግብረ ፡ ዘኢገብሩ ፡ እለ ፡ እምቅድሜሁ ፡ ወኢይገብሩ ፡³¹ እለ ፡ እምድገሬሁ ።³²

[66] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ጳውሎስ ።² እስመ ፡³ ኮነ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ዘከርነ ፡ በገጽ ፡⁴ እምገጸት ፡ ከመ ፡ ተዌወወ ፡⁵ በመዋዕለ ፡ ኢማም ፡ አሕመድ ፡⁶ ሚናስ ፡ እኅሁ ፡ ዘነግሠ ፡ እምድገሬሁ ።⁷ ወኮነ ፡ አዕደውዎ ፡ ምዕራፍ ፡⁸ ባሕር ፡⁹ ዐባይ ፡ ወረኃብ ፡¹⁰ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡¹¹ ባሕረ ፡ ዌው ።¹² ወአብጽሕዎ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ዚቢድ ፡¹³ ዘውእቱ ፡ መዲነት ፡¹⁴ መስሊም ፡ እምታሕተ ፡ ምስር ፡ ወምስሌሁ ፡ ክልኤቱ ፡¹⁵ ደቂቅ ፡¹⁶ እምደቂቅ ፡¹⁷ አኃተ ፡¹⁸ አቡሁ ።¹⁹ አሐዳ ፡²⁰ ላእከ ፡²¹ ማርያም ፡²² ወልደ ፡ ሮማነ ፡ ወርቅ ።²³ ወካልኡኒ ፡²⁴ ላእከ ፡²⁵ ማርያም ፡²⁶ ወልደ ፡ አመተ ፡ ድንግል ።²⁷ ለእሉ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ተቤዘዎሙ ፡²⁸ ወአውፅአሙ ፡ እምእቶነ ፡²⁹ ኃዒን ።³⁰ እንዘ ፡ ይሰብር ፡ ኃዋኅወ ፡ ብርት ፡ ወይቀጠቅጥ ፡ መናሥግተ ።³¹

[65] 1 BCFLO; lac. P; om. T | 2 (# CLO); ጳውሎስ ፡ F | 2-3 BCFLPT; ጳውሎስ ወበእሎን ፡ P | 3 BCLOPT; ወበእማንቱ ፡ F | 4 BFLPT; ተንባላት ፡ CO | 5 BCFOPT; om. L | 6-7 BCLOPT; ምድር ፡ ታሕታይ ፡ F; ምድረ ፡ ታሕታይ ፡ L | 8 BCFLPT; እምድረ ፡ P | 9 (# CO) | 10 BCLOPT; መልአክ ፡ FL; ውስተ ፡ add. F | 11 BCFLOP; ሀገር ፡ T | 12 (# CO) | 13 BCFLOP; ለወራብ ፡ T | 13-14 BCLOP; ለወራብጎጥ ፡ FP | 14 BCFLOP; ጎጥ ፡ T | 15-16 BFLOPT; ወለአሊገራድኒ ፡ C | 17 BCFFP; ድል ፡ ወምበራ ፡ LT; ድልወምበራ ፡ O | 18 (# O) | 19 (# BCLPO) | 20 BCLOP; ወአግብአሙ ፡ FP | 21 ገላውዴዎስ ፡ add. F | 22-23 ብዙኅ ፡ ምህርካ ፡ tra. F | 24 (# COT) | 25 BCLOPT; ወበእማንቱ ፡ F | 26 BCLOPT; መዋዕል ፡ F | 27-28 BCFLPT; ንጉሥ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ tra. P | 29 (፤ F) | 30 BCFLPT; ወመድምመ ፡ P | 31-32 BCLOPT; ወእምድገሬሁ ፡ ዘኢይገብሩ ፡ F | 32 (# COT).

[66] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ጳውሎስ ፡ F; om. T | 2-3 BCFLPT; ጳውሎስ እስመ ፡ P | 4 በካልእ ፡ add. F | 5 አሜሃ ፡ add. F | 6 (# LO) | 7 (# L) | 8-9 BCLOPT; ባሕረ ፡ ማዕድተ ፡ F | 10 BCLOPT; ወረኃብ ፡ F; ወራጃብ ፡ L | 11 (፤ T) | 12 (# CO) | 13 (፤ T) | 14 (፤ T) | 15 ፪ ፡ L | 15-16 CO; ፪ደቂቅ ፡ BFLPT | 17 CFOT; om. BLP | 17-18 om F | 18 (om. F) B; አሐዳ ፡ C; አሐደ ፡ LOPT | 18-19 BCFLPT; ፩ አቡሁ ፡ PT | 20 BCFOPT; ፩ ፡ L | 20-21BCLO; ፩ላእከ ፡ FPT | 22 BCFLPT; lac. P | 23 (# CLO); BCFOPT; ዘወርቅ ፡ L | 24 BCFLPT; ወዕላእከ ፡ P | 25-26 BCFLPT; lac. P | 27 (# CLO) | 28 (፤ F) | 29 BCFLPT; እምእቶነ ፡ P; እሳት ፡ add. P | 30 BCFLPT; ወኃዒን ፡ P | 31 (# CLO).

[67] ወወሀበ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ቤዛሆሙ ፡¹ መሐመድሃ ፡² ወልደ ፡ ለኢማም ፡ አሕመድ ፡³
 ወተውሳክ ፡⁴ ውእቱ ፡ ለእልፈ ፡⁵ ንዋየ ፡⁶ ወእምድኅረ ፡⁷ ውእቱ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁸
 ላዕሌሁ ፡⁹ ሰላም ፡¹⁰ ተጋብአ ፡¹¹ አሐተኒ ፡¹² ምስለ ፡ እሙ ፡ ንግሥት ፡¹³ ወምስለ ፡¹⁴
 ኦሕታዊሁ ፡¹⁵ ወአጋቲሁ ፡¹⁶ ወገብረ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡ በዐለ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡¹⁷
 ተጋብአቶሙ ፡¹⁸ ወገብረ ፡ ሎቶን ፡ ለአጋቲሁ ፡¹⁹ ተድላ ፡²⁰ መርዓ ፡²¹ ዘከመ ፡²² ይደሉ ፡²³
 ለአዋልደ ፡ ነገሥት ፡²⁴

[68] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ልብ ፡² በዝየኒ ፡³ አገበረተነ ፡ ፈቃድ ፡ ከመ ፡⁴ ንንብብ ፡ ንስቲተ ፡
 እሙብዝኅተ ፡⁵ ውዳሴሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንትመየጥ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ዜንዎ ፡⁶ እስመ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡⁷ ዘይብል ፡⁸
 ንወድሶሙ ፡ ለዕደው ፡ ንጌራን ፡⁹ አእግዚእ ፡ ክቡር ፡¹⁰ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹¹ መነ ፡ ይብሉክ ፡
 ሰብእ ፡¹²

[69] ቦኒለ ፡¹ ይብሉክ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ታኢኒምሃ ፡² እመንገለ ፡ አፍቅሮተ ፡ ሕዝቡ ፡³
 ዘየጋሥሥ ፡ ተደምስሶተ ፡ በእንተ ፡⁴ ቤዛሆሙ ፡⁵ ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡ ይብሉክ ፡ ኢየሱስሃ ፡
 መድኃኒኒ ፡⁶ ዘደምስሰ ፡⁷ ነገሥተ ፡ ፀር ፡⁸ ወመኳንንቲሆሙ ፡⁹ ቦኒለ ፡¹⁰ ይሰምዩክ ፡¹¹ ባርቅሃ ፡
¹² ወጌዴዎንሃ ፡¹³ ዘአንገፍዎሙ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ፡¹⁴ እምእደ ፡ ፀሮሙ ፡¹⁵
 ወአውጽእዎሙ ፡ እማእከለ ፡ ጥረሲሆሙ ፡¹⁶ ወቦ ፡¹⁷ ዘይሰምዩክ ፡¹⁸ ዳዊትሃ ፡¹⁹ ዘአውደቆ ፡
²⁰ በውግረተ ፡ እብን ፡²¹ ለኢሎፍላዊ ፡²² ዘተዓየረ ፡²³ ዲበ ፡²⁴ ፀባኢተ ፡²⁵ እግዚአብሔር ፡²⁶
 ሕያው ፡²⁷

[67] 1 (# L) | 2 CFOT; መሐመድ ፡ BLP | 3 (# CLO) | 4 CFOT; ወተውሳክ ፡ BLP | 5-6 BCO; ሸንዋየ ፡ FLPT | 6 (# C) | 7 BCOT; ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ F; እምድኅረ ፡ L | 8 BCFLot; lac. P | 9-10 om. F | 10 (# CLO) | 11 BCOT; ተጋብአ ፡ F; ተጋብአ ፡ LP | 12 BCFO; አሐተኒ ፡ LT; አሐተእ ፡ P | 13 (̄ T) | 14 BCFLot; om. P | 15-16 BCLOPT; አጋቲሁ ፡ ወአጋቲሁ ፡ tra. F | 16 (# CO) | 17 ህይወቶሙ ፡ add. P | 18 (# CO); BCLOPT; ዘተጋብአቶሙ ፡ FP | 19 CFO; አጋቲሁ ፡ BLPT | 19-20 BCLOPT; ተድላ ፡ ለአጋቲሁ ፡ tra. F | 21 COT; ለመርዓ ፡ BFLP | 22 BCLOPT; om. F | 23 BCFLot; ዘይደሉ ፡ P | 24 (# BCFLot).

[68] 1 BCFLot; lac. P | 2 (# CO); BCLOP; ጳውጌ ፡ F; om. T | 2-3 ልብ በዝየኒ ፡ P | 3 BCLOPT; በዝየ ፡ F | 4 BCLOPT; om. F | 5 BCLOPT; እሙብዝኅት ፡ F; እሙብዝኅተ ፡ P | 6 (# CO) | 7 (̄ F) | 8 (̄ T) | 9 (# CLO) | 10 BCLOPT; ንጉሥ ፡ FP | 11 (# CL); BCFLot; lac. P | 12 (# L).

[69] 1 CFLOPT; ወእለ ፡ B | 2 BCLOPT; ታኢኒምሃ ፡ F | 3 (̄ F) | 4 በእንተ ፡ add. O | 5 (# CLO) | 6 BCFLot; መድኃኒተ ፡ P | 7 BCLOPT; ዘይደምስሰ ፡ F | 8 (̄ F) | 9 (# CO); BCFLot; ለመኳንንቲሆሙ ፡ T | 10 BCFOPT; ቦ ፡ እለ ፡ L | 11 BCLOPT; ይብሉክ ፡ FP | 12 (̄ T); CFLOPT; ባርቅጸ ፡ B | 13 (̄ T); COT; ወጌዴዎን ፡ BFLP | 14 BCFLot; ጳኤል ፡ P | 15 (# BL); (̄ T) | 16 (# CLO) | 17 እለ ፡ add. F | 17-18 BCFLot; ወቦ ዘይሰምዩክ ፡ P | 18 BCLOPT; ይሰምዩክ ፡ F | 19 (̄ T) | 20 COT; om. BFLP | 21 (̄ FT); ዘቀተሎ ፡ add. P | 22 BCFLPT; ለኢሎፍላዊ ፡ O | 23 BCFLPT; ዘተዓየሩ ፡ LO | 24 BCLOPT; ላዕሌ ፡ F | 25 BCLPT; ፀባኢት ፡ OF | 26 ዘተቃተሎ ፡ add. F | 27 (# CLO); BCLOPT; om. F.

[70] ቦኔል ፡¹ ያስተማሳለሁ ፡ በሕዝቅያስ ፡² ዘበመዋዕሊሁ ፡³ ተረጎዩ ፡⁴ አንበሳ ፡ ወላህም ፡
⁵ ጎብረ ፡⁶ ወተራከቡ ፡ ዘርእ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሠርፅ ፡⁷ ወቀስም ፡⁸ ምስለ ፡ ማእረር ፡⁹ ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡
ይሜስሉክ ፡¹⁰ በኢዮስያስ ፡¹¹ ሠራዊ ፡¹² ምሕራማት ።¹³ ለወቦ ፡¹⁴ እለ ፡¹⁵ ይሬስዩክ ፡ ልዑለ ፡
ወትሩፈ ፡¹⁶ እምእሉ ፡ ለሠለስቱ ፡¹⁷ ነገሥት ።¹⁸

[71] እስመ ፡ ለዳዊት ፡¹ ሰመዮቶ ፡ መስተቀይመ ፡² መጽሐፈ ፡ ሳሙኤል ፡ ነቢይ ፡³
እምግብሩ ፡ ዘገብረ ፡ ምስለ ፡⁴ ኢያሚናዊ ፡⁵ ብእሲ ፡⁶ ወምስለ ፡⁷ ደቂቀ ፡⁸ ሶርህያ ።⁹ ለከስ ፡
ጎጽሕት ፡¹⁰ ነፍስክ ፡¹¹ እምዝንቱ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ከመ ፡ ነፍስ ፡ ሕፃን ፡ ዘአቀመ ፡¹² መድኅን ፡¹³
ኩሉ ፡¹⁴ ማእከለ ፡ አርዳኢሁ ።¹⁵ ወለሕዝቅያስኒ ፡ ዘከረ ፡ ትዝኅርቶ ፡ ወሐልዮቶ ፡¹⁶ ከዊነ ፡
ሕያው ፡¹⁷ ዘለዓለም ።¹⁸ እስከ ፡¹⁹ በእንተዝ ፡²⁰ አጎደረ ፡²¹ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለክቡር ፡²²
ወልዑል ፡²³ ክብደ ፡²⁴ ደዌ ፡ በእንግድኣሁ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ መካነ ፡ ትዝኅርት ።²⁵ አንተሰ ፡
ትሑት ፡ ፈድፋድ ፡²⁶ ዘኢተዓብያ ፡²⁷ ለነፍስክ ፡²⁸ እምነፍስ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ መርዓት ፡²⁹ ዘታሕተ ፡
ተኖልዎትክ ።³⁰

[72] ወለኢዮስያስኒ ፡¹ ኢኮነት ፡² ሎቱ ፡ መዊእ ፡³ ከመ ፡ መዊኣትክ ።⁴ በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡
ሠናዩ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ ቀደምት ፡⁵ ዘአዔረዩክ ፡⁶ ምስሌሆሙ ፡⁷ እምአሐዱ ፡⁸ ጎብር ፡⁹ ወኢያእከዩ ፡
¹⁰ ደኃሪትኒ ፡¹¹ ለዘረሰዩክ ፡¹² ፋድለ ፡¹³ እምኔሆሙ ፡¹⁴ እምክፍል ፡¹⁵ ካልእ ።¹⁶ አጠቢብ ፡
ከመ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ዘይፌክር ፡ ቅጽብተ ።¹⁷ ወመበይን ፡¹⁸ ከመ ፡ ዳንኤል ፡¹⁹ በውስተ ፡ ፍትሕ ።

20

[70] 1 COT; ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡ BFLP | 2 (̄ T) | 3 CFOPT; በመዋዕሊሁ ፡ BL | 4 BCLOT; ተረጎዩ ፡ FP | 5 (̄ T) | 6 (̄ F); (። L) | 7 (̄ T) | 8 BCFLPT; ወቀስም ፡ O | 9 (። CLO) | 10 COT; ይሜስሉክ ፡ BL; ያስተማሳለሁ ፡ F; ይሰምዩክ ፡ P | 11 BCFLPT; ኢዮስያስ ፡ P; በኢዮስያስኒ ፡ T | 12 BCPT; ሠራዊ ፡ FLO | 13 (። L); ጣዖት ፡ add. F | 14–15 BCLOPT; ወቦኔል ፡ F | 16 BCLOPT; ምግባር ፡ F | 17 CFOPT; ፫ ፡ BL | 17–18 BCLO; ፫ ነገሥት ፡ FPT | 18 (። CO).

[71] 1 (̄ T) | 2 BCLOPT; post ሳሙኤል ፡ tra. F | 3 BCLOPT; om. F | 4 (̄ T) | 5 BCFLPT; ኢያሚናዊ ፡ T | 6 (̄ T) | 7 CFO; ምስለ ፡ BLPT | 8 BCFLPT; ደቂቅ ፡ O | 9 (። CLO) | 10–11 BCLOPT; ነፍስክ ፡ ጎጽሕት ፡ tra. F | 12 BCFLPT; ዘአቀመ ፡ P | 13 BCFLPT; መድኅን ፡ P | 14 BCFLPT; om. P | 15 (። CLO) | 16 BCLOPT; ወሐልዮቶ ፡ F | 17 BCFOPT; ሕያው ፡ L | 18 (። CLO); BCFLPT; ለዓለም ፡ P | 19 BCFOPT; እስመ ፡ L | 20 BCLOPT; በዝንቱ ፡ F; ትዝኅርት ፡ add. F | 21 ቦቱ ፡ add. F | 22–23 BCFOPT; ልዑል ፡ ወክቡር ፡ tra. L; om. P | 23 (̄ T); BCLOPT; ልዑል ፡ F; ስሙ ፡ add. F | 24 BCLOPT; ክብደ ፡ F; ክብደ ፡ O | 25 (። CLO) | 26 (̄ T) | 27 BCLOPT; ወኢተዓብያ ፡ F | 28 BCFLPT; ነፍስ ፡ T | 29 BCFLPT; መርዓት ፡ OT | 30 (። CLO); BCFOPT; ተኖልዎትክ ፡ LT.

[72] BCLOPT; ወኢዮስያስኒ ፡ F; ለኢዮስያስኒ ፡ T | 2 BCLOPT; ኢኮነት ፡ F | 3 (̄ F) | 4 (። CLO) | 5 (̄ F) | 6 BCO; ዘኢያዕቅዳዮሩክ ፡ F; ዘአኤዮሩክ ፡ L; ዘኢያዕቅዳዮክ ፡ P; ዘአዔረዩክ ፡ T | 7 እምኩሉ ፡ add. P | 8 BCFOPT; እም፩ ፡ L; በ፩ ፡ P | 8–9 CLOPT; እም፩ጎብር ፡ BFT | 10 BCFLPT; ወኢያዓክቶ ፡ T | 11 BCFLPT; ደኃሪትኒ ፡ T | 12 (̄ T) | 12–15 BCLOPT; እም ፡ ክፍል ፡ ዘረሰዩክ ፡ ፋድለ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡ tra. F | 13 BCFLPT; ጎድለ ፡ B | 14 (። CO) | 16 (። CLO) | 17 (። CLO) | 18 BCFLPT; ወመበይን ፡ P | 19 (̄ T) | 20 (። CLO).

[73] ምዕራፍ¹ ፴፩² ናሁ³ ገዜን⁴ ገዜን⁵ ገዜን⁶ ገዜን⁷ ገዜን⁸ ገዜን⁹ ገዜን¹⁰ ገዜን¹¹ ገዜን¹² ገዜን¹³ ገዜን¹⁴ ገዜን¹⁵ ገዜን¹⁶ ገዜን¹⁷ ገዜን¹⁸ ገዜን¹⁹ ገዜን²⁰ ገዜን²¹ ገዜን²² ገዜን²³

[74] ወምክንያተ¹ ስሙ² ስሙ³ ስሙ⁴ ስሙ⁵ ስሙ⁶ ስሙ⁷ ስሙ⁸ ስሙ⁹ ስሙ¹⁰ ስሙ¹¹ ስሙ¹² ስሙ¹³ ስሙ¹⁴ ስሙ¹⁵ ስሙ¹⁶ ስሙ¹⁷ ስሙ¹⁸ ስሙ¹⁹ ስሙ²⁰ ስሙ²¹ ስሙ²² ስሙ²³ ስሙ²⁴ ስሙ²⁵ ስሙ²⁶ ስሙ²⁷ ስሙ²⁸

[75] ወእምድኅረ¹ ፋሲካ² ስሙ³ ስሙ⁴ ስሙ⁵ ስሙ⁶ ስሙ⁷ ስሙ⁸ ስሙ⁹ ስሙ¹⁰ ስሙ¹¹ ስሙ¹² ስሙ¹³ ስሙ¹⁴ ስሙ¹⁵ ስሙ¹⁶ ስሙ¹⁷ ስሙ¹⁸ ስሙ¹⁹ ስሙ²⁰ ስሙ²¹ ስሙ²² ስሙ²³ ስሙ²⁴ ስሙ²⁵ ስሙ²⁶ ስሙ²⁷ ስሙ²⁸

[73] 1 BCLOPT; 1ac. P | 2 (# CLO); BCLOP; ፳፻፳፻ : F; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; om. F | 4 CF; ሀለወ : BLPOT | 5 BCFLPT; 1ac. P; ወመሲሕ : add. BLP; ወመሲሕ : ሀለወ : add. F | 6 CFLOT; ዘላላሁ : BP | 7 BCLOPT; እምቅድም : F | 8 COT; om. BFLP | 9 (፯ T); BCLOT; ህዩንቲሃ : F; om. P | 10 BCLOT; እምዐቤት : FP | 11 (፯ T) | 12 (# L); (፯ O) | 13 con.; አህገረ : BCFLPOT | 14 BCFOPT; ስርቅ : L | 15 (፯ T) | 16 ወሐረ : add. F | 17 (# CLO); con.; ወአዋልዲሃ : BCFLPOT | 18 (፯ F) | 19 COT; ምዕራብ : BFLP | 20 COT; ዘፀሐይ : BFLP | 21 CFOT; om. B; post ጳጳስ : tra. LP | 22 BCLOPT; ante እምነ : tra. F | 23 (# CO).

[74] 1 CFO; ስሙ : BLPT | 2 CLOPT; ኢያምልክዎ : BF | 3 (# CLO) | 4 (፯ T); COP; በገድሐ : BFL; በገድሐ : T | 5 (# CLO) | 6 BCFOPT; በ፳ : L | 6-7 COT; በ፳፻፳፻ : BFPL | 8 BCLOPT; ወእምድኅረ : F | 9 BCLOPT; ዓለም : F | 10 BCFLPT; በሰብዐ : ምእት : ወአርብዓ : O | 11 CO; ወእምድኅረ : BFLPT | 12 (# CO) | 13 con.; om. BCFLPOT | 14 (፯ T) | 15 COPT; ሐምል : BFL | 16 BCFOPT; አድዋም : L | 17 (# CO) | 18 (፯ T) | 19 BCFLPOT; om. T | 20 BCO; ውልወለ : FLT; ወላውለ : P | 21 (፯ F) | 22 BCFLPT; ወይዘራም : P | 23 (# CLO) | 24 (፯ T) | 25-26 BCFLPT; አመ : ወይዘራ : ፳፻፳፻ : tra. P | 27 BCFLPT; ወእምድኅረ : O | 28 (# CLO).

[75] 1 BCLOPT; ገድሐ : FL | 2 BCFLPT; lac. P | 3 BCFLPT; om. P | 4-5 CLOPT; እምድኅረ : BFT | 5 (# CLO) | 6 BCFOPT; ናስተሐድር : L | 7 (፯ T); CFLOPT; መጀትሎሁ : B | 8 CFLOT; ወናነብር : BP; በዝንቲ : በዝንቲ : add. F; በዝንቲ : add. LP | 9 (# COT); COT; በዘይደሉ : BLP; ወዘይደሉ : F | 10 CO; ነበር : BFLPT | 11 (፯ T) | 12 BCFLPT; om. T | 13 BLPT; ለተንበላት : CO; ለተንበላት : F | 14 (፯ T) | 15 (# CO); BLP; ሐስን : ሲን : CO; ሐስን : ሲን : F; አስን : ሲን : T | 16 BCLOPT; ወሞክ : F | 17 BCFOPT; ፩ : L | 17-18 BCO; ፩ላካልኦ : FLPT | 18 (# COT).

ኃያላኒሆሙ፡¹² ለተንባላት፡¹³ ወማእከለ፡ መልአስ፡ ኃይሎሙ፡¹⁴ ሐስንዲን፡¹⁵ ወዘከመ፡ ተግብሉ፡ በበይናቲሆሙ፡ ወሞአ፡¹⁶ ከአሐዱ፡¹⁷ ለካልኡ፡¹⁸

[76] ምዕራፍ፡¹ ሷወጀ፡² ወበውእቱ፡ ዓም፡ ሶባ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ነገደ፡³ ተንባላት፡⁴ ከመ፡ ሐረ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ገላውዴዎስ፡⁵ ኃያል፡⁶ ወጽኑዕ፡ በውስተ፡ ፀብእ፡⁷ መንገለ፡ ምዕራብ፡⁸ ፀሐይ፡⁹ ሮዱ፡ አህጉራተ፡¹⁰ ምሥራቃውያት፡¹¹ እለ፡¹² ዘከርናሆን፡¹³ ወተቃተሎሙ፡¹⁴ ፋኑኤል፡¹⁵ እንዘ፡ ይዜምር፡¹⁶ ኪያሁ፡¹⁷ ነጋሢ፡¹⁸ ወሞአሙ፡ በረድኤተ፡ እግዚእ፡¹⁹ ክርስቶስ፡ አምላክ፡²⁰ ቅዱስ፡ ገላውዴዎስ፡²¹ ወቀተለ፡²² ምእተ፡²³ ወአምአተ፡²⁴ ወአልቦ፡ ዘአትረፈ፡²⁵ እንበለ፡²⁶ ሊቀ፡ ሠራዊት፡ ዘጉዮ፡ ጎሠረ፡²⁷ ወሠራዊትኒ፡ ውሐዳነ፡²⁸ እደው፡ ዘከመ፡ ኑር፡²⁹ ወካልአኒሁ፡³⁰ ወፈነወ፡³¹ ዕልገታቲሁ፡³² ኅባ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወንግሥት፡³³ እሙ፡³⁴ ብዙኃ፡³⁵ አፍራስ፡³⁶ ወብዙኃ፡ ንዋየ፡ ፀብእ፡³⁷ ወትርሲተ፡ ቀትል፡³⁸

[77] ምዕራፍ፡¹ ሷወጀ፡² ወንጉሥስ፡³ ገላውዴዎስ፡⁴ ላዕሌሁ፡⁵ ሰላም፡⁶ አጥብዓ፡ ሐዊረ፡ ውስተ፡ ብሔረ፡⁷ ሕዝብ፡⁸ እኩያን፡⁹ ዘከርናሆሙ፡¹⁰ ቀዳሚ፡¹¹ ወነበረ፡ ህየ፡¹² መጠነ፡¹³ ስድስቱ፡¹⁴ አውራጎ፡¹⁵ በተጸብአ፡¹⁶ እንዘ፡ ዕለት፡¹⁷ ሎቱ፡¹⁸ ወዕለት፡¹⁹ ሎሙ፡²⁰ ወእምድጎሬሁ፡²¹ በፍጻሜ፡²² ግብር፡ እንዘ፡²³ ገብሮ፡ ሞአሙ፡²⁴ ለእሉ፡²⁵ አሕዛብ፡²⁶ ዘሞተ፡ ሞተ፡ በመጥባሕት፡²⁷ ሐረ፡²⁸

[76] BCFL0T; lac. P | 2 (# LO); BCLOP; ሷ፡ F; om. T | 3 BCFLP; ነደ፡ OT | 4 BCLPT; ተንባላት፡ FO | 5 (፤ T) | 6 (# L) | 6-7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 COT; ምዕራብ፡ BFLP | 9 (# O); CLOPT; ዘፀሐይ፡ B; om. F | 10 BCFL0T; om. P | 11 BCFLPT; ምሥራቃውያት፡ O | 12 BCLOPT; om. F | 13 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ዘከርናሆን፡ F | 14 BCLOPT; ወተቃተሎን፡ F | 15 BCLOPT; om. F | 16 (፤ T) | 17 CFOT; ኪያሁሙ፡ BLP | 18 BCFL0T; ነጋሢ፡ P | 19 COT; እግዚእነ፡ BFLP; ኢየሱስ፡ add. BFLP | 20 BCFLPT; አምላክ፡ O | 21 (# L); (፤ T); BCFL0T; lac. P | 22 BCFL0T; ወቀተሎ፡ P | 23 CFOT; ፫ተ፡ B; ፫፡ L | 23-24 BCLO; ፫ወእምዳተ፡ FP; ፫ወአምተ፡ T | 24 (# L); CFOT; ወስምዳተ፡ B; ወዓምተ፡ L | 25 BCLOPT; ዘአትረፉ፡ F | 26 BCOPT; ዘእንበለ፡ FL | 27 (# L); (፤ T) | 27-29 BCLOPT; om. F | 28 CFOT; ጎሠራነ፡ BLP | 29 (# L); (፤ T) | 30 BCLOPT; ወካልአን፡ F; ሠራዊት፡ add. F | 31 CFOT; ፈነወ፡ BLP | 32 BCLOPT; ዕልገታተ፡ F | 33-34 BCLOPT; ወእሙ፡ ንግሥት፡ F | 35 BCLOPT; ወብዙኃ፡ F | 36 FLOT; አፍራስ፡ BCP | 36-37 BCLOPT; ንዋየ፡ ሐቅል፡ ወአፍራስ፡ F | 38 (# BCLOT).

[77] 1 BCFL0T; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); BCLOP; ሷወጀ፡ F; om.T | 3 CFOP; ወንጉሥ፡ BLT | 4 BCFL0T; lac. P | 5 CFOT; ዘላዕሌሁ፡ BL; ዘለእሌሁ፡ P | 5-6 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 CFOT; ፀብእ፡ BLP; ወሕዝብ፡ add. P | 9 BCLOPT; om. F; ሕዝብ፡ add. L | 10 BCLOPT; ዘከርና፡ F; ለፀብዕ፡ add. L | 11 (# LT); BCLOPT; om. F | 12 BCLOPT; በፀብዕ፡ F | 13 BCLOPT; om. F | 14 BCFOPT; ፯፡ L | 14-15 CLO; ፯አውራጎ፡ BFPT | 16 BCLOPT; om. F | 17 BCFLPT; ዕለተ፡ O | 18 (፤ T) | 19 BCLOPT; om. F | 20 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ወሎሙ፡ F | 21 BCLOPT; ወእምዛ፡ F; ሎሙ፡ add. L | 22-23 om. F | 24-28 BCLOPT; om. F | 25 (፤ T) | 26 (# L); (፤ T); (om. F) BT; መጥባሕት፡ CLOP | 27 (፤ T) | 28 (# CLO).

[78] ^aወእለ ፡¹ ተርፉ ፡^{a2} እምዝንቱ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ግሩራን ፡³ ^bሎቱ ፡⁴ ወአጽኑ ፡ ክሳሊሆሙ ፡⁵ ታሕተ ፡ አርዑተ ፡ ቅኔሁ ፤⁶ ^bባቡርህ ፡⁷ ሮዎ ፡⁸ በፈቃድ ።⁹ እስመ ፡ ኩነኔሁ ፡ ዐገቶሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሕልቀት ፡¹⁰ ለኩሎሙ ፡¹¹ ለእለኒ ፡ ፈቀዱ ፡ ወለእለኒ ፡¹² ኢፈቀዱ ፡¹³ ለእለኒ ፡¹⁴ ቀደሙ ፡¹⁵ ወለእለኒ ፡ ተድጎሩ ።¹⁶ ስቡሕ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘሎቱ ፡¹⁷ መዊእ ፡¹⁸ ^dወውእቱ ፡¹⁹ ፈታሔ ፡ መዊእ ፡^{d20} ለእለ ፡ ይትዌከሉ ፡ ቦቱ ።²¹

[79] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ሷወ፬ ።² ወእምዝ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ገቢሮ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡³ ተመይጠ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ እምርት ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡⁴ ፀሐይ ፡⁵ ጎበ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡⁶ እሙ ፡ ወአኃዊሁ ፡ ወአላቲሁ ።⁷ ወበጺሐ ፡ ህዩ ፡ ከፈሎሙ ፡ እምህርካ ፡ ዘማህረከ ፡⁸ እንስሳ ፡ ወሰብእ ፡⁹ ወርቀ ፡ ውብሩረ ።¹⁰ አኮ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ለባሕቲቶሙ ፡ አላ ፡ ያስተፌሥሐሙ ፡¹¹ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡¹² በከፊለ ፡ ሰቂማ ፡¹³ እንዘ ፡ ይሁቦሙ ፡ አግብርተ ፡ ወአእማተ ፡ እምደቂቀ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ወአዋልዲሆሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይረስይዎሙ ፡¹⁴ ሐዋርያተ ፡¹⁵ ማይ ፡¹⁶ ወወፋርያነ ፡¹⁷ ዕፀው ።¹⁸

[80] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ሷወ፭ ።² ወበውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ነደት ፡ ቅንአቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ እሳት ፡³ ወጸሐፈ ፡ ሎቱ ፡⁴ መጽሐፈ ፡ መባሕት ፡⁵ ለፋኑኤል ፡⁶ ሊቀ ፡⁷ ሠራዊተ ፡⁸ ፀብእ ፡⁹ ከመ ፡ ይሑር ፡ እንተ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡¹⁰ በር ፡¹¹ ሰአድዲን ፡¹² ወይፅብአሙ ፡ ለእስላም ፡ እለ ፡¹³ ህዩ ።¹⁴ ወገብረ ፡ በከመ ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ወሐረ ፡ ወፀብአሙ ፡¹⁵ ወቀተለ ፡ ^aአሐደ ፡¹⁶ እምክልኤቱ ፡¹⁷ ነገሥታቲሆሙ ፡^{a18} ወካልኡ ፡¹⁹ አምሠጠ ፡ ዕሩቀ ፡²⁰ በገዲፈ ፡²¹ ኩሉ ፡ ዘቦ ።²² እስመ ፡ ተአዝዞቱ ፡ ለእግዚአ ፡²³ ተሐውር ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ በከዊነ ፡ ትእምርተ ፡²⁴ መዊእ ፡²⁵ ከመ ፡

[78] 1–2 BCLOT; ወዘተርፉ ፡ FP | 3 BCFLP; ግሩራን ፡ OT | 4 (፤ T) | 4–6 om. F | 5 (om. F) BCLOT; ክሳሊሆሙ ፡ P | 6 (፡ BCOP); (# L) | 7 BCFOPT; ሮ ፡ በኩርህ ፡ L | 8–9 om. F | 9 (# CO) | 10 (፤ T) | 11 (# L) | 12 BCFLPT; ወእለኒ ፡ O | 13 (፤ T) | 14 CLOT; ወለእለኒ ፡ BFP; ቀዳሚ ፡ add. BFLP | 15 (# CL) | 16 ወይእዜኒ ፡ ይትባረክ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ add. F | 17 BCFLPT; ዘቦቱ ፡ P; ስብሐት ፡ add. F | 18 BCLOPT; መዊእ ፡ F | 19–20 om. F | 21 (# BCLOT); በጥቡዕ ፡ ልቦሙ ፡ add. F.

[79] 1 BCFLP; lac. P; om. T | 2 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ሷወ፬ ፡ F | 3 (፤ T); BCLOT; መላክ ፡ ሰገድ ፡ F; lac. P | 4 COT; ምሥራቅ ፡ BFLP | 5 (፤ T); CO; ዘፀሐይ ፡ BFLPT | 6 BCFLP; ሀለው ፡ T | 7 (# CLO) | 8 (፤ T) | 9 BFLOPT; ወሰብእ ፡ C | 10 (# CO) | 11 BCLOPT; ያስተፍሥሕ ፡ F; ልቦሙ ፡ add. F | 12 (# L); (፤ T) | 13 (፤ F) | 14 BCFLP; ይረስይዎሙ ፡ T | 15 BCFLPT; ሐዋርያት ፡ O | 16 (# L); (፤ T) | 17 BCLOPT; ወአግብዳነ ፡ F | 18 (# BCLOPT); BCLOPT; ዕፀው ፡ F.

[80] BCFLP; lac. P | 2 (# BCLO); BCLOPT; ሷወ፭ ፡ F | 3 (፤ T) | 4 ሳሌሁ ፡ add. BFLP | 5 CFLOT; መዋባሕት ፡ BP | 6 (፤ F) | 7 BCLOPT; ሊቀ ፡ F | 8 BCT; ፋኑኤል ፡ F; ሠራዊት ፡ LPO | 9 BCLOT; om. F; ዘፀብዕ ፡ P | 10 COT; om. BFLP | 11 (፤ T) | 12 BCOT; ሰአድዲን ፡ FLP | 13 ሀለው ፡ add. F | 14 (# CLOT) | 15 (# L) | 16 BCFOPT; ፩ ፡ L | 17 BCFOPT; እም፪ ፡ L | 16–18 CLO; ፩እም፪ነገሥታቲሆሙ ፡ BFPT | 19 (፤ T) | 20 BCFLP; ዕሩቅ ፡ P | 21 (፤ O) | 22 (# CLO) | 23 (፤ T) | 24 BCFLP; ትእምርት ፡ T | 25 (፤ FT) | 26 BCFLP; ራያ ፡ O; ራዕያ ፡ T | 27 (# L); CLO; ወእምሳሊሁ ፡ BFPT | 28 COT; አግብዳነ ፡ BFLP | 29 BCFLP; ዘፈነወ ፡ T | 30 (፤ T); BCLOPT; ኢፈነዎ ፡ F | 31 BCLOPT; ፈቃዱ ፡ F | 32 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; ለዘፈነዎ ፡ F.

አርአያ ፡²⁶ ወአምሳል ፤²⁷ ወዓዲ ፡ አግብአ ፡²⁸ ኩሎ ፡ ዕልገታተ ፡ ለእግዚአ ፡ ዘፈነዎ ፡²⁹
እስመ ፡ ኢሐረ ፡³⁰ ከመ ፡ ይፈጽም ፡ ፈቃዶ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ፈቃዶ ፡³¹ ዘፈነዎ ።³²

[81] ወእምድኅረ ፡¹ ዝንቱ ፡² መጽአ ፡³ መጻኢት ፡ ዘይመውአ ፡ ለኩሎ ፡ እንለ ፡
እመሕያው ፡ ወያነሥእዎ ፡⁴ ብሔረ ፡ እለ ፡⁵ ከማሁ ።⁶ ወምስለዝ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዓዲሃ ፡ ⁷ ልዕልት ፡
እዴሁ ፡ ወመዝራዕቱ ፡⁸ ለንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁹ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ሰላም ።¹⁰ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡
ጽዋዐ ፡ ወርቅ ፡¹¹ ውእቱ ፡¹² ውስተ ፡¹³ እደ ፡¹⁴ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘቦቱ ፡ ያሰቲ ፡¹⁵ ለኩሎሙ ፡
አሕዛብ ፡ እምወይነ ፡ መዐቱ ።¹⁶

[82] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ሿወ፳ ።² ወበዓሠርቱ ፡³ ዓመት ፡⁴ እምዓመተ ፡⁵ መንግስቱ ፡⁶ መከረ ፡
ካዕበ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁷ ላዕሌሁ ፡⁸ ሰላም ፡⁹ ከመ ፡ ይትጋደል ፡ ምስለ ፡ ፀረ ፡ እግዚእ ፡
ክርስቶስ ፡ ወቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑ ።¹⁰ ወሐለዩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያመዝብር ፡ ብሔሮሙ ፡¹¹ ለተንባላት ፡¹²
አምጣነ ፡¹³ አመዝበሩ ፡ አህጉሪሁ ፡¹⁴ ወያጹሮሙ ፡ ያሮሙ ፡¹⁵ ዲበ ፡ ርእሶሙ ።¹⁶

[83] አሜሃኒ ፡ ገብረ ፡¹ ዘሐለዩ ፡² ወኢተድኅረ ፡ ³ እምዘ ፡⁴ መከረ ።⁵ ወሐረ ፡ መንገለ ፡
ብር ፡⁶ ሰዓደዲን ፡⁷ እንዝ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ መርሕ ፡ ቅድሜሁ ።⁸ ወኩሎ ፡ ግብሩ ፡ ዘገብረ ፡
በውስተ ፡ ⁹ ፍኖት ፡¹⁰ ኅበ ፡¹¹ ቤት ፡¹² ወወዐለ ፡¹³ ወእስፍንቱ ፡ ዕለታት ፡¹⁴ ዘግዕዘ ፡ ቦቶን ፡¹⁵
ጽሑፍ ፡ ውስተ ፡¹⁶ ብርያሚን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ነገረ ፡ መዋዕል ።¹⁷

[84] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ሿወ፳ ።² ወበጺሐ ፡³ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁴ ብር ፡⁵ ሰዓደዲን ፡⁶ ነበረ ፡
መጠነ ፡⁷ ህምስቱ ፡⁸ አውራኅ ፡⁹ በህዩ ።¹⁰ ወበእሎን ፡ መዋዕል ፡¹¹ ሜጠ ፡ ዪዋሆሙ ፡¹²

[81] 1 BCLOPT; ወእምዘ ፡ F | 2 BCLOPT; om. F | 3 BCFLP; መጽአ ፡ OT | 4 BCFLT; ወይነሥእዎ ፡ P; ወነሥእዎ ፡ O | 5 BCLOPT; om. F | 6 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; ዘከማሁ ፡ F | 7 BCFLPT; እዴሁ ፡ P | 8 ልዕልት ፡ add. B | 9 (# L); BCLOT; መላክ ፡ ሰገድ ፡ F; lac. P | 10 (# CLOT) | 11 (፤ F) | 12 BCFO; om. LPT | 13 BCLOPT; ዘውስተ ፡ F | 14 BCLOPT; እዴሁ ፡ F | 15 BCFT; ያሰቲ ፡ OP; ይላቂ ፡ L | 16 (# BCLOT).

[82] BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); BCLOP; ሿወ፳ ፡ F; om. T | 3 BCFOPT; ወበ፲ ፡ L | 3-4 CLO; ወበ፲ዓመት ፡ BPT; ወበ፲ዓመተ ፡ F | 5 BCLOPT; om. F | 6 (# O); (፤ T) | 7 BCLOT; መላክ ፡ ሰገድ ፡ F; lac. P | 8 BCFLPT; ዘላእሌሁ ፡ P | 9 (# L) | 10 (# COT) | 11 ኩሎ ፡ አህጉረ ፡ add. F | 12 CPT; ለተንባላት ፡ BFLO | 13 BCFLPT; በከመ ፡ P | 14 (# L) | 15 BCOPT; ያሮሙ ፡ FL | 16 (# COT).

[83] 1 በከመ ፡ add. P | 2 BCFLPT; ሐለዩ ፡ P | 3 (፤ T) | 4-5 COT; እምዘመከረ ፡ BFLP | 5 (# CO) | 6-7 BCFLPT; በርሰዓደዲን ፡ PT | 7 BCLOPT; ሰዳዲን ፡ F | 8 (# CLO) | 9 BCOPT; om. F; እንተ ፡ L | 10 CLOPT; ፍኖት ፡ B; በፍኖት ፡ F | 11 BCLOPT; ወውስተ ፡ F | 12 BCFLPT; ቤተ ፡ C | 13 (# L) | 14 (፤ T); BCFLPT; ዕለታት ፡ T | 15 እስመ ፡ add. F | 16 BCLOPT; ዘይብል ፡ F | 17 (# CLOT).

[84] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# BCO); BCLOPT; ሿወ፳ ፡ F | 3 BCFLPT; ወበጺሐ ፡ P | 4 (፤ T); BCLOPT; መላክሰገድ ፡ F | 5-6 BCFLPT; በርሰዓዲድን ፡ PT | 6 BCOPT; አሰዲድን ፡ F; ሰዓዲድን ፡ L | 7 (፤ T) | 8 BCFOPT; ፳ ፡ L | 8-9 CLO; ፳አውራኅ ፡ BFPT | 10 (# CLO) | 11 (፤ T) | 12 (፤ T) | 13 (# BFLPT); (# C) | 14-15 BCLOPT; መላሊም ፡ ወአዋልዲሆሙ ፡ tra. F | 15 (# CO); CFO; ለመሰሊም ፡ BLPT | 16 BCLOPT; ወነሥተ ፡ F | 17 (፤ F); con.; ዘእምዘንቱ ፡ BCFLPT | 18 (፤ F) | 19 (# L) | 20 (# CLO).

ልልነሰራ ፡ ከመ ፡ ውኒዝ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አዜብ ፫¹³ ወዴወወ ፡ ደቂቆሙ ፡ ርወአዋልዲሆሙ ፡¹⁴
ለመስለም ።¹⁵ ነሠተ ፡¹⁶ማገፈዲሆሙ ፡ ዘእም<እብን> ፡¹⁷ ወአውዓየ ፡ አብያቲሆሙ ፡¹⁸
ዘእምዕፅ ፡¹⁹ ወረሰየ ፡ ከሉሎ ፡ ንዋዮሙ ፡ ሕብልያ ።²⁰

[85] ወሰደዶ ፡ ለንጉሥሙ ፡¹ እመንበሩ ፡² ወኢያትረፈ ፡ ሎቱ ፡³ እምንዋዩ ፡⁴
ዘኢያስተአዝብ ፡⁵ ውስተ ፡⁶ አረፍት ።⁷ ለእምክልኤቱ ፡⁸ አርእስተ ፡⁹ ጽኑዓኒሆሙ ፡
ለተንባላት ፡¹⁰ ለአባስ ፡¹¹ ዘይንእስ ፡¹² አንዝ ፡¹³ ወሞቅሖ ፡¹⁴ ወወሰዶ ፡¹⁵ ብሔረ ፡¹⁶ ንበ ፡¹⁷
ይትሞቅሖ ።¹⁸ ወለኑርኒ ፡ እምሕዝብ ፡ ሱሐውያን ፡¹⁹ እብን ፡²⁰ ሙጃሂድ ፡²¹ ሰደዶ ፡²²
ዕሩቀ ፡ እምከሉ ፡ ሠናያቲሁ ፡²³ በእእባን ፡²⁴ ወዕፅ ፡²⁵ ከመ ፡ ይሰድድዎ ፡²⁶ ለከልብ ፡
ዘለመደ ፡²⁷ ጼና ፡²⁸ ስቡሕ ።²⁹

[86] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ሿወ፰ ።² ውብነ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ለነገረ ፡³ ዜናሁ ፡⁴ ዘተርፈ ፡ እስመ ፡ ጊዜ ፡⁵
ለከሉ ፡⁶ ወንጉሥ ፡⁷ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁸ አሜሃኒ ፡⁹ ኢኮነ ፡ ዘአዕረፈ ፡ እምቀትል ፡¹⁰ አላ ፡
የዐርግ ፡¹¹ ውስተ ፡ አድባራቲሆሙ ፡¹² ለተንባላት ፡¹³ ወይዴውው ፡ ዘረከበ ፡ ለእምሰብእ ፡¹⁴
እስከ ፡ እንስሳ ።¹⁵ ዓዲ ፡ ያንህል ፡¹⁶ አጽዋኒሆሙ ፡ ወያርጉ ፡ አህጉራቲሆሙ ፡ ዕፅዋተ ፡¹⁷
ወረሰያ ፡ ለምድሮሙ ፡ ምድረ ፡¹⁸ አደል ፡¹⁹ ከመ ፡²⁰ ያንብራሃ ፡²¹ አዕዋፍ ።²² ርወመዝበሮ ፡
²³ ለሕንጻሆሙ ፡²⁴ ያፍኒ ፡ ረከበት ፡ ላቲ ፡ ቤተ ፡²⁵ ውስተ ፡ ቤቶሙ ።²⁶ ወኮነ ፡²⁷
ምግባሪሆሙ ፡²⁸ ወምንባሪሆሙ ፡²⁹ ምንባረ ፡³⁰ እጉለ ፡ ማዕነቅ ።³¹

[85] 1 (# L); (፫ F); BCFOT; ለንጉሥ ፡ L; ለንጉሥሙ ፡ P | 2 COT; om. BFLP | 3 (፫ T); COT; ሎሙ ፡ BFLP | 4 BCLOT; እምንዋዩ ፡ FP | 5 BLT;ኢያስተአዝብ ፡ CO; ዘያስተአዝብ ፡ F; ወኢያስተአዝብ ፡ P | 6 BCLOT; ቡንበ ፡ FP | 7 (# CLO); CO; ዕረፍት ፡ BFLPT | 8 BCFOPT; ወእም፪ ፡ L | 8-9 CLO; ወእም፪አርእስተ ፡ BFT; ወእም፪አርእስት ፡ P | 10 BLT; ለተንባላት ፡ CFOP | 11 (፫ F) | 12 (፫ F) | 13 CLOP; አንዝ ፡ BT; አሐዘ ፡ F | 14 BCOT; ወአሰዶ ፡ F; ወሞቅሖሙ ፡ L; ወሞቅሖ ፡ P | 15 CLOPT; ወወሰዶሙ ፡ B; ወፈነዎ ፡ F | 16 BCLOPT; om. F | 17 ሀገረ ፡ add. F | 18 (# COT); BCLOT; ሙቃሖ ፡ F; ይሞቅሖ ፡ P | 19 (፫ T) | 20 BCLOT; በእብን ፡ F; እብነ ፡ P | 21 (፫ T); BCLOPT; እሙጃሂድ ፡ F | 22 CLOP; ሰደዶ ፡ BT; ፈነዎ ፡ F | 23 (፫ T); BCLOPT; እምሠናያቲሁ ፡ F | 24 (# L); BCLOPT; በእብን ፡ F; ወበእእባን ፡ L | 25 BCLOPT; ወዕፅው ፡ F | 26 FT; ይሰድድዎ ፡ BCLOT | 27 COT; ለዘመደ ፡ BFLP | 28 ዕፅብ ፡ add. P | 29 (# BCLOT); BCFLOT; ወስቡሕ ፡ P.

[86] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# L); BCLOP; ሿወ፰ ፡ F; om. T | 3 BCFLP; ለነገረ ፡ OT; ለከሉ ፡ add. P | 4 COPT; ዘኢሁ ፡ BL; ዜና ፡ F | 5 BCLOPT; በጊዜ ፡ F | 6 (# L); (፫ T) | 7 BCFLOT; ወንጉሥስ ፡ P | 8 BCFLOT; lac. P | 9 COT; አሜሃ ፡ BFLP | 10 (# L); (፫ T) | 11 BCFOPT; ያእርግ ፡ L | 12 BCLT; om. F; አድባረ ፡ P | 13 BFLPT; ለተንባላት ፡ CO | 14-15 BCLOPT; እምእንስሳ ፡ እስከ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ tra. F | 15 (# CLO) | 16 (፫ T) | 17 BCFPT; ዕፅዋተ ፡ LO | 18 BCLOPT; om. F | 19 CFLOPT; በድወ ፡ B | 20-21 BCLOPT; ከመ ፡ ያንብራሃ ፡ om. F | 21 (om. F) BCLOT; ያንብራ ፡ P; መካነ ፡ add. F | 22 (# CO); BCLOT; አዕፍ ፡ F; አዕዋፍ ፡ P | 23 BFLOPT; ወአመዝበሮ ፡ C | 23-24 BCLOPT; om. F | 24 (# L) | 25 (፫ T) | 26 (# CLO) | 27 BCLOPT; ወኮነ ፡ F | 28 BCLOP; om. FT | 29 BCLP; ምንባሪሆሙ ፡ FOT | 30 BCLOPT; ቤተ ፡ F | 31 (# CLO).

[87] ^aወበአሐዳ፡¹ እምዕለታት፡^a ረከባ፡³ ለበግዕ፡⁴ ዘተገድፈት፡ እምቤተ፡ ናኦድ፡ አቡሁ፡⁵ ወአእተዋ፡⁶ ብሔሮ፡⁷ እንዘ፡ ይጸውራ፡ ዲቦ፡ መታክፍቲሁ፡⁸ ወእንዘ፡⁹ ይብሎሙ፡¹⁰ ^bለእለ፡¹¹ ምስሌሁ፡^b ጠፈሥሐ፡ ሊተ፡¹³ እስመ፡ ረከብኩ፡ በግዕድ፡¹⁴ እንተ፡ ተገድፈትኒ፡¹⁵ ወተርፈ፡¹⁶ ዜና፡¹⁷ ዘኢተጽሕፈ፡¹⁸ ውስተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡¹⁹ እምዜና፡ ድምሳሴሃ፡²⁰ ለአደል፡²¹ ወአድያሚሃ፡^c ጽሑፍ፡²³ ውስተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ጥገት፡ ንጉሣዊ፡²⁴

[88] ምዕራፍ፡¹ ሿወ፱፡² ናሁ፡³ አንሰሐስሐት፡⁴ ፈቃድ፡ ውስተ፡ ነፍስነ፡⁵ ከመ፡⁶ ንጽሐፍ፡ ጎዳጠ፡⁷ እምነገረ፡ ሐረታቲሁ፡⁸ ወሶበ፡ ወሀቦ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ^aክቡር፡⁹ ወልዑል፡^a መንበረ፡ ዘኢይጸንን፡¹¹ እምተድላሁ፡¹² ዘውእቱ፡ ፍትሕ፡¹³ ወመንግሥት፡¹⁴ ዘኢይፈልስ፡¹⁵ እምርትዕ፡ ወአእምሮ፡ ዘኢይጸልም፡ እምአብርሃ፡¹⁶ ገሠጸ፡ ርእሶ፡¹⁷ ንጉሥ፡ ገላውዴዎስ፡¹⁸ ከመ፡ ኢያጥሪ፡¹⁹ መርገመ፡²⁰ ለአፋሁ፡ ወዝብጠታተ፡²¹ ለእደዊሁ፡²² ወኩሉ፡ ጥራቱ፡ አርምሞ፡²³ ወተዓግሥ፡²⁴

[89] ኢመሠጦ፡¹ ወክሐ፡² መንግሥት፡ እምጸልዮ፡ ውዳስ፡ ማእከለ፡ ሥሙራን፡ ወውኩል፡³ ማእከለ፡ ጠቢባን፡ ዘኢይጸንን፡ ተስፋሁ፡ ማእከለ፡⁴ አኃዊሁ፡⁵ አልቦ፡ እምደቂቀ፡ ቤቱ፡⁶ ዘዩሐውር፡ በፍኖት፡ ካልእ፡ ወኩሉ፡ ይተሉ፡ አሰረ፡ ዚአሁ፡⁷ አልቦ፡ ዘክህለ፡ ሐይዩ፡⁸ ሥልጣኑ፡⁹ ወኪዳኑ፡ ንቡር፡¹⁰ ውስተ፡ ታዕካሁ፡¹¹ መፍቀሬ፡ አምላኩ፡ ወመፍቀሬ፡ እግዚአ፡¹² ወእምብዝኃ፡ ፍቅሩ፡ ህልው፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ምስሌሁ፡¹³

[87] 1 BCLOPT; ወበአሐዳ፡ F; ወበ፩፡ L | 1–2 CFLO; ወበ፩ እምዕለታት፡ BPT | 2 BCLOPT; ዕለት፡ F | 3 BCFLPT; ረከባ፡ O; ለአሐዳ፡ add. F | 4 BCLOPT; በግዕድ፡ F | 5 (፺ T) | 6 BCLOPT; ወአብሐ፡ F | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 (# L); BCLOT; መታክፍቲሁ፡ FP | 9 BCLOPT; om. F | 10 BCLOPT; ወይብሎሙ፡ F | 11 CFLOT; ላዕለ፡ B; ለእለአሁ፡ P | 11–12 BCLOPT; om. F | 12 BCFLPT; om. P | 13 (# L); BCLOT; om. FP | 14 CFLOPT; በግዕድ፡ B | 15 (# CO) | 16 ዝንቱ፡ add. F | 17 BCLOPT; ህሎ፡ F | 18 CFOP; ወዘኢተጽሕፈ፡ BLT | 18–22 BCLOPT; om. F | 19 (፺ T) | 20 (፺ T) | 21 (፺ T) | 22 BCFLPT; ወዓዲ፡ አሜሃ፡ T | 23 BCLOPT; ጽሑፍ፡ F | 24 (# BCLOT).

[88] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); BCLOP; ሿወ፱፡ F; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ወናሁ፡ F | 4 BCFOPT; አንሰሐስሐት፡ LT | 5 BCFLPT; ነፍስነ፡ P | 6 BCFLPT; om. O | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 (# L); CFO; ትሩፋቲሁ፡ BLPT | 9–10 BCFOPT; ልዑል፡ ወክቡር፡ tra. L | 11 BCFOPT; ዘይፀንን፡ L | 12 (፺ T) | 13 ለዓቢይ፡ ወክቡር፡ ገላውዴዎስ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገስት፡ add. F | 14 O; ወመንግሥት፡ BCFLPT | 15 (፺ T) | 16 (# L) | 17 BCFLPT; ርእሶ፡ O | 18 (# L) | 19 BCFLPT; ኢያጥሪ፡ T | 20 (፺ T) | 21 BCLOPT; ወዝብጠታተ፡ F; ወዝብጠታተ፡ ተ፡ L | 22 (# L) | 23 BCFLPT; አርምሞ፡ O | 24 (# CO); BCFLPT; ወተዓግሥ፡ O.

[89] 1 BCFO; እመስጦ፡ L; እምሥጦ፡ P; ኢመሠጦ፡ T | 2 CO; ወአክሐ፡ BLPT; ወአመክሐ፡ F | 3 BCLOPT; ወውኩላን፡ F | 4 BCLOPT; om. F | 5 (# CLO); BCLOPT; እምአኃሁ፡ F | 6 (፺ T) | 7 (# CLO) | 8 CO; ኃይለ፡ BFLPT | 9 (፺ FT) | 10 BCFLPT; post መፍቀሬ፡ tra. P | 11 (# CO) | 12 (# CLO) | 13 (፺ T) | 14 (# L) | 15 BCLOPT; ህሎ፡ F | 16 (፺ F); (# L) | 17 ኩሎ፡ add. F | 18 (# CLO).

ወኢርጉቅ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡¹⁴ የዐቅብ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ውእቱ ፡¹⁵ ውስተ ፡ ቤቱ ፡¹⁶ ወኩሎ ፡ ይትከሀሎ ፡ ይቀኒ ፡¹⁷ አግብርቲሁ ፡ በርቱዕ ።¹⁸

[90] አልቦ ፡ ለዘ ፡¹ አጎዘኖ ፡² ወኢለመኑሂ ፡³ በውስተ ፡ ሥርዓተ ፡⁴ ቤቱ ፡⁵ ኩሎ ፡ ቀሊል ፡ ወቅሩብ ፡ በጎቤሁ ።⁶ ይዴውያ ፡ ለእግዚአ፡ ወይሰምያ ፡ ወኢይርጎቅ ፡⁷ ሣህሉ ፡⁸ ወትእዛዙ ፡⁹ እምኔሁ ።¹⁰ ያፈቅር ፡ ነዳያነ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ቤቱ ፡ ወይምህሮሙ ፡ ለነጋድያን ፡¹¹ ወያገብእ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ መጠነ ፡ ፈቀዱ ፡¹² ትካዘ ፡¹³ ልብስ ።¹⁴ ወእመ ፡¹⁵ አኮ ፡¹⁶ ትካዘ ፡¹⁷ ሲሲት ፡¹⁸ የዐቅብዎ ፡¹⁹ ለምሕረት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዴዴሁ ፡²⁰ እምሰዓተ ፡ ጽባሕ ፡ እስከ ፡ ምሴት ።²¹ ወእምሰዓተ ፡²² ምሴት ፡²³ እስከ ፡ ሰዓተ ፡²⁴ ጽባሕ ።²⁵

[91] እስመ ፡¹ ኢይጸንን ፡² ምሕረት ፡³ እምውስተ ፡⁴ አዕፃዲሁ ፡⁵ ወየዐቅብ ፡⁶ ፍትሐ ፡⁷ ለዓለም ።⁸ ኢይትመዋእ ፡⁹ እምወይን ፡¹⁰ ወኢይወድቅ ፡ በነገር ።¹¹ ይህኒ ፡ ንብረቶሙ ፡ ለነባርያኒሁ ፡ ኢያቴክሎ ፡¹² ለዘይትገበር ፡¹³ ወኢየሐፅያ ፡ ለዘይጸሙ ፡¹⁴ ወይትመዐያ ፡¹⁵ ለዘያጸርዕ ።¹⁶ አልቦ ፡¹⁷ በመዋዕሊሁ ፡¹⁸ ኢፀብእ ፡¹⁹ ወኢቀትል ፡²⁰ ኢሀክክ ፡ ወኢጽልእ ፡ ኢጎዘን ፡ ወኢረኃብ ፡²¹ ወኩሎ ፡ መዋዕሊሁ ፡ ፍሥሐ ፡ ወሰላም ።²² አልቦ ፡ አመ ፡ ቦአ ፡²³ ውስተ ፡ ብሔሩ ፡²⁴ በኃዘን ፡²⁵ በመዋዕለ ፡ መንግሥቱ ።²⁶

[92] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፵ ።² ወካዕበ ፡³ ንጽሕፍ ፡⁴ ነገረ ፡⁵ ዘኃደግኖሁ ፡⁶ ውስተ ፡ ርእስ ፡ እምአርእስተ ፡ ምንባባት ።⁷ ወአቲዎ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁸ እምጎበ ፡ ወፈረ ፡ ረከባ ፡⁹ ለሀገረ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ቅውምተ ፡¹⁰ ውስተ ፡ ወሰን ፡¹¹ ዘወሰነ ፡ ላቲ ፡ ወስንአተ ፡¹² በኩሎ ፡

[90] 1–2 BCO; ለአጎዘኖ ፡ FLT; ዘአጎዘኖ ፡ P | 3 (̄ T) | 4 CP; ሥርዓት ፡ BFLOT | 5 BCFLOP; ዘቤቱ ፡ T | 6 (# CO); BCFOPT; ጎቤሁ ፡ L | 7 CLOPT; ወኢያርሕቅ ፡ BF | 8 BCFOPT; ሣህሎ ፡ L | 9 CT; ትእዛዙ ፡ BO; ወትእዛዘ ፡ F; ትእዛዞ ፡ L; ወትእዛዞ ፡ P | 10 (# CO) | 11 COT; ለነዳያን ፡ BFLP | 12–13 BCFOPT; አውትካዘ ፡ L | 14 (# CLO) | 15–16 BCLOPT; ወእመአኮ ፡ F | 17 BCFLP; ትእዛዞ ፡ P | 18 (̄ T) | 19 BCOT; የዓቅቦ ፡ F; የዓቅብ ፡ L; የዓቅባ ፡ P | 20 BCOT; እዴሁ ፡ FLP | 21 (# CLO) | 22 BCFLP; om. P | 22–25 BCFLOP; om. T | 23 BCFLP; ወእምሴት ፡ P | 24 COT; om. BFLP | 25 (# CO).

[91] 1–2 BCFOPT; እስመኢይጸንን ፡ L | 2 FL; ኢይጸንን ፡ BPOT; ኢይጸንን ፡ C | 3 (̄ T) | 4 BCLOT; ውስተ ፡ FP | 5 (# L) | 6 BCFLOP; የዐቅብ ፡ T | 7 CP; ፍትሐ ፡ BFLOT | 8 (# CO) | 9 BCLO; ወኢይትመዋእ ፡ FP; ኢትመዋዕ ፡ T | 10 (̄ F) | 11 (# CO) | 12 (̄ T) | 13 BFLT; ለዘ ፡ ይትገበር ፡ CO; ለዘይትገበር ፡ P | 14 BFLPT; ለዘ ፡ ይጸሙ ፡ CO | 15 CLOPT; ወኢይትመዐያ ፡ BF | 16 (# CLO); BLPT; ለዘ ፡ ያጸርዕ ፡ CO; ለዘይፀራዕ ፡ F | 17 ቀትል ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ፀብዕ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤቱ ፡ add. F | 18–20 om. F | 19 (om. F) BCLOT; ፀብዕ ፡ P | 21 (# L); (̄ T) | 22 (# CLO) | 23 (̄ T) | 24 BCLOT; ሀገሩ ፡ F; ቤቱ ፡ P | 25 BCFLPT; ኃዘን ፡ O | 26 (# CO).

[92] 1 BCFLP; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); BCLOP; ፵ወ፯ ፡ F; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ካዕበ ፡ F | 4 BCLOPT; ንጽሕፍ ፡ F | 5 BCFLP; om. P | 6 (̄ T) | 7 (# L) | 8 (# L) | 9 BCOT; ረከባ ፡ F; ወረከባ ፡ L | 10 BCFOPT; ቅውምተ ፡ L | 11 (̄ T) | 12 BCLOT; ወስንዕተ ፡ FP | 13 (# CLO) | 14 BCFLPT; ሀውከት ፡ O | 15 BCFOPT; እመርዓደ ፡ L | 16 BCFLPT; ሰብእ ፡ O | 17 (# L) | 18 (# CLO) | 19 (̄ T); ንጉሥ ፡ add. F | 20 BCFLP; lac. P | 21 (̄ T); OP; ይመግቦሙ ፡ BCFLP | 22 BFLPT; ለለ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ CO | 23 BCLOPT; አምጣኝ ፡ F | 24 (̄ T) | 25 BCFLOP; om. T | 26 (̄ T) | 27 (# CO).

ሰንአዌ ።¹³ ባሕቱ ፣ ተሀውከት ፣¹⁴ በንሰቲት ፣ ሁከት ፣ እመራደ ፣¹⁵ ሰብአ ፣¹⁶ ጽንፍ ፣¹⁷
ዘውእቶሙ ፣ ጋላ ።¹⁸ ወኮነ ፣ ዓዲ ፣ አሜሃ ፣¹⁹ ገላውዴዎስ ፣²⁰ መሓሪ ፣ ወመስተሣህል ፣
ይሜግቦሙ ፣²¹ በበጾታሆሙ ፣ ለለጅጅ ፣²² በአምጣነ ፣²³ ተድላሁ ፣ ለወልድ ፣²⁴ ይከውኖ ፣²⁵
ከመ ፣ አብ ፣²⁶ ወለአብ ፣ ይከውኖ ፣ ከመ ፣ ወልድ ።²⁷

[93] ቦዘይትወሀቦ ፣ ሀገረ ፣ ዘይሰኪ ፣¹ ቦቱ ፣² ወይድሃን ፣³ እምቀትል ።⁴ ሐወቦ ፣⁵
ዘይፌጽም ፣⁶ ቦቱ ፣ ኩሎ ፣⁷ ዘፈተወት ፣ ነፍሱ ፣ ወየሐይዎ ፣⁸ ውስተ ፣ ትዕይንቱ ።⁹
ወበእንተ ፣ አስተጋብአቶሙ ፣¹⁰ ለዝርዋን ፣ ወአርጎቦቶሙ ፣ ለስዱዳን ፣¹¹ ወአስተላጽቆቶሙ ፣
ገብረ ፣ መዲና ፣ ውስተ ፣ አሐቲ ፣ ሀገር ፣¹² እምአህጉራተ ፣ ወጅ ።¹³ ወንደገ ፣ ልማዶሙ ፣¹⁴
ለነገሥተ ፣ ኢትዮጵያ ፣ ዘየዐውዱ ፣¹⁵ እምብሔር ፣ ብሔረ ፣ እስከ ፣ ሰዓተ ፣ ንዋም ፣¹⁶
ዘኢዮኃልቅ ፣¹⁷ ወእስከ ፣ ዕለተ ፣ ድቃስ ፣¹⁸ ዘለዓለም ።¹⁹

[94] ወሐነጸ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ይእቲ ፣¹ አሐቲ ፣ ሀገር ፣ ማኅፊደ ፣ ልዑለ ፣² ወሠናየ ፣ ዘልኩእ ፣
ውስቴቱ ፣³ መልክዐ ፣ ወርቅ ፣ ወብሩር ፣⁴ ወንቡር ፣ ውስተ ፣ ርእሰ ፣ ማእዘንቱ ፣⁵ እብን ፣
ክቡር ፣ ዘእብነ ፣ ርኳም ።⁶ ወከማሁ ፣⁷ ሣረረ ፣ ጽርሐ ፣ ርሱየ ፣⁸ ወሥርግወ ፣⁹ በወርቅ ፣¹⁰
ወበዕንቀሩ ፣ ክቡር ፣ እምአፍአሁ ፣¹¹ ወውሣጤሁ ፣¹² ወቄጸረ ፣¹³ ሎቱ ፣ ቅጽረ ፣ ነዋኃ ።¹⁴

[95] ሐወዘንቱ ፣¹ ግብር ፣ ኮነ ፣² በኪነ ፣ ኪነቶሙ ፣ ለሶርያ ፣ ወአርሞን ፣³ ወጥበበ ፣⁴
ጥበቢሆሙ ፣⁵ ለአፍርንጅ ፣⁶ ወምስር ።⁷ ወህየ ፣⁸ ሕኑጸት ፣⁹ ክልኤቲ ፣¹⁰ ለቤተ ፣¹¹
ክርስቲያናት ።¹² ወህቀ ፣ ተአትቶ ፣¹³ እምውእቱ ፣¹⁴ መካን ፣¹⁵ ሐነጸ ፣¹⁶ ሎቱ ፣¹⁷ ቤተ ፣¹⁸

[96] ወአንበረ ፣ ሐውስቴቱ ፣¹ አርጋበ ፣² ፀዓድዋነ ፣³ እለ ፣ አምጽአሙ ፣⁴ እምድረ ፣⁵
አደል ፣⁶ እንዘ ፣ ይትገበር ፣ ስሙ ፣⁷ ተገብሮተ ፣⁸ ፩ ሊቅ ፣⁹ እምሊቃናተ ፣¹⁰ እስራኤል ፣¹¹

[93] 1 BCLOPT; በዘይሰኪ ፣ F | 2 (፻ LT) | 3 BCLOPT; በዘይድሃን ፣ F | 4 (# CLO) | 5-6 BCLOPT; ወቦዘይፌጽም ፣ F | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 BCFLOR; ወየሐይዎ ፣ P | 9 (# CLO) | 10 (፻ T); BCLOPT; አስተጋብአቶሙ ፣ F | 11 (፻ LT) | 12 (፻ T) | 13 (# CO) | 14 (፻ T) | 15 BCFLOR; ዘየውዱ ፣ P | 16 BCLOPT; ሕማም ፣ F | 17 (# L); (፻ FT) | 18 (፻ T) | 19 (# CLO).

[94] 1 BCFLOR; om. P | 2 (# L) | 3 BCLOPT; ውስቴቱ ፣ F | 4 (፻ F) | 5 CLOPT; ማእዘንቱ ፣ BF | 6 (# CLOT) | 7 (# L) | 8 COT; om. BFLP | 9 (፻ T); BCOT; ሥርግወ ፣ LF; ወሥርግወ ፣ P | 10 (፻ FT) | 11 CFOP; እምአፍሁ ፣ BLT | 12 (# CLO); (፻ T) | 13 BCOP; ወቀጸረ ፣ FPT | 14 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ቦቱ ፣ F.

[95] 1-2 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLOT; ኮነ ፣ P | 3 (# L); (፻ T) | 4 BCLOP; om. F; ወጥበበ ፣ T | 5 (፻ T); BCLOPT; ወጥበቢሆሙ ፣ F | 6 (፻ T) | 7 (# CLO); COT; ወስምር ፣ BFLP | 8 BCLOPT; ወህየንተ ፣ F | 9 BCLOT; ህንፃት ፣ F; ሕኑጸት ፣ P | 10 BCFLOR; ፪ ፣ T | 11 BCFLOR; ቤተ ፣ P | 12 (# CLO); CO; ክርስቲያን ፣ BFLPT | 13 BCLOT; ተአትቶ ፣ FP; ተአትቶ ፣ O | 14 BCLOPT; om. F | 15 BCLOT; እምክርስቲያን ፣ F; om. P | 16 BCLOPT; ወሐነጸ ፣ F | 17 (፻ T) | 18 BCFOPT; ቤት ፣ L.

[96] 1-2 BCLOPT; post ፀዓድዋነ ፣ tra. F | 3 BCOT; ፀዕድዋነ ፣ FLP | 4 (፻ T); BCLOPT; ዘአምጽአሙ ፣ F | 5 BCFOPT; እምድረ ፣ L | 6 (፻ T) | 7-8 om. F | 9 BCLPT; እም፩ሊቅ ፣ F; አሐዱ ፣ ሊቅ ፣ O | 10 BCFOPT; እምሊቃናተ ፣ L | 11 (፻ T) | 12-13 om. F | 13 (# CLOT); (om. F) CO;

ቲቢ፡¹² አዕዋፍ፡ እለ፡ ይሰደዱ፡ በንቃዎሙ፡¹³ ወዘንተ፡ ገብረ፡ አመ፡ አጎለፈ፡¹⁴
ፍኖተ፡¹⁵ ለዘኢየህታ፡¹⁶ ባቲ፡¹⁷ እምብዝኃ፡ አክይስት፡¹⁸ ዘውስቴታ፡¹⁹

[97] ልወንጉሥ፡¹ ገላውዴዎስ፡² ላዕሌሁ፡³ ሰላም፡⁴ ሐነጸ፡ ዳግመ፡⁵ ቤተ፡⁶
እምታሕተ፡⁷ ውእቱ፡ ቤት፡⁸ ዘዝኩር፡⁹ ወተከለ፡¹⁰ ህየ፡¹¹ ገነተ፡ ርወያ፡¹² ከመ፡ ገነቱ፡
ለእግዚአብሔር፡¹³ ክቡር፡¹⁴ ወልዑል፡¹⁵ እስመ፡ ማእከለ፡ አፍላግ፡ ውእቱ፡ ምድሩ፡¹⁶
ከመ፡ መስጴጦምያ፡¹⁷ ዘሶርያ፡¹⁸ ወበውስተ፡¹⁹ ገነቱኒ፡²⁰ አኮ፡ ለይዴሎ፡²¹ ባሕቲቱ፡²²
አላ፡ ያስተዳልዎ፡ ለኩሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ከመ፡ ፩ ዐቃቤ፡²³ ገነት፡²⁴ ዘዘክሩ፡ አበው፡
²⁵ ግብር፡²⁵

[98] ምዕራፍ፡¹ ሿወ፩፡² ልወበእማንቱ፡³ አዝማን፡⁴ እምድጎረ፡⁵ ገብረ፡⁶ ላዕሌህ፡⁷
ለምድረ፡⁸ አደል፡ ግብራተ፡ ዘዘከርነ፡ ወካልአተሂ፡⁹ ዐርገ፡¹⁰ ውስተ፡ ብሔሩ፡¹¹
ወአዕረገ፡ ሄዋ፡¹² እምህየ፡¹³ ከመ፡ ቀዳማዊ፡¹⁴ ባህልነ፡¹⁵ ወእምዝ፡¹⁶ ውስተ፡¹⁷ ልቡ፡¹⁸
ሕሊና፡ አምላካዊ፡¹⁹ ወሐለየ፡ ይሕንጽ፡²⁰ ቤተ፡²¹ ክርስቲያን፡²² በስመ፡ እግዚአቲላ፡
ማርያም፡²³ ወላዲተ፡²⁴ አምላክ፡²⁵

[99] ወአርአዮ፡ ዘውስተ፡¹ ሕሊናሁ፡ ለ፩፡² ሊቅ፡ ሊቀ፡ ማእምራነ፡ ተዓይኒሁ፡³
ዘያፈቅሮ፡ እምኩሎሙ፡⁴ ሊቃውንቲሁ፡⁵ በእንተ፡ ሠናይ፡ እንግልጋሁ፡⁶ ወጥበበ፡ ቃሉ፡⁷
ወራገበ፡ እንግድዓሁ፡⁸ ወኑኃ፡ መንፈሱ፡⁹ ወውእቱኒ፡¹⁰ ሠምረ፡ ሎቱ፡¹¹ ወወሰከ፡¹²
ጸሕቀ፡¹³ በዲበ፡¹⁴ ጸሕቁ፡¹⁵ ወአዘክሮ፡¹⁶ እምግብረ፡¹⁷ ነገሥት፡¹⁸ ቀደምት፡ ለዘመ፡¹⁹

በአንቃዎሙ፡ BP; በአንቃዕአድም፡ L; በቃወሙ፡ T | 14 BCLOT; እምአጎለፈ፡ F; ጎለፈ፡ P | 15 (T); BCLOPT; ፍኖት፡ F | 16–17 om. F | 18 BCLOPT; አከይስት፡ F | 19 (# CLO).

[97] 1–9 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLOT; lac. P | 3 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘላዕሌሁ፡ P | 4 (# O) | 5 ውእተ፡ add. P | 6 (om. F) BCLOT; ቤቱ፡ P | 7 (om. F) BCLOT; ታሕተ፡ P | 8 (T) | 10 BCLOPT; ወተክለ፡ F | 11 BCLOPT; om. F | 12 BCLOPT; om. F | 13–15 om. F | 14 (# CO) | 16 BCFLOP; መስጴጦምያ፡ T | 17 (# CLO) | 18 BCLOPT; om. F | 19 BCFOPT; ገነቱ፡ L | 19–23 om. F | (om. F) BCLOT; 20–21 ባሕቲቱ፡ ዘይዴሎ፡ tra. P | 21 (T) | 22 (om. F) BCPT; ፩፡ ዐቃቤ፡ L; አሐዱ፡ ዐቃቤ፡ O | 23 (om. F) BLOPT; ነገት፡ C | 24–25 BCFLOP; ግብር፡ አበው፡ tra. T | 25 (# COP).

[98] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); BCLOP; ሿ፲፣ F; om. T | 3–5 BCLOPT; ወእምድጎረ፡ እማንቱ፡ መዋዕል፡ F | 4 BCFLOP; አም፡ T | 6 BCLOPT; ዓርገ፡ F | 7 (T) | 8 BCFLOP; በምድረ፡ T | 7–11 om. F | 9 (om. F) CFLOT; ወካልአተሂ፡ BP | 10 (om. F) BCLOPT; ገብረ፡ L | 12 BCLOPT; ምስሌህ፡ ለፀባዒቱ፡ F; ምስሌሁ፡ add. P | 13 BCLOPT; om. F | 14 (T) | 15 (# CO); ለሊቃውንተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ወማዕምራነ፡ ህግ፡ ወሥርዓት፡ add. F | 16 BCFOPT; ወከመዝ፡ L; ተንሥኦ፡ add. CP; ዓርገ፡ add. F | 17–18 BCLOPT; እምልቡ፡ F | 19 (# L); BCFOPT; አምላካዊት፡ L | 20–21 BCLOPT; መቅደስ፡ F | 22 BCLOPT; lac. P | 23–24 BCLOPT; ድንግል፡ F | 24 (# CO).

[99] 1 (T) | 2 BFLPT; ለአሐዱ፡ CO | 3 (T) | 4 BCLOT; እምኩሎ፡ FP | 5 (T) | 6 (T); COT; እንግልጋሁሙ፡ BFLP | 7 (# L); COT; ቃሎሙ፡ BFLP | 8 (T) | 9 (# CO) | 10 BCLOT; ውእቱ፡ F; ውእቱኒ፡ P | 11 (# L); (T) | 12 BCFLOP; ወወሰከ፡ T | 13 (T) | 14 BCLOP; በዲበ፡ FT | 15 (# CLO) | 16 FOT; ወአዘክሮ፡ BCLP | 17 BCLOPT; እምዝክረ፡ F; አበው፡ add. F | 18 (T) | 19 (T) | 19–23 om. F | 20 (T) | 21 (T) | 22 (# L); (T) | 23 (T) | 24 (# CLO).

ነገሥተ፡²⁰ ይሁዳ፡ ወሮምያ፡²¹ ወነገሥተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡²² ወካልኢሆሙ፡ ነገሥት፡²³
መሲሐውያን፡²⁴

[100] ወእምዝ፡¹ መከሩ፡ ጀሆሙ፡² ምስለ፡ ጠቢባነ፡³ አድያም፡⁴ ወጎረዩ፡ መካነ፡
ሠናይተ፡⁵ ወልዕልተ፡⁶ ከመ፡ ደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡⁷ ዘሠምረ፡ ባቲ፡⁸ እግዚአብሔር፡⁹ ክቡር፡
ወልዑል፡¹⁰ ከመ፡ ይሰባሕ፡ ስሙ፡ በውስቴታ፡¹¹ ወበዝንቱ፡¹² ሕሊና፡¹³ ነበረ፡¹⁴ ንጉሥ፡
ገላውዴዎስ፡¹⁵ ብዙኃ፡ መዋዕለ፡ እንዘ፡ ያመኔክር፡¹⁶ ሐልዮቶ፡ እመንፈስ፡¹⁷ ነኪር፡¹⁸
ውእቱ፡¹⁹ አው፡ እመንፈስ፡²⁰ እግዚአብሔር፡ ክቡር፡ ወልዑል፡²¹ እስመ፡ ከመዝ፡
ግብሮሙ፡ ለኩሎሙ፡²² ጠቢባን፡²³ እመ፡²⁴ ያርእዮሙ፡²⁵ ሕሊናሆሙ፡ ፍኖተ፡ ሠናየ፡
²⁶ ኢይትዌከፍዎ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ አመክሮ፡²⁷ ወሕሊናስ፡ እኩይ፡²⁸ ኢየኃሥሥ፡ ያመኔክርዎ፡²⁹
እስመ፡ እሙር፡ ውእቱ፡ እምግዕዙ፡³⁰

[101] ምዕራፍ፡¹፵፱፻፸፯፡² ወአመ፡፲፱፻፸፯፡³ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡⁴ ተሐውከት፡⁵
መንፈስ፡⁶ ለንጉሥ፡⁷ ገላውዴዎስ፡⁸ በእንተ፡ ሡራሬ፡ ይእቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡
ዘዝክርት፡⁹ ወካዕበ፡ አርአዮ፡ ዘንተ፡ ምክረ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ትሩፍ፡¹⁰ ዘዘከርናሁ፡
ምስለ፡ ዘክሮ፡ ምክር፡¹¹ ቀዳማይ፡¹²

[102] በዝኒ፡¹ ኮነ፡² ሥሙረ፡³ ወይቤሎ፡⁴ ንጎረይ፡⁵ እምቅድመ፡ ሐኒጽ፡⁶ ካህናተ፡⁷
ወዲያቆናተ፡⁸ ወመዘምራን፡⁹ እለ፡¹⁰ ይትለአኩ፡¹¹ በውስቴታ፡¹² ወከመዝ፡¹³ ገብሩ፡
አበዊነ፡¹⁴ ሐዋርያት፡¹⁵ እምቅድመ፡ ሐኒጽቶሙ፡¹⁶ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡¹⁷ በአንጾኪያ፡¹⁸

[100] 1 BCLOPT; om. F | 2 BFLPT; ክልኢሆሙ፡ CO | 3 CFP; ጠቢባን፡ BLOT | 4 COT; አድያም፡ BLP; ዓለም፡ F | 5 (̄ T); BCLOPT; ሠናይ፡ F | 5–6 BCFLPT; ልዕልተ፡ ወሠናይተ፡ tra. P | 6 BCLOPT; ወልዑል፡ F | 7 (̄ T) | 8–9 BCLOPT; እግዚአብሔር፡ ባቲ፡ tra. L | 10 (̄ T) | 11 (# CO) | 12–14 om. L | 13 (om. L) COT; om. BPF | 14 (om. L) CO; ነበረ፡ T; በውስቴታ፡ P; ውስቴታ፡ BF | 15 (̄ T); BCFLPT; lac. P | 16 BCLOP; ያመኔክር፡ F; ያኔክር፡ T | 17 BLOPT; እመ፡ መንፈስ፡ C; እመ፡ እመንፈስ፡ F | 18 (̄ T) | 19 (̄ F) | 20 F; መንፈስ፡ BCLPOT | 21 (# L); (̄ COT) | 22–23 BCLOPT; ለጠቢባን፡ ኩሎሙ፡ tra. F | 23 (̄ T) | 24 COT; ከመ፡ BFLP | 25 BCFLPT; ያርእዮሙ፡ P | 26 (̄ T) | 27 (# CLO); COT; አእምሮ፡ BFLP | 28 (̄ T) | 29 BCLOPT; ያመኔክርዎ፡ F | 30 (# BCLO).

[101] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); BCLOP; ፵፱፻፸፯፡ F; om. T | 3 BFLPT; ዐሠርቱ፡ ወክልኢቱ፡ CO | 4 (̄ T) | 5 BCLOPT; ተሐውከት፡ F | 6 BCFLPT; om. P | 7 CFO; ለሥጋ፡ BLPT; ክቡር፡ ንጉሥ፡ add. P | 8 (̄ T); BCLOP; lac. P; በሥጋ፡ F | 9 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ዘዘከርና፡ F | 10 (̄ T) | 11 BCLOPT; om. F | 12 (# CO); BCFOPT; ቀዳማይ፡ L.

[102] 1 BCFLPT; በዝንቱ፡ P; ምክር፡ add. F | 2 BCLOPT; ኢኮነ፡ F | 3 (# L) | 4 (̄ T) | 5 (# L) | 6 BCFOPT; ሐኒጽ፡ L | 7 (̄ T); BCFOPT; ካህናት፡ L | 8 (̄ T); BCFOPT; ወዲያቆናት፡ L | 9 BCFLPT; ወመዘምራን፡ L; ወመዘምራን፡ O | 10 BCLOPT; om. F; ወእለ፡ L | 11 (̄ T); BCLOPT; ዘይትለአኩ፡ F | 12 (# CLO) | 13 BCFLPT; እምቅድመ፡ ዝኒ፡ P | 14–15 (̄ T); BCFLPT; ሐዋርያት፡ አበዊነ፡ tra. P | 16 BCLOPT; ይሕንጹ፡ F | 17 CFLP; ክርስቲያን፡ BOT | 18 (# CLO) | 19–20 BCLOPT; ፍኖ፡ በዛቲ፡ F | 20 ምክር፡ add. F | 21 (̄ T); ገላውዴዎስ፡ add. F | 22 (̄ T) | 23 BCLOPT; ሰልታያል፡ F | 24 (̄ T) | 25 (̄ T) | 26 (# CLO).

ወጎብሩ ፡ ፡_b በዛቲ ፡¹⁹ ፍና ፡_b²⁰ ወኮነ ፡ ምክር ፡ ማእከለ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡²¹ ወካህናት ፡²² ከመ ፡
ዘሩባቤል ፡ ወልደ ፡ ሰላትያል ፡²³ ወኢያሱ ፡²⁴ ወልደ ፡ ዮዛድቅ ፡²⁵ ካህነ ፡ ሰንበት ፡ በውእቱ ፡
መዋዕል ፡²⁶

[103] ወኃረየ ፡¹ ካህናተ ፡² ወዲያቆናተ ፡³ ወመዘምራኑ ፡⁴ እለ ፡ ስሙያን ፡ በአንብቦ ፡⁵
_aቅዱሳት ፡⁶ መጻሕፍት ፡_a⁷ ዘቤተ ፡⁸ ክርስቲያን ፡⁹ ወአጳንግሎቶን ፡¹⁰ ወበዘምሮ ፡¹¹ ቅድመ ፡
ታቦተ ፡ ሕጉ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡¹² አምሳለ ፡ መዘምራኒሁ ፡¹³ ለዳዊት ፡¹⁴
ወኮነ ፡ ጉልቆሙ ፡¹⁵ ለእለ ፡ ተኃርዩ ፡¹⁶ ፫፻፲፱ወ፰ ፡¹⁷ በጉልቀኑ ፡¹⁸ ለአብርሃም ፡ መዋኢ ፡¹⁹

[104] ወበጉልቁ ፡¹ ጠቢባኒሃ ፡² ለሮም ፡³ እለ ፡ ኮኑ ፡⁴ ይሜግቡ ፡⁵ መንግሥተ ፡
እንበለ ፡⁶ ንጉሥ ፡⁷ በዘመን ፡ እምአዝማናት ፡⁸ ወጉልቁ ፡⁹ ጉባኤ ፡ ኒቂያዊት ፡¹⁰ ዘሞአት ፡¹¹
ዐቢዮሙ ፡ ለዕልወታት ፡¹² በጎጥር ፡ ባህል ፡¹³ እምባህላቲሃ ፡¹⁴ ወሊቅ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እሉ ፡¹⁵
_aጎሩያን ፡¹⁶ ካህናት ፡_a¹⁷ ውእቱ ፡ ፡_bካህን ፡¹⁸ ዐቢይ ፡_b¹⁹ ዘዘኩር ፡ በቅድመ ፡ ነገር ፡²⁰ ወባሕቱ ፡
እስከ ፡ ዓዲሁ ፡ ኢተፈጸመት ፡²¹ ሎቱ ፡ ሢመቱ ፡²²

[105] ፡_aምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፵ወ፫ ፡_a² ወእምድጎረ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ጎርዮት ፡³ አስተጋብአ ፡⁴ ንጉሥ ፡
ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁵ ኩሎ ፡⁶ ሠራዊቶ ፡⁷ በኃምስ ፡ ሱባዔ ፡ ጸም ፡ ዘእሙር ፡⁸ ወሐረ ፡ ለፀቢአ ፡
አሕዛብ ፡ ከሓድያን ፡⁹ እለ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡¹⁰ ውስተ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ገምቦ ፡¹¹

[106] እንዘ ፡¹ ሀሎ ፡² ማእከለ ፡ ፍኖት ፡³ በጺሐ ፡⁴ ውስተ ፡ ጽርሐ ፡ መንግስተ ፡⁵
አቡሁ ፡⁶ አስተሐመመ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ምክር ፡⁷ ዘመከረ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሱራሬ ፡ ቤተ ፡

[103] 1 BCLOPT; ኃረየ ፡ F | 2 BCFLPT; ካህናት ፡ O | 3 (፻ T) | 4 CFLPT; ወመዘምራን ፡ L; መዘምራኑ ፡ O | 5 BCFLPT; በአንብቦ ፡ O | 6 BCLOPT; om. F | 6-7 CFOPT; መጻሕፍት ፡ ቅዱሳት ፡ tra. BL | 7 BCLOPT; መጻሕፍተ ፡ F | 8 CP; ቤተ ፡ BFLPOT | 9 (፻ T); BCFLP; ክርስቲያናዊት ፡ OT; ቅድስት ፡ add. F | 10 (# CLO); BCFOT; ወአጳንግሎተ ፡ LP; ብሉይ ፡ ወሐዲስ ፡ add. F | 11 (፻ T); BCLOPT; በዘምሮ ፡ F | 12 (፻ T) | 13 BCFOPT; መዘምራኑ ፡ L | 14 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ዳዊት ፡ F | 15 BCFLOP; ጉልቆሙሙ ፡ T | 16 (፻ T) | 17 (# L); P; ፫፻፲፱ወ፰ ፡ BCFLT; ሠለስቱ ፡ ምእት ፡ ወሰመንቱ ፡ O | 18 COPT; ወጉልቀኑ ፡ BFL | 19 (# CLO); BCLOPT; om. F.

[104] 1 BCLOPT; om. F | 2 (፻ T) | 3 BCLOPT; om. F | 4 COT; om. BFLP | 5 (፻ T); BCFOPT; ይመግቡ ፡ L | 6 BCFLPT; ዘእንበለ ፡ P | 7 (፻ T); መንግ ፡ add. P | 8 (# CLO) | 9 (፻ T) | 10 (፻ T) | 11 (፻ T) | 12 (፻ T) | 13 (፻ T) | 14 (# CLO); CFLOT; እምባህላቲሁ ፡ BP | 15 BCLOT; ኩሎ ፡ FP | 16-17 BCFLPT; ካህናት ፡ ጎሩያን ፡ tra. P | 18-19 BCLOPT; ዐቢይ ፡ ካህን ፡ tra. F | 20 (# CO) | 21 (፻ T) | 22 (# BCFLT); BCFLPT; ሢመት ፡ P.

[105] 1 CFLOP; om. BT | 1-2 om. B | 2 (om. B) CO; ፵ወ፫ ፡ FLP; om. T | 3 COT; ሢመተ ፡ B; ሢመት ፡ FLP | 4 BCLOPT; አስተጋብአሙ ፡ F | 5 BCFLPT; lac. P | 6 COT; ለኩሎሙ ፡ BFLP | 7 (# L); COPT; ሠራዊት ፡ BFL | 8 (# CLO) | 9 BCFLOP; ከሀድያን ፡ T | 10 BCFLOP; ሀለው ፡ T | 11 (# CLO).

[106] 1 BFLPT; ወእንዘ ፡ CO | 2 CFLOPT; ሀለዉ ፡ B | 3 (፻ T); CFLOPT; om. B | 4 BCFOT; በጺሐ ፡ LP | 5 BCFLP; መንግስቱ ፡ LOT | 6 (# CLO); BCFOPT; ዘአቡሁ ፡ L | 7 (፻ T) | 8 (፻ T) | 9 (# CLO) | 10 BCFO; ሕግ ፡ LPT | 11 (# L); (፻ T); BCFLT; አምላካዊ ፡ O; አምላካዊት ፡ L | 12 BCFOT; እምግብረ ፡ LP | 13 BCLOPT; ህግ ፡ F | 14 (# CLO); BCFOPT; ሥጋዊ ፡ L | 15 BCFLPT; ወጸውዒ ፡ P |

ክርስቲያን ፡⁸ ዘዝክርት ፡⁹ ወአብደረ ፡¹⁰ አቅድሞ ፡ ግብር ፡ አምላካዊ ፡¹¹ እምገቢረ ፡¹²
ግብር ፡¹³ ሥጋዊ ፡¹⁴ ወጸውዖሙ ፡¹⁵ ለኩሎሙ ፡¹⁶ ዐበይተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡¹⁷ ወለኩሎሙ ፡
ሠራዊቱ ፡¹⁸ ወአቀሞሙ ፡¹⁹ በመዓርግ ፡²⁰ ከመ ፡ ይፈጽም ፡²¹ ሥርዓተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡
በቅድሚያሆሙ ፡²²

[107] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ሻወ፬ ፡² በሳብዕ ፡ ወርኅ ፡³ እምሃሌ ፡⁴ ሉያ ፡⁵ በ፫፻፵ወ፬ ፡⁶ እምዓመተ ፡
⁷ ዓለም ፡⁸ ወበ፲ወ፪ ፡⁹ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ለበዐለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ዜና ፡ ወበ፲፻ወ፭፻፵ወ፪ ፡¹⁰
እምትሥጉተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡¹¹ ክርስቶስ ፡¹² ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡¹³ ወበ፲፻ወ፪፻ ፡¹⁴ እምዓመተ ፡¹⁵
ሰማዕታት ፡¹⁶ ወ፱፻ወ፶ ፡¹⁷ ዓመተ ፡ ተንባላት ፡¹⁸ በሳድስ ፡¹⁹ ሱባዔ ፡²⁰ እምሱባዔያተ ፡²¹ ጾም ፡
ቅድስት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡²² ፀሐይ ፡ በማኅፈደ ፡ ተውር ፡²³ በመክብብ ፡ ፲መዓርግ ፡²⁴
እመዓርግ ፡ ዐቢያን ፡²⁵ ሢሞ ፡²⁶ ማር ፡²⁷ ገላውዴዎስ ፡²⁸ ሊቀ ፡²⁹ ላዕለ ፡³⁰ ካህናት ፡³¹
ኅሩያን ፡ ለካህን ፡³² ዐቢይ ፡ አፈወ ፡ ድንግል ፡³³

[108] ወመልዓ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ እዶ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይኬልሎ ፡ በአክሊለ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ዘእምወርቅ ፡¹
ጽሩይ ፤² ወላዕሌሁ ፡ አዕናቀኑ ፡³ ሊሉያነ ፡ ግብር ፤⁴ ወአልበሶ ፡⁵ አልባሰ ፡ ንጉሣዊ ፡⁶
ወአሠርገዎ ፡⁷ በኩሉ ፡⁸ ሠርገኑ ፡⁹ መንግሥት ፡¹⁰ ወአብሐ ፡¹¹ ከመ ፡¹² ይፀዓን ፡¹³ በዘይዔዓን ፡
¹⁴ ለሊሁ ፡¹⁵ ወይዓእ ፡ ፅዑነ ፡¹⁶ እምደብተራ ፡ መንግሥት ፡¹⁷ ጊዜ ፡ ፀአተ ፡ ታቦት ፡¹⁸
ወለታቦተ ፡ ሕጉሂ ፡¹⁹ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘስምይት ፡²⁰ በስመ ፡ እግዚእትነ ፡ ማርያም ፡²¹

16 BCFLOT; ኩሎ ፡ P | 17 (# L) 18 (# L) 19 (፻ T) | 20 BCLOPT; በመዓርግ ፡ F | 21 BCLOPT; ይፈጽም ፡ F | 22 (# CLOT).

[107] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CLO; ሻ፲ ፡ BP; ሻወ፲ ፡ F; om. T | 3 (፻ T) | 4 (፻ T) | 5 (፻ T) | 6 BFPT; በሰብዓ ፡ ምእት ፡ አርብዓ ፡ ወአርባዕቱ ፡ CO; በ፫፻ ፡ ሻወ፬ ፡ L | 7 COT; እቱ ፡ ወእምዓመተ ፡ BFL; እቱ ፡ እምዓመተ ፡ P | 8 (# BCFLO) | 9 BFLPT; ወበዓሠርቱ ፡ ወክልኤቱ ፡ CO | 10 (# L); BFPT; ወበ፲፻ወ፭ ፡ ፻ ፡ ሻወ፪ ፡ CLO; ዓ ፡ add. P | 11 ኢያሱስ ፡ add. BP | 12 BCLOPT; om. F | 13 (# CLO) | 14 BFT; ወበ፲፻ ፡ ወ፪ ፡ ፻ ፡ CLO; ወበ፲ ወ፪ ፡ P | 15 BCLOPT; ዓመተ ፡ F | 16 (# L) | 17 BT; ወ፱፻ ፡ ወ፶ ፡ CLO; ወበ፱፻ወ፶ ፡ P; በ፱፻፶ ፡ F | 18 (# CLO); BFLT; ተንባላት ፡ CO; ተንባላት ፡ P | 19 BCLOPT; ወበሳድስ ፡ F | 20 BCFLOP; om. T | 21 BCLOT; እምነ ፡ ሱባዔ ፡ F; ሱባዔያተ ፡ P | 22 COT; om. BFLP | 23 BCLOPT; ቀውር ፡ F | 24 (# O); BFPT; ፲ ፡ መዓርግ ፡ CLO | 25 (# L) 26 (፻ T) | 27 COT; ማር ፡ BFLP | 28 BCFLOT; lac. P | 29–30 CLOT; ላዕለ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ tra. BFP | 31 COT; ሠራዊት ፡ BFLP | 32 CP; ካህን ፡ BFLP | 33 (# CLO).

[108] 1 BCFLPT; ዘእምወርቅ ፡ O | 2 COT; ጽርይት ፡ BLP; ጽራት ፡ F | 3 BCFLOT; አዕናቅ ፡ P | 4 BCFOT; ዘግብር ፡ L; ግብር ፡ P | 5 CFO; ወአልበሶ ፡ BLP; om. T | 6 (# CO); CFOT; ንጉሣዊ ፡ BLP | 7 BCOT; ወአሠርገዎ ፡ F; ወአሠርገዎ ፡ LP | 8 BCLOPT; om. F | 9 COPT; ሠርገኑ ፡ BL; በሠርገኑ ፡ F | 10 (# CLO); CFOT; ዘመንግሥት ፡ BLP | 11 BCFOT; ወአብሐ ፡ LP | 12 BCLOT; om. FP | 13 BCLOPT; ይፀዓን ፡ F | 14 BCLPT; በዘ ፡ ይዔዓን ፡ O; በዘይዔዓን ፡ F | 15 (# L) | 16 (# L); COPT; ፅዑነ ፡ BFL | 17 BCFLOP; om. T | 18 (# CLO) | 19 BCFLOT; ሕጉ ፡ P | 20 (፻ T) | 21 BCFLOT; lac. P | 22 BCFOPT; ገብረት ፡ L | 23 (# CLO); BCFOPT; ዘይትፈቅድ ፡ L | 24 (፻ T) | 25 BCFLOT; ዕጦን ፡ P | 26 (፻ T) | 27 (# L); (፻ T) | 28 (፻ T); COPT; መወንጠዋልዕት ፡ BL; መወንጠላዕት ፡ F | 29 BCFLPT; ወመጸሕፍት ፡ O | 30 (# CLO) | 31 BCLOT; om. FP | 32 BCLOPT; ወንዋዩ ፡ F | 33 (# L) | 34 ክ ፡ add. L | 35 (# CLOT).

ወላዲተ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ገብረ ፡²² ላቲ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘይትፈቀድ ።²³ ወአስተሐመመ ፡ በእንተ ፡²⁴
ዕጣን ፡²⁵ ወቀረባን ፡²⁶ ወወይን ፡ ወዘይት ፡²⁷ ወመንጠዋልዕ ፡²⁸ ወመጸሕፍተ ፡²⁹ ምንባብ ።³⁰
ወኩሉ ፡³¹ ንዋዩ ፡³² ቤተ ፡ መቅደስ ፤³³ ይዕሥዮ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡³⁴ አምላክነ ፡ በኢየሩሳሌም ፡
ሰማያዊት ።³⁵

[109] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፵፮ ።² ወበይእቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡³ ዕለተ ፡ ሰኑይ ፡⁴ ዘካልእት ፡⁵ ዕለት ፡⁶
እምዕለታተ ፡⁷ ፍጥረት ፡⁸ ወፅአት ፡⁹ እምትዕይንት ፡ ታቦት ፡¹⁰ ዘስምይት ፡¹¹ በስመ ፡¹²
ተድባበ ፡ ማርያም ፡¹³ ወሊቀ ፡ ካህናቲሃኒ ፡¹⁴ ዘውእቲ ፡ በትረ ፡ ያርክ ።¹⁵ ወጽውርት ፡
ይእቲ ፡¹⁶ ታቦት ፡ በርእስ ፡ አባ ፡¹⁷ ዮሐንስ ፡¹⁸ ትሩፍ ፡ በኩሉ ፡¹⁹ ትሩፋት ፡²⁰ መንፈሳዊ ፡
ሊቀ ፡ ምኔተ ፡²¹ ደብረ ፡²² ሊባኖስ ፡ እሞን ፡ ለምኔታተ ፡²³ ኢትዮጵያ ።²⁴

[110] ወንጉሥኒ ፡ ወፅአ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያስተፋንዎሙ ፡¹ ምስለ ፡² ኩሉ ፡ ሠራዊት ፡
በስብሐት ፡³ ወአዕብዮት ፡ ወበአክብሮታት ።⁴ ወሐረት ፡ ምታቦት ፡⁵ ውስተ ፡ መካን ፡⁶
ዘአሠዩ ፡ ላቲ ፡ በሰርሐቲ ፡⁷ ለአባ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡⁸ ሊቀ ፡⁹ ጳጳሳት ፡ ዘቀደስ ፡ በቅዳሴ ፡¹⁰
ጵጵስናሁ ፡¹¹ ማርቆሳዊ ።¹² ኩሎ ፡ ዜናሃ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡¹³ ወግብረ ፡¹⁴ ኩሎ ፡¹⁵
አህጉራት ፡¹⁶ ዘፈለጠ ፡ ላቲ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ነቢያት ።¹⁷

[111] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፵፯ ።² ወእምድጎረ ፡³ ዝገቱ ፡⁴ በዕለተ ፡ ቀዳሚት ፡⁵ ሰንበት ፡
መኃትወ ፡⁶ በዐለ ፡ ሆሣዕና ፡ ወጠነ ፡ ፀብአ ፡⁷ ምስለ ፡ ሰብአ ፡⁸ ገምቦ ፡⁹ ወኮነ ፡ ሎቲ ፡
መዊእ ።¹⁰ ወእምዘ ፡ ነበረ ፡ ህዩ ፡ እስከ ፡ ኃምስ ፡ ሰንበት ፡ ጳንጠቄስጤ ፤ ወበእሉ ፡ መዋዕል ፡
ገብረ ፡ ምምዘ ፡¹¹ ገብረ ፡¹² በገምቦ ፡ ወአግረሮሙ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ወለኩሎሙ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡¹³ እለ ፡
ዓውዶሙ ።¹⁴ በዘቀነዮሙ ፡¹⁵ አምሳለ ፡ አግብርት ፡ ወአእማት ፡^{bc} ወቦ ፡¹⁶ እለ ፡^b ¹⁷ ቀነዮሙ ፡
^c ¹⁸ በቅኔ ፡ ጸባሕት ።¹⁹

[109] 1 BCFL0T; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፵፮ ፡ BLP; ፴፱ ፡ F; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; post ሰኑይ ፡
tra. F | 4 COT; ሠሉስ ፡ BFLP | 5 F; ካልእት ፡ BCLOPT | 6 BCFLP; ዕለተ ፡ O; om. T | 7 BL; እምዕለተ ፡
COT; om. F; እምዕለት ፡ P | 8 (# L); CLOT; ዘፍጥረት ፡ BP; እምፍጥረት ፡ F | 9 (፯ T) | 10 (፯ T) | 11
BCFOPT; ዘስይምት ፡ L | 12 CFOT; om. BLP | 13 BCFL0T; lac. P | 14 BCFOPT; ካህናቲሃ ፡ L | 15 (#
CLO) | 16 (፯ T) | 17 BCFL0T; om. P | 18 (፯ T) | 19 (፯ T) | 20 CFLOPT; ትሩፋታ ፡ B | 21 BCFL0T;
ምኔት ፡ P | 22 BCFL0T; ዘደብረ ፡ P | 23 CFOT; ለምኔተ ፡ BL | 24 (# CLO).

[110] 1 BCFL0P; ያስተፋንዎ ፡ T | 2-3 om. F | 4 (# CLO); CP; ወአክብሮታት ፡ BFLOPT | 5-6 om.
L | 7 CLOP; በሥርዓቲ ፡ B; በሠርሐቲ ፡ F; በሳርሐቲ ፡ T | 8 (፯ T); BFLOPT; ጴጥሮስ ፡ C | 9 BCFLPT;
om. O | 10 BCLOPT; ቅዳሴ ፡ F | 11 BCLOT; በጵጵስናሁ ፡ F; ጵጵስናሁ ፡ P | 12 (# O) | 13 (# C) 14 C;
ወግብረ ፡ BFLOPT; ላቲ ፡ add. BFLP | 15 FOT; om. BLP; ኩሉ ፡ C | 16 COP; አህጉራተ ፡ BFLPT | 17 (#
BCLO).

[111] 1 BCFL0T; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፵፯ ፡ BLP; ፴፰ ፡ F; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ወእምዘ ፡ F | 4
BCLOPT; om. F | 5 (፯ T) | 6 BCFOPT; በመኃትወ ፡ L | 7 (፯ T) | 8 BCFOPT; ሰብእ ፡ L | 9 (፯ T) | 10 (#
LO) | 11-12 BC0PT; እምዘገብረ ፡ FL | 13 (፯ T) | 14 (# CO) | 15 BCFL0T; በዘቀነዮሙ ፡ P; ሎሙ ፡ add.
P | 16-17 CFLOPT; ወቦእለ ፡ B | 16-18 ወበዘቀነዮሙ ፡ F | 18 ቀነዮ ፡ P | 19 (# BCLOT).

[112] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ሻወጂ ፡² ወእምዝ ፡ አተወ ፡³ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ምክራሙ ፡ ምስለ ፡ እትወተ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማኅፈድ ፡ ኃምሳዊ ፡⁴ እማኅፈዳት ፡⁵ ወጊዜ ፡⁶ እትወቱ ፡⁷ ህየ ፡⁸ ረከበ ፡ ዕደወ ፡⁹ ኃያላን ፡¹⁰ ዘተፈነዉ ፡¹¹ እምንጉሠ ፡¹² ብርትጓል ፡¹³ ምስለ ፡ ኃምስ ፡ ንኩር ፡ <አስትዓት> ፡¹⁴ ዘፈነወ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ንጉሥሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጽዋዐ ፡¹⁵ ወርቅ ፡ ወወሳይደ ፡¹⁶ ሜላት ፡ ወመንጻፍ ፡¹⁷ ዘእኑም ፡¹⁸ እምፀጉር ፡¹⁹ ወሐሪር ፡²⁰

[113] ወረኪቦ ፡¹ ዘንተ ፡ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡² ኢተመክሐ ፡³ በነፍሱ ፡⁴ አላ ፡ ኩሎ ፡⁵ ትምክሕታተ ፡⁶ አግብአ ፡⁷ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡⁸ ክቡር ፡⁹ ወልዑል ፡¹⁰ ወለላእካንኒ ፡ ተቀብሎሙ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ ተቀብሎተ ፡¹¹ <ወሠ[C]ዐ> ፡¹² ሎሙ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ሥርዐተ ፡ ተድላ ፡¹³ ወኢያኅጥአሙ ፡ ምንተኒ ፡ እምዘ ፡¹⁴ ፈቀዱ ፡¹⁵ ወበይእቲ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ምክራሙ ፡¹⁶ ዘእምርት ፡¹⁷ እምድረ ፡ ቆራኡብ ፡¹⁸ አኅለፈ ፡ ክረምተ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትፌሣሕ ፡ ወያስተፌሥሕ ፡¹⁹ ሕዝቦ ፡²⁰ ወመከረ ፡ በህየ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይፅብአሙ ፡ ለአሕዛብ ፡ እለ ፡ ምድረ ፡²¹ ጉመር ፡²² ዘኩ ፡²³ ዐለውዎ ፡²⁴ መጠነ ፡ ጅዓመት ፡²⁵

[114] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ሻወጂ ፡² ወኅልፈተ ፡³ ክረምት ፡⁴ በታስዕ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ወርኃ ፡⁵ ካሴሉ ፡⁶ ገብረ ፡⁷ ቀዳማየ ፡⁸ ወፀብአ ፡⁹ ምስለ ፡¹⁰ ሰብአ ፡¹¹ ወገም ፡ ዘኮንዎሙ ፡ ረድኤተ ፡¹² ለሰብአ ፡¹³ ጉመር ፡¹⁴ ወመዊያ ፡¹⁵ እሎንተ ፡ ፀብአሙ ፡ ለአሕዛብ ፡ እለ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጉመር ፡¹⁶ ወነበረ ፡ በፀቢአቶሙ ፡ መጠነ ፡ ፫አውራኅ ፡¹⁷

[112] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 1–2 om. B | 2 (# CLO); (Om. B) FLO; ሻጂ ፡ L; ሻጂ ፡ P; om. T | 3 COT; om. BLP; ቦአ ፡ F | 4 BCFLOT; ኃምስ ፡ P | 5 (፲ CO); (# L) | 6 BCLOPT; ወበዊአ ፡ F | 7–8 om. F | 9 BCFLOT; እድወ ፡ T | 10 BCFLOT; ኃያላን ፡ T | 11 BC; ዘተፈነዉ ፡ FP; ዘተፈነወ ፡ LOT | 12 BCFLOT; እምንጉ ፡ CP | 13 (፲ T); CFOPT; ብርት ፡ ጓል ፡ BL | 14 con.; om. BCFLOPT | 15 (፲ T) | 16 BCOT; ወመሳይደ ፡ F; ወመሳይደ ፡ L; ወማኅይደ ፡ P | 17 COT; ወምንጻፍ ፡ BFLP | 18 ወዘእሱር ፡ add. P | 19 COT; በወርቅ ፡ BFLP | 20 (# CO); BCFLOT; ወሐሪር ፡ P.

[113] 1 CFOT; ወረኪቦ ፡ B; ወረኪቦ ፡ LP | 2 BCFLOT; lac. P | 3 BCFLOT; ወኢተመክሐ ፡ P | 4 (# L); COT; በአፍራሱ ፡ BP; በአፍራሱ ፡ FL | 5 BCLOPT; om. F | 6 (፲ T) | 7–8 BCLOPT; ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ አግብአ ፡ tra. F | 8 BCFLOT; በእግዚአብሔር ፡ P | 9–10 om. F | 10 (# CO) | 11 (# L); (፲ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 12 con.; ወሠረፀ ፡ BFLPOT; ወሠረዐ ፡ C | 13 (# L) 14–15 CO; እምዘፈቀዱ ፡ BFLPT | 15 (# CLO) | 16 (፲ T); COP; ምክራም ፡ BFLP | 17 (፲ T) | 18 BCFLOT; ቆረኡብ ፡ T | 19 ልቦ ፡ add. BLP | 20 (# CO); CFOT; ወሕዝቦ ፡ BLP | 21 (፲ T) | 22 (፲ T) | 23 CLOP; ዘኩ ፡ BFT | 24 BCFLOT; አለውዎሙ ፡ P | 25 (# CLOP); BFLP; ኃምስተ ፡ ዓም ፡ CO; ኃምስት ፡ ዓለም ፡ T.

[114] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ሻጂ ፡ BLP; ሻጂ ፡ F; om. T | 3 COT; ወሐልቀ ፡ BFLP | 4 BCFLOT; om. P | 5 (፲ T) | 6 BCLOPT; ካሴሉ ፡ F; ታሴሉ ፡ T | 7 BCFOT; ገቡረ ፡ LP | 8 (፲ T) | 9 BCO; ወተፀብኅ ፡ F; ወፀብኅ ፡ LPT | 10 (፲ T) | 11–12 om. BFLPT | 13 CO; ሰብአ ፡ BFLPT | 14 (# CO) | 15 CFOT; ወመዊያ ፡ BLP | 16 (# CLO) | 17 (# CLO); BFPT; ሠለስቱ ፡ አውራኅ ፡ CO; ፫ ፡ አውራኅ ፡ L.

[115] ወድኅረ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ጸበሶሙ ፡ ንብረት ፡¹ ወሶበ ፡ ኢክህሉ ፡ አምሥጦ ፡ እምእዴሁ ፡² እመኒ ፡³ ዓርጉ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ድማጎ ፡ ደብር ፡ ልዑል ፡ ወእመኒ ፡ ተፀውኑ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሕፅኑ ፡⁴ ወእመኒ ፡ አስረሩ ፡ እጉሊሆሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ርእሰ ፡⁵ ቀርሜሎስ ፡⁶ ወእመኒ ፡ ቦኡ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ እብን ፡⁷ ወሶቤሃ ፡ ዐፀዉ ፡ ርእሶሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ ወኢተሐዘቡ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትቤቀሎሙ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ግብር ፡ ዘቀደመ ፡⁸ እስመ ፡ ብዩን ፡ ወግሁድ ፡ ርኅራኄሁ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡⁹ ኩሉ ፡ ግብሩ ፡¹⁰ ወኩሉ ፡ ነገሩ ፡¹¹ ዘኮነ ፡ በውስተ ፡¹² ጉመር ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ ቀዳማይ ፡¹³

[116] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ሿወ፱ ፡² ወካዕበ ፡ ፀብአሙ ፡ አሜሃ ፡³ ለካልኣን ፡ ብዙኃን ፡⁴ አሕዛብ ፡ ወአግነዮሙ ፡⁵ ወፈጸመ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ግብር ፡ ዘአሜሃ ፡ እስከ ፡⁶ ፍጻሜ ፡⁷ ጂአውራኅ ፡⁸ ወአተወ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማጎፊዳዮ ፡ ዘእምርት ፡⁹ እንዘ ፡ ይትፌሣሕ ፡ ወይትኃሠይ ፡ በምህርካሁ ፡¹⁰ ወመብዝኅተ ፡ ምህርካ ፡ ይሁብ ፡¹¹ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡¹² ወልዑል ፡¹³ በከመ ፡ ሥሩዕ ፡¹⁴ ወይመጸውት ፡¹⁵ ለነዳያን ፡ ወለምስኪናን ፡¹⁶ ወያበውእ ፡ መባዓ ፡¹⁷ ውስተ ፡¹⁸ ይእቲ ፡¹⁹ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘዝክርት ፡ መውስተ ፡ ካልዓትሂ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡²⁰ ወካዕበ ፡ ህንግር ፡²¹ በዝዩ ፡²² ጊሩታቲሁ ፡ ለማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡²³ ሰላም ፡²⁴

[117] ወኮነ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ኢያፍጠነ ፡ ቀቲለ ፡ ነፍስ ፡¹ እመቦ ፡² ዘቀተለ ፡ ነፍስ ፡ ካልኡ ፡ ወያገብኡ ፡³ ሎቱ ፡ ፍትሐ ፡ በእንቲአሁ ፡ ይፈትሕ ፡⁴ በርቱዕ ፡⁵ ወኢያደሉ ፡⁶ እመቦ ፡⁷ አበ ፡⁸ ደም ፡ ለውእቱ ፡⁹ ብእሲ ፡ ወይፈቅድ ፡ ይቅትሎ ፡¹⁰ ይትቤዘዎ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ በቃለ ፡ ድኩም ፡ ወበውሂበ ፡¹¹ ቤዛ ፡ ዘመፍትው ፡¹²

[118] እመኒ ፡¹ ተእኅዘ ፡ እምደቂቀ ፡ አረሚ ፡² አው ፡³ እምዘመደ ፡⁴ ተንባላት ፡⁵ ውስተ ፡ ዐውደ ፡ ቀትል ፡⁶ ወሶበ ፡⁷ ይበጽሕ ፡⁸ ጎቤሁ ፡⁹ የእምር ፡ ከመ ፡ ድጉን ፡¹⁰ ውእቱ ፡¹¹ እሞት ፡

[115] 1 (# L) | 2 (# L) | 3 BCFLP; ወሶበኒ ፡ T | 4 (# CLO) | 5 BCLOP; om. FT | 6 (# L) | 7 (# CO) | 8 (# CO) | 9 (# CLO); BCLOP; ወበውስተ ፡ FT | 10 BCLOPT; post ወኩሉ ፡ tra. F | 11 BCLOPT; ante ኩሉ ፡ tra. F | 12 BCOT; ውስተ ፡ FLP | 13 (# COT).

[116] 1 BCFLP; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ሿ፯ ፡ BLP; ሿ፯ ፡ F; om. T | 3 BCFLP; post. አሕዛብ ፡ tra. P | 4 BCFOPT; ብዙኃን ፡ L | 5 (# O) | 6 BCFLP; እስመ ፡ OT | 7-8 BCFLP; ፍጻሜጂአውራኅ ፡ P | 8 (# CLO); BFLPT; ሰብዓቱ ፡ አውራኅ ፡ CO | 9 (# L); BCFLP; እምርት ፡ P | 10 (# CLO) | 11 BCLOP; om. FP | 12 BCFLP; om. OT | 13 BCFLP; ልዑል ፡ T | 14 (# COT) | 15 BCFLP; ወይመውት ፡ P | 16 (# L) | 17 BFLPT; መባእ ፡ CO) | 18 BCFLP; om. P | 19 BCFLP; ለይእቲ ፡ P | 20 (# L) | 21-22 BCLOPT; በዝዩ ፡ ንግር ፡ tra. F | 23 BCLOP; ዘላዕሌሁ ፡ FP | 24 (# CLO).

[117] 1 (# CLO) | 2 BCLOP; እመኒ ፡ P; እመ ፡ T | 3 BCFLP; ወአግብኡ ፡ P | 4 በጽድቅ ፡ add. P | 5 CLOPT; በርቱዕ ፡ BF; ወበጽድቅ ፡ add. L | 6 (# CLO) | 7 BCLOPT; ወእመኒቦ ፡ F | 8 BCLOP; በዓለ ፡ FP | 9 BCFLP; ለዝንቱ ፡ P | 10 BCFLP; ይትቅትሎ ፡ P | 11 BCFLP; ወውሂበ ፡ P | 12 (# CLO).

[118] 1 BCFLP; ወእመኒ ፡ P | 2 (፯ F); (# L) | 3 BCLOPT; om. F | 4 BCLOPT; ወእምዘመደ ፡ F | 5 BFT; ተንባላት ፡ CLOP | 6 (# CLO); (፯ T) | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 BCLOPT; ወይበጽሕ ፡ F; ይበዝሕ ፡ L |

12 ወኮነ ፡ ካዕበ ፡¹³ ኢይሬኢ ፡ ልጎበ ፡¹⁴ ነውረ ፡¹⁵ ባዕዳን ፡¹⁶ ወኢይሰምዕ ፡ ላዕለ ፡¹⁷ ሰብእ ፡
ዜና ፡¹⁸ ዘርጉቅ ፡ ወኢይትዌከፍ ፡ ውዴተ ፡¹⁹ ወኢይቀሥፍ ፡²⁰ ወትረ ፡²¹ ወኢይትመዓዕ ፡
ዘልፈ ።²² ወበአርምሞቱ ፡ ይደነግፁ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ እንበለ ፡²³ መዓት ፡²⁴ እመኒ ፡²⁵ ተምዕዓ ፡²⁶
ኢዮዓርብ ፡²⁷ ፀሐይ ፡ በመዐቱ ።²⁸

[119] ኢይጸልእ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኃጢአቱ ፡¹ ወኢያስተሐቅሮ ፡² ለጸድቅ ።³
ያነብብ ፡ መጻሕፍተ ፡ አምላካዊያተ ፡⁴ ወሶበ ፡ በጽሐ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ገድሎሙ ፡ ለሰማዕት ፡⁵
ይትመነይ ፡⁶ ተጋድሎ ፡⁷ ከማሆሙ ።⁸ ወይቤሊ ፡⁹ ጎበ ፡¹⁰ እግዝእት ፡¹¹ ኩሉ ፡ ልእንዘ ፡
¹²ይብል ፡ ከመዝ ፡¹³ አእግዝእትዮ ፡¹⁴ ኢትምህሲ ፡ ሥጋዮ ፡ እምኃሣር ፡ አላ ፡ ግበሪ ፡ ግብረ ፡
ዘይሄንያ ፡ ለነፍስዮ ።¹⁵ ዘንተ ፡¹⁶ ባህለ ፡¹⁷ ሰምዐ ፡ እምአፉሁ ፡¹⁸ ጅእምሕዕዋን ፡¹⁹ ወነገረነ ፡
ለነ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይምሕል ፡²⁰ በስም ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ወቅዱስ ።²¹

[120] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፶ ።² ወበእሎን ፡³ መዋዕል ፡ እምድጎረ ፡ ፍጻሜ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ ዘዘከርነ ፡
ሠርዐ ፡ ላቲ ፡ ለተድባበ ፡⁴ ማርያም ፡⁵ ሥርዓተ ፡⁶ ዘኢይፈልስ ፡ ለትውልደ ፡ ትውልድ ።⁷
ወአምሐሎሙ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ አቡሁ ፡⁸ ወለቤተ ፡ እሙ ፡⁹ ወለኩሎሙ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ቤቱ ፡ ከመ ፡
ይኩኑ ፡ ጎቡራነ ፡ ከመ ፡¹⁰ ለጅ ፡¹¹ምስለ ፡¹² ካህናቲሁ ፡¹³ ለተድባበ ፡¹⁴ ማርያም ፡¹⁵ ወከመ ፡¹⁶
ይሐሩ ፡¹⁷ በአሐዱ ፡¹⁸ ፈቃድ ፡ ወበአሐዱ ፡ ሥምረት ፡¹⁹ በጅአፍ ፡²⁰ ወበጅሕሊና ፡²¹ ከመ ፡
አምሐሎሙ ፡ ኖሳ ፡ ለ፫ደቂቁ ፡²² እምድጎረ ፡ አይሳ ፡ ማእከላዊሆሙ ፡²³ ጅመልአክ ፡²⁴ ረባነ ፡
ሐመር ።²⁵

9 BCFLOT; om. P | 10 LOP; ድጎነ ፡ BF; ድጎን ፡ C; ድጎኑ ፡ T | 11 BCFLOT; ante የአምር ፡ tra. P | 12 (# CLOT) | 13 BCLOPT; ከመ ፡ F | 14 BCFOPT; ከመ ፡ L | 14–15 BCLOPT; ነውረ ፡ ጎበ ፡ tra. F | 16 (# L); ካዕበ ፡ add. F | 17 BCFLOT; ለእለ ፡ P | 18 BCFLOT; om. P | 19 (# CO); CFOT; ንዴተ ፡ BLP | 20 BCFLOT; ኢይቀሥፍ ፡ T | 21 (# L) | 22 (# CLO) | 23 BCFOPT; om. L | 24 (# L) | 25 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 25–26 om. F | 26 (om. F) CLOT; ተምዕዓ ፡ B; ተምዓ ፡ P | 27 BCLOPT; ወኢይዓርብ ፡ F | 28 (# CO).

[119] 1 CFPT; ኃጢአት ፡ BLO | 2 BCLOPT; ወኢያስተሐቅሮ ፡ F | 3 (# C) | 4 (# CO); BCFLOT; አምላካዊያት ፡ T | 5 BCLOPT; ለሰማዕ ፡ F | 6 ከመ ፡ add. P | 7 CFLOT; ተጋድሎተ ፡ B; ይትጋደል ፡ P | 8 (# CO) | 9 BCLOPT; ወይቤል ፡ F | 10 BCLOPT; om. F | 11 BCFLOT; እግዝእት ፡ O | 12–14 om. F | 13 (# L) | 15 (# COT) | 16 BCLOPT; ወዘንተ ፡ F | 17 BCLOPT; om. F | 18 BCLOPT; om. F | 19 (# L); BFLPT; አሐዱ ፡ እምሕዕዋን ፡ CO | 20 BCFOPT; ንምሕል ፡ L | 21 (# COT).

[120] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፶፮ ፡ BLP; ፴፱ ፡ F; om. T | 3 BCLOP; ወበእሉ ፡ F; ወበእሎንቱ ፡ T | 4 CFOP; በተድባበ ፡ BT; ዘተድባበ ፡ L | 5 CF; om. BLOT; lac. P | 6 CFLOT; ሥርዓት ፡ BP | 7 (# CO) | 8 BCFLOT; om. P | 9 BCLOPT; ወእሙ ፡ F | 10 BCLOPT; om. F | 11 BFLPT; ዘአሐዱ ፡ CO | 11–12 BCLO; ዘጅምስለ ፡ FPT | 13 BCFLOT; ካህናተ ፡ P | 14 BCLOT; ዘተድባበ ፡ F; ተድባበ ፡ P | 15 BCFLOT; lac. P | 16 BCLOPT; ከመ ፡ F | 17 COT; ይሐሩ ፡ BFLP | 18–19 om. BFLPT | 20 BFLPT; በአሐዱ ፡ አፍ ፡ CO | 21 (# L); BLPT; ወበአሐዱ ፡ ሕሊና ፡ CO; ወበጅልብ ፡ F | 22 BFLPT; ለሠለስቱ ፡ ደቂቁ ፡ CO | 23 BCLOPT; ማእከሌሆሙ ፡ F | 24 BFLPT; አሐዱ ፡ መልአክ ፡ CO | 25 (# BCLPT).

[121] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፶፩ ።² ወእምዝ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ፀብአሙ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡³ ለአሕዛብ ፡
ዘገቦ] ፡⁴ ማገፈዱ ፡ ወሞአሙ ፡⁵ ወአግረሮሙ ፡ ወረሰዮሙ ፡ እምኅሉልቄ ፡⁶ እለ ፡⁷ ይሁቡ ፡⁸
ጸባሕተ ።⁹ ወምስለ ፡¹⁰ ዝኩሉ ፡¹¹ ኢያፀርዕ ፡¹² ሐቲተ ፡¹³ መጻሕፍት ፡¹⁴ ቅዱሳን ፡ እስከ ፡
ተንበለ ፡ በአእምሮቶን ፡ እምአዕሩግ ፡ መንፈሳዊያን ።¹⁵ ወአጥረየ ፡^a መጻሕፍተ ፡¹⁶ ብዙኃተ ፡
^a¹⁷ ዘኢይከውኖ ፡¹⁸ ሤጠ ፡¹⁹ ^bእልፍ ፡²⁰ መዳልወ ፡^b²¹ ወርቅ ።²² ፍካሬ ፡ ከፍፍርኒ ፡ ዕሙቃት ፡
²³ የአምር ፡ ወይከውኖሙ ፡ ነቢየ ፡ ለአፍርንጋዊ ፡²⁴ ወለአረባዊ ።²³

[122] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፶፪ ።² ወበእማንቲ ፡ አዝማን ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ ግብር ፡ ዘአይዳዕነ ።³
^aተንሥኡ ፡⁴ ዘመደ ፡^a⁵ ተንባላት ፡⁶ ትንሣኤ ፡ ዘጽሚት ።⁷ ወበመዋዕለ ፡ ክረምት ፡ ቀተልዎ ፡
ለ፩መስፍን ፡⁸ ምስለ ፡ ሠራዊቱ ።⁹ ወበመዋዕለ ፡ ሐጋይ ፡¹⁰ ካዕበ ፡ ¹¹ቀተልዎ ፡¹² ለአፈወ ፡
ድንግል ፡¹³ <ካህነ> ፡¹⁴ ዐቢየ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ዘተድባበ ፡ ማርያም ፡¹⁵ ወፈለሰ ፡ ኅበ ፡
ምሕረተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ።¹⁶ ወላዕለ ፡ ዝንቲ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ^bኢኮነ ።¹⁷
መርምመ ፡¹⁸ ንጉስ ፡¹⁹ ገላውዴዎስ ፡²⁰ አላ ፡ የኃዝን ፡ ወይፈቱ ፡ ይሙት ፡ እምይትኃጎል ፡^b²¹
ኩሉ ፡ ሕዝብ ።²² ባሕቲ ፡ ኢክህለ ፡ ይመጥዎ ፡ ለነፍሱ ፡ ለበዐለ ፡ ማኅፀንት ፡ ዘአማኅፀኖ ፡
እስከ ፡ ይትኃሠዎ ።²³

[123] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፶፫ ።² አሜሃ ፡ በካልእ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ^aእምዘ ፡³ ኮነ ፡^a⁴ ቦቲ ፡ ዝንቲ ፡ ነገር ፡
ሐረ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ [ገላውዴዎስ] ፡⁵ ኅበ ፡⁶ ትዕይንተ ፡⁷ ጋላ ፡⁸ ወፀብአሙ ፡ ወአገለቆሙ ፡
በመጥባሕት ።⁹ ወለእለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡ ረሰዮሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ አግብርት ፡ ዘታሕተ ፡ ሥልጣኑ ።¹⁰

[121] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፶፩ ፡ BLP; ፶፩ ፡ F; om. T | 3 BCFLOT; lac. P | 4 C ([R] ፡ Conzelman con.); ዘገቦ ፡ BLOT; ዘገብአ ፡ F; ዘገባ ፡ P | 5 BCLOPT; ሞአሙ ፡ F | 6 BCLOPT; ውስተ ፡ ጉልቄ ፡ F | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 BCLOT; ዘይሁብ ፡ F; ይፀብሐ ፡ P | 9 (# CLO) | 10 BCFOPT; ወምስለዝ ፡ L | 11 COT; ኩሉ ፡ BL; ዝንቲ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ FP | 12 BFOPT; ኢያፀርዕ ፡ CL | 13 BCLOPT; አንብቦ ፡ F | 14 BCFLPT; መጻሕፍት ፡ O | 15 (# CLO); COT; om. BFLP | 16 (# CLO) | 16–17 BCLOPT; ብዙኃተ ፡ መጻሕፍተ ፡ F | 18 BCLOPT; ዘኢይከውን ፡ F; ዘኢይከኖ ፡ L | 19 BCLOPT; ሤጠን ፡ F | 20–21 CFLOT; ፶፫ መዳልወ ፡ BP | 22 (# CLO) | 23 BCLOPT; ኮነ ፡ F | 24 (# L) | 25 (# CLO).

[122] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፶፪ ፡ BL; ፶፪ ፡ F; ፶፪ ፡ P; om. T | 3 BCFOPT; ዘአዕዳዕነ ፡ L | 4–5 BCFLOT; om. P | 6 BLT; ተንባላት ፡ CO; ተንባላት ፡ FPF | 7 (# CLO) | 8 (# CLO); BFPT; ለአሕዳዕ ፡ መስፍን ፡ CO; ፩ ፡ መንፍስ ፡ L | 9 BCLOPT; om. F | 10 (# L) | 11 BCLOT; om. PF | 12 BCFLOT; ቀተልዎ ፡ P | 13 BCFLOT; lac. P | 14 Conzelman con. om. BFLOPT | 15 (# CLO) | 16 (# CO) | 17–21 om. B | 18 (om. B) CFOT; መርገመ ፡ LP | 19 (# L) | 20 (om. B) CFOT; om. LP; ይረግም ፡ add. F | 22 (# CLO) | 23 (# CLPOT); BCFOPT; ይትኃሠዎ ፡ L.

[123] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፶፫ ፡ BFL; ፶፫ ፡ P; om. T | 3–4 CLO; እምዘኮነ ፡ BFPT | 5 C; om. BFLPT; lac. O | 6 BCFLOT; ante ንጉሥ ፡ tra. P | 7 BCLOT; ትዕይንት ፡ FP | 8 CLOT; ዘጋላ ፡ BFP | 9 (# CLO) | 10 (# CLO) | 11 BCLOPT; om. F | 12 COT; ግብር ፡ BFP; ግብረ ፡ L | 13 BCFLOP; om. T | 14 (# L); BCFLOP; እምጋላ ፡ T | 15 BCLOPT; om. F | 16 BCLOPT; ዳእሙ ፡ F | 17 COT; ምድረ ፡ BFLP | 18 (# CLO) | 19 CFOT; ወተመይጠ ፡ BLP | 20 COT; om. BFLP | 21 BCFLOT; ሰብሐ ፡ P | 21–22 አእኩቶ ፡ ወሰብሐ ፡ F | 23 BCLOPT; ለእሌአሁ ፡ F | 24–27 om. F | 25–26 (om. F) CLO; እምዘገብረ ፡ BPT | 27 (# CO).

በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡¹¹ አዕረፈት ፡ ምድር ፡¹² እምቀትለ ፡¹³ ጋላ ፡¹⁴ እመኒ ፡ ሮዱ ፡ ኢይረውዱ ፡
ገሃደ ፡ አላ ፡¹⁵ ከመ ፡ ዘይሰርቅ ፡¹⁶ ወይከሪ ፡ ቤተ ፡¹⁷ እንበለ ፡ ያእምር ፡ በዐለ ፡ ቤት ።¹⁸
ወተመይጦ ፡¹⁹ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡²⁰ እምትዕይንተ ፡ ጋላ ፡ ፡²¹ ሰብሐ ፡²² ወአእኩቶ ፡
ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘይሁብ ፡ መዊአ ፡ ለእለ ፡²³ ጌትዌከሉ ፡²⁴ ቦቱ ፡ ወገብረ ፡ ፡²⁵ እምዘ ፡
ገብረ ፡²⁶ በውእቱ ፡ ዘመን ።²⁷

[124] ንትመየጥ ፡ በዝ ፡¹ ፡^a ገጽ ፡² እምጽሒፈ ፡³ ፡^a ዜና ፡⁴ ወንጽሕፍ ፡⁵ እምግባሩ ፡⁶
ጠባይዓዊ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁷ ፡^b ላዕሌሁ ፡⁸ ሰላም ።⁹ ወኢኮነ ፡ ላዕለ ፡¹⁰ ፍጥረቱ ፡¹¹
፡^c ሕሊና ፡¹² እኩይ ፡¹³ ሰባኒ ፡¹⁴ ይመጽእ ፡ ፡^d እምገባዎት ፡¹⁵ በአራቅይና ፡¹⁶ ጸላኢ ።¹⁷
ይመልሕ ፡ ፈሪሆቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡¹⁸ ወልዑል ፡¹⁹ ከመ ፡ ሰይፍ ፡²⁰ ወይመትር ፡
ቦቱ ፡²¹ ኃይሎ ፡²² ለጸላኢ ፡²³ ወይሬስዮን ፡²⁴ ለመጻሕፍተ ፡²⁵ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ፡^e ክቡር ፡²⁶
ወልዑል ፡²⁷ ፡^c ከመ ፡²⁸ ቀርን ።²⁹ ከመ ፡ ቀርን ፡ ሰባ ፡ ይትነፋሕ ፡ ፡^g ያስተጋብአሙ ፡³⁰
ለፈረሳዊያን ፡³¹ ወለሐራ ።³² ከማሁ ፡³³ ፡^g ያስተጋብእ ፡³⁴ ሕሊናሁ ፡ በጽዋዔ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡³⁵
ከመ ፡ ይትቃተሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ እኩይ ፡ አምጣነ ፡³⁶ ተቃትሎቶሙ ፡ ለፈረሳዊያን ፡³⁷ ምስለ ፡
ፀረ ፡³⁸ ንጉሥ ።³⁹

[125] ሰባኒ ፡ መጽአ ፡ እመንገለ ፡ አዕብዶ ፡ ብዕል ፡ ወተድላ ፡ ያስተ[ረ]ክብ ፡¹ ኅብ ፡
አንብቦ ፡² መጻሕፍተ ፡³ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በዘይድኅን ፡⁴ እመሥገርተ ፡ ጸላኢ ፡⁵ ወይረክብ ፡⁶
ሕይወተ ፡⁷ ለዘላፉ ።⁸ ይኔጽሮሙ ፡ ዘልፈ ፡ ለአዕዋፍ ፡⁹ ከመ ፡ ኢይረዱ ፡¹⁰ ወኢይብልዑ ፡¹¹
ዘርአ ፡ ለወልደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።¹²

[126] ይሰምዓ ፡ ለጥበብ ፡ ወይትኤዘ<ሃ> ፡¹ ከመ ፡ ፡^a እም ።² ይእቲኒ ፡³ ታፈቅሮ ፡⁴
ከመ ፡ ወልድ ፡⁵ ተአዛዚ ፡⁶ ወተሐቅፎ ፡ በሕፅና ፡⁷ ወታብልያ ፡ እምኅብስታ ፡⁸ ወታሰትዮ ፡

[124] 1 BCLOPT; ኅብ ፡ F | 2-3 om. F | 4 (# L) | 5 BCLOPT; om. F | 6 BCLOT; om. F; እምግባሩ ፡ P | 7 (# L); BCFLPT; lac. P | 8-11 om. F | 9 (# CLO) | 10 (om. F) BCLOT; ለእለ ፡ P | 11 BFLOP; ፍትረቱ ፡ C; ፍጥረት ፡ T; ዘአልቦቱ ፡ add. F | 12-13 BCOT; እኩይ ፡ ሕሊና ፡ tra. FLP | 14 CFOT; ወሰባኒ ፡ BLP | 15 BCFLPT; እምገባዎት ፡ T | 15-16 om. F | 16 BCFLPT; በአራቅይና ፡ LP; ኅቤሁ ፡ add. F | 17 (# CO) | 18 BCLOPT; om. F | 19 BCLOPT; om. F | 20 (# L) | 21 COT; ኩሎ ፡ BFLP | 22 BCLOPT; ኃይሎ ፡ F | 23 BCLOPT; ፀላኢ ፡ F | 24 BCFLPT; ወይሬስዮሙ ፡ P | 25 COT; ለመላእክተ ፡ BFLP | 26-27 om. F | 28-29 om. T | 29 (# CO); ወልዑል ፡ add. L | 30-33 om. L | 31(om. L) COT; ለመላይያን ፡ BF; ለመላይያን ፡ P | 32 (# CO) | 34-39 om. F | 35 (om. F) CLOT; መላእክት ፡ BP | 36 (om. F) BCLOT; በአምሰለ ፡ P | 37 (፤ T) | 38 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 39 (# CO).

[125] 1 con.; ያስተርክብ ፡ BCOLT; ያስተራክብ ፡ FP | 2 COT; አእምሮ ፡ BFLP | 3 BCLOPT; om. F | 4 BFLPT; በዘ ፡ ይድኅን ፡ CO | 5 BCFLPT; ጸላኢ ፡ P | 6 BCFLPT; ወእረክብ ፡ T | 7 ዘለዓለም ፡ add. BFLP | 8 (# CLO); CO; ለዘላፉ ፡ BFLPT | 9 CO; በአዕዋፍ ፡ BFLPT | 10 BCLOPT; ኢይረክቡ ፡ F | 11 BCFLPT; ወኢይብልዑ ፡ OT | 12 (# CO); COT; እንለ ፡ እመሕያው ፡ FLP; እመሕያው ፡ B.

[126] 1 con.; ወኢይትኤዘዘ ፡ BFL; ወይትኤዘዘ ፡ OT; ወይትኤዘዘ ፡ CP | 2 (# CO) | 2-3 COPT; እምይእቲ ፡ BL; እምአይቲኑ ፡ F | 3 CLOP; om. BF; ይእቲ ፡ T | 4 (፤ T) | 5 (፤ T) | 6 BCFLP; ትአዛዘ ፡ F;

እምወይና፣⁹ እስከ፣ ወፅአ፣ ስሙዐቲሁ፣ በውስተ፣¹⁰ ኩሉ፣ አናስር።¹¹ ወመጽአ፣ ሰብእ፣
እምሮም፣ ወአፍርንጅ፣¹² ወእምአረማዊያን፣¹³ ወሶርያ፣¹⁴ ወኩርጅ፣¹⁵ ወእምጅአህጉር፣¹⁶
ከመ፣ ይስምዑ፣ ጥበቦ።¹⁷ ወይረክቡ፣¹⁸ ጎቤሁ፣¹⁹ ምክዕቢተ፣ በበጺሐቶሙ፣²⁰ እምዘ፣²¹
ሰምዑ፣²² በብሔሮሙ።²³ ወኩሉ፣ ጸሕቁ፣²⁴ ወትጋሁ፣²⁵ ኮነ፣²⁶ ከመ፣ ያስተፍሥሐ፣²⁷
ለመልአክ፣ ዘውኩል፣ ቦቱ፣²⁸ ወከመ፣ ኢያተክዘ፣²⁹ ለ[መንፈስ]፣³⁰ ቅዱስ፣³¹ ዘድሙር፣
ምስለ፣ ነፍሱ።³²

[127] ምዕራፍ፣¹ ፶፬።² አመ፣ ለዓሠርቱ፣³ ወሰብዓቱ፣ ዓመተ፣⁴ መንግስቱ፣ ለንጉሥ፣
ክቡር፣ ገላውዴዎስ፣⁵ ወፅአ፣⁶ መንገለ፣⁷ ምድረ፣ ኢትዮጵያ።⁸ ወዓርጉ፣ እምባሕር፣
ደቂቀ፣ ያፌት፣⁹ ዘይብልዎሙ፣ ለወንድ፣¹⁰ ወነሥሐ፣ ምድረ፣ እምድረ፣¹¹ ኢትዮጵያ፣
ዘወሰነ፣¹² ባሕር።¹³ ጳጳስኒ፣ ዘአፍርንጅ፣¹⁴ ለወፅአ፣¹⁵ ወዓርገ፣ እምባሕር፣ ምስለ፣
ቀሳውስት፣ ወዲያቆናት፣ ወምስለ፣ ውሐዳን፣ ሕዝብ፣ እምአፍርንጅ።¹⁶ ወበጽሐ፣¹⁷ ጎበ፣
ትዕይንተ፣ ንጉሥ፣ ገላውዴዎስ፣¹⁸ በቀዳማይ፣¹⁹ ወርኅ፣ እምአውራጃ፣²⁰ ክረምቶሙ፣²¹
ለኢትዮጵያ።²² ወውእቱ፣²³ ሣልሳይ፣²⁴ ወርኅ፣ እምአውራጃ፣ ፍጥረተ፣ ዓለም።²⁵

[128] ወምክንያተ፣¹ ምጽአቱስ፣ ለጳጳስ፣ ኮነ፣² ለአንውሮ፣³ ለሃይማኖት፣⁴ ርትዕት፣⁵
ዘተፈነወት፣ ጎበ፣⁶ ኢትዮጵያ፣ እምእለ፣ እስክንድርያ፣⁷ ወከመ፣ ያግህድ፣ ወይወድሳ፣
ለሃይማኖት፣⁸ ጠዋይት፣⁹ ዘሠረፀት፣ እምሮምያ።¹⁰ እንዘ፣¹¹ ይትሜካሕ፣¹² በብሂለ፣ አቡነ፣

ተአዛዘ፣ OT | 7 (̄ O) | 8 (̄ O) | 9 (̄ O) | 10 BCLOT; ውስተ፣ FP | 11 (# L) | 12 (# L); (̄ T) | 13
BCLOT; ወእምአረማዊያን፣ F; ወእምዓረባዊያን፣ P | 14 (̄ T) | 15 (# L); (̄ T) | 16 BFLPT;
ወእምኃምስቱ፣ አህጉር፣ CO | 17 (# CO); BCFLPT; ጥበቦ፣ O | 18 CO; ወይረክቡ፣ BFLPT | 19 (̄ T);
BCLOT; om. FP | 20 BCLT; በበጺሐቶሙ፣ FO; ወበጺሐቶሙ፣ P | 21–22 (# L); COT; እምዘሰምዑ፣ BP;
እምዘይሰምዑ፣ FL | 23 (# CLO); BCFLPT; በብብሔሮሙ፣ P | 24 (# L) | 25 BCLOPT; ወትካዙ፣ F | 26
BCLOT; om. FP | 27 COT; ያስተፍሥሐ፣ B; ያስተፍሥሐ፣ F; ያስተፍሥሐ፣ LP | 28 (# L); (̄ T);
BCFOPT; ሎቱ፣ L | 29 BCLOP; ኢያተክዘ፣ F; ኢያተክዘ፣ T | 30 con.; ለነፍስ፣ BCFLPT; በነፍሱ፣ P | 31
BCFLPT; ቅዱስት፣ T | 32 (# CLOT); COT; በነፍስ፣ BLP; በነፍሱ፣ F.

[127] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 CFO; ፶፬፣ BL; ፶፪፣ P; om. T | 3–4 CO; ፲ወጂዓመተ፣ T; ፲ወ፪ዓመተ፣
BFLP | 5 BCFLPT; lac. P | 6 COT; ወፅአ፣ BFLP | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 (# CO) | 9 (̄ T) | 10 (̄ T) | 11
BCOPT; om. FL | 12 7፣ add. L | 13 (# CLO) | 14 (# L) | 15–16 om. BFLP | 16 (# CO) | 17 CFLOPT;
በጽሐ፣ B | 18 BCFLPT; om. P | 19 BCFLPT; በቀዳማይ፣ P | 20 BCFLPT; እምአውራጃ፣ O | 21 BCFLPT;
ክረምተ፣ P | 22 (# CLO); BCFLPT; ኢትዮጵያ፣ P | 23 COT; ወበውእቱ፣ BFLP | 24 BCLOPT;
ሣልሳይ፣ F | 25 (# CLO).

[128] 1 BCFLPT; ምክንያተ፣ P | 2 (̄ T) | 3 BCFLPT; ለአኑሮ፣ T | 4–5 BCLOPT; ርትዕት፣
ሃይማኖት፣ tra. F | 6 CO; om. BFLPT | 7 BFT; እምእለክንድርያ፣ CO; እምእለ፣ እስክንድርያ፣ L;
እምእለክንድርያ፣ P | 8 BCFLPT; ለሃይማኖቱ፣ P | 9 (̄ T); COPT; ጠዋይት፣ BL; እኪት፣ F | 10 (# CO)
| 11 BCLOPT; om. F | 12 BCLOPT; ተመኪሐ፣ F | 13 (̄ T) | 14 BCLOPT; ኢያእሚሮ፣ F | 15–16 om. F |
17 CFLOPT; አቆሞ፣ B; እምእለቱ፣ add. P | 18 BCLOPT; እም፣ አእባን፣ F | 19–20 BCLOT; ዘቅድሜሁ፣
P; om. F | 21 BCFLPT; ውሉዶ፣ P | 22 (# COT).

ጴጥሮስ ፡¹³ ኢያሌመሮ ፡¹⁴ ከመ ፡ ይክል ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡¹⁵ ወልዑል ፡¹⁶ አቅሞ ፡¹⁷
እምአእባን ፡¹⁸ እለ ፡¹⁹ ቅድሜሁ ፡²⁰ ውሉደ ፡²¹ ለጴጥሮስ ።²²

[129] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፶፭ ።² ወበውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ሀለወ ፡³ ውእቱ ፡⁴ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡
⁵ ማእከለ ፡ ፪ቲ ፡⁶ ለፊያት ፡⁷ እምለፌ ፡ ይትናሥአሙ ፡⁸ ለማእምራነ ፡ አፍርንጅ ፡⁹ በእንተ ፡
ሕፀተ ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ ፡ ወይመውአሙ ፡¹⁰ ወያስተኃፍሮሙ ፡ ወይጼዕል ፡ ልማዳቲሆሙ ፡¹¹
ሙስንተ ።¹² ወያስተናብር ፡¹³ በእንቲአሆሙ ፡ ድርሳናተ ፡ ብዙኃ ፡¹⁴ በአስተኃብአ ፡ ቃል ፡
መንፈሳዊ ፡ እምድርሳናተ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ወነቢያት ፡ ወሊቃውንት ፡¹⁵ ወመምህራን ፡¹⁶
ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ።¹⁷

[130] እመ ፡¹ ዘከሩ ፡ ቅድሜሁ ፡² መርቅያንሃ ፡ ይዘከር ፡³ ሎሙ ፡⁴ ቴዎድሮስሃ ፡⁵
ወስብስጥያስሃ ፡⁶ ወሶበ ፡ ያስተበፅዑ ፡ ልዮንሃ ።⁷ ይዌድስ ፡⁸ ድዮስቆሮስሃ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይትሜካሐ ፡
⁹ በመንበረ ፡¹⁰ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ይትሜካሕ ፡¹¹ በደብረ ፡ ዘይት ፡ ዘነበረ ፡ ቦቱ ፡¹² እግዚእነ ፡¹³
ወበኢየሩሳሌምሂ ፡¹⁴ ኀበ ፡ ተሰቅለ ፡ ወተቀብረ ፡¹⁵ እስመ ፡ እሉ ፡ መካናት ፡¹⁶ ኮኑ ፡¹⁷ እኑዛነ ፡
¹⁸ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ ለበዐለ ፡ መንበረ ፡ ማርቆስ ፡¹⁹ መምህረ ፡ ኖባ ፡ ወሶባ ፡²⁰ ወኢትዮጵያ ።²¹
ዝውእቱ ፡ ሀላዌሁ ፡ እምአሐቲ ፡ ለፌ ።²²

[131] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፶፮ ።² ወእምካልእትሂ ፡³ ለፌ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ህልወ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይመክር ፡^a በዘ ፡
⁴ ይፅብአሙ ፡^a ለ[Λ]ወንድ ፡⁶ ዘውእቶሙ ፡⁷ትርኩ ፡⁸ ወያስተዳሉ ፡ ፃእፃእ ፡⁹ ቀትል ።¹⁰
ወያስተሐምም ፡ በእንተ ፡¹¹ ዐቂበ ፡¹² አህጉራት ፡¹³ እምፀብአ ፡ ኃላ ፡¹⁴ እለ ፡ ተርፉ ፡

[129] 1 BCFLÖT; lac. P | 2 CO; ፶፭ ፡ BFL; ፶፫ ፡ P; om. T | 3 BCFLPT; ሀለወ ፡ O | 4 BCLOT; om. FP | 5 (# L); BCFLÖT; lac. P | 6 BFLPT; ክልኤቲ ፡ CO | 7 (# L); BCLOP; ፊያት ፡ FT | 8 BCFOÖT; ያስተናስአሙ ፡ L; ይትዋሥአሙ ፡ P | 9 (፲ T) | 10 CLOPT; ይመውያሙ ፡ BF | 11 (፲ T) | 12 (# CO) | 13 BCFLÖT; ወይስተናብር ፡ P | 14 (፲ T) | 15 (፲ T) | 16 C (Conzelman con.); መምህራን ፡ BFLP; ወመምህራን ፡ OT | 17 (# L); BCFLP; ክርስቲያናዊያት ፡ OT.

[130] 1 BCOP; እስመ ፡ FLT | 2 BCÖPT; ቅድሜሆሙ ፡ FL | 3 (፲ T); BCÖT; ይዘክር ፡ L; ይዜክር ፡ FP | 4 CP; ሎሙ ፡ BFLOÖT | 5 (፲ T); BCO; ቴዎድሮስሃ ፡ F; ቴዎድሮስሃ ፡ LT; ቴዎድሮስሃ ፡ P | 6 BCLOT; ወስብስጥያስሃ ፡ FP | 7 (# CO) | 8 ሎሙ ፡ add. F | 9 BCLOT; ይትሜካሕ ፡ FP | 10 አቡነ ፡ add. B | 11 ሎሙ ፡ add. F | 12 BCLOPT; ቦቱ ፡ F | 13 ምስለ ፡ አርዳኢሁ ፡ add. F | 14 CFÖT; ወበኢየሩሳሌምሂ ፡ B; ወበኢየሩሳሌም ፡ LP | 15 (# O); (፲ T) | 16 ቅዳሳት ፡ add. F | 17 BCFLÖT; ኮኑ ፡ P | 18 BCFOÖT; እኑዛተ ፡ LP | 19 (፲ T); ወንጌላዊ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ወሰማዕት ፡ add. F | 20 ÖT; ወሶባ ፡ BCFLP | 21 (# CLO) | 22 (# CLOÖT).

[131] 1 BCFLÖT; lac. P | 2 CO; ፶፫ ፡ BFL; ፶፬ ፡ P; om. T | 3 CLP; ወእምካልእትሂ ፡ BFÖT | 4-5 CLO; በዘይበፅአሙ ፡ BT; በዘይፀብአሙ ፡ FP | 6 con.; ለወንድ ፡ ዘወንድ ፡ BFLP; ለወንድ ፡ CÖT | 7 BCÖT; ዘውእቱ ፡ FLP | 8 (፲ T) | 9 CFÖPT; ፃእፃዎ ፡ BL | 10 (# CO); ወያስተኃብእ ፡ add. F | 11 BCLOPT; om. F | 12 BCLOPT; ለዐቂበ ፡ F | 13 BCLOPT; አህጉር ፡ F | 14 (፲ T) | 15 C (Conzelman con.); ወእምካልእትሂ ፡ BFL; ወእምካልእትሂ ፡ ÖT; ወእምካልእት ፡ P | 16 (# CLO); ወቀትል ፡ add. F; ወእምአሕጉራትሂ ፡ add. L | 17 (፲ T) | 18 BFLPT; በዘ ፡ ከመዘ ፡ CO | 19 BCLOPT; om. F | 20 BCLOPT; ዓመት ፡ F | 21 BCFP; ይረድኦ ፡ LÖT | 22 BCFLÖP; om. F | 23 BCLOPT; በኩሉ ፡ F | 24 BFLPT; ወውስተ ፡ CO | 25 (# CLOÖT).

ወእምካል<እ>ትሂ ፡¹⁵ ፀብእ ።¹⁶ ወነበረ ፡¹⁷ በዘከመዝ ፡¹⁸ ግብር ፡¹⁹ ዓመተ ፡²⁰ ወተረፈ ፡
ዓመት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይስእሎ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡ ከመ ፡ ይርድኦ ፡²¹ ላዕለ ፡²²
ኩሉ ፡²³ ግብር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ወበውስተ ፡²⁴ ኩሉ ፡ ግብር ።²⁵

[132] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፶፯ ።² ለወበውእቱ ፡³ ዓመት ፡ ተንሥኡ ፡⁴ ነቢያተ ፡⁵ ዘመን ።⁶ ቦእለ ፡⁷
ሞቅሐ ፡ ርእሶሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጸማዕት ።⁸ ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡ ረሰዩ ፡ ማኅደሮሙ ፡⁹ ጸላእተ ፡¹⁰ ምስለ ፡
¹¹ ግሔያት ፡¹² እንዘ ፡ ይትጋወሮን ፡¹³ ቤተ ፡ ሄሮድያኖስ ።¹⁴ ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡ የኃድሩ ፡ ማእከለ ፡
አዕዋም ፡¹⁵ ወቦ ፡¹⁶ ዲበ ፡¹⁷ አድባር ፡ ነዋኃት ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሀዩላት ።¹⁸ ወይስትዩ ፡ ለጽምአሙ ፡
ምስለ ፡ ሐለስትዮታት ።¹⁹ ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡ የሐይወ ፡²⁰ ውስተ ፡ ምኔታት ፡²¹ እንዘ ፡ ይጸውሩ ፡
በትዕግሥቶሙ ፡²² ትምስውተ ፡ አኃው ፡ ዘተአኪ ፡ እምትምስውተ ፡²³ አራዊት ።²⁴ እሉ ፡
ኩሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ተውህቦሙ ፡²⁵ ሀብተ ፡ ትንቢት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ብዙኃ ፡ ጸማሆሙ ፡
ወተጋድሎቶሙ ፡²⁶ ለአሥምሮ ፡²⁷ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ።²⁸

[133] ኮነ ፡¹ ይፌንወ ፡² ለማራተ ፡³ ትንቢት ፡ ኀበ ፡ እግዚእ ፡⁴ ክቡር ፡⁵ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁶
እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡⁷ በእንተ ፡ ፀብእ ፡ ትርኩ ።⁸ ምንት ፡ ውእቱ ፡ በቅድሜክ ፡⁹ ደብር ፡¹⁰ ዐቢይ ፡
ዘታነክር ።¹¹ ውእቱስ ፡ ለይከውን ፡¹² ለበክ ፡¹³ ወይትወሀብ ፡¹⁴ ለከንቱ ።¹⁵ ባሕቱ ፡ ቀርቦ ፡
መዋዕሊክ ፡ እስመ ፡ ፈቀደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለክቡር ፡¹⁶ ስሙ ፡¹⁷ ከመ ፡ ኢይርአያ ፡
አዕይንቲክ ፡ ኩላ ፡¹⁸ እኪተ ፡¹⁹ ዘትመጽእ ፡²⁰ ላዕለ ፡ ምድር ።²¹ ወሞትከኒ ፡ ይከውን ፡ በእደ ፡
ሕዝብ ፡²² ከሐድያን ፡²³ ከመ ፡ ሞተ ፡²⁴ ገላውዴዎስ ፡²⁵ አንጸኪያዊ ፡²⁶ ወእለ ፡ ከማሁ ፡²⁷
ኩሎሙ ፡²⁸ ሰማዕታት ።²⁹

[132] 1 BCFL0T; lac. P | 2 CO; ፶፬ ፡ BFL; ፶፭ ፡ P; om. T | 3-4 COT; ወእምካልአትሂ ፡ ለፌ ፡ ኮነ ፡
BFLP | 5 CFOPT; ህልወ ፡ ነያተ ፡ BL | 6 (# CLO); (፯ T) | 7 BCFOPT; ቦ ፡ እለ ፡ L | 8 (# CLO) | 9 COT;
ርእሶሙ ፡ BFLP | 10 BCFPT; ጸላዕት ፡ L; ጸላእተ ፡ O | 11 BCLOPT; om. F | 12 BCLOPT; ለግሔያት ፡ F |
13 BFLOT; ይትጋወሮሙ ፡ CP | 14 (# CO) | 15 (# L); BCFOPT; አዕዋፍ ፡ L | 16 እለ ፡ የኃድር ፡
ሥጋሆን ፡ add. F | 17 BCLOPT; መልዕልተ ፡ F | 18 (# CO); BCFOPT; ኀዩላት ፡ T | 19 (# L); COP;
ሐለስትዮታት ፡ BT; ሐለስትዮታት ፡ F; ሐልዮስታት ፡ L | 20 BCFO; የሐይወ ፡ LPT | 21 CFOT; ምኔት ፡
BLP | 22 BCFL0P; በትዕግሥቶሙ ፡ T | 23 CFOPT; እምትምስውተ ፡ BL | 24 (# CLO) | 25 BCLOPT;
ተውህቦ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ F | 26 ወትዕግሥቶሙ ፡ ተኃይሎሙ ፡ በእንተ ፡ add. F | 27 BCLOPT; ለአሥምሮተ ፡ F |
28 (# C).

[133] 1 BCLOT; ወኮነ ፡ FP | 2 BCFL0; ይፌንወ ፡ P; ይፌንዎሙ ፡ T | 3 BCLOPT; መልእክት ፡ F;
በእንተ ፡ add. F | 4 BCLOPT; እግዚአብሔር ፡ F | 5 ማር ፡ add. F | 6 BCFL0T; lac. P | 7 (፯ T) | 8 (#
CLO); BCFL0P; ቱርክ ፡ T | 9 COT; በቅድሜክ ፡ BFLP | 10 BCFL0T; ፱ደብር ፡ P | 11 (# CO) | 12-13
COT; ይከውን ፡ ለበክ ፡ BFLP | 14 BCFL0T; ወይትወሀብ ፡ P | 15 (# CLO) | 16-17 om. F | 18 BCLOPT;
ኩሎ ፡ F; መዋዕሊ ፡ add. F | 19 BCLOPT; እኪያተ ፡ F; ዘኮነት ፡ add. F | 20 BCLOPT; ትመጽእ ፡ F | 21 (#
CLO) | 22 BCFOPT; ሕዝብ ፡ L | 22-23 BCLOPT; ከሐድያን ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ tra. F | 23 (# L) | 24 (# O);
ንጉሥ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ add. F | 25 BCFL0T; lac. P | 26 (# L); (፯ T); BCLOPT; ሰማዕት ፡ F | 27
BCLOPT; ምስሌሁ ፡ F | 28 BCLOPT; om. F | 29 (# L); ክቡራን ፡ ወልዑላን ፡ add. F.

[134] ወእግዚእ፡¹ ክቡር፡ ገላውዴዎስ፡² ኢይደነግ፡³ እምዝንቱ፡⁴ ወይብል፡⁵
 እመሰ፡ ይትከሀል፡ ትጎልፍ፡⁶ እምኔየ፡⁷ ዛቲ፡⁸ ጽዋ፡⁹ ወባሕቱ፡ ለይኩን፡¹⁰ ፈቃደ፡¹¹
 ሕእግዚአብሔር፡¹² ክቡር፡¹³ ወልዑል፡¹⁴ እስመ፡ ሎቱ፡ አእምሮ፡ ወየአምር፡ ከመ፡
 ኢይትኃደግ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ይሙት፡¹⁵ እመኒ፡ ሐይወ፡ በዲበ፡ ምድር፡ ፲፯ዓመተ፡¹⁶
 ወእመኒ፡ ኢተዳደቆ፡ ሞተ፡ ጽድቅ፡¹⁷ ወሞተ፡ ፈቃድ፡ ወሞተ፡ ግብር፡¹⁸ ከመ፡
 ኢየኃደግ፡ ተዳድቆተ፡¹⁹ ሞት፡ ጠባይዓዊ፡ ዘትኩል፡²⁰ ጠባይዒሁ፡²¹ ርትክለተ፡²²
 ዘትክልት፡²³ ንዋም፡²⁴

[135] ወንጉሥ፡¹ ማር፡² ገላውዴዎስ፡³ እመኒ፡ ተሀውከት፡ መንፈሱ፡⁴ ይቤላ፡⁵
 ለምንት፡ ትቴክዚ፡ ነፍስየ፡ ወለምንት፡ ተሀውክኒ፡⁶ ወያዜክራ፡⁷ ቃለ፡⁸ ብፁዕ፡⁹ ሐዋርያ፡
¹⁰ ሕእንዘ፡¹¹ ይብል፡¹² ለሕይወትሰ፡ ዘነሣእክዋ፡ እምቀዳማይ፡¹³ ብእሲ፡¹⁴ ባቲ፡
 ተፍጻሜተ፡¹⁵ ወባሕቱ፡¹⁶ ለሕይወት፡¹⁷ ዘእነስኣ፡¹⁸ እምኢየሱስ፡ ርክርስቶስ፡¹⁹ ንጉሥየ፡
²⁰ አልባቲ፡ ተፍጻሜተ፡²¹ ወጽድቀ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ልቃል፡²² ግሁድ፡ ውእቱ፡²³ እስመ፡
 ነባቢሁ፡²⁴ አመ፡²⁵ ዕለተ፡²⁶ ሞቱ፡²⁷ በሰይፍ፡²⁸ ነሥኣ፡ ውቅየተ፡²⁹ አሐቲ፡³⁰ ብእሲት፡³¹
 ከመ፡³² ይጠብልል፡³³ ባቲ፡³⁴ ገጽ፡³⁵

[136] ወለሊሁ፡¹ አግብኣ፡² ውቅየቲሃ፡³ በሰዓተ፡⁴ ተቀትሎቱ፡⁵ እንዘ፡ ያንሶሱ፡
 ለሕይወት፡⁶ ሐዲስ፡⁷ እምድጎረ፡⁸ ተቀትለ፡⁹ ወለንጉሥኒ፡¹⁰ ዘቀተሎ፡ አስተርኣዮ፡¹¹

[134] 1 BCLOPT; ወእግዚእ፡ F | 2 BCLOT; ንጉሥ፡ ነገሥት፡ F; lac. P; ኢፈርሃ፡ add. F | 3 BCLOPT; ወኢደነግ፡ F; ኢይደነግ፡ T | 4 BCLOPT; ልቡ፡ F; ምንተኒ፡ ሶበ፡ ሰምዓ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ add. F | 5 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ወይቤ፡ F | 6 BCLOPT; ይጎልፍ፡ F | 7 BCFLP; እምኔየ፡ T | 8 BCLOPT; ዝንቱ፡ F | 9 (# CO) | 10 BCLOT; ይኩን፡ F; om. P | 10–11 BCFOPT; ፈቃደ፡ ዚኣከ፡ ለይኩን፡ L | 11 CLOP; በፈቃደ፡ BFT | 12–13 om. L | 14 (# CO) | 15 (# C); (፲ T) | 16 LP; ፲፯ዓመት፡ BFT; ፲፯፡ ዓመት፡ CO | 17 BCFLP; ግብት፡ P | 18 (# CO) | 19 CLP; ተዳድቆተ፡ BFOT | 20 (# O); (፲ T) | 21 BCFOPT; ጠባይዒሁ፡ L | 22–23 BCFLP; ዘትኩል፡ ትክልተ፡ OT | 23 COPT; ዘትኩል፡ BFL | 24 (# CLO); BCLOPT; አዕዋም፡ F.

[135] BCFLP; ወንጉሥ፡ P | 2 BCFLP; om. P | 3 BCFLP; lac. P; ለባዊ፡ add. F | 4 (፲ T) | 5 BCFLP; ይብላ፡ P | 6 (# CLOT) | 7 ነፍሱ፡ add. F | 8 CF; እምቃለ፡ BLOPT | 9 BCLOPT; om. F | 10 (፲ T) | 11–12 om. F | 13 COT; እምቀዳማይ፡ BLP; om. F | 14 (፲ T); BCLOPT; እም ብእሲ፡ F | 15 (# CLOT); BCLOT; ተፍጻሜት፡ FP | 16 BCLOPT; om. F | 17–18 ዘእነስኣ፡ ለሕይወት፡ tra.. BLP | 17 BCLOPT; ለሕይወትሰ፡ F | 18 BCLOPT; ዘነሣእክዋ፡ F; ሊተ፡ add. F; ህይወት፡ add. P | 19–20 om. F | 20 (om. F) BCLOT; እግዚእየ፡ P | 21 (# CLO); BCO; om. F; ህይወት፡ ተፍጻሜት፡ LPT; ህይወት፡ add. F | 22–23 (# CLO); om. F | 24 (# CLO); BCLOT; ነባቤ፡ ዝ፡ F; ለነባቢሁ፡ P | 25 CFO; om. BP; አስመ፡ LT | 26 BCFLP; om. P | 27 (፲ T); BCLOPT; ተመትሮቱ፡ F | 28 BCFLP; በሰይ፡ O | 29 (፲ T) | 30 BCLOPT; om. F | 31 BFLPT; በእሲት፡ C ; ብእሲተ፡ O | 32 BCLOT; om. FP | 33 BCLOPT; ለከዲነ፡ F | 34 BCLOPT; om. F | 35 (# CLO); BCLPT; ገጽ፡ F; ገጽ፡ O.

[136] 1 BCLOT; om. FP | 2 BCFLP; ወአግብኣ፡ PT | 3 COT; ውቅየቲሃ፡ BL; ወሚጠላቲ፡ F; ላቲ፡ ውቅየቱ፡ P | 4 BCLOT; አመ፡ F; በዕለተ፡ P | 5 BCLOPT; ተቀተሎሙ፡ F | 6–7 COT; ለሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ BFLP | 8–9 om. F | 9 (# CLO); (om. F) BCLOT; ተቀትሎቱ፡ P | 10 BCLOPT; ወለንጉሥ፡ F

በአፍርሆ፣¹² ወበተገርሞ፣¹³ እንዘ፣ ይለብስ፣ አልባስ፣¹⁴ ነገሥት፣¹⁵ ወይትኬለል፣¹⁶ አክሊሎሙ።¹⁷

[137] ምዕራፍ፣¹ ፶፰።² ይቤ፣ በዓለ፣ መጽሐፍ፣³ ወበ፩፣⁴ እምዕለታት፣⁵ አነ፣
bc ወክልኤቱ፣⁶ አብያጽዮ፣⁷ እንዘ፣ ንቀውም፣⁸ ቅድሜሁ፣⁹ ለንጉሥ፣ ክቡር፣¹⁰ በእንተ፣
ዕረፍተ፣ ሥራ፣¹¹ ደቤለነ፣¹² ለሊሁ፣¹³ በቃሉ፣ ቀሊልኑ፣¹⁴ በጎቤክሙ፣ ተድላሁ፣
ለዝንቱ፣ ዘመን።¹⁵

[138] ናሁ፣ ዝንቱ፣ ዘመን፣ ይትዌለጥ፣¹ በክልኤ፣¹ ወተድላሁኒ፣^b ይፈልስ፣^a ጎብ፣
ተጽናስ።^b አንስ፣ እስከሎ፣ ለእግዚአብሔር፣⁴ ክቡር፣ ወልዑል፣⁵ ወእትአመንሂ፣ ከመ፣⁶
እትገኝሥ፣ እምቅድመ፣ ዝንቱ፣ ኩሉ፣ ጎብ፣ ተግኅሡ፣⁷ አበው፣ ቀደምት፣⁸ ወኮነ፣⁹
በከመ፣ ይቤ።¹⁰

[139] ምዕራፍ፣¹ ፶፱።² ወይእኬኒ፣ ካዕበ፣ አገበረተነ፣ ኃሠሣ፣ ንጽሐፍ፣³ ንስቲተ፣⁴
እምትሩፋተ፣⁵ ማር፣⁶ ገላውዴዎስ፣⁷ ወፍድላታቲሁ።⁸ ተብህለ፣ በእንቲአሁ፣ ሶበ፣
ይነግርዎ፣ እንዘ፣ ይብሉ፣ እገሌ፣ ፩እምአግብርቲከ፣⁹ አንበረ፣¹⁰ አፉሁ፣ ውስተ፣¹¹
መንበርከ፣ ወውስተ፣ መንግሥትከ፣ አንሶሰወ፣ ልሳኑ፣ ይሰጠው፣¹² ወይብል፣¹³ ምንት፣¹⁴
ብዩ፣ ምስሌሁ፣ ውእቱ፣ የአምር፣ ከመ፣ ያግብእ፣¹⁵ ቃለ፣¹⁶ በዕለተ፣ ደይን።¹⁷

[140] ወሶበሂ፣¹ ይወስድ፣² ልቦ፣³ ውስተ፣ ነገር፣ ዘይትናገሩ፣⁴ ወይሰምዕ፣ እንዘ፣
ይረግሞ፣ ገብሩ፣⁵ ይከውን፣ ከመ፣ ዘኢሰምዓ።⁶ ወቦ፣ አመ፣⁷ ያጸምም፣⁸ አእዛኒሁ፣⁹

| 11 BCP; ተርእዮ፣ F; አስተርእዮ፣ LOT | 12 BCLOPT; om. F | 13 BCLOPT; በተገርሞ፣ F | 14 BCLOPT; ልብስ፣ F | 15 COT; ገነት፣ BFLP | 16 BCLOPT; ወይትቁጸል፣ F | 17 (# CLO); BCLOPT; አክሊለ፣ F.

[137] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 CO; ፶፰፣ BFL; ፶፰፣ P; om. T | 3 (# L) | 4-5 CFLO; ወበ፩ እምዕለታት፣ BPT | 6 BCFOPT; ወ፩፣ L | 6-7 BCFLOP; ወ፩ አብያጽዮ፣ T | 6-8 እንዘ፣ ንቀውም፣ ወክልኤቱ፣ አብያጽዮ፣ P | 7 BCLOPT; አብያጽዮ፣ F | 8 BCP; ትቀውም፣ FLOT | 9 BCLOT; om. FP; ይቤ፣ add. P | 10 BCFLOT; om. P | 11 (# L) | 12-13 om. P | 14 BCFOPT; ቀሊልኒ፣ L | 15 (# CO).

[138] 1 BCFOP; በ ፪፣ LT | 1-2 በ፪ ወተድላሁኒ፣ P | 2-3 የኃልፍ፣ በተጽናስ፣ CP | 3 (# CO) | 4 CFLOPT; በእግዚአብሔር፣ B | 5 (፺ T) | 6 እፈልስ፣ add. P | 7 (፺ T) | 8 ነገሥት፣ add. F | 9 ኩሉ፣ add. P | 10 (# BCLOT).

[139] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 COP; ፶፱፣ BFL; ፶፱፣ P; om. T | 3 BCP; ንጽሐፍ፣ FLOT | 4 BCLOPT; om. F; ንጽሐፍ፣ add. P | 5 BCLOT; እምትሩተ፣ F; እምትሩፋቲሁ፣ P | 6 BCFLOT; ለማር፣ P | 7 BCFLOT; lac. P | 8 (# CO); BCLOT; ወፍድላታቲሁ፣ FP | 9 BCFOPT; ፩እምአግብርቲሁ፣ L | 10 CFOP; አንበርከ፣ BL | 11 BCLOPT; ዲቦ፣ F | 12 BCFLOT; om. P | 13 BCFLOT; ይብል፣ P | 14 BFP; ምንት፣ CLOT | 15 COT; ይጎብር፣ BFL; ይጎብእ፣ P | 16 BCFLOT; ቃለ፣ P | 17 (# CLO).

[140] 1 COT; ወሶበሂ፣ BFLP | 2 OT; ይወድስ፣ BCFLP | 3 CFOT; ልቡ፣ B; ልቦ፣ LP | 4 (፺ T) | 5 BCLOPT; ግብሩ፣ F | 6 (# CLO) | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 BCLOPT; ዘያጸምም፣ F | 9 BCFLOT; አእዛኒሁ፣ P | 10 BCFLOT; om. P | 11 BCFLOT; ወእዕይንቲሁ፣ P | 12 (# CO) | 13 P; ይፈጽም፣ BCFLOT | 14 CO; ትእዛዞ፣ BFLPT | 15 (፺ T) | 16 CLOT; አዕዛኒክሙ፣ BF; አእዛኒክሙ፣ P | 17 COT; ወእለ፣ BFLP | 18 (፺ T) | 19 C (Conzelman con.); om. BCFLOT | 20 BCFP; om. LOT | 21-22 om. F | 21 (om. F) BCLOT;

እምሰሚዕ ፡ ወይከልእ ፡¹⁰ አዕይንቲሁ ፡¹¹ እምርእይ ።¹² ከመ ፡ ይፈጽም ፡¹³ ትእዛዘ ፡¹⁴ ዘይቤ ፡
¹⁵ አጽምሙ ፡ እዘኒክሙ ፡¹⁶ እለ ፡¹⁷ ይሰምዓ ፡ ወአውሩ ፡ አይንቲክሙ ፡ እለ ፡ በገሃድ ፡¹⁸
[ይትረአያ] ፡¹⁹ ከመ ፡²⁰ ለኢይኔጽራ ፡²¹ እኩዮ ።²² ወጴጥርስኒ ፡ በዐለ ፡ መራኅት ፡
ዘአማገፀኖሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡²³ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ በደኃሪት ፡ እስትንፋስ ።²⁴ ደቂቅዩ ፡
አርጎቁ ፡ ነፍሳቲክሙ ፡ እምኩሉ ፡ እኩይ ፡²⁵ ወሚጡ ፡²⁶ አዕይንቲክሙ ፡²⁷ ወአእዛኒክሙ ፡
እምኩሉ ፡ ከንቱ ።²⁸

[141] ወሶበኒ ፡ ያመጽኡ ፡¹ ሎቱ ፡ ውዴተ ፡ ወይብልዎ ፡² ናሁ ፡ የኃሥሡ ፡³
መንግሥተ ፡⁴ ዘመደ ፡ መንግሥት ።⁵ ይቤ ፡⁶ ሚሊተ ፡ ወሎሙ ፡ መንግሥትስ ፡⁷ ውእቱ ፡⁸
ለእግዚአብሔር ፡⁹ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡¹⁰ ይሁቦ ፡ ለዘፈቀደ ፡¹¹ ወይከልእ ፡¹² ለዘኢሠምረ ።¹³

[142] ምዕራፍ ፡ ¹ ፳ ።² ቦሁ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ጎያል ፡ ወመዋኢ ፡³ ዘይትዔገሥ ፡ ዘመጠነዝ ፡
ትዕግሥተ ፡⁴ ላዕለ ፡⁵ ዘድኩም ፡ እምኔሁ ፡⁶ ወላዕለ ፡ ዘይቱሐቶ ።⁷ እንዳዒ ፡ እመ ፡⁸ ተናገራ ፡⁹
ለዓለም ፡¹⁰ ፈላሲት ፡¹¹ ከመ ፡¹² ማርቆስ ፡¹³ ወካልኣኒሁ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ኄራን ፡ ዘሐጉሉ ፡¹⁴
ረባሐ ፡ መንግሥት ፡¹⁵ በእንተ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡¹⁶ ዛቲ ፡ ሀብት ፡
ለንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁷ ተውህቦቶ ፡¹⁸ እምነ ፡ ለክልኤቲ ፡¹⁹ መዛግብት ፡²⁰ እምልብ ፡
ወመጽሐፍ ።²¹

[143] እስመ ፡ መጽሐፍስ ፡ ባሕቲታ ፡¹ ዘእንበለ ፡ ልብ ፡ ኢትሁብ ፡ ሀብተ ።² እመኒ ፡³
ወሀበት ፡ ትሁብ ፡ ገፁፁ ፡⁴ ዘኢይኔልቀኃዎ ።⁵ ገፁፁስ ፡⁶ ኢይክል ፡ ተኖልቆ ፡⁷ ወጠዋይኒ ፡⁸
ኢይክል ፡⁹ ረቲዓ ።¹⁰

[144] ምዕራፍ ፡ ¹ ፳፩ ።² ኦአግዚእየ ፡³ ማር ፡⁴ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁵ ለርኣያ ፡⁶ ትዕግሥትከስ ፡
⁷ ከመ ፡⁸ ኢዮብ ፡ ውእቱ ፡⁹ ጸረ ፡¹⁰ ክልኤተ ፡¹¹ ቀኅላተ ፡¹² ቀኅለ ፡¹³ ዘወረደ ፡¹⁴ ዲብ ፡¹⁵

ኢይነዕሪ ፡ P | 22 (# CO); BCFOPT; እኩይ ፡ L | 23 (፲ T) | 24 (# CO) | 25 (# L) | 26 BCLOPT; ወሚጡ ፡ F | 27 (፲ T) | 28 (# CLO); BCLOPT; እኩይ ፡ F.

[141] 1 BCFLPT; ያመጽኡ ፡ P | 2 (፲ T) | 3 BCLOPT; የኃሥሥ ፡ F | 4-5 om. F | 5 (# CLO) | 6 CO; ይቤላ ፡ BFL; ይብል ፡ PT | 7 COPT; መንግሥት ፡ FL; መንግሥተ ፡ B | 8 BCLOPT; om. F | 9 BCLOPT; ዘእግዚአብሔር ፡ F | 10 (# L) | 11 BPT; ለዘይፈቅዶ ፡ F; ለዘ ፡ ፈቀደ ፡ CLO | 12 BCFOPT; ወካልኣኒሁ ፡ L | 13 (# BCFLPT); LPT; ለዘ ፡ ኢሠምረ ፡ BCO; ዘኢሠምረ ፡ F.

[142] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; om. BT; ፶፯ ፡ FL; ፶፰ ፡ P | 3 (፲ T) | 4 (# L); BCFO; ትዕግሥት ፡ LPT | 5 CO; ወቦ ፡ ለእለ ፡ BFLPT | 6 BCLOPT; ምስሌሁ ፡ F | 7 (# CO); BCLOPT; ዘይቱሐቶ ፡ F | 8 BCFLPT; ለእመ ፡ P | 9 BCFOPT; ተናገራ ፡ L | 10 BCFOPT; ዓለመ ፡ L | 11 (# CO); BCFOPT; ፈላሲተ ፡ L | 12 (፲ T) | 13 (# L) | 14 BCLOPT; ዘተንገሉ ፡ F | 15 (፲ T) | 16 (# L); (፲ T) | 17 BCFLPT; lac. P | 18 BCFLPT; ante ለንጉሥ ፡ tra. P | 19-20 CFO; ፪ቲ መዛግብት ፡ BT; ፪ ፡ ቲ ፡ L; ፪መዛግብት ፡ P | 21 (# BCLO); BCFLPT; ወእመጽሐፍ ፡ P.

[143] 1 BCLO; post ልብ ፡ tra. FP | 2 (# CLO) | 3 BCFOPT; ወእመኒ ፡ L | 4 BCFOPT; ሕፀፀ ፡ L | 5 (# CO); BCLOPT; om. F | 6 BCLOPT; ሕጸፀስ ፡ F | 7 BCFLPT; ተኖልቆ ፡ O | 8 BCFLPT; ወጠዋይኒ ፡ P | 9 CLO; om. BFP | 10 (# CLO).

bc ሥጋሁ :¹⁶ እምጸላኤ :^c ስመድነ :¹⁸ ወቀሰለ :¹⁹ ዘወረደ : ዲበ :^b ነፍሱ :²¹ እምጽዕለተ :
፫መናፍስት :²² አንተሂ : ጸርከ : ቀሰለ :²³ እምብዙኅ : ሰብእ :²⁴ እስመ : ጽሑፍ : ዘይብል :
²⁵ ዘይነብር : ምስለ : ብዙኅ : ሰብእ : ይጸውር : ብዙኃ : ቀሰለ :²⁶

[145] ትዕግሥቱ : ለኢዮብ : ትመስል : ግብራዊተ :¹ እስመ : ኮነ :² አሜሃ : ውዳቀ :
ውስተ : ዐቢይ : ሕማም : ለኢይክል :³ ተንሥኦ : እምኔሁ :^a ወኮነ : ባሕታዌ :
እምሠራዊት :⁵ አምጣነሰ :⁶ bc ክሀለ :⁷ ሜጠ :^c ሎሙ :^b አውሥኦተ :¹⁰ ለእለ : ጸአልዎ :¹¹
ወከሰተ : ሎሙ :¹² ጉርዔሁ : ዘኢይክል : ውኒጠ :¹³ ምራቅ : እምብዙኅ : ሕማም :
ዘላዕሌሁ :¹⁴ ወለከሂ : ትዕግሥትከ :¹⁵ እሙር : ውእቱ :¹⁶ ፈቃዳዊ : እንዘ : ብዙኅ : ኃይልከ :
¹⁷ ወልዑል :¹⁸ የማንከ :¹⁹

[146] ወከመ :¹ ቀስተ : ብርት : ጽኑዕ :² መዝራዕትከ :³ ወምጡቅ :⁴ እምደዌ : ኩሉ :⁵
መሌሊትከ :⁶ ውብዙኃን : ከመ : ሠርፀ : ሣዕር : ሰብእ : ቤትከ :⁷ ትትዔገሥ :⁸ አመ :
ሐመዩከ : ወታረምም : አመ :⁹ ተናገሩከ : ነገረ : ዘያስተቋጥዕ :¹⁰ ከመዝ :¹¹ ኮነ : ተዓገሠ :
ዳዊት : ንጉሥ :¹² ላዕለ : አፅራሪሁ :¹³ ወኢያውረደ : ለእዴሁ :¹⁴ ዲቤሆሙ :^a ሰበ :
ረከቦሙ : ድኩማነ :¹⁶ ወቃሎሂ :¹⁷ ጥቀ :¹⁸ ኢያጎሰመ :¹⁹ ቦሙ :²⁰ ሰበ : ገብኡ : ውስተ :
እዴሁ :²¹

[147] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፳፪ :² ብፁዕ : አንተ : አእግዚእየ :³ ማር : ገላውዴዎስ :⁴ ዘጥዕምካ :⁵
ለትዕግሥት :⁶ ወኮነ : ጣዕማ :⁷ በጎቤከ : ዘይፈደፍድ :⁸ እመዐር : ወሦከር :⁹ ወተከሥተ :

[144] 1 BCLOT; ክፍል : F; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CFO; ፶፯ : B; ፶፮ : L; ፶፱ : P; om. T | 3 COT; አግዚእየ : BFLP | 4 BCFLLOT; ንጉሥ : P | 5 (# L) | 6–7 om. P | 8 F; ብከ : BCOPT; ብየ : L | 9 BCFLLOT; om. P | 10 BCFLLOT; ዘፃረ : P | 11 COT; ፪ተ : BFLP | 12 BCLOPT; ሕማማተ : F | 13 BCFLLOT; ቁስል : P | 14 BCLOPT; ዘወረዱ : F | 15 BCFLLOT; ላዕሌሁ : P | 16–17 om. P | 16–20 om. T | 18 (# CO) | 19 (om. T) BCLOP; ወሕማም : F | 21 BCLOPT; ሥጋሁ : F | 22 (# L); BFPT; ፫ : መናፍስት : CL; ፫ : መናፍት : O | 23 COT; om. BFLP | 24 (# CO) | 25 (# L) | 26 (# CO); BCLOPT; ሕማም : F.

[145] 1 BCFLPT; ግብራዊት : O | 2 (# CO); BCLOPT; ኮነ : F | 3–4 om. F | 4 (# L) | 5 (# CLO) | 6 BCFLLOT; እምጣነሰ : T | 7–9 om. P | 7–8 om. F | 10 BCLOT; አውሥኦተ : F; አውሥኦ : ቃለ : P | 11 BCLP; ጸአልዎ : FO; ይጸልዎ : T | 12 BCFLP; ቦሙ : OT | 13 FOT; ውኒጠ : BCLP | 14 BCLOT; ላዕሌሁ : F; ዘለእሌሁ : P | 15 BCFLLOT; ትዕግሥት : T | 16 (፯ T) | 17 (# L) | 18 BCFLLOT; ወጽኑዕ : P | 19 (# CLO).

[146] 1 BCLOPT; ከመ : F | 2 ወኃያል : add. P | 3 (፯ T) | 4 COT; ምጡቅ : BLP; ምውቅ : F | 5 BCFLLOT; om. P | 6 (# L); (፯ T) | 7 (# CO) | 8 BCLOPT; om. F | 9 CFPT; እመ : BLO | 10 (# CLO); BCLOT; ዘያስተቋጥዕ : P; om. F | 11 BCFLLOT; ከመዝ : T | 12 BCFLLOT; om. P | 13 (# L) | 14–15 COPT; ዲቤሆሙ : እዴሁ : tra. BLF | 15 BCFLLOT; ላእሌሆሙ : P | 16 BCLOPT; ድኩማነ : F | 17 BCLOPT; ወቃለ : F | 18 BCLOT; om. FP | 19 CFLOPT; ኢያጎሰመ : B | 20 BCLOPT; ሎሙ : F | 21 (# CLO).

[147] 1 BCLOT; ክፍል : F; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፶፮ : BFL; ፳ : P; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; om. F | 4 BCLOT; ሚናስ : F; lac. P | 5 BCOPT; ዘጥዕምካ : FL | 6 (# L); (፯ T) | 7 CP; ጣዕመ : BLOT; ጣዕም : F | 8 BCFLLOT; ዘይፈደፍድ : L; ፈድፋድ : P | 9 (# CLO) | 10 BCFLLOT; ተሐውከ : P | 11 (# CO) | 12 (፯ T)

ለከ : እምኔሃ : ምረረ : ተሀውኮ :¹⁰ ዘይመርር : እምሐሞት ::¹¹ ትዕግሥትከሰ : ትፍሥሕት :
ይእቲ :¹² ለጠቢባን : ወጎዘን : ይእቲ :¹³ ለአብዳን ::¹⁴ ይእቲ : ትንቢቶሙ : ለነቢያት :¹⁵
ወስብከቶሙ :¹⁶ ለሐዋርያት : አክሊሎሙ : ለሰማዕት :¹⁷ ወሠርጎ : ምንኩስናሆሙ :
ለመነኮሳት :¹⁸ ወጌራ : መንግሥቶሙ : ለነገሥት ::¹⁹

[148] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፳፫ ::² ይትባረክ : ዕባዩ :³ መንግሥቱ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ዕዙዝ :⁴
መንግሥት :⁵ ዘአንገሥ :⁶ ላዕለ : ዛቲ :⁷ ጸጋ : ዐባይ :⁸ ለገላውዴዎስ :⁹ አብሮሲፋርዮን :¹⁰
ንጉሥ :¹¹ ግሩም ::¹²

[149] ዓዲ :¹ ናተሉ : ጽሑፈ : ዜናሁ :² ወነገሩ : ዘረኩብነ :³ እምግብሩ :⁴ እምድጎረ :⁵
ወደስናሁ :⁶ ውዳሴ : ህልወ :⁷ በግዕዛቲሁ : ውዳሳት ::⁸ በኩሉ : መዋዕለ : መንግሥቱ :
ኢሐነጸ :^a ዓመፃ :⁹ ^b ወግፍዐ :¹⁰ ኢሣረረ ::^{ab} እስመ : ተገሠጸ :¹² በተግሣጸ :¹³ መገሥጽ :¹⁴
ዘይብል ::¹⁵ አሌሎሙ :¹⁶ ለእለ : የሐንጽዎሙ :¹⁷ ለዓመፃ :¹⁸ ወግፍዕ :¹⁹ ወይሣርርዋ :²⁰
ለጉሕሉት : እስመ : ፍጡነ : ይትነሠቱ ::²¹

[150] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፳፬ ::^a ወዘያሌቡስ :³ ላዕለ :⁴ ዝንቱ : ግብሩ : አመ : ቀዳሚ :
ሕንጻታ :⁵ ለተድባበ : ማርያም :⁶ ቤተ : ክርስቲያን :⁷ ጎሪት : ወክብርት : ኢያገ[ብር] :⁸
መነሂ :⁹ እምሰብአ :¹⁰ ^b ብሔረ :¹¹ መንግሥቱ : ላዕለ : ግብረ : ሕንፃ ::^b ወኢሢመ :¹³

| 13 BCLOPT; om. F | 14 (# CLO) | 15 (̄ T) | 16 BCLOPT; ስብከቶሙ : F | 17 (# L) | 18 (# L) | 19 (# BCLOPT).

[148] 1 ታሪክ : F; | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፶፱ : BFL; ፳፩ : P; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ዐቢያ : F | 4 COPT; ግዙዝ : BL; ግዑዝ : F | 5 CFOT; መንግሥትስ : ዘአንስት : BL; መንግስተ : ዕደው : ወአንስት : P; ዘአንተስ : add. F | 6 CFOPT; ዘአንግሥ : BL | 7 BCLOT; om. F; ዝቲ : P | 8 BCLOPT; ዐቢይ : F | 9 BCLOT; ለሚናስ : F; om. P | 10 COT; አብሮሲፋርዮስ : BFLP | 11–12 (# CLOT); COT; ግሩም : ንጉሥ : tra. BFLP.

[149] 1 Ante ዓዲ : add. ምዕራፍ : ፳፫ : BCLOT; ታሪክ : ፳፫ : add. F; ፳፫ : add. P | 2 (̄ T) | 3 BCLOPT; ዘረኩብነ : F | 4 CFLOPT; እምግብሩ : B | 5 (̄ T) | 6 CP; ወደስናሁ : BL; ሰማዕናሁ : F; ወደስናሁን : OT | 7 BCLOPT; ህልው : F | 8 (# CO); LPT; ውዳሳቲሁ : BF; ውዳሳት : CO | 9–11 ግፍዓ : ወኢሳረረ : ዓመፃ : P | 10–11 om. F | 11 (# CO) | 12 CP; ተግሣጸ : BLOT; በተግሣፅ : F | 13 BCLOPT; ተግሣፅ : F | 14 BCLOP; ይጌሥጽ : F; ወመገሥጽ : T | 15 (# CO) | 16 CO; አክሊሎሙ : BFLT; አሌ : ሎሙ : P | 17 BCFLP; የሐንጽዎ : P | 18 BCLOPT; አመፃ : F | 19 COT; ግፍዕ : BLP; om. F | 20 BCFOPT; ወይሣርር : ዋ : L | 21 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ይትነሠቱ : F.

[150] 1 BCLOT; ታሪክ : F; lac. P | 1–2 om. T | 2 (# CO); (om. T) CO; ፳፩ : BFL; ፳፫ : P | 3 BCLOPT; ወዘያሌቡስ : F | 4 BCFLP; ለእለ : P | 5 BCLOP; ሐነጸታ : F; ሕንፃታ : T | 6 BCFLP; lac. P | 7 (̄ T) | 8 con.; ኢያገበረ : BCLOPT; ኢያግብረ : F | 9 CO; መነሂ : BFLP; ወኢሢሙሂ : T | 10 COT; ሰብአ : BLP; እምሰብአ : F; እመኳንንቲሁ : add. P | 11 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘብሔረ : P | 11–12 om. F | 12 (# CO) | 13 BCLOT; ወኢሢመ : FP | 14 BCFLP; ጸሕፍተ : O | 15 BCFLP; ወንዳዕተ : OT | 16 (̄ T) | 17 BCP; ዘአስተጋብእዎሙ : L; ዘያስተጋብዕዎ : T; ዘአስተጋብእዎ : FO | 18 BCFOPT; ወኃሠር : L | 18–19 ዕቡር : ወኃሠር : tra. BFP | 19 BCFOPT; om. L | 20 (̄ T) | 21 LPT; ወያቴክልዎሙ : BO; ወኢያቴክልዎሙ : C; ወይተክሉ : F | 22 BCFLP; ለእለ : P | 23 BFLOPT; ጥብዖቶሙ : C | 24 BFLOPT; ዘኩነ : C | 25 (̄ T) | 26 BCFOPT; ወግብረ : L | 27 BCFOPT; ክርስቲያንን : LT | 28 (# CO); BCLOT; ቀዳሚት : F; ቀዳሚውያት : P.

ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ጸሐፍተ ፡¹⁴ ወነዳእያተ ፡¹⁵ እለ ፡ ያጌጉዕዎሙ ፡¹⁶ ለአስተጋብእ ፡¹⁷ ኃሠር ፡¹⁸
ወፅቡር ፡¹⁹ ወግንፋል ፡²⁰ ወያቴክልዎሙ ፡²¹ ላዕለ ፡²² ጥብዓቶሙ ፡²³ ዘኮነ ፡²⁴ ሠርዑ ፡²⁵
ቦሙ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ቀደምት ፡ በግብረ ፡²⁶ ሕንጻ ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናት ፡²⁷ ቀዳምያት ።²⁸

[151] ወአዘዘ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትትሐነጽ ፡¹ በረድኤተ ፡² አግብርት ፡³ ዘአጥረየት ፡ የማኑ ።⁴
ከመ ፡ ኢይበሎ ፡⁵ በሃሊ ፡ አሌ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ የሐንጽዋ ፡ ለጽዮን ፡⁶ በደም ፡⁷
ወለኢየሩሳሌም ፡⁸ በዓመፃ ።⁹ ወከመ ፡ ኢይስማዕ ፡¹⁰ ቃለ ፡ ፊምስማይ ፡¹¹ ዘይብል ።¹²
ሰማይኒ ፡ መንበርየ ፡ ወምድርኒ ፡ መከዩደ ፡ እገርየ ፡¹³ አየኑ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ተሐንጹ ፡¹⁴ ለማገደርየ ፡
¹⁵ ወአየኑ ፡¹⁶ መካነ ፡¹⁷ ለምዕራፍየ ።¹⁸

[152] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፳፮ ።² ወአመ ፡ ፲ወ፱ዓመት ፡ እመንግሥቱ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ትኩዘ ።³
በእንተ ፡ ሙስና ፡ አድባራት ፡ ወአፅዓዳት ፡⁵ በእደዊሆሙ ፡ ለሠራዊተ ፡⁶ ዑዝድሜር ፡⁷
ዘውእቶሙ ፡⁸ ትርኩ ።⁹ ወእንዘ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ጽምሕይይ ፡¹⁰ ፈድፋደ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዓሪጎቶሙ ፡
ለትርኩ ፡¹¹ መልዕልተ ፡¹² ደብረ ፡ ዳሞ ፡¹³ ለውቀቲሎቶሙ ፡¹⁴ ጸድቃነ ፡ ውኔራነ ፡ እለ ፡
ውስቴታ ።¹⁵

[153] ወአርኩሶቶሙ ፡¹ ምድረ ፡ ቅድስተ ፡² በነሶሳወ ፡³ እገሪሆሙ ፡ ርኩሳት ፡⁴
ወበሊሐት ፡⁵ ለክዲወ ፡⁶ ደም ።⁷ ወበዊኦቶሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መካን ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘተቀደሰ ፡⁸
በንብረተ ፡ ዓፅም ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ውስቴቱ ፡⁹ ወጸዊሮቱ ፡ ሥጋ ፡¹⁰ ንጹሐ ፡¹¹ ዘንጉሥ ፡¹² ጸድቅ ፡
¹³ ልብነ ፡ ድንግል ፡¹⁴ ወተቀብሮቶሙ ፡ ህየ ፡¹⁵ ለእለ ፡ አባ ፡ አረጋዊ ፡ ዘመደ ፡¹⁶ ኔራን ፡
ወጸድቃን ፡¹⁷ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡¹⁸ ሰላም ።¹⁹

[151] 1 (፲ T) | 2 BCFOPT; በረዳኤተ ፡ L | 3 (፲ T) | 4 (# CO) | 5 BCLOPT; ወኢይበሎ ፡ F | 6
COT; om. BFLP | 7-8 COT; ወለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ በደም ፡ tra. BFLP | 9 (# CO); COPT; ወበዓመፃ ፡ BFP | 10
BCLOPT; ኢይስማዕ ፡ F | 11-12 COT; ዘይብል ፡ እምስማይ ፡ tra. BFLP | 12 (# CLO) | 13 (# L) | 14
BCLOPT; ሐነጹ ፡ F | 15 (# L); CFLOT; በማገደርየ ፡ B; ሊተ ፡ P | 16 BCFLO; ወአይኑ ፡ PT | 17 BCLOT;
መካኑ ፡ F; ማገደር ፡ P | 18 (# CLO).

[152] 1 BCLOT; አንቀጽ ፡ F; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፳፮ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ትኩዘ F | 4
COT; om. BFLP; ንስቲተ ፡ add. P | 5 BCFLO; ወአፅዓዳት ፡ P; ወአፅዓዳቲሆሙ ፡ T | 6 (፲ T); BCLOPT;
ለሠራዊት ፡ F | 7 (፲ T); BCLOPT; ዘዑዝድሜር ፡ F | 8 BCLOPT; ዘውእቱ ፡ F | 9 (# CO) | 10 BCLOT;
ጽምሕይይ ፡ FP | 11 BCLOPT; om. F | 12 (፲ T) | 13 (# CLO); BCLOT; ዳሞታ ፡ F; ደሞ ፡ P | 14-15 om.
F | 15 (# CLO).

[153] 1 BCFLPT; ወአርኩሶቶሙ ፡ O | 2 BCLOPT; ቅድስተ ፡ F | 3 BCFOPT; በነሶሳወ ፡ L | 4
BCLOPT; ርኩሳተ ፡ F | 5 BCLOPT; ወበሊሐተ ፡ F | 6 CFLPT; ወለክዲወ ፡ B; ወለክዲወ ፡ O | 7 (# CLO) |
8 BCFLOT; ዘተቀደሰት ፡ P | 9 (# L); BCFLOT; ውስቴታ ፡ P | 10-11 om. F | 12 BCLO; ለንጉሥ ፡ FPT |
13 BCFLOP; om. T | 14 BCP; ማር ፡ ሚናስ ፡ F; ገላውዴዎስ ፡ LOT | 15 (# L); BCLOPT; om. F | 16 CFP;
ዘመድ ፡ BLOT | 17 (፲ T) | 18 BCLOPT; ላዕለ ፡ F | 19 (# CLO).

[154] ወምስለ ፡ ተክዞቱ ፡ ይሰኪ ፡ ኀበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡¹ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ።² እግዚአ ፡ ቦኡ ፡³ አሕዛብ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ርስትከ ፡⁴ ወአርኩሱ ፡ ጽርሐ ፡ መቅደስከ ።⁵ ወረሰዩዋ ፡ ለቤተ ፡⁶ ክርስቲያን ፡^a መዝብረ ፡⁸ ከመ ፡⁹ ልገተ ፡ ዓቃቤ ፡ ቀምሕ ፡^b ወረሰዩ ፡ አብድንቲሆሙ ፡ ለአግብርቲክ ፡ መብልዓ ፡ ለአዕዋፊ ፡ ሰማይ ።¹¹ ወሥጋሆሙኒ ፡ ለጸድቃኒክ ፡ ለአራዊተ ፡ ገዳም ።¹² ወከዓዉ ፡ ደሞሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ማይ ፡ ዓውዳ ፡ ለቤተ ፡¹³ ክርስቲያን ፡^c ወኃጥኡ ፡ ዘይቀብሮሙ ።¹⁵

[155] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፰፮ ።² ዘንተ ፡³ ለወዘአምሳሊሁ ፡⁴ እንዘ ፡^a ሀሎ ፡⁶ ይብል ።⁷ ፈነወ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡⁸ መንፈሰ ፡⁹ መስሕተ ፡ ኀበ ፡¹⁰ ዑዝደሜር ፡¹¹ ወፈነወ ፡ ብዙኃነ ፡ ሐራ ፡¹² እምሐራሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይሩዱ ፡¹³ ሀገረ ፡ እምአህጉረ ፡¹⁴ ትግራይ ፡¹⁵ ወይጼውዉ ፡¹⁶ ሰብአ ፡ ወእንስሳ ።¹⁷

[156] አሜሃ ፡ ሮዱ ፡ ፩ብሔረ ፡¹ እምበሐውርተ ፡² ቡር ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ሐራ ።³ ወተቃተሉ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡⁴ ፈላሐን ፡⁵ ዘውእቶሙ ፡⁶ ሰብአ ፡ ሀገር ፡⁷ ወሞኡዎሙ ፡⁸ ወቀተሉ ፡⁹ ለመብዝሃቶሙ ፡¹⁰ ወቀተሉ ፡^a ሰርዌሆሙ ፡ ዘይሰመይ ፡¹² ይስሐቅሃ ፡ እንዘ ፡¹³ ረዳኢ ፡ ሎሙ ፡¹⁴ አንሥኦተ ፡ እደዊሁ ፡¹⁵ ወነቀልቃለ ፡¹⁶ ከናፍሪሁ ፡¹⁷ ለንጉሥ ፡¹⁸ ቅቡእ ።^b ¹⁹ ወመተሩ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ለይስሐቅ ፡²⁰ ሊቀ ፡²¹ ሰራዊተ ፡²² ፀብእ ፡²³ ምስለ ፡ ካልአዪሁ ፡^c ²⁴ ወፈነዉ ፡²⁵ ኀበ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ክቡር ፡²⁶ ገላውዴዎስ ፡²⁷ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ሰላም ።²⁸

[154] 1 (፻ T) | 2 (# CLO) | 3 (፻ T) | 4 BCFOPT; ርእስትከ ፡ L; ወረሰዩ ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ከመ ፡ ልገተ ፡ ዓቃቤ ፡ ቀምህ ፡ add. P | 5 (# CLO); BCFLOP; መቅደስከ ፡ T | 6-7 BCFOPT; ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ L | 8 CO; ምዝብርተ ፡ BFLPT | 9-10 BCFLPT; ante ወአርኩሱ ፡ tra. P | 10 (# L) | 11 (# CLO) | 12 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; om. F | 13-14 BCLOPT; ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ F | 15 (# CLPOT).

[155] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፰፮ ፡ BLF; ፰፮ ፡ P; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ወዘንተ ፡ FL | 4-5 COPT; እንዘ ፡ አምሳሊሁ ፡ tra. BFL | 6 BCLOT; om. FP | 7 (# CO) | 8 (፻ T) | 9 CLPT; መንፈሰ ፡ BF; መንፈሰ ፡ O | 10 (፻ T) | 11 (፻ T) | 12 (፻ T) | 13 COT; ይሩዱ ፡ BPL; ይሁዳ ፡ F | 14 COT; እምሀገረ ፡ BFLP | 15 (# L); BCLOPT; ትግራይ ፡ F | 16 BCFO; ወይጼውኡ ፡ L; ወይጼውዉ ፡ P; ወይጼውዉ ፡ T | 17 (# CLO).

[156] 1 BCOT; ፩ሀገረ ፡ P; ፩ብሔር ፡ FL | 2 (፻ T) | 3 (# CO) | 4 (፻ T) | 5 BCLOPT; ፈላሐን ፡ F | 6 BCLOPT; ዘውእቱ ፡ F | 7 (፻ T) | 8 BFLO; ወሞዕዎሙ ፡ CPT | 9 BCOT; ወቀተልዎሙ ፡ FP; ወቀተሎሙ ፡ L | 10-11 BCFLPT; ወቀተሉ ፡ መብዝሃቶሙ ፡ tra. T | 11 (# L) | 12 BCLOPT; om. F | 13 BCFLPT; እስመ ፡ P | 14 BFLOPT; ፈዳኢ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ C | 15 BCFLPT; እዲሁ ፡ P | 16 COP; ወነቀልቃለ ፡ BLT; ወነቀልቃለ ፡ F | 17 (፻ T) | 18-19 om. F | 19 (# CLO); (om. F) COP; ቅብቅ ፡ BL; ቅብዕ ፡ T | 20 (፻ T) | 21-24 om. P | 22 (om. P) CT; ሠራዊት ፡ BFLO | 23 (om. P) BCLOT; በፀብእ ፡ F | 24 (om. P) CO; ካልአዪሁ ፡ BL; ካልዓኒሁ ፡ FT | 25 BCFLPT; ወፈነዉ ፡ P | 26 BCFLPT; om. P | 27 BCLOT; ማር ፡ ሚናስ ፡ F; om. P | 28 (# CLO).

[157] ^aወኮነ ፡¹ በጸሐተ ፡² ርእስ ፡ ጎ ቤሁ ፡^a ³ በወርኃ ፡ መስከረም ።⁴ ወንጉሥ ፡⁵ ማር ፡⁶ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁷ ኢተመክሐ ፡⁸ በዝኒ ፡⁹ አላ ፡ ሰብሐ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡¹⁰ በእንተ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ወኢያጸርዕ ፡¹¹ ኃሢሥተኒ ፡¹² እምኔሁ ፡¹³ በእንተ ፡ ዘሀለዎ ፡¹⁴ ይኩን ።¹⁵

[158] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፳፯ ።² ወሶበ ፡ ኢአክሎ ፡³ ^aዝንቱ ፡⁴ ስሕተት ፡^a ስሕተ ፡⁶ ካዕበ ፡ ዓቢያ ፡ ስሕተት ፡ ዑዝደሜር ፡⁷ ባሻ ፡⁸ ወዝንቱ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ስሕተቱ ፡⁹ እስመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሎቱ ፡¹⁰ በምድረ ፡¹¹ ድባርዎ ፡¹² ቅጽር ፡ ነዊኅ ፡¹³ ወዓቢይ ፡ ማኅፈድ ፡¹⁴ ዘሐነጸ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡¹⁵ ለርእሱ ፡¹⁶ ወውስተ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ማኅፈድ ፡ ምሉእ ፡¹⁷ ንዋየ ፡¹⁸ ወርቅ ፡ ወብሩር ፡ ወዕንቀሥ ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወአልባስ ፡ ቀጠንት ፡¹⁹ ወብዕል ፡ ብዙኅ ፡ ዘኢይትኄለቀሥ ።²⁰ ብዕለ ፡²¹ ወስጥቡል ፡²² ወምስር ፡²³ በዘቢድ ፡²⁴ ወጅብል ፡²⁵ ወኩሉ ፡ በረ ፡²⁶ ዓረብ ።²⁷ ወብዕለ ፡ ባሕር ፡²⁸ ወደሰያት ፡²⁹ ወብዕለ ፡³⁰ ሐበሽ ፡³¹ ዘአስተጋብእ ፡³² በዬውዎ ፡³³ ወበሐብልዮ ፡³⁴ ወቦ ፡ በረባሐ ፡ ነጊድ ፡³⁵ ወቦ ፡ በተዓስቦ ፡³⁶ ከመ ፡ ሕገ ፡ አሽከር ።³⁷

[159] ወሶበ ፡ ሰረረት ፡ ደመናተ ፡¹ ሕማማ ፡ ለነፍሱ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ክቡር ፡² ገላውዴዎስ ፡³ ዘኮነ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡⁴ ምክንያተ ፡ ሐሚሞታ ፡ መከረ ፡⁵ ዑዝደሜር ፡⁶ ምክረ ፡ ጸማየ ፡⁷ ^aከመ ፡⁸ ይሐር ፡⁹ መንገለ ፡ መዘጋ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ዋዕይ ፡ ወሀፍ ፡ ወብሔረ ፡ ፍልል ።¹⁰

[160] ወገብረ ፡ በከመ ፡ መከረ ፡¹ ወኃደገ ፡² ውስተ ፡ ማኅፈድ ፡³ ኩሎ ፡ ብዕለ ፡⁴ ዘዘከርነ ፡⁵ ምስለ ፡ ውጉዳን ፡ ዕደወ ፡⁶ ፀብእ ፡⁷ ወምስለ ፡ ጋዕዋ ፡⁸ ንግሥተ ፡⁹ ሰለዋ ፡¹⁰ ወሐረ ፡

[157] 1–3 om. P | 2 (om. P) BCLOT; በጸሐተ ፡ F | 4 (# CLO) | 5 BCLOPT; ወንጉሥ ፡ F | 6 BCFLPT; om. P | 7 BCLOPT; ማኅፈድ ፡ F | 8 (፻ T) | 9 (# L); BCFOT; በዝኒ ፡ L; በዝንቱ ፡ P | 10 (# L); (፻ T) | 11 BCLOPT; ወኢያጸርዕ ፡ F | 12 BCOT; ኃሢሥተኒ ፡ FL; ጎሢሥተኒ ፡ P | 13 (፻ T) | 14 BCFLPT; አሀለዎ ፡ O | 15 (# CLO).

[158] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፳፯ ፡ BFL; ፳፰ ፡ P; om. T | 3 BCOPT; ኢአክሎ ፡ FL | 4–5 ዝስሕተት ፡ F | 5 BCFLPT; ስሕተት ፡ O | 6 (፻ T); BCLOPT; om. F | 7 COT; ዑዝደሜር ፡ BF; ዑዝማዶ ፡ ዑዝሜዶ ፡ L; ዑዝሜዶ ፡ P | 8 BFLOT; ባሻ ፡ CP | 9 (፻ T) | 10 (፻ T) | 11 (፻ T) | 12 COT; ጅባርዎ ፡ BLP; ወምደርዎ ፡ F | 13 CFOP; ርዊህ ፡ BLT | 14 COT; om. BFLP | 15 BCFOPT; ለሊህ ፡ L | 16 (# O); BCLOPT; om. F | 17 BCFLPT; om. P | 18 BCFLPT; ሀሎ ፡ P | 19 CLPT; ቀጠንተ ፡ BFO | 20 (# CLOT); BCLOPT; om. F | 21 BCOT; om. F; ብዕሉ ፡ L; እምብዕል ፡ P | 22 BFLT; ውስጥቡል ፡ CO; እስጥቡል ፡ P | 23 (፻ T) | 24 (፻ T) | 25 BCLOPT; om. F | 26 BCLOT; ብር ፡ F; ብረ ፡ P | 27 (# COT) | 28 (፻ T) | 29 CP; ወደሰያ ፡ BFLOT | 30 BCLOPT; om. F | 31 BCLOT; ሐበሻ ፡ F; ወበሐበሻ ፡ P | 32 BCFLPT; ዘአስተጋብእ ፡ P | 33 P; om. F; በበዬውዎ ፡ BCOT; በበዬውዎ ፡ L | 34 BCLOT; በሐልዮ ፡ F; ወሐብልዮ ፡ P | 35 COT; ሰጊድ ፡ BFLP | 36 BCLOPT; በተሐስቦ ፡ F | 37 (# CL).

[159] 1 BCLOPT; ደመናት ፡ F | 2 BCOT; ለክቡር ፡ FL; om. P; ማር ፡ add. L | 3 BCLOT; ማኅፈድ ፡ F; lac. P | 4 BCLOPT; om. F | 5 BCLOPT; ምክረ ፡ F | 6 BCLOT; ዑዝደሜር ፡ F; ዑዝሜዶ ፡ P | 7 COT; ጸማየ ፡ BFLP | 8–10 om. F | 9 (om. F) CFO; ይሐር ፡ BLPT | 10 (# BCO).

[160] 1 BCLOPT; ፈደየ ፡ F | 2 BCLOPT; ወኃደገ ፡ F | 3 ውእተ ፡ add. P | 4 BCLOPT; ብዕለ ፡ F | 5 BCFLPT; ante ኩሎ ፡ tra. P | 6 CO; እደ ፡ BFLT; ሰብእ ፡ P | 7 (# F) | 8 CFLOT; ጋዕዋ ፡ B; ጋልዋ ፡ P | 9 BCFLP; ንግሥት ፡ OT | 10 BCFLPT; ሰለዋ ፡ T | 11 BCOPT; om. FL | 12 BCLOPT; ፲፻መስከረም ፡ F | 13 BCLOPT; ፈረስ ፡ F | 14 BCFLPT; ወብዙኃን ፡ P | 15 CLOPT; ወመስተቃትላን ፡ BF | 16 BCFLPT; እለ ፡ ውስተ ፡ P | 17 BCFLPT; እደዊሆሙ ፡ P; በእደሆሙ ፡ T | 18 CP; ቀስተ ፡ BFLOT | 19 CP; ወወላት ወ ፡

ውስተ¹¹ ውእቱ፣ ብሔር፣ ዘዘከርን፣ ምስለ፣ ፲፪መስተፅዕናን፣¹² አፍራስ፣¹³ ብዙኃን፣¹⁴ መስተቃትላን፣¹⁵ ዘያጸንኡ፣¹⁶ በእደዊሆሙ፣¹⁷ ቀስት፣¹⁸ ወወልታ፣¹⁹ ወሐረር፣²⁰ ወነፍጥ፣²¹ ወቅኑት፣²² ሐቋሆሙ፣²³ በሰይፍ።²⁴

[161] ወበጸሐ፣ ኀበ፣¹ ሐለየ፣ ከመ፣ ይሐር፣² በሰሚዓ፣ ዜና፣ እምዜናተ፣³ ተዳድቆ፣⁴ ሕማመ፣ ፈጸንት፣ በሥጋሁ፣⁵ ወሐመ፣ እምሐሩረ፣⁶ ፀሐይ፣⁷ ዐቢየ፣ ሕማመ፣ እስከ፣ ኮኑ፣⁸ ይጸውርዎ፣⁹ በዓራት፣ ኢረከቦ፣¹⁰ ኀበ፣ የዓርፍ።¹¹ ወሕቀ፣¹² ክመ፣¹³ ተርፎ፣ ከመ፣ ይሙት።¹⁴ ሠራዊትኒ፣ ወኩሉ፣ አፍራስ፣¹⁵ ተዘብጡ፣¹⁶ ዝብጡተ፣¹⁷ ኀቡአ፣¹⁸ ወተውህበ፣¹⁹ ካዕቡቶሙ፣ ለሞት፣ በግብር፣²⁰ አምላካዊ።²¹

[162] ሐጋዕዋኒ፣¹ መጽአት፣² ኀበ፣ ኡዝደሚር፣³ በውእቱ፣⁴ ዘመን፣ ወአምጽአት፣⁵ ሎቱ፣ ሐምኃ፣⁶ ብዙኃ፣⁷ እንዘ፣⁸ ተኃሥሥ፣⁹ እምኔሁ፣¹⁰ ስመ፣¹¹ ይርድአ፣¹² ለፀቢአ፣ ፀራ፣¹³ ዘውእቱ፣¹⁴ ፩እምአርእስተ፣¹⁵ ሐራሁ፣ ለንጉሥ፣ ክቡር፣¹⁶ ገላውዴዎስ፣¹⁷ ዘአፅብዓ፣¹⁸ በጊዜ፣¹⁹ እምጊዜያት፣²⁰ ወሞአ፣²¹ ወቀተለ፣ አኃዊሃ፣²² ወዲወወ፣ አህጉሪሃ።²³

[163] ምዕራፍ፣¹ ፫።² ወእምዝ፣³ ሶበ፣ ጐንደየ፣ ምጽአተ፣⁴ ዑዝደሚር፣⁵ በምክንያተ፣⁶ ዘንቤ፣⁷ ተመንደቡ፣⁸ ትርኩ፣⁹ እለ፣¹⁰ ውስተ፣¹¹ ማኅፈድ፣¹² በረኅብ፣¹³ ወበጽምእ።¹⁴ እስመ፣ ኃልቀ፣¹⁵ እክል፣ ዘዘገቡ፣¹⁶ ወነፅፈ፣¹⁷ ማይ፣ ዐዘቃት፣¹⁸ ዘከረዩ፣¹⁹ ስመኒ፣²⁰ ያርገዉ፣²¹ ማኅፈድሙ፣²² ወይዓኡ፣²³ ለኅሢሠ፣ ትካዘ፣²⁴ ከርሥ፣²⁵ በቀስት፣^c ውስተ፣²⁶ መራኅብት።^{bc}²⁷

BLOT; ወወስቀወ፣ F | 20 BCP; ወሐረር፣ F; ዘሐረር፣ LOT | 21 (# L) | 22 CP; ወቅኑታን፣ BFLOT | 23 BCLOPT; ሐቋሆሙ፣ F | 24 (# CLO).

[161] 1 BCFLP; om. T | 2 CO; ይሐር፣ BFLPT | 3 BCLO; እምዜና፣ FT; እምዜናት፣ P | 4 BFLOPT; ተዳድቆ፣ C | 5 (# L); BCFLP; እምሥጋሁ፣ P | 6 BCLOPT; ሕማመ፣ F | 7 (፲ T) | 8 BCFLP; om. P | 9 (፲ T) | 10 BCFOT; ኢይረከቦ፣ L; ወኢይረከቦ፣ P | 11 (# CO); COT; የአርግ፣ BLP; ዓርግ፣ F | 12 BCOPT; ሕቀ፣ F; ወህየ፣ L | 13 BCOPT; om. F; ከመ፣ L | 14 (# L); BCFLP; መዊት፣ P | 15 BCLOPT; አፊስትያት፣ F | 16 (፲ T) | 17 BCLOP; ዝብሐተ፣ FT | 18 CFPT; ዐቢየ፣ B; ኀቡአ፣ LO | 19–21 om. F | 20 (፲ T) | 21 (# CLO).

[162] 1 BCFLP; ወጋዕዋኒ፣ P | 1–3 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLO; መጽአት፣ P | 3 (# CLT); BCFOT; ኡዝደሚር፣ L; ኡዝደሚር፣ P | 4 BCFOT; ወበውእቱ፣ L; ወበውእቱ፣ በውእቱ፣ P | 5 BCOPT; አምጽአት፣ FL | 6–7 BCFLP; ብዙኃ፣ አምኃ፣ tra. P | 8 BCFL; om. OT; ከመ፣ P | 9 BCLO; ተኃሥሥ፣ F; ኃሢሠ፣ P | 10 ሢሙተ፣ add. F | 10–11 om. P | 11–13 om. F | 12 (om. F) CP; ይርድአ፣ BLOT | 14 BCFLP; ወዘውእቱ፣ T | 15 BCLOPT; ፩እምአ፣ F | 16 ማር፣ add. F | 17 (፲ T); BCLO; ሚናስ፣ F; om. P | 18 COT; ፀቢአ፣ BFLP | 19 (፲ T) | 20 (# L) | 21 (፲ T) | 22 COPT; አህጉሪሃ፣ BFL | 23 (# CLO).

[163] BCFLP; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፫።፣ BFL; ፫።፣ P; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ወአምጽአ፣ F | 4 (፲ T) | 5 BCLOPT; ዑዝደሚር፣ F | 6 BCLO; በምክንያትዝ፣ F; በምክንያት፣ PT | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 (፲ T) | 9 BCLOPT; om. F | 10–11 BCFLP; ዘውስተ፣ P | 12 BCLOPT; ዓለም፣ F | 13 (፲ T) | 14 (# CLO) | 15 ኩሉ፣ add. F | 16 (# C) | 17 BCFLT; ወነፅፈ፣ OP | 18 CLO; ዐዘቃት፣ B; ዐዘቃት፣ FPT | 19 (፲ T) | 20 BCFLP; ኢይዓኡ፣ P | 20–27 om. F | 21 (om. F) BCFLP; እማኅፈድሙ፣ P | 23 BCFOT; ወዓኡ፣ L; om. P | 24 BCFLP; መፍቀደ፣ P | 25 አጸንዎሙ፣ add. P | 26–27 om. P | 27 (# CLO).

[164] ^{ab}ወበእንተ ፡¹ ዝንቱ ፡^a ምክንያት ፡ ወፅኡ ፡ በሌሊት ፡ ነሢኦሙ ፡ ኩሎ ፡³ ንዋዩ ፡
ዝኩረ ፡ ወንግሥትኒ ፡⁴ ምስለ ፡ ንዋያ ፡⁵ ወእንዘ ፡ ሀለዉ ፡⁶ ውስተ ፡⁷ ፍኖት ፡⁸ እንተ ፡⁹
ታወርድ ፡^c ¹⁰ ባሕረ ፡ እምድባርዋ ፡¹¹ ረከብዎሙ ፡¹² ፈላሒን ፡ ^dእለ ፡¹³ ውስተ ፡^d ¹⁴ ብሔር ፡¹⁵
ወረሰዩ ፡ ሥጋሆሙ ፡ ^eመብልዐ ፡¹⁶ ለመጥባሕት ፡^e ¹⁷ ወሐብለዩ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ንዋዩሙ ፡^b ¹⁸
ወለንግሥትኒ ፡ ኣጎዝዋ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ብዕላ ፡¹⁹ ዝኒ ፡ ኮነ ፡²⁰ ኣምጣነ ፡²¹ ኣይድዕዎ ፡
ነቢያት ፡²² መንፈሳዊያን ፡²³ ለንጉሥ ፡ ክቡር ፡²⁴ ፊገላውዴዎስ ፡²⁵ ላዕሌሁ ፡²⁶ ሰላም ፡^{ef} ²⁷

[165] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፸፩ ፡² እመቦ ፡ ዘይትዐቀፍ ፡ ወይብል ፡ ኣልቦሙ ፡ ትንቢት ፡³
ለናዝራዊያን ፡⁴ እምድጎረ ፡ ተሐትመ ፡⁵ ራእዮሙ ፡ ለሰብእ ፡⁶ ^aብሊት ፡⁷ እኩይ ፡ ይቤ ፡^a ⁸
እመሰ ፡ ኣምን ፡ ^bውእቱ ፡⁹ ወጽድቅ ፡^b ¹⁰ ቃሉ ፡¹¹ ጸሐፊ ፡ ሉቃስ ፡ ብጠላተ ፡¹² በእንተ ፡
ኣበዊነ ፡¹³ ሐዋርያት ፡ ወተላውያኒሆሙ ፡¹⁴ እምትንቢተ ፡¹⁵ ኢዩኤል ፡¹⁶ ዘይብል ፡¹⁷ ውእተ ፡
ኣሚረ ፡ እሰውጥ ፡¹⁸ እምነ ፡¹⁹ መንፈስዩ ፡²⁰ ዲቦ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘሥጋ ፡²¹

[166] ወይትኔበዩ ፡ ደቂቅ ፡¹ ወኣዋልድ ፡² ^aወወራዙትኒ ፡³ ራእዩ ፡⁴ ይሬእዩ ፡^a ⁵
ወሊቃውንትኒ ፡ ⁶ ሕልመ ፡ የሐልሙ ፡⁷ ወለእመ ፡ ኣኮ ፡ ተዐውቀ ፡ ሐሰቱ ፡⁸
^bለመስተዐቅፍ ፡⁹ ወምስለ ፡ ዝኒ ፡ እተሉ ፡ እሙር ፡¹⁰ ውእቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ምእመናን ፡ ነገሥት ፡
እምነገሥተ ፡ ሮም ፡ ወካልኣኒሆሙ ፡ ይሔውጹ ፡ ጎቦ ፡ ሰብእ ፡¹¹ ኣድባራት ፡ ወገዳማት ፡
እምናዝራዊያን ፡ ወይትኔበዩ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ወያሌብውዎሙ ፡¹² ኩነተ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ኩነታት ፡
^b ¹³ ወእምዝ ፡ ንጽሕፍ ፡ ግብረ ፡¹⁴ <ገብትኣ> ፡¹⁵ ስሐብ ፡¹⁶ ኃቤሁ ፡¹⁷

[164] 1–2 (om. F) BCLOT; ወበእንተዝ ፡ P | 1–18 om. F | 3 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 4 (om. F) BCLOT; ወንግሥተኒ ፡ P | 5 (# L); (om. F) BCOPT; ንዋዩ ፡ L | 6 (om. F) BCFLOP; ሀለው ፡ T | 7 (om. F) BCLO; om. PT | 8 (om. F) BCLOP; በፍኖት ፡ T | 9–10 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘታወርድ ፡ P | 11 (om. F) BCOT; እምድብርዋ ፡ L; እምድብኣርዋ ፡ P | 12 (om. F) BCOP; ረከብዋ ፡ L; ረከቦሙ ፡ T | 13–14 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘውስተ ፡ P | 15 (# L); (፲ T) | 16–17 (om. F) BCLOP; ለመጥባሕት ፡ መብልዐ ፡ tra. T | 16 (om. F) CLOPT; ለኣዕዋፊ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ B | 18 (# L) 19 (# CO) | 20 BCFLot; ዘኮነ ፡ P | 21 BCLOPT; መጠነ ፡ F | 22 (፲ T) | 23 CP; መንፈሳዊያን ፡ OT; እለ ፡ BFL; እለ ፡ እምኔሃ ፡ add. OT | 24 (# O) | 24–27 om. P | 26–27 om. P | 27 (# CLO).

[165] 1 BCFLot; lac. P | 2 CO; ፳፮ ፡ BFL; ፳፰ ፡ P; om. T | 3 BCFLPT; ትንቢተ ፡ O | 4 እምድያን ፡ add. BFLP | 5 BCFLot; ተጎረሙ ፡ P | 6 BCFLP; ለሰብእ ፡ OT | 7–8 om. F | 8 (# CLO) | 9–10 om. F | 11 (፲ T) | 12 BCLP; በሉጣት ፡ F; ብሉጣተ ፡ OT | 13 BCFLot; om. P | 14 BCLOP; ተላዊሆሙ ፡ F; ወተላዋያኒሆሙ ፡ T | 15 ኣበዊነ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ወተላውያኒሆሙ ፡ add. L; ሐዋርያት ፡ ወተላውያኒሆሙ ፡ add. P | 16 ነቢይ ፡ add. P | 17 BCFLot; om. P | 18 BCLOPT; እሥወጥ ፡ F | 19 BCLOPT; እሚኒ ፡ F | 20 (፲ T) | 21 (# CO).

[166] 1 (፲ T) | 2 (፲ T) | 3 CFP; ወራዙትኒ ፡ BOT; ወወራዙት ፡ L | 3–5 om. F | 4 (om. F) BCLPT; ራእይ ፡ O | 6 BCLOPT; ወሊቃውንት ፡ F | 7 (# CO) | 8 COT; ዕበዩ ፡ L; ዕበዩ ፡ BFP | 9 (# CO) | 9–13 om. F | 10 (om. F) BCOPT; እምር ፡ ሮም ፡ L | 11 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 12 (om. F) BCLOP; ወያሌብውዎ ፡ T | 13 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOP; ኩሉታት ፡ T | 14 BCFLot; om. P | 15 con.; ዘተገብትነ ፡ BLO; ዘተጋብኣትነ ፡ CP; ዘንገብር ፡ F; ዘተገብረትነ ፡ T | 16 COPT; ስቡሕ ፡ BFL | 17 (# CO); BCFLOP; በኃቤሁ ፡ T.

[167] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፸፪ ፡² በሣልስ ፡ ወርጎ ፡ እምአውራጊነ ፡³ ሐመ ፡⁴ ፲ወ፱ዓመት ፡⁵ አግብአ ፡⁶ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዴሁ ፡ ለማር ፡⁷ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁸ ኩሎ ፡ መዛግብቲሁ ፡⁹ ለውዝደሜር ፡¹⁰ ባሻ ፡¹¹ ምስለ ፡¹² ዓለማ ፡¹³ ዘሥዑል ፡¹⁴ ዲቤሁ ፡¹⁵ ሥዕለ ፡ እስሌማን ፡¹⁶ ዘይብልዎ ፡ ዐረብ ፡¹⁷ በልሳኖሙ ፡¹⁸ ሥልጣን ፡¹⁹ ሠላጢን ፡²⁰ ዘውእቱ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡²¹ በልሳንን ፡²²

[168] ወእግዚአብሔር ፡¹ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡² ደገመ ፡ ገቢረ ፡³ ዝንቱ ፡⁴ ግብር ፡⁵ ሐይኔ ፡⁶ ዘገብር ፡⁷ ቀዳሚ ፡⁸ በመዋዕለ ፡⁹ ነገሥተ ፡¹⁰ ቤተ ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡¹¹ አመ ፡ ተዓብአተ ፡¹² ጉግ ፡¹³ ምስሌሆሙ ፡¹⁴ በከመ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡¹⁵ ውስተ ፡¹⁶ መጽሐፈ ፡¹⁷ ራእይ ፡¹⁸ ዘካልእት ፡¹⁹ ዓመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡²⁰ ለዳርዮስ ፡²¹

[169] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፸፫ ፡² ወንጉሥስ ፡³ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁴ በዐለ ፡ ልቡና ፡ ዐቢይ ፡⁵ ኢተመክሐ ፡ በዝኒ ፡⁶ አላ ፡⁷ አአኩቶ ፡⁸ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡ ሳብሐ ፡⁹ አኩቴተ ፡¹⁰ ከመ ፡¹¹ ዘይብል ፡¹² እሴብሐ ፡¹³ ወአአኩቶ ፡¹⁴ ለአምላክ ፡¹⁵ ሰማይ ፡¹⁶ ዘኩሎ ፡¹⁷ ምግባሩ ፡¹⁸ ግሁድ ፡¹⁹ ፍትሕ ፡ ወፍኖቱ ፡²⁰ ጽድቅ ፡²¹ ወለእለኒ ፡²² የሐውሩ ፡ በትዕቢት ፡ ይክል ፡²³ ከመ ፡ ያትሕቶሙ ፡²⁴

[170] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፸፬ ፡² ወበውእቱ ፡ ዓመት ፡³ ተሐደስ ፡⁴ ተባህሎ ፡⁵ ማእከለ ፡⁶ ያዕቆባዊያን ፡⁷ ወመለካውያን ፡⁸ ዘውእቶሙ ፡⁹ አፍርንጅ ፡¹⁰ ባህል ፡¹¹ ካልእ ፡¹² እምባህል ፡

[167] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፳፯ : BFL; ፳፱ : P; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; እምአውራጊነ : F | 4-5 BCFLOT; በ፲ወ፱ዓመት : P | 6 BCFLOT; አግብአ : T; ሳብሐ ፡ ውንብ : add. BFLP | 7 (# O) | 8 (# L); (፲ T); BCLOT; ሚናስ ፡ F; om. P | 9 (፲ T) | 10 BCFLO; ለውዝደሜር ፡ PT | 11 BCFLOT; ባሻ ፡ P | 12 (፲ T) | 13 BCFLOT; አላማ ፡ T | 14 (፲ T) | 15 BCFLOT; om. P | 16 BCFOT; እስሌማን ፡ L; እስሌማን ፡ P | 17 (፲ T) | 18 (፲ T) | 19 BCO; om. F; ሥልጣነ ፡ LT; ሥልጣነ ፡ P | 20 BCFT; ስሊጣን ፡ L; ሠሊጣን ፡ O; ሥሊጣን ፡ P | 21 (፲ T) 22 (# CO).

[168] 1 COP; ወእግዚአብሔር ፡ BFLT | 2 (፲ T) | 3 BCLOPT; መልዕልተ ፡ F | 4 BCLOPT; ውእቱ ፡ F | 5 (፲ T) | 6-7 om. F | 8 COP; ቀዳሚዊ ፡ BFLT; ቀዳሚ ፡ O | 9-11 om. L | 10 (om. L) CFOT; ነገሥት ፡ BP; ቀደምት ፡ add. F | 11 CLO; ዳግማይ ፡ BFPT | 12 BCLOPT; ተግባራዊ ፡ F | 13 COT; ኑግ ፡ BFLP | 14 (# CO) | 15 BCLOPT; om. F | 16 BCLOPT; ደቤ ፡ F | 17 BCLOPT; መጽሐፍ ፡ F | 18 (፲ T) | 19 BCFLOT; በካልእት ፡ P | 20 (፲ T) | 21 (# CO).

[169] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፳፰ : BFL; ፸፫ : P; om. T | 3 ማር ፡ add. F | 4 BCLOPT; ሚናስ ፡ F | 5 BCLOPT; om. F | 6 BCFLO; በዝንቱ ፡ P; በዝደኒ ፡ T | 7 (፲ T) | 8 BCFLO; ሰብሐ ፡ P; አአኩቶ ፡ T | 9-10 om. F | 10 (om. F) BC; አኩቴት ፡ LOPT | 11 BCFLOT; እንዘ ፡ P | 12 BCFOT; ቡብል ፡ L; ይብል ፡ P | 13 BCFLOT; om. P | 14 BCLOPT; ወአአኩቶ ፡ F; ወአንኩቶ ፡ L; ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ add. P | 15 BCFLOT; አምላክ ፡ P | 16-20 om. F | 17 (om. F) BCP; ምግባራ ፡ LOT | 18 (om. F) BCLP; ግሁ ፡ O; ግሁስ ፡ T | 19 BCFLOT; ወፍኖት ፡ P | 21 BCLOPT; ወለእለኒ ፡ F | 22 እግዚአብሔር ፡ add. P | 23 (# COP); BCFLOT; የሐትቶሙ ፡ T.

[170] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፳፱ : BFL; ፸፩ : P; om. T | 3 BCFLO; መዋዕል ፡ P; om. T | 4 BCFLOT; om. P | 5 (፲ T) | 6 BCFLOT; ምስለ ፡ T | 7 BFLPT; ያዕቆባዊያን ፡ CO | 8 BFLPT; ወመለካዊያን ፡ CO | 9 BCLOPT; om. F; እምባህል ፡ add. F | 10 BCFLOT; አፍርንጅ ፡ P | 11-12 BCLOPT; ካልእ ፡ ባህል ፡ tra. F | 13 BCLOPT; om. F | 13-14 BCFLOT; እምቀዳሚ ፡ ባህል ፡ P | 14 (# CO);

13 ቀዳማዊ ።¹⁴ ወገላውዴዎስ ፣¹⁵ ንጉሥ ፣¹⁶ ክቡር ፣¹⁷ ላዕሌሁ ፣¹⁸ ሰላም ፣^{cd}19 ሜጠ ፣²⁰
ሎሙ ፣ ቃላተ ፣ አውሥኦ ፣ እመጸሕፍተ ፣²¹ ሕግ ፣²² ኮቶሌካዊ ፣²³ ወሞአሙ ፣
ወአስተኃፈሮሙ ፣²⁴ ወደረሰ ፣ ድርሳነ ፣ ወለክኦ ፣²⁵ውስተ ፣ መጽሐፍ ።²⁶

[171] ምዕራፍ ፣¹ ፸፮ ።² ዛቲ ፣ ገጽ ፣ ጸውዓተነ ፣ ከመ ፣³ ንጽሐፍ ፣ ብፅዓነ ፣⁴ ለንጉሥ ፣⁵
ገላውዴዎስ ፣⁶ ዘኢጸልመ ፣ ብርሃነ ፣ ነፍሱ ፣⁷ እምቀዳሚሁ ፣⁸ እስከ ፣⁹ ደኃራሁ ።¹⁰ ለኩሉ ፣
ግብሩ ፣¹¹ ሠርዓ ፣ ጊዜ ፣¹² ወዘመነ ።¹³ ቦጊዜ ፣^a14 አመ ፣ ይትገበር ፣¹⁵ ግብረ ፣ ፀብእ ፣
ወቀትል ፣ ።^bእመንገለ ፣¹⁶ መንግሥቱ ፣ ሥጋዊ ።^b17 ወይኳንን ፣ በመጥባሕት ፣¹⁸ ዐላዊያነ ፣¹⁹
ፊደፀብእ ፣²⁰ ፀረ ፣ ወያርኑ ፣ ዕፅወተ ፣²¹ አህጉሪሆሙ ፣ ወይመሀርክ ፣ ኩሎ ፣
ዘውስቴቶሙ ፣²² ወይክፍል ፣²³ ምህርካ ፣ ለሕዝቡ ።^c24

[172] ወቦ ፣¹ አመ ፣ ይትገበር ፣² ግብረ ፣ መንፈሳዊ ፣³ እመንገለ ፣ መንግሥቱ ፣⁴
መንፈሳዊ ፣⁵ በአንብቦ ፣⁶ መጸሕፍት ፣ ወአጸንግሎቶን ፣ ወአንብሮ ፣⁷ ድርሰት ፣^a8 ወመይጠ ፣⁹
ሃይማኖት ፣¹⁰ እምጥውዮት ፣¹¹ ውስተ ፣ ርቱፅ ፣ ወእምስሕተት ፣ ውስተ ፣ ዘበአማን ፣¹² ከመ ፣
ሥዩማኒሃ ፣ ለቤተ ፣ ክርስቲያን ።¹³

[173] ብፀዕ ፣ ውእቱ ፣ በእንተ ፣ እላ ፣¹ ክልኤቲ ፣² ሀብታት ፣³ መንፈሳዊት ፣
ወሥጋዊት ፣⁴ ዘተጋብኦ ፣⁵ ላዕሌሁ ፣ እንዘ ፣ ዝርዋት ።⁶ ሀብከመ ፣⁷ ተጋብኦተ ፣⁸ ኅብስት ፣^b9
እንዘ ፣ ዝሩት ፣ ይእቲ ፣¹⁰ ማእከለ ፣ አድባር ፣ ወአውግር ፣¹¹ ወተጋቢኦ ፣¹² ትከውን ፣¹³

ወንጉሥስ ፣ add. P | 15 BCFLQOT; lac. P | 16 BCLOPT; om. F; ሳዕል ፣ add. F | 17 BCLOPT; ወክቡር ፣ F |
17–19 om. P | 18–19 om. F | 19 (# O) | 20 (̄ T) | 21 BFLOPT; እምጸሕፍተ ፣ C | 22 BCFLQOT; ዘሕግ ፣ T |
23 O; ኮቶሌካዊ ፣ BF; ኮቶሊካዊ ፣ C; ኮቶላዊ ፣ L; ኮቶሊካዊ ፣ P; ኮቶላካዊ ፣ T | 24 (# L); CLO;
ወአስተኃፈሮሙ ፣ BPT; ወአስተኃፈሮሙ ፣ F | 25 COT; ወለክኦ ፣ BFLP | 26 (# CO).

[171] 1 BCFLQOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፸ ፣ BFL; ፸፮ ፣ P; om. T | 3 BCFLQOT; om. P | 4 CLOPT;
ብፅዓነ ፣ BF | 5 BFLOPT; [H]ለንጉሥ ፣ C | 6 BCLOT; ሚናስ ፣ F; lac. P | 7 (̄ T) | 8 BCFLQOT;
እምቀድሚሁ ፣ P | 9 BCFLQOT; om. P | 10 (# CO); BCLOT; ደኃራሁ ፣ F; ወእምድሀራሁ ፣ P | 11
BCFOPT; ግብር ፣ L | 12 (̄ T) | 13 (# CO) | 13–14 om. F | 14 (om. F) COT; ቦጊዜ ፣ BLP | 15 BCFLQOT;
ይትገበር ፣ T | 16–17 om. F | 17 (# CO) | 18 BCLOPT; post ዐላዊያነ ፣ tra. F | 19 BCFLPT; ዐላዊያነ ፣ O |
20–25 om. F | 21 (om. F) BCLOT; ዕፅዋተ ፣ P | 22 (om. F) T; ዘውስቴታ ፣ BCLP; ዘውስቴቱ ፣ O | 23 (om.
F) BCLPT; ወይክፍል ፣ O | 24 (# COL).

[172] 1 BCFLQOT; ቦ ፣ P | 2 BCFOPT; ይትገበር ፣ L | 3 CFLOT; መንፈሳዊ ፣ BP | 4 (̄ T) | 5–8 om.
F | 6 (om. F) BCLOPT; ወአንብቦ ፣ L | 7 (om. F) BCLOT; ወአንብቦ ፣ P | 8 (̄ LT) | 9 BCLOPT;
ወተመይጠ ፣ F | 10 BFLOPT; ሃይማኖተ ፣ C | 11 BCFOPT; እምጥውዕይት ፣ L; እምጥውዕይት ፣ P | 12 (̄ T) |
13 (# COLT).

[173] 1 CLOT; እሉ ፣ B; om. FP | 2 BCFOPT; ፪ ፣ L | 3 BCLOPT; ግብራት ፣ F | 4 (̄ T) | 5
BCLOPT; ዘትግብእ ፣ F | 6 (# CO); COT; ዝርዋን ፣ BFLP | 7–9 om. F | 8 (om. F) CO; ተጋብኦት ፣ BLPT |
10 (̄ T) | 11 (̄ T) | 12 ኮነ ፣ add. B | 13 BCFLQOT; ኮነት ፣ P | 14–15 BCLOPT; ፩ኅብስት ፣ F | 15
BCFLPT; ኅብስት ፣ O | 16 (# BCLO) | 17 CFLOPT; እስትጉጽኦተ ፣ B; እስትጉጽኦተ ፣ L | 17–20 om. F | 18
(om. F) CP; አላ ፣ BL; እላ ፣ OT | 19 CFP; ኅብስታት ፣ BLOT | 21 ለማር ፣ add. P | 22 BCFLQOT; lac. P | 23
BCFLO; ዘእንበለ ፣ PT | 24 (# BCLO).

አሐተ፡¹⁴ ጎብስተ፡^c ¹⁵ ፍጽምተ ።¹⁶ ከማሁ፡ ጮና፡ ፡^d እስትጉቡአተ፡¹⁷ እላንቱ፡¹⁸ ሀብታት፡¹⁹
ወካልአኒሆን፡^d ²⁰ ዲበ፡ ርእሱ፡²¹ ለገላውዴዎስ፡ ²² ሥጋ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወነፍስ፡ ገጹሕ፡
ወዘእንበለ፡²³ ነውር ።²⁴

[174] ምዕራፍ፡¹ ፸፮፡² ወኩሉ፡³ ሐረቱ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ክቡር፡⁴ ገላውዴዎስ፡⁵
ሐረተ፡⁶ የማናዊ፡ ⁷ ወኢኮነ፡⁸ ፀጋማዊ፡⁹ እስመ፡ ፍናዋተ፡¹⁰ ፀጋም፡¹¹ ጠዋያት፡¹²
እማንቱ፡ ወርቱዓት፡ እለ፡ በየማን ።¹³ እንዘ፡¹⁴ ወሬዛ፡ ውእቱ፡¹⁵ አርትዐ፡ ፍኖቶ፡ በዐቂበ፡
¹⁶ ነቢቡ፡¹⁷ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ፡^b ክቡር፡¹⁸ ወልዑል፡ ፡^b ጎሢሥቱ፡ ኪያሁ፡ ፡^a ወኩሉ፡²¹ ልቡ፡
²² ኢይፈርህ፡ ሕማሞሙ፡²³ ለድውያን፡²⁴ ወይቤ፡ ከማሆሙ፡²⁵ ለበስኩ፡²⁶ ሥጋ ።²⁷

[175] ይበኪ፡¹ በእንተ፡ ምውታን፡² ወይትናዘዝ፡³ በተስፋ፡⁴ ትንሣኤሆሙ፡⁵
ያስተሐምም፡⁶ ልብስ፡ ለዕሩቃን፡ ወይፌትት፡ ጎብስተ፡ ለርጉባን፡⁷ ወይቀድሕ፡
አንቅዕተ፡ ለጽሙአን ።⁸ ፡^a ያስተርክብ፡⁹ ፈውስ፡ ለቀሱል፡ ፡^a ¹⁰ ወይጸውር፡ ድካሞ፡¹¹
ለስኩን፡¹² ይፈርህ፡¹³ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ክቡር፡ ወልዑል፡ ወየኃፍር፡¹⁴ ሰብአ ።¹⁵

[176] ያሜክር፡¹ ፡^a አምክልኤቲ፡² ፍናዋት፡ ፡^a ³ ዘሞት፡⁴ ወዘሕይወት፡⁵ ፡^b ወየሐውር፡⁶
ውስተ፡ ፍኖት፡ እንተ፡ ትኔይስ፡ ፡^b ⁷ እስመ፡ ከመዝ፡⁸ ግብርሙ፡ ለዕደው፡⁹ ትሩፋን፡
ያሜክሩ፡¹⁰ ግብራተ፡ ከመ፡ ፈረሳዊ፡¹¹ ዘያሜክር፡ የማነ፡ ወፀጋመ፡ ፡^c በግብሩ ።¹²
ኢይቀስም፡ ዘኢተከለ፡ ኢየአርር፡ ዘኢዘርአ፡ ወኢያስተጋብእ፡ ዘኢዘረወ ።¹³ ወበኩሉ፡¹⁴

[174] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፸፮፡ BL; ፸፩፡ F; ፸፫፡ P; om. T; ጎግባእኪ፡ add. F | 3 ጎብረ፡ add. P | 4 BCLOT; ማር፡ F; om. P | 5 BCFLOT; lac. P | 6 BLOP; ሐረት፡ CT; om. F | 7 (፲ T) | 8 COT; ኢኮነ፡ B; ኮነ፡ FL; ወኮነት፡ P | 9 BFLOP; ፀጋማዊ፡ CT | 10 BCLOT; ፍናወ፡ F; ፍናዋት፡ P | 11 BCLOPT; ዘጸጋም፡ F | 12 (፲ T); BCOT; ጠዋያት፡ F; ጠዋይያት፡ L; ጠዋይዓት፡ P | 13 (# CO); BCFLOT; የማን፡ P | 14-20 om. F | 15 (፲ T) | 16 (om. F) BCOT; ለዐቂበ፡ L | 17 (om. F) BCOT; ነቢብ፡ L; ህጉ፡ P | 18-19 om. P | 20 (# L) | 21 BCFLOT; ወበኩሉ፡ P | 22 BCFLOT; om. P | 23 (om. F) BCFT; እምሕማሙ፡ LO | 24 (# L); COT; ለነዳያን፡ BFLP | 25 COT; ኪያሁሙ፡ BP; ኪይሆሙ፡ FL | 26 P; ለበስክ፡ BCFLOT | 27 (# CO).

[175] 1 BCFOPT; ይብኪ፡ L | 2 (# L); BCFLOT; ሙታን፡ P | 3 BCFLOT; ወይትፈሣሕ፡ P | 4 COT; በእንተ፡ BFL; om. P | 5 (# CO); BCLOT; ሕማሞሙ፡ F; በትንሣኤሆሙ፡ P | 6 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 COPT; ለቀርባን፡ BFL | 8 (# CO) | 9-10 om. F | 9 (om. F) BCLOT; ያስተርክብ፡ P | 10 (# L) | 11 BCFLOT; ድካሞ፡ P | 12 BCLOT; ሰውናን፡ FP | 13 BCLOPT; ፈርህ፡ F | 14 BCLOT; ወይመርሕ፡ F; ወኃፍር፡ P | 15 (# CO); BCLOPT; om. F.

[176] 1 BCLOPT; om. F | 2-3 COT; ፍናዋተ፡ እምጃቲ፡ BLP; ፪፻፵፱፡ F | 4 BCLOPT; እንተ፡ ሞት፡ F | 5 BCLOPT; ወኢሐቲ፡ እንተ፡ ሕይወት፡ F | 6-7 om. F | 7 (# L) | 8 BCLOPT; ከመ፡ F | 9 BCFLOT; ለዕደሙ፡ P | 10 BCLOPT; ያሜክሩ፡ F | 11 COT; ፈረሳዊ፡ BFLP | 12 (# CO) | 12-19 om. F | 13 (# CO) | 14 (om. F) BCOT; በኩሉ፡ LP | 15 (# CLO) | 16 (om. F) BCLOT; ዕቢር፡ P | 17-18 (om. F) BCLOT; ወኢኔደአድገ፡ P | 19 (# CO) | 20 BCLOPT; ወያድጎሞሙ፡ F | 21 (# CO); BCFLOT; ምስኪናኒክ፡ P | 22 BCFOPT; ወያላሥሮሙ፡ L | 23 (# CO); BCFOPT; ለዕቡያን፡ L; ወዳግሙ፡ add. F | 24 BCLOPT; ይሠርጽ፡ F | 25 (፲ T) | 26 BCFOT; om. LP | 26-27 om. F | 27 (# CO); (om. F) BCOT; ወበሰላም፡ L; ወሰላም፡ P.

መዋዕለ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ ኢቀሰጠ ፡ ደወለ ፡ ቢጹ ፡ ወኢያጥረየ ፡ ዓፀደ ፡ ካልኡ ።¹⁵ ኢመሰጠ ፡ ላህመ ፡ ዕቤር ፡¹⁶ ወኢሄደ ፡¹⁷ አድገ ፡¹⁸ እንለ ፡ ማውታ ።¹⁹ ያድገኖሙ ፡²⁰ ለደቂቀ ፡ ምስኪናን ፡²¹ ወያገሥር ፡²² ለዕቡይ ።²³ ሠረፀ ፡²⁴ ጽድቅ ፡ ²⁵በመዋዕሊሁ ፡ ጭወዝን ፡²⁶ ሰላም ።²⁷

[177] ይገንዩ ፡¹ ቅድሜሁ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ።² ወጸላእቱሂ ፡ ሐመደ ፡ ይቀምሑ ።³ ነገሥተ ፡ ተርሴስ ፡ ወደሰያት ፡ አምኃ ፡ ያበውኡ ።⁴ ነገሥተ ፡ ሳባ ፡ ወዓረብ ፡ ኃዳ ፡ ያመጽኡ ።⁵ ወይሰግዱ ፡ ሎቱ ።⁶ ኩሎሙ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወይትነቀዩ ፡ ሎቱ ።⁷ ኩሎሙ ፡ አሕዛብ ።⁸ እስመ ፡ አድገኖ ፡ ለነዳይ ፡ እምእደ ፡ ዘይትዔገሎ ።⁹ ወለምስኪን ።¹⁰ ዘአልቦ ፡ ረዳኢ ።¹¹ ወይምሕክ ፡ ነዳየ ፡ ወምስኪን ።¹²

[178] ወያድገን ፡¹ ነፍሰ ፡ ነዳያን ።² እምርዴ ፡ ወእምትዕግልት ፡ ያድገኖ ፡ ለነፍሶሙ ።³ ወክቡር ፡ ⁴ ስሙ ፡ በቅድሜሆሙ ።⁵ የሐዩ ፡ ወይሁብዎ ፡ እምወርቀ ፡ ዓረብ ።⁶ ወዘልፈ ፡ ይጼልዩ ፡ በእንቲአሁ ፡ ወኩሎ ፡ አሚረ ፡ ይድገርዎ ።⁷ እስመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ምስማክ ፡ ለኩሎ ፡ ምድር ።⁸ ስፉሕ ።⁹ እዴሁ ፡ ለኩሎ ።¹⁰ ዘሰአሎ ።¹¹ ወርጎው ።¹² ቤቱ ።¹³ ለኩሎ ።¹⁴ ዘገድገድ ።¹⁵ ጎቤሁ ።¹⁶ ወኢየዓፀ ።¹⁷ ምሕረቶ ።¹⁸ ላዕለ ፡ መኑሂ ።¹⁹ ኢይሁብ ።²⁰ እብነ ፡ እመ ፡ ሰአልዎ ፡ ጎብስተ ።²¹ ወእመ ።²² ሰአልዎ ፡ አንቆቅሆ ።²³ ኢይሁብ ፡ አቅራብ ፡ ወኢይሁብ ።²⁴ አርዌ ፡ ምድር ፡ እመ ፡ ሰአልዎ ።²⁵ ዓሣ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ ፡²⁶ ሠናየ ።²⁷ ሁብተ ፡ ይሁብ ፡ ፡²⁸ ሎሙ ።²⁹ ለእለ ፡ ሰአልዎ ።²⁹

[179] ያጸምእ ፡ ፍትሐ ፡ ግዩር ፡ ወይመይጥ ፡ እዝኖ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ፡¹ ጽራሐ ።² ምስኪን ።³ ወአዕይንቲሁ ፡ ፡⁴ ይኔጽራ ።⁵ ጎበ ፡ ይትዌከፍ ።⁶ ባፍቅር ፡ ለዘመጽኦ ።⁷ ወይፌንዎ ።⁸ በሰላም ፡ ለዘሐረ ።⁹ ወኢያሕመመ ።¹⁰ ነፍሰ ፡ ፡¹¹ መኑሂ ፡ እምሰብእ ።¹² ኩሎ ፡ ያፈቅር ።¹³ ዘይጸልኦ ።¹⁴

[177] 1 BCLOPT; ወይገንዩ ፡ F | 2 (# CO) | 3 (# CLO) | 4 (# CO) | 5 (# CO); BCFLPT; ያበውኡ ፡ P | 6 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 (# CLO) | 9 (# L) | 10 COT; ለምስኪን ፡ BFLP | 11 (# CO); BFLP; ረዳኢ ፡ COT | 12 (# BCL).

[178] 1 BCFLPT; om. O | 2 (# CLO) | 3 (# CO) | 4 BCFLPT; ክቡር ፡ O | 5 (# CO) | 6 (# CO) | 7 (# CO) | 8 (# CO) | 9–21 om. F | 10 (om.F) BLOPT; ለኩሎ ፡ C | 11 (om. F) BCOPT; ለዘሰአሎ ፡ L | 12 (om. F) BCOT; ወያድገን ፡ LP | 13 (om. F) CLOT; ቤቱ ፡ BP | 14 (om. F) BCLPT; om. O | 15 (om. F) BCOPT; ለዘገድገድ ፡ L | 16 (# CO) | 17 (om. F) BCPT; የዓፀ ፡ LO | 18 እምኔሁ ፡ add. P | 19 (# CO) | 20 ምሕረተ ፡ add. L | 21 (# L); (om. F) BCLOT; ጎብነ ፡ P | 22 BCFLPT; እመ ፡ P | 23 BCLOPT; post ኢይሁብ ፡ tra. F | 24 BCLOPT; ኢይሁብ ፡ F | 25 BCLOT; ሰአልዎ ፡ F; ሰአሎ ፡ P | 26–27 BCFLPT; ይሁብ ፡ ሠናየ ፡ ሁብተ ፡ tra. P | 28 BCFLPT; om. P | 28–29 om. F | 29 (# CO).

[179] 1–2 BCFLPT; ምስኪን ፡ ምጽራቅ ፡ L; ምጽራቅ ፡ ምስኪን ፡ O | 3–4 BCLOPT; ይትዌከፍ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ይኔጽራ ፡ tra. F | 4 BCFLPT; ዘይትዌከፍ ፡ P | 5 BFLPT; ለዘ ፡ መጽኦ ፡ CO | 6 BCFOPT; ወይፌንዎ ፡ L | 7 BFLPT; ለዘ ፡ ሐረ ፡ CO | 8 BCLPT; ወኢያሕመመ ፡ F; ኢያሕመመ ፡ O | 9–12 om. F | 10 (# CO) | 11 (om. F) CLOT; ያፈቅር ፡ BLP | 12 (# CO) | 13 BCFLPT; እመ ፡ L; እለ ፡ P | 14 BLOT; አካበርዎ ፡ C; አካበርዎ ፡ F; ያካበርዎ ፡ P | 15 BCLOPT; ያካበርዎ ፡ FL | 16 (# CO) | 17 BCLOPT; om. F | 18 (# CO).

እመኒ ፡¹³ አክብርዎ ፡¹⁴ ያከብርዎ ፡¹⁵ ከመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወአኮ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንጉሥ ።¹⁶ እለኒ ፡
ይተልውዎ ፡ ይረውዱ ፡¹⁷ በመዓዛ ፡ ፍቅሩ ፡ ወአግብርቲሁኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ውሉድ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡
በጎቤሁ ፡ ወኢይከውኑ ፡ በቅድሜሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘነሥኡ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅኔ ።¹⁸

[180] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፸፯ ።² ሰማዕነ ፡³ ሠናይቶ ፡ ለእስክንድር ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወርኢነ ፡ ዘንተ ፡
⁴ ዘይፈደፍድ ፡ እምኔሁ ።⁵ ዜነውነ ፡ ሊቃውንቲነ ፡⁶ ከመ ፡⁷ ፈያድሊፎስ ፡⁸ ንጉሥ ፡⁹ ኮነ ፡¹⁰
ልዑለ ፡ በአእምሮ ፡¹¹ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡¹² ስሙ ፡¹³ ወሐቲተ ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡
አምላካዊያት ፡¹⁴ ወረከብነ ፡¹⁵ ዘንተ ፡ ዘይትሌዓል ፡ እምኔሁ ።¹⁶ ነገሩነ ፡ አበዊነ ፡ ኩሎ ፡
ግብረ ፡¹⁷ ነገሥት ፡ ጌራን ፡¹⁸ ዘኮነ ፡ በበ ፡ ጾታ ።¹⁹

[181] ወግብረ ፡¹ ዝንቱ ፡ ይኔይስ ፡² እምግብረ ፡ ካልኡ ፡ በከመ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ፩ኮከብ ፡
ይኔይስ ፡ እምግብረ ፡ ካልኡ ፡ ወየሐፅፅ ፡ ግዕዝ ፡ እሉ ፡³ እምግዕዝ ፡⁴ ዚአሁ ፡ ውእቱ ፡⁵
ወልድ ፡ ፍጹም ፡ ከመ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡ ፍጹም ፡⁶ ውእቱ ፡⁷ ወአልቦቱ ፡⁸ አምሳለ ፡⁹
^bእምዘ ፡¹⁰ ርኢነ ፡^b፡¹¹ ወሰማዕነ ፡¹² ፩ውእቱ ፡¹³ ባሕቲቱ ፡¹⁴ ወአልቦቱ ፡¹⁵ ዘመድ ፡ እመንገለ ፡
ጎሩታቲሁ ፡ ርውኑድ ፡¹⁶ ውእቱ ፡^c፡¹⁷ ወኢብዙኃን ፡ ዘውጋኒሁ ፡¹⁸ እመንገለ ፡¹⁹ ሠናያቲሁ ።
^d²⁰

[182] ^aበእንተ ፡¹ ዝንቱ ፡² ^bይደሉ ፡³ ናኩብሮ ፡⁴ እምብዙኃን ፡ ለዘውኑድ ፡⁵ አኮነ ፡
ይበዝጎ ፡ ብሩር ፡⁶ ወጋዊን ፡ እምዓረር ፡ ወናእክ ፡⁷ እንከሰኬ ፡ ዘውኑድ ፡ ይከብር ፡
እምዘይበዝጎ ።⁸ ወለዘ ኢይትረከብ ፡⁹ ያከብርዎ ፡ እምዘይትረከብ ።¹⁰ ነፍስ ፡ ጽግብት ፡
ትሜንን ፡ ጸቃውዐ ፡ መዐር ።¹¹ ከማሁ ፡ ይትሜነን ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዘይበዝጎ ።¹² ይትበደር ፡ ሰብእ ፡

[180] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፸፯ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ሰሚዓነ ፡ F | 4 COT; om. BFLP | 5 (# CO) | 6 BCLOPT; ሊቃውንት ፡ F | 7 COT; om. BFLP | 8 BCFOT; ፈያድሊፎስ ፡ LP | 9-10 BCFLOT; ኮነ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ tra. P | 11 BCLOPT; ወአእምሮ ፡ F | 12 ወልዑል ፡ add. BFLP | 13 BCLOPT; om. F | 14 BCOT; አምላካዊት ፡ F; አምላካውያት ፡ LP | 15 BCLOPT; ወሊከብነ ፡ F | 16 (# CO) | 17 BCLOPT; ዘንብራ ፡ F | 18 (# L) | 19 (# CO); BCFLOT; በበጾታ ፡ P.

[181] 1 CLOPT; ወግብረ ፡ BF | 2 CLOPT; ዘይኔይስ ፡ B; ይሃይስ ፡ F | 3 BCLOPT; እምእለ ፡ F | 4 BCLOPT; ግዕዝ ፡ F | 5 BCLOPT; om. F | 6-7 om. F | 7 (# L) | 8 BCFLOT; ወአልቦ ፡ P | 9 COT; አምሳል ፡ BFLP | 10-11 እምዘርኢነ ፡ BFLP | 12 BCOT; ወዘሰማዕነ ፡ F; ወኢሰማዕነ ፡ L | 13 BCFOPT; አ፩ ውእቱ ፡ L | 14 BCLOPT; ባሕቲቱ ፡ F | 15 BCLOPT; በአልቦቱ ፡ F | 16-17 om. F | 18 BCFLT; ዝውጋኒሁ ፡ O; ዝውጋኒሁ ፡ P | 19-20 om. F | 20 (# CO).

[182] 1-12 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCOT; በእንተዝ ፡ L | 3-4 (om. F) COT; ናኩብሮ ፡ ይደሉ ፡ BLP | 5 (om. F) BLPT; ለዘ ፡ ውኑድ ፡ CO | 6 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 7 (om. F) BCLOP; ወናስ ፡ T | 8 (# CLO); (om. F) BCLP; እንዝ ፡ ይበዝጎ ፡ OT | 9 (om. F) BLPT; ወለዘ ፡ ኢይትረከብ ፡ CO | 10 (# CO); (om. F) BLPT; እምዘ ፡ ይትረከብ ፡ CO | 11 (# CO) | 12 (# CO) | 13 BFLP; ውብሩር ፡ COT | 14 BCFLOT; ወእምዕንንቁ ፡ P | 14-15 om. F | 15 (# CO); (om. F) BCOT; ሰንጭር ፡ L | 16 COP; ወከማሁ ፡ BFLT | 17 (# CO).

እምወርቅ ፡ ወእምብሩር ፡¹³ ወእምዕንቄ ፡¹⁴ ሰንፔር ።¹⁵ ከማሁ ፡¹⁶ ይትበደር ፡ ኩሉ ፡
ዘውሐድ ።¹⁷

[183] እምዝኒ ፡¹ ወእምዝኒ ፡እምኩሉ ፡ጣዕማት ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡ ፍትወታት ፡²
ወእምኩሉ ፡ ረባሕ ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡³ በቀላይት ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡ ትፍሥሕት ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡
ሐሣት ።⁴ ወእምኩሉ ፡⁵ ብዕል ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡ ተድላ ።⁶ ወእምኩሉ ፡⁷ ነፈርዐፅ ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡
ፍግዓ ።⁸ ወእምኩሉ ፡⁹ ዕረፍተ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡¹⁰ ሐውዛተ ፡¹¹ ዓለም ፡¹² ይትበደር ፡
ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹³ ላዕሌሁ ፡¹⁴ ሰላም ።¹⁵

[184] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፸፰ ።² ወእምኩሉ ፡³ ዘየዐቢ ፡ ግብሩ ፡⁴ የጎድግ ፡⁵ ዘልፈ ፡⁶ አበሳ ፡
ለቢጹ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይዴምፅ ፡⁷ ኪዳነ ፡⁸ ዘይትካየድ ፡⁹ ምስለ ፡¹⁰ አቡሁ ፡¹¹ ሰማያዊ ፡¹² ኩሎ ፡
ጊዜ ፡¹³ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ጎድግ ፡ ለነ ፡¹⁴ አበሳነ ፡ ወጌጋዩነ ፡¹⁵ ከመ ፡ ንሕነኒ ፡ ንጎድግ ፡
ለዘአበሰ ፡¹⁶ ለነ ።¹⁷

[185] ወሶበኒ ፡ ይፈቅድ ፡ ይሁዕ ፡¹ ልቡናሁ ፡² ቅድመ ፡ እሳት ፡³ ሕያው ፡
ዘይትለአክ ፡ ቅድመ ፡⁴ እግዚአብሔር ፡⁵ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ።⁶ ኢይሠውዕ ፡ መሥዋዕተ ፡⁷
ቅንዓት ፡⁸ ከመ ፡⁹ ቃየል ፡ አላ ፡ ይሠውዕ ፡¹⁰ መሥዋዕተ ፡¹¹ ሰላም ፡¹² ከመ ፡ አቤል ፡
እጉሁ ፡¹³ ወሶበኒ ፡ ይገብር ፡ በክዱን ።¹⁴ እስመ ፡ የአምር ፡ ከመ ፡ አብ ፡ ሰማያዊ ፡
ዘይሬኢ ፡ ጎቡአ ፡¹⁵ የአስዮ ፡ ክሡተ ።¹⁶

[186] ሶበኒ ፡ ይጸውም ፡¹ ኢይቄጽር ፡² ወኢያመጸሉ ፡ ገጸ ፡³ ከመ ፡ መደልዋን ፡ አላ ፡⁴
ይቀብእ ፡⁵ ርእሶ ፡ ወይትሐፀብ ፡⁶ ገጸ ፡⁷ ወይፌጽም ፡⁸ ትእዛዘ ፡⁹ እግዚእ ፡¹⁰ ክርሱቶስ ፡¹¹
ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ።¹²

[183] | 1 BCFLOP; እምብን ፡ T | 1-2 om. F | 2 (# CO) | 3 BCLOPT; አልቡቱ ፡ F | 4 (# CO); BCFLOP; ወጎሣት ፡ T | 5 FLP; እምኩሉ ፡ BCOT | 6 BCFOP; ወተድላ ፡ LT | 7 BCFLOP; om. T | 8 (# CO) | 9 BCFLPT; እምኩሉ ፡ O | 9-12 om. F | 10 (om. F) BCLOP; om. T | 11 (om. F) CLOP; ሐውዛት ፡ B; ወሐውዛተ ፡ T | 13 BCFLOT; lac. P | 14 BCFLOT; ዘላዕሌሁ ፡ P | 15 (# CO).

[184] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፸፰ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3 COT; ወእምኩሉ ፡ BFLP | 4 BCFLOT; በግብሩ ፡ P | 5 BCLOPT; ይጎድግ ፡ F | 6 BCLOPT; ዘንተ ፡ F | 7 BCFLOT; ኢይዴምፅ ፡ P | 8 COT; ኩሎ ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ BFLP | 9 BCOT; ዘተካየድ ፡ FL | 10 BCLOPT; ምስሌሁ ፡ F | 11-13 om. F | 12-13 om. LP | 14 BCFLOT; om. P | 15 (፯ T) | 16 BFLPT; ለዘ ፡ አበሰ ፡ CO | 17 (# CO).

[185] 1 BCOT; ይሁዕ ፡ F | 2 BCFOP; ልቡ ፡ ናሁ ፡ L | 3-13 om. F | 4 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 5 (om. F) COT; ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ BLP | 6 (# CO) | 7 ስብሐት ፡ add. BLP | 8 (om. F) BLP; ዘቅንአት ፡ COT; ዘሰላም ፡ add. P | 9-12 om. P | 10 (om. FP) BCLO; ይሠውዕተ ፡ T | 11 ስብሐት ፡ add. BL | 12 (om. FP) COT; ዘሰላም ፡ BL | 13 (# L); (፯ T) | 14 (# CO) | 15 BCFLPT; ጎቡእ ፡ O | 16 (# CLO).

[186] 1 BCLOPT; ኢይጸውም ፡ F | 2 BCLOPT; om. F | 3 (፯ T) | 4 BCLOPT; እለ ፡ F | 5 BCLOPT; ይቀብእ ፡ F | 6 BCFLOT; ወየሐፀብ ፡ P | 7 (# L); (፯ T) | 8 BCFLO; ይፌጽም ፡ P; ወይፌጽም ፡ T | 9 BCLOPT; ገጸ ፡ F | 10-11 ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ F; እግዚአብሔር ፡ L | 12 (# CO).

[187] ሶባኒ ፡ ያበውእ ፡ መባአ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡¹ አምላኩ ፡² ወይዜከር ፡ <ከመ>ቦ ፡³
ዘይትጎዩሶ ፡⁴ ያቀድም ፡ ሰላመ ፡⁵ ወድጎረ ፡ ያበውእ ፡ መባአ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ንጹሐ ፡
መባአ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡⁶ ወይኩና ፡⁷ ቀርባናቲሁ ፡ ውኩፋተ ፡⁸
ወዕጣኑሂ ፡⁹ ምዑዝ ፡¹⁰ ከመ ፡ ዕጣኖሙ ፡¹¹ ለነገሥተ ፡¹² ምሥራቅ ፡ ዘአቅረቡ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ እንዘ ፡
ስኩብ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጎል ።¹³

[188] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፸፱ ።² አይቱ ፡ ይትረከብ ፡ ለከመ ፡³ ዝንቱ ፡⁴ ብእሲ ።⁵ ቦኑ ፡
ይትረከብ ፡ እመ ፡⁶ ዓርጉ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ።⁷ አው ፡⁸ እመ ፡⁹ አደዉ ፡¹⁰ ማዕዶተ ፡¹¹ ቀላይ ፡¹²
ወተሣየጥዎ ፡ በወርቅ ፡ ቀይሕ ።¹³

[189] ሀገርኒ ፡ ተሴአል ፡¹ እንተ ፡² ቅሩብ ፡³ ወትብል ፡⁴ ቦኑ ፡ እንተ ፡⁵ ጎቤኪ ፡ ኃለፈ ፡
ንጉሥ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡⁶ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁷ ዘይገብራ ፡⁸ ለጽድቅ ፡⁹ ወትቤ ፡ ለልቦ ።¹⁰ ባሕርኒ ፡¹¹
ትቤ ፡¹² ኢሀሎ ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ ወተኃጥአ ፡ እምኩሉ ፡ አዕዋፊ ፡ ሰማይ ።¹³

[190] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፹ ።² እስፍንተ ፡³ ንክል ፡⁴ ንንግር ፡⁵ ኒሩታቲሁ ፡⁶ ወናየድዕ ፡⁷
ሠናያቲሁ ።⁸ መዋዕሊነ ፡⁹ ብሉያት ፡ እማንቱ ፡ ወየኃልቃ ፡¹⁰ ወዘመንሂ ፡¹¹ ሕጹር ፡¹² ከመ ፡
ናንጎ ፡¹³ ነገረ ።¹⁴

[191] ባሕቱ ፡¹ አምጣነ ፡² ክሂሎትነ ፡³ ንዜኑ ፡ ሕፁረ ፡⁴ ወንጽሕፍ ፡ ለዘየአክል ፡⁵
ለዘያነብሶ ፡⁶ ወይሰምዎ ።⁷ ወላዕለ ፡ ዝኒ ፡ ክህልነ ፡⁸ ተልዕሎ ፡⁹ ወበጺሐ ፡¹⁰ በረድኤቱ ፡¹¹

[187] 1 BCLOPT; ለቤተክርስቲያን ፡ F | 2–8 om. F | 3 (om. F) C; አልቦ ፡ BLPOT | 4 (om. F) COPT; ዘይትጎዩሶ ፡ BL; ዘይትጎሥም ፡ P | 5 (om. F) BCLPT; ሰላም ፡ O | 6 (om. F) BCLOP; om. T; ከመ ፡ add. P | 7 CFOT; ወይኩን ፡ B; ወይኩን ፡ L; ይኩና ፡ P | 8 BCFLOP; ውኩፋተ ፡ T | 9 BCFLOT; ወዕጣኖሙ ፡ P | 10 BCLOPT; ምዑዝ ፡ F | 11 BCFLOT; ዕጣነ ፡ P | 12 BCFLOT; ነገሥተ ፡ P | 13 (# CPO).

[188] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፸፱ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3–4 BCFLOT; ዘከመዝንቱ ፡ P | 5 (# CO) | 6 CLOPT; ከመ ፡ B; አመ ፡ F | 7 (# CO) | 8 CO; om. BFLPT | 9 BCLO; እመኒ ፡ F; ወእመ ፡ P; እመ ፡ T; ወረድኩ ፡ add. P | 10 CFLO; ዓደዉ ፡ BT; ወዓደዉ ፡ P | 11 BCFLOP; እማዕዶተ ፡ T | 12 (# L) | 13 (# CO).

[189] 1 BCLOPT; ተሴአል ፡ F | 2 አንተ ፡ add. F | 3 (# L); (፲ T) | 4 (# L); BCFLOT; om. P | 5 አንተ ፡ add. F | 6 BCFOT; om. LP | 7 (# L); BCFLOT; lac. P | 8 COT; ዘይገብር ፡ BFLP | 9 COT; ጽድቅ ፡ BFLP | 10 (# CO) | 10–11 COT; ባሕርኒ ፡ አልቦ ፡ tra. BFLP | 12 BCFLOT; om. P | 13 (# CLOP).

[190] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፹ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3 COPT; እስፍንቱ ፡ BFL | 4 CO; እክል ፡ BFLPT | 5 COT; እንግር ፡ BFP; እንግር ፡ L | 6 (፲ T) | 7 BCLOT; ወአየድዕ ፡ F; ወናይድዕ ፡ P | 8 (# CO) | 9 BCFLOT; መዋዕላቲነ ፡ P | 9–10 om. F | 10 (# L); (om. F) BCLOP; የኃልቃ ፡ T | 11 BCFLOT; ወዘመንሂ ፡ P | 12 (፲ T) | 13 (# L); BCLOPT; ንንሕ ፡ F | 14 (# CO).

[191] 1 BCLOPT; om. F | 2 BCFOPT; በአምጣነ ፡ L | 3 ጎቤሁ ፡ add. P | 4 (፲ T) | 5 (፲ T) | 5–9 om. F | 6 (om. F) BLPT; ለዘ ፡ ያነብሶ ፡ CO | 7 (# CO) | 8 (om. F) BCLP; ክህልነ ፡ OT | 10 BCFOPT; ወበጺሐ ፡ L | 11 BCFOPT; በረድኤተ ፡ L | 12 BCFOPT; om. L | 13 BCFOPT; እግዚአብሔር ፡ L | 14 (፲ L) | 15 BCFLOT; om. P | 16 COT; እስክ ፡ BFLP | 17 BCFOPT; ለዓለም ፡ L | 18 BCFOP; om. LT | 19 (# CO)

ወሰርሐቱ፣¹² ለእግዚአብሔር፣¹³ ክቡር፣ ወልዑል፣ ሎቱ፣¹⁴ ስብሐት፣ ወትረ፣¹⁵ ወእስከ፣¹⁶ ለዓለመ፣¹⁷ ዓለም፣¹⁸ አሜን።¹⁹

[192] ምዕራፍ፣¹ ፹፩።² ወበውእቱ፣ ዓመት፣ ላዓሠርቱ፣³ ወተስዓቱ፣⁴ የደት፣ ትንቢት፣ እንዘ፣ ትብል፣ ውስተ፣ እዘኒሁ፣ ለንጉሠ፣ ሰላም፣⁵ ገላውዴዎስ፣⁶ ናሁ፣ አልጸቀ፣ ዘመን፣ ዘቦቱ፣ ይትፊጸም፣⁷ገዓርከ፣ በእንተ፣⁸ መንግሥት፣ ምድራዊ፣⁹ ወዓዕዓቲሁ።¹⁰ ወትነሥእ፣¹¹ መንግሥተ፣ ሰማያዊ፣¹² ዘኢየሩሳሌም፣ ተግባር፣¹³ ድኅረ፣ በዊእ፣ ኅቤሁ።¹⁴ ወትፊልስ፣ እምዓጸደ፣ ገቢር፣ ኅበ፣ ዓጸደ፣ ዕረፍት፣¹⁵ ዘለዓለም።¹⁶

[193] ላወሲሚያ፣¹ ዘንተ፣ እግዚእ፣ ክቡር፣ ገላውዴዎስ፣² ላዕሌሁ፣³ ሰላም፣⁴ ኢያስተዐፀበ።⁵ ወባሕቱ፣⁶ ይብል፣ እግዚእ፣⁷ ሀቢኒ፣ መክፈልተ፣ ምስለ፣⁸ ሰማዕት፣ እለ፣ ሐሙ፣⁹ በእንተ፣ ስምከ።¹⁰ ከመስ፣ ኢያስተዓፀብ፣ ሞተ፣ የአምር፣ ከመ፣ ኢየኅድኅ፣¹¹ ሞት፣ ለብእሲ፣ ዘተወልደ፣ እምአንስት።¹² ላመድኅንኒ፣¹³ ዘወፅአ፣¹⁴ እምጽዮን፣ ወየአትት፣ ኃጢአተ፣ እምእስራኤል፣¹⁵ ኢይትኅደግ፣¹⁶ እንበለ፣¹⁷ ይሙት።¹⁸

[194] ሞተስ፣ ኢፈጠረ፣ በእንተ፣ ጌጋዩ፣ ለሰብእ።¹ አላ፣ ፈጠረ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ላክቡር፣² ወልዑል፣³ ፪ጠባይዕ፣⁴ ነባቢ፣⁵ ዘይመውት፣ ወዘኢይመውት።⁶ ወእንዘ፣ ይመርሕ፣⁷ ላዕለ፣ ዝንቱ፣ ረሰየ፣ ጥንተ፣ ሞት፣⁸ ላዕለ፣ ብእሲ፣ ጸድቅ፣⁹ ወለዘአበስ፣¹⁰ ወሀቦ፣¹¹ ሕይወተ፣ ነዊኃ።¹²

[195] ወለውእቱ፣ ዘመን፣ ረሰዮ፣¹ ንጉሥ፣² ክቡር፣³ ላዕለ፣⁴ አስተሐምሞ፣⁵ ፈሊጠ፣⁶ ሀገረ፣ ምስካይ፣⁷ በእንተ፣ ሰብእ፣ ምእመናን፣ እለ፣ ተሰዱ፣ እምጋላ፣ ወውሂበ፣ መፍቅዳቲሆሙ።⁸

[192] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፳፯፣ BFLP; om. T | COT; 3-4 ፲ወ፱፣ BFLP | 5 (፯ T) | 6 BCFLOT; lac. P | 7 BCFLP; ይትፊጸም፣ OT | 8 (፯ T) | 9 CFLOPT; ምድራዊት፣ B | 10 (# CO); BCOT; om. F; ወዓዕዓቲሁ፣ L; ወዓእፀቲሁ፣ P | 11 CLOPT; ወትነሥእ፣ B; ወተነሥእ፣ F | 12 CFLOT; ሰማያዊ፣ BP | 13 BFLPT; ተገቡር፣ C; ተገብር፣ O | 14 (# CO) | 15 BCFLOT; ዕረፍት፣ P | 16 (# CO).

[193] 1-12 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLOT; lac. P | 3-4 om. L | 5 (# CO) | 6 (om. F) BCLOPT; ባሕቱ፣ L | 7 (om. F) BCLOT; እግዚእ፣ P | 8 (om. F) BCLOP; om. T | 9 (፯ T) | 10 (# CO) | 11 (om. F) BCLOP; ኢየኅድኅ፣ T | 12 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOP; እምብእሲት፣ T | 13-16 lost T | 14 (lost T) BCLOP; ዘወፅአ፣ F | 15 (lost T) BCFLO; እምጽኤል፣ P | 16 (lost T) CO; ወኢየሩሳሌም፣ BFL; ኢየሩሳሌም፣ P | 17 COT; ዘእንበለ፣ BFLP | 18 (# CO).

[194] 1 (# CO) | 2-3 om. F | 4 BLT; ፪፣ ጠባይዕ፣ CO; ፪ጠባይዕተ፣ F; ጠባይዓተ፣ P | 5 BCFLPT; ነባቢ፣ O | 6 (# CO); BCLOPT; ወኢይመውት፣ F | 7 (፯ T) | 8 (፯ T) | 9 (# L) | 10 BLPT; ወለዘ፣ አበስ፣ CO; ወለዘአበስ፣ F | 11 BCLOPT; ውኅበ፣ F | 12 BCFLOT; ብዙኅ፣ P.

[195] 1 (፯ T) | 2 (# O) | 3 ወልዑል፣ add. F | 4 BCFLOT; ለእለ፣ P | 5 BCLOPT; አስተሐሚሞ፣ F; አስተሐምሞተ፣ L | 6 ምግባረ፣ add. BLP; ምግባር፣ add. F | 7 (፯ LT) | 8 (# BLPT).

[196] ምዕራፍ፡¹ ፹፪፡² ልማድ፡ ሎቱ፡³ ለእግዚእ፡⁴ ክቡር፡⁵ ገላውዴዎስ፡⁶ ተወክፎ፡ ስዳዳን፡ ስእለ፡⁷ ይሰደዱ፡ በእንተ፡ ሃይማኖት፡⁸ ርትዕት፡⁹ ከመ፡ ይፈጽሙ፡¹⁰ ትእዛዘ፡¹¹ እግዚእ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡¹² ልማድ፡¹³ ሎቱ፡ ከዊነ፡ አብ፡ ለእንለ፡ ማውታ፡ ወመኩንን፡¹⁴ ለእቤራት፡¹⁵ ወያወፅአሙ፡¹⁶ ለሙቁሐን፡ በጎይሉ፡¹⁷ ወለምሩራን፡ እለ፡ ይነብሩ፡ ውስተ፡ መቃብር፡¹⁸

[197] ለነዳያን፡¹ ሀገር፡² ያጸግቦሙ፡ እክለ፡³ ወለካህናተ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡⁴ ያለብሶሙ፡⁵ ሕይወተ፡⁶ ወለጸድቃን፡ ያስፌሥሐሙ፡⁷ የሐንጸን፡⁸ ለአብያተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡⁹ ምዝቡራት፡¹⁰ ወያርጎዎን፡ ለእለ፡ ተዓፅዋ፡¹¹ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ኮነት፡ ምልዕተ፡¹² እምሰብእ፡ ወእንሰሳ፡¹³ ምድር፡ ብዱት፡¹⁴ ወለብሔር፡ ዘኮነ፡ ዔው፡ ተውህቦ፡ ፍሬ፡¹⁵ በእንተ፡ ሠናይቱ፡¹⁶ ለንጉሥ፡ ክቡር፡¹⁷ ዘንሕነ፡ ዜነውነ፡¹⁸ ክፍለ፡¹⁹ እምዜናሁ፡²⁰ ወዘቀዳሚ፡ ግብሩ፡²¹ ኮነ፡ ቦቱ፡²² በእንተ፡²³ እከዮሙ፡²⁴ ለእለ፡ ይነብርዎ፡²⁵

[198] ወበወርኃ፡ መንግሥቱ፡¹ ረሰዮ፡ ለምድረ፡ በድው፡² ሙሐዘ፡ ማይ፡³ ወለምድረ፡⁴ በድው፡⁵ ቀላያተ፡⁶ ማያት፡⁷ ወአንበረ፡ ህየ፡ ርጉባነ፡⁸ ከመ፡ ይሕንጹ፡⁹ ሀገረ፡¹⁰ ወበዘይነብሩ፡¹¹ ይተክሉ፡¹² ወይነ፡¹³ ወይዘርኡ፡¹⁴ ገራውኃ፡¹⁵ ወይገብሩ፡¹⁶ ማእረረ፡ እክል፡¹⁷

[199] ሥልጣን፡¹ ዲበ፡ መንኮብያቲሁ፡² ቅድመት፡³ ዲበ፡⁴ መትከፍቱ፡⁵ ወይሰመይ፡⁶ ስሙ፡⁷ ንጉሠ፡⁸ ምክር፡⁹ ዐቢይ፡¹⁰ ምክረ፡¹¹ የአምር፡¹² ይሤኒ፡¹³ ላህዩ፡ እምውሉደ፡ እንለ፡ እመሕያው፡ ወይትከወው፡¹⁴ ሞገስ፡ እምከናፍሪሁ፡¹⁵

[196] 1 (om. T) BCFL0; lac. P | 2 (# CO); (om.T) CO; ፹፪፡ BFLP | 1-2 om. T | 3 BCFL0T; ቦቱ፡ P | 4 BC0PT; ለእግዚአብሔር፡ F; እግዚእ፡ L | 5 (# O) | 6 BCFL0T; lac. P | 7-8 BCFL0P; በእንተ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ እለ፡ ይሰደዱ፡ tra. T | 8 BCLOPT; ሃይማኖተ፡ F | 9 BCFL0P; om. T | 10 BCLOPT; ይፈጽም፡ F | 11 BCFL0T; ትእዛዘ፡ P | 12 (# L) | 13-15 om. F | 14 (om. F) BC0PT; ወመኩንን፡ L | 16 BCFLPT; ወያወፅአሙ፡ O | 17 (፲T) | 18 (# C).

[197] 1 CFLOPT; ለነዳያን፡ B | 2 CFLOPT; ዘሀገር፡ B | 3 (፲T) | 4 CFP; መቅደሱ፡ BLOT | 5 CFLOPT; አልበሶሙ፡ B | 6 BCLOPT; ሕይወት፡ F | 7 (# CO) | 8 BCFLPT; የሐንጸን፡ O | 9 BCFL0; ክርስቲያናት፡ PT | 10 (፲ T) | 11 (# CO); BCLOPT; ተአጸዋ፡ F | 12 (፲T) | 13 (፲T) | 14 (# CO); BCLOPT; om. F | 15 (፲ T) | 16 (፲ T) | 17 (፲ T) | 18 BCFL0; ዜነውነ፡ PT | 19 CP; ክፍል፡ BFL0T | 20 (# L) | 21 (፲ T) | 22 BCFL0P; om. T | 23 COT; በእንቲአሁ፡ BFLP | 24 BCLOPT; በእከዮሙ፡ F | 25 BCFOOT; ይነብርዎ፡ L; ይነብሩ፡ P; ውስቴታ፡ add. P | 25 (# CLO).

[198] 1 (፲ T) | 2 BCLOPT; በድው፡ F | 3 (# L) | 4 BFLT; om. CP; ምድረ፡ O | 5 CL; om. BFPOT | 6 BFL0T; ወቀላያተ፡ CP | 7 (# L) | 8 (፲ T) | 9 (# O); BCLOPT; የሐንጹ፡ F | 10 (# C); BCLO; አህጉረ፡ FP | 11 FLP; በዘይነብሩ፡ BT; ወበዘ፡ ይነብሩ፡ CO | 12 BCFL0T; ተክሉ፡ P; ሀገረ፡ add. L | 13 ይተክሉ፡ add. F | 14 BCFL0T; ወዘርኡ፡ P | 15 BCLOPT; ገራውኃ፡ F | 16 BCLO; ወገብሩ፡ FP | 17 (# CO).

[199] 1 BCFL0; ዘሥልጣኑ፡ P; ሥልጣን፡ T | 2 CFP; መንኮብያሁ፡ B; መንኮብዮሁ፡ LO; መንኮብያቲሁ፡ T | 3 CFOT; ቅድመ፡ BLP | 4 COT; om. BFLP | 5 (# CLO); BCFL0T; መትከፍቱ፡ P |

[200] ውእቱ፣ ብርሃኑ፣ ለዓለም፣¹ ዘሠረቀ፣ ሎሙ፣² ለእለ፣ ይነብሩ፣ ውስተ፣ ጽልመት፣ ወጽላሎተ፣ ሞት፣³ ወውእቱ፣ ዔው፣⁴ ለምድር፣ ዘይረክብ፣ ዔው፣ በበይነ፣⁵ ዕፀ፣ ሕይወት፣ ውእቱ፣ ዘይባልሕ፣⁶ ፍሬሁ፣ እሞት።⁷

[201] ወይ፣¹ ሎሙ፣ ለአባግዕ፣ እለ፣ ኃጥኡ፣ ኪያሁ፣ ኖላዊሆሙ።² ወይ፣ ሎሙ፣ ለደካትም፣³ እለ፣ ለተፈልጡ፣⁴ እምኔሁ፣ እስመ፣⁵ ለኢይረክቡ፣⁶ ዘይከውኖሙ፣⁷ ኦብ፣⁸ ከማሁ፣⁹ አሌላ፣¹⁰ ለምድር፣¹¹ እንተ፣¹² ፈለሰ፣¹³ እምኔሃ፣ እስመ፣ ኢያምጽአ፣¹⁴ እግዚአብሔር፣¹⁵ ክቡር፣¹⁶ ወልዑል፣¹⁷ በመዋዕሊሁ፣¹⁸ ኩናተ፣ ላዕለ፣ እክል፣¹⁹ ወወይን፣²⁰ ወበለስ፣²¹ ወሮማን፣²² ወላዕለ፣ ኩሉ፣ ፍሬ፣²³ ዘላዕሌሃ።²⁴

[202] ኢያብስ፣¹ ርእሱ፣² ለቀርሜሎስ፣³ ወኢላህዉ፣ ኖሎት፣⁴ ወኢበከዩ፣ መራዕዩ፣⁵ አባግዕ፣⁶ በዘመኑ።⁷ እሳት፣ ኢያውዐዩ፣⁸ ሥነ፣ ገዳም፣⁹ ወነበልባል፣ ዕፀ፣ ያም፣¹⁰ በወርኃ፣¹¹ መንግሥቱ።¹² ኢዘርኡ፣ መስተገብራኑ፣¹³ ምድር፣¹⁴ በስቅዩተ፣¹⁵ ማይ፣ ከመ፣ ዘርአ፣¹⁶ ምድረ፣ ግብጽ፣¹⁷ በዓመተ፣¹⁸ ሥልጣኑ፣¹⁹ ዳእሙ፣²⁰ ይሁብ፣²¹ ሰማይ፣²² በጊዜሁ።²³

[203] ምዕራፍ፣¹ ፹፫፣² ወአልቦ፣ ውስተ፣³ ብሔረ፣ መንግሥቱ፣⁴ ዘይትቃረን፣ ካልአ፣⁵ አላ፣ ኩሉ፣ ስንዕው፣⁶ በበይናቲሁ።⁷ አልቦ፣ ለውስተ፣⁸ ብሔሩ፣⁹ ዘዩሐሚ፣ ቢጾ፣¹⁰ በጽሚት።¹¹ ወኩሉ፣¹² ጎቡር፣ በልብ፣ ወበአፍ።¹³ አልቦ፣ ለውስተ፣¹⁴ ብሔሩ፣¹⁵ ዘያወፅእ፣¹⁶ ስመ፣¹⁷ እኩዩ፣¹⁸ ለቢጾ፣¹⁹ አላ፣ ፩፩ይዌድስ፣ ካልአ።²⁰

6 BCFL0T; ወይሰምዩ፣ P | 7 COT; ስም፣ BFLP | 8 ዐቢዩ፣ add. LP | 9 (om. LP) BCOT; ክብር፣ F | 9–11 om. LP | 10 (om. LP) COT; ዐቢዩ፣ BF | 11 (om. LP) BCOT; ምክር፣ F | 12 (# CO); BCFL0T; om. P | 13 BCFL0P; ይሲኒ፣ T | 14 BCFOPT; ወይከዓው፣ L | 15 (# CO).

[200] 1 COT; ለእንለ፣ እመሕያው፣ BFLP | 2 COT; om. BFLP | 3 (# L) | 4 BCFLPT; ዔው፣ O | 5 COT; በበይነ፣ BFOP | 6 COT; ዘይባልሕ፣ BFOP | 7 (# CO); BCLOPT; om. F.

[201] 1 (፯ T) | 2 (# CO) | 3 CFOT; ለደካትም፣ BL; ለደካትማን፣ P | 4–5 BCFL0T; ኃጥኡ፣ አቡሆሙ፣ ዘአልቦ፣ P | 6–8 om. P | 7 (om. P) COT; ዘይረክቡሙ፣ BFL | 8–9 om. F | 9 (# L); (፯ T); (om. F) BCLOPT; ከማሁ፣ P | 10 BCFL0T; አሌ ፣ላ፣ P | 11 BCFL0T; ለሀገር፣ L | 12 BCFL0T; om. P | 13 BCFL0T; ዘፈለሰ፣ P | 14 CFLOP; ኢያምጽአ፣ B; ኢያምጽእ፣ T | 15 BCFOPT; በእግዚአብሔር፣ L | 16–17 om. T | 16 (om T) BCFL0; om. P | 17 (om. T) BCFL0; ልዑል፣ P | 18 (፯ T) | 19 (፯ T) | 20 (፯ T) | 21 (፯ T) | 22 (፯ T) | 23 BCLOPT; ፍሬሃ፣ F | 23–24 BCFL0T; ዘላዕሌሃ፣ ፍሬ፣ tra. P.

[202] 1 BCOP; ኢይኤብስ፣ FL; ኢያብስ፣ T | 2 BCFOPT; ለርሰ፣ L | 3 BCFOPT; ቀርሜሎስ፣ L | 4 (# L) | 5 BCFL0T; መርዔተ፣ P | 6 (፯ T) | 7 (# CL); BCFL0T; በዘመኑ፣ P | 8 BCFL0P; ኢያውዓዩት፣ T | 9 (፯ T) | 10 BCFLP; አመ፣ O; om. T | 11 BCFL0P; አመርኃ፣ T | 12 (# CO) | 13 BCLOPT; መተገብራኑ፣ F | 14 BCLOPT; om. F | 15 COT; በስቅዩተ፣ B; በስቅዩተ፣ FP; በስቅዩተ፣ L | 16 BCFLP; ዘርእ፣ O; ዘርዑ፣ T | 17 (፯ T) | 18–19 BCFL0T; post በጊዜሁ፣ tra. በዓመተ፣ መንግሥቱ፣ P | 20 BCFL0T; እስመ፣ P | 21 BCLOPT; om. F | 22 BCOT; ማይ፣ FL; ዝናም፣ P | 23 (# CO).

[203] 1 BCFL0T; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፳፮፣ BFLP; om. T | 3 (፯ T) | 4 CFOP; መንግስተ፣ B; መንግስት፣ L | 5 BCFL0T; ካልአ፣ P | 6 CFOP; ስንአው፣ B; ስንዕው፣ L | 7 (# CO) | 8–9 om. P | 10 (፯ T) | 11 (# CO) | 12 BCFL0T; አላ፣ P | 13 (# CO) | 14–15 om. P | 15 ዘይትአቀብ፣ add. L | 16 BCOP; ወይወጽአ፣ F; ወዘያወፅእ፣ L | 17 BCLPT; ስም፣ F; ስሙ፣ O | 18 BCLOPT; እኩይ፣ F | 19 (# L); BCFL0T; om. P | 20 (# CLO); BCFLP; om. L; ካልአ፣ OT.

[204] ^{ab}አልቦ ፡¹ ውስተ ፡ ብሔሩ ፡ ዘይትዐቀብ ፡ ወይወስድ ፡^{a2} ነገረ ፡ እም፩ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ካልኡ ፡^{b3} ወለኩሉ ፡ ሐዕው ፡⁴ አፉሁ ፡^{c5} በማዕደ ፡ ዘዓቅም ፡⁶ ወኮነት ፡ ብሔሩ ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ ፡⁷ ብሔረ ፡ ፍራኩሙኖስ ፡⁸ መንፈስ ፡ ተጸልኦ ፡ ኢክህለ ፡⁹ ይኅድር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ልቦሙ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡¹⁰ ሠራዊቱ ፡¹¹ እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ መሠረተ ፡ ፍቅር ፡¹² ወሕኑጸት ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡¹³

[205] ^aበኩሎን ፡¹ ጊዜያቲሁ ፡^{a2} ኢተንሥኦ ፡ ^bአበ ፡³ ደም ፡^{b4} ላዕለ ፡⁵ አበ ፡⁶ ደሙ ፡ ወኢቀተለ ፡ ፀር ፡⁷ ፀሮ ፡⁸ ራውኅደ ፡⁹ ብዝኖሙ ፡ ለገበርተ ፡ ዓመፃ ፡^{c10} ወተሥዕረ ፡ ማዕሌቶሙ ፡¹¹ ለእኩያን ፡ ወበጠለ ፡¹² ትሕዝብተ ፡ ጸላኢ ፡¹³ አልቦ ፡¹⁴ ራውስተ ፡¹⁵ ትዕይንቱ ፡ ^d¹⁶ ዘያበልኅ ፡¹⁷ ልኅኖ ፡¹⁸ ከመ ፡ አርዌ ፡ ምድር ፡¹⁹ ወይዌስቅ ፡²⁰ ቀስቶ ፡²¹ ራገቢረ ፡²² መሪር ፡ ^e²³ ከመ ፡²⁴ ይቅትሎ ፡^f²⁵ ለንጹሕ ፡ በጽሚት ፡²⁶ አልቦ ፡ ዘይመክር ፡²⁷ ከመ ፡ ይኅባእ ፡ መሥገርተ ፡²⁸ ወኢያጸንዕ ፡²⁹ ነገረ ፡ እኩየ ፡³⁰ ወኢያጎሥሥ ፡³¹ ዓመፃ ፡³² ለዘኒ ፡ ይፈቅድ ፡ አቀሰሎ ፡³³ ከመ ፡ ሐፀ ፡³⁴ ደቂቅ ፡ ይከውን ፡ አቀሰሎቱ ፡³⁵

[206] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፹፬ ፡² አመ ፡ ፸፻፶፬፻ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወአመ ፡ ፲፬፱ ፡³ ዓመተ ፡⁴ መንግሥቱ ፡ ፵በራብዕ ፡ ሰንበተ ፡ ጸም ፡⁶ ላአመ ፡⁷ ሠሉሱ ፡ ለወርኃ ፡^{a8} መጋቢት ፡ በዕለተ ፡ እሑድ ፡⁹ ቅድስት ፡ ዜነውዎ ፡¹⁰ ለንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹¹ መዜንዋን ፡¹² ከመ ፡ መጽኦ ፡ ኑር ፡ እብነ ፡ እልሙጃሂድ ፡¹³ ወተዐየነ ፡¹⁴ ውስተ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ምድር ፡¹⁵ እምድረ ፡¹⁶ ፈጠጋር ፡ ¹⁷ ወምስሌሁ ፡ ብዙኅ ፡¹⁸ ሠራዊት ፡ ¹⁹ዘፀብእ ፡²⁰ መጠነ ፡ ፲፻፲፰፻፲፰መስተዕዕናነ ፡ አፍራስ ፡²¹ ወመጠነ ፡²² ፳፻ሰብእ ፡²³ እለ ፡²⁴ ይነድፉ ፡ በነፍጥ ፡²⁵

[204] 1–2 om. L | 1–3 om. P | 2 (om. LP) CO; ወይዌድስ ፡ BFT | 3 (# L) | 4–5 BCFLOT; አፉሁ ፡ ሐዕው ፡ tra. P | 6 (# CO); BCFLOT; ዓቅም ፡ P | 7 BCFLOT; በመዋዕሊሁ ፡ F; om. P | 8 (፻ CT); BCFLOT; ፍኩሙኖስ ፡ P | 9 BCFLOT; post እስመ ፡ tra. P | 10 BCFLOT; om. P | 11 (# CO) | 12 (# L) | 13 (# CO).

[205] 1–2 om. P | 3 BCFLOT; አቡ ፡ P | 3–4 አበደም ፡ T | 4 BCFLOT; om. P | 5 BCFLOT; በዓለ ፡ P | 6 BCFLOT; om. P | 7 BCLOPT; om. F | 8 (# CO) | 9 (# L) | 9–10 om. F | 10 በድኅሬሁ ፡ add. F | 11 BCLOPT; ማኅሎቶሙ ፡ F | 12 BCFLOT; በጠለ ፡ P | 13 (# CO) | 14 BCFLOT; ወአልቦ ፡ P | 15–16 om. P | 16 (om. P) BCFLOT; ትዕይንት ፡ L | 17 COT; ዘያበልኅ ፡ BFLP | 18 BCFLOT; ልኅኖ ፡ P | 19 (፻ LT) | 20 BCFLOT; ወኢይዌስቅ ፡ P | 21 BCFLOT; ቀስቶ ፡ T | 22–23 om. F | 24–25 እስከ ፡ ያደክሞሙ ፡ F | 26 BFLPT; በጽምሚት ፡ CO | 27 (፻ T) | 28 (# L); (፻ T) | 29 BCLOPT; ወኢያጸንዕ ፡ F | 30 (፻ T) | 31 BCLOPT; ወኢያሥ ፡ F; ክደ ፡ add. F | 32 BCLOPT; ለዓመፃ ፡ F | 33 BCLOPT; አስሎ ፡ F | 34 BCFLOT; ሕንፃ ፡ P | 35 (# CO).

[206] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፸፱ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3 BFLPT; አሠሩ ፡ ወተሠዑ ፡ CO | 4 BFLPT; ዓመት ፡ CO | 5 BFLPT; እመንግሥቱ ፡ CO | 6 (# L) | 7–8 BCFLOT; አመ፫ በወርኃ ፡ P | 8 BCFLOT; በወርኃ ፡ T | 9 BCFLPT; እኑድ ፡ O | 10 COT; ዘዜነውዎ ፡ BFP; ዘዜነዎ ፡ L | 11 BCFLOT; ሚናሥ ፡ F; lac. P | 12 (# L) | 13 (፻ T) | 14 BCLOPT; ወተዐየኑ ፡ F | 15 (፻ T) | 16 BCLOPT; እምድኅረ ፡ FL | 17 (# L); (# T) | 18 (፻ T) | 19 BCFLOT; ሠራዊተ ፡ T | 20 BCFLOT; ዘፀብእ ፡ F; ፀብእ ፡ O | 21 (# L); (፻ T) | 22 COT; መጠነ ፡ BFLP | 23 BCFLOT; ፳፻ሰብእ ፡ F; ፳፻ ፡ P | 24 BCLOPT; ለእለ ፡ F | 25 (# CO).

[207] ወአልቦሙ ፡ ጉልቁ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይወስቁ ፡¹ ቀስተ ፡² ወይነድፉ ።³ ወአጋራውያንሂ ፡
⁴ እጉዛነ ፡⁵ አስይፍት ፡ ወኩያንው ፡⁶ ወወልታ ፡⁷ ጀወአእላፋት ፡⁸ እሙንቱ ፡⁹ ወዕደው ፡¹⁰
ዘይክሉ ፡ ግብረ ፡¹¹ መንድኒቃት ፡¹² ምስለ ፡ ግብሮሙ ፡ መጠነ ፡^bጅወጂ ፡¹³ አው ፡ ጂ ።¹⁴_{ab}

[208] መዘንተ ፡¹ ሰሚያ ፡² ንጉሥ ፡³ ክቡር ፡⁴ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁵ ኢተዐገሠ ፡ እስከ ፡
ይዔሥር ፡ ፀብአ ፡⁶ ወያስተዳሉ ፡⁷ ቀትለ ።⁸ አላ ፡ ሐረ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ውሑዳን ፡ ሠራዊት ፡⁹ እለ ፡
ምስሌሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተሐዘበ ፡ ከመ ፡^bእምጂ ፡¹⁰ ፀባኢት ፡^b ይመውእ ፡ ጅ ።¹² አው ፡ ፀብአ ፡¹³
ሥጋዌ ፡¹⁴ በሥጋሁ ፡¹⁵ ወእመ ፡ አኮ ፡ ፀብአ ፡¹⁶ መንፈሳዊ ፡¹⁷ በነፍሱ ።¹⁸_a

[209] አእሚሮ ፡¹ ከመ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዘሞተ ፡² በሰይፍ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ስመ ፡ እግዚእ ፡³ ክርስቶስ ፡
ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡⁴ ይመውእ ፡ ቀትላተ ፡ ዘይገብርዋ ፡⁵ ሥልጣናተ ፡ አየር ፡ ምስለ ፡ ነፍስ ።⁶
ውብዙኃን ፡ ጸድቃን ፡ ይፈርሁ ፡⁷ እምዘንቱ ፡⁸ አኮኑ ፡⁹ በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡¹⁰
እስመ ፡ ቀትልክሙ ፡¹¹ ኢኮነ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወደም ፡¹² አላ ፡ ምስለ ፡ መኳንንተ ፡¹³
ጽልመት ።¹⁴

[210] ወጉልቁ ፡ ሠራዊት ፡^aእለ ፡¹ ኮኑ ፡^a አሜሃ ፡² ምስለ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡⁴ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁵
ጀጂወጅ ፡ ሰብአ ፡⁶ አፍራስ ፡⁷ ወአጋራውያን ፡⁸ ኢይበዝጉ ፡⁹ እምጂጂ ፡ ወእለ ፡ ይነድፉ ፡¹⁰
በነፍጥ ፡ ይከውኑ ፡ ጂ ።¹¹ ወዕደው ፡¹² ቀስት ፡ ነዳፍያን ፡^bጅጂ ።¹⁴ ወዐ ፡ እለ ፡ አርአይዎ ፡
ምክረ ፡¹⁵ ከመ ፡¹⁶ ይትራኩበዎ ፡¹⁷ ለኑር ፡¹⁸ እስከ ፡ ይትጋባእ ፡ ሰብአ ፡¹⁹ ፀብእ ።²⁰

[207] 1 BCFLPT; ይወስቁ ፡ O | 2 (# L); (፲ T) | 3 (# CO) | 4 BCLOT; ወአጋራውያን ፡ F; ወአጋራውያስ ፡ P | 5 BCFLPT; እጉዛነ ፡ P | 6 BFLPT; ወኩያንው ፡ CO | 7 (# L); BCLOPT; om. F | 8 BCOPT; ዕልፍ ፡ ወአዕላፍ ፡ FL | 9 BCLOPT; om. F | 10 (፲ T) | 11 COP; ግብር ፡ BLT; ለገቢር ፡ F | 12 (om. F) OT; መንድኒቃት ፡ BL; መንጀኒቃት ፡ C; መንዲቃት ፡ P | 12–14 om. F | 13–14 ጅወጂአው ፡ ጂ ፡ CO; ጅወጂአው-ጂ ፡ T | 14 (# CLO).

[208] 1–18 om. F | 2 (፲ T) | 3 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 4 (om. F) COT; om. BL; ጥቡዕ ፡ P | 5 (om. F) BCLOT; lac. P | 6 (፲ T) | 7 (om. F) BCLOP; ወያስተዳሉ ፡ T | 8 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOP; ቀትለ ፡ T | 9 (፲ T) | 10–11 (om. F) BCLOP; ጀእምፀባኢት ፡ T | 11 (om. F) COT; ሠራዊት ፡ BLP | 12 (# CO) | 13 (om. F) BCLPT; ፀብአ ፡ O | 14 (om. F) COT; ሥጋዊ ፡ BLP | 15 (# CO); (፲ T); (om. F) CLOPT; በሥጋዊሁ ፡ B | 16 (om. F) CLOPT; ፀብዖ ፡ B | 17 (om. F) CO; መንፈሳዊ ፡ BLPT | 18 (# CO).

[209] 1 (፲ T) | 2 (፲ T) | 3 BCFOPT; እግዚእነ ፡ L | 4 (፲ T) | 5 CFOT; ዘይትገብር ፡ BLP | 6 (# CO) | 7 (፲ T) | 8 (# L) | 9 (፲ T) | 10 CP; ጳጥሮስ ፡ BFLOT | 11 CFLOPT; ቀትልክሙ ፡ B | 12 (# L); (፲ T) | 13 BCFLPT; መኳንንት ፡ O | 14 (# CO).

[210] 1–2 om. FP | 3 ዘሀሎ ፡ add. F; ዘሀሎ ፡ add. P | 4 (፲ T) | 5 (# L); BCFLPT; lac. P | 6 BCFOPT; om. L | 7 (፲ T) | 8 BCFOPT; ወአጋራውያንሂ ፡ L | 9 (፲ T) | 10 (፲ T) | 11 (# CO) | 12–13 BCFLPT; ወእለ ፡ ይነድፉ ፡ P | 14 (# CO) | 15 (፲ T) | 16 ክብረ ፡ ምክር ፡ add. F | 17 BCFLP; ይትራኩቡ ፡ OT | 18 (፲ T) | 19 BCFLP; om. OT | 20 (# CLO).

[211] አውሥአሙ ፡ ወይቤሎሙ ፡¹ አልቦ ፡ ዘይክል ፡ በዊአ ፡ _aቤቱ ፡² ለኃያል ፡³
_bወበርብርተ ፡⁴ ንዋዩ ፡_b⁵ ለእመ ፡⁶ ኢቀደመ ፡ አሲሮቶ ፡⁷ ኪያሁ ፡⁸ አንሰ ፡ ኢይፈቅድ ፡
እርአይ ፡ ሙስናሁ ፡⁹ ለሀገር ፡¹⁰ አምጣነ ፡¹¹ ሀሎኩ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ምድራዊት ።¹²

[212] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፹፮ ።² ወእምዝ ፡ ሐረ ፡ በአጥብኦ ፡³ ነፍሶ ፡⁴ ንጉሥ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁵
አንጸረ ፡⁶ ትዕይንቱ ፡⁷ ለኑር ፡ ወተዐየነ ፡⁸ መጠነ ፡ _aዐሡር ፡⁹ ወሰኑይ ፡_a¹⁰ መዋዕል ፡ ኅዲጎ ፡
መካነ ፡¹¹ ማእከሌሁ ፡ ወማእከለ ፡ ኑር ፡¹² መጠነ ፡ ሙጋረ ፡¹³ ነፍጥ ፡¹⁴ _bወኢመምዐ ፡¹⁵
ሕሊናሁ ፡¹⁶ እንዝ ፡¹⁷ ይሬኢ ፡¹⁸ ብዙኃ ፡¹⁹ ተዐይነ ፡ ፀር ።²⁰

[213] _aይቤ ፡¹ _b፩ ፡² እምእለ ፡_b³ ይቀውሙ ፡ ቅድሚሁ ፡⁴ በአሐቲ ፡⁵ ዕለት ፡ እምእሎን ፡
⁶ ዕለታት _c⁷ አምጸእኩ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ _dባህለ ፡⁸ እምባህሎሙ ፡_d⁹ ለነቢያተ ፡¹⁰ ዘመን ፡¹¹ _eእንዝ ፡¹²
እብል ።¹³_{ac}

[214] _aተባህለ ፡¹ መዊእሰ ፡² ለከ ፡ ይእቲ ፡³ እምድጎረ ፡ ኃልቁ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡⁴ በኩናተ ፡
ፀር ፡⁵ ወሶቤሃ ፡⁶ ነጸረኒ ፡ በዐይን ፡ ምዑክ ፡_a⁷ ወይቤለኒ ፡ በቃለ ፡⁸ ኃይል ፡⁹ ይደልዎሁ ፡¹⁰
ለኖላዊ ፡ ይጎድግ ፡¹¹ _bአባግዲሁ ፡¹² ወያድጎን ፡ ነፍሶ ፡_b¹³ ኖላዊ ፡¹⁴ ኄር ፡¹⁵ ይሜጡ ፡¹⁶ ነፍሶ ፡
¹⁷ ቤዛ ፡¹⁸ አባግዲሁ ፡ _cወእምከመ ፡¹⁹ _dኮነ ፡²⁰ ኖላዌ ፡_{cd}²¹ ዐሳብ ፡²² የጎድግ ፡ አባግዓ ፡²³
ለተኩላ ፡²⁴ _eወኢየጎዝን ፡²⁵ በእንተ ፡ አባግዲሁ ።²⁶_e

[211] 1 (̄ T) | 2–3 BCFL0T; ቤተ ፡ ኃያል ፡ P | 4–5 om. F | 6 BCFLPT; እመ ፡ O | 7 BCLOP; አሲሮቶሙ ፡ FT | 8 BCFL0T; om. P | 9 BCFL0T; ሙስናህ ፡ P | 10 (̄ T) | 11 BCFL0T; እንዝ ፡ P | 12 (# CO); BCLOPT; ምድራዊት ፡ F.

[212] 1 BCFL0T; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፹ ፡ BLP; ፩ ፡ F; om. T | 3 CO; om. B; ወአብኦ ፡ FLP; በአብኦ ፡ T | 4 CFLP; om. B; ነፍሶ ፡ OT | 5 BCFL0T; lac. P | 6 BCFL0T; አንጸረ ፡ P | 7 (̄ T) | 8 BCFOPT; ወተአይነ ፡ L | 9–10 CFOT; ፲ወ፪ ፡ BLP | 11 (̄ T) | 12 (̄ T) | 13 (̄ T) | 14 (# L); COT; ዕብን ፡ BFLP | 15 (om. F) BCPT; ወኢሙሙእ ፡ LO | 15–20 om. F | 16 (om. F) BCLOT; ልቡናሁ ፡ P | 17 (om. F) CLOPT; om. B | 18 (om. F) COPT; ወኢይሬኢ ፡ B; om. L | 19 (om. F) PT; ብዙኅ ፡ BLO; ብዙኅ ፡ C | 20 (# CO).

[213] 1 ይቤ ፡ add. T | 1–13 om. F | 2–3 (om. F) BCLO; ፩እምእለ ፡ PT | 4 (# O); (̄ T) | 5 (om. F) COT; አሐቲ ፡ BLP | 6–7 (om. F) BCLOT; እምዕለታት ፡ እሎን ፡ tra. P | 8 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 8–9 (om. F) BC0PT; እምባህሎሙ ፡ በህለ ፡ tra. L | 10 (om. F) CP; ለነቢያት ፡ BLOT | 11 (̄ T) | 12–13 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘይብል ፡ P | 13 (# CO)

[214] 1 (# L); (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 1–7 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLOT; መዊዕ ፡ P | 3 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 4 (̄ T) | 5 (om. F) COT; ዘፀብዕ ፡ B; ፀብዕ ፡ LP | 6 (om. F) CP; ሶቤሃ ፡ BLOT | 8 BCFLPT; በቃል ፡ O | 9 (̄ T) | 10 BCLOT; ይድልዎሁ ፡ F; ይደልዎኑ ፡ P | 11 BCLOT; om. P; ኅዲጎ ፡ F | 12 BCLOPT; አባግዕ ፡ F | 12–13 BCFL0T; ነፍሶ ፡ ወያድጎዊ ፡ አባግዲሁ ፡ P | 14 BCFLP; ኖላሰ ፡ O; ኖላዊሰ ፡ T | 15 COT; om. BFLP | 16 BCLOPT; ይሜጡ ፡ F | 17 BCFL0T; om. P | 18 BCFL0; om. P; ህየንተ ፡ T | 19–21 om. P | 20–21 (om. P) BCLOT; ኖላዊ ፡ ኮነ ፡ tra. F | 22 CLOT; ዓሰብ ፡ B; om. F; ወዓሳብሰ ፡ P | 23 BCFL0T; አባግዲሁ ፡ P | 24 BCFL0T; om. P | 25 (om. FP) BCLT; ወኢየጎድግ ፡ O | 25–26 om. FP | 26 (# L).

[215] እፎኑ፡¹ _aይትከሀል፡² ዝንቱ፡ ከመ፡³ አድኅን፡ ርእሰየ፡⁴ እምቀትል፡ ወአሁብ፡⁵
ሕዝብየ፡⁶ ለሞት፡⁷ ወእርአይ፡⁸ ሰቆቃው፡ ብእሲት፡⁹ ዘሞተ፡ ብእሲሃ፡¹⁰ ወብካየ፡
ውሉድ፡¹¹ ዘሞቱ፡¹² አበዊሆሙ፡¹³ _bወላሐ፡¹⁴ እኅው፡¹⁵ ዘተቀትለ፡¹⁶ እኅሁ፡¹⁷ ሊተሰ፡
ይኔይሰኒ፡ መዊት፡¹⁸ በእንተ፡ ክርስቶስ፡¹⁹ ወበእንተ፡ መርዔትኒ፡²⁰ ይታሕተ፡²¹
ተኖሎትየ፡²²

[216] እምከመስ፡ ሞትኩ፡¹ ወተዘርወ፡² መርኤት፡³ _aኢይትኅሠሠኒ፡⁴ እግዚአ፡⁵
ኖሎት፡⁶ በእንተ፡ ዝርወተ፡⁷ መራዕይ፡⁸ ወእመስ፡⁹ ዘረውክዎሙ፡¹⁰ እምፍርሃተ፡¹¹ ሞት፡
¹² ድልው፡¹³ አነ፡ ለተኅሥዎ፡¹⁴ ወምስለዝ፡¹⁵ ኩሉ፡¹⁶ ረሰየ፡¹⁷ ጾመ፡¹⁸ ወጸሎተ፡ ላዕለ፡
፪፡¹⁹ መክፈልታት፡²⁰ አው፡ ይርአይ፡ ድቀተ፡ ፀሩ፡²¹ ወእመ፡ አኮ፡ ይሙት፡²² ቤዛ፡
ኩሉ፡²³ ሕዝብ፡²⁴

[217] ምእራፍ፡¹ ፹፮፡² እስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ክቡር፡ ወልዑል፡ ገብረ፡ ላዕለ፡
ዝንቱ፡³ _aንጉሥ፡⁴ ክቡር፡⁵ _b፪፡⁶ ግብራተ፡⁷ ፅፁባተ፡⁸ ሰባ፡ ፈቀደ፡
ከመ፡⁹ ይሠሃላ፡¹⁰ ለምድር፡ ትፍሥሕተ፡¹¹ _cወይፈውስ፡¹² ቍስላቲሃ፡¹³ ረሰየ፡ ትእምርተ፡
¹⁴ ሣህል፡¹⁵ _cወሄሞ፡ ዲበ፡ መንበሩ፡ ከመ፡ ቀስት፡¹⁶ ዘውስተ፡ ደመና፡¹⁷

[218] ወሶበኒ፡¹ ቀንአ፡ ወነደ፡ እሳተ፡ መዑቱ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኃዋኣን፡ አእተቶ፡² እመንበሩ፡
ወአልዐሎ፡ ማእከለ፡³ ትእይንት፡⁴ ከመ፡ ተለዐለ፡ ምርፋቀ፡⁵ ኖላት፡ ራእያዊ፡⁶ ከመ፡

[215] 1 BCFOT; እፎ፡ LP | 2-3 om. P | 4 BCFLOT; ነፍሰየ፡ P | 5 FP; ወአሁብ፡ BCLLOT | 6 BCFLOT; አባግየ፡ P | 7 (# CO) | 8 BCFLOT; ወእፎ፡ እፊኢ፡ P | 9 BFLP; በእሲት፡ C; ብእሲ፡ OT | 10 BCFOT; ምታ፡ LP | 11 (፯ T) | 12 BCFLOT; ዘሞተ፡ P | 13 BCFLOT; አቡሆሙ፡ P | 14-17 om. P | 15 (om. F) CLOT; እኅ፡ BP | 16 (om. F) COPT; ዘቀተለ፡ BL | 17 (# CO); (om. F) CL; እኅሁ፡ BPT; እኅኅ፡ O | 18 BCFLPT; መዊተ፡ O | 19 (፯ T) | 20 (፯ T); BCOT; መርዔትየ፡ F; መርዔት፡ LP | 21-22 om. F | 22 (# CO)

[216] 1 (፯ T) | 2 CFLOT; ወተዘርወ፡ BP | 3 BCFLOT; አባግዕ፡ P | 4 CFO; ዘኢይትኅሠሠኒ፡ BLT; ኢይትኅሠሠኒ፡ P | 4-10 om. F | 5 (om. F) CLOP; እግዚአ፡ BT | 6 (፯ LT) | 7 (om. F) CO; ዝርዎቱ፡ BLT; ዝርወቶሙ፡ P | 8 (# CO); (om. F) COT; አባግዕ፡ BL; om. P | 9 (om. F) BCLLOT; ወእምስ፡ P | 10 (om. F) BCLLOT; ዘረውኩ፡ P | 11 BCLLOT; ወእምፍርሃተ፡ F; በፍርሃተ፡ P | 12 BCLOPT; ሞተ፡ F | 13 BCFLO; ድል፡ T; om. P | 14 (# CO); BCFLT; ይትኃሠሠኒ፡ PO | 15 CFLOT; ወምስለ፡ BP | 16 CLOT; ዝኩሉ፡ BFP | 17 BFLPT; ረሰየ፡ C; ረሰየ፡ O | 18 BFLOPT; ጾመ፡ C | 19 BCFLP; ክልዔቲ፡ O; ፪ቲ፡ T | 20 BCLOPT; መክፈልታተ፡ F | 21 (# L); (፯ T) | 22 (፯ T) | 23 BCLOPT; om. F | 24 (# CO); BCLOPT; አሕዛብ፡ F.

[217] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፹፮፡ BFLP; om. T | 3-4 BCFLOT; ክቡር፡ ንጉሥ፡ tra. P | 4 ገላውዴዎስ፡ add. F | 5-6 BCFLOP; ፪ግብራተ፡ T | 7 (# CO); BCLOPT; om. F | 8 (፯ T) | 9 BCFLOT; om. P | 10 (፯ T) | 11 BCLLOT; om. F; ፍሥሕት፡ P | 12-15 om. F | 13 (# CO); (om. F) BCPT; ቍስላቲየ፡ LO | 14 (፯ L) | 15 (፯ T) | 16 (፯ T) | 17 (# CO).

[218] 1 BCFLOP; ወሶኒ፡ T | 2 BCLOPT; እመና፡ F | 3 BCFLOT; እማእከለ፡ P | 4 (፯ T) | 5 BFLOT; መርፈቀ፡ CP | 6 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 BCFLOP; ይከሀል፡ T | 8 COT; ክርዳድኖን፡ BLP; ክራድኖን፡ F | 9 COT; በዊዓ፡ BFLP | 10 (# CO) | 11-20 om. F | 12 (om. F) COT; እግዚአብሔር፡ BLP |

ይክህል ፣⁷ ክርዳንዮን ፣⁸ በዊኦ ፣⁹ ውስተ ፣ ሐይከለ ፣ ቀድኦ ፣¹⁰ እስመ ፣¹¹ እግዚአብሔር ፣¹² ክቡር ፣ ስሙ ፣¹³ ሶበ ፣ ፈቀደ ፣ ተምዕዖ ፣¹⁴ ሕዝብ ፣¹⁵ ያቀድም ፣¹⁶ ነሢተ ፣¹⁷ መቅደሱ ፣¹⁸ ወከማሁ ፣ ያቀድም ፣¹⁸ ነሢኦ ፣ ነገሥት ፣ ጌራን ፣¹⁹ ሶበ ፣ ፈቀደ ፣ ደምስሶተ ፣ ሕዝብ ፣ ኃጥኦን ፣²⁰

[219] ሐለሊሁ ፣ ይቤሎ ፣¹ በኦፊ ፣ ነቢይት ፣² ብእሲት ፣³ ለኢዮስያስ ፣⁴ ንጉሥ ፣ ትሩፍ ፣ ላዕሌሁ ፣ ሰላም ፣⁵ እነሥኦከ ፣ [እም]ብሔረ ፣⁶ አበዊከ ፣⁷ ወእለ ፣⁸ ከማከ ፣⁹ ከመ ፣ ኢይርኦ ፣ አዕይንቲከ ፣¹⁰ ኩላ ፣¹¹ እኪተ ፣ ዘይገሥሣ ፣ ለምድር ፣¹² ወበቀለ ፣ ዘአመጽእ ፣¹³ ላዕለ ፣¹⁴ ሕዝብ ፣ ነሢተ ፣¹⁵ እለ¹⁶ አምዕዮኒ ፣¹⁷ ወዘንተ ፣ ብሂሎ ፣ ኢኮኖ ፣ ዕፁብ ፣ ከመ ፣¹⁸ ይዝግሐ ፣ ለኢዮስያስ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣¹⁹ ጸድቅ ፣²⁰ ውስተ ፣ እዴሁ ፣²¹ ለፈርዖን ፣ ንጉሥ ፣²² ዓማዒ ፣²³ ወእኩይ ፣²⁴ እስመ ፣ ቀተሎ ፣ ወፈጸሞ ፣²⁵

[220] ወእግዚአብሔር ፣¹ ክቡር ፣ ስሙ ፣² ረሰዖ ፣ ለዛቲ ፣ ዓለም ፣ መክፈልተ ፣³ ፈርዖን ፣⁴ ወእለ ፣ ከማሁ ፣⁵ ዓማዕያን ፣⁶ ወዓለምኒ ፣ ደኃሪት ፣⁷ መክፈልተ ፣⁸ ኢዮስያስ ፣ ወጸድቃን ፣⁹ እለ ፣ ከማሁ ፣¹⁰ በእንተ ፣ ዝንቲ ፣ ቀሊል ፣ በኅቤሁ ፣¹¹ ነሢተ ፣ ጸድቃኒሃ ፣¹² እምዘዮ ፣¹³ ወአጎንድዮ ፣¹⁴ ኃጥኦን ፣ በዘዮ ፣¹⁵

[221] ምዕራፍ ፣¹ ፹፬፣² አመ ፣ ፳፱ ፣³ ወሰብዮ ፣⁴ ለወርኃ ፣⁵ መጋቢት ፣⁶ ሳብዕ ፣ ወርኅ ፣ እምአውራኒ ፣⁷ ሐሣልስ ፣⁸ ወርኅ ፣ እምአውራኒ ፣ ሥርዓቶሙ ፣ ለሮም ፣⁹ ወውእቲ ፣ ጥንተ ፣¹⁰ አውራኒ ፣¹¹ ወተፍጻሜት ፣ በውስተ ፣ ፍጥረት ፣ ወጁስንበተ ፣ ጸም ፣¹² በዕለተ ፣ ሐሙስ ፣ ዘጸሎት ፣¹³ ጊዜ ፣ ፳ሰዕተ ፣ መዓልት ፣¹⁴ ኮነ ፣ ቀትል ፣ ማእከለ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣

13 (̄ T) | 14 (om. F) BCLOT; ተምዖ ፣ P | 15 (om. F) COPT; ሕዝብ ፣ BL | 16 (om. F) CLOT; ነሢተ ፣ BP | 16–18 (om. F) BCOPT; om. L | 17 (# CO) | 19 በሞት ፣ add. P | 20 (# CO).

[219] 1 BCFLOPT; (̄ T) | 1–17 om. F | 2 BCP; om. F; ነቢይት ፣ L; ነቢያዊት ፣ O; ነቢያዊያት ፣ T | 3 (̄ T) | 4 (̄ T) | 5 (̄ T) | 6 (̄ L); con; om. BCFLPOT | 7 (̄ T) | 8 (om. F) BCO; ወለእመ ፣ LT; ወለእለ ፣ P | 9 (# CO) | 10 (̄ T) | 11 (om. F) BCLOT; ኩላ ፣ P | 12 (̄ T) | 13 (om. F) COPT; ዘአመጽኦ ፣ BL | 14 (om. F) BCLOT; ለእለ ፣ P | 15–16 om. P | 17 (# CO); (om. F) CLOT; አምዕዮኒ ፣ B; አምዕኒ ፣ P | 18 BCLOPT; ከመ ፣ F | 19–20 COT; ጸድቅ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣ tra. BFLP | 21 (̄ T) | 22–23 BCLOT; ዓማዒ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣ tra. FP | 24 (# L); BCLOT; om. FP | 25 (# CO).

[220] 1 BFLOPT; ወእግዚአብሔር ፣ C | 2 (̄ T) | 3 BCFOT; መክፈልተ ፣ LP | 4 (#L) | 5 BCLOPT; ምስሌሁ ፣ F | 6 (# CO) | 7 COT; ደኃሪ ፣ BFLP | 8 BCOT; መክፈልተ ፣ FLP | 9 (̄ T) | 10 COT; ምስሌሁ ፣ BFLP | 11 BCFLPT; ኅቤሁ ፣ P | 12 CFPT; ጸድቃኒሃ ፣ BL; ጸድቃኒሃ ፣ O | 13 BCFLPT; እምዘዮ ፣ PT | 14 BCFOPT; ወአጎንድዮ ፣ L | 15 (# CO).

[221] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፹፬ ፣ BLP; ፹፩ ፣ F; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ዕሥራሁ ፣ F | 4 BCFOPT; ወጁኦ ፣ L | 5 BCFLPT; om. P | 6 BCFLPT; ለመጋቢት ፣ P | 7 BCLOPT; እምአውራኒ ፣ F; መዓልት ፣ add. F | 8 CFOT; ሐሣልስ ፣ BLP | 9 BCFLPT; ወርኅ ፣ T | 8–10 om. F | 9 (# CO) | 10 (om. F) BCLOPT; ጥንት ፣ T | 11 BCFLPT; om. O | 12 (̄ T) | 13 እም ፣ አውራኒ ፣ ሥርዓቶሙ ፣ ለሮም ፣ ወውእቲ ፣ ጥንተ ፣ አውራኒ ፣ add. F | 14 (# CO) | 15 BCFLPT; lac. P | 16 (# L) | 17 COT; ሠሉስ ፣ BFLP | 18 (# L) | 19–20 COT; ፍጻሜ ፣ ዕለተ ፣ tra. BFLP | 21 (# CLO); BCFLPT; om. O.

ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁵ ወማእከለ ፡ ኑር ፡¹⁶ እምድጎረ ፡ ቀትል ፡ ዘዕለተ ፡ ሰኑይ ፡¹⁷ ወካልአንሂ ፡
ዕለታት ፡¹⁸ ወይእቲስ ፡_bዕለተ ፡¹⁹ ፍጻሜ ፡_b²⁰ ቀትል ፡ ይእቲ ።²¹

[222] ወኮነ ፡¹ በይእቲ ፡² ዕለት ፡³ ፍሡሐ ፡⁴ ወሕሡዮ ፡⁵ ወጥቡዓ ፡⁶ ለቀትል ፡ ንጉሥ ፡
ገላውዴዎስ ።⁷ ከመ ፡ ያጠብዕ ፡⁸ ነዓዊ ፡ ለተቃትሎ ፡⁹ ምስለ ፡¹⁰ ዘይንዑ ፡¹¹ ወከመ ፡
ይትፌሣሕ ፡¹² ዘተጸውዑ ፡¹³ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ወይን ፡¹⁴ ወገብሩ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ፍቅረ ።¹⁵ ወጸንዐ ፡
ጥቀ ፡¹⁶ ቀትል ፡¹⁷ በይእቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ እስከ ፡ ገልበዩ ፡¹⁸ ለፀሐይ ፡ ጢሰ ፡ እሳተ ፡¹⁹ ፊታብእ ፡²⁰
ከመ ፡²¹ ግዘፊ ፡²² ጊሜ ።²³

[223] ፊታብእ ፡¹ ፊታብእ ፡_a² ወድቀ ፡ ርሳስ ፡³ ውዑይ ፡⁴ ውስተ ፡⁵ ሥጋ ፡⁶ እምሥጋሁ ፡⁷
ለክቡር ፡⁸ ማር ፡⁹ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁰ ወዘኒ ፡ ኢከልኦ ፡¹¹ እምተቃትሎ ፡ ወኢሜጦ ፡¹²
እምተግብኦ ።¹³ እስከ ፡¹⁴ ዓገትዎ ፡¹⁵ መጠነ ፡ ጅሰብኦ ፡ አፍራስ ፡¹⁶ ወረገዝዎ ፡ ገቦሁ ፡¹⁷
በኩናት ፡¹⁸ ወሞተ ፡ ከመ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡¹⁹ አንጾክያዊ ፡²⁰ ሱታፌ ፡ ስሙ ።²¹

[224] ወእምዝ ፡¹ መተሩ ፡² ርእሶ ፡ ክብርተ ፡³ ወአብኡ ፡⁴ ለመስፍኖሙ ፡ እስከ ፡
አንከረ ፡⁵ ወተፅዕነ ፡ ዲበ ፡ አድግ ፡⁶ እስመ ፡ የአምር ፡ ኩሎ ፡⁷ ዘገብረ ፡ ቦእለ ፡⁸ ቅድሜሁ ፡⁹
ወቦእለ ፡¹⁰ ድጎሬሁ ።¹¹

[225] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፹፱፻፳ ።² ወጅእምእለ ፡³ ይቀውሙ ፡ ቅድሜሁ ፡⁴ ሐረ ፡⁵ ውስተ ፡
ዓጾዶ ፡ ቀትል ፡ አመ ፡ ሣልስት ፡ ዕለት ፡⁶ እምዘሞተ ፡ ወኃሠሠ ፡ በድኖ ፡⁷ ወረከበ ፡⁸ ግዳፊ ፡
ወአእመሮ ፡⁹ ዘጥግዕት ፡ ፊታብእ ፡¹⁰ ጅእመለያልዩሁ ፡_a¹¹ ፊታብእ ፡_b¹² የአምር ፡¹³ ቀዳሚ ።_b¹⁴

[222] 1 BCLOPT; ወኮነ ፡ F | 2 BCFLTOT; ወበይእቲ ፡ P | 3 BCFLTOT; ዕለተ ፡ P | 4 BCLOPT; ፍሡሐ ፡ F; ኮነ ፡ add. P | 5 CLOT; ወሕሡዮ ፡ B; om. FP | 6 CLOT; ጥቡዕ ፡ B; ወጥቡዕ ፡ F; ጥቡዓ ፡ P | 7 (# CO); BCFLTOT; lac. P | 8 BCPT; ይጥባዕ ፡ F; ያጥብዕ ፡ LO | 9 COT; ለቀትል ፡ BFLP | 10 BCFLTOT; om. P | 11 BCFLTOT; ወንዓው ፡ P | 12 BCFOPT; ይትፌሣሕ ፡ L | 13 (# O); (፩L); BC; ዘጸውዮ ፡ FLPTOT | 15 (# C) | 16 BCLOPT; om. FP | 17 (፩ T) | 18 CFOPT; om. B; ገልበዩ ፡ L | 19 C (conzelman con.); እሳት ፡ BFLTOT; om. P | 20–23 om. F | 21 (om. F) BCLOPT; አምሳለ ፡ P | 22 (om. F) BCOPT; ግዘፊ ፡ L | 23 (# CO).

[223] 1–2 om. F | 2 ዘነፍጥ ፡ add. F | 3 BCLO; እርሳስ ፡ FT; ርእሶ ፡ P | 4 BCLOPT; om. F; ውዑይ ፡ add. BLPT | 5 (፩ T) | 6 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 BCLOPT; ሥጋሁ ፡ F; እምሥጋ ፡ P | 8 BCLOPT; om. F; ክቡር ፡ P | 9 BCLOPT; om. F | 10 BCFLTOT; lac. P | 11 CFOT; ኢከልኦ ፡ BLP | 12 COT; ወኢሜጦ ፡ BFLP; ገጾ ፡ add. P | 13 (# CO); BCFLTOT; እምተቃትሎ ፡ P | 14 BCLOPT; om. F | 15 BCLOPT; ወአገትዎ ፡ F | 16 BCFLTOT; om. P | 17 BCLOPT; om. F | 18 BCLOPT; በኩናት ፡ F | 19 (፩ T) | 20 CFOT; አንጾክያዊ ፡ BP; ዘአንጾክያዊ ፡ L | 21 (# CO).

[224] 1 (፩ T) | 2 BCFLTOT; መተርጥ ፡ P | 3 BCFLTOT; om. P | 4 (፩ T) | 5 (# L) | 6 (# L); (፩ T) | 7 (፩ T) | 8 BCFOPT; ቦ ፡ እለ ፡ L | 9 (፩ T) | 10 CP; ወቦእለ ፡ BOT; ወቦ ፡ እለ ፡ FL | 11 (# CLO).

[225] 1 BCFLTOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CFO; ፹፱፻፳ ፡ BLP; om. T | 3 BCFOPT; ወእምእለ ፡ L | 4 BCFLTOT; om. P; ፩ ፡ add. L | 5 BCLOPT; post ቀትል ፡ tra. F | 6 CFP; om. BLOT | 7 (፩ T) | 8 COT; ወረከበ ፡ P; በድኖ ፡ add. P | 9 BCFOPT; ወአእመሮ ፡ L | 10 BCFLTOT; ፩ዲበ ፡ P | 10–11 ዲበ ፡ ፩ ፡ መለያልዩሁ ፡ BFLP | 12–14 om. F | 13 (om. F) BCFL; የአምር ፡ POT; ኮነ ፡ add. LO | 14 (# CO); (om. F) BCFOPT; ቅድመ ፡ LO.

[226] ወገንዘ : በስንድናት :¹ ወቀበሮ : ውስተ : አሐቲ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ዘሕንጽት :²
በስሙ :³ ለገላውዴዎስ :⁴ አመ : ይቀብሮ : ኢርአዮ :⁵ ለሥጋሁ :⁶ ሙስና :⁷ እስመ :⁸
ዝውእቱ :⁹ ትእምርተ : ሥጋ : ዘጽድቅ :¹

[227] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፹፱ :² ወመዊቶ : ንጉሥ : ገላውዴዎስ :³ ተዘርወ :⁴ ኩሉ : ሕዝብ :
ከመ : ማይ : ውስተ :⁵ ፍኖት :⁶ ወሞቱ : ለውስተ :⁷ ቀትል : ለብዙኃን :⁸ ሰብእ :⁹ እንዘ :¹⁰
አልቦ : ዘያድጎሞሙ :¹¹ እስመ :¹² ሞተ :¹³ መድኅኒ :¹⁴

[228] ለወኮነ :¹ ላሕ :² ዓቢይ :³ ውስተ : ኩሉ :⁴ ምድር :⁵ ለመመሪር :⁶ ብካይ :⁷
ውስተ : ቤተ :⁸ ሕመ :⁹ ወኩሉ :¹⁰ አዝማዲሁ :¹¹ ወኩሉ : ዘመጽአ :¹² ለብካይ :¹³
ኢይባኪ :¹⁴ ለከመ :¹⁵ ዘመጽአ :¹⁶ ለብካይ :¹⁷ አላ : ከመ : ዘሞተቶ :¹⁸ ብእሲቱ :¹⁹ አው :²⁰
ውሉዳ :²¹ ለኩሉ : ትዕይንት : ወለኩሉ : ብሔር : ይጥዕሞ :²² ብካይ :²³ ከመ : በኩረ :
በለሰ :²⁴ ክረምት :²⁵ ወከመ : ማይ :²⁶ ለጽሙእ :²⁷ በጊዜ : ሞይ :²⁸ እምብዝነ :
አፍቅሮቱ :²⁹

[229] ለወአልቦ :¹ ዘተናዘዘ : እስከ :² ዕለተ : ነዛ :³ ቦዘመነነ :⁴ ጣዕማተ : ዓለም :
በእንቲአሁ :⁵ ለወቦ :⁶ ዘጎደገ : ኩሎ :⁷ ትፍሥሕተ : ዘዘዚአሁ :⁸ ወጸልመት : ሀገር :⁹
ዘብርህት :¹⁰ ከመ : ፀሐይ :¹¹ እስመ : ተሰወረ : ብርሃና :¹² ተነሥቱ :¹³ ማጎፊዳት :¹⁴

[226] 1 BCO; በስንድናት : FLPT | 2 BCFLOT; om. P | 3 BCFOT; በስመ : L; ዘቅዱስ : P | 4 (# CO); BCFOT; ገላውዴዎስ : L; lac. P | 5 CPT; ኢርአዮ : BLO; አርአዮ : F | 6-7 ሙስና : ሥጋሁ : tra. B | 6 om. F | 7 BCLOPT; ሙስቲ : F | 8 BCFLOP; እስመዘ : T | 9 BCOP; ውእቱ : FLT | 10 (# CO); BCLOPT; በጸድቃን : F.

[227] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፹፱ : BFLP; om. T | 3 BCFLOT; lac. P | 4 BCFLP; ተዘርወ : OT | 5 BCOT; በውስተ : FL; om. P | 6 BCFLOT; በፍኖት : P | 7-8 ብዙኃን : ውስተ : ቀትል : tra. P | 8-14 om. F | 9 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 10 (om. F) BCLOT; እስመ : om. P | 11 (# L) | 12 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 13 (om. F) BCLOT; ወሞተ : P | 14 (# CO); (om. F) CO; መድኅኒሞሙ : BT; መድኅኒነ : LP.

[228] 1-11 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLOT; ብካይ : P | 3 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 4 (om. F) CLOT; ኩላ : BP | 5 (̄ T) | 6 (om. F) BCLPT; መሪ : O | 6-7 (om. F) CLOT; ወብካይ : ወመሪር : B; ወካላህ : መሪር : P | 8 (om. F) BCLOT; ቤቶሙ : P | 9-10 om. P | 11 (# L); (om. F) BCLOT; ወአዝማዲሁ : P | 12 BCLOT; ዘመጽአ : P | 13 BCLOPT; ለይብኪ : F | 14 (# L) | 15-16 om. BLP | 15-29 om. F | 17 (om. F) BCLOT; በብካይ : P; ካልእ : add. P | 18 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘሞተት : P | 19 (om. F) CLT; ብእሲቶ : BO | 20 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 21 (# LP); (om. F) COT; ወልዳ : B; ለወልዳ : L; ወወሉድ : P | 22 (om. F) CLOP; ጥዕም : B; ኢጥዕም : T | 23 (̄ T) | 24 (om. F) CP; በለሰ : BLOT | 25 (om. F) CP; ክረምተ : BLOT | 26 (om. F) COT; ማይ : ክረምት : BLP | 27-28 (om. F) BCLOT; ለጊዜ : ዕሞዕ : ወጊዜ : ሞይ : P | 29 (# CO).

[229] 1-9 om. F | 2 (̄ T) | 3 (om. F) BCO; ዕለት : ነዛ : L; ነግህ : P; እለ : ተገንዞ : T | 4 (om. F) BCOT; በዘመነነ : LP | 5 (̄ T) | 6-7 om. P | 7 (om. FP) COT; om. BL | 8 (̄ T) | 10 (om. F) BCLOT; ብርህት : P | 11 (# L); (̄ T) | 12 (# CO); BCOPT; ብርሃናሙ : F; ብርሃኖ : L | 13 BCLOT; ተነሥተ : F; ነሥቱ : P | 14 BCLOT; ማጎፊድ : F; ማጎፊዳተ : P | 15 BCLOT; ወቅጽር : F; ወቅጽራተ : P | 16 BCFLOT; om. P | 17 COT; ሕፃን : BFLP | 18 BCFOT; ቀተለ : LP | 19 con.; ዓማፄ : BFLP; ዐምደ : C ; ዓማፂ : P.

ወአቅጸራት፣¹⁵ እስመ፣ አልቦ፣ ቀዋሚ፣ ወመዝበረ፣ ኩሉ፣¹⁶ ሕንፃ፣¹⁷ እስመ፣ ቀተሉ፣¹⁸
ዐማ<ዴ>።¹⁹

[230] _aዓብየ፣¹ ረኅብ፣_a² እስመ፣ አልቦ፣³ ሲሳይ፣ ወበዝኅ፣ ጽምእ፣⁴ እስመ፣ ኅልቀ፣
ስቴ፣⁵ ገዝፈ፣ ደዌ፣ እስመ፣ ኢሀሎ፣⁶ ፈውስ፣ ወነግሠ፣ _bንዋም፣⁷ እስመ፣ ተሰዕረ፣ ጽንዕ።
_b⁸ _cወእግዚአብሔር፣⁹ ዕዙዘ፣¹⁰ መንግሥት፣_c¹¹ አምጽአ፣¹² እኪተ፣¹³ ላዕለ፣¹⁴ ኩላ፣¹⁵
ምድር፣¹⁶ እምድሳረ፣¹⁷ ነሥአ፣¹⁸ ኅቤሁ፣ ለገላውዴዎስ፣¹⁹ መልአከ፣ ሠናያት፣ ሎቲ፣
ስብሐት፣ ወትረ፣²⁰ ወእስከ፣²¹ ኩሉ፣²² ዓለማት፣²³ _dወለዓለመ፣²⁴ ዓለማት፣_d²⁵ አሜን።

[231] ምዕራፍ፣¹ ፯።² ወበይእቲ፣ ዕለት፣ ካዕበ፣ ሞተ፣³ አባ፣ ዮሐንስ፣⁴ አበ፣ ምኔት፣⁵
ዘደብረ፣ ሊባኖስ፣⁶ ብእሲ፣ _aዘልዑል፣⁷ _bምሉአ፣_a⁸ ኩሉ፣_b⁹ ትሩፋት፣ በዓለ፣ ጾም፣¹⁰
ዓቢይ፣ ከመ፣ ኤልያስ።¹¹ ወጽሙድ፣ ከመ፣¹² ዳንኤል፣¹³ ዘኢረከቡ፣¹⁴ ዘይብሉ፣¹⁵
ላዕሌሁ፣¹⁶ ዘእንበለ፣ ተፀምዶ፣ ለእግዚአብሔር፣ _cክቡር፣¹⁷ ወልዑል።¹⁸

[232] ወምክንያተ፣ ሞቲስ፣¹ ኮነ፣ በእንተ፣ _aኅሢአ፣² ዕሤተ፣_a³ ሰማዕት፣⁴ _bወዘያሌቡ፣⁵
ላዕለ፣⁶ ዝንቲ፣⁷ እስመ፣_b⁸ አመ፣ ምጽአቶሙ፣ ለተንባላት፣⁹ ኢኮነ፣¹⁰ ህልወ፣¹¹ ውስተ፣
ትዕይንት፣¹² አላ፣ ሶበ፣ በጽሐቶ፣¹³ መጽሐፈ፣¹⁴ ንጉሥ፣ ገላውዴዎስ፣¹⁵ ክቡር፣¹⁶ ላዕሌሁ፣
¹⁷ ሰላም፣¹⁸ በዜንዎ፣¹⁹ ምጽአቶሙ፣²⁰ ለተንባላት፣²¹ ወአይድያ፣²² ግብሮሙ፣²³ ዘመከሩ፣
ይግበርዎ፣²⁴ አፍጠነ፣²⁵ ሐዊረ፣ ኅበ፣ ትዕይንት፣ ከመ፣ ሙቁሕ፣²⁶ ዘፈትሕዎ፣²⁷
እሞቅሑ።²⁸

[230] 1–2 ረኅብ፣ ዓብየ፣ tra. B | 1 (፯ T); BCLOPT; በዓብይ፣ F | 3 (፯ T) | 4 (፯ T) | 5 (# L) | 6 BCFLPT; አልቦ፣ P | 7–8 BCLOPT; ንዋም፣ ጽንዕ፣ እስመ፣ ሀሎ፣ ንዋም፣ F | 8 ህማም፣ add. P | 9–11 om. F | 10 (om. F) BCOT; እዙዘ፣ L; አዘዘ፣ P | 11 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 12 BCFLPT; ወአምጽአ፣ P | 13 (፯ T) | 14 BCFLPT; om. P | 15 CLP; ኩሉ፣ BF; ተኩላ፣ OT | 16 (፯ T) | 17 BCFLPT; እስመ፣ P | 18 COP; ነሥአ፣ BFLT | 19 BLOT; ገላውዴዎስ፣ C; ለሚካኤል፣ F; lac. P | 20 BCFLPT; om. P | 21 BCFLPT; እስከ፣ P | 22 BCFOT; om. LP | 23 BCFOT; ለዓለም፣ L; ለዓለመ፣ P | 24 BCLOPT; ለዓለመ፣ F | 24–25 om. LP | 25 (# CO).

[231] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፹፭፣ BLFP; om. T | 3 (፯ T) | 4 (፯ T) | 5 (፯ T) | 6 (፯ T) | 7 (om. B) CFLOT; ልዑል፣ P | 7–8 om. B | 8 (om. BF) CP; ፻ተ፣ L; መልዕልተ፣ O; ምልዕተ፣ T | 8–9 om. F | 10 (፯ T) | 11 (# CO) | 12 BCLOPT; ወከመ፣ F | 13 (፯ T) | 14 BCFLPT; ዘኢተረከቡ፣ P | 15 BCFLPT; om. P | 16 ነውር፣ add. P | 17–18 BCFLP; ልዑል፣ ወክቡር፣ tra. OT | 18 (# CLO).

[232] 1 BCFLPT; ሞቲስ፣ P | 2–3 om. F | 4 (፯ CO); BCFOPT; ዘሰማዕት፣ L | 5 (፯ T) | 5–8 om. F | 6 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 7 (om. F) BCLOT; ዝንቲ፣ P | 9 BFLPT; ለተንባላት፣ CO | 10 BCFLPT; om. P; እምኢኮነ፣ T | 11 BCFLPT; ኢሀለወ፣ P | 12 (# L) | 13 BCLOPT; በጽሐት፣ F | 14 BCLOPT; መልእክተ፣ F | 15 BCFLPT; lac. P | 16 BCFLPT; om. P | 17 BCFOT; ዘላዕሌሁ፣ LP | 18 (፯ T) | 19 COT; ዜንዎሙ፣ BL; ዜንዎሙ፣ F; ዜንዎ፣ P | 20 BCFLPT; ምጽአተ፣ P | 21 BLT; ለተንባላት፣ CO; ለነዳያን፣ F; ተንባላት፣ P | 22 CO; ወአይድዳሙ፣ BFLT; om. P | 23 BCFLPT; ወግብሮሙ፣ P | 24 (# L); BCLP; ይግበሩ፣ F; ይግበርዎ፣ OT | 25 BCFLPT; አፍጠነ፣ P | 26 BCLOT; ሙሕ፣ F; ሙቁሑ፣ P | 27 BCLOPT; ዘፈተዎ፣ F | 28 (# CO); BCLOPT; om. F.

[233] ወበጸሐ :¹ ህዩ : ሞተ : በሰይፍ :² በእንተ : ስሙ :³ ለእግዚእ :⁴ ስርዓቱ :⁵
ሎቱ : ስብሐት :⁶ እግዚአብሔር : ይምሐረን :⁷ በጸሎቱ :⁸ አሜን :⁹

[234] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፲ወ፩ :² ወካዕበ : በይእቲ :³ ዕለት : ሞቱ : ስማዕታት :⁴ ቡሩካን :⁵
አባ : አሴር :⁶ ሊቀ : ደብረ : ጸባዖት :⁷ በዐለ : ኅርመት :⁸ አስቄጥላዊ : ሥጋ :⁹ ወወይን :¹⁰
ዘኢቦአ :¹¹ ውስተ :¹² <አፉሁ>¹³ በኩሉ :¹⁴ መዋዕለ :¹⁵ ሕይወቱ :¹⁶ ወኢያስመክ : ዲበ :
መንጸፍ :¹⁷ በገባዊቲሁ :¹⁸ ውበዙኃ : ምሕረት : ከመ : አብርሃም : ወሎጥ : ወቆርኔሌዎስ :
¹⁹ እግዚአብሔር : ይክፍለን :²⁰ መክፈልተ :²¹ ዚአሁ :²² አሜን :²³

[235] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፲ወ፪ :² ወቦቱ :³ ካዕበ :⁴ በዛቲ :⁵ ዕለት : ተዝካሩ :⁶ ለአባ :⁷ ተክለ :
ማኅበር : መምህረ : ነገሥት :⁸ አርሳንዮስ :⁹ ካልእ :¹⁰ ወተዝካሮሙ : ለብዙኃን : መነኮሳት :
ቀሳውስት : ወዲያቆናት :¹¹ ማኅበራኒሁ : ለንጉሥ :¹² ክቡር :¹³ ገላውዴዎስ :¹⁴ እለ :
ተወክፉ : መጥባሕተ :¹⁵ ከመ : በግዕ : የዋህ :¹⁶ በእንተ : ፍቅረ :¹⁷ እግዚእ :¹⁸ ክርስቶስ :
ሎቱ :¹⁹ ስብሐት :²⁰ በረከቱ : ወበረከተ : ኩሎሙ : ማኅበራኒሁ :²¹ ይብጽሐን :²² አሜን :
23

[236] ምዕራፍ :¹ ፲ወ፫ :² እመቦ :³ ዘይትዓቀፍ :⁴ ላዕለ :⁵ እሉ : ስማዕታት :⁶ ወይብል :
ከመዝ : ይኅድግ :⁷ ወኢያንብር :⁸ ውስተ : ሰማይ : አፉሁ :⁹ ወኢያንብብ : ዓመፃ : ውስተ :

[233] 1 CFLOPT; ወበጸሐ : B | 2 (፲ T) | 3 BCFLPT; ስሙ : P | 4 BCLOT; ለእግዚአብሔር : F; om. P | 5-6 om. F | 6 (# C) | 7 BCLOPT; ምሕረን : F | 8 BCLOPT; om. F; እግዚአብሔር : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : add. F | 9 (# CO).

[234] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፲፱፻፮ : BFLP; om. T | 3 BCFLPT; በዙቲ : P | 4 (om. P) CLOT; ስማዕታት : BF | 4-5 om. P | 6 BCLOPT; አሴር : F | 7 BCLOPT; ፀባዕት : F | 8 BCFLPT; ትሕርመት : P | 9 COT; om. BFLP; ወኢያስመክ : add. P | 10 BCFLPT; ወይን : P | 11 COPT; ዘኢያብአ : B; ዘኢይባአ : FL | 12 BCFLPT; እስከ : P | 13 con; om. BFLPOT; ማኅደሩ : C | 14 BCOT; ኩሉ : FL; om. P | 15 (om. F) BCLOT; ዕለተ : P | 15-18 om. F | 16 (om. F) BCLOT; ሞቱ : P | 17 (om. F) COPT; ምንጸፍ : BL | 18 (om. F) BCLOPT; በገባዊቲሁ : T | 19 BCFLPT; ወቆርኔሌዎስ : T; ወምሰሌሁ : ካልአን : ስማዕታት : add. P | 20 BCFLPT; ይምሐረን : P; በጸሎቱ : add. P | 21 BCLOT; እመክፈልተ : F; ወይክፍለን : መክፈልቶሙ : P | 22 (# L); BCFLPT; om. P | 23 (# CLOP).

[235] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፲፱፻፮ : BFLP; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; om. F | 4 BCLOPT; ወካዕበ : F | 5-6 ተዝካሩ : በዛቲ : ዕለት : tra. B | 6 BCFLPT; ተዝክረ : P | 7 BCFLPT; አባ : P | 8 COT; ነገረ : ነገሥት : BFLP | 9 T; ወአርሳንዮስ : P; አርሳንዮስ : BFLO | 10 (# CO) | 11 (፲ LT); BCLOPT; ወዲያቆናተ : F | 12 BCLOT; om. FP | 13 BCLOT; ለክቡር : FP | 14 BCFLPT; om. P; ማር : add. F | 15 BCFOPT; መጥባሕቶ : L | 16 (# L) | 17 COT; om. BFLP | 18 BCLOPT; እግዚእን : F | 19-20 om. P | 20 (# CO) | 21 BCPT; ማኅበራን : F; ማኅበራኑ : L; ማኅበራኑ : O | 22 (# L); BCLOT; ይብጽሐን : F; om. P; የሃሉ : ምስሌን : add. P; ለዓመ : ዓለም : add. F | 23 (# CLO).

[236] 1 BCFLPT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፲፱፻፮ : BFLP; om. T | 3 BCFLPT; ወእመቦ : T | 4 BCP; ዘይትዓቀፍ : FLOT | 5 BLPT; ላዕለ : CFO | 6 (፲ T) | 7 (፲ T) | 8 CFP; ወያንብር : BLOT | 9 (፲ T) | 10 (# L) | 11 (# L) | 12 BCFLPT; በቀኝት : O | 13 (# CO) | 14 (፲ T) | 15 (፲ T) | 16 (፲ T) | 17 BCFLPT; ወነሥኡ : P | 18 (፲ T) | 19 BCLOPT; om. F | 20 BCLOPT; ወካዕው : F | 21 (፲ T) | 22 (# L); (፲ T) | 23-25 om. F | 24 (om. F) BCOT; om. LP | 25 (# CO); (om. F) COT; በጽድቅ : BLP.

አርያም ፡¹⁰ ወኢይኩን ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘይትበአስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡¹¹ ወኢየሀብ ፡ በቀኝተ ፡
¹² ለቅንዓት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ነፍሱ ።¹³ እመሰ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ዘቀተሎሙ ፡ እኑሆሙ ፡¹⁴ በቅንዓት ፡
ወሞቱ ፡¹⁵ በእንተ ፡ ዓፀደ ፡¹⁶ ወይኖሙ ፡ ነሥኡ ፡¹⁷ አክሊሊ ፡¹⁸ ወኮነ ፡¹⁹ ክዕወተ ፡²⁰ ደሞሙ ፡
²¹ ክቡረ ፡ በኅብ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡²² እፎ ፡ እንከ ፡ ፈድፋድ ፡²³ እለ ፡
ሞቱ ፡ በእንተ ፡²⁴ ጽድቅ ።²⁵

[237] ወእመ ፡ አኮ ፡ ዘካርያስኒ ፡¹ ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት ፡² ላዕሌሁ ፡³ ሰላም ፡⁴ ኢኮነ ፡⁵ ብፁዓ ፡
ዘተክዕወ ፡⁶ ደሙ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ወልዱ ።⁷ ወለይስሐቅኒ ፡ እንከ ፡ ኢይትኄልቀኡ ፡ ሎቱ ፡
ጽድቅ ፡⁸ ዘአጥብዓ ፡ ይጠባሕ ፡ ከመ ፡ በግዕ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፈጽሞ ፡⁹ ትእዛዘ ፡ አቡሁ ።¹⁰

[238] ወነጠብጣብ ፡ አንብዕኒ ፡¹ ጥቀ ፡² አመ ፡³ ተክዕወ ፡⁴ በዘከመዝ ፡⁵ ግብር ፡
ፈትትኄልቀኡ ፡⁶ ምስለ ፡ ክዕወተ ፡ ደሞሙ ፡ ለሰማዕታት ።⁷ እመሰ ፡⁸ ለዘተሰደ ፡⁹ ሎቱ ።¹⁰
ይእቲ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ዘሰማዕት ፡¹¹ እፎመ ፡¹² የዐቢ ፡ ወይኩብር ፡ ዘተቀትለ ።¹³
ለዘቦ ፡ ልቦ ፡¹⁴ ተአክሎ ፡¹⁵ ዛቲ ፡¹⁶ ንስቲት ፡¹⁷ ተግሣጽ ።¹⁸ ወለዘአልቦ ፡¹⁹ ልቦ ፡²⁰ ብዙኅኒ ፡
ኢይከውኖ ።²¹

[239] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፺፬ ።² ይቤ ፡ በዐለ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ይምሐሮ ፡³ እግዚአብሔር ፡⁴
ወይሠሀሎ ፡⁵ ለምንተኑ ፡⁶ እብል ፡⁷ ለዕለት ፡⁸ ዘይእቲ ፡⁹ ዕለተ ፡¹⁰ ሞቱ ፡¹¹ ለእግዚእየ ፡¹²
ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ።¹³ ይደልወኒሁ ፡ እርግማ ፡¹⁴ ከመ ፡ ዕለተ ፡¹⁵ ልደቶሙ ፡ ለጽዑራን ፡¹⁶
አው ፡ ይከውኅሁ ፡¹⁷ እረስያ ፡¹⁸ ውፅአተ ፡¹⁹ እምኑልቀኡ ፡²⁰ ከመ ፡²¹ ክልኤቱ ፡²²
ዕለታቲሁ ፡²³ ለወርቅ ፡ ሳበጥ ፡²⁴ ዘቦሙ ፡ ተዐቅጹ ፡²⁵ ጎሩያነ ፡ ሮም ።

[237] 1 BCFLOT; ዘካርያስ ፡ P | 2 CFLOPT; ካህናተ ፡ B | 3-4 BCFLOP; ላዕሌሁ ፡ ሰላም ፡ T | 5 (̄ T) | 6 BCLOPT; ዘተክዕወ ፡ F | 7 (# CO) | 8 BCLPT; ጽድቁ ፡ F; ጽድቅ ፡ O | 9 (̄ T) | 10 (# CO).

[238] 1 BCFLOT; አንብዕ ፡ ኒ ፡ P | 2 COT; om. BFLP | 3 BCFL; ከመ ፡ P; እመ ፡ OT | 4 (̄ T) | 5 BCLOT; በዝ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ F; ከመዝ ፡ P | 6-8 om. F | 7 (# CLO); (om. F)PT; ለሰማዕት ፡ BCLO | 9 (̄ T) | 10 ደሞሙ ፡ add. F | 11 (̄ T) | 12 BCLOPT; እፎ ፡ F | 13 (# CO); BCFLPT; ዘተቀትለ ፡ O | 14 COT; ልብ ፡ BFLP | 15 BCFLOP; ተግክሉ ፡ T | 16 COT; ይእቲ ፡ BLP; በዛቲ ፡ F; መንግሥት ፡ ዘሎቱ ፡ add. BFLP | 17 COT; ንስቲት ፡ BFLP | 18 (# CO) | 19 BCFLOT; ወለዘአልቦ ፡ P | 20 COT; ልብ ፡ BFLP | 21 (# CO).

[239] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CO); CO; ፺፬ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ይምሐሮ ፡ F | 4 BCFLOT; om. P | 5 (̄ T) | 6 (om. F) BCO; ለምንተኑ ፡ L; ምንተ ፡ P; ለምንተ ፡ ኑ ፡ T | 6-8 om. F | 7 (om F) BCL; እብል ፡ O; እብላ ፡ PT | 8 (om F) BCOPT; ዘዕለት ፡ L | 9 BCFOPT; በይእቲ ፡ L | 10 CFLOT; ዕለት ፡ BP | 11 BCFLOT; ዘሞቱ ፡ P | 12 BCFOPT; ለእግዚእየብሔር ፡ L | 13 (# C); (̄ T); BCFLOT; om. P | 14 CFLOPT; እረግማ ፡ B; ይደ ፡ እርግማን ፡ L | 15 COPT; እሳተ ፡ BFL; ሞቶሙ ፡ add. P | 16 (# L) | 17 BCLOPT; ይከውኅ ፡ F | 18 CP; እረስያ ፡ BLOT; om. F | 19 CP; ውፅአተ ፡ BOT; ፀከተ ፡ F; ውፅእየተ ፡ L | 20-25 om. F | 21 (om F) COPT; ፪ ፡ BL | 21-22 (om F) BCLOT; ፪ ዕለታቲሁ ፡ P | 23 BFLP; ሳበጥ ፡ C; ሳበጥ ፡ O; ሳበጥ ፡ T | 24 (# O); BCFLOT; ዘተግቅጹ ፡ P | 25 (# LO).

[240] ^aምንት ፡¹ ብዩ ፡ ምስሌሃ ።² ባሕቱ ፡³ ርጉመ ፡⁴ ይኩን ፡ ዘገብረ ፡⁵ ባቲ ፡⁶ ዛቲ ፡⁷ ዕለተ ፡⁸ እኪተ ፡⁹ ዐባዩ ፡¹⁰ ወቀተሎ ፡ ለእግዚእየ ፡ ማር ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ።¹¹ ርጉመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ በቤት ፡ ርጉመ ፡ ይኩን ፡¹² በሐቅል ፡¹³ ርጉመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ በገዳም ።¹⁴ ርጉመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ በበዑቱ ፡¹⁵ ርጉመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ በፀአቱ ፡¹⁶ ወርጉመ ፡¹⁷ ይኩን ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ተግባሩ ።¹⁸

[241] ይትወሀብ ፡¹ ወይኑ ፡ ለበረድ ፡ ወበለሱኒ ፡² ለአስሐትያ ፡³ ወምድሩኒ ፡⁴ ኢትግበር ፡⁵ ሲሲተ ።⁶ ^aይትሐገሎ ፡⁷ አባግዲሁ ፡^a⁸ እመብልዕ ፡⁹ ^bወኢይትረከቡ ፡¹⁰ አልህምቲሁ ፡^b¹¹ ውስተ ፡¹² ጎል ።¹³ ይትበቀሎ ፡¹⁴ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡ ወልዑል ፡¹⁵ እስከ ፡ ርዓሠርቱ ፡¹⁶ ምእት ፡^c¹⁷ ትውልድ ፡ ለቤተ ፡ ሙጃሂድ ።¹⁸

[242] ወየአዝዝ ፡¹ ^aዝናመ ፡² ወጠለ ፡^a³ ከመ ፡⁴ ኢይረዱ ፡⁵ ዲበ ፡ አድባሪሁ ፡ ወይረሲ ፡⁶ ሎቱ ፡⁷ መክፈልቶ ፡ ሐመዳ ፡ ወአስሐትያ ።⁸ አሕፃሁ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡⁹ ወልዑል ፡ ይብልዑ ፡¹⁰ ^bሥጋሁ ፡¹¹ ወጎምዙ ፡^b¹² ይስርብ ፡¹³ ደሞ ፡¹⁴ እምይእዜ ፡¹⁵ ወእስከ ፡¹⁶ ለዓለመ ፡¹⁷ ዓለም ፡¹⁸ አሜን ።¹⁹

[243] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፺፮ ።² በእንተ ፡ ፍቅሩ ፡ ለእግዚእየ ፡ ክቡር ፡³ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁴ ጸሐፍኩ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰቆቃው ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ርእሰ ፡⁵ ጅወ፪ ፡⁶ ፊደላት ፡⁷ ዕብራውያት ።⁸

[244] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፺፮ ።² አሌፍ ።³ ቅትለተ ፡ ነፍሱ ፡ ለገላውዴዎስ ፡⁴ እግዚእየ ፡⁵ መኑ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ነፍሱየ ፡ እምአግብአ ።⁶

[240] 1 (om. F) BCLPT; ምንት ፡ O | 1–10 om. F | 2 (# C) | 3 (om F) BCLOT; ወባሕቱ ፡ P | 4 (om F) BCOPT; ርጉመ ፡ L | 5 (om F) BCOPT; ዘገብረ ፡ L | 6 (om F) BCOT; ባቲ ፡ L; om. P | 7 (om F) LOP; ዛቲ ፡ BCT | 8 (om F) BCLOT; ዕለተ ፡ P | 9 (om F) BCOPT; እኪት ፡ L | 10 (om F) CPT; ዐባዩ ፡ BLO | 11 (# CO); BCFLOT; om. P | 12 BFLOPT; ድኩን ፡ C | 13 BCLOT; በአፍአ ፡ FP | 14 (# CO) | 15 CLOT; በበፀዓቱ ፡ BP; በሐቅል ፡ F | 16 CFLOT; በበዓቱ ፡ BP | 17 COT; ርጉመ ፡ BFLP | 18 (# CO); BCLOPT; ግብሩ ፡ F.

[241] 1 BCLOPT; ይትወሀብ ፡ F | 2 BCOT; ወበለሱኒ ፡ FL; ወበለሱ ፡ P | 3 BCPT; በአስሐትያ ፡ FLO | 4 BCFLOT; ምድሩ ፡ P | 5 BCFLOT; ኢይትግበር ፡ L | 6 BCFLPT; ሲሲተ ፡ O | 7–8 BCFLOT; አባግዲሁ ፡ ይትሐገሎ ፡ tra. P | 9 (፲ T) | 10 BCLOPT; ወኢይትረከቡ ፡ F | 10–11 ወአልህምቲሁኒ ፡ ኢይትረከቡ ፡ tra. P | 12 BCFLOT; በውስተ ፡ P | 13 (# CO); ምልእዎሙ ፡ ይጥፍዑ ፡ add. F | 14 BCLOPT; ወይትበቀሎ ፡ F | 15 (# L) | 16–17 BCFO; ፲፯ ፡ LPT | 18 (# CO).

[242] 1 BCFLOP; ወኢየአዝዝ ፡ T | 2–3 BCFLOT; om. P | 4 COPT; om. BFL | 5 ዝናም ፡ add. P | 6 BCFLPT; ወይረሲ ፡ O | 7 BCFLOT; om. P | 8 (# CO) | 9 (፲ T) | 10 BCFLPT; ይብልዑ ፡ O | 11–12 BCFLOT; om. P | 13 BCLOT; ይስረብ ፡ F; ወይሰዩ ፡ P | 14 BCLOPT; ደም ፡ F | 15 COT; om. BFLP | 16 BCFOPT; እስከ ፡ L | 17 BCFLOP; om. T | 18 BCFLOP; ለዓለም ፡ T | 19 (# COT).

[243] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፺ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3 BCLOPT; ማር ፡ F | 4 BCFLOT; lac. P | 5 BCLOPT; ርእሰ ፡ F | 6 BFLPT; ዕሥራ ፡ ወክልሌቱ ፡ CO | 7 BCFLOT; ፊደላት ፡ P | 8 (# CO); COT; እብራውያን ፡ BLF; ዕብርያን ፡ P.

[244] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); COP; ፺፩ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3 (# CLO) | 4 (# L) | 5 COT; እእግዚእየ ፡ BFLP | 6 (# CO); BCFOPT; እምአግብዕ ፡ L | 7 ሊተ ፡ add. L | 8 (# CO) | 9 CO; ጽባሕኒ ፡ BFLP; ምሴት ፡ T | 10 (# CO); CFLOPT; በአፍአ ፡ B.

ወመኑ ፡ እምረሰዩ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ከመ ፡ እኩን ፡⁷ ውዳቀ ፡ በአፍአ ።⁸

ወይ ፡ ለነ ፡ አሌ ፡ ለነ ፡ ኮከበ ፡ ጽባሕ ፡ አእመረ ፡ ምዕራቢሁ ፡ ወኮከበ ፡ ምሴትኒ ፡⁹ ጠፍአ ።¹⁰

[245] መዓልትኒ ፡¹ ኮነ ፡ ሌሊተ ፡² ዘኢነአምሮ ፡ ወጽልመት ፡³ ዘኢልማድ ፡ መጽአ ።⁴

ወደፈነ ፡ እንስሳ ፡ ወሰብአ ።⁵

አልቦ ፡ እምይእዜ ፡ ዘይስዕር ፡ ለነ ፡ ፀብአ ።⁶

መልአከ ፡ ኃይልነ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ንቅዓታተ ፡⁷ ምድር ፡⁸ ቦአ ።⁹

ወሰርዌ ፡ ጽኑዓኒነ ፡¹⁰ እማእከለ ፡ ትእይንት ፡¹¹ ተኃጥአ ።¹²

[246] ቤት ።¹ ወይ ፡ ለነ ፡ አሌ ፡² ለነ ፡³ በእንተ ፡ ሞተ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡⁴ ንቤ ።⁵

እስመ ፡ ውእቱ ፡⁶ አግብአ ፡⁷ ለዕደዊነ ፡⁸ አክሊለ ፡⁹ ወለአንስቲያነ ፡⁹ ግልባቤ ።¹⁰

እምድኅረ ፡ ሰለቡ ፡ እምኔሆን ፡ ፀር ፡ አመ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕማም ፡ ወምንዳቤ ።¹¹

[247] ጋሜል ።¹ ናሁ ፡ አስተዳለዉ ፡² ፀር ፡ ለአእዳዊነ ፡ ሰናስለ ፡³ ወለክሳድነ ፡ ጋጋ ።⁴

እስመ ፡ ሶበ ፡⁵ ሐወጹ ፡⁶ አንቀጸ ፡⁷ ሀገርነ ፡ ረከብዋ ፡⁸ ዕርቅተ ፡ እመዕፅዊሃ ፡⁹ ወመንስጋ ።¹⁰

መኑ ፡ እምዜነዎ ፡ ለገላውዴዎስ ፡¹¹ ዐቢዩ ፡¹² እንግልጋ ።¹³

ዘከመ ፡¹⁴ እፎ ፡ ረከብነ ፡ ግብተ ፡ ዘመጠነዝ ፡ ሕፀት ፡¹⁵ ወንትጋ ።¹⁶

[248] ዳሌጥ ።¹ ወለተ ፡ ኢትዮጵያስ ፡² ትትከደን ፡ አእዳለ ፡ ዘማእስ ፡ ወአነዳ ።³

ወትሉብስ ፡⁴ ሰቀ ፡⁵ ከመ ፡ ሰሌዳ ።⁶

ወትዕንቅ ፡ ጋጋ ፡⁷ ህዩንተ ፡⁸ ሐብለተ ፡ ወርቅ ፡⁸ ዘውስተ ፡ ክሳዳ ።⁹

ወህዩንተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ወይን ፡ ወማሕሌት ፡ ጽጐ ፡ እለ ፡ ይላሕዉ ፡¹⁰ ትረሲ ፡ ዓውዳ ።¹¹

[249] ወትክዕው ፡¹ ጸበለ ፡ ዲበ ፡² ርእሳ ፡³ ህዩንተ ፡ መዓዛ ፡ ዕፍረት ፡ ወማዩ ፡⁴ ረዳ ።⁵

[245] 1 CP; ሌሊተ ፡ BFLO; ሊሊተ ፡ T | 2 CPT; ሌሊት ፡ BFLO | 3 BCLOPT; ለጽልመት ፡ F | 4 (# CO) | 5 (# CLO); BCFOPT; ወሰብአ ፡ L | 6 (# CO) | 7 BCLT; om. F; ጥንቃቄተ ፡ P; ንቅዓታት ፡ O | 8 BCFLot; ደብር ፡ P | 9 (# CO) | 10 COT; ጽኑአን ፡ BLP; ጽንአን ፡ F | 11 CFOPT; ትዕይንተ ፡ B; ምድር ፡ L | 12 (# COT); BCLOPT; ተኃጥአ ፡ F.

[246] 1 (# CO); ምዕራ ፡ pr. ቤት ፡ add. T | 2-3 BCFLot; አሌነ ፡ T | 4 BCFLot; om. P | 5 (# CO) | 6 CFOT; om. BLP | 6-7 BCLOPT; om. F | 7 CFLOPT; ዘርእስነ ፡ B | 8 ለእግዚእነ ፡ add. F | 9 BCLOPT; ወለእንስተ ፡ F | 10 (# CO) | 11 (# CO).

[247] 1 (# CO); ምዕራ ፡ pr. ጋሜል ፡ add. T | 2 CFLOPT; አስተዳለዉ ፡ B | 3 BCFLot; ሰናስለ ፡ P | 4 (# CO); BCFLot; ጋጋ ፡ P | 5 COT; om. BLP | 6 BCFOPT; ሐፀዉ ፡ L | 7 BCFOPT; አናቅጸ ፡ L | 8 COT; ወረከብዋ ፡ BLP; ረከብዋ ፡ F | 9 CO; እመአዳዊሃ ፡ BLP; እምአፅዊሃ ፡ F; እመዕዳሃ ፡ T | 10 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOP; መንስጋ ፡ T | 10-16 om. F | 11 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOP; lac. P | 12 (om. F) BCLOP; om. P | 13 (# CO) | 14 (om. F) BCLOP; ከመ ፡ P | 15 (om. F) CO; ሕፀተ ፡ BLPT | 16 (# CO).

[248] 1 (# CO); ምዕራ ፡ pr. ዳሌጥ ፡ add. T | 1-9 om. F | 2 (om. F) COP; ኢትዮጵያስ ፡ BL; ኢትዮጵያ ፡ T | 3 (# CO) | 4 (om. F) CLPT; ወትሉብስ ፡ BO | 5 (om. F) BCLOP; om. P | 6 (# CO); (̄ T); (om. F) BCLOP; ከለሜዳ ፡ T | 7-8 om. T | 9 (# CO) | 10 BCFOPT; ይላሕው ፡ LP | 11 (# CO).

[249] 1 BCLOPT; ወትክዕው ፡ F | 2 BCLOPT; ውስተ ፡ F | 3 BCLOPT; ዓውዳ ፡ F | 4 BCFLot; ማዩ ፡ P | 5 (# L); BCF; ፊዳ ፡ LO; ወጽኔ ፡ ረዳ ፡ PT | 6-20 om. F | 7 (om. F) COT; om. BLP | 8-9 om. P |

^aአኮኑ ፡⁶ ውእቱ ፡⁷ ዝንቱ ፡⁸ ገላውዴዎስ ፡^b በቅብዓ ፡ አፈዋት ፡¹⁰ ዘያጽሕዳ ።¹¹

ይእዜ ፡ ዘረከቦቶ ፡ ፍልሰት ፡ መክፈልተ ፡ ፈላሲ ፡ ወእንግዳ ።¹²

አእምኔከ ፡ ሞት ፡ መከብንን ፡ ድሩክ ፡ ዘትሞቅሖ ፡ ለንጹሕ ፡ ከመ ፡ በዓለ ፡ ዕዳ ።¹³

ወእንዘ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘለቃሕከ ፡¹⁴ ዘትነሥእ ፡ ፍዳ ።¹⁵

እንዘ ፡ ኢተቃፍር ፡ እምስባረ ፡¹⁶ እም ፡ ወኢትደነግፅ ፡¹⁷ እምልምላሜ ፡ ወልዳ ።¹⁸

አእምኔከ ፡¹⁹ ነሳቲ ፡ ዘኢተጎድግ ፡ እብነ ፡ ዲቦ ፡ እብን ፡ ውስተ ፡ ርእሰ ፡ ማእዘንቶሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ሳውዳ ።^a²⁰

[250] ^aሄ ።¹ ማእዜኑ ፡² አንበሩ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ከፈር ፡³ ማኅቶተ ፡ መራፍቲሃ ፡ መብርሄ ።⁴

ዘከመዝ ፡ ኢጠየቅነ ፡⁵ ግርማ ፡ ሌሊት ፡^a ወዐገተነ ፡ ጽልመት ፡ እምከሉሄ ።⁷

[251] ሞው ።¹ ድንግለ ፡ እስራኤል ፡² ጸዋዒ ፡³ እምኢያዜክር ፡⁴ አዋልደ ፡⁵ እለ ፡ ያስቆቅዋ ።⁶

ከመ ፡ ይብክያ ፡ ላዕሌኪ ፡ ወይላህዋ ።⁷

በእንተ ፡ ዓፀደ ፡ ወይንኪ ፡ ዘአማሰና ፡⁸ ዕዪ ፡ ወሰረዋ ።⁹

ወበእንተ ፡ ኖላዊኪ ፡ ቅቱል ፡ ወአባግዕኪ ፡¹⁰ እለ ፡ ተዘርዋ ።¹¹

ወበእንተ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ሕዝብኪ ፡ እለ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ዪዋ ።^a¹²

[252] ^aዛይ ።¹ አገላውዴዎስ ፡ መድኅን ፡ በሕይወትከ ፡ ወበሞትከ ፡ ቤዛ ።²

እምትርአይ ፡ ድምሳሴ ፡ ሕዝብከ ፡ አብደርከ ፡ ትሙት ፡ እንዘ ፡³ ወሬዛ ።⁴

ወሰትየ ፡ ጽዋዕ ፡ ዘቀድሑ ፡⁵ ላቲ ፡ ለነፍስከ ፡ ኢያተክዛ ።^a⁶

[253] ^aሔት ።¹ አይቴ ፡ ሖረ ፡² መኮንን ፡ ሕዝብነ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ ምስኪናኒነ ፡ ዘኮሞ ፡ በላሔ ።³

ወለግፋግኒነ ፡ ጽድቀ ፡ ፈታሔ ።⁴

10 ወዓልው ፡ add. L | 11 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOT; ዘያጽሕዳ ፡ P | 12 (# CO) | 13 (# CO) | 14 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘለቃሕከ ፡ P | 15 (# CO) | 16 (om. F) BCLOP; ሰባረ ፡ T | 17 (om. F) COT; ወኢትደንግፅ ፡ BLP | 18 (# CO) | 19 (om. F) COT; እምኔከ ፡ BLP | 20 (# CO).

[250] 1 (# CO) (om. F) BCLPT; om. O; ሞዕራ ፡ pr. ሄ ፡ add. T | 1-6 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLOT; ማእዜ ፡ P | 3 አርዑተ ፡ add. BLP | 4 (# CO) | 5 (om. F) BCLOT; ኢጠየቅነ ፡ P | 6 (om. F) BCLOP; ሌሊት ፡ T | 7 (# CO).

[251] 1 (# CO); BCFLPT; om. O; ሞዕራ ፡ pr. ሄ ፡ add. T | 2 BCFLPT; ጸኤል ፡ P | 3 BCFLPT; ጸዋዒ ፡ P | 4 BCFLPT; እምኢያዜክር ፡ P | 5-12 om. F | 6 (om. F) BCLOP; ያስቆቅዋ ፡ T | 7 (# CO) | 8 (om. F) BCLPT; ዘአማሰና ፡ O | 9 (# CO) | 10 (om. F) BCOT; ወአባግዕኪ ፡ L | 11 (# LO) | 12 (# LO).

[252] 1 (# CO); ሞዕራ ፡ pr. ዛይ ፡ add. T | 1-6 om. F | 2 (# CO) | 3 አንተ ፡ add. P | 4 (# CO) | 5 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘይቀድሑ ፡ P | 6 (# COT); (om. F) BCLO; ኢያተክዛ ፡ PT.

[253] 1 (# CO); ሞዕራ ፡ pr. ሔት ፡ add. T | 1-5 om. F | 2 (om. F) CLOPT; ሖረት ፡ B | 3 (# CO); (om. F) BCOT; ባላሔ ፡ LP | 4 (# CO) | 5 (# CLO).

አይቱ ፡ ጎለፈ ፡ መምህር ፡ ዘይሜህር ፡ ትድምርተ ፡ መለኮት ፡ ወትሰብእት ፡ እንበለ ፡ ቱሳሌ ።⁵

[254] _aጤት ።¹ ከመዝኑ ፡ መሪር ፡ ውሣጤ ።²

እምትፍሥሕት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጎዘን ።³ ወእምጽንዕ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቅጥቃጤ ።⁴

ለመኑ ።⁵ ፍርሃት ፡ በአፍአ ፡ ወቀትል ።⁶ በውሣጤ ።⁷

አኮኑ ፡ ለዘጎለፎ ፡ ዕረፍት ።⁸ በጎልፈተ ።⁹ ዕለቱ ፡ ለገላውዴዎስ ።¹⁰ ጳንጠቄስጤ ።¹¹

[255] ዮድ ።¹ ለዓይንዩ ፡ መኑ ፡ ደመና ፡ እምረሰዮ ።²

ከመ ፡ ይትከዓው ።³ አምሳለ ፡ ዝናም ።⁴ ማዮ ።⁵

ከመ ።⁶ አስቆቅዎ ፡ ለገላውዴዎስ ።⁷ እግዚእዩ ።⁸ ወእብኪዮ ።⁹

ቦኑ ።¹⁰ ኄር ።¹¹ ከመ ፡ ለጎብሩ ።¹² በኩርህ ፡ ዘኢይቀንዮ ።¹³

እንዘ ፡ ያጸግቦ ፡ እመ ።¹⁴ ርጎበ ፡ ወእመ ።¹⁵ ጸምአ ፡ እንዘ ።¹⁶ ያረውዮ ።¹⁷

[256] ወቦኑ ፡ መሠንይ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ዘይሌቅሕ ፡ ለኩሉ ።¹ እንበለ ፡ ተፈድዮ ።²

እንዘ ፡ ለእኩይ ።³ ኢያስተአክዮ ።⁴

_aወእምነ ።⁵ መኑሂ ፡ ኢዮጎሥሥ ፡ አሠንዮ ።⁶

አልቦ ፡ ኄር ፡ እንበለ ።⁷ አሐዲ ።⁸ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘያዘንም ፡ ዝናመ ።⁹ ላዕለ ፡ ጸድቃን ፡ ወኃጥአን ።¹⁰

ወላዕለ ።¹¹ ኄራን ፡ ወእኩያን ።¹² ዘያሠርቅ ።¹³ ፀሓዮ ።¹⁴

[257] _aካፍ ።¹ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለምድር ፡ አድለቅለቃ ።² ወሆካ ።³

ገላውዴዎስሃ ።⁴ ነሂአ ፡ እምታዕካ ።⁵

ተፈሥሐ ፡ ወተሐሠዩ ።_b ብነ ።⁶ ፀር ።_b ወተካፈሉነ ፡ ምህርካ ።⁸

[254] 1 (# CO); ምዕራ ፡ pr. ሔት ፡ add. T | 1-3 om. F | 2 (# CO) | 4 (# CLO); BCFOPT; ቅጥቃጤ ፡ L | 5 CFOT; ለመኑሂ ፡ BLP | 6 BCFLQ; ቀትል ፡ PT | 7 (# CO); BCO; ወውስጥ ፡ FL; በውስጥ ፡ P; ወበውሣጤ ፡ T | 8 BCFLP; ዕረፍተ ፡ OT | 9 BCFLQ; በጎልፈት ፡ P | 10 BCFLQ; lac. P | 11 (# CO); BCFLPT; ጳንጠቄስጤ ፡ O.

[255] 1 (# CO); ምዕራ ፡ pr. ዮድ ፡ add. T | 2 (# CO) | 3 CFLOT; ይክዓው ፡ BP | 4 BCFLQ; ደመና ፡ P | 5 (# CO); BCFOPT; ማዮ ፡ L | 6 CP; ሰበ ፡ BFLOT | 7 CF; ገላውዴዎስ ፡ BLOT; lac. P | 8 BCFLQ; om. T | 9 (# CO); CFOT; ወእብክዮ ፡ BLP | 10 BCFLQ; መኑ ፡ P | 11 BCFLQ; om. P | 12 CFLOT; ለጎብር ፡ BP | 13 (# CO); COPT; ዘኢይቀንዮ ፡ BFL | 14 BCFLQ; ለእመ ፡ P | 15 BCFLQ; ወለእመ ፡ P | 16 ያስትዮ ፡ add. P | 17 (# CO); BCLOPT; ያስትዮ ፡ F.

[256] 1 BCFLQ; om. P | 2 (# CO) | 3 BCLOPT; ለኩሉ ፡ F | 4 (# CO) | 5-14 om. F | 6 (om. F) CLOPT; አሠንዮ ፡ B | 7 (om. F) COT; ዘእንበለ ፡ BLP | 8 (om. F) CLOP; ጿ ፡ BT | 9 (om. F) BCLP; ዝናም ፡ O; ዝናሞ ፡ T | 10 (# CO) | 11 (om. F) BCLOT; ወለእለ ፡ P | 12 እንዘ ፡ add. T | 13 (om. F) BCLOT; ያሠርቅ ፡ P | 14 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOPT; ፀሐዮ ፡ L.

[257] 1 (# CO); ምዕራ ፡ pr. ካፍ ፡ add. T | 1-5 om. F | 2 አመ ፡ add. OT | 3 (# CO) | 4 (om. F) BCFOPT; ገላውዴዎስ ፡ L; lac. P | 5 (# CO) | 6-7 BCLOPT; ፀር ፡ ብነ ፡ tra. F | 8 (# CO).

[258] ላሜድ ።¹ አሌላ ፣² ለምድር ፣ አሌላ ።³

ዘበዝነ ፣ ደዌሃ ፣ ወኩሕስ ፣ ቀሩስላ ።⁴

እስመ ፣ ነሥእዎ ፣ እምኔሃ ፣ ለገላውዴዎስ ፣⁵ ርጢነ ፣⁶ ሣህላ ።⁷

ኅልቀ ፣⁸ ትፍሥሕት ፣⁹ ወበጠለ ፣¹⁰ ተድላ ።¹¹

ወወድቀ ፣¹² ዘተባረከ ፣¹³ ለዓመተ ፣ ምሕረት ፣ አክሊላ ።¹⁴

[259] ላሜም ።¹ ነዓ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣² ገላውዴዎስ ፣³ ንጉሠ ፣ ሰላም ፣ ለሕዝብከ ፣ ትጸግወነ ፣ ሱላሜ ።⁴

ወበምስካቢከ ፣ ኢትግንዲ ፣ ዕድሜ ።⁵

ከመ ፣ ኢይረሱ ፣ ርስተነ ፣ ተንባላት ፣⁶ ወከመ ፣ ብሔርነ ፣⁷ ኢይንሥኡ ፣ ሰብአ ፣ ሮሜ ።⁸

[260] ላኖን ።¹ ደቂቀ ፣ ሕዝብከ ፣ ኮኑ ፣² ለማስኖ ።³

ከመ ፣ ገብረ ፣ አንቆቅሆ ፣ ዘሰገኖ ።⁴

ሶበ ፣ ሜጠ ፣⁵ እምኔሆሙ ፣⁶ ገላውዴዎስ ፣ ምሕረተ ፣⁷ ዓይኖ ።⁸

እክለ ፣ ሲሳዩ ፣ ፊንገል ፣⁹ እመሕያው ፣¹⁰ ወስነ ፣ ፊ¹¹ሐመልማል ፣¹² ዘመደ ፣ እንስሳ ፣ ዘይዴግኖ ።¹³

ገላውዴዎስ ፣ መኩንን ፣ ጽድቅ ፣ ለግፉዕ ፣ እምዕድዋኒሁ ፣ ዘይኳንኖ ።¹⁴

ወለአድኅኖቱ ፣ ዘያነሥእ ፣¹⁵ የማኖ ።¹⁶

ወለዘሪወ ፣ ፀሩ ፣ ዘያበልሕ ፣¹⁷ ቀርኖ ።¹⁸

[261] ላሳምኬት ።¹ አይቴኑመ ፣² ሐርከ ፣ እመንበርክ ፣ ገላውዴዎስ ።³ አለጽዮን ፣ ንጉሣ ።⁴

[258] 1 (# CO); ምዕራ ፣ pr. ላሜድ ፣ add. T | 2 BCLOPT; አሌ ፣ ላ ፣ F | 3 (# CO); BCLOPT; om. F | 4 (# CO); BCFLPT; ቁስላ ፣ O | 5 BCFOT; ለማርያም ፣ L; om. P | 6 BCLOPT; ርጢነ ፣ F | 7 (# CO); BCOPT; ሣህላ ፣ FL | 8 CPT; ሐቅል ፣ BL; ሐቅለ ፣ F; ኅልቃ ፣ O | 9 BCFOPT; ዘትፍሥሕት ፣ L | 10 BCLOPT; ወበጠለ ፣ F | 11 (# CO) | 12 ዲበ ፣ ምድር ፣ add. F | 13 BCLOPT; om. F; ወተባረከ ፣ L | 14 (# CLO).

[259] 1 (# CO); ምዕራ ፣ pr. ላሜም ፣ add. T | 1-8 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLPT; ንጉሠ ፣ O | 3 (om. F) BCLOT; lac. P | 4 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOT; ሱላሜ ፣ P | 5 (# CO) | 6 (om. F) BCT; ተንባላት ፣ LPO | 7 (om. F) BCPT; ብሔርነ ፣ LO | 8 (# CO).

[260] 1 (# CO); ምዕራ ፣ pr. ላኖን ፣ add. T | 1-18 om. F | 2 (om. F) BCLOP; om. T | 3 (# CO) | 4 (# CO) | 5 (om. F) BCLOP; ማጠ ፣ T | 6 (om. F) BCLOT; om. P | 7 (om. F) BCLT; መሐሪተ ፣ O; ዘምሕረት ፣ P | 8 (# CO) | 9-11 (om. F) COPT; ወስነ ፣ እንገል ፣ እመሕያው ፣ tra. BL | 10 ዘአፍቀረ ፣ add. P | 12 (om. F) BCLOT; ወሐመልማል ፣ P | 13 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOP; ወዘይዴግኖ ፣ T | 14 (# CO) | 15 (om. F) BCLOPT; ዘያነሥእ ፣ L | 16 (# CO) | 17 (om. F) COT; ዘያነሥ ፣ BLP | 18 (# BCLO).

[261] 1(# CO); ምዕራ ፣ pr. ላሳምኬት ፣ add. T | 2 BCFLOP; አይቴኑ ፣ እመ ፣ T | 1-3 om. F | 3 (# CO); (om. F) BCLOT; ኅላውዴዎስ ፣ P | 4 (# CO) | 5 BCP; ወኢረኩብኩ ፣ F; ዘኢረኩብኩ ፣ LT; ዘኢረኩብኩ ፣ O | 6 (# CLO); (̄ T); BCFLOT; ኃሣሣ ፣ P | 7 BCLOPT; om. FL | 8 BCFOPT; ሣረርካ ፣ L | 9 ወእንስሳ ፣ add. P | 10 (# CO).

እንዘ ፡ መጠነዝ ፡ የኃሥሡከ ፡ ዘኢረከቡከ ፡⁵ ሰብአ ፡ ኃሥሣ ።⁶

ቦኑ ፡⁷ ቦኑ ፡ ሰረርከ ፡⁸ ውስተ ፡ ኑኃ ፡ አየራት ፡ ከመ ፡ ያፍ ፡⁹ ወቦኑ ፡ ወረድከ ፡ ውስተ ፡
ዕመቀ ፡ ቀላያት ፡ ከመ ፡ ዓሣ ።¹⁰

[262] ዔ ፡¹ ወይን ፡ ዘተፈጥረ ፡ ለትፍሥሕትነ ፡ ተክዕወ ፡ እምነ ፡ ግምዔ ።²

ወነፍሰነ ፡³ ሙቅሕት ፡⁴ ማእከለ ፡ ኅዘን ፡ ወዝንጋዔ ።⁵

ወቀሊለ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሕይወትነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኃሠር ፡⁶ ዘውስተ ፡ መስዔ ።⁷

[263] ፌ ።¹ እሞተ ፡² ገላውዴዎስ ፡ አእመርነ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ኃለፌ ።³

ዘይትከዓው ፡⁴ ፍጡነ ፡⁵ አምሳለ ፡ ማይ ፡ ዘውስተ ፡⁶ መንፌ ።⁷

ወከመ ፡ ነኅጋወ ፡ ልፈራህ ፡⁸ ዘያንጎጎጉ ፡⁹ በጉጉኦ ፡¹⁰ ለፌ ፡ ወለፌ ።¹¹

[264] ጸዴ ።¹ ሚእእጋሪሁ ፡² ለሞት ፡³ ለክዒወ ፡ ደም ፡⁴ ይረውጸ ።⁵

ወሚመጠነ ፡⁶ አዕይንቴሁ ፡ ለቀቴለ ፡ ነፍስ ፡ ያስተሓይጸ ።⁷

እምነፍስ ፡⁸ ወልደ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ዘይነብር ፡ ዲበ ፡ መንበር ፡ እስከ ፡⁹ ወልደ ፡ አእማት ፡ እለ ፡
የሐርፃ ።¹⁰

[265] ቆፍ ።¹ ምንት ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ምክንያቱ ፡² ለገላውዴዎስ ፡³ ንጉሥ ፡ እምሕዝቡ ፡
ዘአርኃቆ ።⁴

ቦኑ ፡ ከመ ፡ ልማድ ፡ ዘይትካፈል ፡⁵ ምህርካ ፡⁶ ሶርያ ፡ ወይነሥእ ፡⁷ ኅይለ ፡ ደማስቆ ።⁸

ሰይልየ ፡ ዕንዚራ ፡⁹ ረሰይክዋ ፡ ለፃዕር ፡¹⁰ ወሕማም ፡¹¹ ኮነኒ ፡¹² መሰንቆ ።¹³

[266] ሬስ ።¹ ለመኑ ፡ ዘኢይከውን ፡ ዓይኑ ፡ አንብዓ ፡ ጸዋሬ ።²

እመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ውእቱ ፡³ ጽዱለ ፡ ርእየት ፡ ወንጸሬ ።⁴

[262] 1 BCFLOP; ምዕ ፡ ዔ ፡ T | 2 (# CO); BCLOPT; ግምዔ ፡ F | 3 BCLPT; ለነፍሰነ ፡ F; ወነፍሰነሰጎት ፡ O | 4 BCPT; ሙቅሕት ፡ FL; ሙቅሓት ፡ O | 5 (# CLO) | 6 BCFLPT; ኃሣር ፡ O | 7 (# CLO).

[263] 1 BCLOP; om. F; ም ፡ ፌ ፡ T | 2 BCFLOP; ሞተ ፡ T | 3 (# CO) | 4 ለነ ፡ add. F | 5 BCLOPT; om. F | 6 BCFOPT; ወዘውስተ ፡ L | 7 (# CLO) | 8-9 om. F | 9 (om. F) BCLOT; ዘያንጎጎጎ ፡ P | 10 CFO; በጉጉኦ ፡ BLPT | 11 (# CO).

[264] 1 BCLOP; om. F; ም ፡ ጸዴ ፡ T | 2 BCFLOP; ሚእእጋሪሁ ፡ F | 2-3 ሚ ፡ ለሞት ፡ አእጋሪሁ ፡ tra. P | 3 BCFLOP; ለምንት ፡ T | 4 BCOPT; om. FL | 5 (# CO); COPT; ዘይረውዖ ፡ FL; ያረውዖ ፡ B | 6 BCFL; ወሚመጠነ ፡ P; ወኢመጠነ ፡ T | 7 (# CO); CFOPT; ያስተሓይጸ ፡ BL | 8 CFOT; ወእምነፍስ ፡ BLP | 9 BCFLOP; እንዘ ፡ T | 10 (# CO).

[265] 1 (# CO); BCLOP; om. F; ምዕ ፡ ቆፍ ፡ T | 2 ሞቱ ፡ add. F | 3 BCLP; ገላውዴዎስ ፡ FOT | 4 (# CO) | 5 CO; ዘኢይትካፈል ፡ BLPT; ዘኢይትከፈል ፡ F | 6 BCLOPT; ምህርካ ፡ F | 7 BCFOPT; ወይነሥእ ፡ L; ወኃእይነሥእ ፡ P | 8 (# CLO); BCLOPT; እምደማስቆ ፡ F | 9 BCFLT; ዕንዚራ ፡ OP | 10 BCLOPT; ለፃዕር ፡ F | 11 BCFLPT; ወሕማም ፡ P | 12 BCFLPT; om. P | 13 (# CLO).

[266] 1 (# CO); BCFLOP; ምዕ ፡ ሬስ ፡ T | 2 (# CO) | 3 BCLOPT; om. F | 4 (# CO) | 5 (# CO); BCFLPT; ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ሃ ፡ P | 6 CO; መስተሣህል ፡ BFLP | 7 (# CO).

ነጹሮ ፡ ቅቴለ ፡ ወግዳፊ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አርማቴም ፡ ገላውዴዎስሃ ።⁵ ንጉሠ ፡ መስተሣህለ ፡⁶
ወመሐራ ።⁷

[267] ሳን ።¹ ብፁዓት ፡² መካናት ፡ እለ ፡ ኢወለዳ ፡³ ወኢፀንሳ ።⁴
ውብፁዓት ፡ አጥባት ፡ እለ ፡ እምሐሊቦን ፡ የብሳ ።⁵
ከመ ፡ ኢይርአዩ ፡⁶ ውሉድ ፡⁷ ኀዘነ ፡⁸ ዘርኢናሁ ፡ በሞተ ፡ ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ኀዳጌ ፡ አበሳ ።⁹

[268] ታው ።¹ ማእዜኑ ፡² አንኩርኩራ ፡ እብን ፡³ ቅዱስ ፡⁴ ለቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡
ርእሰ ፡⁵ ማእዘንታ ።⁶
ከመ ፡ አንኩርኩራ ፡⁷ አእባን ፡ ክቡራት ፡ ዘምድረ ፡ ኤፍራታ ።⁸
ንዑ ፡ ንብኪ ፡ በእንተዝ ፡⁹ ወናስቆቁ ፡¹⁰ በበጾታ ።¹¹

[269] ምዕራፍ ፡¹ ፺ወ፬ ።² ሜይህኒ ፡³ ዘሠርዑ ፡⁴ ቤተ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትነብብ ፡
ሰቆቃወ ፡⁵ ኤርምያስ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ በእሙራት ፡ ዕለታት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምኩራቦሙ ።⁶ ከመ ፡
ይዘከሩ ፡ ቅትለተ ፡⁷ ኢዮስያስ ፡ ወንስተተ ፡⁸ ቤት ፡⁹ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ወምዝባሬ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወጊዋዌ ፡¹⁰
ሕዝብ ።¹¹

[270] ከማሁ ፡ ሥርዒ ፡ አንቲኒ ፡¹ መርዒተ ፡² ኢትዮጵያዊት ፡³ ሰቆቃወ ፡⁴ በእምርት ፡
ዕለት ።⁵ ወተዘከሪዮ ፡⁶ ለገላውዴዎስ ፡⁷ ሳላዊኪ ፡⁸ ዘከሠተ ፡ ለኪ ፡ አፈ ፡ ዓዘቅት ፡⁹ ኅትምት ፡
¹⁰ ዘብዘታን ፡ ኖሎት ፡ ስእኑ ፡¹¹ ከሢቶቶ ፡¹² ወአስተየኪ ፡¹³ እምኔሁ ፡¹⁴ ማየ ፡¹⁵ ሕይወት ፡¹⁶
ቅዱስ ፡¹⁷ ወጥዑመ ።¹⁷

[267] 1 (# CO); BCLOP; om. F; ምዕ ፡ ሳን ፡ T | 2 COPT; መላእክት ፡ ብፁዓት ፡ BFL | 3 BCLOPT; ኢወለዳ ፡ F | 4 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ወኢፀንሳ ፡ F | 5 (# CO) | 6 COT; ኢይርአዩ ፡ BFLP | 7 COT; ዘወልድ ፡ B; ወልድ ፡ FLP | 8 BCLOPT; om. F | 9 (# BCLO).

[268] 1 (# CO); BCLOP; om. F; ምዕ ፡ ታው ፡ T | 2 BCFLOT; ማእዜ ፡ ኑ ፡ P | 3 BCFOPT; om. L | 4 BCLOPT; om. F | 5 BCLOPT; ዕብነ ፡ F | 6 (# CO) | 7 COT; አንኩርኩራ ፡ BFLP | 8 (# CO); BCFLOT; ኤፍታ ፡ P | 9 BCLOPT; om. F | 10 CO; ወናንሶሱ ፡ BLP; ወናንሶሱ ፡ F; ወናስቆቁ ፡ T | 11 (# CLO); BFLPT; በበ ፡ ጾታ ፡ CO.

[269] 1 BCFLOT; lac. P | 2 (# CLO); CO; ፺፪ ፡ BFLP; om. T | 3 BCOPT; ገላውዴዎስ ፡ ሜይህኒ ፡ F; ሜ ፡ ይህኒ ፡ L | 4 BCFOPT; ዘሠርዑ ፡ L | 5 BCFOPT; ሰቆቃወ ፡ L | 6 (# CO) | 7 BCFLOT; ሞተ ፡ P | 8 (፯ T) | 9 CFLOPT; ቤተ ፡ B | 10 CLOPT; ወጊዋዌ ፡ BF | 11 (# C); (፯ T).

[270] 1 BCLOPT; አንቲኒ ፡ F | 2 BFLT; መርዒት ፡ CO; መርዓት ፡ P | 3 BCLOPT; ኢትዮጵያ ፡ F | 4 ኤርምያስ ፡ add. F | 5 (# CLO); BCLOPT; ዕለተ ፡ F | 6 BCFLPT; ወተዘከሪዮ ፡ O | 7 (# O) | 8 BCFLPT; ሳላውኪ ፡ O | 8-17 lost T | 9 (lost T) BCLOP; ዓዘቅተ ፡ F | 10 (lost T) BCFLP; ኅቴም ፡ O | 11 (lost T) BCFOP; ስዓኑ ፡ L | 12 (lost T) BCLOP; ከሢቶታ ፡ F | 13 (lost T) CFP; ወሰትዮት ፡ B; አስተየኪ ፡ L; አስተየኪ ፡ O | 14-15 om. BFLP | 16 (lost T) BCFLP; ቅዱስ ፡ O | 17 (# CLO); (lost T) BCFOP; ወጥዑም ፡ L.

[271] ልምዕራፍ፡¹ ጂወጅ፡² አአኃውዮ፡³ ልቡናውያን፡ ነዮ፡⁴ ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡
ዘአጎጉጉዓኒ፡ ጎበ፡ ጽሑፎቹ፡ ዓሕቅክሙ፡⁵ መስተናድእ፡⁶ ብቀውኒ፡ ወምልኡ፡ ውስተ፡
ንትጋ፡⁷ አእምሮትዮ፡⁸ ዘጠዋይ፡⁹ እምኔሁ፡¹⁰ አርትዑ፡¹¹ ወዲሑ፡¹² ዘጎግጉ፡¹³ እስመ፡
አእምሮተ፡ አሐዱ፡¹⁴ ብእሲ፡¹⁵ ኢይክል፡ ያሠርግዎ፡ ለቃለ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ በስመ፡
ብርሃነ፡ አሐዱ፡¹⁶ ኮኩብ፡¹⁷ ወላሕዩ፡ አሐዱ፡¹⁸ ጽጌ፡¹⁹ ኢይክል፡ ያሠርግዎ፡ ለግዕዝ፡
ሰማይ፡ ወምድር፡²⁰

[272] ልተፈጸመ፡¹ ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ በዓመት፡ ፎጆወጊጆወጂ፡² እምዓመተ፡
እስክንድር፡ ዘክልኤ፡³ አቅርንቲሁ፡ ወበጊጆወጂጆ፡⁴ እምልደተ፡⁵ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡
ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡⁶

[273] ወበጊጆ፡ ወጂጆ፡ ወጃ፡¹ እምዓመተ፡² ሰማዕታት፡ ወበጃጂጃወጂ፡³ እምዓመተ፡⁴
ተንባላት፡⁵ ዓመተ፡ እመንግሥተ፡⁶ ንጉሥ፡⁷ አጽናፍ፡ ሰገድ፡ በጸጋ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡⁸
ዘተሰምዮ፡⁹ ገላውዴዎስ፡¹⁰ ወበክልኤቱ፡¹¹ ዓመት፡¹² እመንግሥተ፡ እኑሁ፡ አድማስ፡
ሰገድ፡¹³ በጸጋ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘተሰምዮ፡ ሚናስ፡ ወኮነ፡ ጥንቱ፡ ወተፍጻሜቱ፡
በወርቃ፡¹⁴ ጎዳር፡ ሣልስ፡¹⁵ ወርኖሙ፡¹⁶ ለሮም፡ ዘውእቱ፡¹⁷ ጀማድ፡ እልአኸር፡¹⁸
ሳድሳይ፡ ወርኖሙ፡¹⁹ ለተንባላት፡²⁰

[274] ልተፈጸመ፡¹ አመ፡ ኃሙሱ፡² እምኔሁ፡ ዘውእቱ፡³ አመ፡⁴ ወሰሉሱ፡⁵
ለወርቃ፡⁶ መጋቢት፡ በዕለተ፡ ረቡዕ፡ እንዘ፡ ሀሎ፡ ፀሐይ፡ በጅ፡ ወጅ፡⁷ መዓርግ፡

[271] 1 (lost T) BCFL0; lac. P | 1–20 lost T | 2 (# CLO); (lost T) CO; ጂጆ፡ BFLP | 3 (lost T) CO; አኃውዮ፡ BFLP | 4 (lost T) BCFL0T; ዝዮ፡ P | 5 (lost T) CO; በጸሕቅክሙ፡ BFL; ወበዓሕቅክሙ፡ P | 6 (# CO); (lost T) CO; መስተናዕድ፡ BFLP | 7 (# L) | 8 (# CO); (lost T) BCFL0; አእምሮትዮስ፡ P | 9 (lost T) BFLO; ዘጠዋይ፡ C; ጠወይ፡ P | 10–11 አርትዑ፡ እምኔሁ፡ tra. P | 12 ፍኖትዮ፡ add. BLP | 13 (# L); (lost T) BCLOP; ፍኖትዮ፡ F | 14–15 ጅብእሲ፡ BFP | 16–17 ጅ ኮኩብ፡ BF | 18 (lost T) BCFOF; ጅ፡ L | 18–19 ጅጽጌ፡ BF | 20 (# CLO).

[272] 1 (lost T) CO; መዋዕለ፡ መንግሥቱስ፡ ጊወጃ፡ ተፈፀመ፡ BLP; መዋዕለ፡ መንግሥትስ፡ ዘገላውዴዎስ፡ ጊወጃ፡ ተፈፀመ፡ F | 1–6 lost T | 2 (lost T) CP; ፎጆወጊጆወጂ፡ BF; ፎጆ፡ ወጂ፡ L; ፎጆጆ፡ ጃወጂ፡ O | 3 (lost T) CO; ዘጂ፡ BFLP | 4 (# L); (lost T) CP; ወበጊጆጅጆጆ፡ BF; ወበጊጆ፡ ጅወጂ፡ L; ወበጊ፡ ጆጆ፡ O | 5 (lost T) BCFLP; ወእምልደተ፡ O | 6 (# CO).

[273] 1 (lost T) BCFL; ወበ ጊ፡ ጆ፡ ወጂ፡ ጆ፡ ጃ፡ O; ወበጊጆወጂጆጃ፡ P | 1–20 lost T | 2 (lost T) BCLOP; እምዓመታት፡ F | 3 (lost T) BCFLP; ወበ፡ ጃ፡ ጆ፡ ጃወጂ፡ L; ወበ፡ ጃ፡ ጆ፡ ጃ፡ ወጂ፡ O | 4 (lost T) BCO; እመአመ፡ FP; እመዓመተ፡ L | 5 (lost T) BCFL; ተንባላት፡ OP | 6 (lost T) CO; መንግሥት፡ B; መንግሥተ፡ ዓለም፡ F; መንግሥቱ፡ LP | 7 (lost T) CO; ዘንጉሥ፡ B; om. F; ለንጉሥ፡ LP | 8 (lost T) BCFLP; om. O | 9 (lost. T) BCLOP; ante መንፈስ፡ tra. F | 10 (# L) | 11 (lost. T) BCFOF; ወበጂ፡ L | 11–12 ወበጂዓመት፡ BFLP | 13 አድማስ፡ ሰገድ፡ add. P | 14 (lost. T) BCFL0; በወርኅ፡ P | 15 (# L) | 16 (lost T) BCLOP; ወኖሙ፡ F | 17 (lost T) BCLOP; om. F | 18 (# O); (lost T) BCFL0; እልአኸር፡ P | 19 (lost T) BCLOP; ወኖሙ፡ F | 20 (# CLO); (lost T) BCFL; ለተንባላት፡ OP.

[274] 1–24 lost T | 2 (lost T) BCFL0; ጅ፡ P | 3 (lost T) BCLOP; om. F | 4–5 (lost T) CO; ጅጆ፡ BFLP | 6 (lost T) BCFL0; በወርኅ፡ P | 7 (lost T) CFOP; በጅወጅ፡ BL | 8 (lost T) BCFL0; እመዓርጋት፡ P |

እመዓርግ ፡⁸ ዓቢያን ፡⁹ በማኅፈድ ፡¹⁰ ሐምል ።¹¹ ስብሐት ፡¹² ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ክቡር ፡
 ወልዑል ፡ ዘአንበረ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ኑባርያተ ፡¹³ በመዓርግ ።¹⁴ ወአቀመ ፡ ኩሎ ፡¹⁵ ቁመታተ ፡¹⁶
 በምቅዋም ፡ ዘኢየሳልፉ ፡¹⁷ እምኔሁ ፡¹⁸ ለዓለም ፡¹⁹ ወለዓለመ ፡²⁰ ዓለም ፡²¹ አሜን ።²²
 ሐአሜን ፡²³ ለይኩን ፡ ለይኩን ።²⁴_{ac}

9 (lost T) BCFLO; ዓቢያት ፡ P | 10 (lost T) BCFLP; በማኅፈድ ፡ O | 11 (# CLO); (lost T) BCOP; ሐምል ፡ FL | 12 (lost T) BCLOP; ስብሐተ ፡ F | 13 (lost T) BCLP; ንዋያት ፡ F; ኑባራያተ ፡ O | 14 (# CO); (lost T) CLP; በመዓርግ ፡ BF; በበ ፡ መዓርግ ፡ O | 15 (lost T) BCFLO; om. P | 16 (lost T) BCFLP; ቁመታት ፡ O | 17 (lost T) BCFOP; ዘኢየሳልፍ ፡ L | 18 (lost T) BCFLO; om. P | 19 (lost T) BCFOP; om. L | 20 (lost T) BCOP; ወለዓለዓለም ፡ F; ለዓለመ ፡ L | 21 (# L); (lost T) BCLP; om. F; ወዓለም ፡ O | 22 (# CLOP) | 23 (# CO) | 23–24 om. P | 24 (# BCLOP).

Chapter Five: Translation and Annotation

[1] In the name of the Holy Trinity, who is glorified and blessed by the mouth of the whole creation, we will start first by praising the blessed name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the perfection of all benediction. We will say, blessed be the only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the head of the Church, who placed the organ of the voice in the mouths of talking living being and created to him, for the intelligence, a blowing horn, by which is known what is hidden and is revealed what is secret. He will help us, (he who is) the master of the accomplishment and of the beginning. He leads us to the way of the word, he who solves our problems and he who cares for us in every way and in everything. Praise to him continuously, from the praises that are without interruption forever and ever, amen!

[2] Chapter 2. We begin here to write the fine story, sweeter in the mouth and palate than the taste of honey and sugar, which brings benefit of blessedness for the ears of those who hear it and which gives joy to those who understand it, like a mixture of canticle and wine—from the story and account of the glorious and the most high king,¹ the owner of a great name and the owner of a virtuous commemoration, whose deeds are more praised than the deeds of his forefathers, whose ordinance is proper, whose law is sincere, whose name is notable, whose judgement is right, whose verdict is righteous and whose commandment is blessed. [3] *Mar*² Gälawdewos³ who reigned in the greater Ethiopia⁴ from border to border,

¹ The word **ንጉሥ** (*nəguś*) was an important traditional title of the monarchs of the Ethiopians, from the beginning of the Aksumite period to the modern history of the country. See the detailed information provided in ‘Nəguś’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 1162b-1166a (Gianfranco Fiaccadori); Vycichl 1957, 193–203; Dombrowski 1983, 303; Martínez d’Alòs-Moner 2005, 161–173.

² The chronicler bestows the title **ማር** (*Mar*) for the king throughout the text particularly when he needs to sanctify the king as a saint. The term **ማር** originates from the Syriac and it means ‘my lord’. Dillmann 1865, 163; Pereira 1888, 57; Conzelman 1895, 120, fn. 2; ‘Mar’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 771b-772a (Denis Nosnitsin); Marrassini 2012, 392. It has also been designated for two successors of Gälawdewos, King Minas and King Šäršä Dəngəl. However, the chroniclers of these two kings employed this title very rarely for their respective kings. Cp. Conti Rossini 1961, 4 (text); Pereira 1888, 26 (text).

³ The name **ገላውዴዎስ** (Gälawdewos) is the Ethiopian form of Claudius, a Roman saint and martyr, whose commemoration, according to *Sənkəssar*, is celebrated on 11 *Säne*. Cp. Guidi 1905, 60–65; ‘Gälawdewos’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 655 (Marie-Laure Derat). However, it appears as **ገላውዴዮስ** (Gälawdeyos) with the change of the fourth and fifth letters **ዴዎ** to **ዴዮ** in the personal letter of King Gälawdewos, which was written in 1541 to the Roman Pope, Paul III (1534–1549). Cp. Raineri 2003, 57.

⁴ The name **ኢትዮጵያ** is used in the text to denote the entire land of the country. The chronicler also denoted Ethiopia as **ኢትዮጵስ**. See The Critical Text, 57. The origin and the development of the name **ኢትዮጵያ** in the historical discourse is well treated. See, ‘Aithiopia’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 162b-165a (Rainer Voigt).

over the whole of its lowland and over the whole of its highland, over the whole of its mountains and over the whole of its plains, over the whole of its seas and over the whole of its islands, over all its wise and ignorant, over all its rulers and slaves by defeating and chasing his enemies from the gate of Ajäm⁵ to the Bär Sä^cadädin⁶ without resistance. We will present the story of his victory and his whole deed, how it was, in its proper place. This place is the place of the story of the forefathers and the story of his birth, how it was.

[4] Chapter 3. In the 7000⁷ year of (the creation of) the world, in the great country that we have described in the previous chapter, the truthful Ləbnä Dəngəl,⁸ lover of God and man, the son of Na^cod,⁹ son of Ba^cädä Maryam,¹⁰ son of Zar^ca Ya^cəqob,¹¹ son of Dawit,¹² became

⁵ Beside this text, the name appears in the book of Giyorgis Wäldä Amid (Gäbrä Yoḥannēs 2006, 7; Frankfurt, Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, MS or. 40 (= Rüpp. I g), Goldschmidt 1897, 71–83 (no. 21), p. 72 (*Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*), Goldschmidt 1897, 72, f. 3). In his introduction, Wäldä Amid listed what he was going to write including the history of those kings of አዝም (but the manuscript from Rüppell collection maintains the name አዘም) whom he called ነገሱ ፡ ዝንጉዓን ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ አዝም ። ('The Kings of foolish who are *Ažäm*'). And Baḥrey, in his famous work *Zenahu lägalla* (Getatchew Haile 2005, 63) referring to the same work of Wäldä Amid, describes አጅም stating that ወጊዮርጊስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ አሚድ ፡ ጸሐፊ ፡ ዜናሆሙ ፡ ለነገሥተ ፡ አጅም ፡ ዝንጉዓን ፡ ዘውእቶሙ ፡ እለ ፡ አፍሪዳን ፡ ወካልአኒሆሙ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ ፋርስ ፡ ('Giyorgis Wäldä Amid has written the history of the foolish kings of *Ajäm* who are those of Afridon and other kings of Persia'). Both writers generally designated the name አጅም as a collective name for those non-Arabs including Persians and those of Afridon (the ancient kingdom of Persians as well as pagans). The translator of *Zenahu lägalla*, Beckingham, further noted in his commentary that አጅም (*Ajäm*) in Arabic means 'non-Arab', 'pagan', and 'Persia' (Getatchew Haile 2005; Appendix II, 196). On the other hand, this name is used in the old maps until the end of the eighteenth century, which refers vaguely to the coast of Somali country, situated on the Indian Ocean. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 121, fn. 3. Therefore, the Arabs may have also used the same term to call the people in the coast of Somali and the Horn and thus, the name (*Ajäm*) could have been applied for the geographical identity.

⁶ It is mentioned throughout the text. The author interchangeably used it with the name of ^cAdal, which is evident in Chapters 37 and 38 of the same text. The name is derived from the name of the famous king of ^cAdal, Sä^cadädin who succeeded his brother Haqqadın. In his reign, the kingdom of ^cAdal was strong and had continued to fight the Christian king, Dawit, who killed him in 1403. Taddesse Tamrat 1972, 147. From this time on, the kingdom of ^cAdal was called by the name of this martyr king. '^cAdal', *EAE*, I (2003), 71a (Ewald Wagner). The Arabs also designated the kingdom of ^cAdal by the name of Sä^cadädin. Conzelman 1895, 122, fn. 1.

⁷ It corresponds to 1508.

⁸ King Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508–1540) succeeded his father King Na^cod. For a further detailed history of him see Perruchon 1893; Conti Rossini 1894; Kropp 1988; 'Ləbnä Dəngəl', *EAE*, III (2007), 535 (Michael Kleiner). His regnal name was Wänag Sägäd, which means 'the lion has submitted to him'. Basset 1882, 258; Dombrowski 1983, 205; Kropp 1988, 3. The name ሌብነ ፡ ድንግል (Ləbnä Dəngəl) sometimes is a metathesis of ንብሌ ፡ ድንግል (Nəblä Dəngəl). And it is clear from Gälawdewos's letter to the Roman Pope, Paul III (1534–1549), that it appears also as ሌምነ ፡ ድንግል (Ləmnä Dəngəl). Cp. Raineri 2003, 57.

⁹ He was the son of Ba^cädä Maryam (r. 1494–1508). Cp. 'Na^cod', *EAE*, III (2007), 1134a (Marie-Laure Derat).

¹⁰ King Ba^cädä Maryam (1468–1478) was the son and successor of King Zär^ca Ya^cəqob. Cp. 'Ba^cädä Maryam I', *EAE*, I (2003), 432a (Steven Kaplan).

king. When he reigned, he made his way in the manner of the church. He was serving on the throne the catholic mission¹³ and he did not exceed the limit which was set out for him by the only universal council. [5] He continued to practice the praised acts of the ancient kings and to reject the blamed one. And so he went this way, the grace of God came down over him and imposed into his heart love of sacred marriage, which is to marry one bride groom for one bride in accordance with the canon of the church for the laity. He married a beautiful woman who submitted herself under the service of her husband and she obeyed for her husband as Abraham's Sara did. He made her a queen and made her stand at his right hand, covering and adorning her with gold cloth until she forgot her people and her father's house since the king loved her beauty. [6] The name of this queen is Säblä Wängel.¹⁴ He begot from her the blessed sons and daughters who rounded his dining table like the young olive plants. He also placed her in his palace house like a pleasant vine. One among these children she gave birth to him was the brave *Mar Gälawdewos*, the subject of this fine story, blessed and Holy, who will govern all the people with the rod of iron.

[7] Chapter 4. At that time victory was taken into the hand of Muslims of Bär Sä^cadädin and they had dominion over the Church of Ethiopia. They won all fighting in the direction of the east and west, and in the direction of the south and north even so far that they had destroyed shrines of prayer¹⁵ whose walls were built with gold, silver and precious stones from India. They killed a large number of believers by the sword. They carried off the young men, the maidens, boys and girls even to the extent that they sold them for the task of miserable enslavement. [8] At that time many of the believers gave up the faith of the Church and converted to the faith of the Muslims. Those who remained with their religion were not more than one out of ten in number. In that time a great famine occurred in the land of Elhəbus¹⁶

¹¹ Zär^a Ya^cqob was the most powerful medieval king of Ethiopia (1434–1468). Cp. ‘Zär^a Ya^cqob’, *EAE*, V (2014), 147b-151b (Steven Kaplan and Marie-Laure Derat).

¹² Dawit (1380–1412). Cp. ‘Dawit II’, *EAE*, II (2005), 112–113a (Marie-Laure Derat).

¹³ The word ከቶሊክ is a Greek word, which means a correct/universal faith. Dillmann 1865, 851.

¹⁴ She was one of the powerful queens of the Solomonic Monarchs who had her influence in the reign of her two sons and successors: Gälawdewos (1540–1559), Minas (1559–1563), and later in the early reign of Säršä Dəngəl (1563–1597). Cp. ‘Säblä Wängel’, *EAE*, IV (2014), 434b-435 (M. Kleiner).

¹⁵ ክብሮተ ፡ ጸሎት (‘shrines of prayer’) represent the monasteries and churches of the Christians.

¹⁶ Scholars who have studied this chronicle have agreed that this is an approximate transcription of the Arabic word *al-ḥebuṣ* which means Abyssinia. Conzelman 1895, 123; Guidi 1899, 112. This happened according to Guidi, when the author drafted initially in Arabic and immediately transcribed it. On the other hand, *Ḥabaša* is the Gəʿəz form of this word, which occurs in Gəʿəz text. Cp. ‘Ḥabašāt’, *EAE*, II (2005), 948b-949a. In addition, the author of the famous book *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (‘

such as had not been seen even in the time of the kings of Samarian or in the time of the destruction of the Second Temple of God.¹⁷ Because of God's wrath the fire has been kindled. It burns to the realm of death below. It will devour the earth and its harvests, and the wild beasts with their poison have been sent onto the surface of the earth.¹⁸

[9] Chapter 5. During those years, the righteous king, the father of the subject of this story, was driven from his throne and wandered from desert to desert with hunger and thirst, in cold and in nakedness. He chose rather than the Earthly kingdom and his blessed ones, the blessedness of those who have been exiled for the sake of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.¹⁹ Among the children of this righteous king, there were some who died at the sword and there was one who was taken into captivity and returned.²⁰ We will have a time of peace to tell about the story of his return and peace is in God, praise for him. [10] After all this *Mar Gälawdewos*, the subject of this story, was protected by the protector of all, just as <was saved> a woman and her child from a great serpent, as John, the subject of the Revelation, revealed it on the Island of Patmos.²¹ In this manner, this son and his father lived for certain years by receiving with praise all that happened to them, all the while without giving foolishness to the Lord God, as the king of Edom (did) in his time. At the time (when) God, glorious and the most high, allowed (it), it came to the father of this son, who was the chosen from thousands, a great concern for his human creature. By the mercy of God glorious and the most high, he went from exhaustion into rest, from enslavement into freedom. [11] After this, God enthroned *Mar Gälawdewos* in a beautiful kingdom²² and

The conquest of Abyssinia') which was written in the sixteenth century uses the same name for Ethiopia. Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad 2003.

¹⁷ 2 Kings 18:2; 2 Kings 6:25.

¹⁸ The chronicler took this passage from the Old Testament. Deut. 32:22–24.

¹⁹ Matt. 5:10.

²⁰ The children of King Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508–1540) and his wife queen Säblä Wängel were seven: four sons—Fiqtor (died 1539), King Galāwdewos (1540–1559), Ya'əqob (died 1558) and King Minas (1559–1563); and three daughters—Amätä Giyorgis, Sabana Giyorgis and Wälättä Qəddusän. Pereira 1888, 58; Dombrowski 1983, 165, fn. 10; Caquot 1957a, 98. It was prince Fiqtor, the eldest son of King Ləbnä Dəngəl who was captured and killed by Garad Utman, one of the warlords of *Imām Aḥmad* in 1539. Cp. Basset 1882, 256, no. 160; Beguinot 1901, 22; Dombrowski 1983, 165; 'Fiqtor', *E Ae*, II (2005), 547a (Sevir Chernetsov). His name is also mentioned in *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (cp. Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad 2003, 184) and in *Dərsanä Ragu'el*, a popular prophecy. Cp. Caquot 1957, 7. King Minas (1559–1563) was captured by *Imām Aḥmad* in 1539 and spent five years in captivity. Then, he returned in exchange for the young son of *Imām Aḥmad*, Muhammad. See Pereira 1888; 'Minas', *E Ae*, III (2007), 969b-971b (Michael Kleiner).

²¹ Rev.12:13–14.

²² The short chronicle of the same king provides detailed information about the coronation ceremony of the king, guided by the famous priests of the time *Abba Šäršä Dəngəl*, *Abba Samu'el* and *Abba Asratä Maryam*. Cp. Kropp 1988, 25 (text) = 29 (tr.).

put him on the throne of his father with wisdom, knowledge and intelligence like Solomon (Sälonon), son of David (Dawit), so that no one could confront his youth due to the greatness of his wisdom and his knowledge which was not appropriate even to the elders like this. Instead of an earthly anointing of the kingship, the Holy Spirit anointed him with the heavenly anointment of heaven and the oil of joy more than those like him, and he made him more joyful than the owner of ivory (palaces) [lit.: horns].²³

[12] Chapter 6. During the first year of his reign, God, glorious and the most high, started gradually to compensate the Church with a fine reward in this world until the coming of the day that the eternal reward will come, as a compensation for her suffering for her religion and for the punishment that befell her at the hands of Aḥmäd, son of Abrahim,²⁴ a renowned Muslim, for the hunger, the thirst, the nakedness, a great affliction which is improper for the world. [13] It became a transition for her from hunger into satiety, from thirst into abundance of water, because honey from mountains and milk from hills dropped within the whole of her territory. In that year, *Mar Gälawdewos* started his zeal for the love of Lord the Christ, praise to him. And he meditated to make war on Muslims. We will present the story of his fight and his battle and his victory in the proper place.

[14] Chapter 7. It is said that his father had predicted him in his youth that he would defeat his enemy and crush the unbelievers like a piece of earthenware,²⁵ and in order that God would send for him an iron rod from the very high Jerusalem, and that he would govern in the middle of his enemies,²⁶ because the grace of the spirit of prophecy, the priesthood and the royalty descended over his father as (it had over) Melchizedek (Mälökä Şedeq) and David (Dawit). Further, it is said that his father had instructed him, more than his brothers, the power of the Holy Scriptures, because he was the owner of an outstanding intelligence. [15] His father also was knowledgeable about the external and internal (meaning) of the spiritual books of the Law; together with this, he became his excellent teacher who taught him the virtues of the men who were akin to God glorious and the most high like the prophets and

²³ This is quoted from Ps. 45:8–9. The chronicler here equates the king with the David of Israel, who owned the palaces of ivory in the Old Testament.

²⁴ It seems that it is a common tradition in Gəʿəz text to say ኣብራሃም instead of ኣብራሃም. It appears in short chronicles, the chronicle of Šäršä Dəngəl and Anqäšä Amin. Cp. Kropp 1988, 8; van Donzel 1969, 98, 103, 239. It also appears in the *Gädlä Marqorewos* (Conti Rossini 1904, 5).

²⁵ According to tradition of the prophecy of the king, King Ləbnä Dəngəl received a prophecy about the future fate of his four sons from Angel Raguʿel. This prophecy is composed in the book of the famous *Dərsanä Raguʿel* which could have been written before the composition of this chronicle and the author could have referred to it or he could have heard about the legend. Cp. Caquot 1957a, 91–122.

²⁶ Ps. 109:2.

apostles, other saints. In this manner and likeness, *Mar Gälawdewos* grew and he was strengthened in the power of the Holy Spirit. He learned the whole doctrine of the Church in the early part of his life. Thereafter, he learned to ride a horse and to shoot a bow and to hunt wild animals as well all the rules of warfare according to the custom of the sons of the kings.²⁷ [16] In fact a divine deed enforced upon this that he would revenge the blood that was shed, for those servants of the heavenly Lord, and that he would be merciful to the children of those who were killed by the strength of his arm, and that he would obtain revenge against those neighbouring adversaries seven times more on their bosom, than they opposed and than the outrages they had committed. God glorious and most high became his doer of the deed from the deeds that were sent to him for the concern for him

[17] Chapter 8. After this (in this place) we will tell then the narrative from the place which we left off in the earlier place. When *Mar Gälawdewos* reigned, he seated on the throne of his father with uprightness and he had been appointed shepherd over the Ethiopian flock to go around towns and villages to assemble the sheep that were scattered and to heal those who had been wounded among them. He was not afraid of enemies who were waiting for him along the road; their number did not make him tremble even though he had a small number of soldiers with him. [18] He believed in a true word that said the breaths of God, glorious and the most high ‘A thousand will flee at one, and ten thousand will flee before two.’²⁸ He led in his way, by keeping the word of God glorious and the most high rather than by maintaining a large number of horses and soldiers. While he was travelling in such a way from one country to another, two armies of Muslims attacked him in the road with numerous peoples, who were strong like olive tree and numerous as locusts. [19] And he had with him some escaped men who had survived from the previous massacre, as the lion leaves the head and leg of an animal which he has made his prey.²⁹ However, these two reasons did not prevent him from fighting his enemy. He rather confronted them with fearless heart and with face more impassive than a rock, like a man of the tribe of Judah who confronted the giant who offended the fighter of God glorious and the most high. At that time, victory was divided

²⁷ This expression seems a customary one to describe the early youth of any Ethiopian king. Since *Gälawdewos* was eight years old when *Aḥmäd*'s forces defeated his father in the battle of *Šəmbəra Kwəre* and since after that they had lived the life of refugees wandering from one place to another, it is hard to believe that he had learnt all this military training in such bad days.

²⁸ Deut. 32:30, ‘How would it be possible for one to overcome a thousand, and two to send ten thousand in flight, if their rock had not let them go, if the Lord had not given them up?’.

²⁹ The word **ገዳሊ**, is not attested in Dillmann 1865, but it is attested in *Kidanä Wäld* 1956, 301. The corresponding Amharic form is **ገዳይ**.

into two lots; the first victory came to him. [20] Then afterwards Abbas,³⁰ the chief of the army, won at that time and yet *Mar* Gälawdewos had a powerful hand to fight the Muslims. If he won, he did not boast and also if they defeated him, his face is not disgraced. Because he remembers the words of wisdom which she said to her children, ‘The winner is no more worthy of praise nor does the vanquished deserve shame, ridicule or contempt since one God whose name is glorified is always victorious and never defeated.’

[21] Chapter 9. *Mar* Gälawdewos then crossed beyond two rivers from the direction of Təgray³¹ to the direction of the land of Šewa³² in order to see there those of his flock in righteousness and his innocent people in equity. He reached the country he wished in the month of Ḥaziran³³ which is the month of Säne, the beginning of winter months of the Abyssinians. He spent the winter season in a country that pleased him, by asking the glorious and the most high God for the whole of Christian people, in order for them to be blessed and to be raised and to take away from them harsh oppression. He became more distressed for his people than he became distressed for himself.

[22] Chapter 10. At that time Naşrädin,³⁴ son of *Imām*³⁵ Aḥmäd, became a king in the eastern Ethiopia in the land named Däwaro with the will of his father. The number of his ar-

³⁰ °Abbas was a nephew of *Imām* Aḥmad and he was one of his top commanders. He was involved in many battles from 1531. He was appointed a governor of Säraye following the defeat of the governor of this locality, Täsfä Ləʿul. Later he achieved the title *Wazir* for his military success from the *Imām*. ‘Abbās b. Abūn b. Ibrāhīm’, *EAE*, I (2003), 26 (Ewald Wagner). Cp. Basset 1882, 105, fn. 147; Dombrowki 1983, 175, fn. 202. We will see later (Chapter 23) after the death of the *Imām*, he ruled the three provinces of the Muslim states of Bali, Fäṭāgar and Däwaro and he died fighting with King Gälawdewos in 1544.

³¹ The province of Təgray was one of the greatest kingdoms of Ethiopia during the medieval time. CP. ‘Təgray’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 889a-895a (Wolbert Smidt).

³² It was one of the most important domains of the Christian kingdom of Solomonic dynasty. ‘Šäwa’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 554–558 (Denis Nonsnitsin).

³³ The book of *Abušakər* (1962) explains that the name **ሐዘር** was the ninth month of the Syrian which corresponds to the tenth month of Ethiopia, **ሰኔ**.

³⁴ He was the second of the three sons of *Imām* Aḥmad. ‘Naşrädin b. Aḥmad’, *EAE*, III (2007), 1152b (Franz-Christoph Muth). In the short chronicles of the same king, he was represented as a Muslim leader. Basset 1882, 110; Dombrowski 1983, 169; Kropp 1988, 22.

³⁵ *Imām* is a title which means ‘supreme leader’ of the Muslim communities. *Imām* also mean the leader of the Islamic daily and obligatory ritual prayers in a mosque. So, the name was used for both a political and a spiritual leader in history. Cp. ‘Imāma’, *ET*, II (1971), 1163–1169 (W. Madelung). ‘Imām’, *EAE*, III (2007), 126a-127a (Hussein Ahmed). Sources confirm that the rulers of Harär and Zayla° a long time before Aḥmad had employed the name. In this regard, the chronicler agrees with *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, which in a similar way used this title to call Aḥmad. None of the contemporary Portuguese sources recognized Aḥmad by the title *Imām*. Among Gəʿəz texts, this title is also mentioned in the Book of Anqäšä Amin (van Donzel 1967, 107) and the chronicle of Säršä Dəngəl (Conti Rossini 1961, 114 (text) = 130 (tr.)). On contrary, the other Gəʿəz sources including *synaxiorion* (Colin 1994, 131–132) short chronicles of the king (Kropp 1988, 22, 25) and other historical texts which reported on the war, used a nickname **ላሁን** (‘with the left hand’).

my numbered a thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry. *Mar* Gälawdewos's army numbered not more than sixty or seventy horsemen, and like this, foot soldiers were also very few. Because of his great zeal for the Church of God glorious and the most high, he decided to fight with the Muslims seeking death and he said, 'Death is preferable with dignity and honour than life in dishonour.' [23] And again he said, 'One who has made his honourable soul die, he has made her live, and one who has saved his dishonoured soul live, he has made her die and has eradicated her'.³⁶ At that time the Muslims defeated and killed the commanders of his army since the spirit of God glorious and the most high did not breathe because of the sins of the people and their anger.³⁷ But God, glorious and the most high, protected his life, since the life of all the people is dependent upon him. Despite that, he did not rest his spirit and did not hesitate to take revenge on the Muslims. [24] Still his hand is powerful and his sword did not go back into its sheath. After that he returned to the land where he had spent the winter, and he built in it a winter palace and a summer palace. At that time, the Church put on strength and started to recover from the humiliation which she had fallen into. And at that time several Muslim princes and their followers succumbed to the weapons in the hands of the small army of this glorious king whose history we are investigating. [25] The soldiers who are also mentioned became robbers and the rebels³⁸ and they took shelter in a fortress of one of the highest mountains of Ifat.³⁹ In those years, King Nasrädin attacked these soldiers. But they defeated and killed thousands of his troops. And the kingdom became for God and for His anointed. But King *Mar* Gälawdewos when he won he was not proud like the winner and he was not boastful of his strength like other mighty kings but he was humble, in all his actions, just like David (Dawit) who did not glorify his power being like a lamb who stands before the lion or the bear.

[26] Chapter 11. In the second year of the reign of *Mar* Gälawdewos the Church received the grace of victory from God glorious and the most high and tribute was begun which

³⁶ Luke 17:33 Remember Lot's wife 'whoever seeks to keep his life will lose it, and whoever loses his life will preserve it'.

³⁷ The chronicler related the defeat of the king and his army because of the sins of the people according to the tradition of the medieval society that failure was simply associated with divine power. *Abba* Baḥrey, in his famous work of *Zenahu lägalla*, spoke differently about how the Oromo's decisively defeated the Christian army because he does not agree with the medieval view. Cp. Getatchew Haile 2005, 72–73.

³⁸ ጌዶራውያን is the plural form of ጌዶር which means rebels and looters. Cp. Kidanä Wäld 1956, 303. See also a reading in I Kings 30: 8 ወተሰኔለ ፡ ዳዊት ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ እዴግኖሙኑ ፡ ለእሉ ፡ ጌዶር. But in Conzelman (1895, 129, fn. 5) commentary the word ጌዶር translated *les gens voisinage* ('neighbourhood people'). ሐቃላውያን refers also the rebels.

³⁹ Ifat was located to the east of Šäwa, and north of Damot. Cp. 'Ifat', *EAE*, III (2007), 118a–120a (Ahmed Hassen and Denis Nosnitsin).

is written in the account of farmers.⁴⁰ In this year many troops from the faithful who had abandoned their religion to that of Islam returned into the faith of the Church and many of the great nobles from the camp of *Imām Aḥmād* and *Səm^con⁴¹ Wazir⁴²* and other chiefs of the enemy joined the camp of *Mar Gälawdewos*. [27] In this situation, the glorious King *Mar Gälawdewos* spent the winter and summer of this year dwelling in the land that had already been mentioned which is known by the name of the palace of winter and summer. At this time, his whole concern was to fight the enemy of the Lord Christ and His church, because he was greatly zealous for the heavenly kingdom and not for the earthly kingdom. This has to be added for him: instead of extolling himself, his strong desire (was) over the kingdom and divine righteousness.⁴³

[28] Chapter 12. In the second year of the reign of *Mar Gälawdewos* the church of Təgray won again a partial victory over the Muslim tribes from around Aräfta⁴⁴ because the final victory was not given but to *Mar Gälawdewos*, peace upon him. At that time he was not in Təgray; rather he was in the land we just mentioned. For this reason, the Church could not obtain a complete victory as we said at the beginning of this chapter, because Jesus Christ placed him, under himself, head of the Church: a head, thanks to which all his members are strong. [29] The reason for such a victory of the Church at that time (was) that in this year children of Tubal (Tobel),⁴⁵ son of Japheth (Yafet), strong and brave men, who were thirsty for combat like wolves and hungry for killing like a lion, came up from the sea. These helped the aforementioned church in the war (against) the Muslims and they began defeating them. But even if they thought to come to the complete victory, that was not accorded to them, *Imām Aḥmād* fought them and killed most of them and casted down their elite troops. [30] He

⁴⁰ ቤና ሐቃላውያን could have been an important document of the royal court in which the list of taxes was recorded.

⁴¹ Səm^con *wazir* was one of the commanders of the *Imām* who won a victory over Ləbnä Dəngəl in 1531. Cp. Basset 1882, 14 (text) = 105 (tr.); Dombrowski 1983.

⁴² *Wazir* is a military and political title of Muslim rulers. It is derived from the Arabic word or Persian origin *wazir* which means etymologically ‘vizier’ or ‘chief minister.’ It is widely mentioned in the Qur^ʿān. It was also commonly used in the Islamic states of medieval Ethiopia particularly during the sixteenth century of Aḥmad’s rule, as a military title. The top commanders of *Imām Aḥmad* (i.e. ስምያን ፡ ወዚር and ወዚር ፡ አባስ) have been known by this title. It continued to be used until the seventeenth century among the rulers of ሳል. Cp. ‘Wazir’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 1167 (Alessandro Gori); ‘Wazir’, *EF*², XI (2002), 185–188 (Muhammad Qasim Zaman). This title widely appears in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (cp. Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad 2003, 36, 50, 56, etc.).

⁴³ Matt. 6:33. But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well.

⁴⁴ This place does not appear in other sources. But it is also somewhere in Təgray that the Chronicle locates Aräfta, the site of a victory of the Christian army over the Muslim forces.

⁴⁵ Gen. 10:2 gives the lists of the names of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshek and Tiras.

killed their leader whose heart was brave and strong, like brass and iron, by a killing unworthy of him, having he captured and chained him, which is a treatment for the weak and powerless. All this happened to them since in that time they did not fight by the order of *Mar Gälawdewos* for whom victory and power was given and who had the right to open the sealed book of the future and to unmake its seal to be called victorious.⁴⁶ And this will be realized from the way of the death of *Imām Aḥmād* at the hand of *Mar Gälawdewos*. Later, we will put the whole story of his death, how it occurred, and we will write it in a convenient place in the text.

[31] Chapter 13. In that year, God glorious and the most high sent his mercy into the whole land of *Ag^cazi*⁴⁷ and restored peace to the land by the hand of his envoy, the subject of this fine story. The whole people, men and women, who had been chewing the root of wood due to a great famine on them, in this year they trampled down the bread with their feet like stone and those people who were clothed with skins of animals, showed themselves clothed with white cloth. [32] The sword of the Angel of death which had covered the entire land like a cloud had moved away through the prayer and the request of this king whose sacrifice was received as in the field of *Araunah*.⁴⁸ The sound of chants (resounded) across all the plains instead of the words of weeping. The former sadness had already passed away and had been transformed like a renewed garment and the joy that was forgotten and decayed in the previous time had revived. The children received milk to feed and the elderly possessed oil for moistening of their white hair. [33] The sky gave the rain and the earth gave its fruits. We will write continuously of the prosperity and the happiness, which appeared in each year, in its proper chapter. The owner of this harmony is God, whose name be blessed. Come all of you Christian community to pious King *Gälawdewos*. By his hand good it came, as the writing said, that God will bring good for the country and he is the only blessed one by whose hand good comes. Similarly, it is said about calamity—God will send calamity into the world and misfortune, but woe to a person through whose hand such calamity comes.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Rev. 5:5.

⁴⁷ However, more probably only the highlands are meant, as the Chronicle uses the word *Ityōpya* for the entire state (e.g. The Critical Text, 3, 22, 34, 56 etc.). This interpretation is partially supported by the use of the term by *Abba Gorgoryos* (who was actually from Amhara) in a letter to *Hiob Ludolf*, where he said that he was ‘from *Ag^cazi*’ (Uhlig 1983, I, 32 and fn. 13). *Mādrä Ag^cazi* also appears in the *Gädlä Marqorewos* (Conti Rossini 1904, 27 (text) = 38 (tr.), here as the realm of King *Mənəlik I*) and in the *Māšhafä māštir* (Yaqob 1993–1994, I, 125 (text) = 73, 75 (tr.)). On the ancient ethnic term for the ‘Aksumites’ see ‘*Ag^cazi*’, *EAE*, I (2003), 144b–145a (Alexander Sima).

⁴⁸ 1 Sam 24:18–25.

⁴⁹ Matt. 18:7, ‘Woe to the world because of the things that cause people to stumble! Such things must come, but woe to the person through whom they come!’.

[34] Chapter 14. During the third year of the reign of the glorious *Mar Gälawdewos*, King Naşrädin fought again those troops, whom we mentioned, in the month of Tito,⁵⁰ which is the first month among the months, (that is) Mäskäram.⁵¹ And Ethiopia was in a multitude of battles of every kind. And they won under the protection of the anointed king who was along with them. They killed thousands of his (Naşrädin) main warriors and they made also their horses booty. [35] And they divided them and the horsemen, they crushed them on a rock. Because of this, when terror befell upon him, King Naşrädin died suddenly, without being known the cause of his death. Some claimed that he had been poisoned, and others said that he died of a psychological disease which kills suddenly with its blow. As for us, we have no desire to prove the truth of this story, but glorified be God who killed him.

[36] Chapter 15. In this year, in the seventh month, the month of Tasrin the first, from the months of the creation of the world which is the second month following the month of the entry of the sun in the middle of the window, which is the largest of the windows, as it is written in the book of Fäläk the Syrian (Syrian Astronomy),⁵² King *Mar Gälawdewos* set off on his way towards Təgray where *Imām Aḥmäd* and his entire army were stationed. And he was accompanied by Marqos⁵³ the Frank who brought a letter from the Franks who wrote to him urging him to put their camp under his protection so that they would be saved by his protection from the wrath of the unbelievers.

[37] Chapter 16. In the Month of Tasrin the second, that is the eighth month of the Hebrews and the third month for the Pentapolis,⁵⁴ he arrived in the land of Wägära.⁵⁵ He made fighting against the warlords of *Imām Aḥmäd* and he defeated them and he killed Sə'id Məḥmäd, the leader of the combat army. He destroyed all the houses of the Muslims which were there, and there were some that he burned them down, and he plundered all the coun-

⁵⁰ Tito is the first month of Coptic Egypt. Cp. Edler 1825, 144.

⁵¹ The month of *Mäskäram*, the first month of the Ethiopian year begins on August 29.

⁵² Detailed account is given in the introduction (Chapter two).

⁵³ He was the half caste Portuguese soldier who served the king for a long time. He joined the king in the campaign of Wägära. His Portuguese full name was Ayres Dias, baptized, and adopted a local name Marqos. Cp. 'Dias, Ayres', *EAE*, II (2005), 149b-150a (Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner); Whiteway 1967, 115–118.

⁵⁴ Pentapolis here means the towns of lower Egypt (see Isa. 19:18).

⁵⁵ It is found in the large province of Begämdär, a district north of Lake Ṭana. It was a place where the king decisively defeated the force of Se'id Muhammed, one of the top commanders of Aḥmad, on November, 9, 1543, just a few months before the defeat of Aḥmad. The Ethiopian and European sources provide different dates for this battle. Some say that it was fought on 9 November and others say on 15 November. But the Portuguese writers give the date as 6 February (Tellez 1710, 134). See also Conzelman 1895, 133, fn. 3.

tries under the Muslim occupation. This was the first victory by the hand of *Mar* Gälawdewos which was the sign of the victory of the Church.

[38] Chapters 17. Here, let us speak a little of his virtues and on a part of his commendable manners. But we will tell later the central and final story of his victory, as God will lead us. His character was like this: as we have seen, as we have heard and as we have learnt. He loved God with all his heart, with all his power and with all his soul. And he loves his neighbour like himself.⁵⁶ In addition, he is merciful; he has a heart full of pity for every creature: for humans and for animals, for birds and for wild animals. He implores mercy to all he looks on. [39] When he thought of his neighbour's trouble, his tears would flow from his eyes because of a great compassion within his heart. He was very humble and he did not desire to ascend over the most high mountain of pride like the arrogant. He was not used to boast when he won and he was not used to suffer shame when he was defeated, as we have said earlier, because he knew that if today is for him, tomorrow belongs to the other. He also had⁵⁷ a pure heart and he did not try to seek revenge against those who had done evil to him and he did good to them like the one of those who had done good to him because he had assumed the resemblance of the divine man who taught (saying) 'Love your enemies'⁵⁸ and who had shown it in practice seeking forgiveness for those who crucified him, saying, 'Father, you will not consider (it) a sin for them.' [40] He showed his immense kindness when he called a work of unconsciousness the act they committed knowingly. Like this, this *Mar* Gälawdewos asked remission of sin for those who had committed a sin worthy of death, and he granted life to those who were called children of death. And the fact that he led on this way, now, it was a step towards the people of Ethiopia who had laid down the arms of the Muslims, [41] and who had committed evil over the house of his father and killed his brothers even to the extent of (trying to kill) *Mar* Gälawdewos's soul who had a greater birth than him, when they came under his hand, he rewarded them with a generous reward like that given to friends and relatives. He summoned them to share reign with him without thinking why they had brought such affliction against him. Those whom he summoned, he loved them and those whom he loved he honoured them and he gathered them together from scattering into a big religion (faith). [42] When he was on the throne, he did not judge through the sword as the outsider kings, but his judgement was according to the Cross, like the judgement of the governors his

⁵⁶ Matt. 22:37–40.

⁵⁷ ውእቲ appears with the meaning of possession 'has'.

⁵⁸ Matt. 5:44.

men⁵⁹ and rules were instituted.⁶⁰ This (was performed) with calm spirit and patience, without considering uncountable sins. [43] If we determine to write the whole of his virtues and piousness, the one who would write would fall into exhaustion and the one who would interpret would have grown tired and kept the silence of the ignorant who remain silent and have nothing to think. But if the wise men keep silent from the talking of the mouth, their inner mind gives them wise counsel.

[44] Chapter 18. Now, we are motivated by a wish to recollect the remaining narrative of the war and victory of our King *Mar Gälawdewos*, peace upon him!

[45] Chapter 19. During that third year in the last Hebrew month, in the sixth month among the Coptic months which is the main fasting month among the fasts of the Church,⁶¹ in the year 7035 of (the creation of) the world and in the 28th of the month we mentioned (before), on Wednesday, our lord *Mar Gälawdewos* fought *Imām Aḥmād*, the son of *Abraḥim*, whose soldiers were numerous like locusts and their number exceeds thousands upon thousands and ten thousands (times) thousands. [46] They were ready for combat being as strong as the lion and as swift as the eagles. Among them some were cavalry and clothed with steel armour. Some were infantry who were confident with the armed shields and carried swords and spears. There were some who bent the bow and fired as the sons of Ephraim (ʿEfreḿ). There were those who fought with firearms like the warriors of Yoʿan⁶² and they appeared poor to those who saw them, like the pot in the direction of the North.⁶³ There were those who were hurling stones with slingshots. None of all these warriors had the habit of fear of combat and at the time of the battle, they rushed with their ardour like a hunting dog that sees wild animals for the first time. [47] However, the soldiers of *Mar Gälawdewos* were as few as the soldiers of Gideon who were chosen by water.⁶⁴ But a powerful force accompanied them, along with the barley bread tumbling into the Midianites camp.⁶⁵ But King *Mar Gälawdewos* was not afraid of the multitude of the troops of the Muslims neither because they looked terrible nor because of their hardness of heart nor the confidence they had in their strength. He did not remember initially that he was the undefeated who had saved their life by

⁵⁹ The author might have attempted to equate the judgement of King *Gälawdewos* with the first seven judges of the Israelites such as Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Deborah, Gideon, Abimelech and Tola.

⁶⁰ These ordinances might have included the *Fäḥa nägäšt* and other Canonical books of the church which had been in service in the period of the king.

⁶¹ Here the church represents the Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwahädo* Church.

⁶² As Conzelman (1895, 135, fn. 3) proposed the name refers to the Ethiopic pronunciation of the Portuguese King João III.

⁶³ ከመ ፣ ጽሕርት ፣ ዘመንገለ ፣ ሰሜን ። It is difficult to understand it.

⁶⁴ Judg. 7:6.

⁶⁵ Judg. 7:13.

being victorious in the battle or that he had conquered the countries, which were previously impregnable, and he had broken the sieges which were laid but he longed to fight them as a deer pants for streams of water.⁶⁶ [48] A fierce battle took place between him and *Imām* Aḥmād, and God, whose name be blessed, decorated as the winner King Gälawdewos, peace upon him. And *Imām* Aḥmād died by the hand of one of his servants.⁶⁷ They killed also a large number of soldiers from the Turks and Bar Sä'adādin. [49] Among those who survived, half of them fled in the direction of the sea⁶⁸ with the wife of *Imām* Aḥmād. Half of the soldiers, taking Məhmād, the son of *Imām* Aḥmād, surrendered themselves into the hands of the glorious King Gälawdewos and they became subjects under his feet. But he was merciful and clement; he did not hurt a man who had behaved badly towards him, but he behaved to him as a benefactor.

[50] Chapter 20. In the day that is mentioned at the beginning of this story, several of those who had brought trouble over him and over his father's house and his mother and over all the churches which were under their domination, when they came into his dominion, they came under the shadow of his mercy and of his clemency and there is nobody who was offended in a bad manner.⁶⁹ Even a dog did not lick its tongue.⁷⁰ But one of them, whose wickedness had been lifted up to clouds,⁷¹ was killed deceitfully by one of the soldiers of Portugal without the permission for this, the permission of our King *Mar* Gälawdewos, peace be upon him!⁷²

[51] Chapter 21. At that time, the church of the people became beautiful like shadowing oaks and like the garden on the bank of a river and like a tabernacle set up by God and like cedars beside the waters and like the tent of Jacob (Ya^cəqob) and the houses of Israel in front of the sacrifice of Moab.⁷³

[52] Chapter 22. He accomplished the (complete) circulation of this year (i.e. he accomplished the whole year);⁷⁴ in the following year a great famine fall down and a punish-

⁶⁶ Ps. 42:1.

⁶⁷ Another contemporary Portuguese source asserted that he was killed by one of the Portuguese soldiers. Cp. Whiteway 1967, 94.

⁶⁸ It was the Red Sea, neighbouring the Afar.

⁶⁹ This fact is also confirmed in the contemporary Portuguese source, an eyewitness, Castanhoso that the king had pardoned all those who were against him. Whiteway 1967, 94.

⁷⁰ The chronicler directly used the quotation from Exod. 11:7. But among the Israelites not a dog will bark at any person or animal. Dillmann also used this statement in his dictionary for verb conjugation of the word **ላላሳ**. Dillmann 1865, 31.

⁷¹ I have translated it word by word, it means that whose wickedness had been boundless.

⁷² This point is mentioned in the contemporary source of Castanhoso. Cp. Whiteway 1967, 94.

⁷³ Num. 24:5–6.

⁷⁴ August 29, 1543 or August 28, 1544.

ment sent down over the land from God glorious and the most high. Since the name of God is great, there is a time he uses to be innocent and there is a time when he becomes proud. But neither was his pride like that of mankind nor was his innocence like a man's. And in this time, this king became merciful; he was feeding his people along all the way like a father feeds his sons.

[53] Chapter 23. After this, in the third month, a month of *Haziran*, from months of the Hebrew and the tenth month from the months of *Habäsiyawit*, he went beyond the two rivers. Then, the glorious lord *Mar Gälawdewos*, peace up on him, built the winter palace in the land of Agay.⁷⁵ In those times, *Wazir Abbas* reigned over the Muslims who lived in Bali, in Fäṭāgar and in Däwaro.⁷⁶ [54] He said, 'I will place my chair above Orion⁷⁷ and I will found my throne on the peaks of the mountains of the South'.⁷⁸ He invaded the provinces closer to the King, glorious Gälawdewos and he spoke a lot over him, over the most high who had created him, and over his Church. He did not know the parables that seem to have been said truly about him, saying through those who speak⁷⁹ 'Does the axe raise itself above the person who cuts by it? and also the saw against the one who uses to cut by it? and does the stick raise itself against the person who carries it?'.⁸⁰

[55] Chapter 24. But King Gälawdewos was not the one who was frightened by the encounter with him; rather he trusted in memorializing the previous deed which was done for him by God, he blessed his name. And also to his people he reminded them how it had been, as the Prophet Moses was reminding the children of the Israelites beyond the Jordan. [56] In such a situation, the three winter months of Ethiopia passed away.⁸¹ And he was becoming patient with the arrogance of the enemy, like the lion is patient until he devours the meat that

⁷⁵ Agay is located near Mugär. Cp. Huntingford 1989, 108.

⁷⁶ These kingdoms were important provinces of the Christian kingdom before the coming of *Imām Aḥmäd* and they were rich agricultural lands.

⁷⁷ This is the name of a star. Job 9:9. Job 38:31. Amos 5:8.

⁷⁸ Isa. 14:13. I will raise my throne above the stars of God. I will sit enthroned on the mount of assembly, on the utmost heights of Mount Zaphon. The same explanation was by the Ifat King Sabraddin against the Christian king °Amdä Şəyon 'I will rule the Christians according to my law, and I will destroy their churches'. Cp. Huntingford 1965, 54.

⁷⁹ In the Conzelman edition, this variant is emended but he portrayed it as a reading of the manuscripts of Oxford and British library. However, both manuscripts have different variants as it is indicated in the apparatus. He did not also indicate this right reading as his own emendation. በሃልያግ is the plural form of በሃሊ. see Kidanä Wäld 1956, 256. But Dillmann (1865, 485) indicated only the form of the internal plural በሃሊት.

⁸⁰ Isa. 10:10 does the axe raise itself above the person who swings it or the saw boast against the one who uses it?

⁸¹ The three winter months are June, July and August. In this treacherous wintertime the medieval kings had spent in a fixed mobile court, no military campaign had been conducted.

he has hunted and drinks the blood of that which he killed.⁸² Likewise, he also endured certain days until the day that God, glorious and the most high, has allowed.

[57] Chapter 25. In the second month of the months of Ethiopia and Egypt and in the seventh month of the Hebrew months,⁸³ King Gälawdewos arrived in the land of Wäg⁸⁴ after many journeys. When he heard this, *Wazīr* Abbas set out from the land that he inhabited with all his chiefs and his troops rushing out like a furious dog in a hurry to bite and exultation blowing the horn like a strong horse. But King Gälawdewos was waiting to receive him calmly as the bridegroom is used to receive. [58] In fact, his steadfast heart was solidly trusted to God, he was never disturbed for ever until he saw in his enemies.⁸⁵ Their confrontation took place in the day at which God, be praised his name, decided. And He gave a crown for King Gälawdewos to win and he went out and he won. Abbas and the whole of his commanders fell by the iron (sword). And the birds gathered in the feast day of the great God to eat the flesh of the kings, the flesh of the commanders, the flesh of the mighty, the flesh of the horses and those of their riders and the flesh of all freemen and slaves, humble and great. [59] Those who escaped the massacre became part of the lower people and they were killed by all those who found them to make a reserve for the lion, part of small wild animals like foxes and others. After having accomplished this, King Gälawdewos peace be upon him, made the people inherit a blessed land which flows milk and honey so that they live in the houses they did not build, they drink from the wells they did not dig and they harvest from the garden they did not plant.⁸⁶ [60] He was also seeking the flock of Jacob (Ya^cəqob) which was wounded and wandering in the Arab desert. And when he found it, he carried it on his shoulder and he rejoiced of it more than of those who had not strayed.⁸⁷ Also for the one who came to him from the flock of the Arab he did not drive him away and he did not make him get out outside. He did also make him a pastor for a flock. When someone among those doing evil approached

⁸² Num. 23:24.

⁸³ Note that here as above, there is always a feminine adjective with a plural noun: this is an Arabism.

⁸⁴ Wäg was a historical district south of the Mugār river, between Fäṭāgar and Dāwaro. It is described as a particularly fertile land (The Critical Text, 55). Gälawdewos came to Wäg in order to fight against *Wazīr*^c Abbas of Bali, Fäṭāgar, and Dāwaro in October 1544. In 1549, it was in Wäg that the first fixed capital of the king was set up. For more details see ‘Wäg’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 1070 (Emeri van Donzel).

⁸⁵ Ps. 112:7–8. They will have no fear of bad news: their hearts are steadfast, trusting in the lord. Their hearts are secure, they will have no fear; in the end they will look in triumph on their foes.

⁸⁶ Exod 3:8. Deut 6:11.

⁸⁷ Luke 15:4–7

him, he did not push him away like the Moabite and Ammonites who had behaved badly against the children of Israel.⁸⁸

[61] Chapter 26. At that time God supplied for the sky and the sky supplied for the earth and the earth supplied grain and wine, grain and wine supplied for mankind. And peace became over the entire flock and over all the people, there was no governor or governed and there was no scandal. Neither did the young offend the old nor the noble the commoner. There were some among the wise men who said about this period: this time is told about him in the account of the first Sabbath.⁸⁹ [62] And it is said that in those days, the elect will sit on his throne and the secret of wisdom will come out from his mind and his mouth since the lord of spirits bestowed and glorified him.⁹⁰ In those days the mountains jumped like the rams⁹¹ and the hills like the lambs of sheep filled with milk. So, there will no longer be a death; and there will be no mourning and crying because the old order has passed away.⁹² And in the plains where once demons and owls used to dance, the children played; the elderly filled the gate of the country, all of them with the sticks in their hand. [63] King *Mar* Gälawdewos peace be upon him, built his throne in one of the lands of Däwaro and established his royal palace at a place called Agraro⁹³ and it was from this blessed land that all provinces of Ethiopia shared wealth and prosperity. They received from her the grace, the destroyed churches were rebuilt and were opened those that were closed.

[64] Chapter 27. At that time also King Gälawdewos, peace be upon him, never ceased to fight; he fought against Hadiyya⁹⁴ and Galla⁹⁵ and he defeated them. He took their sons

⁸⁸ Deut. 23:3, 4.

⁸⁹ ነገረ ፡ ሰንበት ፡ ቀዳማይ is one of the literary works of Betä Éśrael that deal with the issue of Sabbath. It is yet unpublished. Cp. ‘Sabbath’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 432b-433b (Steven Kaplan).

⁹⁰ Rev. 21:4.

⁹¹ En. 51:4.

⁹² En. 51:3–4, ‘And the Elect One shall in those days sit on my throne, And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel: For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him’. The Ḥäylyu recension commits a serious mistake, for it says ‘bread’ instead of ‘the secrets’ of wisdom.

⁹³ It is a locality in the large province of Däwaro.

⁹⁴ Hadiyya was a kingdom in the south east of Ethiopia. ‘Hadiyya history’, *EAE*, II (2005), 963b–965a (Ulrich Braukämper). See also his main work (Braukämper 1980). Haddiya is widely mentioned in the royal chronicles. Cp. Marrassini 1993, 59 (text) = 59 (tr.); Kropp 1994, 3 (tr.); Peruchon 1893: 58, 59; Pereira 1892, 300, 301.

⁹⁵ The origin of the name Galla is obscure. But there are various explanation about its origin. This name seems to have originated from the Gəʿəz word Galat (ጋላት). See Kidanä Wäld 1956, 317. The name ጋላት is mentioned in the Old Testament ቡድን ፡ ጋላት ፡ ሴመነ (2 Kings 19:42). On the term see ‘Galla’, *ET*, II (1965), 974 (J.S. Trimingham); ‘Galla’, *EAE*, II (2005), 660b–661b (P.T.W. Baxter). The earliest documented reference to the name Galla, appears long time before the expansion of the Oromo, in the famous map Venetian Fra Mauro drew for Prince Henry the navigator in 1459 collecting information from Ethiopian monks who had come to attend the Council of Florence. Cp.

and daughters into captivity. He made them drawers of water and cutters of wood while their leaders became his joke. There were some of them whom he forced them to pay him tribute and appointed them as guards. He lived in the country that we have mentioned above, for three years, devoting himself to this occupation and similar activity.

[65] Chapter 28. In those months of years, the Muslim tribes exalted themselves and went down into the lower land of the province of Däwaro. The governor of this country fought them and defeated them; he killed many of them and captured Wära-ba-Goṭ, the brother of the king of Adäl and also Ali-Gärad, son of Däl-Wämbära,⁹⁶ the elder daughter of Maḥfud⁹⁷ and the (main) wife of *Imām* Aḥmäd. They brought them back to the king together with a big booty, horses and mules. During those years, this king built great power and performed prodigious feats that nobody performed among his predecessors and those who were after him.

[66] Chapter 29. As we mentioned earlier in the page from pages, as he was taken captive in the days of *Imām* Aḥmäd, Minas, his brother, who reigned after him and he had been transported beyond a sea, a big and wide sea which is a sea of salt.⁹⁸ They brought him to the land of Zibid,⁹⁹ a Muslim city in the lower Egypt, together with two sons from the children of his father sisters,¹⁰⁰ one named Lä'əkä Maryam, son of Romanä Wärq, and the other Lä'əkä

Merid 1971, 148. On the other hand, it was probably in the sixteenth century that it became widely spread and associated with the Oromo people. In fact, the chronicle of Gälawdewos seems to be the first Ethiopic source to use the term, just a few decades before *abba* Baḥrəy, the contemporary of Särṣä Dəngəl (the nephew of Gälawdewos), composed his *Zenahu lägalla*. While it was previously suggested that the term *Galla* already appears in the chronicle of the fourteenth-century king °Amdä Şəyon (Perruchon 1889, 294, 305), the recent editions (Marrassini 1993, 14 and Kropp 1994, XXXVIII) have shown that it only appears in recent manuscripts as a result of a 1785 recension by *Däggazmač* Ḥaylu Mika'el ʿƏšäte.

⁹⁶ Däl-Wämbära was the most favorite wife of *Imām* Aḥmäd and later she married his nephew Nur b. Muḡāhid, after the death of *Imām*. She may be considered as one of the most prominent and famous women of the Horn of Africa in the sixteenth century. Cp. ‘Bati Däl Wämbära’, *EAE*, I (2014), 505b (Sevir Chernetsov); Dombrowski 1983, 174, fn. 195.

⁹⁷ Mahfud or in Arabic Mahfūz was the emir of °Adal who continuously revolted against the Christian kingdom and died, in 1516. Basset 1882, 251, fn. 121; Dombrowski 1983, 147, fn. 49; ‘Maḥūz b. Muḥammad’, *EAE*, III (2007), 659 (Ewald Wagner).

⁹⁸ This sea is certainly the Red Sea, which divides the medieval Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, from the Middle East. The Chronicle of Susənyos calls this sea ባሕረ ፡ ኤርትራ and defines it also ባሕረ ፡ ዌው ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ። (‘it is a salt sea’). See Pereira 1892, 128.

⁹⁹ Zabid is the name of a town and an administrative district in the Tihāma coastal plain of the Yemen. Cp. ‘Zabīd’, *EF*², XI (2002), 370–371 (Noha Sadek); ‘Zabīd’ *EAE*, V (2014), 102a–103b (Jonathan Miran). It is located 25 km from the Red Sea shore in an area of fertile agricultural lands irrigated by Wādī Rima^c, in the north, and Wādī to which it owes its name, in the south.

¹⁰⁰ The error must have been of the archetype text. The emendation of this text is supported from historical fact appears in the chronicle of Minas which seems to be convincing. It states that በውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ አዘዘ ፡ ግራኝ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይረስይዎሙ ፡ ሕዕዋን ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡

Maryam, son of Amätä Dəngəl. He rescued all of them and he took them away from the iron furnace, breaking its bronze doors and breaking the locks. [67] He gave for their ransom Mäḥammäd, son of *Imām* Aḥmäd and in addition a thousand *Nəway*.¹⁰¹ After this, King Gälawdewos, peace be upon him met together with the queen his mother and his brothers and sisters and he made feast during all the days of their meeting.¹⁰² He prepared festive wedding for his sisters¹⁰³ as appropriate to the daughters of kings.

[68] Chapter 30. We are obliged by the will to tell here a little from the amount of his praise, in order to turn to the story, for there is a writing, which says, ‘we shall praise pious men’.¹⁰⁴ Oh, glorious lord Gälawdewos, who (are you) the people are saying?¹⁰⁵ [69] There are some who called you that you are Ta’anim¹⁰⁶ who out of love for his people, wished to be sacrificed for their redemption. There are others who say that you are Jesus (Iyäsus), our Saviour, who redeemed drove the kings of the enemy and their princes. There are others who named you Barak (Baraq) and Gideon (Gedewon), who rescued the children of Israel from the hands of their enemies and took them away from amid their jaws. And others named you David (Dawit) who, by throwing a stone, struck down the Philistine who defied the armies of the living God. [70] There are others who compare you with Ezekias (Ḥəzqyas) in whose reign the lion and the ox were grazing together and seedtime blended into that of vegetation and the time of reaping blended into that of harvest. And there are some who compare you with Josiah (ʿIyosəyas) the destroyer of temples.¹⁰⁷ There are those who consider you more excellent and greater than these three kings.¹⁰⁸ [71] For the Book of Samuel the prophet called David (Dawit) ‘vindictive’ because of what he did to the man of Iyamenian and to the

ሚናስ ፡ ወለደቁቀ ፡ አኃቲሁ ፡ ለአቡሁ ፡ ላእከ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ወላእከ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ዘተጸውዑ ፡ በጅስም (‘In that days, Grañ ordered to make them captives that of Minas, the son of the king and the children of the sister of his father—Lä’əkä Maryam and Lä’əkä Maryam who were called in one name’). Thus, the mothers of the two Lä’əkä Maryam, were the two sisters of the King Ləbnä Dəngəl. Cp. Pereira 1888, 18 (text) = 58 (note), as well as in Kropp’s edition of the chronicle of Minas. One of the two Lä’əkä Maryam is represented as the son of Ləbnä Dəngəl’s sister in the *Synaxarion*, 21 *Ḥamle*, who devoted himself to liberate male and females slaves. Cp. Guidi 1905, 378.

¹⁰¹ *Nəway* is an Arab unit of weight equivalent of two thirds ounces of metal gold which means g 2.942. Pereira 1888, 61.

¹⁰² The return of Minas, his successor and the happiness of his mother is well written in detail in the official chronicle of king Minas. Cp. Pereira 1888, 25 (text) = 44 (tr.)

¹⁰³ The two sisters of King Gälawdewos were named Amätä Giyorgis and Säbänä Giyorgis: See Pereira 1888, 25 (text.) = 44 (tr.).

¹⁰⁴ Sir. 44:1.

¹⁰⁵ The author imitated from Matt. 16:13.

¹⁰⁶ This name is not found in the Bible, I do not get the source of the author that he referred to.

¹⁰⁷ 2 Kings 23:4–20.

¹⁰⁸ The three kings refer to David, Hezekiah and Josiah in the same paragraph below.

son of Sorhiya.¹⁰⁹ But your soul is pure of all this, like the soul of the child that the Saviour of all made stand in the middle of his disciples.¹¹⁰ As for Hezekiah (Ḥəzqyas) he remembered his pride and his thought that he would live for ever; to the point that because of this the God glorious and the most high caused a serious disease in his chest, which is the place of pride. But you were very humble; you did not exalt yourself above the soul of the whole flock under your shepherding. [72] And also for Josiah (ʿIyosəyas), victory did not become for him like your victory. Therefore, the previous ones (those who made such comparisons) did well who made you equal with them for one feature (lit.: one side); and will not dishonour (you) those to come who make you superior¹¹¹ to them in another chapter. Oh! wise like Solomon (Sälo-mon) who interpreted (riddles) immediately and good to judge like Daniel (Danəʿel) in the court.

[73] Chapter 31. Now, we will narrate here the story that King Gälawdewos, peace be upon him, lived and accomplished of the deed which we narrated before this. Instead of him, he placed Fanuʿel,¹¹² from the principal commanders of his army, in the whole eastern <provinces> such as Däwaro and its <dependencies>.¹¹³ Then, he went in the direction of the sunset after receiving a (blessing) prayer from *Abba* Yosab¹¹⁴ (who was) the metropolitan of his time. [74] The reason for his campaign was to make war against the people who did not worship God who is (to be) worshipped and they did not submit to the Anointed. These peoples were settled at the end of the land of Damot.¹¹⁵ This happened in the eighth year of his reign, in the year 7040 of the creation of the world, when <the sun>¹¹⁶ was at the head of the sign of the ram,¹¹⁷ during the months of the fixed fasting. He celebrated his Easter as a hasty Easter,

¹⁰⁹ 1 King 2:5–9.

¹¹⁰ Matt. 18:2–3.

¹¹¹ The word **ፋደላ** is an Arabic loan-word which mean excellent or great. Cp. Leslau 1991, 155; Dillmann 1865, 1378. The plural form of this word is **ፋደላታት**.

¹¹² He was a long serving military commander since the time of King Ləbnä Dəngəl, like Däglähan a commander of the army of the King. They were represented in the text **ዓዚዛን ፣ ዐበይተ ፣ ቤተ ፣ መንግሥት** ('The main mighty of the court'). Cp. Kropp 1988, 25 (text) = 29 (tr.); Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad 2003, 11, 12; 'Fanuʿel', *E Ae*, II (2005), 491 (Sevir Chernetsov).

¹¹³ Here the author wrote **ወአዋልዲሃ** (her daughters) which must be replaced with **ወአድዋሊሃ** (her dependencies) for the full meaning of the text.

¹¹⁴ He was the metropolitan of the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwahədo) Church from c.1547/1548 to c.1559. He succeeded *Abunä* Marqos I (d. c.1530) after a long vacancy of the Ethiopian Episcopal throne. Cp 'Yosab I', *E Ae*, V (2014), 94a-95a (Stéphane Ancel).

¹¹⁵ It was one of the south-western parts of Ethiopia, which was located south of Abbay (presently Wälläga) and western Šäwa. Cp. 'Damot', *E Ae*, II (2005), 78b–79b (L. Berry); Bouanga 2013.

¹¹⁶ All the manuscripts omitted this in this particular place. It is a mistake made by the scribe of the archetype text. However, a similar expression after the word **ሀሎ** is followed by the name **ፀሐይ** in the other pages of the text. See in the text Verses 107, 274.

¹¹⁷ It would be equivalent to March 11, 1548.

on his journey to reach what he had planned and to achieve his desire. Similar to this Easter, the Israelites celebrated when they came out from Egypt and the house of Jacob (Ya^ʿəqob) from the enemy people. [75] After Easter, the glorious lord Gälawdewos went his way and it happened what happened.¹¹⁸ We will delay the rest of this story and we will put it in its proper place. Here, we will tell the story that occurred between Fanu^ʿel and between Muslim leaders and between the chief of their army Ḥasg^wa-din¹¹⁹ and how they made war with each other and how one defeated the other.

[76] Chapter 32. In that year,¹²⁰ when the Muslim tribes heard that King Gälawdewos, mighty and strong in the battle headed to the direction of sunset, they invaded the eastern provinces we mentioned.¹²¹ Fanu^ʿel fought them by singing ‘This is the king himself’ (‘Himself being a royal commander’);¹²² he defeated them with the help of Lord Christ God of Saint Gälawdewos. He killed hundreds and above and there is nobody he spared except the leader of the army who humiliated fled and also a small number of warriors, men such as Nur¹²³ and others of his. He sent war trophies to the king and to the queen, his mother, many horses, and many weapons of warfare and battle dresses.

[77] Chapter 33. Also King Gälawdewos, peace be upon him, determined to march towards the country of wicked people whom we have mentioned previously. He remained there

¹¹⁸ The chronicle continues the narration of this specific expedition in Chapter 33.

¹¹⁹ ሐሰን ፡ ዲን (Ḥasg^wa-din) is a title coined from two words. ሐሰን is a title given for an official serving a Christian kingdom particularly in the northern frontiers at local level. Cp. ‘Ḥasg^wa’, *E Ae*, V (2014), 341 (Alessandro Bausi). In addition, the local ruler of Fäṭägar also used this title in the fifteenth century. ዲን is an Arabic word, which implies a religious obligation in Islam. Cp. ‘Dīn’, *EF*², II (1965), 293–296 (L. Gardet). It is evident that the name ዲን was widely used as a suffix to the name of the kings of Ifat and Adal in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such as Haqqadīn, Sabraddīn and Ğamāldīn. In addition, during the sixteenth century the word ዲን was a suffix to the titles of the rulers of Islamic states of Härär and Haddiya during Aḥmad administration like *Emir dīn and Garad dīn* respectively. Cp. Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad 2003, 33, 281. Therefore, as it is implied in ‘Ḥasg^wa’, *E Ae*, V (2014), 341 (Alessandro Bausi), ሐሰን was the title of Fäṭägar under the Christian autonomy and later it was certainly changed to ሐሰን ፡ ዲን in the style of the title of the neighboring Muslim governors under the rule of Aḥmäd. Thus, I contend that it must have been the title of the local ruler of Fäṭägar in the golden period of Aḥmäd. See also Perruchon 1893 (the chronicle of Ba^ʿädä Maryam (r. 1494–1508)), 112.

¹²⁰ March 1548.

¹²¹ These provinces were Däwaro and its vicinities.

¹²² This may be the initial segment of a military song as Conzelman proposed (Conzelman 1895, fn. 1, 17). A similar poetic songs appear in the short chronicle of the same king. Cp. Kropp 1988, 27.

¹²³ Nur was the ruler of Härär from 1551–1567 and married the wife of Aḥmad, Dəl Wämbra promising to revenge the blood of her beloved husband. He was victorious against the army of Gälawdewos and killed him in 1559. Cp. ‘Nūr b. Muğāhid’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 1209b-1210b (Franz-Christoph Muth); Kropp 1988, 31 (text) = 36 (tr.).

fighting for six months during which there was a day for him and there was a day for them.¹²⁴ After that, in accomplishing the deed that he did, he defeated these heathen people; of them some died by sword and who went, was taken as a captive. [78] Those who survived from all this, they became subjected to him and bowed their necks under the yoke of his rule either by force or voluntarily, because his authority encircled them all as a circle, for those who were willing and for those who were unwilling, for those who were earlier and for those who were later. Praised be God, to whom victory belongs, and he opens the victory to those who trust in him.

[79] Chapter 34. Then, after having accomplished this, King Gälawdewos returned into the known province¹²⁵ in the direction of the sunrise, in the place where there were his mother, his brothers and his sisters. Upon his arrival there, he distributed among them the spoils that he had taken: livestock and people, gold and silver. It was not for them only, but he also filled with joy the whole people¹²⁶ by sharing the booty and giving them male and female slaves from among the sons and daughters of the heathen people to make them water drawers and wood cutters.

[80] Chapter 35. At that time, his zeal flamed like a fire and he wrote a letter of permission to Fanu³el, the chief of his army in order to go in the way to Bär Sä³adədin and to fight the Muslims there. He did as he (Gälawdewos) ordered and he went and he fought them; he killed one of their two kings and the other fled deprived of everything, abandoning all he had. Since the command of his lord (Gälawdewos) accompanied him being a sign of victory like an image and figure, then he sent back all the trophies to his lord who had sent him. Because he had not gone to fulfil his own will but the will of his lord who had sent him.¹²⁷ [81] After this, it came to him an event (a prophecy) that ‘That who defeats all humankind, they will extoll him to the country of those like him’.¹²⁸ With all this, his high hand and arm were yet with the King Gälawdewos, peace be upon him, for he is the golden cup, which is in the hand of God, and from which he will let the entire people drink the wine of his fury.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ እንዝ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ሎቲ ፡ ወዕለት ፡ ሎሙ ። that means that the victory sometimes leaned on his side, sometimes on the side of his enemies.

¹²⁵ This province was Däwaro. See also *The Critical Text*, 73. However, Conzelman suggested that it might be ‘Agraroha. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 145, fn. 3.

¹²⁶ ‘The whole people’ refers to those of the people who attended his royal court.

¹²⁷ John 6:38, ‘For I have come down from heaven to do not my own will but the will of the One who sent me’.

¹²⁸ It is not clearly understandable.

¹²⁹ Jer. 25:15. Take this cup of the wine of fury from my hand and make all the nations where I am sending you drink it.

[82] Chapter 36. In the tenth year of the year of his reign,¹³⁰ King Gälawdewos, peace upon him, determined to fight again the enemies of Lord Christ and his Church. Then, he planned to ravage the country of the Muslims as they ravaged his provinces and to make them bring the yoke loaded on their heads. [83] At that time, he did what he planned and he never retreated from what he decided. He went to Bär Sä^cadädin as God guided before him. All that he did in the road towards the house and he spent (the day) and the number of days he walked all is written in the Bəryamin,¹³¹ that is to say, the book of chronicles.

[84] Chapter 37. Having arrived in Bär Sä³adädin, King Gälawdewos remained there for the duration of five months. During this time, he brought back, like a river of the South,¹³² the Christians¹³³ who were prisoners, and took captives the sons and daughters of Muslims. He demolished their castle forts in stone, burnt their houses of wood and made booty of all their properties. [85] He deposed their king from his throne and he left him destitute of his wealth and he did not even leave anyone pissing onto the wall.¹³⁴ From the two valiant chiefs of the Muslims, he captured the young Abbas and put him in chains and took him to the country where the prisoners were kept. Also for Nur from the tribe of the Suhawyan,¹³⁵ son of Muḡaḥid, he chased him away from all his goods by stones and sticks, like chasing away a dog, which is accustomed to the smell of fat things.

[86] Chapter 38. We have time to tell the rest of the story, because there is a time for everything and King Gälawdewos then had not rested from fighting rather he climbed into the mountains of the Muslims and he made captive the people including the cattle that he found. Moreover, he destroyed their fortresses and he opened their entrenched towns, and made their country, the country of Adäl, so that the birds could settle there; and he destroyed their buildings, a bird built its nest in their buildings. Their workmanship and their residence became a dwelling of doves. [87] One day of the days, he met a sheep of his flock who had strayed

¹³⁰ This was starting on September 2, 1549.

¹³¹ This is certainly an important short annals composed for this successful campaign of the king as the author had mentioned. It was named after a Biblical name Bəryamin. Cp. 1 Kings 14:19, 29, 15:7, 23. Thus, the chronicler of this text consulted it for the composition of the chronicle long after this event, just following the death of the king. A similar tradition had been practiced among the royal monarchs to record such campaigns in separate annals as ^cAmdä Şəyon did; his chronicle deals with a single successful campaign of the king against Ifat.

¹³² Ps. 125:4.

¹³³ The word **ጸጸኅራ** is a corruption and it has nothing to do with a Gə^cəz word. As the text manifests Arabic words this word is also derived from an Arabic word. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 146; Guidi also commented on it. Cp. Guidi 1899, 114.

¹³⁴ Allusion to 1 Sam. 25:22 etc. Cp. Dillmann 1865, 746.

¹³⁵ It might be the name of a tribe of Afar or Somali, which were claimed to be under the territory of ^cAdal.

from the home of Naʾod,¹³⁶ his father, and he brought her back to his country carrying her on his shoulders, saying to those who accompanied him: ‘Rejoice with me, because I have found my lost sheep’.¹³⁷ The rest of the story, which is not written in this book, of the destruction of Adäl and its surroundings, is written in the Book of the Royal Gate.¹³⁸

[88] Chapter 39. Now, our wish inspired us into our soul to write a little from the account of his conduct. When the glorious and most high God gave him a throne which is inseparable from his glory, which is his justice and a government that does not deviate from righteousness and a knowledge which is not gloom but enlightenment, King Gälawdewos restrained himself not to speak a word of malediction in his mouth and punishments in his hands, but all his possession was to remain silent and to practice patience. [89] The tumultuous work of government did not distract him from his praying. He was the most worthy among the good and the most trustful of the wise men, and among his brothers, his hope was unshakable. Nobody from the members of his family went in a different way and they all walked in his footsteps. Nobody thought to contest his authority and his covenant was placed in his palace. He loved God and he loved his Lord, and because of his great love, God remained with him and he did not go away from him. He took care of all, when he was in his palace and he did all that was possible to treat his slaves fairly. [90] He did not hurt anyone in his internal administration since everything was easy and proximate with him. He invoked his Lord, he listened to him, and his clemency and power were never driven away from him. He loved the poor in his palace and he was merciful with the travelers; he provided them as much as they needed; either the need of cloth or the need of food. He kept them in mercy inside his gate from the time of morning to evening and from the time of evening until morning. [91] Since mercy was inexhaustible in his court, and he maintained justice for the world. He was not defeated by the wine and he did not fall in (bad) speech. The condition of those who resided beside him was pleasant. He did not drive away the one who served and he did not diminish the one who executed the hard work, but he raged against the one who was lazy. In his reign, there was neither war nor murder, neither tumult nor enmity, neither sorrow nor

¹³⁶ King Naoʾd was the grandfather of King Gälawdewos. Cp. Chapter 3 of the same text. Here the author seems to be referring to a prince who belonged to the royal family and was taken as a captive during the turbulent period. Now the king has found him and is overjoyed. See also Conzelman 1895, 147, fn. 7.

¹³⁷ Luke 15:6, ‘Come; celebrate with me, because I have found my lost sheep’.

¹³⁸ መጽሐፈ ፡ ናጎት ፡ ንጉሣዊ must have been other important short annals of the king, which specifically dealt with the campaign of the king against the Adalites. Here it seems that the author read it in the royal court as he wrote after eleven years of this campaign.

hunger, but all his days were happy and peaceful. No one who came back into his country felt sadness during the time of his reign.

[92] Chapter 40. We will still resume writing the account we interrupted in the beginning¹³⁹ of the chapters of the readings. When King Gälawdewos returned from the country¹⁴⁰ where he had gone, he found that the land of his kingdom was fixed within the boundary¹⁴¹ he had delimited, and in peace with complete harmony. However, it was little disturbed by the incursions of the people of the border who were the Galla. At that time, still, Gälawdewos became merciful and compassionate, feeding them according to their ranks for each one, according to his favour: to the son he was like a father and to the father he was like a son. [93] For one he provided the inhabited region where he took refuge to escape the massacre; for another he fulfilled everything he needed and he let him live in his camp. For the purpose of bringing together those who were scattered and giving ample space and gathering those who had been expelled, he made his capital in a locality of the provinces of Wäg. He abandoned the custom of the kings of Ethiopia who travelled from country to country until the time of the last sleep and until the day of their eternal rest. [94] He built in that province a high and beautiful tower, its inside festooned with gold and silver figures and the top of its corner laid by a precious marble stone. Likewise he also built a palace adorned and decorated, on its outside and inside, with gold and precious stones, and he surrounded it by a high wall. [95] This work was the art of Syrian and Armenian artists and the skill of Frank and Egyptian skilled men. In the same place, two buildings were built for the churches and not far from this place, he also built his house. [96] And he placed in it the white doves which he had brought from the country of Adäl, to use them as did one of the principal leaders of Israel, over birds which were sent away by their cries. He did this, when he passed through a road where people did not pass through since there were many snakes on it. [97] King Gälawdewos, peace be upon him, built another house below the house, which is mentioned and planted there a watered garden like the garden of God, Glorious and most High: because this land is in the middle of rivers like Mesopotamia of Syria. Inside the garden, he did not intend to enjoy himself alone but he made it for the enjoyment of all those who lived with him, like a gardener whose work (our) fathers remembered.

[98] Chapter 41. In those times, after having executed those deeds over the land of Adäl, which we mentioned, and others, he came back to his country and brought captives

¹³⁹ The word **ርእስ** is used by the author to refer to the beginning.

¹⁴⁰ It is from the land of °Adal or Bär Sä'adaddin. See Chapter 38 of the same text.

¹⁴¹ Here the author tried to reveal that there were many occasions of confrontation against the Christian empire but none of the territory was taken after the defeat of Aḥmad.

from there, as we have said earlier. Then, (he had) a divine thought ascended in his heart and he meditated to build a church in the name of Our Lady Mary, Mother of God. [99] He revealed his internal thought¹⁴² to a learned man, chief of learned men¹⁴³ of his court whom he loved more than any other of his learned men because of his pleasing congregation, the wisdom of his speech, his broad understanding¹⁴⁴ and the elevation of his spirit. He (the learned man) was also delighted with him and he added a desire over his desire. He reminded him of the works of the ancient kings such as those of Judah, Rome, Ethiopia and other anointed kings. [100] After this, both of them consulted with the wise men of the environs and they chose a beautiful and high place, like Mount Zion, where God, glorious and most high, took pleasure that his name was praised upon it. King Gälawdewos remained in this idea for several days to make sure if his thought is from a strange spirit or from the spirit of God, the glorious and most high, because the acts of all the wise men are likewise: when their thoughts show them the right path, they do not accept them without examination; about the bad thought, it does not require them to take counsel over it, because it is recognizable by its very nature.

[101] Chapter 42. In the twelfth year of his reign,¹⁴⁵ the spirit of King Gälawdewos was troubled with the thought of building such a church, which has already been mentioned. And again he revealed this plan to that eminent person, of whom we have spoken, reminding him of his first advice. [102] He became delighted with this and said to him, ‘Before the beginning of the construction, let us choose the priests, deacons and singers who will serve within it: in this way Our Fathers the Apostles did, before they built the church in Antioch’.¹⁴⁶ They agreed on this procedure, and it was the advice between the king and the priests like Zerubabel (Zärubabel), the son of Shealtiel (Sälatyal) and Joshua (Iyasu) the son of Jozadak (Yozadæq),¹⁴⁷ the priest of Sabbath at that time. [103] He chose priests, deacons and singers who were appointed for reading Holy Scriptures of the Church and interpreting them and singing before the Ark of the Law of God, glorious and most high, similarly to the singers of

¹⁴² It means that he communicated his plan.

¹⁴³ **ሊቀ ማእምራት** in some cases they are said to be **ካህናተ ጳጳሳት** : *Kähänäta dabtarä* are the priests of the royal church who followed the king in all his movements both in peacetime and in war. They enjoyed privilege in front of the king and acquired many kinds of court provisions. Cp. Cerulli 1968, 249; Dombrowski 1983, 302; Yaqob 1993, I, VI (tr.); Getatchew Haile 2005, 27.

¹⁴⁴ **እንግድዳ** has a meaning of understanding rather than its common meaning, ‘breast’ or ‘chest’, in this context which is supported in Dillmann 1865, 1204 with reading **ብእሲ ጳጳሳት ጳጳሳት ጳጳሳት ጳጳሳት ጳጳሳት ጳጳሳት ጳጳሳት** (‘A person of a weak mind and little understanding in character is a foolish’).

¹⁴⁵ Starting September 2, 1551.

¹⁴⁶ Acts 11:26.

¹⁴⁷ Ezra 3:2–8.

David (Dawit). Those who were chosen were three hundred and eighteen¹⁴⁸ in number like the number (of men) of Abraham (Abraḥam) the victorious [104] and the number of the wise men of Rome who were administering the government in the absence of the king from time to time¹⁴⁹ and the number of (men) of the council of Nicaea¹⁵⁰ which defeated the greatest of the heresies with a precise statement out of its deliberations. The chief priest over these chosen priests was the high priest mentioned before and his appointment has not ended yet.

[105] Chapter 43. After the accomplishment of the choice, King Gälawdewos gathered all his troops during the fifth week for which fasting is fixed;¹⁵¹ then he went to make war against the unbeliever heathens who inhabited in the land of Gäambo.¹⁵² [106] When he was half way, arriving to the royal house¹⁵³ of his father, he had given careful attention to the accomplishment of the advice he had made about the construction of the church as mentioned. He gave priority for divine work than the deed of the work of the body. He summoned all the nobles of his kingdom and all his soldiers and placed them according to their rank to celebrate the ceremony of the church in front of them.

[107] Chapter 44. In the seventh month of *Halleluya*¹⁵⁴ in the year 7044 of the creation and in the twelfth year of the reign of the subject of this story, and in 1542 of the incarnation

¹⁴⁸ Conzelman maintained the number of the priests 308 in his edition having said that all the manuscripts, he used in the edition, read 308. However, because of his imprecise collation, as it is observable throughout the text, he did not notice that manuscript P maintained the right reading of the number of the priests 318. Even if he would have been found that three of the manuscripts had wrong reading, he was expected to emend because the author intended to write 318 as he compared with the number of Abraham men and as well as with the number of attendants of Nicea which was universally known that they were 318. So, the author had 318 in his mind. Such things were not considered in Conzelman time. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 51. But again he kept 318 in his translation. Conzelman 1895, 151.

¹⁴⁹ Under Tarquini of ancient Rome, there were three hundred senators. Perhaps the author is referring to them but mistaking the number.

¹⁵⁰ The council of Nicaea was held in the year of 325 by 318 religious fathers and condemned the teaching of Arius and his doctrine.

¹⁵¹ The fifth week of lent is called *Zädäbrä Zäyt*, ‘for (the week of) the Mount of Olives’. During this week, the hymns focus on the second coming (Matt. 24:1–35). *Däbrä Zäyt*, (mid-Lent) is one of the occasions when the faithful visit their *näfs abbat* and bring him money or grain. Cp. ‘Lent’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 545b–546a (Steven Kaplan).

¹⁵² According to the map of Ludolf Gäambo was south of Abbay bordering with Damot and Šäwa (inhabited by the people of the same name). Cp. also Basset 1882, 24, 33, 275; Pereira 1892, 296; Conzelman 1895, 151. It was probably in what is today northeastern Wälläga. See also ‘Gäambo’, *E Ae*, II (2005), 669b–670a (Michael Kleiner); Kleiner 2006, 290.

¹⁵³ The author might be referring to the medieval Bärara, a locality in Šäwa, a royal camp that was described as King Ləbnä Dəngəl’s chief city where he made his residence for the greater part of the year. Crawford 1958, 85–86, 195, 197; Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad 2003, 165; ‘Bärara’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 473 (Richard Pankhurst); Pankhurst and Breternitz 2009, 209–249.

¹⁵⁴ The word **ሃሌ ፡ ለ-ዮ** is a Hebrew word, which means God is blessed. Cp. Ps. 117:1.

of Our Lord Jesus Christ – glory to Him – and in 1200 from the era of the martyrs and in the year 950 of the Muslim era, during the sixth week¹⁵⁵ of the weeks of the the Holy lent, when the sun is in the sign of the Zodiac¹⁵⁶ of Taurus in the circle of ten degrees among the great degrees, *Mar Gälawdewos* appointed the high priest Afäwä Dəngəl the head over the chosen priests. [108] He filled his hand covering it with the royal crown of pure gold covered with precious stones of many colours and dressed him with the royal garments and embellished him with all the decoration of royalty. And he allowed him to ride on what he himself rides and to get out sitting out of the royal tent¹⁵⁷ at the time the *Tabot*¹⁵⁸ comes out. And the *Tabot* of the Law of God, which is called with the name of Our Lady Mary, Mother of God, he made for her all that was necessary and he provided with incense and Eucharistic bread,¹⁵⁹ and wine, and oil, a veil and books of readings and all sacred vessels of the sanctuary: may Christ, our God, reward him in the heavenly Jerusalem.

[109] Chapter 45. In that day, a day of Monday,¹⁶⁰ the second day from the days of creation, the *Tabot* called in the name of Tädbabä Maryam came out from the tabernacle¹⁶¹ and also its high priest who is the *bäträ yark*.¹⁶² This *Tabot* was carried on the head of *Abba*¹⁶³

¹⁵⁵ It is called *Zägäbär her*, for (the week of) the good servant. This week is devoted to remembrance of the Parable of the Talents (Mt 25:14–30). Cp. ‘Lent’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 545b-547b (Steven Kaplan).

¹⁵⁶ The word **ማገራድ** : has various meaning in the context. But, here it has a direct Arabic meaning as it is confirmed by Conzelman 1895, 152, fn. 5 ج ب which means ‘turn sign of the Zodiac’. Further see Zotenberg 1883, 342, fn. 587; Dombrowski, 1983, 209, fn. 405.

¹⁵⁷ **ደብተራ ፣ መንግሥት** (*däbtära mängəst*) ‘the royal tent’ is a special tent reserved only for the king and it is surrounded by the tents of other royal dignitaries. Cp. ‘Kätäma’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 355b-358a (Lily Stylianoudi and Denis Nosnitsin).

¹⁵⁸ **ታቦት** (*Tabot*) a consecrated wood or stone tablet that is placed upon the permanent altar chest for the celebration of the Eucharist. The term is considered to have been borrowed into Gəʿəz from Jewish Aramaic. Cp. *E Ae*, IV (2014), 802–804 (Marilyn E. Heldman). In the church tradition, the *Tabot* comes out during the religious festivals. This tradition still keeps in recent time. In medieval time when the *Tabot* from the royal churches came out, it was a custom for the monarch to appear. This was also reported by the travellers of the medieval time in their scholarly works. Cp. Alvares 1961; Páez 1622; Rüppell 1833.

¹⁵⁹ *Q^werban*, see Mark 7:9–13.

¹⁶⁰ **ሰኞ** (*Sänuy*) is the second day of the creation.

¹⁶¹ **ወልኣት ፣ እምትዕይንት ፣ ታቦት** here in this context **ትዕይንት** is a tabernacle. Cp. Dillmann 1865, 1007. However, it is commonly called that **ታቦት ፣ ወልኣት ፣ እምመንበሩ**.

¹⁶² This is the way it was pronounced in the medieval time and it is designated for the Patriarch of the church (Dillmann 1865, 517). The name appears in the chronicle of Emperor Susənyos—**ሢመዓን ፣ በትረ ፣ ያርክካት ፣** (Pereira 1892, 309 (text) = 239 (tr.)). This title is also designated for the Jesuits fathers who came to Ethiopia in theseventeenth century like Andrés de Oviedo and Alfonso Mendez. Cp. Basset 1882, 20 (text), 27 (text) respectively. See also Dombrowski 1983, 303.

¹⁶³ The word *abba* is derived from *ab* ‘father’ and is an honorific title applied to religious leaders such as monks, abbots, bishops and the Patriarch. Cp. ‘Abba’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 9b (Kaplan).

Yohannos¹⁶⁴ eminent in all spiritual virtues, the chief of the monastery¹⁶⁵ of Däbrä Libanos—mother of the monasteries of Ethiopia. [110] And the king went out accompanying them, with all the troops praising, exalting and glorifying the *Tabot*. The *Tabot* was transported to the place that they had decorated for it which had been prepared by *Abba Petros*¹⁶⁶ the patriarch, who consecrated with the liturgy of the episcopacy of Mark.¹⁶⁷ The whole history of the church and the activities of all the districts, which he assigned to her, is written in the book of the Prophets.¹⁶⁸

[111] Chapter 46. After this, in the day of the earlier Sabbath, the eve of the feast of Palm Sunday,¹⁶⁹ he [Gälawdewos] began the war against the people of Gämbo and victory was to him. After that, he remained there till the fifth week of the Pentecost¹⁷⁰ and in those days, he did what he had done in Gämbo. And he subdued them and the entire heathens in the surroundings. There were those whom he forced to work like male slaves and female slaves, and those whom he obliged to work to pay tribute.

[112] Chapter 47. After this, he returned to his winter quarters when the sun entered the fifth sign of Zodiac.¹⁷¹ At the time of his arrival there, he found strong men¹⁷² who were sent from the king of Portugal with five magnificent <presents>, which their king had sent to him: a golden cup, a pillow and a carpet made of hair and silk. [113] Receiving this, *Mar Gälawdewos* did not become proud in himself but returned back all the glories to God, glori-

¹⁶⁴ He was the fourteenth abbot of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, (Cerulli 1941, 153). He accomplished a martyrdom together with the King. Cp. Chapter 90 of the same text. His *Gadl* provides detailed information on his early life and his religious life. Cp. Ricci 1954, 137, 175, 202.

¹⁶⁵ ሊቀ ፡ ምኒት (*Liqä mənēt*) is a title denoted for the *abbots* of Däbrä Libanos, interchangeably with the title *äččäge*.

¹⁶⁶ He was the second metropolitan in the reign of King Gälawdewso next after *Abba Yosab*; he served as an assistant and continued as the head of the Metropolitan after the death of *Abba Yosab*. Cp. ‘Petros’, *EAE*, IV (2014), 138 (Denis Nosnitsin).

¹⁶⁷ According to the rite of the bishops of the Church of Alexandria.

¹⁶⁸ There was a tradition of recording the story (ዘግ) of a famous monastery or a royal church in medieval time. Sources reveal that a chronicle was dedicated for the monastery of Däbrä Libanos and monasteries of Laka Ṭana. Cp. Turaev 1906; ‘Historiography’, *EAE*, III (2007), 42 (Sevir Chernetsov) further argues that ‘Golden Gospels’ (*Wangelä wärq*) were found in almost every church. In this text, land grants, donations, etc. were recorded, more often on specially added pages. In this regard, in Tädabä Maryam, the book the author mentioned (መጽሐፈ ፡ ነቢያት), was serving like *Wangelä wärq*, as it happened in various churches and monasteries.

¹⁶⁹ It is one of the nine major feasts of Our Lord Jesus Christ, cp. ‘Calendar’, *EAE*, I (2003), 668a-672b (Emmanuel Fritsch and Ugo Zanetti).

¹⁷⁰ This refers to the time of the fifty days between Passover and the feast of the Pentecost. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 153. Cp. ‘Feasts’, *EAE*, II (2005), 510a-514a (Steven Kaplan).

¹⁷¹ Zodiac calendar has twelve signs, which are known with Latin names such as Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquaris and Pisces. In this regard, the author is referring to the time in 1552 when the sun came to Leo, the fifth Zodiac sign, on July 11.

¹⁷² The envoys were five in number. Cp. Boavida 2011, II, 20.

ous and the most high. He also wellcomed the envoys with warm reception and he <made rules> for them all the rule of enjoyment and they were not lacking anything they wanted. He spent the rainy season in those winter quarters, which were more famous than the land of Qora^{ab},¹⁷³ rejoicing and making rejoice his people. It was here that he decided to fight those heathens of the land of Gumär¹⁷⁴ who had been in revolt against him for five years.

[114] Chapter 48. After the winter, in the ninth month, in the month of Kaselu,¹⁷⁵ he did as earlier and he fought the people of Wägäm¹⁷⁶ who were allied with people of Gumär and, having defeated them, he fought the heathens who were in the land of Gumär and he spent three months fighting with them. [115] And afterwards, when their situation had become difficult and when they could not escape from his hands be it by climbing up to the top of the high mountain or by taking refuge in their fortress, nor by letting their children jump up to the top of Carmel¹⁷⁷ or by entering into their stone house:¹⁷⁸ then they locked themselves into his hands, they did not worry that he would take revenge on them for the deed of before,¹⁷⁹ as his kindness was evident and manifest through all in all. All his deeds and speeches which took place in Gumär were written earlier.

[116] Chapter 49. And furthermore he fought at that time numerous other gentiles and subdued them. He accomplished all his deeds at that time within the time of seven months. He returned to his castle, which is known, rejoicing and satisfied with his booty. He gave to God glorious and most high the major part of the booty, as established. He also gave alms to the poor and needy. He brought his offering to the aforementioned church and to other churches. And now we will tell here the virtues of *Mar* Gälawdewos peace be upon him.

[117] Throughout his reign, he did not hasten the putting to death of a person. When another person had killed someone and they brought to him for his judgement, he judged correctly and impartially. If there was an avenger of the blood¹⁸⁰ and he wanted to kill this man

¹⁷³ This place must have been a synonymous with place names that appeared in the chronicle of Susānyos ቁራብ (Q^worab). Cp. Pereira 1892, 27 (text) = 298 (tr.) for a land located south of Abbay between Bizamo and Abadray.

¹⁷⁴ Gumär was a land south of Fäṭägar. The name Gumär corresponds to Gurage of today. Cp. ‘Gumär’, *EAE*, II (2005), 912a-914a (Ronny Meyer), 914 (Dirk Bustorf).

¹⁷⁵ It was the ninth month of the Hebrews according to the ancient calendar.

¹⁷⁶ The name of a tribal group, Wägäm is mentioned in no other source, except this text, that mentions that they were neighbour of Gumär.

¹⁷⁷ It was the name of the mountainous country; the writer inserts this name to use a figurative expression instead of saying ‘mountain’. Cp. 2 Kings 4:25, 1 Kings 18:17–46.

¹⁷⁸ ቤተ ፡ እብን (‘stone house’), construction of a house by collecting stones, not in the sense of the modern way. It was and is the common culture of Gurage land, formerly it was called Gumär land.

¹⁷⁹ What they did before against him.

¹⁸⁰ አበ ፡ ደም is defined as ‘avenger of the blood’ by (Dillmann 1865, 754) supported with readings from the Bible which is convenient to the context of this text. But Guidi (1897–1899, 506 (tr.)),

(culprit), he redeemed him from him with humble word and paid the proper redemption.¹⁸¹
 [118] When someone was captured from followers of the gentiles or a person related to Muslims, on the battlefield and when he appeared¹⁸² before him, he knew that he would be saved from death. In addition, he did not look at the faults of others, he did not listen to a story against the one who is far and he did not accept an accusation. He did not punish everyday and he did not remain angry for ever. But his silence was frightening the people, without anger; if he happened to be angry, the sun never set on his anger.¹⁸³

[119] He did not hate a person because of his sin and he did not disregard the righteous. He was reading the divine scriptures, and when he came to their contending of the martyrs, he was taken by the desire to fight like them. He prayed to the Mistress of all saying, ‘Oh, my Mistress, do not show mercy to my flesh for my dishonor, but make something that can embellish my soul’. This speech was heard from his mouth by one of the eunuchs who told us, swearing in the great and holy name.

[120] Chapter 50. In those days, after the end of the war, which we mentioned, he made a disposition¹⁸⁴ for Tädabä Maryam, which would not be broken from generation to generation. He took an oath to the house of his father and to the house of his mother and all those of the people of his own house, of being always like one thing with the priests of Tädabä Maryam, to go with one will and desire and with one mouth and thought as Noah (Noh) took an oath for his three sons after the flood, their intermediator among them, captain of the ship.¹⁸⁵

[121] Chapter 51. After this, then, King Gälawdewos fought again the heathens who were close to his tower and defeated them.¹⁸⁶ And he subdued them and added them to the number of those who paid tribute. Despite this, he did not cease to explore the holy books

fn. 3) in his commentary of *Fäṯha Nägäst* indicated that አበ ፡ ደም is the ገዳይ (‘the murderer’). However, he noted that the Arabs instead say: لولي دم القتيل أن يهب الخ: ‘those who must avenge the slain can condone etc’.

¹⁸¹ The author might have quoted from the book of *Fäṯha Nägäst* (‘The law of the kings’) which stipulates the rules and orders that the kings should practice to provide a proper judgement. Cp. Guidi 1897–1899, 283 (text). The continuation of the practice of such a code of law was also evident in the nineteenth century during the visit of the French traveller to the court of Sahälä Sällase king of Šäwa. Lefebvre 1845, 36 (introduction); Conzelman 1895, 155, fn. 4; Num. 35:12.

¹⁸² The author wants to explain that ደበጽሕ ፡ ገቢሁ means to compare the appearance of the person in front of the king in the court to the one appearing for the final Judgement.

¹⁸³ Eph. 4:26.

¹⁸⁴ ሥርዓት is a common usage for the medieval writer referring to a pact, order and law for the service of a given church. A similar way of expression is used across the period (cp. Kropp 2011). Making ordinance in record has been a common feature for the acts of the medieval Ethiopian kings.

¹⁸⁵ It is allusion of the author and I did not find the source he quoted. The word ረባጥ is derived from an Aramaic *rabbān*, which means ‘teacher’ as well as ‘captain of a ship’. Dillmann 1865, 287; Leslau 1991, 461.

¹⁸⁶ These people were the Galla who raided repeatedly the Christian kingdom.

(scriptures) until he became capable¹⁸⁷ in understanding them, more than the spiritual elders. He acquired many books, which cost not less than ten thousand weight of gold.¹⁸⁸ He knew also deep interpretation of languages, and the Franks¹⁸⁹ and Arabs regarded him as a prophet.

[122] Chapter 52. In those times, after the event of which we reported, the tribe of Muslims raised up a secret uprising. And during the winter, they killed a governor¹⁹⁰ with his army. During the summer, they also killed Afäwä Dəngəl, the high [priest] of the church of Tädbabä Maryam and he departed to the mercy of God glorious and most high. King Gälawdewos, was not silent over all this; instead he grieved and wished to die rather than all the people perish. However, he could not surrender his soul to the Supreme Guardian who protected it until it was demanded it.

[123] Chapter 53. In the second year after this event happened to him,¹⁹¹ King Gälawdewos went to the camp of the Galla and he fought them, and he destroyed them by the sword. And those who survived he set them under his power like slaves. Because of this, the land rested from the killing of the Galla. When they made incursions, they did not make them openly but were like a thief who robs and digs up the house without the owner of the house knows it. On his return from the camp of the Galla, King Gälawdewos praised and glorified God who gives victory to those who trust in him, and he did as he did in that time.¹⁹²

[124] Let us turn on this page away from historical writing and we will write of the natural behaviour of King Gälawdewos, peace be upon him. No evil thought ever came over his character. Whenever the enemy came close from the sides with presents of conciliation, he furnished himself with the fear of God, Glorious and most high, as a sword and he cut down with it the power of his enemy and he made the Scriptures of God, glorious and the most high, for him as a trumpet. And as the trumpet is blown it gathers riders and foot soldiers;

¹⁸⁷ The word ተንበላ is originated from an Arabic word تَنْبَل which means ‘be clever and capable’ cp. Conzelman 1895, 156; Pereira 1892, 304. However, it does not appear in such a meaning in Dillmann 1865, 562–563; Leslau 1991, 576; Kidanä Wäld 1956, 900–901.

¹⁸⁸ During the reign of King Gälawdewos many important literary works were translated from Arabic into Gəʿəz, for example the *Haymanotä Abäw* (‘Faith of Fathers’), *Mäṣḥafä Qändil* (a religious office), *Bärälam wäyəwasəf*. Cp. Basset 1882, 266, fn.198.

¹⁸⁹ Here the author uses two words to denote the Europeans አፍረኛ and አፍርንጋዊ. Both denote the Europeans. In fact, the word አፍረኛ also appears in the chronicle of Susənyos and refers to the Portuguese and Jesuit missionaries. Cp. Pereira 1892, 462. አፍርንጋዊ also appears in the book of Giyorgis Wäldä Amid. Cp. Gäbrä Yoḥannəs 2006.

¹⁹⁰ The name መስፍን serves as a title of a local governor. Kropp 1994, XXIV–XXV, Marrassini 1993, 53.

¹⁹¹ It would be 1554 or 1555.

¹⁹² As it is written before, after he returned victorious from a military campaign, he provided to the church also for God. The author here is referring to such activity of the king.

similarly, evoking the Scriptures, he summoned his thoughts to fight with the evil as the cavalries fight the king's enemies.

[125] Whenever he came into the foolishness of wealth and pleasure, he came upon to read the scriptures of God to escape safely from the net of the enemy and to gain eternal life. He always ensured that birds did not come down to devour the seed of the Son of God.¹⁹³

[126] He listened to wisdom and obeyed her as a mother. She loved him as an obedient son and she embraced him to her bosom. She fed him her bread and let him drink her wine until his fame spread throughout the four corner.¹⁹⁴ The people came from Rome, from the Franks and the Greeks¹⁹⁵ and from Syria, and Georgia¹⁹⁶ and from five cities (Pentapolis) to listen to his wisdom. Whenever they came, they found by him exceedingly far more than what they had heard of in their respective country. All his desire and concern was to please the angel to which he was committed and not to grieve the Holy Spirit that is joint with his soul.

[127] Chapter 54. In the seventeenth year¹⁹⁷ of the reign of glorious King Gälawdewos, the children of Japheth (Yafet) called Levantines came into the land of Ethiopia and they landed from the sea and occupied the land of Ethiopia that is on the coast of the sea. The metropolitan of the Franks also came and landed from the sea with priests, deacons, and a few people of Franks¹⁹⁸ and he arrived at King Gälawdewos' camp¹⁹⁹ at the beginning of the first month of the months of the rainy season of Ethiopia,²⁰⁰ and (it was) the third month of the

¹⁹³ It is not quoted directly, but it is based on the parable from Matt. 13:4.

¹⁹⁴ አናሰር is an Arabic loan-word. Cp. Leslau 1991, 65.

¹⁹⁵ The name አረማጊያን is used for various meanings in the context. It means in the proper sense of its meaning the one who does not believe in the Bible, which means pagans, gentiles, non-Christians and Muslims and infidels. Leslau 1991, 37. In this context, the name is used to indicate the Greeks. Dillmann (1865, 740) and Kidanä Wäld (1956, 241) provide important references from the Bible that indicate that the name had been used for the Greeks.

¹⁹⁶ The name Kurəḅ was used in Ethiopic text to denote Georgia. Cp. Walbiner 1995. However, Conzelman (1895, 158) proposed already Georgia, but he was not able to cite sources in his time.

¹⁹⁷ It refers to 1557. They arrived on the coast of Massawa on 19 March 1557 and they did not embark on the island, since the Turkish soldiers were there. They moved slowly, reached Dəbarwa on 25 March 1557 and on the next day the bishop wrote a letter to King Gälawdewos. Cp. Boavida et al. 2011, II, 28. See for more information, the letter of father bishop Dom Andre de Oviedo to Emperor Claudio dated on 26 March 1557 in the same book. Cp. Boavida et al. 2011, II, 28–29.

¹⁹⁸ The bishop was Andrés de Oviedo, joined by five fathers of the society: Manoel Fernandez, Gonçalo Gualdamez, Gonçalo Cardoso, Antonio Fernandez and Francisco Lopez. All were Portuguese except Father Gualdamez who was Spanish. Boavida et al. 2011, II, 28. More information about the group is also provided in the works of scholars who intensively employed the Portuguese sources. Cp. Girma Beshah and Merid Wolde Aregay, 1964, 61–68; Pennec 2003, 15; Martínez d'Alòs-Moner 2015, 84; 'Oviedo, Andrés de', *EAE*, IV (2010), 83 (Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner).

¹⁹⁹ The king was at that time in his own fixed capital, Wäḅ.

²⁰⁰ The first winter month of Ethiopia is Säne, which begins on 26 May according to the Julian calendar. Cp. Edler 1825, 400.

months of the creation of the world. [128] And the reason of the coming of the bishop was to put a stain on the right faith that had been sent to Ethiopia from Alexandria and to manifest and praise the evil faith that proceeded from Rome, boasting by saying ‘Our father Peter (Petros)’, not knowing that God glorious and most high could raise sons of Peter (Petros) from the rocks of those before him.²⁰¹

[129] Chapter 55. At that time, King Gälawdewos was between two sides. On the one hand, to rise up against the learned Franks due to the diminution of their faith and to defeat them and put them to shame as well as to revile their corrupt customs. He composed regarding them a large number of treatises collecting spiritual word from the writings of the apostles, the prophets, learned men and teachers of the church. [130] When they reminded before him Marcion (Märqəyan),²⁰² he reminded them of Theodosius (Tewodosəyas)²⁰³ and Sebastien (Səbəstəyas).²⁰⁴ When they extolled Leon (Ləyon),²⁰⁵ he praised Dioscorus (Dəyosəqoros).²⁰⁶ When they boasted of the chair of Peter (Petros), he boasted of the Mount of Olives on which our Lord stayed and of Jerusalem where he was crucified and buried, be-

²⁰¹ Matt. 3:9.

²⁰² He was the Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire (450–457) who convened the Chalcedon council in 451, approved the decisions of the Ephesus, and condemned Eutyches and his doctrine. ‘Chalcedon, Council of’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 709b-711b (Witold Witakowski); Conzelman 1895, 159. His name also appears in *Mäṣḥafä Mäsṭir* (‘Book of Mystery’) of Giyorgis of Sägla. Cp. Yaqob 1993–1994, I (tr.), 27, 47, 77, 233, 234, 251, 258.

²⁰³ Theodosius II, Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire and predecessor of Marcian. He convened the council of Ephesus in 449, which declared Eutyches Orthodox. The Emperor approved of the acts despite protests against Leon I.

²⁰⁴ The author refers to the saint Sebastien of Rome who was persecuted in 288 by the Emperor Diocletian. He was popular in the medieval Ethiopian church as Alvares recounted in his book. Cp. Alvares 1961, 209. In addition, it seems that the knowledge of this saint was widely circulated in the sixteenth century Ethiopian church, as is evident from the autobiography of the sixteenth century monk Pawlos who mentioned that he had the *Gadl* of this saint. He stated that **ወአቤቶ ፡ ላእከ ፡ ነሥአኒ ፡ ዳዊትዩ ፡ ወገድለ ፡ ስብስትያኖስ ፡ ወሀበኒ ፡ ባሪያ ።** (‘And the *Abeto* La’əkä took off my Psalter and the Act of Sebastian and gave me a slave’). Cp. Conti Rossini 1918, 285. Cerulli claimed that the translation of this act must have been done between fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Cp. Cerulli 1968, 144. But Conzelman (1895, 159, fn. 3) said in his commentary that he did not know to what this name referred. Guidi (1899, 114) assumed that this name must have been a corruption for the name of Anastasio (491–518).

²⁰⁵ Leon I (440–461) was devoted to restoring unity in the Church and he condemned the heresies of the Nestorians. The name Leon means in Gəʿəz *Wälda anbasä*, ‘son of the Lion’, and it is the translation of the name of the Roman Pontiff.

²⁰⁶ He was the patriarch of Alexandria (445–451). He fought for the primacy of the seat of Alexandria in Antioch. He accepted only one, divine, nature in Christ as Church dogma in the Second Council of Ephesus in 449. ‘Chalcedon, Council of’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 709b-711b (Witold Witakowski); Conzelman 1895, 159; Yaqob 1993–1994, I, 27 (tx.). His name is highly venerated in the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahədo Church.

cause these places were under the possession of the owner of the seat of Mark (Marəqos),²⁰⁷ the teacher of Noba²⁰⁸ and Soba²⁰⁹ and Ethiopia. This was his stand from the first side.

[131] Chapter 56. On the other hand, he was continuously advising with which to fight the Levantine who were Turks²¹⁰ and he made ready the cost of the war. He troubled himself because of guarding the provinces that had survived from the attack of Galla and from other wars.²¹¹ He remained a year by this matter, and the remaining year he was interceding to God glorious and most high to help him on the entire deed, about all the deeds, and within the whole activity.

[132] Chapter 57. In this year, the prophets of the time rose up. Some of these had confined themselves in hermitages. Others had taken up residence on cliffs with rabbits in the vicinity of which there was a nest of herons. There were others who dwelt in the middle of trees or on the top of high mountains with deer and they drank to quench their thirst along with the wild asses. Others lived in the monasteries, enduring in patience the weaknesses of their brethren, which is worse than the deficiencies of wild animals. All these were those who were given the gift of prophecy for their great effort and struggle to please God glorious and most high.

[133] They sent messages of prophecy to the lord glorious Gälawdewos speaking to him about the war with the Turks. ‘What is the high mountain, before you, that you admire? This will be for a vanity and it will be given to vanity. But your day is coming closer because God, whose name is glorious, wanted that your eyes do not to see all the evil that comes to the land. And your death will be at the hands of the people of the infidels, like the death of Gälawdewos of Antioch²¹² and all those who were martyrs like him’.

²⁰⁷ The author seems aware of the work of the Canon book, *Sēnodos*, from which it is quoted. Bausi 1995, 13 (text) = 6 (tr.). The works of these religious personalities are well treated in the recent work of Martínez d’Alòs-Moner 2015.

²⁰⁸ The name refers to the speakers of Nubian. ‘Noba’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 1193a-1194b (Robin Seignobos). It appeared since the fourth century in Aksumite inscriptions and in the medieval Gəʿəz texts as well as in traveller accounts. Conti Rossini 1904, 27 (text) = 38 (tr.). Cp. Bausi 1995, 13 (text) = 6 (tr.); it appears also in Anqäšä Amin as it is called ቡባ. Cp. van Donzel 1969, 178.

²⁰⁹ Soba was the capital of Sennar. ‘Sinnar’, *E Ae*, IV, (2007), 665b-668a (Wolbert Smidt).

²¹⁰ The name Turks is given as ተርኩ (Tərku) in the text.

²¹¹ The author might be referring to the Muslims of the Adal, which were on the verge of reviving.

²¹² Gälawdewos is the Ethiopian form of the name of Claudius, a Roman saint and a martyr during the Diocletian persecution (third/fourth century A.D.). The act of this saint was believed to have been translated from Arabic into Gəʿəz in the fourteenth century and widely known in the sixteenth century as the author of this text seem to have consulted it.

[134] The lord glorious Gälawdewos was not terrified by this (prophecy) and he said, ‘If it is possible, let this cup be taken away from me,²¹³ but let it be the will of God glorious and most high’. For he had knowledge and he knew (well) that a person does not remain without dying, even if he was to live a thousand years on earth, and even if he did not succumb to an accidental righteous death, voluntary death or violent death, he could not avoid the natural death, that his nature was determined by the (same) determination as determined for the sleep. He knew that death, like sleep, is the nature of man.

[135] And when his spirit was troubled, King *Mar* Gälawdewos said to his spirit, ‘Why are you sad, my soul? And why do you trouble me?’²¹⁴ He reminded her the word of the blessed apostle saying: ‘The life I received from the first man has an end, but the life I receive from Jesus Christ, my king, has no end’.²¹⁵ The truth of this word is certain because its speaker, the day of his death by sword, took the garment of a woman to wrap his face with it.

[136] And at the moment when he was killed, he returned her robe in his hour of slaughtering, marching in the new life after he was killed. And he appeared also to the king who had killed him making him frighten and admire, clothed in a garment of kings and crowned with their crown.²¹⁶

[137] Chapter 58. The owner of the book²¹⁷ said: ‘One day I and two of my companions, while we were standing in front of the glorious king, he told us about the rest from work with his own words: ‘Does the joy of this time appear minor to you? [138] Behold, this time will change into two and the joy will turn to misery. As for me, I ask God, glorious and most high in whom I trust, that he would take me away before all this to where our forefathers have withdrawn’. And it happened as he said.

[139] Chapter 59. And now then desire urges us to write a little of the virtues of *Mar* Gälawdewos and his excellences. It was told about him that when they spoke to him, saying that: ‘Someone among your servants extended his mouth on your throne and your government’, his tongue moved to reply saying, ‘What have I to do with him? He knows he will give account on the Day of Judgment’. [140] When he took his heart to the matter they were discussing and when he heard his slave was cursing him, he pretended as he did not hear. Sometimes he closed his ears from hearing and hindered his eyes from seeing, in order to ac-

²¹³ Matt. 26:39.

²¹⁴ Ps. 42:5.

²¹⁵ 1 Cor. 15:22.

²¹⁶ It is an allusion to *Tä'ammärä Maryam*, ‘Miracles of Mary’. According to Cerulli it was an allusion of Mark son of Christodoulos, King of Rome. Cp. Cerulli 1968, 125.

²¹⁷ It means the writer of the book.

comply with the commandment that says, 'Plug your ears which hear and blind your eyes which see clearly in order not to behold evil'. And also Peter (Petros), the holder of the key, who committed to protection those around him with his last breath, saying: 'My children, keep your souls away from all evil and turn your eyes and ears away from all vanity.'²¹⁸ [141] When also they brought to him an accusation and they said 'Now, members of the royal family wanted the throne', he said, 'What have I to do with them? The kingdom is for God, glorious and most high, who gives to whom he wants and prevents whom he dislikes'.

[142] Chapter 60. Was there ever a powerful and victorious king who had such patience on the one who was weaker than him and on the one who was inferior to him? I do not know if he talked about the departing world like Marqos²¹⁹ and other good kings who neglected the benefits of power, for the sake of the Lord Christ – glory to him. This gift was given to King Gälawdewos from two treasures – from the heart and scripture. [143] Because scripture alone, without understanding, does not provide a gift. If it does give, it gives a minor one. Also, a minor one cannot be considered and the curve cannot be straight.

[144] Chapter 61. Oh, my lord *Mar* Gälawdewos, the model of your patience is like that of Job (Eyob). He bore two wounds: the wound that descended over his flesh from an enemy of our race, and the wound that descended over his soul, from the enmity of three spirits. You also bore wound from many men: in fact it is written, saying: 'The one who lives together with many people, he endures many wounds'.²²⁰ [145] The patience of Job (Eyob) seems miraculous because at that time he was fallen into a great illness from which he could not stand up and he was alone from the soldiers. As much as he could, he gave an answer to those who rebuked him, and he showed them his throat that could not swallow saliva because of his great suffering on him. As to you, your voluntary patience is also well known while your power is great and your right hand is high. [146] Your strong arms are like a bow of bronze, your limbs above the reach of illness and the people of your house are as numerous as the blossom of grass. You were patient when they blamed you, and you were silent when they spoke to you words to provoke your anger. Likewise, King David (Dawit) became patient with his enemies and he did not make his hand descend on them when he found them weak and he did not address a harsh word to them when they came back into his hands.

²¹⁸ Ps. 119:37.

²¹⁹ The author made an allusion to Marqos who has written about the earthly world. This Marqos might be the Roman king (Marcus Aurelius), a philosopher.

²²⁰ Conzelman (1895, 162) proposed that it would have been a reminiscence of the fable of Luqman entitled 'La Gazelle malade'.

[147] Chapter 62. Blessed are you, oh my lord *Mar Gälawdewos*, who have tasted patience and its taste with you became greater than honey and sugar. It was revealed to you by contrast the bitterness of trouble, bitterer than gall. As for your patience, it is a joy to the wise men, a sadness for the ignorant. It is the prophecy of the prophets, the preaching of the apostles, the crown of the martyrs, an ornament of the monkhood of the monks and a diamond of the reign of the kings.

[148] Chapter 63. Blessed be the greatness of the kingdom of mighty²²¹ God who enthroned, over such a great grace, *Gälawdewos Abrosifaryon*²²² the majestic king.

[149] We will further continue to write the story and the account that we have learned from his deeds, after we have praised of the praise that was in his praiseworthy character. Throughout the time of his reign, he did not build injustice and he did not found oppression because he was instructed by the warning of a teacher that says: ‘Woe to those who build injustice and oppression and found a fraud, because they will be quickly destroyed’.²²³

[150] Chapter 64. What indicates of this character of his was that at the time of the beginning of the construction of *Tädbabä Maryam*, elected and honored church he did not force anyone among the people of the country of his kingdom to the work of its construction; and he did not appoint over them scribes or supervisors who forced them to collect for them straw, clay and bricks and put them to daily task, as the previous kings had done to them during the work of building of earlier churches. [151] He ordered that it was built with the help of slaves acquired by his right hand so that the speaker will not say to him, ‘Woe to those who will build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with wickedness’²²⁴ and not to hear the voice from the heaven, which says: ‘The sky is my throne and the earth is my footstool. Where do you build the house of my dwelling and where is the place of my rest?’²²⁵

[152] Chapter 65. In the nineteenth year²²⁶ of his reign, while he was saddened for the devastation of monasteries and villages at the hands of the soldiers of *Özdemir (Uzdömer)*,²²⁷

²²¹ ስዙዝ ፣ መንግሥት ፣ (‘Potens’). Cp. Dillmann 1865, 1004.

²²² Guidi (1899, 115) suggested that this name might be the wrong transcription of Arabic. It may have been borrowed from the historical part of the book of *Abušakər* and he believed that the author of the chronicle, ኃኑባዕወም, consulted this book.

²²³ It is an allusion to Jer. 22:13.

²²⁴ Mic. 3:10.

²²⁵ Isa. 66:1.

²²⁶ It was 1557.

²²⁷ *Özdemir pasha* was the long serving governor of the Ottoman province of Ethiopia who died in 1557. See for the details of his history, ‘*Özdemir*’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 86 (Emeri van Donzel). See also ‘*Özdemir Paşa*’, *EF*, VIII (1995), 235–236 (J.K. Black Burn). His name appears differently in the texts ሀዝድሜር in this text, እሰድሙር in the chronicle of Minas (Pereira 1888, 32 (text) = 75, fn. 130 (tr.); Kropp 1988, 61 (text) = 61, fn. 233 (tr.)), ዝሙር in the abbreviated chronicle (Basset 1882,

who were Turks, and while he was even more languid because the Turks went up to the top of Däbrä Dammo²²⁸ and they killed the righteous and pious who were inside it, [153] and defiled the blessed land by the walk of their impure feet and fast to shed blood and for their entering into the sacred place sanctified by the presence of holy relics inside it and by its carrying of the pure body of the right King Ləbnä Dəngəl²²⁹ and by the fact that *Abba* Arägawi,²³⁰ tribe of pious and righteous men, peace be upon them, were buried there: [154] in his sadness, he appealed to God glorious and most high, saying: ‘Lord, the heathen entered into your inheritance and they defiled your holy temple. They have converted the church into ruins²³¹ like the hut of yield keeper;²³² they have made of the dead body of your servants food for the birds of the sky and also of the flesh of your righteous for the beasts of the wilderness; they have shed their blood like water around the church and there was no one to bury them’.²³³

[155] Chapter 66. While he was saying this and the like,²³⁴ God glorious and most high sent a deceptive spirit to Özdəmir (‘Uzdämer) and he sent many soldiers among his soldiers to raid a district of the provinces of Təgray and to capture men and cattle. [156] At that time, those troops raided one of the district among the districts of Bur.²³⁵ And *fälahin*,²³⁶ who were

23, fn. 130; Dombrowski 1983, 180, fn. 227) and in the autobiography of the sixteenth century monk, Pawlos (Conti Rossini 1918, 286).

²²⁸ It appears largely in the Gə‘əz texts. For the general information of this monastery see ‘Däbrä Damo,’ *EAE*, II (2005), 17b–20b (Tsegay Berhe and Red.).

²²⁹ This historical fact is also confirmed in some other chronicles, Basset 1882, 18 (text) = 109 (tr); Conti Rossini 1894, 14 (text) = 24 (tr.) **ወተቀብረ ፡ ወሱተ ፡ ምኒተ ፡ አባ ፡ አረጋዊ ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ዳዎ** # (‘He was buried in the monastery of *Abba* Arägawi that is called Däbrä Dammo’). In the edition of the same text Dombrowski 1983, 44 (text) = 168 (tr.), **ወተቀብረ ፡ በደብረ ፡ ዳዎ ፡ አባ ፡ አረጋዊ**; Kropp 1988, 20 (text) = 20 (tr.).

²³⁰ *Abba* Arägawi was the founder of Däbrä Dammo. He was one of the most important holy men from the Nine Saints who were believed to have come into Ethiopia in the fifth and sixth century. He was known widely under his nickname Mika’el Arägawi. ‘Nine Saints’, *EAE*, III (2014), 1188–1190 (Antonella Brita). His history appears in the tradition and legends for a long time and later it is composed in texts evidently since the sixteenth century following the composition of his *Gädl* and his sanctification in the *Synaxarion*. Cp. Guidi 1896; Nöldeke 1896a, 168–171; Guidi 1907, 84 (text) = 85 (tr.).

²³¹ Lev. 26:31 **እገብሮን ፡ ለአህጉሪክሙ ፡ መዝብረ**.

²³² Dillmann (1865, 980) listed **ዓቃቤ ፡ ቀምሕ** under the compound nouns of **ዓቃቤ**.

²³³ Ps. 79: 1–3.

²³⁴ It meanswhile Gälawdewos was praying.

²³⁵ The district of Bur is a toponym known from many Gə‘əz and Arabic sources as well as travelers’ accounts since the fifteenth century. According to these sources, the region extended along the coast of the Red Sea, south of the port of Massawa. From the later period we know that, after the defeat of *baḥr nägaš* Yəšḥaq in 1578, Bur was included in the realm of *təgre mäkwännən*. Cp. Huntingford 1989, 97–98. Susənyos led a campaign against the followers of the pretender Ya‘əqob in Bur. Pereira 1892, 128.

²³⁶ It is an Arabic word-meaning ‘farmer’, the farmer of the country. Conzelman 1895, 165; Nöldeke 1896a, 165; Guidi 1899, 114.

the people of the district, fought with them and defeated them. They killed the majority of them and they killed their commander²³⁷ named Yəṣṣḥaq while he was supporting them by raising his hands and moving his lips against the anointed king. Then, they cut off the head of Yəṣṣḥaq, the commander of the warfare with that of the vice commander and they sent them to the glorious King Gälawdewos, peace be upon him. [157] The arrival of the head to him was in the month of Mäskäräm²³⁸ and the king, *Mar* Gälawdewos was not exalted by this, but rather he glorified God glorious and most high for what happened and he did not cease to seek his help for what shall take place.²³⁹

[158] Chapter 67. Since this mistake was not enough for him, Özdemir (°Uzdämer) Baša²⁴⁰ committed again a great mistake. And this was his mistake. Namely, he had a long wall and a high tower in the land of Dəbarwa²⁴¹ that he had built himself for himself. And within the tower it was filled with golden and silver vessels, precious stones, luxury clothes and incalculable wealth from Istanbul,²⁴² Egypt, Zebid, Jäbäl²⁴³ and all Bärä °Arab,²⁴⁴ and the wealth of the sea and the islands and the wealth of Habäš which he had collected by arms and plunder, and at times by profit of trade and by ransom, as it is the customary of payments to escape military service.²⁴⁵ [159] And when the clouds of suffering of the soul of the glorious King Gälawdewos flew away Özdemir (°Uzdämer), who was the cause of her (= of the soul!)

²³⁷ The word ሰርዖ is not attested with the meaning of ‘military commander’ in Dillmann 1865, 346. But in Leslau (1991, 515) and Kidanä Wäld (1956, 676) appears also with this meaning.

²³⁸ It is the first month of Ethiopia, the month of September.

²³⁹ ከሀለዎ ፣ ይኩን ። Apoc. 1:19.

²⁴⁰ The word ባሻ comes from the Turkish *pasha*, which was the highest military title of honour in use in Turkey until the advent of the Republic, see ‘Pasha’, *EL*², VIII (1995), 279–281 (J. Deny). It appears in Gəʿəz vocabulary for the first time probably a few years after the occupation of Massawa in 1557 by Turks, when exactly this chronicle was composed, in 1561. From then on, the name might have been adopted in the military service with Ethiopic pronunciation ባሻ—a title given for a commander of a detachment armed with firearms. Furthermore, sources confirm that during the reign of Säršä Dəngəl those Turkish captive soldiers were allowed to serve the king with the title *Pasha*. See ‘Bašša’, *EAE*, I (2003), 503 (Sevir Chernetsov). During the period of Susənyos, a Turkish military commander by the name of መስተፋ (Mästäfa) could be the second Turkish commander next to Özdemir.

²⁴¹ The town, located in present day Eritrea some 30 km south of Asmära, was already described as the capital of *Baḥr nägaš* by an early sixteenth-century monk to Alessandro Zorzi (Crawford 1958, 174–175), and by Francisco Alvares (1961), 98, 104–105, 112, 118–119, 125. See also ‘Dəbarwa’, *EAE*, II (2005), 122a–123b (Richard Pankhurst).

²⁴² ውስጥቡል ፣ is the Ethiopian form.

²⁴³ A mountainous place in Yemen. Pereira 1892, 543 (tr.).

²⁴⁴ ቦረ ፣ ዓረብ (Bärä Aräb) also appears in the *Gädlä Marqorewos*, Conti Rossini 1904, 5 (text).

²⁴⁵ አሻከር is an Arabic word which refers to a payment to escape a military service. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 166, fn. 3; Guidi 1899, 114. In Amharic, it means a servant. The word አሻከር also appears in the chronicle of Minas, cp. Pereira 1888, 20 (text) = 39 (tr.).

suffering, planned a secret plot to go towards Mäzäga,²⁴⁶ a land of burning heat and extremely hot, and a boiling country.²⁴⁷ [160] He did as he conceived, and he left inside the tower all the wealth which we have mentioned, with a few men from the army and Ga^cwa,²⁴⁸ queen of Säläwa,²⁴⁹ and he went to the land which we have mentioned with one thousand horse riders (horsemen), and many warriors who kept well firm²⁵⁰ in their hands bows, shields, guns and bullets, and girded their loins with a sword. [161] When he arrived at the place where he had thought to go, as he hear of rumors of stories concerning the coming upon of a contagious fever struck of his flesh, he suffered a great illness from the sun's heat until they had to carry him on a bed; he did not have where to rest and he was near to die . All his soldiers and horses were also stricken by an invisible stroke and they were put to death again by the hand of God. [162] Ga^cwa also came to Özdemir (°Uzdämer) at that time and she brought him many gifts wishing him to assist her to fight against her enemy who was one of the commanders of the soldiers of the glorious King Gälawdewos who fought against her from time to time and he defeated and killed her brothers and took captives from her provinces.

²⁴⁶ From numerous sources we know that the region was located on the Sudanese border, in the north of the province of Wälqayt, limited at its greatest extent by the Setit and the Täkkäze river, in what is today Eritrea. See 'Mäzäga', *EAE*, III (2007), 891b–892b (Gianfrancesco Lusini). Pereira 1892, 450–451.

²⁴⁷ The word **ፍልል** does not appear in such a form in Dillmann's *Lexicon* (1865, 1339) under the word **ፊልላ** or Leslau 1991, 159. However, as Conzelman (1895, 166) indicated in his commentary, it is an Arabic loan-word which means 'desert without water or without grass'.

²⁴⁸ Ga^cwa was known to be a sixteenth century Muslim female ruler in the Northern part of Ethiopia. But the geographical territory that she ruled seems contradictory, in the Arabic and Portuguese sources, with the information in this text. The chronicle of Aḥmad represented that she was the sister of the sultan of Mäzäga, Maktar, who allied with the *Imām* in the turbulent period against the Christian kingdom. Following his death, she became the queen of Mäzäga and the neighbouring regions. Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad 2003, 358; Basset 1882, 126. On the other hand, the Portuguese source indicates that she was represented as the queen of Nubia. Cp. Barros 1563. In addition, the local tradition of the region neighbouring to Mäzäga favours that she was the Muslim queen of Mäzäga. See for more details, 'Ga^cwa', *EAE*, II (2005), 646b–647a (Denis Nonsnitsin). The information in this text seems uncertain as the Säläwa was a stronghold of the Christian kingdom, and even in the turbulent period of the war it remained a stronghold of the Christian kingdom. Therefore, it is doubtful whether Ga^cwa was **ገግሥተ ስለዋ** ('The queen of Säläwa').

²⁴⁹ Säläwa is a province in south Təgray where already Ləbnä Dəngəl had fought against the army of Grañ. See 'Säläwa', *EAE*, IV (2010), 492a (Wolbert Smidt and Richard Pankhurst). The province already appears in Ludolf's *Historia Aethiopica* (1681, I, ch. 3, 27); on his map, Ludolf placed it to the north of Bägemdər. In the twentieth century, the *wäräda* Säläwa lay south of Tämben and of Sähart, west of Wägğärat. See also for further information Solomon 2015b, 111.

²⁵⁰ According to the text and the stemmatic evidence, there are two readings at this point. **ዘያጸንኡ** which is the reading of five manuscripts (BFLOT) and **እለ ፡ ውስተ** the reading of manuscript P. Conzelman (1895, 77) in his edition selected the reading of P for the critical text (Conzelman 1895, 77) using the three manuscripts (with sigla ABC). Contextually both are possible. However, both the family of OT and the majority of the manuscripts of the Ḥaylu family support **ዘያጸንኡ**, which is the stronger reading.

[163] Chapter 70. After this, when the arrival of Özdemir (°Uzdämer) was delayed by the reasons we have recounted, the Turks who were in the tower were afflicted with hunger and thirst, because the food they had stored was consumed and the water had dried up, (namely) the wells they had dug, so that they opened the tower and went out into the plain to look, with their bows for the food necessary for the hunger of their belly. [164] For this reason, they departed in the night, taking away all the treasures, which have been described, and the queen as well, with her wealth. As they followed the road descending to the sea from Dəbarwa, the *fälahin*, who were in the country, confronted them and made of their bodies food for the sword. They plundered all their wealth and captured the queen with all her wealth. Also this happened according to what the spiritual prophets had announced for glorious King Gälawdewos, peace be on him.

[165] Chapter 71. If someone is scandalized and says, ‘There is no prophecy of the Nazarenes²⁵¹ after the vision of the people of the Old Testament was sealed’, he speaks badly. If his word is true and just, Luke wrote vain things about our fathers, the apostles and their followers, of the prophecy of Joel (°Iyu°el) who says, ‘In that day, I will pour out from my Spirit over all that is flesh. [166] The children will prophesy; and girls and young men will see visions and the elders will dream dreams’.²⁵² If the error of the scandalous is not known, I will follow with this: it is evident that the believer kings out of kings of Rome and others visited the people of the mountains and the monasteries of the Nazarenes, and they prophesied for them and taught them events before the events. After this, we will write the deeds (of the king) that <were won> for us referred to him.

[167] Chapter 72. In the third month from our months²⁵³ in the nineteenth year (of his reign), God glorious and the most high delivered all the treasures of Özdemir (°Uzdämer) Pa-sha into the hand of *Mar* Gälawdewos together with insignia²⁵⁴ painted on it the picture of

²⁵¹ ናዝራዊ means ‘hermit, Christian’, in the New Testament. Compare with ‘For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes’, in Acts 24:5. But not the same within the Old Testament, a *nazirite* or *nazarite*, in Hebrew: נזיר, *nazir* ‘consecrated’ or ‘separated’ refers to one who voluntarily took a vow, as described in Num. 6:1–21. This vow required the person to abstain from wine, wine vinegar, grapes, raisins, intoxicating liquors, vinegar made from such substances, and eating or drinking any substance that contains any trace of grapes; refrain from cutting the hair on one’s head; but to allow the locks of the head’s hair to grow; not to become ritually impure by contact with corpses or graves, even those of family members.

²⁵² Acts 2:17; Joel 2:28.

²⁵³ It is the month of Ḥədar, which begins on October 28 according to the Julian calendar.

²⁵⁴ ግለግግ does not appear in Dillmann (1865, 951) under the root word ግለግግ. But in Leslau (1991) under verb ግለግግ he indicated ግለግግ as ‘insignia’. In Kidanä Wäld (1956), it is provided a meaning of ‘flag, sign’ and it is also indicated the corresponding meaning in Tigrigna, ግለግግጉ, and in Amharic, ሰንደቅ ፣ ግለግግ.

Suleiman (Ḥsleman)²⁵⁵ whom the Arabs call in their language *ṣalṭan sālaṭin* (‘Sultan of Sultans’), which is in our language ‘King of Kings’.²⁵⁶

[168] And God glorious and the most high repeatedly made the act of such deed which he had once done in the days of the kings of the Second Temple, at the time of the fight of Gog against them, as it is written in the Book of Vision of the second year of the reign of Darius.²⁵⁷

[169] Chapter 73. But King Gälawdewos, the owner of a great intelligence, did not glory of this, but rather he gave God glorious and the most high a hidden praise, saying, ‘I praise and glorify the Lord of heaven whose every deed is manifest justice and whose way is righteous and who can make be humble those who walk in arrogance’.²⁵⁸

[170] Chapter 74. In that year, the discussions between the Jacobite’s and Melkites,²⁵⁹ who were the Franks, was renewed. It was the second discussion after the first discussion. And the glorious King Gälawdewos, peace be upon him, answered them with words taken from the books of the Catholic law and he defeated them and he shamed them. He composed a treatise²⁶⁰ and inserted it in a book.

[171] Chapter 75. This page invited us to write the blessedness of King Gälawdewos whose soul’s light has not dimmed from the beginning until the end. He arranged a time and period for each of his actions. From the side of his bodily realm, there was a time when he performed the acts of combat and killing and he punished the rebels by the sword and fought the enemy and opened the siege of their countries and plundered all within them and shared the spoils for his people. [172] From the side of his spiritual realm, there was a time when he carried out the spiritual acts by reading the books and commenting them, and composing a

²⁵⁵ Süleymān (926–974/1520–1566) was the tenth and the most illustrious of the Ottoman Sultans. Cp. ‘Süleymān’, *EF*², IX (1997), 832–842 (G. Veinstein).

²⁵⁶ The word ንጉሥ : ነገሥት appears in royal historiography for the first time in the official royal chronicle of Ṣārṣā Dəngəl and it was this king who used this title. The tradition from then on continued among kings reigned after him, like Susənyos and some other Gondarine kings. Cp. Conti Rossini 1907.

²⁵⁷ Ez. 39:1. It is possible that the author attributed this quote to Haggai Zechariah whose views are from the second year of Darius.

²⁵⁸ Perhaps it is a reminiscence of Psalm 111.

²⁵⁹ ‘Melkite’, devoted to royal religion in Egypt (Dillmann 1865, 151). See also Pereira 1892, 543.

²⁶⁰ Conzelman claims that it was probably the confession of Gälawdewos. Cp. Conzelman 1895, 169. However, it is difficult to accept it, for the fact that the Confession was written in 1555 as it is indicated in the colophon, against the first Jesuit mission led by Rodríguez. Here the religious debate for the second time was held in the court against Oviedo, which took place in 1557. So, in this respect, it could not be the Confession. But it could have been the *Mäzgäbä Haymanot*, which was composed around 1557. Cp. Johnson 1960; Cerulli 1960, III; ‘Mäzgäbä Haymanot’, *EAE*, III (2007), 892b-893b (Getatchew Haile).

treatise;²⁶¹ and turning the faith from the distorted into the right and from error into truth, like appointees of the church. [173] He is blessed because of these two gifts, spiritual and bodily, that in him were united while being scattered; like the gathering of the bread, that is sown in the mountains and hills, and once it is collected becomes one complete bread; likewise the combination of those were those gifts combined and others, over the head of Gälawdewos, a holy body and a pure soul without blemish.

[174] Chapter 76. All the way of life of the glorious King Gälawdewos was a way of life in the right path and it was not in the left because left paths are crooked and the righteous ones are right. When he was a young man, he straightened his path observing the speech of God glorious and the most high, his search was after him and in all his heart he did not fear the illness of the sick but he said, ‘I wear flesh like them’. [175] He wept about the dead and he consoled himself with the hope of their resurrection. He took care of the clothes for those who were naked, he distributed bread for those who were hungry, and he drew water for those who were thirsty. He offered healing for those who were wounded, he beared up his exhaustion for the powerless, he feared God glorious and the most high and he was humble of the people. [176] He examined of two paths: that of death and that of life and he walked in the better way because so is the way of the excellent men: they examine their deeds like these deeds as a horse rider who examines the right and the left through his act. He did not collect what he did not plant, he did not reap what he did not sow, and he did not gather what he did not seed.²⁶² Throughout the period of his reign, he did not take away the border of his neighbour and he did not take the field of another. He did not take the cow of a widow and he did not steal the ass of an orphan.²⁶³ He rescued the children of the poor and he disgraced the arrogant. Justice flourished under his reign and peace became abundant. [177] Ethiopia will bow down before him, and his enemies shall eat dust. The kings of Tarshish and Islands will present gifts. The kings of Saba and Arabia will bring presents.²⁶⁴ All the kings of land will bow before him and all nations shall serve him, for he shall save the poor from the hand that oppresses and the needy without a helper. He will show compassion to the poor and the pau-

²⁶¹ The word አንብሮ has also a meaning of composing a text. But it does not appear in such a meaning in Dillmann (1865, 651) and he has provided meaning and context that does not support the meaning of composed expressions. እመቦ ፣ ዘሥኦኦ ፣ እመጸሕፍተ ፣ ሐሰት ፣ እንተ ፣ አንብርዋ ፣ ከሐድያን ፣ ወአብኦ ፣ ጎብ ፣ ቤተ ፣ ክርስቲያን ፣ F.N. 2. Indeed, Leslau (1991, 383) observed it. And Kidanä Wäld (1956, 621) for the word አንብሮ explained as ጣፈ (‘he wrote’), ደረሰ (‘he composed’). But he evidently based his definition on Dillmann’s above mentioned reading.

²⁶² Matt. 25:24.

²⁶³ Job 24:3.

²⁶⁴ Ps. 72:10.

per. [178] He will save the soul of the poor;²⁶⁵ he will save their soul from usury²⁶⁶ and violence. His name is glorious before them. He is alive and they will give him from the gold of the Arabs. They always pray for him and they follow him the whole day since he was the corner stone of the whole land. His hand was extended to everyone who asked, and his house was open to all who knocked to him and he did not close his mercy to anyone. He did not give a stone²⁶⁷ when they asked for bread, he did not give a scorpion when they asked for eggs and he did not give a snake when they asked for fish but he gave good gifts to those who asked of him.

[179] He listened to the case of aliens, and he turned his ears to the cry of the poor: and his eyes looked to accept with love the one who came and he sent in peace the one who went and did not bring suffering to anybody from the whole people. He loved all who hated him. When they honoured him, they honoured him like a father and not like a king. Those who followed him were running with sweet love, and his servants were like children to him and they were not acting before him like those who took the spirit of servitude.

[180] Chapter 77. We heard of the goodness of King Alexander (Ἐσκᾶνδᾶρ)²⁶⁸ and we saw that this (king) exceeds him. Our elders told us that King Fäyadlifos (Philadelphus)²⁶⁹ was greater in the knowledge of God, whose name is much honoured, and in the investigation of the divine Scriptures. But²⁷⁰ we found that this (Gälawdewos) was superior to him. Our fathers told us all the deeds of good kings that occurred in order. [181] The deeds of this are better than the deed of the other, as the deeds of one star is better than the deed of the other and the character of these is inferior to his character. The Son is perfect like the Heavenly Father is perfect, and nobody is like him from what we have seen and heard; he is the only one and he has no such sort with regard to his good qualities: it is a few in number²⁷¹ and there

²⁶⁵ ነዳያን serves as a noun form like ብፁዓን ፣ ነዳያን ፣ በመንፈስ ፣ እስመ ፣ ሎሙ ፣ ይእቲ ፣ መንግሥተ ፣ ሰማያት ። ('Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven', Matt. 5:3). Cp. Dillmann 1865, 682.

²⁶⁶ In other text, the word ርዶ mean also 'usury' or 'loan'. Cp Bausi 1995, 209 (text) = 83 (tr.).

²⁶⁷ Luke 11:11–12.

²⁶⁸ The author was certainly aware of the text of ዜና ፣ እስክድር ፣ ('History of Alexander') which was translated from Arabic by the proposed author of this chronicle, ፫nbaqom, during the sixteenth century. Cp. Budge 1896, See Further 'Alexander the Great', *EAE*, I (2003), 195 (Gianfrancesco Lusini).

²⁶⁹ The author might be referring to Ptolemy Philadelphus under whom the Septuagint has been run. Conzelman 1895, 171. Marrassini 1993, 31.

²⁷⁰ Conjunction word ወ appears here with the meaning of 'but'.

²⁷¹ See for the word ውኅድ, the contextual meaning of which would be 'single', the evidence reported in Dillmann (1865, 916) አንሰ ፣ ውኅድ ፣ አነ ፣ በኅልቀላዩ.

are not that many of his peers²⁷² in regard to his goodness. [182] Therefore, it is appropriate that we honour those that are few more than those who are rare. Silver and iron are not more abundant than lead and tin: in fact rare is more valuable than what is abundant. And what is not found is more honoured than what is found. The satiated soul neglects the honeycomb.²⁷³ Likewise, all that is abundant is despised. A man is more precious than gold and silver and precious stone and sapphire, likewise everything that is unique has the greatest value. [183] This and that, all sweet and all desires, all profit and all usefulness, all joy and all happiness, all wealth and all pleasure, all exultation and all enjoyment, all rest of flesh and all the pleasant of the world does King Gälawdewos exceed, peace be upon him.

[184] Chapter 78. The greatest of all his deeds was that he always forgave his friend's sin, in order not to violate the covenant which he concluded with his heavenly Father at all times saying, 'Forgive us our sin and our error so that we also forgive those who sinned against us'.²⁷⁴ [185] When he wanted to sacrifice his mind before a living fire which would be sent to God glorious and the most high, he did not offer a jealous sacrifice like Cain (Qayäl), but he offered a sacrifice of peace like Abel his brother. When he did offer it, (it was) in secret, because he knew that the heavenly Father, who sees what is hidden, would reward him openly.²⁷⁵ [186] When he was fasting, he did not make his face sad and did not make his face languid like the hypocrites, but he anointed his head and washed his face²⁷⁶ and he fulfilled the commandment of the Lord Christ, praise to him! [187] When he brought an offering to God his Lord and he remembered [that someone]²⁷⁷ had made violence on him he would make peace first and then he would bring his offering, so that his offering is pure before God glorious, and his (Eucharistic) offerings become well acceptable and his incense will become sweet like the incense of the kings of East, who brought to him gifts when he was lying in a manger.²⁷⁸

[188] Chapter 79. Where will be found a person like this? Will he be found if they ascend to the sky or if they cross to the other side of the ocean and buy him with the red gold?

²⁷² **ዘውጋን** : is a plural of **ዘውግ** : , attested in Kidanä Wäld (1956, 415) and in Leslau (1991, **አዝዋግ** : 645). Neither of these forms appears in Dillmann (1865, 1061).

²⁷³ Prov. 27:7.

²⁷⁴ Matt. 6:12.

²⁷⁵ Matt. 6:18.

²⁷⁶ Matt. 6:17.

²⁷⁷ All the manuscripts (BLPOT) read so, except F **አልቦ**. Conzelman emended it to **ከመቦ** (he probably referred to a similar passage in Matt. 5:23), **ወእምከመኪ : ታብውእ : አምኃከ : ውስተ : ምሥዋዕ : ወባህዩ : ተዘከርከ : ከመቦ : እኅከ : ዘየሐይሰከ** : and I kept in the critical text his emendation.

²⁷⁸ Matt. 2:11.

[189] The nearby town also asked, and said, ‘Did he pass through you the righteous King Gälawdewos, who does justice’, and she said, ‘No!’. The sea also said, ‘He is not with me and he was missed by all the birds of the sky’.

[190] Chapter 80. How many of his virtues can we tell and make known his good qualities? Our days are decrepit and they come to an end. And the time is limited to extend the account. [191] However, according to our ability we will narrate briefly and we will write what will suffice for the one who will read it and who will hear it. Up to this point we can ascend and arrive through the help and labour of God, glorious and the most high, praise to him always and forever and ever, amen!

[192] Chapter 81. And in that nineteenth year, a prophecy circulated to the ears of the king of peace Gälawdewos (saying), ‘Now the time has come to an end in which your lamentation about an earthly kingdom and its troublesome matter will be finished. You will receive a heavenly kingdom, which does not require labour after entering into it, and you will go from the labour of fieldwork into the field of the eternal rest’. [193] When he heard this, the glorious lord Gälawdewos, peace upon him, he was not surprised but rather he said, ‘Lord, grant me a lot with the martyrs who suffered because of your name’. As to the fact that he did not consider the death difficult, (it was since) he knew that death does not abandon a person born from a woman. And even the Saviour, who came out from Zion, and who will remove the sin from Israel, was not left without dying. [194] But He has not created death because of the fault of the man; rather God, glorious and the most high, has created two natures of the one who speaks:²⁷⁹ the mortal and the immortal. Guiding towards this, he made the beginning of death upon a righteous person and he gave a long life for the sinner. [195] And for that time, the glorious King Gälawdewos set aside a country of refuge to treat over it those people of believers who had been expelled from Galla and he provided for all they desired.

[196] Chapter 82. It was a custom for him, Lord glorious Gälawdewos, to receive exiles who had been expelled because of the right faith to fulfil the commandment of the Lord Christ, glory to him. It was a custom for him to become a father to orphans and a judge for the widows, he released the prisoners by his power, and the exasperated who lived in the tomb.²⁸⁰ [197] He satisfied the poor of the city with food and he clothed the life²⁸¹ for the priests of the church and he gave joy to the righteous people. He rebuilt the churches which had been demolished and opened those which had been closed. In his days, the desert land

²⁷⁹ It means ‘a human being’.

²⁸⁰ In the Ethiopian tradition, it is customary for the poor to live in the crypts of the churches.

²⁸¹ ያለ-ባለሙዳ ፣ ሕይወተ, such expression is a typical stylistic feature of the author and similar kinds of several expressions appear throughout the text.

was filled with men and cattle and the country, which had become salt,²⁸² supplied fruit because of the virtue of the glorious king whose story we have narrated, a part of his story; and its former facts which it had (were) because of the wickedness of those who were living there. [198] During his reign, he made the desert land a source of water and the desert land ponds of water, and he settled there the starving people so that they built the village and live in it, to plant grapes and to sow the fields and to work on the harvesting of crops. [199] Power is upon his thumb and superiority is upon his shoulder,²⁸³ and his name is famous: a king of great counsel who knows the counsel. His appearance is most pleasing among humankind and grace flows from his lips. [200] He is the light of the world that rose for those who were living in the darkness and shadow of death. He is the salt of the earth, which receives the salt in the place of the tree of life whose fruit is saved from death.²⁸⁴ [201] Woe to the sheep that have lost him, their shepherd. Woe to the orphans²⁸⁵ who have been separated from him for they will never find who will be to them a father like him. Woe to the land from which he departed because in his time God glorious and the most high did not bring the calamity over the grain and wine and fig and pomegranate and over all the fruits on it. [202] The top of Carmel did not wither²⁸⁶ and the shepherds did not weep and herds of sheep did not lament in his time. The fire did not burn the seasonal fruits of wilderness²⁸⁷ and the flame (did not burn)²⁸⁸ the forest tree during his reign. The cultivators did not sow the land by the water of irrigation like the sowing in the land of Egypt in the years of his power, but the sky gave (the rain) at the right time.

[203] Chapter 83. There was nobody in the country of his kingdom who antagonized the other; rather all were in agreement among themselves. There was nobody in his country who spoke ill of his neighbour in secret, but all were united in heart and mouth. There was nobody who gave a bad name for his neighbour, but each and everyone praised the other. [204] There was nobody in his country who was restrained and forwarded a word from one to another, and each mouth of all was restrained in a moderate conversation. The country in his

²⁸² Ps 106:34 reads **ወረሰየ ፡ ጼወ ፡ ለምድር ፡ እንተ ፡ ትፈራ**. But Conzelman wrongly maintained **ዪዋ** instead of **ዪወ**. Indeed none of the manuscripts he employed has such a reading.

²⁸³ Dillmann (1865, 464) employed this expression as it is **ቅድመት ፡ ዲበ ፡ መትከፍቱ ።** to explain the word **ቅድመት** referring to Isa. 9:6.

²⁸⁴ Matt. 5:13, Rev. 2:7 and 22:2.

²⁸⁵ **ደካትም** is the plural form of **ደካታም** which mean orphan in form of adjective. Cp. Dillmann 1865, 1123.

²⁸⁶ Amos 1:2.

²⁸⁷ See **ሥነ ፡ ገዳም ፡** in Joel 1:19.

²⁸⁸ It needs no emendation: the verb **ኢያውዐየ ፡** serves for both actions. He directly adopted the expression from Joel 1:19 and changed into negation **እስመ ፡ እሳት ፡ አጎለቀ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ገዳም ፡ ወነበልባል ፡ አውዐየ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ አዕዋም ።**

days became a country of Frakumunos (Brahmans?).²⁸⁹ The spirit of hatred could not dwell in the heart of his whole army because he was the foundation of love and they were built on it. [205] Throughout his (period of) reign, the avenger of blood did not rise over the owner of blood²⁹⁰ and the enemy did not kill his enemy. The number of iniquity doers was minimal; the revolts of the wicked were restrained and the fear of the enemy disappeared. There was nobody in the camp who sharpened his tongue like a serpent and bent the bow for committing the grievous act of killing an innocent in secret.²⁹¹ There was nobody who advised to lay a trap and approved evil things and sought to injure. If one wanted to wound it was as an arrow of a child that he wounded.

[206] Chapter 84. In 7052²⁹² year of creation, and in the nineteenth year of his reign, in the fourth week of fast, on the third day of the month of *Mäggabit*, on the holy Sunday, the messengers announced to King Gälawdewos that Nur, the son of Al-Muğahid came and camped in one of the lands in the land of Fäṭägar and with him numerous fighting troops a number of eighteen hundred horse riders and five hundred riflemen. [207] The number was countless of those who were bending the bow and shooting. The infantry troops armed with swords, spears, shields were tens of thousands and thousands, and men who were capable of making guns²⁹³ together with their deeds numbering five, six or seven. [208] When the glorious King Gälawdewos heard this, he did not wait until the inauguration call of the fighting²⁹⁴ and to prepare for combat, rather he advanced with the few troops who accompanied him, because he believed that among the two armies one would win either a bodily fight with his body or else a spiritual fight with his soul: [209] knowing well that all those who die by the sword for the name of Lord Christ, praise for him, will win the battles waged by the powers of the air against the soul. And many righteous fear to do likewise: did not Paul (Pawlos) say because of this, ‘Your fight is not against flesh and blood but against the rulers of dark-

²⁸⁹ Conzelman 1895, 175. The term Brahmin in Indian texts signifies someone who is good and virtuous, not just someone of priestly class. Cp. Olivelle 2011, 60.

²⁹⁰ For አበ ፣ ደሙ ፣ see the commentary above (Paragraph 117).

²⁹¹ The word ጽሚት is the noun form of the verb ጸመመ and ጽምሚት is an adverb form of the same verb. Cp. Dillmann 1865, 1271. In the Conzelman edition (1895, 95) the adverb form of this word ጽምሚት is maintained. Both are grammatically correct. But in the reconstruction of the possible original, the stemma of the manuscripts indicates that five manuscripts of the text support the reading ጽሚት. In addition, Dillmann (1853) in his edition of the Old Testament keeps the same word in (Ps. 63:3, 4): እለ ፣ አብልጉ ፣ ልሳኖሙ ፣ ከመ ፣ አርፎ ፣ ምድር ፤ ወወሰቁ ፣ ቀስቶሙ ፣ ለገቢር ፣ መሪር ፣ ከመ ፣ ይቅትልዎ ፣ ለንጹሕ ፣ በጽሚት ፤

²⁹² It corresponds to 1559.

²⁹³ The word መንጅኒቃት (Arabic), cp. Conzelman 1895, 177, fn. 1, or መንገዲቃት means ‘canon’ in Amharic. Cp. Kane 1990, 282.

²⁹⁴ It is an echo of biblical passages from Joel 4:9, ስብኩ ፣ ዘንተ ፣ ውስተ ፣ አሕዛብ ፣ ዐሥሩ ፣ ፀብአ ፣ ወአንሥኡ ፣ መስተቃትላን ፣

ness’?²⁹⁵ [210] At that time, the number of the troops who were with King Gälawdewos were two hundred and seventy horse men, the infantry were not numbered more than seven hundred and the riflemen (those who shoot with rifles) were one hundred and the bowmen were five hundred. There were some who advised him not to confront Nur until all his army was gathered. [211] He answered and said to them, ‘No one can enter into the house of a strong man and plunder his property without first having bound him. As for me, I do not want to see the destruction of this country while I am in this earthly life’.

[212] Chapter 85. Then King Gälawdewos went resolutely his soul, towards Nur’s camp and after twelve days he pitched his camp, having left a space between him and Nur a distance of a rifle scope. He did not frighten his mind at the sight²⁹⁶ of the large army of the enemy. [213] One among those who stood before him said: ‘In one of those days, I brought for him a saying from the sayings of the prophets of the time, saying: [214] ‘It is said that victory is for you but after a large number of men will be perished by the spear of the enemy’, and at that moment he looked at me with threatening eye and he told me with a strong voice: ‘Is it appropriate for the shepherd to abandon his sheep and to save his soul? The good shepherd gives his soul as a ransom for his sheep and if he becomes a mercenary shepherd, he leaves the sheep for the wolf and he does not mourn for his sheep’.²⁹⁷ [215] How is this possible that I save myself from being killed and I deliver my people to death and to see the pain of the woman whose husband has died and the cry of the children whose fathers have died and the tears of the man whose brother was killed? As for me, I would prefer to die²⁹⁸ for Christ and the flock under my shepherding. [216] If I die and the flocks are scattered, the lord of shepherds²⁹⁹ does not inquire about the dispersion of the flocks.³⁰⁰ But if I let them be dispersed for fear of death, I will deserve to be questioned’. But with all this, he observed fasting and made a prayer over two lots: either to see the fall of his enemy or else to die for the redemption of all the people’.

[217] Chapter 86. Indeed, God the glorious and the most high made, over this glorious king, two marvellous deeds. One of them [was] when he wanted to have mercy of joy to the earth and heal her wounds, he made him a sign of grace and placed him on the throne like a

²⁹⁵ Eph. 6:12.

²⁹⁶ ተዐይነ ፣ አሕዛብ ፣ ብዙኃ ። Hez. 26:7.

²⁹⁷ John 10: 11–13.

²⁹⁸ መዋት ፣ is the nominal infinitive form of the verb ጥተ. It is indicated in Kidanä Wäld (1956, 581). In Dillmann (1865, 204), it is indicated as a form of the verb.

²⁹⁹ ኖሎት ፣ is the plural form of ኖላዊ. See Dillmann 1865, 670; Leslau, 1991, 398.

³⁰⁰ መራዕይ is the plural form of መርዒት. See Leslau (1991, 460).

rainbow in the middle of the cloud.³⁰¹ [218] And when he was jealous and the fire of his wrath burnt against the sinners, he took him from his throne and elevated him amidst the congregation, like the threshold of the door of vision was uplifted so that the Kərdanyon³⁰² can enter the sanctuary of holiness.³⁰³ Because when God—his name is glorious—wanted to show his anger against the people, he first destroyed his sanctuary. Similarly, he first removed the good kings when he wanted to destroy the sinning people. [219] Then, he said, through the mouth of a female prophet, to virtuous King Josiah himself—peace be upon him —‘I will take you from the land of your ancestors³⁰⁴ and those like you so that your eyes will not see all the evil that will strike the land and the vengeance I will bring against the evil people who angered me.’³⁰⁵ And after saying this, it was not strange to locked up the righteous King Josiah in the hand of Pharaoh,³⁰⁶ wicked and evil king since he killed him and executed him.

[220] But God—his name is glorious—reserves for this world the lot of Pharaoh and of those who are wicked like him. But³⁰⁷ for the future world, it will be the lot of Josiah and of those righteous like him. Thus, it is easy to him to take the righteous away from here and to make delay the sinners here.

[221] Chapter 87. On the twenty seventh of the month of *Mäggabit*,³⁰⁸ the seventh month of our months and the third month from the months of the Roman statute system and which is the beginning of and the end of the creation and the eighth week of the fasting on the day of Thursday, at the hour of prayer, at six o’clock during the day, a battle took place between King Gälawdewos and Nur after the fight of the day of Monday and other days, and that was the day of the end of such battle.

[222] And King Gälawdewos was on that day joyful and glad and determined to fight, like a hunter determined to killing the hunted, and joyful as someone who is invited to a wine

³⁰¹ See. Genesis 9:13, **ወቀስትዮ ፣ እሠይም ፣ ውስተ ፣ ደመናት** (‘I have set my rainbow in the clouds’).

³⁰² According to Conzelman (1895, 177, fn. 2), **ክርዳንዮ** is a distortion of the Greek of the LXX Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων *Kyrios tōn dynamēōn* the Lord of hosts.

³⁰³ Isa. 6:1–4.

³⁰⁴ **እነሥአከ ፣ እምብሔረ ፣ አባዊከ ፣** here there is an omission of a preposition **እም** before **ብሔረ** in all the manuscripts that is certainly an omission of the archetype text.

³⁰⁵ 2 Kings 22:20.

³⁰⁶ 2 Kings 23:29.

³⁰⁷ The context allows to attain a meaning but for the conjunction **ወ**. See also Leslau, 1991, 602.

³⁰⁸ 27 Maggabit 1551, which corresponds to 23 March 1559 of the Julian calendar. Other Gəʿəz sources including the short chronicle of the same king and Portuguese sources provide a similar date. Cp. Basset 1882, 21 (text) = 114 (tr.), Kropp 1988, 33 (text) = 37 (tr.).

house and they made love for him. The battle was so fierce in that day until the smoke of the fire of the fighting covered the sun, as thick as fog. [223] At the beginning of the battle, a hot bullet³⁰⁹ fell into the flesh of the body of glorious *Mar* Gälawdewos but this did not prevent him from combat and did not make him to give up from fighting until they surrounded him with about twenty horsemen and pierced his loin with a lance and he died like Gälawdewos (Claudius) of Antioch whose name was the companion of his name.³¹⁰

[224] Then they cut off his glorious head and they brought it to their leader to the extent that he was amazed. Then, it (the head) was carried on a donkey because he knew everything what he had done, those before him and those after him.

[225] Chapter 88. One of those who stood before him went to the battlefield on the third day after he had died and he searched for his corpse and he found it abandoned. He recognized it by [an object] that stuck to one of his organ of the body³¹¹ that as he already knew before. [226] He wrapped it (the corpse) in a shroud and buried it in a church built in the name of Gälawdewos.³¹² When he buried him, he did not see any decay on his body because this is a sign of the flesh of the righteous.

[227] Chapter 89. After King Gälawdewos died, all the people were scattered like water along the way and many people died in the battle for there was no one to save them since the saviour had died. [228] There was great mourning throughout the land and bitter weeping in the house of his mother and in all of his relatives. All who came weeping, did not cry as one who comes just to weep, rather like someone to whom the wife or the children had died. In all the camp and in the entire nation, weeping was sweet like the first fig tree of the rainy season and like the water for the thirsty during the hot time, out of great love for him. [229] No one was consoled until the day of mourning.³¹³ There were someone who dwindled the sweetness

³⁰⁹ ርሳሰ is an Amharic word which means ‘bullet’.

³¹⁰ As already said, Gälawdewos is the Ethiopian form of the name of Claudius, a Roman saint and a martyr during the Diocletian persecution (third/fourth century A.D.).

³¹¹ ዘጥግዕት ፣ ዲበ ፣ ጀእመሊያልዩሁ ፣ It is uncertain what this ዘጥግዕት is referring to, whether it is an object or either a drawing or a tattoo. But most probably a physical object since the Gəʿəz used ትእምርት as in Marrassini 1993, 151, referring to a drawing or a tattoo.

³¹² During the period of Gälawdewos, apart from the royal church of Tädbabä Maryam, there were other churches that were constructed by the order of Gälawdewos, like the church of Gälawdewos in south Gondär and the church of Gälawdewos in south Wällo. Both of them were very far from the place where the king fought against the Muslim at Fäṭagar, and finally died. In any case, however, the author might have referred to this church of Gälawdewos when he said that he was buried in the church named in his name. But the short chronicle, which was composed long after the date of the composition of the chronicle, indicated that Gälawdewos’ body was buried in the church of Tädbabä Maryam. See Basset 1882, 22 (text) = 115 (tr.).

³¹³ ዕለተ ፣ ነዛ ፣ This seems to be the day of the national mourning whereby the people were crying, wearing black and sprinkling ashes and soil on the hair. The word ነዛ is an Amharic loan-word,

of the world about him. Some renounced all the pleasure about him. A country bright like a sun was darkened since its light had disappeared. The towers and walls were fallen since there was no protector and the entire building was demolished since they had killed the founder.³¹⁴

[230] Hunger was great because there was no food and thirst became abundant since the drink was finished. Diseases became numerous because there was no remedy, and sleep reigned because strength disappeared. And the almighty God brought calamity over the entire land after he had taken to him Gälawdewos, angel of goodness, praise to him continually until the end of time and for ever, amen.

[231] Chapter 90. On that (same) day, also *Abba* Yohannəs died,³¹⁵ the head of Däbrä Libanos, a great man full of all virtues, a great master of fasting like Elijah (Eliyas). He was devoted like Daniel (Danəʾel); they did not find anything to say against him except that he was devoted to God glorious and the most high.

[232] The cause of his death was because he received the reward of the martyrs. What makes understand concerning this fact (is the following): at the arrival of the Muslims, he was not present in the camp, rather when the letter of King Gälawdewos—peace up on him—reached him with the news about the arrival of the Muslims and the information concerning their deeds, what they intended to do, he hastened travelling to the camp like a prisoner who was released from the prison. [233] And having arrived there, he died by the sword in the name of the Lord Christ, praise be upon him. May God have mercy upon us through his prayer, amen!

[234] Chapter 91. In addition, in that (same) day died the blessed martyrs: *Abba* Aser the head of Dabra Šäbaʿot,³¹⁶ the master of the abstinence of Scete,³¹⁷ meat and wine have never entered into his mouth throughout all days of his life and he never lay on a bed in his

which means ‘to drop tears like rainwater’. But the equivalent Gəʿəz form of ነዛ ፡ is ነዛጎ. Cp. Dillmann 1865, 677.

³¹⁴ See Chapter one (introduction).

³¹⁵ He was the *abbot* of the famous monastery of Däbrä Libanos. According to *Tarikä Nägašt* he was the one who composed the *Mälkäʾ* of *Abba* Täklä Haymanot. ወው-እቲ ፡ ደረሰ ፡ መልክእ ፡ አባ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ (‘He composed the *Mälkäʾ* of *Abba* Täklä Haymanot’). Cp. Basset 1882, 21 (text) = 114 (tr.).

³¹⁶ In the short chronicle of the same king, *Abba* Aser was also represented አባ ፡ አሴር ፡ ዘቡሳቶ (‘*Abba* Aser of the Busato’). See Kropp 1988, 33 (text) = 37 (tr.).

³¹⁷ The Ethiopian form አስቄጥሳዊ ፡ means ‘the one from Scete’, namely Macarius the Great, Egyptian monk of the fourth century and ‘Father of the desert’.

loin and he was with a great mercy as Abraham and Lot (Lot) and Cornelius (Qornelewos).³¹⁸ May God grant us the fate of him, amen!

[235] Chapter 92. In addition, on that day there is the commemoration³¹⁹ of *Abba Täklä Maḥəbär*,³²⁰ teacher of kings, a second Arsanəyos,³²¹ as well as the commemoration of many monks, priests and deacons, and the companions of the glorious King Gälawdewos, who received the knife like an innocent sheep for the love of the Lord Christ, praise to him. May his blessing and the blessing of all his companions come to us, amen!

[236] Chapter 93. If someone is offended over these martyrs and speaks accordingly, let him stop (doing this) and let him not set his mouth into heaven and not tell iniquity into the highest heaven.³²² Let him not be like someone who fights with God and not give advantage to jealousy in his soul. If the people who were killed by their brother out of envy and died because of their wine garden, received a crown and their bloodshed became precious to God glorious and the most high, so, how much more for those who died because of righteousness!

[237] And if not, did not become blessed the high priest Zechariah (Zäkariyas)—peace upon him whose blood was shed because of his son?³²³ And also for Isaac (Yəşəḥaq) justice was not counted to him, who was determined to be slaughtered like a sheep in order to fulfill his father's order?³²⁴

[238] And when drops of tears abundantly poured out in such circumstances, it counted like the bloodshed of martyrs. If to the one who has been expelled (belongs) this kingdom of heaven, of a martyr, how great and glorious is it, (he) who was killed? For the one who has a mind, this little lesson is enough, and for the one who has not a mind, even much does not matter.

³¹⁸ Acts 10:2.

³¹⁹ ተከህር is a major commemorative feast for a dead person. Perruchon 1893, 106; Alvares 1961, 161; 'Täzkar', *EAE*, IV (2010), 881b-882b (Mersha Alehegne).

³²⁰ The name of this monk appears also in the short chronicle of Gälawdewos with the same information about him, አባ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ማህበር ፡ መምህራ ፡ ዝነቲ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ('*Abba Täklä Mahbär*, the teacher of this king'). Kropp 1988, 33 (text) = 37 (tr.).

³²¹ The famous Egyptian saint Arsenius was one of the most important desert fathers, though not of Egyptian origin. He was probably born from a senatorial family of Rome in the middle of the fourth century. He received an excellent education and held high office at the court of the Emperor Theodosius and he was also a tutor of the son of the Emperor Theodosius. Cp. 'Arsenius of Scetis and Ṭurah', *The Coptic Encyclopaedia*, I (1991), 240–241 (Lucien Regnault).

³²² Ps. 73:9.

³²³ 2 Chron. 24:21–22.

³²⁴ Gen. 22:1–12.

[239] Chapter 94. The author of this book³²⁵ said, may God have mercy and pardon on him! What shall I say concerning the day, which is the day of the death of my lord *Mar Gälawdewos*? Shall I curse it like the birthday of those in misery or shall I make out of the number like the two days of the month of Sabät³²⁶ in which the elected of Rome were thrown down? [240] What do I have with it? But rather may it be cursed the one who made that day a great evil and killed my lord *Mar Gälawdewos*. May he be cursed at home, may he be cursed in the field (= at war), may he be cursed in the desert, may he be cursed in his entry, may he be cursed in his exit and may he be cursed in all his actions.³²⁷ [241] The vine will be given to the snow and the fig to the frost.³²⁸ And may the land not produce food. May his sheep be deprived from fodder and may his cows not be there in the manger. May God glorious and the most high punish the house of Muğāhid until a thousand generations. [242] And may he order that the rain and dew no longer drop on his mountains and may he make snow and frost to his lot. May the arrow of God glorious and the most high devour his flesh and may his rage absorb his blood, from now on and forever and ever. Amen!

[243] Chapter 95. For the love of my lord glorious *Gälawdewos*, I wrote a book of mourning with the rhymes of the twenty-two Hebrew letters.

[244] Chapter 96. *Alef*. Who would reconduct the assassination of my lord *Gälawdewos*'s soul on my soul?

And who would make me fall outside?

Alas to us! Woe to us! The morning star knew its entrance and the evening star extinguished. [245] The day became a night that we had never known and an unusual darkness came

and hid animals and men.

There is no one now to divert the war from us

The angel of our power has now entered into the abyss of the earth,

and our valiant army has disappeared in the midst of the camp.

[246] *Bet*. We say: Alas! Woe to us because of the death of *Gälawdewos* for the reason that he was the one who delivered to our men a crown and to our women a veil

after the enemy had plundered them (of these) in the days of suffering and tribulation.

³²⁵ በዐለ ፡ ሙጽ ሐፍ ፡ literally means 'the owner of the book'. In this particular context, it means the author of the book. Dillmann 1865, 529.

³²⁶ Säbat is the eleventh month of the ancient Hebrew calendar.

³²⁷ Deut. 28:16–19.

³²⁸ Ps. 105:33.

[247] *Gamel*. Now the enemies have prepared chains for our hands and iron shackles for our necks

because when they looked at the door of our city, they found it naked of its wood and lock.

Who would tell Gälawdewos about a great council
in what manner, we faced sudden occasion of so great diminution and loss.

[248] *Dalet*. The daughter of Ethiopia let her be covered with a garment of skin and hide.

And let her be clothed with sackcloth like a board.
Instead of a gold chain, let her neck be encircled by a yoke;
instead of a wine house or place of singing let her make her yard a place of weeping.

[249] And let her sprinkle dust on her head, instead of smelling perfume and rose water.
Was that not this Gälawdewos who anointed her with the oil of spices?

Now he is the one whom the departure received, the lot of an exiled and a stranger.

Oh death a cruel judge; you are, who detains the innocent as a debtor, though there was nothing you lent for which you could demand retribution:

You are not shamed by the smashing of the mother and you are not terrified by the tenderness of her son.

Oh! you are the destroyer who does not leave a stone upon a stone inside the main corners of melancholy.

[250] *He*. When did they place under a bushel the lamp which is lighted in its candlestick.³²⁹ Therefore, we did not experience the terror of the night and darkness surrounded us from everywhere.

[251] *Waw*. Virgin of Israel, the caller out of not-reminding the daughters who lament in order to weep about you and grieve because of your vineyard that the worms have destroyed and eradicated and about your murdered shepherd and your scattered sheep and about the children of your people who became the children of captivity.

[252] *Zay*. Oh Gälawdewos! you are a saviour in your life and redemption in your death.

Rather than to see the annihilation of your people, you chose to die while being young.
And drinking the cup, for which they drew, did not depress your soul.

[253] *Het*. Where did he go, a judge of our people who was the liberator of the sons of our poor

³²⁹ Mark 4: 21.

and who was the righteous judge of the oppressed?

Where has he departed to, a teacher who taught the union of divinity and humanity without mixing?

[254] *Tet.* Is innermost bitterness like this?

From joy to sadness, from the firmness to the crush,

to whom fear is outside and the killing is inside?

is it not Pentecost to Gälawdewos, to whom rest elapsed on his death day?

[255] *Yod.* Who would make my eye a cloud

to pour out water³³⁰ like rainwater

in order to lament and cry for Gälawdewos my lord.

Is there anyone good to his servant, who will not rule by force?

He would satisfy him when he is hungry and when he is thirsty giving him to drink.

[256] And is there anybody who does good like him, who lends to all, without awaiting any return³³¹ ?

He does not harm the evil

and he does not require anything from anyone to do him good.

Nobody is good except one God who pours rain on the righteous and sinners,

and makes his sun to shine on the good and bad (peoples).

[257] *Kaf.* God shook and agitated the land

having taken away Gälawdewos from his palace.

The enemies were delighted and joyful on us and they split the spoils over us.

[258] *Lamed.* Woe to the land!

Woe to her whose suffering is great and whose wound is inflamed,

because he took from her Gälawdewos, its grace balm!

The joy died and the pleasure disappeared.

The crown of the year of mercy that had blessed failed down.

[259] *Mem.* Come King Gälawdewos, king of peace, to give us, to your people, harmony

and do not rest longer on your bed

so that the Muslims do not inherit our heritage and likewise the people of Rome³³² do not take our country.³³³

³³⁰ It is composed on the basis of Jer. 9:1.

³³¹ Luke 6:35.

³³² Act. 16:21, Gen. 46:34, Ps. 82:6, 1 Cor.1:1.

[260] *Non*. The children of your people were liable to devastation
like to make of an ostrich egg,

when Gälawdewos diverted from them the mercy of his eye.

Grain, food of humankind, and the beauty of greenery that animal species hunt.

Gälawdewos was a righteous judge who made justice for the oppressed from their persecutors

and who raised his right hand for his salvation

and who sharpened his horn for scattering his enemy.³³⁴

[261] *Samaket*.³³⁵ Where did you go away from your throne, Oh Gälawdewos, king of Zion?

While they were looking for you so hard, they did not find you, the searching people.

Have you flown in the vastness of air like a bird, or have you gone down into the depths of the seas like a fish?

[262] *E*. The wine, created for our joy, has been spilled from the jar.

And our soul is chained between grief and insanity.

Our life became light like straw on the winnowing fork.

[263] *Fe*. From the death of Gälawdewos we realized that the world is transient.

It is fast flowing like water through a sieve

and like the confusion of a fearful one who restlessly goes astray here and there.

[264] *Şade*. How the feet of death are swift running³³⁶ to shed blood

and how many eyes are watching the killing of the soul;

from the soul of the son of the king sitting on the throne to the son of the female servants who are grinding!

[265] *Qof*. What is the reason that has kept King Gälawdewos far from his people?

Is that a custom to share the spoils of Syria and to take the power of Damascus?³³⁷

Woe to me! I made the harp for pain, and suffering became a fiddle to me.³³⁸

[266] *Res*. To whom is not his eye a bearer of tears

if he was with a clear vision and view

³³³ It is an interesting comparison of the political and spiritual contender of the Christian kingdom during the reign of the king.

³³⁴ Zech. 1:21.

³³⁵ The author gave the consonant a Syriac name instead of the Hebraic name.

³³⁶ Rom. 3:15.

³³⁷ Isa. 8:4.

³³⁸ Job 30:31.

when he saw King Gälawdewos, compassionate and merciful, killed and thrown into Armatem?

[267] *San*. Blessed are the barren women who have neither given birth nor conceived and blessed are breasts whose milk is dry³³⁹

so that their children do not see the sadness that we have seen by the death of Gälawdewos, who forgave offense.

[268] *Taw*. When did the holy stone of the church roll away, her cornerstone like the precious stones of the land of Ephrata.³⁴⁰

Come, let us mourn because of this and lament in each of the ranks.

[269] Chapter 94. How admirable is how they set the house of Jacob (Ya^caqob), in order to read the lamentation of the Prophet Jeremiah (^oErməyas) in fixed days in their Synagogue, so that they commemorate the killing of Josiah (^oIyosəyas)³⁴¹ and the destruction of the first temple, the demolition of the city and the captivity of the people! [270] In the same way, you, the Ethiopian flock, set mourning in a fixed day and remember Gälawdewos your pastor, who opened to you the mouth of the closed well that many pastors could not open³⁴² and made you drink from it the water of life, holy and pleasant.

[271] Chapter 95.³⁴³ Oh! my brothers, you who are intelligent, this is the book which your pressing solicitation has hastened me to write. Do me a favour and fill in the gap of my knowledge. Straighten what is crooked from it (the book) and smoothen what is rugged because the knowledge of one man cannot embellish the word of the book as the light of one star and the beauty of one flower cannot embellish the dominion of sky³⁴⁴ and earth.

[272] This book was completed in the year 7302 from the year of the two-horned Alexander and in 1500 from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, praise be to him! [273] And in the 1240 year of Martyrs and in 957 year of the Muslims, one year of the reign of King Aşnaf Sägäd by the grace of the Holy Spirit who was named Gälawdewos and in the second year of the reign of his brother Admas Sägäd by the grace of the Holy Spirit who was named by Minas. Its starting and its completion was in the month of Hədar, the third month of the Romans which is Ğamad ʿElʿakär, sixth month of the Muslims.

³³⁹ Luke 23:29.

³⁴⁰ Perhaps the author is referring to the stones of the temple in Bethlehem Ephrata. Matt. 2:5.

³⁴¹ 2 Chron. 35: 25.

³⁴² Gen. 29:2, 3.

³⁴³ We have already found 94 and 95 previous chapters. It is redundant of the author.

³⁴⁴ See Job 38: 33.

Chapter five: Translation and annotation

[274] It was completed in the fifth (month) from then, which is on the 23rd of the month of Mäggabit in the day of Rābu^c when the sun is in the 23rd step of the great steps in the tower of the ram. Praise to God glorious and the Most High, who placed all positions in each steps and erected all standings in place, which do not pass away from him, forever and ever and ever, amen and amen, let it be! and let it be!

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Dissertation Summary

All Ethiopic chronicles composed for many Ethiopian kings from the fourteenth to the early twentieth century were edited and published by European scholars since the last quarter of the nineteenth century and translated into several European languages (especially into French and Italian). In this regard, the works of the European scholars have greatly contributed to the reconstruction of the history and culture of the country.

However, these works do not meet the demand of today's scientific text-critical edition. Because of that various scholars who have studied these chronicles in detail proposed a re-edition of these chronicles using modern editing techniques and methods. In addition, the translation of these valuable historical documents into English, together with an updated commentary, is also equally important to make the chronicles widely available to the readers. In light of this background, this dissertation provides a new edition of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos (r.1540-1559), which was already edited and published by Conzelman in 1895 based on three textual witnesses and translated into French.

The dissertation fulfills two main objectives. First, to prepare a critical edition of the Chronicle applying the so called Neo-lachmannian method based on six manuscripts. Second, translating the Gəʿəz critical text of the Chronicle into English and annotating it. The task of edition involves studying thoroughly the internal content and the history of the transmission, collating manually and grouping manuscripts into a family on the basis of their common errors and finally establishing the *stemma codicum*.

The chronicle represents a peculiar text in Gəʿəz historiography both because of its narrative structure and the underlying sources used by the chronicler. Numerous Arabisms are another special element of the text which eventually led to the conclusion that the Chronicle was certainly written by a person with an outstanding knowledge of Arabic. Therefore, it is assumed that the most likely author of the Chronicle was the medieval church scholar, *Ḥččäge* ʿEnbaqom. Although the Chronicle lacks detailed historical data, approximately two thirds of the text can be regarded as valuable for the historical reconstruction and the other third is of purely literary value. The reason for this might be, as alluded in the text, that the author composed it mainly for the purpose of commemoration of his beloved king who died a martyr death and to maintain the royalty of Solomonic kingship.

The chronicle is transmitted as part of a compilation and independently as an individual text. In the compilation form, together with other medieval chronicles, it appears in two compilations, namely in the Bruce compilation and in the Ḥaylu compilation. The manuscript

with the Bruce compilation, named after the Scottish traveller James Bruce, is one of the oldest witnesses of the text written in 1592. The other four manuscripts descend from the Ḥaylu compilation. It exists as an individual text housed in the royal church, founded by the king, Tädbabä Maryam—where the chronicle is mainly used to commemorate the saintly king. It was used to be read in front of the faithful each month at the church; this tradition has been continued until today.

In addition, the indirect textual tradition of the text is attested in other Gəʿəz texts and in the works of European Jesuit missionaries and travellers. The *Sənkəssar* of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church contains a short passage concerning the life story of the saintly king. Other chronicles from the sixteenth and early seventeenth century refer to the chronicle of King Gälawdewos. Páez, Portuguese Jesuit father and scholar, who travelled as a missionary to Ethiopia in 1603, in his book *História da Etiópia* ('History of Ethiopia') accomplished in 1622, quoted directly from the chronicle. This, perhaps the oldest manuscript of the chronicle, which Páez consulted for his work, is no longer preserved.

The reconstruction of the text has brought important philological findings concerning the Chronicle of King Gälawdewos in particular and new input that calls for re-editing the Ethiopic chronicles in general. First of all, the re-edition of the Chronicle of King Gälawdewos has yielded several corrections to the previous edition of Conzelman. They include the readings which the editor had wrongly selected, corrections over his emendations, revealing and emending some of the readings that were not recognized as an error. Apart from this, the edition reveals that the medieval Ethiopic chronicles from fourteenth to seventeenth century share a similar even partly the same textual transmission which mainly evolved from two collections—the Bruce compilation and the Ḥaylu compilation. The collation and evaluation of the variants have showed that the Ḥaylu compilation suffers from numerous corruptions. Owing to that the Haylu compilation does not offer a reliable text and so it should be used for the edition of other royal chronicles only with great caution. Therefore, it may be considered as necessary to re-edit those chronicles which were edited exclusively based on the texts collected from the Ḥaylu compilation. The new edition adds valuable by now not recorded items for Gəʿəz lexicography and corrects historical distortions resulted from the previous edition. Above all, the thesis has provided a historically authentic text of the chronicle of King Gälawdewos accompanied by an updated annotated English translation which offers new insights into the medieval historiography of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

Zusammenfassung der Dissertation

Sämtliche Königschroniken, die den Königen Äthiopiens des 14. bis frühen 20. Jahrhunderts gewidmet und auf Altäthiopisch (Gə'əz) verfasst wurden, wurden seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert von europäischen Gelehrten herausgegeben und in europäische Sprachen (vor allem ins Französische und Italienische) übersetzt. Damit haben europäische Gelehrte einen großen Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion der Geschichte und Kultur des Landes geleistet.

Diese Editionen genügen jedoch nicht den heutigen Ansprüchen an eine wissenschaftliche, textkritische Ausgabe, so dass verschiedene Wissenschaftler, die diese Chroniken eingehend untersucht haben, eine Neuedition unter Anwendung der modernen Editionstechniken und -methoden als notwendig angesehen haben. Daneben ist eine englische Übersetzung nebst einer dem heutigen Wissensstand gerecht werdenden Kommentierung dieser historischen Dokumente ebenso von Bedeutung, um diese einer breiten Leserschaft zugänglich zu machen. Die vorliegende Dissertation setzt an diesem Desiderat an und bietet eine neue Textausgabe der Chronik des Königs Gälawdewos (regierte zwischen 1540-1559), die bereits 1895 von Conzelman auf Basis von drei Textzeugen herausgegeben und ins Französische übersetzt worden ist.

Die Arbeit zielte zum Einen auf die Konstitution eines kritischen Textes der Chronik unter Anwendung der sogenannten Neo-Lachmannischen Methode auf Basis von sechs Manuskripten ab, zum Anderen lag das Hauptaugenmerk auf Übersetzung und Kommentierung des edierten Textes. Eine textkritische Ausgabe erfordert nicht nur eine intensive Auseinandersetzung mit dem Inhalt des Textes, sondern vor allem auch mit dessen Überlieferungsgeschichte. Die Beziehungen und Abhängigkeiten der Textzeugen wurden nach manueller Kollationierung sämtlicher Textzeugen anhand gemeinsamer Sonderfehler (sog. Trenn- und Bindefehler) bestimmt und in einem Stammbaum (*stemma codicum*) graphisch dargestellt.

Die Chronik des Königs Gälawdewos ist ein besonderes Zeugnis altäthiopischer Historiographie—sowohl hinsichtlich der Erzählstruktur des Textes als auch hinsichtlich der vom Chronikschreiber zur Abfassung seines Textes verwendeten Quellen. Die zahlreichen Arabismen, ein weiteres Charakteristikum des Textes, führen zu der Annahme, dass der Autor der Chronik über beachtliche Arabischkenntnisse verfügt haben muss. Daher wird vermutet, dass der Kirchengelehrte ጸጋጎ ልጋጎ ልጋጎ die Chronik verfasst habe. Obgleich die Chronik detaillierte, historische Angaben missen lässt, lassen sich etwa zwei Drittel des Textes als wertvoll für die Rekonstruktion der Geschichte einstufen; das andere Drittel ist von rein literarischem Wert. Als Zweck der Chronik lässt sich daher nicht nur die Manifestierung des Herr-

schaftsanspruchs der solomonischen Königsdynastie ausmachen, sondern auch das Gedenken des Königs, der einen Märtyrertod erlitt.

Die Chronik ist sowohl als Teil einer Kompilation als auch unabhängig als Einzeltext überliefert. Es existieren zwei Chronikensammlungen, nämlich die „Bruce-Kompilation“ und die „Ḥaylu-Kompilation“, in denen neben anderen mittelalterlichen Chroniken auch die des Königs Gälawdewos enthalten ist. Die „Bruce-Kompilation“ (benannt nach dem schottischen Reisenden James Bruce) ist in einem Manuskript überliefert, welches in 1592 geschrieben wurde und zu einem der ältesten Zeugnisse dieses Textes gehört. Vier weitere Handschriften enthalten die „Ḥaylu-Kompilation“. Als Einzeltext ist die Chronik in einem Manuskript der von König Gälawdewos gestifteten Kirche Tädbabä Maryam enthalten. In dieser Kirche wird noch heute den Gläubigen zum Gedenken an den als Heiligen verehrten König jeden Monat aus der Chronik vorgelesen.

Zudem ist eine indirekte Textüberlieferung zu verzeichnen. So wird die Chronik sowohl in anderen altäthiopischen Werken als auch in den Berichten von jesuitischen Missionaren und europäischen Reisenden erwähnt. Das Synaxarion der äthiopisch-orthodoxen Kirche enthält eine Kurzfassung der Lebensgeschichte des Königsheiligen. Darüber hinaus verweisen Königschroniken aus dem 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert auf die Chronik des Königs Gälawdewos. Der portugiesische Jesuit Páez, der 1603 nach Äthiopien reiste, fertigte 1622 sein Werk „História da Etiópia“, in welchem er direkt aus der Chronik zitierte. Dieses Textzeugnis, das Páez für sein Werk konsultierte, ist heute wohl nicht mehr erhalten.

Die textkritische Ausgabe der Chronik des Königs Gälawdewos hat zu wichtigen, neuen philologischen Erkenntnissen geführt, die auch die Notwendigkeit von textkritischen Neueditionen anderer altäthiopischer Königschroniken noch weiter bestärkt. Insbesondere konnten mit der vorgelegten Neuedition vorherige, fehlerhafte Herausgeberentscheidungen bereinigt werden. Solche Richtigstellungen umfassten nicht nur die falsche Auswahl von Lesarten, die aufgrund der textkritischen Analyse eindeutig als nicht originär zu beurteilen waren, sondern auch notwendige Korrekturen von vom vorherigen Herausgeber am Text vorgenommenen Emendationen sowie eigene, neue Emendationen von Textverderbnissen, die zuvor als solche unerkannt blieben.

Zusätzlich konnte dargelegt werden, dass die altäthiopischen Chroniken des 14. bis 17. Jahrhunderts eine ähnliche, teilweise sogar dieselbe Überlieferungsgeschichte teilen. So sind diese hauptsächlich in zwei Chronikensammlungen, in der „Bruce-Kompilation“ sowie in der „Ḥaylu-Kompilation“, überliefert. Die textkritische Untersuchung der „Ḥaylu-Kompilation“ hat ergeben, dass diese Textüberlieferung den Text an zahlreichen Stellen verdorben hat. Die „Ḥaylu-Kompilation“ bietet daher keinen zuverlässigen Text und sollte für die Edition auch

Zusammenfassung der Dissertation

von anderen Königschroniken nur mit äußerster Vorsicht herangezogen werden. Es wäre gar als dringendes Desiderat anzusehen, solche Chroniken, die bisher ausschließlich auf Basis dieser Kompilation ediert wurden, neu herauszugeben.

Nicht zuletzt liefert die Neuedition zudem wertvolles, bisher unberücksichtigtes Material für die Gəʿəz-Lexikographie und leistet einen wichtigen Beitrag für die äthiopische Geschichte, frei von einer durch die vorherige Edition ausgelösten Verzerrung der Historie. Die vorliegende Dissertation bietet einen historisch authentischen Text der Königschronik, begleitet von einer umfassend kommentierten Übersetzung ins Englische, der ganz neue Einblicke in die mittelalterliche Historiographie Äthiopiens und des Horns von Afrika gewährt.